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## JACOBUS BERENGARIUS CARPENSI AND HIS COMMENTARIES ON MUNDINUS.

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On the right bank of the Arno, facing on the quay which leads from the Ponte Vecchio to the Ponte San Trinità, among hotels and shops devoted to sculpture, antiquities and jewelry, is the Libreria Antiquaria of Leo Olschki. One who is fond of old books finds himself here in a veritable paradise of the ancient, the valuable, and the curious products of the typographic art. Here, one day in April, 1902, I made the acquaintance of the proprietor, affable, energetic, enthusiastic, polylingual, with a trick of bringing his heels together and assuming a military attitude in saluting that bespoke a soldier's training. On the afternoon that I spent with him, I found him bubbling over with enthusiasm over a rarely perfect copy of the "Commentaries" of Berengarius da Carpi upon the "Anatomy" of Mundinus which had just come into his possession from the library of the noted Venetian family Bentivoglio d'Aragona.

Choulant, in his *Geschichte der anatomischen Abbildung*, says that there was but one edition of this book and that it is very rare—"die einzige und sehr seltene Ausgabe davon." Olschki had never seen a copy in such perfect condition as this one, and as an antiquarian and a bibliophile was correspondingly enthusiastic about it. Its pages were clean and white and perfect; the black letter print was clear cut and beautiful—an ideal example of the typography of the early part of the 16th Century. "Impressum Bononiæ per Hieronymum de Benedictus Pridie Nonas Martii

M.D.X.X.I."! (Printed by Jerome de Benedictis of Bologna, on the day before the Nomes of March, 1521.) The vellum binding was perfect and there was not a dog's ear nor the trace of a book-worm throughout its whole extent, though an occasional marginal note showed that it had been studied at some time by an attentive and intelligent reader. The illuminated title page alone was thumb-marked, showing that it often had been looked at by casual examiners whose interest did not extend to the contents of the volume itself.

The enthusiasm and interest of the bookseller were contagious; the more so in my own case because I had become especially interested in the career of Berengarius da Carpi ten years ago, when I was looking up the surgeons of the Columbian period in the preparation of my presidential address before the Medical Society of the State of New York. I coveted the book! Since 1883 I had been the owner of a very fine copy of da Carpi's *Isagogæ Breves et Exactissimæ in Anatomiam Humani Corporis* ("Short and most exact Introduction to the Anatomy of the Human Body"), which I had purchased when the library of J. Foster Jenkins was broken up; and since 1881 I had owned a copy of the 1513 edition of the book of Mundinus, *De Omnibus Humani Corporis Interioribus Membris Anathomia*, which had fallen to my lot when the great Davidson library of Breslau was sold. In all propriety, therefore, this most desirable and perfect copy of the "Commentaries" of my hero upon the book of his great predecessor should come to me and be placed on the same shelf by the side of the Mundinus and the *Isagogæ Breves et Exactissimæ*. But the price! When I knew it, I laid down the book and went away sorrowing!

After a couple of days I went back to the Lungarno and looked at the book again! The title in red letters—*Carpi Commentaria cum amplissimis Additionibus super anatomia mundini una cum textu ejusdem in pristinum et verum nitorem redacta* ("Commentaries of Carpus upon the Anatomy of Mundinus, with most extensive additions, with the text of the same restored to its original and correct elegance")—this title, I say, stood out clear and bold like a tablet, framed by vine-entwined columns which supported an entablature upon which were displayed the arms of the Medici upon the Papal Keys, and the legend Leo X., while in the base was depicted a dissecting-room scene with professor, cadaver and pupils. (See Plate I.)

Could this treasure be permitted to escape from me? Perish



Fac-simile of the title-page of the "Commentaries of Carpus upon the Anatomy of Mundinus."

the thought! What were paltry dollars beside the pleasure and privilege of owning this copy of the great Carpi's great book, which, if it was once safely housed in my library at home, might be handled and looked at every day of my life if I so chose? In short, the result simply illustrated the truth of the adage, "He who hesitates is lost." Olschki took the money and I have the book!

Berengarius da Carpi was born in 1470 and died in 1550. He was the son of a surgeon named Faustino, was a schoolfellow with the young Duke of Carpi, was a pupil of Aldus Manutius, and was a friend of Benvenuto Cellini, with whose fiery temper he had much in common and by whom he was repeatedly mentioned by name in his autobiography. He was an admirer of Cardinal Giulio de Medicis, to whom he dedicated his *Commentaria* two years before that prelate ascended the Papal chair as Clement VII., and to his friendship with this, the second Medicean Pope, is to be attributed, doubtless, his subsequent visit to and wonderful vogue in Rome. The last twenty years of his life were spent at Ferrara, where he enjoyed the protection and the intimate fellowship of the Duke of Ferrara, to whom he left his fortune of fifty thousand ducats at his death.

It was within this same period and in this same castle of the Duke of Ferrara, protected by the learned and strong-minded Marchioness Renée, wife of Duke Hercules, that the young John Calvin spent some time, about the year 1536, when he was in retreat from the storm which was provoked by the publication of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion." Unless I read his character wrong, da Carpi had a cast of mind in direct antithesis to that of Calvin—the one, logical, spiritual, ascetic; the other, practical, worldly, given to the pleasures of life: both intense, energetic and prolific. In the four hundred years that have elapsed, the influence of neither has been lost, but for most of the time that of the theologian has been far the greater in moulding the opinions of men and in influencing the affairs of the world; but it must be acknowledged that the spirit of the twentieth century finds much more to harmonize with its tendencies in the restless spirit of inquiry and the readiness to enter into new paths of positive knowledge which da Carpi typified, than in the theological reasonings of a Calvin.

The eighty years of the life of da Carpi embraced events in the history of this world unequaled in importance by any like period since the birth of Christ, until the nineteenth century. It

was the time when the sun of the renaissance of art and letters in Italy had reached its noontime glory. At Rome, Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X. and Clement VII. were each in succession running their glorious or inglorious careers, but every one fostering art and letters. In England, Henry VIII. (1491-1547); in France, Francis I. (1494-1547); in Spain and Germany, Charles V. (1500-1558), were ruling and were bringing a splendor to their courts hitherto unknown.

The towering genius of Michael Angelo, sculptor, architect and painter, was performing its gigantic labors during this same period. Born five years after da Carpi, he lived to be ninety years of age before his eye was dimmed or his natural force abated. There were giants in those days! When one looks at the rugged and impressive and majestic lines of Angelo's "Moses" seated in San Pietro da Vincoli as a part of the monument to Pope Julius, one loses sight of Pope and Law Giver and thinks only of the lonely sculptor who has wrought himself into this marble and who still speaks to those who have minds open to hear him.

The short life of Raphael, crowded full of its wonderful achievements, began after and ended before that of da Carpi. Leonardo da Vinci was well advanced in his work before da Carpi reached his maturity, although for forty-nine years their careers ran side by side. Da Carpi was thirty years old when Cellini, the irrepressible, irresponsible, marvelous child of genius, was born, and was outlived by him nineteen years.

It was a time, too, when men's ideas of the globe on which they lived were undergoing strange expansions. Da Carpi was twenty-two years of age when Columbus made his momentous voyage in pursuit of a western passage to the Indies. It was not until 1515 that the desperate Balboa from the rugged heights of the mountains of Darien, first caught sight of the boundless waters of the Pacific, which were to be entered five years later by the ships of Magellan. Still during the lifetime of da Carpi were played out in Mexico and in Peru the tragedies of Cortez and Pizarro.

These were the times, such were the conditions in which the restless, energetic son of the Italian surgeon found himself when he arrived in 1470. Stimulated by the example of the great Medici in Florence, it was the thing in those days for the nobility everywhere to foster learning and to patronize the learned. The University at Bologna was making its influence felt in the neighboring castles, and stimulated by the work of Mundinus and Ar-

gelata, there was a special curiosity to know "the anatomy of the interior members of the human body." So it was not remarkable that Albert Pion, Seigneur de Carpi, should conceive the idea of having a public anatomical demonstration made upon the carcass of a pig; nor was it remarkable that the young, enthusiastic and able son of the local surgeon should be called on to make the dissections. At all events, so history relates the story of the first public work of Jacobus Berengarius da Carpi.

This was but the beginning. What marks the difference between the ordinary man and the man of genius is that the former, when he makes a beginning, goes no farther; content with what he has done, satisfied with the attainments common to the period, he rests. Not so the genius, who, endowed with the divine gift of taking pains and fired with the inspiration for higher knowledge, goes on from his beginning to indefinite, infinite efforts for greater things. So da Carpi, leaving his pig, gave himself up with ardor to the dissection of human bodies and to the personal study and description of the structure of the hidden parts. The result is to be seen in his great commentary.

The original "Mundinus" was a thin little book of but few leaves;\* the great "Commentary" of da Carpi contains five hundred and twenty-eight leaves. The method of the latter was to print first a section from Mundinus as a text and then to subjoin his comments. In addition to descriptive anatomical details, he added physiological and surgical dissertations, and, most notable of all, in development of works upon anatomy, were the engravings with which he embellished his work.

The *Fasiculus Medicinæ* of Johannes de Ketham, 1491, and the *Antropologium* of Magnus Hundt, 1501, each contained some crude attempts at anatomical illustrations. The edition of "Mundinus" of Strassbourg, 1513, has a diagram of the heart, and on its last page the well-known astrological figure of an opened cadaver displaying the viscera of the thorax and abdomen surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. The *Spiegel der Artzney* of Lau-

\*The first printed edition of the *Anathomia Mundini* was a folio of 22 leaves, issued in 1478, at Pavia. Other editions quickly followed: in 1482, at Bologna, folio, 19 leaves in two columns of forty-five lines on each page; in 1484, at Padua, quarto of 34 leaves; in 1493, at Leipzig, quarto; in 1494, at Venice, quarto; in 1498, at Venice, folio. From 1500 on, there were at least eighteen other editions printed, the latest being a duodecimo issued in 1580 at Venice. Mundinus himself died in 1325. Tradition assigns the year 1306 as the date when his first dissection of a human body was made, and 1316 when he wrote his "Anatomical Compend" for his pupils.

rentius Phryesen, Strassbourg, 1518, also contains two anatomical woodcuts, one of the viscera *in situ* and one of the skeleton. The publication of this book antedates that of da Carpi by three

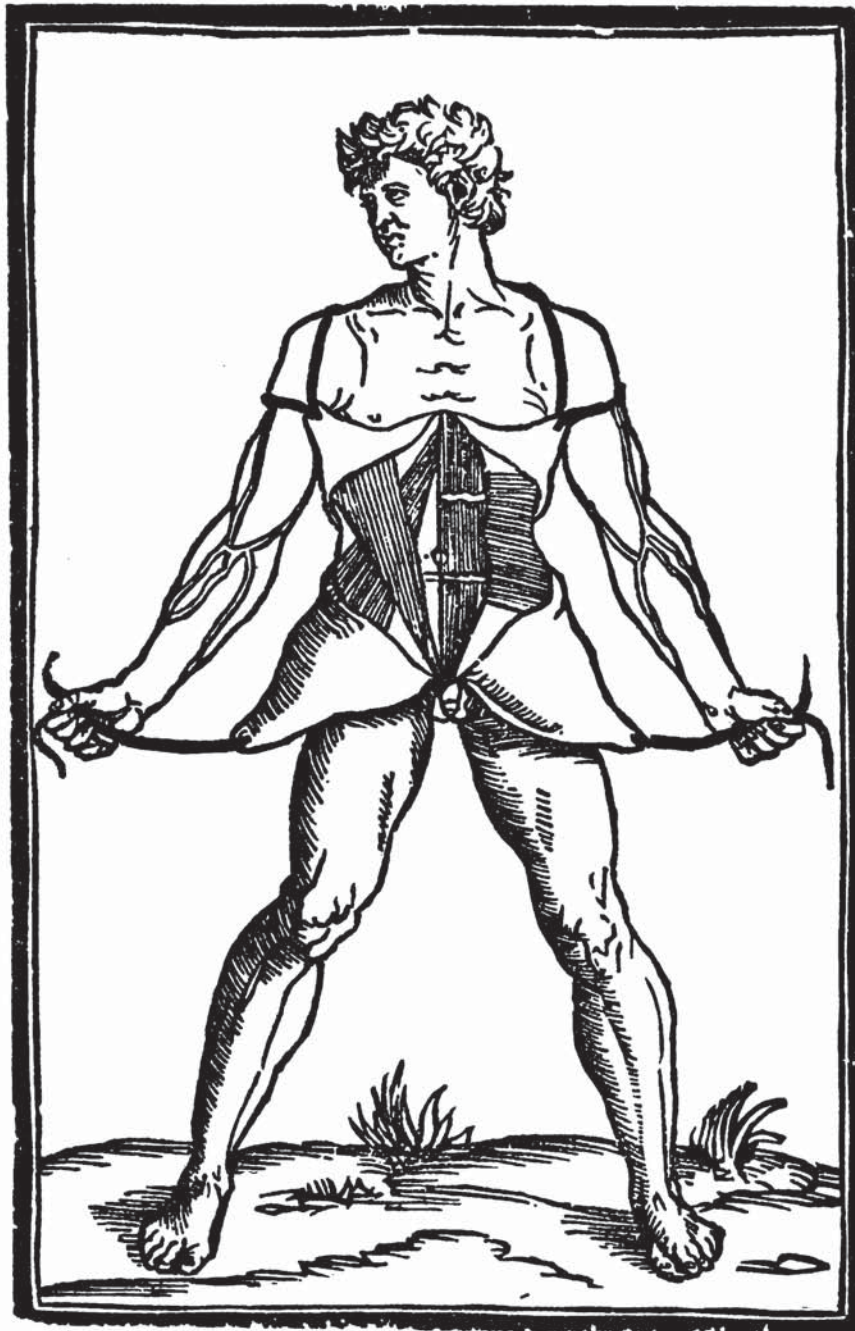


Fig. 1. Anatomical illustration from the "Commentaries of Carpi upon the Anatomy of Mundinus." A.D. 1521.

years, and the execution of the plates is far superior to those of de Ketham or Hundt, but they are still so sketchy and diagrammatic as to prevent them from being taken seriously into consideration as anatomical illustrations. To Berengarius da Carpi, then, belongs the credit of the first real attempt to illustrate by drawings the texture of the human body and to introduce them into a printed book, and this "Commentary" of his upon Mundinus has the rare interest of being the first illustrated work upon anatomy that was published.

It will not be forgotten that a fellow countryman of his who professed anatomy at Pavia, Marcantonio della Torre, had previously undertaken a work on anatomy which was interrupted by his death in 1506, and that Leonardo da Vinci had made a series of anatomical drawings to illustrate it, but these were laid aside and were not published until more than two hundred years later. Thus, while a knowledge of these drawings of da Vinci adds interest to the subject of the development of the art of anatomical illustration, it does not lessen the force of the statement that this work of da Carpi stands unquestioned as the pioneer in the use of anatomical illustrations. The figure herewith reproduced, presenting the muscles of the abdominal wall, will give a good idea of the character of these illustrations. (*See Fig. I.*) The tradition is that these plates were engraved by the celebrated artist Hugo da Carpi.

Perhaps I cannot bring this sketch to a close in a better manner than by quoting the passage in the autobiography of Cellini in which he makes the most extended reference to da Carpi (*Symond's Translation*, 1896, p. 47). It reads as follows: "There arrived in Rome a surgeon of the highest renown, who was called Maestro Giacomo da Carpi. This able man, in the course of his other practice, undertook the most desperate cases of the so-called French disease. In Rome, this kind of illness is very partial to the priests, and especially to the richest of them. When, therefore, Maestro Giacomo had made his talents known, he professed to work miracles in the treatment of such cases by means of certain fumigations; but he only undertook a cure after stipulating for his fees, which he reckoned not by tens, but by hundreds of crowns. He was a great connoisseur in the arts of design. Chancing to pass one day before my shop he saw a lot of drawings which I had laid upon the counter, and among these were several designs for little vases in a capricious style which I had sketched for my amusement. He was anxious that



"I should finish one of them for him in silver; and this I did with  
 "the fullest satisfaction, seeing they exactly suited my own fancy.  
 "The clever surgeon paid me very well. The next day following  
 "he betook himself away from Rome. He was a man of much  
 "learning who used to discourse wonderfully about medicine.  
 "The Pope would fain have had him in his service, but he replied  
 "that he could not take service with anybody in the world, and  
 "that whoso had need of him might come to seek him out. He  
 "was a person of great sagacity, and did wisely to get out of  
 "Rome; for not many months afterwards, all the patients he had  
 "treated grew so ill that they were a hundred times worse off  
 "than before he came. He would certainly have been murdered  
 "if he had stopped."

## THE MEDICINE AND DOCTORS OF JUVENAL.

By EUGENE F. CORDELL, M.D.,

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(*A Paper Read before the Johns Hopkins Historical Club, Baltimore.*)

In a paper read before this Society last year,<sup>1</sup> I endeavored to throw some light upon the medicine of Rome in the Augustan Age, by an examination of the writings of the Latin poet, Horace. So far as I could find, there was no article dealing with his works from this point of view. As an attaché of the Imperial Court and a favorite of the great Prime Minister, Maecenas, Horace must have come in daily contact with men of all classes, so I felt sure that he would have something of interest to say regarding the state of medicine and the medical profession in the great Roman metropolis. My researches were amply rewarded, bringing to light, among other things, an unexpected and most agreeable addition to our knowledge of those times, in the fact of the close intimacy existing between Horace and Celsus, the great medical writer of the Augustan Age; at the same time furnishing some interesting details regarding the almost unknown personal history of the latter. To-night, let us turn our attention to Juvenal—in full, Decimus Junius Juvenal Aquinas. Please note the threefold appellation, indicating distinction; and I would call your attention especially to the last name, or agnomen, indicating that

<sup>1</sup>*Johns Hopkins Hosp. Bull.*, 1901, xii, p. 233.