Opera Litteraeque

Andreae Vesalii

Inventory of the Editions of

Andreas Vesalius’s Works and Letters

Compiled by

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Roeselare, Belgium

2019
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Introduction

The present list records all known publications of Vesalius’s writings that I could retrieve. It has been started on September 26th, 2011, serving first as a check-list for my own purposes, and apt to incorporate any future editions. The date of the last update is mentioned in the running title. Each record in **bold** corresponds to one edition, mentioning the Cushing number with a short description and the *impressum*. Those seen personally are preceded by an asterisk (*). This is followed by a description of the title-page or the complete title and the place(s) where a complete description and some additional information may be found. Only when the copy could not be studied elsewhere a more thorough description of the whole edition is added.

In the present list the numbering follows that of Dr. H. Cushing in the second edition of his *A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius* (Hamden - London: Archon books, 1962) and the numbering used by Elly Cockx-Indestege [between brackets] in her *Andreas Vesalius. A Belgian census: contribution towards a new edition of H.W. Cushing’s bibliography* ([Brussels]: Royal Library Albert I, 1994). For the newly discovered as well as for more recent editions I used an own number by extrapolation placed (between parentheses):

- no brackets: number assigned by Cushing;
- [ ... ]: number assigned by Elly Cockx-Indestege;
- ( ... ): own assigned number; caution: these numbers are subject to changes, in function of new founds.

Except when the item is a mere copy, at the end of each description the *condition* of it is, again for proper reasons, mentioned, adopting the following book condition definitions, based on those of the *Independent Online Booksellers Association* (IOBA):

- **FINE**: As new, mint, without faults or defects.
- **NEAR FINE**: a book approaching FINE (or AS NEW or MINT) but with a couple of very minor defects or faults, which are noted.
- **VERY GOOD**: A book showing some signs of wear. Any defects or faults are noted.
- **GOOD**: The average used book that is totally complete (as issued) and intact. Any defects are noted.
- **FAIR**: A worn book that has complete text pages (including those with maps or plates) but may lack endpapers, half-title-page, etc. Any defects or faults are noted.
- **POOR** or **READING COPY**: A book that is sufficiently worn so that its only merit is the complete text, which must be legible. Any missing maps or plates are noted. May be soiled, scuffed, stained, or spotted, and may have loose joints, hinges, pages, etc.
- **EX-LIBRARY**: Is always designated as such no matter which is the condition of the book.
- **BOOK CLUB**: Is always noted as such no matter what the condition of the book.
- **BINDING COPY**: A book in which the text block, including illustrations, is complete but the binding is lacking, or in such poor condition it is beyond realistic restoration efforts.
- **REMAINDER MARKS, BOOKPLATES, PREVIOUS OWNER'S NAME**: These faults are noted, if they apply.

Cushing did not list the non medical Vesalian letters, nor did Elly Cockx-Indestege. They are listed here in the chapters (XI, XII, etc.) using the chapter number and the date as the leading key.

M.B.
The Cushing numbering

The Cushing numbering (first edition 1943) is followed here. It goes back to de Feyfer (1914) and has some major characteristics as it is composed from different elements, each having a meaning. The basis is formed by the chronology of publication of Vesalius works. Moreover numberings are following consistently an order from lower to higher, leaving no gaps. ‘Interpolations’ are only possible by adding a next number joining an already existing one, but always exactly one ranking higher. Insertions *stricto sensu* are not possible, which leads at the end to a loss of chronology or to an ‘unexpected level’ of the numbering.

The Cushing number consists of the following elements:

- A leading Roman number, corresponding with a work of Vesalius in the chronology of its publication, and with the chapter in Cushing’s Vesalius bio-bibliography; this is always followed by a point and a dash. There is one exception: the editions concerning the *Fabrica* and its sequelae, \( \text{(VI.-)} \), where before the point there is a capital followed by a point. That capital corresponds with the type of work:
  
  - VI.A.- The Fabrica
  - VI.B.- The Epitome (differs from de Feyfer’s enumeration)
  - VI.C.- Geminus editions
  - VI.D.- Modified versions (other then Geminus)

- This is followed by an Arabic number indicating the edition (sometimes only a fragment) of the work. As said, here the chronology of publication could (and can) not always be respected. This Arabic number is replaced by a capital letter in the case of the *consilia*. (VIII.)

- Only for the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* a capital between brackets follows the Arabic number, but not so for the plagiaries: II.-1[A] for the *editio princeps*, and II.-2[B], II.-3[A], and II.-4[A] for the facsimile’s. But not for the *Plagiaries and counterfeits*, being II.-5 to II.48.

In the section *Corrigenda et addenda* of the second edition (1962) in several instances the Arabic number is followed by a small letter in the case of a new edition (facsimile, reproduction, a fragment, and a fragmentary or even a complete translation, such as VI.A.-6a), although several items of those categories do not recieve such an additional small letter (e.g. VI.A.-19, VI.B.-9, VII.-10). When Elly Cockx-Indestege wrote her *A Belgian Census* in 1994, she succeeded in continuing this numbering system in a remarkable accurate way, notwithstanding the fact that in the mean time there were many new publications of all sorts.

As this rather complex - and not always very consistent - Cushing numbering has been used, and still generally is, by scholars, antiquarians and auction houses, the system must remain intact, and new additions should be done with great care, respecting the rules mentioned. However this is becoming more and more difficult. Not only Cushing himself encountered already some
difficulties (p. 116), as inconsistencies such as VIII.A (p. 178) and VI.D.-18A (p. 140) were already visible. But since Elly Cockx-Indestege’s Census still many more publications were realised, including several facsimiles and complete translations of the Fabrica, both of the editions 1543 and 1555, making an already intricate matter still more complex.

In an attempt to prevent things becoming still more complicated or impossible to handle in the future, some new numbers attributed by myself in the previous editions of this Opera Vesalii for new editions of the Fabrica 1555 have been changed. The number VI.A.-3 still remains reserved for the Fabrica 1555, but a small letter has been added for all later editions of it. So:

(VI.A.-3a) is now reserved for VI.D.-7 the Fabrica 1555 in Boerhaave and Albinus 1724;
(VI.A.-3b) is now reserved for VI.D.-8 the Fabrica 1555 in Boerhaave and Albinus 1725;
(VI.A.-3c) is now reserved for VI.A.-6, a French fragment of the Fabrica 1555;
(VI.A.-3d) is now reserved for VI.A.-6a, the complete Russian translation of the Fabrica 1555.

etc.

As a consequence my previous (VI.A.-3a) became (VI.A.-3d), and (VI.A.-3b) became (VI.A.-3c).
I.
Paraphrasis


* I.-1 Editio princeps

Leuven, February 1537


Collation: 8°. A-O8; 106 leaves, [6] ll.; 100 x 131 mm.


Publisher’s binding: 100 x 131 x 12 mm.

Note: For a discussion see: Cushing (1962) p. 7. For the description a copy from the Uppsala University (Waller Collection) and the Universidad Complutense (Madrid) have been used. Today only nine copies of the *editio princeps* are known: 1. Leuven: University Library (lost in the fire during World War I); 2. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; 3. London: British Library; 4. London: Wellcome Library; 5. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, a copy which can be downloaded from the website of that library; 6. Paris: Bibliothèque interuniversitaire Santé (this is the variant copy with a letter to Rutgerus Giffeus); 7. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek; 8. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; 9. Yale: Yale University Library. The copy of the *Complutense* library (Madrid) can be consulted on-line.

Provenance: this is a photocopy from the Waller Collection (Uppsala) missing the letter *Candido lectore*. 
* (I.-1a) **Reprint of the copy in Madrid**  
Delhi (India), February 2018

In 2018 Amit Garg, operating for Gyan Books Pvt Ltd., Gyan Avenue 12 Pragati Market, Ashok Vihar, Phase-2, Delhi -110052, New Delhi, a company in India reproducing old prints on a print on demand basis (cs@gyanbooks.com), reproduced this edition of the *Paraphrasis*, using the copy of Universidad Complutense (Madrid), with the number ‘1372’ on the title-page. The reproduction of the 222 pages is on high quality paper, ‘re-sized to current standards’ in a sewing binding. Pages are 22 x 13,5 cm in contrast to the Waller-copy (Uppsala) where they measure 14,1 by 10,6 cm (Cushing p. 7). In a half leather binding, with on the rounded spine a golden printing of the title, Vesalius’s name and leaves, and with a total book price of 36.74 US dollar. Copies in complete leather are offered for 70 US dollar extra. This I.-1a is bearing the ISBN : 8888007001778.

Note: Before starting copying they send a message as they worried about the less satisfactory quality of the original print, adding some examples which came obviously from the copy of the Wellcome Library (London). They must have changed mind since they replaced it by a reprint of the better Madrid copy.

* (I.-1v) **Editio Princeps, variant with letter to R. Giffeus**  
Leuven, February 1537

The same as above but with Vesalius’s letter (2 pp.) to his friend Rutgerus Giffeus instead of the *Candido lectori*.


Provenance: can be found online in the collection of the BIUSanté (Paris).

* (I.-1v, a) **Variant of Editio Princeps**  
French translation  
Paris, 2014

This is an on-going translation. In July 2014 this translation by Jacqueline VONS and Stéphane VELUT (Tours, Université François Rabelais) concerned the letter to Nicolaus Florenas, the poem by Jodocus Velsius, and the Vesalius’s letter to Rutgerus Giffeus.

Note: The translation can be downloaded from the site of the *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé* of Paris (BIUSanté): <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/debut.htm>

* I.-2. **Second edition**  
Basel, March 1537

Title-page: [Ornamental leaf] *Para-/ phrasis in No-/ nm Librvm Rhazae medici Ara-/ bís Clariss. ad Regem Almansorem, de / affectuum singularum corporis par / tium curatione,
Andrea / Vvesalio Bruxellensis / si autore. / [Blank space] / Rerum ac verborum in hoc opere / memo- / rabilibium diligentissimus / Index. / Basileae [small ornament].

Colophon: Basileae in Officina / Roberti VWinter. / Anno / M.D.XXXXVII. / Mense Martio.

Collation: 8°. a²-b⁴ A-O⁸ P⁴, 128 leaves: pp. [24], 1-224, [8]; 165 x 110 mm.


Note: This second edition appeared hardly one month after the first one, presumably because / Vesalius was unhappy with the look of the first print. The dates in both on the title-page, of / the colophon and at the end of the dedicatory epistle and of the Candido lectori puzzled some / scholars (see Cushing). Last time in Leuven (on December, 18th 2013) at the lunch during a / meeting to prepare for the Vesalius-commemoration next year, Dr. Luc Missotten, who is / there an emeritus professor of the department of ophthalmology, had a possible and attractive / explanation. He supposed that Vesalius made his corrections for this second edition on a copy / of the first one, and, once arrived at Basel, gave the revised copy to Winter for the reprint. / Apart from the easy going, it signified an important gain of time and the surveyability was / preserved. So it was a normal thing that the dates from the first editions were taken over by / Winter, except for the one on the colophon that was put on Mense Martio, instead of Mense / Februar on the title-page of the first edition. We now know that Vesalius used this modus / operandi for the preparation of a never published third edition of his Fabrica by Oporinus. / His revised copy of the 1555 Fabrica, as a preparation for this edition, has been uncovered / later on.

For other descriptions see: Cushing p. 8 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 5.

Binding: 165 x 110 x 15 mm.

Provenance: this is a photocopy from the Royal Library (Brussels).


Title-page: [Ornamental leaf] Abvbetri Rha- / zae Maomethi, ob usum ex- / perientiamque / multiplicem, et ob certis- / simas ex demonstrationibus / logicis indicationes, ad omnes praeter / natu- / ram affectus, atque etiam propter remediorum uberrimam materiam, sum- / mi medici / opera exquisitiora, ... / per Gerardum Toletanum ... / Andream Vesalium ... / Albanum / Torinum ... latinitate donata ... / / collata & restaurata, sicut a medicinae candidatis intelli- / gi possint ... / Basileae In Officina / Henrichi Petri.

Colophon: Basileae per Henrichv Pe- / trvm Mense Martio, An- /no M.D.XLIII.

Contents (being part of Rhazes’s Opera exquisitiora): Liber IX for which the Paraphrasis of Vesalius is used occupies S3a-Z6a (pp. 209-275). Of these leaves, S3a-4a contain an index of chapters, the rest text. At the top of S4b (p. 212) occurs the heading "Abubetri Rha / zae Maomethi Scientia Peritiaque / insignis Medici ad regem Masorem liber nonus, / Andrea Vesalio Bruxellensi / Paraphraste.

Binding: 295 x 205 x 110 mm.

Note: Here Vesalius’s Paraphrasis is thus part of an edition with other works by Rhazes, with the translations of the other books of the Liber ad Almansorem by Rhazes by Gerardus from Cremona, followed by a translation of the tenth book by Thorer. Vesalius’s text of the ninth book starts on page 212.

For other descriptions see Cushing p. 8 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 6.

Provenance: this can be downloaded from the Complutense Library (Madrid). In this copy there is also the Liber de pestilentia, translated by Giorgio Valla.

(I.-3a) Third edition, facsimile Brussels, 1973

Contents: This is a complete re-issue in facsimile of the Basel edition of 1544.

Binding: large quarto with 590 pages, in green linen volume.

Note: This is an edition by Culture et Civilisation (Brussels) and it is not known from which original the copy was made. The publisher Culture et Civilisation was located at nr. 115 in the Avenue Gabriel Lebon in Brussels, but ended its activities for several decades.

We found specimens of that edition at the university of Salamanca and the university libraries of Bern, Würzburg and Erlangen-Nürnberg. There is a copy in the library of the Instituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana in Rome and in the Biblioteca di lettere e filosofia dell’Universita’ degli studi di Firenze. Also in the New York Academy of Medicine and in the Library of Congress in Washington, which has a book-plate of the Library of Congress, with stamps of the library and some remarks with a pincel.

This edition has not been mentioned by Elly Cockx-Indestege and is absent in the collections of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Royal Library) in Brussels (Belgium).

I.-4. Fourth edition Lyon, 1551

Title: Paraphrasis / in Nonum Librum / Rhazae medici Arabis Clariss. ad / Regem Almansorem, de affe- / ctuum singularum corporis par- / tium curatione, Andrea Vvesa- / lio Bruxellensi autore. / Rerum ac verborum in hoc opere me- / morabilium diligentissimus / Index. / [Printer’s device: Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris in two rolled up snakes] / Lvgdvni, / Apud Iloan. Tornaestium, & Gu- / lielmum Gazeium. / M.D.LI.

Collation: 16°. a-o⁸ P⁸. 120 leaves: pp. [1-2] 3-212, [28]; 125 x 85 mm
Contents: a1r: title-page as above. a1v: blank. a2r-4v: dedication to Florenas. o5r-o2v: the text proper. o3: *Candido lectore*. o4r-P8r: index. P8v: Velsius’s poem.

Binding: 125 x 85 x 30 mm

Note: Cushing (p. 9) mentions six copies: 1. in the *Royal College of Surgeons Library* in London; 2. the University Library of Leuven; 3. Cushings own copy, bound together with *Morborum internorum prope omnium curatio* by J. Dubois, 1544 (now in the *Yale University Library*); 4. the *Library of Dr. John F. Fulton* in the Historical Library of the Yale University School of Medicine in New Haven (Connecticut); 5. in the collection of Dr. LeRoy Crummer at the University of Michigan in Ann Harbor (Michigan); and 6. in the *Medical Society of the County of Kings and Academy of Medicine* in Brooklyn (New York).

Nowadays this I.-4 is no longer in Leuven. Presumably it went into the flames too, in 1914 or 1940. Leuven has not one edition of the *Paraphrasis* anymore. The *Bibliotheca Walleriana* (Uppsala) also owns a copy, presumably coming from Dr. Erik Waller. Further, there is a copy in the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*; one in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, in the *National Library of Medicine* in Bethesda (Maryland); in the library of the University of Iowa; in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*; the *Bibliothèque Universitaire Santé* in Lyon; the *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier*; the *Universitätsbibliothek Wien*; the *Universitätsbibliothek Basel*, and one in the Universiteitsbibliotheek of Barcelona. In Germany there is one in the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, the *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, and in the *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*.

Elly Cockx-Indestege (p. 7) found another two copies in Belgium: in the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek* in Brussels and in the University Library of Mons (Belgium).

I.-5.  Fifth edition  Wittenberg, 1586


Note: This 8° was prined by Crato (Krafft) and has 164 pp. At the end there is an extra index with the principal composed medicines, whose preparations are explained in the text.

Cushing mentions only his own copy, now in the *Yale University Library*, but there is another one in the *National Library of Medicine* in Bethesda (Maryland).

In Germany I found a copy in the *Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg*, one in the *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, and one in the *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*. Can be studied online in the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*.

Other description in Cushing p. 9.
Sixth edition

Wittenberg, 1592

Not seen.

Title: Paraphrasis, in nonum librum Rhazae, medici Arabis clariss. ad Regem Almansorem, de affectuum singularum corporis partium curatione, Andrea Wesalio. Rerum ac verborum in hoc opere memorabilium diligentissimus Index. Witeberga. Typis Zachariae. Lehmanni. 1592.

Note: This edition was not even seen by Cushing, who did not know the exact title. He referred to de Feyfer ‘and others’. He possibly meant F. van der Haeghen, who gave a short description. It is an 8°, and was a reprint, page by page, of the I.-5 by Zacharias Lehman, having 184 pp.

Cushing made mention of only one existing copy, in the Royal College of Surgeons Library in London, which could not be examined by him on account of the war. Now, it can not be found there, but there is one in the university library of Aberdeen. Another copy is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), and two in Germany: in the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz. See Cuhing pp. 9 and 227.

Except of the facsimile (I.-3a) from 1973, there is no new edition known of the Paraphrasis since 1592.
II.

Tabulae anatomicae sex

A description of the editions of the so-called *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (T.A.S.) can be found in Cushing (pp. 10-43 and 227-228) and in Elly Cockx-Indestege (pp. 9-34). See also Jacqueline VONS, ‘Un atlas anatomique à la Renaissance: Les *Tabulae anatomicae sex* d’André Vésale’ in *Microscoop*, 2010, 61: 14-15, ill.; and by the same author ‘Introduction aux *Tabulae anatomicae sex*’ in Jacqueline VONS, Stéphane VELUT, *La Fabrique de Vésale et autres textes. Editions, transcriptions et traductions*, Paris, BIU Santé, 2015, 6 pp.; see <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/pdf/tabsex.pdf> The plates are also online in: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tabulae_anatomicae_sex,_by_Vesalius](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tabulae_anatomicae_sex,_by_Vesalius)

The tabulae have no title, but they are called the *Tabulae anatomicae sex*, sometimes *Tabulae sex*. In the following list a capital letter A or B between brackets follows the Arabic number: II.-1[A] for the editio princeps in Venice and II.-2[B] for the original Stirling-Maxwell copy in Glasgow, also considered as an editio princeps. Cushing-numbers for the facsimiles of one of those are: II.-3[A], II.-4[A], II.-4[B]. As all subsequent editions are necessarily derived from II.-1[A] or from II.-2[B], directly or indirectly, I continued to add the appropriate suffix in case it was known from which original it was made, but adding [?] in case it was not known. This also clearly distinguishes those from the numbers for the Plagiaries and counterfeits, lacking the additional suffix [A] or [B], such as II.-5 to II.-48. Presumably Cushing attributed a different suffix to both copies of the editio princeps to distinguish the Venetian copy, with ‘Maistatis’ in the privilege on plate VI, from the one in Glasgow with ‘Maiestatis’, the corrected form, and therefore presumably a later print, the copy of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice being the first (older) one?

Another remarkable thing was noticed when comparing the reproduced plates of the Bremer Presse [A] with the plates in Singer & Rabin [B]. In the latter, at the top of all the plates an extra rule reads TABULA I, TABULA II, etc., to TABULA VI. Likewise at the right lower corner on each plate one can see a sequence number: I., II., etc. to VI. on the last plate. Both additions are completely lacking in the two editions of 1538, in the edition of 1934-35 by the Bremer Presse [A], and in the edition by Holl & Sudhoff, also an [A]. (see below)

To make things clearer I added the following table. It makes it possible to determine from which earlier edition a new one could be copied.
Caracteristics of the editions of the T.A.S.
(only complete sets of plates are included)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Page n° (bottom) (I. … VI)</th>
<th>Plate n° (on top) (TABULA I. … VI)</th>
<th>Maistatis – Maiestatis [A] [B]</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Venice [A]</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Manual annotations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow [B]</td>
<td>1538</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling Maxwell</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>only I, II, III, and VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idem - Paris</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holl &amp; Sudhoff</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Gray throughout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bremer Presse</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singer &amp; Rabin</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>No shading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saunders/O’Malley</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ternovski</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diable boiteux</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>No shading</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II.-1[A] Editio princeps in Venice

Venice, April 1538

Title: [Tabulae Anatomicae Sex] sometimes [Tabulae sex]


Collation: Folio max. Six separate sheets of watermarked paper printed on recto only, with colophon on shield of last table.

Note: Only one copy known: that of the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). For an extensive description of its contents see Cushing pp. 12-14.

Of the 1538-edition only two copies exist. This one, being [A], is kept in the Library of San Marco at Venice (Biblioteca Marciana) – now the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana - and it is bound together with an Epitome 1543 and with Anotazione anotomica delle due cavità, cioè spiritale, et naturale, con le parti della generatione della donna (Venetia, 1683). It was donated in 1790 to the library by Antonius Fantutius (Antonio Fantuzzi), medical doctor. The order of the plates has been disturbed: 4, 6, 5, 1, 2, 3 and 6bis; plate 6 being de last plate with the colophon inscribed, and plate 6bis with a blank colophon shield. As already told on the first bottom line of plate VI one can read MAISTATIS, whereas this is corrected into MAIESTATIS on the plate 6bis. This copy has contemporary manual annotations in Latin, best visible on the plates 5, 1, 2. There are no indications of any sequence number, nor at the top of the plates nor at their bottom (personal communication of the Biblioteca Marciana on 24.12.2015).
(II.-1[B]) Editio princeps in Glasgow

Venice, April 1538

Note: Only one copy known: that of the Hunterian Library (Glasgow).
The six plates can be consulted online in <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/anatomy/vesalius.html>
They are partially and slightly coloured by hand and the folds are visible (two times folded),
also shown in the reproduction of the first skeletal figure by Robrecht van HEE, ‘Iconography: basis of today’s anatomy images’ in IDEM (ed.), Art of Vesalius, Antwerp – Apeldoorn, Garant, 2014, pp. 73-95, ill.

In the second skeletal plate the last line on the ribs (left upper quadrant) is horizontally
split by a slightly curved blank line. This second copy or [B] of the editio princeps has at
the bottom of plate VI ‘MAIESTATIS’, a correction for ‘Maistatis’ in the [A] version, but the
error ‘prostrant’ in the shield remained unchanged. As in the [A] version there are no
sequence numbers of the plates nor of the folios.

It was once in the possession of Sir William Maxwell-Sterling and is kept in the
Hunterian Library in Glasgow. This second specimen of the editio princeps was facsimilated
by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell in London in 1874 as II.-2[B] and the original was donated
to the University of Glasgow Library in 1929 by his son Sir John Stirling-Maxwell. See
Also [KEYS, Thomas E.], ‘Osler, and the six anatomical tables’ in Bulletin of the Medical
Library Association, 1943, 31 (no. 3): vi, 201-202. The last one is an Editorial with a letter on
a reprint of Vesalius’s Tabulae Anatomicae Sex signed Wm. Osler and preceeded by a
photograph of Osler and L.F. Barker with the Sterling-Maxwell copy of the Tabulae; see
<www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC194228>


Title-page: On a reproduction (nat. size) of the engraved frontispice of the Fabrica, printed in
red: [Upper scroll] / Andreae Vesalii / Tabulae anatomicae sex. / [decorated line] / Six
Anatomical Tables of / Andrew Vesalius. / [lower scroll] / Venetiis / Imprimebat B. Vitalis,
Venetus, sumptibus / Ioannis Stephanis Calcarensis / M. D. XXXVIII. / [below frontispice]
/London: printed for Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. / M.D. CCC.LXXIV.

Collation: fol. 662 x 505 mm; 13 leaves: one with a letter and a book mark, the other 12
printed recto only.

Contents: Fol. 1: Letter, dated August 11th, 09 and signed Wm. Osler.
Fol. 2: Decorated border from J. Wiegel’s Trachtenbuch, Nürnberg, 1577, printed in red, and
showing Vesalius’s coat of arms (three weasels) above and his initials below.
Fol. 3: Title-page as above.
Fol. 4: Contents with notes; decorated rubans in red above and below, the lower one
containing the initials of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell and his coat of arms.
Fol. 5: Portrait of Vesalius, and his signature below it.
Fols. 6-7: Notice on Andrew Vesalius, with comments on his life and on the present edition,
and a partial translation of his letter to Oporinus, signed Keir, 31st October 1874.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

Fols. 8-13: The six anatomical tables in facsimile.

Publisher’s binding: large folio of 662 x 505 mm.

Note: Only 30 copies were printed as facsimiles for Sir William Stirling-Maxwell by Carl von Bouel: 1 on vellum, 1 on parchment and 28 on paper. For more details see Cushing p. 14 and the notice inside. Upon inspection and as already mentioned in the introduction something remarkable can be seen as all the plates show now a sequence number in the right lower corner (I. to VI.). There is also a top line with the plate number (TABULA I, etc.) visible in the online plates of the facsimile by Stirling-Maxwell in the Wellcome Library, except on the folios IV and V. See <http://catalogue.wellcomelibrary.org/record=b1003220> This is the first time that both additions are visible, but the reason why is not explained. At the bottom of plate six one reads the correction MAIESTATIS. See <http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/medica/resultats/index.php?do=livre&cote=02012> Remarquably the top line with TABULA I, etc. is nowhere visible in the copy of the BIU Santé-Paris: only the folio number at the bottom of the plates is. The reason why that top line is missing in the Paris-copy and in the folios IV and V of the Wellcome-copy seems enigmatic.

For earlier descriptions see Cushing pp. 14-15 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 11-12. In 2007 one of the 30 facsimiles was auctioned by Christie’s for an estimated price of $ 1.000 – 1.500. For a discussion see the auction catalogue issued by CHRISTIE’S (ed.). Anatomy as Art: The Dean Edell Collection, Friday 5 October 2007, New York, Christie’s, 2007, see lot 10 (no ill.). See also <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vesalius,_Tabulæ_anatomicae_sex_Wellcome_L0027171.jpg>

Photographs of the Stirling-Maxwell copy were published in William OSLER, The Old Humanities and the new Science, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, opposite to the titlepage, and in Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, between pp. xx and xxi.

Provenance: can be downloaded (in reduced size) of a copy from the site of the BIUSanté (Paris).

* II.-3[A] Tabulae Sex Facsimile Leipzig, 1920


Collation: 390 x 295 mm; 12 leaves.

Contents: 1: title as above. 2: table of contents and apologia. 3-4: Sudhoff’s Historical Introduction. 5-12: Holl’s scholarly description of the six tables, comparing Vesalius and Leonardo to the former’s disparagement. Plates 1-6 collotype facsimiles on recto only.

Publisher’s binding: 390 x 295 x 4 mm, hard covers in ochre, front cover printed with title-page in black lettering inside triple frame, spine in dark green linen.
Note: Description in Cushing p. 15. This is a copy of the first edition in the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). Review by Lewis S. Pilcher in Annals of Surgery, 1921, 73 (no. 3): 388-389. Here there are several manual annotations in Latin made on the plates I, II, III, and IV (none on the last two plates). There are no sequence numbers visible, not on top nor at the bottom of each plate, and the sixth has MAISTATIS at the bottom, elements pointing to an [A] print. They all have a rather dark gray back ground.

Condition: very good, front cover discolored and showing some signs of wear.

Provenance: bought from Boek & Glas in Alkmaar (the Netherlands) on April 11th, 2004, for 55.15 USD.

* II.-4[A] Tabulae Sex Facsimile New York – Munich, 1934

Title: Andreae Vesalii / tabulae anatomicae / ad editionem MDXXXVIII / simulatae.

Note: This is also a copy of the first edition in the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). It is part of the Icones anatomicae by the Bremer Presse (New York & Munich, 1934-35), with the subtitle Andreae / Vesalii / Bruxellensis / Icones / Anatomicae / [short horizontal line] / Ediderunt Academia / Medicinae Nova-EBora- / censis et Bibliotheca / Universitatis Monacensis / MCMXXXIV. See * VI.A.-16.

This is a full-size facsimile. For a description see Cushing p. 15, also in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 12. The manual annotations of the edition of Leipzig 1920 have disappeared. Here too there are no sequence numbers visible, not on top nor at the bottom of each plate. The sixth has MAISTATIS at the bottom, which points to a copy of the [A]-edition.

* II.-4[B]a Tabulae Sex Facsimile Cambridge, 1946


Publisher’s binding: 315 x 240 x 20 mm, indigo cloth, gold tooled title on the spine.
Note: A facsimile of the Tabulae made from the Stirling-Maxwell facsimile, see: II.-2[B]. Here the sheets are half-size. All of the six plates show both sequence numbers (top and bottom), and plate six has ‘Maiestatis’ at the bottom, pointing to a [B] print. The authors do not tell were or how those numbers originated, but specify in the preface that their plates come from a facsimile by Stirling-Maxwell in the Wellcome Library. Description in Cushing p. 227 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 13.

Condition: very good, wrappers somewhat damaged.

Provenance: unknown.

* (II.-5[?]) Tabulae Sex Reduced, incomplete New York, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.

Note: Later edition 1962 in Hamden (Connecticut) – London (England), Archon books, 1962: * (II.-5[?]a). Only the plates I and II are reproduced, see fig. 13 and 18. They do not show any plate and folio numbers but they have been cut off very closely, and it is not possible to conclude which original edition has been used. For a discussion and an English translation of the dedication to Narcissus Parthenopeus see pp. 12-13.

* (II.-6[A]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile Cleveland and New York, 1950
In: John Bertrand deC.M SAUNDERS, Charles Donald O'MALLEY, The illustrations from the works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, with annotations and translations, a discussion of the plates and their background, authorship, and influence, and a biographical sketch of Vesalius, Cleveland (Ohio) and New York, The World Publishing Company, 1950, 252 pp., 428 ill., see pp. 233-247.

Note: The authors do not specify from which of the two original copies their plates were copied. The plates themselves are on pp. 236-247. They are preceded by a introduction on pp. 233-235, containing an English translation of Vesalius’ dedication to Narcissus Parthenopeus. Those plates do not show any sequence numbers (nor on top, nor below) and on the last plate one reads ‘Maistatis’, characteristics of an [A]-edition, but here no annotations are visible.

There are several reprints:
New York, Gryphon editions, 1993: * (II.-6[A]b)
New York, Bonanza Books, distributed by Crown, 1982, with a foreword and different title The anatomical drawings of Andreas Vesalius: with annotations and translations, a discussion of the plates and their background, authorship, and influence, and a biographical sketch of Vesalius: * (II.-6[A]c)
Translated into Portugese by Pedro Carlos Piantino Lemos and Maria Cristina Vilhena Carnevale, São Paulo, Campinas, Imprensa Oficial do Estado e Ateliê Editorial - Editora da Unicamp, 2003: * (II.-6[A]d)
* (II.-7[A]) Tabulae Sex Reduced, incomplete Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: Only the plates I and VI of the tabulae are reproduced, see plate 17 and 18. Neither plate shows a number, not on top nor at the bottom, but they may be cut off to closely to prevent conclusions as to their origin. The sixth has a dark gray background (which can not be seen in the reproduced plate I) and MAISTATIS, corresponding to an [A] print.

* (II.-8[?]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile Madrid, 1970
In: José BARRON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: For a reproduction of the six plates and a discussion see chapter VI, pp. 59-79. The plates I, II, and VI (the last one being cut off at the top and bottom) show no plate number at the top nor a sequence number at the bottom, where one reads MAISTATIS. All three have a dark grey background, corresponding with an [A] print. But the other ones do show those numbers and also a small stamp with the letters ‘RF’ (République Française) at the centre, indicating a copy of the plates in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, as mentioned in their legend. The folio number below on plate V is missing or has been cut off.

* (II.-9[A]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile Moscow, 1974


Note: The six plates of the Tabulae sex are included on three unnumbered leaves starting with p. [89]: Шесть / Таблиц / 1538 года [The Tabulae sex 1538].

This edition of the Epitome in Russian was a translation by V.N. Ternovski and N. Sokolov, based on the original first edition of the Epitome (1543). In the introduction to the work the two original copies of the tabulae are mentioned, but not which of them was used for this edition. Neither the top lines with the plate number, nor the folio number at the bottom are present. As some plates clearly show the Latin annotations in a contemporary hand and MAISTATIS at the end, this corresponds with a copy of the Venetian print.

* (II.-10[?]) Tabulae Sex Reduced, incomplete Brussels, 1993
In: Hossam ELKHADEM, Jean-Paul HEERBRANT, Liliane WELLENS-DE DONDER, Nicole WALCH, Andreas Vesalius: experiment en onderwijs in de anatoom tijdens de 16de eeuw [Andreas Vesalius. Experiment and education in anatomy during the 16th century], Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1993, 180 pp., ill.
Note: Catalogue for the exhibition, the 5th Nov. - 5th Dec. 1993, in the Royal Library Albert I, at the 450th anniversary of the publication of Vesalius’s Fabrica. Only the plates I, II, III, and IV are reproduced, in a strongly reduced format on pp. 81-83, each with the sequence number at the lower right corner. The top lines (TABULA I, etc.) are absent. According to the legends plates I and IV are copied from the Sir William Stirling-Maxwell facsimile, whereas the plates II-III should be copied from the Bremer Presse, which cannot be the case because that edition misses the folio number of the plates at the bottom.

* (II.-11[B]) Tabulae Sex Reduced, incomplete London, 1999

Note: This is an illustrated discussion of the fugitive anatomical sheets out of Vesalius’s period, with numerous remarks on him and on his Tabulae anatomicae sex.

They are, according to the legends on pp. 39-44, copies of the edition by Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, but omitting plate III with the aorta and the arterial system. All this plates have the folio number at the bottom, but the legends for the plates I, II, and VI are problematic as they also have TABULA I, II or VI in their top line. They look as of having the same origine and on the bottom of plate VI one reads MAIESTATIS.

* (II.-12[B]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile Frankfurt am Main, 2006
In: Folker FICHTEL, Die anatomische Illustration in der frühen Neuzeit, Frankfurt am Main, Mabuse-Verlag, 2006, 415 pp., ill.

Note: For the six plates see 8.2 Der Beginn der anatomischen Abbildung bei Vesal: Die “Tabulae sex” (pp. 164-176), preceded by a discussion. These are copies from the Stirling-Maxwell facsimile, with both sequence numbers of the plates and folios, and MAIESTATIS.

* (II.-13[A]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile Saarbrücken, 2015

Note: The plates of the same edition as (II.-6[A]) were used by Marc Schmitt in vol. II of his thesis: Anhang mit den Abbildungen der Diplomarbeit. The Tabulae sex are reproduced as Abbildungen 5 to 10 on pp. 8-13. For a discussion of the plates see ‘3.1. Die Tabulae sex – ein früher Vorläufer der Fabrica’, vol. I, pp. 22-26. The legends specify that the plates of the edition by Saunders & O’Malley were copied.
* (II.-13[B]) Tabulae Sex Reduced facsimile, incomplete
Paris, [2016]

Note: also published in <http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/vesale>
Only plate VI on p. 55 is reproduced, with MAIESTATIS at the end.

* (II.-14[A]) Tabulae Sex Reduced, incomplete
Porto, 1943

Note: The text appeared also in Jornal do Médico, 1943, 3: nos. 58-59 [23 pp.]. Presented during a conference in de department of medicine, Porto, March 18th, 1943. The paper in the Arquivo contains 12 illustrations and 11 pages of notes which are not included in the Jornal do Médico. Contains only the skeletal figures, the last one showing MAIESTATIS at the bottom. Item added in 1962, under the supervision of O’Malley, to Cushing 1943 in chapter X as no. 601, but with date 1944 instead of 1943.

* (II.-15[B]) Tabulae Sex Reduced size
In: Marco CATANI, Stefano SANDRONE, Brain Renaissance From Vesalius to Modern Neuroscience, New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, 287 pp., ill.

Note: See p. 16-17 for a short discussion and a reproduction of the plates in small format. Plate no. VI shows (just visible) MAIESTATIS.

* (II.-16[B]) Tabulae Sex Reduced size
Madrid, 2014
In: José Miguel HERNÁNDEZ MANSILLA, La idea de hombre en Juan Valverde Amusco, Tesis Doctoral, Memoria para optar al grado de doctor, directores Miguel Ángel Sánchez González & Alfonso García Marqués, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Medicina, Departamento de Medicina Preventiva, Salud Publica e Historia de la Ciencia, Madrid, 2014, pp. 609, ill.

Note: For a discussion and a reproduction in reduced format of the Tabulae anatomicae sex see pp. 151-161. Plate I lacks the introductory letter to Narcissus Parthenopeus, which has been trimmed off Only the folio numbers I to V are visible. Plate VI shows MAIESTATIS at the bottom. See <http://eprints.ucm.es/30582/1/T36132.pdf>.

* (II.-17[B]) Tabulae Sex Large folio
[Paris, 1983]

Title-page: see II.-1.

Collation: 7 ff, large folio, c. 520 x 670 mm.
Contents: The six plates of the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* with an additional plate with Vesalius’ portrait showing a faint defect on the right upper border. Printed on the recto-sides only.

Notes: The plates have a folio number I., … VI. at the bottom, but no platenumber on top of the folios, and plate VI has MAIESTATIS, suggesting a facsimile of the Paris edition of the Sir Sterling-Maxwell edition, on heavy hand made paper with a watermark showing a stretched hand with extended thumb. The plates are in black and white only, without any shading that could suggest being a copy from a coloured original.

No place or date is mentioned in this edition itself, but according to the catalogue of the City Library of Lyon (France) it was edited by *Éditions du Diable boiteux* (Paris) in 1983. Other caracteristics pointing to that publishing house are that the ribbons are fastend to the covers in the same way as in the plagiary of Walter Ryff (II.-17a) and that in both editions the paper has the same watermark. Moreover the designs on the covers of both editions are worked out in a similar way. This publishing house was specialised in the reproduction of scientific works of the 16th century, and was at the times situated in the 11bis, rue du Colisée, 75008 in Paris. This editor was also active at another address (Paris, 31, rue de Lübeck), but not any longer now on either of them.

In February 2017 this vesalian lot was offered by the online auction house Interenchères (Nantes, France) with the description: “6 planches gravées folio de l’Anatomie de VESAL éd. Diable BOITEUX + planches gravées d’anatomie d’après GUALTHERY.” In this copy the front flap of the portfolio holding the sheets has, pasted on its inner side, a light blue vignette (c. 120 x 170 mm) with the weapon of a castle and Bibliothèque du Chateau / de Valençay beneath it. Inside the portfolio is a folded white card blind stamped on front with the weapon of the castle and inside in black lettering Avec les compliments des Éditions du Diable Boiteux, and at the back side it is blind stamped with Créations Fournier Paris. The whole went in a simple large enveloppe of brown paper with a handwritten address Docteur M. Hivot / 9, rue Saint-Louis / Saint Omentin en Manges / 49110 St. Pierre Montlimart and on the left of it A VESALE / à remettre à un / membre de sa / famille.

Remarkably the Chateau de Valençay, which was built under king Louis XII, and had a large library, was a property of Talleyrand, minister of Napoleon Bonaparte, and nick-named le diable boiteux. Apparently this copy was a gift of the editor with that same name to the castle.

There is a copy in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. Not in Elly Cockx-Indestege’s *Census*.

Publishers binding: In a large white portfolio with one extra flap below, c. 545 x 680 x 17 mm, decorated on the front and back with a folio large geometrical blind stamp. The outer border of both flaps has two leather ribbons (four in total). The leaves themselves are c. 520 x 670 mm. This is larger than the measures given by Cushing for the original copy in the San Marco Library (Venice). Those leaves, somewhat cut, measure 50.5 by 37.7 cm., he writes.

Provenance: This copy was bought for 140 euros as lot 287 on auction at Interenchères in Hôtel des Ventes Talma (Bertrand & Duflos) in Nantes (France) on 2 March 2017 (estimed value 30-50 euros). The fac simile edition (II.-17a) of Walter Ryff’s *Tabulae decem* in Latin and with a French translation, also by *Editions du diable boiteux* (Paris, 1983) was part of that lot too.

Condition: fine.
* (II.-18[A]) Tabulae Sex  complete  Antwerp-Amsterdam, 2017
In: Paul L.O. BROOS, 'Vesalius, het begin van de moderne wetenschap' [Vesalius, the beginning of Modern Science], in IDEM, Anatomia, de ontkapping van het menselijk lichaam in de Lage Landen (16de-18de eeuw), Antwerpen-Amsterdam, Davidsfonds uitgeverij, 2017, pp. 11-73, ill.

Notes: The plates with a discussion are on pp. 19-24. On p. 21 one finds a discussion on the representation of the arteries (plate 3). The skeletons are rendered full page, the three others in a lesser format. A copy the Royal Library of Brussels was used and the last plate has MAISTATIS. Most presumably this is a copy from their II.-4[A]. All the plates in this edition (not only those of the Tabuale sex) have an ochre background colour.

* (II.-19[?]) Tabulae sex  Reduced size, incomplete  Vicenza, 1976
In: Michelangelo MURARO, David ROSAND, Tiziano e la silografia veneziana del Cinquecento, Vicenza, 1976.


Only the three skeletons are shown on pp. 212-213, but the upper and lower lines are missing.
II.

Plagiaries and Counterfeits

In his letter to Oporinus (Venice, August 24, 1542) Vesalius complains of five plagiaries of his *Tabulae anatomicae sex*:
- Augsburg; the letter to Narcissus Parthenopeus is replaced by a text in German (see II.-8a);
- Cologne; plates are engraved less accurately; with addition of a plate on the nerves (Macrolius) (idem);
- Paris; only the ‘first three’ plates are present (the weak parts); by Chrestien Wechel (see there);
- Strasburg; the printer plagiated work of Fuchs too; plates colored, with the German text of Augsburg (see Walter Ryff);
- Another one ‘issued as the ones in Marburg and Frankfurt’ (see Dryander).


Plagiaries of the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* mentioned by Vesalius in his letter to Oporinus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year / Language</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Publisher (P) Author (A)</th>
<th>Engraver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>1539 + 1540 (&amp;) / Latin &amp; German</td>
<td>Jobst de Necker</td>
<td>Jobst de Necker (P)</td>
<td>St. Intemplaeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cologne</td>
<td>1539 (#) / Latin</td>
<td>L. Molendinus</td>
<td>E. Tappius (P)</td>
<td>H. Vogtherr (3 skeletons) ($)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>1543 / Latin</td>
<td>Chrestien Wechel</td>
<td>Chr. Wechel (P)</td>
<td>Not known ($) only weak parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strasburg</td>
<td>1541 / 2 sets: Latin and German</td>
<td>Balthasar Beck</td>
<td>Walter Ryff (P)</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marburg</td>
<td>1541 / Latin</td>
<td>Christian Egenolph</td>
<td>J. Dryander (A)</td>
<td>Not known (3 skeletons) (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurt</td>
<td>March 1542 / German</td>
<td>Christian Egenolph</td>
<td>J. Dryander (A) Plate II and III in one (£)</td>
<td>Hans Brosamer (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(&) There is an edition with 1539 in the shield, see II.-5. Second edition with blank shield in plate VI, according to Herman Liebaers in his Avant-propos in II.-6, II.-6a and II.-8a. Also Cushing figs. 16 and 17.

(#) The Macrolius plate in this edition has been published in the year after the Tabulae anatomicae sex (1538) according to Macrolius himself in a short introductory letter to the students.

($) The three plates with Vesalius’ own drawings (the vena porta, the venous system and the arteries) do not bear the monogram “V.H.”.

($) in Paris [1538] three plates appeared by Chrestien Wechel with the illustrations drawn by Vesalius himself completing the number of plates to six.

(%) One with the spleen and the reproductive organs of Vesalius’ plate I, and his plates IV and VI, but ‘atrociously copied’, as writes Cushing (Cushing p. 29 and II.-19 and fig. 28).

(*) Cushing fig. 29A.


* II.-5 Jobst de Necker Augsburg, June 1539

Title: Ain gar künstlichs, allen Leyb vnd Wundärzten, auch ander kunsten Lyebh- / bern, hochnutzlichs werck, in sechs Figur gebracht, mit Innhalt aller plütschlag vnd Flachssadern, sampt der gebaynen des gantzes Leybs, Vnd wie ain yedes seinen / vrsprung empfahe, vnd als ains aus dem andern volge, dem andern hilfs oder nacht hayle Bringe, Gar fleyssig vnd artlich Beschriben vnd anzaigt.

Note: The shield in the last skeletal figure has an imperial privilege and the date 1539. Thorough description and English translation of Zum Leser by Georges Schaltenbrand in Cushing p. 17-19.

A copy can be found on books.google:

<https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qafg2VuEiQyYD_dC072bX7-2taVgGrokrdYm33AkAmPfnTGvZYkCyW-3D49vDht2cljScHdgYG8fA0b_FW2Q7vw B6GMgIgiUPY4wv1dOA3sDe9VfshorzH7HCa52PDyN3r3cZcL778bNhkJRjD1PtmrM8FpaNy yrZnOKPY6onQz8H2G38PH5galOxhRC-Il4RvVr3RQDxXDAstAJJP_4M7mbt-i5ke70 wtwC-SiJciUSuouBPfsOfCekjN0kPsAAIgYDCcNFIudQgIKzyefCjnaAY0z3B02fhk S7V5yXC8uHIE> On the first skeleton it has some lines by Herodotus in Euterpe.

Jobst Denecker (Antwerp, 1485 – Augsburg, 1544) was also called Jost de Necker (Negker, Neller, or Diennecker). He grew up in the Netherlands but went c. 1508 to Augsburg. As an engraver he was a brilliant artist and he was the inventor of techniques such as multi-colour prints and the chiarosuro. He worked for emperor Maximilian. At an older age he became a publisher. He had a son David an engraver too.


* II.-6 Jobst de Necker  
No place, no date (ca. 1540)

Title: begins with ‘Ein…’ instead of ‘Ain’.

Note: In this copy the shadowing is not the same as in II.-5, the text above and beneath the figures and around the plates is arranged differently, and the shield in the last plate is blank. Description in Cushing p. 19 and in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 14-15, with a reproduction of the title-page. The preface to the reader is somewhat different than in II.-5 and has no date (see XIII-1540.??.??).

[II.-6a] Jobst de Necker  
Facsimile  
Brussels, 1965

Note: This facsimile by Culture & Civilisation, mentioned by Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 15, is incorporated (printed on the lift side page) into this facsimile edition together with the plagiary of Cologne with a seventh plate by A. Macrolios (II.8a) (printed on the right side).

Note: The plates are bound in place so that they can not be interchanged.

II.-7  Jobst de Necker  
Facsimile  
Munich, 1928

Title: Die anatomischen Tafeln / des Jost de Negker 1539 / mit 6 Tafeln und 2 Abbildungen im Tekst. Herausgegeben / von Geheimrat Professor Dr. Karl Sudhoff und / Museumsdirektor Professor Dr. Max Geisberg / [Rule] / Hugo Schmidt Verlag Munich.

Note: Description by Cushing pp. 19-20.

II.-8  Eberhard Tappe  
Latin  
Cologne, 1539

Caption title of first plate: Iecur sanguificationis officina, per venam portam, quae …

Preface: [small leaf] Omnis naturalium rerum et anatomeices / studiosis επιστήμων. [At the disposal of all the students of natural history and anatomy]

Colophon on plate with third skeleton: Imprimebat Coloniae Laurentius Molendinus sumptibus Eberhardi Tappii.

Notes: Description by Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 15-18 with reproduction of the first page with the preface and the last page with the colophon. 

Printed by Laurenz von der Mülen for Eberhard Tappe, the editor. Laurentius Molendinus is presumably Laurenz von der Mülen who was only found in Cologne in 1541. He had to leave the city in 1543 and went to Bonn where he became a printer.
The editor Eberhard Tappe (c. 1505 - 1541) from Lüneburg (Germany) is known as a humanist and a collector of proverbs. He lived in Cologne and died at a young age (see *Deutsche Biographie*, 1894).

In the preface to his students of anatomy and which is inserted on the right of the cranial nerves, Macrolius who was a professor at Cologne, mentioned Vesalius’ name (with double ‘v’); see also letter XIII-1539.???.M.

The text on the scroll at the bottom of the third skeleton gives a line from Horace: *Mors ultima linea rerum est*. The background of it is exceptionally flourishing and shows two birds.


Vitus Tritonius Athesinus claimed the rights for his *Liber collectaneorum*, as he named his Ms. of 1536 (Codex 11195 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek - Vienna), and he added a variant of the monogram: a broad letter ‘H’ superimposed on a more narrow ‘V’. In the three cited lexica the latter form is included for the name Heinrich Vogtherr too. There were two Heinrich Vogtherrs: the Older (° 1490) and the Younger (° 1513), father and son, both good painters and printer-editors. Heinrich Vogtherr the Older was the inventor of the technique of superimposed flaps on fugitive sheets (1539), a technique that Vesalius will adopt lateron in his *Fabrica* and *Epitome*. See Andrea Carlino, *Paper bodies: A Catalogue of Anatomical Fugitive Sheets 1538-1687*, (Medical History, Supplement No. 19), London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1999, pp. 74-103. See also Ludwig Choulant, *History and Bibliography of Anatomical Illustration*, Cambridge (MA): Maurizio Martino, [1917], pp. 158-159. Heinrich the Older plagiarized a wood-cut of Hans Lützelburger and a work of Leonard Fuchs *Alle Kranckheydt der Augen* in 1539. See A.F.C. Van Schevensteen, ‘À propos de traités d’ophthalmologie parus à Strasbourg au début du XVIe siècle’ in *Janus*, 1924, 28: 1-20.

Cushing (pp. 20-21) gives here only Vesalius’ table seven by Macrolius, titled: *AEgidius Macrolios Cerebrum animalis facultatis fons et principium, sensum voluntarium per nervos communicans ab se et dorsali medulla enatos universo corpori*. This is followed by an English translation of the explanatory note. It is clear from the paragraph preceding his description that Cushing never saw a copy of the seventh plate himself, which goes back to a statement of Vesalius in his *Venesection epistle*. Cushing took the description of Ludwig Choulant, *Geschichte und Bibliographie der Anatomischen Abbildung*, Leipzig: Rudolf Wiegel, 1852, pp. 186-189. The plate is reproduced by Huard and Imbault-Huart in the edition by Roger Dacosta (Paris, 1980), see planche 93 with an explanatory text on p. 248 and the plate itself on the next page.

Apart from the accompanying texts, a complete set of the plates can also be reproduced as follows:

- **plate 1 (liver):** Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 16 and Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 236;
- **plate 2 (vena cava):** Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 239;
- **plate 3 (aorta):** Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 241;
- **plate 4 (skeleton, front):** Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 243;
- **plate 5 (skeleton, side):** Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 245;
- **plate 6 (skeleton, back):** Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 17;
plate 7 (brain and nerves): Huard & Imbault-Huart p. 249. This is the Macrolius-plate of the cranial nerves and it is a more elaborate drawing of the sketch that Vitus Tritonius Athesinus made of \textit{n. trigeminus}, based on a drawing by Vesalius during his first dissection in Padua (dec. 1537). It was this plate by ‘a plagiarist from Cologne’ that made Vesalius complain of in his letter to Oporinus, where he writes of ‘an unhappy drawing of the nerves imitated from a quick and inaccurate sketch for some friend, waiting for a publication’. On p. 248 the authors give an analytic description of the Macrolius-plate.

The plates by Huard & Imbault-Huart are giving no title and the legends are translated in French. Their plate 6 (p. 247) comes from another plagiary (the stone with “V. H.” is missing and the inscribed letters for the index are to large in comparison with the original).

* [II.-8a] Tabulae anatomicae, facsimile of German and Latin plates Brussels, 1965


Collation: 408 x 292 mm. [18] leaves.


Publisher’s binding: dull orange-red wrappers, 410 x 395 mm, with title and imprint Andreas Vesalius / Bruxellensis / Tabulae / Anatomicae / [in scroll: Mors ultima linea rerum est. Hora] / Bruxelles / Culture et Civilisation / MCMLXV. In portfolio, 420 x 295 x 10 mm, orange-brown; on first cover, at the bottom to the right gold tooled ANDREAS / VESALIUS.

Note: Description by Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 18-19.

This edition combines the contents of II.-6 and II.-8. As far as known the copies of the seven plates of the plagiary of the Tabulae of Cologne with the Macrolius-plate and the copy of Augsburg in the Royal Library of Belgium are the only existing ones. The skeletons of the Cologne series show the typical initials ‘‘V.H.’’ (see II.-8).

The introduction by Dr. Andrée Deveen-Vandeweyer has a discussion of the outline of the third cranial nerves by Vitus Tritonius Athesinus and of the Macrolius-plate. She gives a French translation of the preface in the Cologne copy and also of preface in the Macrolius-plate. At the end she discusses the cranial nerves in that plate.

Condition: fine.
Provenance: bought via aLibris on May 10th, 2001, for 65.50 USD.

**II.-9. Walter Ryff, Anatomi**

Strasbourg, 1541

Title: *Des aller fürtreff- / lichsten, höchsten vnnd adelich - / sten gschöppfs aller Creaturen …

Das ist des menschen (oder dein selbst) warhaftige beschreibung oder Anatomii, seines / wunderbarlichen vrspringus … erstmals inn Teutsche sprach verfasset vnd an tag geben …

*Durch M. Gualtherum Hermenium Ryff, Argentinum, Medicum. … M.D. XLI.*

Note: Description by Cushing pp. 22-23. See also Anne GARNER, ‘Counterfeiting Bodies: Examining the Work of Walter Ryff’ in *nyamhistorymed*, posted on December 23, 2015, retrieved on February 21st 2016, in <http://nyamcenterforhistory.org/tag/andreas-vesalius/> 6 pp., ill.

*(II.-9a)* Walter Ryff, iconography

Munich, 2004


Note: The following 25 plates are reproduced (pp. [87]-[102]): pregnant uterus (ff 5v – 6r), skeletal figures (plagiaries of Vesalius, ff 8v, 10r, 11v), muscle man (f. 14v), sitting woman with exposed kidneys and internal sex organs (f. 17v), sitting male with venous system (f. 25v), sitting male with internal organs (f. 34r), and in reduced sizes: dissection of the brain (ff 64r, 65r, 66r, 67r, 68r, 69r, 70r), dissection of the skull (ff 71r and 72r), surgical instruments (ff 24v and 47r-48v).

**II.-10. Walter Ryff, Tabulae decem**

German

Strasbourg, 1541

Title: There is no title; the first sheet begins with: *Kurtze Vorred zü dem / güthertzigen Leser. / Durch Magistrum Gualtherum H. Ryff, / Argentinum Medicum.*

Notes: Description of the ten sheets by Cushing pp. 23-24, with reproduction of first sheet.

**II.-11. Walter Ryff, Tabulae decem**

Latin

Strasbourg, 1541

Title: First page: *Omnium humani / corporis partium descriptio seu ut / vocant Anatomia, in qua singula membra ad vivum, picturae linea- / mentis quam iustissime sunt expressa, in praesentes Ta- / bulas redacta opera & diligentia. / M. Gualtheri H. Ryff Argenti- / ni Medici.*

Note: description by Cushing p. 24.

*(II.-11a)* Walter Ryff Tabulae decem Latin, facsimile

Basel, 1954

Title: Part I (‘Facsimile’): *Omnium humani / corporis partium descriptio seu ut / vocant Anatomia, in qua singula membra ad uiiuum, picturae linea- / mentis que iustissime sunt expressa, in praesentes Ta- / bulas redacta opera & diligentia. / M. Gualtheri H. Ryff Argenti- / ni Medici.*

Collation: 2 parts. I. 344 x 227 mm, A-E², a-e². [20] leaves, printed on one side only. II. 300 x 210 mm. [6] leaves.


Contents: Part I: [A]: caption title; preface to the reader, followed by Membrorum communissima diuisio, a short enumeration of the members; the imprint. A-e: Haec prima figura viri ostendit interiora / membra seu viscera, the text proper.

Part II: Illustrated introduction to the facsimile-reprint.

Publisher’s binding: 344 x 227 x 9 mm, bound in gray-ochre coloured board. On the front cover: Omnium humani / corporis partium descriptio / M. Gualtheri H. Ryff / M. D. XLI. The Beilage is stitched.

Note: The facsimile contains nineteen full page woodcuts, the so called “Strasbourg” blocks by Balthasar Beck (Pistor). In the Beilage, a brochure of 12 unnumbered pages by Dr. Arnold Pfister (Basel), who states that the illustrations were by Hans Baldung Grien. Discussion by Cushing (1962) p. 227 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 19-20.

The three skeletal figures are to be considered as plagiaries of the Vesalian skeletons form the Tabulae sex. For a discussion see note in II.-27. The other plates are all different from the ones in Tagault.

Condition: very good.

Provenance: bought from Harteveld Rare Books Ltd. (Fribourg, Switzerland), February 10th, 2005, for 166.00 Swiss Francs.

[II.-11b] Walter Ryff Tabulae decem Latin Antwerp [1542]
Title: Omnium humani / corporis partium descriptio seu ut / vocant Anatomia, in qua singula membra ad uiuum, picturae linea- / mentis que iustissime sunt expressa, in praesentes Tá- / bulas redacta opera & diligentia. / M. Gualtheri H. Ryff / Argentini Medici.

Notes: Printed by Cornelius Bos in Antwerp in 1542. Description and reproduction of first page in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 21-22.

[II.-11c] Walter Ryff Tabulae decem French Antwerp [1542]
Rare. Short discussion in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 21.
II.-12 Walter Ryff Tabulae decem Latin Paris, 1545
Title: First page: Omnia humani corporis par- / tium descriptio seu ut vocant Anatomia, / In qua singula membra ad uium, picturae lineamentis que iustissime sunt ex- / pressa, in praesentes Tabulas redacta opera & diligentia. / M. gualtheri h. Ryff Ar- / gentini Medici.
Note: Imprint on first text page: Parisii. / Apud Hieronymum Gormontium, via Iacobea, sub trium Coronarum. / 1545.
Further description in Cushing p. 24-25.

II.-13 Walter Ryff Kleyner Chirurgi Strasbourg, 1542
Title: Die kleyner Chirurgi / D. Gualtheri H. Ryff / Das ist, der grund unnd kern gemeyner eynleyt- / tung der gantzen wundartney … M.D.XLII.
Note: Description in Cushing p. 25.

II.-14 Walter Ryff Kleiner Chirurgi Strasbourg, 1551
Title: Die kleiner Chirurgi / D. Gualtheri H. Ryff / Das ist, der grund und kern gemeyner eyn- / leyttung der gantzen wundartney, … M.D.LI.
Note: Description in Cushing p. 26.

*II.-15 Walter Ryff Anatomica Latin Paris, 1543
Note: Description in Cushing p. 26.
The copy of the Complutense Universidad (Madrid) can be downloaded from Google.books.

II.-16 Walter Ryff Anatomica French Paris, 1543
Notes: Cushing (p. 27) found the title in a catalogue of the British Museum but did not see the volume. Description and reproduction of title-page in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 22-23.
II.-17 Walter Ryff Anatomica Latin Paris, 1545

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 27 and in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 23-24.

Title: Same as in II.17.

Note: De luxe fac simile edition of the Paris edition of 1545, II.17, by Editions du diable boiteux, Paris, 1983, on hand made paper. Several folios have the same watermark as the edition (II.-17[B]) of that same editor.


In his note to the reader the translator comments on the technical terms giving problems in translating and he refers to the glossaire for help.

There is a copy in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. Not in Elly Cockx-Indestege’s Census.

Publishers binding: 15 x 265 x 337 mm. Hard covers ivory coloured and blind stamped with a mix of a geometrical and floral decoration. Each cover has two light green coloured braided ribbons, fixed in the same way as the edition (II.-17[B]).

Provenance: bought as part lot 287 on auction at Interenchères (Nantes, France) on March 2nd, 2017 for 140 euros, together with the edition edition (II.-17[B]).

Condition: fine.

* (II.-17b) Walter Ryff Tabulae decem Latin fac simile New York, 1985
Title: Same as in II.17.


Publishers binding: 12 x 216 x 310 mm; hard covers with black and white marbled paper. Inside front cover a light green vignette is pasted with the copy number (mine is 115), the title RYFF’S ANATOMICA, and the editor’s data. Spine in red artificial leather with ANATOMICA in golden lettering.
II.-18 Walter Ryff Anatomica French


Note: Description in Cushing p. 27-28.

II.-19 Dryander, Anatomia Mundini Marburg, 1541


Note: Description in Cushing pp. 29-30.

II.-20 Dryander, Artzenei Spiegel Frankfurt, 1542


Note: Description in Cushing pp. 30-31.

II.-21 Dryander, Artzenei Spiegel Frankfurt, 1547


Note: Description in Cushing p. 31.

II.-22 Dryander, Artzenei Spiegel Frankfurt, 1557

Notes: Description in Cuhing p. 32.

II.-23  Estienne, De dissectione  Latin  Paris, 1545

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 35-36 and in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 24-25.

II.-23a  Chrestien Wechel,  Tabulae tres  Paris [1538]
Title: Tabulae tres de anatomia venarum et arteriarum, quarum duae, venas iecoris continent. … [Subscript] Parisiiis apud Christianum Wechelum sub scuto basiliensi in vico Iacobaeo.

Notes: This is the ‘Paris offender’ of whom Vesalius writes in his letter to Oporinus. Description in Cushing, but not seen by him personally, p. 228. The plates are the ‘prioires tres’ as Vesalius called them in his preface to Narcissus Parthenopeus and in his letter to Oporinus, the ones he drew himself. See Sten Gabriel LINDBERG, ‘Chrestien Wechel and Vesalius: twelve unique medical broadsides from the sixteenth century’ in Lychnos, Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok 1953, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954, 50-74.

II.-24  Estienne, De dissectione  French  Paris, 1546

Note: Description in Cushing pp. 36-38 and in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 26.

Title-page: Charles Estienne / La dissection des parties du / corps humain / Réimpression de l’édiction parue en 1546 / chez Simon de Colines / [Blank field] / précédé d’une étude de / Pierre Huard / Professeur à la Faculté de Médecine de Paris / et / Mirko Drazen Grmek / Professeur à la Faculté de Médecine de Zagreb / L’oeuvre de Charles Estienne / et / l’Ecole Anatomique Parisienne / Préface de G. Cordier / Doyen de la Faculté de Médecine de Paris / Azoulay / Paris, 1972

Collation: 370 x 250 mm. 222 leaves: ll. [10], pp. [16], 1-405, [3].


Publisher’s binding: 370 x 250 x 53 mm; pale lilac-carmine leather, on both covers a fanfare pattern, gold tooled spine.

Note: not specified which original has been reproduced here. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 27.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Editions Azoulay (Paris).

II.-25 Kerver, Estienne woodcuts

Paris, 1557


Note: Description in Cushing p. 38-39.

II.-26 Kerver, Estienne woodcuts

Paris, 1575


Note: Description in Cushing p. 39.

* II.-27 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione

Paris, 1543


Note: Folio, 421 pp. Description in Cushing pp. 41-42. See books.google.

Cushing points to the large success of this work of Tagault and lists 22 different editions between 1543 and 1645, but there are more. The first edition has ten pages with plates: a wound-man (p. 143) and a scene on the battle-field, taken from Hans von Gersdorff’s Feldtbuch der Wundartzney (Strasburg, 1519), demonstrating the extraction of a bullet (p. 144), ten surgical instruments also from Gershoff (pp. 153-156), a glossocomium after the description in Galenus’ De Usu Partium (p. 342) and three skeletal figures (pp. 354-355). These skeletal plates are very clumsy renderings in mirror image of the drawings by Johann...
Stefan van Calcar in the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (1538) as the were also depicted (plagiarized) in the editions by Walter Ryff. The letters to reference are the same too. In this first edition of Tagault they are printed on another kind of paper than the rest of the book and they are not mentioned in the text. These illustrations are also included in the other editions, but they are not completely identical however, having been redrawn, resulting in smaller or more striking differences, especially in the figure of the bullet extraction. They are mostly smaller and again in a mirror image. The result is that the skeletal figures resemble more to those in the *Tabulae anatomicae sex*. Their execution is also much better and the proportions are more correct resulting in a more human aspect, whereas in the first edition they had an ape-like appearance. In the later editions the legends are on separate pages.

For a comprehensive study of Jean Tagault and his works and whether he was the plagiarist of Vesalius’s *Tabulae anatomicae* or not, see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, Theodoor GODDEERIS, ‘Jean Tagault (c. 1486-1546), professor heelkunde in Parijs, plagiator van Vesalius’ *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (1538)?’ [Jean Tagault (c. 1486-1546), Professor of Surgery in Paris, Plagiarist of Vesalius’s *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (1538)?] In *Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 2017, 10: 7-63, ill. Many later editions. [http://www.brepolsonline.net/doi/pdf/10.1484/J.IMA.5.114681]

But the so-called Paris offender, as Cushing called him, is now definitely known as Chrestien Wechel.

**II.-28** Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* 
*Venice, 1544*
Title-page: *Ioannis Tagaultii Ambiani Vimaci, Parisiensis medici, De Chirurgica / institutione li- / bri quinque, iam denuo accura / tius recogniti, ac a mendis ple- / risque vindicati. / His accessit sextus liber de materia chirurgi- / ca, authore Iacobo Hollerio Stempano, me- / dico Parisiens. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis. / Ex officina Erasmiana apud Vincentium / Vaugris prope horologium Divi Marci. / M. D. XLIIII.*

Notes: Octavo; description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 28, and short notice in Cushing p. 42.

**II.-29** Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* 
*Lyon, 1547*

Notes: Octavo; description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 29, and short notice in Cushing p. 42.

**II.-30** Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* 
*Venice, 1549*
Title-page: *Ioannis / Tagaultii / Ambiani Vimaci, / Parisiensis medici, De / Chirurgica / institutio- / ne libri quinque. / His accessit sextus liber de Materia chirur- / gica, authore Iacobo Hollerio Stem- / pano, medico Parisiensi, una / cum Indice copiosisimo. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis / Ex officina Erasmiana, / Vincentii Valgrisi. / M. D. XLIX.*

Notes: Octavo; description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 30-31, and short notice in Cushing p. 42.
* II.-31 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione French Lyon, 1549

Note: 732 pp., 8°. Short mention in Cushing p. 42. (Durling 4304; Waller 9447)
In six books, the sixth being by Jacques Houllier and translated by Siméon de Provanchères. See books.google.

II.-32 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Italian Venice, 1550
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Venice, 1550.

II.-33 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Zurich, 1555
Title-page: not seen.


II.-34 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Dutch Antwerp, 1557
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Antwerp, 1557.
Not seen by Cushing either. Possibly the same as II.-35.

II.-35 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Dutch Antwerp [1599]
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: [A. Birckman], Antwerp, [1559], folio.

* II.-36 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Latin Lyon, 1560
Title-page: Ioan. / Tagautii / Ambiani Vimaci, / Parisiensis / medici, / De Chirurgica / institutione libri quinque. / His accessit sextus liber de Materia chirurgica, / authore Iacobo Hollerio Stempano, / medico Parisiensi. / [Printer’s device] / Lugduni, / Apud Guliel. Rovillium, / [rule] / M. D. LX.

Note: Octavo; description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 31-32; short mention with location in Cushing p. 42. See books.google.

II.-37 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Lyon, 1567
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Lyon, G. Roville, 1567, octavo.

[II.-37a] Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Dutch Antwerp, 1567?
Title-page: Der Chirurgyen / instructie oft onderechtinghe / D. Ioannis Tagaultii Doctoor der Medecynen / binnen Parijs, in vijf boecken gedeelt. / Waer by geuoecht is tsee ste boeck tracterende van de ma- / tere der Chirurgyen, beschreven deur den ghe- / leerden D. Iacobus Holerius van Estampes. / Nu eerst wten Latyne int Nederduyts overgheset deur Lam- / brecht van Tuylt Medecijn ende Prelecteur der Chirurgien / binnen der vermaerder coopstadt van Antwerpen. / [Printer’s device, with 1567.] / Tantwerpen, / By Ian van Waesberghe woonende op onser Vrouwen / Kerckhoff inden Schilt van Vlaenderen. / Met Gratie ende Privilegie.

Note: Waesberge’s printer’s mark is dated ‘1567’, but the printing permission is dated from Brussels February 8th, 1559. Not in Cushing. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 32-34.

* II.-38 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Italian Venice, 1570

Note: Octavo, 413 pp.; short mention in Cushing p. 42. See books.google.

II.-39 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione German Frankfurt, 1574
Title-page: not seen.


II.-40 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione French B. Honorat, Lyon, 1580
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Lyon, B. Honorat, 1580, octavo.

II.-41 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione French E. Michel, Lyon, 1580
Title-page: not seen.

Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Lyon, E. Michel, 1580, octavo.

II.-42 Tagault, De chirurgica institutione Italian Venice, 1607
Title-page: not seen.

II.-43 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* Frankfurt, 1610
Title-page: not seen.
Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Frankfurt, N. Hoffmann, 1610, folio; [in Uffenbach, *Thesaurus chirurgiae*.]

II.-44 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* French Paris, 1618
Title-page: not seen.
Not seen by Cushing either.

II.-45 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* Dutch Dordrecht, 1621
Title-page: not seen.
Not seen by Cushing either.

II.-46 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* French Paris, 1629
Title-page: not seen.

II.-47 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* French Paris, 1645
Title-page: not seen.
Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Paris, 1645, but not seen by him either.

II.-48 Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* French Rouen, 1645
Title-page: not seen.
Note: short mention in Cushing p. 42: Rouen, D. Loudet, 1645, octavo.

* (II.-49) Tagault, *De chirurgica institutione* Italian Venice, 1596

Note: 413 pp., ill., 15 cm. See books.google. (Durling 4308; Eimas 190)
Pierre Franco, Traité des hernies


Note: The three skeletons are on the pages 537, 539 and 542, and are accompanied with an explanation of the indices (pp. 535-543) and the statement that they are taken from Tagault. They were indeed used by him for his editions of 1547, 1549, and 1560 and still later for the edition of 1567 and 1580. They have their right hand up and are merely mentioned by Cushing (p. 40). For a discussion see Robrecht van Hee, ‘The Influence of Vesalius’ Fabrica on Surgery in the 16th and 17th century’ in Vesalius – Journal of the International Society for the History of Medicine, Special Issue, Proceedings of A Tribute to Andreas Vesalius Padua, Italy – December 2015, Guest Editors: Giorgio Zanchin & Robrecht Van Hee, 2016, 22 (no. 1): 8-28, ill.

Pierre Franco (1500/05 – 1578) was a French surgeon from Turriers in the Haute-Provence. He moved to Switzerland but returned later to France in Orange. He does not mention Vesalius’ name. This work can be consulted online.
III.

Joannes Guinterius
Institutiones anatomicae
revised

A description of the different editions with a copy of the title-pages, may be found in Cushing pp. 44-51 and in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 35-38. Cushing mentions six editions by Vesalius (one not seen by him) and five by Johann Guenther von Andernach himself (see p. 47).

III.-1  Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae       Venice, 1538
Title-page: Institutionum / Anatomicarum se- / cundum Galeni sen- / tentiam ad candidatos
Medicinae / Libri Quatuor, per Ioannem / Guinterium Anderna- / cum Medicum. / Ab Andrea
Vvesalio Bru- / xellensi, auctiores & emendatiores reddit. / [Printer’s device] / Venetijs in
Officina D. Bernardini / [rule] / M D XXXVIII.

Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 47-48.

In one copy of this edition Vesalius made himself around 250 changes; see Vivian NUTTON, ‘More Vesalian Second Thoughts. The Annotations to the Institutiones anatomicae secundum Galeni sententiam, 1538’ in Gesnerus, 2015, 72: 94-116, ill.; and (III.-7).

III.-2  Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae       Venice, [1540?]
Title-page: Institutionum / Anatomicarum / secundum Galeni / sententiam ad candidatos Me /
dicinae Libri Quatuor, / per Ioannem Guin / terium Ander / nacum Me / dicum. / Ab Andrea
Vvesalio / Bruxellensi, auctiores & emen- / datiories reddit. / [Cat-and-mouse device of the
printer Sessa] / Venetiis.

Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 48-49.

* III.-3  Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae       Padua, 1550
Title-page: [Ornament] Insti- / [ornament] tutionum / anatomicarum / secundum Galeni sen- /
tentiam ad candidatos Medicinae Libri / Quatuor, per Ioannem Guinte- / rium Andernacum
Me / dicam. / [Printer’s device] / Patavii / Iacobus Fabrianus Excudebat / M D L.

Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 49-50. Can be consulted in books google.
* III.-4 Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae [Wittenberg] 1585
Title-page: Institutionum / anatomica- / rum secundum / Galeni sententiam ad / candidatos Medicinae Libri Quatuor, / per Ioannem Guinterium Ander- / nacum Medicum. / Ab Andrea VVesalio / Bruxellensi, auctiores & / emendatiores redditi. / [human skull] / Anno CIƆ. IƆ. XXCV.

Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 50-51 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 37-38. A copy can be studied online in books google and at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

III.-5 Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae Wittenberg, 1613
Title-page: Institutionum / Anatomicarum, / Secundum Galeni / Sententiam, ad candida- / tos Medicinae, Libri Quatuor, per Johan- / nem Guinterium Andernar- / cum medicum, editi, / Ab / Andrea Vesalio / Bruxellensi auctores facti, / Quartum nunc emendatiores re- / cognit. / [Printer’s device] / Wittebergae, / Impensis Samuelis Selfischii, Bibliopolae / M. DC XIII.

Note: For a description see Cushing p. 51.

III.-6 Guenther, Institutiones anatomicae Wittenberg, 1616
Title-page: not seen.

Note: For a short note, merely refering to a citation by Eloy and a sales offer by Herissant, see Cushing pp. 47 and 51.


Note: The English translation is on pp. 59-165, the preliminary pages being a study of the Institutiones anatomicae and a discussion of Vesalius as an author and as an anatomist.

The exhibition in 2014 of Vesalius’s own annotated copy of the 1538 Institutiones, owned by Dr. Stuart Rose, at the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library of the University of Toronto, was for Vivian Nutton the starting point for analysing the annotations made by Vesalius himself and for translating for the first time the whole work into English.
IV.
Epistola docens
venam secandam

For a description of this so-called *Venesection Epistle* or *Bloodletting letter* see Cushing pp. 52–72 and 228 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 39-42.

Vesalius was convinced, on anatomical grounds, that a venesection in the case of pleurisy or dolor lateralis, should always be performed at the right arm. Not all his colleagues did agree. For a recent discussion see Jacqueline VONS. ‘André Vésale et la *Lettre sur la saignée* (1539): entre polémique privée et controverse scientifique’ in Elisabeth GAVOILLE & François GUILLAUMONT (ed.), *Conflits et polémiques dans l’épistolaire*, Collection “Perspectives littéraires”, [Tours], Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2015, pp. 397-408. See also Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, ‘Amatus Lusitanus (1511-1568) versus Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564)’ (in preparation for *Cahiers* 2019). See further *Cura phlegmonis* chapter X.App.II.

Antiquarian *Sophia Rare Books*, København, offered in 2017 a rare complete copy for 150,000 US dollar. They give a good discussion of it; see <https://www.sophiararebooks.com/pages/books/4001/andreas-vesalius/epistola-docens-venam-axillarem-dextri-cubiti-in-dolore-laterali-secandam-melancholium-soccum/?soldItem=true>

### IV.-1 Venesection Epistle Editio princeps Basel, 1539
Title-page: *Andree / Vesalii Bruxellensis, / Scholae Medicorum Patavinae / professoris publici, Epistola, docens venam / axillarem dextri cubiti in dolore laterali secandam: & melancholicum succum ex venae / portae ramis ad sedem pertinen- / tibus, purgari. / Basileae.*

Notes: Written in the form of a letter to his friend and mentor Nicolaus Florenas, Imperial Physician, who has encouraged him to study medicine. Description of this edition by Robert Winter in Cushing p. 58 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 41.

### IV.-2 Venesection Epistle [Venice], 1544

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 58 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 42.
F.M.G. de Feyfer in *Die Schriften des Andeas Vesalius*, Leijd, E.J. Brill, 1914, mentions de Trinido from Montferrat as the publisher: *Apud Cominum De Trinido Montisferrati Anno 1544.*

* IV.-3  Venesection Epistle  Latin/Dutch  Amsterdam, 1930  
Title in elaborate woodcut border: *Opuscula selecta / Neerlandicorum / de arte medica / Fasciculus Octavus / quem / Curatores Miscellaneorum / quae vocantur / Nederlandsch Tijdschrift / voor Geneeskunde / collegerunt et ediderunt / Amstelodami / Sumptibus Societatis. / MCMXXX / [in shield]: Vesalius / Lommius / Forestus.*


Collation: 254 x 167 mm, 174 leaves: 8°, lxvii, 314 pp.

Contents: [i]: half title as above. [ii]: blank. [iii]: title as above. [iv]: blank. [v]: sub-title of volume. [vi]-ix: preface to volume in Dutch and English by G. van Rijnberk. x: blank. Inserted sheet with on r°: title-page of *Fabrica* (1555). v°: plate from *Epistola docens.* xi: half-title as above. xii-xxxii: Dr. van Andel’s preface to Epistola docens in Dutch and English on facing pages. 1-75: text of the Venesection Epistle in Latin and Dutch on facing pages.

Publisher’s binding: 254 x 167 x 41 mm, 173 leaves, green hard covers blind tooled, spine with title, volume number, and year in gold lettering.

Condition: good, first and last pages foxed.

Provenance: bought from *Boek & Glas* in Alkmaar (the Netherlands) on June 20th, 2004 for 39.73 USD.

IV.-4  Bloodletting Letter  English  New York, 1941  

Note: Description in Cushing p. 228 with comments on the following editions.
* (IV.-4a) Bloodletting Letter English New York, Schuman, [1947]

Collation: 237 x 158 mm, 47 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 237 x 158 x 11 mm, gray-blue linen covers, in gold lettering on spine: Saunders & O’Malley: Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis: The Bloodletting Letter of 1539.

Note: For a discussion of this Venesection epistle see Cushing (1962) pp. [52]-62. This annotated translation was announced by Dr. H. Cushing on p. 58 of his Vesalius biobibliography: see remark at the end of chapter IV.-2. See Google Books too.

Condition: very good: very slight discoloration of spine, dusty edges.

Provenance: bought 175.00 USD from aLibris on November 25 th, 2001.

* (IV.-4b) Bloodletting Letter English London, Heinemann [1948]

Collation: 228 x 152 mm, 48 leaves.

Contents: [1] title-page as above. [2]-94: same as IV.-4a. [95]: blank. [96]: barcode and below: Printed in Great Britain / by Amazon.co.uk, Ltd., / Marston Gate.

Publisher’s binding: 228 x 152 x 6 mm, licht yellow paper covers, with reproduction of title-page without the word ‘Editors’ and ‘London’ and the addition of ‘Limited edition’ in black lettering.

Note: Mentioned by Cushing on p. 228. Published by Wm. Heinemann Medical Books, Ltd., [1948], London, U.K. There is a recent reproduction (2014?) for Amazon of the original Heinemann edition.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from aazbook for 44,35 euros on December, 2014.
V.
Contribution to the 
Opera Galeni

The editions with Vesalius’s contributions to the *Opera Galeni*, published by Giunta (Venice) are described in Cushing pp. 63-71, and in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 43-52. But Cushing refers also to M. Roth, to his *Appendix IX*, pp. 458-460, who gives an analysis of these editions too, and he translates Roth’s pages in English on pp. 67-69.

Cushing himself numbers the first edition with ‘V.-1’ (p. 65), an edition which he resumes on p. 67 with the simple no. ‘1.’ … continuing to ‘14.’ for the Lyon edition. It is therefore a strange thing that he used the no. ‘V.-2’ for the Lyon edition of Galen’s *De ossibus ad tyrones*. This is probably the reason why Durling attributed the no. ‘V.1-1’ to the first Giunta edition (ECI p. 43). This may explain perhaps why Elly Cockx-Indestege also numbered this series as ‘V.-1.n’. To make things not more intricate than needed I adopt the numberings attributed by her.

V.-1.1 (= Cushing V.-1) Galen, Opera omnia  
Venice, 1541-42


Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 66-67. For the exact numbering see intro.

V.-1.2 Galen, Opera omnia  
Venice, Giunta, 1550

Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.
*V.-1.3 Galen, Opera omnia

Venice, Giunta, 1556

Title: Galeni / omnia quae extant / in latinum sermonem / conversa. / Quibus post summam
antea adhibitam diligentiam / multum nunc quoque splendoris accessit, quod / loca
quamplurima ex emendatorum exemplarium graecorum collatione et illustrata / fuerint &
castigata. / Ex tertia Iuntarum editione. / Venetiis MDLVI.

Collation: Folio: 375 x 265 x 62 mm. 351 leaves: ll. [8], pp. [16], 1-682, [2].

Contains: In Prima Classis:
[pp. 55v-59v:] Galeni de venarum arteriarumque dissectione liber ab Antonio Fortolo
Ioseriensi latinitate donatus. Post Andreae Vessalii Bruxellensis castigationem, plerisque in
locis antiquissimi exemplaris graece ope, recognitus.
[pp. 63r-105v:] Galeni de anatomicis administrationibus libri novem ab Joanne Andernaco
latinitate donati. Et post diligentissimam Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis & aliorum quoque
castigationes, plurimis in locis correcti.

Note: The latter contains seven handwritten notes in the right margin of p. 63.
His third contribution Galeni de nervorum dissectione liber ab Antonio Fortolo Ioseriensi
latinitate donatus, et ab Andrea Wesalio Bruxellensi aliquot in locis recognitus is here
replaced by [53r-55r]: Galeni de nervorum dissectione ad tyrones liber integer, Augustino
Gadaldino Mutinensi interprete. Liber hic in graecis exemplaribus impressis corruptus ac
mutilus legitur. Mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

Condition: very good, some wear of covers.

Provenance: bought from L’Art Médical (Amsterdam) for 975 guilders (Catalogue 41).

V.-1.4 Galen, Opera omnia

Venice, Giunta, 1565

Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.5 Galen, Opera omnia

Venice, Giunta, 1576

Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.6 Galen, Opera omnia

Venice, Giunta, 1586

Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.
V.-1.7  Galen, Opera omnia  Venice, Giunta, 1597  

Note: Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 45-46, mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.8  Galen, Opera omnia  Venice, Giunta, 1600  
Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.9  Galen, Opera omnia  Venice, Giunta, 1609  
Title-page: not seen.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.10  Galen, Opera omnia  Venice, Giunta, 1625  

Note: Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 47-48; mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.11  Galen, Opera omnia  Basel, Froben, 1542  
Title-page: Omnia / [small leaf] / Cl. Galeni Pergameni / ni summi in arte medica viri opera / quotquot apud Graecos in hunc usque diem extiterunt / … / Duplex praeterea adiectus est index totius operis, … / Elenchum Librorum totius operis, mox a Praeatione reperies. / Fro [Printer’s device] ben / Basileae M D XLII.

Note: Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 48-49; mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.12  Galen, Opera omnia  Basel, Froben, 1549  
Title-page: According to Elly Cockx-Indestege there is no general title-page, and Vesalius is not named as editor.

Note: Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege 50-51; mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-1.13  Galen, Opera omnia  Basel, Froben, 1562  
Title-page: Cl. / Galeni / Pergameni / omnia, quae extant, / in Latinum sermo- / nem conversa. / Quibus post summam antea adhibitam / diligentiam, multum nunc quoque splendoris accessit, quod lo- / ca quamplurima ex emendatorum exemplarium / collatione &
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illustrata fuerint & castigata. / … / Ex III. Officin. Frobenianae Editione. / [Printer’s device] / M. D. LXII.

Note: mere mention in Cushing p. 67, title-page fig. forty-nine.

V.-1.14  Galen, Opera omnia  Lyon, Frellon, 1548-1551
Title-page: Cl. Galeni / Pergameni, / omnia / Tum quae antehac extabant , tum / quae nunc
primum inventa sunt, / Opera / In Latinam linguam conversa: innumeris pene lo- / cis, ex
Graecorum exemplarium collatione, fideli- / ter emendata, & suae integritati restituta. / … /
[Printer’s device] / Lugduni, / Apud Ioannem Frellonium, / M D L.

Note: Description by Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 51-52; mere mention in Cushing p. 67.

V.-2  Galen, De ossibus  Lyon, 1551
Title-page: Galenus / de ossibus / ad tyrones / * / De {Nervorum, / Musculorum, / Venarum &
arteriarum, Vocalium instrumentorum, / Vulvae,} / Dissectio / ne libri. / De motu Musculorum

Note: Description in Cushing pp. 71-72.
VI.

The Fabrica and its sequelae

There are many descriptions and discussions of the Fabrica and the Epitome, in the first place by Vesalius’ biographers Roth, Cushing and O’Malley and Burggraeve, but also by Elly Cockx-Indestege and many others. See Cushing pp. 73-153 and 229-235, and Elly Cockx-Indestege on pp. 53-123; see also the index of the section bibliography in <www.andreasvesalius.be>.

VI.A.

The Fabrica

(1543, 1552, 1555, etc., and major fragments)


VI.A.-1 Fabrica 1543, editio princeps

Basel, June 1543


Notes: For descriptions of this first edition by Johannes Oporinus see Cushing pp. 79-88 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 55-57.

A coloured copy can be downloaded from e-rara (Swiss):
VI.A.-1a  Fabrica 1543, facsimile  [Leipzig, 1943]
Title-page: not seen.

Note: as there is – as far as is known - only one complete copy left, here I give the comments, taken from Cushing p. 229:

“The Verlag K. F. Koehler’s Antiquarium at Leipzig had produced a facsimile of the first edition of the Fabrica to mark the 400th anniversary of its appearance, and the sheets were folded and ready to be sewn when the war made it imperative to move the stock to safety. Unfortunately the storehouse where it was placed was subsequently looted and everything disappeared. Prof. Dr. Curt Elze who was to have written an introduction to the facsimile had received two sets of the sheets and from these he was able to put together one complete copy after his laboratory had been seriously bombed. This copy is now [1962] in the Yale Historical Medical Library. (See J.F.F[ulton]’s note, “A unique copy of the ‘Fabrica’ of Vesalius” in J. Hist. Med., 1953, 8, 219-220.)”

* [VI.A.-1b]  Fabrica 1543, facsimile  Brussels, 1964
Title-page: [Upper scroll in frontispiece:] Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, scholae / medicorum Patavinae professoris, de / Humani corporis fabrica / Libri septem / Cum Caesareae / Mæst. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti gra- / tia & privilegio, ut in diplomatis eorumdem continetur. / [bottom:] Basileae.


Collation: 420 x 285 mm, 357 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 420 x 285 x 65 mm, brown imitation leather with on the spine in gold lettering André / Vésale / De Humani / Corporis / Fabrica.

Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno (Haasrode, Belgium) also owns such a copy. It has no sequence number (the other series with the ochre colored binding does). He bought his copy from the auction of the books of Dr. Lieven Spyckerelle by Vandewiele (Brugge, Belgium). Lieven Spyckerelle bought it from the no longer existing bookshop Roeland in the Ooststraat in Roeselare (Belgium).

Some copies have a binding in light ocre imitation leather: see (VI.A.-1b’).

Note: facsimile of the 1543 edition, made after one of the two copies at the Royal Library (Brussels). This is copy no. 721. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 57.

As a subscription action by the Royal Academies of Medicine of Belgium (Brussels) a Limited Subscription Offer of 8 pages was issued consisting of Marcel FLORKIN, ‘Vesalius’s Contribution to Science’ in Limited Subscription Offer, Brussels, Culture et Civilisation,
[1963 ?], pages [3] and [6], giving a short overview of the pre-vesalian anatomy, accompanied with 5 page large illustrations taken from the *Fabrica 1543* and on page [2] an introductory note by Prof. Dr. C. Heymans, announcing the new publication, the last page being an invitation for subscription, the work being offered for 37$.

Condition: Front cover with large black streaks (presumably from another print); otherwise very good.

Provenance: Bought on August 19th 2016 from Thomas Hughes 35 Rapp Road, Fleetwood (USA) for 150,00 USD.

* (VI.A.-1b’)  *Fabrica 1543, facsimile  Brussels, 1964*

The same as [VI.A.-1b] above and as described by Elly Cockx-Indestege (p. 57), but with another binding.


Collation: 420 x 285 mm, 357 leaves.

Contents: same as above.

Publisher’s binding: 420 x 285 x 65 mm, light ochre imitation leather, with two bordeaux leather labels on spine, gold tooled: *De Humani Corporis Fabrica/Andreas Vesalius/ Basileae 1543*.

Note: facsimile of the 1543 edition, made after one of the two copies at the Royal Library (Brussels). This is copy no. 1678.

Condition: very good. Slight signs of rubbing at back-cover and upper rim of front-cover; edges somewhat dusty.

Provenance: unknown, bought for 3.000 bef. (Price at subscription was 1800 bef.)

[VI.A.-1c]  *Fabrica 1543, facsimile  Brussel, 1970*

Title-page: as above.

Note: Edited by *Culture et Civilisation* in their series *Medicinae historia: Opus istud denuo impressum est Bruxellis in collectaneis "Medicinae historia", 1970*. Edition mentioned by Elly Cockx-Indestege between parentheses on p. 57. Some copies were in full leather Grolier binding, sold at 7.600 bef.

Edited at the same time with the manuscript in Spanish translation of the Latin text of the *Epitome* by Valverde (edited by Jacques Grévin and dated *Antverpiae quarto Calendas maijae. a°. 1576*, see [VI.D.-47]). In that year their letters were signed *Medicinae Historia Edition Culture et Civilisation*. In the space of only six years *Culture et Civilisation* edited two facsimiles of the *Fabrica 1543*: [VI.A.-1b] and this [VI.A.-1c].
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The Central University Library of Leuven has a copy of it, and also the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België.

* [VI.A.-1d] Fabrica 1543, facsimile Nieuwendijk, 1975

Title-page: same as VI.A.-1b.

Collation: 425 x 288 mm, 357 leaves.

Contents: same as VI.A.-1b.

Publisher’s binding: 425 x 288 x 70 mm, Burgundy leather spine and corners, six raised spine bands. Gold tooled spine title Andreas Vesalius / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica and at bottom: 1543 in a turquoise field. Green with red stone marbled paper over boards. In slipcase which has red paper over the spine, and the same marbled paper front and rear.

The separate Japanese string-bound brochure is as large as the book, with covers illustrated with the Adam and Eve from the Epitome and 15 pages of text with Vesalius’s biography by G.A. Lindeboom, followed by the list of subscribers.


Contents of the brochure: 1: caption title as above and beginning of text. 2-14: rest of the text with bibliography. 15-23: list of subscribers.

Note: Facsimile of the 1543 edition; not known after which copy the facsimile has been made. Alfagen (Leuven) acquired a copy in 2012 at the antiquary shop ‘De Slegte’ in Amsterdam for 250 euros. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 58.

On June 17th 2015 a copy of this edition was donated in Haasrode by Omer Steeno, Theodoor Goddeeris and myself (nicknamed by him Cerberus) to Theo Dirix, consul of Belgium in Athens, for his part in the organisation and the great success of Vesalius Continuum at Zakynthos in September 2014.

Condition: good: slight signs of rubbing at cover rims; edges somewhat dusty, especially the pages of book one; pages 87-90 foxed; brown spot on left margin of p. 174, visible on p. 173, but not affecting text/plate. My working piece.

Provenance: bought from de Forel, Nieuwendijk (the Netherlands) in 1975.

* (VI.A.-1e) Fabrica 1543, on CD Palo Alto (CA), 1998

Title-page: Of front folder: Medicine / The Warlock Library / Andreas Vesalius De Humani Corporis Fabrica / Basel, 1543 / Octavo.


Imprint: *Octavo Corporation / 394 University Avenue / Palo Alto CA 94301-1715 USA.*


Publisher’s binding: Cassette with 2 CD’s, front-folder and back-sheet.

Note: 2-disc set with complete copy of VI.A.-1. Unknown after which copy this was made.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Amazon.com in Seattle (WA) on August 25th, 2000 for 80.95 USD.

* (VI.A.-1f) Fabrica 1543, reduced facsimile Paris/Torino, 2001


Collation: 297 x 210 mm; 723 pp.


Publisher’s binding: 297 x 210 x 57 mm; black cloth covers with title-page in gold lettering. On the spine also in gold lettering: *Les Belles Lettres / Nino Aragno Editore / De Humani
Corporis Fabrica / Andreas Vesalius. Dark grey wrappers with title-page in white lettering and small reproduction of the frontispiece of the Fabrica in the center.

Note: somewhat reduced facsimile reproduction of the 1543 Fabrica with a 46 pp. preface by Jackie Pigraud including a bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius. The size-reduction resulted in an compression of the text on pages 2r - 12; text on other pages has normal proportions.

Condition: very good, slight signs of rubbing at wrapper rims.

Provenance: bought from Fnac in Aubervilliers (France) on June 26th, 2003, for 116,93 euros.

* (VI.A.-1g ff) Fabrica 1543, English translation, 5 Vols.; San Francisco (CA), 1998-1999; Novato (CA), 2001-2009


Vol. II: ... / Book II / The Ligaments and Muscles / ...
Vol. III: ... / Book III / The Veins and Arteries / Book IV / The Nerves ...
Vol. IV: ... / Book V / The Organs of Nutrition and Generation / ...
Vol. V: ... / Book VI / The Heart and Associated Organs / Book VII / The Brain / ...

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typefaces from Monotype Typography Ltd. / Final text was output straight from disk to film by Thomson-Shore. / Twenty-six copies lettered A through Z and signed by the translators, designer, binder, publisher, and managing director were bound in Nigerian goatskin by Green / Dragon Bindery, Inc., of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. / Three copies numbered I-III were bound in designer bindings by Michael Wilcox / of Toronto. / Members of the staff at Norman Publishing who participated in this project were / Jeremy M. Norman, Publisher, and Martha Nicholson Steel, Managing Editor. / The edition was completed in December 1997.

Vol. II: ... in March 1999.

Vol. III: ... were printed by Friesens Corporations of Altona, Manitoba Canada, on acid-free, /... set in Pagemaker 6.5 by Paul Benkman of ... from disk to film by Friesens. / ... Members of the staff at Norman Publishing who participated in this project were / Justin E. Aff, Editorial Assistant; Jeremy M. Norman, Publisher; and Martha Nicholson Steel, Managing Editor. / The edition was completed in March 2002.

Vol. IV: One thousand copies of this work / were printed by Friesens ... / The book was designed by Steve Renick. The text was typeset by Lapiz Digital / using Bembo and Centaur typefaces from Monotype Typography Ltd. / Twenty-six copies lettered A through Z and signed by the translators, anatomist, / designer, binder, publisher, and managing director were bound in Nigerian goatskin / by Green Dragon Bindery, Inc., of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts. / Members of the staff at Norman Publishing who participated in this project were / Jeremy M. Norman, Publisher, and Diana Hook. / The edition was completed in November 2007.

Vol. V: One thousand copies of this work / were printed by Friesens ... / ... / The edition was completed in January 2009.

Collation: Volume I: 312 x 234 mm. 244 leaves.

Vol. II: ... 264 leaves.

Vol. III: ...162 leaves.

Vol. IV: ...144 leaves.

Vol. V: ... 218 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: Volume I: 312 x 234 x 46 mm. Hard covers in black cloth, front cover at bottom with gold tooled Vesalius’s weapon with the three weasels, spine in gold lettering Vesalius / On the fabric of / the human body / I / Norman. Wrappers in red shiny paper printed with part of the title-page of the 1543 Fabrica and, in a black rectangle, the title-page in white lettering.

Vol. II: 312 x 234 x 48 mm. ...., spine in gold lettering Vesalius / On the fabric of / the human body / II / Norman. Wrappers in ochre shiny paper printed ....

Vol. III: 312 x 234 x 33 mm. ...., spine in gold lettering Vesalius / On the fabric of / the human body / III / Norman. Wrappers in purple shiny paper printed ....

Vol. IV: 312 x 234 x 30 mm. ...., spine in gold lettering Vesalius / On the fabric of / the human body / IV / Norman. Wrappers in orange-red shiny paper printed ....

Vol. V: 312 x 234 x 40 mm. ...., spine in gold lettering Vesalius / On the fabric of / the human body / V / Norman. Wrappers in pistache shiny paper printed ....

Note: For a discussion on this translation by the Richardson and Carman see RICHARDSON, William Frank, John Burd CARMAN. ‘On translating Vesalius’ in Medical History, 1994, 38: 281-302 or <www.pubmedcentral.gov/picrender.fcgi?tool=pmcentrez&blobtype=pdf&artid=1036882>

Condition: fine.

Vol. IV: bought from Jeremy Norman & Co., Inc. Antiquarian in Novato (CA) on August 1st, 2008, for 312.00 USD.
Vol. V: bought from Jeremy Norman & Co., Inc. Antiquarian in Novato (CA) on April 24th, 2009, for 317.00 USD.

* (VI.A.-1g ff') Fabrica 1543, English translation, 5 Vols. San Francisco (CA), 1998
Second - de luxe – copies were edited.
Volume I:

Publisher’s binding: Volume I: 323 x 240 x 56 mm. Hand bound in Nigerian goatskin at the Green Dragon Bindery, Inc., using hand-marbled end papers created especially for this edition by Richard J. Wolfe, and signed by the translators, the binder, the publisher, and the managing director. Black front cover at bottom with gold tooled Vesalius’s weapon with the three weasels, spine in gold lettering Vesalius On the fabric of / the human body I, gold edges. Slipcase in red shiny paper printed with part of the title-page of the 1543 Fabrica and, in a black rectangle, the title-page in white lettering.

Note: Limited to 26 copies with this type of binding, lettered A through Z. This is copy B. Twenty-six copies of the other volumes were also bound in this way.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Norman Publishing on December, 2nd, 1998, for 1250.00 USD.

* (VI.A.-1h)   Book I    Dutch   [Roeselare, 2012]


Note: The Dutch translation was started in september 1975 and finished in september 2012, over a period with two spelling-reforms (in 1996 and 2006).

Prof. em. Dr. Luc Missotten (Alfagen) undertook the task of publishing this translation as a the luxe edition at the occasion of the Vesalius commemoration of 2014 in the Anatomical theatre in Leuven, in order to give visitors the possibility to compare its contents with that of a facsimile of the original Fabrica.

Condition: only as a type-writing and as a pdf-file in <www.andreasvesalius.be>

Provenance: own translation.
* (VI.A.-1i)  Fabrica 1543, facsimile  Norwalk (Ct), 2013

Title-page: same as [VI.A.-1b].

Imprint: first flyleaf r°: [within frame]: Easton Press Deluxe Limited Edition / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica / by / Andreae Vesalii / A re-creation of the 1543 edition / including all the original illustrations / Classic Laid Natural text paper by / Neenah Paper, Neenah, Wisconsin / Cowhide leather imported from Italy by / Cortine leathers of New York, New York / Lithography by Ambrose Printing, / Nashville, Tennessee / This edition is strictly / limited to a quantity of 400 copies / of which this is number / [number, underlined] / [editors initials] / the Easton Press / Norwalk, Connecticut. v°: [at bottom]: The special contents of this edition are copyright © 2013 by / Easton Press (MBI, Inc.), Norwalk, Connecticut. / This book is printed on archival quality paper especially milled for this / edition. It is acid-neutral and conforms to all guidelines established for / permanence and durability by the Council of Library / Resources and the / American National Standards Institute. / Printed and bound in the United States of America.

Collation: 415 x 283 mm, 357 leaves.

Contents: same as [VI.A.-1b].

Publisher’s binding: 415 x 283 x 66 mm, full dark brown cowhide leather stamped on the front cover with a frame with a golden chain on a bordeaux background, and within in gold lettering De Humani / Corporis Fabrica, above a reproduction of the first skeletal figure, also in gold. On the spine: two framed chain strokes, as on the front cover, [on bordeaux background]: De Humani / Corporis / Fabrica, three chain strokes, [on bordeaux background]: Andreae / Vesalii, [line in gold] / MDXLIII, another two chain strokes, the first of which shows the printer’s initials. The leaf edges are gilt. On back cover the same frame with golden chain as on the front. In a slipcase in dark brown linen with the same imprint on the front and the back as on the front cover.

Note: facsimile of the 1543 edition. It is not known after which original the facsimile has been made. This is copy no. 64.

This facsimile goes with 1° a separate sheet imprinted with: [within frame]: Easton Press Deluxe Limited Edition / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica / by / Andreae Vesalii / A re-creation of the 1543 edition / including all the original illustrations / This edition is strictly / limited to a quantity of 400 copies / of which this is number / [number, underlined] / [editors initials] / the Easton Press / Norwalk, Connecticut.

2° a folded sheet, paged i-iv, with an introductory comment to Vesalius and his Fabrica, by Katharine Park, Andreas Vesalius / De Humani Corporis Fabrica / Basel, 1543, and a discussion of the Historiated initials as in her contribution in <anatomiaitaliana.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/About_Fabrica_Web2.pdf>

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought on 14th August 2014 for 750 US$ from Maria Zayed, Vaquero Books (Santa Clara, CA).


Collation: Volume 1: 435 x 328 mm; 408 leaves. Volume 2: 435 x 328 mm; 360 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: Volume I: 435 x 328 x 75 mm. The front, back and spine in white linen printed in ochre with text from the Fabrica in enlarged lettering and, on the front in green the upper half of the skeleton no. 3 (from book I), on the back of the muscle man no. 10 (from book II), and on the spine in green lettering: A. Vesalius / The Fabric / of the / Human Body / D.H. Garrison / M.H. Hast / 1 / Karger.

Volume II: 435 x 328 x 69 mm. The front, back and spine in white linen printed in ochre with text from the Fabrica in enlarged lettering and, on the front in green the upper half of the vena cava (from book III), on the back of the second plate of book IV, and on the spine in green lettering: A. Vesalius / The Fabric / of the / Human Body / D.H. Garrison / M.H. Hast / 2 / Karger.

In slipcase of plexi: 450 x 335 x 170 mm.

Note: This work weighs 19 kgs in total and even each separate volume is especially hard to handle. The (rather restricted) bibliography of volume 1 is repeated in volume 2, but there is neither an index nor a register. The ‘translation’ of the Fabrica 1555 consists here merely of annotations in the translation of the Fabrica 1543 on the places where it deviates from the
latter. This is the very first translation comparing both the 1543 and 1555 editions. Also Vesalius’s own annotations made in the so-called ‘Toronto Fabrica 1555’ (now - in 2015 - on deposit at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in University of Toronto) are included. In the colophon the translators claim to be the first to recreate Vesalius’s masterpiece in a way that is understandable to readers who do not have any knowledge of Latin, but the Fabrica 1555 has been translated into Russian by Ternovsky (2 volumes, 1950-1954), and into Spanish by Avelino Dominguez Garcia (1937-2011) and Florentino Fernandez Gonzalez; Richardson and Carman translated the first edition of 1543 into English [San Francisco / Novato (CA)] Jeremy Norman, 1997-2009]. Nowadays Jacqueline Vons and Stéphane Velut (Université François Rabelais – Tours) are translating the Fabrica 1543 into French: in October 2016 books I and VII had been finished.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Karger (Basel, Switzerland) via ACCO (Leuven) on October, 31st, 2013, for 890,00 euros.

*(VI.A.-1j’) Fabrica 1543, English translation, sample pages Basel, 2014*


Imprint and Colophon: [on gray ochre label]: Sample pages / [editor’s logo] / Published by Karger for the / Vesalius Year 2014 / Please ask for details and take a leaflet / www.vesalius-fabrica.com / www.karger.com / CXX + 1338 p., 340 fig., in two volumes, / hard cover, with slipcase / 315 x 435 mm - 12 x 17”, 16 kg – 35 lbs.

Collation: 380 x 310 mm; 24 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 380 x 310 x 4 mm. The title-page (above) constitutes the front cover, whereas the back cover is [xlviii], paper of both in ivory color. Spine is blank.

Note: Beautiful appetizer for the ‘real’ two volumes work.

Condition: fine.
Provenance: gift from Karger (Basel, Switzerland) in Zakynthos (Greece) on September, 6th, 2014, during the international congress Vesalius Continuum.

* (VI.A.-1j’’) Fabrica 1543, English translation, review copy Basel, 2014


Collation: 380 x 310 mm; 68 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 380 x 310 x 13 mm. The title-page (above) constitutes the front cover, with upper part of the second skeletal figure, whereas the back cover [cxxx] gives an enlarged fragment of the tenth muscle man, upper part, and the colophon as above. Spine is blank, except for a large yellow-ochre lettering running through both of the covers also.

Note: Beautiful Review Copy of the ‘real’ two volumes work.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: gift from Karger (Basel, Switzerland) in Zakynthos (Greece) on September, 6th, 2014, during the international congress Vesalius Continuum.

* (VI.A.-1k) Fabrica 1543, Book I Dutch Leuven, 2014
Title-page: [On a copy of the title-page of the Fabrica 1543:] Andreas Vesalius / Bruxellensis, school / medische Faculteit Geneeskunde van Padua, / de Bouw van het menselijk lichaam / Zeven boeken/ [Below:] Met de gunst en het privilege / van Zijne Keizerlijke Majestait de Koning van Frankrijk en de / Senaet van Venetië, om onder hun bescherming te blijven. / Bazel.
Collation: 427 x 300 mm; 92 leaves.

Contents: [i-ii]: blank. [iii]: Colophon as below. [iv]: blank. [v]: Title-page as above. [vi]: blank. [vii-xii]: Tot de goddelijke Karel / de vijfde, de grootste en onoverwinnelijke / Keizer, Andreas Vesalius’ voorwoord bij de boeken over de bouw van het menselijk lichaam, the Preface in Dutch, followed on p. [xii] by: De drukker tot de lezer. [xiii-xiv]: Johannes Oporinus / Professor Griekse letteren Basel / mijn beste vriend, Dutch translation of the Epistola. [xv]: blank. [xvi]: Vesalius’s portrait. [1]-168: Andreas Vesalius / Bruxellensis, De Bouw van het Mense- / lijk lichaam, eerste boek, gewijd aan de / lichaamsdelen die het ganse / lichaam rechthouden en ondersteunen waardoor alles verstevigd wordt en aaneenblijft, the text proper of the Dutch translation, with the plates.


Publisher’s binding: 427 x 300 x 30 mm; folio edition in full artificial leather-binding, on Conquerer paper Vellum wove, type Times New Roman. Small label of the book binder Amival in Turnhout (Belgium) pasted on the under right corner of the inside of the back cover.

Note: This edition used the translation of (VI.A.-1h). My copy is no. 2. Copy no. 1 was handed over by Prof. em. Dr. Luc Missotten, treasurer of the Alumni van de Faculteit Geneeskunde (Alfagen), to Rik Torfs, rector magnificus of the University of Leuven on the occasion of the renewed inauguration of the Anatomical Theatre in Leuven, on May 15th, 2014. Only 24 copies were realised for this edition, of which only 20 were for sale at 360 euros. Copy no. 4 is in the possession of Dr. Clement Agten, no. 5 of Henk Van Nieuwenhove (Artsenkraant), no. 6 of Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno, and no. 20 of Dr. Alex Vanden Berghe. Prof. Dr. Philippe Van Hootegem (KU Leuven) has a copy too. There is also a number ‘0’ in the possession of Alfagen, which was exhibited together with a facsimile of the Fabrica 1543 to be consulted by the public during the exhibition at the Anatomical Theatre (Minderbroedersstraat, Leuven) from October, 1st, 2014 to September, 6th, 2015.

The contents of this Dutch translation are the same as in (VI.A.-1h), with only some minor changes of the opening pages. At the moment this is the only bibliographical edition following the same lay-out as in the original Fabrica 1543.

On July 22nd, 2014, all copies were sold, and, as a second print, another twenty six copies were already published, which show three changes: the omission of an ‘a’ in ‘initiatief’ was corrected for, a rule ‘Tweede druk’ was added, and the mention of ‘Exemplaar n°…’ has been deleted as those copies are not numbered. Two copies of this second print were given by the translator to his daughter Evelyne (copy 0028) and to his son Bernard (copy 0029), with a personal handwritten dedication on the first fly-leaf. During the commemorating 500. Geburtsstag von Vesalius on May 19th 2015 in Vienna another copy was donated by Prof. Jos Goffin, dean of the faculty of medicine in Leuven, to Willem Van de Voorde, the Belgian Ambassador there.
Condition: fine

Provenance: personal gift, handed by Prof. em. Dr. Luc Missotten, treasurer of Alfagen, at the same occasion as mentioned above.

Title: La Fabrique de Vésale et autres textes. Éditions, transcriptions et traductions par Jacqueline Vons et Stéphane Velut.

Notes: This is an on-going very first translation in French.


The next following volume will be book II (on the muscles).

There is no intention to publish this translation on paper, but it can be downloaded from the site of the Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé of Paris (BIUSanté): <www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/?e=1&p1=01001&a1=f&c1=1&v1=00302_1543x01>

(VI.A.-1m) Fabrica 1543, facsimile Mexico, 2011
Not seen.

Contents: facsimile of the Fabrica 1543, according to the documentary messages accompanying that edition.

Note: This facsimile was realized after the original copy of a copy of the Fabrica 1543 in the Biblioteca Palafoxiana, founded by bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza in 1646 in Puebla (Puebla, Mexico) and through a cooperation between the Mexican Government, the Mexican Academy of Surgery and Banamex, a foundation for cultural development. In a coordination between Candida Fernandez de Calderon (Fomento Cultural Banamex, CA) and José Antonio Carrasco Rojas and Alejandro Reyes Fuentes (Academia Mexicana de Cirugía) 1.000 copies were edited in 2011. It has been distributed to 400 universities in Latin America by the Banamex foundation. The University of Veracruz has five copies. There were no copies for sale. See Manuel RAMIRO HERNÁNDEZ, ‘Andreae Vesalii De Humani Corporis Fabrica Facsimilár México, 2011’ in Medicina Interna de México, 2012, 28 (no. 5): 536-537.
For a discussion of the source copy see Stephanie Kirk, ‘Vesalius in Mexico’ in IDEM, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and the Gender Politics of Knowledge in Colonial Mexico, London and New York, Routledge, 2016, p. 118.

Publisher’s binding: Orange-red hard covers and spine. In a white square on the front cover and in black lettering De Humani / Corporis Fabrica, / Libri Septem / [followed in lilac lettering by] / Andrés Vesalio / [beneath collaborators logos]. On the spine in black lettering De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem Andrés Vesalio.

* (VI.A.-1n) Fabrica 1543, English translation of liber VII New York, 2015

Note: This translation of book VII (Part II) is accompanied with several introductory chapters (Part I), and is followed by chapters (Part III) devoted to the evolution in neurosciences and ending itself with the illustrations from book VII with the translation of the indices, coming now at the very end of the book. Part II (pp. 45-182) gives the translation of the chapters with their titles, but without the original chapter numbers given by Vesalius. Each translated chapter is followed by an illustrated Commentary with a modern view on Vesalius’ anatomical descriptions. The translation of the chapter on the dissection of the brain ends rather suddenly after the dissection of the ear, and a translation of the chapter on vivisection is missing, both apparently because they have nothing to do with the brain itself.

Publisher’s binding: 242 x 162 x 19 mm., 151 bladen. Red hard covers and spine. On spine in golden lettering Brain Renaissance / Catani. Sandrone / Oxford. Wrappers with the frontispice of the Fabrica 1543 in color.


(VI.A.-1o) Fabrica 1543, fac simile Tokyo, 1976
Not seen.

Notes: This is an anastatic reprint of the editio princeps by Kodansha, editor in Tokyo. In April 2016 a copy was offered for sale by Libreria Editrice Chiari in Firenze (Italy) for 900,00 euros.

Publishers binding (according to seller): 390 x 430 mm; (6) 660 (30) pages. Full leather binding. Title in gold on the spine, with six bands. Gilt edges.

(VI.A.-1p) Fabrica 1543, fac simile Tokyo, 2015
Notes: This is a facsimile edition by Maruzen-Yushodo Co., Ltd, 10-10 Yotsuya Sakamachi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 160-0002 Japan. Made by photographing a 1543 first edition original kept in the collection of the International Research center for Japanese Studies in Kyoto, Japan.

In order to recreate the feel of these first edition, all stains, marks and creases on the pages of the original have been faithfully reproduced. This Fabrica is is luxuriously bound in
tanned, hand-colored bovine leather, with a banded leather spine. Selection of the paper, the book design, printing and bindin have been carried out by Wydawnictwo Tadeusz Serocki in Pelplin, Poland.

Explanatory note in Japanese-English bilingual texts by Tatsuo SASKAI (Professor at Juntendo University) ‘Fabrica and Epitome, the international texts by Vesalius that formed the foundation of modern medicine’ and by Frederik CRYNS (Associate Professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies) ‘Science and the Art in the Fabrica’.


Publishers binding: 295 x 430 mm; 714 pages. Full leather binding, ochre coloured. On the front cover: the title of the Fabrica beneath Vesalius’s family weapon with the three weasels. Red label on spine with (in gold): ANDREAE VESALII / DE HUMANI CORPORIS / FABRICA.

Explanatory Note for Andreas Vesalius, Fabrica and Epitome: 300 mm x 230 mm; 25, [3] pages. In a luxury box.

**VI.A.-2**

**‘Unillustrated’ pocket edition**

Lyon, 1552


Vol. II: Same, with minor changes. *Tomus II. Quinque reliquos libros complectens, quorum / materiam sequens pagina docet.* Device and impressum are the same.

Notes: Volume I does have four reduced illustrations of the cranium, the only ones.


**V.I.A.-3**

**Fabrica 1555**

Basel, 1555


Colophon: 2E5v°: Basileae, ex Offici- / na Ioannis Oporini, an- / no Salutis Christum partae
MDLV. / Mense Augusto. 2'6v°: printer’s device.

Publisher’s binding: 430 x 295 x 85 mm.

Note: Since this is the second Basel edition of the Fabrica, the second one printed by Oporinus, the second illustrated one, and the second folio edition, it is often mistakenly regarded as the second edition. It is indeed the third one, as the second edition was edited in Lyon in 1552 by Jean de Tournes, consisting of two volumes in a pocket format (16°), and without the illustrations. Description in Cushing pp. 90-92 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 60-61.

This edition is a totally revisited and reworked version of the Fabrica 1543, resulting in a text which in numerous instances deviates from the editio princeps. A very thorough discussion of the Fabrica 1555, using the edition VI.D.-8 by Boerhaave and Albinus, can be found as ‘Anatomie. - Première partie. Examen comparé de l’anatomie de Vésale de Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri VII’ in Adolphe BURGGRAEVE, Etudes sur André Vésale, précédées d’une notice historique sur sa vie et ses écrits, Gand, C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1841, pp. 65-331.

Recently a personal copy of Andreas Vesalius himself was discovered, heavily annotated by himself in preparation for an other new edition, as was shown in various articles by Vivian Nutton. As it is kept now (2015) by the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library of the University of Toronto this copy is known as the Toronto Fabrica.

Provenance: can be downloaded from the website of the BIUSanté (Paris).

(VI.A.-3a) see VI.D.-7
(VI.A.-3b) see VI.D.-8
(VI.A.-3c) see VI.A.-6 (French fragment)
(VI.A.-3d) see VI.A.-6a (complete Russian translation)

* (VI.A.-3e) Fabrica 1555, fac simile Madrid, 1997
Title-page: [Upper scroll in frontispiece:] Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, Invi- / ctissimi
Caroli V. Imperatoris / medici, de Humani corporis fabrica / Libri septem. / [Lower scroll] / Cum Caesareae / Maiest. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti gratia & / privilegio, ut in
diplomatis eorundem continetur.

Collation: 403 x 294 x mm, 445 leaves.

Contents: [first fly leaf, 1r-v]: blank. [2r-v]: blank. [3r]: title-page as above. [3v]: blank. [4r-7r]: Ad divum Carolum / quintum, maximum, invictissimum- / que Imperatorem, Andreae Vesalii in suos / de Humani corporis fabrica libros, Praefatio. [7v-8r]: Io. Oporinus Lectori and Ioanni Oporino, Graecarum literarum / apud Basilenses professori, / amico charissimo suo, signed Tuus Andreas Vesalius. [8v]: Portrait. [1]-824: the text proper. [825]: Errata.

Colophon: Ejemplar n° ... / de la edicion unica, elaborada con reproducciones facsimiles de / la obra De Humani Corporis Fabraca, rigurosamente limitada / a 980 ejemplares numerados del 1 a 980 tal como se ha / puesto de manifiesta ante la notario / Dª Berta Garcia Prieto / del Ilustre Colegio /de Barcelona.

Publisher’s binding: 403 x 294 x 80 mm, spine and covers in full brown leather, front and back cover blind tooled, spine with a gold tooled lettering Andreae Vesali / De / Humani Corporis / Fabrica. At bottom blind tooled Ebrisa. In brown slipcase 413 x 302 x 93 mm.

Note: This is copy no. 116. Forms together with the Spanish translation (VI.A.-3f) a two volume edition by the Ediciones Doce Calles in Madrid (Spain) of which only 980 copies were realised.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Angel Hernando Saudan (Madrid, Spain) on November 8th, 2012 together with (VI.A.-3f) as a two volume edition for 4.065,64 euros.

* (VI.A.-3f) Fabrica 1555, Spanish translation Madrid, 1997
Title-page: Andreae Vesali / De Humani Corporis / Fabrica / Libri septem. / Prologo / Pedro Lain Entralgo / Traducccion / Avelino Dominguez Garcia / Florentino Fernandez Gonzalez / [bottom, in printers mark:] Ebrisa.

Half title: second flyleaf r°: De humani corporis / Fabrica / Libri septem.

Collation: 400 x 290 x 48 mm, 247 leaves.

Colophon: [246r]: Ejemplar n° ... / de la traducciones de la obra De Humani Corporis Fabrica, rigurosamente limitada a 980 ejemplares numerados del 1 a 980 tal como se ha puesto de manifiesta ante la notario / Dª Berta Garcia Prieto / del Ilustre Colegio /de Barcelona.

Publisher’s binding: 400 x 290 x 48 mm, spine in brown imitation leather, with a gold tooled ornament at upper and bottom rim and also in golden lettering: DE HUMANI CORPORIS FABRICA Andreae Vesalii. At bottom blind tooled Ebrisa. Brown front- and back-cover.

Note: Translation in Spanish (Castilian) of the Preface to emperor Charles V and the seven books of the Fabrica 1555 by Avelino Dominguez Garcia (1937-2011) and Florentino Fernandez Gonzalez. Text in 2 columns with marginal notes, but without the plates and no Characterum indices. The translation of Vesalius’s Epistola to Oporinus is missing. Prologo by Pedro Laín Entralgo. The Índice General at the end is a list of the chapters. No subject index. This is copy no. 116. Only 980 copies.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Angel Hernando Saudan (Madrid, Spain) on November 8th, 2012 together with (VI.A.-3e) as a two volume edition for 1.000 euros.

* (VI.A.-3g) Fabrica 1555, fragmentary translations in German Berlin, 1944


Notes: Medical thesis under Prof. Dr. Paul Diepgen, Institut für Geschichte der Medizin an der Universität Berlin.

Contains many short fragmentary translations into German from the Fabrica 1555: preface (history of medicine), liber I caput 4 (clinical and post mortem observations), caput 7 (skull), caput 11 (teeth), caput 12 (syphilis), caput 41 (saw), liber II caput 5 (dermatology), caput 7 (making surgical incisions), caput 14 (neck), caput 31 (function of muscles of the stomach), liber III caput 5 (clinical observations), caput 7 (therapy and venesection), caput 8 (correction of errors in venesection), caput 9 (gynaecology), liber V caput 4 (lesions by executions and hernias), caput 5 (ileus and the gut), caput 7 (cirrhosis), caput 8 (gall, dermatology), caput 9 (casuistics on spleen, liver, uterus, ovaries), caput 11 (urinary bladder), caput 13 (ejaculation, sexual pathology), caput 14 (‘gonorrhoe’), caput 15 (prediction of child sex before birth and on the corpus luteum and ‘chlorosis’), liber VI caput 2 (pleura and cerebral membranes), caput 5 (pharyngeal syphilis), caput 15 (body and soul), liber VII caput 4 (cerebral changes after meningitis and hanging), caput 14 (ophthalmology).

Condition: pages yellowed.

Provenance: bought from Versandantiquariaat eMuseion (Westfeld, Germany) on November 4th, 2013 for 31,05 euros.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

* (VI.A.-3h) Fabrica 1555, red. facsimile, ‘English ed.’, 2 vols  Middletown (DE), 2015


Vol. II: same, except for Vol. II of II.


Vol. II: 1: Title-page as above. 2. Copyright © Leopold Publishing – October 2014. 3-[400]: Text and plates of the facsimile proper (p. 481 to Oporinus’s printer’s device). [401]: blank. [402]: bottom left: [barcode] 20320917R00223; right: Colophon as below.

Colophon: Made in the USA / Middletown, DE / 22 May 2015.


Notes: This is a facsimile of the Fabrica 1555 in reduced format. The pages are all printed against a red ochre background. The title-page is numbered ‘1’ at the bottom. The printer’s device is a 19th century style medaillon with left and right a nude male and female figure with a lit candlestick in between, and their back turned to an inner circle with a dark sky with stars against wich an open book lays with the letter ‘L’ and ‘P’ on each page. On top the device “Liber Libro”. At the bottom a guirlande.

The Foreword goes on the significance of the Fabrica and on Stephan van Calcar and mentions a copy with handwritten notes by Vesalius himself in the public library of Basel. This edition is a simple and cheap reproduction of a not specified original without annotations, neither on the title-page, nor inside.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: Bought in May 22nd, 2015 at Amazon for 59.40 US dollar (vol. I) and 49,05 US dollar (vol. II).


Title-page: Vol. I: André Vésale / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica / (De l’Architecture du corps humain) / ou / Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis Scholae Medicorum / Patauinæ
Collation: Vol. I: 281 x 216 x 30 mm, 250 leaves. Vol. II: 281 x 216 x 21 mm, 202 leaves.


Colophon: Vol.I: Made in the USA / Middletown, DE / 22 May 2015. Vol. II: : CPSIA information can be obtained at www.ICGtesting.com / Printed in the USA / LVOW03s1318300415 / 43673LV00016B/231/P.

Publisher’s binding: Vol. I: 281 x 216 x 30 mm, 250 leaves. Soft dark green cover with on a red ochre background a human skull on a dogs skull, and the text André Vésale / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica / De L'Architecture du corps humain / Vol. I de II/ Fac-Similé de la version révisée de 1555/ Vol. I de II. Spine and back cover also in dark green. On spine: I / André Vésale / De Humani Corporis Fabrica. Vol. II: 281 x 216 x 21 mm, 202 leaves. Otherwise the same, except for II instead of I and, as the illustration on the front cover, The first figure of the seventh book, representing a human head without the skull cap, displaying the outer surface of the brain.

Notes: See (VI.A.-3f). Here the letters ‘L’ and ‘P’ in the printer’s device are replaced by ‘E’ and ‘L’ to fit with the editors name, now in French Editions Léopold. The introductory pages are now in French and the pages of the Fabrica are now all printed against a grey background.

Condition: fine, but in vol. 1 of my copy half of the pages have a white streak at the bottom, not affecting the text, but amputating the feet in some plates.


* (VI.A.-3j) Fabrica 1555, red. facsimile fragment Spanish [np, nd]

Title-page: as in the edition of 1555.

Collation: 295 x 250, 84 leaves.

Contents: [1]: Title-page as above. [2]: Vesalius’s portrait. 3-165: the selected pages of the Fabrica 1555 with the plates and the indices. [166]: Indice de láminas. [167]: Short discussion of Vesalius’s life and significance, and of this volume. 168: blank.

Colophon: absent.
Publisher’s binding: 295 x 250 x 18 mm, 168 pages. No covers. The seven sections, each having twelve leaves, are simply sewn together, which is openly visible at the ‘spine’. Not all the leaves are equal in size, varying from 235 to 247 mm. The paper is ivory colored.

Notes: This is a compendium consisting of a selection of 165 pages of the Fabrica 1555 (not of the 1568 edition as told by the seller) in a reduced size. The pages, containing the selected plates and the corresponding indices come from each of the seven original books. Neither the year nor the place of this Spanish publication could be retrieved.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: Bought in July 12th, 2015 at Libreria Tormos in Alpedrete (Spain) for 72 euros.

(VI.A.-3k) Fabrica 1555, fac simile Budapest, 2004
(not seen)

Title-page: as in the edition of 1555.

Collation: 385 x 250, 445 leaves.

Contents: not seen but as for the Fabrica 1555.

Colophon: not seen.

Publisher’s binding: 385 x 250 mm, 890 pages. The cover is made from wood, bound in red-orange leather with copper decorations on the corners and in the middle of the book case. The book closes with 4 copper clasps. Black leather label with gilded letters and decoration on the spine: Andreas Vesalius / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica. Pages are sewed manually on four ribs. Mottled end papers.

Notes: This is a de luxe facsimile edition of the Fabrica 1555 by Pytheas Books in Budapest (Hungary), sold for 185.000 forint. There is also a regular edition sold for 45.000 forint; see (VI.A.-3l).

(VI.A.-3l) Fabrica 1555, fac simile Budapest, 2004
(not seen)

Title-page: as in the edition of 1555.

Collation: 385 x 250, 445 leaves.

Contents: not seen but as for the Fabrica 1555.

Colophon: not seen.

Publisher’s binding: 385 x 250 mm, 890 pages. Hard covers with light ocre paper finish, darkend at the edges. On the front Vesalius’s coat of arms as on the title page of the Fabrica
and with in black lettering Andreas Vesalius / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica. On top of the spine in a black rectangle appears the same text.

Notes: This is the regular edition of (VI.A.-3k) sold for 45.000 forint.

VI.A.-4 Posthumous 4th edition

Venice, 1568

Title-page: Andreae / Vesalii / Bruxellensis, / invictissimi Caroli V. Imp. / medici, / De Humani Corporis Fabrica / libri septem. / Cum Indice rerum & verborum memorabilium locupletissimo. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, / Apud Franciscum Franciscium Senensem, & Ioannem Criegher Germanum. / M D LXVIII.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 92-93 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 62-64. As Cushing explains on p. 93 there is little difference with the following edition of Venice 1604.

VI.A.-5 Posthumous 5th edition

Venice, 1604


Half-title: Andreae Vesalii / Anatomia: / Addita nunc postremo etiam / Antiquorum Anatome.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 94-94 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 64-65.

The plates for this edition have been redrawn, reduced in size and of much less quality than in the editio princeps. Some are upside down. Here and there they are incorporated in the text. The same applies to the page filling skeletal and muscular plates which show a much simplified background replacing the panoramic landscapes.

In their dedication to Franciscus Maria Feltrius de Ruvere, duke of Urbino, the printer-brothers Ioan. Antonius and Iacobus de Franciscis explain that they decided to this edition because the anatomical work of Vesalius was no longer available in the book shops although it was in great demand. They repeated this in their letter to the reader. This are followed by a laudatory poem to Vesalius in Greek by Fabius Paulinus with his own Latin translation. (poem also in Roth p. 444)

The printers added at the end three tabellae by Rufus of Ephese, summarizing the anatomy and making it ‘easier to follow Vesalius’, as they call it in their short introductory note to the students.

* VI.A.-6 Six chapters of book I French

[Haarlem, 1924]

Title: André Vésale / La structure du corps humain / Livre premier, consacré aux organs / ...


Note: The translation was made after the 1555 edition by Prof. J.E. Verschaffelt (1870-1955), a physicist, not a physician, for the Hollandsche Societiet van Wetenschappen te Haarlem and the Genootschap voor Natuur- Genees- en Heilkunde te Amsterdam under whose auspices it was printed by J. Enschedé & Sons Haarlem in 1924.

Description in Cushing p. 95 and Elly Cockx-Indesteghe p. 66. As this is a (partial) translation of the Fabrica 1555, being VI.A.-3, this edition would better have been numbered VI.A.-3a (instead of VI.A.-6a).

In January 2016 a copy was offered bij Antiquariaat B.M. Israel (The Netherlands) for 650 euros.

Condition: only as a photocopy.

Provenance: donated by Prof. Dr. Marc E. De Broe, Lokeren (Belgium), in 2000.

Notes: This complete Russian translation is in two volumes: vol. I (1950) contains the translation of books I and II; vol. II (1954) the remaining books III to VII. At the end of the volumes one finds several pages with explanations on the text. At the end of vol. II (pp. 901-936) there is a Vesalius-biography. Surprisingly enough, except to the work of Vesalius himself, the only other scarce references made herein are to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels…

All plates are reproduced in a reduced size, except for the letters in the plates which are enlarged and with more white around, rendering them much more obvious. Most of the plates...
are now in a framework. Corrections are made for e.g. chapter 20, where the rings of the aorta and the pulmonary artery were inversed and mirrored in the original edition of 1555. The initials are also in a reduced size to fit again in seven lines of the Russian text. In the text the original layout is respected using the inner margins for the references to the indexes and the outer margins for the short notes on the content. For a discussion on the history of this translation see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO. ‘De Russische vertalingen van Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomische werken’ [The translations of Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomical works into Russian] in Studium – Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis – Revue d’Histoire des Sciences et des Universités, 2016, 9 (no. 3): 161-170, ill.

Although many copies were printed (5000) this edition is difficult to find. Description in Cushing p. 229. As this is a translation of the Fabrica 1555, being VI.A.-3, and as the number VI.A.-6 had already been used for a (partial) translation of the Fabrica 1555, this edition would better have been numbered VI.A.-3b (instead of VI.A.-6a).

Condition: good, but some defects at the borders of the first pages not affecting the text. Vol. I has been rebound in the original covers. The two-sided sheet with errata has been pasted down on the last flyleaf.

Provenance: Part I only. Bought for 69 euros on June 19th 2015 from Lolita Kashyrina, a student dentistry in Poltava (Ukraine).
VI.A.
Other Fragmentary Renderings than VI.A.-6

(VI.A.-7 and following)

* VI.A.-7  Chapter on Vivisection            English  1931
Title: The Last Chapter of De Fabrica of Vesalius entitled Some observations on the Dissection of Living Animals.


Note: Translation by Benjamin Farrington from the Latin of the final chapter of book seven of the Fabrica. See <http://info.med.yale.edu/therarad/summers/Vesal.htm>
Description in Cushing p. 95.

Condition: only as a photocopy.

Provenance: unknown.

* VI.A.-8  Praefatio            English  1932
Title: The Preface of Andreas Vesalius to “De Fabrica Corporis Humani” 1543.


Notes: Translation by Benjamin Farrington (Cape Town) of the prefatio with remarks on Vesalius’s style and the translation technique used. Short mention in Cushing p. 96. Despite Farrington’s title, he states in his text that he used the 1725 edition of the Fabrica which is based on the 1555, not the 1543, edition and has many additions and deletions. (see Cushing 1962, p. 226).

Condition: only as a photocopy.
* VI.A.-9  Vivisection  English  1935
Title: Reading from Andreae Vesalii, “De humani corporis fabrica liber VII: De vivorum sectione nonnulla, caput XIX.”


Notes: Translated by Samuel W. Lambert. See also VI.A.-10. Mere mention in Cushing pp. 96 and 207 n. 240.

* VI.A.-10  Vivisection, 2nd ed.  English  1936
Title: [Same as VI.A.-9]


The translation alone has been reprinted (pp. 142-151) in Logan Clendening’s Source book of medical history, New York, P. B. Hoeber, 1942, xiv, 685 pp.

Note: Mention and discussion in Cushing pp. 96.

VI.A.-10a  Vermiform appendix  English  1937
Title: Description of the vermiform appendix from the “De fabrica” of Vesalius.


Note: mention in Cushing p. 229.

* VI.A.-11  Praefatio  English  1942


Note: This translation appears in Chapter XV ANATOMY (pp. 128-141) and was made by W.P. Hotchkiss, Associate Professor of History and Political Science, University of Kansas City. A footnote states that The Prefaces of the editions of 1543, 1555 and the Venetian edition of 15- [68], have all been collated to make this translation. Many passages are obscure and it has been thought best by Professor Hotchkiss and the editor to allow quite a loose translation in order to bring out any kind of sensible English meaning.
Description in Cushing p. 96.

Condition: Only the edition of 1960. The bottom lines of the pages 369-400 of the book disappeared because they were cut too short. This does not affect the pages with the *Preface* which are fine.

Provenance: unknown.

**VI.A.-11a** Chapter on Vivisection French Brussels, 1941

Title: *Quelques considérations sur la dissection des êtres vivants.*


Note: This Vesalius-biography ends with *La physiologie dans le Traité de Vésale* by H. De Waele, consisting of a French translation of chapter XIX, on vivisection, from book VII of the *Fabrica 1555* (pp. 84-100), preceded with an introduction (pp. 84-85).

A comparison of this chapter in the 1555-edition with that of the *editio princeps* reveals that Vesalius continued to change, correct and add to his text up to the very end of it.

Short discussion in Cushing (1962) on p. 230, who had only the second edition of 1944 at his disposal [André Vésale, Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1944, 99 pp., 1 l. (Collection Nationale, 1. sér., no. 7)].

Condition: good, pages yellowed and a short tear op top pp. 87-88 not affecting the text. In transparent wrappers, presumably ex-library.

Provenance: unknown.

**VI.A.-11b** Praefatio French 1943

Title: *A propos du quatrième centenaire de la publication du célèbre traité d'André Vésale: “De humani corporis fabrica”.*


Condition: only as a photocopy.

**VI.A-11c** Praefatio German 1943

Title: *Zur 400 jährigen Wiederkehr der Begründung der anatomischen Forschung durch Andreas Vesalius.*

Condition: updated January 2019


* VI.A.-11d Chapter on the Teeth English 1944
Title: A reading from the “De humani corporis fabrica” of Andreas Vesalius.


Note: English translation of Book I, chapter XI “De dentibus” (On the teeth), of the Fabrica. With a reproduction of the woodcut from p. 45. Description in Cushing p. 230.

Condition: only as a photocopy.

* VI.A.-11e Praefatio English 1945
Title: The cornerstone of modern medicine: Andreas Vesalius (1514-64).


Note: A brief sketch of Vesalius is followed by Farrington’s English translation of the preface of the Fabrica, see VI.A.-8. Mention in Cushing p. 231.

Condition: near fine, somewhat dusty.

Provenance: unknown.

* VI.A.-11f Chapter on Skeletal Technique English 1946
Title: The preparation of the human skeleton by Andreas Vesalius of Brussels.


Condition: only as a photocopy.
VI.A.-11g  Female genital organs  Spanish  1949
Title: La anatomia del aparato genital femenino en la “Fabrica” de Vesalio.

In: Sergio D. PROVENZANO, ‘La anatomia del aparato genital femenino en la “Fabrica” de Vesalio’ in Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia de la Medicina (Universidad de Buenos Aires), dirigidas por el Dr. Aníbal Ruiz Moreno. Buenos Aires, 1949, Volumen XIII, Tomo II, pp. 93-170: Del utero y de los otros organos femenos que sirven para la generacion.

Notes: Spanish translation of Book V, chapter XV (pp. 651-668) on pp. 121-167. Description in Cushing p. 231.

* VI.A.-11h  On the Brain  English  1952

Collation: 220 x 140 mm; 90 leaves, ills.


Illustrations: woodcuts from Vesalius’s Fabrica and others (Dryander, Estienne, Cave, Reisch).

Publisher’s binding: 220 x 140 x 12 mm; covers in dark blue cloth; on spine gold lettering: Vesalius / on the / Human / Brain / [asterisk] / Charles / Singer / Wellcome / Historical Medical / Museum.


Condition: good; some wear at top and bottom of spine.

Provenance: bought from Chapitre.com (France) on August 21st, 2003 for 152 euro.
Title: Anatomy and the art of medicine, Andreas Vesalius.


Condition and provenance: Fine; only the edition of 1981 by Viking Penguin.


Publisher’s binding: 230 x 180 x 6 mm; dark grey-blue wrappers; on the first cover in dull grey PREFACE D’ANDRE VESALE / A SES LIVRES SUR L’ANATOMIE, / SUIVIE D’UNE LETTRE A JEAN OPORINUS, / SON IMPRIMEUR / [at the bottom:] / Editions Arscia S.A. / Bruxelles / 1961; on the second cover, in the same color, a flower motif.

Note: The translation is made after the 1555 edition (B), giving in notes the variant reading of the 1543 edition (A). The Latin text is printed at the left, the French translation at the right. The edition, limited to one hundred copies, was printed at “De Bouwkroniek” for the Friends of the Royal Library of Belgium.


Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 67.
Condition: near fine: opened and very slight discoloration of back-cover along spine.

Provenance: unknown, bought for 400 bef. and a second copy 18.00 Pound sterling in April 1991.

* [VI.A.-11k] Vesalius & Geminus French/English Genève, 1964
Title-page: ANDREAS / VESALIUS / [printer’s mark] / MCMLXIV.

Colophon: for a reproduction see Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 69, cat. 38b.

Collation: 420 mm, 74 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 430 x 295 x 35 mm; ochre-brown leather (‘veau des Indes’); on the upper cover gold tooled ANDREAS VESALIUS, and his coat of arms; on the spine the three skeletal figures gold tooled, pastedown and double flyleaves with eight muscle men; slipcase in parchment. Inside the plates are protected by a loose sheet of glassine.

Note: This is copy no. 24. For the description of the copy (no. 25) in the Royal Library (Brussels) by Elly Cockx-Indestege see there p. 68-69.

With an impression of the copperplates used by Geminus in 1554; reproduction of the title-page of his Compendiosa, of the first two editions of the Fabrica, of the Opera omnia, 1725, of Vesalius’s portrait, and of the decorated initials of the 1555 edition. Texts in French by various scientists and a translation by Gary Hampton.

According to the colophon the printing of this de luxe edition was completed on July 14th, 1964 by Typographie genevoise in Geneva. Ten copies off trade were numbered I to X for the collaborators of the printing house and 215 copies for the subscribers and trading were numbered 1 to 215. A publication realized by Etienne-Denis Braillard, printer at Geneva, in cooperation with Georges Lagrange.

As these works concern chiefly the edition by Geminus the identification number could have been VI.D instead of VI.A.
Condition: near fine, some dark discolouration along spine and small dark spot on back cover near spine.

Provenance: bought for 1500 euros in May 2013 from Guy Lacroix (Brussels).

The further numbering by Fulton (1962), starting with VI.A.-11 and followed / continued by Elly Cockx-Indestege till [VI.A.-11k] (probably because these are mere fragments), should be leaved here to reback to the original numerical sequence by Cushing. Otherwise problems will arise in short term due to exhaustion of the alphabet.

VIA.-12  Maschenbauer  1st ed.  Augsburg, 1706

Notes: It is as a consequence of the mentioning of Titian’s name on this title-page that some authors later thought that Titian was the artist of the plates instead of Johan Stefan von Calcar. Description in Cushing pp. 99-100 and EllyCockx-Indestege pp. 69-70.

Title-page: same as VIA.-12.


Collation:250 x 220 mm, [16] leaves. Title-page printed in black and red.


Publisher’s binding: 250 x 220 x 8 mm, full black imitation leather, gold lettering on the front cover Andreae VESAL.

Note: Facsimile of the edition printed by Andreas Maschenbauer in Augsburg 1706. Inside there are however no blank pages and some pages have changed places such as the first and second skeletal figures, the first and second muscle man, and some legends. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 70.
Condition: near fine, some spots on back-cover.

Provenance: bought from Antiquariat Paderbuch (Bad Lippspringe, Germany) on October 25th, 2011, for 20,50 euros, and a second copy bought from Antiquariat Boek & Glas in Alkmaar (the Netherlands) on May 18th, 2004, for 25,00 euros.

* (VI.A.-12b) Maschenbauer, pocket-book Münich, ca. 1980
Title-page: as in [VI.A.-12a], but in reduced format and only black lettering.

Collation: 169 x 120 mm., 95 pp.

Contents: as in [VI.A.-12a], but the plates are in a reduced format and the text blocks are re-arranged to fit in the pocket size, needing a total of 95 pp.


Note: This is a pocket-book printed by Konrad Kölbl (Münich) in German gothic type as no. 5 in the series Die historischen Taschenbücher (ca. 1980).

Publisher’s binding: 169 x 120 x 10 mm, black cover with white imprint on front-cover Vesal / Des Ersten - Besten / Anatomici / An. 1705. / Die historischen Taschenbücher, on the back-cover [the second skeletal figure of the Fabrica] / [below]: Die Figuren von Titian gezeichnet. / ISBN 3-87411-504-6 (6.80), on the spine Andre Vesal des Ersten - Besten Anatomici An. 1705. [on top]: 5.

Condition: near fine: front-cover shows fold of the right upper corner.

Provenance: bought from antiquarian Bernhardt (Kassel, Germany) on November, 2nd, 2012 for 19.45 euros.

VI.A.-13 Maschenbauer 2nd ed. Augsburg, 1723

Note: Description in Cushing pp. 100-101.

* VI.A.-14 Leveling Anatomische Erklärung Ingolstadt, 1781
Title-page: Heinrich Palmaz Leveling / [five lines of titles] / anatomische Erklärung / der / Original-Figuren / von / Andreas Vesal, / samt / einer Anwendung / der / Winslowischen

Note: Description in Cushing pp. 104-105. The copy with stamp of the Bibliotheca regia Monacensis (Royal Library of Munich) can be consulted on books.google. This copy has only the dedication to the Kurfürst Karl Theodor, but not the Preface.

It is important to remark that the son of Leveling, Heinrich Maria, in his comments to the letters of Haller to his father, does not mention an edition of 1781 and only talks of the 1783 edition. See the letter by Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich Palmaz Leveling, dated Bern, 7 March 1777. But Leveling himself either does not mention an edition of 1781 while discussing the history of his publication.

* VI.A.-15  Leveling  Anatomische Erklärung  Ingolstadt, 1783


Collation: Folio, see Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 71.


Note: The book is printed in German gothic type. Discussion see Cushing (1962) pp. 105-106, and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 71-72.

Publisher’s binding: 441 x 276 x 35 mm, original gray-brown marble boards.

Condition: fair: title-page I has been cut out and pasted in the front cover; slightly to heavily spotted on several pages. Folded page missing.

Provenance: bought from antiquarian Theo de Boer (Zwolle, the Netherlands) for 5.197.75 Dutch guilders.

* (VI.A.-15a)  Leveling  Anatomische Erklärung ‘de luxe’ facsimile  Lindau, 1982


Collation: 345 x 241 mm, 180 leaves.


Note: This is a *de luxe* facsimile edition of Leveling’s *Anatomische Erklärung* (Ingolstadt, 1783). No folded page. Last fly-leaf with stamp: *Numerierte auf 300 Exemplare / limitierte Vorzugsausgabe. / Dieses Exemplar trägt die / Nummer 115.*

It is a reprint of the 1783 edition and contains the dedication letter to Karl Theodor and the Vorrede.

Publisher’s binding: 345 x 241 x 28 mm. Full leather band, with half title printed on front cover with golden lettering. Spine blank, with seven bonds.

Condition: very good, small tire in first fly-leaf.

Provenance: bought on August 23rd, 2015 from Antiquariat Buchseite in Wien (Austria) for 27,00 euro.

* (VI.A.-15b) Leveling Anatomische Erklärung facsimile Lindau, 1982

As in the *de luxe* edition (VI.A.-15a), except for the colophon(s) and the binding.


Colophon II: same as colophon I but with omission of ‘1982’.

Collation: 345 x 241 mm, 180 leaves.

Contents: [i]: *Heinrich Palmaz Leveling / Anatomische Erklärung / der / Original-Figuren / von / Andreas Vesal / Ingolstadt 1783 / [blank space] / [Printer’s mark] / Antiqua-Verlag
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019


Note: This is the common edition of the previous de luxe facsimile edition (VI.A.-15a) of Leveling’s Anatomische Erklärung (Ingolstadt, 1783). The interesting eight pages long Vorrede with Vesalius’s biography is missing.

Publisher’s binding: 345 x 241 x 23 mm, title-page I printed on front cover with gray marbled ivory coloured paper on hard board; on spine Heinrich Palmaz Leveling Anatomische Erklärung der Original Figuren von Andreas Vesal, at bottom printer’s mark.

Condition: very good, small bump at bottom of front cover, vertical pale ochre colored streaks on some pages. No folded page.

Provenance: bought on December 13th, 2011 from Wolfgang Brungs of Brungs & Hönicke in Berlin for 44,05 euro.


A third fine copy was bought September 25th, 2013 from Antiquariat Bernhardt in Kassel (Germany) for 33,85 euros.

* VI.A.-16  Icones anatomicae     New York & Munich, 1934 (-35)

Second half title: Andreae Vesalii / Icones anatomicae.

Title-page: ANDREAE / VESALII / BRUXELLENSIS / ICONES / ANATOMICAE / [short horizontal line] / EDIDERUNT ACADEMIA / MEDICINAE NOVA-EBORA- / CENSIS ET BIBLIOTHECA / UNIVERSITATIS MONACENSIS / MCMXXXIV.

Colophon: see reproduction 42b in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 74.

Collation: 560 x 380 mm. 124 unnumbered leaves.


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the anatomical plates of the Fabrica, the Epitome, the Venesection Epistle, the Tabulae anatomicae sex, and other known versions of the frontispiece on pages facing each other, interspersed with two blank pages. [116r-123r]: Index Tabularum. [123v-124r]: Ad Lectorem. [124v]: Colophon.

Notes: This is copy no. LXXXI of the European edition, without the Characterum indices, and limited to 110 copies. Another 615 copies were edited with the Characterum indices. Here the copies 1 to 400 were destined for the Academy of Medicine of New York, those from 401 to 430 for the University Library of Munich, from 431 to 465 as a gift for rendered services, and from 466 to 615 for the use of the editor J. F. Lehman (Munich) for sale exclusively inside Europe. The editions were realised from 1932 to 1935 by the Bremer Presse (Munich).

All the woodcuts of Vesalius anatomical works were incorporated, most of which were found in the University Library of Munich. The sheets are in hand made paper with hemp fibers made by J. W. Sanders in Bergisch Gladbach. The text of the Chaterum indices was printed by J. Deschler (Munich).

This was the last and definitive edition of the plates using the original wood-blocks, which were destroyed during the bombardment of Munich in the second World War. For a history of the wood-blocks see Cushing pp. 97-107, and for his description of the American version pp. 107-108. Cushing does not make a distinction between the two versions. For a description of the European version see Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 72-74. Willy Wiegand, the printer-editor of this edition, wrote an interesting discussion ‘Marginal Notes by the Printer of the Icones’ in Samuel W. Lambert, Willy Wiegand, William M. Ivins Jr., Three Vesalian essays to accompany the Icones anatomicae of 1934, New York, MacMillan, 1952, pp. 25-42. This was also the last edition ever by the editor.

In June 2007 n° 104 of the ‘American edition’ was offered by the Antiquarian Bookseller’s Association of America (AABA) for 7.500 US dollar.

Publisher’s binding: 560 x 380 x 42 mm, original light yellow-brown leather spine and finely red-brown striated linen front- and back-covers. On front-cover in dark lettering ANDREAE / VESALII / ICONES / ANATOMICAES.

Condition: near fine: some (very) small dark spots on leather of spine.

Provenance: bought on November 3th, 2012, from antiquarian Conchita van der Linde, Boek & Glas (Amsterdam, the Netherlands) for 4.300 euros.


Imprint: Published by The World Publishing Company / 2231 West 110th Street. Cleveland 2. Ohio / [blank space] / The anatomical illustrations in this volume have been reproduced with the / permission of the New York Academy of Medicine from Andreea Vesalii / Bruxellensis
Icones Anatomicae, published in 1934 jointly by the Library of the University of Munich and the New York Academy of Medicine (History of Medicine Series, No. 3).

Collation: 310 x 225 mm; 128 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 310 x 225 x 30 mm; brown red cloth covers, gold lettered title Vesalius on top of the front cover; on the spine Vesalius and at bottom World. Ochre wrappers with text of title-page and illustration of the muscle man from the back.

Note: First edition. Also a translation of Vesalius’s letter to Oporinus (pp. 46-48). Discussion see Cushing (1962) p. 232. For a review see Donald B. THORBURN. ‘The illustrations from the works of Andreas Vesalius’ in Saturday Review of literature (Norman Cousins ed.), 1950, 33 (no. 31).


Condition: good, spine yellowed, wrappers with several defects and tears. Inside fine.

Provenance: unknown.

* (VI.A.-17a) Icones anatomicae English New York, [1973]


Collation: 303 x 204 mm; 128 leaves.

Publisher’s binding: 303 x 204 x 16 mm; gray-purple paper front cover and spine, black and white lettered title The Illustrations / from the Works of Andreas / Vesalius / of Brussels / A discussion of the plates, / and a biographical sketch of Vesalius / With annotations and translations / By J. B. deC. M. Saunders and / Charles D. O’Malley and tree quarter of the fifth muscle man on front cover; on the spine The Illustrations / from the Works of / Andreas Vesalius of Brussels and at bottom Dover 0-486-20968-7. Back-cover white, with the editor’s presentation.

Note: Second edition. Contents the same as VI.A.-17.

Condition: good, crack in spine and wear of edges due to regular use.

Provenance: bought on September 12th, 1980 at Foyle’s (London) for 4.10 £.

* (VI.A.-17b) Icones anatomicae English New York, [1982]

Imprint: This edition was previously published as the Illustrations from the / works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels. / Copyright © 1982 by Crown Publishers, Inc. / All rights reserved / This 1982 edition is published by Bonanza Books, distributed by Crown Publishers, Inc. / h g f e d c b a / Manufactured in the United States of America / Library of Congress cataloging in publication data / Vesalius, Andreas, 1514-1564. / The anatomical drawings of Andreas Vesalius. / Reprint: originally published: the / Illustrations from the Works of Andreas / Vesalius of Brussels. Cleveland: World / Pub. Co., 1950. / 1. Anatomy, Human-Atlases-Early works / to 1800. 2. Vesalius, Andreas, 1514-1564. / I. Saunders, J. B. deC. M. (John Bertrand de / Cusance Morant), 1903-. II. O’Malley, / Charles Donald. III. Title. [DNLM: WZ 290 / V575i] / QM25.V43 1982 611'.0022'2 81-18054 / ISBN: 0-517-356384 AACR2 / Editorial note: The majority of the plates in this / edition have been reduced by 5 percent from their / size in the original edition. In three cases - plates 58, 59, and 70 - there has been a 10 percent reduc- / tion. Plates 1, 10, 43, 48, 51, 52, and 61 have been re- / produced at their original size.

Collation: 287 x 210 mm; 128 leaves.

Contents: [1]: The anatomical / Drawings of / Andreas Vesalius, half title. [2]: Portrait from the Fabrica. [3]: title-page as above. [4]: Imprint as above. [5]: Contents. 6: Foreword. 7-8: List of Plates. 9-40: Introduction, signed J.B. deC. M. Saunders / Charles D. O’Malley. 40-248- [249-252]: Plates of and comments on the Portrait, Frontispieces, Fabrica, Epitome,

Publisher’s binding: 287 x 210 x 22 mm; brown cloth covers, lilac red spine overlapping front and end covers with black lettered title and name of the authors and Bonanza at bottom. Light gray wrappers with text of title-page and illustration of torso of a muscle man from the left side.

Note: Third edition. Contents the same as VI.A.-17.

Condition: near fine: small discolorations at top and bottom of spine.

Provenance: bought from seller in North Miami Beach (USA) on August 19th, 2004, for 15.65 USD.

* (VI.A.-17c)  * Icones anatomicae   English   New York, [1993]


Colophon: This special edition of / The Illustrations / from the Works of / Andreas Vesalius / of Brussels / by J. B. deC. M. Saunders / and Charles D. O’Malley / has been privately printed for Gryphon / Editions by Arcata Graphics /Kingsport. / Film was prepared from the first edition / of 1550. New type matter was com- / posed by P&M Typesetting, Inc., in / Garamond. The text paper was espe- / cially made for this edition by the P. H. / Glatfelter Company. The volume has / been bound in genuine leather by Arcata / Graphics-Sherwood. Endleaves are a / specially commissioned design of Iris / Nevins. Edges are gilded; the spine / is stamped in 22-karat gold. Cover stamp- / ings and design of the edition by / Daniel B. / Bianchi and Selma Ordewer. / [fleuron].

Collation: 311 x 230 mm; 128 leaves.

Contents: [i]: This special edition of / The Illustrations / from the Works of / Andreas Vesalius / of Brussels / by / J. B. deC. M. Saunders / and / Charles D. O’Malley / [fleuron] / has been privately printed / for the members of / the Classics of Medicine Library. [ii]: imprint as above. [1]: The Illustrations / from the Works of / Andreas Vesalius / of Brussels / [fleuron], half title. [2]: Portrait from the Fabrica. [3]: title-page as above. [4]: Published by The World
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

Publishing Company / 2231 West 110th Street . Cleveland 2 . Ohio / [blank space] / The anatomical illustrations in this volume have been reproduced with the / permission of the New York Academy of Medicine from Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis Icones Anatomicae, published in 1934 jointly by the Library / of the University of Munich and the New York Academy of Medicine (History / of Medicine Series, No. 3) / [blank space] / copyright 1950.


Publisher’s binding: 311 x 230 x 27 mm; black leather covers, gold tooled on both front and end cover, and the spine is stamped in 22-karat gold with Vesalius between fleurons. Edges are gilded. Endleaves are a design of Iris Nevins.

Note: Fourth edition. This is a de luxe re-issue of the first edition in the series The classics of Medicine Library for the members of Classics of Medicine Library. Contents the same as VI.A.-17.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: Gryphon editions, Delran, New Jersey.

* VI.A.-18  Icones anatomicae  Fragment  Bern, 1940

Title-page (frontcover portfolio): [Titlepage of Fabrica 1543 with, in upper scroll]: Selectio Tabularum No. XII / ex opere / Andreae Vesalii / magistri anatomiae praeclari, / cuius gloria nunquam pereabit, / “De humani corporis fabrica” / inscripto excerpta. [in lower scroll]: In aedibus Roto-Sadag Genevae edita / iussu societatis anonymae bernensis / Dr. A. Wander. A. Dom. MCMXL.

Collation: 420 x 295 mm. XII sheets in a paper portfolio.

Contents: Cover i°: title and imprint as above. Cover v°: Tabularum index (list of the plates), followed with a citation of Vesalius’s comment after the last figure. Inside the portfolio: the twelve sheets, having a sequence number I-XII in the upper right corner, do show fourteen figures in total:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sheet no.</th>
<th>page no. in Fabrica 1543</th>
<th>content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>second skeletal figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>first muscle man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>fourth muscle man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(just as in the original plate the legend is wrong, reading Prima musculorum tabula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>sixth muscle man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>tenth muscle man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>twelfth muscle man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>237 [=235]</td>
<td>the anatomical instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>268 [=368]</td>
<td>vena cava and its ramifications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IX  319 brain with the seven cranial nerves; in contrast to the original, in the lower right space, the figure of p. 318 is now added, the first of book III, representing the bottom side of the brain

X  232 [=332] the thirty nerve pairs of the spinal cord

XI  360 male torso showing the guts, stomach and liver (sixth plate of book V)

XII  / plates of pp. 606 and 607 (2nd and 3rd figure of book VII)

Publisher’s binding: paper portfolio 425 x 300 x 10 mm, cover with frontispiece of the Fabrica 1543 with title and imprint in the scrolls as above.

Note: Selection of twelve plates from the Fabrica 1543, original height, published at the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Firma Dr. A. Wander A.G., Bern. Discussion see Cushing (1962) p. 233 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 75. This edition consists of a paper portfolio with twelve loose sheets of heavy made paper in large folio measuring 410 x 290 mm. Each folio is printed by photolithography on the recto side only and has one or two plates from the Fabrica 1543, with their original dimensions. The figures themselves have all exactly the same size and the accompanying legends or texts as in the Fabrica. The verso side is left blank. This is the first time that the plates were reproduced without using the original wood-blocks.

The plates represent the contents up to the seventh book. Very remarkably most sheets show the page number of the original Fabrica 1543 as well, and the oddity this causes is only somewhat compensated for by the sequence numbers I to XII. Sheet X has the pagnumber ‘232’ whereas on the original page in the Fabrica a pagenumber is lacking, but it should have read there ‘332’ instead of ‘232’. Sheet XII has no pagenumber, presumably because the two figures on it come from two different pages (606 and 607).

All the figures with the accompanying texts are identical with those of the first edition of the Fabrica, as the letter inscriptions in the figures have the same dark shadows as in the edito princeps. The dimensions of the sheets correspond perfectly with those of the folio’s of the Fabrica, which have 267 – 290 mm. in width and 392 – 422 mm. in height (according to the measurements of 17 copies in France (CHARREAUX, Stéphanie, Jérôme van WILAND. ‘Recensement et description des exemplaires de la première édition du De fabrica (1543) conservés en France dans les bibliothèques publiques’ in Jacqueline VONS (ed.), La Fabrique de Vésale. La mémoire d’un livre. Actes des journées d’étude des 21 et 22 novembre 2014, Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé, [2016], pp. 253-312, ill.)

Only two of the sheets (numbered VI and VII) have a distinct watermark, at the bottom, reading Arches, looking very well to the so-called ‘fortuna’ watermark dating from the first half of the 19th century, but without the infinity sign, added by the manufacture in 1890, and which it still has nowadays. The authenticity of the watermark has been confirmed by Munksjö Arches sas. (personal communication) The brand Arches is named after a small french village located in the district of Epinal (N.E. France). The city produces the finest paper sheets since 1492. (see <www.arches-papers.com>) In the 15th century, in a defence against falsifications, safety measures were taken, one of then being the mention of the name of the city of paper production. From 1830 onwards the papermarks tended to disappear due to the industrial paper production. They were used since only for bank notes and art paper.

The first sheet shows an irregular linear white line starting at 17 mm. below the upper rim of the frame on front of the tomb and running down to the left of the bottom side of the
tomb, and causing a gap of 1 mm. in the print. One wonders why an editor should choose a
defective plate when it was so much easier to find an intact one.

As the manner of numbering of the sheets (I to XII) is reminiscent of the way the
sheets of the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* were numbered in the copy of Sir William Sterling-
Maxwell, one could wonder whether or not he got the idea to do the same thing with the
*Fabrica* as with his *Tabulae*, but on a much smaller scale.

My copy contains an original calendar sheet ‘Mei 2000 Mai’ issued by Bayer with a
comic drawing by Brondeel of the title-page of the *Fabrica*.

Publisher’s binding: paper portfolio 295 x 415 x 5 mm, flaps and backcover cream color;
sheets: 290 x 410 mm.

Condition: fair, portfolio foxed, especially the flaps, non visible tear at bottom flap in portfolio
and some smaller tears at spine; dusty; no explanatory leaflet.

Provenance: bought from antiquar Theo de Boer (Zwolle, the Netherlands) on May 25th,
2000, for 65.00 guilders (ca. 1170 bef).

A second copy was bought in January 2016 for 330,32 euros from Andrew Mroczek,
Somerville near Cambridge (MA – USA), who bought it himself in Lima (Peru) in July 2015.
This portfolio misses the front cover and the lower flap. The sheets show distinct signs of
aging. They have a rather dark aspect overall and show foxing throughout (1 to c. 20 mm), on
both front and back sides and most prominent on the portfolio, but no other stains. Sheet no. II
has several Spanish names for the muscles, which have been added with a pencil in a modern
hand.

* VLA.-19  Icones anatomicae  Fragment, in Dutch  Basel: Hoffmann, 1960

Title-page: Facsimile of the title-page of the 1543 *Fabrica*.

Collation: 312 x 216 mm. Brochure of 8 leaves with ten single and four folded sheets of
facsimiles from *Fabrica 1555* in map with three flaps.

Contents: [of the brochure]: [1]: publisher’s mark of Roche. [2]: blank. [3]: woodcut title-page
of the 1543 *Fabrica*. [4]: Ter gelegenheid / van de viering van het vijfhonderdjarig bestaan /
van de Universiteit Basel / 1960 / hebben wij, om aan onze goede wensen voor haar /
vruchtbaar voortbestaan zichtbare uitdrukking te geven, / aan de Openbare Bibliotheek van
de Universiteit / een uitgelezen exemplaar van de tweede druk van / Andreas Vesalius’ De
humani corporis fabrica overhandigd. / Met deze publikatie over het beroemde Bazelse werk,
/willen wij ook onze vrienden laten delen in de viering. / F. Hoffmann-La Roche & Co. A.G. / Basel - Zwitserland. 5-[14]: Introduction in Dutch. [15]: Lijst van / de volgende bladen. [16]:
Inhoud van deze publikatie: / deze 16 pagina’s tellende brochure, / een vierdelig vouwblad, /
tien losse en drie dubbele bladen / met afbeeldingen van illustraties en bladzijden. / Tekst van
de eerste bijdrage (pagina 5) van Adolf Seebass, / van de tweede bijdrage (pagina 11) van
Jan Tschichold. / Gezet uit “Monotype”-Garamond / Druk van de tekst door de / Basler
Druck- und Verlaganstalt te Basel, / van het gekleurde vouwblad door Kreis & Co. A.G. te
Bazel, / van de diepdrukplaten door Conzett & Huber te Zürich. / De map uit wit glanskarton
werd vervaardigd door de / Grossbuchbinderei G. Wolfensberger A.G. te Zürich / Verschenen
in het jubileumjaar van de Universiteit Basel / negentienhonderdzestig / 30786 ho, contents
and imprint.
The following coloured sheet gives a photo of the binding of the donated 1555 Fabrica, inside and on the back-side the panoramic view of the landscapes of the muscle men. Then follow ten single and three double leaves which are facsimiles of the presented copy and of pages of this 1555 Fabrica.

Illustration: the reproduced plates from the original edition are: frontispiece, portrait, and the following pages from the Fabrica 1555: 200, 201, 204, 205, 214, 218, 220, 221, 224, 228, 230, 234, 238, 244. Also a folded sheet with a photo of the binding of the copy given by F. Hoffmann-La Roche to the University of Basel.

Publisher’s binding: portfolio (map of three flaps) in white shiny cardboard, printed on the front cover with VESALIUS in purple lettering; on the spine the same title between two fleurons.

Note: There exists also a simultaneously printed edition in English, in French, and in German [see (VI.A.-19a)] and also a tri-lingual and a reduced edition with only the facsimile sheets in an envelope (see next records). A Portuguese translation exists also (communication on May 5th, 2016 by Carlos Soreto). According to Hoffman-La Roche more than 65,000 copies were printed. For a discussion see Cushing p. 233, and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 76, in which this Dutch edition is not mentioned, neither is the German and the reduced edition.

Condition: good, covers of the map slightly discoloured, some folds in de coloured double sheet.

Provenance: bought from antiquarian Theo de Boer in Zwolle (the Netherlands), on April 6th, 1998, for 37,10 guilders.

* (VI.A.-19a) Icones anatomicae Fragment, in German Basel: Hoffmann, 1960
Title-page: Facsimile of the title-page of the 1543 Fabrica.

Collation: 312 x 216 mm. Brochure of 8 leaves with ten single and four folded sheets of facsimiles from Fabrica 1555 in map with three flaps.


[of the loose sheets]: The following sheet gives on standard paper (not shiny as in the Dutch edition) a photo of the binding of the donated 1555 Fabrica, inside and on the back-side the panoramic view of the landscapes of the muscle men. Then follow ten single and three double leaves are facsimiles of the presented copy and of pages of this 1555 Fabrica.

Illustrations: the reproduced plates from the original edition are: frontispiece, portrait, and the following pages from the Fabrica 1555: 200, 201, 204, 205, 214, 218, 220, 221, 224, 228, 230, 234, 238, 244. Also a folded sheet with a photo of the binding of the copy given by F. Hoffmann-La Roche to the University of Basel.

Notes: see VI.A.-19.

Publisher’s binding: portfolio (map of three flaps) in white shiny cardboard, printed on the front cover with VESALIUS in purple lettering; on the spine the same title between two fleurons.

Condition: good, covers of the map slightly discoloured, Fold of the upper right corner of the front cover of the map and some discoloration of the map.

Provenance: bought from Frank Behnke from Antiquariat BehnkeBuch in Neu Kaliss (Germany) on 28th October, 2011, for 41,50 euro.

* (VI.A.-19b) Icones anatomicae Fragment, trilingual Basel: Hoffmann, 1960

Third but reduced copy, lacking the brochure, in a trilingual envelope.

Title-page: [on front of envelope]: Andreas Vesalius - De humani corporis fabrica.

Collation: 322 x 229 mm. An envelope with ten single and three folded sheets of facsimiles from Fabrica 1555.

Imprint and colophon: [on front of envelope]: publisher’s mark of Roche. [in columns with three languages: English, German and French]: This envelope contains / reduced reproductions of the frontispiece / and fifteen other pages, some displaying / woodcuts from drawings by Jan Stefan van Kalkar, / of the celebrated work by / [title] / These plates are reproduced from a copy of the second / edition, printed in Basel by Johannes Oporinus, 1555, / which is generally preferred to the first edition (1543) / for its improved text and finer typography. / The depth of the original pages / is 167⁄8 inches or 42.8 centimeters. / Presented by / F. Hoffmann-La Roche & Co. Ltd. Basel - Switzerland. [back of envelope]: blank.

Contents: [of the loose sheets]: Ten single and three double leaves, being facsimiles of pages of the 1555 Fabrica. Presented by the firm Hoffmann-La Roche to the University of Basel.

Illustration: as above, but without the coloured double sheet with the photo of the binding of the copy given by F. Hoffmann-La Roche to the University of Basel.

Publisher’s binding: 322 x 229 x 3 mm. Envelope in white paper.
Note: There exists also a simultaneously printed edition in other languages. Discussion see Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 76. See also notes in VI.A.-19.

Condition: near fine, envelope slightly discoloured.

Provenance: bought from Leonidas Sakellaridis, Antiquariat Biblion in Zürich (Switzerland), on April 13th, 2004, for 43.00 CHF.

*(VI.A.-19c)*  
**Icones anatomicae**  
**Fragment, in French**  
**Paris, 1961**

Title-page: Facsimile of the title-page of the 1543 *Fabrica*.

Collation: 215 x 279 mm. Map, folded as an envelop with two flaps, with 15 loose sheets with facsimiles of the title-page and 14 muscle-men from *Fabrica 1555*.


Publisher’s binding: an envelope with black lettering; on the upper flap: in a designed banderole VESALiUS; on the bottom flap: in a cartouche like that of the title in the Fabrica 1555 the publisher’s mark instead of Vesalius’s weapon above the text of sheet 1v; back-side: blank.

Condition: good, visible sides of the envelope yellowed.

Provenance: bought from Jean-Louis Ques from Héritage in Pézilla la Rivière (France) on 19th June, 2012, for 15,70 euro.
* [VI.A.-20] Icones anatomicae Fragment, facsimile Munich, [1964]


Contents: the double leaf contains (1) title-page as above, (2-3) two pages of text, and (4) nine reproductions at a reduced scale, with reference to the source. Nine single leaves with frontispiece of the 1555 Fabrica with empty scrolls, portrait, plates of skeletons and muscle men.

Publisher’s binding: portfolio, 570 x 405 x 10 mm, uncolored linen, on the front cover gold lettering ANDREAE / VESALII / ICONES / ANATOMICAE.

Note: the introduction, unsigned, concerns Vesalius and his works, the genesis and history of the woodblocks and the aim of this publication: a limited edition of nine leaves, reproductions after the Munich edition 1934 (VI.A.-16). For a discussion see Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 77.

Condition: near fine, title-page has some faint spots on the right lower half, and short inscription “Me 24711” with lead-pencil.

Provenance: bought from Christopher Pfleiderer, Antiquariat im Baldreit in Baden-Baden (Germany) on November 3th, 2011, for 210,50 euro.

* (VI.A.-21) Icones anatomicae German Munich, [ca. 1970]

Collation: 387 x 290 mm. XVII plates in a paper cover with three flaps.


Illustration: the 17 plates are from the Fabrica:

Die i figur der beine.
Die 3 figur der beine.
Die erste figur der Meuslein
Die annder figur der Meuslein
Die 4 figur der Meuslein
Die 5 figur der Meuslein
Die 9 figur der Meuslein
Die 10 figur der Meuslein
Die eilft figur der meuslein / Die eilft figur der meuslein
Die 15 figur der / Meuslein Welche / sonst mer figurn bey / sich hat Welcher brauch / das nach volgent Register / anzaigen wirt.
Die erste figur dises thails welche de ursprung und / fortgamig der blutadern auss der Leber anzaigt
Die funffte figur der senn- / adern.
Die sechste figur der sehnaadem.

[Plate of abdominal organs]: XIX / XX / XXI / XXII.

Das erste blat der haubt figurn. Die erste figur. Die annder figur. / X / IX / XI / XII.
Das ander blat der haubtfigurn. Die 3 figur. Die 4 figur. / XIII / XIIII.

Publisher’s binding: portfolio 387 x 290 x 12 mm in dark green cloth, with lettering in gold on front cover ANDREAS VESALIUS. Paper cover with frontispiece of the Fabica 1555 with title and imprint in the scrolls as above.

Note: Selection of seventeen (out of 40) plates from the Fabrica and the Epitome with German inscriptions, published by the Hormon-Chemie Verlag (Munich). Here are only 17 plates from the Fabrica with reduced landscape drawings and with short legends in German at the bottom in an elegant lettering.

Not known from which German edition this is a facsimile. Presumably issued as a gift for doctors.

Condition: not complete, 23 sheets are missing.

Provenience: bought on August 28th, 2005, from ebay-seller S. Ilse in Südbrookmeiland (Niedersachsen, Germany) for 50,90 euros.

* (VI.A.-21a) Icones anatomicae German Salzburg, [ca. 1970]

Title-page: as above.

Collation: as above; XXXVI plates in a three flap paper cover.


Illustration: the 36 reproduced plates are:

from the Fabrica:

Die i figur der beine.
Die 2 figur der beine.
Die 3 figur der beine.
Die erste figur der Meuslein
Die annder figur der Meuslein
Die dritte figur der Meuslein
Die 4 figur der Meuslein
Die 5 figur der Meuslein
Die 6 figur der Meuslein
Die 7 figur der Meuslein
Die 9 figur der Meuslein
Die 10 figur der Meuslein
Die eilft figur der meuslein / Die eilft figur der meuslein
Die 13 figur der Meuslein
Die 14 figur der Meuslein
Die 15 figur der / Meuslein Welche / sonst mer figurn bey / sich hat Welcher brauch / das nach volgent Register / anzagen wirt.
Die Viertzehen figuren der Meuslein im / obern thail des Luftrohrs. / [second half of page]:
Die erste figur dises thails welche de ursprung und / fortgamig der blutadern auss der Leber
anzagt
Die andner figur zaigt an die blutadern / bloss von allen thailen des leibs iren fort- / gamig
und austailung durch den / ganntzen leib.
Die 3 figur zaigt an die gantze / bildnus der grossen bulssadern / gantz bloss und von allen
andern / thailen des Leibs abgesonndert.
Die sechste figur zaigt an die ordnung der blutadern unnd / Luftadern dess hims. / [middle of
page]: Der Blutluftadern bildnis VII. / [bottom of page]: Der Luftblutadern austailung VIII.
Die fünffe figur der senn- / adern.
Die sechste figur der sehndern.
[Plate of abdominal organs]: Die erste figur / Die Annder figur / Die dritte figur / Die Viertte
figur.
Die 5 figur / VI / VII / VIII / IX / X.
Die aifte figur / XII / XIII / XIV / XV / XVI / XVII / XVIII.
XIX / XX / XXI / XXII.
Die i figur der Weiblichen glidmals I. / II Die annder / Die drit III / Die fiert IIII / Die funnft
V / Die sechst VI / VII Die sibent / Die Acht VIII / Die Neinde IX.
[Plate of heart and lungs]: Die erste / II / III / IIII / V / VI / VII / VIII / IX / X / XI / XII / XIII.
Das erste blat der haubt figurn. Die erste figur. Die annder figur. / X / IX / XI / XII.
Das ander blat der haubtfigurn. Die 3 figur. Die 4 figur. / XIII / XLI.
Das dritte der haubtfigurn. / Die funnffe figur. / Die sechste figur. / XV / XVI / XVII / XVIII /
XIX / XX.
Das Vierde blat der haubtfigurn. / Die 7 figur. / Die 8 figur. / XXI / XXII / XXIII / XXIII.
Die erste figur der augen. [29 small figures] / Bildnis der instrumenten so man zu / der
Anatomij braucht.
From the Epitome:
[Adam and Eve]
Die 7 figur der senaderug / Die 8 figur der senaderung.

Publisher’s binding: the same as (VI.A.-21).

Note: Selection of 36 (out of the complete set of 40) plates from the Fabrica and the Epitome.

Condition: not complete, four sheets are missing; 5 cm scratch in front cover of portfolio.

Provenance: unknown.

* (VI.A.-22)  Icones anatomicae  English  Budapest, 1972
Title-page: Andreas Vesalius / De Humani / Corporis Fabrica / [blank space] / Magyar
Colophon: Introduction and Legends / by / Prof. Dr. János Szentágothai / Commentaries / by / Dr. László Timár / The Typographer’s Commentaries / by / Tibor Szántó / Translated / by / Susanna Horn / © Medicina, 1968 / Second edition.

Collation: 327 x 240 mm, 56 leaves: pp. [5], 6-109, [3].


Publisher’s binding: 327 x 240 x 14 mm, 56 leaves. Covers light blue cloth; in gold letters on the front Vesalius, on the spine Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis * De Humani Corporis Fabrica. Ivory colored wrappers with in black lettering Andreas Vesalius / De Humani Corporis Fabrica / [at bottom of tomb]: With the compliments of / Medimpex and with second and third skeleton from the Fabrica; protected by plastic sheet.

Note: Between Vesalius’s portrait and the annotated iconography of his Fabrica is a biography of Vesalius (pp. 13-[40]) signed János Szentágothai. The biography places Vesalius in a historical context and is illustrated with 8 woodcuts from other works and 13 pasted on illustrations from the work of Leonardo da Vinci; except for p. 13 the text is arranged in two columns.

Medimpex is the name for a more than 60 years old Hungarian pharmaceutical industry and its trade abroad.


from Epitome. [3v]: blank. Then follow the 17 sheets [4-20], each with a skeletal figure or a muscle man of the Fabrica, and all with blank verso.

Publisher’s binding: hard board case of 431 x 289 x 16 mm, with hard covers in yellow green cloth; on front cover in gold lettering And. Vesalius. [his signature]. Inside of front cover frontispice of the Fabrica 1543; inside of back-cover blank.

Note: On inside of back-cover a square bookplate in black and white: Ex Libris H.A. Brouwer.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought on November 3th, 2012 from Conchita van der Linde, antiquarian of Boek & Glas (Amsterdam, The Netherlands) for 25 euros.


Collation: 375 x 275 mm, 128 leaves, title-page printed in black and red.


Publisher’s binding: 375 x 275 x 31 mm; brown cloth covers, front and back-cover at bottom in red letters André Vésale, and gold tooled first muscle man (front view) on front cover and ninth muscle man (back view) on the back-cover, gold lettering on the spine André Vésale iconographie anatomique. This is copy no. 248 (out of 5000).
Note: Collection of all the plates in the *Fabrica, Epitome* and *Tabulae sex*. A discussion of the lettrines is included.

The skeletal plates of the *Tabulae sex* shown here are plagiaries and are even not all from the same edition as some show the initials “V.H.” in the first and second skeletal figure, typical for edition II.-8 (plagiary of Cologne), and being possibly a ‘printer’s device’. I thank Omer Steeno for that observation. The legends have been translated in French.


Condition: near fine, plastic wrappers damaged.


A second near fine copy (but with plastic wrappers damaged) was bought from Antiquariat Querido, Frank Hermann in Düsseldorf on 27.06.2012 for 50.00 euro. Donated to Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno on July 8th, 2012.

* (VI.A.-24a)  **Icones anatomicae**  **Spanish**  **Barcelona, 1983**

Title-page: *Andrés Vésalio / iconografía anatómica / (Fabrica, Epitome, Tabulae sex) /* [in column 1]: / Pierre Huard / Profesor de Anatomia / Director del UER de Estudios / Médicos y Biológicos de Saint-Pères / Director del Instituto de Historia de la / Medicina y de la Farmacia / de la Universidad René Descartes. / [in column 2]: / Marie-José Imbault-Huart / Doctor en Letras / Profesor ayudante de Historia de la Medicina / Secretaria general del Instituto de Historia / de la Medicina y de la Farmacia / de la Universidad René Descartes. / Miembro de la Academia Internacional / de Historia de la Medicina /[blank space] / [Editor’s logo] /Laboratorios / Beecham, S.A.


Collation: 201 x 150 mm, 134 leaves, title-page printed in black.

Contents: [1]: *Andrés Vésalio / iconografía anatómica / (Fabrica, Epitome, Tabulae sex)*, half title. [2]: blank. [3]: Title-page as above. [4]: colophon. [5]: Justification by Beecham laboratories (Spain) with the mentioning of other titles in their series *Historia de la Medicina*. [6]: blank. 7-[256]: Spanish translation of the content of (VI.A.-24), with the plates, in reduced format. [257]: [Editor’s logo in red], in black: *Laboratorios / Beecham, S.A.* [258]: blank. [259-262]: Products by Beecham. [263]: *Otros Productos de Investigación / Beecham.* [264]: blank. [265]: List of those products in red. [266]- [268]: blank.

Publisher’s binding: 201 x 150 x 23 mm; red simili leather hard covers, front-cover and spine in gold lettering *Andrés Vésalio*, and beneath gold tooled logo of Beecham, on the front cover followed by *Laboratorios Beecham, S.A.*

Notes: This is a Spanish (Catalan) translation of (VI.A.-24) with the plates in reduced size on a yellow background with light blue structural elements. The name of the translator is not mentioned. see:
My copy has on the half-title-page and on the inside of the back-cover a stamp of the previous owner: Ricard Calabuig Escoda / Metge / n.° col. 16.858. Ricard Calabuig Escoda (1958-2001) was a surgeon and poet in Bracelona.

Condition: some wearing of upper and lower edges of spine, otherwise near fine.

Provenance: bought from Carlos Gonzalez Fernandez, El Boletin, Barcelona (Spain) in February 2014 for 26.00 euros.

* (VI.A.-25) Icones anatomicae English Athens (Georgia), 1996


Colophon: [in brochure]: The first edition of The Panorama of Vesalius is / limited to 250 copies on Folio Antique paper. / The plates were printed letterpress by Heritage / Printers, Charlotte, North Carolina. The intro- / duction was set in Monotype Janson and printed / letterpress by Golgonooza Letter Foundry & / Press Ashuelot, New Hampshire. Typographical / design and production were handled by Dwight / Agner and Paul Hayden Duensing in Athens, / Georgia. The portfolio is by the Campbell- / Logan Bindery of Mineapolis. / [at bottom]: ISBN 0-937543-54-3 / © G. S. T. Cavanagh.

Collation: portfolio of 496 x 425 mm. Inside a brochure of 309 x 229 with 12 leaves, front page printed in sepia, title-page printed in black and sepia, and two large folded sheets (one four times, the other three times) of 482 x 406 mm and printed in sepia.

Contents: [i]: The introduction. [ii]: blank. [iii]: The Panorama of Vesalius, half-title. [iv]: blank. [v]: title-page. [vi]: blank. [vii-xvii]: text of the introduction, signed G. S. Terence Cavanagh / Emeritus Professor of / Medical Literature, / Duke University. [xviii-xx]: blank. [xxi]: colophon. [xxii-xxiv]: blank. Inside a four times folded sheet with The front views and a three times folded sheet with The back views, both panoramic.

Publisher’s binding: Portfolio of 496 x 425 x 11 mm, with hard covers in beige cloth, on ivory coloured label the title in black and sepia. Inside a pocket of the front cover the brochure with the introduction, inside a pocket on de back-cover the two large folded sheets.

Note: The eight front and six back views have been reversed from the published originals and assembled to demonstrate the continuity of the background scenes which form two landscape sequences as originally envisioned by the artist. The panoramic has already been depicted in the coloured sheet in VI.A-19 and in the first edition of Cushing (1943, fig. fifty-nine).

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Henry Ramsey Old Books in Athens, Georgia (USA) on 19th May, 2004, for 174.00 USD.
* (VI.A.-26)  Book VII, Chapter 1  Latin/Italian  Padua (Italy), 1990

Title: Il Cervello, come anche i sensi e i movimente volontari, e strutturato in funzione dell’anima egemone.


Note: This is the Italian translation of chapter 1 of Book VII of the Fabrica 1543 ‘The brain, chair of the soul and origin of our senses and voluntary motions’ by Giorgio Zanchin, professor in neurology at the University of Padua. The translation is preceded with a discussion.

Condition: copy.

Provenance: the copy was send by the author on January 4th, 2012.

* (VI.A.-27)  [Icones anatomicae]  German  Munchen [n.d.]

This is merely a brochure of 8 folio’s, not numbered, and without real title-page.


Collation: 29,6 x 21, 8 folio’s.

Contents: [i]: the second plate of the muscles from the Fabrica. [ii]: Vesalius (first text page, with portrait of Vesalius from the Fabrica). [iii]: the sixth plate of the muscles. [iv]: the seventh plate of the muscles. [v]: the first plate of the muscles. [vi]: the eleventh plate of the muscles. [vii]: the fifth plate of the muscles. [viii]: the fourth plate of the muscles. [ix]: the twelfth plate of the muscles. [x]: the thirteenth plate of the muscles. [xi]: the third plate of the muscles. [xii]: the tenth plate of the muscles. [xiii]: second text page, with the second figure from the Epitome (reduced size). [xiv]: the fourteenth plate of the muscles. [xv]: third text page, with the fourth figure from the Epitome (reduced size). [xvi]: the ninth plate of the muscles.

Note: text on Vesalius’s life and significance by Claudia HOFF

Publisher’s binding: 29,6 x 21, 8 folio’s size A4, with paper cover. Front cover: in green, above: emblem of the editor Luitpold, in the middle a plain square within a square frame; back cover: colophon as above. Inner covers are both blank.

Condition: fine.
Provenance: bought at Liber Antiqua in Krems an der Donau (Österreich) on February 9th, 2015, for 24,68 euros.

* (VI.A.-28) Praefatio Spanish 2004
Title: Al divino Carlos V, máximo y siempre invicto Emperador. Prefacio de Andrés Vesalio a sus libros Sobre la estructura del cuerpo humano.


Note: this Spanish translation of the Praefatio from the Fabrica 1543 by Amparo Pérez Gutiérrez can be downloaded from:
<http://www.dendramedica.es/revista/v3n1/Traduccion_al_espanol_del_Prefacio_de_De_Humani_Corporis_Fabrica.pdf>

For a discussion see from the same translater: ‘Nota a la traducción al español del Prefacio de De Humani Corporis Fabrica’ in Ars Medica. Revista de Humanidades, 2004, 1: 156-158; download from:

* (VI.A.-29) Liber I, chapter 39 Valencia, 1549
Heading / Intro: Audi adverbum si placet, quae fuse, eleganter & erudite ut vere praescripsit, calce primi libri suae fabricae humanae de parando Scheleto.

In: Petro XIMENO, Dialogus de re medica compendiaria ratione, praeter quaedam alia, universam Anatomen humani corporis perstringens, summe necessarius omnibus Medicinae candidatis, Valentiae, per Ioannem Mey Flandrum, 1549.

Note: This book is a dialogue between the citizen Caspar and the physician Andreas (the author Pedro Jimeno, professor of medicine in Valencia, acting as Andreas Vesalius). A verbatim transcription of Vesalius’ last but one chapter in book I of the Fabrica 1543, but without its title: Quo artificio humani corporis ossa & cartilagines inspectioni praeparentur, comes on ff 26v-38r. According to his epistola nuncupatoria (Valencia, July 31st 1549) Pedro Jimeno (1515-1595) was a former student of Vesalius in Padua. (see section XIII)

The book is dedicated to Pedro Lazaro, court physician of Mencia de Mendoza. She was marchioness of Zenete and the aunt of William the Silent. She married a first time in 1524 with Henry III count of Nassau, Lord of Breda, his third marriage. He was the brother of William the Rich, father of William the Silent. She was one of the richest heiresses of Spain and emperor Charles V did not want her to marry with the duke of Alva, fearing that his possessions would grow to much. Therefore he gave her to his friend and councillor Henry III. They had a son, but he died after a short time. But Henry II had already a son from his second marriage: our Renatus (René) of Nassau, prince of Orange, who was killed at St Dizier and whose post mortem was done by Vesalius. So Mencia was the stepmother of Renatus of Nassau. Mencia stayed a long time in the Netherlands (Breda and Turnhout). The humanist Vives was her teacher, and he dedicated to her some of his works, e.g. On the Intellectual Education of Women. She was very knowledgeable about Latin and Greek. At the death of Henry III in 1538 she returned to Spain where she remarried in 1540 with Ferdinand of
Aragon, duke of Calabria and viceroy of Valencia (+ 1550). She died in 1554 and has been buried in Valencia. A girls' high school in Breda has been named after her the Mencia de Mendoza Lyceum.

Interestingly Jimeno also mentions having discovered the third auditory ossicle (stapes), whereas Vesalius himself knew only two of them (f. 20r). Mostly that discovery is attributed to Ingrassia. The work can be downloaded from books.google.

* (VI.A.-30) Icones anatomicae Italian Padua, 1953

Title-page: [On soft front cover]: Icones anatomicae / [reproduction of title-page of Johannes de Ketham (Mondino)] / Dieci Tavole Rare / di anatomia umana da Vesalio a Caldano / Tosello / Editore – Padova.

Contents: [1 r°-v°]: blank. [2r°]: La / Vister / ricorda / il suo decimo anno / di vita / [below:] / MCMLIII / [line]. [2v°]: blank. [3r°-6v°]: Illustrated introductory text signed Luigi Servolini. [7r°-7v°]: Second illustrated introductory text signed Luigi Bucciante. [8r°]: Origin of tose illustrations. [8v°-9r°]: blank. [9v°]: Colophon, as below. [10r°]: Icones anatomicae. [10v°]: blank. [11r°-20v°]: ten folios with on the recto-side an anatomical plate in reduced format, and on the verso-side a short description of the plate. Only two of the ten plates are vesalian:

1° plate 1: r°: Pen drawing with wash of the frontispiece of the Fabrica. v°: Designo originale di Giovanni Stefano Calcar / (1567?) [sic] per il frontespizio del “De humani / corporis fabrica” di Andrea Vesalio.

2° plate 3: r°: Nude male, with skull in left hand. v°: Andrea Vesalio “De humani corporis fabrica” / incisione attributa a Stefano Calcar. (Venezia / 1568).


Collation: 440 x 325 mm. Twenty leaves.

Notes: In-folio. Luigi Servolini and Luigi Bucciante are both dealing with the relationship between artist and anatomist.

The significance of the pen drawing (plate 1) has been discussed by Paul Oskar KRISTELLER, ‘Eine Zeichnung von Johann Stephan von Calcar zum Titelblatte der Anatomie des Andreas Vesalius’ in Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, Wien, 1908, no. 2, pp. 19-24 (see <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglitData/tmp/pdf/mgvk1908.pdf>). The plate is reproduced by him, but also in Cushing (1962, fig. 51), and Saunders & O’Malley (1950, 1973, plate 93), as it was by the Bremer Presse (1934-35). All those reproductions are similar, except the present Italian one, which shows many differences and is overall inferior in execution. here the name of ‘Jean Calkar’ (in French!) is hardly readable, whereas the year ‘1675’ is. According to Kristeller this plate was a study by van Calcar himself in preparation for his drawing of the frontispiece in the Fabrica. Is his assertion right? Did van Calcar made more than one study? Or are the plates simply later imitations by (an)other artist(s) reproducing this masterpiece as a study or an exercise? in 1657? And in the first place and more importantly: was van Calcar really the artist of the Vesalian plates? The assertion by Kristeller for this is based on the remarks made by Vasari and Van Mander.

The second plate with the male nude is ‘Adam’ from Vesalius’s Epitome; it is not part of his Fabrica, as the legend says.
Printer’s binding: 440 x 325 x 9 mm. Folder with ivory coloured paper covers. Front cover with red and black lettering (see title-page), back cover blank. The leaves with the introductory text are held together with a red string. The ten tables are loose.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought January 2016 from Giorgio PTS, Rome (Italy), for 42 euros.

* (VI.A.-31) German fragment Thesis Bäumer Munich, 1979

Notes: Inaugural dissertation held by the university library of the Ludwig Maximilians Universität Munich. This thesis gives a translation into German of the chapters 1 to 6 of book III of the Fabrica 1543. Introduction (p. 1-22) with discussion on the fibres in the wall of blood vessels (veins and arteries) and the trachea according to Vesalius. Also on the lymphnodes, the glands, the liver and the vena porta system, the stomach and the digestion, the vv. hemorrhoidales, and the origin of the v. cava.

* (VI.A.-32) German fragment Thesis Eibl Munich, 1979

Note: Translation of the chapters 8 to 15 of book VI, dealing with the heart, in the Fabrica 1543. Introduction (p. 1-11) with discussion of the blood circulation according to Vesalius.

* (VI.A.-33) Praefatio Latin/French Arles, 1987


Collation: 217 x 114 mm; 32 leaves: pp. [1-8] 9-59 [60-64].

Publisher’s binding: 217 x 114 x 5 mm; dull pink front cover with title in black center, and name of editor; white back-cover with editor’s introduction.

Note: This is a new edition of [VI.A.-11j], the translation by Louis Bakelants, but of the preface only.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Actes Sud - Inserm in Montmelian (France) on July 27th, 2000, for 11,05 euro.

* (VI.A.-34) Multiple Chapters English 1964

Title: Appendix: Translations.


Note: In the appendix (pp. 315-419) O’Malley gives a total of 26 English translations from the 1543 Fabrica, the consilia and various letters.


No other editions planned (personal communication with the editor April 25, 1983).

Condition: near fine, only slightly used.

Provenance: unknown.

* (VI.A.-35) Multiple Chapters Swedish 1921


Första boken av Andreas Vesalius’ framställning av människokroppens byggnad, ägnad åt de organ, vilka uppbära och stöda hela kroppen och vid vilka alla dess delar äro fästa. Nittonde kapitlet. Om bröstkorgens ben.

Sjätte boken av Andreas Vesalius’ framställning av människokroppens byggnad, ägnad åt hjärtat och de organ, som betjäna detsamma. Femtonde kapitlet. Hjärtats och des hittills omtalade delars uppgift och förrättningar samt förklaring av deras byggnad.

Sjunde boken av Andreas Vesalius’ framställning av människokroppens byggnad, i vilken behandlas hjärnan, sätet för kroppens styrelse och de animaliska förmögenheterna, samt sinnesorganen. Nittonde kapitlet. Några anmärkningar om operationer på levande djur.

In: Robert TIGERSTEDT, Dokument ur medicinens historia under sextonde och sjuttonde århundradet (Paracelsus, Vesalius, Colombo, Harvey, Malpighi, Rudbeck, Paré, Sydenham), till svenska återgivna av Robert Tigerstedt [Document on the history of medicine in the 16th and 17th century,..., edited in Swedish by Robert Tigerstedt], Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1921, 564 pp., ill.

Note: A biography of Vesalius is followed by the Swedish translation of the preface of the Fabrica. (pp. 144-164) and of the chapters on the sternum (pp. 165-172), the heart (pp. 173-198) and the vivisection (pp. 199-219).

Condition: near fine, corners bumped.

Provenance: bought on May 24th, 2004 from Lønke & Søn in Copenhagen (Denmark) for 667 Danish crowns.
* (VI.A.-36) Praeatio and letter to Oporinus Italian Padua, 1964
Title: Andrea Vesalio. Prefazione alla “Fabrica” e Lettera a G. Oporino (Testo e versione) a cura di Loris Premuda


Condition: covers aged, otherwise near fine.

Provenance: bought on April 11th, 2017 from Paolo Salvarani (Modena, Italy) for 33,80 euros.


Note: See also no. 173.91. The English translation of chapter 39 on pp. 121-136, had the Dutch translation of (VI.A.-37) as a source.

* (VI.A.-39) Icones anatomicae Dutch Antwerp/Amsterdam, 2017

Note: Extensive iconography from Vesalius’ Fabrica and Epitome on pp. 27-73, accompanied with discussions of his life and works on pp. 10-73.
VI.B.
Epitome

For his enumeration of the *Epitome* Cushing deviated from de Feyfer, who listed the *editio princeps* as VI.B.6, continuing his numbers for the *Fabrica* editions. (Cushing p. 111)


A copy of the *Epitome* can be consulted e.g. on the site of the BIUSanté and of the University of Padua <https://fc.cab.unipd.it/fedora/get/o:55673/bdef:Book/view?language=en#page/6/mode/2up>


A clear-cut distinction between the editions belonging to this section and those of other sections, such as VI.C and VI.D, is not always possible, as Elly Cockx-Indestege as well as Jacqueline Vons quite rightly indicated. Even Cushing himself catalogued the *Epitomes* by Botter, Fontanus, Fuchs and Paaw in section VI.D. As far as possible, here I followed theirs and Cushing’s examples as well.

VI.B.-1  Epitome  1st ed.  Basel, June 1543
Title-page: [upper scroll in frontispiece] *Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, scholae / medicorum Patavinae professoris, suorum de / Humani corporis fabrica librorum / Epitome. / [lower*

The coloured Epitome in the University of Cambridge can be consulted at their Digital Library <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-CCF-00046-00036/1>

***(VI.B.-1a) Epitome, facsimile***

*Stuttgart, [1975]*


Colophon: [Ma] Basileae, ex officina / Ioannis Oporini, Anno M D XLIII. / Mense Iunio.

Collation: Large folio. A-M¹; 12 unnumbered ll. (between first en last fly-leaf)

Contents: Aa frontispiece, title, privilege and address to reader.  
Ab dedication to Prince Philip dated August 13, 1542.  
Ba-b Chapter I on bones and cartilages.  
Bb-Da Chapter II on ligaments and voluntary muscles.  
Da-Ea Chapter III on organs of nutrition.  
Ea-b Chapter IV on the heart and its function.  
Eb-Fb Chapter V on the cerebrum and its nerves.  
Fb-Ga Chapter VI on organs of generation; followed by directions for the use of the following plates. On the lower half of Ga is a woodcut portrait of Vesalius measuring 196x145 mm.  
Gb front view of skeleton.  
Ha back view of third and fourth layer of deep muscles.  
Hb third muscle layer.  
Ia first and second muscle layers from behind.  
Ib first and second muscle layers from in front.  
Kb lateral view of celebrated ‘thinking’ skeleton from the Fabrica, but with another distich on the pedestal, meaning “All splendor is resolved by death, and through the snow-white limbs / The Stygian colour lays waste the beauty of the form.”  
Kb nude male figure holding skull.  
La nude female figure.  
Lb index of characters marking all figures.  
Ma chart of brain and nerves; errata, register with directions for binding, and colophon.  
Mb blank.

The leaves [Na-Ob] with the little separate figures to be cut out and pasted are not reproduced here.

On the inside of the back-cover is pasted a rectangular label:  
*Ten hundred copies of Vesal’s / EPITOME / were printed for the members of / MEDICINA RARA / [Editors emblem: Two snakes climbing three flowers] / at the presses of Union Grafica, S.A., Madrid. / The plates for this printing were made from / an original copy of the
1543 edition dedicated to / Crown Prince Philip (later King Philip II. of Spain). / Five hundred copies of the deluxe edition / have been bound in three-quarter leather and / antique patterned Fabriano rug paper. / All deluxe copies are numbered in roman numerals / I-D and are accompanied by a set of four / illustrations in a separate folder. / Five hundred copies of the regular edition have been bound in cloth with leather labels / and numbered in arabic numerals 1-500. / All copies were bound in the ateliers / of Richard Mayer Stuttgart, West Germany. / This copy is number ...

Note: The pages are a facsimile made from an not specified original copy of the 1543 edition. As most originals have been folded due to its size, the text of this Epitome shows horizontal traces due to this folding on the folio’s A, B, C, F, L, and M, and the middle rules of some of their pages are difficult to read.

Laid in is a copy of a two page introduction in English to the Epitome (Stuttgart: Medicina Rara, 1975). Limited edition of 1000 copies (500 regular and 500 de luxe ones). This is copy no. 77 of the regular edition.

Publisher’s binding: Regular edition. Elephant folio: 500 x 370 x 10 mm, 11 folios printed recto-verso, the twelfth only recto. Bound in cloth with brown leather labels, printed in gold: ANDREAS VESALIUS / EPITOME / - 1543 - on front cover, and ANDREAS VESALIUS. EPITOME on spine.

Condition: good, the Epitome is fine, but the supplement is a photocopy only.

Provenience: bought from Antiquariat-Verlag Cupuri, Klaus Beier in Thannhausen (Germany) on February 12th, 2007 for 157.95 euro (217.17 USD).

A second not numbered copy was bought from Rheinberg-Buch, Andreas Meier in Bergisch Gladbach (Germany) on December 3th, 2014 for 49,85 euro. A good copy as the Epitome itself is fine, but the supplement is lacking.

* (VI.B.-1b) Epitome, facsimile Padua, 1983

Title-page: Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, Scholae Medicorum / Patavinae Professoris, / Suorum de Humani / Corporis Fabrica / Librorum / Epitome / [below]: / Edizioni Bado & C. / Padova.

Colophon: Edizione di duecentocinquanta esemplari. / Testo composto a mano in carattere / Caslon e stampato a cura di Luigi / Maestri su carta velata avorio /espressamente fabbricata. / Legatura in mezza Pelle / con quadranti in carta / al tino del Moulin / de Larroque. / Milano / MCMLXXXIII / Esemplare n.

Collation: 510 x 383 mm., 22 leaves.

Contents: [1-2]: blank. [3]: half title Epitome. [4]: blank. [5]: Title-page as above. [6]: ©1983 By Edizioni BADO & C. – Via Tadi 21 – 35100 Padova. 7-[10]: Introductory text on the artist(s) of the plates, signed Vittorio Sgarbi. 11-[15]: Introductory text on Vesalius’s life and works, signed Mario Schiavone. This is followed by 5 lines of Latin text to correct for cracks in the original folio’s C, L, and M. [16]: blank. [17-40]: Text and plates of the Epitome proper: same as VI.B.-1. [41]: Colophon as above. [42]: blank. [43-44]: blank.
Publisher’s binding: 500 x 380 x 11 mm., front and back hard covers with a yellow-gray paper finish in Moulin de Larroque, spine in bordeau leather and in gold lettering Andreae Vesalii . De Humani Corporis Fabrica Epitome.

Note: Only 250 numbered copies printed. This copy has no number inscribed. Facsimile on a unique very heavy ivory colored paper. Not known after which original this facsimile was made. The text of the Epitome is preceded by two introductory texts. Horizontal traces visible due to the folding of the original on A, B, C, F, L, and M.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Elisabetta Alessandrini Bioni of the Ancient Bookstore in Milano (Italy) November 2014 for 250 euros.

* (VI.B.-1c) Epitome, facsimile Madrid, 1985

Title-page: same as VI.B.-1.

Collation: 500 x 380 mm., 12 leaves.

Caption titel of the Spanish brochure: Epitome de Vesalio beneath the figure of Adam, [16] pp.

Contents: same as VI.B.-1.

Publisher’s binding: 500 x 380 x 11 mm., hard cover in Geltex with frontispiece of the original work.

Note: Only 475 numbered copies printed. This is copy no. 273. Facsimile on special heavy paper. Not known after which original this facsimile was made. This Epitome in facsimile goes with a Spanish introduction by Pedro Lain Entralgo on the Epitome 345 x 280 mm. and 16 pages. Weight totals 1649 g.

Also here some pages of the Epitome show horizontal traces due to the folding of the original on A, B, C, F, L, and M. Closer inspection and a comparison with my copies of (VI.B.-1a) and (VI.B.-1b) show that, in each of the three facsimiles, these traces manifest themselves on the same places and are identical. This proves that the same original has been used for all three facsimiles, or that the latter are copies of the first one.

Condition: near fine: slight bumps at corners.

Provenance: bought from Octavio de Giego Alameda, antiquarian of Epopeya (Zaragoza, Spain) in 2012 for 240 euros.

(VI.B.-1d) Epitome, facsimile Tokyo, 2015

Notes: This is a facsimile edition by Maruzen-Yushodo Co., Ltd, 10-10 Yotsuya Sakamachi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 160-0002 Japan. Made by photographing a 1543 original first edition belonging to a private collector in the United States.
In order to recreate the feel of these first edition, all stains, marks and creases on the pages of the original have been faithfully reproduced. This Fabrica is is luxuriously bound in tanned, hand-colored bovine leather, with a banded leather spine. Selection of the paper, the book design, printing and bindin have been carried out by Wydawnictwo Tadeusz Serocki in Pelplin, Poland.

Explanatory note in Japanese-English bilingual texts by Tatsuo SASKAI (Professor at Juntendo University) ‘Fabrica and Epitome, the international texts by Vesalius that formed the foundation of modern medicine’ and by Frederik CRYNS (Associate Professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies) ‘Science and the Art in the Fabrica’.

Edited together with the Fabrica 1543 in a complete set limited to 100 sets. Published by Yushodo, 2015. ISBN: 978-4-8419-3280-5. Price: JPY 570,000.

Explanatory Note for Andreas Vesalius, Fabrica and Epitome: 300 mm x 230 mm; 25, [3] pages. Together with the Fabrica in a luxury box.

VI.B.-2 Epitome German Basel, August 9, 1543

Colophon (on the last folio P): Gedruckt zu Basel, bey Johann Herpst, ge- / nant Oporino, unnd vollendet am neünten Tag des / Augustmonat, nach der Geburt Christi im[m] / MDXLiiJ Jar.


A remarkable detail in Vesalius’s portrait in this edition deserves our attention here. At the exhibition Vesalius Leuven ( 01/10/2014 – 18/01/2015) the copy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Brussels) was exhibited too and the book was opened at the page with his portrait. It was Theodoor Goddeeris who drew my attention to the upper left corner of it where a small wood chip is missing, as is also the case in the copy in Munich in the Bibliotheca regia monacensis. A third copy seen is that of the catalogue for the Universität Basel-Bern. This one can be downloaded and here also the chip is missing. This proofs that the defect was already present during the printing of the German Epitome: the small piece of wood must have disappeared in the summer of 1543, during the short period of conservation between the printing of the Latin and the German version, or at the end of the printing of the Latin Epitome, or during the printing of the German version. The defect does not appear for the first time in the China-root Epistle, as indicated by Cushing (see Cuching p. 163), but much earlier: in any way before August 9th 1543.
Another thing, also remarked by Theodoor, is that in the copy of the Royal Library in Brussels, the preface to Philip II is on folio A r°, as it is described by Cushing, and the preface to the duke of Württemberg on folio A v°, where this is the opposite in the copies of Munich and Basel. Things have changed during printing. Cushing only mentions seven copies in the USA, the only ‘European’ one being the copy he bought himself from Ludwig Rosenthal (Münich) in September 1909. The copy he mentioned in Leuven is no longer present in their catalogue, perhaps it was burned during the great fire in the first World War as well; see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, ‘De brand van de Leuvense universiteitsbibliotheek in 1914 en Vesalius’ Fabrica’ [The Fire of the University Library in Leuven in 1914 and Vesalius’s Fabrica] in Ex Officina, 2014, 27 (no. 3): 2-4, ill. From <http://www.e-rara.ch/doi/10.3931/e-rara-2102> the copy of University of Basel can be downloaded. Such is also the case of the copy of Munich.

[VI.B.-2a] Epitome Latin London, 1545
Caption title: Andreae Vesalii Brux / ellensis suorum de humani corporis / fabrica librorum epitome.

In: Thomas GEMINUS, Compendiosa / totius Anatomie delineatio, aere / exarata: per Thomam Geminum. / Londini.

Notes: See VI.C.-2 in Cushing pp. 122-123. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 82 and Jacqueline Vons pp. lxxxix-xc.

* (VI.B.-2b) Fragments of Anatomia Deudsch and Epitome, Ms. in Yiddish

[Hesse?, c. 1590-1595?]

Text: an anonymous Yiddish translation, following the structure of the six chapters of the Epitome and Anatomia Deudsch. Beginning words: Fon der menshn koyrbrs antomei, eyn kurtsr ober ust folkommrn unt noytslikhr oyztsug oyz der Andri Vesulia fun Brisl bukhern fon im zelbst eyn Iteynshr sprokh beshrbn unt turkh den alboen vriem fertolmetsh (transl.: On Human Body Anatomy, a short, but complete and useful, excerpt of the work of Andreas Vesalius from Brussels, written by him in Latin and translated by [...]).

Collation: Paper, i (modern) + 62 + i (modern); 1¹ 2¹ 3² 4⁶ (-1); [1-59, i (stub), 60-61], modern foliation in pencil, upper left recto.

Physical description of this Ms.: 62 paper leaves, 202 x 155 mm., bound to 209 x 165 mm. Watermark similar to Briquet Aigle 154-155 (Babenhausen, 1593; Eltsville, near Mainz, 1593-1597).

Layout and script: Written in 19-26 long lines, in Ashkenazi script, with a few words in Latin in humanistic cursive script (f. 2r).

Binding: Modern leather, blind-stamped (Les Enluminures).

Origin: Written in Germany, perhaps in the Hesse region between 1590 and 1595 (based on watermark).
Located in: Rare Book & Manuscript Library University of Pennsylvania LJS 485.

Note: The data for this record are taken from the following sources:
<www.textmanuscripts.com/descriptions_manuscripts/description_267.pdf> being the link to a page from the website of the auction house that sold the manuscript some years ago.
and <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/5809102> being the link to the full beautifully digitized manuscript of the work and for which I thank Rabbi Edward Reichman, MD, Professor, Emergency Medicine, and Professor, Education and Bioethics, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University (New York).

Provenance: Download on February 11th, 2009, from les Enluminures, Paris,
<www.textmanuscripts.com/descriptions_manuscripts/description_267.pdf> This is only a copy of four pages of the manuscript and an explanatory text of another four pages, written in Germany, perhaps in the region of Hesse, and dating from c. 1590-1595.
For a complete copy see <http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/5809102>

**VI.B.-3**

**Epitome**

Basel, 1555

Title-page: same as Latin *Epitome* of 1543.

Notes: The only difference in the two issues appears to lie in the last leaf M, the type of which has been entirely reset and the date changed from *MD XLIII Mense Junio* to *MD LV Mense Aprili*.
Only one copy is known to exist. It was once in the possession of the Italian anatomist, Antonio Scarpa, and now in the Uppsala University Library. Descriptions in Cushing pp. 115-116 and Jacqueline Vons p. xcii. See also Hans SALLANDER, *The Bibliotheca Walleriana in the Uppsala University Library*, Uppsala, 1951, 26 pp.; and Erik WALLER, ‘Eine unbekannte Ausgabe von Vesals Epitome’ in *Lychnos*, 1936, pp. 251-260, ill.

**VI.B.-4**

**Epitome**  
Latin without illustrations  
Paris, 1560


Notes: Printed in italic type without the illustrations. Descriptions in Cushing p. 117, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 82, and Jacqueline Vons p. xcv.

**[VI.B.-4a]**

**Epitome**  
Latin  
Paris, 1565

Caption title: *De ossibus …*

In: Jacobus GREVINUS, *Anatomes delineatio*.

Notes: Mention in Elly Cockx-Indestege’s *Census* p. 83; more full description as VI.C.-6 on pp 91-92 and in Jacqueline Vons’s *Résumé* pp. xcv-xcvi.
[VI.B.-4b] Epitome Latin Antwerp, 1566
Caption title: *Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, suorum de humani / corporis fabrica librorum epitome.*

In: J. de Valverde, *Vivae imagines.*


[VI.B.-4c] Epitome Dutch Antwerp, 1568
Caption title: *Het Epitome, oft / cort verhael vande boecken van Andries Vesalius Bruesselaer, / vande Fabrijeck van d’menschelick lichaem.*


[VI.B.-4d] Epitome French Paris, 1569
Caption title: *Abrege de l’anatomie.*

In: Jacobus Grevinus, *Les portraicts anatomiques.*


(VI.B.-4e) Epitome Latin, fac simile Paris, 2001
Caption title: *Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, suorum de humani / corporis fabrica librorum Epitome.*

In: Valverde, *Vivae imagines.*

Note: This is the edition of the Epitome in (VI.D.-43a), which appears at the end of this new issue in Paris, 2001 of *Vivae / imagines / partium / corporis / humani / aereis formis / expressae. /[ornament] / Antverpiae. / Ex officina Christo- / phori Plantini. / M. D. LXVI.*
VI.B.-5 Epitome Dutch Brugge, 1569


* VI.B.-5a Epitome Dutch facsimile Brussels, 1947


Collation: 300 x 245 mm; 64 leaves.

Publisher’s binding: 300 x 245 x 13 mm (folio); olive-grey wrappers, with reproduction of the title-page (on the upper left quarter of the page). The first four (of the 64) leaves are 300 x 240 mm, whereas the second four are only 300 x 160, the third four are 300 x 240, the fourth four are 300 x 160 again, and so on. The uneven pages are printed in the upper left quarter of the folio (upper half on the smaller pages), the even pages are printed on the upper right quarter of the broader folios. In a dark green slipcase, printed on the front in gold with a small oval with a caduceus beneath a crown and between two different branches in; slipcase possibly of a different origin.

Note: Ioa. Valterius Viringus (Jan Wouters, Leuven 1569 - ?) was the translator into Dutch. This is no. 12, printed on Hollands van Gelder. Regular copies are all 225 mm x 150 mm and no slipcase is mentioned.


Condition: front soft cover loose, crack in spine with yellowing by age; inside fine, pages not cut; in slipcase.

Provenance: bought from Laurens Hesselink (Antiquariaat Forum) in ‘t Goy-Houten (Utrecht, Netherlands) in April 2013, for 265 euros.

[VI.B.-5b] Epitome Latin Antwerp, 1579
Caption title: Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, suorum de / humani corporis fabrica / librorum epitome.

In: J. de VALVERDE, Vivae imagines.


* (VI.B.-5c) Epitome Dutch Brussels, 1951
Title-page: same as VI.B.-5a.

Collation: 252 x 167 mm; 64 leaves.

Colophon: [Emblem: Fide et taciturnitate] / Van Dat Epitome ofte Cort Begrijp der Anatomien / And. Vesalii, wt het Latijn in neder-duudsch naer den / oprechten zinne ouergestelt, door M. Ian Wouters / ghegagiert Medicijn ende Chirurgijn / der stede vander Vere / in Zeelant, / naer het enig bekend exemplaar / der Gentse Universiteitsbibliotheek / in facsimile uitgegeven / door de / Koninklijke Vlaamse / Academie voor Geneeskunde van België / te Brussel, / werd in het jaer 1951, / toen / Prof. Dr. P. De Backer / voorzitter was, / een tweede oplage van 100 exemplaren / op geschept Hollands Van Gelder / gedrukt en genummerd / van 101 tot 200. / Dit is nr / ...
Binding: 252 x 167 x 11 mm, olive-grey paper covers; title-page repeated on the front cover.

Note: Facsimile of the 1569 edition. A previous edition (Brussels 1947), was printed during the presidency of Prof. Dr. J. Sebrechts, but was just like this one. This is one of the hundred additional printed copies numbered 101 to 200, being copy No. 110. Neither in Cushing, nor in Elly Cockx-Indestege, nor in Jacqueline Vons either.

Condition: fine, unopened. A second copy has No. 139.
A third copy has No. 128, it is unopened, front cover partially discoloured, upper spine slightly chipped, back cover oil stained, inside fine, and from Chapitre on July 18th, 2016.

VI.B.-6  Epitome  Latin  Wittenberg, 1582

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 118, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 86, and Jacqueline Vons p. cii.

VI.B.-6a  Epitome  Latin  Cologne, 1601


Notes: See VI.D.-10. Mention in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 87 and Jacqueline Vons pp. civ-cv.

VI.B.-7  Epitome  Latin, without illustrations  Wittenberg, 1603

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 118, and Jaqueline Vons p. cv.

VI.B.-7a  Epitome  Latin  Leiden, 1616
Caption title: Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, suorum / de humani corporis / fabrica librorum epitome.


[VI.B.-7b]  Epitome  Latin  Cologne, 1617  
Caption title: see [VI.B.-6a].


Notes: Mention in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 87, and description in Jacqueline Vons p. cvi.

[VI.B.-7c]  Epitome  Dutch  Amsterdam, 1647  
Caption title: Het epitome, oft kort verhael vande / boecken van Andries Vesalius Brusselaer.

In: A. VESALIUS & J. VALVERDE, Anatomie ofte afbeeldinghe …


* VI.B.-8  Epitome, reduced reproduction with English translation  New York, 1949  
Title-page: The Epitome of / Andreas / Vesalius / translated / from the Latin with / preface and introduction by / L.R. Lind, Ph. D. / University of Kansas / with anatomical notes by / C.W. Asling, M.D., Ph. D., / University of California / and a foreword by the late / Logan Clendening, M. D. / New York The MacMillan Company / MCMXLIX.


Collation: 260 x 199 mm, 72 leaves of text and 14 leaves with reproduction of the Epitome in a reduced format on shiny paper.

Contents: a r°-v°: blank. [i]: The Epitome of / Andreas / Vesalius, half title. [ii]: Publication no. 21 / Historical library / Yale medical library. [iii]: Title-page as above within triple frame. [iv]: colophon. [v]: Translator’s dedication / This book is dedicated / to the memory of / Logan Clendening / late professor of / the History of Medicine / University of Kansas. [vi]: blank. [vii]: Table of contents. [viii]: blank. ix: Foreword. [x]: blank. xi-xiii: Translator’s preface, signed L.R. Lind / Lawrence, Kansas / September, 1948. [xiv]: blank. xv-xxvi: Translator’s introduction, with the life and work of Andreas Vesalius and the Epitome, signed L.R. Lind. xvii-xxx: Bibliography. xxxi-xxxii: Vesalius to the reader. xxxiii-xxxvi: The Epitome of his books on the fabric of the / human body by Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, followed by an English translation of the dedication to Prince Philip. [xxxvii]: The Epitome of / Andreas / Vesalius, half title. [xxxviii]: blank. 1-95: Concerning the bones and the cartilages, the translation proper, with general interpretations and notes. 96-103: The Greek marginal notes of Vesalius. [104]: blank. At the very end The Epitome (Latin text) has been reproduced photographically on 14 leaves of shiny paper, the figures measuring about 19-20 cm on pages of 25.3 cm high.

Publishers’s binding: 260 x 199 x 20 mm; bordeaux coloured linen cover with gold stamped title on first cover and spine; wrappers with title-page and Vesalius’s portrait in white lettering on black.
Notes: O’Malley wrote a book review in 1950 (in a collection of 37 pamphlets by O’Malley in the library of the University of Los Angelos). Description in Cushing p. 234 and Jacqueline Vons pp. cxii-cxiii.

Condition: very good: only some signs of rubbing on the wrappers.

Provenance: bought from Chapitre.com on May 5th, 2006 for 15 USD.

* [VI.B.-8a] Epitome, reduced reproduction with English translation London, 1969

Collation: 254 x 179 mm, 72 leaves.

Contents: as in VI.B.-8.

Note: Paperback edition of VI.B.-8, dedicated to the Memory of Logan Clendening; otherwise the same as above.


Binding: 254 x 179 x 12 mm; pale sienna coloured cover with the skeleton figure of the Epitome.

Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 87-88.

Condition: very good, only slight signs of wear at the borders of the covers.

Provenance: unknown.

* VI.B.-9 Epitome, English fragment New York, 1953
Title: To the Most Serene Prince Philip … Concerning the Organs Which Minister to Nutrition by Food and Drink.


Note: Reprint of the English translation by L.R. Lind of the dedication to Prince Philip (pp. 412-414) and chapter three of the Epitome of his Books on the Fabric of the Human Body by Andreas Vesalius of Brussels (pp. 415-416).

Description in Cushing p. 235.

(VI.B.-10) Boerhaave-Albinus, Opera omnia Leiden, 1725
Title-page in red and black (Tome I): Andreae Vesalii / Invictissimi Caroli V. Imperatoris Medici / Opera Omnia / Anatomica & / Chirurgica / Cura / Hermanni Boerhaave / … / & /
Notes: Volume II begins with the complete text of the Epitome (pp. 574-616).

* (VI.B.-11) Epitome French and Latin

Paris, 2008


Collation: 8°; 247 x 165 mm, pages [I]-CXXI, [1]-282.


Publisher’s binding: 247 x 165 x 33 mm, gray-yellow cloth with blue lettering; at the end a booklet with 20 unnumbered pages is pasted on the back-cover.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Les Belles Lettres in Paris on March 26st, 2008, for 84,00 euro.

(VI.B.-12) Epitome, Ms. of English translation

[Auckland, 2004?]

Not published.

As John Burd Carman, of the Department of Anatomy of the University of Auckland, told in his preface to volume V of their translation of the Fabrica (Norman Publishing, Novato, California, 2007), William Frank Richardson (1938-2004), of the Department of Classics of that same university, suddenly and unexpectedly died in October 2004. But he had completed a translation of the Épitome, including the translation of the text and the list of symbols on the plates (p. xiii).
Answering my mail of July 14, 2011, with the question of when the publication of this translation of the *Epitome* might be expected, Jeremy Norman replied that Dr. Carman ‘is editing and revising the Richardson translation of the *Epitome* but [I] had not heard from him lately as to when that might be finished.’ It was Norman’s hope to publish the Richardson & Carman translation of the *Epitome* as a sixth volume in the Vesalius series. Beyond that his intention was to write a companion volume to the series himself, which might be volume seven. Norman added that he had been collecting information for the companion volume for about twenty-five years but that other writing commitments had intervened.

On the 6th of September 2014, during the international congress *Vesalius Continuum* at Zakynthos, organised by Theo Dirix, Consul of Belgium at Athens, I reminded Jeremy Norman to his intentions. He told me that he was eager to publish it, but that there were problems in getting the manuscript from Richardson’s widow (Janet). There were also some problems with the illustrations. So, until this moment this translation merely exists as a manuscript.

* (VI.B.-13) *Epitome in Chirurgia magna* 1st ed. Venice, 1568


Notes: : Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.

Collation: 475 ff (several misnumberings)

Note: See (X.App.I-1). This is the edition with the dedication of 30 pages to Cortusio titled: Nobilissimo / ac Eminentissimo / JacoboAntonio Cortusio / Patritio Patavino, / & in arte medica eruditissimo. / Prosperus Borgarutius / Philosophus & medicus Regius. / S. P. D. and dated Patavii idibus Septembris. M D LXVIII. (September 13th, 1568).

The complete text of Vesalius’ *Epitome 1543* is on ff 19v-51v. The plates are missing as are the marginal notes, which are replaced here with new notes giving a summary of the contents. For a discussion see Moritz ROTH, *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, on pp. 351-352.

Provenance: Can be downloaded from books.google, of the copy held by the *Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent* (Belgium).

(VI.B.-14) *Epitome in Chirurgia magna* 2nd 1568 issue Venice, 1568 [1569]


Note: The text of the *Epitome* must presumably also be incorporated in this edition of the *Chirurgia magna* dated ‘1568’ on *impressum*, but ‘1569’ on colophon, being a small 8°, ff (xxviii), 475, (1). It has, according to Arturo Castiglioni, a slight different title but with the
text remaining unchanged. The dedication to Cortusio is different, being abbreviated from thirty to four pages, and dated V. nonas Octobris 1568 (October 3th).

(VI.B.-15) Epitome in Chirurgia magna 3rd 1568 issue Venice, 1568
In: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfe- / ctam, atque integram de curandis humani / corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Formae etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi u-/ tuntur, his in libris apprime descriptae sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitetum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.

Note: See (X.App.I-3).
As in the first edition the text of the Epitome is inserted on ff 19v-51v.
A copy of this edition can be consulted online and has a round stamp: Königl. Kreisbibliothek in Augsburg. The colophon at the end reads Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. M D LXVIII.

(VI.B.-16) Epitome in Chirurgia magna 1st 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
In: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis Medici. / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta. / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam, / atque integram de curandis humani corporis / malis, methodum pertineat. / Prosperi Borgarutii / Excellentissimi Philosophi, ac Medici Regis, opera, / atque diligentia expolita, enendata, in / ordinem / digesta, comparata, & ut sua edita. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitetum: tum / rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina / Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.

Note: See (X.App.I-4).
Presumably as in the first edition the text of the Epitome is inserted on ff 19v-51v. (only title-page seen)

(VI.B.-17) Epitome in Chirurgia magna 2nd 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
In: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta : / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfe- / ctam, atque integram de curandis humani / corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Formae etiam / instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi u-/ tuntur, his in libris apprime descriptae sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitetum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.

Note: See (X.App.I-5).
Presumably as in the first edition of the Chirugia magna the text of the Epitome is inserted on ff 19v-51v. (only title-page seen)

* (VI.B.-18) Epitome in Chirurgia magna 3rd 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
In: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam, / atque
integram de curandis humani corporis / malis, methodum pertineat. / Ab Excellen.
Philosopho, ac Medico Regio, Prospero / Borgarutio, recognita, emendata, / ac in lucem
edita. / Formae etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi utuntur, his in libris / apprime
descripta sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum rerum / omnium
memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D
LXIX.

Note: See (X.App.I-6).
As in the first edition the text of the Epitome is inserted on ff 19v-51v.

(VI.B.-19) in Chirurgia magna in Boerhaave and Albinus Leiden, 1725
In: Andreae Vesalii / Invictissimi Caroli V. Imperatoris Medici / Opera Omnia / Anatomica /
& / Chirurgica / Cura / Hermanni Boerhaave / Medicinae, Botanicae, Collegii Practici, &
Chemiae in Academia / Lugduno-Batavia Professoris. / & / Bernhardi Siegfried Albini /
Anatomes & Chirurgiae in eadem Academia / Professoris. / Tomus primus. / Tabulis /
[device] / Lugduni Batavorum / Apud { Joannem du Vivie, / et / Joan. & Herm. Verbeek. } /
Bibliop. / MDCCXV.

Note: The Chirurgia magna is the last part of Tomus secundus. See VI.D.-8. Here we find the
full text of the Epitome at the pages 901-919. So, as a strange coincidence, the text of the
Epitome appears twice in this volume: see also (VI.B.-10).

* (VI.B.-20) Epitome Russian translation Moscow, 1974
Title-page: Академия / медицинских наук / СССР / Андрей / Везалий / Эпитоме /
извлечение из своих книг / о строении / человеческого / тела / Перевод с латинского и
примечания / Н. Соколова / Вступительная статья и редакция текста / ... / В. Н.
Терновского / ... / Москва “Медицина” / 1974.
[Academy of medical sciences of the USSR. Andreas Vesalius’ Epitome, summary of his
books on the fabric of the human body. Translation from the Latin with annotations by N.
Sokolov, Introduction and editorship V.N. Ternovski. Moscow “Medicine” 1974]

Collation: 103 pp.

Contents: [1]: Title-page as above. [2,3]: blank. [4]: [stamp] Translated title: Андрея Везалия
/ Брюссельского, профессора / Медицинской школы в Падуе / Элитоме / извлечение из
своих книг / о строении человеческого тела. Copyright. [5]: reproduction of original title.
[6]: blank. [7]: Vesalius’s portrait in the Hermitage. [8]: blank. [9]: Об Эпитоме [About the
Epitome]. [10]-[17]: the article on the Epitome by Ternovski. [18]: blank. [19]: Эпитоме.
[20]: blank. [21]-[87]: The translation of the text and indexes with the plates proper. [88]:
blank. [89]: Шесть / Таблиц / 1538 / года [The Tabulae sex 1538] followed by the six plates
on three unnumbered leaves. [90]: blank. [91]: Примечания [Annotations]. [90’]: blank. 91’-
[93]: the annotations proper. [94]: blank. [95]- [101] Яков Сильвий / и его / иконо графия
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

[Jacobus Sylvius and his iconography], article signed by N. Ternoski and Io. F. Schults.
[102]: List of the illustrations. [103]: Contents. [104]: Colophon.


Condition: photocopy.

Note: This is an edition of the Epitome in Russian by V.N. Ternovski and N. Sokolov, based on the original first edition of the Epitome (1543). The first one to translate the Epitome into Russian was Epifani Slavinetsky using the Epitome-edition by Nicolaus Fontanus (Amsterdam, 1642) but it was never published and the manuscript itself remained unfindable as discussed by N.A. BOGOIAVLENSKI, ‘K istorii nakhodki originala, posluzhivskego E. Slavinetskou dlia perevoda s nego anatomii Vezaliia’ [On the history of the discovery of the original used by E. Slavinetsky for his translation of Vesalius’s anatomy] in Arkhiv anatomii, gistolologii i embriologii, 1965, 49 (no. 10): 90-95.

Medio the years 1960 a cooperation was attempted between Ternovski (anatomist, bibliophile, and member of the academy of medical sciences of the USSR (Moscow) and of the international academy for the history of medicine) and Bogoiavlenski to make a new translation of the Epitome into Russian from this Fontanus-Epitome, but this was never realised. See Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO. ‘De Russische vertalingen van Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomische werken’ [The translations of Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomical works into Russian] in Studium – Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis – Revue d’Histoire des Sciences et des Universités, 2016, 9 (no. 3): 161-170, ill.

See <http://img-fotki.yandex.ru/get/9759/131962511.59/0_4d64cf_ff727274_L.jpg>
Photo of the cover of the present translation kindly sent by Lolita Kashyrina, a student dentistry in Poltava (Ukraine).

* (VI.B.-21) Epitome Fragment and reduced Milan, 1962 or later
Title-page as of the first edition VI.B.-1 (1543) on front of the map.


Collation: 250 x 350 mm. Folio. Eight sheets, printed recto only, not numbered.

Contents: The eight loose sheets represent only four plates from the Epitome as each is preceded by another one on transluced paper showing the same figure, without the original text but with a commercial comment. The plates reproduced are:

Gb Front of skeleton, largely denuded, on which other figures should be pasted on.
Ib Male figure with first and (partially) second muscle layers from in front.
Ma The last plate going with the text of the Epitome representing the veins, arteties and nerves. With the colophon.
Na First (male) of the two additional sheets with figures to be cut out and pasted on.

Note: Commercial edition by Farmaceuti Midy (Milano, Italy). Two copies seen.
Publisher’s binding: 3 x 250 x 350 mm. In a map folded in three parts. On front of part one a reproduction of the original frontispiece of the *Epitome* of 1543. The inner side of the three parts and outer side of part three contain technical details of *Solfiozina B1* (a medicament containing sulfur, iodine and vitamine B1) by *Farmaceutici Midy*. The outer side of part two gives a short bibliographical note of Andreas Vesalius with the comment “Le tavole riprodotte nel fascicolo provengono appunto dal “De humani corporis fabrica librorum epitome”, stampato a Basilea dal tipografo Andrea [sic] Oporino. Le splendide figure sono dovute al pittore fiammingo Stefano Calcar, allievo del Tiziano.” This is the only explanation as to this edition. Sheets and map in ivory colour.

Condition: wrinkle of the border of the map and sheets, without affecting the texts or figures. Otherwise fine.
VI.C.
Geminus


VI.C.-1 Raynold-Geminus Woman’s book London, 1545

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 121-122.

Title-page: This special edition of / The Byrth of / Mankyde, / otherwyse named / the woman’s booke / by Eucharius Rösslin / [fleuron] / has been / privately printed / for the members of / the classics of / medicine library.

Collation: 187 x 122 mm, 176 leaves.

Contents: the only vesalian elements are in the first book, following fol. 46, were two abdominal plates from Vesalius’s Fabrica (fig. 1 and 2 from book V) are included. Details in shading and the mirror image of a letter N are different, proving that the plates have been recut.
Colophon: This special edition of / The byrth of mankynde, / otherwyse named the woman’s booke / by Eucharius Rösslin / has been privately printed for the members of / The Classics of Medicine Library by Quebecor / Printing Kingsport. Film was prepared from the / second English edition of 1545 courtesy of the / Harvey Cushing - John Hay Whitney Medical / Library at Yale University, New Haven, Conn. / necticit. New type matter was composed by / P&M Typesetting, Inc., in Caslon and Old / English Text. The text paper was especially / made for this edition by the P. H. Glatfelter / Company. The volume has been bound in gen- / uine leather by Quebecor Printing Sherwood. / Endleaves are a specially commissioned design / of Richard J. Wolfe. Edges are gilded; the spine / is stamped in 22-karat gold. Cover stampings / and design of the edition by Selma Ordewer.


Publisher’s binding: 187 x 122 x 38 mm. Bound in brown-green leather with gold tooled covers and title on the spine.

Note: This is a de luxe facsimile of the original edition by Thomas Raynold, 1545.
For a discussion see Cushing (1962) pp. 120-123.
Records like this, with only scant references towards Vesalius’s work, make one wonder if the list by Cushing should not be revised and a new numbering-system, now becoming complicated, should be created. See also Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. xiii-xv.

Condition: fine.


VI.C.-2  Geminus, Compendiosa  London, 1545
Title-page: Compendiosa / totius Anatomie delineatio, aere / exarata: per Thomam Geminum. / Londini.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 122-126, Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 88-90, and Jacqueline Vons pp. lxxxix-xc.

* (VI.C.-2a)  Geminus, facsimile  Pavia, 2007
Title-page: Francesco Ogliari / (rivisita) / Andreae / Vesalii / Bruxellensis, / Invictissimi Caroli.V. Imp. / Medici, / De Humani Corporis Fabrica / [shield with sitting Lady Fortuna as in Fabrica 1568] / MDVL / Selecta Medica.

Collation: 336 x 240 mm, 96 leaves.

Of the facsimile a r°: Vesalii / Anatomia. a v°: [Between double horizontal lines] Colophon [Bottom]: 2007 / Copyright. aii r°: Title-page as above. aii v°: blank. aiii r°, etc: Follows the facsimile proper.

Colophon: De Humani Corporis Fabrica Librorum Epitome / L’esemplare qui riprodotto in stampa anastatica ci è stato concesso / dalla civica biblioteca “Bonetta” di Pavia e fa parte del “Fondo Brambilla” / Giovanni Alessandro Brambilla (San Zenone al Po 1728 - Pavia 1800), / celebre chirurgo pavese fautore della riforma della Facoltà Medica / dell’Università di Pavia nel 700 e fondatore presso l’Ospedale S. Matteo / di una biblioteca per i giovani chirurghi composta da più di 1.200 / importanti opere. / Il volume è stato riprodotto così come si trova con gli inevitabili difetti / sorti col passare dei secoli.

Imprint: Finito di stampare nel mese di dicembre 2007 / da Poggi Tipolito s.r.l. - Assago (Mi).

Publisher’s binding: 336 x 240 x 16 mm, 96 leaves (8 leaves for the preliminaries in white paper, 88 leaves for the facsimile in yellow paper). Bound in orange-brown soft cover with title-page printed within double frame in black lettering. On the spine: Andre ae / Vesalii [sic] / De Humani Corporis Fabrica Librorum Epitome / Selecta Medica.

Note: This is a facsimile edition of the Geminus, Compendiosa VI.C.-2, discussed by Cushing (1962) pp. 122-123.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Allegra Gaetano (Castelbuono, Pavia - Italy) on February 22nd 2013 for 166,00 euros.

VI.C.-3  Geminus, Compendiosa  English ed.  London, 1553
Title-page: Compendiosa / totius Anatomie delineatio, aere / exarata: per Thomam Geminum. / Londini.

Notes: Translated into English by Nicholas Udall. In some copies the date ‘1553’ is printed beside ‘Londini’.

Description in Cushing pp. 126-128, and Jacqueline Vons pp. xc-xci.

VI.C.-3a  Geminus, Compendiosa  English facsimile  London, 1959

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 235, and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 90-91.

VI.C.-4  Geminus, Compendiosa  English 2nd ed.  London, 1559
Title-page: Compendiosa / totius Anatomie delineatio, aere / exarata per Thomam Geminum. / Londini. 1559.
Notes: Description in Cushing p. 128, and Jacqueline Vons pp. xciv-xcv.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VI.C.-5</th>
<th>Grévin-Geminus</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Paris, 1564</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notes: Text of the <em>Epitome</em> with illustrations from the <em>Epitome</em> but mostly from the <em>Fabrica</em>, using Geminus’ original copperplates. Description in Cushing p. 128-129, and Jacqueline Vons pp. xcv-xcvi.</td>
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<tr>
<th>VI.C.-6</th>
<th>Grévin-Geminus</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Paris, 1565</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title-page: [Identical with preceeding except for new date, M. D. LXV.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Notes: Description in Cushing p. 129, Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 91-92, and Jacqueline Vons mentions it on p. xcvi.</td>
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<tr>
<th>VI.C.-7</th>
<th>Grévin-Geminus</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Paris, 1569</th>
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(VI.C.-8) | Grévin-Geminus | Latin | Antwerp, 1565 |
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(VI.C.-9) | Grévin-Geminus | Latin | Antwerp, 1572 |
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</table>
VI.D.
Modified versions of Vesalius’s anatomical works
(other than Geminus)


VI.D.-1 Baudin, Description German n.p., 1559
Title: Beschreibung und Anzeigung Mannes und Weibes innerlicher Glieder in 12 Kupfer-Figuren verfasst und gezogen aus der Anatomie A. Vesalii. 1559.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 131.

VI.D.-2 Baudin, Description French Lyon, 1560
Title-page: Description et De- / monstration des membres interieurs de / l’homme & de la femme, en douze Tables, tirées / au naturel, selon la vraye Anatomie de André Wesal, / Philosophe, & Docteur en Medicine. / Oeuvre utile & necessaire non seulement aux Medicins & / Chirurgiens, ains aussi aux Portrayeurs, & Architectes. / [device] / A Lyon, / Par Clement Baudin, / M.D.LX.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 131.

VI.D.-3 Baudin, Description French Lyon, 1567
Title-page: [as in VI.D.-2]

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 131.

VI.D.-4 Anatomia Deudsch Nürnberg, Aug. 1551
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019


Notes: Description in Cushing p. 132, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 95, and Jacqueline Vons p. xci.

* (VI.D.-4a) Anatomia Deudsch facsimile Leipzig, [ca. 1995]
Title-page: [same as VI.D.-4]


Collation: 386 x 269 mm, 115 leaves.


Note: Facsimile of the original edition of August 1551 (Nürnberg: Bauman). The texts are all in gothic letters. The plates are on a gray background.


Publisher’s binding: 386 x 269 x 24 mm, bound in dark green imitation reptile leather with title in gold letters on the front cover (with reproduction of the 11th muscle man) and the spine (with weapon of the publisher).

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Andreas Dussel in Karlsruhe (Germany) on February 14th, 2006, for 15,88 euro.

A second copy has a stamp in blue ink at bottom of first fly-leaf and also of dedication: Gewidmet von / Boehringer Mannheim GmbH, Wien. Its condition is near fine and it was bought October 28th, 2004, from Otto Weinberger in Fürstenfeld (Austria) for 94,00 euros.

A third copy is near fine and was bought on June 10th, 2015, from Buchhandlung Walther König in Köln (Germany) for 89,00 euros.

A fourth copy is a second reprint. It is the same as the two copies above, but the imprints on folio [115] v° (back of page lxxviii) are now in gothic lettering, reading on top: Die zum Teil geminderte Druckqualität ist auf den / Erhaltungszustand der Originalvorlage zurückzuführen. / [in frame:] Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufname / Ein Titeldatensatz für diese Publikation ist bei / Der Deutschen Bibliothek erhältlich.; at bottom: © Reprint-Verlag-Leipzig / Volker Hennig, Goseberg 22-24, 37603 Holzminden / ISBN 3-
8262-2201-6 / 2. Reprintauflage der Originalausgabe von 1551 / nach dem Exemplar des Verlagsarchives / Lektorat: Andreas Bäslack, Leipzig / Gesamtherstellung: Leipziger Medienservice. Its condition is fine and it was bought from Bol.de in Güttersloh (Germany) on April 30th, 2002 for 156,50 euro. Donated in September 2016 to Omer Steeno for his 80th anniversary.

* (VI.D.-4b) Anatomia Modern German Wiesbaden, 2004

Modification: See (VID.-4a) but in roman letters and without the marginal notes. The plates are on a gray background.


Collation: 375 x 235 mm, 92 leaves.


Publisher’s binding: 375 x 235 x 26 mm, bound in black hard bord covers with gold lettering on spine: Andreas Vesalius Anatomia [at bottom] marixverlag. In ochre-gray wrappers with Vesalius’s portrait from the Fabrica and at bottom in different colors: Andreas Vesalius / Anatomia / Mit einem Vorwort von / Gunther von Hagens / marixverlag.

Note: This is a transcription in modern German and modern type, from the original edition of Anatomia Deudsch of August 1551 (Nürnberg: Bauman), but without the marginal notes.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from Samuel Aceval in Bonn (Germany) on December 24th, 2004, for 43,20 euro.

VI.D.-5 Anatomia Deudsch (variant) Nürnberg, 1551
Title-page: [as in VI.D.-4, save that after “ins deutsch gebracht” the phrase “durch Hieronymum Lauterbach” has been added].

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VI.D.-6  Anatomia Deudsch
[Nürnberg], 1575

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 132-133, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 96, and Jacqueline Vons pp. cii. Can be consulted online.

VI.D.-7  Boerhaave-Albinus, Opera omnia (Vol. I)
Leiden, 1724

Notes: This is a preliminary volume of a new edition of the Fabrica 1555 (Cushing VI.A.-3) from 1724, with only the first three books of that Fabrica. Description in Cushing p. 133.

VI.D.-8  Boerhaave-Albinus, Opera omnia
Leiden, 1725
(Tome II): [identical with (I), save for ‘Tomus secundus’]

Notes: This is the first and only edition of Vesalius’s Opera omnia (or Collected Works) ever. Volume I (Tomus primus) consists here of the complete text of the Fabrica 1555. Description in Cushing p. 133-134, Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 97-99, and Jacqueline Vons pp. cx-cxi.


VI.D.-9  Bonavera, Notomie
[Bologna?, ca. 1670]
Title-page: Notomie di Titiano. Dedicate / All’ Ill.mo Sig.o Francesco Ghisilieri / Senatore di Bologna. / [no imprint]
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019


**VI.D.-10** Botter, Epitome (signed issue)  
Cologne, 1600 [1601]
Title-page: Andreae / Vesalii / Bruxellensis / Suorum de Humani corporis / fabrca librorum  
Epitome: / Cum Iconibus elegantissimis iuxta Germanam / Authoris delineationem artiffiose  
iam- / pridem ex aere expressis: … / Opus perinsigne, nunc primum in Germa- / nia renatum,  
haque forma quam / emendatissime editum. / Anno / 1600. / [At bottom of vignette] /  
Colonie Ubiorum Formis et Expensis Ioan. Buxmacheri et Georgii Meutingi.

Notes: The epistola dedicatoria is signed Henricus Botterus, D. ac facultatis Medicae pro  
tempore Decanus.
Description in Cushing p. 135, Elly Cockx-Indesteghe p. 100-101, and Jacqueline Vons  
pp. civ-cv.

**VI.D.-11** Botter, Epitome (variant)  
Cologne, 1600 [1601]
Title-page: [Identical with VI.D.-10]

Note: Description in Cushing p. 135.

**VI.D.-12** Botter, Epitome  
Amsterdam, 1617
Title-page: Anatomia / Viri in hoc Genere Princip. / Andreae Vesalii Bruxel- / lensis; in qua  
tota humani corpo- / ris fabrica, iconibus elegantissimis, / iuxta genuinam Auctoris  
delineatio- / nem aeri incisis, lectori ob oculos po- / nitur … / Opus perinsigne et utilissimum,  
nunc / primum quam emendatissime / editum. / Amstelodami / Excudebat Ioannis / Ianssonius  
1617.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 135-136, Elly Cockx-Indesteghe 101, and Jacqueline Vons  
p. cvi. In April 2016 a copy (37,5 x 26 x 3,5 cm) with 40 plates and 39 pp. of text, bound in  
vulum with six bands, was offered by eBay for 4.500 euros.

* **VI.D.-13** Fontanus, Epitome  
Amsterdam, 1642
Title-page: [In an elaborated frontispiece with a dissected female body before five  
anatomists]: Librorum / Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis / De Humani Corpo- / ris Fabrica /  
Epitome: / Cum Annotationibus / Nicolai Fontani / Amstelredamensis / Medici. / [below in  
vignette] / Amstelodami, / Apud Ioannem Iansonium. / M D C XLII.


Henrico / Nassovio, / principi Arausionensium, / ..., dedication to Frederik Hendrik, prince of  
Orange by Nicolaus Fontanus, dated from Amsterdam, September 10th, 1642. 2*°-2*4v°:  
N.F. / Drama Cercopithecium, a drama with six dramatis personae. 3*r°: Lectori S.P., signed  
N. Fontanus. 3*v°: engraved portrait of Vesalius. Ar°-K2v°: the text proper.
Note: For a description and a discussion of the *Drama Cercopithecium* see Cushing p. 136.
See also Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 102-103 and Jacqueline Vons p. cvii. See also H.L. Houtzager, ‘De Amsterdamse Epitome-uitgave van Nicolaas Fonteyn’ [The edition of the *Epitome* by Nicolaus Fontanus in Amsterdam] in *Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, 2016, 72 (no. 2): 136-141, ill.

According to Oborin and Bogoavlenski it was thanks to the translation into Russian by Epifani Slavinetski from Kiev, of this Vesalian edition of the ‘Epitome’ in the middle of the XVIIth century, that Russia learned for the first time about Western anatomy and could start its modern medicine. See Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO. ‘De Russische vertalingen van Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomische werken’ [The translations of Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomical works into Russian] in *Studium – Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis – Revue d’Histoire des Sciences et des Universités*, 2016, 9 (no. 3): 161-170, ill.

Provenance: Can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Biblioteca Historica of the Univ. Complutense de Madrid.

Not seen.

First words: Всё чакческаго… (Omnes humani – All of human…).

Notes: This vesalian *Epitome* has been translated into Russian by the polyglot monk Epifani Slavinetski. He started the translation with the Fontanus copy found in the V.I. Lenin library in Moscow as a source on 27 june 1657 and finished his work in February 1658. This manuscript has never been printed and remained presumably in the same library. Until 1964 it could not yet be found there however. Only the text itself was translated, not the preface to prince Frederick Henry of Orange, neither the letter to the reader, nor the poetical *Drama Cercopithecium*.

The Fontanus copy, serving as the source text, has some words written in it proving that it was once in the possession of Nikon, the patriarch of Moscow and Russia, who ordered the translation. Presumably to facilitate the translation work, the binding of the copy had been undone, and it was rebound afterwards, but with the introductory texts at the end. As a consequence the copy now starts with the words *Omnes humani corporis partes*…

For more details see N.A. BOGOIAVLSENSKI, ‘K istorii nakhodki originala, posluzhivskogo E. Slavinetskому dlia pereveda s nego anatomii Vezaliia’ [History of the discovery of the original copy, used by E. Slavinetsky for his translation of Vesalius’s anatomy] in *Arkhir anatomii, gistologii i embriologii*, 1965, 49 (no. 10): 90-95. See also N.A. OBORIN, ‘Vidaiyuchtsyesha sovijie v istorii otetsevtvjennoi meditisini: k 300-letiyu perevodna na russkii iazik “De Humani Corporis Fabrica” Andrea Vesalia’ [Remarkable events in the history of medicine in our country: On the 300th anniversary of the translation into Russian of the “De humani corporis fabrica” of Andreas Vesalius] in *Arkhir anatomii, gistologii i embriologii*, Leningrad, 1959, 36 (no. 5): 100-104. See also Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, ‘De Russische vertalingen van Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomische werken’ [The translations of Andreas Vesalius’ (1514-1564) anatomical works into Russian] in *Studium – Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en
* (VI.D.-13b) Fontanus, Epitome reprint Suresnes, 2014


Collation: 100 leaves, including the 42 plates; 296 x 210 mm.


Note: The same contents as in VI.D.-13, but reduced format (A4).

Publisher’s binding: 296 x 210 x 15 mm; in paper boards in light red ochre. Front cover: André Vésale / Librorum Andreae Vesalii / Date de première édition: 1642 / [reproduction of frontispiece] / C Les éditions / Chapitre.com (Editors emblem).

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought on 15 April 2016 from Chapitre.com for 31,00 euros.

VI.D.-14 Fuchs, Epitome 2 vols. Tübingen, 1551

Title-page (Vol. I): Leonharti Fuchsi Scholae Tubingensis Professoris Publici, de humani corporis fabrica, ex Galeni & Andreae Vesalij libris concinnatae, Epitome Pars prima, duos, unum de ossibus, alterum de musculis, libros complectens. / [device] / Tubingae per Ulricum Morhardum, Anno M. D. LI.

(Vol. II): Leonharti Fuchsi … / Epitomes pars altera, quatuor / Libros complectens. / [device] / [no imprint].

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 136-137 and Jacqueline Vons pp. xc-xci.


Notes: Description in Cushing p. 137, and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 103-104.

Notes: Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 104.

VI.D.-16 van der Gracht, Ms. of Anatomie [? 1634]
Title: [Anatomie, etc.]
Notes: Manuscript of 22 leaves (plus 14 blanks) in low Dutch on watermarked paper measuring 43 by 28 cm. Description in Cushing pp. 137-138.

VI.D.-17 van der Gracht, Anatomie The Hague, 1634
Title: Anatomie / Der witterliche deelen van het / Menschelick Lichaem. / … / Aengewesen / door Iacob van der Gracht / Schilder. / Bequaem voor / Schilders, Beelthouwers, Plaetsnyders, / als oock Chirurgiens. / Wtgegeven door den Auteur, / In s’Graven Hagae. / Cum Privilegio. / 1634.
Notes: Description in Cushing p. 139 and Jacqueline Vons p. cvii.

The plates are drawn after those of the Fabrica. They are less artistic and the backgrounds are much simpler. In the muscle men the landscapes are missing. The plates are followed by a summary of the text of the Epitome translated into Dutch. In his word to the reader Aenden Recht-sinnigen ende Konst-lustiger Leser Jacob vander Gracht writes that it was his intention was to bring a more comprehensible edition as du Laurens never published it in Dutch, Cabrolius did not give indices to the plates, and Vesalius was difficult to understand, although his text was translated into Dutch and published with the illustrations.

In 2017 a copy was auctioned by The Romantic Agony with mention of the more complete title: “Anatomie der witterlicke deelen van het Menschelick Lichaem, dienende om te verstaen ende volkomentlick wt te beelden alle beroerlichen des selven lichaems. (…). Bequaem voor Schilders, Beelthouwers, Plaetsnyders, als oock Chirurgiens. The Hague, for the Author, 1634, large folio, mod. quarter vellum, marbl. covers, red edges, [33] ff” and valued at 8500/10000 €. Presented as a 1st edition and refering among others to Cushing VI.D.-16, which is a manuscript, and therefore this must be his VI.D.-17. Some important data are given for the author about whom little is known: ‘Van der Gracht (1593-1652)’.

VI.D.-18 van der Gracht, Anatomie Rotterdam, 1660
Title: [as in 1634 ed. with new imprint, preceded by “den tweden Druck”] - Wtgegeven door Quiryn Smits Boeck / vercoper woont Inde Vergulde / Boeck Craem tot / Rotterdam / 1660.
Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 139-140 and Jacqueline Vons p. cviii.

VI.D.-18A Moro and Montani, Anatomia Venice, 1679
Title-page: Anatomia / Ridotta all’ uso de’ Pittori, e Scultori / dal Signor / Giacopo Moro: / Consecrata / All’ Illuminissimo, ed Eccellentissimo Signore il Signor / Gio: Andrea /

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 140.

(V.I.D.-18B)  Paaw, Epitome  Leiden, 1596
Not seen.
The catalogue of the University Library of Padua mentions an edition with the same title and editor as V.I.D.-19, but published earlier: Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Iusti a Colster, 1596.

It has a mark of a previous possessor: Biblioteca di Scienze del Farmaco ANT.E.23: trasferimento dall’Orto Botanico all’Instituto di Farmacologia, direttore Luigi Sabbatini, 18 novembre 1922.

V.I.D.-19  Paaw, Epitome  Leiden, 1616

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 141, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 195, and Jacqueline Vons p. cvi.

* V.I.D.-20  Paaw, Epitome  Amsterdam, 1633


Note: Within the text there are ten plates, seven of which are after Vesalius and three new ones. One is folded.

Description in Cushing pp. 141-142 and Jacqueline Vons p. cvi.
Can be downloaded from books.google: copy in the Biblioteca Historica of the Univ. Complutense de Madrid.

* V.I.D.-21  Platter, De corporis humani structura  Basel, 1583
Title-page: De corporis humani structura et usu Felicis Plateri Bas. Medici Antecessoris Libri III. Tabulis methodice explicant. Iconibus accurate illustrati. Ex Officina Frobeniana Per Ambrosium Frob. M D LXXXIII.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 97-98 and 142-143, with a partial translation of the letter to the reader at the beginning of liber III, referring to the plates; see also Jacqueline Vons pp. cii-ciii. The plates occupy the fifty last folio’s (lib. III) of the work, comming mostly from Vesalius’s Fabrica.

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google.

* VI.D.-22 Platter, De corporis humani structura, 2nd ed. Basel, 1603
Title-page: Felicis Plateri Archiatri et Profess. Basil. de corporis humani structura et usu Libri III. Qui libri cum Operi practico recens ab eodem autore edito plurimum inserviant, denuo sunt publicati. Basileae A Ludwig König. M. DCIII.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 142-143, and Jacqueline Vons p. cv. The contents are the same as in 1583, with the same pagination. It can also be downloaded from books.google.

VI.D.-23 Sandifort, Tabulae ossium Leiden, 1782

Notes: It is possible that this is a proof copy and not a genuine separate issue. Description in Cushing p. 143.

VI.D.-24 Sandifort, Tabulae ossium Leiden, 1782
Title-page: Andreae Vesalii anatomici summi Tabulae Ossium Humanorum. Denuo editit, earumque ex plicationem adauxit Eduardus Sandifort, ... Lugduni Batavorum, Apud S. et J. Luchtmans, P. van der Eyck et D. Vijgh M DC CCL XXI.

Notes: This title suggests that there should be a previous edition. Cushing (in his description on p. 143) mentions an edition of 1791, recorded by de Feyfer who gave Vander Haeghen and Choulant as authority, but which Cushing could not find in those works, concluding that the 1791-edition must be a ‘ghost’. According to him this is a reimpersion of the Wandelaar copperplates in Book I of the Boerhaave-Albinus Opera omnia (VI.D.8).

VI.D.-25 Tortebat, Abrégé Paris, 1667 [1668]
Title-page: Abrégé d’Anatomie, accommodé aux arts de Peinture et de Sculpture, ... Ouvrage tres-utile, & tres-necessaire à tous ceux qui font profession du Dessein. Mis en lumiere par François Tortebat ... Et se vendent A Paris, Chez ledit Tortebat, ruë Nuefve-Sainte-Catherine. Avec Privilege de Sa Maiesté.
VI.D.-26  Tortebat, Abrégé  German  Berlin, 1706

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 145, and in Jacqueline Vons mention on p. cix.

VI.D.-27  Tortebat, Abrégé  Paris, 1733
Title: Abregé d'anatomie, accommodé aux arts de peinture et de sculpture, mis en lumiere par Fr. Tortebat et M. de Piles. Paris, chez Jean Mariette, 1733.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 145, and in Jacqueline Vons mention on p. cix.

VI.D.-28  Tortebat, Abrégé  Paris, 1760

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 145, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 107, and in Jacqueline Vons mention on p. cix.
The copy of the university of Heidelberg can be downloaded from <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/vesalius1760?sid=10a5923cd5ee72032c67e23a58e4858a&ui_lang=eng> No ‘Adam & Eve’. Then different plates (the last one being repeated at the end as the eleventh) from the Fabrica and the Epitome are reproduced, with several changes and without the landscapes. In the four pages of the introduction Aux amateurs the author discusses the importance of anatomical knowledge for the artist, and gives exemples of artists who brought this into practice with great success, repeating twice that Titian drew the plates for Vesalius.

VI.D.-29  Tortebat, Abrégé  Paris, [?1761]

VI.D.-30  Tortebat, Abrégé  
Paris, 1765
Title-page: Abregé / d’Anatomie, / … / Par M. de Piles. / … / Mis en lumiere par François Tortebat … / [ornament] / A Paris, Rue Dauphine, / Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, … / [double rule] / M. DCC. LXV. / Avec approbation et privilege de Sa Majesté.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 146, and in Jacqueline Vons mention on p. cix.

VI.D.-31  Tortebat, Abrégé  
Paris, 1784
Title: Methode pour apprendre le dessin. … Paris, chez L. Cellot, 1784.

Notes: Mention by Cushing on p. 146, who did not see a copy but listed by de Feyfer, and in Jacqueline Vons mention on p. cix.

VI.D.-32  Valverde, Anatomia. Ed. princeps  
Rome, 1556
Title-page: Historia / De la composicion del cuerpo humano, / escrita por Ioan de Valverde / de Hamusco. / [below vignette] / Impressa por Antonio Salamanca, y Antonio Lafrerij, / En Roma. Año de M. D. LVI.

Notes: Description in Cushing pp. 146-147, Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 109-110, and in Jacqueline Vons pp. xcii-xciii.

VI.D.-33  Valverde, Anatomia, plates  
Rome, 1556 [?1586]
Title-page: Historia / De la composicion del cuerpo humano, / escrita por Ioan de Valverde / de Hamusco. / [below vignette] / Impressa por Antonio Salamanca, y Antonio Lafrerij, / En Roma. Año de M. D. LVI.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 147.

VI.D.-34  Valverde, Anatomia, plates  
Rome [n.d.]
Title: Compendio de la anatomia hecho por Joan de Valverde, dirigado al Illustriss. S. don Frai Juan de Toledo, C. de Santiago.

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 147.

VI.D.-35  Valverde, Anatomia.  
Italian  
Rome (Venice), 1559

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 148, and in Jacqueline Vons p. xciv.

VI.D.-36  Valverde, Anatomia.  
Italian  
Rome (Venice), 1560
Title-page: [Identical with VI.D.-35, except for re-engraved date M.D.LX.]
Notes: Description in Cushing p. 148, and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 111.

### VI.D.-37 Valverde, Anatomia. Italian Venice, 1586
Title-page: *La / Anatomia / del corpo umano / composta da / M. Giovanni Valverde: / Nuovamente Ristampata: / E con l’aggiunta di / alcune Tavoli / Ampliata / [below] / In Vinetia nella Stamperia de Giunti M.D.L.XXVI.*


### VI.D.-38 Valverde, Anatomia. Latin Venice, 1589

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 149, and Jacqueline Vons p. civ.

### VI.D.-39 Valverde, Anatomia. Italian Venice, 1606
Title-page: *Anotomia / del corpo / humano / Di Giovanni Valverde: / Co’ Discorsi del Medesimo, / Novamente Ristampata / E con l’aggiunta d’ / alcune Tavole / Ampliata / [at foot] / In Vinetia nella Stamperia de Giunti M D C V I.*

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 149, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 113, and mention in Jacqueline Vons p. cv.

### VI.D.-40 Valverde, Anatomia. Italian Venice, 1608
Title-page: [Identical with VI.D.-39 except for date M D C V III.]

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 150, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 114, and Jacqueline Vons mentions this on p. cv.

### VI.D.-41 Valverde, Anatomia. Latin Venice, 1607

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 150, and mention in Jacqueline Vons p. cv.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

VI.D.-42 Valverde, Anatomia. Italian Venice, 1682

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 150, and Jacqueline Vons p. cx.

VI.D.-43 Valverde, Vivae imagines Latin Antwerp, 1566
Title-page [in ornamental scene with a nude male and female before a porch]: Vivae / imagines / partium / corporis / humani / aereis formis / expressae. / [ornament] / Antverpiae. / Ex officina Christo- / phori Plantini. / M. D. LXVI.
Contens: see notes.


Title-page [in the same ornamental scene as above]: Vivae / imagines / partium / corporis / humani / aereis formis / expressae. / [ornament] / Antverpiae. / Ex officina Christo- / phori Plantini. / M. D. LXVI.


Collation: 315 x 223 mm; 106 leaves.


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beofor the end flyleaf r°: Colophon. v°: Dépot Légal : Décembre 2001 / Numéros de la publication : / chez l’éditeur, 315; chez l’imprimeur, 22932 / imprimé et relié en France.

Publisher’s binding: 315 x 223 x 24 mm; 106 leaves. Bound in full leather, gold tooled: on front cover with, in a triple frame, the shield within the chain of the golden fleece as on top of the title-page but with the lamb reversed, and on the spine Vivae / imag. / part. / corp. / Huma. The back cover has in gold the emblem of Pfizer and: La vie, nous y consacrions notre vie / Amb 197-01/02 – Pfizer SA 2002 – RCS Paris B 612 009 936. In slip-case printed in front Le Laboratoire Pfizer / vous remercie / de votre participation / à l’étude / Immédiat [emblem Immédiat – emblem Pfizer].

Notes: According to the editor Louis Pariente this edition is identical to the one published by Christophe Plantin in 1566 – see VI.D.-43 - with only some corrections in the numbers of the plates or of the chapters. Of this edition 2500 copies were for Pfizer, intended as gifts, and more than 22.000 copies for sale. This edition has the complete text of the Epitome at the end, see (VI.B.-4e).

The first flyleaf has a black stamp in its upper right corner: Ex dono / du laboratoire Pfizer / en remerciements de votre / participation à l’étude / IMMEDIAT.

The introductory text Présentation is a discussion of Valverde, his editions and the figures.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: Bought on 4th July 2016 at CDV Le-Livre.Fr, Laubardemont, Sablons (France) for 51,80 euros.

VI.D.-44 Valverde, Vivae imagines Dutch Antwerp, 1568


A copy of this Dutch translation, bound with B. Mauden, David van, Bedieninghe der anatomien… van Plantino int Nederlands ghedruct, once belonging to “Guillielmus Josephus Dentier tot Gistel den 24 meije 1763” was offered by Antiquariaat Theo de Boer of Zalk (The Netherlands) in July 2016 for 38.500 euros. According to the seller only 450 copies were printed.

* [VI.D.-44a] Valverde Dutch, facsimile Kruishoutem, 1980
Title-page: [Within engraved border and between a nude male and female] Anatomie, / Oft / Levende / beelden vande deelen / des menschelicken / lichaems: / Met de verclaringhe van /
Modification: The vesalian plates were here cut in copper-plates.


Collation: 282 x 195 mm, 117 leaves.

Contents: [i]: titel page. [ii-iv]: blank. [v-ix]: Epistre dedicatoire: A Treshonorable, / vertueux, et prudent Seigneur, Gerard Grammay, Sei- / gneur de Sgrevenwezel, Thresorier des / etats pour le faict des Guerres. Signed: Le vostre bien humble & tresaffectionné / serviteur, Ch. Plantin. [x]: Christoffel Plantin. / wenscht den lief-hebbers vande conste der Medicine, / gheluck ende ghesondtheyt. Followed by: Ordinantie ende Argumenten vande boucken. Plates (unnumbered pages, recto only) and Dutch text of Vesalius’s Epitome (numbered pages) on the following 112 leaves.

Publisher’s binding: 282 x 195 x 26 mm, rexine band of the editor: dark Sienna imitation leather. White wrappers with dark brown imprint of the title-page and the name VESALIUS at the bottom.

Note: Facsimile of the edition by Plantijn (Antwerp, 1568), printed on the demand of Dr. Herwig Maes (Roeselare). My copy does not have the name VESALIUS at the bottom of the title-page, as we see on the wrappers; some copies do. Not known after which copy the facsimile has been made. See Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 119-120. See also Elly Cockx-Indestege, ‘Vesaliana Plantiniana. De drukken van Valverde en Van Mauden en hun exemplaren in Belgische collecties. Bijdrage tot een “Belgian Census” van H. Cushing bibliografie van Vesalius’ [Vesaliana Plantiniana. The prints of Valverde and Van Mauden and their Copies in Belgian collections. Contribution to a “Belgian Census” of H. Cushing’s Vesalius Bibliography] in De Gulden Passer, 1988-89, 66-67: 455-479, ill.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought at the editor in 1980.

VI.D.-45 Valverde, Vivae imagines Latin Antwerp, 1579 [?1572]
Title-page: Vivae / imagines / partium / corporis / humani / aereis formis / expressae. / [ornament] / Antverpiae. / Ex officina Christo- / phori Plantini. / M. D. LXXII.

* VI.D.-46 Valverde, Vivae imagines Dutch Amsterdam, 1647


Publisher’s binding: 295 x 190 x 45 mm.

Note: The description of the contents in Elly Cockx-Indestege (p. 122) deviates from that in Cushing (p. 153), which reflects better the situation as it appears in the copy of Gent. Also in Jacqueline Vons p. cviii.

As is the case here, in many instances this edition is followed with an addendum with Bedieninghe der Anatomiën (Amsterdam, 1646) by the Antwerp doctor David van Mauden. (see [VI.E.-a]).

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent.

* (VI.D.-47) Valverde-Grévin Ms. of Spanish translation Brussels, 1970

Title-page: Vivas figuras de las partes del cuerpo / humano, impressas en moldes de metal: / conel epitome de Andres Vesalio, donde se con- / tiene en summa la historia dela fabrica del / cuerpo del hõbre: y con otro libro de Diego / Greuino dela mesma materia traduzido todo / de lengua Latina en Español. Añidose a lo / dicho el sueño muy apazible del Marques de / Mondejar. / Es obra utulissima, como / parecera de su discurso. / Dirigida al Illustre / Señor, el Señor Licenciado Don Ieronimo / de Roda, del consejo de su Majestad.

Collation: 398 x 266 mm, 202 leaves, 43 plates.

Modification: The text is a facsimile of a manuscript translated from Latin into Spanish.

Contents: 1r: sketch of weapon. 1v: blank. 2r: titel page. 2v: erased but legible dedication: Al illustre Señor, el Señor Licenciado Don Ieronimo / de Roda, del consejo de su Majestad. 3r-148v: text of the seven books in Spanish translation from Valverde and plates. 149r-199r: Spanish translation of the Epitome from the Latin, with table Las differentias de todas las

Colophon: *Acabado de imprimir en Bruselas / por la colección “Medicinae historia” / El año MCMLXX.*

Publisher’s binding: 398 x 266 x 39 mm, hard cover. Brown imitation leather, with short title on spine in black leather label between gold borders: *Viva / Figuras.*

Note: The whole text is a facsimile of the original manuscript of Antwerp, 1576, now published by *Culture et Civilisation* (Bruxelles, 1970) for their collection *Medicinae historia.* Exists also in a full, red leather binding with gold tooling on covers and spine.

Marques de Mondejar at that time was most probably Luis Hurtado de Mendoza y Mendoza, 4th marquis of Mondejar and 5th count of Tendilla, married with Catalina de Mendoza and with Beatriz de Cordoba, both in 1560. Ieronimo de Roda was a man-of-war of the Duke of Alba.

Condition: very good, boards a bit damaged, small discoloration on back-cover; inside fine; the erasures were in the manuscript itself.

Provenance: bought on April 21th, 2006, from Bibliografi Charles Nelson in Reading (Berkshire, UK) for 80.00 pound sterling.

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*(VI.D.-48) Valverde, Vivae imagines Italian translation Pavia, 1997*


Collation: 304 x 221 mm, 104 leaves, 49 plates.

Colophon: Terminato nell’officina editoriale / TORCHIO DE’ RICCI / in Certosa di Pavia / il giorno di Ognissanti / [short decorated line] / Finito di stampare in Milano / la sera prima di Sant’Ambrogio / ANNO MCMXCVII.

Publisher’s binding: book: 304 x 221 x 17 mm, cover in white blank cardboard. Vertical light gray striped wrappers with portrait of Vesalius from the Fabrica pasted on the front, with subscription HUMANA FABRICA, beneath Cariplo, and on spine HUMANA FABRICA, always in red lettering; dark gray slip case over all decorated with editors emblem.

Note: Italian translation after the copy Vivae imaginés partium corporis humani aerieis formae expressae (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1566) of the University Library of Pavia, being VI.D.-43 (see Cushing p. 151 and ECI pp. 115-122). The anatomical plates with indices are followed by those of the Epitome, edited by Jacques Grévin, poet and physician of Margaretha of France, duchess of Savoie. All the figures have a slight lilac washing.

Condition: minor signs of usage at slipcase, book very good.

Provenance: bought on August 13th, 2013, from Usatostore di Sala Cristiano in Cesana Brianza, LC (Italy), UK) for 42.00 euros.
[VI.E]  
More remote from Vesalius

Cushing (p. 130), and Elly Cockx-Indestege, do mention some editions which they do not describe as real Vesalian ones. The reasons why, and why they should be better classified in a new chapter VI.E., as more remote from Vesalius, are explained by the latter in her ‘Vesaliana Plantiniana. De drukken van Valverde en Van Mauden en hun exemplaren in Belgische collecties. Bijdrage tot een “Belgian Census” van H. Cushing’s bibliografie van Vesalius’ [Vesaliana Plantiniana. The prints of Valverde and Van Mauden and their Copies in Belgian collections. Contribution to a “Belgian Census” of H. Cushing’s Vesalius Bibliography] in De Gulden Passer, 1988-89, 66-67: 455-479, ill. She started the chapter with the Bedieninghe by van Mauden, being number [VI.E.-α].

In Cushing the following names are mentioned: “Bartholin, Bauhin, Banister, Casserius, Crooke, Diemerbroeck, Guillemeau, Read, Paaw, Paré, Spigelius and others”. Bartholomaeus Cabrolius should without any doubt be considered as one of the ‘others’ too, as are Vidus Vidius (Guido Guidi) and Salomon Albertus (Alberti), as we will see.

The first anatomical work by Jan Palfijn, his Nieuwe osteologie (Gent, 1701) has at the end a folded sheet with the accurate repetition of Vesalius’ first and third skeletons (mirror image) in his Fabrica, together with a depiction of six vertebrae. But the plates in his major work Heelkonstige ontleding van ‘s menschen lichaam (Leyden, 1718, 563 pp.) are not vesalian. The titles of two anatomical works by Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck (1609-1674), a Dutch physician and professor anatomy in Utrecht, are Anatomia corporis humani (1672, 1679, 1683; translated in French as l’Anatomie du corps humain) and Opera omnia medica et anatomica (1685, 1687). However they do not show illustrations taken from Vesalius and the division and the concept of the text is completely different. For those reasons this works are not included here. The same holds for Anatomia reformata (Leiden, 1687 and 1688) or De Nieuw hervormde anatomie (Leiden, 1688) by Steven Blanckaert, that has on p. 270 a front view of the first vesalian skeleton, but with far to large a head and way to short femora.

All the editions that are included in this chapter have in common the absence of Vesalius’ name as the author on the title-page and the presence of his illustrations ‘after Vesalius’, not as exact copies, but resembling or at least reminding his.

[VII.E.-α] - van Mauden, Bedieninghe

* [VI.E.-α.1] van Mauden, Bedieninghe Antwerpen, 1583


Note: The work has five books and is preceded by a dedication to the Burgomaster, aldermen and the council of Antwerp. Than follows an introduction to the reader in which he calls Vesalius the most excellent anatomist, but that he was corrected by his followers on several places. It ends with an explanatory register, translating some Latin words into Dutch.

* [VI.E.-α.2] van Mauden, Bedieninghe Amsterdam, 1646

Collation: Folio, 50 leaves: pp. [2], 3-100; 295 x 190 mm.

Contents: [1]: title-page as above. [2]: Het inhouden van dese boecken, the contents. 3-10: Epistola didactoria. / Edele, seer wyse , discrete ende veursi- / ghe Heeren, mijn Heeren Borghermeesteren, / Schepenen ende Raedt der Stadt van Antwerpen, dedication singed by David van Mauden. 11-12: Tot den Goetwillighen Leser, to the reader 13-14: Verduytschinge der Latijnscher namen, die in dese / Boecken begrepen zijn. Index nomen in Dutch. 15-39: Den eersten Boeck, on the organs of digestion and generation. 40-52: Het tweede Boeck, the organs of the thorax. 53-69: Het derde Boeck, on the brain, the organs of the senses, arteries, veins and nerves. 70-95: Het vierde Boeck, on the muscles, tendons and ligaments. 96-101: Appendix, on the making of a skeleton.
Note: This edition is in most instances (always?) bound together with VI.D.-46 (see above).

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent, and ends rather abruptly with p. 100. It is bound together with the VI.D.-46 (see above).

(VIE.-β) - Crooke, Mikrokosmographia

For a discussion of this author see Richard EIMAS, Heirs of Hippocrates, Iowa City (Iowa): University of Iowa Press, 1990, pp. 150-151. The Microcosmographia does not seem to be an original work, as Helkiah Crooke (1576-1648) tells himself in his preface. Most of the contents were borrowed from Caspar Bauhin’s Theatrum anatomicum as are the illustrations, which were inspired on Vesalius, and he used his translation from Du Laurens’ Historia anatomica to comment on Bauhin. He is said to have been the first physician to be elected governor of Bethlehem Hospital and was court physician to King James I of England. His text is a combination of that by Gaspard Bauhin and the one by André du Laurens.

* (VI.E.-ß.1) Crooke, Mikrokosmographia 1st ed. London, 1615

Title-page: Μικροκοσµογραφια: / A / Description / of the Body of Man. / Together / with the controversies / thereto belonging. / Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy, / Especially out of Gaspar Bauhinus and Andreas Laurentius. / By Helkiah Crooke Doctor in Physicke. / [line] … / [Standing anatomical male and female] / London, / Printed by William Jaggard dwelling in Bethlem, and there to be sold, 1615.

Collation: Folio, 32,5 x 21 cm.; [16], 1011 (misnumbered 1111), [2] pp., ill.

Note: A copy was auctioned by Christie’s on 5 October 2007 for 8.750 US dollar. Cited in Heirs of Hippocrates 405, Russell 218, Wellcome 1683.

(VI.E.-ß.2) Crooke, Mikrokosmographia 2nd ed. London, 1631

Title-page: Μικροκοσµογραφια A Description / of the Body of Man. Together with the Controversies Thereto belonging. / Collected and Translated out of all the Best Authors of Anatomy, especiall Direction and Warrant according to the first integrity, as it was originally written by the Author. / The second Edition corrected and enlarged. / [Engraved title reads: The second Edition carefully revised whereto is added an explication of some instruments of Chyrgery for the use of Learners] / Printed at London by Thomas and Richard Cotes, and are to be sold by Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene Arbor. 1631.

Collation: Folio, 34 x 23 x 8 cm.; [30], 1012, [2], 60, [4] pp., ill.

Note: A copy was sold by eBay on July 18th, 2011, for 3.550 US dollar. Cited in Osler 2395, Russell 223, Waller 2218.

* (VI.E.-ß.3) Crooke, Mikrokosmographia 3rd ed. London, 1651

Title-page: [In heavily worked-out frame]: Μικροκοσµογραφια / A Description / of the Body of Man. / Together with the controversies / and Figures thereto belonging / Collected and
Translated out of all / the Best Authors of Anatomy. Espe- / cially out of Gaspar Bauhinus and / Andreas Laurentius by Helkiah / Crooke Doctor in Physicke Phisitian / To His Maiesty and His Highnesse Pro / fessor in Anatomy and Chirurgery. / London Printed by R.C. and are to be sold by / Iohn Clarke at the lower end of Cheapside / entering into Mercers Chappell. 1651.

Collation: Folio, 35 x 24 x 5 cm.; [20], 766, [10] pp., ill.

Notes: Printed by Richard Cotes. A copy was offered in November 2015 on eBay for 2.500 pound sterling. Index at the end. Cited in Wing C7230, Russell 224, Waller 2219.

(VI.E.-γ) - du Laurens, Historia anatomica

The author André du Laurens or Andreas Laurentius (Tarascon, 1558- Paris, 1609?) was a professor in Montpellier (France) and became the court physician of King Henry IV of France. For his biography see Louis DULIEU, La médecine à Montpellier, Tome II, La Renaissance, Avignon, les Presses universelles, 1979, pp. 331-334.

His anatomical work had many editions. It consists of twelve parts and he takes a distance of Vesalius although he uses many of his illustrations but others too: 27 plates in total each accompanied on a separate sheet with a table containing indices and short explanations. According to Palatium-Artis, a seller of antiquities (eBay), they are cupper etchings by Jacob de Weert (1569-1605), a pupil of Hieronymus Wierix, redrawn after Vesalius. The introductory letter to the reader is dated at the Royal court in 1599. Several editions are in a smaller format and are missing the illustrations and are not listed here, e.g. Frankfurt 1602, Lyon 1605, Venice 1606, Lyon 1623 and 1650. Many can be found online.

Lateron some translations in French appeared. One of which dropped curiously enough the name of André du Laurent from the title-page.

*(VI.E.-γ.1) du Laurens, Historia anatomica

Title-page: [In heavily worked-out frame, between a standing man and woman]: Historia / anatomica / humani corporis et / singularum eius partium multis controversijs et / observationibus novis illustrata / authore / Andrea Laurentio regis / Consiliario et Medico / ordinario ejusdemque in / Monspeliensi Academia professore / Ad Henricum IIII Galliae / et Navarre Regem / Christianissimum / Cum Privilegio Regis / Parisiis M.D.C. / Apud Marcum Orry. Via Jacobaea, sub insigni / Leonis Salientis.

Note: This Latin edition has 683 pp. with 27 plates.

*(VI.E.-γ.2) du Laurens, Historia anatomica

Franfurt am Main, 1600

Title-page: [In heavily worked-out frame, between two standing dissected bodies]: Historia / anatomica humani corporis / et singularum eius partium multis / controversijs et / observationibus novis illustrata / authore / Andrea Laurentio regis consilia / ria et Medico / ordinario ejusdemque in / Monspeliensi Academia professore / [around his portrait in medaillon: * ANDREAS LAURENTIUS HENRICI IIII GALL ET NAVAR REGIS CONSIL ET MEDIC ORDINARIUS AET. Suae XXXIX -.] / [In cartouche] / Francoforti apud Matthaeum Beckerum / impensis Theodorici de Brij viduae / et duorum filiorum.
Colophon, at the end: *Francoforti ad Moenum, / Ex officina typographica Mattheaei / Beckeri, Sumptibus olim Dieterici de / Bry relictae viduae, et duorum filiorum / superstition / [line] / Anno M. DC.*

Note: same note as above.

* (VI.E.-γ.3)  du Laurens, French translation  Paris, 1621

Note: After the introduction by Theophile Gelée to François de Monceaux and the letter to the reader, there is a short letter by him to A. du Laurens and his answers too, dated Paris, 19 June 1605 and 6 May 1606. Can be found online.

* (VI.E.-γ.4)  du Laurens, Historia anatomica  Frankfurt am Main, 1627
Title-page: [In heavily worked-out frame, between two standing dissected bodies]: *Historia / anatomica humani corporis / et singularum eius partium multis / controversijs et observationibus novis illustrata / authore / Andrea Laurentio regis consilia / rio et Medico / ordinario ejusdemque in / Monspeliensi Academia professore / Cum Gratia et Privileg. Sac. Caes. Majt. / [around his portrait in medaillon: *ANDREAS LAURENTIUS HENRICI IIII GALL ET NAVAR REGIS CONSIL ET MEDIC ORDINARIUS AET. SUAE XXXIX -] / [In cartouche] / Francoforti apud Matthaeum Beckerum / impensis Theodorici de Brij viduae / et duorum filiorum / M.D.CXXVII.*

* (VI.E.-γ.5)  [du Laurent], L’anatomie universelle  Paris, 1731
Title-page: *L’anatomie universelle / de toute les parties / du corps humain, / Représentée en Figures, & exactement expliquée, / Par * * * / Ouvrage curieux, & utile aux Etudians en Medecine, Chirurgie, Sages-femmes, & / aux Peintres & Sculpteurs. / [floral decoration] / A Paris, / Chez F. Gerard Jollain, rue Saint Jacques, à l’Enfant Jesus. / Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roy. / [line] / M. D. CCXXXI.*

Note: This French edition has only 57 pp. but shows all of the plates with the explanatory tables as in the Latin editions. The anatomical texts have been dropped. Most curiously in this edition the name of André Du Laurent is lacking from the title-page where it has been replaced by three asterisks.

* (VI.E.-γ.6)  du Laurent, L’anatomie universelle  Paris, 1781
Title-page: *L’anatomie universelle / de toute les parties / du corps humain, / Représentée en Figures, & exactement expliquée, / Par le Celebre André du Laurent. / Revuë par M.H****, Chirurgien Juré de St. Cosme. / Ouvrage instructif, et utile aux Etudians en Medecine,

Note: As the edition of 1731 this French edition has only 57 pp. too but shows all of the plates as in the Latin editions. Here the name of André Du Laurent appears again.

(VI.E.-δ/ε/ζ) - Bauhin, De corporis humani fabrica / Theatrum anatomicum

Gaspard or Caspar Bauhin (Basel, 1560 – Basel, 1624) studied in Basel and went to the universities of Padua, Bologna and Montpellier. Lived in Paris and Tübingen. Became doctor in Basel on May, 2nd 1581 and was a professor there in Greek, medicine, anatomy and botany, and is known for his reform of the anatomical nomenclature. He had a brother Jean, also a physician. See also Sanjib Kumar Ghosh, ‘Caspar Bauhin (1560-1624): Swiss anatomist and reformer of anatomical nomenclature’ in *Italian Journal of Anatomy and Embryology*, 2016, 121 (no. 2): 159-164.

He left three works on anatomy:

(δ) His *De corporis humani fabrica* (1590) was intended for students. This work has no illustrations, as he did not want to increase to costs for the buyer and ‘because everyone has at hand the work of Vesalius or loose plates printed by Plantin, Wechel or others’, as he writes in his *praefatio*. Instead, Bauhin compares Vesalius in his text continuously with other anatomists, especially about the order of enumeration of anatomical structures. Here he refers to the illustrations in Vesalius’ *Fabrica*.

(ε) His *Theatrum anatomicum* (1605) in which the many illustrations are Vesalian plates engraved in copper and taken from Valverde and Plater.

(ζ) His *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, an atlas (only plates and their *indices*). Most of the plates are redrawn after Vesalius, except for instance the plates with the *valvulae in venis* at the end (pp. 261-265). But his name is nowhere mentioned.

He wrote some other works on anatomy having little or noting to do with Vesalius. Except perhaps in the foreword for his students in his *De corporis humani partibus externis* (Basileae, ex officina Episcopiana, 1588) in which he tells that he had lessons in human dissection, both public and in private, in Padua by Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente, in Bologna by Iulius Caesar Arantius, and in Paris by Severinus Pinaeus, and urging his students to make use of the plates of Vesalius. His works can be found online.

* (VI.E.-δ.1)  

**Bauhin, De corporis humani fabrica**  
Basel, 1590


Colophon: *Basileae, / Per Sebastianum / Henricpetri, / Anno / 1590.*

Note: 397 pp., no plates. The *Epistola dedicatoria* to Alexander Magnus is dated Basel, 31 July, 1590 (*pridie Kalendas VII bris*).
* (VI.E.-ε.1)  **Bauhin, Theatrum anatomicum**  Frankfurt am Main, 1605


Note: 1314 pp., 129 plates taken from Vesalius, Valverde, Eustachius, Coiter, e.a.

* (VI.E.-ε.2)  **Bauhin, Theatrum anatomicum**  Frankfurt am Main, 1621


Note: 664 pp. The remarkable frontispiece shows at the bottom Vesalius’ vivisection board on which all the instruments are moved aside to make place for a pig, ready to be dissected.

* (VI.E.-ζ.1)  **Bauhin, Vivae imagines**  Frankfurt am Main, 1620

Title-page: [Same frontispiece as Frankfurt 1621, with a pig below] *Vivae / imagines partium / corporis humani / aeneis formis expressae, / & ex / Theatro anatomico / Caspari Bauhini / Basilien. Archiatri / desumptae. / Opera sumptibusque / Iohan. Theodori de Bry. / [line] / M. DC XX.*

Note: 286 pp., the last 22 pp. being the appendix. The book seems to be intended as a showbook, the introductory letter reading *Lectori et Spectatori candido S.* (greetings to the candid reader and spectator). No mention of Vesalius’ name.

* (VI.E.-ζ.2)  **Bauhin, Vivae imagines**  2nd ed.  Frankfurt am Main, 1640

Title-page: [Same frontispiece as Frankfurt 1621, with a pig below] *Vivae / imagines partium / corporis humani / aeneis formis expressae, / & ex / Theatro anatomico / Caspari Bauhini / Basilien. Archiatri / desumptae. / Opera sumptibusque / Matthaei Meriani. / [line] / CIƆ. IƆ. CXL.*

Note: 287 pp. Same remarks.

(VI.E.-η) - **Bartholin, Anatomia reformata**

Thomas Bartholin (Malmö, 1616 – Copenhagen, 1680) was a physician, mathematician and theologian. He belongs to a family of famous anatomists, many of whom became professors at the University of Copenhagen. His father was Caspar (1585-1629), his brother Rasmus (1625-1698), and his son Caspar the Younger (1655-1738). He is known for his discovery of the lymphatic system.
Most figures in his work are much different of those in Vesalius, although many are inspired on them and some plates are organised as his. His name is only mentioned to criticize his rejection (!) of the rete mirabile in man (Book on the Head, chapter VI), to tell he is right in his concept of the venous wall (Manual I on the Veins, chapter II), and pointing to another ‘error’ on his choice of the place for a venessection during his discussion of the \textit{v. azygos} (idem, chapter V).

*(VI.E.-η.1) Bartholin, \textit{Anatomia reformata} The Hague, 1655


Note: 592 pp. + index. The figures after Vesalius or inspired by them are e.g. those of the thorax (p. 227), larynx (p. 289), brain (pp. 311-325), eye (p. 349), muscle men (pp. 380-393), venes (p. 444).

*(VI.E.-η.2) Bartholin, \textit{Anatomia reformata} Leiden/Rotterdam, 1669


Note: 592 pp. + index. Same remarks.


Title-page: [in double frame]: \textit{Bartholinus Anatomy; / made / From the Precepts of his Father, And from the / Observations of all Modern Anatomists, together with his own. / With one hundred fifty and three Figures cut in / Brass, much larger and better than any have been heretofore Printed in English. / in / Four Books / and / Four Manuals, / ... / [line] / Published By Nich. Culpeper Gent. And, / Abdiah Cole Doctor of Physick. / [4 rows with illustrative signs between two lines] /London, Printed by John Streater living in Clerken-well-Close 1668.}

Note: 377 pp.

(VI.E.-η.4) Bartholinus Anatomy Engl. transl. London, 1662

Not seen.

Title: \textit{Bartholinus anatomy; made from the precepts of his father, and from the observations of all modern anatomists; together with his own ... in four books and four manuals ... Also two epistles of the circulation of the [chyle and] blood / [by J. Walaeus] Being part of the first volume of the Physitians Library, published by Nich. Culpeper Gent. and Abdiah Cole.}
John Banister (1533-1610) studied at Oxford and became an anatomist, surgeon and a lecturer. He practised at Nottingham but later he settled in London. His portrait is shown during an anatomy lesson in a broadside (1581), preserved in the University Library in Glasgow. Behind him is the opened *De re anatomica libri XV* by Realdo Colombo, on which his work was based. ‘The Historie of Man’, his own anatomical work, was published in London in 1578.

As he tells in his introductory letter from Nottingham this worh is based on the works of Vesalius, Fuchsius, Colombus, Fernelius and others.

*(VI.E.-0.1) Banister, The Historie of Man*

*London, 1578*

Title-page: [Within ornamental border] The / Historie of Man, suc- / ked from the sappe of the most approved / Anathomistes, in this present age, compiled / in most compendious fourme, and now published in / English, for the utilitie of all godly Chirurgians, / within this Realme, by Iohn Banister, Master / in Chirurgerie, and Practitioner / in Phisicke. / [ornament] / Ter. And. / Si illum obiurges, vitae qui auxilium tulit, / Quid facias illi, qui dederit damnum aut malum? / If that for him that aydes thy lyfe, thou chidyng up doest lay? / Want canst thou do to him that hurtes, or seeketh thy decay? / [ornament] / At London, / Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng / ouer Aldersgate. Anno. 1578. / [line] / [small leaf] / Cum gratia & Privilegio Regiae Majestatis.

Note: small folio (260 x 180 mm.); with illustrations from Vesalius, such as A *Table of the Instrumentes servyng to Anathomicall dissection*, and four full-page woodcut illustrations after Vesalius. A copy has been sold by Bonhams auctions for 10.135 euros on October 2nd, 2012.

There is a paperback edition as a ‘print on demand’ available by *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) editions, ProQuest, 256 pages.

*(VI.E.-1) Guillemeau, Tables anatomiqques*

Jacques Guillemeau (Orléans, 1549 – Paris, 1613) born in a family of surgeons working at the Royal Court. He studied medicine in Paris and worked two years at the side of Ambroise Paré.

His *Tables anatomiqques* (Paris, 1586), with many plates after Vesalius, are reverse engravings of those in Valverde’s *Anatomia del corpo humano* which are in turn mirror copies of Vesalius’ woodcuts. As a consequence the figures in Guillemeau look at the ‘right’ side again.
(V.I.E.-κ) - Paré, Les Oeuvres

Ambroise Paré (c. 1510 – 1590) was a French barber-surgeon who served in that function four kings: Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III. He is considered the father of surgery, but he pioneered in forensic pathology too, in surgical techniques and the treatment of battlefield wounds. His philosophy is illustrated by his words *Je le pansai. Dieu le guérit.*

Probably his best known innovations were his discarding the use of boiling oil in gunshot wounds and the reintroduction of simple ligature instead of red hot cautery after amputation. He invented many surgical instruments. He wrote on many subjects, also on anatomy, but all his writings are in French. It was his pupil Jacques Guillemeau who translated his work into Latin. The 'Oeuvres' was Paré's most important work.


* (V.I.E.-κ.1) Paré, Les Oeuvres Paris, 1575


Note: Folio (347 x 225 mm). [20], 945, [45] pp. Very rare edition of Paré's collected works, with several illustrations printed for the first time. Most anatomical figures are taken from Vesalius but redrawn in a reduced format or fragments of them.

(V.I.E.-κ.2, etc.) Paré, Les Oeuvres

As there are so many editions of (and on) the work of Paré and this chapter deals only with those ‘more remote from Vesalius’, I only mention this first edition as an example. For an overview of all of them see the biography by Dumaître and J.-F. Malgaigne, *Oeuvres complètes d’Ambroise Paré*, 4 tomes, Paris, J.-B. Baillière, 1841.
Pieter Paaw (also Pauw) or Petrus Pavius (Amsterdam, 1564 – Leiden, 1617) was a Dutch botanist and anatomist and studied in Padua under Hieronymus Fabricius ab Acquapendente. He went to Leiden where he was a professor in botany and anatomy, manager of the Hortus Botanicus and he built the first Theatrum anatomicum there and wrote several works, also on human anatomy (osteology), his Primitiae Anatomicae. De Humani Corporis Ossibus. See Tijs Huisman, The Finger of God. Anatomical Practice in 17th Century Leiden, Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden, … 8 mei 2008, Leiden, 2008.

Paaw edited also Vesalius’ Epitome, see VI.D.-19 (Leiden 1616), which appeared again after his death VI.D.-20 (Amsterdam 1633).

* (VI.E.-λ.1) Paaw, De humani corporis ossibus Leiden, 1615
Title-page: Petri Paaw / Amsteldamensis, / In Academia Lugduno-Batava Anatomici / & Botanici Professoris, / Primitiae Anatomicae. / De / Humani Corporis / Ossibus. / [Scene with music making sceletons] / Lugduni Batavorum. / Ex Officina Iusti à Colster. / [line] / Ann. CIƆIƆCXV.

Note: 188 pp. restricted to the osteology and the articulations, with illustrations mostly taken from Vesalius, without mentioning his name. Even the sacrum has six parts. The frontispiece, representing the Leiden anatomical theatre, is heavily influenced by that of Vesalius in his Fabrica.

* (VI.E.-λ.2) Paaw, De humani corporis ossibus Amsterdam, 1633

Note: 172 pp.; otherwise same remarks.

(VI.E.-μ) - Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy

Alexander Read (or Reid, Reade, Rhead, and Latinised as Reidus or Rhaedus, 1586? - 1641) graduated at Aberdeen University and studied thereafter surgery in France. Then he practised in Nort Wales, Denbigh and at times he saw patients in Bath. He became doctor of physic in Oxford in May 1620. He was brother of the Barber-Surgeans’ Company in 1621 and became fellow of the Physicians College of London in 1623 (or 1623) and was incorporated in his medical degree at Cambridge in that same year. He wrote several works on surgery and medicines, and also on anatomy. They were pirated during his life and more than fifty years after his death they were republished.

His most important anatomical work is The Manuall of the Anatomy or Dissection of the Body of Man of which the following editions could be retrieved:
(VI.E.-µ.1) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy
Not seen. Till this moment not a single copy could be found, but according to the title of the 1638 edition there should exist a previous one, published in about 1634.

(VI.E.-µ.2) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy
London, 1638
Not seen; according to the registration by the University Library of Munich:
Title: The manuall of the anatomy or dissection of the body of man containing the enumeration, and description of the parts of the same, which usually are shewed in the publike anatomical exercises. Enlarged and more methodically digested into 6. books. By Alexander Read, Doctor of Physick, a fellow of the Physitians College of London, and a brother of the Worshipfull Company of the Barber-Chirurgeons. Treatise of all the muscles of the whole bodie. London: Printed by I[ohn] H[aviland] for F. Constable, and are to be sold at his shop under Saint matins Church neere Ludgate, 1636.

Note: The work is divided in six books: the Abdomen, the Brest, the Head, the Lims, the Bones, and the Muscles. There are five figures.

(VI.E.-µ.3) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy
London, 1642
Not seen; according to the registration by Hayloft Auctions by Doyle (NY) and the catalogue SUDOC:
Title: The manuall of the anatomy, or, Dissection of the body of man. Containing the enumeration, and description of the parts of the same, which usually are shewed in the publick anatomick exercises: enlarged this present yeer 1642 and more methodically digested into 6 books: with sundry figures thereunto belonging / by Alexander Read. London: printed by R. Bishop, for Francis Constable, and are to be sold at the Goat in Kings Street, or at his shop in Westminster-Hall, 1642.

Note: 446 pp., 1 folded leaf of plates. A copy of this edition was sold for 1.250 $. All early editions seem to be extremely uncommon.

* (VI.E.-µ.4) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy
London, 1650

Note: 446 pages with only 5 plates: two nudes (front and behind), an écorché and two skeletons: one from the back with a scythe and one from one side with a staff Both remembering those two skeletons of Vesalius in posture but much less in quality. Thus the arguments to mention this work, even as ‘remote’ from Vesalius, are very meagre. The dedicatory letter to Carolo Magnae Britanniae Monarchae Hiberniaeque ac Galliae Regi is

(VI.E.-µ.5) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy London, 1655
Not seen. Description according to the National Library of Australia:
Title: *The manuall of the anatomy or dissection of the body of man: containing the enumeration, and description of the parts of the same, which usually are shewn in the publick anatomical exercises. With sundry figures thereunto belonging. The fifth edition. By Alexander Read Enlarged and more methodically digested into 6. books. By Alexander Read, Doctor of Physick; a fellow of the Physicians Colledge of London; and a brother of the worshipful Company of the Barber Chirurgions. London: printed by S. Griffin, for Richard Thralle, at the sign of the Cross-Keys, at Pauls-Gate, 1655.*
Note: 446 pp.

(VI.E.-µ.6) Read, The Manuall of the Anatomy London, 1658
Not seen. Description according to the Library of Villanova:
Title: *The manuall of the anatomy or dissection of the body of man: containing the enumeration, and description of the parts of the same, which usually are shewn in the publick anatomicall exercises. With sundry figures thereunto belonging. London, Printed by E. Tyler, for Richard Thrale, at the sign of the Cross-Keyes, at Pauls-Gate, 1658.*
Note: 434 pp.

(VI.E.-ν) Casserius, Tabulae anatomicae
Giulio Cesare Casseri or Julius Cesare Casserius was born in 1552 in Piacenza and died March 8, 1616. He was disciple of Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente and his successor as a professor in anatomy in Padua. His *Tabulae anatomicae* (1627) included 78 illustrations with their indices. They appeared after his death, but without anatomical texts. Twenty illustrations were added by Daniel Rindfleisch (or Bucretius) and also the explanations were his. There are all together 98 plates, frontispiece included (according to Richard Eimas in *Heirs of Hippocrates* - no. 414 - one plate was destroyed). In his introduction to the reader Bucretius tells that the plates were drawn by Odoardo Fialetti from Bologna and engraved by Francesco Valesi from Venice. On this plates see also the following introduction to the editions by Spigelius (VI.E.-ξ). See also Medicina Rara, *Giulio Casseri. Tabulae anatomicae 1627. Introduction*, Medicina Rara, Arlington (Mass.), London, Stuttgart, [nd], 31 pp., ill.

Casserius also made a comparative anatomical study of the auditory organs and the larynx in a separate work *De vocis auditusque organis historia anatomica* (Ferrara: Victorius Baldinus, 1601).

(VI.E.-ν.1) Casserius, Tabulae anatomicae Venice, 1627
Title-page: [In elaborated decor between a Vesalian skeleton and muscle man and a simplified vivisection board] *Iulii Casserii / Placentini / Olim in Patavino Gymnasio Ana- / tomae et
Chirurgiae Professoris / celeberrimi / Tabulae Anatomicae LXXIX, / Omnes novae nec ante hac visae. / Daniel Bucretius / Vratislaviensis, Philos. et Med. D. / XX que deerant supplevit et omnium explicationes addidit. / Venetiis. / Anno M D C XXVII.

Note: The foreword to the reader is by Daniel Bucretius from Breslau (Vratislav) and is dated Venetiis, Anno MDCXXVII. The plates resembling those of Vesalius are: I, II, VII and X of book 2 (skeleton); III of book 5 (venous system); II of book 6 (arterial system), I and II of book 7 (nerves) and the plates of book X (dissection of the brain). Vesalius’ name is mentioned twice in the Elenchus tabularum.

(VI.E.-v.2)  Casserius, Tabulae anatomicae  Frankfurt, 1632

Title-page: [In elaborated decor between a Vesalian skeleton and muscle man and a simplified vivisection board] Iulii Casserii / Placentini / Olim in Patavino Gymnasio Anatomiae & / Chirurgiae Professoris celeberrimi. / Tabulae Anatomicae / LXXIX. Omnes novae nec ante / hac visae. / Daniel Bucretius / Vratislaviensis, Philos. & / Med. D. / XX que deerant supplevit & omnium ex- / plicationes addidit. / Francofurti / Impensis & Coelo Matthaei / Meriani Bibliopolae & / Chalcographi, / Anno M. DC. XXXII.

Note: same details.

(VI.E.-ξ) - Spigelius, De humani corporis fabrica

Adriaan van den Spieg(h)el or Adrianus Spigelius (1578-1625) was just as Vesalius a Flemish anatomist born in Brussels and he spent much of his career in Padua. There he studied anatomy under Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente. His most famous book on anatomy is his De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Decem, a title borrowed from Vesalius. Looking at this posthumous published work of 1627 one sees two parts: the first one is a text-book on anatomy written by Spigelius, but the second part being the same 98 plates as seen in Casserius’ work. In it they are even preceded by Casserius’ title-page. See (V.I.E.-v). The latter attempted to achieve perfection in his plates and that was the reason why he was unable to complete it before his agonizing death. His nephew Luca obtained the plates through Casserius’ last will and he left them to Spigelius who was in constant contact with him. Spigelius himself intended to publish an anatomical work using the Casserius plates but he died unexpectedly in 1625, only nine years after him. Daniel Bucretius (1600-1631), his pupil, added some texts and changed others, expanding the 24 lectures left by Spigelius, to ten books, to which the plates were added. This history makes it clear that the inclusion of the Spigelius edition in the present list, as suggested by Cushing, is rather artificial as it could easily have been considered as an extra edition of Casserius’ plates. One should bore in mind that Bucretius published the works of Casserius and Spigelius after both had died. He wrote his letters to the reader for both works in Venice, 1627, and in the one for Spigelius he refers to Casserius. Just as for Casserius’ first edition of the Tabulae anatomicae Spigelius’ De humani corporis fabrica was published in 1627 in Venice and the same elaborated frontispiece was used.
(VI.E.-ξ.1) Spigelius, De humani corporis fabrica  

Venice, 1627


Note: There exists a presentation copy for Caspar Hoffmann with a handwritten dedication: Magnifico et Excellentissimo Viro. Dn. Casparo Hoffmanno, Inclitae Attorsinae Academiae p. t. Rectori meritissimo, etc. Domino meo colendissimo, mitto and signed Daniel Bucretius D.

I could not retrieve a copy of Spigelius’ edition of Frankfurt 1632 with the plates, although their presence is mentioned on its title-page. But in Opera quae extant, omnia: Ex recensione Joh. Antonidae vander Linden, Apud Johannem Blaeu, 1645, the work of Casserius is included, see Morton’s Medical Bibliography (Jeremy Norman, 1991), no. 61.2. See also Johann Ludwig CHOUANT, History and bibliography of anatomic illustration, Chicago, 1920, pp. 223-229 (English translation and annotation by Frank MORTIMER of Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildung nach ihrer Beziehung auf anatomische Wissenschaft und bildende Kunst, Leipzig, R. Weigel, 1852).

(VI.E.-π.1) Cabrolius, Ontleeding des menschelycken lichaems

Barthélémy Cabrol (Bartholomaeus Cabrolius), born around 1535, was a french physician and anatomist. In August 1595 by an edict of Henry IV he was appointed officially as a dissector-anatomist at Montpellier, where he was already active in that function for 35 or 40 years! It was the first time that a surgeon received that honour at this university. During an autopsy of a regent François Feynes he discovered a horseshoe kidney. He had a long friendship with Joubert. He died in 1603. See Louis DULIEU, La médecine à Montpellier, Tome II, La Renaissance, Avignon, les Presses universelles, 1979, pp. 481 (portrait on p. 264).

His first anatomical work, without illustrations, was Alphabet anatomique ending with Observations anatomiques (Tournon: Claude Michel & Guillaume Linocier, 1594, 110 pp.) and had many reprints, initially in French, but later in Latin too (Geneva 1604, Montpellier 1606). A Dutch translation by Caspar Nollens appeared in The Hague (1630) as Het anatomische ABC. Being sold out in 1633 and because of its popularity in that same year a new Dutch translation was published as Ontleeding des menschelycken lichaems, with numerous improvements by Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (1601-1671). Cabrolius’ Ontleeding des menschelycken lichaems contains numerous copper etchings, many of which are after Vesalius. Others are taken from Platter, Tulp and Paaw. See Robrecht van HEE, Art of Vesalius, Antwerp – Apeldoorn, Garant, 2014, pp. 207-210.

(VI.E.-π.1) Cabrolius, Ontleeding des menschelycken lichaems  

Amsterdam, 1633

Title-page: [In elaborated decor within an oval cartouche carried by two standing skeletons]: Ontleeding / des / Menschelycken Lichaems / Eertys int Laitij beschreven / door / Bartholomaeus Cabrolius / Nu verduitscht en met bijvoechselen / als oock Figueren verrijckt
Vidus Vidius (Guido Guidi, Florence, 10 Feb. 1509 – Pisa, 26 May 1569) was an Italian physician, surgeon and anatomist working at the court in France. After practising in Florence and in Rome, he went to France at the Collège Royale and became the personal doctor of François I. There he became a friend of Benvenuto Cellini with whom he published his beautifully illustrated translation work on surgery, based on Hippocrates, Galen and Oribasius Chirurgica e Graeco in Latinum conversa (Florence, 1544). Then he returned to Italy in Pisa to become the physician of Cosimo I de’Medici (1519-1574). Several other works were published after his death. His father had the same name and was a physician too, his mother was the daughter of the painter Domenico Ghirlandajo.

In his De anatome corporis humani libri VII, which has no introductory nor prefatory texts, but has a laudatory passage on Vesalius in chapter II, liber I, there are many references to him. The work has been published first in Venice 1611, many years after his death, the only edition known. It has 78 plates, copper-cuts, most with many illustrations. Here again several were made after those from the Fabrica or at least inspired by them.

* (VI.E.-ρ.1) De anatome corporis humani libri VII Venice, 1611

Title-page: [In elaborated anatomical framework:] Vidi Vdii / Florentini / de / anatome / corporis humani / libri VII. / Nunc primum in lucem editi. / Atque LXXVIII. Tabulis in aes incisis / illustrati et exornati. / [at bottom] / Venetiis apud Iuntas. M.D.C.XI.

Notes: His description of the os pectoris (sternum) is modern, as in de Fabrica, the mandibula is considered as single bone, just as the os frontis (os frontale) in which he describes a sagittal suture as an exception. He counts five vertebrae in the sacrum (sometimes six) and depicts both (p. 51).

Remarkably he mentions in the lower thoracic vertebrae one (the twelfth) that ‘is accepted’ at its processus articularis by the vertebra above it as well as the following one (p. 46). That concept of a vertebra which is caught by both its neighbours can only be found in Vesalius’s Fabrica, where it is discussed at length, in Jacobus Sylvius (his professor in Paris), Realdol Colombo (ca. 1516-1559) who follows Vesalius, Johannes Philippus Ingrassia (1510-1580, Valverde, Bauhin (only incidental), and in Galen (Th 10 for the monkeys). For a discussion see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Alex VANDEN BERGHE. ‘Andreas Vesalius on the Anatomy and Function of the Lower Thoracic Vertebrae’ in Acta Chirurgica Belgica, 2016, 116 (no. 2): 126-138, ill.

Many illustrations are new but several are copied from Vesalius, e.g. the anatomical instruments (p. 11), on p. 21 the skeleton is leaning on a tomb, the cervical vertebrae (p. 43), and many others. The figures in the copper-plates are more sketchy than those in the Fabrica, smaller, and less artistic.
Salomon Alberti (S. Albertus) was born in 1540 in Naumburg, a town in the district Burgenlandkreis (and now the administrative capital of it), in the state of Saksen-Anhalt, Germany. But being a baby yet the family moved to Nürnberg. His father died the year thereafter leaving his widow in deep poverty. With the financial help of the city he studied medicine at the university of Wittenberg where he obtained the doctors degree in 1574. In 1576 he was appointed to the chair of anatomy and philosophy there. In 1592 he became the physician of Frederik Wilhelm, elector of Saksen, during the minority of Christian II. For this he moved to Dresden where he died 28 March 1600.

Alberti was distinguished for his skills in anatomy. His *Historia plerarumque partium humani corporis* is a rather short but much appreciated compendium of anatomy, embellished with plates, of which several are copied after Vesalius, while others are original. Although he references sometimes to Vesalius (ed. 1583 pp. 27, 47, 51, 62, 64, 74) he does not tell he drew some of the plates after his. The plates concerned are, among others, the skull (titlepage), brain (p. 9), sella tursica (p. 14), the heart (p. 41), the diaphragm (p. 47), anterior view of the skeleton (p. 75), base of the skull (p. 80), the hyoid (p. 93), the os cordis (p. 94). He depicts a sacrum consisting of seven pieces, like the one he found himself while dissecting (pp. 88-89).

* (VI.E.-σ.1) *Historia plerarumque partium humani corporis* Wittenberg, 1583

Title-page: *Historia / plerarunque / partium humani cor- / poris, in usum tyro- / num edita, / a / Salomone Alberto, medi- / nae Doctor et Professore eius publico, / [vanitas: skull beneath an hour-glass, on a snake forming the infinity sign, which head is pierced by a crucifix] / Vitaebergae.*

Colophon: *Vitaebergae, / Excudebat Zacharias Lehman / anno Iesu Christi. / M.D. LXXXIII.*

Notes: First edition, 117 pp., text in *italique*, in octavo.

* (VI.E.-σ.2) *Historia plerarumque partium humani corporis* Wittenberg, 1585

Title-page: *Historia / plerarunque / partium humani cor- / poris, membratim scripta, et / in usum tyronum retracta- / tius edita./ a / Salomone Alberto, medici- / nae Doctor et Professore eius publico. / [vanitas: skull beneath an hour-glass, on a snake forming the infinity sign, which head is pierced by a crucifix].

Colophon: *Vitaebergae / Excudebant Haere- / des Ioannis Cra- / tonis. / Anno M. D. LXXXV.*

Notes: Second edition, 141 pp., text in roman, in octavo.

Not seen are the editions of 1601 (with a description of the valves in the veines added), 1602 (*Historia Plaerarumque Partium Humani Corporis. Authoris observationes aliquot Anatomicae, rarae [et] perquam elegantes*, 1602, Schurer, Zacharias I. 176 pp), and 1630, sometimes mentioned in literature. According to Haeser and Choulant they are in octavo’s too.
VII.
The China-root Epistle

Already in the first edition of Cushing’s *A Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius* in 1943, the editor wrote in a foot-note (pp. 160-161, and 167) that the scholarly translation of the China-root Epistle by Prof. J.B. de C.M. Saunders was ‘presently’ to be published. However we never found such publication. The note does not specify whether this was a complete translation or only fragments, nor which edition exactly had been translated. But he tells that this English translation was not yet published when Cushing’s bibliography was printed (October 1943). The translation was not mentioned by O’Malley either, not during his discussion of the work, not in his Vesalius-translations. [O’Malley pp. 214-224 and Appendix: translations]

She is also missing in a later published overview of the different editions in the doctoral thesis by Freddy Tek Tiong Tan, *A. Vesals “Epistola de radicis Chinae usu” in ihrer Bedeutung für die pharmaceutischen Verwendung von Smilax China L.*, Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Naturwissenschaftlichen Facultät der Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn, Marburg, 1966, 135 pp., ill. (see pp. 1-9).

Descriptions of the different editions were included in Cushing pp. 154-170 and 235, and later in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 125-129. In the meantime there are some more. See also for a discussion BIESBROUCK, Maurits, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, Jacqueline VONS, ‘Introduction à la Lettre sur la racine de Chine (1546)’ in Jacqueline VONS et Stéphane VELUT, *La Fabrique de Vésale et autres textes*, Paris, BIUSanté, mai 2016, 21 pp. Can be consulted in <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/pdf/racine.pdf >

Some mistakenly considered a rare work by Thomas Rainold (Venice, 1551) to be an (English) translation of Vesalius’ *China root Epistle*, with the title: *A compendious declaration of the excellent uertues of a certain lateli inuentid oile, callid for the uuorthines thereof oile imperial: Vvith the maner hou the same is to be usid, to the benefite of mankind, against innumerable diseasis. Vuriten by Thomas Rainold Doc. of Phisick. Venetiis: Ioan. Gryphius excudebat, MDLI*; an octavo with [76] pp., and not in Cushing, nor in Elly Cockx-Indestege. All the copies found are reproductions of the original in the *Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery* (call nr. 21769), where the catalogue states clearly “Misidentified by STC and ESTC [their bibliographic references] as a translation by Raynalde of: Vesalius, Andreas. *Epistola, rationem modumque propinandi radicis chynae decocti pertractans*. The two works in fact are unrelated.” Its provenance is “Newburgh Priory library copy; Sotheby sale, 14 April 1924:109 (bought by CSmH; Rosenbach, agent)".
* VII.-1  China-root Epistle  Ed. princeps  Basel, 1546


Colophon: Basileae, ex offici- / na Ioannis Opori- / ni, anno salutis / humanae MDXLVI, / Mense / octobri.


Provenance: can be downloaded from the copy in the K.K. Hofbibliothek Österreichische Nationalbibliothek from books-google.

VII.-2  China-root Epistle  2nd edition  Venice [1546?]


Note: No colophon. In 8°; 100, [8] c. This second edition was printed in Venice, presumably by Comin da Trino, also in 1564. An online copy may be found on the site of the Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé (BIUSanté - Paris). Description in Cushing p. 164, and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 128.

* VII.-3  China-root Epistle  3rd edition  Lyon, 1547


Colophon: X4v°: Lugduni, / Excudebat Ioannes / Frellonius, / 1547.

Collation: 12°. A-V8 X4. 164 leaves: pp. 290, [38]; 130 x 85 mm.

Publisher’s binding: 130 x 85 x 25 mm.

Note: This is a pocket edition. For a description and a discussion on a possible extra edition, mentioned by De Feyfer, see Cushing pp. 164-165. Also Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 129.

Provenance: can be downloaded from books-google from the copy in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent.

VII.-4 China-root Epistle Ryff’s German transl. partim Würzburg, 1548

Note: This is a free translation of only the first part of the first edition of the letter with many additions by the translator. Vesalius’s name is not quoted being referred to (b3b) as “ein anderer Medicus ein trefflich gelert man.” The Italicum scriptum is also translated into German. Description in Cushing p. 165.

VII.-5 China-root Epistle Luisinus ed. partim Venice, 1566
Title-page: De / morbo gallico / omnia quae extant / apud omnes medicos / cuiuscunque nationis, / Qui vel integris libris, vel quuquo alio modo huius affectus curationem / methodice aut empirirce tradiderunt … In quo de Ligno Indico, Salsa Perillia, Radice Chynae, Argento vivo, / caeterisque rebus omnibus ad huius luis profligationem inven- / tis, diffusissima tractatio habetur. … Tomus prior. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, apud Iordanum Zilettum, 1566.

Note: This is only the first portion (going as far as line 6 of page 39) of the 1546 edition. Here it is part of a collection of texts on the treatment of syphilis. For the first time the Italicum scriptum is translated into Latin. Description in Cushing p. 166.

VII.-6 China-root Epistle 2nd Luisinus ed. partim Venice, 1599
Title-page: Aphrodisiacus / sive / de lue venerea; / in duo volumina bipartitus. / Continens omnia quaecumque hactenus / de hac re sunt ab omnibus Medicis conscripta. / Ubi de ligno Indico, salsa perillia, / radice Chynae, Argento vivo, caeterisque rebus omnibus ad hujus luis / profligationem inventis, diffussissima tractatio habetur. / … Volumen primum. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, M D XCIX. / Apud Baretium Baretium, & Sociis [sic]. / Cum privilegiis.

Note: Description in Cushing p. 166, who did not see a copy himself, but was informed that the text is identical with that of the 1566 edition.
VII.-7 China-root Epistle 3rd Luisinus ed. partim Leiden, 1728

Note: Contains on col. 585-598 the same portion of the letter, and on col. 595-598 the ‘italian text’, as found in the 1566 edition. Titles are: Andreae Vesalii, / ad / Joachimum Roelants, / de / Radice Chynae, / epistolae [sic]. / In qua inserta sunt & de Sparta Parilla sub finem nonnulla. / Ejusdem scriptum de ipsamet China, /Italicum ad Joachimum missum, sed nuper Latinum accurate factum.

And for the ‘italian text’: Andreae Vesalii, / de / Modo propinandae Chinae, / Scriptum italicum, / Latinum factum.

Description in Cushing p. 167. The text is followed by pages on syphilis and can be consulted online (books.google) in a copy stamped Bibliotheca regia monacensis.

VII.-8 China-root Epistle Spanish fragment Madrid, 1821
Title-page: Carta / de Andres Vesalio, / natural de Bruselas, / Medico de Camara, / en que trata de la dosis y metodo de administrar / el cocimiento de la raiz de China, de que aca- / ba de hacer uso el muy invicto emperador Carlos V, y en la que, entre otras cosas, da / su dictamen acerca de una carta escrita a Ja- / cobo Silvio, utilissima a los fisicos y anato- / micos, demostrando en ella con claridad que / se ha dado demasiado credito hasta aqui a / Galeno.

Note: This Spanish fragment of the China-Root Epistle contains merely the first part of the letter to Roelants, from p. 11 to p. 34, line 24 of the first edition of 1546. It appeared on pp. 69-96 in Memoria sobre las virtudes y usos de la raiz de Purhampuy ó China Peruana, por Don Hipólito Ruiz … ilustrada y aumentada por el licenciado Don Antonio Ruiz … Madrid, Imprenta de don José del Collado, 1821. Description in Cushing p. 167.

* VII.-9 China-root Epistle Dutch translation Amsterdam, 1915


Publisher’s binding: 255 x 167 x 25 mm, dark green hard covers, front and back-cover blind stamped with caduceus inside fleuron, spine gold tooled: Opuscula / selecta / neerlandicorum / III / MCMXV.

Note: For this translation, under the supervision of Dr. H. Pinkhof, a copy was used of the editio princeps (Basel, 1546). Now the text is divided in 35 sections, each beginning with an initial letter from the Fabrica 1543. Description in Cushing p. 168, discussion in Gerard van Rijnberk, ‘Andreas Vesalius’ brief over het afkooksel van den chyna-wortel’ [Andreas Vesalius’s China-root epistle] in Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde, 1915, 59: 717–719.

Condition: near fine, only partially opened.

Provenance: bought from L’Art Médical (Amsterdam) for 40 guilders (Catalogue 40).

* VII.-10 China-root Epistle English fragment Cape Town, 1935

Title: Vesalius on China root. Extracts from the Letter of Andreas Vesalius to Dominus Joachim Roelants, written at Ratisbon, 13th of June 1546.


Note: Translation by B. Farrington. The excerpts have been made only from the first ten pages of Vesalius’ Epistle to Roelants, having to do with the efficacy of the China-root.

Note: See Cushing p. 235.

Condition: very good, slight discoloration and yellowing of pages.

Provenance: bought from aLibris on november 25 th 2001 for 89.95 USD.

(VII.-11) in Boerhaave and Albinus Leiden, 1725


Caption title: Not seen.

Note: The full text of the China-root Epistle is the second section in vol. II (of II) on pp. 619-684, after the Epitome. This edition was not included in the chapter VII of Cushing’s Vesalius
bio-bibliography. See VI.D.8, also Cushing p. 133. A copy is present in the City Archives of Brussels.

* (VII.-12) China-root Epistle Spanish fragment 2002
Title: Carta sobre la Raiz de la China, de Vesalius.

Heading: Amigo mio: Durante la Guerra que acaba de empezar nuestro grande y misericordioso emperador con gran vigor, ...


Note: With a Spanish translation (pp. 69-71) of a fragment of the China-root epistle. The author states that it concerns the edition of 13 June 1546, “publicada probablemente en 1575.”

Provenance: can be downloaded from:


Publisher’s binding: 235 x 160 x 22 mm; 149 leaves; cover ochre paper in linen imitation on cardboard; on the front cover in black letters: Vesalius: / The China Root / Epistle / [rule] / A New Translation and Critical Edition / Andreas Vesalius / Edited and Translated by / Daniel H. Garrison. On the spine: Garrison Vesalius: The China Root Epistle Cambridge. Wrappers with Vesalius’ portrait from the Fabrica and the same text of the front cover.

Notes: English annotated translation by Daniel H. Garrison. In order to interrupt the monolithic text the translator included several (many fragments of) woodcuts first used in the Fabrica 1543, but which do not appear in the original edition of the China Root Epistle,
whereas the only rare illustrations from the original are not included here. The translated colophon of the original has been added to the translated title-page.

The translator not explicitly mentions which copy he used, but at the end of the introduction he points to the editio princeps in the Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé (BIUSanté - Paris), and the use of asterisks to indicate page breaks of this 1546 edition is proof enough.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, UK) for 55.00 Pound Sterling, on January 15th, 2015.


Note: For an introduction to this French translation of the China Root Epistle by Jacqueline Vons, see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, La Lettre sur la racine de Chine d’André Vésale (1546), Paris, BIUSanté, 2016.
Online in <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/debut.htm>

* (VII.-15) China-root Epistle partim Leiden, 1665

Note: This work contains five contributions on Vesalius, the first of which is ‘Andreae Vesalii et Jacobi Sylvii Super libello Galeni de Ossibus Controversiae’ [On the disagreements between Andreas Vesalius and Jacobus Sylvius concerning Galen’s De ossibus], on pp. 116-131. This is an extract from the China-root epistle (1546) beginning there on p. 46 line 19 to p. 55 line 15. The first sentence, here on p. 116, is rearranged to fit with the new context. Here there is a subdivision in paragraphs and on p. 125 an addition on which book of Galens De Usu partium is concerned: ‘in libro 12. de Usu part’.

The other contributions have nothing to do with the China-root epistle. The second contribution begins on p. 131 to 142 with Sic autem Vesalio respondet Jac. Sylvius, in Depulsione ejusdem Calumiarum [In his Depulsione Calumiarum Jacobus Sylvius answers to Vesalius this way] and the third (pp. 142-162) is a continuation of this as Quia Vesalius, in lib. de Humani corporis Fabrica, insuper alia quaedam Galeni Dogmata sugillatque ad illa, in eodem libello, porro sic repondet Sylvius [In that same booklet Sylvius continues his answer to Vesalius because he jeers at Galen on some other things of Galens doctrine in his books on the Structure of the human body]. The two others are a defence for Vesalius by Henerus and a defence of Galen by Eustachius: Suscepit Renatus Henerus pro Vesalio Apologiam adversus has Sylvii Depulsiones, quem proinde sic animose satis adoritur on pp. 163-196, and Sed nunc opera-pretium est audire, quomodo Bartholomaeus Eustachius, in
Examine Ossium, Galeni partes, adversus Recentiores Anatomicos, praecipue vero Vesalium, acriter tueatur on pp. 197-257.
VIII.
Consilia

This are Vesalius’s medical writings, mostly letters with a medical advice for colleagues and patients asking for it. Only a few are preserved, but he wrote probably more of them. Some consilia were only published much later and are part of collective works. A consilium is usually named after the author who published it for the first time.


VIII.A - Consilium in Montanus, Padua, 29 April, 1542


Concerns: problems of vision.

Note: Considered as the third work of Reiner Solenander, by most of his biographers, are his Consilia medicinalia (Lugduni, apud Ioannem franciscum de Gabiano, 1558) Sectio prima, and were reprinted in 1560. Those are consilia by Giovani Battista da Monte (Johannes Baptista Montanus, died 6 May 1551), one of the founders of clinical medicine in Italy, who was a professor in Padua. Solenander brought them with him from Italy to Germany, and on the request of the printer, Ioannes Franciscus de Gabiano, he completed and corrected them, as he explains to his readers (studiosis). In this ‘first part’ (326 pages) there is nothing on Vesalius. But this is only a restricted selection of 25 consilia of Montanus, who wrote a lot more of them.
The largest part of the consilia by Montanus were edited by Johann Crato from Breslau (Vratslav), namely 384, divided into different kinds of diseases, followed by another 50 ones about fever, de febribus. (*) After that section, and following the impressum, follows yet an appendix on syphilis (morbus Gallicus) with a lot of recipies in a number of consultationes, which are listed at the end. But immediately before the errata, the printer mentions still having some spare pages, which he used to add a consilium by Vesalius that was found amidst those by Montanus. It is dated Padua, 3 Calend. Maij [i.e. 29 April], 1542 and starts with the words: Pro visv partim depravato, partim abolito, D. Andreae Vuesalij [sic] Consilium, ad Vuofigangum Heruwart Augustanum scriptum. So, this consilium is addressed to Wolfgang HERWART, a patrician in Augsburg, also a doctor and a good friend of Vesalius, who gives him the advice he asked for a 27 year old man with problems of his sight. It is signed Andreas Vesalius. Vesalius himself writes the name as Hevort (with an ‘o’) as wel in his Fabrica 1543 (p. 35) as in the Fabrica 1555 (p. 46), and as well in the index as in the text itself, where he thanks him, together with Marcus Antonius from Genua, for their support during his work.

For a description see Cushing p. 178.

* VIII.A.-3  Transcription  Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: for the transcription see pp. 388-396.

* (VIII.A.-3a)  Transcription  Amsterdam, 1965

* (VIII.A.-4)  English translation  Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MAILLEY. *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.


Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see pp. 10-13, and pp. 4-9 and 26-46.

VIII.B - Consilium for Pfister, Brussels, November 6th, 1553 (or 1557?)

Heading: *Morbo affectuique V. C. ut proponitur (…) chynae usum, ad illum prorsus modum administratum, quo indies ab Hispanis Indisque adhibetur, accommodum esse existimarem…*

First published as a transcription in: Moritz ROTH. *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl., being VIII.B.-1.

Concerns: Vesalius believes that the China root may properly be employed, administered in the way it is normally used by the Spanish and the people of the Indies in this case of disease of the skin.

Note: This second consilium was directed to Marcus PFISTER and was written in Brussels and dated November 6th, 1553. Pfister was in 1548 burgomaster in Augsburg, he died in 1561 (see Cushing pp. 174 en 179).

An Ms., signed and dated “And. Vesalius / 6 Novembris 1553” (or 1557?), is in the Huber Collection at the University Library in Basel (Roth [345], p. 238 n. 6). It can be
consulted online <http://www.e-manuscripta.ch/doi/10.7891/e-manuscripta-21947>

At top of the letter and in another hand than the letter itself the words *Marco Pfistero* are written. But, according to Theodoor Goddeeris, this Ms. is most certainly not in the hand of Vesalius himself. We have two transcriptions of it: one by Roth and one by Baron, the last one being somewhat more accurate. Although Baron could have used the publications of Roth he did not do so. Instead he used a photo of this ‘original’ Ms. and he is the first (and up to now the only) one to publish the photograph. There is no unanimity about the date: Roth reads 1553, Baron 1557 (see p. 252). Vesalius was on November 6th of both years in Brussels, but that city is not mentioned in the Ms. Although the China root was used mostly for the cure of gout or syphilis, it had many applications. Here Vesalius prescribes it obviously for the skin disease of which Pfister suffered. Vesalius was in a hurry while writing this consilium as he concludes with: *Et haec sunt quae maximis meis occupationibus hoc tempore de proposito mihi affectu in medium adferre volui.*

Another consilium, also for Pfister, was written by Giovanni Battista da Monte (Montanus), three years earlier in 1550, and it appeared in his *Consultationes medicae* edited by Crato von Krafftheim (Bazel: Hendrik Petri & Petrus Pernam, 1565 and 1572); see books, google: Ioannes Crato Vratislaviensis. *Consultationes Medicae Ioannis Baptistar Montani. Antea quidem Ioannis Cratonis Vratislavensis Medici Caesarei opera atque studio correctae, emendatae, adauctae: Nunc vero et novorum Consiliorum Appendice, & necessarisi veterum Additionibus locupletatae, Basileae, per Henricum Petri, et Petrum Pernam, 1572; see consilium 197, col. 483-486. This consilium begins with *De debilitate ventriculi, pro M. Pfister Augustano 1550.* It is remarquable that Montanus concluded that Pfister was cured: *Fuit curatus.* This is described by Cushing (p. 179) as the *Consilium in Montanum*, but it is questionable whether this one was written by Vesalius. In Vesalius’s Ms. there is no mention of a *debilitas ventriculi* or a gastric disorder. Neither of this consilia mentions the name of the patient, which appears only in the title or superscription. In the text itself Montanus uses the address E.V. (*egregius vir*), and Vesalius V.C. (*vir clarissimus*).

* VIII.B.-1  Transcription  Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: See p. 397 for a transcription from the manuscript copy in the library of the University of Basel. See also Cushing p. 179.

* (VIII.B.-1a)  Transcription  Amsterdam, 1965

* (VIII.B.-2)  English translation  Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY. *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see p. 394.
VIII.B.-3  Ms. and Spanish transcription  
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ. Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: Copy of the Ms. in small size on p. 254. Discussion on pp. 252-254, Spanish transcription on p. 273. Here the date is transcribed as 6 novembris 1557.

VIII.B.-4  Partial Dutch translation  

Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see p. 14, and pp. 4-9 and 26-46.

VIII.C - Consilium to Ingrassia, Madrid, 1562

Heading: Pro Magni, et illvstr. Terraenovae Ducis fistula, ex leui axilla in thoracis concauum peruia, & aliis grauibus non paucis affectibus, ob puris supra septum transuersum coaceruationem, & ineptam per fistulam expurgationem, subinde prouenientibus.

First published in: Ioannis Philippi Ingrassiae ... Quaestio De purgatione per medicamentum, atque obiter etiam De sanguinis missione, An Sexta morbi die fieri possint ... Venetiis sumptibus Angeli Patessii Bibliopolae Neapolitani. 1568: being VIII.C.-1.

Concerns: a fistule at the left axilla and others.

Note: this consilium, dated at the end ‘Madriti, feriis Nataliciis. 1562’ (Madrid, Christmas, 1562), concerns Don Carlo d’Aragona Tagliavia, I Duke of Terranova. It is directed to Giovanni Filippo INGRASSIA, physician of Don Carlos. He was protomedicus of Sicily and a famous anatomist. The problem of a purulent fistula at the left axilla originated from an empyema caused by a penetrating wound with a fracture of the fifth rib, contracted during a tournament in Palermo. Interestingly Vesalius, being medically correct, gave his advice not to the requesting family, but to Ingrassia, their physician. See Cushing p. 179.

VIII.C.-1  Transcription  
In: Ioannis Philippi Ingrassiae ... Quaestio De purgatione per medicamentum, atque obiter etiam De sanguinis missione, An Sexta morbi die fieri possint ... Venetiis sumptibus Angeli Patessii Bibliopolae Neapolitani. M D LXVIII. Cum Illustrissimi Senatus Veneti Privilegiis.

Notes: In addition to this consilium pro fistula (pp. 92-98), this volume contains the letter (pp. 99-101) of Ingrassia to Vesalius, dated Palermo, 1563. See Cushing p. 179.
* VIII.C.-2  Transcription  
Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.


* (VIII.C.-2a) Transcription  
Amsterdam, 1965

* (VIII.C.-3) Translation  
Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY. Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the English translation see appendix 18 letter to Giovanni Filippo Ingrassia, pp. 398-402.

VIII.D - Consilium to Forestus, n.p. [ca. 1556]

Heading: Consilium Vesalij, medici Imperatoris excellentissimi.

First published in: Observationum et curationum medicinalium libri tres.... D. Petro Foresto Alcmariano ... Auctore. Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1590; being VIII.D.-1.

Concerns: a case of epistaxis.

Note: this fourth consilium is directed to Pieter van Foreest (FORESTUS, 1522-1597) from Alkmaar, physician in Delft, concerning a young man who was seriously weakened after a profuse epistaxis. For a discussion see also Hans L. HOUTZAGER, ‘Twee consilia van Andreas Vesalius’ [Two consilia of Andreas Vesalius] in Medisch Contact, 1978, 33: 1264-1266, ill. See also Cushing p. 179-180.

VIII.D.-1 Transcription  
Leiden, 1590
In: Observationum et curationum medicinalium libri tres: Nempe Octavus De exterioribus vitiis & morbis cutaneis Capitis: Nonus De variis Capitis doloribus: Decimus De universis ac cerebri & meningum eiusdem Symptomatic ac morbis. ... D. Petro Foresto Alcmariano / ... Auctore. Lugduni Batavorum, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Franciscum Raphelengium, M. D. XC.

M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

VIII.D.-2  Transcription  Frankfurt, 1602

Notes: Vesalius’s consilium in this large folio is in Book X, observatio 97. It appeared also in many editions of Foreest’s Opera omnia (e.g. [VIII.D.2a] and [VIII.D.2b] below). See Cushing p. 180.

[VIII.D.-2a]  Transcription  Frankfurt, 1623
In: Domini Petri Foresti Alcmariani, Medicinae doctoris experientissimi, inclytae reipublicae Delphensis Medico-Physici ordinarij, Observationum et Curationum Medicinalium ac Chirurgicarum Opera Omnia, ..., Cum Privilegio Sacrae Caesae. Majest. [device] Prostant Francoforti, Typis Hartmanni Palthenii, Sumptibus Heredum D. Zachariae Palthenij, p. m. Anno M.DC.XXIII.

Notes: See mention in Cushing p. 180, and description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 133.

[VIII.D.-2b]  Transcription  Frankfurt, 1634


* VIII.D.-3  Transcription  Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.
Note: for the transcription see pp. 405-406. Mention in Cushing p. 180.

* (VIII.D.-3a)  Transcription  Amsterdam, 1965

* VIII.D.-4  Transcription and Dutch translation  Amsterdam, 1935
In: Consultationes medicae, Opuscula selecta Neerlandicorum de arte medica, Fasciculus tertius decimus quem curatores miscellaneorum quae vocantur Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde collegerunt et ediderunt, Amstelodami, sumptibus Societatis, 1935.

Note: In this volume of Consultationes medicae edited by M.A. van Andel, the Consilium Vesalii ad Petrum Forestum occupies pp. 9-15, there are a Latin transcription and a translation into Dutch, a biographical note in English, and portraits of Vesalius and Forestus. See description in Cushing p. 180.
Condition: very good, first two pages (including titlepage) slightly foxed.

Provenance: Theo de Boer in Zandpol (the Netherlands).

* (VIII.D.-5)  English translation  Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY. Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.;

Note: for the translation see pp. 394-395.

* (VIII.D.-6)  Transcription  Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ. Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.


Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see p. 15, and pp. 4-9 and 26-46.

VIII.E - Consilium in Garetius, Augsburg [presumably 1550]

Heading: Ex literis Andreae Vesalii ad I. D. Pratensem.

First published in: Garetius’ De arthritidis praeservatione et curacione ... consilia (Frankfurt: Ioannes Wechel and Petrus Fischer, 1592); being VIII.E.-1.

Concerns: on the treatment of gout by cauterisation.

Note: This consilium in Henricus Garetius is not dated and is addressed to I.D. PRATENSIS, Louis of Flanders, heer van Praat, minister of Emperor Charles V and consists of fragments of six different letters, and deals with several methods for treatment by cautery.

See Cushing p. 180 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 135-137. For a more comprehensive discussion of this consilium, and of the contents of Garetius’s work, see Maurits Biesbrouck, Omer Steeno, Theodoor Goddeeris, ‘De briefwisseling van de Brugse arts Petrus Bruhesius en Andreas Vesalius’ consilium voor Lodewijk van Vlaanderen’ [The Correspondence of Petrus
It is important to realise that two of these text fragments (1 and 3) should be considered as a consilium post factum for Lodewijk van Vlaanderen, alias Lodewijk Praat, as Vesalius wrote that consilium when he treated Nicolaas Perrenot de Granvelle, councillor of Charles V. As Vesalius did the cauteries some time before 1540 Nicolaas must have lived for another ten years. He was also the father of Antoon, schoolfriend of Vesalius in Leuven, later bishop of Atrrecht now Arras in France), and still later cardinal de Granvelle, and the first archbishop of Mechelen (Belgium). Nicolaas died in Augsburg in August 27th, 1550. See (VIII.E.-1a).

* VIII.E.-1 First edition Frankfurt, 1592
In: De Arthritidis / Praeserva-/ tione et Curatione, / clarorum doctissimo- / rumque nostrae / aetatis / medicorum, / Consilia. / Auctorum nomina pagina XVI. / continentur. / Opera et / Studio / Henrici Garetii Lovani- / ens, reverendiss. ac illustri. / Electoris Mo- / guntini / medici, in lucem edita. / [printer’s emblem] / Francofuri / Apud Ioannem Wechelum & / Petrum / Fischerum consortes, / MDXCII.


Note: The six extracts from the Vesalian letters are found on pp. 122-125; no one is dated. Henri Garet (+ 1602), a native of Louvain, received his medical degree from Padua in 1558 after which he returned to the Low Countries and practised for many years in Brussels. This compilation of the consilia for Lodewijk IV van Vlaanderen (Lodewijk van Praat - formerly Praet -, Louis de Flandres) who suffered from gout and collected by his physician Petrus Bruhesius, is his only published work.

See description Cushing p. 180 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 135 (with the date of publication wrongly ‘1598’ instead of ‘1592’).

Binding: 181 x 110 x 10 mm; new gray-brown paper covers.

Condition: fair, new simple paper cover, pages 109-112 soiled, pages 113-128 replaced by facsimile from another copy. Caligraphic notes in the margins of pages 22, 23 and 104, 105. Some pages are missing a small corner at the bottom without damage to the text.

Provenance: bought from H.Th. Wenner, Osnabrück, February 17, 2011, for 412,95 euro. The copy of the National Library of Austria can be found online (google books).

Note: See p. 62 for a copy of the six extracts on pages 122-125 in Garetius. For a discussion and a transcription with Dutch translation of extract one see pp. 61-64.

* VIII.E.-2  Transcription  
Berlin, 1892  
In: Moritz ROTH. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.


* (VIII.E.-2a)  Transcription  
Amsterdam, 1965  

* (VIII.E.-3) English translation  
Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964  
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY. Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the complete translation see pp. 392-393.

* (VIII.E.-4) Partial Dutch translation  
Leuven, 2014  

Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see pp. 16-18, and pp. 4-9 and 26-46.

VIII.F - Consilium in Scholtz, n.p., n.d.: prior to 1546 (cfr. Roth)

Heading: In epilepsia, deque Ligni Guaiaci vsu in hac / affectione: Item, de Tinnitus / aurium, / D. Andreae Vesalii.


Concerns: dealing with epilepsy and tinnitus

Note: According to Roth written prior to 1546. In my collection I have of the first editions only an outprint of that consilium, found in books.google, in Laurentius SCHOLZIUS. Consiliorum medicinalium, conscriptorum à Praestantiss. atque Excellentiss. nostrorum
temporum medicis. Liber Singularis [Unique book on medical consilia written by the most prominent and best doctors of our time], Hanoviae, Typis Wechelianis apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1610; see consilium XL, col. 109-119, being VIII.F.-2.


* VIII.F.-1 Transcription Frankfurt, 1598

Notes: Both Vesalian consilia are to be found in cols. 109-119: on epilepsy under the heading In epilepsia, de que Ligni Guaiaci usu in hac affectione: Item de Tinnitus aurium, D. Andreae Vesalii Consilium XL in cols. 109-117, on tinnitus under the heading Idem de eodem casu. Consilium XLI in cols. 117-119. Description in Cushing p. 181 and Elly Cocx-Indestege p. 136.

Provenance: can be downloaded from the copy of the Bibliotheca regia monacensis from books.google.

* VIII.F.-2 Transcription Hanau, 1610
In: Same title as VIII.F.-1, but as impressum below the device: Hanoviae Typis Wechelianis apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii. [rule] M DC. X. Cum privilegio Caesa. Majest. ad annos Decem.

Notes: The edition has 582 pp. and the consilia are on the same pages (col.) as above. Description in Cushing p. 181 and Elly Cocx-Indestege p. 137. Also in <http://ul-newton.lib.cam.ac.uk>.

* VIII.F.-3 Transcription Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: for the transcription see pp. 409-419.
* (VIII.F.-3a) _Transcription_ Amsterdam, 1965

* (VIII.F.-4) _English translation_ Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY. _Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564_, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.


* (VIII.F.-5) _Partial French translation_ 2008

Note: also with a discussion and a partial French translation of two consilia on epilepsy by Vesalius published by L. Scholz (pp. 23-24).

* (VIII.F.-6) _Partial Dutch translation_ Leuven, 2014

Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see pp. 18-23, and 26-46 and 4-9.

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VIII.G - Consilium in Dodoens, Cologne, 1559 or before

Heading: _De calculo in vesica sponte rupto._


Concerns: a case of stones in the urinary bladder and in another case in the gall bladder.

Note: For a description see Cushing p. 236 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 138-140. Only short mentions in Roth (p. 240 n. 3) and in Baron (1970) p. 257; not in O’Malley.

We don’t know the exact date of that consilium, only that Vesalius had this consultation in Brussels. He was there from February 7th, 1553, and since the emperor than stopped traveling, Vesalius could enjoy of his stay in his city palace, this until his departure to
Spain medio 1559 in the suite of Philip II. So he was during six years successively in Brussels. But he was also periodically in the city between the travels of Charles V. This consilium has therefore been written medio 1559 or before. (Th. Goddeeris)

This consilium was later taken by Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg and appeared in book III (of VII) in several editions of his. The seven books were first published apart during 1584-97, but were lateron collected. For a later discussion see Theodoor GODDEERIS, Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, ‘The Consilium of Andreas Vesalius in the Work of Rembert Dodoens: their Treatment of Bladder Stones’ in De Historia Urologiae Europaeae, 2017, 24: 176-195, ill.

* (VIII.G.-00)  Transcription  Cologne, 1580

Note: The consilium De calculo in vesica sponte rupto, is caput 27, pp. 154-156.

Provenance: can be downloaded from the copy of the Library of the University of California Davis from books.google.

* [VIII.G.-0]  Transcription  Cologne, 1581

Note: Here this consilium is caput 43, pp. 108 [instead of ‘118’] -111. The text has been entirely reset and shows some minor changes. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 138.

In a comment (p. 142) on chapter III Lapides in tunica hepatis reperti ( pp. 140-141) Dodoens remembers Vesalius’s story of the case of Belloarmatus suffering from stones in the gall bladder and told in his Epistola Radicis Chynae to Joachim Roelants.

Provenance : can be downloaded from the copy of the Universiteitsbibliotheek van Gent from books.google.

* [VIII.G.-1]  Transcription  Leiden, 1585

Note: The consilium in caput 43 is on pp. 98-100. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 139.

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google.
* (VIII.G.-1.1)  
**Transcription**  
Freiburg im Breisgau, 1596

In: Johann SCHENCK von Grafenberg, *Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum, admirabilium, et monstrosarum volumen, libri tertii* [Rare and new observations on medicine, curiosities, interesting new things and monsters. Vol. III], Friburgi Brisgoiae, ex officina Martini Böckleri, 1596.

Note: For this consilium see *Observatio CCLXXX* on pp. 508-511. Schenk von Grafenberg refers to Dodoens *chapter 43* in his *Observat. Medicinal*. Can be found online.

* (VIII.G.-1.2)  
**Transcription**  
Frankfurt, 1609

In: Johann SCHENCK von Grafenberg, *Παραθησεων sive Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum, admirabilium, et monstrosarum volumen, tomis septem de toto homine institutum* [Seven books on the whole of man or observations on medicine, curiosities, interesting new things and monsters...], Francofurti, E typ. Nicolai Hoffmanni, 1609.

Note: The passage on the Stone, ruptured in the urinary bladder, a consilium taken from Dodoens, appears here in Book III, as *Observatio. Calculus in vesica sponte ruptus* (pp. 544-545). Schenck refers to *chapter 43* in Dodoens. Can be consulted online.

* (VIII.G.-1.3)  
**Transcription**  
Lyon, 1644

In: Johann SCHENCK von Grafenberg, *Observationum medicarum rariorum libri VII* [Seven books on rare observations in medicine], Lugduni, Ioannis-Antonii Huguetan, 1644.

Note: This consilium is here *Observatio IV* on p. 475. He refers to *chapter 43* in Dodoens. On p. 402 mention is also made of the case of Belloarmatus with stones in the gall bladder and told in the *China Root Epistle*. Can be consulted online.

* (VIII.G.-1.4)  
**Transcription**  
Frankfurt, 1665

In: Johann SCHENCK von Grafenberg, *Observationum medicarum rariorum libri VII* [Seven books on rare observations in medicine], Francofurti, sumptibus Joannis Beyeri, 1665.

Note: This consilium is again *Observatio IV* on p. 494-495, and he refers to Dodoens. Can be consulted online.

* [VIII.G.-2]  
**Transcription**  
Harderwijk, 1621

In: *Remb. Dodonaei Medici Caes. Medicinalium Observationum exempla rara. …* [device]  
*Hardervici, Apud Vidua Thomae Henrici, Impensis Henrici Laurentij, Bibliopolae Amstelredamensis. M. D. XXI.*

Note: In the impressum de ‘C’ (for 100) in the date must be forgotten. Here this consilium is *caput 43*, pp. 76-77. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 140.

Provenance: can be downloaded from the copy of the *Biblioteca Collegio S. Carlos* from books.google.
* (VIII.G.-3) French translation, incomplete  Malines, 1841

Note: for the translation see *De calculo in vesica sponte rupto* [On the spontaneous rupture of a stone in the bladder], pp. 236-237. In some places this translation is rather free or summarizing. Other passages have been deleted. Can be consulted online.

* (VIII.G.-4) Transcription  Würzburg, 1843

Note: For a discussion and complete quotation of Vesalius’s consilium VIII.G in Dodoens on a stone in the urinary bladder see pp. 68-70. Can be consulted online.

* (VIII.G.-5) English translation  2017

Note: The translation is on pp. 180-181.

VIII.H - Consilium for D. Lienhartus Haug, Nürnberg, 1542

Heading: *In proposito nobis negotio, utraeque indigemus Medicinae artis parte, tum quae morbos praecavet, ...*


Concerns: the treatment for a renal calculus.

Note: Found in the city library of Nürnberg between the letters and in the handwriting of the humanist and physician Georg Palma from that city with a Consilium Dominij Andreae Vesalij ad praeservandum et curandum calculum pro D. Lienharto Haug (1542). The location of the original is unknown. Description in Cushing p. 236. Not in Roth nor in O’Malley. A short discussion can be found on p. 188 in Theodoor GODDEERIS, Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, ‘The Consilium of Andreas Vesalius in the Work of Rembert Dodoens: their Treatment of Bladder Stones’ in *De Historia Urologiae Europaeae*, 2017, 24: 176-195, ill.
* (VIII.H.-1) Transcription Würzburg, 1954

Note: *Consilium* for D. Lienhartus Haug concerning the treatment for a renal calculus. See Cushing (1962) p. 236 and my Vesalius *Bibliography* nos. 1009 and 1010, a copy of the text of no. 1009 with multiple changes. The archives of Dr. Boeynaems (from Antwerp) in the University Library of Leuven contain a copy of this with his short comment (typescript).


Note: for the partial translation and a discussion of the herbs used see pp. 24-25, also on pp. 4-9 and 26-46.

VIII.I - Consilium for Balthasar von Stubenberg, [Augsburg, 1547/1548]

Heading: *Quo magis chartulam apud me relictam intueor, ac quid de ipsa sentire debeam, ...*


Concerns: a thirteen years old boy with a nervous disorder of his right foot.

* (VIII.I.-1) Transcription 1909-1910

Note: Consilium for Bathasar von Stubenberg about a thirteen years old boy with a nervous disorder of his right foot. Correspondence between Adam and Wolfgang von Stubenberg. See Cushing (1962) pp. 236-237. Not in Roth.

Provenance: Photocopy from the *Koninklijke bibliotheek van België*.

* (VIII.I.-2) English translation Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY. *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°. XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see pp. 390-392.

**VIII.J - Consilium to A.P. Gasser, Brussels, 18 July 1557**

**Heading:** *Una cum D. Bartholomaei Velseri literis, Tuas, doctissime et mihi amicissime D. Achilles, accepi ...*


Concerns: this is Vesalius’ answer to Gasser for sending him the post mortem of Leonard WELSER, a case of an aortic aneurysm, as was also the case with the sister of Granvelle, bishop of Arras.

Note: The letter is written by Vesalius to Gasser in Brussels on July 18th, 1557.


The case has more than once been mistakenly presented as a rupture of the *vena cava*; see: Franciscus MASSAZZA. *Dissertatio inauguralis medica de ruptione venae cavae casibus et animadversionibus illustrata*, Ticini Regii, ex Typ. Fusi et Socii success. Galeatii, 1825, pp. 7-9; and its English translation by James KENNEDY, ‘Observations in Practical Pathology, No. IX. - Illustrations of Rupture of the Vena Cava, with Cases and disquisitive Remarks’ in James COPLAND, Robley DUNGLISON, *The London Medical Repository*, London, for Thomas and George Underwood, 1823, pp. 273-275.

* (VIII.J.-1) **Transcription**

In: Georg WELSCH (Georgius Hieronymus Velschius). *Sylloge curationum et observationum medicinalium centurias VI. complectens c. notis ejusdemet Epifagmatum Centuria I*. Impensis


The short note reads: Anevrisma aortae| Simile exemplum est apud Anton. Saportam lib. I, de tumor. c.43. Conferri etiam possunt, quae de hac ipsa historia noster quondam Adolphus Occo perscripsert ad Jo. Shenkium lib. 5 obs. 227 [or 247?]. (A similar example is given in Anton. Saporta, book I, De tumoribus, chapter 43. See also what the late Adolphus Occo wrote on that history to Joh. Schenck in book 5, observatio 227.)

* (VIII.J.-2) Transcription Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.
Note: for the transcription see pp. 420-421.

* (VIII.J.-2a) Transcription Amsterdam, 1965

* (VIII.J.-3) Ms. and transcription Berlin, 1920
Note: For the Ms. see pp. 28-29, for the transcription see p. 2-3.

* (VIII.J.-4) English translation Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

* (VIII.J.-5) Transcription and German translation 1970
Note: for the transcription and translation, followed by a short discussion, see vol. III, pp. 151-153.

* (VIII.J.-6) Dutch translation 2014
Note: Contains also the letter with the post mortem sent by Gasser to Vesalius (vide infra XII.D).

* (VIII.J.-7) English translation 2015

Note: Contains also the letter with the post mortem sent by Gasser to Vesalius (vide infra XII.D).

VIII.K - Consilium for the Prince of Orange, Breda, March 15th, 1558

Heading: Monsieur, samedi passe est party dicy un des serviteurs de Vostre Excellence ...


Concerns: the melancholy of the wife of William the Silent, Prince of Orange Count of Nassau.

Note: The original Ms. letter is owned by the Historical Library, Yale Medical Library, New Haven (Connecticut). See M.E. Stanton. ‘A Vesalian Letter’ in Journal of the History of Medicine, 1953, 8: 448.

This is the only letter we know that was written in French, all the others being in Latin. It is undated but according to O’Malley it must have been written early in 1558 at the time when both the Prince of Orange and his wife were ill. She died on March 24th of that year. See (VIII.K.-4).

On February 25, 1558, William the Silent arrived in Frankfurt am Main, as the leader of a deputation, to transmit on behalf of the emperor Charles V the declaration of surrender of August 27, 1556 and the imperial insignia. Normally Anna of Egmond had to join the delegation at the family visit to Dillenburg, but she stayed at home suffering from a continuing fever. On February 27 she wrote a letter to William telling that the fever did not pass off, but William received it only on March 11 (that letter got lost). The following day William responded from Frankfurt to Anna with a letter (which still exists), announcing that he will come to Breda as soon as possible. That same day, on March 12, Vesalius wrote two letters: one to master Art (named Tseraerts?, secretary of the prince?), and one to the prince himself (both letters do not longer exist). Some days later, on March 15, Vesalius wrote another letter (being VIII.K) with the known information concerning Anna’s condition: the continuing fever and now also an added melancholy. Vesalius must have been worried about her condition and the course of her sickness. William turned back to Breda stopping in Dillenburg, where he paid a visit to his parents, and arrived at Breda on March 20. Shortly later Anna died, on March 24. It is obvious that she suffered from something worse than a melancholy. William himself was sane at that moment, but lateron he got a setback caused by
the repercussions of his loss.

* (VIII.K.-1) French transcription London, 1930

Note: My copy has a small leaf with errata pasted on page ix. With a letter or consilium of Vesalius ‘A mon Seigneur et frere le Prince d’Orange Compte de Nassau’ on p. 100-101, with introduction, and an erratum on p. 101. Vesalius demands to the Prince to come home because of his wife attainte d’une merveilleuse melancholie. Neither in Roth nor in O’Malley.

Condition: very good, some discoloration of the covers.


* (VIII.K.-2) French transcription Toronto, 1930

Note: My copy has a small leaf with errata pasted on the dedication-page. This Canadian edition is alike the London-edition, differing only with the impressum and some minor details. Same pagination and content.

Condition: very good, some discoloration of the covers and spine, and a dark spot on the front cover.

Provenance: bought for 50.25 USD from Richard Spafford Bookseller, Regina, SK (Canada) on April 12, 2004.

(VIII.K.-3) French transcription New York, 1930

Note: This is the first American edition mentioned by Cushing (1962) who on p. 237 mentions a different pagination for that consilium (pp. 175-176).

* (VIII.K.-4) Ms. and French transcription 1953
* (VIII.K.-5) Ms. and French transcription 1964

Note: In Dutch. The letter to the Prince of Orange (1558) in French: copy of the Ms. with transcription. Also a letter to cardinal de Granvelle (1546) in Latin transcription with a Dutch translation, and concerning the medical problem of Naves; see (VIII.N).

* (VIII.K.-6) French transcription 1965

Note: for the transcription, preceded by a short discussion, see pp. 145-146.

* (VIII.K.-7) French transcription and Dutch translation 1978

Note: Contains also a discussion of the consilium to Pieter van Foreest.

* (VIII.K.-8) Ms. New Haven (Ct), 1962

Note: For the Ms. with a short discussion see pp. 11-12. Available online in Medical Library Heritage.

VIII.L - Post mortem king Henry II of France, [Brussels, July 1559]

Heading: Infelix regii vulneris successus. Die veneris, Henricus christianissimus gallorum Rex, in publico hastarum concursu ...


Concerns: the serious head injury, death and post mortem of Henry II, King of France.

Note: The original Ms. is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Fonds Fr., vol. 10190, f. 141) and is written in a contemporary hand.
Henry II was the son of François I.


* (VIII.L.-1) Transcription Paris, 1881

Note: This consilium can be downloaded from: <https://ia700402.us.archive.org/27/items/antoinedebourbon01rubluoft/antoinedebourbon01rubluoft.pdf>
See description in Cushing p. 238.

* (VIII.L.-2) Transcription and English translation 1948

Note: The insert of 4 pages gives a transcript of the original Latin, being a verbatim record by Vesalius of the death of king Henry II of France. See Cushing (1962) p. 238, also a short discussion in Baron (1970) pp. 253-254, who considers it as a *post mortem* and not as a *consilium*.

* (VIII.L.-3) English translation Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY. *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see pp. 396-398.

* (VIII.L.-4) Transcription Madrid, 1970

Note: transcription see pp. [297]-299.

Note: Some errors in the transcriptions and translations of A. de Ruble and O’Malley are discussed, see p. 32, n. 9, whereas the text is correct in Ferdinand WAGENSEIL, ‘Vesal beim Tode Heinrichs II. von Frankreich’ in Sudhoffs Archiv, 1962, 46: 333-349.

VIII.M - Consilium regarding the Ambassador of France, Toledo, February 18th, 1561

Heading: Quia reverendissimus Dominus Episcopus Li- / mogensis, Christianissimi Galliarum Regis / apud Regiam hic Maiestatem Orator ...

First published in: Adolphe BURGGRAEVE. Etudes sur André Vésale, précédées d’une notice historique sur sa vie et ses écrits, Gand, C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1841; being (VIII.M.-1).

Concerns: the Ambassador of France, Sebastian de l’Aubespine, bishop of Limoges, who was allowed to break the Lenten fast of 1561 for reasons of his bad health.

Note: On the verso-side with a comment in French (the letter itself being in Latin) one reads: Dispensation manger dela / chaire. Dispense de / manger de la / viande 1560 / à Tolledo.

Actually there are two versions of this letter: the original one written by Vesalius and a re-written one in another hand, recognizable by the shaky style of the script, especially easy to see in the capital letters and the long up- and downstrokes. Secondly the right side of the first letter ‘Q’ looks flatter than in the other version. Further on the signature of the original the first name ‘And.’ is rendered strikingly fainter than the last name ‘Vesalius’ as they are equally distinct in the reproductions. Also the letter ‘s’ in his name looks somewhat different. Otherwise the two versions look rather similar.

The original letter was offered for sale by Christie’s on April 30th, 2014 (Paris, Hotel Matignon) as lot 110, for an estimated value of 150,000-200,000 euros (210,000-270,000 $ or 140,000-180,000 £), but it has not been sold. Christie’s was not willing to disclose the identity of the previous owner. Copies of the original letter are only in Elkhadem (see below), and the one by Christie’s and Alain Brieux (Paris).

Copies of the re-written letter are: Burggraeve, Baron, Lindeboom, Alex Curvers (in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), and Delavault. The letter in Burggraeve was probably an attempt to remake the original one, copy which has been used by the other four authors. The original Ms. came into possession of Dr. Van Den Corput, see lot 2843 in Frederik MULLER, Curiosités sur la médecine et la vie privée aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Bibliothèque de feu M. le Dr. Van Den Corput de Bruxelles, Première Partie, Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, 1911, première partie, pp. 5-6 and IDEM, Autographes, documents, manuscrits provenant des collections de feu M. le Dr. Van Den Corput de Bruxelles, de feu M.H. Dyserinck, ministre de la marine. - e.a., Amsterdam, Frederik Muller, 1911, troisième partie, 44 p.


For a discussion see Cushing (1943 or 1962) p. 238 and Roth pp. 244 and 420 n. 1. Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno (Haasrode, Belgium) did a lot of research about this topic (not yet published). His conclusion is that the copy in Amsterdam was a forgery. The so-
called ‘original’ letter (Christie’s) is now in the possession of the neuro-surgeon Count Dr. Alain de Meeûs d’Argenteuil, who did not give any further information.

* (VIII.M.-1) Ms. (the re-written copy) Gent, 1841

Note: This work starts with a biography giving the reasons for Vesalius’s journey to the Holy Land (p. 37-54), followed by very extensive comments on the Fabrica (1555) (pp. 65-331) and the ‘apocryphal’ Chirurgia magna. (333-431). Pasted on the inside of the front cover is a copy of this consilium (found in the Castle of Beernem, see n. 2 p. 425) regarding the Ambassador of France who was allowed to break the Lenten fast of 1561 for reasons of health. As the work was expected to be published only in February 1842 the preface of it was published in advance in Bulletin de la société de médecine de Gand, Gand, F. et E. Gyselynck, 1841, pp. 351-357.

The autograph after which this facsimile has been copied, was found near Brugge in the Castle of Beernem and was bought shortly before the publication of the biography by M. le comte Meeûs of Brussels. This castle had been occupied until then by Joseph Barrois from Paris, a great lover of books and manuscripts. According to Burggraeve it could be him who left the precious autograph ‘inadvertently in a pile of old paper’.

Reproduced in Delavault (see below).

Some details such as the flattened right side of the first ‘Q’ (-uia) point to the fact that this Ms. must have been rewritten from the original letter; that side of the letter having a more natural rounded aspect (vide supra). Omer Steeno did a lot of research on this problem (not published yet).

* (VIII.M.-2) Transcription Paris, 1841

Note: This is a photocopy.

For the transcription see pp. 879-880. Louis Paris found the document at the Chateau de Villebon (info and photocopy given by Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno).

See also <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5424900v.pdf>

According to Christie’s (VIII.M.-10) there are errors in the transcription.

* (VIII.M.-3) Transcription Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz ROTH, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: for the transcription see p. 420.

* (VIII.M.-3a) Transcription Amsterdam, 1965
Note: transcription on same page 420.

* (VIII.M.-4) Ms. (of re-written copy), transcription, Dutch translation    Haarlem, 1964

Note: For a reproduction of the Ms, a transcription and the Dutch translation see p. 165. A short discussion on p. 166.

* (VIII.M.-5) English translation             Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964

Note: for the translation see p. 398.

* (VIII.M.-6) Ms. (re-written copy)        Basel and New York, 1966

Note: for a discussion and the reduced Ms. see pp. 14-16. He gives also the verso-side with the French comment (the letter itself being in Latin): *Dispenssion manger dela / chaire.*

* Dispense de / manger de la / viande 1560 / à Tolledo.* According to the author the difference in the year is due to the Christmas-style in use in Spain.

* (VIII.M.-7) Ms. (re-written copy)      Madrid, 1970

Note: Copy of the Ms. in small size on p. 255. Discussion on pp. 254-255. He also gives the verso-side, which is hardly readable.

* (VIII.M.-8) Ms. (re-written copy)      Liège, 1982

Note: Photocopy. Contains the manuscript of the dispensation for the bishop of Limoges; preceded by a short discussion, a transcription and French translation of the two letters to Jerome van Hamme on pp. 7-11, and a transcription on p. 12 of the letter to Heinrich Petri.
* (VIII.M.-9) Ms. (colour photo of original) Brussels, 1993

Note: This is a catalogue in Dutch for the exhibition, the 5th Nov. - 5th Dec. 1993, in the Royal Library Albert I, at the 450th anniversary of the publication of Vesalius’s *Fabrica*. With a colour photo of the consilium for the French ambassador, Sébastien de l’Aubespine (plate between pp. 16 and 17). Black and white photo on p. 27, discussion in section 18 (pp. 27-28).

(VIII.M.-9a) Ms. (colour photo of original) Brussels, 1993

Note: This is a French edition of (VIII.M.-9).

* (VIII.M.-10) Ms. (photo of original), transcription and French translation Paris, 2013
Note: This is a copy of a discrete offer for sale by Christie’s Paris in September 2013, accompanied with a short description of the letter, and a short comment on Vesalius himself and on Sébastien de l’Aubespine. A short time later the item was withheld from the auction for unknown reasons.

* (VIII.M.-11) Ms. (photo of original), transcription and French translation Paris, 2015

Note: For the letter and a discussion of it see lot 99 pp. 82-83. Also the verso-side is translated and discussed, as is the difference in year. Some errors in the transcription. Supposedly the same lot as (VIII.M.-10) now offered at a reduced price.

* (VIII.M.-12) Ms. (photo of Burggraeve) Brussels, 1999

Note: this a photo (between pp. 128 and 129) in reduced format from the letter in front of Burggraeve’s work. The comment reads: *Fac-similé de l’écriture et de la signature de Vésale. Au-dessous, ce qui est écrit au dos du document. Tiré de Bruggaeve (1841)*.

* (VIII.M.-13) Transcription and French translation Tours, 2017
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019


Note: For the transcription, the French translation and a discussion see pp. 478-479.

(VIII.N) - Consilium to Navès, Regensburg, August 11th, 1546

Heading: Ut rumque domini Naves malum, diligentis chirurgi opera modo indiget; ... dated “Ratisbon XI Augusti”.


Concerns: the treatment of a lesion of the lower part of Navés’s tibia combined with a lesion of one of the nerves and also on a tumor of his anus.

Note: The consilium about the illness of Vice-Chancellor Nicolaas de Naves was found in the estate of Granvelle in the Bibliotheca Nacional (Madrid). It was written in Regensburg (1546), about the therapy of a wound of the tibia and an anal tumor. Neither in Cushing (1962) nor in Elly Cockx-Indestege.

It was also shortly discussed by Prof. Otto WALTZ. ‘Ein Holograph des Andreas Vesalius’ in Virchows Archiv, 1878, 74: 553. He places the date as undoubtedly 1546. (H. Cushing cites the author as “Waltz, G.” on p. 215 no. 419; Lindeboom in Twee brieven van Vesalius cites the author correctly as ‘Waltz in Dorpat, O.’)

* (VIII.N.-1) Ms., transcription and English translation 1961-63


Note: The letter was found by Otto Waltz von Dorpat among the papers of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle in the National Library at Madrid. With a discussion on the relationship between Vesalius and Granvelle junior.

* (VIII.N.-2) German translation 1964


Note: Discussion and German translation. The consilium is directed to the patient himself being - according to Baron - a doctor too.
* (VIII.N.-3) Ms. and transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ. Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: Copy of the Ms. in small size on p. 253, discussion on pp. 251-252, transcription on p. 289.
IX.
Examen

For a discussion see Cushing pp. 182-195 and Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 141-144.

* IX.-1 Examen
Venice, 1564
Title-page: Andreae / Vesalii, / anatomicarum / Gabrielis Falloppii / observationum / examen. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetii, / Apud Franciscum de Franciscis, Senensem. / M D LXIIII.


Note: Can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Libreria del Colegio de la Concepcion de Alcala.

IX.-2 Examen
Hanau, 1609

Note: The book was dedicated by Jessenius to the Bishop of Halberstadt, Duke of Brunswijk and Lüneburg, dated Vienna, February 1st, 1609 (see Cushing p. 195).

(IX.3) Boerhaave-Albinus, Opera omnia
Leiden, 1725
Title-page in red and black (Tome I): Andreae Vesalii / Invictissimi Caroli V. Imperatoris Medici / Opera Omnia / Anatomica / & / Chirurgica / Cura / Hermanni Boerhaave / … / & /

(Tome II): [identical with (I), save for ‘Tomus secundus’]

Notes: Volume II has the text of the Examen on pp. 759-830.

* (IX.-4) Examen Dutch [Brussel, 1994]


Collation: 247 x 167 mm, 151 pp.

Half-title: Andreas Vesalius - / Onderzoek van de anatomische “Observaties” van Gabriel Falloppius


Publishers binding: 247 x 167 x 15 mm, covers in black cloth with gold lettering, on front cover: Andreas Vesalius / Onderzoek van de anatomische / “Observaties” van Gabriel Falloppius [crowned caduceus], on spine: Vesalius Onderzoek van de observaties van Falloppius.

Condition: fine.

Provenance: bought from the Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde.
X. Vesaliana

Vesaliana are not *Opera Vesalii* (works by Vesalius) but publications about Vesalius himself and his works. A first overview was given by Cushing 1943 pp. 197-215 and in a later update by John F. Fulton 1962 pp. 239-251.

Those lists are repeated, and from 2005 onwards further completed, in my compilation *Vesaliana: an Updated Vesalius Bibliography*. Records therein with an asterisk (*) following the number refer also to publications personally seen.

See section bibliography in <http://www.andreasvesalius.be>
X. Appendices

X.App.I - Chirurgia magna

For a discussion see *A note on Pospero Borgarucci and the Chirurgia Magna* by Arturo Castiglioni (in Cushing pp. 216-217). He gives a short description of the different editions and a discussion whether the *Chirurgia magna* is an original Vesalian work or not, mostly based on the opinions of Moritz Roth, and developed in ‘Die Chirurgia magna des Prosper Borgarutius 1568’ on pp. 346-356 in his *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1892). A description of the different editions can also be found in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* by Van der Haeghen (Gand: C. Vyt, 1880-1890).

In fact, the *Chirurgia magna* should not be considered as a work written by himself. Nevertheless it is a ‘vesalian’ work, as it has the complete text of Vesalius’s *Epitome 1543*, (on ff 19v-51v), but as a whole it is surely not a work by Vesalius, as the author of it states himself indirectly on p. 19r. Also the sometimes bizarre kind of Latin used by its author can hardly be taken as a text from the great anatomist.

For an *Index nominum* see <www.andreasvesalius.be>

A study of copies in different libraries reveals some small variations in the titles. This, and the findings by Jacqueline Glomski, lead us to believe that the situation may be more complicated than sketched by Castiglioni. See Jacqueline GLOMSKI, ‘An Unrecorded Variant Issue of the Pseudo-Vesalius *Chirurgia Magna*’ in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 1992, 47 (no. 4): 462-470. For this reason the reader is invited to consider the following list with editions as a rather provisional framework that may be adapted in the future.

The *Chirurgia magna* is itself subdivided in seven books and has several plates. At the end of book I, dealing with the cure of dislocations, we find four: the three skeletal figures on ff 76 and 77, the first one with the left hand up, all three plagiarized from the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* (Venice, 1538) and exactly the same as used for at least two Italian editions of Tagault’s *Institutione di Cirugia* (Venice, Giorgio Angelieri, 1570 and Venice, Nicolo Moretti, 1596); and a new but very rough drawing of the second skeletal figure of the *Fabrica*, leaning on a tomb, as the fourth. At the end of the second book on ff 133-136 we find the *glossocomion* and several surgical instruments, and at ff 210v-215 some further instruments, the wound-man, the scene illustrating a bullet extraction and again a new drawing, now of two arms perforated with arrows. The wound man and the plate with the bullet extraction are also exactly copied in the Italian editions of Tagault. So all of the
illustrations in the Italian editions of Tagault were copied from the *Chirurgia magna*. The same holds for the plates with the instruments, although in de *Chirurgia magna* there are some more.


Roth does not consider the editions of 1569 as separate prints as the contents (the work of a less educated - ‘einem ungebildeten, mit Vesals wahrer Anatomie und Chirurgie nicht vertrauter Manne’ - as he calls it) remain the same, only the prologues being different.

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**X.App.I.-1) Chirurgia magna 1st ed. Venice, 1568**

Title-page: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta. / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfeciam, / atque integram de curandis humani corporis / malis, methodum pertineat. / Prosperi Borgarutii / Excellentissimi Philosophi, ac Medici Regis, opera, / atque diligentia expolita, emendata, in / ordinem / digesta, comparata, & ut sua edita. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum / rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina / Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.

Colophon: Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.

Collation: 475 ff (several misnumberings)

Note: The dedication to Cortusio is titled: *Nobilissimo / ac Eminentissimo / JacoboAntonio Cortusio / Patritio Patavino, / & in arte medica eruditissimo. / Prosperus Borgarutius / Philosophus & medicus Regius. / S. P. D.* It is dated *Patavii idibus Septembris. M D LXVIII.* (September 13th, 1568). Here the dedication to Cortusio is 30 pages long. On the World wide web the copies of the *University Gent* and of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* can be consulted.

Condition: can be downloaded from books.google, of the copy held by the *Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent* (Belgium).

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**X.App.I.-2) Chirurgia magna 2nd 1568 issue Venice, 1568 [1569]**

Title-page: [Slight changes in title]: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, / quod ad perfectione, / atque integram de curandis humani corporis / malis, methodum pertineat. / Ab Excell. Philosopho, ac Medico Regis, Prospero / Borgarutio, recognita, / emendata, / ac in lucem edita. / Formae etiam instrumentorum, quibus / Chirurgi utuntur, his / in libris / apprime descriptae sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina / Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.

Colophon: Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.
Collation: small 8°, ff (xxviii), 475, (1).

Note: Dated ‘1568’ on impressum, but ‘1569’ on colophon. According to Arturo Castiglioni too it has a slight different title but the text remained unchanged. The dedication to Cortusio is different, being abbreviated from thirty to four pages, and dated V. nonas Octobris 1568 (October 3th). Printer’s device on title page and on verso of last leaf (otherwise blank).

A copy of this was offered for sale on 3.11.2012 (and again on 11.4.2014) by antiquarian Nigel Philip (Chilbolton, Hampshire UK), for c. 11.600 pound sterling, and presented as "First Edition, second issue, with the date: V. nonas Octobris 1568" [3 October 1568]. Another (?) was offered on 3.02.2012 on auction by Vente Jeschke - van Vliet - Kunstauktionen GmbH as lot 150: Borgarucci Prospero, Chirurgia Magna ..., Venedig. V. Valgrisi, 1568 (am Schluss: 1569); estimated 7000 euros. On 22.12.2012 still another (?) copy was offered for sale by the International League of Antiquarian Booksellers (ILAB) "Venetiis [Venice]: Ex officina Valgrisiana. 1568 [colophon: 1569]", for c. 11.800 pound sterling, with in its description "First Edition, second issue, with the date: V. nonas Octobris 1568". Possibly some of this or all three are one and the same copy as some details in their description, while being different may coincide. The following description is taken from theirs.

(X.App.I.-3) Chirurgia magna 3rd issue of 1568 ed. Venice, 1568
Title-page: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfe- / ctam, atque integram de curandis humani / corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Formae / etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi u- / tuntur, his in libris apprime descriptae sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum / privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXVIII.
Collation: 8°, [28], 475, [1] ff

Note: This is the first edition missing the name of Borgarucci on the title-page. For a thorough description of this edition and a transcription with an English translation of the preface, now not longer addressed to Cortusius but a mere Typographus ad lectorem, dated IV. nonas octobris [October 4th, 1568], see Jacqueline GLOMSKI, ‘An Unrecorded Variant Issue of the Pseudo-Vesalius Chirurgia Magna’ in Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 1992, 47 (no. 4): 462-470.

Another copy of this edition can be consulted online and has a round stamp: Königl. Kreisbibliothek in Augsburg. The colophon at the end reads Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. M D LXVIII.

(X.App.I.-4) Chirurgia magna 1st 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
Title-page: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis Medici. / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta. / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam, / atque integrum de curandis humani corporis / malis, methodum pertineat. / Prosperi Borgarutii / Excellentissimi Philosophi, ac Medici Regis, opera, / atque diligentia expollita, emendata, in / ordinem / digesta, comparata, & ut sua edita. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum / rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.
Collation: 475 ff

Note: Can be found online at the National Library of Austria. Title-page seen in <www.europeana.eu/portal/record/92005/ ...>

(X.App.I.-5) Chirurgia magna 2nd 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
Title-page: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta : / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfe- / ctam, atque integram de curandis humani / corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Formae / etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi u- / tuntur, his in libris apprime descriptae sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum / privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.

Collation: 475 ff

Note: Also online at the National Library of Austria. Title-page seen in <www.europeana.eu/portal/record/92005/ ...>

(X.App.I.-6) Chirurgia magna 3rd 1569 ed. Venice, 1569
Title-page: Andreae / Vessalii Bruxellensis, / Philippi Hispaniarum / Regis, Medici, / Chirurgia Magna / in septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectionem, / atque integram de curandis humani / corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Ab Excell. Philosopho, ac Medico Regio, Prospero / Borgarutio, recognita, emendata, / ac in lumen edita, / Formae etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi utuntur, his in libris / apprime descripta sunt. / Cum amplissimis Indicibus tum capitum: tum rerum / omnium memorabilium. / Cum privilegio. / [Printer’s device] / Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. / M D LXIX.

Collation: 475 ff

Note: A copy of this has a rond stamp after the title-page with Kaiserliche Koenigliche Hofbibliothek Wien. It has a dedication IacoboAntonio Curtosio, Patritio Patavino of four pages, dated Patavii V. nonas Octobris. 1568. But the colophon at the end has again the date 1569: Venetiis, Ex officina Valgrisiana. M D LXIX.

(X.App.I.-7) in Boerhaave and Albinus Leiden, 1725

The title-page of the Chirurgia magna appears on p. 887: Andreae Vesalii, / Caroli V. / Imperatoris Invictissimi, & Philippi / Hispaniarum Regis, Medici / Chirurgia Magna / In
septem libros digesta: / In qua nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam, atque integram de / curandis humani corporis malis, methodum pertineat. / Ab Excell. Philosopho, ac Medico Regio, / Prospero Borgarutio. / Recognita, emendata, ac in lucem edita. / Formae etiam instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi utuntur, his in libris / apprime descripta sunt.

Note: The *Chirurgia magna* is the last part of *Tomus secundus* on pp. 887-1156. See V.I.D.-8. The dedication *Jacobo Antonio Cortusio* is the shorter version of the four original pages, here on pp. 889-890, and dated *Patavii, V. nonas Octobris. 1568.*
X.App.II – Cura Phlegmonis

A manuscript of eight pages by Vitus Tritonius Athesinus, under the title of Cura phlegmonis, with comments in the margins, page-ends and between the text itself, is mentioned by Roth (Anhang VIII, pp. 454-457). According to him it is a transcription word by word from the Canon of Avicenna, book IV, fen 3, tract. 1, chapter 3, and he supposes that the comments come from Vesalius’ lessons in 1537-38. Roth saw the manuscript in April 1883 in k. k. Hofbibliothek in Vienna (sig. 11, 195) with the title 1536. Hunc collectaneorum librum iure empticio sibi vendicat Vitus Tritonius Athesinus. Vitus Tritonius Athesinus was one of the first students of Vesalius in Padua and became his friend (Fabrica p. 538). He came from the Adige region (Athesis in South-Tirol) (O’Malley, J. Vons).

According to the record in the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (Saint John’s University, Collegeville, MN) holding the printouts of their Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus Ms. 11195 (ff. 118r-121v) from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the author of the Cura phlegmonis was Andreas Vesalius himself. Perhaps the text was his, but it must have been another person who wrote it down, as it is in another more running hand and the letters ‘a’, ‘d’, and ‘g’ are clearly different (Michiel Verweij, personal communication Jan. 23, 2007). Vesalius himself was interested in the therapy of pleurisy (dolor lateralis, phlegmon) to ascertain on which side a venesection should be performed, but it was Vitus Tritonius who wrote down this pages from Avicenna during his medical studies in Padua.

As far as known there are no transcriptions of the manuscript published, nor any translations of it.

* (X.App.II.-1) Copy of the Ms. Collegeville, 2005
This merely is the photocopy that I bought from the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (Saint John’s University, Collegeville, MN) in November 2005; 8 pp.

Note: This itself is a copy of the original in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna).

* (X.App.II.-2) Copy of the Ms. Vienna, 2018
Vitus Tritonius Athesinus, ‘Cura phlegmonis’, in 1536 Hunc collectaneorum librum iure empticio sibi vendicat Vitus Tritonius Athesinus, Ms. in the Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 11195, Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ff. 118r-121v.

Note: Original Ms.
During his professorship in Padua Vesalius went several times to Bologna: in 1538, 1540, and 1544. The first time was as a holiday to meet Matthaeus Curtius and for his own pleasure. His second visit was to give guest lectures from January 13 until 28, 1540 in collaboration with Curtius, who gave the theoretical lessons of anatomy based on Mondinus and Galenus, whereas Vesalius himself did the actual dissections as separate lessons. See Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, ‘Andreas Vesalius in Bologna en een brief van Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) aan Ludovicus Carinus (ca. 1496-1569)’ [Andreas Vesalius in Bologna and a letter by Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) to Ludovicus Carinus (ca. 1496-1569)] in Bob VAN HEE & Maurits BIESBROUCK (eds.), Cahiers Geschiedenis van de Geneeskunde en Gezondheidszorg. Nr. 11. Tijdgenoten uit de leefwereld van Andreas Vesalius, Antwerpen – Apeldoorn, Garant, 2018, pp. 123-139, ill. In 1544 Vesalius went a third time to Bologna, also for dissections, before going to Pisa.

We are very lucky to have a day-to-day report of Vesalius’ first public anatomy (1540) during his second visit to Bologna. It was written by his student Baldasar Heseler. After more than four hundred years Ruben Eriksson published a transcription and translation of the Latin text. This unique manuscript gives a lively account of Vesalius’ style as a professor and helps us to understand the evolution of his idea’s between the publication of his Tabulae anatomicae sex (1538) and the Fabrica (1543).

* (X.App.III.-1) Transcription and translation Uppsala, 1959
Baldasar HESELER, Andreas Vesalius’ first public anatomy at Bologna, 1540, An eyewitness report ... together with his notes on Matthaeus Curtius’ lectures on Anatomia Mundini. Edited, with an introduction, translation into English and notes by Ruben Eriksson, Uppsala and Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri AB, 1959, 344 pp., 5 pl. (Lychnos-Bibliotek 18.)

Notes: This is an inaugural dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy by Ruben Eriksson on May 9th 1959 with an introduction on the history of Ms. Holm. X. 93: the notes by Baldasar Heseler, being one of the students of Vesalius at Bologna in 1540.
X.App.IV – Anatomy in Padua 1537

Vitus Tritonius Athesinus wrote this his Ms. during Vesalius’s first anatomical lesson or dissection just before Christmas 1537 in Padua. It has five sketches (one very small, in the text, and four page filling) he made during this first lessons. See Charles Donald O’MALLEY & Dorothy May SCHULLIAN (ed.), ‘The Anatomical Sketches of Vitus Tritonius Athesinus and their Relationship to Vesalius’s Tabulae anatomicae’ in Journal of the History of Medicine, 1958, 13: 395-397.

*(X.App.IV-1) Ms. by Vitus Tritonius Athesinus

Vienna, 2018

ATHESINUS, Vitus Tritonius. ‘Anatomes celebratae Patavii Anno 1537, Die Decembris 6 inceptae, tumultuaria collectio’ [Collected texts on anatomies held in Padua, started on December 6th 1537] in IDEM, 1536 Hunc collectaneorum librum iure empticio sibi vendicat Vitus Tritonius Athesinus, Ms. Codex 11195, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1536, ff. 183v-204v.

Note: Notes taken by VTA during his lessons with Vesalius in Padua at the end of 1537. With five sketches by VTA: on f. 183v (folded), f. 187v (very small in the text), f. 193r (page filling), f. 194r (page filling), f. 197r (page filling, in two colors: green for the sketch and red for the explanations). No translation known.
XI.
Non Medical Letters

Vesalius’s letters have not yet been studied in a systematic way. In this chapter we intend to include all Vesalius’s non-medical writings that we have found. His medical letters are by definition his consilia (IX). The distinction between both is not always very clear. The dispensation letter for the bishop of Limoges is a borderline case. But most readers consider this letter (VIII.-M) still as a consilium. Strictly speaking the letters are no publications, just as the consilia are not. In both cases there was only one single original copy. But some of them have been published afterwards.

Taking into account his occupations, his functions and frequent travelling, Vesalius must have written many more letters than we know of. Only part of them are known thanks to their publication. Many others remain undetected and are slumbering in archives. Part of them must have been lost.

I consider three types of letters: those written by Vesalius himself (XI), those written to him (XII) and those written about him (XIII). In the last case the letter frequently refers only with a few words to Vesalius, the rest dealing with other matters. As a rule only the letters giving a new look to our knowledge of the anatomist or his works are listed. Letters mentioning his name only in an enumeration between other names and without giving any additional information are not included. The letters may appear in three different forms: as (a copy of) the manuscript, as a transcription or as a translation, sometimes as a combination of them.

Letters published as his larger works, such as the Venesection letter or Bloodletting Letter (the so-called letter to Florenas, 1539), the Chyna root epistle (the so-called letter to Joachim Roelants, 1546), and his Anatomicarum observationum examen, the so-called letter to Gabrieli Fallopio (1564), have been dealt with already as resp. IV, VII, and IX (vide supra). I do not repeat them here again. But prefatory letters in books are included.

The number of those letters is considerable and new ones are regularly found. Therefore the system adopted by Cushing, using letters in an alphabetical order in the recordkey, becomes unpractical as the possibilities would be quickly exhausted. For that reason we formed the key by putting the type of letter – e. g. ‘XI’ for the letters written by Vesalius himself – followed immediately with the date of the letter as YYYY.MM.DD. In case the date is uncertain it is preceded by the letter ‘c’ (circa), in case the month of the day are not known they are replaced by ‘??’. In case of identical dates, they are followed with the initial of the author. This allows to insert as many letters as we wish, and in a chronological order. The record ends with the place where the letter has been written.

As those letters were not discussed by Harvey Cushing, nor by Elly Cockx-Indestege, I used no parentheses nor brackets for their keys.
XI-1537.02.01 - Vesalius to Nicolas Florenas, Leuven


First published in: Paraphrasis I.-1.

Concerns: Vesalius explains why he choose the paraphrasis of the ninth book of Rhazes as a subject for this work.

Note: this letter to Nicolas Florenas is the prefatio of the *Paraphrasis*, see “I”.

* XI-1537.02.01-1 English translation New York, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING. A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.

Note: For a discussion and an English translation see pp. 3-7.

* XI-1537.02.01-1a English translation Hamden (Connecticut) and London, 1962

Note: this is a facsimile reprint of the edition of 1943 (with an addendum of 323 more *Vesaliana* by Prof. O’Malley in chapter X, bringing the total up to 728).

XI-1537.c02.01 - Vesalius to Rutgerus Giffeus, Leuven, Feb. or March 1537

Heading: *Syncerissimo viro Domi / no Rutgero Giffeo Buscoducensi, Theologiae [sic] peritissi- / mo, amico suo singulari...*

First published in the only known copy of the *Paraphrasis* with this letter in the collection of the BIUSanté (Paris), see I.-1.

Concerns: this letter is intended as a legend to the text of the *Paraphrasis* ending with a promise for another work.

Note: This letter in the *Paraphrasis* of the BIUSanté (Paris), [I.-1v], makes a unique copy of it. For a discussion see Maurits BIESBROUCK. ‘Rutgerus Giffeus, un nouvel ami d’André Vésale, qui fait de l’exemplaire de la Paraphrasis à la BIUM un exemplaire unique au monde’, in *Histoire des Sciences Médicales*, 2011, 45 (no. 2): 196-199. For an English translation of the *Candido lectori*, on which this letter to Rutgerus Giffeus was largely based, see Cushing (1962) pp. 6-7.
The impressum of the book is *Lovani ex officina Rutgeri Resciij / Mense Februar. / 1537*. There the date below the letter to the reader *Candido lectore* is *Mense Martio*. The next Basel edition has on the colophon *Basileae in Officina / Roberti VVinter. / Anno / M. D. XXXVII. / Mense Martio*. The date below the letter to Rutgerus Giffeus in the first edition is *Lovani. Anno 1537*.

### * XI-1537.c02.01-1 First edition

*Leuven, 1537*

In: the *Paraphrasis* in the collection of the BIUSanté (Paris), see I.-1.

Note: Can be downloaded from BIUSanté (Paris), retrieved March 2008. No other copies are known.

### * XI-1537.c02.01-2 Transcription and Dutch translation

* [Roeselare], 2009

Own transcription and Dutch translation from 2009; not published.

### * XI-1537.c02.01-3 Transcription and Dutch translation

* 2012

In: Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, ‘Het presentexemplaar van Andreas Vesalius’ *Paraphrasis* (1537) voor zijn Leuvense vriend Rutgerus Giffeus’ [The Presentation Copy of Andreas Vesalius’s *Paraphrasis* (1537) for his Friend Rutgerus Giffeus at Louvain] in *de Gulden Passer*, 2012, 90 (no. 1): 75-87, ill.

Note: With the Ms. and Dutch translation of the poem by Iodocus Velsius and an overview of the nine known copies of the *editio princeps* of the *Paraphrasis*.

### XI-1538.04.01 - Vesalius to Narcissus Parthenopeus Vertunus, Padua

**Heading:** *Praestantissimo clarissimoque viro Domino / D. Narcisso Parthenopeo, Caesariae Maiestatis Medico Primario. / Domino suo & patrono,...*

First published in: *Tabulae anatomicae sex*, 1538.

Concerns: Vesalius, having just started his job as a professor of surgery and anatomy at Padua, explains how the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* originated. He tells that the first three plates on the internal organs were made by himself, whereas the last three representing the human skeleton were drawn by Johan Stefan van Calcar.

Note: Vesalius refers to this letter to Narcissus Parthenopeus Vertunus in his letter to Oporinus in the *Fabrica*. As the letter is part of the first plate (with the liver and the sex organs) of the *Tabulae anatomicae sex* here the publications where it has been reproduced are listed too (see chapter II.).
XI-1538.04.01-1 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Editio princeps, Venice, April 1538
In: II.-1[A], see there.

Note: This is the copy of the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). For an English translation of the letter and an extensive description of the contents of the Tabulae anatomicae see Cushing pp. 12-14.

XI-1538.04.01-2 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Editio princeps, Venice, April 1538
In: II.-1[B], see there.

Note: This is the only one copy known of the Hunterian Library (Glasgow).

* XI-1538.04.01-3 to Narcissus Parthenopeus, Stirling-Maxwell, London, 1874
In: II.-2[B], see there.

Note: Only 30 copies were printed. This is the first edition with a top line with the plate number (TABULA I, etc.) and a sequence number in the right lower corner (I. to VI.). See <http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/medica/resultats/index.php?do=livre&cote=02012>

* XI-1538.04.01-4 to Narcissus Parthenopeus, Facsimile of [A], Leipzig, 1920
In: II.-3[A], see there.

Note: Description in Cushing p. 15. This is a copy of the first edition in the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). Review by Lewis S. PILCHER in Annals of Surgery, 1921, 73 (no. 3): 388-389.

* XI-1538.04.01-5 to Narc. Parthenopeus, Facsimile of [A], NY – Munich, 1934
In: II.-4[A], see there.

Note: This is a also copy of the first edition in the Biblioteca Marciana (Venice). It is part of the Icones anatomicae by the Bremer Presse (New York & Munich, 1934-35), with the subtitle Andreae / Vesalii / Bruxellensis / Icones / Anatomicae / [short horizontal line] / Ediderunt Academia / Medicinae Nova-Ebora- / censis et Bibliotheca / Universitatis Monacensis / MCMXXXIV. See * VI.A.-16.

* XI-1538.04.01-6 to Narcissus Parthenopeus, Red. copy + Engl. transl. NY, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING. A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.

Note: Later edition 1962 in Hamden (Connecticut) – London (England), Archon books, 1962: XI-1538.04.01-6a. For a discussion and an English translation of the dedication to Narcissus Parthenopeus see pp. 12-13. For a reproduction of plate I see fig. 14. The plates have been cut off very closely, so it is not possible to conclude which original edition has been used.
* XI-1538.04.01-7 to Narc. Parthenopeus Facsim. of Sterl.-Maxwell Cambridge, 1946
In: II.-4[B]a, see there.

Note: In a facsimile of the *Tabulae* made from the Stirling-Maxwell facsimile.

* XI-1538.04.01-8 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Red. copy + Engl. transl. Cleveland and New York, 1950

Note: The authors do not specify from which of the two original copies their plates were copied. The plates themselves are on pp. 236-247. They are preceded by an introduction on pp. 233-235, containing an English translation of Vesalius’ dedication to Narcissus Parthenopeus. Those plates do not show any sequence numbers (nor on top, nor below) and on the last plate one reads ‘Maistatis’, characteristics of an [A] print.

There are several reprints:
New-York, Dover publications, 1973: * XI-1538.04.01-8a
New York, Gryphon editions, 1993: * XI-1538.04.01-8b
New York, Bonanza Books, distributed by Crown, 1982, with a foreword and different title *The anatomical drawings of Andreas Vesalius: with annotations and translations, a discussion of the plates and their background, authorship, and influence, and a biographical sketch of Vesalius*:
* XI-1538.04.01-8c
Translated into Portuguese by Pedro Carlos Piantino Lemos and Maria Cristina Vilhena Carnevale, São Paulo, Campinas, Imprensa Oficial do Estado e Ateliê Editorial - Editora da Unicamp, 2003:
* XI-1538.04.01-8d

* XI-1538.04.01-9 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964

Note: See plate 17. The library of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven has a copy from 1965 (same content).

* XI-1538.04.01-10 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Red. / reset Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964

Note: See plate 19. This plate represents the first *tabula* of the Paris plagiarism of Vesalius’s *Tabulae anatomicae*. O’Malley was given a copy of it by Dr. Sten Lindberg, Royal Library, Stockholm. Here the letter to Narcissus Parthenopeus has been reset in 17 lines instead of 21 in the original edition.
* XI-1538.04.01-11 to Narcissus Parthenopeus  Reduced facsimile  Madrid, 1970

Note: For a reproduction of the letter see Lám IX and short discussions on pp. 60 and 69. The text on this reproduction is hardly readable.

* XI-1538.04.01-12 to Narcissus Parthenopeus  Reduced facsimile  Moscow, 1974

Note: The six plates of the Tabulae sex are included on three unnumbered leaves starting with p. [89]: Шесть / Таблиц / 1538 / года [The Tabulae sex 1538]. In the introduction to the work the two original copies of the tabulae are mentioned, but not which of them was used for this edition. Neither the top lines with the plate number, nor the sequence number at the bottom are present. As some plates clearly show the Latin annotations in a contemporary hand and MAISTATIS at the end, this must correspond to a copy of the Venetian print.

* XI-1538.04.01-13 to Narcissus Parthenopeus  French translation  Lille, 1983

Note: This translation is accompanied with a discussion.

* XI-1538.04.01-14 to Narcissus Parthenopeus  Fac simile  Paris, 1983
In: Andreas Vesalius, Tabulae anatomicae sex, see (II.-17[B])

Note: See first plate of the tabulae. Edited by Éditions du Diable boiteux (Paris) in 1983. This publishing house was specialised in the reproduction of scientific works of the 16th century, and was at the times situated in the 11bis, rue du Colisée, 75008 in Paris, but it does not exist any longer.

A copy was auctioned as lot 287 by Interenchères in Hôtel des Ventes Talma (Bertrand & Duflos) in Nantes (France) on 2 March 2017. Not in Elly Cockx-Indestege’s Census. A copy is kept by the the City Library of Lyon (France).

* XI-1538.04.01-15 to Narcissus Parthenopeus  Reduced facsimile  Brussels, 1993

Note: Catalogue for the exhibition, the 5th Nov. - 5th Dec. 1993, in the Royal Library Albert I, at the 450th anniversary of the publication of Vesalius’s *Fabrica*. The letter is reproduced in a strongly reduced format on p. 81, but the text is still readable. According to the legend this plate I is a copy of the Sir William Stirling-Maxwell facsimile.

**XI-1538.04.01-16 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced London, 1999**


Note: For a reproduction of plate I with the letter see p. 39. Text readable. According to the legend this is a copy of the edition by Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

**XI-1538.04.01-17 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced Frankfurt am Main, 2006**

In: Folker FICHTEL, *Die anatomische Illustration in der frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt am Main, Mabuse-Verlag, 2006, 415 pp., ill.

Note: For the six plates see 8.2 *Der Beginn der anatomischen Abbildung bei Vesal: Die “Tabulae sex”* (pp. 164-176), preceded by a short discussion. These are copies from the Stirling-Maxwell facsimile, with both sequence numbers, and ‘Maiestatis’. Plate I with the letter is on p. 170.


Note: For the transcription of the preface see pp. 423-424. For the French translation see pp. 415-416. See <http://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/sfhm/hsm/HSMx2012x046x004/HSMx2012x046x004x0415.pdf>

**XI-1538.04.01-19 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced Oxford – New York, 2015**


Note: See p. 17 for a reproduction of plate I with the letter, but the copy is much to small to be readable.

**XI-1538.04.01-20 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced Saarbrücken, 2015**

In: Marc SCHMITT, *Die anatomischen Illustrationen in Andreas Vesals “De humani corporis fabrica” von 1543*, Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Diplom-

Note: The plates of the same edition as (II.-6[A]) were used by Marc Schmitt in vol. II of his thesis: Anhang mit den Abbildungen der Diplomarbeit. Plate I of the Tabulae sex is reproduced as Abbildung 5 on p. 8. The legends specify that the plates of the edition by Saunders & O’Malley ([A]) were copied.

* XI-1538.04.01-21 to Narcissus Parthenopeus Reduced Leiden, 2018

Note: See p. 345. This is a reproduction of the first sheet of the Tabuale anatomicae sex, folded and bound between a6v and p. 1 (after the portrait) of a Fabrica 1555 in the Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana in Vicenza (Call No.: H 019 009 001).

XI-1538.05.05 – Vesalius to Joannes Armenterianus, Padua

Heading: Recte mea quidem sententia illi facere videntur, Vir eruditissime, qui quae diffuse ac prolixo in disciplinis sunt tradita, ea fideliter in compendia contrahunt. (In my opinion, most erudite Sir, those are doing rightly who faithfully contract into compendia those mathers which in sciences have been transmitted in a comprehensive and copious manner.)

First published as a preface in Guenther’s Institutiones anatomicae (Venice, 1538): Ornatisimmo Viro Dn. Joanni Armenteriano, medicinae, apud Lovanienses Professori peritissimo, Andreas VVessalius Bruxellensis S.D.

Concerns: Vesalius praises Guenter’s book as a student’s compendium. But he states also that it contains many errors due to the slovenliness of the printer and that he himself feels being well placed to correct them as he already studied at three major universities.

Note: Obviously Vesalius was in a very active period as he wrote this preface a good month after that to Narcissus Parthenopeus for his own Tabulae sex (Venice, 1538). Just like in the title-page Vesalius writes his name still with a double V. In two instances Galen is named without any criticism as to his anatomy.

Johannes Armenterianus was a professor of medicine in Leuven from 1525 to 1559. At the end of his preface Vesalius sends greetings to professor Leonard Willemers ‘Galenii felicissimo imitator’ and to Marcus Florenas, son of Nicolas, both mutual friends. Obviously there was no fly in the ointment yet as some years (1541) later Willemers would be expelled from the university together with Arnoldus Noot(s), forcing Armenterianus to take up the professoral duties on his shoulders alone and until a very old age.

In the letter Vesalius praises the qualities of Johan Guenther von Andernach and he explains why he undertook the task of correcting his Institutiones anatomicae. He tells that he dissected as a student in the three most famous universities of Europe. Which could only be in
Leuven, in Paris and in Venice or Padua (before his exams at the beginning of December 1537).

**XI-1538.05.05-1** to Joannes Armenterianus  
Venice, 1538


Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 45-48.

**XI-1538.05.05-2** to Joannes Armenterianus  
Venice, [1540?]


Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 48-49.

**XI-1538.05.05-3** to Joannes Armenterianus  
[Wittenberg] 1585


Note: For a description see Cushing pp. 50-51 and Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 37-38. A copy can be studied online in books google and at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

**XI-1538.05.05-4** to Joannes Armenterianus  
Wittenberg, 1613


Note: For a description see Cushing p. 51. A copy can be studied online at the Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg.

**XI-1538.05.05-5** to Joannes Armenterianus  
English transl. New York, 1943


Note: For this English translation see pp. 45-47.
XI-1538.05.05-6 to Joannes Armenterianus English transl. Hamden (CT) – London, 1962


Note: See same pages.

XI-1538.05.05-7 to Joannes Armenterianus English transl. London-NY, 2017


Note: The English translation is on pp. 61-62; a short discussion on p. 5.

XI-1542.08.01 – Vesalius to Emperor Charles V, Padua

Just like Vesalius’s letter to Oporinus in the Fabrica (see XI-1542.08.24), there are two different versions of his preface or ‘letter’ to emperor Charles V. The differences are indicated and discussed by Jacqueline Vons in the comments to her French translation; see http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/index.las?e=1&p1=00001&a1=f&v1=00302_1543x00&c1=4

Address and date: Ad divum Carolum / Quintum, Maximum, Invictissimum- / que Imperatorem, Andreae Vesalii / in suos de Humani corporis fabrica libros, Praefatio. … Patavii. Calend. Augusti, anno post natum Christum M. D. XLII.

Heading: Quantumvis varia in artibus scientiisque tractandis graviter obstent, quo minus accurate perdiscantur, minusque foeliciter in usum succedant, Carole clementissime Caesar, tamen haud mediocre dispendium quoque adferre arbitror, …

First published in: Fabrica 1543, see VI.A.-1.

Concerns: Vesalius complains about the scattering of the art of medicine to the detriment of it. He stresses the need to revive the art of anatomy and underlines the need for doctors to have a good knowledge of it. He also presents his Fabrica to the Emperor.

Note: In the second Basel edition Vesalius made again several adaptations in this preface or ‘letter’ to Charles V. As a consequence anyone wishing to discuss it should make a distinction between the version of 1543 and that of 1555. Roth, Cushing nor O’Malley did not mention the existence of this two different versions. For a discussion see Jacqueline VONS, ‘Introduction aux textes liminaires de la Fabrique – Introduction to the introductory texts’ in Jacqueline VONS, Stéphane VELUT, La Fabrique de Vésale et autres textes. Editions, transcriptions et traductions, Paris, Biusanté, 2014, 14 + 12 pp., in <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/pdf/pref. pdf>

Apart from the several editions of the Fabrica (see above in chapter VI.A and VI.C), which are not repeated here, this long preface or ‘letter’ to Charles V appeared also in the following writings. The sequence number is followed here too by an A (variant 1543) or a B
(variant 1555). As most translations of the letter are based on the 1555 Fabrica, those wishing to read a translation of the 1543 text can consult one of the translations of the whole Fabrica of 1543 (see chapter VI.A).

**XI-1542.08.01-1B Praefatio English Cape Town, 1932**

Notes: Translation by Benjamin Farrington (Cape Town) of the prefatio with remarks on Vesalius’s style and the translation technique used. Short mention in Cushing p. 96. Despite Farrington’s title, he states in his text that he used the 1725 edition of the Fabrica (which is based on the 1555, not the 1543 edition, which has many additions and deletions). Moreover Farrington adds in his Translator’s note that he indicated the beginning of each page of the first edition in the left margin, which he did except for the last two ones. It is as if Farrington was not aware of the fact that the prefatio was not identical in the editions of 1543 and 1555 and thought that Boerhaave and Albinus copied the editio princeps. See also Cushing’s remark p. 226 (1962).

**XI-1542.08.01-2AB Praefatio English New York, 1942**

Note: This translation appears in Chapter XV ANATOMY (pp. 128-141) and was made by W.P. Hotchkiss, Associate Professor of History and Political Science, University of Kansas City. A footnote states that The Prefaces of the editions of 1543, 1555 and the Venetian edition of 15- [68], have all been collated to make this translation. Many passages are obscure and it has been thought best by Professor Hotchkiss and the editor to allow quite a loose translation in order to bring out any kind of sensible English meaning.

Description in Cushing p. 96.

**XI-1542.08.01-3B Praefatio French Brussels, 1943**


**XI-1542.08.01-4? Praefatio German 1943**
Not seen.

* XI-1542.08.01-5B  Praefatio  English  New York, 1945

Note: A brief sketch of Vesalius is followed by Farrington’s English translation of the preface of the *Fabrica*, see VI.A.-8. Mention in Cushing p. 231.

* XI-1542.08.01-6B  Praefatio  English  New York, 1953


* XI-1542.08.01-7B  Latin with French translation  Brussels, 1961
See [VI.A.-11j].

Note: The translation is made after the 1555 edition (B), giving in notes the variant reading of the 1543 edition (A). The Latin text is printed at the left, the French translation at the right. The edition, limited to one hundred copies, was printed at “De Bouwkroniek” for the Friends of the Royal Library of Belgium.

* XI-1542.08.01-8A  Latin with Italian translation  Padua, 1964

Note: Transcription and Italian translation of the praeefatio to Charles V of the *Fabrica* 1543 on pp. 13-45. With an introduction (8 pp.) pointing to the differences in the later edition.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

XI-1542.08.01-9?      Polish transl.      Warchau, 1965
Not seen.

Note: Polish translation accompanied with a discussion.

* XI-1542.08.01-10B      Russian translation      [Moscou] 1950-1954

Note: The letter is on pp. 7-21.

XI.1542.08.c13 – Vesalius to the reader in his Epitome [Padua, ca. August 13th, 1542]

At the bottom of the title-page of his Epitome (Basel, Oporinus, August 1543) Vesalius invites the reader to read his summary of the Fabrica, leaving to him the choice whether to start with the text or with the illustrations and their indexes.

Heading: Lectori. First Quod modo damus librorum de Humani corporis fabrica Compendium, in duas partes dissec tum est, quarum una sex capitibus complexa, succinctissimam omnium partium historiam complectitur: altera in pluribus tabulis earundem delineationem simul cum characterum quibus insigniuntur indice proponit. (To the reader. The summary of the books on the Fabric of human body which we publish yet has been divided in two parts: the first one exists of six chapters with a very short description of all the body parts, the second part shows the illustration of the same in various plates together with the written typographic characters shown by the index.)

First published in: VI.B.-1.


* XI.1542.08.c13-1 to the reader in Epitome 1st ed. Basel, June 1543

XI.1542.08.c13-2 to the reader in German Epitome Basel, August 9, 1543
Not seen.


XI.1542.08.c13-3 to the reader in Epitome, 2nd. Basel ed. Basel, 1555
Title-page: same as Latin Epitome of 1543. See VI.B.-3.

Notes: The only difference between the editions of 1543 and 1555 appears to be the last leaf M, the type of which has been entirely reset and the date changed from MD XLIII Mense Junio to M D LV Mense Aprili.

* XI.1542.08.c13-4 to the reader Epitome in Boerhaave-Albinus Leiden, 1725

Notes: Volume II begins with the complete text of the Epitome (pp. 574-616) and this letter to the reader is on p. Gg gg 3.

* XI.1542.08.c13-5 to the reader Epitome, red. reprod. with English transl. New York, 1949

Notes: The reproduction is at the end of the work and the letter on p. [107].
* XI.1542.08.c13-6  to the reader  Epitome, red. reprod. with English transl.  
London, 1969
Title-page: *The Epitome of / Andreas / Vesalius / translated / from the Latin with / preface and introduction by / L.R. Lind / with anatomical notes by / C.W. Asling / foreword by / Logan Clendening / The M.I.T. Press / Massachusetts Institute of Technology / Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England. See [VI.B.-8a].*

Note: Paperback edition of VI.B.-8, dedicated to the Memory of Logan Clendening; otherwise the same as above. Vesalius’ letter to the reader is on pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

* XI.1542.08.c13-7  to the reader  Epitome  Russian transl.  Moscow, 1974

Note: the Russian translation of the letter is on p. [21].

* XI.1542.08.c13-8  to the reader  Epitome, facsimile 1st ed.  Stuttgart, [1975]
Title-page: *[Upper scroll in frontispiece]* Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, scholae / medicorum Patavinae professoris, suorum de / Humani corporis fabrica librorum / Epitome. / *[Lower scroll]* Cum Caesareae / Maiest. Galliarum Regis, ac Senatus Veneti gra-/ tia & privilegio, ut in diplomatis eorundem continetur. See (VI.B.-1a)

Note: A facsimile made from an not specified original copy of the 1543 edition.

* XI.1542.08.c13-9  to the reader  Epitome, facsimile 1st ed.  Padua, 1983
In (title-page): *Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, Scholae Medicorum / Patavinae Professoris, / Suorum de Humani / Corporis Fabrica / Librorum / Epitome / [below]: / Edizioni Bado & C. / Padova. See (VI.B.-1b).

Note: Only 250 numbered copies printed.

* XI.1542.08.c13-10  to the reader  Epitome, facsimile 1st ed.  Madrid, 1985
Title-page: Same as VI.B.-1. See (VI.B.-1c).

Note: Only 475 numbered copies printed.

* XI.1542.08.c13-11  to the reader  Epitome, Ms. of English transl.  [Auckland, 2004?]
Not seen. See remarks in (VI.B.-12).
* XI.1542.08.c13-12  to the reader Epitome French and Latin  Paris, 2008

Note: For the letter to the reader (Latin and French translation) see pp. [4-5]. Reproduction of original title-page on p. [1].

* XI.1542.08.c13-13 to the reader fragm. in  French and Latin  Pessac (Fr.), 2017

Note: Both fragments (French and Latin) and a short discussion are on p. 53.

XI-1542.08.13 – Vesalius to Prince Philip II, Padua

Heading: Tenui hoc chartarum contextu, maxime Princeps Philippae, qui immortalis tui nominis splendore decoratus, in communem studiorum usum auspicato emittitur, humani corporis historiam enumerationis modo ita partitus sum, singulaque enumeravi, …

First published as a preface in Vesalius’s Epitome (Basel, 1543): Serenissimo Principi Phi- / lipo, Divi Caroli Quinti Imperatoris / Maximi Invictissimique Filio Haeredi. / Andreas Vesalius S.

Concerns: Vesalius explains that his Epitome is intended as a footpath and a summary for his Fabrica. He writes that it is not intended for physicians as they should deliver themselves to a complete learning since to many doctors do not master human anatomy.

Note: For a discussion of the Epitome see VLB. This letter is dated Patavii, Idibus Augusti. Anno a Virginis partu M D X L I I, meaning litt. ‘Padua, ides of August. In the year 1542 from the delivery of the Virgin’ (= Padua, August 13th, 1542; as in Cushing p. 111, but not ‘August 3’ as at the bottom of that same page, col. 2). Cushing gives a fragmentary English translation on that very page.

* XI-1542.08.13-1 to Prince Philip II in Epitome 1st ed. Basel, June 1543
XI-1542.08.13-2  to Prince Philip II  in German Epitome  Basel, August 9, 1543


In the copy of the Royal Library in Brussels, the preface to Philip II is on folio A r°, as it is described by Cushing, and the preface to the duke of Württemberg on folio A v°, while this is the opposite in the copies of Munich and Basel. Things have changed places during printing.

Title-page: same as Latin Epitome of 1543. See VI.B.-3.

Notes: The only difference between the editions of 1543 and 1555 appears to be the last leaf M, the type of which has been entirely reset and the date changed from MD XLIII Mense Junio to MD LV Mense Aprili.

Only one copy is known to exist. It was once in the possession of the Italian anatomist, Antonio Scarpa, and now in the Uppsala University Library. Descriptions in Cushing pp. 115-116 and Jacqueline Vons p. xcii. See also Hans Sallander, The Bibliotheca Walleriana in the Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, 1951, 26 pp.; and Erik Waller, ‘Eine unbekannte Ausgabe von Vesals Epitome’ in Lychnos, 1936, pp. 251-260, ill.

XI-1542.08.13-4  to Prince Philip II  Epitome  Latin without ills.  Paris, 1560

Notes: Printed in italic type without the illustrations. Descriptions in Cushing p. 117, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 82, and Jacqueline Vons p. xcv.

XI-1542.08.13-5  to Prince Philip II  Epitome  Latin  Wittenberg, 1582

Notes: Description in Cushing p. 118, Elly Cockx-Indestege p. 86, and Jacqueline Vons p. cii.
XI-1542.08.13-6  to Prince Philip II  Epitome Latin, without ills  Wittenberg, 1603
Notes: Description in Cushing p. 118, and Jaqueline Vons p. cv.

* XI-1542.08.13-7  to Prince Philip II  Epitome in Boerhaave-Albinus  Leiden, 1725
Notes: Volume II begins with the complete text of the Epitome (pp. 574-616).

* XI-1542.08.13-8  to Prince Philip II  Epitome, red. reprod. with English translation  New York, 1949
Notes: The reproduction is at the end of the work. O’Malley wrote a book review in 1950 (in a collection of 37 pamphlets by O’Malley in the library of the University of Los Angelos). Description in Cushing p. 234 and Jacqueline Vons pp. cxi-cxii.

* XI-1542.08.13-9  to Prince Philip II  Epitome, English fragment  New York, 1953
Title: To the Most Serene Prince Philip … Concerning the Organs Which Minister to Nutrition by Food and Drink.
Note: Reprint of the English translation by L.R. Lind of the dedication to Prince Philip (pp. 412-414) and chapter three of the Epitome of his Books on the Fabric of the Human Body by Andreas Vesalius of Brussels (pp. 415-416). Description in Cushing p. 235.

* XI-1542.08.13-10  to Prince Philip II  Epitome, reduced reprod. with English translation  London, 1969
Title-page: The Epitome of / Andreas / Vesalius / translated / from the Latin with / preface and introduction by / L.R. Lind / with anatomical notes by / C.W. Asling / foreword by / Logan
Note: Paperback edition of VI.B.-8, dedicated to the Memory of Logan Clendening; otherwise the same as above. Also a new edition by print on demand appeared in 2007 by Kessinger Publishing, 172 pp. Description in Elly Cockx-Indestege pp. 87-88.

* XI-1542.08.13-11 to Prince Philip II Epitome Russian transl. Moscow, 1974


Note: the Russian translation is on pp. 22-[23].

* XI-1542.08.13-12 to Prince Philip II in Epitome, facsimile 1st ed. Stuttgart, [1975]


Note: A facsimile made from an not specified original copy of the 1543 edition.

* XI-1542.08.13-13 to Prince Philip II in Epitome, facsimile 1st ed. Padua, 1983

In (title-page): Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis, Scholae Medicorum / Patavinae Professoris, / Suorum de Humani / Corporis Fabrica / Librorum / Epitome / [below]: / Edizioni Bado & C. / Padova. See (VI.B.-1b).

Note: Only 250 numbered copies printed.

* XI-1542.08.13-14 to Prince Philip II in Epitome, facsimile 1st ed. Madrid, 1985

Title-page: same as VI.B.-1. See (VI.B.-1c).

Note: Only 475 numbered copies printed.

XI-1542.08.24 – Vesalius to Johannes Oporinus, Venice

Heading: Ioanni Oporino Graecarum / lita / rarum apud Basilienses professori, / amico charissimo suo.

First published in: Fabrica 1543, see VI.A.-1.

Concerns: Vesalius’s instructions for Oporinus for the printing of his Fabrica and his complaints about the plagiaries of his Tabulae anatomicae sex.

Note: The original Ms. of this letter can not be found. The words amico charissimo suo let us presume that both encountered each other previously, probably in Basel when Vesalius was there with Winter for the second edition of his Paraphrasis. The letter was also published in most of the re-issues of the Fabrica. But this is not the case in the 1552 edition (Lyon). As this was a publication in a reduced format (16°) in 2 volumes, lacking most of the illustrations that letter made no sense there; moreover this was not a print by Oporinus.

The letter published in the first edition appears again in the 3rd edition (1555, the second by Oporinus) but very surprisingly it shows a lot of changes. Vesalius made about twenty adaptations in his own letter, most of which are only minor details, but some are more important. Such as de deletion of his remarks on the merchants van Bombergen, on Narcissus Vertunus and on Fuchsius. His remark dat the plates had been printed several times in Venice disappeared too, and also his remark about a previous letter that he wrote to Oporinus about the same subject. As a consequence anyone wishing to discuss the letter to Oporinus should make a distinction between the version of 1543 and that of 1555. Cushing did not mention the existence of this two different versions. For a discussion see also Jacqueline VONS, ‘Introduction aux textes liminaires de la Fabrique – Introduction to the introductory texts’ in Jacqueline VONS, Stéphane VELUT, La Fabrique de Vésale et autres textes. Editions, transcriptions et traductions, Paris, BIUSanté, 2014, 14 + 12 pp., in <http://www3.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/pdf/pref.pdf>

Apart from the several editions of the Fabrica reproducing the letter (see above in chapters VI.A and VI.C), where it is obvious which variant they have and which are not repeated here, the letter to Oporinus appeared also in the following writings. The sequence number is followed by an A (variant 1543) or a B (variant 1555).

Steinman (1967, pp. 121-142) there or no other letters known between Oporinus and Vesalius. Nevertheless see XIV.1.

* XI-1542.08.24-1A French, partial translation Paris, 1863

Note: This is a partial translation of Vesalius’s letter to Oporinus. Didot, who possessed a 1543 and a 1555 Fabrica compared the letter in both editions, but surprisingly he confuses the Fabrica with Vesalius’ earlier Tabulae anatomicae sex (Venice, 1538). He makes a comparison with the plates in Ch. Estienne too.

* XI-1542.08.24-2A English translation New York, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.

Note: For a discussion and an English translation see pp. 75-79.

* XI-1542.08.24-2aA English translation Hamden (Connecticut) and London, 1962

Note: same content as in XI.D.-1.

* XI-1542.08.24-3A English translation Cleveland & New York, [1950]

Note: For an English translation of the letter in the Fabrica 1543 see pp. 46-48. Also in the editions following it: (VI.A.-17a), (VI.A.-17b), and (VI.A.-17c).

* XI-1542.08.24-4B Dutch translation Bakelants 1964

Note: Photocopy. Contains the letter to Oporinus, translated and annotated into Dutch from the 1555 Fabrica.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

* XI-1542.08.24-5B Dutch translation Lindeboom 1964

Note: Photocopy. With a Dutch translation of the letter (1555 Fabrica).

* XI-1542.08.24-6A Italian translation Premuda 1964

Note: Transcription and Italian translation of the letter to Oporinus of the Fabrica 1543 on pp. 47-59. With an introduction (8 pp.) pointing to the differences in the later edition.

* XI-1542.08.24-7A Dutch translation 1998

Note: This Dutch translation is from the Fabrica 1543. According to Elly Cockx-Indestege, the best translation of Vesalius’ letter to Oporinus ever; with a discussion on the meaning of the term ‘exemplar’.

* XI-1542.08.24-8A Dutch translation, fragment 2012

Note: only a fragmentary translation dealing with the plagiaries of the Tabulae Sex in the letter from 1543.

* XI-1542.08.24-9A Dutch translation [Roeselare], 2012

Note: This is as a part of my own Dutch translation of book I of the Fabrica 1543. See www.andreasvesalius.be.

* XI-1542.08.24-10A Dutch translation Leuven, 2014
In: [On a copy of the title-page of the Fabrica 1543:] Andreas Vesalius / Bruxellensis, school / medische Faculteit Geneeskunde van Padua, / de Bouw van het menselijk lichaam / Zeven boeken/ [Below:] Met de gunst en het privilege / van Zijne Keizerlijke Majesteit de Koning

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van Frankrijk en de Senaat van Venetië, om onder hun bescherming te blijven. / Bazel; being (VI.A.-1k).

Note: This is part of my own translation of book I (VI.A.-1k), edited by Prof. em. Dr. Luc Missotten, treasurer of the Alumni van de Faculteit Geneeskunde (Alfagen). This Dutch translation is of the Fabrica 1543 and the same as in (VI.A.-1h).

* XI-1542.08.24-11A French translation Paris, 2014
In July 2014 this translation by Jacqueline VONS and Stéphane VELUT (Tours, Université François Rabelais) was put online, together with their French translation of the preface Au divin Charles Quint, …, and the announcement by L’imprimeur au lecteur, at the site of the Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé of Paris (BIUSanté).

Note: The translation of the letter to Oporinus (1543) can be downloaded from the site: <www3.buisante.parisdescartes.fr/vesale/?e=1&p1=01001&a1=f&c1=1&v1=00302_1543x01>

* XI-1542.08.24-12B Russian translation [Moscou] 1950-1954

Note: The letter is on pp. 23-27.

XI-1543.12.11 – Vesalius to Benedetto Varchi, Padua, December 11th, [1543]

Heading: S.D. Quamvis semper, eruditissime Varchi, tui erga me animi promptitudinem singulararemque candorem admiraturus sim, ...

First published in Michele CILIBERTO, ‘I rapporti tra Vesalio e Varchi alla luce di documenti inediti’ in Episteme, 1972, 6: 30-39 ill.

Concerns: Vesalius’s reaction to the invitation for a dissection in Pisa. For a discussion see M. Ciliberto.

In 2012 much time has been devoted in acquiring, and attempting to transcribe and translate these letters. It was with the stimulus and help of my dear colleagues and friends Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno and Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris that I started translating the letters of Vesalius to Varchi in that year.

* XI-1543.12.11-1 Transcription 1972
In: Michele Ciliberto, ‘I rapporti tra Vesalio e Varchi alla luce di documenti inediti’ in Episteme, 1972, 6: 30-39 ill.

Note: this is a photocopy.

* XI-1543.12.11-2 Transcription and Dutch translation 2012
This is our Dutch translation of this letter, based on the transcription by Ciliberto.

Note: not published yet (15.09.2013)

* XI-1543.12.11-3 Transcription 2012

Note: This transcription, which deviates in some instances from that by Ciliberto, is on pp. 228-230. In an accompanying note Bramanti points to the fact that Vesalius had been put under some pressure to enter into the service of Cosimo I instead of Charles V.

XI-1544.03.26 – Vesalius to Benedetto Varchi, Padua, March 26th, [1544]

Heading: S. Nunc me ex venetiis reducem suavissime D. Varchi, Dominicus Tattus officiosissime salutavit, ...

Concerns: Vesalius’s letter from Padua, at the moment of his return from Pisa via Venice.

Note: The original Ms. is in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Fondo Chigiano, 60.L.III. ff 90r-91v. It has never been published. Untill April 2017 I had no permission of the Vatican to do so.

* XI-1544.03.26-1 Ms. 2013
Note: these are photocopies bought in September 2013 from the BAV for 72,00 euros.

* XI-1544.03.26-2 Transcription and Dutch translation 2013
This is our Dutch translation of this letter, based on our own transcription of (XI.F.-1). Not published.
Note: Not published. The notes in (XI-1543.12.11) do apply here too.

XI-1544.05.20 – Vesalius to Benedetto Varchi, Spiers, May 20th, [1544]

Heading: *S. Tandem eruditissime Varchi Patavio me in Caesaris aulam contuli, sed prius apud illustrissimam Ferrariae principem lucurato ob praestitis medici munus viatico, ...*

Concerns: Vesalius’s letter from Spiers at the Imperial Court, just having returned from Padua.

Note: The original Ms. is in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (BAV), Fondo Chigiano, 60.L.III. ff 95r-96v. It has never been published.

* XI-1544.05.20-1 Ms. 2013
Note: these are photocopies bought in April 2013 from the BAV for 132,00 euros.

* XI-1544.05.20-2 Transcription and Dutch translation 2013
This is our own Dutch translation of this letter, based on the above Ms. Not published.

Note: The notes in XI-1543.12.11 do apply here too.

XI-1544.11.26 – Vesalius to Benedetto Varchi, Brussels, November 26th, [1544]

Heading: *S. D. Eodem propemodum tempore (etsi multo quam arbitraris serius) binas eiusdem argumenti accepi literas, ...*


Concerns: Vesalius’s situation at the Court, where he feels himself not quite happy.

Note: The original Ms. (together with the following one) is in the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Autografi Palatini, Cass. II, 116-118. The photocopy of Ongaro’s article was a gift of Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris.

Ongaro mistakenly rendered the date of this letter as December 27th.

* XI-1544.11.26-1 Fragment of Ms. and complete transcription 1968

Note: this article is also a discussion of that letter.
* XI-1544.11.26-2  Transcription  2012

Note: This transcription is on pp. 235-237.

* XI-1544.11.26-3  Ms. (complete) and Ms. of Swedish transl.  received 2013
Note: this is a photocopy of bnel-00758 from the Waller-collection in the Uppsala University (Sweden), being a copy itself of the original in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze Autografi Palatini, Cass. II. 116-117. Accompanied with a manuscript of a Swedish translation by an unknown translator.

* XI-1544.11.26-4  Transcription and Dutch translation  2013
This is our Dutch translation of this letter, based on the transcription by Ongaro.

Note: The notes in XI-1543.12.11 do apply here too.

XI-1546.05.11 – Vesalius to Benedetto Varchi, Regensburg, May 11th [1546]

Heading: S. Interea dum cum venetorum Oratore Navagerio gravi morbo vexato mensibus tribus ab aula defui, ...


Concerns: On Vesalius’s absence from the Court, on some commercial details of his Fabrica and Epitome and on Leonard Fuchs.

Note: The original Ms. (together with the following one) is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Autografi Palatini, Cass. II, 116-118.
The photocopy of Ongaro’s article was a gift from Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris.

* XI-1546.05.11-1  Fragment of Ms. and complete transcription  1968

Note: this article is also a discussion of this letter.

* XI-1546.05.11-2  Transcription  2012
XI-1546.08.01 – Vesalius to Johannes Gast, Regensburg

Heading: S. Nisi male tutum esse arbitrarer, aliquid de bellis istis utrimque / magnis apparatibus institutis, scribere, ...


Concerns: In the words of Rudolf, Vesalius asks J. Gast to forward his instructions to Oporinus for the printing of ‘einige Kleinigkeiten aus meiner Feder’ [his Chyna-root epistle]. Also about his love for beautiful editions. And his desire to sojourn and to chat with good friends.

Note: The Ms. is in the Staatsarchiv Zürich. It is dated Ratisbonae Calendis Augusti. This proves that it was Andreas Vesalius himself who took the initiative for the print of his Chinaroot Epistle and not his brother Franciscus, as one could easily believe when reading his dedication to Cosimo de’Medici. Just as he did in his letter to Oporinus for the Fabrica, he gives here instructions about the quality of the paper to use and the breadth of the margins.

Johannes Gast [+ Basel, 1552 following Rieckenberg, in 1560/61 following Buxtorf-Falkesien] was a theologian and a writer in Basel. He became deacon of the church St Martin in Basel, and a friend of Vesalius. He started his career as a corrector for A. Petri.

Note: Photocopy. Discussion and German translation. Rudolf gave a wrong translation of the date as 1542, which was later corrected by Wolf-Heidegger. Also a translation of Vesalius’s letter to Heinrich Petri.

* XI-1546.08.01-1 German translation 1943
In: Friedrich Rudolf, ‘Ein Erinnerungsblatt an Andreas Vesalius’ in Basler Jahrbuch, 1943, 113-121, ill.

Note: Photocopy. Discussion and German translation. Rudolf gave a wrong translation of the date as 1542, which was later corrected by Wolf-Heidegger. Also a translation of Vesalius’s letter to Heinrich Petri.

* XI-1546.08.01-2 Ms. and German translation Basel, [1959]
In: Gerhard Wolf-Heidegger, ‘Andreas Vesalius’ in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik in Basel, Olten und Lausanne, Urs Graf-Verlag - Ciba, [1959], 83-102, and p. 175, ill.
Note: This book was *Hrsg. von der CIBA aus Anlass ihres 75-jährigen Bestehens als Aktiengesellschaft, Olten, Urs Graf-Verlag*, [1959], with Vesalius’s letter to Johannes Gast on p. 99, its German translation on p. 175 and a discussion on pp. 83-102. We find this same German translation after Rudolf - together with one into Hungarian - in a paper by Adam Raffy (1959); see *XI-1546.08.01-3*.

* XI-1546.08.01-3  Hungarian and German translation  1959

Note: download from <http://www.orvostortenet.hu/tankonyvvek/tk-05/Green/index.php?subdiv=2&subtopic=210&topic=1>

* XI-1546.08.01-4  Transcription and Dutch translation  1964

Note: Photocopy; with a discussion and Dutch translation of this letter.

* XI-1546.08.01-5  Ms. and transcription  Basel, 1966

Note: The Ms. with the transcription and a discussion are on pp. 39-41.

XI-1549/50.05.15 – Vesalius to Johannes Sturm, Brussels, May 15th [1549 or 1550]

Heading: *S. Exhibuit mihi D. Martinus literas tuas, ac / officiose et amice admodum tuo nomine salutem / dixit...*


Concerns: in this letter to Johannes Sturm of Strasbourg, his friend, Vesalius advises him on the best attitude while addressing himself towards Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras.
Note: According to Roth p. 421 n. 1 the Ms. was in the Bibliothek des Strasbourger protestantischen Seminars Epist. Autogr. Saec. XVI. Vol. I., which was destroyed during a fire in 1870. Giuseppe Ongaro refers to this page telling that this letter from Vesalius to Jean Sturm was destroyed by a fire in the protestant Seminar of Strasburg in 1870. (ONGARO, Giuseppe, ‘Due lettere inedite di Andrea Vesalio a Benedetto Varchi’ in Scritti in onore del prof. Pazzini, Roma, 1968, p. 559-574, ill., see p. 560)


According to Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris the years 1549 or 1550 are most likely as the publication year, since Granvelle senior died August 27th, 1550, and he was not mentioned as the ‘late’ Granvelle.

* XI-1549/50.05.15-1) Transcription

Berlin, 1892

In: Moritz ROTH, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: Transcription on pp. 421-422; discussion p. 63 n. 5 and shortly on pp. 221-222.

* XI-1549/50.05.15-1a Transcription

Amsterdam, 1965


* XI-1549/50.05.15-2 English translation

Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964

In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: English translation on pp. 403-404. For a discussion of J. Sturm see p. 424 n. 2 and p. 429 n. 35.

* XI-1549/50.05.15-3 Ms.

Brussels, 1993

In: Hossam ELKHADEM, Jean-Paul HEERBRANT, Liliane WELLENS-DE DONDER, Nicole WALCH. Andreas Vesalius: experiment en onderwijs in de anatomie tijdens de 16de eeuw [Andreas Vesalius. Experiment and education in anatomy during the 16th century], Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1993, 180 pp., ill.; see pp. 18 and 27.

The two following letters to Jerome van Hamme, from Augsburg and Innsbruck in 1551, are treated by most authors simultaneously. However this is not always the case and therefore I give here a separate description of their editions.
XI-1551.09.01 – Vesalius to Jerome van Hamme, Augsburg

Heading: S. Utcumque modo hyems sit prae foribus, et hic iam mensibus multis de profectione antipes haesimus, ... [variations in transcription according to the author].


Concerns: Vesalius describes the situation in the city of Augsburg that is suffering from the consequences of war. Also on politics and actions taken by the armies.

Note: Vesalius married Anne van Hamme, native of Vilvorde and daughter of this Jerome, councilor and master of the Chamber of Finances at Brussels. He was himself married to Anne Asseliers. In July 1545 a daughter was born and was also named Anne. (Alphonse Wauters. ‘Quelques mots sur André Vésale, ses ascendants, sa famille et sa demeure à Bruxelles nommée la maison de Vésale’ in Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires ... Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1897, 55: 1-74, and taken over by O’Malley p. 203). No mention of this letter in Roth, nor in O’Malley or Cushing.


* XI-1551.09.01-1 Ms. and transcription Brussels, 1957

Note: Photocopy. Preceded by a thorough discussion, the Ms. of this letter and the transcription of both letters of September and October which are on pp. 212-214.

* XI-1551.09.01-2 Ms. and transcription Montevideo, 1963

**XI-1551.09.01-3** Fragment of Ms. Basel, 1966

Note: this is only a reproduced fragment of the Ms. of the September letter to his father-in-law, see p 13.

**XI-1551.09.01-4** Transcription Madrid, 1970

Note: see pp. [287]-288 for the transcription.

**XI-1551.09.01-5** Transcription and French translation Liège, 1982

Note: Photocopy. With a transcription and French translation by Alexis Curvers of both letters to Jerôme van Hamme (Augsburg on pp.7-10; Innsbruck on p. 11), preceded by a short discussion.

**XI-1551.09.01-6** Ms. Brussels, 1993
In: Hossam ELKHadem, Jean-Paul HEERBRANT, Liliane WELLENS-DE DONDER, Nicole WALCH, *Andreas Vesalius: experiment en onderwijs in de anatomie tijdens de 16de eeuw* [Andreas Vesalius. Experiment and education in anatomy during the 16th century], Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1993, 180 pp., ill.

and in otherwise same French edition:

Note: see no. 13, pp. 20-21, for the Ms. and a discussion of this letter.

XI-1551.10.16 – Vesalius to Jerome van Hamme, Innsbruck
Heading: S. Venimus heri salvi Oenipontem una cum pueris Caesaris...
Following this letter is a long post scriptum: Uxor mea vult...


Concerns: Vesalius wishes to reassure his father-in-law of his and his wife’s safe arrival at Innsbruck.


* XI-1551.10.16-1 Transcription Brussels, 1957

Note: Photocopy. Preceded by a thorough discussion, the Ms. of the letter of September and the transcription of both letters of September and October are on pp. 212-214.

* XI-1551.10.16-2 Ms. and transcription Montevideo, 1963

Note: the transcription is of the letter only, not of the post scriptum.

* XI-1551.10.16-3 Ms. and transcription [Brussels, 1964]
In: Academica commemoratio / gentium actione / ad quartum centenarium annum / Andreae Vesalii / Bruxellensis / defuncti / 1514-1564 [Academic Commemoration at the 400th Anniversary of the Death of Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis 1514-1564], L’Académie Royale
Note: Illustrated syllabus [32 pp.] for the commemoration, with the different commissions and the programme of the symposia on 19-21th October 1964. Also a copy of the letter of Andreas Vesalius to Jhéromme van Hamme (Innsbruck, the 16th October 1551), his father-in-law on f. [15]. The reproduction of the Ms. is pasted on the leaf with the transcription.


* XI-1551.10.16-4 Ms. Brussels, 1965

Note: see the first of two pages following p. 144: recto for the Ms. in Latin, verso for the address in French.

* XI-1551.10.16-5 Transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: see p. 288 for the transcription.

* XI-1551.10.16-6 Transcription and French translation Liège, 1982

Note: Photocopy. With a transcription and French translation by Alexis Curvers of both letters to Jerôme van Hamme (Augsburg on pp.7-10; Innsbruck on p. 11), preceded by a short discussion.

* XI-1551.10.16-7 Ms. Brussels, 1993
In: Hossam ELKHADEM, Jean-Paul HEERBRANT, Liliane WELLENS-DE DONDER, Nicole WALCH, Andreas Vesalius: experiment en onderwijs in de anatomie tijdens de 16de eeuw [Andreas Vesalius. Experiment and education in anatomy during the 16th century], Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1993, 180 pp., ill.

and in otherwise same French edition:

Note: see no. 14, pp. 21-23 for the Ms. and a discussion of this letter. On all three pages the place where the letter was written is mistakenly held for Augsburg (as it was for the previous letter) instead of Innsbruck.

XI-1556.08.28 – Vesalius to Heinrich Petri, Ghent

Heading: S. Libros illos una cum literis accepi ornatissime / Domine Henrice Petri, ...


Concerns: the request of Petri to Vesalius for his intervention to obtain for him an act of ennoblement with weapon.


Also a short mention of this letter in H. Straub, Letter to Prof. Dr. G. van der Schueren, Basel, 18 April 1950 (Archives of the University of Leuven).

This is Vesalius’s answer to the request for his mediation for a possible ennoblement of Henricpetri by the emperor Charles V. According to the letter Vesalius succeeded in his attempt.


* XI-1556.08.28-1 Transcription 1886
In: Moritz Roth, ‘Andreas Vesalius in Basel’ in Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte, Neue Folge - Band II, Heft 2, Basel, H. Georg’s Verlag, 1886, pp. 159-182.

Note: for a discussion see pp. 176-180, the transcription is on pp. 178-179.

* XI-1556.08.28-2 Transcription 1892

Note: for the transcription see pp. 423-424.
* XI-1556.08.28-2a Transcription 1965

* XI-1556.08.28-3 Ms., Transcription and German translation Basel, 1928

Note: Manuscript with transcription and German translation of Vesalius’s letter to Heinrich Petri (chapter 22) with short discussion on the preceding unnumbered page (f. 22). Only 120 copies were printed of the original.

* XI-1556.08.28-4 German translation 1943
In: Friedrich RUDOLF, ‘Ein Erinnerungsblatt an Andreas Vesalius’ in *Basler Jahrbuch*, 1943, 113-121, ill.

Note: This article contains also a German translation of Vesalius’s letter to Johann Gast.

* XI-1556.08.28-5 Ms. and German translation Basel, 1960

Note: Copy of the Ms. of Vesalius’s letter to Heinrich Petri in vol. 1 *Handschriften* p. 28-29; also a German translation in vol. 2 *Umschriften und Anmerkungen* p. 16, taken over from Roth p 423.

* XI-1556.08.28-6 English translation Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964


* XI-1556.08.28-7 Transcription and French translation Liège, 1982

Note: Transcription on p. 12, preceded by a short discussion. Contains also a transcription and French translation of the two letters to Jerome van Hamme, and the Ms. of the dispensation letter for the bishop of Limoges.
Note: Photocopy of the Waller Ms. *benl-00759* in the Waller-collection in the Uppsala University (Sweden), being itself a copy of the original in the University of Basel. Two ff bought together with a copy of a letter by Vesalius to B. Varchi being itself *benl-00758* (cfr. supra).

XI-1562.12.18 - Vesalius [to the readers] as a censor, Madrid

**Heading:** *El parecer que diò in este libro el Doctor Andreas Vesalio. Yo Vesalio, por servir à los señores del Consejo de Aragon, he visto esta traducion, …*


Concerns: This is a certificate or approval by Vesalius operating as a book censor in Madrid for a book originaly published in Italian, but now translated into *Española*, as the title-page indicates.

Note: On the next page of the first Spanish edition of Piamontes’s book there is another shorter approval, not mentioned by O’Malley: *Aprobacion deste libro por el doctor Andreas Vesalio. Io el doctor Vesalio he considero esta impression con el original, y lo hallo conforme a el. En testimonio de lo qual, lo firme de mi nomb re en Madrid, a xvij. de Junio M.D.LXIII. And. Vesalius.*


* XI-1562.12.18-1 [to the readers] Spanish Zaragoça, 1563


Note: According to the title-page this is a translation into Spanish. This edition mentions a second shorter approval on the second following page, also by Vesalius, but now dated: Madrid, June, 17th 1563.

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google.

* XI-1562.12.18-2 [to the readers] Catalan Alcala, 1640

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Note: According to the title-page this is a translation into Catalan. Here Vesalius’s approval follows another shorter one by Doctor Olivares. The shorter approval by Vesalius is missing in this edition.

Provenance: can be downloaded from books.google.

* XI-1562.12.18-3 [to the readers] Transcription California Univ., 1965

Note: For a transcription of Vesalius’s approval and a short discussion see pp. 10-11. This paper does not mention the second shorter approval on the following page, also by Vesalius, present in the first edition.
XII.
Letters to Vesalius

Only a few letters to Vesalius could be found. Probably he did not keep them in a systematic way or they could be lost due to his multiple travels.

XII-1548.05.01 - Michaelis (?) Martinus Astriacus to Vesalius, Venice

Heading: Andreae Vesalio, Caroli Quinti imperatoris medico peritissimo, Cognato suo charissimo, Martinus Astriacus Bruxellensis. S.D.P. Hyeme hac, qua nos ian pridem aetatem absolutos videre videor, Opt. Cognate, nihil appetentius apud me deprecatus sum, quam temporis aliquem otique tantundem mihi dari, nonnihil ad te mittere literarum ut possem. (During this winter, dearest cousin, there was noting that I longed for more than some time and the opportunity to write you a letter…).

First published in: Vita Galeni Pergameni, ex Galeno ipso, et ex variis authoribus, per Andream Lacunam, Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1548. See p. 188bis r° - 190bis v°.

Concerns: This is a rather detailed review of Andrés de Laguna’s Epitomes Omnium Galeni Pergameni Operum … sectio prima per Andream Lacum Secobiensem, Doctorem Medicum, atque ex sacro militum Sancti Petri apud urbs collegio, Auratum Equitem …, Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1548. Astriacus was very closely involved in the publication of this work by Laguna and he sends Vesalius also his feelings of gratitude for his repeated encouragements to get the job finished.

Note: This long letter (6 pp.) is dated Venetiis ad Calendas Maias. Anno M D XLVIII (Venice, May 1st 1548). Michaelis Martinus Astriacus or Martin Stern (Stella) from Brussels was one of the four cousins (cognatus) named Martin Stella of Vesalius: Gulielmus, Ioannes, Michael and Roelant Martin Astriacus. See M. Roth, ‘VII. Vesals Familie’ in his Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, 1892, pp. 450-453. Also György Palotás, ‘Ioannes Martinus Stella’ in David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.), Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 7. Central and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America (1500-1600), Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015, pp. 253-259, in which Gulielmus is mentioned too. Vesalius himself mentions Gulielmus Martinus Stella in his Fabrica 1543 (p. 531) and calls him a lawyer and an expert in natural sciences. At the moment of this letter Vesalius was in Augsburg (from July 23rd 1547 to August 12th 1548). Gulielmus lived in Antwerp.

The writer of this letter was in all probability Gulielmus’ brother Michaelis Martinus Astriacus. We know that he was a printer in Basel (1546) and also that he was in Italy: according to John Monfasani who mentions manuscripts dating from 1549-1552 (Florence)

I thank Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris for drawing my attention to this letter and Prof. em. Omer Steeno for finding the first copy of it.

* XII-1548.05.01-1 from Michaelis (?) Martinus Astriacus  Venice, May 1st, 1548
In: Andrea LAGUNA, Vita Galeni Pergameni, ex Galeno ipso, et ex variis authoribus, per Andream Lacunam, Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum, 1548.

Note: for the letter see pp. 188bis r° - 190bis v°.

XII-1549.07.01 - Marcus Hopperus to Vesalius, Basel

Heading: Clarissimo doctissimoque viro, D.D. Andreae Vesalio Bruxellensi Medicinae Doctori celeberrimo, Caesareas Maiest. Medico peritissimo Marcus Hopperus S. D. P. Quum tantopere Medicina laudetur, nec immersito quidem, vir humanissime doctissimequ, quam et graecus Poëta commendare volens ait: [a citation in Greek follows].

First published in: Alexandri Benedicti Veronensis, Medici ac Philosphi multis nominibus clarissimi, de re medica opus insigne et apprime Medicinae canditatis omnibus utile… Basileae per Henricum Petri, mense augusto, anno M.D. XLIX.

Concerns: The letter is dated Basilaeae Kalendis Iulii, Anno a partu Virginis 1549 (litt.: Basel, July 1st, in the 1549th year after the delivery of the virgin). In 1549, a rather calm year for the emperor, as there were no wars nor any long travels, Marc Hopper honoured Vesalius with the dedication of this splendid edition of Alessandro Benedetti’s De re medica. In it Hopper made several references to Vesalius’ Fabrica and Epitome. Hopper, being the editor, honours Vesalius’ dedication in promoting scientific research by others. He writes about his position at the imperial court as if Cornelius van Baersdorp did not exist. (Roth, p. 221)

Note: Alessandro Benedetti was born in Legnago (Verona) c. 1450 and died in Venice on 31 October 1512. He graduated in Padua in 1475 and shortly thereafter he went practising in Greece (Morea). He wrote Anatomice, sive Historia Corporis humani (Venice, 1502), which became famous for plastic surgery (rhinoplasty). He spent much of his career as a medical practitioner in Venice. After an outbreak of the plague there he wrote De observatione in Pestilentia (Venice 1493). He was still writing on his De re medica in 1510, and the first known edition was posthumously, dating from Venice 1533 under a more elaborate title. See L.R. LIND, ‘Alessandro Benedetti (1450?-1512)’ in Studies in Pre-Vesalian Anatomy, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1975, pp. 67-137. Also Giovanna FERRARI, L’esperienza del passato: Alessandro Benedetti filologo e medico umanista, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1996, 357 pp.

Marcus Hopperus was a philosopher and a lawyer who graduated and lectured at the university of Basel. He was also an excellent hellenist and studied theology. He married
Maria Petri, daughter of Henricus, the famous printer. He died from the plague on 21 July 1564, while he was rector at the university, a few months before Vesalius. See Athenae Rauricae. Sive, Catalogus professorum Academiae basiliensis ab a. MCCCCLX ad a. MDCCCLXXVIII, cum brevi singulorum biographia. Adjecta est recensio omnium eiusdem Academiae rectorum, 1460-1778, Basiliae, Car. Aug. Serinus, 1778-1780, vol. 1, p. 156.

* XII-1549.07.01-1 from Marcus Hopperus Basel, August 1549
In: Alexandri Benedicti Veronensis, Medici ac Philosophi multis nominibus clarissimi, de re medica opus insigne et apprime Medicinae canditatis omnibus utile... Basileae per Henricum Petri, mense augusto, anno M.D. XLIX.

Note: This dedicatory epistle of two pages follows the reproduction of a short letter by Alessandro Benedetti to Jacobus Antiquarius on Paulus of Aegina and Galen, and dated Milan, 10 November 1508.

XII-1552.01.?? - Sigismundus Gelenius to Vesalius, Basel

Heading: Cum opus hoc tot seculis abditum, in lucem tandem prodire ex officina Frobeniana literatorum commodis iam dudum deditissima gestiens patronum sibi quaereret...

First published in: Notitia utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum tempora, illustre vetustatis monumentum, imo thesaurus prorsum incomparabilis... [Notes on both sides, oriental and western, from beyond the times of the Caesars], Basileae, [apud Hieronymum] Froben[ium et Nicolaum Episcopium], 1552, 109 ff.

Concerns: [this letter waits translation]

Note: This letter is directed to Clarissimo viro D. Andreae Vesalio, invictissimi Caroli Augusti Medico, and is dated Basilea, mense Ianuario, a natali Christi servatoris M. D. LII.

The editors were Rhenanus Beatus and Gelenius Sigismondo. Sigmund Gelen was a philologist (° c. 1498 + 1554 Basel) and left his rich library to Oporinus (Mich. MAITTAIRE, Annales typographici, Hagae.Comitum: Fratres Vaillant et Nicolaus Prevost, 1725, p. 210).

* XII-1552.01.?? -1 Transcription Basel, 1552
First publication in: Notitia utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum tempora, illustre vetustatis monumentum, imo thesaurus prorsum incomparabilis... [Notes on both sides, oriental and western, from beyond the times of the Caesars], Basileae, [apud Hieronymum] Froben[ium et Nicolaum Episcopium], 1552, 109 ff.

Note: On leaf *2 of this in-folio a dedication to Vesalius by Sigismundus Gelenius. For a description see Jeremy M. NORMAN, Catalogue 33: Classic of Science & Medicine, San Francisco (CA), Jeremy Norman, 1999, 80 pp., ill.; see lot 92.

* XII-1552.01.?? -2 Transcription Paris, 1651

Note: For the letter see pp. 197-203.


XII-1555.03.23 - Johann Herwagen to Vesalius, Basel

Heading: S. Aget ut spero D. Carolus harstus pro privilegio pro me et filio,...

First published in: As a facsimile in Bilderheften zur Geschichte des Bücherhandels, Leipzig, Heinrich Lempertz, 1853-1865, tab. 5.

Concerns: Writing from Basel, Johann Herwagen asks Vesalius for help in obtaining for himself and his son a privilege to publish books, a privilege he already asked via Carolus Harstus. For a nephew-priest he asks Vesalius to mediate for the legalization of his birth and to appoint him as an imperial notary. This nephew was just like Herwagen native from Hegau.

Note: Johann Herwagen (Iohannes Hervagius) was a book printer in Basel. Here he adresses Vesalius as a second Aesculape: Humaniss. Doctiss°.que Andreae Vesalio Esculapio altero Domino et amico suo colendo.

The original was at the time of Roth in the possession of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler in Leipzig, but according to Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER it has been destroyed during World War II. Luckily it had been reproduced in facsimile in Bilderheften zur Geschichte des Bücherhandels, herausg. von Heinrich Lempertz, Leipzig, 1853-1865, tab. 5. According to Roth, the date is given as 1555 but with a query as to the possibility of the year 1553. According to the facsimile itself the date was (wrongly) 1551. See O’Malley, p. 471, n 23 and Roth, pp. 240 and 434. Also Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER, ‘Documenta Vesaliana Basiliensia’ in R. BLASER, H. BUESS (eds.), Aktuelle Probleme aus der Geschichte der Medizin. Verhandlungen des XIX. Internationalen Kongresses für Geschichte der Medizin - Current Problems in History of Medicine. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress for the History of Medicine, Basel, 7.-11. September 1964, Basel - New York, S. Karger, 1966, p. 42, and n. 9 and 10.

XII-1555.03.23-1 Original Leipzig, 1853-1865

Not seen.
See note above.
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* XII-1555.03.23-2   * Transcription   Berlin, 1892

Note: for the transcription see pp. 434-435.

* XII-1555.03.23-2a  * Transcription   Amsterdam, 1965

* XII-1555.03.23-3   * English translation   Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see O’Malley pp. 405-406.

* XII-1555.03.23-4   * Transcription   Basel, 1966

Note: The transcription with a short discussion is on p. 42, and n. 9 and 10.

XII-1556.04.21 - Emperor Charles V to Vesalius, Brussels

Heading: Palatinatus cum nobilitatione et molioratione armorum ac jure civitatum immunitate personali, jure Caesareo Imperiali familiaritate et salvaguardia pro Andreae Vesalio Caroli Majestatis Caesareae Phisico Caesareo.


Concerns: Vesalius’s act of ennoblement as a Count Palatine.

Note: The act is dated In oppido nostro Bruxellensis Ducatus Brabantiae; Die vigesima prima mensis aprilis, anno Domini. Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto. Imperii nostri Trigesimo sexto. It is signed for the Emperor by A. Perrenot and by Pfintzing, a secretary of the Council of State.

The document is kept in the 22. Band des Reichregisters Karls V in the Staatsarchiv of Austria.
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* XII-1556.04.21-1  First and last pages of Ms., transcr. and English translation 1954

Note: the first page of the Ms. is also reproduced in O’Malley’s Vesalius biography on plate 58.

* XII-1556.04.21-2  First page of Ms. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’Malley, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the first page of the Ms. see O’Malley, plate 58.

* XII-1556.04.21-3 Transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ. Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: see p. 275-280 for the transcription, that was reproduced from O’Malley (1954).

XII-1557.07.18 - Achilles Gasser to Vesalius, Brussels

Heading: Cum 1557. vir Nobilissimus, Leonardus Velserus est aneuvrismate interno, quo diu variis symptom. conflictatus laboraverat, tandem obiisset, defuncti cadaver, ut mortis et adfectus causam indagerent, secuerunt 25. Junii Adolphus Occo, pater et filius, Ambrosius Jungius, et Lucas Stengelius, Medici Augustani, a quibus haec visa, ut sequitur, Achilles Gasserus, maternus avus meus, ad Vesalium transmisit. Secto pro more ventre, apparuere membra naturalia satis bene disposita…


Concerns: this is the post mortem of Leonard WELSER, a case of an aortic aneurysm, sent to Vesalius by Achilles Gasser. The post mortem was done by Adolphe Occo, together with his son, Ambrosius Jungius and Lucas Stengelius.

Note: The post mortem in G.H. Velschius (Welsch) is followed by a brief discussion. See also the consilium to Gasser: VIII.J.
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* XII-1557.07.18-1  Transcription  Ulm, 1667
In: Georg WELSCH (Georgius Hieronymus Velschius), Sylloge curationum et observationum medicinalium centurias VI complectens, Ulm, impensis Gottlieb Goebelii, typis Christiani Balthasaris Kuhnii, 1667, see J.U. Rumler, Observationes medicinae.

Note: for the transcription see pp. 46-47; this is followed by a short discussion. Provenance and condition: Only a copy from books.google.

* XII-1557.07.18-2  Transcription and German translation  1970

Note: for the transcription and translation, followed by a short discussion, see vol. III, pp. 147-150.

* XII-1557.07.18-3  Dutch translation  2014

Note: Contains also the post mortem on Leonard Welser by Occo and others.

* XII-1557.07.18-4  English translation  2015

Note: Contains also the post mortem on Leonard Welser by Occo and others.

XII-1563.12.25 - Giovanni Filippo Ingrassia to Vesalius, Palermo

Heading: Accepi (mi valentissime Andreas) doctissimum illum tuum consilium, ...


Concerns: reply, written on Christmas-day 1563, by Ingrassia on Vesalius’s consilium VIII.C.

Note: Ingrassia addresses his letter to Doctissimo, non minus, quam celeberrimo viro, Andreee Vesalio, Anatomicorum non inturia Principi, Johannes Philippus Ingrassias salutem sempiternam.
* XII-1563.12.25-1  Transcription     Berlin, 1892

Note: for the transcription see pp. 436-438.

* XII-1563.12.25-1a  Transcription     Amsterdam, 1965

* XII-1563.12.25-2  English translation     Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964

Note: for the translation see O’Malley pp. 419-420.
XIII.
Letters and other documents concerning Vesalius

Most of the letters on Vesalius are only in part concerning him or his works as they are dealing in many cases with some other subjects. In some of them Vesalius comes up only incidentally. Nevertheless these passages often throw an interesting light on him, on his work or on some details of them. In the present list the focus is only on those particular passages.

In this chapter I took the opportunity and liberty to include not only the letters but any document (diary, registry, …) that can be useful to clear up Vesalius’s biography, his whereabouts, as well as such details of his works, etc. Once all this letters and vesalian documents are arranged in the right chronological order the list could be used as kind of his itinerary (see at the end).

XIII-1536.08.?? – Andernacus in his Institutiones anatomicae, Paris 1536

First published in: Institutionum Anatomicarum secundum Galeni sententiam, ad candidatos Medicinae, libri quatuor, per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum, Parisiis Apud Simonem Colinaeum. 1536.

Passage: … Nuper autem opera Andreae VVesalij Imperatoris myropolae filij, me hercules iuvenis magnae expectationis, ac praeter singularem medicinae cognitionem, in utraque lingua etiam eruditi, in corporibusque dissecandis dexterrimi, post longam partium disquisitionem invenimus. difficilius autem reperiuntur, eo quod exangues sint et albicantes uti partes vicinae. At neglexerunt Anatomici earum originem disquirere, tali axiomate contenti, paucas admodum, aut nullas in regione inferiori venas circa arteriae consortium deferri. (However we recently [saw] the works of Andreas Wesalius, son of the pharmacist of the Emperor, by God a very promising young man, and besides his particular knowledge of medicine, and his skills in each language, and his handiness at dissecting bodies, after an investigation at length of the body parts, [and] we found [them = the aa. seminariae]. They are hard to find however, as they are without blood and pale just as the neighbouring parts. Anatomists neglected to investigate their origin, being satisfied with the evidence that there are few, if any, veins descending in the lower regions, apart from the one accompanying the artery.)

Notes: This laudatory comment by Andernacus on Vesalius comes with his discussion on the arteriae seminariae. Its is remarkable as Vesalius was only 21 years old and had at that
moment not realised any publication yet, the first one being – as far as we know - his Paraphrasis of Leuven 1537 (see I). The question is: how could Andernacus know of Vesalius’ good knowledge of both the Latin and Greek (as we can deduce from ‘utraque linqua’) on a moment that he had not yet published anything? Perhaps during his lessons which were given in Latin? Or did Vesalius already give criticisms against Galen showing indirectly his knowledge of the Greek? Of course Winter knew him as his student.

The edition of Basel 1536 was printed in August. As the first one by Simon de Colines was printed in Paris, that could presumably have been before Vesalius left Paris to go back to Brussels because of the war between Charles V and François I. J.C. Trent writes: Vesalius must have known both the Paris and the Basel editions. He was in Paris, studying under Guenther, at the time when the work was published and would certainly have seen the Colines volume, his own first appearance in print... Anyway, during his later revisions of that work he left that passage on himself unchanged.


**XIII-1536.08.??-1** Institutiones anatomicae first edition Paris 1536
In: Institutionum Anatomicarum secundum Galeni sententiam, ad candidatos Medicinae, libri quatuor, per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum. Parisiis Apud Simonem Colineaeum. 1536.

Note: Roth and de Feyfer mention this edition. Cushing did not see any. Now a copy can be found online in the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum.


* **XIII-1536.08.??-2** Institutiones anatomicae second edition Basel 1536
In: Institutionum Anatomicarum secundum Galeni sententiam ad candidatos Medicinae Libri Quatuor, per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum. Basileae, M. D. XXXVI.

Note: Colophon: Basileae, per Balthasarem Lasium & Thomam Platterum, mense Augusto 1536. The passage comes in Liber primus on p. 46 of this edition (not on p. 32 as Roth wrote p. 71 n 2).

* **XIII-1536.08.??-3** Institutiones anatomicae third edition Venice 1538
In: Same title as above, but with the addition “Ab Andrea VVesalio Bruxellensi, auctiores et emendationes redditi”.
Note: In this edition by Bernardinus (according to Cushing on May 5th, 1538) Vesalius left that passage on himself unchanged (f. 30r). After the titlepage there is a letter of Vesalius to Joannes Armenterianus, dated *Patavii tertio Nonas Maij. Anno ab orbe redempto. M D XXXVIII* (Padua, May 5rd 1538). See chapter XI.

* XIII-1536.08.??-4 * Anatomicae institutiones 4th ed. Basel 1539

In: *Anatomicarum institutionum ex Galeni sententia Libri IIII. per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum.*

Colophon: *Basileae in officina Robert VVinter, anno M. D. XXXIX. Mense Iunio.*

Note: The passage is here on pp. 30-31.

XIII-1536.08.??-5 Institutiones anatomicae (?) 5th ed. Venice 1540?

Not seen.

Note: According to Cushing pp. 48-49 this could be the 16° edition by Sessa as it has his cat-and-mouse device, but no printer’s name nor a date, and following the text edited by Vesalius in 1538. He had two copies of it in his collection.

* XIII-1536.08.??-6 Institutiones anatomicae 6th ed. Lyon 1541

In: *Anatomicarum institutionum, ex Galeni sententia, Libri IIII. per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum.*

Note: Edited by Seb. Gryphius, Lyon, January 1541. Not reworked by Vesalius, but with the passage on him on p. 36. Mere mention in Cushing p. 47. Can be found on books.google.

XIII-1536.08.??-7 Institutiones anatomicae (?) 7th ed. Padua 1550

Not seen.

Note: According to Cushing (p. 47) an 8° by J. Fabrianus, Padua, 1550, and following the text edited by Vesalius in 1538.

XIII-1536.08.??-8 Institutiones anatomicae (?) 8th ed. Padua 1558

Not seen.

Note: According to Cushing (p. 47) this is an 8° with “ab And. Vesalio auctiores redditi.” in the title, mentioned by Roth and de Feyfer; he could not trace a copy himself.

* XIII-1536.08.??-9 Institutiones anatomicae 9th ed. [Wittenberg] 1585

In: *Institutionum anatomicae secundum Galeni sententiam ad candidatos Medicinae Libri Quatuor, per Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum Medicum. Ab Andrea VVesalio Bruxellensi, auctiores & emendatores rediiti. Anno cIɔ. Iɔ. xxcv.*
Note: The passage on Vesalius is on p. 37.

* XIII-1536.08.??-10  Institutiones anatomicae  10th ed.       Wittenberg 1613
In: Institutionum anatomicarum, secundum Galeni sententiam, ad candidatos Medicinae, Libri Quatuor, per Johannem Guinterum Andernacum medicum, editi, Ab Andrea Vesalio Bruxellensi auctores facti, Quartum nunc emendationes recogniti, Wittebergae, Impensis Samuelis Selfischij, Bibliopolae, M. DC. XIII.

Note: Here Vesalius’s name is with a ‘V’ for the first time. According to Cushing (p. 51) it is also the first with 30 small illustrations after Vesalius; innumerable errors in pagination.

XIII-1536.08.??-11  Institutiones anatomicae (?) 11th ed. Wittenberg 1616
Not seen.

Note: Cushing knew of a copy of this 8° but did not see any personally (p. 47).

* XIII-1536.08.??-12  Transcription               Berlin 1892
In: Moritz ROTH, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: The transcription with a short discussion is on p. 71 n. 2.

* XIII-1536.08.??-13  English translation               New York 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943.

Note: The English translation with a discussion is on pp. 44-45.

* XIII-1536.08.??-14  English translation  Berkeley & Los Angeles 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY. Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°. XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: The translation with a detailed discussion is on pp. 55-57.

* XIII-1536.08.??-15  English translation         London & New York 2017

Note: The translation of the passage concerned is on p. 89 but is part of the first English translation of the whole 1538 edition.

XIII-1537.12.01 – Admission of Vesalius to his graduation, Padua
Text of report (transcription by E. Martellozzo Forin):
Convocato etc. mandato – art. et med. doct. d. Hieronimi Maripetro prioris - ***

Note: The original is in the Archivio Antico dell’Università di Padova, vol. 325, f. 41r. Roth referring to the same originals has a transcription that deviates at some points from the one by Martellozzo Forin.

The words cum ultima diminutione mean that Vesalius obtained an admission to his graduation with a maximal reduction of the costs, so that he had to pay only 17,5 ducats. The abbreviation nem. pen. diss. means nemine penitus dissentiente (litt.: no one disagreed or ‘unanimously’); art. et med. doct. means doctor artium et medicine. Other abbreviations: eccl. = ecclesia; S. = Sanctus; d. = dominus.

For a short discussion of this and the two following records see O'Malley pp. 76-77.

XIII-1537.12.01-1 Admission to his graduation transcription Berlin, 1892

Note: For Roth’s transcription see p. [425]. His transcription deviates somewhat of the one by Elda Martellozzo Forin; e.g. Roth mentions the exact day of the week, and the names are sometimes written differently, as he follows more faithfully the text of the Ms. and renders some more details, whereas Martellozzo Forin’s rendering is easier to follow. The contents are however very much the same.

XIII-1537.12.01-2 Admission to his graduation transcription Padua, 1970
In: Elda MARTELLOZZO FORIN, Acta graduum academicorum ab anno 1526 ad annum 1537, a cura di... [Account of academic degrees from 1526 to 1537, by ...], vol. III-2, Istituto per la Storia dell’Università di Padova, Padova, Antenore, 1970,

Note: See record 2435, p. 447. See also comment in Roth (above).

XIII-1537.12.03 - Tentamen report and Vesalius’s degree of a licentiate, Padua

Text of report (transcription by E. Martellozzo Forin):
1537 dec. 3. mane. In eccl. S. Urbani Padue.

Note: The original is in the Archivio Antico dell’Università di Padova, vol. 325, f. 41v.

Vesalius had to take the oath at once (illico iuravit), meaning that this was his examination for the degree of a licentiate, giving him the permission to practice medicine.

XIII-1537.12.03-1 Tentamen, degree of licentiate transcription Berlin, 1892

Note: For Roth’s transcription see p. 426. Same remark as above.

XIII-1537.12.03-2 Tentamen, degree of licentiate transcription Padua, 1970
In: Elda MARTELLOZZO FORIN, Acta graduum academicorum ab anno 1526 ad annum 1537, a cura di... [Account of academic degrees from 1526 to 1537, by ...], vol. III-2, Istituto per la Storia dell’Università di Padova, Padua, Antenore, 1970.

Note: See record 2436, p. 447. See also comment in Roth (above).

XIII-1537.12.05 – Report of Vesalius’s examen and of his graduation as a doctor in the artes and in medicine, Padua

Text of report (transcription by E. Martellozzo Forin):


Note: The original is in the Archivio Antico dell’Università di Padova, vol. 325, f. 42r.

It is remarkable that there were many more doctores present this time. The first of the list, Iacobus Rotta, a priest, needs our attention. He was the notary and secretary of the bishop’s curia in Padua. One of his functions was to make official the graduations to the
degree of magister before each graduation to the degree of doctor, in case the candidates did not have that degree yet, as was mostly the case in this times, and apparently in Vesalius’s case too. The degree of magister artis was necessary to become a doctor. See ‘Burdonum fabulae confutatio’ in Satirae duae Hercules tuam fidem, Lugduni Batavorum: apud Ludocicum Elzevirium, 1617, pp. 256-257.

This brings us to the following tentative overview of Vesalius’s academic degrees:

### Vesalius’s Academic Degrees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>place and date</th>
<th>artes</th>
<th>medicine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baccalaureus/candidate</td>
<td>1° Leuven, 1531 (*)</td>
<td>3° Leuven, Feb. 1537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licence</td>
<td>2° Leuven, 1533 (**)</td>
<td>4° Padua, Dec. 3, 1537 (***)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magister / doctor</td>
<td>5° Padua, Dec. 5, 1537</td>
<td>6° Padua, Dec. 5, 1537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) At the earliest; no document known. The student had to be at least 14 years old for his baccalaurate; he matriculated at the Pedagogium Castri, Leuven, on 25 February 1530.

(**) No document known either; for his exams for his licence the student had to be at least 18 years old. See Lucie Verachten, ‘Studeren en doceren aan de Universiteit te Leuven ten tijde van Hieremias Triverius’ in Hieremias Triverius Brachelius 1504-1554, Brakel (Belgium), Culturele Raad Brakel - Werkgroep Triverius 500, 2004, pp. 53-66. In Paris the degree of maître ès-Arts was necessary (at least the licence) for a matriculation in medicine. See Ernest Wickersheimer, La médecine et les médecins en France à l’époque de la Renaissance, Paris, A. Maloine, 1906, pp. 32-33.

From the late middle-ages on the tendency in the artes was to combine his licence degree with that of magister. This is the reason why such graduations are seldom mentioned. See: Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, Nieuwe wijn in oude zakken, of toch niet? De Bologna-verklaring in historisch perspectief, Amsterdam: vrije Universiteit, 2001, <https://research.vu.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/1333499>

(***) Vesalius’s licence degree in medicine in Padua was sealed on December, 3rd 1537 by taking the oath.

XIII-1537.12.05-1 Examen, graduation as a doctor transcription Berlin, 1892


Note: For Roth’s transcription see p. 427. His transcription deviates somewhat of the one by Elda Martellozo Forin; e.g. Roth mentions the exact day of the week, and the names are sometimes written differently, as he follows more faithfully the text of the Ms., whereas Martellozzo Forin’s rendering is easier to follow. The contents are however very much the same.
XIII-1537.12.05-2 Examen, graduation as a doctor transcription Padua, 1970
In: Elda MARTELLOZZO FORIN, Acta graduum academicorum ab anno 1526 ad annum 1537, a cura di... [Account of academic degrees from 1526 to 1537, by ...], vol. III-2, Istituto per la Storia dell’Università di Padova, Padova, Antenore, 1970,

Note: See record 2437, p. 447-448. See also comment in Roth (above).

XIII-1539.??.??.M - Aegidius Macrolios to the students, Cologne 1539

Appeared in: Cerebrum animalis facultatis fons / et principum, sensum et motum voluntarium per nervos communicans / abse, et dorsali Medulla enatos universo copori. [The brain, source of the animal faculty and origin of the senses and the voluntary movements, communicated through the nerves, next to those originating from the spinal cord towards the whole body]

Heading: Aegidius Macrolios Medicinae apud Agrippinam Coloniam professor anatomicæ studiosis. [Aegidius Macrolios, professor of anatomy at Cologne, to the students]

Complete text: Andreas Vuesalius. quo nemo post Galenum in anatome diligentius et verius versatus est, tabulis aliquot superiore anno editis maximam commoditatem studiosis quibus non datur autopsia copia, creavit. Sed ut animus hominis docti ociosus esse nequit, ita singularis industria, ab eodem nobis istam quoque tabulam, quae nervorum syzygiam septenariam, sensuum scilicet instrumenta et loca, ob oculos evidentissime ponit, elegantissime expressit. Eam nos dudum nacti, quanquam depictam tantummodo, verum adeo concinne, ut arbitrer authorem in omnium manibus illam esse optavisse, typographis tradidimus ne soli nos, quod plerique per invidiam faciunt, thesauro tali frueremur. Cur enim non thesaurum appellem quod ingeniosam naturae machinam exprimit et docet? Nec priores sex tabulae, quae venarum, arteriarum et sceleti imagines dant; quicquam habent ingeniosum, quod cum prima ista (Sic enim nuncupare libet, quod prima hominis, et veluti principia depingat) sit comparandum. Valete.

[Cushing was the first to bring an English translation; see below]

Concerns: Macrolios tells when (in 1538) and how he obtained the 7th plate (as a sketch) of Vesalius, and why he decided to publish it.

Notes: This is the address to the students in the plate on the brain and nerves, plagiarized by Macrolios of Vesalius’ plate. In his letter to Oporinus Vesalius criticizes the use of this plate too.

This plate has a not dated imperial privilege: Cum gratia et privilegio imperiali.

In the Tabulae-edition by Huard & Imbault-Huart (Paris: Roger Dacosta, 1980) that plate, without the text, has a sketch of the n. trigeminus by Vitus Tritonius Athesinus (after Vesalius, during his dissection in Padua, 1537), instead of this letter of Macrolios. See planche 93, p. 249 (explanatory text on previous page). See also II.-8.

XIII-1539.??.??.M-1 Aegidius Macrolios to the students Cologne, 1539

Not seen.

In: The first edition of the Cologne-plagiary of Vesalius’ Tabulae anatomicæ sex.
See II.-8.

Note: The letter appears in the plate with the brain and cranial nerves, of which there is a copy in the Royal library (Brussels, Belgium).

**XIII-1539.??-?.M-2 Aegidius Macrolios to the students**

Latin and German

Leipzig, 1852

Not seen.


Note: Latin transcription and German translation.

* XIII-1539.??-?.M-2b Aegidius Macrolios to the students

Latin and English

Leipzig, 1852


Note: For a Latin transcription and the English translation by Frank Mortimer with a discussion, see pp. 186-189. Although the Latin transcription is verbatim it is remarkable that the English translation deviates from it in a couple of places.

There is a reprint (English): Cambridge (MA), Maurizio Martino, [2000], 435 pp., ill. Only 300 copies.

* XIII-1539.??-?.M-3 Aegidius Macrolios to the students

English

New York, 1943


Note: For the English translation, which follows the Latin word for word, and a short discussion, see pp. 20-21.

* XIII-1539.??-?.M-4 Aegidius Macrolios to the students

Hamden (Ct) – London, 1962


Note: This is a facsimile reprint of the edition of 1943 with an addendum of 323 more Vesaliana by Prof. O’Malley in chapter X, which brings the total at 728. Despite several attempts, the book has never since been re-published due to copyright problems (ed., personal communication in 2003).

The letter is on the same pages.
**XIII-1539.???.M-5**  Aegidius Macrolius to the students  Brussels, 1965

In: Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis Tabulae Anatomicae Fac-similé des sept planches de l’édition de Cologne et des six planches de l’édition d’Augsbourg d’après les exemplaires uniques appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, Culture et Civilisation, MCMLXV.

Note: This is a new edition of the copy in the Royal library (Brussels, Belgium). The letter appears in the fourth plate of this edition.

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**XIII-1539.???.T**  Eberhard Tappe to the students, Cologne 1539

Here the ‘T’ is added to distinguish this letter from the following letter by Macrolius, where an ‘M’ is added: both appeared in the same year, but without a precise date.

**Heading:** Omnibus naturalium rerum et anatomices / studiosis εγπραττειν. [At the disposal of all the students of natural history and anatomy]

**Complete text:**


[Andreas Vesalius, prominent professor of medicine, achieved a great thing, in explaining with this tables that part of anatomy that can not be satisfactorily demonstrated on a corpse. He treated this so appropriate, accurate, and eloquent, that the masters of this art frankly admit that the study of this plates was for them of no lesser benefit than dissections itself. They make it easy to learn and to understand thoroughly the whole of the sources, the derivations and the ramifications of the veins, just as the origins, the course and the divertions of the arteries. Without a profound knowledge of them any attempt to learn medicine would be in vain and without notions of them the natural functions would remain unknown and neither could remedies be composed against diseases. It is indeed mostly the state of the veins and arteries which is responsible of the natural evolution of diseases. How many times has the immortal God delivered man from the danger of a threatening death, once these causes are properly established and eliminated? Now that we had such famous works in our hands, while
most of the students longed for this treasure in vain, because there are never copies available, and they asked me to publish them, it was not possible for us not to satisfy their right wishes. The whole of the drawing work itself with its sketches is very smart, but we rendered it much more elegant. Anyone who also saw the other ones will testify. They will finally acknowledge that absolutely nothing has been changed, except that for those less experienced in anatomy, we have further developed what the very learned Vesalius has noted down rather than he has explained it. All the best!]

Concerns: Tappe praises Vesalius’ *Tabulae anatomicae sex*, but he stresses that his own plagiarism is still better.

Notes: This is the preface (or introduction) to the plagiarism of Vesalius’ *Tabulae anatomicae sex* in Cologne. According to the colophon on the plate with the third skeleton it was published by Laurenz von der Mülen for Eberhard Tappe.

Reading this indirect negative criticism of Tappe on Vesalius’ *Tabulae* it is no wonder that he was upset despite the complimentary opening words, as we can read in his letter to Oporinus.

XIII-1539.??.??.T-1  Eberhard Tappe to the students  1st ed.  Cologne, 1539
In: The first edition of the Cologne-plagiarism of Vesalius’ *Tabulae anatomicae sex*.

Note: Copy in the *Royal library* (Brussels, Belgium).

* XIII-1539.??.??.T-2  Eberhard Tappe to the students  2nd ed.  Brussels, 1965
In: *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis Tabulae Anatomicae Fac-similé des sept planches de l’édition de Cologne et des six planches de l’édition d’Augsbourg d’après les exemplaires uniques appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, Culture et Civilisation, MCMLXV.

Note: This second edition of the letter in Latin is in the reproduced plate 1 of the *Tabulae anatomicae*.

* XIII-1539.??.??.T-3  Eberhard Tappe to the students  in French  Brussels, 1965
In the introduction to: *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis Tabulae Anatomicae Fac-similé des sept planches de l’édition de Cologne et des six planches de l’édition d’Augsbourg d’après les exemplaires uniques appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, Culture et Civilisation, MCMLXV.

Note: The French translation, by Andrée Deveen-Vandeweyer, is on page [viii] of the *Introduction*.

Note: For the reproduction of plate I with the letter see page 16.

XIII-1539.01.?? - von Andernach to Jacobus Ebulinus, Metz, January [1539]

Heading: Cum ante annos aliquot Lutetiae corporis humani historiam, confectionemque
publice in Medicorum scholis docerem, Iacobe humanissime, studiosi me homines sedulo
rogare non destiterunt, ut quae inter secandum cognitu necessaria viderentur, in
commentarium redigerem, et compendiosum, et facilem.

Appeared as the preface to: Iacobo Ebulino Principis Coloniensis archiatro, Ioanes Guinteris
Andernacus Medicus... Metis, Mense Ianuario [1539], in Institutionum Anatomicarum, per
Ioannem Guinterium Andernacum, Basileae, Robert Winter, 1539.

Passage: Qua in re, non admodum sane facili, auxiliarios habui primum, Andream
VVesalium, iuvenem mehercules in Anatomis diligentissimum, puriorisque medicinae
professorem non poenitendum: qui etiam nuper in eodem hoc meo commentario Venetiis
excuso, egregiam operam praestitit. Post hunc Michael Villonovanus, familiariter mihi in
consectionibus adhibitus est, vir omni literarum genere ornatissimus, in Galeni doctrina vix
ulli secundus. Horum duorum, qui tum me Galenum profitentem audire voluerunt, praesidio
etque opera, tum artuum, tum aliarum partium exteriorum musculos omnes, venas, arterias,
et nervos, in ipsis corporibus examinavi, studiosisque ostendi.

(In that matter, not so easy indeed, I got the help, in the first place of Andreas Wesalius, by
God a very truthful jung man and pleasing to a professor of orthodox medicine, who also on
that same mather recently realised an excellent job in editing my comments in Venice. After
him Michael Villanovanus was familiar to me in assisting with dissections, a man very
experienced in all kinds of literature and hardly surpassed by oneother in the doctrine of
Galen. With the help and labor of both, who then wanted to hear me explain Galen, I
investigated in those corpses the articulations as well as all the muscles of the other external
parts, the veins, arteries and nerves, and showed them to the students.)

Concerns: Johan Guenther von Andernach praises Vesalius for the help that he received from
him as a student, being an excellent anatomist and a great help in his dissections and for his
recent publication of his own work in Venice (his *Institutiones anatomicae* of 1538). In the
second place he praises also Michael Servetus, known as Villanovanus. He caraterises both
as ‘Galenists’.

Notes: For Iacobus Ebulinus see Cushing pp. 49-50, followed by Baron pp. 28-29 (not in
Roth, nor O’Malley). Only little is known about him. He is probably the same as ‘Iacobus
Ebel, Medicinae Doctor’, mentioned in the list of *Consiliarii* by Georgius Coelestinus in his
*Historiae Comitiorum anno M. D. XXX. Augustae celebratorum*, tomos IV (Francofurti ad
Oderam: Typis Eichornianis, 1597, p. 128). Also as ‘Doctor Jacobus Ebel, Hermanni
Ertzschoffen seligen zu Cöln, Leibartz’ in *Kurtzer, unnd nussbarlicher bericht, in jetziger
schwebender vorgifftigen luft, sampt onerhorten hissigen Fiebern, mit etlichen notwendigen
Preservativen und hülff, von vielen weiterhümmten Doctoribus unnd Arzten der natürlichen
Künsten erfaren (wie volget) mi fleiss beschrieben. Vor die Rote rühr, Breune, und
Gelbesucht, trefftige Arzteney* (Meynk, Franciscus Behem, 1563, p. 1). The ‘Prince of
Cologne’ was the elector and archbishop of Köln Hermann von Wied, ruling from 1515 until
his death in 1552. He had protestant sympathies, just like von Andernach.
* XIII-1539.01.??-1 von Andernach to Jacobus Ebulinus Basel, 1539

Colophon: Basileae in officina / Roberti Winter, Anno M. D. XXXIX. / Mense Iunio.

Note: The same passus on Vesalius concerning the *arteriae seminariae* as in the previous editions of the *Institutiones anatomicae* is present here on pp. 30-31. Preceded by this prefatory letter with a laudatory passage on Vesalius by von Andernach to Iacobus Ebulinus, Prince of Cologne, and dated Metz, January [1539?].

This edition has not been added by Cushing to his list of the *Institutiones anatomicae* because Vesalius’ name is not on the title-page and the changes from the edition of 1536 were made by Guenther himself, and not by Vesalius: see Cushing pp. 47 and 49-50, where he still gives a partial translation of this preface. Not in Elly Cockx-Indestege. Can be consulted in books google and in Gallica.

* XIII-1539.01.??-2 von Andernach to Jacobus Ebulinus Lyon, 1541

Note: The same passus on Vesalius as in the other editions is present here on p. 36. Otherwise same remarks.

XIII-1540.??.?? – Jobst the Necker to the Reader, [Augsburg, 1540]

Preface to the reader in II.-6 Jobst de Necker (No place, no date, ca. 1540), of which the title begins with ‘Ein…’ instead of ‘Ain’.

The preface to the reader is somewhat different than in II.-5 and has no date.

Complete text:
“Zum Leser. Freündtlicher lieber Leser, Gott der Allmechtig hat aus sonderer seiner milten gnad und barmherzigkeyt, zü unsern zeyten nit allein, sein Heyligs wort von allen züsatzen menschlicher verdunklung geraynigt und erleutert, uns lassen håll verkündigt werden, Sonder auch den menschlichen verstand also gescherpfft, erhöht und erleuchtet, das auch
alle, Ja nur schlechte handwercks kunsren auffs höchst und kunstreychest gebracht, der
massen sie in vil hundert Jaren nie geweszt. Seind auch also alle sprachen gemain, das recht
zierlich und ältest Oratorisch latein in ein gemaynen brauch gebracht worden, das der Jurist
nach art seiner vralten [= uralten] Text annfahet Lateynisch, unnd nicht mer Barbarisch, wie
Seine Scribenten pflegen, aú reden und zü schreyben. Die Ertzney ist doch sonderlich mit
grosser ungeschicgligkeyt der unwissenheyt bedeckt und verfinstert gewesen. Dann der gröst
teyl der Ertzet hat schier nichts gewist, weder was er aus dem ungegründten Pandect
ungeründtlich gesogen, also den Avicennam, der sich ein auszleger des hochberümpten,
groszverstendigen griechen Galeni, unwirdigklich genent, für ein Abgott angebäetet, dem
allein on alles urteyl, auch in ganzr groben fälén gelaubt. Und wiewol sie selbs bekent haben,
das Hippocrates und Galenus die fürnemsten, rechtgegründten Leerer der Ertzney, und allein
die seyen, auff welche ein Arzt sicherlich moge verlassen, ist doch unter hunderten nicht einer
geweszt, der sie in eygner sprach gehabt, will gschweygen verstanden hette. Und das were
dannoch leydlich gewesen, das sie weder Hippocratem noch Galenum in Grieschischer sprach
weder gehabt noch verstanden hetten, wenn sie die nur in recht Latein eygentlich
verdolmetscht gewesen. Derhalben hat der weniger teyl der Ertzet Galenum gelesen, ob schon
etwa einer in ein ratschlag, Disputation, oder sunst Galenum angezogen, hat ers doch nicht
ausz dem ursprung und eygnen büchern des Galeni genommen, sonder wie ungefarlich ein
anderer Schreyber erwan ein spruüchlen, offt wider eygnen verstand des Galeni eingefürt,
allegiert und gebraucht. Also habend die, so den Galenum weder verstanden oder gelesen
hernach allegiert on rechte erkündigung des ursprüngklichen waren verstands der
Galienischen bücher. Und ob etlich den Galenum in der alten verdolmetschung gleych
uberkommen und gelesen, wie dann der weniger teyl gethan, ist doch die selbig
verdolmetschung also verirt und verwirrt gewesen, das keyner kein eygentlichen verstand
darausz hat bringen mogen, Ja etwan vil ausgelassen, und offt gar wider des Galeni
eygentliche meynung gezwungen und genötiget, das Galenus, wa er solche Seine
verdolmetschte bücher gelesen, sich selber nymmer erkent het. Das nicht allein ist durch
gedachte alte verdolmetschung ausz gütttem Griechischem, böses ungeschickts Latein gmacht,
sonder offt synn und meynung verkert und zerstört worden. Aber bey disen unsern zeyten hat
Gott viel erweckt, welche den Galenum in eygner sprach gründlich verstanden, und den auch
andern mit eygentlicher gegründter meynung züverstehen, in recht gut zierlich Latein bringen,
den auszlegen, erklären, und ins werck füren. Wie dann der theür und nymmer mer genüg
gelobt Erasmus von Roterodam, Linacer, Copus, Leonicenus, Manardus gethan, und noch
thond Quinterius, Janus Cornatus, Leonardus Fuchsius, Joannes Agricola, und vil andere die
nie erzelt können werden, Ist also der Galenus durch etlicher eygentliche verdolmetschung,
und der andern erklärung in solchen brauch und verstand gebracht, das mancher mit fleyssiger
lesung des Galeni in ein kurze figur züsamen bringt, das Galenus in vilen büchern mit vielen
worten gschrieben hat, das man wol möcht sagen ausz einem langen Galeno, erwüchsen und
würden geporen vil newer gekürztter Galeni. Also hat Stephanus Intemplaeus in sechs figur
gebracht, was Galenus in sechs gantzen subtilen, auch hochnützlichen büchern gehandlet hat,
Und yetzd is durch Andreas Wessallum in sechs künstliche und nützlich figur mit
herrlichem verstand züssamen getragen, was durch den Galenum wol in dreyssig, oder noch
mer büchern lang und vil gschrieben ist, welches künstlich werck durch Andreand Wessallum
Lateinisch beschrieben, darnach ausz verlegen und anrichten des künstreychen Malers Joannis
Stephani durch den Bernardum Vitalem ein Venediger met fleysz inn den Druck gebracht ist
worden.”

The fact that the author tells that Vesalius rendered with this figures what Galen told
in his book, at the very moment he was to publish his Fabrica with more than two hundred
criticisms on Galen, may have made him nervous (see his letter to Oporinus), and also that the
The preface gives the strong impression that van Calcar made all the plates, whereas Vesalius made the first three, as he stressed in his preface to Narcissus Parthenopeus.

* XIII-1540.????-1 Facsimile reproduction  
Brussels, 1965
In: Andreas Vesalius / Bruxellensis / Tabulae / Anatomicae / Fac-similé des sept planches de l'édition de Cologne / et des six planches de l'édition d’Augsbourg / d’après les exemplaires uniques appartenant / à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / [in scroll: Mors ultima linea rerum est. Hora] / Bruxelles / Culture et Civilisation / MCMLXV.

Note: This is the facsimile reprint of the [II.-8a] Tabulae anatomicae, with the German (Jobst de Necker, Augsburg, 1540?) and Latin plates (Cologne, 1539) published in Brussels in 1965. For this edition in German see only the left side pages of the plates. The preface to the reader is on the first plate.

XIII-1540.01.30 - Hadrianus Junius to Ludovicus Carinus, Bologna

Heading: Quum familiaris noster Andreas Vesalius, vir mediusfidius, praeclarissimo ingenio, industriaque prope divina, ad vos, Carine amicorum candidiss. reditum approperaret, non potui non aliquid ad te literarum (…) per illum dare, …

[Now that our familiar Andreas Vesalius, without any doubt a man with a most outstanding genius and an almost divine diligence, hurries to return to you, Carinus, dearest friend, it could not resist in giving with him a letter for you, … ]

Passage: apart from the heading there is a second passage: Andreas noster quem dixi non tam in praecaram omnes hic Italos spem erexit, quam admirabilem sui admirationem in omnium animis, ceu redivivas scintillas, reliquit.

[Our Andreas, I mentioned already, not only stimulated the splendid hope here in all Italians, but he also left in all a remarkable admiration for himself as if sparkles were stirred up]

First published in two parts: Part I in P. SCHELTEMA, Hadriani Junii epistolae selectae, Amstelodami apud M.H. Schonekat – Lipsiae apud T. O. Weigel, 1839, pp. 18-19, and part II in: Hadrianus Junius, Epistolae, quibus accedit ejusdem vita & oratio de artium liberalium dignitate, Dordrechti, apud Vincentium Caimax, 1552 [sic; should have been 1652], pp. 25-26. The dates of several letters in that work are later than 1552, and on the preserved manuscript for this edition one reads in the upper corner of the letter to Johannes Scheyffius the remark Edita 1652 pag. 7, the year that was adopted by Chris Heesakkers en Dirk Van Meert for this edition. It is also puzzling that this second part is rendered as being written to Nicolaus Poelenburgius, who was acquainted with H. Junius but had nothing to do with this letter. Amsterdam 1839 should be considered as a supplement to Dordrecht 1552 to complete that letter.

Concerns: This points to Vesalius’s success during his anatomical demonstrations in January 1540 in Bologna, for Prof. Andreas Albius. Moreover the date of his return voyage to his university of Padua is now fixed as 30 January 1540.
Notes: The letter ends with *Bononiae tertio Calend, Februar. 1540* (Bologna, 30 January).
This date confirms the assumption by O’Malley (on p. 101) that Vesalius returned directly to Padua. Also Vesalius must have left already a great impression.

Vesalius had just finished his guest college at the end of his second visit to Bologna, as discussed by O’Malley (pp. 99-101) and referenced to in his *Fabrica* (p. 512). An eyewitness report exists of this dissection period attended by Baldasar Heseler from 13th to 28th 1540. See Baldasar HESELER, *Andreas Vesalius’ first public anatomy at Bologna, 1540*, *An eyewitness report ... together with his notes on Matthaeus Curtius’ lectures on Anatomia Mundini. Edited, with an introduction, translation into English and notes by Ruben Eriksson*, Uppsala and Stockholm, 1959, 344 pp., 5 pl. (Lychnos-Bibliotek 18.)

Ludovicus Carinus or Ludwig Kiel (Luzern, probably 1496 – Basel, January 17th, 1569) was Swiss humanist and physician. In 1511-12 he matriculated at the University of Basel and obtained baccalaureat in 1514. He was introduced to Erasmus between 1514 and 1516. He was also in Cologne and Strasbourg and later on became hostile to Erasmus. In May 1535 he was with a group of German students in Leuven where he remained for at least two years. From February 1539 to the summer of 1541 he is documented at Padua, with Ulrich Fugger, among het young people in his charge. He was a tutoring member of the Fugger family and in 1544 he matriculated with Ulrich Fugger in Bologna. In 1546 he was made a canon of the evangelical chapter of St Thomas at Strasbourg. After the Schmalkaldic war he stayed two years in France. When he died at Basel he left a library which was prochased by a memeb of the Fugger family. At the end of the letter Junius asks Carinus to send his greetings to Ulrich Fugger.

Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) or Adriaen de Jonghe, was a Dutch physician, classical scholar, translator, lexicographer, antiquarian, historiographer, emblematist, school rector, and Latin poet. There are several namesakes. He was born in Hoorn (Westfrisia), attended Latin School in Haarlem and at the age of 23 he studied at Leuven for a couple of years, and later in Siena, Bologna, Venice and Rome. He obtained his doctoral degree in philosophy and medicine in Bologna in 1540. Not long thereafter he left for Paris. There he acted as an agent for the printer Christian Wechel, who published his first work: an edition with a Latin translation of Cassius Iatrosophista (1541). In April 1544 he went to London. In 1550 he returned to Holland to marry and to take up the post as rector of the Latin School in Haarlem. Then his works appeared with various printers in Basel. His wife having died he remarried in 1555 with Adriana Hasselaer. In 1564 he was in Copenhagen and in 1573 he settled temporarily in Delft. In February 1574 he was appointed city physician of Middelburg, on the recommendation of William the Silent and he assisted his friend Petrus Forrestus at the sick bed of the Prince. He himself died on 16 June 1575 in Arnemuiden.

A Ms. of the first part and of the complete letter as well can be found in the library of the University of Utrecht as Hs. 829 (5 G 14*), ff 25v and 90v-91v.

A short summary of this letter is given in the inventory by Chris Heesakkers and Dirk van Miert, ‘An inventory of the correspondence of Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)’, *LIAS*, 2010, 37 (no. 2): 109-268, see pp. 158-159. Junius and Carinus are not mentioned by Roth, nor by O’Malley or by Cushing either.

* XIII-1540.01.30.[I]-1  H. Junius to Ludovicus Carinus Part I Amsterdam/Leipzig 1839

Note: Rather curiously – according to Scheltema - part I of the letter is addressed to Ludovicus Carinus (see above), but the so-called ‘part II’ of the letter was written to Nicolaus Poelenburgius. In a doctoral thesis by Petrus Scheltema *Diatribe in Hadriani Junii* (1836) he mentions members of the family Poelenburg on pp. 31-32.

* XIII-1540.01.30[II]-1 H. Junius to ‘Nicolaus Poelenburgius’ (sic) Part II Dordrecht, [1652]*


Note: For the year of publication see above. The first part of the letter is (XIII.1.[I]-1).

* XIII-1540.01.30-1 Complete, transcription and Dutch translation Antwerp – Apeldoorn, 2018*


Note: Complete transcription and Dutch translation with a discussion. With an overview of Vesalius’s anatomical lessons in Bologna.

XIII-1542.08.12 Results of a vote, Padua

Content: MDXXXXII Die XII Augusti,

Ser Sebastianus Fuschareno, Ser Antonius Suriani doctor, eques, Reformatores Gymnasiae Patavini.

Essendo apresso il fine la condotta dell’eccellente D. Andrea Vessalio germano el qual legge la cherugia nel studio nostro di Padova et si può dire che habbia a questi tempi illustrata l’arte dell’anatomia nella quale invero è eccellentissimo et perciò è molto desiderato de scolari è conveniente cosa ricondurlo con quel modo che merita la singolare sua vertù, però: l’andarà parte chel detto D. Andrea Vessalio sia ricondotto a legger nel predetto studio di Padova al solito suo luogo di chiruggia per anni tre di fermo et uno di rispetto el qual sia a beneplacito della Signoria nostra con salario di fiorini 200 all’anno et qual habbia a correrli a principio del studio.

| de parte | 143 |
| de non   | 9   |
| non sinceri | 12  |
Note: On August 12th, 1542, in the presence of the reformers of the university Sebastianus Fuschareno and Antonius Suriani, there was a vote in Padua concerning Vesaliius’s re-appointment and his salary as a professor in surgery and anatomy at the university of Padua for three years and at 200 florins a year, with as a result: 143 yes, 9 no, 12 blank.

* XIII-1542.08.12-1  Results of vote, Padua  in French  1924

* XIII-1542.08.12-2  Results of vote, Padua  in Italian  Milan, 1930

Note: The author points to the previous wages of Vesalius: in 1537 that was 40 florins, and in 1539 for his high experience in dissecting (praesertim ob summam secandi cadavera peritiam) 70 florins. Realdo Colombo, his successor had 70 florins.

XIII-1543.01.01-16  Matriculation in Basel

Around the turn of the year 1542/53 Vesalius arrived at Basel to supervise the printing of his Fabrica and Epitome. He matriculated at the university there between 1 and 16 January 1543. In the registry his name is mentioned as “D. D. Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis ob merita Nihil” (Sir doctor Andreas Vesalius from Brussels, due to his merits, nothing).

Note: Rector on that moment was Prof. Dr. Albanus Torinus, who translated Vesalius’ Epitome into German. The addition ‘ob merita nihil’ means that he had to pay nothing for his registration due to his scientific merits.

   The original is in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel.

* XIII-1543.01.01-16-1  Matriculation  Basel, 1966

Notes: Fragment of the registry with short discussion on pp. 34-35.

   Many of the details in this publication can also be found, sometimes with adaptations, in the other articles of the same author, such as: ‘Andreas Vesalius im Spiegel zeitgenössischer baslerischer Dokumente’ in Verhandlungen der Anatomischen Gesellschaft, Jena, 1966, 61: 641-642; and Andreas Vesalius und Seine Beziehungen zu Basel. Festvortrag anlässlich der akademischen Gedächtnisfeier für Ferdinand Wagenseil am 26. Juni 1967, pp. 52-71, ill.,
XIII-1543.01.22 - Martio to Pier Francesco Riccio, Pisa

Heading: *E arrivato qua il Vessalio per fare la nothomia et la venuta sua assai ha dato piacere a S. Ecc.tia et vassi ordinando tutta volta,...*


Concerns: Martio announces the arrival of Vesalius in Pisa for the anatomical dissections comming and he takes practical arrangements to obtain a sufficient number of bodies.

Note: The original document is in the *Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, Epistolario 1543-1545*.

Martio Marzi Medici, the bishop of Marsico, was a secretary of Cosimo I de Médicis and held other important posts as well.

There are two other letters on the same subject: see XIII-1543.01.30 and XII-1543.02.11. All three are addressed to Pier Francisco Riccio and are discussed by Andrea Corsini (1915, 1918) and Rosalba Ciranni (2009, 2010) (see further), and also by O’Malley on pp. 199-203, with fragmentary English renderings.

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**XIII-1543.01.22-1**  **Transcription**  **1915**


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**XIII-1543.01.22-2**  **Fragmentary English transl.  Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964**


Note: for the partial translation see O’Malley p. 200.

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**XIII-1543.01.22-3**  **Transcription**  **Madrid, 1970**


Note: see p. 285 for the transcription.


Concerns: Riccobaldi tells that Remigio and Brando lectured on 28th, and Decano and Lapino on the 29th January. Vesalsius started in Pisa to lecture on the bones on January 30th, 1543, but that he was not able to make a skeleton of one of the bodies because of putrefaction. He also asked for more human and animal bodies.

Note: The original document is in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, Epistolario 1543-1545.

Riccobaldi was a secretay of Cosimo I de Médicis. According to Andrea Corsini (p. 19) the lecturers must have been Remigio Migliorati, master of logics, Antonio Lapini, philosopher, and Branda Porro, a philosopher too from Milan.

There are two other letters on the same subject: see XIII.A and XIII.C. All three are addressed to Pier Francisco Riccio and are discussed by Andrea Corsini (1915, 1918) and Rosalba Ciranni (2009, 2010) (see further), and also by O’Malley on pp. 199-203, with fragmentary English renderings.
* XIII-1543.01.30-2  Fragmentary English transl.  Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964

Note: for the partial translation see O’Malley p. 200.

* XIII-1543.01.30-3  Transcription  Madrid, 1970

Note: see p. 286 for the transcription.

* XIII-1543.01.30-4  Transcription  2010

XIII-1543.02.11 - Umile Riccobaldi to Pier Francisco Riccio, Pisa

Heading: *Molto Rs. S.ere L’ultima di V.S. é de 31 del passato, et con questa sarano lettere per Roma, ...*


Concerns: Riccobaldi tells that Cosimo I was not able to attend at Vesalius’s dissection; also on Carlo who fell off the theatre.

Note: The original document is in the *Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, Epistolario 1543-1545*.

Although it was Cosimo’s wish to attend Vesalius’s dissection, he had to go out hunting with some high visitors. It was Carlo Cortese, surgeon at the court, who fell of the theatre in an attempt to look better.

There are two other letters on the same subject: see XIII.A and XIII.B. All three are addressed to Pier Francisco Riccio and are discussed by Andrea Corsini (1915, 1918) and Rosalba Ciranni (2009, 2010) (see further), and also by O’Malley on pp. 199-203, with fragmentary English renderings.
XIII-1543.02.11-1 Transcription 1915

XIII-1543.02.11-2 Fragmentary English transl. Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.


XIII-1543.02.11-3 Transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanueva”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: see p. 286 for the transcription.

XIII-1543.02.11-4 Transcription 2010

XIII-1543.03.06 - Johannes Gast to Heinrich Bullinger, [Basel]

Heading: not seen.

Passage: Anatomici libri nondum sunt absolati. Secundus liber iam ad prelum paratur. Eruntque septem libri, sub finem Iunii forte absolvetur totus [sic] opus. (The anatomical books are not yet finished. The second book is at last appearing from the press. But there will be seven books, and near the end of June the whole work will probably be published.)

Concerns: Gast tells dat the printing process of the Fabrica is ongoing and that the second book is almost ready.

Note: On that moment Vesalius was in Basel with Oporinus to attend the printing process. This letter is in the Staatsarchiv Zürich. It shows how Vesalius’s intimi were following the printing events. Bullinger was the leader of a new religious movement in Zürich. See O’Malley p. 187; also Jacqueline VONS, Résumé, p. lxxvii, and Robrecht van HEE, Art of Vesalius, Antwerp – Apeldoorn, Garant, 2014, p. 207. For Vesalius’ stay in Basel see also Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER, ‘Über Vesals Aufenthalt in Basel im Jahre 1547’ in Gesnerus, 1945, 2: 207-212. Also in Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER, ‘Documenta Vesaliana Basiliensis’ in R. BLASER, H.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

For Johannes Gast see XI-1546.08.01.


* XIII-1543.03.06-1 Short fragmentary rendering Basel, 1966

Note: Fragment with short discussion on p. 35, and n. 3.

XIII-1543.04.15 – Johannes Oporinus to Theodor Bibliander, [Basel]

Heading: not seen.

Passage: *Ego iam Anatomicis Vesalii libris totus occupor, usque adeo, ut nihil fere aliud cogitare liceat, dum illos absolvero.* (For the moment I am totally occupied with the anatomical books of Vesalius, in such a way that I can’t almost think on anything else, for as long as they are not finished.)

Concerns: Oporinus tells that he is totally absorbed by the printing process of Vesalius anatomical work and that he has no time for anything else.

Note: The Ms. was once in the Bibliotheca Carolina in Zürich, but was in 1964 no longer findable. A copy of the letter is in the Simmlerschen Briefsammlung (18th century; Johann Jakob Simmler [1716-1788]), in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

Theodor Bibliander (1509, Bischofszell – September 26, 1564, Zürich) was a Swiss Orientalist, publisher and linguist. He was born was Buchmann but changed his name to the Greek form Bibliander. He studied Latin under Oswald Myconius, and Greek and Hebrew under Jakob Ceporin, and became professor of theology. He published a Hebrew grammar, a Latin Qur’an and commentaries on the Bible. In Switzerland he was considered the father of biblical exegesis. At the end of his life he got into trouble by a controversy over predestination and died of the plague.

This letter is mentioned by Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER, ‘Documenta Vesaliana Basiliensia’ in R. BLASER, H. BUESS (eds.), *Aktuelle Probleme aus der Geschichte der
XIII-1543.05.12 – Notes on the decapitation of Jakob Karrer

On May 12, 1543 Jakob Karrer from Gebweiler was beheaded in Basel for an attempted murder on his wife. Vesalius, being there for the supervision of the printing process of his Fabrica, took the opportunity to make a skeleton of the body, which he donated to the University of Basel. Several reports on this event do still exist in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel and in the Staatsarchiv Basel and are mentioned by Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER:

May 26th 1543, in the account registry:
* Item VI [symbol for Pfund] XIIIII \( \beta \) = Schilling von cleinhansen empfangen so by Jacoben Karrer von Gewyler, der man enthauptet hatt, befunden worden.

May 27th 1543, in the registry of costs:
* Item IIIII [symbol for Pfund] X \( \beta \) cleinhansen geben für den umbkosten, der mitt Jacob Karrer, den man enthouptet hatt im gfängknus uffgangen ist.

and

* Item XII 1/2 \( \beta \) Steffan suracher dem obersten knecht von dem gelll so by Jacob Karrer den man gericht, befunden worden ist.

June 2nd 1543, in the registry of costs:
* Item X \( \beta \) den, so man vergangner Wuchen enthouptet hatt zuvergrabenn.

and June 9th:
* Item X \( \beta \) dem Nachrichter von den II armen möntschen, den einen ze enthoupten…

In the diary of Felix Platter 1543-1546 (in Swiss German):

Ess wardt einer ze Basel enthauptet, dessen corpus begert von der oberkeit herr hans Leuw pfarher zu Riechen, der sich fir ein arzet aussgab, solches ufzeschniden oder ze anatomieren.
wardt ihm verwilliget und hinuss gon Riechen in dass pfarhaus gelüfert. darzu beschickt er meister Frantz Schärer, so nachmolen mein schweccher worden, dywil er herrn Vesalio geholfen die Anatomy so im collegio steth, ufrichten, im behülflich ze sein, dan er sunst wenig domit konte.

(A man has been decapitated in Basel. Hans Leuw asked for his body to the authorities. He is a priest in [Riechen is together with Bettingen and Basel one of the three communities in the canton of Basel] who presented himself as a doctor to cut the body open or to anatomise it. He was granted the permission and it was brought to the presbytery in Riechen. It was taken care of by master Franz [Jeckelmann], barber, who became afterwards my brother-in-law, and who helped the lord Vesalius in erecting the skeleton, that is in the university, as this was unfeasible for him alone.)

Note: The rather long period between the execution and the burial (obviously of the soft tissues only) is explained by the time needed for the dissection and the construction of the skeleton.

* XIII-1543.05.12-1 Short fragmentary renderings Basel, 1966

Note: Fragments with discussions and photo of the skeleton on pp. 37-39.

XIII-1543.06.15 - Johannes Gast to Heinrich Bullinger, [Basel]

Heading: not seen.


Concerns: Gast promises to send three anatomical works to Bullinger: The Fabrica (1), the Epitome (2), and the German Epitome (3). At that very moment the index to the Fabrica is still on the press, as is the German Epitome by Albanus Torinus, doctor and humanist in Basel.

Note: The German Epitome, translated into German by Albanus Torinus, was printed by Johannes Oporinus too and appeared on August 9, 1543 (see Cushing VI.B.-2 p. 114-115). Vesalius himself seems to be abreast of the transaction as he sold the works apparently to Gast. For Gast see XI-1546.08.01, for Bullinger see XIII-1543.03.06.

* XIII-1543.06.15-1  Short fragmentary rendering  Basel, 1966

Note: Fragment with short discussion on p. 36.

XIII-1543.07.04 - Johannes Gast to Heinrich Bullinger, [Basel]

Heading: S. Descripsi Germanice contiones in Threnos Hieremiae Oecolampadii piae memoriae, sed nostri typographi carent characteribus Germanicis; ob id velim, cum Froschouero loquereris meo nomine, an ipse velit excudere; et hoc gratius, ut et tu relegeres.

(Greetings. I described in German the addresses in the lamentations of Hieremias by the late Oecolampadius, but our printers were lacking German type. I would like therefore that you speak with Froschoverus in my name if he would make them; and this with my thanks, so that you would read it again).

Passage: Anathomica brevi accipies.

Note: This very short passage is a mere post scriptum at the end of the letter: Vale. Haec et Theodoro communica, quem meo nomine salvere iubeas. 4. iulii 1543. Anathomica brevi accipies. (All the best. Tell this to Theodor too and send him all my best wishes. July 4th 1543. You will receive the Anatomy within a short time.)

This Anathomica is the Fabrica. Theodorus is Theodor Bibliander. For Gast see XI-1546.08.01, for Bullinger see XII-1543.03.06.

This short message is completed by the letter of 12.07.1543.

[Christophorus Froschoverus was a printer, Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531) a German Protestant reformer.]

* XIII-1543.07.04-1  Short fragmentary rendering  Basel, 1966
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

Note: Fragment with short discussion on p. 36.

* XIII-1543.07.04-2  **Transcription of the letter**  
Zürich, 2008


Note: for the letter with annotations, see pp. 163-165.

**XIII-1543.07.12 - Johannes Gast to Heinrich Bullinger, [Basel]**

Heading: see letter of 1543.07.04.

Passage: *Mitto tibi Epitome, brevi totum opus et ex omnibus selectum pulchris figuris missurus. Vale itern. 12 iulii. D. Andreas Wesalius te salutat officiosissime.* (I send you the Epitome, in a short while I will send the whole work and a selection of all the beautiful plates. Again, all the best, 12 July. Doctor Andreas Wesalius sends you his very obliging greetings.)

Note: This message completes the letter of 04.07.1543.

It is obvious that Vesalius’s entourage was following the publication process of both the *Fabrica* and the *Epitome* from close by, and that Vesalius was aware of that.

For Gast see XI-1546.08.01, for Bullinger see XII-1543.03.06.

* XIII-1543.07.12-1  **Short fragmentary rendering**  
Basel, 1966


Note: Fragment with short discussion on p. 36.

Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER concludes from this that the *Epitome* was ready shortly before the *Fabrica*.

* XIII-1543.07.12-2  **Transcription of the letter**  
Zürich, 2008


Note: for the letter with annotations, see pp. 163-165.

**XIII-1543.08.02 - Johannes Gast to Heinrich Bullinger, [Basel]**

Heading: not seen.

Passage: … *Opus anatomicum per Quirinum mitto, D. Vesalii, qui hac hora se itineri accingit. Spiram enim descendet ad Caesarem, si illic haeret, cui opus dedicavit. Vale. Erravi*
Concerns: Gast sends to Bullinger a copy of the Fabrica and the Epitome, which were just published. He gives the prices for the Epitome and the Fabrica. The German Epitome has not been published yet. Vesalius himself is traveling to Speyer to see the emperor, according to Gerhard WOLF-HEIDEGGER to give him his dedicated copy of the Fabrica.

Note: The Fabrica and the Epitome were available by August 1st, 1543. On that moment Vesalius was still in Basel but was soon to leave the city to imperial court to present his Fabrica and the Epitome to the emperor and to seek employment in the imperial medical service. Vesalius planned to travel to Speyer, but on August 5th Charles traveled from Speyer to Worms, on the 6th to Oppenheim, and on the 7th to Mainz, where he remained until the 12th (comm. by Th. Godeeris). As is obvious from the parish register on August 3rd Vesalius did not leave Basel on August 2nd yet. One Dutch guilder (or florijn) was 15 batzen.

For Johannes Gast see XI-1546.08.01, for Bullinger, see XIII-1543.03.06.

* XIII-1543.08.02-1 transcription Basel, 1945

Note: see p. 207.

* XIII-1543.08.02-2 Short fragmentary rendering Basel, 1966

Note: Fragment with short discussion on p. 36.

XIII-1543.08.03 – Johannes Gast in parish register, Basel

Concerns: On August 3th Vesalius acted as a godfather for a son of Ruprecht Winter, his first editor in Basel (Paraphrasis, 2nd ed.). This means also that Vesalius did not yet leave Basel for Speyer.

Note: Johannes Gast was a preacher in the Saint Martin in Basel, see XI-1546.08.01,

* XIII-1543.08.03-1 Rendering from parish register Basel, 1966


Note: Passage with short discussion on pp. 36-37.

XIII-1543.08.09 - Oporinus to Joachim Vadianus, Basel

Heading and passage: S. Scripseram nuper ad te, doctissime atque humanissime D. Vadiane, simulque miseram Epitomen anatomiae Andreae Vesalii a nobis excusam per contionatorem quendam nostrum, qui vestras est, Iacobum nomine. Is cum duobus miliaribus hinc ponticulum quendam transire deberet, nescio quali vertigine correptus in fluvium cecidit ac ferme etiam periisse dicitur. Tandem egressus, quia literas et libellum a me sibi commissum cum aquis nimium humectata videret et puderet eum, ita destructa illa ad te ferre, remisit ad me literas; librum nondum remisit, quem omnino perissse dicit is, qui literas attulit: suspicior tamen, placuisse alioqui illi et servare quamlibet humectatum quam remittere maluisse. Itaque iustum est alium ad te mittere per mulierculam hanc, quia non dubito, gratissimam tibi fore tabularum istarum inspectionem. Et quia non vacabat prolixius ad te scribere, iustus est, easdem literas, quas tum ille mihi remisit, nihilominus ad te mittere, ut, quam non magnum tamen ex fluvio incommodum acceperint, ut curari enim ad te nihilosecios potuerint, videas et hominis negligentiam una mecum detesteris, digni, qui, si non potuit aut debitut aquis, vino aliquando mergatur, quo puto plus satis onustum ita vertigine correptum esse.

(Greetings. Recently I had written to you, very learned and very kind doctor Vadianus, and sent you at the same time the Epitome of the anatomy of Andreas Vesalius, edited by us, with a certain preacher from us, who is with you, with the name Jacob. When he had to cross a certain little bridge at two miles from here, he was seized with a so called dizziness, fell into the river and is even said to have been nearly perished. But he eventually escaped and as he saw how the letter and booklet which I had given with him were too wet by the water and, ashamed to bring it to you with such a damage, he returned the letter to me. He did not return the book as it was totally destroyed according to the person who brought the letter back. But I suspect on the contrary that the book pleased him and, although it was wet, he preferred to keep it instead of giving it back. Therefore it is just to send you an other one with this little woman, as I do not doubt you will be very pleased with the sight of the plates in it. And because I had nothing more to write to you, it is just to send to you nevertheless the same letter as I got it then back from him, as it suffered no great damage by the river however, such as it could nevertheless make you see and detest together with me the negligence of the man, yet believing that he did not drink nor wanted water, he perhaps been immersed in wine, with which I think he was more than enough saturated and that was the reason of his dizziness.)

Concerns: On a copy of the Epitome which Oporinus had sent by messenger as a gift to Joachim Vadianus. The messenger, upon crossing a bridge over a stream only two miles from Basel [obviously the Rhine River], had suffered from vertigo and fallen in it. Although he managed to escape and saved his life, the book was lost and Oporinus promises to send another copy. However the way in which Oporinus tells the story makes one believe that the book was stolen, instead of being destroyed.

Notes: This must be the first historical record of a lost or destroyed Epitome. The letter is dated and signed Basileae, 9. Augusti 1543. Ioannes Oporinus, tuus ex animo.

Joachim Vadianus was a Swiss humanist scholar. Joachim Vadian(us) (von Watt) (1484-1551), was a professor, and during one year rector of the University of Vienna 1516-1517. He was a physician, and became burgomaster, and reformer of his home city St. Gall, and was the friend, teacher, and brother-in-law of Conrad Grebel, whose sister Dorothea he married in 1519. He took a strong stand against the emerging Anabaptist movement in St. Gall in 1525 and succeeded in suppressing it in a short time. He was chosen burgomaster first in 1526 and nine times thereafter, but was the real leader of the city continuously from 1526 to his death.

See O’Malley, pp. 448-449 n. 224.

* XIII-1543.08.09-1 Oporinus to Vadianus St. Gallen, 1906


Note: The letter is no. 1301 on pp. 247-248.

XIII-1543.08.31 - Joachim Vadianus to Johannes Oporinus, St. Gallen

Heading: S. D. Quod toties scribis de meritis erga te meis, in eo vel te errare libenter patior vel etiam, si quid a nobis, quod tibi prodesset, profectum est, sane gaudio…

Passage in post scriptum: Ago tibi gratias pro missis chartis anatomicis, quarum me adspectus admodum delectavit; sed quidam amicus illas abstulit. Exspecto hinc alteras a te cum libris. (I thank you for the anatomical plates you sent. Their aspect pleased me very much, but a friend took them with him…)

First published in: Vadianische Briefsammlung, VII. Ergänzungsband, Fehr’sche Buchhandlung, St. Gallen, 1913, pp. 103-104.

Notes: Before this post scriptum the letter ends with: Vale. Pridie Kalendas Septembris. Ioachimus (31 August).

This is an answer on Oporinus’ letter of 9 August 1543. Thus this second shipment of the Epitome reached its destination.
* XIII-1543.08.09-1  Vadianus to Oporinus  
St. Gallen, 1913
In: Vadianische Briefsammlung, VII. Ergänzungsband, Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, St. Gallen, 1913, pp. 103-104.

Note: the short P.S. is on p. 104.

XIII-1544.01.01 - Georg Agricola to Wolfgang Meurer, Chemnitz

Heading: S.P.D. A. d. IX. Cal. Novemb. domum rediit Georgius Fabricius... Idem Fabricius literas tuas ad me attulit sane quam elegantes, ...

Passages: … Vuessalii autem libros de partibus corporis humani nondum vidi; nam et pauc eorum exempla Lipsiam allata fuerunt et antea, quam de iis certum haberem, divendita. Diligenter curabo, ut ex Francofrodio ad me apportentur. … Sed spero Vuessalium nostrum, quia cum multis et magnis ingenii, ut audio, conflictatus est, omnia iudicio expendisse et sua diligenter explicasse, atque eo magis id spero, quod vehementer velim nostra aetate homines existere, qui aliquid ad veterum inventa addere possint.


Concerns: Agricola praises Meurer for his teachers Montanus and Vesalius. He gives to understand that a work as the Fabrica was a very daring one. He could not buy a copy yet as the supply in Leipzig was sold out to rapidly. He was aware of the attacks [by Sylvius?] and hopes Vesalius will escape from them.

Note: In his preface Weber writes that he found the letter(s) in the archives of Gottingen. The letter is dated Kempnicii, Cal. Ian. anno M. D. XLIII (Chemnitz, January 1st, 1544).

According to Gisela-Ruth ENGEWALD, Georgius Agricola, Stuttgart-Leipzig, B.G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994, pp. 95-96, it was Georg Fabricius who took care to find a Fabrica in Frankfurt for Agricola.

According to Roth Wolfgang Meurer was a student of Vesalius from Saksen. He stayed at Padua at the least till February 10th 1544. But shortly after that he was called to Leipzig as a professor in the philosophy of Aristotle; in 1571 he became professor in medicine and died in 1585.

* XIII-1544.01.01-1  Transcription  
Leipzig, 1894
In: Ernestus WEBER, Virorum clarorum saeculi XVI et XVII epistolae selectae e codicibus manuscriptis Gottingensibus, Lipsiae, in Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1894.

Note : The letter is on pp. 1-3. In the copy available on google.books the first page is lacking.

* XIII-1544.01.01-2  Transcription  
1895
Note: The transcription is on pp. 477-478.

* XIII-1544.01.01-3 Partial English translation Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the partial translation see O’Malley p. 405.

XIII-1544.01.19 - Cosimo I de Medicis to Benedetto Varchi, Pisa

Heading: Messer Benedetto carissimo, Noi haviam’preso con gran piacere, et contento d’intendere la resolutione del Vesalio di venirne a questa volta, ...

First published in: Michele CILIBERTO, ‘I rapporti tra Vesalio e Varchi alla luce di documenti inediti’ in Episteme, 1972, 6: 30-39 ill.

Concerns: Cosimo is glad receiving news from Vesalius and presumes he will come to Pisa. He asks Varchi to do all that is necessary to assure Vesalius a good stay.

Note: The original Ms. was in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, (Filza II Rinuccini) but it was unfindable to Ciliberto, who used the only available copy of it. As Varchi was at the time in Florence, according to Ciliberto this letter makes clear that Vesalius first went to Florence, before departing to Pisa in the company of Varchi.

* XIII-1544.01.19-1 Transcription 1972
In: Michele CILIBERTO, ‘I rapporti tra Vesalio e Varchi alla luce di documenti inediti’ in Episteme, 1972, 6: 30-39 ill.

* XIII-1544.01.19-2 Transcription 2005

Note: for the transcription see f. 297r.

* XIII-1544.01.19-3 Dutch translation 2013
Own translation in Dutch, not published.
XIII-1544.06.03 – Vesalius beginning his function at the Court of the Emperor [Brussels]

Heading: La Corte de Carlos V – Vol. V, 4 Lista por casas y cargos de los servidores de las casas reales.

Passage: Du premier de janvier XV*XLIII, ont esté receuz et comptez pas les escroz: Le docteur Cornille Baresdorx, pour medecin, a XXX s. par jour

... Du premier de juing XV*XLIII, [read XLIII]...
Du IIIe dud. mois, a esté compté medecin de Sa Ma*dé, le docteur Andrea Vezalins a XXX s. par jour.


Notes: The remark is in vol. 5, p. 244, in the list Los servidores de las casas reales, section Fourrière. That date must be an error and should be read 3 June 1544 (instead of 1543), as the year of the following and of the preceding servidores is 1544. Moreover on p. 388 of volume 4 Vesalius is mentioned as being at the Court from 3.6.1544. So that date should be regarded as the beginning of his function as a physician of the emperor Charles V.

Vesalius got as much as Van Baersdorp, each 30 sous (20 sous had the value of 1 livre or 240 deniers), and same as the grand aulmosnier of the Petite Chapelle. The chambellans got 48 s, the best rewarded was the maistre d'hostelz Alva V with l IX s VI d (109,5 s), being 3.65 times the income of Vesalius. I thank Theodoor Goddeeris for that information.

* XIII-1544.06.03-1  La Corte de Carlos V    Madrid, 2000
In: José MARTINEZ MILLÁN (ed.), La corte de Carlos V. 3: Los servidores de las casas reales, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000.

Note: see Vol. 5, p. 244.

XIII-1544.07.17 - Bernardo Navagero to the Doge of Venice, Saint-Dizier

As this is only a short letter, I give the complete text in French:

Il m’a affirmé que le nombre des blessés à l’assaut de Saint-Dizier, soignés par lui et ses confrères, s’élevait à près de mille et que la plupart des blessures étaient mortelles.
De l’armée impériale sous Saint-Dizier, le 17 juillet 1544. Bernardo Navager.

Concerns: Vesalius’s presence at the siege of Saint-Dizier.

Note: There are also editions in Italian of that letter (see below). Vesalius reports of almost one thousand deadly wounded soldiers of which he and his colleagues took care of at the
The doge of Venice was Pietro Lando (Jan. 19th 1539 - Nov. 9th 1545). His granddaughter Istriana was married with Navagero and after she died he became the bishop of Verona and cardinal. For a short biography of Navagero (12.01.1508 – 11.11.1545) see Albin ROZET, J.-F. LEMBEY, *L’invasion de la France et le Siège de Saint-Dizier par Charles-Quint en 1544 d’après les dépêches italiennes de Francesco d’Este, de Hieronymo Feruffino, de Camillo Capilupo et de Bernardo Navager*, Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1910, pp. 396-398.

I thank Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris for drawing my attention to this letter.

* XIII-1544.07.17-1  Bernardo Navagero to the Doge of Venice  Paris, 1884


Note: The text in Italian and a short discussion on this letter in French can be found on p. 148, n. (1). Can be consulted online in *Gallica*.

* XIII-1544.07.17-2  Bernardo Navagero to the Doge of Venice  Paris, 1910


Note: In his previous letter of that same day Navagero gives more details on that siege; see pp. 443-445. Both texts are in Italian on pp. 686-687. Rozet’s work consists of three parts: 1° L’invasion ... (pp. 1-204); 2° Depêches de Francisco d’Este ... (traduction Française; pp. 205-508); 3° Depêches ... (textes italiens; pp. 509-743). Can be consulted online in *Gallica*.

XIII-1544.11.03 - Cosimo I de Medicis to Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, [Pisa]

Reading: [...] Però non ci accade dirvi altro con la presente se non che con desiderio aspettiamo di intendere che voi habbiate fatto opera che il Vessalio venga a servirci nello Studio di Pisa, ...


Concerns: Cosimo did not give up in trying to attach Vesalius to the university of Pisa.

Note: The original, written from de villa dei Medici, is in the *Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato*, Filza 3, Fascicolo 2, Carta: 469. Ricasoli was the bishop of Cortona and ambassador of Cosimo with emperor Charles V from 1542 to 1548.
XIII-1544.11.03-1  Transcription fragment  2009
In: Rosalba CIRANNI, ‘Andrea Vesalio nello Studio Pisano di Cosimo I de’ Medici’ in Athenet, la rivista dell’Università di Pisa, 2009, 29: 4-8, ill.

XIII-1544.11.03-2  Transcription fragment  2010

XIII-1545.12.10 - Cosimo I de Medicis to Giovanni Battista Ricasoli, [Pisa]

Reading: [...] Dicendovi quanto al Vexalio che se lui non ci havesse fatto fare instantia che noi procurassimo che con buona gratia di S. M.tà [Carlo V di Asburgo] potesse venire a servire nello studio di Pisa, noi non haremos preso assunto di ricercare S. M.tà della licentia per lui. Però ne farete la scusa nostra con lei, et la certificherete che se detto Vexalio non ci havesse mosso a cercare tale licentia per lui, noi non haremos dato questa molestia alla M.tà S. [...]”


Concerns: Cosimo apologizes to Charles V for his urging to get Vesalius at his universitiy.

Note: The original, written from de Villa dei Medici, is in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, Filza 3, Fascicolo 2, Carta: 483.

* XIII-1544.12.10-1  Transcription fragment  2009
In: Rosalba CIRANNI, ‘Andrea Vesalio nello Studio Pisano di Cosimo I de’ Medici’ in Athenet, la rivista dell’Università di Pisa, 2009, 29: 4-8, ill.

* XIII-1544.12.10-2  Transcription fragment  2010


Cum sit nihil, homini saltem naturali et naturalis philosophiae studioso, iucundius, nihil ad tuendam valetudinem, per rem medicam (inquam) et chirurgicam cognitum optabilius, magisque necessarium, quam humani corporis fabricam probe tenere, hanc Anatomen, primam meam foeturam, Tuae Maiestati Rex Serenissime exhibeo, dedico, devoveo. Quam quidem in universum per partes delineaturum, secutus sum D. Andream Vesalium Bruxellensem, virum hoc nostro saeculo, in ea arte longe peritissimum. Secutus vero illum sum, et plane (ni me fallit opinio) assecutus sum, sed per transversam semitam. Quaecumque enim ille multis, prolixisque libris satis diffuse absolvit, ea ego pro mea virili in compendium quoddam coëgi: inque communem studiorum usum in aere a me exaratum impressi. Et licet volumen sit, non admodum magna pecunia comparabile, tamen tantumdem continet, quantum illius prolixi libri, in praecipuis anatomicis partibus. Neque enim gravatus sum, quicquid est hoc operis, in lucem edere: quo possim, quam plurimis prodesse. Praesertim quod et mihi anno superiore, à Tua Maiestate, per vere Christianissimum equitem auratum, D. Antonium Dennium, jidelissimum tuum cubiculairium renunciaretur, easdem Anatomicas figuras esse excudendas.

Notes: This is the dedicatory letter in Geminus’ Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio, written in London Quarto Ĉal. Octobres Anno 1545, or 28 September 1545 (see VI.C.-2). After praising Vesalius he tells that he summazised his anatomical text, instead of the elaborate vesalian books. He tells also that the king ordered him, by the intermediary of D. Antonius Dennius, equitus auratus of Henry VIII, to make the plates in copper for his edition of the Epitome.

Antonius Dennius, or Sir Anthony Denny (16 January 1501 – 10 September 1549), was gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and as a confidant of Henry VIII, he was the most prominent member of it. He attended Henry on his deathbed. By 1548 he was keeper of Westminster Palace.

XIII-1545.09.28-1 Thomas Geminus to Henry VIII London, 1545
In: Thomas GEMINUS, Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio, aere exarata: per Thomam Geminum. Londini.

* XIII-1545.09.28-2 Thomas Geminus to Henry VIII Pavia, 2007

XIII-1546.08.11 - Franciscus Vesalius to Cosimo I de Medicis, Ferrara

Heading: Quum nuper Iacobus Scepperus, iuvenis meo quidem iudicio, in medicina, et quae ad illam attinent disciplinis egregie versatus, huc studiorum causa venisset, illamque de rebus nostratibus prolixè convenissem, coepi sedulo percunctari, quid medici apud Belgas molirentur. (As Jacob De Schepper, a young man, in my eyes outstandingly well versed in medicine and the disciplines related to it, came here for his studies, and I often met him concerning affairs of our own country, I began to question him thoroughly on what doctors were doing in the Low Countries …)
First published in: the editio princeps of the China Root Epistle (Basel: Oporinus, 1546), see VII.-1.

Concerns: Introductory letter to the China Root Epistle by Andreas Vesalius’s brother Franciscus.


* XIII-1546.08.11-1  First publ. in ed. princeps of China-root Epistle  Basel, 1546
In: Andreas VESALIUS, Epistola rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynae decocti, … Basel, Oporinus, 1546.

Note: For the letter see A2r°-Br°. The year in the date should read 1546 instead of 1564.

* XIII-1546.08.11-2  Dedication in 2nd edition  Venice [1546?]
In: Andreas VESALIUS, Epistola rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynae decocti, … Venice, [Comin da Trino], 1546.

Note: This time the letter (A2v°-A5r°) is correctly dated.

* XIII-1546.08.11-3  Dedication in 3rd edition  Lyon, 1547
Andreas VESALIUS, Epistola rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynae decocti, … Lugduni, Sub Scuto Coloniensi, 1547.

Note: The letter is on A2v°-A5r° too.

* XIII-1546.08.11-4  in Boerhaave and Albinus  Leiden, 1725
Note: The full text of the letter is in vol. II (of II) on pp. 619-620. As the text has been copied obviously from the *editio princeps* the year 1566 in the date is also wrong.

* XIII-1546.08.11-5  Dutch translation  Amsterdam, 1915  

Note: For this Dutch translation, under the supervision of Dr. H. Pinkhof, see pp. 1-7. For a discussion of this edition see VII.-9.

* XIII-1546.08.11-6  English translation  New York, 2015  

Notes: English translation by Daniel H. Garrison on pp. 5-11.

* XIII-1546.08.11-7  French translation  Paris, 2016  


XIII-1546.11.04 – Oswald Myconius to Heinrich Bullinger, Basel

* Heading: S. Gratias ago domino meo, qui per te efficit, ut nihil nesciam eorum, quae, ut sciam, opere precium est. (Greetings. I thank you, my lord, for taking care that I stay abreast of everything that is important to me.)

* Passage: Illud nondum, credo, habeas: Vesalius habet cognatum, qui ad tempus versatus est apud Oporinum. Superioribus mensibus animo sumpto voluit invisere parentes, fratres, sorores et videre, quonam animo essent erga ipsum. Venit ergo ad fratrem, qui ex his est, quibus cesar commisit, ut capiant et iudicibus sistant, quicumque sunt vel suspicii de Lutheranismo. Primo intuitu ergo sic salutavit: “Quid tu hic? An ignoras, quis sis?” et mox abit. Habebat famulum, qui in conclave quoddam introduxit nostrum illum et litera in mensa positas indicavit. Qui, ut vidit, protinus manum agnovit patris, aperuit et in hunc modum inventit: “Lieber sun, du weist, was din ampt ist, und dorum, so fach du inn selb und schick inn ins kloster, und bevilch, das man inn legge in ein ewige gfenknis. Es ist weger, du teuiest das, dann solt inn ein andrer fachen und offentich verbreonnen zu schand unserem
Concerns (according to the editors of the first edition): [Michael Martin Stella], a cousin of Vesalius, who lived a while with Oporinus, wanted to visit his family a few months earlier [in Belgium]. He arrived at his brothers [Johannes Martin], who, following an order of the emperor [Charles V], detained those suspected of Lutheranism and brought them before the judge. As he [Johannes Martin] saw his brother, he asked him what he was doing there and if he did not know that he was a heretic and then disappeared. A housekeeper showed Michael into a living-room where a letter of their father [Johannes Martin Sr.] lay on the table. Recognizing the hand, Michael opened the letter and read that his father ordered his brother to put him in a monastery, in order to prevent the family the shame of a burning! Thus, just like Christ predicted that his son would be betrayed. Michael told that story twice to Myconius.

Notes: The manuscript is in the Staatsarchiv of Zürich, E II 336a, 257 (new: 274) (Siegel). First printed as Ms. 2658 in Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel, Band 18, Briefe von Oktober bis Dezember 1546, Theologische Verlag Zürich, 2017, pp. 219-223. It is dated Basileae, 4. novembris anno 1546. Tuus Os. Myc. Transcription by Emil Egli and Traugott Schiess, comment by Ruth Jörg.

The editors comment that this cousin of Vesalius was probably Michael Martin Stella (Stern) who was in 1546-1547 matriculated in Basel as Michael Martinus Stella Brabantinus, that he was from October 22 in 1555 a citizen in Basel, where he was a printer during a short time, and was listed in a catalogue of heretics in 1560. They refer to Moritz ROTH, ‘Andreas Vesalius in Basel’ in Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschicht, Neue Folge - Band II, Heft 2, Basel, H. Georg’s Verlag, 1886, pp. 159-182. Also for Stellas’s cooperation with Oporinus see Christoph RESKE, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing, Wiesbaden, 2007 – Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekwesen 51.

They also mention the pharmacist Johannes Martin Sr., a neighbour of Vesalius’s father and related and with the same profession, and that the two brothers Wilhelm Martin Stella and Johannes Martin Stella Jr. were both lawyers. The last one was into service with the House of Habsburg beför 1543 and worked for the Spanish government in the Low Countries after 1544: György PALOTÁS, ‘Ioannes Martinus Stella’ in Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, Bd. 7, David Thomas et al., Leiden/Boston, 2015, 253-259.

Oswald Myconius (1488, Geisshuebler, Lucerne – 14 October 1552, Basel) was born at Lucerne, Switzerland. His family name was Geisshüsler, and his father was a miller; hence he was also called Molitoris (L. molitor or miller). The name Myconius is said to have been given him by Erasmus; it alludes to the proverbial expression bald-headed Myconian. From the school in Lucerne he went to study classics at the University of Basel. From 1514 he obtained teaching posts at Basel. There he married, and made the acquaintance of Erasmus and of Hans Holbein, the painter. He was called, as a schoolmaster, to Zürich in 1516, where he attached himself to the reforming party of Zwingli (1518). This led to his being transferred to Lucerne, and again (1523) reinstated at Zürich. On the death of Zwingli (1531) he moved to Basel, where he held the office of town’s preacher, and (till 1541) the chair of New Testament exegesis. In 1534 he authored the Confession of Basel. In confessional matters he was for a union of all Protestants. Although a Zwinglian, his readiness to compromise with the advocates of consubstantiation gave him trouble with the hard-line Zwinglians. He had a distinguished follower in Theodore Bibliander (Wikipedia; many details in Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel, Band 18).
For Heinrich Bullinger see XIII-1543.03.06.

* XIII-1546.11.04-1 – Transcription with annotations  
Zürich, 2017
In: Reinhard BODENMANN, Alexandra KESS, Judith STEINIGER (eds.), Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel, Band 18, Briefe von Oktober bis Dezember 1546, Theologische Verlag Zürich, 2017.

Note: The transcription of the Ms. is printed with the annotations on pp. 219-223.

XIII-1546.12.22 - Claudio Ariosti to Ercole II d’Este, Heilbronn

Heading: not seen.

Passage: E anche vero che Monsignor di Gran Vela per essere assai aggravato dal male se ne restera qui in Alpruno, e per quello, che intendo dal Vesalio Medico, Sua Exellenza oltre l’altro male ha un poco de dolore in un testiculo.

Concerns: Nicolas, the father of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, was the councillor of the emperor Charles V, and was suffering from bad health, searching for help with Vesalius.

Notes: Ariosti was the secretary of the Duke Ercole II d’Este. The letter dates from December 22th but Roth presumed it was from the 24th. Vesalius was on that moment with the emperor in Heilbronn as his physician, coming from Basel and traveling in January along Marbach-Esslingen-Göppingen-Geisslingen to Ulm. First recorded by ZAFFARINI, Niccolo. Scoperte anatomiche di Gio. Batista Canani medico e chirurgo Ferrarese del secolo XVI, Ferrara, Gaetano Bresciani, 1809, 96 pp.


Ercole II d’Este (5 April 1508 – 3 October 1559) was Duke of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio from 1534 to 1559, and he was the eldest son of Alfonso I d’Este and Lucrezia Borgia. Nicolas the Granvelle’s major complaints were long lasting pains in his legs and a liver disease with jaundice, from which he eventually died. O’Malley comments on this on pp. 226-227 in his Vesalius-biography.

* XIII-1546.12.22-1   Transcription    Ferrara, 1809

Note: The transcription is on p. 15.
XIII-1546.12.22-2  Transcription  Berlin, 1892

Note: The transcription is on p. 217 n. 2.

XIII-1546.12.22-3  Transcription  Basel, 1945

Note: The transcription is on p. 209.

XIII-1546.12.22-4  Transcription  Amsterdam, 1965

Note: The transcription is also on p. 217 n. 2.

XIII-1546.12.22-4  Transcription  Antwerpen - Apeldoorn, 2016

Note: the fragment is on p. 59; the whole article is dealing with the multiple and lasting medical problems of father Nicalous Granvelle.

XIII-1546.12.24 - Thomas Thirlby to William Paget, Heilbronn

Heading: not seen.

Passage (English translation): *Doctor Vesalius, one of the emperor’s physicians, dined with me this day, and said that the Duke of Württemberg should come hither to the emporer, and in that the Count [now Elector] Palatine was a traveller; he said further that the said Duke of Württemberg had written to the Duke of Bavaria long since, to be a means to the emperor for him, and in the same letter (as he said) should write, that rather than he should be an outlaw from his country fourteen years, as he was once [1520-1534], he would give all the preachers that he had to the emperor to make a sacrifice of them; with such other light words.

Concerns: On a diner conversation between Vesalius and Thomas Thirlby.

Notes: Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, had succeeded Wotton as Henry VIII’s ambassador to emperor Charles V, whereas William Paget was a secretary of state.
* XIII-1546.12.24-1  Transcription  
1945

Note: Here the fragment from the letter is larger with some more details on the relationship between the Duke of Württemberg and the emperor. See here, pp. 233-234, Fisch citing State Papers Henry the Eight, XI, pp. 389-391.

* XIII-1546.12.24-2  Transcription  Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964

Note: For this passage and a discussion see there pp. 226-227.

XIII-1546.12.25 - Claudio Ariosti to Ercole II d’Este, Heilbronn

Heading: not seen.

Passage: Questa mattina il Vesalio Medico mi ha detto ch’egli [Granvelle] desidera e pensa che tratterà con sua Maestà di ritirarsi a casa per un pezzo almeno, ch’egli sia ben sanato. Domandandogli anco, che s’intendeva della nostra partita, mi desse, che non sapeva, ma che pensava, che noi stessimo qui sin’ a sei o otto giorni, e che facilmente potria venir il Duca di Vitimberg: Ma siccome egli [Vesalius] non me lo accerto, così anch’io non lo affermo a V. Ecc.

This tells us about the intended encounter with the duke of Wittenburg, and that the writing is addressed to Ercole II (a V. Ecc.).

* XIII-1546.12.25-1  Transcription  Ferrara, 1809

Note: The transcription is on p. 15. Here the fragment is longer than in the three following transcriptions: Questa mattina il Vesalio Medico mi ha detto ch’egli [Granvelle] desidera e pensa che tratterà con sua Maestà di ritirarsi a casa per un pezzo almeno, ch’egli sia ben sanato. Domandandogli anco, che s’intendeva della nostra partita, mi desse, che non sapeva, ma che pensava, che noi stessimo qui sin’ a sei o otto giorni, e che facilmente potria venir il Duca di Vitimberg: Ma siccome egli [Vesalius] non me lo accerto, così anch’io non lo affermo a V. Ecc.

This tells us about the intended encounter with the duke of Wittenburg, and that the writing is addressed to Ercole II (a V. Ecc.).

* XIII-1546.12.25-2  Transcription  Berlin, 1892
In: Moritz Roth, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: The shorter transcription (as in the introduction) is on p. 217 n. 2.
* XIII-1546.12.25-3  Transcription   Basel, 1945

Note: The shorter transcription (as in the introduction) is on p. 209.

* XIII-1546.12.25-4  Transcription   Amsterdam, 1965
In: Moritz ROTH, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1892, viii, 500 pp., 30 pl.

Note: The shorter transcription (as in the introduction) is also on p. 217 n. 2.

XIII-1547.??.?? – Hieronymus Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope

Cardanus (born in 1500) and Vesalius were friends, although they never met in person. In 1547 Vesalius recommended Cardanus as Court Physician to the King of Denmark (see pp. 15 and 99 in Girolamo CARDANO, De propria vita liber, Amstelaedami, apud Joannem Ravesteinimum, 1654; and Roth p. 219 – he does not discuss the horoscope; Cushing p. 234). Friedenwald even mentions his biography of Vesalius, but nowadays it is unfindable. His horoscope of Vesalius however is well known and its contents have some credibility as both men knew each other well. For a discussion and an English translation see Cushing pp. xxxvii-xxxviii. As Harry Friedenwald himself told he had a copy of the Fabrica 1543 with an earlier version of the horoscope in Cardanus’s handwriting (vide infra). The fact of this revision itself adds to its credibility.

For a bio-bibliography of H. Cardanus see Albert Jacques Joseph van de VELDE, Hieronymus Cardanus (1501-1576) herdacht vier en half eeuwen na zijn geboorte [Commemoration of Hieronymus Cardanus’ (1501-1576) 450 years after his birth], Paleis der Academiën, mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Brussel, 1951, 24 pp.

Another horoscope can be found below his portrait in a copy of the Fabrica 1543 in the National Library of Israel; reproduced in Dániel MARGÓCSY, Márk SOMOS, Stephen JOFFE, The ‘Fabrica’ of Andreas Vesalius. A Worldwide Descriptive Census, Ownership, and Annotations of the 1543 and 1555 Editions, Vol. 28 in Medieval and Early Modern Philosophy and Science, Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2018, see p. 181.

* XIII-1547.??.??-1 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope
In: Girolamo CARDANO, *Libelli quinque ... I. De supplemento almanach ... V. De exemplis centum geniturarum. Additis insuper Tabulis ... Eiusdem, antea non edita, Aphorismorum astronomicorum Segmenta VII* [Five books ... I. A supplement to the almanac... V. Examples of hundred animals. Supplemented with tables... previously not published. Seven segments of aphorisms on astronomy], Norimberge, apud Johan. Petreium, 1547, 4 ll., 309 ff., 1 l.

Note: See *Horoscope xciii, Vesalius* (f. 178r).

XIII-1547.??.??-2 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope
Not seen.
In: *CARDANUS, Opera omnia*, ed. C. Spon, Lyons, J.A. Huguetan, etc., 1663, 10 vols.

* XIII-1547.??.??-3 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope : 2 versions

Note: Description and discussion of the horoscope of Vesalius by Cardanus, said to be in his hand, in Dr. Friedenwald’s copy of *De fabrica 1543*. Cardanus’s Ms. is under Vesalius’s portrait. A copy of this page is on Friedenwald’s p. 423, whereas page 425 gives the later version. He gives a comparison of both. English translation of the horoscope of 1547 (p. 424). The Ms. must have been written between 1543 and 1447.

The six lines between the portrait and the horoscope in a pale brownish ink and in another hand give a short but interesting report of Vesalius’s death at Zakynthos. As it is written after the death of Vesalius it must be of a much later date than the horoscope. There is a transcription and English translation of it too, followed by a discussion (p. 426).

* XIII-1547.??.??-4 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope
In: Harvey CUSHING, *A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*, New York, Schuman’s, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.


* XIII-1547.??.??-5 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY. *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: On the importance of the horoscope to determine Vesalius’s date of birth see p. 423 n. 2, with a reproduction on plate 4.

* XIII-1547.??.??-6 – Cardanus on Vesalius’s horoscope
In: SOTHEBY & CO. *The Celebrated Library of Harrison D. Horblit Esq Removed from*
Ridgefield, Connecticut. Part I Early Science Navigation & Travel including Americana with a few medical books A-C, which will be sold by auction at their large galleries 34 and 35 New Bond Street, London W1A 2AA, 1974, London, Sotheby & Co.

Note: See lot 188 for a copy of Vesalius’ horoscope in Cardanus.

* XIII-1547.02.06 – Johannes Oporinus to Francisco de Enzinas, Basel

Heading: S. Adduxi Bernadinum mecum ex Tiguro et iam domi meae est, in communi bonorum hospitio, ut nosti, donec ei de propria domo perspexerimus.
(Greetings. I took Bernardinus with me from Zurich and he is already at my home, in a good mutual hospitality, as you know, until we find an own house for him.)


Passage: Tabellarius hic, qui alteras tuas attulit, duabus aut tribus horis post nos huc venit, per quem mitto Anatomiam cum Epitome Vesalii, quae ambo venduntur bibliopolis per florensis quique batzonibus tribus. Eam pecuniam tu, mi Francisce, meo nomine accipies.
(The postman here, who brought another letter from you, arrived here two or three hours after us, with whom I send the Anatomy with the epitome of Vesalius, which are sold together by booksellers for five florins and there batziones. You will accept that money for me, dear Francis.)

Concerns: This letter of 1547 by J. Oporinus to Franciscus Dryander (de Enzinas) mentions the price of Vesalius’s Fabrica and Epitome.

Notes: The original letter was in the archive of St. Thomas-Stift in Strasbourg, but now the Archives et Bibliothèque de la ville de Strasbourg.

The price for Vesalius’s anatomical works is roughly the same as that mentioned by Johannes Gast in one of his letters to Bullinger: XIII-1543.08.02.

Francisco de Enzinas (1 November 1518? – 30 December 1552) or Francis Dryander was a Spanish humanist and a protestant. Born in Burgos from a merchant family he studied in Leuven at the Collegium Trilingue together with his brother Diego. In 1541 he went to Paris and at the end of the year to Wittenberg where he stayed in Melanchthon’s house where he finished a Spanish translation of the New Testament, printed in Antwerp (Steven Mierdman,
1543), as a consequence of which he was imprisoned in Brussels in 1545. Thereafter he wrote his Mémoires in Wittenberg. He died as a victim of the plague at Strasbourg.


Note: Passage with short discussion on pp. 36-37.

* XIII-1547.02.06-1 transcription Basel, 1945


* XIII-1547.02.06-2 fragment Basel, 1966

Note: for the fragment and a discussion see pp. 44-45.

* XIII-1547.02.06-3 Epistolario  Latin and Spanish Geneva, 1995

Note: The letter appears together with a Spanish translation on pp. 184-187.

XIII-1547.02.27 - Johann Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Ulm

Heading: S.P. Clarissime et Excellentissime Domine in Patris locum observantissime. [Many greetings, Most famous and excellent sir and highly esteemed as a father for me.]
Passage: *Quandoquidem harum exhibitor Mag.cus Dn. Vesalius Caes. M.tis Medicus ordinarius, abunde vos de rebus omnibus edocere poterit, eoque ideo hauad necessarium videtur, excellentiam vestram ingrata hic prolxitate obtundere.* [Since the illustrious Vesalius, medico de familia of the Emperor, as the deliverer of this [letter] will have informed you plentifully, it seems therefore not necessary to trouble your Excellency here with superfluous digressions.]


Concerns: At the end of December 1546 was Vesalius in Heilbronn, accompanying Charles V as his physician. There the emperor stayed from December 24th 1546 till January 18th 1547, whereafter they travelled over Marbach – Esslingen – Göppingen - Geislingen towards Ulm, where they arrived on January 25th. From Ulm they went to Basel and Zasius (who was than councillor at the imperial court) took the opportunity to let Vesalius bring a letter of him to Bonifacius Amerbach in Basel: this letter written on February 27th. According to Roth (p. 218) Vesalius stayed in Basel only a couple of weeks.

Notes: Johann Udalric (Ulrich) Zasius (1521-1570) was born in Freiburg as the son of the famous jurist Ulrich Zasius. He became a professor in Basel where he was supported by Bonifacius Amerbach (1495-1562) from Basel, also a jurist and humanist, which became a friend. See also HARTMANN, Alfred, Beat Rudolf JENNY (eds.). *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, Band VI. Die Briefe aus den Jahren 1544-1547*, Basel, Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1967, 662 pp.; pp. 93-98.

For a transcription and discussion of the letters by Zasius to Amerbach concerning Vesalius see also HARTMANN, Alfred, Beat Rudolf JENNY, *op. cit.*, pp. 407-411, 415-418, 426-428, 434-437, and 547-549. They presume that Vesalius had visited Oporinus in Basel, who printed his *China root epistle* in October 1546.


* XIII-1547.02.27-1 transcription Basel, 1857


Note: See letter I (pp. 5-7).
XIII-1547.02.27-2 transcription Basel, 1945


Note: see pp. 209-210.

XIII-1547.02.27-3 transcription Basel, 1967


Note: for a transcription with changes and corrections; see pp. 407-411.

XIII-1547.03.13 - Johann Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Ulm

Heading: S.P. Mag.ce atque Ampliss. Jureconsulte D. in patris locum observantiss. Suavissimas illas tuas, doctissimasque litteras, quanta ego voluptate acceperim,… [Many greetings, most honourable jurist, highly esteemed as a father for me. I received your very agreeable and very educated letters with great joy,…]

… Si adhuc ibi est D. And. Vesalius noster, mitte ei inclusas litteras, et renuntia Norimbergam nos ex Norlinga, ac recta in Saxoniam proficisci; utque caveat, ne tardet suum adventum, alias enim neque commode neque tuto tuto tam brevi attinget aulam.
[… I suppose you understood from the letter sent with Vesalius on February 26, that I took it [= another letter] with me to Atrecht. He left me here in Ulm for the Emporer’s sake, as I had to assist to Dri. Zinner, the general auditor, to make the decisions…
… When our Andreas Vesalius is still there, do give him the included letter, and leaving Nördlingen towards Nuremberg I will then travel directly to Saksen. And do take care that he does not leave to late, because otherwise he will not attract the court in a comfortable nor safe way in such a short time.]


Concerns: see passage. Apparently Zasius points with Atrebatensis to the bishop of Atrecht (now Arras), being Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the son of Nicolas, who was than in Besançon for recovery from a liver disease, during which period Antoine was in charge.
They traveled from Ulm to Nördlingen and Nueremberg and than to Saksen. At the battle of Muhlberg they defeated their enemy and pursued them to Wittenberg that was sieged until its surrender.
Notes: Zasius makes a mistake in the date of the previous letter, as it was written on the 27th of February (instead of the 26th). See also (XIII.k).

* XIII-1547.03.13-1 transcription Basel, 1857

Note: See letter II (pp. 7-9).

* XIII-1547.03.13-2 transcription Basel, 1945

Note: see pp. 210-211.

* XIII-1547.03.13-3 transcription Basel, 1966

Note: Passage with short discussion on p. 43.

* XIII-1547.03.13-4 transcription Basel, 1967

Note: for a transcription and discussion see pp. 415-418.

XIII-1547.03.26 - Johann Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Nuremberg

Heading: S. Eminentiss. dne. mi Pr. Excludor per occupationum sylvam, copiose ut ad te de rebus variis perscribam. [Greetings, most excellent Sir, my father, due to a plenty of occupations, it is not possible to write to you at length about to much different things.]

Passage (here the name of Vesalius is only mentioned in a P.S.): Heri cognovit Caesar, Vesalium basilea abiisse; ac statim cursorem misit, qui ei occurreret, et ad festinantiam
invitaret: nam quoties pejus habet Caesar, valde confidenter solet uti ejus consilio. Quid Helvetii vestri faciant, aveo scire. [Yesterday the Emporer heared that Vesalius had left for Basel; and he sent immediately a courier to meet him and to ask him to hurry. For as often as the Emperor feals worse, the more confident he becomes on his advice. I would eagerly know, how your Swiss do such things.]


Concerns: See passage. As a consequence Vesalius must have hurried to Nuremberg, as becomes clear in the following letter.

* XIII-1547.03.26-1 transcription Basel, 1857

Note: See letter III, especially the post scriptum (pp. 9-10).

* XIII-1547.03.26-2 transcription Basel, 1945

Note: see p. 211.

* XIII-1547.03.26-3 Rendering from parish register Basel, 1966

Note: Passage with short discussion on p. 44.

* XIII-1547.03.26-4 transcription Basel, 1967

Note: for a transcription with minor changes and discussion see pp. 426-428.
XIII-1547.04.08 - Johann Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Ulm

Heading and passage: *S.P. Reddidit mihi Norimbergae Vesalius noster, mi Dne. Pater. quas per illum ad me dedisti litteras, ...* [Our Vesalius handed me, sir my father, in Nuremberg the letter, which you gave me by him, ...]


Concerns: see heading.

Notes: This seemed to be a very busy period for Vesalius. See also (XIII.1).

* XIII-1547.04.08-1  transcription  Basel, 1857

Note: See letter V, especially the *post scriptum* (pp. 10-13).

* XIII-1547.04.08-2  transcription  Basel, 1945

Note: see p. 211.

* XIII-1547.04.08-3  Rendering from parish register  Basel, 1966

Note: Passage with short discussion on p. 44.

* XIII-1547.04.08-4  German translation  Basel, 1967
In: Alfred HARTMANN, Beat Rudolf JENNY (eds.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz, Band VI.*
XIII-1547.11.13 - Johann Ulrich Zasius to Bonifacius Amerbach, Augsburg

Heading: S. P. Litteras Ampl. Tuae, Ex.me Amerbachi, per harum exhibitorem mihi redditas, accepi. [Many greetings, most honourable and excellent Amerbach. I received your letter by their deliverer.]

Passage (towards the end of the letter): Vesalius quoque jussit salutem tibi adscriberem. [Vesalius heeft ook gevraagd u te groeten.]


Notes: Obviously this shows that Vesalius was also an acquaintance of Bonifacius Amerbach and that he was with J. U. Zasius in Augsburg on November 13th, 1547.

* XIII-1547.11.13-1 transcription Basel, 1857


Note: This is letter XII in J.A.R. STINTZING (pp. 19-21).

* XIII-1547.11.13-2 transcription Basel, 1967


Note: for a transcription and discussion see pp. 547-549.
Quum hac proxime elapsa hyeme ventum esset ad partem nostri olim suscepti instituti longe gravissimam ad fabricae inquam humani corporis enarrationem, coepissemque ex Senatus consulto Galeni libros de Usu part. pro captu enarrare, ...

Passage: ... ex meo potissimum institutore Andreas Vesalio, ex cuius praelectionibus admodum multa et si non omnia Patavii quum ibi ultimo anatomen numerosissimo frequentissimoque auditorio felicissime de more exerceret, observaveram, atque manuscriptos commentarios mihi consarcinatos utcunque comparaveram...

Concerns: In this epistola nuncupatoria Pedro Jimeno (1515-1595) tells to Petro Loçano (Pedro Lazaro) that he was a former student of Vesalius in Padua (page A2b). He followed very numerous if not all his lessons and he kept his manuscripts sewn together.

Appeared first in: Petro XIMENO, Dialogus de re medica compendiaria ratione, praeter quaedam alia, universam Anatomen humani corporis perstringens, summe necessarius omnibus Medicinae candidatis, Valentiae, per Ioannem Mey Flandrum, 1549.

Note: The book is a dialogue between the citizen Caspar and the physician Andreas (the author Pedro Jimeno, professor of medicine in Valencia, acting as Andreas Vesalius).

The letter is dated Ex nostro museolo Valentino. Pridie Calend. Augusti a virgineo partu. 1549 (Valencia, July 31st 1549).

Pedro Lazaro, to whom the book is dedicated, was court physician of Mencia de Mendoza, marchioness of Zenete and the aunt of William the Silent.

* XIII-1549.07.31-1 Petrus Ximenus to Petro Loçano Valentine, 1549

In: Petro XIMENO, Dialogus de re medica compendiaria ratione, praeter quaedam alia, universam Anatomen humani corporis perstringens, summe necessarius omnibus Medicinae candidatis, Valentiae, per Ioannem Mey Flandrum, 1549.

Note: The epistola is on pp. A2r-A7v.

XIII-1549.10.17 - Alfonso Rossetti-Trotti to Ercole II, Brussels

Reading: ... El Serenissimo Principe sarà qui questa settimana, Monsignor D’Irbi [D’Hubis?] bacia le manj de vostra eccellentia humilissimamente e la supplica se degnj comandarlj è guarito molto bene del suo brazzo e lo trovaj ier sera che andava a far un paucj de esercitio anzi per esercitar un paucj detto brazzo e maneggiarlo più di ello habbi fatto sin qui, m'ha raccontato che Don Diego d’Azevedo Maggior domo del serenissimo Principe, in questo viaggio d’Olanda le venuta rotta una gamba malamente da un frisone, del che se ne duole et è da doler’ ad ogniuno per esser così gentil Cavagliiero e ben amato quanto altro sia nella corte, così Nostro Signore li prestj (prestò) la gratia che la havuto Monsignor d’Irbi del suo brazzo, che quanto che fosse cosi mal trattato, el Vessaglio chiroico del Imperator e che la studiato nella nostra Città di Ferrara, l’ha talmente ben curato che me la giurato detto Monsignor visitandole in questa soa Indispositione che maj l’ha doluto ne pur vietato el sonno dappoi che la prima volta ge l’insetchio el medesimo medico e tutte le cure possibili non mancherano al sopradetto Cavagliier! ...
Concerns: Don Diego Azevedo, majordomo of the “serenissimo principe”, broke his leg by falling off the back of a Frisian horse while returning from Holland. Rossetti-Trotti tells having the story from Monsignor D’Irbis, who himself was suffering from a fracture of his arm. They were happy to get the help of Vesalius, ‘surgeon of the Emperor and having studied in our city of Ferrara’.


Note: This is only the fragment concerning Vesalius of an original Ms., written in Brussels, and which is an encoded (diplomatic and secret) one and was found in an envelope, signed with the name of Vesalius, in the Archivio di Stato di Modena (Archivio Estense).

Alfonso Rossetti-Trotti (Ferrara, +/- 1497 - Ferrara, 1577) was the prebendary (canon) of the cathedral of Ferrara and the ambassador of Ercolo II (duke of Ferrara) at the Court of Charles V.

The “serenissimo principe”, of which Azevedo was the majordomo, was no one else than Philip, son of Charles V, later Philip II. At that moment he had never been outside Spain and his father wished that he should make a Grand Tour through his future countries Italy, the German state and the Netherlands. In Brussels Charles V introduced him to his future subjects, but he did not accompany him into all of the provinces, and stayed in Brussels apparently with Vesalius. Philip was in Holland at the beginning of the month October and again in Brussels on October 26st 1549. (personal communication by Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris on 15.10.2013)

Monsignor D’Irbis should, according to Münster, be read presumably as D’Hubis, on whom nothing could be retrieved. But according to Theodoor Goddeers this name should be read as Sertori, being Giulio Sertori, the archbishop of Santa Severina, and the ambassador of de Este from Ferrara-Modena at the Emperor. Probably due to his broken arm he was unable to write the letter himself and left the task to Rossetti. On the other hand, Diego de Acevedo y Fonseca was mayordomo de la casa de Borgoña, one of the four mayordomos of Prince Philip, since the creation of the casa in Burgundy style in 1548, till his death in 1558. The mayordomo mayor was Alva. His accompanied Philip on his Grand Tour through Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, and he was then sent to the pope as an extra-ordinary ambassador. During this journey through Holland he fractured his leg. Later on he was also with Philip in England. He was general treasurer of the crown of Aragon, and was also appointed as the viceroy of Peru, but he never reached that country because of his death. He must not be confused with Acevedo Pimentel, who was the gentilhombre de la boca de la casa de Borgoña. (another personal communication by Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris on 26.10.2013)

Münster points to the fact that Rossetti-Trotti makes two mistakes: 1° Vesalius was the physician of the Emperor, not his surgeon; 2° Vesalius did not study at Ferrara. Münster’s conclusion is that the writer confused Vesalius at this point with his brother Franciscus.

We learn from this letter that Vesalius was in Brussels (with the Emperor) in the first half of October 1549. According to Gachard in Journal des voyages de 1514 à 1551 de Charles V he was there from October 1st 1548 and stayed there till July 8th 1550, day of the
departure of Charles V to the Reichstag in Augsburg. But according to Münster short travels during this period by Vesalius are not excluded.

* XIII-1549.10.17-1  Related part of Ms. and transcription  1966

* XIII-1549.10.17-2  Dutch translation     2012
Dutch translation of the Ms. fragment by Theodoor Goddeeris (Kortrijk, Belgium) and Chris Depaepe (Leuven) in 2012; not published:

“... De doorluchtige Prins zal hier deze week zijn. Mgr D'Irbis kust heel nederig de handen van Uw Hoogheid en vraagt U hem (wat U goed dunkt) te bevelen. Hij is goed genezen van zijn arm en ik trof hem gisteren namiddag (in de vooravond) aan toen hij wat lichaamsbeweging (een beetje sport) ging doen en om zijn arm wat te oefenen en wat meer te bewegen dan wat hij eerder had gedaan. Hij heeft me verteld dat Don Diego de Azevedo, majordoom van de doorluchtige prins, op zijn reis naar Holland, op kwalijke wijze een been had gebroken door (te vallen of door een stomp te krijgen?) een fries (paard). Hij ziet veel af en iedereen zou hier van afzien. Omdat hij zo'n fijne meneer (gentleman, nobele heer) is, als geen ander graag gezien aan het hof, heeft Onze Heer (de keizer? Of God de Heer?) hem dezelfde genade verleend die ook Mgr D'Irbis had bekomen voor zijn arm. Met name dat, toen hij er zo erg aan toe was, Vesalius, de chirurg van de keizer die in onze stad Ferrara heeft gestudeerd, hem heldebaar heeft genezen. Hoger genoemde monseigneur heeft me plechtig bevestigd (gezworen) na het bezoek dat hij hem bracht aan zijn ziekbed. Hij had geen pijn meer en kon weer slapen van zodra de dokter hem de eerste keer al had gespalkt. De gemelde nobele man zal met alle mogelijk zorgen worden omringd (geen enkele zorg zal hem ontbreken)...” (communicated by Theodoor Goddeeris)

* XIII-1549.10.17-3  Dutch translation     2013
Independent translation into Dutch by Dominique Lannoo (Izegem, Belgium) in October 2013; not published:

“... De Doorluchtige Prins zal deze week hier zijn. Monseigneur d’Irbis kust heel nederig de hand van uwe excellentie en smeekt haar van dienst te zijn. Hij is heel goed van zijn arm genezen en gisterenavond trof ik hem aan toen hij wat oefeningen aan het doen was, net om de genoemde arm wat te oefenen en hem meer te gebruiken dan hij tot nu toe heeft gedaan. Hij vertelde mij dat Don Diego d’Azevedo, majordomus van de Doorluchtige Prins, op die reis uit Holland ongelukkig zijn been brak door een Fries, waarover hij niet klaagt en bij iedereen compassie wekt. Zo te zien wordt de beminde cavaliere even zeer geliefd als ieder ander aan het Hof. Zo verleende Onze Heer hem dadelijk de dienst die Monseigneur d’Irbis
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

heeft gekregen voor zijn arm, hoewel die zo slecht werd behandeld, dat Vesalius, chirurg van
de keizer en die aan onze stad Ferrara heeft gestudeerd, hem zo goed verzorgde dat deze
Monseigneur mij heeft bezworen - toen hij hem bij zijn ongesteldheid bezocht - dat hij nooit
pijn gehad heeft en dat zijn slaap niet werd gehinderd van zodra diezelfde hem had gespalkt.
Het zal de bovengenoemde cavaliere niet aan alle mogelijke zorgen ontbreken. ...”

XIII-1550.03.18 – Oswald Myconius to Heinrich Bullinger, Basel

Heading: not seen.

Passage: Venit medicus Caesarianus Spiram: Dixit: Se novam in corpus illius immisisse
animam: hinc certum, q intra sex annos nullus gravis morbus sit ipsum invasurus. Cogita
verborum absurditatem, et divina. (The emperial doctor came to Speyer and told that the
emperor was doing well, certainly because he had not been seriously ill during the last six
years…)

Note: Original in Staatsarchiv Zürich.

Gerhard Wolf-Heidegger believes this should relate to Vesalius who was at that time
already six years medico de familia of the Emperor.
For Billinger see XIII-1543.08.02 and the other letters he received.

XIII-1550.03.18-1 Fragment Basel, 1966
In: Gerhard Wolf-Heidegger, ‘Documenta Vesaliana Basiliensia’ in R. Blaser, H. Buess
(eds.), Aktuelle Probleme aus der Geschichte der Medizin. Verhandlungen des XIX.
Internationalen Kongresses für Geschichte der Medizin - Current Problems in History of
Medicine. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress for the History of Medicine,

Note: for the fragment with a short discussion see p. 45.

XIII-1550.11.28 - Joannes Visbrocucus to Andreas Masius, Rome

Heading: Non negabo quaternas literas abs te accepisse me, quae autem caussa fuerit, quod
hactenus nihil rescripserim, post dicam, audies enim prius quomodo acceperim et quando. [I
don’t deny having received each of your four letters, but which is the reason why I didn’t
respond to them I will tell you, after you heared how and when I received them.]

Passage. Here, regarding Vesalius, only the final words are important: Doctorem dominum
Petrum Canicerum Hispanum, medicum regis Romanorum, virum humanissimum, velim meo
nomine salutes, item et doctorem Wesalium, commilitonem in literis Lovani, et dulcissimum
amicum. Romae 4 Calend. Decemb. 1550. [I would like you to greet on my behalf sir doctor
Petrus Carnizero from Spain, physician of the Roman king and a very human man, and also
doctor Vesalius, my school friend in the literature in Leuven and my very charming friend.
Rome, …]
Concerns: Jan Visbroeck (Joannes Visbrocus) tells, in this ending words, that Vesalius was his old school-friend at the *Collegium trilingue*. This is, in my view, how *in literis* should be understood, as their studies in the *artes* would have been described otherwise.

Appeared first in: *Historia et Commentationes academiae electoralis scientiarum et elegantiorum litterarum Theodoro-Palatinae*, vol. VII, Mannheim, 1794, pp. 324-327, as letter VIII. *Magnifico ac dulcissimo viro domino Andreae Masio, Augustae Vindelicorum* [To the excellent and very charming sir Andreas Masius in Augsburg].

Notes: While inspecting the list of the students at the *Collegium trilingue* in Leuven in Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1955, vol. 4, pp. 507-522, one wonders how he could be that certain of all those names. He explains himself why he could not fall back to lists of the College itself (p. 507) and that he was forced for that reason to gather the names from the literature (p. 508). It’s a pity that he did not mention with each name (especially Vesalius) the source of this findings. This is undoubtedly the reason why many authors are cautious while mentioning his presence there, just ‘assuming’ that he studied there, his excellent knowledge of the Latin and Greek being good arguments. Now this letter gives the desired proof. In all probability De Vocht must have added Vesalius name to the list on the basis of this letter. He mentions that part of his information came from the correspondence of Masius (p. 508). In his list the names of Visbrocus (Visbroeck), Vesalius (Vésale) and Masius (Maas) are put close together (not alphabetically) on p. 517.

Obviously Andrew Maes (Masius) must have been in the neighbourhood of Vesalius and the emperor in Augsburg. It is remarkable that Visbrocru wrote Vesalius’s name with a leading ‘W’, just as he did himself during his younger years (see the title-pages of his *Paraphrasis* and the *Venection letter*). It is the first time that we see the qualification *dulcissimus* for Vesalius...

Not much is known about Jan Visbroeck (Joannes Visbrocru). He was connoisseur of Aristotle, but his commentaries on him are infindable, and he was the secretary of Cardinal Giovanni Morone in Rome and of Laevinius Torrentius. Most of what is known on him comes from his correspondence with Masius. He died at an old age on 17 April 1590 and was buried in Church of Saint Martin in Liège (Belgium). His name is not mentioned by any of the three great Vesalius-biographers.

Pedro (de) Carnicer (Carnitzer, Peter Kunitzer) was during 25 years the physician of Ferdinand I from 1534 till 1559. Afterwards he returned to Spain. Ferdinand liked to be in the company of Spaniards, as he had his education during 15 years in that country with his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon. Born in Alcala de Henares in 1503 he was sent to Germany, when his brother Charles V arrived in Spain in 1518. Charles became emperor and his brother Ferdinand Roman king, till Charles abdicated and Ferdinand became emperor in his place. (I thank Theodoor Goddeers for that info)

See also letter 61 in Max Lossen, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und einen Freunden 1538 bis 1573*, Leipzig: Alphons Dürr, 1886, pp. 67-68. There is a later letter from Masius (Brussels, 28 May 1559) mentioning the name of Vesalius too; see Max Lossen (infra), letter 232 (p. 317-319), and O’Malley p. 283, n. 3 p. 465. Other letters by Visbrocru to Masius (without mentioning Vesalius) in *Historia et Commentationes …*, vol. VII, Mannheim, 1794, are on pp. 359 (letter XXX), 370-372 (letter XXXVIII).
Leonhard Fuchs to the reader, Tübingen

Heading: Leonhartus Fuchsius Candido Lectori. S.P.D.

First words: Semper optavi aliquam extare Epitomen quae nobis partium corporis humani rationem ita explicaret, ut cuiusque partis functionem et usum, ipsius quoque situm, figuram, magnitudinem, colorem, substantiae naturam, et ad caeteras partes connexum, breviter et perspicue nobis ob oculos poneret, hocque nomine in scholis Medicorum ad enarrandum recte proponi posset.

(I always wanted a summary explaining us the parts of the human body in such a way that of every part its function and utility, and also its place, figure, volume, color, the nature of its substance and its connection to the other parts would be represented before the eyes in a short and plain way, and this to make it possible to explain them exactly at the medical school.)

Concerns: Throughout this letter Fuchsius’ has very flattering words towards Vesalius and on his Fabrica and Epitome. On the other hand we have to take into account that Vesalius himself was at that time at the apogee of his career, both as an anatomist and as the personal physician of the emperor Charles V.

Appeared first in: 1551 with three editions, see below.

Note: The letter is dated Tubingae quarto Idus Ianuarii. Anno M. D. L I. (Tübingen, 10 January 1551).

Leonhard Fuchs gives some friendly comments on Vesalius on f. 15r, where he calls him summus noster amicus (our best friend), and on f. 33r, where he calls him Vesalio nostro, inter dissectores primario (our Vesalius, the most important anatomist), and in the margin Vesalius anatomicorum facile princeps (by far the prince of anatomists).

Note: The letter is on pp. 3-13.

* XIII-1551.01.10-3 Leonhard Fuchs to the reader Lyon, Frellonius, 1551

Note: The letter is on pp. 3-13 too.
Remarkably here the name of Vesalius has been dropped from the title, as it was in the edition by Ant. Vincentius.

XIII-1551.01.13 - Willem van Maele to Lodewijk van Praet, Augsburg

Heading: Illustriissime Princeps, Bene est quod ad proximam illam febrientem epistolam meam nihil responderis, ...

The short passage in Latin reads as follows:


[Out of the crowd of physicians untill now nobody succeeded in making a definite diagnosis concerning my disease. Caballus as the first was very much convinced of a nephritis. Vesalius of a renal absces. Cornelius, the thirth, of a slow consumption, pouring that all those symptoms together in that single dust-bin.]

Note: This illustrates the complexity of the medical care and even the intrigues at the imperial Court (as shown on the other pages of this source).

Willem van Male (Guillaume van Maele, Gulielmus Malinaeus, + 1560), born in Brugge of an ancient family of nobility, was as a good latinist a writer, translator and secretary of Charles V. He married the daughter of his friend Jan Reynen, and had a son Charles. He was a friend of van Praet too. See H. Lonchay, ‘Male (Guillaume van)’ in Biographie nationale, tome 13, 1894-1895, col. 228-231.

Lodewijk IV van Vlaanderen (1488 - 7 oktober 1555), or Louis van Praet was stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht (1544-1547), member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and was a descendent from a bastard of Lodewijk van Male. His mother was Isabella of Burgundy. He was one of the most confidential advisers of Charles V. He suffered from chronic arthritis. See also the Consilium in Garetius (VIII.E). For van Praet see also O’Malley, pp. 240-243 and Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, Theodoor GODDEERIS. ‘De briefwisseling van de Brugse arts Petrus Bruhesisius en Andreas Vesalius’ consilium voor Lodewijk van Vlaanderen’ [The Correspondence of Petrus Bruhesisius, Physician in Brugge,

*Corneille* is Corneel van Baersdorp (Cornelius Basdorpius), with Vesalius and Nicolas Florenas the three physicians of Emperor Charles V, after the death of Narcissus Parthenopeus Vertunus.

Caballus was – according to O’Malley – a physician of little merit, gaining the confidence of the emperor.

* XIII-1551.01.13-1 Willem van Maele to Lodewijk van Praet * Transl. Brussels, 1843
In: Guillaume van MALE, *Lettres sur la vie intérieure de l’Empereur Charles-Quint ...,* publiées pour la première fois, par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, Delevingne et Callewaert, 1843.


This is a French translation. The short passage reads as follows:

> J’ai consulté tout le monde, et personne encore n’a deviné ma maladie: Caballus dit que c’est une néphrite, Vésale prétend que c’est un abcès du rein, un autre que c’est une maladie de langueur et Corneille, pour ne pas se tromper, soutient que j’ai toutes ces maladies à la fois.

* XIII-1551.01.13-2 Willem van Maele to Lodewijk van Praet * Brugge, 1844

Note: For this passage in French see p. 8.

Several other remarks on Vesalius.

Can be consulted in books.google.

XIII-1551.01.13-3 Willem van Maele to Lodewijk van Praet Brugge, 1845
Not seen.


Note: Mentioned by Cushing, p. 245 no. 593.

* XIII-1551.01.13-4 Willem van Maele to Lodewijk van Praet * Brugge, 1964

Notes: Also in French. Probably the same as *Notice sur Corneille van Baersdorp, médecin de l’empereur Charles-Quint*, Brugge, imprimerie de Félix de Pachtere, 1845, 49 pp. With portrait and coat of arms and *Charte, concernant les épouses de Corneille van Baersdorp* (2 pp. by Overdyle, in Dutch). Also with several other remarks on Vesalius.
XIII-1551.06.12 - Jacobus Sylvius’ ‘open letter’ on Vesalius, Paris

Heading: *Candido et pio lectore. O Divinum Hippocratem, ac eius ubique admirandum interpretatem Galenum, maxima post Apollinem ac Aesculapium medicinae numina, ...*

First published in: Jacobus SYLVIUS, *Vaesani cuiusdam calumniarum in Hippocratis Galenique rem anatomicam depulsio*, Parrhisiis, apud Catharinam Barbé, viduam Iacobi Gazelli, e regione collegii Cameracensis, 1551, 29 ff

Concerns: Sylvius defends Galen and Hippocrates against Vesalius, which he calls a mad-man (vaesanus).

Note: This little book should be considered as an ‘open letter’ or a pamphlet intended to cause as much harm as possible to Vesalius. The privilege in French at the beginning *Extraict du privilege du Roy* ends with the date: … *Et fut achevé d’imprimer le douzième iour du moys de Iuin, 1551.*

Some do believe that Vesalius burnt his books as a cause of this pamphlet. But this is not possible as he did so in the period while leaving Padua and entering into the service of the Emperor. The real cause was the hostile attitude towards him of the physicians at the imperial Court (Roth p. 190).

* XIII-1551.06.12-1  First edition  Paris, 1551

In: Jacobus SYLVIUS, *Vaesani cuiusdam calumniarum in Hippocratis Galenique rem anatomicam depulsio*, Parrhisiis, apud Catharinam Barbé, viduam Iacobi Gazelli, 1551, 29 ff

Note: This can be downloaded from books-google, being a copy of the edition owned by O’Malley himself, now at the library of the University of California (Los Angeles). This copy contains several inserted folios of a typescript with the complete English translation of the *Candido et pio lectore*, and first, second, third and fourth refutations, the other ones being only fragmentary translated. The translations are probably made by O’Malley himself.

* XIII-1551.06.12-2  2nd ed. in Henerus  Venice, 1555


* XIII-1551.06.12-3  3th ed.  Basel, 1556

Still later edition: Same title, but *Denuo per Alexandrum Arnaudum diligentissime castigata*, ex off Iacobus Derbilley, Basel, 1556.

Note see Cushing, chapter X, nos. 187, 385 and 386.

* XIII-1551.06.12-4  Copy of original text  Lyon, 1630
In: Renatus MORAEUS, Iacobi Sylvii Ambiani medici et professori regii Parisiensis Opera medica iam demum in sex partes digesta,... Adiuncta est eiusdem vita et icon opera et studio Renati Moreaei Doctoris Medici Parisiensis [Jacobus Sylvius’s Works on medicine, now for the first time distributed in six books... With the addition of his life and work by René Moreau, doctor of the medical faculty of Paris], [n.p.], sumptibus Iacobi Chouët, 1631, 892 pp.

Notes: Moreau’s biography of Sylvius is the best and fullest prior to that of Thuasne. On the dispute between Sylvius and Vesalius see chapter Vita Iacobi Sylvii pp. ++ vii - [++ viii]. Includes several works of Sylvius, including the text of his Vaesani cuiusdam calumniarum in Hippocratis Galenique rem anatomicam depulsi, see pp. 135-158.

There are several other editions by Iacobi Chouët, all having the same pagination:

- Genevae, 1630 (XIII-1551.06.12-5)
- [n.p.], 1631 (XIII-1551.06.12-6)
- Coloniae Allobrogum, 1634 (XIII-1551.06.12-7)
- Genevae, 1634 (XIII-1551.06.12-8)
- Genevae, 1635 (XIII-1551.06.12-9)

XIII-1552.05.? – Oporinus in his book shop catalogue

Passage: Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis, medici Caesarei, de Humani corporis fabrica libri V. summa diligentia ab eodem recogniti et aucti. fol. (De humani corporis fabrica, V books, folio, by Andreas Vesalius from Brussels, Imperial physician, with the utmost care revised and increased by himself.)

Note: This proves that the second edition of the Fabrica was already partially printed (five books of seven) in May 1552. The delay of the last books had to do with a shortage of usable type and the complete print was finished in August 1555. According to Gerhard Wolf-Heidegger there is only on copy of this reduced edition existant (in the British Museum, London).

The remark is on p. 6 of this catalogue.

XIII-1552.05.?-1 Fragment Basel, 1966


Note: for the fragment with an ample discussion and reproduction see pp. 47-53. Much of the discussion has to do with Oporinus’s problems to obtain enough parchment (!) to finish the print of the 1555 edition. Gerhard Wolf-Heidegger gives several other letter fragments concerning that particular subject.
XIII-1552.08.15 – Conrad Lycosthenes to Heinrich Bullinger

Heading: not seen.

Passage: *Scripsit et nuper Caesaris anima Wesalius, ad Oporinum nostrum, cui subinde Caesaris fortunas per literas praedicare solitus erat, cuius tamen ne verbo quidem iam mentionem fecit. Verum quid moliatur ipse dies mox indicabit.* (Recently Wesalius wrote also about the well-being of the Emperor to our Oporinus, to whom he used to mention regularly in his letters about the health of the Emperor, but who told himself not even a word about it. However he will soon mention what was the case on that day.)

Note: Original in *Staatsarchiv Zürich*. Conrad Lycostenes (Wolfhardt, c. 1518-1561) was a theologian and humanist, and a brother-in-law of Johannes Oporinus. See also XIII-1553.07.26.

XIII-1552.08.15-1 Fragment Basel, 1966


Note: for the fragment with a short discussion see pp. 45-46.

XIII-1552.11.01 - Philip Melanchthon to Hieron. Baumgartner, son, Wittenberg

Heading: *Utcumque praedixit vox divina, …*

Title: *Baumgartnero, filio.*

Passage: … Secutus sum autem scriptores optimos, Galenum, Vesalium et Leonardum Fuchsium, et adhibui amicos interdum Iacobum Milichium et Peucerum, generum meum. Sed quia nec vacuo animo huic uni operi intentus fui, et peregrinationes nostrae saepe saepe hanc telam, quam contexere malebam, interruperunt, alicubi desiderari diligentia poterit. Oro igitur eos, qui aliiis haec initia enarrabunt, ut errata candide emendent, praesertim cum extent iam pictureae Vesalii, et luculentae descriptiones, de quibus sic inquit Paulus Eberus:

*Quantum nocte alias stellas, cum lumine fratris*  
*Orbem complevit, vincere Lunam solet:*  
*Vesalii tantum reliquis liber anteit unus,*  
*Corpora qui qua sint condita ab arte, docent.*

(… I followed the best authors: Galen, Vesalius, and Leonhard Fuchs, and sometimes I relied on Jacob Milich and Peucer, friends of my age. But as I did not all the trouble for this single work with a quiet heart and this goal that I wanted to reach was interrupted by my travels, someone might ask for carefulness. Therefore I ask those who will tell these principles to others, to correct my errors honestly, especially because there are already pictures and excellent descriptions by Vesalius, on which Paulus Eberus expressed himself as follows: As
at night the moon uses to conquer the other stars, when during her orbit she fills her compagnons with light; so with only one book of Vesalius the other ones before it are teached by the artfull bodies therein.)

Concerns: Philip Melanchthon writes on the ‘anatomical’ work he published and points to the fact that Vesalius did already better than him, adding a laudatory poem by Paulus Eberus (see Roth pp. 245 and 441). This is remarkable as this letter comes only one year after Sylvius’s very critical pamphlet in Paris: Jacobus SYLVIUS, Vaesani cuiusdam calumniarum in Hippocratis Galenique rem anatomicam depulsio [Defence of the anatomy of Hippocrate and Galen against the defamation by a mad-man (Vesalius)], Parrhisiis, apud Catharinam Barbé, viduam Iacobi Gazelli, 1551, 29 ff

Appeared first in: Carolus Gottlieb BRETSCHNEIDER (ed.), Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia, Vol. VII, Halis Saxonum apud C.A. Schwetschke et filium, 1840. This work is part of Bretschneider’s Corpus reformatorum and the long letter is no. 5256 in vol. VII, cols. 1125-1128.

Notes: The letter is addressed to Clarissimo viro, Hieronymi Bomgartneri, sapientia et virtute praestantis filio, Hieronymo Bombartnero, Philippus Melanthon. (Philip Melanchthon to de very famous Hieronymus Baumgartner, son of Hieronymus Baumgartner, excelling in wisdom and virtue). It is dated Witebergae, Calend. Novemb. Anni 1552 (Wittenberg, November 1st, 1552).

Melanchthon’s anatomical work is in fact a compendium on psychology, first published as Commentarius de anima, (Strasbourg, Crato, 1540) with an overview on anatomy. This already had an Epistola nuncupatoria directed to Hieronymus Bomgartnerus Senator Noribergensis, but without mentioning Vesalius of course. Roth wonders how a layman as Melanchthon succeeded in rendering quite sharply some new anatomical discoveries. Philip Melanchthon was born as Philipp Schartzerdt on February 16th, 1497 at Bretten (Karlsruhe). He was a philosopher and a professor in Wittenberg and stood as a theologian next to Martin Luther. He died in Wittenberg on April 19th, 1560.

According to Melanchthon’s letter there were two Hieronymus Baumgartner: father and son, but following the Neue Deutsche Biographie the father of Hieronymus (Nuerenberg, 9 March 1498 – Nuerenberg, 8 December 1565) was Gabriel (1449 – 1507). Hieronymus studied philosophy, mathematics and law at the university of Wittenberg. He was active in Luther’s Reformation and very well acquainted with Melanchthon. But as a Councillor at the diet from the end of August 1554 he positioned himself in sharp contrast to Melanchthon (see Albrecht BEUTEL, Martin LAUBE, Athina LEXUTT, Arbeiten zur Historischen und Systematischen Theologie, Band 21, Wien, Lit Verlag, 2016, p. 297). His young son, to whom this letter was written, was most probably Hieronymus Baumgartner à Baumgartner (1537-1602) who had himself a son Nicolaus Hieronymus as is apparent from the beginning of a letter from Altorf, January 1603, by rector Cunradus Rittershusius in his Exequiae Baumgartnerianee, Diversorum Auctorum, Norimbergae, In Typographo Pauli Kaufmanni, 1603.

* XIII-1552.11.01-1 Philip Melanchthon to Hieronymus Baumgartner, son Halle, 1840
Note: This work is part of Bretschneider’s Corpus reformatorum and the long letter is no. 5256 in vol. VII, cols. 1125-1128.

XIII-1553.07.26 – Conrad Lycosthenes to Heinrich Bullinger

Heading: not seen.

Passage: … Andreas Wesalius, qui ante aliquot menses fatis concessisse ferebatur, redivivus heri ex Bruxella scripsit, sed de Caesare, cuius anima est, nec de bellicis rumoribus ne verbum quidem scripsit. Expectamus tamen. (Andreas Wesalius, who some months ago told that he was tired out, wrote yesterday from Brussels that he revives, but apart from the well-being of the Emperor, he wrote nothing about the rumours of a war. Let’s wait and see however.

Note: The Ms. was once in the Bibliotheca Carolina in Zürich, but was in 1964 no longer findable. A copy of the letter is in the Simmlerschen Briefsammlung (18th century; Johann Jakob Simmler [1716-1788]), in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

This fragment would mean that Vesalius wrote the letter in Brussels on July 25th 1553 and that it already arrived in Basel the day after. Probably Bullinger wants to say that he ‘received Vesalius’s letter yesterday’. Since February 7th 1553 Charles V traveled only a few times, staying most of the time in Brussels. In September 1553 he went to Valenciennes, and a somewhat longer period, from the end of July until the beginning of October 1554, to Cambrai where his war with Henry II of France was ongoing. But he returned afterwards to Brussels until his departure to Spain. Vesalius must have stayed most of this time at his house in Brussels, in the neighbourhood of the Emperor (info by Theodoor Goddeeris). See also XIII-1552.08.15. For Lycosthenes see XIII-1552.08.15, for Bullinger see XIII-1543.03.06.

XIII-1553.07.26-1 Fragment Basel, 1966


Note: for the fragment with a discussion see pp. 46-47.

XIII-1554.09.13 - Juan Valverde to Don Fray Ioan de Toledo, Rome,

Heading: Considerando Illustriss. Señor la gran salta, que la nacion nuestra tiene de hombres, que entiendan la Anatomia…

Appeared first in: Ioan VALVERDE DE HAMUSCO, De la composicion del cuerpo humano, Impressa por Antonio Salamanca, y Antonio Lafrerij, en Roma. Año de M. D. LVI.
Title: Al Illustriss. y Reverendiss. S. Don Fray Ioan de Toledo Cardenal, y Arçobispo de Santiago, el Dotor Ioan de Valuerde su Medico. Considerando Illustriss. Señor la gran falta, que la nacion nuestra tiene de hombres, que entiendã la Anatomia...

Passages: Y visto el daño que desto se sigue a toda la nación Española, parte por los Cirurjanos (a quien mas falta haze no entenderla) saber poco latin, parte por auer escrito el Vesalio tan escurremente, que con difficultad puede ser entendido, sino de aquellos que primero algunas vezes an tenido el cuerpo delante de sus ojos, y muy buen maestro que se le declare; pareciame cosa muy conueniente, escrivir esta historia en nuestra légua.

... Lea juntamente al Vesalio, al qual no solo no pi éso hazer yo injuria coneste mi libro, o desterrarle de España, mas antes disponer los entendimientos, a que mas facilmente puedà entender, aunque no vean la Anatomia, todo lo que el a escrito...


Concerns: Valverde bemoans to an audience of fellow Spaniards, unfamiliar with the humanist Latin discourse used by Vesalius (in his Fabrica), that he wrote in a too complicated style, that can only be understood with difficulty, and only by those who had already seen the dissection of a corpse with their own eyes. For this reasons he decided to write in their own language. On the other hand he encourages his readers to read Vesalius too, hoping to make him more comprehensible with his own work.

Notes: Juan Alvarez de Toledo (Toledo, July 15th, 1488 – Rome, September 15th, 1557) was the son of Fadrique, second duke of Alba, and his wife Isabel Pimentel. He became a professor in philosophy and theology at the university of Salamanca, bishop of Cordoba (1523-1537), bishop of Burgos (1537-1550), cardinal and archbishop of Santiago de Compostella (1550-1553). In 1552 he was nominated Inquisitor in Rome. He participated in three conclaves, with the elections of the popes Julius III (1550), Marcellus II (1555), and Paulus IV (also 1555). He was the uncle of the governor of the Netherlands, the third duke of Alva. Juan de Valverde was his court-physician.

Nowadays most translators of Vesalius-work and especially the Fabrica-translators agree that Vesalius’s Latin is very complex but always matches with a correct classical Latin.


* XIII-1554.09.13-1 First edition Rome, 1556
In: Ioan VALVERDE DE HAMUSCO, De la composicion del cuerpo humano, Impressa por Antonio Salamanca, y Antonio Lafrerij, en Roma. Año de M. D. LVI.

Note: the letter is the preface to S. Don Fray Ioan de Toledo, f. * ii.
XIII-1554.11.13 - Renatus Henerus to Jacobus Trappus, Pulsano

Heading: Tam sunt depravata hodie ingenia Trappe generose, ut si quem semel sibi imitandum susceperunt, eum tanta pertinacia, ea superstitione colant,…

First published in: Renatus Henerus, *Adversus Iacobi Sylvii depulsionum anatomicarum calumnias, pro Andrea Vesalio Apologia, in qua praecipuas totius negotii anatomici pene controversiae breviter explicantur… Additus est et ipse Iacobi Sylvii Depulsionum libellus, quo aequus lector commodius de omnibus iudicium ferre possit*, [Apology for Andreas Vesalius against the defamations by Jacobys Sylvius of the anatomical defences, wherein the most important of all the controversies of the whole anatomical matter are briefly explained… I added the booklet with Sylvius’s repultions itself, to allow the honnest reader to make up his judgement more easily] Venetiis, 1555.

Concerns: Apologies in favour of Vesalius after the attacks by Jacobus Sylvius. Henerus writes to J. Trappus that with his work it is his intention to defend Vesalius against the attacks by Sylvius, basing himself only on the objective merits of Vesalius’s works. He had never seen Vesalius in person, but values his anatomical books, and on the other hand he does not want to be disrespectful towards Sylvius who was once his professor.

Note: Renatus Henerus Lindoensis (René Hener) was a physician from Lindau (Bodensee - Germany), and was until 1552 in Paris a student of Jacobus Sylvius. This letter was written in Pulsano (Puglia, Italy) on November 13th 1554 and directed to *Generoso et nobili viro Iacobo Trabbo iuniori, Bisinae et Churburgae Domino, domino suo colendo*.

Jacob Trapp was lord of Bisina and Churburg (South-Tyrol in Italy). Bisina or Beseno (It.: Bassano, G.: Bisein) was a manor, North-West of Venice on the River Etsch. He was possibly the same as Jakob Trapp VII (1529-1563) who traveled to the Holy Land in 1561, and son of Jacob Trapp VI (1499-1558). The numbers attributed to the different Jacobs are not always the same. Compare with Oswald Graf Trapp, *Ritter Jacob Trapp auf Churburg* (1529-1563). *Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Tirols*, Schlern-Schriften 127, Innsbruck 1954, 84 pp. (communication by Theodoor Goddeeris).

* XIII-1554.11.13-1  First edition  Venice, 1555

Note: The letter appears in front of this edition, between a poem in Greek by Io. Fuxius Velc. (not in Roth), and a poem in Latin by Nicolaus Stopius from Aalst (Belgium) *Ad candidos et cordatos lectores*, mentioned by Roth pp. 441 en 127 n 2.

Can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Several copies are missing one or the two poems.
Heading: Annus iam est tertius, quo Lutetiae cum essem, Sylvius suum illud adversus Andream Vesalium virulentum evulgabat scrip'tum: ...


Concerns: Apologies in favour of Vesalius after the attacks by Jacobus Sylvius.

Note: This text of 70 folios should be considered as an answer to the ‘open letter’ or pamphlet by Sylvius and is intended to make apologies in favour of Vesalius. It contains a reprint of Sylvius’s pamphlet on pp. 71-134. See also (XIII.K).

This defence of Vesalius is preceded by a letter directed to Jacobus Trappus (see above), written in Pulsano (Puglia, Italy) on November 13th 1554 (follows). So this *Apologia* must have been written at about the same time. In their *Praefatio* of 1725 with a *Vita Vesalii* Boerhaave and Albinus mention tertio Id. Novembris anno 1554 Venetiis (f. *****2).
Concerns: Letter to the reader by Luis Collado in defence of Vesalius against Sylvius. No date.

Note: Luis Collado was a direct pupil of Vesalius and a physician whose main contribution to anatomy is the above mentioned volume (Valencia, 1555) consisting of three texts: a review of the said Galenic work, a description of the cranial sinuses and orifices, and a “letter to the reader” in which he justifies his defence of Vesalius against the attacks of Sylvius.

* XIII-1555.??.??.C-1 * First edition Valencia, 1555
In: Cl. Galeni Pergameni Liber de Ossibus ad tyrones, interprete Ferdinando Balamio Siculo, Enarrationibus ilustratus a Ludovico Collado Valentino, publico artis Medicae doctore, Valentia, ex typographia Ioannis Mey Flandri, 1555.

Note: can be downloaded from books.google.

In: Jose Maria Lopez Piñero & Luis Garcia Ballester, Antologia de la Escuela Anatomica Valenciana del siglo XVI, Catedra e Instituto de Historia de la Medicina, Valencia, 1962, pp. 71.

Note: For the letter see pp. [35]-[37].

Provenance: The Anthology was purchased in october 2013 from the antiquary Libros Vobiscum, Alicante (Spain).

* XIII-1555.??.??.C-3 * Spanish translation Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanueva”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: see pp. 301-302 for the translation taken from the transcription and translation by José Maria Lopez Piñero and Luis Garcia Ballester, published in Antologia de la Escuela Anatomica Valenciana del siglo XVI, Valencia: Catedra e Instituto de Historia de la Medicina, Valencia, 1962, pp. 71.

* XIII-1555.??.??.C-4 * Spanish translation Valencia, 2004
In: José L. FRESQUET, ‘Andrés Vesalio (1514-1564)’ in Historia de la Medicina - Biografías, Instituto de Historia de la Ciencia y Documentación (CSIC-Universidad de Valencia), Agosto 2004.

Heading: *Annus iam est tertius, quo Lutetiae cum essem, Sylvius suum illud adversus Andream Vesalium virulentum evulgabat sciptum:* ...


Concerns: Apologies in favour of Vesalius after the attacks by Jacobus Sylvius.

Note: This text of 70 folios should be considered as an answer to the ‘open letter’ or pamphlet by Sylvius and is intended to make apologies in favour of Vesalius. It contains a reprint of Sylvius’s pamphlet on pp. 71-134.

* XIII-1555.??.??.-H-1  First edition  Venice, 1555


Note: The work opens with a poem in Greek by Io. Fuxius Velc, honouring Vesalius both as a physician and as an anatomist. Than follows a letter by Henerus to Iacobus Trappus (see there), followed itself by another poem by Nicolaus Stopius from Aalst (Belgium). In it Stopius points to the sharp criticism of J. Sylvius towards Vesalius, he wonders why Sylvius called him *Vesanus*, and ends with commending Henerus for praising Vesalius. Stopius helped Vesalius in Venice in preparing the manuscript of the *Fabrica* for its transport to Basle, as he wrote himself at the beginning of his letter to Oporinus. M. Roth cites two fragments of this poem in his Vesalius-biography (pp. 441-442).


Provenance: This can be downloaded from books.google of the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliotheck.

XIII-1555.05.04 - Johannes Oporinus to Conrad Hubertus, [Basel]

Heading: *Scripseram nuper ad Michaelem Toxitem ut mihi curaret apud Dryandri liberorum tutores matrises et instrumenta magni textus,*... (Recently I wrote to Michael Toxites to secure for me from the tutors of Dryander’s children the moulds and tools for the larger types, …)

Concerns: Oporinus asks Hubertus in Strasburg to buy the letter matrices and tools from the (then deceased) Dryander, in order to be able to finish the printing of Vesalius’s Fabrica 1555, started three years before.

Note: The original is in the S. Thomas-Archiv in Strasburg.

The Fabrica 1555 was for the largest part already printed in 1552. In a catalogue of Oporinus’s shop dated May 1552 five of the seven books were offered for sale as Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis, medici Caesarei, de Humani Corporis Fabrica libri V. summa diligentia ab eodem recogniti et aucti. fol. (see Roth, p. 224 and n. 2; O’Malley p. 270, 463 n. 6 and 10).

Dryander is Franciscus Enzynas.

Michael Toxites, born Johann Michael Schütz (Sterzing, South Tyrol, 19 July 1514 – Haguenau, Alsace, 1581), was a doctor, alchemist and poet. He studied in Dillingen, Tübingen, Pavia University and in Wittenberg under Philip Melanchthon. He studied medicine between 1551 and 1556 at Strasbourg but doctorated in 1562. There he had in 1564 a laboratory and experimented with antimony. He move to Haguenau in 1574 and died there in 1581.

* XIII-1555.05.04-1 Transcription Berlin, 1892

Note: for the transcription see pp. 438-439.

* XIII-1555.05.04-1a Transcription Amsterdam, 1965

* XIII-1555.05.04-2 English translation Baltimore, 1943

* XIII-1555.05.04-3 English translation New York, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, xxvii, 229 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see Cushing p. 90.

* XIII-1555.05.04-4  English translation  Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see O’Malley pp. 406.

* XIII-1555.05.04-5  English translation  Rijeka, 2016
In preparation June 2016.

XIII-1555.09.13 – Thomas Platter to Felix Platter, Basel

Heading: not seen.

Passage: … *d* selbig huss han ich ietz Michaëli Stellae mit sampt dem werchtzüg in annum pro certa pecunia gelichen, Der ist Doctoris Vesalii consanguineus, will versuchen wie sich der halten welle, bin auch nit mer sins die truchery zu verkouffen…

(I have let the house with the whole printing material to Michaël Stella for a fixed amound a year. He is a family member of doctor Vesalius; I will see wether I will keep him or not and I do not longer intend to sell the printing-office.)

Notes: The original is in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel.

Felix was the son of Thomas Platter and was at that time a medical student in Montpellier.

Martin Stella was a printer and a cousin of Vesalius from Brussels, living there next door. Their fathers were both pharmacists. The printing activities of Martin Stella had a premature end. See also (XIII-1546.11.04) and (XIII-1556.08.25).

* XIII-1555.09.13-1  Fragment  Basel, 1966

Note: The fragment with short discussion is on p. 42.

XIII-1555.10.06 – Felix Platter in his diary, Basel

Passage: … *Er* vermeldet auch wie er die druckery wider nemmen miessen die er Ludovico Luzio verkauft hatt, hab ein niwe stuben darzu gebuwen und ietz Michaëli Stellae ein ior lang verlichen, der sye Vesalii consanguineus.
(He [Felix’s father Thomas] tells also how he had to take the printing house again, which he had sold to Ludovicus Luzius. He had to build a new room in it and lent it during a year to Michael Stella, family member of Vesalius.)

Notes:  
1° The original is in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel. This is a confirmation of Platter’s letter of 1555.09.13.
Ludovicus Luzius or Lucius (Ludwig Lück) was from Wetterau (Hessen). He had a printing practice together with Johannes Oporinus and Michael Martin Stella in 1552, 1554 and 1556. Oporinus was the first to print De veritate fidei christianae by Vives in 1543. Several reprints during that period had the impressum: Basileae, ex officina Joannis Oporini, Ludovici Lucii et Michaelis Stellae. Lucius was from Wetterau (Hessen). He started printing in Basel 1552, frequently for Oporinus and from 1556 also together with Stella. From 1560 he was a printer in Heidelberg, and 1562/63 in Frankfurt am Main. Still in 1567 mentioned by Joseph Benzing, Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Deutschen Sprachgebiet, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982. See <http://www.ub.unibas.ch/itb/druckerverleger/ludwig-lucius/>

2° Another – not dated! - passage in this diary confirms that Vesalius visited his father Thomas Platter in Basel at the time of the publication of his Fabrica:

... wie auch dass ich den Vesalius by meinem vatter g esechen han, ... erinnere ich mich..., muss lang sein wil Vesalius sein Buch domolen A° (1543) usslies gon.
(… and also that I saw Vesalius with my father, … I can recall…., it should have been long ago, when Vesalius published his book in 1543.)

* XIII-1555.10.06-1 Fragment Basel, 1966

Note: The fragment with short discussion is on p. 42.
The not dated fragment is on p. 41.

XIII-1556.02.29 - Theodorus Beza to Johannes Oporinus, Lausanne

Heading and passage: S. Habeo tibi gratiam de iis muneribus, quae ad me missa accepi, sed ea conditione, ut a me accipias D. Calvini commentarios in Esaiam, manus si pretium spectes, minime quidem avarciæv, sed quo longe magis animus noster excoli possit, quam corpus D. Vessali labore cognoscis, quanguam certe, ut dicam quod res est, incredibilis est in hoc studio Vessalii δεξιοτητης. (Greetings. I thank you for those gifts sent to me and which I received, but on the condition that you accept from me The commentaries on Isaiah by Calvin, a gift when you look at the value, which in no way counterbalances, but that much
longer may develop my mind, such as you know the volume of the work of Vesalius that has certainly, to say things as they are, an unbelievable capability.)

Concerns: Theodore Beza suggests here that Oporinus sent him a copy of Vesalius’ Fabrica as a gift, possibly his new edition of 1555, and tries to compare that work with Calvin’s comments on Isaiah. His feel, that both works are in fact not comparable at all, is conveyed by using Greek terms for his qualifications instead of Latin.


Notes: Theodore Beza, in French Théodore de Bèze or de Besze (Vézelay, 24 June 1519 – Geneva, 13 October 1605), was French theologian and a disciple of John Calvin. He studied in Paris, Orléans and Bourges, but he spent most of his life in Lausanne and Geneva in Switzerland, where he successfully succeeded Calvin after his death on 27 May 1564.

Calvin’s Commentarii in Isaiam Prophetam (637 pages) had been published by Ioannes Crispinus on 11 January 1551 in Geneva.

**XIII-1556.02.29-1** Theodorus Beza to Johannes Oporinus  Basel, 1846

Note: The letter is the first one in III. Anhang einiger Briefe von, an und über Oporin, on pp. 106-108.

**XIII-1556.08.25 – Felix Platter in his diary, Basel**

Passage:  *Er klagt auch dass Michael Stella Vesalii vetter, dem er die truckery um den Zins alle wuchen ein gulden verlichen, nach 30 wuchen on zalung hinweg gelaffen, verlier also im 30 fl wie auch vil am Lucio der sy zevor bestanden.*

Notes: The original is in the Universitätsbibliothek Basel. See also Platter’s letter of 1555.10.06.

**XIII-1556.08.25-1 Fragment** Basel, 1966
XIII-1557.05.06 – Simon Sulzer an Heinrich Bullinger, Basel

Heading: not seen.

Passage: Ex Belgis scribit Vesalius Caesarem Cancellariam suam divulgisse, et iam privatum agere, nec ultra 12 homines ministerio uti. (Vesalius writes from Belgium that the Emperor has dissolved his emperial household and to act henceforth privately, using no more than 12 men in his service.)

Note: Original letter in Staatsarchiv Zürich.

Simon Sulzer (1508-1585) was a theologian in Basel.

**XIII-1557.05.06-1**  
Fragment  
Basel, 1966


Note: The fragment with short discussion is on p. 47.

XIII-1557.07.26 - Gulielmus Quacelbenus to Matthiolus, Constantinople

Heading: Gulielmus Quacelbenus Curtacen: Physicus Petro Andreae Matthiolo. S. P. D.   
Agitur de plantis quibusdam peregrinis Constantinopi à Quacelbeno missis. (Willem Quackelbeen from Kortrijk, physician, sends his best greetings to Petrus Andreas Matthiolus – Dealing with some exotic herbs sent by Quackelbeen from Constantinople.)

First words: Non tam temere utilissimas tuas occupationes, reique herbariae iam tandem reviviscenti in primis necessarias, Doctissime Matthiole, interturbarem… (I am not that very much afraid, most learned Matthiolus, of interrupting your very important business to revive at last the botanical sciences …)

Concerns: At the beginning of his letter Quackelbeen remarks that Matthiolus was for the botanical sciences of the same importance as Vesalius for anatomy with his work on Dioscorides: in Dioscoridem enarrationes … rei herbariae studio teneri, …. nos talem in hoc scientiae genere instauratorem nactos esse, qualem superioribus annis in anatomicis administrationibus Andream Vesalium. A bit further he adds that Vesalius, just like Matthiolus suffered from the envy of other famous men: Habuit Vesalius (ut in comparatione persistam) suos aemulos non ignobiles viros, habes et tuos,… [such as Jacobus Sylvius for Vesalius and Amatus Lusitanus for Matthiolus].
The main purpose of the letter has to do with the various plants or herbs (about 22) which Quackelbeen sent to Matthiolus: he gives a list of them and some explanations.

Appeared first in: Petrus Andreas MATTHIOLUS, Epistolarum Medicinalium Libri Quinque, excusum Pragae in Officina Typographica Georgii Melantrichi ab Aventino, 1561.

Note: The letter is in Liber III, pp. 171-176.

Quackelbeen is mentioned as Guilielmus Quaccelbenus from Kortrijk (Belgium) by Valerius ANDREAS, in his Bibliotheca belgica (Lovanium: Jacob Seghers, 1643). He tells that he was the physician of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (Angerius Gislenius Busbequius, Van Boesbeke), who accompanied him to Byzantium (Constantinople, now Istanbul). Busbecq himself tells the story in his Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum (Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1581) and in Epistola I in his Epistolae quatuor. Of the latter Zweder von Malters translated the edition of 1589 into Dutch (later editions 1595; Hanoviae, apud Claudium Marnium, 1605; and 1620). A.H. Huussen did the same in Het Leven van Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1949), including a map with his travels. Quackelbeen himself died in Constantinople on 8 May 1561, possibly from the plague (info Theodoor Goddeeris). Valerius Andreas knew of this letter.

* XIII-1557.07.26-1 Guilielmus Quacelbenus to Matthiolus Prague, 1561
In: Petrus Andreas MATTHIOLUS, Epistolarum Medicinalium Libri Quinque, excusum Pragae in Officina Typographica Georgii Melantrichi ab Aventino, 1561.

Note: The letter is in Liber III, pp. 171-176, and is followed with Matthiolus’s answer.

* XIII-1557.07.26-2 Guilielmus Quacelbenus to Matthiolus Lyon, 1564
In: Petrus Andreas MATTHIOLUS, Epistolarum Medicinalium Libri Quinque, Lugduni, Apud Caesarem Farinam, 1564.

Note: The letter is in Liber tertius, pp. 287-295, and is followed with Matthiolus’s answer too.

XIII-1557.11.06 - Litolfi to Tosabezzi, Brussels

Reading: ... Lo eccellentissimo signor Don Ferrando si trova in letto per questa sua milza et asma, et certi dolori che lo cruciavano, ma non ha febbre per quanto dicono i medici, i quali sono quattro assistenti; et uno di essi, detto il Vessalio, benché è più tosto cirurgico che fisico, faceva mal giudizio in questo, che Sua Eccellentia havesse una postema di dentro, perché de tanti rimedi che si erano fatti, pareva che nessuno lo giovasse, ma gli altri sono di altro parere , et ci è una ragion bona, che il dolore se ben si raccoglie talhor in un luogo, si sparge pero anche per tutto ‘l corpo ...

Concerns: On the intervention of Vesalius for the illness of Ferrante Gonzaga.

Note: The original Ms. is in the archives of Mantua (b. 571, Litolfi no. 132).

Don Ferrando is here Ferrante Gonzaga (of the branch of Guastalla), a younger brother of the Duke of Mantua and an uncle of the two succeeding dukes. He was a known general of emperor Charles V, knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the first of the House of Gonzaga. He took part in the battle near Saint-Quentin on August 10th 1557. Shortly thereafter he became sick, whence better he returned to Brussels, but he suffered from a heavy asthma and headache in the last week of October. His situation worsened and he was examined by several physicians among whom was Vesalius, who was thought to have treated him wrongly. Suddenly he got worse, died and the following day Vesalius did a post mortem. Then also there was a disagreement regarding Vesalius’s conclusions. All this we know from the correspondance of Lidolfi, the servant of Ferrante, with Guglielmo, duke of Mantua and a nephew of Ferrante. (personal communication by Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris, 24 and 25.10.2013)

* XIII-1557.11.06-1 Transcription 1990

Note: for the transcription see p. 96 n. 138. This was reprinted in 1994.

XIII-1557.11.17 - Litolfi to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, Brussels

Reading: ... Hier sera fu aperto il corpo alla presenza di messer Achat et del medico di Madama di Loreno. Loro dicono che non vi era niente di guasto, ma partiti essi il Vessalio dice che in tagliar la milza et il pulmone scoperse la postema, et ch’el fidago [= fegato] era mezo guasto ...


Concerns: On the post mortem of Ferrante Gonzaga by Vesalius.

Note: The original Ms. is in the archives of Mantua (b. 571, Litolfi no. 145). See also note in XIII.0.
XIII-1558.10.20 - Cardinal de Granvelle to Viglius, Cercamp

Heading: Monsieur le président: Vos lettres des XII, XV et XVIIIᵉ me sont esté seulement hier rendues; …

Passage: … Ad ce que le roy m'éscript, vostre advis venu, il enverroa monsieur de Meghe et monsieur de Berghes pour assister à monsieur de Lalaing durant son indisposition; il se porte, ad se que l’on me dict, mieulx et ne crains pas beaucoup les jugements de Vesalius sur ses malades, parce qu’il les déclaire tousjours d’arrivée mortelz, afin que s’ilz meurent cela l’excuse, et s’ilz vivent qu’il ait fait miracle…


Concerns: see passage.

Notes: The letter concerns Karel, second count of Lalaing, second count of Lalaing (1506-Brussels, November 21th, 1558). He was knight of the Golden Fleece no. 179.

This rather sarcastic remark by Granvelle was lateron also made for other famous physicians, sometimes by people who were envious to them. On that very moment the physical condition of Lalaing was poor and a month later he died with symptoms of dysentery. So perhaps Vesalius’ estimation of his condition was not that wrong. Lalaing and Granvelle were not best friends (details Theodoor Goddeeris).

* XIII-1558.10.20-1 Transcription Paris, 1844


Note: see vol. 5, 1844, p. 282.
XIII-1558.10.20-2  
**Transcription**  
Brussels & Leipzig, 1859


Note: see p. 57 n 2 for the passage in somewhat other wordings: *M. de Lalaing se porte mieulx, et ne crains pas beaucoup les jugements de Vesalius sur ses malades, par ce qu’il les déclare toujours d’arrivée mortelz, afin que s’ilz meurent cela l’excuse, et s’ilz vivent, qu’il ait fait miracle.*

Henne mentions this remark by Granvelle on p. 57 (not vol. 5 p. 281 or vol. 8 p. 257 as mentioned by Cushing). On this page Henne refers for this to an art. on Vesalius by Le Mayeur on p. 249 of his *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine ancienne et moderne* (but no work like this could be found on his name; the passage is not found in Le Mayeur’s *La gloire Belgique* either).

XIII-1558.10.20-3  
**English translation**  
Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964


Note: the translation of this passage is on p. 283.

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XIII-1558.12.?? – Levinus Lemnius to Mathias Gallomontanus ab Hesuwijck, Zierickzee

Heading: Amplissimo, summaeq’ve virtutis ac dignitatis viro D. Mathiae Gallomontano ab Hesuwijck, apud Metelliburgum Antistici cumprimis reverendo, Levinus Lemnius Medicus S.P.D. Lysander Lacaedemonius aliquando conspicatus...

First published in: Levinus LEMNIUS, *Occulta naturae miracula, ac varia rerum documenta, ..., Antverpiae, apud Guilielmum Simonem, 1561.*

Passage (f. 4): Cuius praeter alios locupletissimus testis esse poterit D. Andreas Vesalius Medicus Imperatorius, quo nullus ab hominum memoria in re Anatomica exercitator, qui ad haec perficienda sedulo me est exhortatus, una cum illustri viro D. Nicolao Bonardo huius sororio, qui ex munificentia ac liberalitate Caesaris civitatis Zirizaeae Praeturam est adeptus.

(Among others, doctor Andreas Vesalius, imperial physician, could be a very reliable witness, by whom the anatomy is practised better than everyone else within living memory, together with the illustrious Dominus Nicolaus Bonardus, his brother-in-law, who, thanks to the generosity and benevolence of the Emperor, has been appointed as a praetor at Ziericksee.)

Concerns: see notes.

Notes: The date of the privilegium is Bruxellis, secundo Nonas Aprilis. M. D. LIX (Brussels, 4th April 1559), but this letter itself, the Epistola nuncupatoria, is dated Zirizaeae Anno. 1558 Mense Decembri.
This passage is discussed in C.M. Van Hoorn, Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568), Academisch Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de geneeskunde aan de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam, Kloosterzande: J. Duerinck-Krachten, 1978, see pp. 80-83.

Nicolas Bonaert was the husband of Vesalius’s sister Anna van Wesel. For Bonaert see Omer Steeno, Mauritius Biesbrouck, ‘De familie Vesalius, enkele nazaten en hun rol in bestuurlijk Diest’ [Vesalius’ Family, some Descendants and their Role in the Town Government of Diest] in Vlaamse Stam, 2009, 45 (no. 5): 508-526, ill.

Mathias Gallomontanus from Heeswijck was a bishop in Middelburg (Zeeland in Holland).

* XIII-1558.12.??-1 Lemnius to Mathias Gallomontanus ab Hesuwijck, Antwerp, 1561
In: Levinus Lemnius, Occulta naturae miracula, ac varia rerum documenta, …, Antverpiae, apud Guilielmum Simonem, 1561.

Not: There are later editions, but there that Epistola nucupatoria is absent or considerably shorter, and lacking that passage.

XIII-1559.05.20 - Giovanni Valverde to Philip II, Rome

Heading: Havendo io scritta l’historia della composition del corpo humano in lingua Spagnuola qui in Roma ad instanza della buona memoria del Cardinal san Iacomo mio patrone; & servitomi in essa per la maggior parte delle figure del Vessalio, ...


Concerns: Valverde compares his work on human anatomy with that of Vesalius.

Note: This is the preface to the Italian translation of his anatomical work. There is a second preface to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. The first edition was in Spanish with a preface directed to Pope Paul IV.

Philip II was the king of Spain and the son of Emperor Charles V. Vesalius was his court physician from 1556 till his death on October 15th, 1564.

* XIII-1559.05.20-1 Italian edition Rome, 1559

Note: See books.google.
XIII-1559.05.28 - Andreas Masius to Gerwick, Abbot, Brussels

Heading and passage: *Haesi hic a Calendis Majis; interea semel ad tuam dignitatem dedi literas, post in febrículam incidi, ea Dei clementia et Wesalii opera mox sum liberatus; ...*  
[From the first of May I am stuck here; meanwhile just after sending my letter to your worthiness, I fell in a light fever, from which I swiftly recovered thanks to the good willingness of God and the intervention by Vesalius, ...]


Concerns: Masius’s recovery from a fever thanks to Vesalius, his old school-friend.

Note: The letter is cited by Lossen on pp. 317-319 and is followed with a discussion. It is dated *Ex Bruxellis quinto Calendas Junias 1559*. André Maes or Andreas Masius was a lawyer and a polyglot from Lennik (near Brussels). He was an school friend of Vesalius in Leuven. He is mentioned by Henry de Vocht together with Vesalius as students in the *Collegium trilingue*. See his *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1955, vol. 4, p. 517. See also O’Malley, p. 283 and n. 3 p. 465.

* XIII-1559.05.28-1  First publication Leipzig, 1886

Note: see letter 232 on pp. 317-318.

XIII-1559.06.01 - Realdus Columbus to the reader, Rome

Heading: *Cum mihi in mentem venit post diuturnos, et pene infinitos, quos in secandis huminum cadaveribus suscepi labores, ...*

Appeared first in: Realdus Columbus, *De re anatomica libri XV*, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Nicolai Bevilacquae, 1559.

Title: *Realdus Columbus Cremonensis candido lectori.*

Passages: *Alios [Avicenna, Mundinus, Berengario da Carpi] non modo quos dixi, sed Galenus, Vessaliumque in medium afferre, post quorum scripta de humanis corporibus secandis tractare, superbi, ambitiosique scriptoris officium arbitrantur esse. Veruntamen ex his nemo me a scribendo deterre potuit, cum eorum frivolis scilicet objectionibus facile, vereque responderi possit. Quod enim ad tres illos authores attinet, quos primo obticiebant, carmen illus tritum illis existimo convenire: “Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocra, sunt mala plura.”* ...
De Galeno autem non negaverim illum non modo in Anatome mihi, caeterisque sed in reliquis medicinae partibus ducem fuisse, …

De Vessalio vero hoc primum praefabor, me illum honoris gratia domi, forisque semper nominasse, illiusque scripta non esse e doctorum manibus ullo praetextu excutienda, quippe qui divinis de rebus anatomiciis Galeni laboribus de re anatomica multa suo marte addiderit, multa primus errata reprehenderit, correxeritque, ea est tam huiusce nobilissimae, praeutilis, atque adeo necessariae facultatis anatomicae difficultas, ut uni omnia pervia esse non possint: ita ut ne ingens quidem, atque insigne Vessalii volumen de fabrica humani corporis erroribus careat. … Datae Romae Calen. Iunii. M D LIX.

Notes: Realdo Colombo always writes ‘Vessalius’ (with double ‘s’). In this rather critical letter it is obvious that he holds Vesalius for the most important anatomist of recent times. His De re anatomica has no plates. In several instancest he points to errors of Vesalius (and Galen).

As far as could be seen this letter to the reader is only present in the first edition and its facsimile. It is missing in the editions of Paris 1562 and 1572, and in the one of Frankfurt 1590. The edition of Frankfurt 1593, 519 pp. could not be retrieved.

XIII-1559.06.01-1 Realdus Columbus, first edition Rome, 1 June 1559
In: Realdus COLUMBUS, De re anatomica libri XV, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Nicolai Bevilacquae, 1559.

XIII-1559.06.01-2 Realdus Columbus, facsimile Brussels, 1983

XIII-1559.09.02 - Jean de Ligne to William the Silent, [Antwerp]

Heading: Monsieur, Je n’ay jusques à présent eu le moyen me pouvoir résouldre, sy vous povroy aller trouver pour les affaires qu’ay avecque monsieur de Zevemberge, vers lequel me fault aller ce jourd’huy à Malines. [Sir, up to now I could not make up if you had the opportunity to visit for your business monsieur de Zevenberge, to which I have to go this day to Mechelen.]

Passage: Madame de Hornes la jeusne est aryvée ycy le jour que partites, avecque unne fyère contynue laquelle elle ast eu depuis lundy et l’ast encoires. Pour le présent elle est tant wydé de ceste qu’elle resve. Je suis de l’opynyon de Vesalius quy dit que le sainner par hault ne l’ayde, ains vauldrait myeulx par bas; le pis est qu’elle n’ast le barbier pour ce faire; le bon mary démonste estre fort desconforté. [Madame de Horne the younger has arrived here on the day of your departure, with a continuing fever since Monday, which she still has. On this moment she’s so emptied by it that she is delirious. I agree with Vesalius who says that bleeding her from above will not be of any help and that it would be better from under. The bad thing is that there is no barber around here to do this; her good husband is very upset.]
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019


Concerns: This letter from Jean de Ligne, count of Arenberg to William the Silent, Prince of Orange, was written in Antwerp on September 2nd, 1559. William was a short time with Jean de Ligne in Antwerp and just left. This passage concerns Walburga, countess of Nieuwenaar-Meurs, married to count de Horne, who will be decapitated in 1568.

Note: This poses a problem. We must conclude that Vesalius did not embark with Philip II, who left Vlissingen for Spain on August 25, 1559, and arrived at Laredo on September 8, 14 days later. Vesalius embarked most probably after September 2nd, unless he made the trip over land (as suggested by Prof. Omer Steeno). The cure proposed by Vesalius is obviously a venesection.

Monsieur de Zevenberge is Louis de Ligne of Brabant. Jan de Ligne (1525-1568), comes from a younger branch of the de Ligne's, the barons of Barbançon; namely the third generation of them. Being first a baron of Barbançon, he became count of Arenberg by his marriage in 1547 with Margaretha, heiress of Arenberg. He did not live at Beloeil, where the principal and oldest branch of the Lignes were living. In 1560 Philip II appointed him to stadtholder of Friesland, Drenthe, Groningen and the surrounding countries. He was faithful to Philip II and died in the battle of Heiligerlee. He is Knight nr 206 in the Order of the Golden Fleece. (image see www: De correspondentie van Willem de Zwijger, letter 6388)

This letter was found by Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris, who was so kind to give me the details.

* XIII-1559.09.02-1  Transcription 1934

Note: see letter 208 on pp. 198-199.

XIII-1560.07.24 - Ambassador L’Aubespine to Cathérine de Medicis

Heading: not seen; letter in the archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

First published: no publication of this letter is known.

Concerns: quick recovery of Louise de Bretagne-Avaugour thanks to the care of Vesalius.

Note: Ambassador L’Aubespine, bishop of Limoges, wrote on the 24th of July 1560 a letter to his queen Cathérine de Medicis, concerning a lady in waiting (dame de Clermont) belonging to her daughter Elisabeth of Valois, queen of Spain (third wife of Philip II). Dame de Clermont fell ill, but soon she recovered thanks to the care of Andreas Vesalius. The Court stayed on that very moment at Toledo. This is also the first proof that Vesalius was in Spain. This lady Dame de Clermont was Louise de Bretagne-Avaugour, chatelaine de Castelnau.

XIII-1561.??.?? - Gabrieliis Falloppius to Petrus Manna, Venice, 1561

Heading: *Decoveram iam multo antea, quod haec ad te scriberem, doctissime Manna, me nihil unquam quod ad Anatomia pertinieret, scriptis esse commendaturum.*


Concerns: Falloppius tells that he had written the book four years earlier, on the insistence of Manna, who had died before its publication. After reading the *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* by Vesalius, he justifies in his *Observationes anatomicae* with modesty his disagreements with some of his observations.

Notes: At the moment of this writing Falloppio was a professor in Padua (1551-1562). Before he lectured in Pisa (1548-1551). He was born 1523 in Modena and died in Padua 17 November 1562. For his biography see Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabriele Falloppia Modenense (1523-1562)*, Modena: tipografia editrice Immacolata Concezione, 1928.

Vesalius, who was at that time at the Royal Court in Madrid and received the *Observationes Anatomicae* (Coloniae, apud haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1562) there thanks to the intervention of Egidius de Hertoghe, replied to this work with his *Anatomicarum Gabrieliis Falloppii Observationum Examen* (Venetiis. Apud Franciscum de Franciscis, Senensem, 1564) in the year of his death in Zakynthos. Vesalius ends this reply with the date *Madrilij, ex aula regia, xxvij Decembris, anno MDLXI* (Madrid, at the Royal Court, 27 December 1561). So he must have written this rather in a hurry. Falloppio must have written his letter to Manna before that date and before Manna died himself, shortly before.

For de Hertoghe see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, Theodoor GODDEERIS. ‘De Brabantse arts Egidius de Hertoghe en Andreas Vesalius’ [Egidius de Hortoge, physician in Brabant, and Andreas Vesalius] in *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, 2017, 100: 485-500, ill.

Petrus Manna was a: *Medicus, Physicus, et Philosophus ex Cremon. Collegio praeclarissimus filius Cataldi Medicinae Doctoris pariter praestantissimi apud Franciscum Sforstam II postremum Medioli Ducem Archiatri dignitate decoratus*. As far as is known he left no works (see Franciscus Arisius, *Cremona literata*, Parmae, typis Pauli Monti, 1706, pp. 84-85). P. Manna is also known thanks to Falloppio who wrote his to him *Observationes anatomicae*, and according to the end (p. 341) Ioannes Baptista Capredonus was a mutual friend. There is a painting by Lucia Anguissola (she died very young: b. 1536 or 1538 – c. 1565, before 1568) of Petrus Manna, physician of Francesco Sforza II, Duke of Milan, with an aesculape-staff, of 1557 in the Prado museum (Madrid).

For a more ample comment on this letter see Arturo Castiglioni, *Falloppius and Vesalius*, pp. 182-193, in Cushing 1962.
XIII-1561.??-1 First edition Ulm, 1561
First published in: *Gabrielis Falloppii Medici Mutinensis Observationes Anatomicae*, Venetiis, Apud Marcum Antonium Ulmum, 1561

* XIII-1561.??-2 Second publication Cologne, 1562

Note: copy from books.google

* XIII-1561.??-3 Third publication Helmstadt, 1588
As: *Gabrielis Falloppii Mutinensis Observationes Anatomicae, in quinque libros digestae, certisque capitis distinctae, & illustratae. Opera & studio M. Iohannis Sigfridi Margusulensis, Helmstadii, Iacobus Lucius, 1588.*

Note: copy from books.google

* XIII-1561.??-4 Boerhaave-Albinus, Opera omnia (Vol. I) Leiden, 1724-25

Note: The letter to Manna is on pp. 685-758.

* XIII-1561.??-5 Part. English translation 1943 and 1962


XIII-1562.05.12 - Thomas Chaloner to Cecil, Madrid

Heading: *There is great fault in the persons about the Prince of Spain when he fell,…*

Passage: *The surgeons in his father’s presence made larger incision of the hurt place; the King brought Dr. Vesalius (not unknown for his excellent skill) from Madrid with him, whose better learning the Spanish medicins make not account of according to his worthiness, quia*
figulus odit figulum [no one likes competitors]. So he became post festum [past the facts], when the other bunglers not searching the hurt deeply had promised all good hope to the King, …

Concerns: The whole story is dealing with the heath injury of Don Carlos and Vesalius’s intervention.

Note: Sir Thomas Chaloner was the ambassador of Queen Elisabeth I in Madrid. This report was found in the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign 1562, no. 52.

* XIII-1562.05.12-1 English report (fragment) Gloucestershire (UK), 2016

Note: For the fragment with a discussion see pp. 191-193.
Title: Epist. CXXX. Aan Adriano van Couwenhoven S. De casu Caroli Principis Regis Hispaniarum filii [Letter 130. To Adrianus van Couwenhoven. Greetings, On the fall of the son of the king of Spain, Prince of Charles].

Concerns: The author tells having received from Vesalius two letters with details concerning the medical history of Don Carlos of Spain, who suffered from a head injury after falling down a staircase.

Note: This interesting letter, not in Latin but in Flemish, poses some problems as the name of the author is not mentioned, nor is the date or the place from where is was written. But Adriaan van Couwenhoven was at that time a cantor at the Royal Flemish Choir (Capilla flamenca) in Madrid from 1556 until his death in 1592. In 1562 he took a leave during the second and last trimester. According to this letter he left for a journey (…dan doen ghy van hier reysde…), most presumably to his homeland Flanders. But as the author addresses van Couwenhoven a couple of times with Compeer (colleague), meaning that he was a singer too, perhaps even in the same choir, we may deduce that both knew each other very well and that the writer wished to keep his friend informed of what happened at the Royal Court, during his long absence.

The name of the author of this letter is more difficult to recover but we have a list of the members of that choir. As he wrote in Flemish he must be Flemish, just as the addressee. The fact that the author writes myn Heer, Doctor Vesalius … heeft my deser dagen al bescheyt geschreven (Sir doctor Vesalius, drew up a report for me with all the details) suggests that Vesalius felt in a certain way obliged to do so, perhaps because the receiver was in a position to expect such an information. Anyway the family Couwenhoven was related to Anna van Hamme, Vesalius’s wife. Vesalius took the trouble to keep the writer posted in the medical history of the Spanish Prince from the Royal Court in Spain with at least two letters, written still during the Prince’s illness, before the (favourable) outcome was known, and the details on the medical history in this single letter must have been summarized directly from the two letters that he received from Vesalius.

As for the date of this writing, we know that Don Carlos fell from the staircase on 19 April 1562, and as the author wrote his letter on the 26th day thereafter (… dat groot ongeluck … van Don Carlos ons en Prince van Spangien, dat heden op desen dach 26. dagen geleden is…), he must have written it on 14 or 15 May 1562.

The letter was found in a collection of letters Viri consultissimi … Epistola (Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Fredericum Haaring, 1695) and at the end of it Antonius Matthaeus, added some interesting information, which reads in translation:

“This [letter] was found in the journal of Gisbertus Lappius of Waver, as I told elsewhere, communicated by the noble man de Ridder van Groenesteyn, governor of Rynesteyn [a castle in Cothen near Duurstede in Holland]. He has a clerk who noted this. Hooft mentions this too. Just as did Strada, but shorter, without all this details. Strada, book VII, History: Fallen down from a staircase he injured his brain seriously, and soon any hope for his life was abandoned by the physicians. So he was laid down on the death-bed and when the corpse of Brother Diego was raised up to him, according the the wishes of Philip, who hurried to him from Mantua, doing this zealously with the Pope of Rome, he recovered suddenly and contrary to the expectation of all, so that it should be concluded that it was thanks to this oracle of the cult of Saints with the help of Diego. Hooft, book 5, History: There the story is, as a legend next to the ones on Don Johan van Oostenryck and Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, concerning the study of Alcala (or Complutum as named by Strada), [that Don
Carlos] *in pursuing a maiden, to take advantage of her, fell down a high staircase and injured his brain.*”

There were two Gisbertus Lappius à Waveren (Gijsbrecht Lappen): grandfather and grandson. Vesalius’s temporary is the grandfather. Born in 1511 in Weesp he studied medicine in Leuven where Gemma Frisius was his professor. Gemma was Vesalius’s friend who helped him to steal a corpse from the gallows in Leuven to make his first known skeleton. Lappius studied also in Bologna, where he became a doctor on 10 October 1545, practised in Holland and died January 4, 1574. The most important writer was his grandson. Antonius Mattheus should have known the last one. Of course the letter might have been transmitted by the grandfather to his grandson, who kept track of all letters. For a biography of both see Van der AA, *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden XI*, p. 169-170 (1865).

Four generations namesakes Antonius Mattheus succeeded from father to son. This is undoubtedly Antonius Mattheus III (1635-1710), historian and professor of law at Utrecht and Leiden, who edited many works. For more about Couwenhoven see Maurits Biesbrouck, Theodoor Goddeeris, Omer Steeno, ‘Cantor Adriaen Couwenhoven en twee brieven van Andreas Vesalius’ [Singer Adriaen Couwenhoven and two letters by Andreas Vesalius] (in preparation for *Cahiers* 2019).

* XIII-1562.05.14/15-1   Flemish cantor to Adriaen Couwenhoven       Leyden, 1695

Note: see pp. 350-353.

* XIII-1562.05.14/15-2   Flemish cantor to Adriaen Couwenhoven       Leyden, 1708

Note: see pp. 350-353.

* XIII-1562.05.14/15-3   Flemish cantor to Adriaen Couwenhoven       Leyden, 1711

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Note: the letter is on the pp. 350-353 too.

* XIII-1562.05.14/15-4  Flemish cantor to Adrianus Couwenhoven  The Hague, 1740

Note: see pp. 243-245.

* XIII-1562.05.14/15-5  transcription (Dutch)  Antwerp-Apeldoorn, 2018

Note: For the transcription (pp. 97-98) and a discussion see pp. 95-121, with a chronology of the evolution of Don Carlos’s head injury (pp. 107-111), and a letter by Ana Wickerslot, Couwenhoven’s widow, to king Philip II of Spain (101-103). Appendix on the Capilla flamenca (112-118).

XIII-1562.07.25 - Dionizio Daza Chacon (report for king Philip II), Madrid

Heading: Ha sido tan grande ma merced que Dios nuestro Señor ha hecho à todos los Reynos y señorios de V. Alteza en dar tan feliz suceso à vn caso tan grave y estupendo como ha sido la herida de V. Alteza, ...

First published in: Dionisio Daza Chacon, Practica y teorica de cirugia en romande y en latin, Valladolid, 1595.

Concerns: Account of the head injury of Prince Don Carlos, and on the role Vesalius played in it.

Note: The story appeared in the Pratica y Teorica de Cirurgia as Relacion verdadera de la herida de cabeça del Serenissimo Principe Don Carlos nuestro señor, de gloriosa memoria, la qual se acabò en fin de Julio del año de 1563.

The report dates from Madrid, 25 july 1562, and has been published in 1673 and 1678. In his English translation O’Malley changes the wrong date in the title in ‘1562’ on p. 407. On p. 472 n 26 he mentions also a publication in Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, XVIII, pp. 537-563, and an abbreviated account under the name of Doctor Olivares in the same, XV, pp. 553-573.

Don Carlos was the son of King Philip II of Spain. On April 19th 1562 he fell of a staircase in Alcalá de Henares, and injured his head, while Vesalius and the King himself
were in Madrid (distance 32 km). See Roth pp. 268-269. For a more extensive discussion see Bjørn Okholm SKAARUP, ‘Vesalius in Alcalá de Henares: The Treatment of Don Carlos’ Head-Wound’ in IDEM, Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain, Farnham (UK) – Burlington (VT-USA), Ashgate, 2015, pp. 129-139.

For Daza Chacon see Velarde Pérez Fontana, Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis y su época, Montevideo, Imprenta Nacional, 1963, 4", IV-511 pp., ill. (Publicaciones de la Biblioteca de Salud Pública del Uruguay); see Daza Chacon y Vesalio on pp. 447-452.

XIII-1562.07.25-1 First edition 1609
Not seen.

In: Dionisio DAZA CHACON, Pratica y teorica de cirugia, 1609 (according to Gachard).

Note: Also according to Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II, tome I, Bruxelles, Leipzig, Gand, C. Muquardt, 1863, p. 73 n. 2, this edition is very rare, but it has been reprinted in 1851 (see no. 4).

* XIII-1562.07.25-2 2nd edition Valencia, 1673
In: Dionisio DAZA CHACON, ‘Relacion verdadera de la herida de cabeza del Serenissimo Principe Don Carlos nuestro señor, de gloriosa memoria, la qual se acabò en fin de Iulio del año de 1563’ in Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romande y en latin, Valencia, Francisco Cipres, 1673, pp. 190-201.

Note: see books.google.

* XIII-1562.07.25-3 Later edition Madrid, 1678
In: Dionisio DAZA CHACON, ‘Relacion verdadera de la herida de cabeza del Serenissimo Principe Don Carlos nuestro señor, de gloriosa memoria, la qual se acabò en fin de Iulio del año de 1563’ in Practica y teorica de cirugia en romande y en latin, Segunda parte, Madrid, Lucas Antonio de Bedmar y Valdivia, 1678, pp. 190-201.

Note: see books.google.

XIII-1562.07.25-4 Reprint of ed. 1609 Madrid, 1851
Not seen.
In: Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 18, Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1851, pp. 537-563. According to Gachard this is a reprint of the ed. 1609.

* XIII-1562.07.25-5 English translation Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O’MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8", XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the English translation see O’Malley pp. 407-419. He changes the wrong date in the title in ‘1562’.
XIII-1563.10.23 - Thomas Chaloner to Queen Elisabeth I, Barbastro

Heading: not seen.

Passage: [Chaloner] complains of his sickness caused by calculus renium, whereof his father died. His long rest at Madrid with drinking these Spanish wines has increased it. Doctor Vesalius tells him that his reins are ulcerated with the fretting of the stone this journey. Rest and abstinence from all wine, and to drink only the decoction of liquorice and barley, must be ground of his cure.

Concerns: the kidney stones of Chaloner.

Note: Vesalius visited the sick Chaloner, staying then in Basbastro, a dozen miles north of Monzon, where the Cortes of Aragon was taking place, probably a couple of times. This report was found in the Calendar of State Papers, Foreign 1563, no. 1337.

Concerns: the kidney stones of Chaloner.

XIII-1564.01.24? - Philip II to Garcihernandez, Monzon

Heading: Secretario Garcihernández nuestro criado. El Doctor Vesalio que esta os dará fue médico del Emperador mi señor, que esta in gloria, y agora lo es mío, ...

First published in: José BARON FERNANDEZ. ‘Nuevas aportaciones acerca de Vesalio’ in Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina y Antropologia Medica, 1962, 14: 207-214, ill.

Concerns: The King of Spain demands Garcihernandez to do all things necessary to provide to Vesalius a good journey to Jerusalem and mentions that his reason for visiting the holy places is a pious one. The king also expresses his desire that Vesalius would not be absent from the Court more time than was necessary.

Note: Original manuscript in Archivo de Simancas, Estado Venecia, Legajo 1325, folio 68. This publication consists of two parts: I. La peregrinacion a Terra Santa. II. Un 'consilium' inedito de Andres Vesalio. This letter and the two that follow appeared in part I.
Garcihernandez was the secretary to Philip ambassador in Venice and was temporarily in charge. This letter, of which the exact day is not mentioned, rules out the many legendary reasons for Vesalius journey, including the very tenacious ‘Inquisition myth’.

According to José Baron Fernandez the King must have written that letter on January 24th at latest as he leaved Monzon.

* XIII-1564.01.24?-1 Ms. 1962
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, ‘Nuevas aportaciones acerca de Vesalio’ in Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina y Antropologia Medica, 1962, 14: 207-214, ill.

* XIII-1564.01.24?-2 Transcription 1965-66

Note: contains the transcription and a discussion in French.

* XIII-1564.01.24?-3 Ms. Basel - New York, 1966

Note: Ms. and short discussion in French of the letter.

* XIII-1564.01.24?-4 Ms. and transcription 1969
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, ‘Viaje de Vesalio a Tierra Santa’ in Medicina e Historia, 1969, 52, 15 pp., ill.

Note: this copy of the Ms. with a transcription go with a discussion in Spanish. Used with minor changes for chapter XVI of his Vesalius biography.

See also: <www.fu1838.org.pdfs/52-1.pdf>

* XIII-1564.01.24?-5 Ms. and transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: for the Ms. see p. 236; for the transcription Apendice IX, p. [291].

* XIII-1564.01.24?-6 Transcription and English translation 2010

* XIII-1564.01.24?-7 Dutch translation Leuven, 2015

Note: This Dutch translation is followed with a discussion. See pp. 156-157.

XIII-1564.03.13 - Garci Hernández to Philip II, Venice
Reading: ... El Doctor Vesalio llegó aquí en X del presente a tan buena coyuntura que no perderá tiempo en su viaje, ...

First published as a fragment of a longer letter in: José BARON FERNANDEZ. ‘Nuevas aportaciones acerca de Vesalio’ in Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina y Antropología Medica, 1962, 14: 207-214, ill.

Concerns: Garci Hernández informs his king that Vesalius is waiting in Venice to depart to Cyprus as soon as the conditions (weather) are favourable. Paulo Tiepolo, the ambassador was one of the persons who help Vesalius with his preparations.

Note: Original manuscript in Archivo de Simancas, Estado Venecia, Legajo 1325, folio 10. This letter fragment appeared also in part I. It proves that Vesalius’ departure from Venice was after March 13th, 1564.

* XIII-1564.03.13-1 Ms. 1962
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, ‘Nuevas aportaciones acerca de Vesalio’ in Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina y Antropología Medica, 1962, 14: 207-214, ill.

* XIII-1564.03.13-2 Transcription 1965-66

Note: contains the transcription and a discussion in French.

* XIII-1564.03.13-3 Ms. Basel - New York, 1966

Note: Ms. and short discussion in French of the letter.

* XIII-1564.03.13-4 Ms. and transcription 1969
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, ‘Viaje de Vesalio a Tierra Santa’ in Medicina e Historia, 1969, 52, 15 pp., ill.

Note: this copy of the Ms. with a transcription go with a discussion in Spanish. Used with minor changes for chapter XVI of his Vesalius biography.
See also: <www.fu1838.org.pdfs/52-1.pdf>

* XIII-1564.03.13-5 Ms. and transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.
Note: for the Ms. see p. 238; for the transcription Apendice X, p. [293].

* XIII-1564.03.13-6 Transcription and English translation 2010

* XIII-1564.03.13-7 Dutch translation Leuven, 2015

Note: This Dutch translation are followed with a discussion. See pp. 157-158.

XIII-1564.03.28 - Garcihernandez to Philip II, Venice

Reading: ... A Cipro envían 500 soldatos y 100 a Corfu. Las naves están en el puerto por el tiempo que hace contrario, en una va el Doctor Vesalio, como escribi a V.M. ...


Concerns: Garcihernandez informs his king that Vesalius is still waiting in Venice to depart because of the bad weather.
Note: Original manuscript in Archivo de Simancas, Estado Venecia, Legajo 1325, folio 13.
This letter fragment appeared also in part I. How short this fragment on Vesalius may be, it was only shortly discussed (not fully reproduced) in José BARON FERNANDEZ, ‘Nuevas aportaciones acerca de Vesalio’ in Archivo Iberoamericano de Historia de la Medicina y Antropologia Medica, 1962, 14: 207-214, ill. No copy of the Ms. itself was published.
It proves that Vesalius’ departure from Venice was after March 28th, 1564.

* XIII-1564.03.28-1  Transcription 1965-66
Note: contains the transcription and a short discussion in French.

* XIII-1564.03.28-2  Transcription Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.
Note: for the transcription see p. 237.

* XIII-1564.03.28-3  Transcription and English translation 2010

* XIII-1564.03.28-4  Dutch translation Leuven, 2015
Note: This Dutch translation is followed with a short discussion. See pp. 158.
XIII-1564.05.29 - Bonifacio de Ragusa to Philip II, Jerusalem

Heading: *La vera imagine dela catholica et antica religione con ogni termini di reuerenza se contempla et adora nel real petto della V.C.M. ...*


Concerns: Bonifacio thanks king Philip for the 500 ducats given to him by Vesalius and he says that he sends the present letter with Vesalius to him.

Note: Original manuscript in *Archivo de Simancas*, Estado Venecia, Legajo 1325, folio 19. This letter appeared also in part I of Baron’s publication.

Bonifacio Stefano da Ragusa or Dubrovnik (Lopud, 1504 - Timisoara, 6.2.1582) was the guardian of the monastery on Mount Sion and the Custodian of the Holy Places in the Holy Land of Jerusalem.

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* XIII-1564.05.29-1  Ms.  1962

Note: Baron gives a copy of the Ms. and a discussion, but no translation, of this Italian letter.

* XIII-1564.05.29-2  Ms. and transcription  1965-66

Note: contains a copy of the Ms., the transcription and a discussion in French.

* XIII-1564.05.29-3  Ms.  Basel - New York, 1966

Note: Ms. and short discussion in French of the letter.

* XIII-1564.05.29-4  Ms. and transcription  1969
Note: this copy of the Ms. with a transcription go with a discussion in Spanish. Used with minor changes for chapter XVI of his Vesalius biography. See also: <www.fu1838.org.pdfs/52-1.pdf>

* XIII-1564.05.29-5          Ms., transcription and Spanish transl. Madrid, 1970
In: José BARON FERNANDEZ, Andrés Vesalio: su vida y su obra, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto “Arnaldo de Villanova”, 1970, 8°, XIX-312 pp., ill.

Note: for the Ms. see p. 245, for the Spanish translation pp. 243-244, and the transcription Apendice XI, p. [291].

* XIII-1564.05.29-6          Transcription       1983

Note: There are numerous differences between the transcription by Arce and those by Baron. Mostly they are trivial, but the one by Arce seems superior.

* XIII-1564.05.29-7          Transcription and English translation  2011
In: Maurits BIESBROUCK, Omer STEENO, ‘The last months of Andreas Vesalius. Part II - From Jerusalem to Zakynthos (Zante)’ in Vesalius - Acta Internationalia Historiae Medicinae, 2011, 17 (no. 1): 30-34, ill.

Note: the transcription follows that by Arce.

* XIII-1564.05.29-8          Dutch translation       Leuven, 2015

Note: This Dutch translation is followed with a discussion. See pp. 158-159.

XIII-1564.??-?? - Andreas Wechel to Philippus Bollainvillerius Dammartinus, Paris

Heading: Illustriss. ac potentiss. Heroi, Philippo Bollainvillerio Dammartin, Corteniaco ac Fauquembergens Comiti, And. Wechelus Typographus S.

First words: Si quae res maximam affert hominibus utilitatem, et summopere delectat, medicinae prodest imprimis atque delectat cognitio.

Passage: Nam quid praeter veterem monumenta praestiterit Vesalius doctissimus vir et accuratissimus, satis indicant eius libri Anatomices, quibus constat ex ipsius corporis humani...
penetralibus longa diligentiæ observatione erutæ minutissimæ partes, quas veteres silentio praetenerieræ; et insculptoræ viræm exitisse tantam diligentiam atque industriam, ut in tabulis ob oculos positæ a quovis hodierni die illæ omnes maximo Dei beneficio conspiceræ possint, de quibus plerisque antiquitatem vel quicquam suspicatam fuissent asseverari nullo modo potest. Hæ tabulaæ cum in meas manus incidissent, operaeprecium facturum me putavi, si Vesaliæ epitomen Anatomices, quæ superioribus annis exieræ multum depravata, emendationum a doctisse vire Iacobæ Grevini medico factam et aliquot animadversionibus auctæ excuderem, et tabulas adiungerem quæ ab omnibus expetebantur avidissimæ.

Concerns: Andreas Wechel tells that the Vesalian plates came into his hands (unfortunately he does not say how) and that he intended to publish the Epitome, adapted by Jacques Grévin, again together with those plates and with the annotations.


Note: This letter is not dated. From the wordings it is not clear whether Vesalius had died yet at the moment of this new publication of the Grévin-Geminus Epitome, now on the continent (see VI.C.-5). One could wonder whether this edition was induced or not by Vesalius death, but neither the content of this work nor the present letter give any proof of this.

Jacques Grévin was born in Clermont-en-Beauvaisis (Fr.) in 1538 and died in November 1570 in Torino (It.). He was a physician, but he practised theatre and poetry too, publishing works in those three fields. He was a friend of Ramus, Du Bellay and Ronsard. He was the physician of Marquerite de France, duchess of Savoie, sister of king Henri II. In Turin he died at the Court.


* XIII-1564.??-??-1 And. Wechel to Ph. Bollainvillerius Dammartinus  Paris, 1564


Notes: Text of the Epitome with illustrations mostly from the Fabrica, using Geminus’ original copperplates. Description in Cushing p. 128-129, and Jacqueline Vons pp. xcv-xcvi.
*** The following letters have been written after 1564.10.15, day of Vesalius’s death ***

XIII-1564.12.04 - Pierre Bordey to Cardinal de Granvelle, Brussels

Heading: not seen.

Passage: On vient d’assurer que Vesalius était mort d’un catarrhe, au retour de Jérusalem, en une ville non désignée de la Grèce, et en a été advertie sa veuve (qui réside à Bruxelles) par aucuns pèlerins qui lui ont donné sépulture. Cette veuve demeure riche de cinq mille livres de rente, et de plus de trente mille livres d’argent comptant. [It has been assured that Vesalius died from an inflammation returning from Jerusalem, in an unknown city of Greece, and his widow (living in Brussels) has been informed by some pilgrims who buried him. This widow stays wealthy with an annuity of 5,000 pounds and with more than 30,000 pounds of cash.]


Concerns: Letter to Granvelle about Vesalius’s death in Greece, coming back from Jerusalem.

Notes: Granvelle was informed of Vesalius’s death by various sources: see also (XIII.u).

* XIII-1564.12.04-1 Transcription Paris, 1850

Note: for this passage see p. 525: CXLIV. L’écuyer Pierre Bordey au Cardinal de Granvelle. (Mémoires de Granvelle, XV, 175-177.) Bruxelles, 4 décembre 1564.

XIII-1564.12.30 - Morillon to Cardinal de Granvelle, Brussels

Heading: Monseigneur … je voudroie que le président voulust croire à tant de bonnes raisons que votre seigneurie luy escript, et ne debvroit vraiment estre guère empesché de desjecter Armenteros, s’il avait coeur.
Passage: Je tiens que avez entendu te trespas de Vesalius en son voyag de Jérusalem, où il s’est lessé morir par vraie misèse, pour lesser sa veuve et fille unicque avec trois mil florins de rente et x mil content, bien empeschez à trouver des mariz… [I want you to be informed of the death of Vesalius on his travel to Jerusalem, where he let himself die by pure misery. He left to his widow and daughter an annuity of 3.000 florins and 10.000 of cash, having difficulties in finding a husband…]


Concerns: Letter to Granvelle about Vesalius’s death in Greece, coming back from Jerusalem.

Notes: Maximilian Morillon (ca. 1517-1586) was a vicar-beneral of Granvelle and died as a bishop in Tournai (de Vocht, Collegium trilingue Lovaniense, III, 345-350). In March 1564 Morillon and Bordey were the most important co-operators to inform Granvelle of the events in the Netherlands during his exile in Besançon, his native soil in Franche-Comté.

Granvelle was informed of Vesalius’s death by various sources: see also (XIII.s).

The ‘president’ here is Viglius. The passage is at the very end of this long letter (p. 583).

* XIII-1564.12.30-1 Transcription


Note: for this passage see p. 583: CLVI. Le Prévot Morillon au Cardinal de Granvelle (Letters de Morillon, I, 227, v° 236.), Bruxelles, 30 décembre 1564.
by many to explain the reason why Vesalius left Spain at the beginning of 1564, but which could be refuted by several authors.

The brief letter is only two pages long and is tipped into the front of a printed copy of Hubert Languet’s *Historia Descriptio… Captae Urbis Gothae*, published in 1568. It is certainly not the original manuscript. Until now no other contemporary copies of this text were found. See Michael J. NORTH, ‘The Death of Andreas Vesalius’ in *Circulating Now*, U.S. National Library of Medicine, 15.10.2014, 2 pp., ill., retrieved in January 2015 in <http://circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov/2014/10/15/the-death-of-andreas-vesalius/>

The story was transcribed and translated more than once and was more importantly the starting point of numerous stories based on it but in different wordings used to explain the so-called raison for Vesalius’s travel to Jerusalem. During centuries, in multiple encyclopedic overviews this apocryphal story even represents the main body of the biographical sketch. A paraphrase of the letter can be found in Nicolaus Comnenus PAPADOPOLUS, *Historia Gymnasii Patavini post ea, quae hactenus de illo scripta sunt, ad haec nostra tempora plenius, & emendatus deducta. Cum auctario de claris cum professoribus tum alumnis eiusdem* [History of the university of Pavia since the last writings until now, more complete and improved. Addendum with its famous professors and students], Venetiis, apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1726, vol. 1, p. 317. Also in Johannes Jacobus MANGETUS, *Bibliotheca scriptorvm mediceorum veterum et recentiorum … sicque historia medica vere universalis exhibitur* [Bibliography of medical writers both ancient and recent... with a discussion on the universal medical history], Genevae, Perachon et Cramer, 1731, vol. 2, part. 2, p. 509. Another example of those among many others is James JOHNSON, Henry James JOHNSON (eds.), ‘The Death of Vesalius’ in *IDEM, Medico-Chirurgical Review and Journal of Practical Medicine*, London, S. Highley, 1839, 30 (no. 10): 526. Another slightly paraphrased version, without mentioning the name of Languetus, appeared in the preface to the *Opera omnia* by Boerhaave and Albinus (1725) and has been translated in English by B. Farrington (1931). Still another one in Ernst PLATNER, *Gemeenzame brieven van eenen artz of geneesheer aan zynen vriend over het menschelyk ligchaam* [Familiar letters by a physician to his friend on the human body], eerste deel, Leyden, By J. Meerburg en J.J. Thyssens, 1777. These are not dealt with in detail hereafter.

The French surgeon Ambroise Paré gives a similar account in his *Complete Works* in 1579 of an unnamed “famous anatomist” having to flee Spain after making this mistake on a Spanish noblewoman who was presumed dead. Another still more distorted version was published by J.F. Reimmann in 1713 telling on pp. 679-680 that the victim showed signs of life after the first cut, but that Vesalius still proceeded to open his chest to lay bare the beating heart. See Jacob Friederich REIMMANN, *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historiam literarim derer Teutschen*, dritten und leszten Theils, Halle im Magdeburg, 1713. But other aberrant versions do exist. None of them are not included in the following list.


Only the publications with a more word for word repetition or translation of the Ms. are included in the here following overview, which I stongly belief is only a part of the editions of this very wide spread letter.

Note: This copy of Languet’s *Historica descriptio* is kept by the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda (USA).

In: Melchior ADAM, *Vitae Germanorum Medicorum: qui seculo superiori, et quod excurrat, claruerunt: congestae et an annum usque MDCXX deductae* [The lives of famous German doctors in the previous century and in the present one until now], Haidelbergae, impens. Heredum J[onae] Rosae, [Excudit Johannes Georgius Geyder], 1620, 16 ll., 451 [1] pp., 13 ll.

Notes: For this letter see pp. 129-134 and 180 for a bio-bibliography of Vesalius, including this first printing of the letter by Hubert Languet in which he gives a dramatic account of Vesalius’s death; see <www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/adam/adam2/adamvitae2.xml>

This transcription differs on some places of the Ms. (1565) and was translated into English by Ch. D. O’Malley (1964).

In: Melchior ADAM, *Vitae Theologorum, Jure-consultarium, Politicorum, Medicorum atque Philosophorum, maximam partem Germanorum, nonnullam quoque exteriorum* [The Lifes of Theologians, Lawyers, Politicians, Physicians, and Philosophers, for the largest part from Germany and some also from abroad], Francofurti ad Moenum, apud Johannem Maximilianum à Sande, 1705.

Note: Same text on Vesalius as in (XIII.d.-2). Transcription on p. 58.

In: Thomas-Pope BLOUNT, *Censura celebriorum authorum; sive tractatus in quo varia virorum doctorum de clarissimis ciusque seculi scriptoribus judiclia traduntur* ... [Censorship of famous authors, or dissertation dealing with various jurisdictions by learned men about renown writers of this century], Londini, R. Chiswel, 1690, 4 ll., 746 pp., 3 ll.

Note: See pp. 478-479 for Hubertus Languetus’s letter as a part of a short biography. Later editions:
1694 (Geneva, Samuel de Tournes), see p.680: *XIII-1565.01.01-3a*;
1696 (Geneva, Samuel de Tournes), see p. 680: *XIII-1565.01.01-3b*;
1710 (Geneva, G. de Tournes, Cramer, Perachon, Ritter, & S. De Tournes), see p. 680: *XIII-1565.01.01-3c*.
* XIII-1565.01.01-4 Transcription Basel, 1713
In: Vincentius PARAVICINUS, Singularia de Viris Eruditione Claris, Centuriae tres, Basileae, impensis Thurnisiorum, Fratrum, 1713.

Note: See pp. 113-115. Preceeded by a short biographical note.

* XIII-1565.01.01-5 Transcription London, 1733

Note: The letter is on pp. 16-17. The author states that Melchior Adam used this text.

* XIII-1565.01.01-6 Transcription Leiden, 1734
In: James DOUGLAS, Bibliographiae anatomicae specimen; sive Catalogus Omnium penè Auctorum qui ab Hippocrate ad Harvaeum rem anatomicam ... illustrarunt; ... [Specimen of anatomical bibliography or catalogue of virtually all the authors who, from Hippocrates to Harvey, explained anatomy], Editio secunda, Lugduni Batavorum, Apud G. Langerak, 1734, 12 ll., 264 pp., 6 ll.

Note: See pp. 77-90, for Vesalius’s biography with a transcription of the letter by Languet to Peucer on the Inquisition-story. Here again het text is not exactly the same as in the Ms. but it is very much alike the transcription by Melchior Adam.

* XIII-1565.01.01-7 French translation Basel, 1742
In: Jacques-Auguste DE THOU, Histoire universelle ... avec la suite par Nicolas Rigault ... augmenté de remarques historiques & critiques..., Tome troisième, 1560-1567, Basle, Jean Louis Brandmuller, 1742.

Note: The letter is now translated in French on p. 492.

* XIII-1565.01.01-8 English translation London, 1834-40
In: T.J. PETTIGREW, ‘Andreas Vesalius’ in IDEM, Medical portrait gallery. Biographical memoirs of the most celebrated physicians, surgeons, etc., etc., who have contributed to the advancement of medical science, London, Fisher, Son and Co, [1838-40], vol. 2, pp. 1-6, portrait.

Note: With a ‘translation’ and short discussion of the letter by H. Languetus to Caspar Peucer (p. 3). This is not a word for word translation but rather a fairly good summary of the text. Engraving of Calcar’s portrait of Vesalius and 6 pp. of biography. Online in <www.archive.org/details/medicalportraitg02pett>

* XIII-1565.01.01-9 English translation London, 1853


See <https://archive.org/details/clementmarotand00morlgoog>

* XIII-1565.01.01-10 English translation London, 1894

Note: for the translation see pp. 38-39. The author gives an overview of those who believed in this letter and also a detailed discussion of the opinions of various others concerning the reason for Vesalius’ pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Cullen himself is convinced that Vesalius made the travel in fulfillment of a vow for recovering off a serious disease.

* XIII-1565.01.01-11 English translation London, 1900

Note: the translation is on p. 93 with a short discussion. It was already published in Asclepiad, 1885, 2: 132-156 (not seen) as mentioned by Cushing as no. 328 in his chapter X.

* XIII-1565.01.01-12 English translation Saint Louis, 1910
In: James Moores BALL, Andreas Vesalius, the reformer of anatomy, Saint Louis, Medical Science Press, 1910, xvii, 149 pp., 2 portr.

Note: For the translation see pp. 135-136. J.M. Ball calls it ‘the most reasonable account’ of the reason for Vesalius’s pilgrimage. For a review of the book see ‘The Luther of anatomy’ in British Medical Journal, 1911, 2: 383-384. Another review is by Evert Cornelius van LEERSUM, [Andreas Vesalius, the reformer of anatomy, by James Ball, 1910] in Janus, 1911, 16: 363-364.

* XIII-1565.01.01-13 English translation Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964
In: Charles Donald O'MALLEY, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.; see p. 304.
Note: The translation by O’Malley is not based on the Ms. but on the transcription bij Melchior Adam.

* XIII-1565.01.01-14 Ms. online, 2014

Note: This online publication has a reproduction of the letter (Paris, Jan. 1st, 1565) by Hubert Languet to Caspar Peucer and is accompanied by a discussion. See http://circulatingnow.nlm.nih.gov/2014/10/15/the-death-of-andreas-vesalius/

* XIII-1565.01.01-15 Ms., transcription, and Dutch translation Leuven, 2015

Note: The Ms., transcription and Dutch translation are followed by a discussion. See pp. 154-156.

* XIII-1565.01.01-16 Transcription and English translation online, 2016
In: Maurits BIESBROUCK, ‘Andreas Vesalius’s fatal voyage to Jerusalem’ in Medical Terminology Daily Newsletter – Clinical Anatomy Associates, 6 parts, 13 June 2016, 12 pp., ill.

Note: Published 13 June 2016 by Efrain Miranda. See <https://clinanat.com/mtd/802>
Adapted text of the lecture at the international conference Vesalius Continuum at Zakynthos in September 2014.

* XIII-1565.01.01-17 Transcription and French translation Turnhout, 2018

Note: Transcription, French translation and discussion on pp. 455-456.

* XIII-1565.01.01-18 Reproduction of Ms. Leiden, 2018
Note: For the reproduction of the Ms. see p. 77, fig. 34, taken from the back pastedown in the Fabrica of James Alexander and Ellen Rae Benson Special Collections, Western Archives, Western Libraries, Western University, London, Canada (Call No.: QM21.V418 1555). The Ms. is in another hand than the one in M.J. North and is on the pastedown in the middle of other short notes concerning Vesalius’ death.

*XIII-1565.01.01-19*  
**English translation**  
London, 1828


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XIII-1565.01.01-ad - ADDENDUM to this story by Hubert Languet: Ambroise Paré

Ambroise Paré (c. 1510-1590), a contemporary of Vesalius, had a variant story, based on the one by Languet.


Passage: *Ainsi que de ce siecle est arriué à vn grand anatomiste, je dis grand et celebre, duquel les liures reparent auiourd’huy les estudes des hommes doctes, lequel estant pour lors resident en Espagne, fut mandé pour ouvrir une femme de maison, qu’on estimoit estre morte par vne suffocation de matrice. Le deuxième coup de rasoir qu’il lui donna, commença ladite femme à se mouuoir, et demonstrer par autres signes qu’elle viuoit encore. dont tous les assistants furent grandement estonnés: je laisse à penser au lecteur comme ce bon seigneur faisant cette oeuvre, fut en perplexité, et comme on cria tolle aprés lui, tellement que tout ce qu’il put faire fut de s’absenter du pays: car ceux qui le deuoient excuser, c’estoient ceux qui lui couroient sus: et estant exilé tost apres mourut de desplaisir: qui n’a esté sans vne grande perte pour la republique. [Note]: Ce paragraphe manque en 1573, et a été intercalé en 1575.*

Notes: The story is on p. 755. Apparently, according to the note at the end of the page, the story was included in a later edition of Paré’s work after his death! The variant assertions are here that the victim was a woman and that Vesalius died ‘out of despair’. There is no question of a travel to Jerusalem. Although Vesalius’s name is not mentioned it is obvious that this story is about him. For a discussion, also on the story by Hubert Languet and vivisection, see Thomas Hunkele, ‘Mélancolie de l’anatomie. L’exemple de “Don Andrea Vesalius” de Pétrus Borel’ in *Variations*, 2005, 13: 167-182.

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XIII-1565.01.01-ad.1  
**Oeuvres de M. Ambroise Paré**  
Paris, 1575

Not seen.

Note: According to a later Latin and English translations the passage must be found in book 23, chapter 46, with the title in French: *Here is set forth the difficulty of finding positive signs by means of which those can be distinguished, who, in the course of nature and not through some art, happen to be apparently dead.*

* XIII-1565.01.01-ad.2  Latin translation  Luca, 1707

In: Jo. Maria LANCISIUS, *De subitaneis mortibus libri duo*, Lucae, Typis, et Sumptibus Peregrini Frediani, 1707.

Notes: See p. 36. This is the second edition. First edition (not seen): Idem Romae, Typis Jo. Francisci Buagni, 1707. A still later edition uses the same wordings: see Idem, Romae, Sumptibus Jo. Friderici Gleditsch, 1709, pp. 70-71. Lancisius mentions Vesalius’s name, whereas Paré did not.

This translation, deviating at some points from the original French text, reads as: [Ex Paraeo lib. 23 cap. 46. Turpis Vesalii calamitas.] Horret meminisse Vesalium, neglectae olim Anatomes parentem, ad mulierem hystericae, quae mortua credebatur, dissecan dam accersitum, eo negligentia sua fuisse perductum, ut vix alteram novaculae impressionem adegerit, cum illa motu, et clamore se vivam ostendit, quae sane res Virum odiosum, ac detestabilem reddidit; idcirco nil prius sibi esse duxit, quam se fuga subtrahere. Sed ne sic quidem intestinum terrorem, ac carnificem, quo judice, nemo nocens absolvitur, fugere potuit; maestitia enim consecutus non multo post, mango rei, et publicae et medicae detrimento, interiit.

Own Dutch translation of this Latin text: “[Uit Paré, boek 23, hoofdstuk 46. De schandelijke ramp van Vesalius.] Het huivert eraan te herinneren dat Vesalius, de vader van de anatomie, die deze ooit in de wind sloeg, bij een hysterische vrouw die hij dood waande, en gedreven om te ontleden, er door zijn nalatigheid toe gebracht werd, om na nauwelijks een paar messteken, zij door haar beweging en schreeuw toonde nog te leven, hetgeen de man inderdaad gehaat en verachtelijk maakte. Daarom was het eerste wat hij deed: maken om heimelijk weg te vluchten. Maar niemand zou bij zo een diepe angst en beulsdaad door een rechter van zijn schuld ontevoren worden, noch kunnen ontploffen. Door wroeging verteerd is hij dan kort nadien, door die zware zaak en de publieke en medische schande, gestorven.”

Giovanni Maria Lancisi (26 October 1654 – 20 January 1720) was an Italian physician, epidemiologist and anatomist, who studied in Rome, and became the physician of Innocentius XI, Clemens XI and Innocentius XII. He is known for his studies on cardiology and to have seen the connexion between mosquitoes and malaria.

* XIII-1565.01.01-ad.3  Oeuvres complètes d’Ambroise Parè  Paris, 1840


Note: See p. 755.

* XIII-1565.01.01-ad.4  English translation  New York, 1971

Note: Translation of the Latin version by Jo. Maria Lancisius is on pp. 41-42:

It is a gruesome thing to have to think that Vesalius [Ex Pareo, lib. 23, cap. 46], the father of that once so neglected anatomy, when summoned to dissect an hysterical woman who was believed to have died, and spurred on to this by his own negligence, had hardly set his dissecting knife for the second cut, when the woman by movement and shout showed herself to be alive. This affair, to be sure, placed Vesalius in such an odious and detestable position that he could think of nothing else except to flee. However no man can in that way escape from the inner terror and executioner – a judge who absolves no one who is guilty. For not long after, worn out with sad regret, he died, to the great loss of the state and of medical science.

* XIII-1565.01.01-ad.5  
Transcription  
Genève, 2003


Note: see pp. 120-126 for a transcription (p. 121) and a discussion, also on vivisection.

XIII-1565.04.10 - Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma to Philip II, Brussels

Heading: Monseignore. Par la lettre du XVIme du mois passé, que Vostre Majesté m’a escript, suis adverdie de la provision que icelle me fait...


Passage: … Vostre Majestè m’a envoyé deux requestes, l’une de Christofle Haller, demandant la pension de CL escus d’or, l’aultre de la vefve d u feu docteur Vesalius pour avoir semblablement quelque homeste pension et quelque ayde pour le mariaige de sa fille, me demandant sur toutes deux mon advis, lequel ne sçauoir donner autre que par ci-devant en semblables occurences et selon la povreté et courtresse en laquelle je me retrouve par deçà, estant telle que, quand oires Vostre Majesté l’eust accordé, je ne sçauoir comment pouveoir au payement, et vaut mieux, à correction de Vostredicte Majesté, de s’en excuser du commencement que par faulce de paiement donner mescontentement à ceulx qu’on penseroit avoir gratifié. L’argent pour l’entretien des galériens est espuisé. La duchesse demande nouvelle provision…

Concerns: see passage.

Note: The other letter of 16 March by the king, asking her for advice could not be found. Notwithstanding the provisions payed by the king he still had financial problems.
In the mean time the dean Morillon had sent a letter from Brussels to Cardinal de Granvelle, on the death of Vesalius, and the financial support he left for both his widow and daughter; see XIII-1564.12.30.

* XIII-1565.04.10-1 Correspondance de Margaret of Austria Utrecht, 1925
In: Correspondance française de Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II, Utrecht: Kemink et Fils, 1925.


XIII-1565.04.15 - Johannes Metellus to Georg Cassander, Cologne

Heading: Litteras Maximiliani Caesaris legi non sine magna voluptate, ...

First lines on Vesalius (p. 372): Vesalius, certa sponsione pecuniae, quo magis praedives ditesceret; ex Hispania, superiore anno, Hierosolymam profectus est, .. (Last year, Vesalius left Spain for Jerusalem, for a particular wager of money, and in order that he might gain the more wealth, ...)


Concerns: Vesalius’s travel to Jerusalem and his death.

Note: This letter is less known, but it contains more details about Vesalius’s death than the letter of April 17th (see below). G.M. Cullen (1894) criticizes the reason for Vesalius’ departure given by Metellus as “improbable and ridiculous” as it is “extremely unlikely that Vesalius would leave his honoured position at the Spanish Court and expose himself to the innumerable dangers of such a journey in order to gain a foolish wager.”

Johannes Metellus (also Jean Matal or Sequanus, 1520-1597) was a cartograph, born in Burgundy, but spending most of his life in Leuven, and towards the end of his life in Cologne, where he published in 1598 his maps of America.

Georg (Joris) Cassander was a Flemish theologian (Pittem, August 15th. 1513 - Cologne, February 3th, 1566). He studied in Leuven where he became Magister Artium in 1532 and lectured in Gent and Brugge. From 1549 on he lived in Cologne.

* XIII-1565.04.15-1 transcription Leiden, 1617
In: Daniel HEINSIUS, Illustrium & clarorum Virorum Epistolae selectiores, Superiore saeculo scriptae vel a Belgis, vel ad Belgas, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1617.

Note: for the transcription see pp. 370-384, especially p. 372-373. See books.google.
* XIII-1565.04.15-2 transcription Paris, 1731
In: Charles Antoine DE BILLY D’ANTHILLY, Marie Anne DE BILLY, Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, Tome X, Paris, Briasson, 1731.

Note: for the letter Jean Metel to Cassander see Changements, corrections et additions. Tomes V, pp. 153-154. This is a separate edition compensating for the omission of the letter in the edition of Niceron (Paris, Briasson, 1728).

* XIII-1565.04.15-3 transcription Venice, 1750

Note: Niceron took the letter as it appeared in Heinsius, see Leiden 1617. It is included in a life of Vesalius and list of his works. The edition of Paris (Briasson, 1728) of this Tome V lacks that letter, which appeared in the additions to Tome V in Tome X, Paris, Briasson, 1731.

* XIII-1565.04.15-4 transcription and French translation Turnhout, 2018

Note: For the transcription, a French translation and a discussion, see pp. 453-455. Unfortunately the author mentions this letter (p. 453) as the first letter dated 17 April 1565 by Metellus on Vesalius’s death to Arnold Birckmann, whereas this letter to Birckman is the second one. The first one being the letter to Cassander, written two days before (April 15th), as we just saw.

* XIII-1565.04.15-5 transcription Torino, 1745
In: Johannes FANTONUS, Dissertationes anatomeicae, Taurini, ex typographia regia, 1745, 348 pp.

Note: The letter is on p. 238, and is taken from the addition to Niceron (Paris, 1731) with a short discussion (vide supra).

XIII-1565.04.17 - Johannes Metellus to Arnoldus Birckmann, [Cologne?]

Heading: Metellus Arnoldo S.P.D. Nurembergensis quidam refert, proximo mense Octobri, Andream Vesalium Hierosolymis redeuntem obiisse, ...

First published in: John Farquhar FULTON, Vesalius four centuries later, Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Press, 1950, 22 pp.
Concerns: Vesalius’s travel to Jerusalem and his death.

Note: This letter is better known than the letter to Cassander two days before, but it is less explicit. The original one was presumably written in Cologne too, just as the previous one (see before).

The Ms. is on a fly-leaf of a copy of the *Fabrica 1555* once owned by the surgeon Nicholas Senn (1844-1908). His library must have been enormous and his house bursted literally from the books: he had to support the walls. His library became part of the *John Crerar Library* (Chicago), which went later to the library of the *University of Illinois Chicago* (see Cushing 287b p. 209, who calls him ‘David’ Senn). In 1995 the auction house Christie’s (London) sold that particular copy of the *Fabrica 1555* as a duplicate resulting from the merging of the *University of Chicago Library* and the *John Crerar Library* (see lot 258 in *CHRISTIE’S* (ed.), Rare Science Duplicates, resulting from the merger of the University of Chicago Library and the John Crerar Library, London, Christie’s South Kensington Ltd, Friday, 31 March, 1995, Part II, 1995, 95 pp., ill.) and the actual owner is Stephen N. Joffe, a surgeon, Vesalius-connoisseur and book collector (USA). This Ms. is probably not the original one and is transcribed from the original Ms. as it is in another hand than that of Metellus (Dr. Theodoor Goddeers, personal communication). *Yale University Library* also has a transcription of this Ms by O’Malley; see <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/1913884>.

Arnoldus Birckmann junior (° November 2nd 1523) was a son of the famous printer and book seller, also Arnold, from Cologne (° Hinsbeck - Cologne, April 28th 1541).

* XIII-1565.04.17-1 Photocopy of the Ms. Yale, n.d.
The letter of Metellus to Birckmann in the *Yale University Library* is a photostat reproduction (negative) from the Ms. in the *John Crerar Library* (mentioned in Cushing, chapter X, no. 287b), a gift by Cushing to Yale. It is part of a portfolio *De morte Andreae Vesaliii anno 1565* now in the Yale University library; see <http://orbexpress.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=1913884>

* XIII-1565.04.17-2 English translation Yale, n.d.
This is an English translation by Edward Clark Streeter (one sheet of typescript), and is part of the portfolio with the photostat of the Ms. at *Yale University Library* (see above). The translation was probably made before that of O’Malley.

* XIII-1565.04.17-3 Transcription Yale, n.d.
This transcription by O’Malley (one sheet of typescript) is part of the portfolio with the photostat of the Ms. at *Yale University Library* (see above). It was most probably made for his English translation in 1949.

* XIII-1565.04.17-4 English translation Yale, n.d.
This translation by O’Malley (one sheet of typescript) is part of the portfolio with the photostat of the Ms. at *Yale University Library* (see above). It was most probably made in 1949 for the publication by Fulton.
* XIII-1565.04.17-5  English translation  Kansas, 1950

In: John Farquhar Fulton, ‘Vesalius four centuries later’ in IDEM, Logan Clendening Lecture on the History and Philosophy of Medicine, First series, Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Press, 1950, pp. 1-22.

Note: this first translation by C.D. O’Malley was from 1949, but published only in 1950 by Fulton; see pp. 12-13, where the date of this letter is not rendered.

* XIII-1565.04.17-6  English translation  1954


Note: For the translation see pp. 141 and 142. This translation differs somewhat from that published by Fulton fourteen years earlier. It is presented in two pieces and the sentence telling that the man from Nuremberg was returning from Egypt is missing.

In this article O’Malley states wrongly that Metelius’s letter to Birckmann appeared also in Illustrium & clarorum virorum epistolae selectiores (1617) on p. 372, whereas this was the letter to Cassander. He corrects this mistake in his Vesalius biography on p. 470, n. 88.

* XIII-1565.04.17-7  English translation  Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1964

In: Charles Donald O’Malley, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels 1514-1564, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, 8°, XV-480 pp., ill.

Note: for the translation see pp. 310-311. This translation differs again somewhat from his two previous ones.

* XIII-1565.04.17-8  Transcription and Dutch translation  not published, 2013

My own transcription, made together with Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris and Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno, independently of that by O’Malley, with our own translation from 2013; not published.

* XIII-1565.04.17-9  Reproduction of Ms.

Leiden, 2018


Note: For the Ms. see p. 71, fig. 29; discussion on pp. 73 and 78.

For more comments to this publication see Margócsy, Dániel, Márk Somos, Stephen Joffe. ‘Vesalius’ Fabrica: A Report on the Worldwide Census of the 1543 and 1555 Editions’ in Social History of Medicine, 2017, 30 (no. 1): 201-223. Also IDEM, ‘Sex, religion and a singular anatomist’ in Nature, 2018, 560: 304-305; ill.
M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

* XIII-1565.04.17-10 Reproduction of Ms.
Leiden, 2018

In: Same publication, same p. but fig. 28.

Note: This is a copy of a front pastedown in the copy of the Fabrica 1543 in Berlin: Humboldt Universität. Call No.: 2000/C11.

The content of the letter is in another hand, in calligraphy, and deviates in some minor details from the previous record, without changing the meanings. In the right upper corner it has a stamp in blue ink “Prof. Dr. E. Leyden”.

* XIII-1565.04.17-11 Transcription and English translation
Rijeka (Croatia), 2018

In: Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO. ‘Johann Bachoven von Echt (1515-1576) and his Work on Scurvy: an Omen of Vesalius’ Death?’ in Acta medico-historica Adriatica, 2018, 16 (no. 2): 27-62, ill.

Note: With a discussion. Transcription and English tranlation on pp. 54-56.

XIII-1565.05.13 - Philip II to Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, Valladolid

Heading: Madame ma bonne soeur. J’ay reçu vostre lettre du Xme d’avril en matière de finances, responsive à la mienne du XVIme de mars touchant la provision que je vous avois envoié tant des deux cens mil escuz pour mettre en pratique la lotterie générale, que des soixante mil pour furnir au court des gens de guerre, estans en mon service, …


Passage: … Ayant vue ce que vous m’auez escript pout vostre advis sur les requestes de Christofle Haller et de la vefve du docteur Vesalius, tendans tous respectivement affin d’avoir pension, m’a semblé que celle demandée par ledict Haller se doibt excuser, mais quant à la vefve de feu Vesalius, aiant regard aux longz et continuelz services de sondict feu mary, tant à feu l’Empereur, mon Seigneur, que Dieu ait en sa gloire, que à moy en divers voiaiges et hors de son pays, l’on ne peult moins que luy gratiffier de quelque chose, et partant me suis résolu de luy donner une pension de deux cens florins par an, comme je vous escripz par une aultre lettre particulière, parlant seulement de ceste affaire.

Concerns: see Passage.

Notes: See letter CCCLXXVII, pp. 41-42.
In his short discussion O’Malley in his Vesalius-biography p. 313, references to this same edition, mentioning that the king had already delt with this question by Anna Van Hamme a few months earlier, on 16 March 1565, asking for an advice to Margaret of Austria. But on 12 April 1565, she gave a negative advice due to bad finances. Nevertheless the king now grants
the widows demand because he wants to do something as her husband was during a long time in service of both his father and of himself, and he made in this functions several travels abroad.

* XIII-1565.05.13-1 Correspondance de Margaret of Austria Utrecht, 1925
In: Correspondance française de Marguerite d’Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II, Utrecht: Kemink et Fils, 1925.

Note: See letter 377, pp. 41-42.

XIII-1566.05.?? – Reiner Solenander [to the reader], Augsburg


First known publication as ‘Historia de Obitu Vesalii ex literis Reineri Solenandri ex Comitiis August. 66 mense Maio’ in Bibliotheca Schraderiana, ‘3340 Andr. Vesalii …’ in Bibliothecae Schraderianae Pars Prior cuius auctio fiet Dresdae in aedibus Maxianis, 1710, D. XI Aug. seqq. horis continue post meridiem usitatis [Auction of the Schrader Library at Dresden in the house Maxianus on 11 August 1710 and following, from midday onwards at the usual hours, x3 r° - x4 r°.

Concerns: Solenander gives more details on Vesalius’s journey to Jerusalem, especially on the situation on board of the ship with which Vesalius returned.

Note: This letter makes it clear that Vesalius did not perish in a storm but died upon his arrival at Zakynthos from exhaustion, whatever the cause may be.

For some comments on Reinerus Solenander see further in his letter to Fredericus Beurhusius (XIII-1585.12.14).

An earlier account on Vesalius’s death was given by Petrus BIZARUS, Historia della guerra fatta in Ungheria dall’invittissimo Imperatore de Christiani, contra quello de Turchi: con la narratione di tutte quelle cose che sono avvenute in Europa, dall’anno 1564, insino all’anno 1568, Lyon, Guliel. Rovillio, 1568. Here the account of Vesalius’s death (pp. 178-180) differs considerably in some details from the Latin edition: Pannonicum bellum, sub Maximiliano II. Rom. et Solymano Turcar. imperatoribus gestum: Cumque Arcis Sigethi expugnatione ... descriptum... Una, cum Epitome illarum rerum, quae in Europa insigniores gestae sunt: et praesertim de Belgarum motibus, ab anno LXIIII, usque ad LXXIII [The Hungarian war under the emperors Maximillian II and Soleyman...], Basileae, per Sebastianum Henricpetri [1573]. The account here is supposedly the first printed account of the tragic death of Vesalius. This report is not to be found in the Pannonicum bellum itself (pp. 1-165) but in the Epitome following it (pp. 166-322): Petri Bizari liber, in quo partim Belgarum motus, exorti anno LXVI, eorumue causa enarratur, partim etiam pleraque alia, quae paulo ante id tempus, usque ad LXX, annum, et amplius, in Europa contigerunt, on pp. 284-285. It reads as follows:

Quid vero dicemus de Andrea Vesalio in Anatomia, omnium, qui ad hanc aetatem vixerint, medicorum facile princeps? Hic sane, cum in mense Aprili, anno LXIII. una cum Malatesta Ariminensi, in Cyprum profectus esset, accidit ut brevi post, à veneto Senatu cum amplissimo
stipendio accersiretur, ut succederet Gabrieli Valopoio, recens mortuo, qui Patavii per multos annos rem Anatomicam, non sine maxima sui nominis celebritate professus erat. Dum itaque Italiam versus adnavigat, fluctibus, marisque tempestate adactus, in Zacynthum insulam applicuit, ibique decumbere coepit, pauloque post in loco deserto, et in miserrimo tuguriolo, ac omni humana ope destitutus, e vita decessit. Paulo ante ipsius obitum, quaedam navis Adriaca eodem appulerat, et in ea fuöt quidam aurifaber, ex Venetiis oriundus, isque, cum forte fortuna per oram maritimam illius insulae iuxta littus obambularet, casu in hunc locum incidit, ubi Vesalius decumebat, eiusque licet incognit, sortem commiseratur, nihil non egit, ut auxilio adesset. Caeterum, insulares, cum ob suspicionem pestis, quae tunc in ea regione saeviebat, tum etiam ob eorum naturam agrestem, et inhumanam, omnia pietatis officia recusarunt. Is ergo ibidem occubuit, et aurifaber vix locum, in quo sepeliretur, summis precibus impetravit, ac ipsemet suis manibus tumulum effodit, et corpus sepulturae mandavit, ne inhumatum iaceret. Id olim ab ipsomet, qui morientes astiterat, mihi bona fide relatum est coram Iulio Borgarucio, medico Urbinate, qui iamdudum rem medicam apud Anglos, cum egregia sui nominis laude profitetur, estque, ob in signem eruditionem, reliquasque animi dotes, omnibus Angliae proceribus quam maxime gratus, et iure inter primos, qui hoc tempore in ea facultate excellunt, annumerari potest.

(But what shall we say about Andreas Vesalius, of all the anatomists who lived until now, certainly the most important physician? When he traveled in April '64 from here to Cyprus with Malatesta da Rimini, it happened that he was summoned a little while later, with a very large salary by the Senate of Venice, to succeed the recently deceased Gabriele Falloppio, who lectured anatomy at Padua during many years, with a large celebrity to his name. However, when sailing back to Italy, he reached the island of Zakynthos, driven by a storm at sea, and there he fell ill and a little later he died in a deserted spot in a miserable hut, and destitute of any human help. Shortly before he died an Adriatic ship came ashore there, carrying a certain goldsmith, coming from Venice, and when he was by chance walking along the coastline of that island, he came in coincidence at that spot where Vesalius laid, and although he was unknown to him, he did what he could to help, out of compassion. The islanders however refused any help, fearing of the plague, which was raging in that region and also out of their rural and unfeeling nature. But he was laying there dead and the goldsmith, on his urgent demands, obtained hardly a place where he could be buried, and he himself dug a grave with his own hands and intered the body, to prevent it of resting unburried. This was told to me in good faith by the man himself who assisted the dying, in the presence of Julius Borgarucci, a physician from Urbino, who was since a long time lecturing in medicine in England with a great honour to his name, and he is, because of his great erudition and other intellectual skills, very appreciated by the English prominent and he can rightly be reckoned among the most excellent of this time.)
the complete text of the letter of Solenander on Vesalius’ death; a message on his death from Andreas Paulus from Braunschweig; and others.

This first known edition of the letter could be found thanks to the reference to it made by Reimmann (1713), who paraphrased it.

* XIII-1566.05.??-2 Paraphrased version German Halle, 1713

In: Jacob Friederich REIIMMANN, *Versuch einer Einleitung in die Historiam literariam derer Teutschen*, dritten und leszten Theils, Halle im Magdeburg, 1713.

Note: The paraphrased version in German of Solenander’s letter on Vesalius’ death is on pp. 680-682. I found it on 28 September 2017 (books.google).

Reimmann gives as a source for the letter *Index Bibl. Schraderianae n. 3340* and tells that it still gives some other details. The changes are Reimmann’s: see Leipzig 1722.

* XIII-1566.05.??-3 Second known edition Latin and German Leipzig, 1722


Note: This ‘letter’ by Solenander was included in a work by Theodor Crusius. Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris found a copy of it in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany).

The text of the letter in this edition is exactly the same (words as well as interpunction) as in the rendering in the auction catalogue from Dresden, 1710, just as is the verse at the bottom and the date ‘1564’. there are only minor changes in the title. The print by Crusius is in roman, in the catalogue its in *italique*. The fact that both editions are identical makes us assume that both were based on the original (not yet found) or that the edition by Crusius was an exact copy of the auction catalogue. Therefore the changes in Reimmann should be considered as being adaptations by himself.

* XIII-1566.05.??-4 English translation 2012


Note: this is a translation of the Latin letter in English, with a discussion. The transcription of the Latin text was withdrawn by the editor.

* XIII-1566.05.??-5 Dutch translation (partial) Leuven, 2015


Note: Partial Dutch translation accompanied with a discussion. See pp. 160.
* XIII-1566.05.??-6  Full transcription and Engl. translation  Rijeka (Croatia), 2015

Note: with a discussion. For the full-text see <http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=223620>

XIII-1568.01.18 - Franciscus Franciscius to Antonius Monticatinus, Venice

Heading: Si quanta est tui ac nobilissimae familiae tuae dignitas atque amplitude, tantum in me esset virium; …

Appeared first: as a dedication in the Fabrica VI.A.-4.

Title: Antonio Monticatino doctori in Ferrariensi gymnasio clariss. Franciscus Franciscius Senensis.

Passage: S.D. … Vesalii volumen, nominis tuo dedicatum ad te mitto, quod praeclarissimus ille Vir in anatomien summis alias laboribus ac vigiliis congesit, et secundo illustratum edidit. nunc autem à me ex vasta illa mole in angustiorem typum est redactum studiosorum gratia, eorum praesertim quibus res domi est angustior. Porro icones exculpit Ioannes Criegher Pomeranus, iuvenis diligentissimus. caetera vero quantis studiis et quantis nostris sumptibus confecta sint; incredibile est: sed arduum tamen hoc opus, quando divino auxilio superavimus, … Vale. Venetiis, XV. Cal. Februarii. M. D. LXVIII.

(Greetings, … I send you the book of Vesalius, dedicated to your name, which this very famous anatomist composed, thanks to earlier very hard efforts and sleepless hours, and then edited it with illustrations. Now however I reworked that vast volume in an smaller type on behalf of the students, in the first place for those who feel the pressure of poverty. Further, Johannes Criegher from Pommern, a very accurate jung man, sculpted the plates. It is unbelievable with how many efforts and costs by myself everything has been arranged. But how hard this work might be, we succeeded with the help of God. … All the best, Venice, January 18th, 1568.)

Notes: This short letter of printer Franciscus Farniscius from Sienna is his dedication to Antonius Monticatinus, doctor at the university of Ferrara.

Antonio Montecatini (1537-1599) was born in Ferrara and became magister artium in 1562 and professor of the faculty of medicine at the University of Ferrara. From 1560 on he first lectured a couple of years without a salary in Moralia Aristotelis, philosophy, and astrology, but lateron he became the best paid professor when lecturing natural philosophy there (1567-1594). He was also secretary to Duke Alfonso II. Most of his publications deal with Aristoteles, but he published also an epitome of Plato’s Laws (1561) and a commentary on The Republic (1591). See Margherita PALUMBO, ‘Montecatini, Antonio’ in Dizionario

* XIII-1568.01.18-1 Franciscus Franciscius to Antonius Monticatinus

Venice, 18 January 1568

See VI.A.-4.


XIII-1572.09.24 – Constantinus Varolius to Hieronymus Mercurialis, Bologna

Heading: Quum iamdiiu luce clarius mihi compertum sit praesentiam tuam multa utilitate, dignitate, ac splendore Academiam Patavinam decorasse munere tibi…

Appeared first in: Constantinus VAROLIUS, De Nervis Opticis nonnullisque aliis praeter communem opinionem in Humano capite observatis ad Hieronymum Mercurialem [On the Optical Nerve and other things contrary to common belief seen in the human head to Jer. Mercurialis], Patavii, apud Paulum & Antonium Meiettos fratres, 1573.

Passages: Only some neutral references to Vesalius’ Fabrica on ff. 10v, 11v, 14r, 17v, 18r. F. 17v has an illustration of the base of the brain with the nerves originating from the medulla oblongata and the pons, inspired by Vesalius.


Constanzo Varolio or Constantinus Varolius (Bologna, 1543-1575) was as an anatomist pupil of Giulio Cesare Aranzio, himself a pupil of Vesalius. He became doctor in medicine in 1567 and had a chair in surgery and anatomy in 1569. Later he was the physician of pope Gregorius XIII (1572-1585). His is known for his study of this brain structures and of the erectile function of the penis (mm. bulbospongiosi and ischiocavernosi).

Hieronymus Mercurialis (Forli, 30 September 1530 – Forli, 8 November 1606) was a doctor, educated at Bologna, Padua and Venice, where he received his doctorate in 1555. He is known for his De arte gymnastica (Venice, 1569), considered as the first book on sports medicine. He wrote many other books.

* XIII-1572.09.24-1 Constantinus Varolius to Hieronymus Mercurialis

Padua, 1573

In: Constantinus VAROLIUS, De Nervis Opticis nonnullisque aliis praeter communem opinionem in Humano capite observatis ad Hieronymum Mercurialem [On the Optical Nerve and other things contrary to common belief seen in the human head to Jer. Mercurialis], Patavii, apud Paulum & Antonium Meiettos fratres, 1573.
XIII-1572.11.28 - Joachim Hopper to Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus, Madrid

Heading: S.P. Reverende Praesul. Literas Amplitudinis vestrae XIII. superioris mensis datas, IV. hujus accepi, de quibus maximas habeo atque ago gratias; …


(… On Rembert, by whose fate I can not but be very grieved, I wrote to the king the day before yesterday among other things if he could find himself in paying him perhaps the same amount as Vesalius had, namely three hundred florins a year, next to a thirty pennies a day. We shall see what will be his answer. … Madrid, 28 November 1572. The very willing servant of your reverend Highness, Joachim Hopper.)

Notes: Rembert Dodoens (Rembertus Dodonaeus) which is the subject here, had evidently serious problems and Hopper was trying to help. The letter is interesting as it learns on how much Vesalius earned money. But there are several other sources dealing with that subject. Theodoor Gooddeeris calculated, based on what Hopper writes, that Vesalius must have earned 300 guilders a year on top of the 30 stuivers (pennies or patard) a day. One Carolusguilder (florin) was 20 stuiver (and one stuiver is one stufero or 2 groot). Philip II issued golden reals and crowns. In total Vesalius should have earned [300 guilders x 20] + [30 stuivers x 365 days] = 6,000 + 10,950 stuiver = 16,950 stuiver a year or [300 gulden] + [16,950 stuiver/20] = 300 + 847.5 or 1,147.5 guilders a year. On June 3th 1544 Vesalius was admitted by emperor Charles V at 30 stuivers/day, just like Corneel van Baersdorp.

Joachim Hopper(s) was born 11 November 1523 in Sneek (Holland) and died 11 December 1576 in Madrid. He studied Latin in Haarlem and law and philosophy in Leuven, Paris and Orleans and graduated in 1553. In Leuven he became a professor and acquainted with Viglius of Aytta. He was an advisor of Philip II of Spain in 1566. He was also the first to make a historical map of Friesland in Roman times and left several works on law. See Van der AA in Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, vol. 8-2, pp. 1253-1258; and BRUGMANS in Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek, vol. 7, col. 622-623.

Viglius Zuichemus ab Aytta or Wigle or Wieger Aytta van Swichum was born near Leeuwarden 19 October 1507 and died in Brussels on 8 May 1577. He was from Friesland just as Hopper, and studied in Leuven, Dole and Bourgos. He became a Dutch lawyer and statesman and one of the most trusted ministers of Charles V. Omer Steeno recently visited his tombstone in St-Baafs-Cathedral in Gent. T. Goddeeris tells us that he was burried there as he was the dean of St-Baafs abbey, which ceased to exist as Charles V let it demolish in 1540 in order to build a citadel on that location. On the request of the emperor the abbey was already profaned in 1536 and the parochial church of St-Jan became a fellow chapter changing the name into St-Baafs. Munich, the last abbot of St-Baafs, thus became the first
dean with mitre of St-Baafs. Munich had Viglius already as a coadjutor in 1555 and when Munich died in 1563 it was Viglius who became the second dean with mitre. In 1559 Gent became a diocese and St-Baafs a cathedral. So next to the dean with mitre there was a bishop with mitre too. The predecessor of Viglius has also been buried in St-Baafs. Both tombs were damaged during the iconoclast period in 1566 and 1578. So the church was as well as a parish, a chapter, and a diocese. See also F. Postma in Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, vol. 8, col. 837-855; Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek, vol. 2, col. 46-52; and Van der AA in Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, vol. I, pp. 464-471.

The king in question was Philip II, son of emperor Charles V, reigning until his death in 1589.

* XIII-1572.11.28-1 Joachim Hopper to Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus Utrecht, 1802
In: Joachim Hopperus, Epistolae ad Viglium ab Aytta Zuichemum, Trajecti ad Rhenum, apud B. Wild & J. Altheer, 1802.

Note: See Epistola CXLVII, pp. 369-370.

* XIII-1572.11.28-2 Joachim Hopper to Viglius ab Aytta Zuichemus Malines, 1841
In: P.J. Van Meerbbeck, Recherches historiques et critiques sur la vie et les ouvrages de Rembert Dodoeus (Dodonaeus), Malines, P.J. Hanicq, 1841.

Note: A short discussion together with the passage is on p. 44.

XIII-1576.01.26 - Petrus Monavius to Johannes Crato, Padua

Heading: Quoniam te tot et occupationibus et molestiis districtum, adeo frequenter ad me scribere non piget: turpe omnino mihi esse putto illum diligentiam non imitari, si minus superare queam, cum et plusculum otii mihi concedatur, et tu mea qualescunque tibi non ingratas esse significas.


Passage (p. 431): ... insignis in hac re artifex Vesalius contra Galenum vehementer urget. Cum cordis structuram sub manib. haberet, simpliciter affirmabat, ac si id controversum non fuisse, e dextro ventriculo in sinistrum sanguinem per septum interpositum transsudare, ac foraminula quaedam adhibito specillo ostendebat, quae interstitio illo medio apparent. De quo tamen a multis dubitatum video.

Concerns: Vesalius’s opinion on the permeability of the septum interventriculare and his criticism on Galen.
Notes: For Johann CRATON VON KRAFFTHEIM see VIII.A and B. This letter by Petrus Monavius to Johannes Crato is on pp. 429-433 and is dated Patavii, postridie conversionis Pauli, an. 1576. ‘Dies conversionis Pauli’ or the feast of the conversion of Saint Paul falls on January 25. It was thus written the day after on Jan. 26.

Petrus Monavius or Peter Monau (9 April 1551 – Prague, 12 May 1588) became the court physician of Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor, on the recommendation of Crato. He studied humanistics in Wittenberg and Heidelberg and medicine in Padua. In Basel he obtained his doctorate with De dentium affectibus (1578) and practised in Breslau.

The whole letter is worth being studied more in depth as it treats the very beginning of the history of the blood circulation, two years before the birth of William Harvey in Folkstone on April 1st 1578, and mentioning the names of ‘the Italian’ Pigafetta, someone from Spain, Hier. ab Aquapendente, and Fuchsius. Can be found in books google.

* XIII-1576.01.26-1  Petrus Monavius to Johannes Crato  Frankfurt, 1593

Note: see pages 429-433.

* XIII-1576.01.26-2  Petrus Monavius to Johannes Crato  Frankfurt, 1594
In: same title-page except for the year 1594.

Note: same pages as in the edition of 1593.

XIII-1582.08.21 - Andreas Dudith to Wenceslaus Raphanus, Breslau

Heading: Gratiam habeo de accurata epistola tua, quae mihi multis nominibis perquam gratia accidit. ...

First published in: Johann CRATON VON KRAFFTHEIM. Consiliorum et epistolatarum medicinalium liber tertius; nunc primum labore L. Scholzio in lucem editus, Francofurti, apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudium Marnium & Ioan. Aubrium, 1592.

Concerns: Dudith tells that he does not understand what Raphanus writes about what he found about Vesalius’s death in Paré and that he did not find the text in that book.

Note: Apparently Raphanus wrote in a letter to Dudith about the opinion of Ambroise Paré on Vesalius’s death.

Andreas Dudith (Buda, 5.2.1533 - Breslau, 22.2.1589) was a Hungarian nobleman of Croatian origin, bishop, humanist and diplomat of the Kingdom of Hungary. He studied in Breslau, Italy, Vienna, Brussels, and Paris. He owned a huge library himself, described by

* XIII-1582.08.21-1  
Transcription  
1592

In: Johann CRATO VON KRAFFTHEIM, *Consiliorum et epistolarii medicinalium liber tertius; nunc primum labore L. Scholzio in lucem editus*, Francofurti, apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudium Marnium & Ioan. Aubrium, 1592.

Note: for the *epistola* see pp. 299-302. Only copy from books.google.

* XIII-1582.08.21-2  
Transcription  
1598

In: Laurentius SCHOLTZIUS, *Epistolarum philosophicarum: medicinalium, ac chymicarum a summis nostrae aetatis philosophis ac medicis exaratarum, volumen*, Francofurti ad Moenum, apud A. Wecheli haeredes, 1598, 5 ll., 536 col., 6 ll.

Note: see *epistola xxxi*. Only copy from books.google.

* XIII-1582.08.21-3  
Transcription  
1610


Note: see *epistola xxx* col. 37-39. Only copy from books.google.

XIII-1582.09.22 - Andreas Dudith to Wenceslaus Raphanus, Breslau

Heading: *Gratiam tibi haveo de docta tua epistola. Nunc vero inspectis tuis annotationibus non solum dehortor, neque reprehendo studium tuum, ...*


Concerns: Dudith does not agree with the view of A. Paré who told that Vesalius was exiled, but that he went to Jerusalem for religious reasons and that he died on Zakynthos from a *febris ardens*.

Note: This letter and the previous one prove that Dudith and Raphanus discussed Vesalius’s death by letter and that there must be other ones. We do not know on what grounds Dudith based his conviction.

The disagreement with Paré was also mentioned by Georg WELSCH (Georgius Hieronymus Velschius). *Sylloge curationum et observationum medicinalium centurias VI*
complectens, Ulm, impensis Gottlieb Goebelii, typis Christiani Balthasaris Kuhnii, 1667, see J.U. Rumler, Observationes medicinae, p. 67.

* XIII-1582.09.22-1  Transcription 1592
In: Johann CRATO VON KRAFFTHEIM, Consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium liber tertius; nunc primum labore L. Scholzio in lucem editus, Francofurti, apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudium Marnium & Ioan. Aubrium, 1592.

Note: for the epistola see pp. 302-305. Only copy from books.google.

* XIII-1582.09.22-2  Transcription 1598
In: Laurentius SCHOLTZIUS, Epistolarum philosophicarum: medicinalium, ac chymicarum a summis nostrae aetatis philosophis ac medicis exaratarum, volumen, Francofurti ad Moenum, apud A. Wecheli haeredes, 1598, 5 ll., 536 col., 6 ll.

Note: Note: see epistola xxxi. Only copy from books.google.

* XIII-1582.09.22-3  Transcription 1610
In: Laurentius SCHOLTZIUS, Epistolarum philosophicarum: medicinalium, ac chymicarum a summis nostrae aetatis philosophis ac medicis exaratarum, volumen, Hanoviae, typis Wechelianis apud haeredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1610.

Note: see epistola xxxi on col. 39-40. Only copy from books.google.

XIII-1583.??-?? - [Felix Platter] to the reader, [Basel, 1583]

Heading: Cum variam illam singularum partium formam, quam exposuimus, difficile sit citra inspectionem mente concipere, rariusque se humani corporis sectio offerat: icones sequentes, qui nobis ea quae illic describuntur, ob oculos ponant, his subiicere volui. (Because of the changing aspect of the different parts, which we have discussed, would be difficult to conceive mentally, and the opportunity of a dissection of the human body is seldom present, I wanted to add the following pictures, which will bring before the eyes those things, which will be explained there.)

Passage: Et cum nemo hactenus rectius Vesalio figuras Anatomicas depingi curaverit, et vixdum etiam meliores illis effingi possint, eas ipsas, cum occasio non defuerit, hasce ab haeredibus coemendi, libro meo, paucis tantum immutatis, inseruissem, nisi libri amplitudo, quae tunc requita fuisset, studiosis incommoda interim, me deterruisset. Ob quam causam easdem a Vesalio mutatas, contractiores tamen, qui subsdnam tantum immutatis, et nonnullis additis, aere encausto exprimendas curavi. (And because no one gave a better rendering of the anatomical figures than Vesalius and it is even virtually impossible to depict them in a better way, I would have added them with only minor changes into my book, when the occasion presented itself to buy them from the heirs. But meanwhile the volume of the book,
that would have been needed in such a case, kept me off it as unsuitable for the students. For that reason I used the very same, borrowed from Vesalius, to render them, but in a reduced size, only someone’s left unchanged and some others added, after having them engraved on copper.

My translation differs somewhat from Cushing’s p. 97. He expresses himself in a more neutral way, putting the passage on the heirs even between parentheses. One may wonder whether it was Platter or may be Froben who wrote that letter, which is not signed and not dated (the book itself being from 1583). But the author dwells in detail on the significance of the letters in the figures and therefore we may assume that it was Platter himself. And with nonnullis additis he must mean his figures of a female skeleton with an hourglass and of both putti hand in hand with the oldest one holding an arrow with a bow, just like Amor.

Concerns: In all probability this should be understood as Felix Platter writing that he had the opportunity to buy the plates from Vesalius’s heirs to illustrate his own anatomical work as no one other mad more correct figures of the body parts. He does however not tell exactly from whom he actually bought them, but he does not mention the name of Opurinus. For Verkaufsvertrag für Oporins Offizin, 1567 (Konzept) see Martin STEINMANN, ‘Aus dem Briefwechsel des Basler Druckers Johannes Opurinus’ in Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 69. Band, 1969, on pp. 197-203 pp., also on www.

In 1583, Vesalius’s younger sister Anna, and his wife Anna van Hamme were still living, his sister dying at Zierikzee on 4 March 1585 and his wife between 1600 and 1604. Their daughter, also named Anna, had already died before 1566. Franciscus Vesalius, his brother had already died of the plague in November 1552 in Vienna. We do know to less about Nicolas, his older brother. But at least two of his heirs were still alive in 1583. See Omer STEENO, The Vesalius Family. Franciscus and Anna: Andreas Vesalius’ Brother and Sister in the Spotlight, [Zakynthos (Greece), Sarakinado Theatre, 5th September 2014], 5 pp., a communication with 46 dia’s. Abstract as: ‘Andreas Vesalius – The Life: Franciscus and Anna: Andreas Vesalius’ Brother and Sister in the Spotlight’ in Vesalius – Acta Internationalia Historiae Medicinae – Special Issue for the Vesalius Continuum commemorating the 500th Anniversary of Andreas Vesalius, Zakynthos, Greece, September 4th-8th 2014, 2014, 20 (no. 1): 18.


This letter has some importance too concerning the fate of the wood-blocks for the Fabrica. It was the first time after Vesalius’ death that they could be used to reproduce his plates. But although the original plates were for sale from his heirs, Platter had to reproduce them again, in a slightly reduced format to save space and on copper plates. As he tells in this letter he was disappointed about these reproductions which were less than perfect and he advises his students to compare them with Vesalius’ drawings. Some understood that Felix Platter had bought the original plates himself. (See Willy WIEGAND, ‘Marginal Notes by the Printer of the Icones’ in Samuel W. LAMBERT, Willy WIEGAND, William M. IVINS Jr., Three
Vesalian essays to accompany the Icones anatomicae of 1934, New York, MacMillan, 1952, pp. 25-42, see p. 30.) Therefore it would be a good idea might someone publish a complete translation of this letter.

The only prints directly from the original plates, were those by Maschenbauer (1706 and 1723), Leveling (1781 and 1783) and by the Bremer Presse (1934-35), the wood-blocks having been destroyed during the bombardments of Munich during World War II.

In a posthumous published work of Felix Platter (+ 1614), Praxeos medicae tomi tres, Basileae, impensis Ludovici Regis, typis Ioannis Schroeteri, 1625, printed by Ludwig König, three initials of Vesalius’ Fabrica 1555 were used: C, S, and A, for the dedications to the dukes Frederik I and Johan Frederik of Württemberg at the beginning of each part. This could only be found in Robert Herrlinger, ‘Das Schicksal der hölzernen Druckstöcke zu Vesals anatomischem Lehrbuch’ in Municher Medizinische Wochenschrift, 1951, 93: 613-616, ill., reproducing the ‘A’ (not in Jacques Chevallier, ‘La destinée des bois de la Fabrique de 1543’ in Jacqueline Vons (ed.), La Fabrique de Vésale. La mémoire d’un livre. Actes des journées d’étude des 21 et 22 novembre 2014, Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé, [2016], pp. 177-215, ill.) Frederik died 29 Jan. 1608 and Platter in 1614. The first dedication to the duke is from February 13th 1602, the second is from April, 1st 1603. The third was directed to his son Johan Frederik (+ July 18th 1628) and was dated July 1st 1608. Presumably Platter knew that the father had just died: to his last dedication he added not longer: Equitem ordinis Regij Francorum & Anglorum.

There was indeed an edition of the Praxeos in 1602, 1603, and 1608 by Konrad Waldkirch, missing the Vesalian initials, and they were not used in the later edition in 1609 by Konrad Waldkirch. Ludwig König must have had those initials at his disposal in 1625, if he had not bought them (from whom?). The four different editions of the three parts of the Praxeos can be found on the website of the BIUSanté:

1. Basel by Konrad Waldkirch, typis Conradi Waldkirchii, in 1602, 1603 en 1608. The dedications correspond with the date Frederik I died: on January 29th 1608.
- Tractatus: De functionum laesionibus; with dedication to Frederik I van Württemberg, Basel February 13th 1602;
- Tractatus secundus: De doloribus; dedication to Frederik I van Württemberg, Basel April 1st 1603;
- Tractatus tertius et ultimus: De vitiis; dedication to Johan Frederik van Württemberg, Basel July 1st 1608.

2. Three parts in 1609, typis Conradi Waldkirchii, with the same dedications, but showing an error in part two: Basel, April 1st 1608 (instead of 1603).

3. With the series of three initials from the Fabrica: Basileae, impensis Ludovici Regis, typis Ioannis Schroeteri, 1625; with a correction of the erroneous date in part two.

* XIII-1583.??-??-1 First publication Basel, 1583
In: De Corporis Humani Structura et Usu, Felicis Plateri Bas. medici antecessoris libri III. Tabulis methodice explicati, Iconibus accurate illustrati, ex officina Frobeniana, Per Ambrosium Frob., 1583.

Note: This letter to the reader is at the beginning of Liber Tertius. Corporis humani partium per icones delineatarum explicatio, consisting of 50 folios of plates engraved in copper mostly from Vesalius’ Fabrica, and some other ones.
XIII-1583.??.??-2  Second publication  Basel, 1603

Note: Here the letter follows immediately after the title-page of Liber Tertius. Apart from some minor changes this time the letter has an extra passus with Platter complaining about the poor printing quality. But this was already the case in his first edition.

XIII-1583.??.??-3  Partial English translation  New York, 1943
In: Harvey CUSHING, A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius, New York, Schuman's, 1943, 229 pp., ill.

Note: for this partial English translation and a discussion see pp. 97-98 and 142.


Note: for this partial English translation with the discussion see the same pp. 97-98 and 142.

XIII-1585.02.02 - Johannes Bökelius to the reader, Helmstedt
Heading et passage: Etsi plures de Anatome partium humani corporis erudite et accurate satis scriptserunt, inter quos vel praecipuus est, ac elucet praeter labor studium, ac industria singularis D Andreae Vesalii Medici, et Anatomici excellentiss. cui in secandis corporibus me plurimum debere fateor, tamen ab instituto meo non me ali aut summi viri Autoritas dertere potuit, quod ipsius magnum opus, et exquisitiss. illa secandæ ars, et industria Anatomicis magis, quam iis qui quaemcumque partium humani corporis structuram, ac situm scire desiderant, quibus hoc nostro Anatomico libello vel maxime commodare cupimus, inserviat; ...


Passage: see heading.

Concerns: Appraisal of Andreas Vesalius as an anatomist and as an author.
Notes: The letter is dated: Datum Helmsteti in Academia Iulia, die Purificat. Mariae, Anno 1585. Signed Johannes Bökelius. ‘Dies purificationis Mariae’ is the Roman Catholic feast of Candlemas (F. la Chandeleur; G. Lichtmess; D. Lichtmis) falling on February 2nd.

Johannes Bökelius or Johann Böckel (Antwerp, 1535 – Hamburg, 1605) was a German physician who was a student of Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560). He became the court physician of Wilhelm V (the Younger) of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1535-1592) and of Julius, duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1569-1689), founder of the University of Helmstedt (in 1576), with its official name Academia Iulia (Julius University), where Bökelius became professor of medicine. As its popularity declined, while the University of Göttingen flourished, the Academia Iulia was closed in 1810 by Johannes von Müller, the responsible for public education in Westphalia.

* XIII-1585.02.02-1  Johannes Bökelius to the reader  Helmstedt, 1585
In: Johannes BÖKELIUS, Anatome vel descriptio partium humani corporis, Helmstadii, Excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1585.

XIII-1585.02.02-2  Johannes Bökelius to the reader  Helmstedt, 1587
Not seen.
In: Johannes BÖKELIUS, Anatome vel descriptio partium humani corporis, Helmstadii, Excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1587.

Note: Mentioned by books google.

* XIII-1585.02.02-3  Johannes Bökelius to the reader  Helmstedt, 1588
In: Johannes BÖKELIUS, Anatome vel descriptio partium humani corporis, Helmstadii, Excudebat Iacobus Lucius, 1588.

XIII-1585.12.14 - Reinerus Solenander to Fredericus Beurhusius

Heading: Docte Beurhusi, amice, nomine mihi, non de facie, cognite, infirmiorem tuam valetudinem illibenter intellexi.


Concerns: Solenander mentions as a laxative one of his sirups, based on rhubarb, with a recipe coming from Vesalius and others.
Note: Whether his mention is right or wrong, it points to the medical activity of Vesalius. In any case Vesalius was interested in rhubarb as a medicinal herb as is proved by the fact the he sent his friend Leonart Fuchs an illustration by Albrecht Meyer of that herb (see Sachiko Kusukawa. Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2012, 331 pp., ill.; see pp. 134-136). The deadly wounded king Henry II was also treated with a drink of rhubarb.

Solenander (Büderich, 1524- Düsseldorf, January 5th, 1601) studied three years in Leuven and thereafter in Italy. Back in Germany he was during thirty seven years the court physician of Wilhelm, duke of Cleve. Fredericus Beurhusius or Friedrich Beurhaus (1536-1609) was a musician and the rector of the gymnasium in Dortmund.

* XIII-1585.12.14-1 Transcription

Note: for the letter see pp. 236-241; for the recipe p. 240.

XIII-1607.01.28 - Charles de l’Ecluse to de Thou, Leiden

Heading: A Monsieur le Président de Thou. Monsieur. Je ne vous sçauoir Asser remercier du beau present qu’il vous a pleu me faire du second tome de votre Historia nostri temporis, laquelle j’ay légerement parcoururé, n’ayant eu la patience d’attendre qu’elle fut reliée...

Passage: En lisant légerement ce qui s’est passé l’an 1564, j’ay observé que vous avez esté mal informé de la façon de la mort de Wesalius; lequel partit d’Espagne pour faire son voyage de Jerusalem, quasi en mesme temps comme j’y entray. Il en sortit par Perpignan, et j’y entray par Guipuscoa et Vittoria. Je vous advertiray avec plus de loisir comme son dit voyage c’est passé, l’ayant entendu partie en Madrit à la cour du Roy d’Espagne, partie l’année ensuivante à Bruxelles à mon retour d’Espagne.

Notes: Jacques Auguste de Thou (Thuanus) (Paris, October 8, 1553 – Paris, May 7, 1617) was a French historian, book collector and president of the Parlement de Paris. Charles de l’Ecluse (Carolus Clusius) was a botanist who also studied medicine in Montpellier, where he stayed two years at the home of Guillaume Rondelet together with Laurent Joubert, as he explains in this letter too. See also Louis Dulieu, La médecine à Montpellier, Tome II, La Renaissance, Avignon, les Presses universelles, 1979: pp. 153-154, 158, 160, 181-184, 228.

This letter concerns the circumstances of Vesalius’s death. Apparently Clusius did not agree with vue of de Thou expressed in his Historia nostri temporis. No work of Thuanus with this title could be found. But in his Historiarum sui temporis libri CXXXVIII [138 Books with histories of his time], Londini, S. Buckley, 1733, (7 vols.) he writes in vol. 2 p. 398 that:
Nec multo post [in 1564] Andreas Vesalius, Bruxellis in Brabantia natus, praestantissimus medicus, et opere de fabrica humani corporis edito clarissimus, cum Hispaniae pertaesus, petito a Philippo commeatu, cum Jacobo Malatesta Ariminensi copiarum senatus Veneti duce in Cyprum navigasset, et ut voti in gravissimo morbo, dum in aula Philippi commoraretur, nuncupati se religione exsolveret, inde Hierosolyma profectus esset, a senatu Veneti honorificis stipendiiis oblatis, ut Patavii profiteretur, evocatus, dum redit, adversus ventis ad Zacynthum insulam delatus in loco solitario vitam miserabiliter finiit Eidibus Octobribus, cum vix quinquagesimum aetatis annum attigisset; ab aurifabro, qui forte illuc paulo post appulit, agnitus, et, ne esca feris fieret, vili funere conditus. [Also, not much later, Andreas Vesalius, born in Brussels, Brabant, a physician of very high standing, and very famous by the edition of his work De humani corporis fabrica, averse to Spain, and having asked Phillip the permission to leave, sailed with Jacobus Malatesta from Rimini, commanding general of the military forces of the senate of Venice, to Cyprus, and also to fill a vow made out of devotion while being heavily sick during his stay at the court of Phillip. From there he would have traveled to Jerusalem, from where he was called back by the Senate of Venice with a considerable pay, to teach in Padua. On returning he was thrown by adverse winds on the island of Zakynthos in a deserted spot, and died miserably on 15 October, at the age of nearly fifty. A goldsmith passing by a short while later, recognized him, and buried him to prevent him from being food of wild animals.]

This story from Thuanus differs on some point from the real story as we know it today. It would be interesting to find Clusius’ second letter to Thuanus about that subject to know on which circumstances Thuanus was mal informé as he wrote. In the Berends collection in Delft (the Netherlands) there are in de Correspondentie Carolus Clusius (Clusius Project) three letters from Clusius to de Thou: 1° 28.1.1607 (the present one); 2° 20.5.1607, and 3° 16.7.1607, which can contain the answer.

* XIII-1607.01.28-1 Charles de l’Ecluse to de Thou London, 1733

Note: the letter by Clusius comes in Tomus septimus (Vol. 7), Book VI, pp. 13-14 and can be consulted online in google.books.

* XIII-1607.01.28-2 Charles de l’Ecluse to de Thou The Hague, 1740
In: Jacques-Auguste DE THOU, Histoire universelle... avec la suite par Nicoals Rigault..., Tome dixième, 1605-1610, La Haye, chez Henri Scheurleer, 1740.

Note: in this French edition of de Thou Clusius’ letter is on p. 466.

* XIII-1607.01.28-3 Charles de l’Ecluse to de Thou fragment Amsterdam, 2007
Note: of the letter by Clusius only the passage mentioned in the introduction is included with a short discussion on p. 52. See n 14 for a discussion of the reasons why Vesalius left Madrid.

XIII-c1608.??.?? - Hugo Blotius, Delft, in or before 1608

Heading: Carolus Philippi Hispaniarum Regis F. Caroli Quinti nepos, ex quartana aerem mutare iussus, ...

First published in: Johann SCHENCK von Grafenberg, Παραθησεων sive Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum, admirabilium, et monstrarum volumen, tomis septem de toto homine institutum [Seven books on the whole of man or observations on medicine, curiosities, interesting new things and monsters...], Francofurti, E typ. N. Hoffmani, 1609.

Concerns: the successful treatment of Don Carlos by Vesalius.

Note: The message is signed with Hugonis Blotii Delphensis. I.C. acroama. An acroama is not a letter, strictu sensu it is a message ‘from hearing’. It appears on pp. 16-17. Hugo Blotius was the librarian of the emperor in Wien. He died in 1608.


* XIII-c1608.??.??-1  Transcription  Frankfurt, 1609

Eerst in, Johann [SCHENCK] von Grafenberg, Παραθησεων sive Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum, admirabilium, et monstrarum volumen, tomis septem de toto homine institutum [Seven books on the whole of man or observations on medicine, curiosities, interesting new things and monsters...], Francofurti, E typ. N. Hoffmani, 1609.

Note: This the earliest sourcebook with pathological observations of Andreas Vesalius, among others. With several clinical observations by Vesalius, also on the accident of Don Carlos (Book I, pp. 16-17).

* XIII-c1608.??.??-2  Transcription and translation in German  1967

XIII-1609.02.01 - Ioannes Iessenius to Henricus Iulius Postulatus, Vienna

Heading: Cum ad omnem corporis nostri infirmitudinem, Illustrissime Princeps, Domine Clementissime, ratione & methodo curandam Naturae morbi, ...


Concerns: the genesis of Vesalius’s Examen, with his short biography.

Note: Roth didn’t see this edition (Roth p. 288 n. 13). Cushing (see: IX.-2) only mentions that Jessenius dedicated this edition of the Examen to the Bishop of Halberstadt, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. O’Malley does not discuss it.

The letter is dated Vienna Austr. Calend. Februar. Anno CICICIX (Vienna, February 1st, 1609).

Johannes von Jessen (Johannes Jessenius, Breslau, 1566 - 21.06.1621), also known under his Czech name Jessensky, was a physician and a polyglot, and studied in Leipzig and Italy. He was a doctor of the University of Wittenberg (1599) and became the personal physician of the Count of Saxon. In 1601 he became professor at the University of Prague, where he promoted anatomical education and introduced the practise of dissection. He was also the physician of king Rodolphe. During the wars between Emperor Ferdinand and the Bohemian states, he took part of the latter and, after the defeat of the White Mountain, he was imprisoned and executed.

Henricus Iulius Postulatus was the same as Hendrik Julius of Brunswijk-Wolfenbüttel (1564-1613): postulate bishop of Halberstadt (1566-1613), already elected at the age of 2 (!), and was in fact a protestant administrator: duke of Brunswijk (Braunschweig) and Lüneburg (1598-1613), but in fact Brunswijk-Wolfenbüttel, but all Welfen called themselves duke of Brunswijk and Lüneburg, whether they were living in the territory of Brunswijk or Lüneburg, or whether they ruled elsewhere.

* XIII-1609.02.01-1 First edition Vienna, 1609

Note: for the letter by Jessenius see pp. 3-9. Copy in books.google.

XIII-1616.??.?? - P. Paaw to the Reader, Leiden

Heading: Lectori Benevolo.

First words: Inter eos qui post discussam barbariem reviviscenti Reip: litterariae pristinum nitorem reddiderunt, non postremum mihi locum occupare videtur Magnus ille Vesalius.

Passage: On Vesalius and his anatomical works throughout.
Concerns: Paaw praises Vesalius and his works, even with some verses from Horace, and explaining why he ventured to make a new edition of the *Epitome* and why he added his own notes and comments.


Note: This letter is dated: *Lugduni Batavorum cI CXVI*.

Pieter Paaw (sometimes Pauw) or Petrus Pavius (Amsterdam, 2 August 1564 – Leiden, 1 August 1617). He was a student of Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente in Padua, but graduated in medicine at the University of Leiden, where he became a professor in botany and anatomy.

* XIII-1616.???-1  P. Paaw to the Reader  Leiden, 1616 


* XIII-1616.???-2  P. Paaw to the Reader  Amsterdam, 1633 


XIII-1625.09.22 - Guilhelmus Fabricius Hildanus to Caspar Hofmann, Bern 

Heading: *De gravissimis quibusdam affectibus, ex levissimis causis ortis. Ad eundem virum Amplissimum et Doctissimum Dom. D. Casparum Hofmannum, etc. cui Guilhelmus Fabricius Hildanus S.P.D.* (On very serious illnesses occasioned by very slight causes. Guilhelmus Fabricius Hildanus sends his greetings to the same very important and very learned man, sir doctor Caspar Hofmann, etc.)

M. Biesbrouck - OPERA LITTERAEQUE VESALII - updated January 2019

Spigelii factum fuisset: raro enim scripta posthuma mentem Authoris recte assequuntur. Video id in Chirurgia Vesalii a Prospero Borgarutio edita, in qua nonnulla quae Vesalius propter immaturam mortem perficere non potuerat, ipse Borgarutius ex alius Authoribus decerpsit, et Chirurgiae Vesalii de verbo ad verbum inseruit: donec tandem perfectum compilari opus. (Your letter grieves me, very important and very learned man, and I suffer quite heavily indeed for the common sake of the anatomy at the University of Padua, caused by the death of the very famous and excellent sir doctor Adriaan van den Spiegel, so that this loss may possibly not be restored in a short and swift way, as I heard from many that he was an important anatomist. Not so long ago a received a letter from Padua that a certain Bucretius from Breslau, a medical doctor, would publish the anatomical and surgical writings of sir doctor van den Spiegel, but this should alas have been done before the death of sir van den Spiegel, as posthumous works only seldom represent the intentions of the author correctly. I see this in the Chirurgia of Vesalius, published by Prospero Borgarucci. In it several things which Vesalius could not complete due to his premature death, were taken by Borgarucci from other authors and he inserted these word by word in Vesalius’s Chirurgia to scratch up at last the completed work.)

Concerns: Hildanus’ reaction on the death of Adriaan van den Spiegel and the fate suffered by posthumous works such as the Chirurgia magna.


Notes: This observatio or letter ends with the date Bernae 22. Septemb. Anno 1625. It was mentioned by Robrecht van HEE, ‘The relationship between Vesalius and the Borgarucci family’ in Acta Chirurgica Belgica, 2017, 15 pp., ill. Hildanus suggests that the Chirurgia magna is a work intended by Vesalius but, due to his impossibility to complete it, has been compiled by Borgarucci from the works of various other authors. Before the date he added four examples to his observation. Exemplum IV deals again with Vesalius. Here he points to a passage in the Fabrica 1543, book I, chapter 12 (see letter K), where Vesalius tells of the possible causes of a perforation of the squama externa of the os frontale: a perforating wound or a syphilitic gumma. Through this opening such a patient is able to blow out a candle with his mouth and nostrils closed. Hildanus does nor believe that Fuchsius did some experiments concerning this but merely took that information from Vesalius himself.

Guilhelmus Fabricius Hildanus or Fabricius von Hilden (Hilden, 25 June 1560 – Bern, 15 February 1634) was a German surgeon and iatrochemist. He is the author of twenty medical books, of which his Observationum et Curationum chirurgicarum centuriae (see below) ware the most famous. He is also a pioneer of neurosurgery.

Caspar Hofmann (Gotha, 9 November 1572 – Altdorf, 3 November 1648) was a professor in medicine at the University of Nürnberg. He graduated in Basel in 1605. He opposed to the theories of Fernel, Argenterius, and the blood circulation of William Harvey.

* XIII-1625.09.22-1 First edition Frankfurt, 1627
In: Guilhelmus Fabricius HILDANUS, Observationum et curationum chirurgicarum. Centuria V, Francofurti, in Bibliopoleio Bryano, apud Matthaenum Merianum, 1627.
Note: *Observatio II. De gravissimis quibusdam affectibus, ex levissimis causis ortis*, is on pp. 11-16. Here the date is *Bernae 22. Septemb. 1625.*

**XIII-1625.09.22-2**  
**Second edition**  
**Lyon, 1641**

Not seen.

In: Guilhelmus Fabricius HILDANUS, *Observationum et curationum chirurgicarum centuriae, nunc primum simul in unum opus congestae, ac in duo columna distributa*, [Lyon], Huguetar, 1641.

* XIII-1625.09.22-3  
**Third edition**  
**Frankfurt, 1646**

In: Guilhelmus Fabricius HILDANUS, *Opera observationum et curationum medico-chirurgicarum quae extant omnia*, Francofurti, Joannes Beyerus, 1646.

Note: Observation II is on pp. 383-385. On p. 790 Hildanus tells believing that Borgarucci falsely ascribed the *Chirurgia magna* to Vesalius. On p. 801 he is dealing with amputations. The date is also *Bernae 22. Septemb. 1625.*

* XIII-1625.09.22-4  
**German edition**  
**Frankfurt, 1652**


Note: The German translation is by Friderich Streiffen, Med. Cand.  
*II. Observation oder Warnehmung* with *Das 4. Exempel* on pp. 506-509.

* XIII-1625.09.22-5  
**Latin edition**  
**Frankfurt, 1682**

In: Guilhelmus Fabricius HILDANUS, *Opera observationum et curationum medico-chirurgicarum quae extant omnia*, Francofurti, Ioan. Ludov. du Four Genevensis, 1682.

Note: Observation II is on pp. 383-385. Here the date is remarkably *Bernae 22. Septemb. 1615* (ten years earlier).

**XIII-1639.02.20** – René Descartes to Marin Mersenne, Santpoort (Netherlands)

**Heading:** Mon Révérend Père, Je n’ai guère de matière pour vous écrire à ce voyage; mais je n’ai pas voulu différer de répondre à Monsieur de Beaune, tant pour le remercier de ses Notes sur ma Géométrie, que pour lui mander ce que j’ai trouvé touchant ses lignes courbes; …

**Passage:** … j’ai considéré non seulement ce que Vézalius et les autres écrivent de l’Anatomie, mais aussi plusieurs choses plus particulières que celles qu’ils écrivent, lesquelles j’ai remarquées en faisant moi-même la dissection de divers animaux. C’est un exercice où je me
suis souvent occupé depuis onze ans, et je crois qu’il n’y a guère de médecin qui y ait regardé de si près que moi.

Concerns: Apparently Descartes was interested in anatomy himself en read Vesalius. He links Vesalius to other anatomists giving the impression that he opened the way for them.


René Descartes or Renatus Cartesius (La Haye en Touraine, 1596 – Stockholm, 1650) was a French philosopher, mathematician and scientist. He spent about 20 years in the Netherlands, serving Maurits van Nassau, Prince of Orange. He laid the foundation for rationalism.

Marin Mersenne (Oizé, 1588 – Paris, 1648) was a French priest and mathematician and he developed Mersenne’s laws describing the harmonics of vibrating strings. He is known as the ‘father of acoustics’. He wrote and lectured on theology and philosophy.

Monsieur de Beaune was Florimont de Beaune (Blois, 1601 – Blois, 1652), a lawyer and mathematician. He kept a large correspondence with Descartes and with Mersenne and commented on Descartes’s Géométrie.

XIII-1673.??..?? - Van der Eycke contra Isabella De Croeser

In the action archives in the Rijksarchief at Anderlecht (near Brussels, Belgium) (the Archives de l’État à Anderlecht - I 74 – 3884) there is envelope 1673.1 in an actionfile 3884 by the lawyer Van der Eycke against Isabella De Croeser, widow of young nobleman Jan Nicolaas Hooffmans, lord of van Ranthuysen. It concerns the salary of the lawyer for costs he made for the claim of a debt of 5.950 rijns gulden caused by the baron of Montigny which he had to pay to Andreas Vesalius: “3884 Advocaat Van der Eycke c. Isabella De Croeser, weduwe van jonker Jan Nicolaas Hooffmans, heer van Ranthuysen. Salariskosten voor diensten gedaan inzake het vorderen van de schuldbrief van 5950 rijns gulden die de baron van Montigny had aangegaan ten behoeve van doctor Andreas Vesalius. 1673.1 omslag.”

Details about that document were found in:

<https://search.arch.be/nl/zoeken-naar-archieven/zoekresultaat/ead/index/eadid/BE-A0541_005619_007198_DUT/node/c%3A0.#c:0.>

Those archives have in the meantime been moved from Anderlecht to Vorst (info O. Steeno, 4th Feb. 2018).

Apparently Isabelle de Croeser went to law for an ancient debt of more than 100 years ago, a debt made by Montigny with Vesalius. She was the widow of Jean Nicholas Hoffmans, and the grand-daughter of Anna van Wesele (1545? – 1588?) and Jan de Mol (+ 1598). Anna van Wesele was the daughter of Andreas Vesalius with Anna van Hamme (+ 1604?). Isabelle de Croeser died in 1685. See genealogival tree on p. 515 in STEENO, Omer, Maurits

The dector was Floris of Montmorency, baron of Montigny (1527-1570), brother of the Count of Horne, one of noble men beheaded in 1568. Floris himself was strangled in all silence in the prison of Simancas by order of Philip II. Montigny was three times in Spain:

1° In 1556-58, while accompanying Charles V to Spain. When Charles V died he went back to the Netherlands.

2° In June-December 1562 as delegate from the Netherlands to Philip II.

3° In June 1566 again as a delegate, but Philip II put him in prison and after a trial he was sentenced to death for being insurgent against the king.

Vesalius was from 1559 to 1564 in Spain, where he must have met Floris during his second travel to Spain. Montigny possibly borrowed from Vesalius during this second travel or perhaps already earlier in the Netherlands before 1559 (the year of Vesalius’s departure from the Netherlands to Spain). It is known that the inventory of his possessions made clear that his debts exceeded by far his properties (information by T. Goddeeris).

XIII-1713.10.21 - Joh. Baptista Morgagni to Joh. Maria Lancisius, Padua


Heading: Vel triginta octo Tabularum conspectu, quas ab Eustachio olim promissis, nunc vero post multorum irritas perquisitiones, Clementis XI. Pontif. Max. Beneficio a tua solertia demum repertas,...

Concerns: on errors and omissions in Vesalius’ plates in his Fabrica.

Notes: Bartholomeus Eustachius (1500 of 1514 – 1574) was an Italian contemporary of Vesalius. Known as a supporter of Galen, in contrast with Vesalius, he studied accurately the internal ear, and the anatomy of the teeth. He completed his anatomical engravings in 1552, but the text was never completed. Eustachius’ notes to the plates were lost except for the eight which had been published during his lifetime. The plates were deposited in the Vatican Library were they were uncovered a century and a half later and were first published as his Tabulae anatomicae in 1714 by Giovanni Maria Lancisi at the expense of Pope Clement XI whose physicin he was. He added the previous plates, Eustachius’ commentary and his own explanations (see ‘Eustachius’ in Eimas, Heirs of Hippocrates). The present letter is included at the beginning of Eustachius’ Tabulae anatomicae.
In: Bartholomaeus EUSTACHIUS, Tabulae anatomicae, Romae, ex officina typographica Francisci Gonzagae, 1714.

Note: The letter is on pp. xvi-xxxii, and goes on the criticism of Colombo and Falloppio on Vesalius’s works (p. xviii) and his ‘errors’ in the description of the veins (p. xx), the *vasa deferentia* (p. xxi), the *ligamentum teres* of the uterus (p. xxii), the nerves (xxiii-xxv), the muscles (xxvi-xxviii) and the *os sacrum* (p. xxix).

In: Bartholomaeus EUSTACHIUS, Tabulae anatomicae, Romae, sumptibus Laurentii, & Thomae Pagliarini Bibliopol. sub signo Palladis., 1728.

Note: the letter is on pp. xii-xix.

* XIII-1713.10.21-3  Joh. Baptista Morgagni to Joh. Maria Lancisius Venice, 1769
In: Bartholomaeus EUSTACHIUS, Tabulae anatomicae, Venetiis, typis Bartholomei Locatelli, 1769.

Note: here the letter is on pp. vi-xiii and is preceded by a short biography of Eustachius Bartholomaei Eustachii Vitae Compendium. According to wikipedia there are several other editions of the plates: 1744 by Cajetan Petrioli, again 1744 by Bernhard Siegfried Albinus, and at Bonn in 1790.

XIII-1713.10.31 - Joh. Maria Lancisius to Joh. Baptista Morgagni, Rome

Heading: *Si unquam alias gratae ab amicis, optataeque literae redditae sunt, gratissimas profecto abs Te superiobus diebus accepi; quippe quae luculentissimas animadversiones ad nuper inventas Eustachii Tabulas secum attulerunt.*


Concerns: On Amatus Lusitanus’ criticism on Vesalius, concerning venesection in pleurisy (V,70).

Notes: This letter concerns (and quotes a passage of) curatio 70 in Centuria V by Amatus Lusitanus. The reference (V, 60), given in the letter itself, is erroneous.
Letters from Herman Boerhaave to Joannes Baptista Bassand

The following letters are written by Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand in 1725-1726 and are dealing with his publication of the *opera omnia* of Vesalius. The letters are in Latin but were three years later, with some annotations, published in German. G. A. Lindeboom translated the letters into Dutch: *Boerhaave’s brieven aan Bassand*, Haarlem, De Erven F. Bohn N.V., 1957. Those letters are not discussed by Roth, nor by O’Malley or Cushing. Bassand preserved the letters which he received from Boerhaave. After his death they came into the imperial library of Vienna and were edited by an unknown in 1778. In it he give the biography of Joannes Baptista Bassand as a foreword, dated 1777. The other part, the letters by Bassand to Boerhaave, are missing.

**XIII-1725.02.28 - Herman Boerhaave to Joannes Baptista Bassand, Leiden**

**Heading:** Suavissme mi Bassandi (My very dearest Bassand).

**First words:** En tandem ultima, quibus molestias Tibi facesso. (En nu eindelijk de laatste, waarmee ik u lastig val.)

**Passage:** Libros desideratos cum cura quaeram, mittam inventos ocyus. Opus Vesalii, binis in folio, et magnis voluminibus, erit incomparabile; cui perpoliendo anxiae curae nostrae adhibitae sunt. Opus ab Auctore anno 1542 editum dicatum fuerat Carolo V. forte hoc jam
Invictissimo Carolo VI. quasi renatum inscribi posset: nisi obstaret, quod sit modo refictum, non novum. Ut tamen scias quali sit futurum, en hanc Schedulam. Numerus subscribentium jam ante biennium completus fuit, ita ut tantum emi deinde possit. Tibi destinavi unum ex meis: non ergo opus aliud emere. Brevi prodictit. (I will carefully look for the books you want and will send you soon those found. Vesalius’s Opus, in two large folios, will be incomparable. We employed our greatest care to their finish. The work has been dedicated by the author to Charles V in 1542, and those incidently to the invincible Charles VI could be described as reborn, only this is remade, not new. But to know how I will proceed, here my schedule. The number of subscribers has been reached two years ago, so it could already then have been sold. For you I kept apart one of mine: so you must not buy it elsewhere. It will be published soon.)

Concerns: see passage.

Appeared first in: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistem Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: This is Epistola XXXVI. It is dated Lugd. Bat. 17 28/2 25 (Leiden, 28 February 1725).

Herman Boerhaave (Voorhout, 31 December 1668 – Leiden, 23 September 1738) was a Dutch botanist and physician of fame. He was born near Leiden where he graduated in philosophy in 1689. He graduated in medicine in 1693 at Harderwijk. In 1701 he was appointed lecturer in medicine in Leiden and in 1708 he became professor of botany and medicine. He became rector in 1714 and somewhat later professor of chemistry too and became a member of the French Academy of Sciences, and two years later of the Royal Society of London. He married Maria Drolenvaux (1710) and had four children.

Jean Baptiste Bassand or Joannes Baptista Bassand (Baume-les-Dames, 24 November 1680 – Vienna, 30 November 1742) was born in France as the youngest sun of the merchant Michael and his wife Johanna Marceux. He studied medicine in Besançon and Paris, worked several years at the hospital in Naples and graduated as a doctor in Salerno in 1705 and than returned to his homeland. But soon he went to Leiden to study under H. Boerhaave. In 1712 he went to Vienna, where he became the protomedicus of emperor Karl VI. On 23 March 1728 he was ennobled. He married twice.

* XIII-1725.02.28-1 Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand Vienna, 1778
In: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: Epistola XXXVI is on pp. CIV-CV.

* XIII-1725.02.28-2 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781
In: Johannes NUSCH, Hermann Boerhaavens Briefe an Johann Baptist Bassand Kaiserlichen Leibarzt aus der Lateinischen in die Teutsche Sprache übersetzt und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen, Frankfurt und Leipzig, in der Martin Jacob Bauerischen Buchhandlung, 1781.

Note: Brief XXXVI is on pp. 186-187.
* XIII-1725.02.28-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand  
Haarlem, 1957

Note: The Dutch translation is on p. 104. Lindeboom remarks that Bassand did not react to the cautious suggestion by Boerhaave to contact Charles VI for a dedication.

XIII-1725.05.29 - Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand, Leiden

Heading: Medico insigni, Amico integerrimo Bassand, H. Boerhaave. (H. Boerhaave to Bassand, famous physician and his very unselfish friend).

First words: Dudum ita mecum: aut aegrotat, aut amat Bassand; nihil enim ille ad me, nec ad meas.

The letter ends with: Vale! mi optime! et ubi ultimas meas acceperis, in quibus aliquid de Vesalio dixeram Tibi uni in aurem, fac cito respondeas! (Keep well, my very dearest! and do answer me swiftly when you received my latest letter, wherein I told you something in confidence on the Vesalius!)

Concerns: for the short remark see passage.

Appeared first in: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: This is Epistola XXXVII. It is dated Lugd. Bat. 17 29/5 25 (Leiden, 29 May 1725).

* XIII-1725.05.29-1 Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand  
Vienna, 1778
In: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: Epistola XXXVII is on pp. CV-CVII.

* XIII-1725.05.29-2 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand  
Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781
In: Johannes NUSCH, Hermann Boerhaavens Briefe an Johann Baptist Bassand Kaiserlichen Leibarzt aus der Lateinischen in die Teutsche Sprache übersetzt und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen, Frankfurt und Leipzig, in der Martin Jacob Bauerischen Buchhandlung, 1781.

Note: Brief XXXVII is on pp. 187-190.

* XIII-1725.05.29-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand  
Haarlem, 1957
Note: *Brief 37* is on pp. 105-106. According to Lindeboom that ‘something in confidence’ points to the answer he is expecting about his possible dedication to Charles VI.

XXII-1725.06.29 - Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand, Leiden

**Heading:** *Amatissimo meo Bassand, H. Boerhaave.* (My very loved Bassand, H. Boerhaave).

**First words:** *Felices Tibi conjugales precor Deos!*

This letter too ends with only a short remark: *De dedicatione Vesalii nihil moliaris: recocita non sunt tantae Majestati decora. Sed simile opus haud erit aliud in medicina, hinc inciderat impotus.* (Don’t mind the dedication in the Vesalius: the homages for such a Majesty are not yet reworked. But in medicine there will be absolutely no similar work, the reason why I got that idea.)

**Concerns:** see passage.


Note: This is *Epistola XL*. It is dated *Lugd. Batav. 17 29/6 25* (Leiden, 29 June 1725).

* XIII-1725.06.29-1 Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand Vienna, 1778


Note: *Epistola XL* is on pp. CXII-CXIV.

* XIII-1725.06.29-2 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781


Note: *Brief XL* is on pp. 197-200.

* XIII-1725.06.29-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand Haarlem, 1957


Note: *Brief 40* is on pp. 112-114.
XIII-1726.02.12 - Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand, Leiden

Heading: *Claro, Nobilique Medico Bassand, amico optimo, H. Boerhaave.* (H. Boerhaave to the famous and noble physician Bassand, best friend).

First words: *Mitto Tibi, pro prima vice, haec semina nova selecta.* (I send to you, for the first time, this newly selected seeds.)

Passage: *Hodie mercator Viennam mittit cum sarcina mercium exemplar Vesalii nostri compactum in duobus Vol. ligatura gallica, charta regia, id Tibi offero. Adest alterum non religatum, charta regia, quod dono offero Marchioni Garelli, tamen curavi nomen Ejus inter auctores edendi operis censeri, quia olim scripseras, ita Illustrem Virum voluisse: cures ergo, habeat a me hoc reverentiae testimonium.* (A merchant will send today from Vienna a bale with a copy of our Vesalius, bound in two volumes in a French binding and printed on royal paper. I give it to you. There is another one on royal paper, not bound, which I give to Markies Garelli, and I took care to add his name with the subscribers and promoters of this work, as you wrote earlier that this was the wish of that illustrious man. You will take care that he receives this proof of my gratitude.)

Concerns: see passage. The beginning words and the end of this letter make it clear that Bassand and Boerhaave also exchanged seeds and plants.


Note: This is *Epistola XLI.* It is dated *Lugd. Batav. 17 12/2 26* (Leiden, 12 February 1726).

* XIII-1726.02.12-1 Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand Vienna, 1778
In: *Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum,* Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: *Epistola XLI* is on p. CXV.

* XIII-1726.02.12-2 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781

Note: *Brief XLI* is on pp. 200-203.
Nusch adds a biographical sketch of Vesalius on pp. 201-203.

* XIII-1726.02.12-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand Haarlem, 1957
XIII-1726.02.27 - Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand, Leiden

Heading: Claro, Nobilique Medico, Bassand, H. Boerhaave. (H. Boerhaave to the famous and noble physician Bassand).

First words: En haec semina, et ea quidem omnia, quae parare potui. (Herein the seeds, that’s all of them that I could find.)

Passage: Quatuordecim sunt elapsi dies, a quo Vesalium ad Te misi per mercatorem, qui Clusium tradidit. Ille Tibi utrumque exemplar absque ulla impensa debet tradere. (Fourteen days elapsed since I sent you the Vesalius with the merchant, who delivered to you the Clusius. He should deliver you both copies without any costs.)

Further: Praeter haec Vesalius and Vaillantius dedere quid negotii; sed et Medici Graeci vellunt aereum. (Besides, the Vesalius and the Vaillant give me a lot of work, and the Greek doctors ask for my attention too.)

Concerns: see passage. Here again the other contents of this letter make it clear that Bassand and Boerhaave exchanged on a regular basis letters on botanical matters.

Appeared first in: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: This is Epistola XLII. It is dated Lugd. Batav. 17/2/26 (Leiden, 27 February 1726). Its is apparent that Boerhaave not only worked on the Vesalius-edition but on an edition of Vaillant too. Sebastian Vaillant (1669-1722) was a French botanist and the later director of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. He was preparing a large volume on the plants in the neighbourhood of Paris when he died prematurely. He asked Boerhaave to finish the work, which he did and even to his own expenses. It became a magnificently illustrated folio: Botanicon Parisiense, ou Demonstrations des Plantes des Environs de Paris, Leyde, 1727.
* XIII-1726.02.27-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand  

Haarlem, 1957


Note: Brief 42 is on pp. 116-117. Here Lindeboom comments (n 2) that ‘the Vesalius’ is a new edition of the Fabrica 1555 by Boerhaave and Albinus, with illustrations by Jan Wandelaar, and with a biography of Vesalius, but he gives the correct title as their Opera anatomica et chirurgica. See (VI.B.-10). Lindeboom gives some more details on the Vaillant-publication too (n 3).

XIII-1726.04.05 - Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand, Leiden

Heading: Virorum, et Amicorum optimo Bassand, H. Boerhaave. (H. Boerhaave to Bassand, the best of all men and friends).

First words: Hei mihi! ut dolui vicem tuam, ubi intellexi, saevitiem podagrae sprevisse, quod auxilii opposueras! (It hurts me very much, having learned that the remedies you have used against the violence of your gout were without any effect.)

Passage: Crediderim, Vesaleum meum jam Te salutasse, atque nunciasse, quam sim obstricto erga Te, sed et hercle grato, animo, nec per fata mutabili. Illustri Marchioni Garelli ausus fui offerre exemplum: quia scripseras, Eximium Virum destinasse sua in Bibliotheca locum, atque velle lege subscriptionis sibi comparare, quae jam dudum abolita erat, priusquam vota intellexi. Ideo auctoritate mea usus jussi, ornaretur auspicientum tabula praeclaro Viri nomine. Id, spero, aegre haud feret! fac, ut nullius rem momenti in tesseram meae in ipsum observantiae haud dedignetur accipere! Caroli sexti Medicus Archiatrum quinti Caroli benigne excipiatur hospitium quaerentem! Caeterum non alio titulo accipiat, nec nomen inde putet.

(I believe you have received my Vesalius by now, and that it made clear to you how I feel connected with you and how, by God, my feelings for you can not be changed by accident. I dared to offer a copy to Marquis Garelli, because you wrote to me that this illustrious man destined a place for it in his library and pretended to purchase it by subscription, which had been finished and closed long before and before I knew of his intention. Therefore I used my authority to order that the name of this illustrious man would be added to the list of subscribers. I do hope he will not blame me! Make that he takes this as a sign of my gratitude and high esteem towards him! May the physician of Charles VI have a good hospice for the court-physician of Charles V! He should take this no other way than the right intention I had.)

Concerns: see passage.

Appeared first in: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonnae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: This is Epistola XLIII. It is dated Leydae 17 5/4 26 (Leiden, 5 April 1726).
* XIII-1726.04.05-1 Herman Boerhaave to Jean-Baptist Bassand    Vienna, 1778
In: Hermanni Boerhaave Epistolae ad Joannem Baptistam Bassand Medicum Caesareum, Vindobonae, ex Officina Kraufiana, 1778.

Note: Epistola XLIII is on pp. CXVII-CXX.

* XIII-1726.04.05-2 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand    Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1781
In: Johannes NUSCH, Hermann Boerhaavens Briefe an Johann Baptist Bassand Kaiserlichen Leibarzt aus der Lateinischen in die Teutsche Sprache übersetzt und mit einigen Anmerkungen versehen, Frankfurt und Leipzig, in der Martin Jacob Bauerischen Buchhandlung, 1781.

Note: Brief XLIII is on pp. 206-210.

* XIII-1726.04.05.-3 H. Boerhaave to J.-B. Bassand    Haarlem, 1957

Note: Brief 43 is on pp. 118-120.

XIII-1726.03.31 - Joannes Baptista Morgagni [to the reader], Padua

Title: Epistola altera.

Opening words: [Art.] 52. Scripserat ille id quod mirum est, in hac ipsa postrema Editione retinere non dubitasse: …

Concerns: This article deals with a remark by Bartholomeus Cabrolius on what Vesalius wrote about the insertion of the ductus choledocus in the fundus gastri of Remex and the significance of this, taking into account the physical history of this patient during life.


Note: In 1728 Mogagni edited his two long letters Epistolae anatomicae duae subdivided in numerous articles dealing with anatomy and intended to expand and correct his previous work. The part concerning us is art. 52 in the second letter ending with the date D. Patavio Prid. Kal. Aprilis 1726 (Padua, 31 March 1726).

Cabrolius was appointed professor anatomy at Montpellier by the king. The identity of Remex could not be retrieved unless he would be the same Remigius that lectured in Pisa at the time Vesalius was there (see the letter by Umile Riccobaldi to Pier Francisco Riccio, Pisa, January 30th, 1543).
* XIII-1726.03.31-1 Epistola altera, art. 52  Leiden, 1728

Note: see pp. 180-182.

* XIII-1726.03.31-2 Epistola altera, art. 52  Naples, 1763
In: Joannes Baptista MORGAGNI, Opuscula miscellanea quorum non pauca nunc primum prodeunt, tres in partes divisa, Neapoli, ex Typographia Simoniana, 1763.

Note: see pp. 116-117.

* XIII-1726.03.31-3 Epistola altera, art. 52  Leiden, 1765
In: Joannes Baptista MORGAGNI, Opera omnia in quinque tomos divisa, Tomus primus, Lugduni Batavorum, apud Cornelium Haak, 1765.

Note: see pp. 58-59.

XIII-1775.06.14 - Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich P. Leveling, Bern

This is the first of five letters from Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich Palmaz Leveling, dealing with Leveling’s new edition of the Vesalian plates. This publication was the last but one reproducing the illustrations directly from the original woodblocks; see VI.A.-14 and VI.A.-15 (Cushing pp. 104-106). Leveling discusses his correspondence with von Haller at the end of his ‘Vorrede’ in Anatomische Erklärung der Original-Figuren van Andreas Vesal, Ingolstadt, Anton Attenkouer, 1783, and dated: Ingolstadt 10 January 1783. The letters from von Haller were edited, introduced and commented by Leveling’s older son Heinrich Maria von Leveling as Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.

Heading:  II. Ill. viro D. D. Leveling S.

First words: Quae promittis, ab ipsa natura repetita, omnia valde grata erunt.

Passage: Quae de Vesalio, magnam in me spem excitaverunt utilissimi operis, quod tibi iterum commendó iterumque. (To what concerns Vesalius, the very useful things of the work, which I recommended to you again and again, awaken in me a great hope.)
Concerns: Haller expresses his hope for the coming edition of Vesalius’ work by Leveling. Apparently he urged him repeatedly to do so. According to a note by his son it was at the moment that his father first had the idea for such a new edition that, due to various difficulties, would appear only in 1783: *Eo tempore Levelingius primam cepit ideam novae editionis iconum originalium anatomicarum Vesalii, quae vero superatis variis obstaculis litterariis, ... demum anno 1783 comparuit* (see p. 5 n 5 in *Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae*, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795). This is a bit puzzling as there is indeed a previous edition from 1781, just two years earlier, whereas Leveling himself does not mention a 1781 edition while discussing the history of the publication at the end of his Vorrede.

Note: The date of the letter is *Bernae d. 14. jun. 1775*.

Albrecht von Haller (Bern, 16 oktober 1708 – 12 de cember 1777) was born in a wealthy family, studied medicin in Tübingen, but after eighteen months he moved to Leiden, were he graduated. He went to London, than to Paris and Basel. There he studied mathematics, together with his friend Gessner, under Johann Bernoulli. In 1729 he was back in Bern, now for medical practice. In 1736 he became a professer of anatomy in Göttingen. Heinrich Palmatius von Leveling was born in Trier in 1742. His father was professor of medicin. He studied at Pont-à-Mousson, Trier and Strassbourg, where he graduated in medicine. First professor in Trier he took in 1771 the chair in Ingolstadt and stayed there during 27 years, writing several works on medicine. There he was several times elected as rector and he died on 9 July 1798. He left two sons Heinrich Maria and Peter Theodor, both physicians too.

* XIII-1775.06.14-1  Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium  Erlangen, 1795
In: *Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae*, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.

Note: see pp. 4-7.

XIII-1776.05.15 - Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich P. Leveling, Bern

Heading: *IV. Illustri viro D. D. Levelingo Hallerus.*

First words: *Non accepi hactenus tuum fasciculum, quem impense desidero.* (I still did not receive your bundle, which I desire intensely.)

Passage: *Vesalianas icones lubentissime videro.* (I will look with great pleasure at the Vesalian plates.)

Concerns: This means that Haller is still eagerly waiting for the Vesalian publication. The opening word has, according to Leveling’s son, to do with a communication from his father to Haller, with all the publications he made at their university and at the university of Bavaria.

Note: The date of this letter is *Bernae d. 15. maji 1776.*
* XIII-1776.05.15-1 Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium

Erlangen, 1795

In: Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.

Note: see pp. 12-15.

XIII-1776.08.25 - Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich P. Leveling, Bern

Heading: Only V.

First words: Signa nomen meum cl. Leveling cum Vesalianis tabulis. Non recusas insigne donum, nomen vero meum velim adponas, et ad amicum dabo superfluum exemplar. (Teken de Vesaliusplaten met mijn naam, zeer beroemde Leveling. It is not that I object to your great gift, but I would like you to put my name on it, and I will give the second copy to a friend.)

Passage: See first words. Further: Solum sermone germanico edesne Vesalium? Valde mallem, latino prodirez, cum amicis exteris germanicum librum frustra sim oblaturus. Adeo sunt pauci, qui hujus linguae sint periti, sed etiam vocabula latina multo omnibus eruditis faciiora sunt. Adesne aliquam criticam, quoties Vesalius erravit, aut simplicem expositionem? Illud longius quidem otium sibi posceret, utile vero esset. (Would you edit the Vesalius only in German? I would like that it appears in Latin, because I would donate my foreign friends in vain a German book. There are only a few who understand that language, but the Latin terms are also much easier for all learned people. Shouldn’t you add some critics each time Vesalius makes an error, or a simple explanation? This could keep you busy for a longer time, but it would be usefull.)

Concerns: Haller insists to edit the work in Latin instead of German and gives a motivation.

Note: The date of this letter is Bernae d. 25. aug. 1776. According to his son Leveling followed the suggestion by adding to the plates explanations, coming in part from Haller and in part from Winslow. He adds that at the time Leveling announced the coming publication with public advertisements. He worked with subscriptions and a list of the subscribers was added. His son explains that Haller wanted that his name should be included into that list, only than he would accept the gift of a copy. As he died in the meantime, his name was on no list, not that of 1781 nor on that of the 1783 edition.

The work has not been edited in Latin. The reason is most probably that Leveling was asked by Geheimrath von Woltter in 1774 to bring out an explanation in German, as he writes at the beginning and towards the end of his Vorrede (1783 edition).

* XIII-1776.08.25-1 Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium

Erlangen, 1795

In: Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.

Note: see pp. 16-19.

XIII-1777.03.07 - Albrecht von Haller to Heinrich P. Leveling, Bern
Gratus tuum nomen literis video praefixum Levelingi optime, valde tamen doleo interceptam Vesalii editionem. … Grata erunt omnia, quae mittis, nulla vero accepi. (I’m glad to see your name on top of a letter, very dear Leveling, but I very much regret that the Vesalian edition has been stolen. … Thank you for everything you sent, but I received nothing.)

Concerns: Leveling’s son tells that the complete work was yet ready for print, and that the editor, together with Woltter, the protomedicus, made a great effort to the book seller, thanks to whom the volume should be diffused, but most refused to cut the type for the book, which were indeed at a horrendous cost. This was the cause for the delay of the publication of the book. It appeared only in the year 1783, when von Haller had died several years earlier.

Very remarkably his son does not talk of an edition in 1781, although it exists. This should be compared with the comments by Cushing in his bio-bibliography on pp. 104-106.

Note: The date of this letter is Bernae d. 7. mart. 1777.
In this letter von Haller complains from difficulties and pain in urinating and his urines looking like milk. In december that same year he will die.

* XIII-1777.03.07-1 Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium Erlangen, 1795
In: Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.

Note: see pp. 19-22.

Dolerem si Vesalii icones non prodirent. (I would regret if the plates of Vesalius should not be published.)

Concerns: The publication of the Original-Figuren Vesals is still waiting. In fact Albrecht von Haller would not live long enough to see it.

Note: The date of this letter is Bernae d. 6. aprilis 1777.

* XIII-1777.04.06-1 Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium Erlangen, 1795
In: Epistolae Halleri ad Levelingium scriptae, Erlangae in libraria Waltheria, 1795.
Note: see pp. 22-23.

XIII-1780.11.03 - Heinrich P. Leveling to Karl Theodor, Ingolstadt

Heading: Durchlauchtigster Kurfürst! Gnädigster Herr!

First words: Vesal wiedmete seine sieben Bücher von der Zergliederungskunst dem grossen Kaiser Karl dem Fünften.

Passage: On Vesalius throughout.

Concerns: With this letter Leveling dedicates his work to the Elector, just as Vesalius himself dedicated his Fabrica to the emperor Charles V. Leveling emphasizes the importance of Vesalius for anatomy, scientific development and art.

Note: This dedication is dated Ingolstadt den 3. Novemb. 1780. It follows immediately after the titelpage.

The elector Karl Theodor was Pfaltzgraf at the Rhein, Duke in Ober- and Niederbaier, Duke of Gülich, Cleve and Berg, Landgraf in Leuchtenberg, Prince of Mors, Marquis of Bergen-Obzoom, Earl of Beldens, Sponheim, Mark and Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein.

* XIII-1780.11.03-1 Heinrich P. Leveling to Karl Theodor Ingolstadt, 1781
In: Heinrich Palmaz LEVELING, Anatomische Erklärung der Original-Figuren van Andreas Vesal, Ingolstadt, Anton Attenkouer, 1781.

* XIII-1780.11.03-2 Heinrich P. Leveling to Karl Theodor Ingolstadt, 1783
In: Heinrich Palmaz LEVELING, Anatomische Erklärung der Original-Figuren van Andreas Vesal, Ingolstadt, Anton Attenkouer, 1783.

* XIII-1780.11.03-3 Heinrich P. Leveling to Karl Theodor Lindau, 1982

Note: It is a reprint of the 1783 edition and contains the dedication letter to Karl Theodor and the Vorrede.

XIII-1783.01.10 - Heinrich P. Leveling [to the reader], Ingolstadt

Heading: Vorrede.

Passage: On Vesalius throughout.

Concerns: This is an important letter dealing with the history of the fate of the wood-blocks serving as a basis for several papers on that subject (see entry ‘wood-blocks’ in the index of Bibliography in www.andreasvesalius.be).

Note: The date is Ingolstadt den 10. Jenner 1783.
Not in the edition of 1781.

* XIII-1783.01.10-1 Heinrich P. Leveling [to the reader] Ingolstadt, 1783
In: Heinrich Palmaz LEVELING, Anatomische Erklärung der Original-Figuren van Andreas Vesal, Ingolstadt, Anton Attenkouer, 1783.

Note: This prefatory letter is following immediately after the dedication.

* XIII-1783.01.10-2 Heinrich P. Leveling [to the reader] Lindau, 1982
While reading Vesalius’ works and letters it becomes obvious that he must have written (and received) many more letters than those listed here. In his letter to Oporinus (only in the one published in the Fabrica 1543) he mentions another letter written to him on the same subject (below), but according to that same letter he must also have arranged for the licences for the copyright of his Fabrica with his mother, Elisabeth Crabbe, and with the ambassador of Venice by way of written correspondence. In his Venesection letter he recalls having written to Florenas on the physicians in Leuven (see O’Malley p. 68). These are only a few examples.

**XIV.**

**Letters written by Vesalius that could not yet be found**

While reading Vesalius’ works and letters it becomes obvious that he must have written (and received) many more letters than those listed here. In his letter to Oporinus (only in the one published in the Fabrica 1543) he mentions another letter written to him on the same subject (below), but according to that same letter he must also have arranged for the licences for the copyright of his Fabrica with his mother, Elisabeth Crabbe, and with the ambassador of Venice by way of written correspondence. In his Venesection letter he recalls having written to Florenas on the physicians in Leuven (see O’Malley p. 68). These are only a few examples.

**XIV.1  Vesalius to Oporinus  Before August 24th 1542**

Account: In his letter to Oporinus first published in the Fabrica 1543 (see IX.D) he writes (p. *5): … Verum hanc rationem, ac potissimum cur characterum indicem cum partium historia confundendum non putaverim, alias ad te prolixius scripsi… [Elsewhere I wrote to you at length of this procedure and why I believed that the index of characters should not be confused with the account of the parts]. Here Vesalius indicates that he had already written to Oporinus on the same subject in the past.

Heading: not known.

Date and place: before August 24th 1542, presumably from Padua.

Concerns: Contains Vesalius’s earlier (or his first ?) and more comprehensive (prolixius) suggestions/directions to Oporinus for the printing of his Fabrica.

Note: It is a real pitty that Oporinus did not include that previous letter in the Fabrica as well and I do not know of any instance where someone made a search for it. The reference to this previous letter disappeared in the version of 1555, perhaps because Vesalius thought it was unnecessary as Oporinus did not print that first letter as well. As a consequence that sentence can not be found in the translations of the latter edition either (Bakelants and Lindeboom).

XIV.2  Vesalius to maistre Art  Breda, March 12th, 1558
Account: Monsieur, samedi passé est party dicy … une miene lettre escripte à maistre Art touchant du discours de la maladie de Madamme, et … une autre … escripte a vostre Excellence par commandement de Madamme pour soliciter vostre venue, … [Sir, last Saturday a letter written by me to master Art concerning the sickness of your wife, and … another one … written to your Excellency, on the demand of your wife, asking you to come back…]

Heading: not known.

Date and place: Breda, March 12th, 1558.

Concerns: this letter was written by Vesalius to master Art, concerning the illness of Anna of Egmont, wife of William the Silent. See VIII.K.

Note: Master Art was most probably Josse Tseraerts, gentilhomme at the court of the prince. He had been a member of court from 1553 as the youngest gentilhomme and he stayed in the service of the prince untill his death in 1573. He was very confident of him. See consilium VIII.K.

XIV.3  Vesalius to William the Silent  Breda, March 12th, 1558
Account: see XIV.2 and VIII.K.

Heading: not known.

Date and place: Breda, March 12th, 1558.

Concerns: this letter was written by Vesalius to William the Silent on behalf of his wife Anna of Egmont who wanted him to come back home.

Note: see consilium VIII.K.

XIV.4  Vesalius to William the Silent  Breda, March 15th, 1558
Account and subject: see VIII.K.

XIV.5/6  Vesalius to a the ‘compeer’ of Adriaen Couwenhoven Alcala de Henares, May 1562
Account: see XIII-1562.05.14/15.

Heading: not known.

Date and place: Vesalius wrote this letters presumably in Alcala, and certainly in May 1562. The second letter (E) was presumably written on 14 or 15 May, the first one (D) was written in May too, but some days earlier.

Concerns: Vesalius wrote tho this Flemish cantor, a member of the Capilla flamenca (Royal Flemish Choir), about the medical history of Don Carlos of Spain, during the very evolution of his head injury due to a fall from a staircase.

Notes: at least two letters were written by Vesalius on that subject to this addressee. One may wonder if Vesalius wrote this letters in Dutch too as they were addressed to a Flemish countryman. Until now not a single writting by him in Dutch, presumably his native language, is known. See Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO. ‘Cantor Adriaen Couwenhoven en twee brieven van Andreas Vesalius’ [Singer Adriaen Couwenhoven and two letters by Andreas Vesalius] in Bob VAN HEE & Maurits BIESBROUCK (eds.), Cahiers Geschiedenis van de Geneeskunde en Gezondheidszorg. Nr. 11. Tijdgenoten uit de leefwereld van Andreas Vesalius, Antwerpen – Apeldoorn, Garant, 2018, pp. 95-121, ill.
XV.
Letters written to Vesalius that could not yet be found

XV.1 Florenas to Vesalius Between April 1st 1538 and Jan. 1st 1539
Account: In the first sentence of his Venesection letter, published Jan. 1st 1539, Vesalius writes: *Duobus nominibus, Patrone in primis observande, superiores tuae literae, plurimum me recrearunt: tum quod tabulas in studiorum usum a me editas, Caesareae Maiestati caeterisque praestantissimis viris, unice probari significas: tum quia pergratum tibi fore polliceris, si lineas ad marginem venae cavae de vena in laterali dolore secanda, et ad finem lateris venae portae, de melancholici succi per haemorrhoides purgatione asscriptas, diffusius explicare contendam. [Your recent letter, my Patron from the beginning, revives me in two respects: first for mentioning that the plates published by me for the use of the students were particularly approved by his Imperial Majesty and by other very eminent men; second by stating that it would greatly please you if I were to attempt to explain more extensive the lines in the margin of the *vena cava* on the vein that should be cut in *dolor lateralis*, and [those] inscribed at the end of the margin of the *vena porta*, treating the purgation of melancholic juice through the haemorrhoidal veins.]*

Heading: not known.

Date and place: between April 1st 1538 and January 1st 1539, presumably from Mechelen.

Concerns: see Account.

Note: Vesalius’s *Tabulae anatomicae* were shown by his father to the emperor, according to the remark made by Vesalius in the dedication of his *Fabrica 1543* on p. *4 and also in the *Fabrica 1555*. For the venesection letter see John Bertrand deC.M. SAUNDERS and Charles Donald O’MALLEY, *Andreas Vesalius Bruxellensis: The Bloodletting Letter of 1539. An annotated translation and study of the evolution of Vesalius’s scientific development*, New York, Henry Schuman, [1947].
XVI.
Letters concerning Vesalius
that could not yet be found

XVI.1  Dryander to Johannes Echtius    In or before August 1546

Heading: ?

Date: August 1546 or before.

Concerns: Dryander complains that Vesalius (according to himself wrongly) did not give a compilation of the famous anatomists of his time and does not recognize Andernacus as his teacher. He also remarked what needed to be done especially by one who is eager to be numbered among anatomists and surgeons.

Note: This two pages are the only instances where Vesalius writes something about Johannes Echtius. For Echtius see Maurits BIESBROUCK, Theodoor GODDEERIS, Omer STEENO, ‘Johann Bachoven von Echt (1515-1576) and his Work on Scurvy: an omen of Vesalius’ Death?’ (in preparation for Acta Medico-Historica Adriatica 2019).

XVI.2  to Hubert Languet    between 15 Oct. 1564 and Jan. 1st 1565
Account: Languet mentions such a letter in his one to Caspar Peucer; see (XIII.d).

Concerns: an earlier version of the unbelievable story on Vesalius’s problems with the Inquisition. Origin unknown.

Date: presumably between Vesalius’ death on 15 Oct. 1564 and Languet’s letter on Jan. 1st 1565
Acknowledgments

I thank Prof. Jacqueline Vons (Université François Rabelais, Tours – France, and president of the Société française d’histoire de la médecine) for suggesting, now several years ago, to compile the present list. My sincere thanks go to Prof. em. Dr. Omer Steeno (Haasrode) and to Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris (Kortrijk) for their indefatigable efforts and help in keeping my list up to date and for their valuable additions and suggestions.

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Other references are mentioned in full in the text itself.
### Addendum

**Chronological Overview of the Vesalian Letters and Documents**

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Legend:
- Anatomical names are in *italique*
- II.plag. = II. Plagiaries and Counterfeits
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