DIOSCORIDES

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FORTUNA*

Dioscorides is among the most influential of the ancient medical writers, standing perhaps after Hippocrates and Galen. On materia medica he was preeminent. Flourishing around 50 A.D.-70 A.D., Dioscorides was for sixteen hundred years considered a foremost authority in medicine, so much so that many sixteenth-century universities had a lecturer on Dioscorides—the equivalent to today's chair of pharmacy.

Little is known of the actual life of Dioscorides. The tradition which originated with the Byzantine compilers, that he was a military physician attached to the Roman army stems from an exaggeration of Dioscorides' statement in the prefatory letter of his work that he had lived a "soldier-like life" as he travelled gaining information of medicines. This information resulted in a major work, the title of which, περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς (*De materia medica*), is taken from Book III and is the same as that of a lost work of Sextius Niger. In five books he conveys medicinal, zoological, botanical, mineralogical and pharmaceutical information in precise Greek with no traces of the philosophical prejudices which then characterized medicine. That he may have been a member of the Empirical School is uncertain but is asserted by those who say his work is in accord with the method of the Empiricists. Dioscorides said he arranged material in a way superior to that of his predecessors, but the rationale for the arrangement is difficult to follow. His system is as follows (the numbering of items is approximate): Book I (129 items) deals with aromatics, oils, salves, trees, and shrubs (liquids, gums, and fruits); Book II (186) with animals, animal parts, animal products, cereals, pot herbs, and sharp herbs; Book III (158) with roots, juices, herbs, and seeds; Book IV (192) with roots and herbs not previously mentioned; and Book V (162) with wines and minerals. Wherever he travelled he recorded information mainly of plants indigenous to the eastern Mediterranean; because of this geographical limitation, users of his work in the West, especially northern Europe, had some difficulty in relating the information to their own environments. (See, C. Vaczy, ref. below in bibl.) Whether or not from the beginning Dioscorides' work was illustrated for botanical identifications is uncertain but, in any case, he seldom gave anything but few and sketchy descriptive details, *e.g.*, white flower, broad leaves, etc. All of this plus the sheer magnitude of the work, made Dioscorides particularly amenable to synthesis, commentaries, redaction, and scholastic discourse. The preeminence of his name encouraged many scribes to attach his name to various and sundry anonymous tracts. Further, because of its practical medical nature, his text was subject to numerous changes as copyists contributed their own understandings and findings.

The transmission of the Greek text is complex and, despite the efforts of Curt Sprengel and Max Wellmann who produced critical editions, many questions remain as to what may or may not be authentic Dioscorides passages. Papyri reveal that as early as the second-century different recensions had already appeared in Greek. The survival of a beautifully illustrated codex produced about 512 A.D. as a wedding gift for Anicia Juliana, daughter of emperor Flavius Olybrius, reveals that Dioscorides' order of presentation had by then been altered in favor of alphabetization. The Juliana

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Anicia manuscript came to Europe in the sixteenth century and now is in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek Ms med. gr. 1). The manuscript has scholia and their presence in so early a copy is one reason for asserting that scholia may have assumed their medieval form in late antiquity, not in the Middle Ages as is more commonly thought (Nigel G. Wilson, see below, bibl.).

Glosses to most chapters in *De materia medica* were included in such Greek manuscripts as the Anicia Juliana, the Neapolitanus (s. VII, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Ms Suppl. gr. 28), and Marcianus Venetus (s. XII, Ms 273); and these glosses were also included in the *editio princeps,* Aldus 1499, and integrated into the text itself. The glosses come at the beginning of most chapters and consist chiefly of a list of synonyms in a wide variety of languages. The name *Notha* came to denote the glosses, and indeed Wellman's critical edition of the Greek text gives the *Notha* as alternate readings. Sixteenth-century printings of the Greek text and Latin translations treat the *Notha* in various ways, (see below, p. 9). Since the *Notha* are inextricably tied to the Greek text and many fifteenth and sixteenth century Latin translations include the *Notha* as part of Dioscorides' text, the *Notha* are treated in this article not as a separate, spurious work but instead as a part of the Dioscoridean text with discussion about the *Notha* under each translator and often under each edition since various publishers and editors followed different practices.

Some Greek manuscripts (*e.g.*, Escorialensis III R 3, s. XI, and Paris BN Ms graec. 2183, s. XV) attach to *De materia medica* a treatise or treatises on poisons. It is uncertain whether this is one work in two books (sometimes divided still further into four) or two works by separate authors. The titles are: *περὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων* (On poison drugs); and *περὶ ἰοβόλων* (On animal and deadly poisons). The Aldine edition of 1499 published the tract(s) on poisons as Books VI-IX of *De materia medica.* Modern scholarship regarding these books is summarized below, Spurious Works, VI, but for the sake of brevity we have referred to these books simply as one tract, called *De venenis.* By this device of convenience I do not intend to prejudice the case or to imply an opinion on the question whether it is one or two works by different authors. Various sixteenth-century translators included *De venenis* in their translation of Dioscorides while others ignored it. I found no expression of doubt as to the authorship of Dioscorides until Ioannes Albertus Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca* ... ed. Harles [Hamburg 1795] 4, 679-680). Greek manuscripts of *De venenis* are listed by H. Diels, *Handschriften der antiken Ärtze* (Berlin 1905) 2, 31-32.

There is yet another Greek treatise, called *περὶ ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων* or *Εὐπόριστα* (*Parabilia remedia* or *Euporista*), whose authenticity is uncertain. It was first published in Greek and in Latin translation in 1565 by Johannes Moibanus and Conrad Gesner while another text and translation were published in 1598 by Ianus Antonius Saracenus. Modern scholarship—and there is little on the subject—is divided about attributing authorship of this Greek treatise to Dioscorides. Fabricius, Sprengel, Meyer and Behrends rejected it as a work by Dioscorides. Wellmann at first agreed with these scholars but then changed his mind, thereby placing this treatise as the first of two works written by Dioscorides. (See summary of scholarship, Spurious Works, IX.). I do not intend here to express any opinion on the authenticity of the work but simply note that most scholars regard it as spurious.

Finally there are modern errors in attributing tracts to Dioscorides. Chr. Joecher (*Lexikon,* 3 [1751], 2296) ascribes the work on veterinary medicine known as the *Hippiatrica* as translated by Johannes Ruellius (Basel 1537) to Dioscorides; however, neither Ruellius nor any other sixteenth-century or earlier scholar made the claim.

H. Diels (*Handschriften der antiken Artze,* Berlin 1905, 2, 33) lists some tables of weights and measures authored by Dioscorides and gives the title: *Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν.* Diels says that the tract was published by

Fridericus Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae,* Leipzig 1864, pp. 239-244. A tract by this name is published by Hultsch on pp. 239-242, plus two similar but separate tracts on pp. 242-244. Diels gives a Latin translation of the tract as *De mensuris et ponderibus* found in Laon Ms 418, s. XIV/XV. no. 10. According to F. Ravaisson (*Catalogue général des manuscrits*..., 1 [1849] 221-222) there is a tract: "Interpretatio ponderum et mensurarum pertinentium medicine, secundum Dyascoridum, Archigenem, Andromacum, Serapionem, Alkindum, Galienum et alios quam plurimos." This is found is Laon Ms 418. The incipit and explicit read: Granum hordei vel.../...ordei secundum Avicenam Deo gratias. Since there is no evidence of an assertion of Dioscorides' authorship before 1600, *De mensuris et ponderibus* is excluded from this article.

To the extent that it can be traced, Dioscorides' *De materia medica* seems to have continuous influence in Greek medicine, beginning with Galen who borrowed from Dioscorides for his treatise on simples. Oribasius (s. IV) and Paulus Aegineta (s. VII) (see p. 000 f. below) relied extensively on Dioscorides. So much did Paulus base his information on simples on the text of *De materia medica* that Johannes Ruellius employed an old codex of Paulus Aegineta in order to make corrections to Dioscorides' text when Ruellius made his popular Latin translation of *De materia medica* in 1517. After Paulus the influence of Dioscorides is less clear. We know that Emperor Constantin VII Porphyrogennetos sent to the first Western Umayyaden Caliph Abd al-Rahmān an illustrated Greek Dioscorides as a diplomatic gift. In the eleventh century Michael Psellos the Younger (1018—died after 1078) may have written a commentary on Dioscorides. Two sources attribute such a work, given in a Latin title, as being in one or two private libraries. No extant copy is known. Antoine Du Verdier (1544-1600; *La bibliotheque d'Antoine du Verdier*, Lyon 1585, p. 64) lists among the holdings of Michael Cantacuzenus' library: "Eiusdem Michaelis [Pselli] explicatio in librum Dioscoridis, etc. [and a marginal note] Pars huius edita est Anno 1570." Similarly for the holdings of the same library, Johannes Georg Schenck (*Biblia iatrica sive Bibliotheca medica*..., Francofurti 1609, p. 437) lists: "Michaelis Pselli explicatio in lib. Dioscoridis servatur in bibl. Constantinopolitana Illustriss. Principis Manuelis Eugenici." Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*...*ed.* Harles [Hamburg 1807] 10, 68), citing Du Verdier and Schenck, says that the book was "in Bibliotheca Manuelis Eugenici, et Ioannis Suzii"; however, it is not listed by Du Verdier among Suzius' library holdings. Psellos was such a prolific writer that his works could very well have included a commentary on Dioscorides. No modern scholar has listed such a commentary among Psellos' works. In the late thirteenth century Petrus Padubanensis probably studied the Anicia Juliana manuscript of Dioscorides when he visited Constantinople. Finally there exists a Pseudo-Dioscoridean lapidary in Greek which F. de Mély (*Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* [Paris 1902] I, 179-183) has published; he traced its origins to the Alexandrian lapidary tradition, but the work was unknown to Latin writers.

Dioscorides' *De materia medica* was translated into Latin in its entirety probably in the sixth century. Charles Singer and Pierre Paul Courcelle (see below, p. 20-1) are incorrect in stating that there are two or three old Latin translations. Actually there were simply several copies of a single translation. One manuscript of this translation (Munich CLM 377) has some crude illustrations which do not relate to the Greek manuscript illustrations. Otherwise, the Latin manuscripts are not illustrated, and this holds true for the later medieval Latin Alphabetical Redaction as well.

During the early Middle Ages (ca. 500-1000) in the West there is little direct evidence of the influence of *De materia medica,* despite its availability in Latin. A remark by Cassiodorus (see below, p. 20) reveals that monks could read Dioscorides in Latin translation. Early medieval phar-

macy literature was mostly in the form of *receptaria* and *antidotaria* which often drew upon the *De materia medica* in some form. More popular than the *De materia medica* during the period was *Ex herbis femininis*, a tract probably of the fifth century which is largely based on literal translations from *De materia medica* but which also contains new information. Most manuscripts of *Ex herbis* are beautifully illustrated and they are associated in most codices with the illustrated *Herbarius* attributed to Apuleius. Frequently during the early Middle Ages, when Dioscorides was cited or when his influence is seen, it is through *Ex herbis femininis* and not directly from *De materia medica*. Its popularity is evidenced by the relatively large number of manuscript copies dating from this early period and by a partial Old English translation of it.

Among the Arabs Dioscorides' *De materia medica* enjoyed both popularity and prestige. Several Arabic scholars worked on translating Dioscorides into Arabic but the Arabic tradition had no direct influence on the West, and despite modern claims to the contrary, no Latin translations of *De materia medica* were made from Arabic or Hebrew. In the ninth century Stephanos, son of Basilios (Istifan ibn Bāsīl), was the first to translate Dioscorides from Greek into Syriac. The translation was in seven books, two of which contained the *De venenis*. At least one manuscript, however, has the first four books of *De materia medica* followed by *De venenis*. Stephanos' teacher, Hunain ibn Ishaq, improved the translation. An Arabic text, based on the Stephanos-Hunain translation, has been published by César E. Dubler and Elias Terés (see bibl. below). As stated above, Emperor Constantin VII sent a Greek manuscript copy of *De materia medica* to Caliph Abd al-Rahmān in Spain. Despite the general availability of the Stephanos-Hunain translation, the Greek text could not be effectively used by the Arabs in Spain, so the Caliph asked the Emperor to send him someone to translate it. A monk named Nicolaus arrived in Cordoba in 948 in answer to the call and, with the assistance of numerous physicians, undertook a new version in Arabic. It was not a full, new translation but a reworking of the earlier versions. In addition Ibn Ǧulǧul, working in cooperation with Nicolaus and the other scholars, undertook to explain the poorly understood Greek names. Ibn Ǧulǧul produced two works: *Corrections of the Names of the Simple Cures of Dioscorides' Books;* and later, *Concerning the Useful Cures for the Physician which are not Mentioned in the Book of Dioscorides*. Although there is no present evidence, I believe that Ibn Ǧulǧul's works were known in the Latin West. Recently another Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* has been discovered (Albert Dietrich, see below, bibl.). In northern Mesopotamia Mihrān ibn Mihrān produced an Arabic translation out of the Syriac for the Sultan Alpī ibn Timurtāš ibn Ilgazi ign Ortoq (ruled 1152–1176 A.D.). A manuscript of this translation is in Mashad, Iran, and is illustrated. Arabic writers on materia medica, e.g., Serapion the Elder, Avicenna, Rhasis, and ibn al-Baitar, based their works on Dioscorides, so much so that Conrad Gesner (in: *Valerii Cordi... Annotationes in Pedacii Dioscoridis libros V*, Strasbourg 1561) lists ibn-Baitār's work as a commentary on Dioscorides.

Sometime in the late eleventh or early twelfth century an unknown editor, possibly Constantine the African (d. ca. 1085), drastically revised the Old Latin Translation. The arrangement was made alphabetical and much new information was added. The basic text was the Old Latin Translation. The additions come in the form of new information about substances in the Old Latin Translation and, at the same time, new substances are introduced, some from Arabic sources. Some material and whole entries from the Old Latin Translation are omitted. This up-dated Dioscorides soon eclipsed the Old Latin Translation in popularity as witnessed by the fact that there is no manuscript copy of the Old Latin Translation later than the tenth century. Fabricius (see below p. 23) and others mistakenly thought that this new version was a Latin translation

from the Arabic. Shortly after 1300 Petrus Padubanensis glossed the Alphabetical Dioscorides, and this version with the gloss is the first printing of Dioscorides (Colle 1478, HC 6258).

Evidence exists for postulating another version of Dioscorides of which no copies have survived. In the second half of the thirteenth century Rufinus wrote his *Liber de virtutibus herbarum* and quoted extensively from Dioscorides whom he cites by name. As observed by Lynn Thorndike (*The Herbal of Rufinus*, Chicago 1946, p. xxviii), Rufinus employed the Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides but some of his citations of Dioscorides are to be traced neither to this version, nor to the Old Latin Translation, nor to the Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Ex herbis femininis*. My own research confirms Thorndike's observation. This means that there may have been another medieval Latin version of Dioscorides for which there is presently no manuscript evidence.

Stephen of Antioch (fl. ca. 1127) wrote a glossary of technical terms in Dioscorides which is appended to his Latin translation of Haly Abbas in some manuscripts. Stephen's *Medicaminum omnium breviarium* or, as known to later writers, *Synonyms* is an alphabetical list, Greek, Arabic, and Latin, in parallel columns. It has a short preface and closing but is otherwise without text except for the listing of terms. The text appears to be only a partial list of Dioscorides' terms. The work has not been studied by modern scholars to determine its significance or *fortuna* but it cannot be considered a commentary. (See description in: Valentin Rose, *Verzeichnis... zu Berlin* [1905], pt. 3, 1059-1065, for text of *Synonyms* in Berlin Ms Lat. fol. 74 (898), which is missing since the war; also, see, Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* [1924] 132-3).

During the later Middle Ages (1000-1400) Dioscorides' influence was mainly exercised not directly from the *De materia medica* but through writers who employed his books for their own works on pharmacy, whether they be in the form of general medical works with a pharmacy component, herbals, lapidaries (mostly medical), or tracts on simples and compounds. *De materia medica* influenced in form and substance the herbals of Pseudo-Macer's *Herbal*, Matthaeus Platearius' *Circa instans* and Matthaeus Silvaticus' *Opus pandectarum medicinae*. Lexicon and recipe literature, two quite distinct types of medical literature, became more popular, and both reflect more generally Dioscorides' influence. That the *De materia medica* itself had less influence may be partly attributed to the fact that it did not contain the Galenic theory of degrees for simples. With the translations of Isaac Judaeus, Serapion, Mesue, Averroes, and Avicenna, the influence of *De materia medica* remained indirect. However Latin encyclopedists, such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Arnoldus Saxo, and Vincent of Beauvais, extensively employed *De materia medica* for their books on herbs and stones. With the exception of the glosses by Petrus Padubanensis there appear to be no medieval commentaries and also, with the same exception, there is no direct evidence of the use of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* as a principal work for examination in the medieval medical university curriculum. It is not, for instance, a part of the *Articella* although formulary quotations from Dioscorides were expected to be learned by medical students.

With the advent of printing the Colle 1478 edition of the Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction with the glosses of Petrus Padubanensis marks the first publication of *De materia medica*. Around 1481 Hermolaus Barbarus completed the first new translation but his work was not printed until 1516. His accompanying commentary reveals direct observation of plants in an attempt to supply identifications of flora based on experience rather than to rely exclusively on older authorities. Probably, however, more of Dioscorides' influence in the fifteenth century came through the printing of newly composed herbals, especially in the Latin *Herbarius* published by Peter Schöffer in Mainz in 1484 (HC 8444; H 8443?), followed a year later by a German translation *Herbarius zu*

Teutsch (Mainz 1485). A series of herbals were published under the generic title *Hortus sanitatis* which dominate herbal literature until about 1530.

The history of the early printings of Dioscorides' Greek text demonstrates the difficulty in arriving at an agreement on authentic texts. The first Greek text was the Aldine printing, Venice 1499 (HC 6257), which included *De materia medica* (Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς) in five books with the *Notha* as part of the text among the individual chapters. In this edition *De venenis* was printed as Περὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων and Περί ἰοβόλων with each divided into two books but printed together as a composite part of *De materia medica* as Books VI-IX. At the end there were seventeen chapters on as many herbs which were not considered to be by Dioscorides but which were recognized as interpolations with useful information. These chapters were called the *Adscripta*. Parts Two and Three were devoted to Nicander's *Theriaca* (Θηριακά) and *Alexipharmaca* (Ἀλεξιφάρμακα) together with Greek *scholia*. Because of similarity of subject matter and occasional confusion of the names of *De venenis* with *Alexipharmaca* the juxtaposition of these works in the same Aldine printing led to some later confusion. A revision of the Greek text was accomplished by Girolamo Rossi and Francesco Torresani in an Aldine printing (Venice) of 1518. This edition published a letter by Franciscus Asulanus to Hieronymus Roscius which acknowledged that Roscius was convincing when he argued that the *Notha* were not part of Dioscorides' original text. The editors' decision was to combine the *Notha* and *Adscripta* at the end of Book IX while the text of *De venenis* was published as before as Books VI-IX of *De materia medica*. While Nicander is omitted from the printing, an anonymous poem in Greek of 190 hexameters describing twelve plants (*Carmina de virtute, sive facultate quarundam plantarum in antiquis reperta exemplaribus*) was appended. The poem, however, has no known Latin translation and is not to be confused with the Pseudo-Dioscoridean Latin poem on plants described below, p. 141.

Later Greek texts of *De materia medica* reveal varied practices. A 1529 Cologne edition printed by Johannes Soter with Greek and Latin text (see below, p. 39) followed the 1499 Aldine printing but it placed the *Notha* in brackets and *De venenis* as one book, Book VI of *De materia medica*. In the same year, 1529, in Basel a new Greek text was edited by Janus Cornarius and published by Johannes Bebellius. Cornarius placed *De venenis* as Books VI-VIII of *De materia medica* while the *Notha* and *Adscripta* followed separately at the end of Book VIII. In 1549 (Paris: Apud Petrum Haltinum) Jacobus Goupylus prepared a Greek text together with his corrections of Johannes Ruellius' Latin translation. Goupylus placed *De venenis* as Books VI-VIII of *De materia medica* and the *Notha* and *Adscripta* at the end. Through many years of research, Janus Antonius Saracenus prepared a Greek-Latin edition of the "complete Dioscorides" which was published in Frankfurt by Andreas Wechelus in 1598. The first volume began with Περὶ ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων (*Liber parabilium remediorum*) in two books. The second volume contained Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς (*De materia medica*), Books I-V, while *De venenis* was printed as two separate works: Bk. I: Περὶ δηλητηρίων Φαρμάκων Bk. II: Περὶ ἰοβόλων; Saracenus had the *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at the end of volume two. All in all, the sixteenth-century printings of the Greek texts of Dioscorides show many differences not only in the organization of the material but also in the texts themselves; they thus reflect the extraordinary variations in the Greek manuscript tradition.

Sixteenth-century interest in Dioscorides was intense and manifested in various ways. Dioscorides moved into the universities and the newly founded botanical gardens, which also served as teaching institutions. A manual for medical students and new medical practitioners discloses that by 1520 "Dioscorides de simplicibus" was considered required reading at least by one author on medical education, Martin Stainpels (see

Richard J. Durling, biogr. below), but it remains uncertain whether the Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction, or translations by Hermolaus, Ruellius or Marcellus was intended. Early translators, lecturers and commentators were mainly inclined to interpret Dioscorides' text literally. Their concern was chiefly philological and, where botanical, to identify the plants in such a way as to defend Dioscorides' accuracy. Hermolaus Barbarus, Johannes Ruellius, Johannes Manardus and Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus are examples of this type. After 1530 there came others whose concern was pharmacy and medical practice, such as Franciscus Frigimelica, Benedictus Textor, Justus Mollerus and, probably, Johannes Cosmas Holzachius. During the same time the philological-lexical approach was continued by such authors as Janus Cornarius, Johannes Sambucus, and Robertus Constantinus. For others, like Cornelius Petrus, the objective was to relate Dioscorides' plant names to those in their respective regions, in this case Holland. Another category is apparent by the early 1530's and this group became almost predominant, namely, a number of scholars whose interest was more purely botanical, as for example, Otto Brunfels, Valerius Cordus, Conrad Gesner, Leonardus Fuchsius, and others. Some of the commentaries are either lecture notes taken by students or autograph notes for lectures. Although some had principally pharmaceutical interests while others were more botanical, the following are examples of university lectures on *De materia medica:* Franciscus Frigimelica (lectured on Dioscorides at Padua, 1530); Valerius Cordus (Wittenberg, 1539-1543); Gabriel Falloppius (Padua, 1553, 1560-1561); Guilielmus Rondeletius (Montpellier 1545, 1558); Ulysses Aldrovandus (Bologna 1555 [?] - 1561); and Caspar Bauhinus (Basel 1598—although his commentary is based on lecture notes it seems specifically prepared for publication). Four commentators were themselves directors of botanical gardens: Lucas Ghinus (Pisa ca. 1551); Aloysius Anguillara (Padua 1546-1561); Melchior Guilandinus (Padua 1561-ca. 1572); and Bartholomaeus Marantha (Naples 1560's). The concern of Brunfels, Cordus, Gesner, Fuchsius, Falloppius, Aldrovandus, Ghinus, Anguillara, Marantha, and a few others was to identify, classify and discuss plants and, in some cases, minerals for their own intrinsic value and not for their therapeutic effects. For reasons not entirely clear, there seems to be a connection between Protestantism and the new botanical interest in the sixteenth-century Universities, perhaps, in part, because Protestant universities were less tradition-oriented. A recent examination of botany in the universities has been made by Karen Meier Reeds ("Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities," Harvard thesis, 1975). Many of the sixteenth-century students of Dioscorides knew and inter-reacted with one another.

Of all sixteenth-century commentators, Petrus Andreas Matthiolus and Andreas Lacuna were the most important in terms of influence, popularity and, in the case of Matthiolus, controversy. Both Matthiolus and Lacuna display catholic interest in *De materia medica* in all its aspects, botanical, mineralogical, pharmaceutical, and medical. Matthiolus' commentary appeared first in Italian (Venice eds. of 1544, 1548, 1550, 1551, 1559, 1568, 1573, 1581, 1597); it was followed by a revised, Latin commentary in 1554 which ultimately saw two major revisions. In addition there were two French translations of his commentary: one by Antonius Pinaeus (Lyon 1560, 1561, 1566, 1567, 1572, 1627, 1655, and 1680) and one by Jean Desmoulins (Lyon 1572, 1578, 1579). In Italian Antonius Pasini published annotations and corrections to Matthiolus in editions of 1591, 1592, and 1600, all at Bergamo. Georg Handsch (1529-1578) translated into German Matthiolus' commentary, without the text of *De materia medica,* and it was edited by Joachim Camerarius (Frankfurt eds. of 1586, 1590, 1600, 1611, and 1626). Finally there was a Czech translation by Thadeasse Hagka z Hagku (Prague 1562). Most of Matthiolus' editions included woodcuts, with new and revised ones

in various editions, which unquestionably enhanced his popularity. In most of these editions, the commentary was accompanied by Matthiolus' corrections of Johannes Ruellius' Latin translation of *De materia medica* and *De venenis*. Matthiolus' importance is so great that the publication of his commentary has been called the first basic work of modern botany. The extraordinary popularity of Matthiolus in the vernaculars is at least in part attributable to Matthiolus' scientific-medical appeal rather than to purely humanistic interest. Andreas Laguna's Castilian translation and commentary on Dioscorides exercised a less broad influence than did that of Matthiolus, but his work was of tremendous importance in the Iberian peninsula. The Laguna translation and commentary were first published in Salamanca in 1555; there were later editions of Salamanca 1563, 1566, 1570 and 1586; Valencia 1626, 1635, 1636, 1651, 1677, 1695; Madrid, 1733; and there is a recent facsimile reprint of the Salamanca 1570 edition. Laguna's importance to Spanish science is exemplified by the fact that P. Font y Quer published a study of the medicinal plants of the Iberian peninsula in Barcelona in 1962 which has as its bases Laguna's translation and commentary on Dioscorides (*Plantas medicinales; el Dioscórides renovado*).

Dioscorides' *De materia medica* was translated into a number of Western vernacular languages and vernacular commentaries were produced. Palleys translated it into Dutch in an edition of Antwerp 1520. French translations were made by Martin Mathée (Lyon 1553, 1558 ?, 1559, and 1580) and by Antonius Pinaeus and Jean Desmoulins of Matthiolus' corrections to Ruellius' translation (eds. given above). In addition to Matthiolus' Italian editions, there were Italian translations by Sebastiano Fausto (Venice 1542) and Marcantonio Montigiano (Florence 1547, 1550 and 1552). A German translation was made by Johannes Dantzius (Frankfurt 1546, 1586, 1590, 1598, and 1600).

For reasons not entirely clear, the British Isles seemed almost immune to direct Dioscorides influence in the period before 1600. Despite English interest in herbals, there were no Englishmen, Scots or Irish who translated Dioscorides either into Latin or English; they wrote no commentaries; and no printer from the British Isles printed any edition. It would be tempting to conclude that the English found Dioscorides less useful because his plants were mostly confined to Mediterranean habitats, were it not for the fact that there had been active English interest during the Middle Ages, as witnessed by copies of Dioscorides manuscripts known to have been in English monasteries and by the Old English translation of Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Ex herbis femininis*. Other areas of northern Europe found Dioscorides' *De materia medica* useful, with Matthiolus writing in Prague, Sambucus in Vienna, Cordus in Wittenberg, and Aurifaber in Königsberg. Why Dioscorides' appeal was so slight in the British Isles remains uncertain.

In this article the entire extent of Dioscorides' influence cannot possibly be measured because it is not limited to those who translate and comment directly on him. Of interest are remarks such as those of Antonio Brasavola (1500–1555) who said that the herbs described by Dioscorides did not include one in a hundred of those on earth and of Nicolaus Monardes (1493–1588) who asked how Dioscorides could have possibly known plants found in the New World. Nonetheless Brasavola and Monardes as writers on botany themselves used information collected by Dioscorides.

In general those who wrote *herbals*, although based on Dioscorides, are not included in this article. Some bibliographical guides, *e.g.*, S.F.W. Hoffmann, BL, 1, 606, list Ioannes Agricola's *Medicinae herbariae libri II*...., Basel 1539, as a commentary (*Erläuterungsschrift*). Works of this nature which draw from other authorities in addition to Dioscorides, have been excluded from this article.

There are a number of important works on Dioscorides which are not commentaries, although mistakenly treated as such. Johannes

Dantzius wrote *Tabulae simplicium medicamentorum, quae apud Dioscoridem, Galenum et Plinium sunt...*, Basel: Apud Henrichum Petrum 1543. This is an elaborate classification scheme of placing drugs in alphabetical order and charting their qualities in tables according to certain categories (*calefaciendi, refrigerandi, siccandi, humestandi; dissilarem, tenuem, crassam, acrimoniam,* etc.)

Similarly there is much on Dioscorides' text and its interpretation in the defense of Melchior Guilandus by Paulus Hessus. Guilandinus was a botanist who was involved in a dispute with Matthiolus (see below, pp. 86-88). Neither Dantzius' nor Hessus' works are considered to lie within the parameters of this article.

About 1574 Joseph Scaliger wrote a letter to Franciscus Venturianus (Ep. 17, pp. 103-108 in: *Epistolae omnes...*, Lugduni Batavorum: Elzevir 1627) in which he discussed difficulties in translating herbs. He was especially critical of Robert Constantine's commentary perhaps in part because Constantine had inherited some of the older Scaliger's notes and manuscripts. Scaliger's letter, despite references to the contrary, could not reasonably be considered a commentary.

Conradus Forerus (d. 1594) was a collaborator with Conrad Gesner on the *Fischbuch.* In a letter on Dioscoridean commentaries which was published in *Valerii Cordii...Annotationes...*, Argentorati 1561, Conrad Gesner wrote: "Conradus Forerus Vitoduranus, iuvenis doctissimus, amicus noster, easdem ut Benedictus Textor Stirpium differentias digessit, non quidem e Dioscoridis solum sed etiam Plinii et Theophrasti editionibus. Nondum excusas puto." This is repeated in the second edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta ...*, Tiguri 1583, p. 161. There is no record of Forerus' work having been published. While Forerus drew upon Dioscorides for his work, he also used Pliny and Theophrastus, and his *Stirpium differentiae* cannot be regarded as a commentary.

Among the fifty-seven books and manuscripts listed for Michael Cantacuzenus' Library, there is a paraphrase of Dioscorides by Johannes Razendita and the title is given in Latin by Antoine Du Verdier (*La bibliotheque d'Antoine du Verdier...*, Lyon 1585, p. 62; see same information in Ioannes Georg Schenck, *Biblia iatrica...*, Frankfurt 1609, p. 437, and Albert von Haller, *Bibliotheca botanica...*, London 1777, pt. 1, p. 84). There is no indication who Razendita might be other than that his manuscript was in the library of Cantacuzenus but, since the other titles in the collection are either Greek authors or Greek translations of Arabic works, the probability is that Razendita's work was in Greek.

The seventeenth century saw a decline in the study of Dioscorides except for the abiding interest in the translations and commentaries by Ruellius-Matthiolus and by Lacuna. As discussed above (p. 10) there were one seventeenth-century printing of Matthiolus in Latin and three in French and six printings of Lacuna in Spanish (above, p. 10-1). In Germany Peter Uffenfacher corrected Ioannes Dantzius' German translation of Dioscorides which saw six printings (Frankurt, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1614, 1626, and 1654). A new commentary on *De materia medica* was prepared by Jacques and Paul Contant and published in editions of 1628 and 1640, both at Poitiers. About 1655 John Goodyer translated *De materia medica* into English from the Greek but the work was not published until 1959 when edited by Robert R. Gunther (New York). There exists in manuscript an anonymous and partial English translation of Saracenus' Latin commentary on *De materia medica* (see below, p. 41). Albert von Haller (*Bibliotheca botanica...* [London 1771], pt. 1, p. 84) lists two commentators by their last names only, Reinesius ("In var. lection.") and Salmasius. Presumably these are the two seventeenth-century authors: Thomas Reinesius, *Variarum lectionum libri...*, Altenburg, 1640; and Claude de Saumaise or Salmasius (1588-1653), *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Julii Solini Polyhistora...*, 1689 (cf. Fabricius BG, 1717 ed., 3, 98), used by Wellmann in

his critical edition of Dioscorides.

The low ebb of Dioscorides' influence came in the eighteenth century which had but one printing of Lacuna (Madrid 1733). The main reasons must have been first, the knowledge of newer plants coming from various areas of the world during the Age of Exploration and second, the revolutionizing botanical studies of Carl Linnaeus. Meantime the humanistic interest in Dioscorides had declined.

The nineteenth century witnessed the familiar revival in classical philology and a return of interest in Dioscorides. In Prague, 1821, Caspar a Sternberg published *Catalogus plantarum ad septem varias editiones commentariorum Matthioli in Dioscoridem.* In his *Lectures on Roman Husbandry* (Oxford 1857), Charles Daubeny sought to identify many of the plants in *De materia medica* in the Linnaean system but his effort was no more than a beginning and a pioneer work. As can be seen in the bibliography below others have since attempted to make identifications but many, if indeed not most, of Dioscorides' plants cannot be identified with specific modern species, probably in some instances because Dioscorides may have only had in mind generic plants. Curt Sprengel in 1829-30 made the first modern effort to produce a critical text, and in 1907-14 Max Wellmann published the standard edition of the *De materia medica.*

In addition to the regular *Catalogus* abbreviations, the following specialized citations are used throughout the present article.

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4. 1537 Edition and Reprints.

1537, Parisiis (Paris): Apud Simonem Colinaeum. Translation by Johannes Ruellius, with claimed revisions to Ruellius' translation by Dionysius Corronius (Leaves [6]-[10]). Bks. I-V, fols. 1-229; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, fols. 239v-246; *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at end. Durling 1146; Graesse 2, 403; Renouard, Colines 277-78; NUC. BM; Uppsala; (CtY-M; DNLM).

1539, Basileae (Basel): Apud Mich. Ising. Translation by Ruellius, with claimed revision to translation by Dionysius Corronius, fols. a2-b3v, and Bks. I-V, pp. 1-479; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 480-534; *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at end. Graesse 2, 403; Hoffmann BL 1, 601-603; Durling 1149; NUC. (DNLM).

(micro) 1542, Basileae (Basel): Apud Mich. Ising. Translation by Ruellius, with claimed revision to translation by Dionysius Corronius, fols. a2-bv, and Bks. I-V, pp. 1-430; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 431-479; *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at end. Choulant 1, 80. NUC. (CtY-M; MH; micro. at DNLM).

5. 1538 Edition.

(micro.) 1538, Venetiis (Venice): [Per Ioan. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio.] Ioannis Ruellius' translation, Bks. I-V, fols. 1-190v; *De venenis* as Bks. VI-IX, fols. 191-211. *Notha* in text. *Adscripta,* fols. 211-212. Commentary by Benedictus Textor with separate title page. Durling 1148; Choulant 1, 80; NUC. Cambridge UL; (DNLM).

6. 1543 Edition.

[1543), Franc[oforti and Marburg]: Apud Chr. Egenolphum. Translation by Johannes Ruellius, Bks. I-V, pp. 1-421; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 421-439; *Notha* and *Adscripta* wanting; commentary by Gualtherus H.

Rivius following each chapter; and commentary (fols. 81v-84) by Johannes Lonicerus at end with separate title page. Colored woodcuts. In the Wellcome copy the t.p. and much of introductory letter is missing and a restoration of it omits a large part of Rivius' introductory letter. In BM copy Lonicerus' comm. is bound with *Iani Cornarii Medici Physici Commentariorum medicorum in decem libros Galeni de compositione medicamentorum...*, Basel, 1537. Pritzel 2307; Graesse 2, 403; Josef Benzing, *Walter H. Ryff...*, No. 133; NUC. BM; Wellcome; BN; Augsburg StuStB; Leipzig UB; Wolfenbüttel HAB; (MiU; WU).

7. 1546 Edition and Reprints.

1546, Lugduni (Lyons): Excudebant Ioannes et Franciscus Frellonii Fratres. Translation by Johannes Ruellius, Bks. I-V, pp. 6-487; *De venenis*, as Bk. VI, pp. 488-543; *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at end on unnumbered leaves. With Anonymus C commentary. Graesse 2, 403; Durling 1151; NUC. Wellcome; (DNLM; ICJ; MB).

1547 (1), Lugduni (Lyons): Theobaldus Paganus. Graesse 2, 403; Wellcome.

1547 (2), Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Ioannem Frellonium. Graesse 2, 403; Pritzel 2306; NUC. (CtY-M; ViRA).

1550, Venetiis (Venice): Dominicus Lilius. Bks. I-V, fols. 3-246; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, fols. 246v-274. *Notha* and *Adscripta* at end, fols. 274v-ovii. Pritzel 2306; Graesse 2, 403; Durling 1154; NUC. Wellcome; (DNLM; ICU; MH).

1554, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Jacobum Faure. Contents same as 1550, Venice ed., except pagination rather than foliation numbering used. Fabricius BG 4, 97; Durling 1155; NUC. Wellcome; BN; Lyons; (DNLM; MoSB; OU).

8. 1549, Frankfort Edition and Doubtful Edition.

[1549], Franc[oforti] (Frankfort): Apud Chr. Egenolphum. Translation by Johannes Ruellius, Bks. I-V, pp. 1-723; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 430-448; *Notha* and *Adscripta* wanting. Expanded commentary by Gualtherus H. Rivius following each chapter, and commentary by Valerius Cordus, pp. 449-533; Euricius Cordus' *Iudicium de herbis;* and Conrad Gesner's *Herbarum nomenclaturae*, pp. 541-554. Woodcuts for most chapters. Josef Benzing, *Walther H. Ryff...*, No. 134; Durling 1152; Pritzel 2308; NUC. Wellcome; BM; BN; Augsburg StuStB; Basel UB; Leipzig UB; (DNLM; NcU; NNBG).

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1545, Francoforti (Frankfort). Fabricius BG 3, 97: "fol. cum notis G. Rivii, Val. Cordi, nomenclaturisque herbarum, vario idiomate per Conradum Gesnerum." Hoffmann BL 1, 603; Pritzel 2307; Josef Benzing, *Walther H. Ryff...*, No. 15: "die aber sonst nicht auszumachen ist."

9. 1549, Two Paris Editions.

1549 (1), Parisiis (Paris): Apud Petrum Haultinum. Colophon: Excudebat Benedictus Prevost...mense Augusto, 1549. Greek and Latin. Translation by Johannes Ruellius with Jacobus Goupylus' corrections and editing of Gk. text, Bk. I-V, fols. 1-316; *De venenis* as Bks. VI-VIII, fols. 316-345; *Notha* and *Adscripta* combined at end, fols. 353-382 ("Inter Dioscoridis verba haec falso adscripta in quibusdam codicibus erant."). Commentary to *De materia medica* only by Jacobus Goupylus. Ebert 1, 489; Harles BNG 319; Fabricius BG 4, 98; Pritzel 2295; Durling 1135; NUC. Wellcome; BM; BN; John Rylands Lib.; (DNLM).

1549 (2), Parisiis (Paris): Arnoldus Birkmanius. Another issue by B. Prevost for widow of A. Birkmann. Graesse 2, 403; Durling 1136; NUC. Wellcome; BN; (DNLM).

10. 1550 Edition and Reprints.

1550, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Balthazarem Arnolletum. Translation by Johannes Ruellius, Bks. I-V, pp. 1-723; *De venenis* as BK. VI, pp. 724-786; *Notha* omitted. Comm. by "H.B.P. Medicus," possibly Johannes Bruyerinus. Woodcuts for most chapters. Graesse 2, 403; Durling 1153;

Pritzel 2306; NUC. Wellcome; BM; BN; (DNLM; CtY; PPj).

(*) 1551, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Balthazarem Arnolletum. Reissue of 1550 ed. H. L. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* 10, 129.

1552, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Balthazarem Arnolletum. Colophon: Excudebat Viennae Balthazar Arnoullet. Same as Lyon, 1550, except this issue adds thirty extra woodcuts at end by Jacob Dalechamp. New illustrations either serve as a correction of the woodcut used earlier, *e.g. meum* (I, 3), or a supplementary illustration where there was none in prior section, *e. g. hycocampus* (II, 2). Graesse 2, 403; Hoffmann BL 1, 603; Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* 10, 130; NUC. Wellcome; BM; BN; (DNLM-?; MH; NNBG).

Doubtful: 1593, Basil. (Basel). Fabricius BG 3, 97; Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* 7, 1024.

11. 1554 Venice Edition, Reprints and Revisions.

1554, Venetiis (Venice): In officina Erasmiana, apud Vincentium Valgrisium. Translation by Johannes Ruellius with corrections by Petrus Andreas Matthiolus, Bks. I-V, pp. 1-639; *De venenis,* fols. 640-707; *Notha* and *Adscripta* are omitted in this and all subsequent editions. Comm. by P. A. Matthiolus to *De materia medica,* Bks. I-V, and *De venenis,* pp. 642-707. Chapter headings in Gk. and Lat. Woodcuts drawn by Giorgio Liberale and cut by Wolfgang Meierpeck. Graesse 2, 404; Fabricius BG 4, 97; Durling 3008; NUC. Wellcome; BM; (DNLM; KU; NcU).

1558, Venetiis (Venice): ex officina Erasmiana Vincentii Valgrisii. Trans. by Ruellius with Matthiolus' comm.: Bks. I-V, pp. 1-709; *De venenis,* pp. 710-775, with comm., 712-776. Same woodcuts as Venice, 1554, with some additional ones. e.g., added cut of *Iris sylv. altera* (p. 18) and *Acorum falsum* (p. 20). In two parts with second part containing *Apologia adversus Amathum Lusitanum* by Matthiolus with separate t.p. (p. 50). (Wellcome ed. has an issue of *Apologia* with a different t.p.: Venetiis, Ex officina Erasmiana, V. Valgrisii et B. Constantini, 1558). Graesse 2, 404; A. von Haller 82; Pritzel 5985; Durling 3309; NUC. Wellcome; Oxford, Bodl.; (DLC; DNLM; MH).

1559, Venetiis (Venice): In officina Valgrisiana. Another issue of 1558 ed. Durling 3010; Pritzel 5985; NUC. BM; Cambridge UL; (DNLM; MH; RPB).

1560, Venetiis (Venice): In officina Valgrisiana. Another issue of 1558 ed. New t.p. for accompanying *Apologia adversus Amathum Lusitanum,* dated 1559. Graesse 2, 404; NUC. Wellcome; BN; (NNBG; TXU).

1563, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Gabrielem Coterium, 1562 [i.e., 1563]. Colophon: Joannes d'Ogerolles, 1563. Ruellius trans. with Matthiolus' comm., Bks. I-V, pp. 1-1754; *De venenis,* pp. 755-837. New t.p. for accompanying *Aplogia...,* Apud Gabrielem Coterium, 1562. Durling 3011; A. von Haller 82; Graesse 4, 446; NUC. Wellcome; BM; Lyons; (DNLM).

1565, Venetiis (Venice): Ex officina Valgrisiana. Ruellius trans. with Matthiolus' comm. Bks. I-V, pp. 1-1393, with revision of comm. Notes are added in this edition to Ruellius' translation based on new findings by Matthiolus which include Oribasius and the Constantinopole Ms. For instance on p. 25, under *Meon* (I, 3) M. puts some words of R.'s trans. in brackets with a marginal note: "Oribasius non legit conclusa." He follows the same procedure with *Asarum* (p. 27; I, 9) and notes: "Addit Catac. [*Cantacuzenus* spoken of in preface) *βοτάνη εὐώδης στεφανωματική* i. herba odorata, coronaria. Meum vero habet *οἱ δὲ νάρδον ἀγρίαν καλοῦσι, πόα εὐώδης στεφανωματική.* Conclusa non legit Oribasius." New woodcuts by Hagek z Hagku taken from Prague, Melantrich, 1562, ed. of comm. in Bohemian. Fabricius BG 4, 97; Durling 3012; Graesse 2, 404; A. von Haller 82; Pritzel 5985; NUC. Wellcome; (CtY-M; DNLM; NNBG).

1569, Venetiis (Venice): Ex officina Valgrisiana. Ruellius' trans. and Matthiolus' revised comm., Bks. I-V, pp. 11-886; *De venenis*, pp. 887-956. Graesse 2, 404; A.

von Haller 82; Pritzel 5985; Fabricius BG 4, 97; NUC. Wellcome; Vienna NB; BN; (MH-A).

(*) 1570, Venetiis (Venice): Ex officina Valgrisiana. Said by Wellcome Catalogue (p. 220) to be same as Venice 1569. With "De ratione distillandi aquas..."[12] p. at end. Durling 3013; Graesse 2, 404; NUC. Wellcome; BN; Uppsala; (DNLM).

1583, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Felicem Valgrisium, 2 vols. Ruellius' trans. and Matthiolus' revised comm. as in 1565 ed., Bks. I-V, vol. 1, pp. 1-717; *De venenis*, pp. 718-772. New Woodcuts by Iacobus Antonius Cortusius. Graesse 2, 404; A. von Haller 82; Fabricius BG 4, 97; Pritzel 5985; NUC. Wellcome; BN; (DNLM; MH-A).

1598, [Francofurti: Ex officina typographica Nicolai Bassaei], 2 vols. Ruellius' trans. and Matthiolus' revised comm. as in 1565 ed., Bks. I-V, vol. 1, pp. 1-895; *De venenis*, vol. 1, pp. 967-1027. With *Apologia*..., With new comm. by Caspar Bauhinus. Graesse 2, 404; Durling 3007; Pritzel 5985; NUC. Wellcome; BN; (ICU; DNAL; CtY; NcU; NNAM).

1674, Basileae (Basel): Sumptibus Ioannis König. 2 pts. in 1 vol. Pritzel 5985; Graesse 2, 404; NUC. BM; BN; (DNLM).

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

1557, Basileae (Basel). Cited by Johannes Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum, Veterum et Recentiorum*, 4 vols. (Geneva 1731) vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 182.

1562, Venetiis. Hoffmann BL 1, 603: "-4.-cum iconibus et apologia adversus Amatum, indice curativo et notis. Venet."

1571, Venetiis (Venice). Hoffmann BL, 603: "-4.-addita Fr. Calceolarii descriptione itineris sui a Verona in Baldum montem, plantis refertissimum. Venet."

1593, Basileae. Hoffmann BL 1, 603: "interprete I. Ruellio. Basileae." Fabricius BG 4, 97; Zedler 7, 1025: "in fol. mit. H.B.P...."

1604, Venetiis. Hoffmann BL 1, 603.

1678, Basileae: Johann König. W. L. Schreiber, "Die Kräuterbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts," in *Hortus Sanitatis* (Mainz 1485; facs. 1924), p. 45.

12. 1554, Lyons Edition.

1554, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Balthazarem Arnolletum. Johannes Ruellius' trans. with Petrus Andreas Matthiolus' corrections: Bks. I-V, pp. 1-506; *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 507-564. And with Commentary of Anonymus D, pp. 7-377, on Books I-V. Fabricius BG 4, 97, BM; BN.

13. 1558 Edition and Reprints.

1558 (1), Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Gulielmum Rouillium, sub scuto Veneto. Colophon; Excudebat vidua Balthazaris Arnolleti. Amatus Lusitanus' commentary edited by and with additional comm. by Robertus Constantinus. Woodcuts by Leonhart Fuchsius, Jacobus Dalechampius, et al. Graesse 1, 97; Pritzel 124; *Check List of Sixteenth-Century Editions of Works of Sixteenth-Century Latin Authors* (New York 1963) 64; *Rep. Bibl. Fr.* 1, 1165; Josē-Lopes Dias, "Commentarios ao 'Index Dioscoridis' de Amato Lusitano," *IV Centenario de João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco—Amato Lusitano* (Castelo Branco 1968) p. 87n. Wellcome; BM; BN; Munich; Vienna.

(*) 1558 (2), Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Mathiam Bonhomme sub Claua Aurea. Colophon: Excudebat vidua Baltazaris Arnolleti. Another issue of above. Wellcome. *Checklist*...(*supra*), 64; Rep. Bibl. Fr. 1, 1165; Baudrier 10, 258; NUC. Wellcome.

(*) 1558 (3), Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Paganum Theobaldum. Same pagination given as other 1558, Lyons eds. Rep. Bibl. Fr. 1, 1165; Dias, ref. (1) above, p. 87n.

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

1548, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Viduam Arnolleti. Jo. Antonius Bumuldus, *Bibliotheca Botanica*...(Lugduni Batavorum, 1760), p. 25.

14. 1583 Edition.

(*) 1583, Marpurgi (Marburg): Christianus Aegenolphus excud. Trans. by Johannes Ruellius with comm. by Marcellus Vergilius and Johannes Lonicerus. Adams D-674.

15. 1598 EDITIONS.

1598 (1), [Frankfurt]: Sumtibus haeredum Andreae Wecheli, Claudii Marnii et Ioan. Aubrii. Greek and Latin in three parts. Translation by Janus Antonius Saracenus of Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Liber Parabilium Remediorum* or *Euporista* (1, pp. 1-125), Dioscorides' *De materia medica* (2, pp. 1-393), Pseudo-Dioscorides' *De venenis* in two, separate bks., (2, 395-414) and commentary by Saracenus (*Liber Parabilium Remediorum,* 1, 128-135; *De materia medica,* 3, 1-124; *De venenis*, 2, 124-133-140). *Notha* and *Adscripta* together, 2, pp. 441-479. Commentary to Bks. 1-4 of *De materia medica* by Iohannes Sambucus, 2, pp. 141-144. Pritzel 2296; Graesse 2, 403; Brunet 2, 734; Ebert 1, 459; Durling 1137; NUC. Wellcome; BN; Oxford, Bodl.; (DNLM; ICU; MH).

1598 (2), [Frankfort]: Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium. This 16mo size edition was published at the same time as the one above (in folio) but this one lacks Greek text, the two commentaries and *Liber Parabilium Remediorum.* Bks. I-V, pp. 1-627; *Notha* and *Adscripta* together, pp. 704-766; *De venenis* as two, separate treatises; Bk. I, pp. 268-654; II, 660-699. Graesse 2, 404; NUC. Wellcome; (DNLM).

Special Note:

There were no composite editions in Latin after 1600 with the exception of the 1674 edition of Ruellius-Matthiolus, above I, 11.

II. *DE MATERIA MEDICA*

TRANSLATIONS

1. ANONYMUS A

a. Oldest form.

Linguistic evidence is the principal basis for postulating a sixth-century date for the translation although a date in the early third century has also been suggested. The anonymous translation is a fairly accurate, often word for word, account of the non-alphabetic recension. There are numerous transliterations of Greek terms with the translator frequently not seeking a Latin equivalent for the substance described. The Latin grammar reflects late ancient changes in gender and case and a general decline in endings. There are some omissions of chapters, mostly in Book II; however, an exact comparison is difficult because the Latin translator frequently combined entries. A use of the Semitic work, *girba*, suggested to Schanz (below) and Mihaescu ("La versione latina," p. 339 below) an African origin while V. Rose (v. 2, 115, below) believed that the origin is Ostrogothic Italy. Mihaescu points to the use of the Germanic word *zuccar* as well as other words of diverse origin. Hence the translator's location seems uncertain.

Gargilius Martialis (fl. 222-235) is the first known Latin writer to cite Dioscorides but, since no other late Latin authors cited him, it is possible that Martialis was using a Greek version. A suggestion that Martialis was responsible for the translation seems doubtful and is contrary to the linguistic evidence cited by Schanz, Mihaescu, Stadler, Bulhart, and Niedermann. Seemingly also, if a translation were completed by the early third century, other Latin writers would have used it.

Cassiodorus (*Institutio divinarum literarum*, c. 31) wrote: "Si vobis non fuerit graecarum litterarum nota facundia, imprimis habetis herbarium Dioscoridis qui herbas agrorum mirabili proprietate disseruit atque depinxit." This passage is cited by Hermann Stadler ("Der lateinische D.", pp. 548-549, below) to support the assertion that the Old Latin Translation was at Vivarium in the sixth century; however, Max Wellmann (PW, 11, 1135) and Pierre Paul Courcelle (below, pp. 21) believed that it is equally possible that Cassiodorus was referring to the Pseudo-Dioscorides, *Ex herbis femininis,* which was illustrated. On the other hand, Charles Singer (below, p. 21) believed that Cassiodorus was referring to a second Latin translation which he called the *Dioscorides vulgaris*; however, Singer's arguments are faulty because he says the version is represented by the Vienna palimpsest,

Ms lat. 16, ca. 600. After World War I this manuscript, which I have seen, was transferred back to Italy, and it is now in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale (Ms già Viennesi lat. 2, s. V, VIII and IX). The text is in Latin, and on fols. 62 r&v and 65 r&v beneath a Latin hand of Bobbio, there are fragments of the *Greek*, not *Latin*, text of Dioscorides. (See, Cataldus Iannellius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae quae in Regio Neapolitano Museo Borbonico adservatur*. Naples 1827, pp. 5-9; J. V. Eicherfeld, "Fragmente des Dioscorides," *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, vol. 25, Vienna 1824, 35-37). In the section below on pseudo-Dioscoridean treatises, I shall cite the evidence for believing that Cassiodorus was referring to *Ex herbis femininis*. Here it is best to mention two pieces of circumstantial evidence supporting the possibility that the Old Latin Translation was at Vivarium. Cassiodorus refers to an "herbal" which, strictly speaking, *De materia medica* is not because it describes substances from all kingdoms. But the *incipit* to the Old Latin Translation, found in Paris BN lat. 12,995, s. IX, and not known to any of the other writers, describes the work as an herbal. The second piece of evidence for supporting *De materia medica* as the object of Cassiodorus' description ("depinxit") is that, while as a general rule manuscripts of *De materia medica* are *not* illustrated and those of *Ex herbis feminimis are* illustrated, there is a single exception, namely Munich Ms 337. The illustrations in the Munich Ms are infrequent, crude and uncolored. Stadler (14, 166, below) says that the sketches derive either from nature or from the description in the text. The illustrations do not relate to the famous Juliana Codex (Vienna, NB, Ms Gk. 1) or, seemingly, to the Crateuas tradition, or to the illustrations in the *Ex herbis feminimis*. Since Munich Ms 337 is definitely of south Italian origin, it is possible that its ancestor could have been the object of Cassiodorus' remark. Courcelle (p. 403) is incorrect when he says manuscripts of *Ex herbis femininis* are without illustration. Courcelle is also in error when he says that there were three Latin translations of Dioscorides, the misunderstanding apparently stemming from H. Moerland's review of Mihaescu's book (*Gnomon*, 15 [1939], 222-224). What should have been stated is that there were three copies (Munich 337, Paris 9332 and Bern A. 91,7) of the one translation.

Rubric (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 12, 995, fol. 1). [Inc]ipit Prefatio Dioschoridis in libro De virtutibus herbarum.

Preface. [Inc.]: Multi voluerunt auctores antiqui de virtutib(us) herbarum et con[m]positiones holerum scribere et quam plurimi iuniores scholastici, amabilis Arie frat(er), temptabo et ego probare tibi in hac presentia mea et non qualia illi qui nec inicium nec finem potuerunt conplere. Sed ex istoria hoc est ex diversa instructione pando tibi et probaudiligenter [probabiliter?] ostendo et singularum rerum confectiones et pigmentorum virtutes. Nam et quae ab antiquis scripta sunt vel ex his quae probanda vel reprobanda sint diligenter tibi monstrabo. Nam Iolaos vitinienssis et Heraclides tarentinus leviter huiuscemodi tetigerunt doctrinam praetermittentes herbarum virtutes.../... [*Expl.*]:(fol. 2v) quod si ad oculorum medicamina sucos servare volueris, quae recipient in confectione sua picem liquidam vel acetum aut cedriam in vasis haeneis aut stagneis facis. Explicit epistola.

Text. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 4) (De hiri hirillirica. I, 1) Hyris illirica folia habet silfio similia sed maiora et vastiora et pinguiora floris.../... [*Expl.*]:(fol. 197) (CLXXVIII. De adremenio. Bk. V) Myrnomelani conficitur sic fumi(o) tede...dimittis quamdiu sicca ceciderit. Amen deo gratias.

Bibliography:

K. Hoffmann and T. M. Auracher began editing Munich 337 (*Romanische Forschungen*, 1 [1882], 49-105) and the project was continued by H. Stadler (*ibid.* 10 [1897], 181-247, 369-466, 11 [1899] 1-121; 13 [1902], 161-243; 14 [1903], 601-637. Stadler had the advantage of the discovery of BN 9332, which he used for editing Bks. II-V but he did not reedit Bk. I, which in Munich 337 is incomplete. Book I has been reedited by H. Mihaescu, using BN lat 9332 (and the

fragmentary Ms. Bern A 917) in *Dioscoride latino materia medica libro primo* (Iasi, Rumania, 1938). No edition has employed BN lat. 12, 995, which is the most complete copy since both BN 9332 and Munich 337 omit sections especially those on stones. For reports, see: Vinzenz Bulhart, "Lexikalisches zum Spätlatein," *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie,* 67 (1954) 145-161; Pierre Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident, de Macrobe à Cassiodore*... Rev. ed. (Paris 1948), p. 383; Gargilius Martialis, *De oleribus.* ed. Valentin Rose in his *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* (Berlin 1870) 2, 105-150; H. Mihaescu, "La versione latina di Dioscoride, tradizione manoscritta, critica del testo, cenno linguistico," *Ephemeris Dacoromana,* 8 (1938) 298-348; H. Moerland, "Review of Mihaescu...," *Gnomon,* 15 (1939) 222-224; Max Niedermann, *Recueil Max Niedermann* (Neuchatel 1954), 39-43 *et passim.;* John M. Riddle, "Dioscorides," *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* 4 (New York 1971) 119-123; Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian* (Munich 1920) 2, pt. 2, 296-298; Charles Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 47 (1927), 34-35; H. Stadler, "Lateinische Pflanzennamen in Dioskorides," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.* ed. Eduard Wölfflin. (Leipzig 1898) 2, 83-114; idem, "Der lateinische Dioscorides der Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek und die Bedeutung dieser Ueberzetzung für einen Teil der mittelalterlichen Medicin," *Janus* 4 (1899) 548-550; idem, "Der lateinische Dioscorides der Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek und die Bedeutung dieser Ueberzetzung für einen Teil der mittelalterlichen Medicin," (dif. from previous article), *Allgemeine medicinische Central-Zeitung,* 14 (1900) 165-166; 15 (1900) 179-180; Max Wellmann, "Dioscorides," (No. 12) in *Pauly-Wissowa,* 5 (1903) 1131-1142; idem, "Praefatio," *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque,* 3 vols. (Berlin 1906-1914, repr. 1958), 2, v-xxvi.

Manuscripts:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 337, s. X, 160 fols. The first folio is missing. Folio two contains a portion of the table of contents. The "Preface" beginning on fol. 2v is mutilated, and the Ms has some crude sketches of plants not related to the Dioscorides-Crateuas tradition. The date of the Ms is given by various authorities from the eighth through the tenth centuries. It was once at Monte Cassino, but sometime after 1490 it came into the possession of Marcellus Vergilius Adrianus who employed it in his commentary. For the later history of this manuscript, see p. 35 below. It passed from Marcellus to Salnuccius, to Cardinal Capuanus, to Johann Albert Widmanstad, to Landeshut, and finally to Munich. (C. Halm, *Catalogus Codicum* I, 1 62; Augusto Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)* (Rome 1956, 222-223; Konrad Hofmann and T. M. Auracher, "Der Longobardische Dioskorides des Marcellus Virgilius," *Romanische Forschungen*, 1 (1882), 49-52; for further refs. see bibl. above.)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 9332, s. IX, fols. 234-321v. *Inc.*: "xxxiii. de Balanino./Balaninum confici sic..." Missing leaves in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, A. 91. 7. According to E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*..., (Oxford 1929), p. XLII, this Paris Ms and the Bern Ms are fragments of the same corpus which contained in sequence: Oribasius, *Synopsis medica;* Alexander the medical writer, *Therapeuticon;* Dioscorides, *De materia medica*; (P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques*..., p. 383; Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 23 [1861-1862], 304; Beccaria, 157-159; Ernest Wickerheimer, *Les manuscrits latins de médecine du haut moyen age dans les bibliothèques de France* (Paris 1966) 89-93).

_____, _____, lat. 12,995, s. IX, fols. 1-197.

(L. Delisle, "Inventaire..." *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 28 (1867), 548; Beccaria, 174-5; Wickersheimer, 125-126).

Fragments of Mss.

(micro.) Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Ms A.

91, No. 7, s. X, fol. 1v-2v. Contains two leaves from Paris BN lat. 9332. Fol. lv: Incipiunt capitula Dioschoridis de virtutibus specierum. I. De hyris illirica, II. De achoru... Fol. 2; [From chap't XIX, De brion] caedria ut populi haudardini..." Fol. 2v [From chap't. XXXII, De amigdalinu] ...vino mixto tiniolas et furforis emendat. (See comments above for Paris BN lat. 9332; H. Hagen, *Catalogus,* 118-125; Beccaria, 352-353).

(micro.)_____, Ms 363, s. IX [date disputed], fols. 1v, 195-7v. Fragment of Index to Dioscorides. Fol. 1v from Book V, *Inc.:* de atramento smyrnomela...CLXXXVIII fini.../...[Expl.]: lib. quinte di... Fol. 195, *Inc.*: Dioscorides de arboribus et de herbis...

(Hagen, 347-9; Beccaria 356-8; H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärtze*, 2 vols. [Berlin 1905] 2, 3], lists a manuscript, apparently this one, as Bern Ms 525).

(micro.) Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms Hist. nat. 91, s. XI, fols. 1-4. Fragment in Lombardic script from Book 3, *Inc.:* [KB De aloen] sine lapide et rufus et fragilis et citius mittens...XXIII [KΛ ? in Munich 337]: De absentiu. Absentium omnibus notus est... [fol. 4v] XXXIIII. [Book 3.ΛH] De timmu (?). Timmu herba est...mella addito ortopnoicis et as[maticis]....

Fol. 5 begins from Book 4, no. 64 in Paris 9332, "De iosquiamo.": milace similia s[emen] nigru et folliculos...[fol. 5v] LXII. de psillion. Psillion aut quinos.../ *Expl.* [fol. 5v] "LXIII. de stringnu [Book 4, No. 66 Paris 9332]...folia eius cum pulenta. Folio 6 is a mutilated excerpt from Book 5, OB in Munich 337, "De b[v] ino tymbritem: (first two words illegible)...inest illi virtus quanta et timmino. Folio 6v is also mutilated and from Book 5 with the *expl.*: LXXXII De vino lelisfaco [Book 5, ΠB in Munich 337]...dolore renum vessice et lateris con[pescet]. The items are numbered by Roman numerals, not by Greek letters as in Munich 337. Moreover, the numbers correspond to the Roman numbers in Paris 9332. (*Verzeichnis der Handschriften im preussischen Staate*, 2, 311-2).

b. Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction

The Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction of *De materia medica* is a major revision of the Old Latin Translation with significant changes made in order to bring the text up-to-date with newer drugs, new information on old ones, deletions of previously prescribed pharmaceutical effects, revised plant descriptions, etc. The manuscripts date from the twelfth century. Dioscorides' "Preface" to *De materia medica* is the same in both the Old Latin Translation and the Latin Alphabetical Redaction. This "Preface" is included in a miscellaneous medical collection found in Bamberg Ms Med. 6, s. XIII, fols. 28v-29. The rubric says that Constantine, presumably Constantine the African (d. ca. 1085), is responsible for the alphabetical arrangement. Henry Sigerist (pp. 420-421, bibl. below) believed that, even though Constantine the African may not have been the editor, the rubric indicates that such a work was thought by the rubric's author to have come from the Salerno region.

Even though the arrangement is alphabetical, that is by first letter *only*, this version is not related to the Greek Alphabetical Redaction. Approximately 696 entries are included but the exact number will depend on the counting procedures; for instance, under "arboris" in the Latin Alphabetical Redaction there are a variety of products related to the pine tree. In comparison the Old Latin Translation has 831 chapter entries and the Greek text by Max Wellmann 827. However, a comparison of items in the Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides reveals that the version has excluded many more entries than the statistics suggest because it included entries on many new drugs, some with Arabic names, not in the Greek Dioscorides. Among the 96 items beginning with the letter "A", some fifteen are not found in Dioscorides' Greek text or the Old Latin Translation.

The Latin Alphabetical Version was not a new Latin translation from the Greek, Arabic or Hebrew but a new pharmaceutical

treatise based directly on the Old Latin Translation; and it contains a significant amount of new information on old drugs and their virtues. A majority of the entries, some fifty-four of the ninety-six "A's" for instance, take the Old Latin Translation as the basis but add to the text. Ioan. Fabricius (below) says that this version came, "non ex graeco, sed ex Arabico," a statement repeated by a number of later writers. Conrad Gesner (in: *Valerii Cordii...Annotationes...*, Strasbourg 1561) says of this version: "Petri Paduani additiones quasdam in veterem translationem Dioscoridis (quae fere integra habetur in Sylvatici Onomastico et Io. filii Serapionis libro de simplicibus) extare aiunt."

An estimated thirty percent of the text is from entirely new, undetermined sources. In a brief note in 1874, Valentin Rose (below) said that the new sources added to this version were from: "Galen. ad Paternian. = Ps.-Oribas. lat. V, Isidorus, Garg. Mart., Evax-Damigeron, Galen de simpl. VI sqq., Urivas. apla. = Ps.-Orib. lat IV etc." No further study has been done; however, in attempting to verify Rose's report, I can confirm that the editor-author employed: Oribasius, *Apla Urivasii de herbarum virtute (Euporistes)* in Latin trans.; Pseudo-Galen, *Liber de simplicibus medicaminibus ad Paternianum* in Latin; Pseudo-Apuleius, *Herbarium,* Gargilius Martialis, *Medicinae ex oleribus et pomis;* Pseudo-Hippocrates' *Dynamidia* (in several versions); Isidorus, *Origines*; Damigeron, *De lapidibus*; and Pseudo-Antonius Musa, *De herba vettonica*. Nonetheless, these sources account for only a part of the new added material and, of course, since all are Roman or early medieval Latin sources, they do not account for the new material derived from Arabic sources. In the case of the Old Latin Translation's discussion of stones in medicine, the Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction excises Dioscorides' text entirely and replaces it with Damigeron's account. This fact presumably accounts for the confusion in later writers of Damigeron with Dioscorides. For instance, when Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomaeus the Englishman cite "Dioscorides *de lapidibus*" and Arnold of Saxony "Aristotle's lapidary translated by Dioscorides," the actual source was Damigeron. (See Riddle, "Marbode," below).

Petrus Padubanensis (d. ca. 1316) reports in the preface of his gloss to the alphabetical Dioscorides that there are two arrangements of Dioscorides' books, one divided into five books, as Galen stated, but this version, he says, is rarely found (i.e., the Old Latin Translation) and it has more but shorter chapters than those in the other version. The second version, Petrus says, is arranged according to alphabetical order. Although the chapters are fewer in number, they frequently have new material added at the ends of the chapters which was placed there by the "translator" whose sources were "Galen, Pliny and others posterior to Dioscorides." Petrus' assertion is incorrect since the new information is interspersed throughout the chapters, not confined to the end, and he is wrong about the use of Pliny as a source. (See, below, p. 44.) Simon of Genoa (fl. late s. XIII, in *Opusculum*, Preface) in writing of the Alphabetical version also noted both versions: "Multa etiam capitula in hoc desunt quae ille continet; aliqua in hoc libro sunt addita quae ipsius auctoris non sunt..."

At the present state of research, it can only be stated that in the eleventh or early twelfth century an editor-author, possibly Constantine the African, revised the Old Latin Translation by alphabetizing the entries, omitting some, adding to others, and including entirely new drugs. Of the sources known, all are in Latin but a significantly large amount of the new material derives from an unknown source or sources.

A shortened version of the Alphabetical Dioscorides is found in one manuscript copy, Krakow Ms 788, s. XIV. It precedes the full text, is called the "Canons of Dioscorides," and is more elaborate than an index. The Canons identify the substances. The rubric reads: (fol. 1) "Incipint Canones Dyascoridis De simplici medicina," and the incipit is: (fol. 1) "De acoro qui dicitur herba venerea et producit florem album. De acoro herba quas habet indices...." And the explicit

has: (fol. 4) De zimziber iterum secundum folia et fructum. De zedoario. Explicit."

Preface (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms 6819, fol. 1). [*Inc.*]: Multi voluerunt auctores antiqui de virtutibus herbarum et compositione olerum scribere, et quam plurimi iuniores scolastici, sed amabilis Aerie frater, temptabo et ego probare tibi in hac presentia mea et non qualia illi qui nec initium nec finem conplere potuerunt.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 1v) quod si ad oculorum medicamina sucos servare volueris, quae recipient in confectione sua picem liquidam vel acetum aut cedriam in vasis eneis aut stagneis facis.

Text. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1v) Acorus id est herba veneria vel affrodisia vel piper apium herba est folia habens yri similia lata et oblonga et exalbida in summo tensa et acuta quasi gladius. Florem aurosum, radicem dissimilem, obtortam et non rectam geniculatam et nodosam, gustu acrem et aliqui tenus odoratam.../...[*Expl.*]: (*Zedoar.* fol. 70) Zedoar calide virtutis et viscide est unde et lumbricos occidit ructum facit et sto(macho) aptum est, cuius dolerem antiquum ieiunis (*sic*) sumptum masticatione tollitt.

Bibliography:

Ioannes A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* ...ed. Harles 4, 695; John M. Riddle, "The Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of the History of Science* (Moscow 1974) Sections III, IV, 204-209; idem, *Marbode of Rennes' De lapidibus*...(Sudhoffs Archiv, Beiheft 20), Wiesbaden, 1977 (for confusion between Dioscorides and Damigeron); Valentin Rose, "Ueber die Medicina Plinii," *Hermes* 8 (1874), 38n; Henry Sigerist, "Materia Medica in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 7 (1939), 420-421; Hermann Stadler, "Die Vorrede des lateinischen Dioskorides," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 12 (1902), 11-20 (text publ.); Max Wellmann, "Dioscorides," PW 5 (1903), 1135-1136.

Manuscripts:

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 620, s. XII, fols. 22-104v. On fols. 3-7 is a table of contents in numbered alphabetical order. Manuscript was once in possession of Ulisse Aldrovandi. (L. Frati, *Studi italiani* XVI [1908], p. 245, no. 378).

Cambridge, Jesus College Ms. Q. D. 2 [44], s. XII-XIII, fols. 17-145. Contains some marginal notes, mostly describing medical virtues outlined in the text; V. Rose ascribed the notes to Peter of Abano but they were not made by him. (M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge* [London 1895] 67-9; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York 1923) 1, 610; reported by L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits*...Rev. [Cambridge, Mass. 1963] 28, as with Peter of Abano's commentary).

(micro.) Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Ms. 788, s. XIV, fols. 4-64.

Adds the following herbs (fols. 35 r&v): *gisamia, gipserithis, gischimola, gipsam, gisex, gismela, gerbum, giorobus, gipporitum,* and *gemeocalles.* Omits the following: *herbum, hierobus, hipporis,* and *hemerocal.* (W. Wislocki, *Catalogus* 1, 243-5).

(micro.) Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Ms Ampl. F. 41, s. XIV, fols. 2-62v. Omits entries for *pirgitis, sisamorum,* and *timbra.* (W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* 151-2; erroneously reported by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* [Berlin 1905], 2, 32 as (Pseudo-) Dioscorides, *De facile parabilibus*).

(micro.) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. Voss lat. Q. 1, s. XI, fols. 1-32v. Incomplete; contains Preface and items *Acorus* through *Ficus maritima*. (Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae *Catalogus* 1, 7; *Codices Vossiani Latini* II, by K. A. De Meyier (Codices Manuscripti XIV), Leyden, 1975 p. 5-6).

New York, Pierpont-Morgan Library, Ms. 760, s. XIII, fols. 1-60v. (Seymour DeRicci, *Census* 2, 1498).

(micro.) Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario, Ms. 30, s. XIV, fols 1-116. Incomplete; on folio 91v, there is a lacuna which starts under the chapter for *peplos* ("...oxifabo uno") and the text resumes on fol. 92 under *ponfolix* with "cadimia trita ut superius dixit." Thus part of the text for *ponfolix* is

mistakenly copied under *peplos* and the chapters for *polipodium* and *policomas* are entirely omitted. The same omission is found in Paris BN 6821. Folio 112 ends "T's" with *thimus*, thereby omitting *timbra, taxus, tormenti, terra talipsos, testudinis* and *tragos*. Folio 112 adds information for *taxus*. Just as in Paris BN 6821, the text ends under *ysopum* with "...fumigationi adhibitum sonitus aurium mitigat. Amen. Explicit liber diascoridis. feliciter deo gratias. Amen." There follows a short, fifteen line treatise: Expl(icit) ventris farina si ligino vinge cum suco ebuli et melle...; and ending "...ad nascorum liga supra auriculas." (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 7).

(micro.) Paris, Arsenal Ms 979, s. XIV, fols. 112-145v. Complete preface and text. (Henry Martin, *Catalogue* 1, 204-5; erroneously reported by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* [Berlin 1905] 2, 32, as (Pseudo-) Dioscorides' *De facile parabilibus*...).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6819, s. XIII, fols. 1-70v. (*Catalogus* 4, 281; Lynn Thorndike, "Manuscripts of the Writings of Peter of Abano," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 15 [1944], 216, states incorrectly that this Ms has Peter of Abano's commentary).

_____, _____ lat. 6820, s. XIV-XV, fols. 1-72 (fols. 72v-74 are a table of contents) With Petrus Padubanensis' gloss. (*Catalogus* 4, 181; for other notices see bibl. below, II.1).

_____, _____ lat. 6821, s. XIV, fols. 1-126v. Incomplete; marginal notes number the entries in Greek letters but the numbers neither run consecutively nor do they correspond with the Greek letter numbering system of the Old Latin Translation. Text adds a chapter on "vaxus," a tree, not found in other copies. The omissions and additions are similar to Padova Ms 30 with the same ending under the entry *ysopum*:...fumigationi adhibitum sonitus aurium mitigat: Amen. Explicit liber Diascoridis feliciter. deo gratias. There follows in the same hand a short treatise: Expl. ventris farina si ligino vinge cum succo evuli...ad nascorum liga supra auriculas. Liber iste est magistri [erasure] Ego magister petrus frater praedicti scripsi. amen. Folio 127 has three illuminations of plants labelled: "anrolla id est coralio," "silemonum," and "asna bacuna." (*Catalogus* 4. 281).

(micro.) Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms 955, s. XIV, fols. 1v-183. Omits *sisamorum, vaxus, vinatia,* and *vinum mandragoratum.*

(micro.) Sankt Gallen, Vadianische Bibliothek, Ms 318, s. XIII, fols. 4v-102v. Complete preface; omits entries for *pirgitis, timbra* and *vinum mandragoratum.* (G. Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Manuscripte* 86-7; G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum qui in bibliothecis Galliae*...730; erroneously reported by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der Antiken Ärzte* (Berlin 1905) 2, 32, as (Pseudo-) Dioscorides' *De facile parabilibus*).

(micro.) San Candido—Innichen (Bolzano), Biblioteca della Collegiata, Ms. 48. VII. d. 9, s. XIII, fols. 1-134v. Adds *laudanum*; omits *alsinen, anagiros, alinea, asquiron, antilios, afroselinum, avena, batalmos, brion, balbus, bleta, bridoteris, balanus, calamus, coccus, crisocolla, crisogonom, coltico, capnos, crision, comecissos, catanance, canna, cendros, cordilion, clinopodiom, cameropa, codilion, cameleonta, cinosbatu, comarus, crisocolla, circea, coniza, cinnabi, cepea, corium, camepitis, clematis, cancalis, dipteris, dafrioides, dorignum, eupatorium, effemeron, edilops, ercinos, erifitium, eridroda, epimedium, furca, felicteron, falangion, glautium, galisobsis, gieritrias, gichia, gicimolia, giampelitis, hipporis, ion, iescollex, iacinctus, iuscalcus, licena, lochitis, leutis, leucisa* [a different text for *ligusticus*], *lactuce, leptopodion, litura, libar, limonion, lapis frigius, lapis pirrites, mali granati, mala matiana, malis cidonus, mespilla, male arboris foliorum succus, medica, miconcera, mecon, meconium, mandragora alia, melanteria, medion, oleum camomon, othoma, onomia, ochimonides, persica, piri, partemon, policomas, ponfolix, pirgitis, panax cironium, panax asclepii, pelecimis, penidiarum, pullum, quitissos, quianos, rosa, rodia, sumum, sidericis, strignus manicos,*

smilaceles, sisamus, staquin, sericis, soncis, sertula, scandix, thalsmum, taurocolla, vela, viola, xifion, yppoglossos, ydea, zormon, and *zizira*. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 140).

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms. Urb. lat. 1383, s. XII, fols. 1-116. Complete preface; text omits *sisamus, scandix* or *scintus*, and *vinum mandragoratum*. (Stornaiolo, *Codices* 3. 296. Stornaiolo states incorrectly that this version is translated from the Arabic).

Fragments:

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Ms. Med. 6 [L-III-9], s. XIII, fols. 28v-29. Contains only the Preface of *De materia medica* but Rubric states that this is to be followed by the Alphabetical Dioscorides according to Constantine. This Ms was seen by Karl Sudhoff, who signed the library register in March, 1915, and it was reported by Sudhoff's student, Henry E. Sigerist, "The Latin Medical Literature of the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 13 [1958] 133, and "Materia Medica in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 7 [1938] 420. Lynn Thorndike (*A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1. 610) reported the Ms to be the Alphabetical Dioscorides version. As noted, however, it contains only the Preface which is the same in both the Alphabetical and Old Latin versions. The rubric does, nonetheless, state that Constantine the African (d. ca. 1085) was the editor responsible for the Alphabetical edition. The codex contains other works of Constantine. The rubric reads: (fol. 28v) Incipit prologus sequentis libri per alfabetum transpositi secundum constantinum. Another treatise, immediately following Dioscorides' Preface, is not Dioscorides: (Inc.) Apoplexia morbus est capitis replens tres cellulas et verso sensus corporis...(F. Leitschuh and H. Fischer, *Katalog* 1, pt. 2, 433-5).

(micro.) Oxford, New College, Ms 168, s. XIV, fols. 159-160v. Contains Preface and entries on *acorus, asarus, amonium, aspatos, aspaltum, anagallidos, alimus, acacia, amurca* and *andrafagis* with explicit: "...dolores matris suppositum mitigat. Est eius adra..." Folio 160v is illegible. (H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus 1. 64-5).*

Doubtful or Lost Manuscript:

Venice, S. Michele di Murano, Ms. 6, s. XIII. (J. B. Mittarellius, *Bibliotheca Codicum,* col. 329-30 lists it as containing "Dioscorides de simplicibus... Incipit ab herba Achorus ad Zedea vel Zodoar," and he cites an incipit from the preface: "Etiam in ordine peccaverunt." H. Diels [*Handschriften* II,32] lists Murano 6 as being a copy of Dioscorides, *Liber parabilium remediorum* or *Euporista*.).

Editions.

1478. See above, I, 1.

1512. See above, I, 1.

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1514. See above, I, 1.

2. Hermolaus Barbarus.

The translation was probably made in 1481-82, whereas the commentary may have been added in 1489. See Hermolaus' letters to Giorgio Valla (January 8, 1489, ed. Branca, vol. 2, pp. 52-7) and to Roberto Salviati (Oct. 21, 1489, no. 115, vol. 2, pp. 32-3; cf. Zeno, vol. 2, p. 373). We learn from the attached letter of Leo X (May 20, 1516) that the work was published posthumously by Hermolaus' brother and nephew. In a dedicatory letter of Hermolaus' edition of *Castigationes Plinianae* (Rome 1493; ed. of Basel 1534), Johannes Oporinus (1507-1568) places the Dioscorides translation between Hermolaus' paraphrase of Themistius (1481) and his study of Aristotle in 1483-4. While in Padua during the summer of 1484, Hermolaus told how, at the end of the day:

> [when supper is over] close to eleven p.m., I go down into the garden or into my neighborhood; in either place, we contemplate the herbs there and we think about Dioscorides (which no doubt we will publish soon [*or* sometime (aliquando)]). In this I use up half an hour. Then I go to bed. (Hermolaus to Pontico Faccino, July 1484, vol. 2, p. 61 Branca ed. and translated by Karen Meier Reeds, "Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities," [unpubl. Harvard diss., 1975, p. 42]

The editor of the 1516 edition, Ioannes Baptista Egnatius, reports (letter attached below) that Hermolaus first made his translation and sometime later added a commentary which he called *Corollarium*. In this edition *De venenis* appears as Books Six-Eight (fols. 120-133) after Dioscorides' *De materia medica,* Bks. One-Five. At the end of Bk. VIII, there is appended a short, two-page tract: In codicibus reperiuntur et haec quae sequuntur quae tamen Dioscoridis esse non arbitror. [Inc.]: Febres Anthemis trita et cum Rosaceo diluta sanat.../...[Expl.] Parva herba. Foliis exiguis. Iocinorum vitiis utilissima et contra venena pota. *Notha* are translated by Hermolaus Barbarus and included within the text. In comparison with the Wellmann Greek text, Hermolaus Barbarbus' translation adds chapters on the following: (items marked with an asterisk are given as alternate reading by Wellmann but thought to be interpolations) *iasminum ungentum* (Book I, chapter 79 of H. B.'s text), *iberis* (I, 199), *alicacabus* (I, 200), *iecur mergi* (II, 252), **argemone altera* (II, 413), *myosotis altera* (II, 420), *arabis* (II, 423), *ruta* (III, 477—some additional text), **hieracium maius* (III, 498), **hieracium minus* (III, 499), **paeonia* (III, 587), **saxifraga* (III, 614), *britannica iterum* (IV, 610), **chrysanthemon* (IV, 669), **cynoglosson* (IV, 741), **leontopodion* (IV, 743), **bromos* (IV, 752), **cynia* (IV, 810) and *lapis aetites* (V, 995). Hermolaus Barbarus' translation omits the following chapters: αἰθυίας (II, 55 Wellmann), σισύμβιον (III, 41), ἐλξίνη (IV, 85) ἀλσίνη (IV, E6) ἐχῖνος (IV, 141), σίκυς ἥμερος (IV, 151), βολβός··ἐμετικός (IV, 156), and οἶνος θυμελαίτης (V, 68).

Chapters in Books I-V are numbered continuously. Hermolaus Barbarus is more inclined than most later translators to transliterate terms for plants and minerals. The texts that Hermolaus Barbarus employed bear resemblance to the ones Ruellius had although Ruellius employed the 1499 printed Greek edition which Hermolaus could not have seen. Hermolaus Barbarus places *bunion* (chapter 345) in Book II as does Ruellius (II, 129), but all other translators as well as Wellmann's critical Greek text, place *bunion* in Book IV (chapter 123, Wellmann ed.). In Book II, chapters 353-4 (Hermolaus) and 137-9 (Ruellius) both have in reverse the chapters on *portulaca* and *portulaca sylvestris* or Hermolaus' *andrachne* (II, 124, Wellmann ed.).

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1516). Ioannes Baptista Egnatius Venetus serenissimo et optimo principi Leonardo Lauretano, Senatuique amplissimo felicitatem. [*Inc.*]: Phocionis illius uxorem, cui probi cognomen fuit a vitae morumque sanctitate dicere solitam accepimus Princeps Serenissime.../ ...Tum supremo vitae suae tempore Dioscoridis Anazarbei libros de medicinali materia in latinam linguam felicissime vertit, et ne non vita eius proposita et addicta studio iuvandi omnes videri possit, quinque libros, quos Corollarii nomine appellari voluit, ad Dioscoridis tralationem addidit.../...Et Dioscorides quidem ipsum ita edendum volui, qualem ille suprema lima perfecerat, cui tunc ne quid deesset, annotamenta quaedam in usum etiam mediocriter eruditorum adnexui. Ut si quos librorum eorum utilitas immensa invitaret non retardaret interim obscuritas, simul et studio meo praecurreret delicato etiam lectori et saepe ad levissima quaeque nauseanti. In Corrollarium ante libros praefationes quae desiderari videbantur, tantum addidi.../... [*Expl.*]: quando te ipso superstite et incolumi Senatu de totius orbis salute christianoque nomine optime sperandum sit. Bene ac feliciter vale.

Papal privilege. Leo Papa X [*Inc.*]: Universis et singulis praesentes litteras inspecturis Salutem...Cum dilecti filii Aloisius et Franciscus Barbarus cives Veneti Dioscoridis libros a graeco in latinum sermonem a bo. me. Hermolao Barbaro Patriarcha Aquileiensi homine doctissimo, et eruditissimo versos, eiusdemque Hermolai Corollarium edere in manus hominum statuerint ac propterea ut quam emendatissimi edantur, conductis a se impressoribus nec impensae dispendiisve ullis nec plane diligentiae sint parsuri, Nos ratum existimantes, ut si qui fructus percipi ex eo labore possunt, ii ad ipsos potius quam

ad alienos deferantur, tum ut eius rei cura apud illos maneat, qui eam propterea, quod Hermolaus ipse alteri eorum frater, alteri patruus fuit, caeteris studiosius exercebunt.../...[*Expl.*]: Datam Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris. Die xx, Mai. M. D. XVI. Pontificatus Nostri Anno III. Bembus.

A short poem in Greek follows which is dedicated to Dioscorides and edited by Egnatius.

Dioscorides, *De materia medica*. Preface. [*Inc.*]: Cum multi non modo veterum sed recentium quoque auctores sint qui medicamenta ipsa quas nam haberent virtutes: et quae praeparandi ea ratio foret.../...[*Expl.*]: Nam aenea medicinis oculorum et quibuscunque liquentibus privatim dicantur, et iis, quae aceto, aut pice liquida, aut cedria condiuntur. Medullae, seuum, adipes, plumbo albo praeclare custodientur.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: (Iris Illyrica, fol.1). Iris, alii iris illyrica: alii thalpide: alii Urania hoc est coelestis: alii cathaeron: alii thaumastos hoc est admirabilis: Romani radix murica: alii gladiola: alii opertrites: alii consecratrix: Aegyptii nar, ab arquu coelesti nomen accepit. Folia habet gladiolii, maiora dumtaxat, latioraque atque pinguiora. Flores in caule ipso alternis semper caliculis inflexos, diversi coloris specie, candidos, pallidos.../... [*Expl.*]: (Liber V. 1017; V. 162 Wellmann ed.; fol. 120.) Atramentum Scriptorum... Ambustis igni cum aqua illinitur crasso tectorio: Nec removetur donec persanet. Quoniam continuo curatis ulceribus sponte decidet.

Bibliography:

Karen Meier Reeds, "Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities," (Cambridge, Mass., unpubl. Harvard diss., 1975) p. 42; the same, "Renaissance Humanism and Botany," *Annals of Science* 33 (1976), 519-542.

Edition:

1516: See above I, 2.

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

1492. See above I, 2.

1540. See above I, 2.

Biography:

See p. 343 below.

3. Johannes Ruellius

Ruellius completed his translation of the *De materia medica* at Paris in 1516 according to the Dedication (see below). His translation included the Pseudo-Dioscoridean treatise *De venenis* as Books VI-IX of *De materia medica*. Here Ruellius followed the same arrangement of Dioscorides as that of the Aldine Greek edition of 1499. Ruellius included the *Notha* as part of Dioscorides' text, again following the Aldine edition. After Ruellius' translation and Hieronymus Roscius' objection (before 1518) to the *Notha* in a corrected Aldine Greek edition of 1518, many publishers removed the *Notha* completely from Ruellius' translation while others placed them separately at the end. Ruellius also attached to the end a translation of the *Adscripta* which are notes on some fifteen herbs published in the 1499 Aldine edition, also at the end, but acknowledged as not being by Dioscorides. Some later publishers and editors who removed the *Notha* from Ruellius' translation integrated the *Notha* and *Adscripta* into one text. Under each edition below the publishers' practice in respect to the *De venenis, Notha* and *Adscipta* will be noted insofar as the information is available.

Ruellius was apparently unfamiliar with Hermolaus Barbarus' translation, published earlier in the year. Ruellius relied on the Aldine edition, but he stated in his prefatory letter that he had used an old Paul of Aegina codex for *De venenis*. Given Ruellius' reputation as a manuscript collector, it is curious that he had not seen manscript copies of Dioscorides.

Ruellius' translation was often revised. Described below will be (a) the original version of Ruellius in various forms, (b) the version corrected by Jacobus Goupylus, (c) the revision attached by Petrus Andreas Matthiolus to his commentary. In the Paris 1537 edition there is a claim both on the title page and in Corronius' dedicatory letter (see citation below, p. 64) that Ruellius himself contributed a revision with the assistance of Corronius. The extent or accuracy of the claim is unclear.

In comparison to Wellmann's Greek edi-

tion, Ruellius added the following chapters: (items marked with an asterisk are noted by Wellmann as a variant reading but believed by him to be interpolations) *pseudocasia* (I, 13); *pseudocinnomonum* (I, 15); *iasminum ungentum* (I, 76); *iberis* (I, 187); *halicacabus* (I, 188); *mergi iecur* (II, 51); *phasiolum* (II, 118); *bunion* (II,129, cf. with IV, 125: *bunion napus genus*); **altera argemone* (II, 197); *muris auricula altera* (II, 204); **hieracium magnum* (III, 70); **hieracium parvum* (III, 71); **delphinium* (III, 82); **paeonis* (III, 159); *vetonica* (IV, 3); **saxiphraga* (IV, 18); *erinus* (IV, 32); **chrysanthemon* (IV, 61); **cynocrambum* (IV, 202); and *lapis acetites* (V,152). Ruellius omits: αἰθυίας (II, 55 Wellmann ed.); σισύμβριον (III, 41); λιβανωτίς (III, 74); ἑλξίνη (IV, 85); κῆμος (IV, 133); and ἐχίνος (IV, 141). Ruellius is the only Renaissance translator to include βολβὸς ἐμετικός (IV, 156 W.) which he renders *bulbus vomitorius* (IV, 162).

Ruellius brought to his translation three special interests with a talent in each: classical study, medicine, and botany. He was more inclined to translate rather than simply transliterate technical terms, especially ones for plants, than was Hermolaus Barbarus.

a. (1) Ruellius' original translation.

Dedication (of Paris, 1516). Ioannes Ruellius Suessionensis Antonio Disomo Regio Consiliario Utriusque Linguae Peritissimo. S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Cum saepe mecum reputarem humanissime simul ac eruditissime Antoni Disome omnium ferme disciplinarum conditionem, illud imprimis cum admiratione michi, tum miseratione dignum occurrebat, quod saluberrimae humano generi artes vel divinitus nobis datae, vel mortalium studio adinventae, ita affectae iaceant, ut ad interitum spectare videantur. Quibus olim excolendis veteres usque eo diligentiam omnem et operam impenderunt, ut intentatum nihil indiscussumque reliquerint. Etenim per aliquot iam saecula, et qui discunt et qui docent, neglecta vera liberalium scientiarum maiestate, ad echinatas captionum cavillationumque argutias divertentes, dici docti haberique quam esse malunt. Quod ut in caeteris ferri dissimularique fas sit, in ea tamen arte nefarium est, quae ad tuendam salutem hominum nata, incorrupta semper augustaque esse debet. Quae tamen fere iam inde ab avorum nostrorum memoria tam turpi ac desidioso consensu deserta exolevit, ut verear ne flagitiosa fortasse suis professoribus aut inhonesta videatur, qui principem eius partem quae cognitione delectuque medicamentorum constat, vel rei difficultate deterriti, vel ingenio diffisi, vel iudicio lapsi, a se abdicarunt, rudique medicamentariorum ministerio delegarunt, existimantes fortasse dignitati amplitudinique suae non parum detractum iri suamque auctoritatem elevari, si ea ipsi tractent, quorum officinae sibi iam cognitionem vendicarunt, cum caeteri artifices ignominiosum sibi esse putent, si imprudentes sui negocii conspiciantur, aut universam instrumentorum supellectilem non plane ac memoriter teneant. Proinde ars illa praestantissima, sine qua natura manca merito ac mutila esse censetur, priscis temporibus clara et percelebris, literarumque monumentis diligentissime tradita, posterioribus saeculis adeo a se ipsa degeneravit, ut simulacrum eius tantum, vel potius umbra nomenque remanserit. Quippe cum olim herbarii iidem atque medici essent, scidit inde se studium, hominumque inertia simul et incuria factum est, ut ab iis destituta quorum erat propria, circulatorum ne dicam impostorum praeda facta fuerit. Cum igitur pluribus scriptorum monumentis admonerer, apud antiquos gloriae fuisse simplicium curam, ac memorabiles illos Graecorum duces hoc illustri studio semper floruisse, huic parti ruinosae, nutanti brevique casurae adhibendam esse manum duxi. Nec aliud occurrebat praesentius auxilium, ut a mediis ignorantiae tenebris assereretur, ac errores expiari innumeraque monstra domari possent, quam ut ea quae graecis literis hac de re tradita erant, latinis illustrarentur, ac quae sine gravi pernicie dissociari non poterant, a caeteris medicinae partibus avulsa, suo corpori restituerentur. Pedacium igitur Dioscoridem praestantissimum huiusce partis

auctorem, tot saeculorum suffragiis comprobatum, pro mediocritate nostra latinitate donavimus, tuoque nomini dicamus, quia te acerrimi iudicii virum, omnium bonarum literarum ac utriusque linguae studiosissimum cognovimus, nec parum laudis tibi ex ea re peperisti. Simul ut extaret pignus mutuae inter nos benivolentiae, simul ut mortales officio cumulatiore demereremur. Quod quidem opus non parvo sane negotio a nobis elucubratum, veluti primitias industriae nostrae et maioris laboris praeludium laeta fronte suscipias...Quae vero meae partes fuerunt, quoniam in propria harena, ut dicitur, versari videbar, cum sim professione medicus, dedi operam, utinam et praestiterim, uti omnia ex fide responderent, et ut latina oratio graeci auctoris sensum fideliter redderet, ne absurda peregrinitas medicinam quoquomodo pollueret, etiam si res ipsa elegantiam ac nitorem non facile admittat. Curavi praeterea ut idem utrobique sensus servaretur, nulla vocum novitas, nec trivialia verba aut exposita, quibus quaerendis Latinos fere omnes evolvimus. Cum vero latina me defecerunt, graecis quidem et fere iam receptis uti malui, quam vova (*sic*: nova) aut barbara licenter admittere. Sed nihil aeque me torsit quam veterum manuque exaratorum exemplarium inopia (illud enim tantum nactus sum quod bibliopolae typis excusum circumferunt) in quo permulta manifestissime depravata ex varia auctorum lectione, et praesertim in libris venenorum ex vetustissimo Pauli Aeginetae codice ad pristinam syncaeritatem restituimus, In quibus studiosos omnes rogatos velim ut boni consulant. Vale Parisiis. Calendis Maii. Anno Domini. M. D. XVI.

There follows a four-line Greek poem and a six-line Latin hexastichon to the reader by Iacobus Musurus Rhodius and a hendecasyllabic by Io. Oliverius Abbas S. Medardi Suessionensis which addresses Dioscorides as translated into Latin by Ruellius.

Dioscorides. *De materia medica. Praefatio* [*Inc.*]: Quamquam amicissime Ari, complures non veterum modo, sed recentiorum quoque de medicamentorum compositione, viribus atque probatione commentati sunt, nobis tamen nec vanum, nec a ratione.../ ...(*Expl.*]: aut cedria, componuntur. Adipem autem et medullas stagneis vasis recondi convenit.

Liber I, 1, [*Inc.*]: Iris ab aliquibus illyrica, ab aliis thelpide, ab aliis urania, a nonnullis cathaeron aut thaumastos, a romanis marica radix, a quibusdam gladiola, ab aliis consecratrix, ab aetyptiis nar appellatur. A coelestis arcus similitudine nomen accepit. Folia fert gladiolae, sed maiora, latiora, et pinguiora. Flores summo caule, alterno situ incurvi evariant. Siquidem candidi, pallentes, lutei,.../...[*Expl.*]: (Liber V, 174; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) De atramento librario...non pro operis modo, quem destinaveramus sed pro materiae et auxiliorum medicinalium copia.

De venenis is added to *De materia medica* and follows as Libri VI-IX. See below, p. 119.

a. (2) Translation with *Notha* removed.

De materia medica. Liber I, 1 (ed. of Basel, 1542) [*Inc.*]: Iris a coelestis arcus similitudine nomen accepit. Folia fert gladioli, sed maiora, latiora, et pinguiora. Flores a caule...

a. (3) *Adscripta* when not integrated with *Notha.*

Running title (ed. of Paris, 1516). Adscripta.

Rubric. Quae sequuntur non videntur esse Dioscoridis.

Text. [*Inc.*]: (*De rhamno.*) Rhamnum si quis eruat silente luna, et secum ferat, contra venena et improbos homines proderit. Pecoribus iuvandis appenditur. Navigiis circumponi solet. Valet contra capitis dolores et laruas. (De Artemisia.) Artemisiam herbam si quis teneat.../...[*Expl.*]: (De Helleborine.) Frutex est exiguus, minimis foliis constans. Bibitur contra omne venenum et iocineris vitia. Herbs included are: rhamnum, artemisia, pentadactylum, verbenaca, dictammum, salvia, cupressus, centarium, bubphthalmum, paeonia, moly, marina, quaercu, chrysanthemon, erysimon, and helleborine.

a. (4) *Notha* when separated from text and integrated with *Adscripta.*

(ed. of Basel, 1542). [*Inc.*]: Iris ab aliquibus illyrica, ab aliis thelpide, ab aliis urania, a nonullis cathaeron aut thaumastos, a Romanis marica radix, a quibusdam gladiola, ab aliis opertritos, ab aliis consecratrix, ab Aegyptiis nar appellatur.../...[*Expl.*]: (De Helleborine.) Frutex est exiguus, minimis foliis constans. Bibitur contra omne venenum, et iecinoris vitia.

Editions:

1516, [Paris] In officina Henrici Stephani. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-141. *Notha* in text. *Adscripta*, fols. 156v-157v. Panzer VIII, 32, No. 872; Renouard, Estienne 1, 18-9; Pritzel 2302; Durling 1139; NUC. Wellcome; (CNLM; CtY-M; OCU).

1526, Bonon[iae] (Bologna): Apud Cynthium Achillium. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-254v. *Notha* in text. *Adscripta*, fols. 282v-283v. Panzer IX, 414, No. 143b; NUC. BM; (DNLM; PPC).

(micro.) 1527, [Venice]: Per Io. Antonium et Fratres de Sabio. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-190v. *Notha* in text. *Adscripta*, vols. 211v.-212v. t.p.: "suis erroribus castigati atque noviter impressi." Panzer VIII, 506, No. 1426; Durling 1143; NUC. (DNLM; CtY).

1529: See above I, 3.

1537, Parisiis (Paris): Apud Simonem Colinaeum. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-229. *De venenis* as Bk. VI, fols. 239v-246. *Notha* and *Adscripta* at end. Graesse 2, 403; Renouard, *Colines* 277-8; Durling 1146; NUC. BM; Uppsala; (DNLM; CtY-M; MH-A).

1537: See above I, 4.

1538: See above I, 5.

1539: See above I, 4.

1542: See above I, 4.

1543: See above I, 6.

(micro.) 1543, Lugduni (Lyons): Ioannes et Franciscus Frellonii. Bks. I-V, pp. 1-554. *De venenis* as Bk. VI. *Notha* and *Adscripta* at end, unnumbered pages. Graesse 2, 403; Choulant 1, 80; Durling 1150; Pritzel 2306; NUC. (DNLM).

1546: See above I, 7.

1547(1): See above I, 7.

1547(2): See above I, 7.

1549: See above I, 8.

1550: See above I, 10.

1550: See above I, 7.

1551: See above I, 10.

1552: See above I, 10.

1554: See above I, 7.

(Reported by Y. Tito) 1555, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Ioan. Franciscum de Babiano (Colophon: Excudebat Iacobus Faure). Bks. I-V, pp. 1-487. *De venenis* as Bk. VI, pp. 488-543. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, 7, 195. Montpellier, Faculté de médecine.

1583: See above I, 14.

(*) 1586, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Alexandrum Marsilium Lucensem. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise* 2, 170.

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

1545: See above I, 8.

1593: See above I, 10.

b. Jacobus Goupylus' corrections of Ruellius' translation.

Iacobus Goupylus' corrections of Ruellius' translation were published in two identical issues in Paris, 1549, one by Petrus Haultinus and the other by Arnoldus Birkmanius. An improved Greek text is printed parallel to the translation. The need for a new Greek text and translation is explained in the prefatory letter (below) by Franciscus Fontanonus. Goupylus made changes throughout Ruellius' translation. He placed the plant *bunion* (Bk. II, 129 in Ruellius' 1516 Paris edition) in Book IV, 129, and he omitted Ruellius' entries *sativi cucumeris* (IV, 157) and *bulbus vomitorius* (IV, 162) as well as earlier printed Greek texts for these plants. On fols. 391v-2 there is a chapter on *iasminum* which Goupylus said Ruellius omitted but "we have found it" in an old codex. Goupylus also had commentary, see below, p. 81. The *Notha* are printed at the end.

Preface (1549, 1, Paris ed. by Petrus Haultinus). Fanciscus Fontanonus Monspessulensis Φιλιάτροις. [*Inc.*]: Magna profecto habenda gratia, et bene praecandum his hominibus est, qui operam, studium, cogitationes denique omnes eo conferunt, ut veteres scriptores enarrent. Ab his enim non minus beneficium accepimus, quam si ὥσπερ

νεκρομαντίᾳ τινί eos nobis excitarent, a quibus ad omnem humanitatem informaremur, cum nihil aliud sit audire eum, qui Hippocratis, Platonis, Aristotelis, et Galeni scripta ita enarret, ut mentis eorum sensum aperiat, quam eos loquentes adhuc audire: quod Iac. Sylvium Lutetiae professorem Regium, Ioan. Schironium, Anto. Saportam, Guill. Rondolletium, Petr. Guichardum Monspess. medicos eximios facere quotidie experimur. Quibus Iacobum Goupylum annumerandum putamus, qui Socratis illud apud Xenophontem probe tenens..., praeterquam quod bonos auctores nobis interpretatur, diligentissime etiam conquisitis vetustis exemplaribus eorum scripta magna fide ita emendat, ut in eis tuto versari possimus. Cuius rei fidem facit Dioscorides, ita ab eo suo nitori restitutus, ut de alio non melius, quae ad materiam medicam pertinent, discere possimus. Itaque hos bonos et doctos viros amemus, colamus, et observemus atque tandem non opinione, sed firma persuasione imbuamur, ut ab iis pendeamus, qui vetustate quandam auctoritatem praese ferunt, et certa scribendi ratione rectissime nos informant. Dioscoridem igitur verissimum fidelissimumque plantarum descriptorem, tam bene castigatum, pulchreque expressum diligenter legamus, eiusque perdoctum explanatorem beneuole attenteque audiamus. Bene Valete. Ex Lutetia Parisiorum ad III. Cal. Augusti.

Dioscorides, *Praefatio* (italics represent changes from the original text of Ruellius). [*Inc.*]: Quanquam amicissime Ar*ee* [Ruellius: Ari], complures non veterum modo, sed recentiorum quoque de medicamentorum compositione, viribus atque probatione commentati sunt, nobis tamen nec vanum nec a ratione.../...[*Expl.*]: aut cedria, componuntur. Adipem autem et medullas stagneis vasis recondi convenit.

Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: Iris a coelestis arcus similitudine nomen accepit. Folia fert gladioli, sed maiora, latiora, et pingiora. Flores *in* caule *aequalibus inter se spatiis distant,* incurvi, *varii*. Siquidem candidi, pallentes, lutei.../...[*Expl.*]: (Liber V, 183; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *Atramentum librarium*... Caeterum habes amicissime Ar*ee* [Ari] fere [abunde] qua*e* tradenda duximus pro operis modo, quem destinaveramus *et* [sed pro] materiae [et] auxiliorum*que* medicinalium copia.

Editions:

1549 (1): See above I, 9.

1549 (2): See above I, 9.

c. Petrus Andreas Matthiolus' corrections.

Credit is not given to Ruellius on any of the title pages of the many editions of Matthiolus's commentary to Dioscorides. This has led many to believe that Matthiolus translated Dioscorides, though Matthiolus himself acknowledges in a lengthy dedicatory letter his use of Ruellius' translation. (Letter quoted in part below, p. 194.) Although Matthiolus said that he consulted Hermolaus Barbarus' and Marcellus Vergilius' translations, he indicated Ruellius' was the one he would use because "...eius conversio omnibus facta sit vulgatior, ac frequentior in studiosorum manibus versetur. (Venice, 1554, fol. [α 7])." Consequently he states: "Fateor ingenue me Ruellii versionem secutum esse...(*ib.*)." Matthiolus "modernized" Ruellius translation: "Adde etiam, quod haec communi fere, medicorum praesertim, iudicio praeferatur, cui nimirum nobis quoque libuit subscribere (*ib.*)." Further, he says: "Satis enim fore putavi, si hic studiosos certiores facerem, me Ruellio Dioscoridis conversionem acceptam referre, si praeterea rationem reddidissem, cur illi non semper addictus esse voluerim (*ib.*)." The changes in Ruellius' text, however, are modest and few. The Latin edition of Matthiolus' version of Ruellius and his Latin commentary appeared in 1554 and, as suggested in a letter dated January 1, 1554, both the text and the commentary were probably written at Görz. In most editions there are extensive woodcuts drawn by Giorgio Liberale and cut by Wolfgang Meierpeck, with some variation appearing in various Latin and vernacular editions. The *Notha* and *Adscripta* are omitted from all editions except that of Lyon, 1554; Ruellius' translation of *De venenis* is always included as additional books to *De materia medica.* Ruellius' chap-

ters on *pseudocasia* and *pseudocinnomum* (I, 13 & 15) are dropped throughout. Matthiolus used the Goupylus revision of the Ruellius translation, perhaps in the edition of Paris, 1549.

Dioscorides. *Praefatio. De materia medica* (edition of Venice 1554). [*Inc.*]: (italisized portions represent changes from Ruellius' text) Quanquam, amicissime A*ree*, complures non veterum modo, sed recentiorum quoque, de medicamentorum compositione, viribus, atque probatione *scripserunt* [commentati sunt]; nobis tamen nec vanum, nec a ratione.../...[*Expl.*]: aut cedria, componuntur. Adipem autem. et medullas stagneis vasis recondi convenit.

Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: Iris a coelestis arcus similitudine nomen accepit. Folia fert gladioli, sed maiora, latiora, et pinguiora. Flores in *summitate cuiusque caulis*, aequalibus inter se *spatiis distant*, incurvi, *varii*, siquidem candidi, pallentes, lutei.../...[*Expl.*]: (Liber V, 140; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *Atramentum librarium*...duximus [Ruellius addit: *non*] pro operis modo, quem destinaveramus, et materiae [Ruellius: *sed pro materiae*], auxiliorum*que* medicinalium copia.

Editions:

1554, Venice: See above, I, 11.

1554, Lyons: See above, 1, 12.

1558, 1559, 1560, 1563, 1565, 1569, 1570, 1583, 1598, 1674: See above, I, 11.

Doubtful or rejected editions:

1557, 1562, 1571, 1593, 1604, 1678: See above, I, 11.

Biography:

Johannes Ruellius Suessionensis (Jean Ruel or du Ruel) was born in Soissons around 1474 (George Gibault gives 1479) of a family assumed to be well-to-do since Ruellius' humanist passion for collecting books and manuscripts required large support. Supposedly he was self-taught. Little is known of his life, and it is uncertain when he moved from Soissons to Paris where he spent the remainder of his life or when he married. He became a doctor regent on June 27, 1502, although the date 1508 is also given. He was a friend of Guillaume Budé. Refusing a call as physician in ordinary to the King Francis I and the Queen Mother, Louise, he later became a *doyen* of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris (November 3, 1508—November 3, 1510) where one of his pupils was Andreas Lacuna. He pursued the studies of both medicine and natural philosophy, especially botany. Following the death of his wife, he entered the services of Etienne Poncher, bishop of Paris and protector of science. He died of a stroke on September 24, 1537, while a canon of Notre-Dame and is buried in the cathedral.

Works: *Scribonii Largi de compositionibus medicamentorum liber unus,* Paris 1528; *Veterinariae medicinae libri II* (a Latin translation of Greek veterinary texts dedicated to Francis I), Paris 1530, and a later edition in Basel 1537; *Interpretatio latina Anatolii de mulo-medicina,* Basel 1530; *De natura stirpium libri tres* (dedicated to Francis I), Paris 1536, Basel 1537; *Prima (-secunda) pars de natura stirpium libri tres,* 3 vols., Paris 1538; *In Ruellium de stirpibus epitome...*, Paris 1539, etc.; *In P. Virg. Maronis moretum scholia...*, Paris 1542; trans. Pollydore Vergile, *Le hystoriographe...*, Paris 1544; trans., Actuarius, *De medicamentorum compositione* (edited by D. Corronius), Paris 1539.

Bibl.: *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* 4, 916; P. Delaunay, in: *Dictionnaire des lettres francaises...: Le seizième siècle*, Ed. G. Grente (Paris 1951) 622; Se. Dupetit-Thousars, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne,* 2nd ed. (Paris 1880) vol. 37, 43-44; Paulus Freher, *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum* (Nüremberg 1688) 1223-4; Paul Jovet and J. C. Mallet, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 11, 594-5; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg 1854-7; repr. Amsterdam 1965) 4, 249-53; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 5, 463-4.

4. Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus

Following a long time interest in Dioscorides, Marcellus Virgilius completed his translation and commentary by October 15,

1518, according to the colophon of the editio princeps, with the project itself taking Marcellus three years, according to his prefatory letter in the same 1518 edition (see letter below). He worked in Florence. W. Ruediger, Marcellus' biographer (*Marcellus Virgilius*..., p. 1) reports that Marcellus' intention to translate Dioscorides was formed when he was a student.

The translation received mixed reviews. In the Preface to *Hecuba et Iphigenia Euripidis Erasmo interprete* (Florence 1518), Ant. Varchiensis stated: "Nos ergo, qui semper studiosis prodesse quoquomodo voluimus, ad meliorem ipsorum frugem nuper Dioscoridae Anazarbei de Medica materia libros, interprete Marcello Virgilio Secretario Florentino, viro nostri saeculi literaturae nobilitate clarissimo, edidimus, grave quidem opus, et in quo multum excusores laboraverint... (see A. M. Bandini, *Juntae,* vol. 1, 38-45, 126). But to Varchiensis' praise is added the severe criticism of Johannes Manardus who wrote a letter, subsequently published (see below, p. 150), to Marcellus in 1519 from Ferrara. Although Manardus closed his letter on a note of praise, he was highly critical of Marcellus' translation. Marcellus wrote a defense of his work, apparently to Manardus, which he dated March 8, 1520, at Florence. The letter is now in Milan, Ambrosiana, Ms. S 81 Sup., fols. 192-197v, and begins: "Egregie vir etc. Post tres annos, a quo tempore quum in agrum ab urbe proficiscerer, importune ad equo lapsus sinistraque corporis parte laesus, et altero oculo paene captus, nondum convaluissem, de Dioscoride, qui tunc a me edebatur, hoc primum a te iudice eius audio; credebamque ego non placuisse eius rei peritis, qualis tu es, laborem illum meum sapienteque censura ab illis damnari." (Bandini, *Juntae* 1, 41, writes: "Hisce observationibus longa Epistola ms. apud nos repondidt *Marcellus,* quae ita incipit: Ioanni Manardo *Medico Ferrariensi* Marcellus Virgilius *salutem.* Egregie vir...." However, in the Milan MS I could find no such statement as to whom it was addressed.) In his letter Marcellus specifically defends his translation. On folio 195v, Marcellus wrote: "Nos enim Dioscoridem interpretamur, et quae in eo recte legenda sunt vertimus, non medicinam docemus nec precepta eius artis prosequimur." Ruediger (p. 18) quotes from a letter of Marcellus to Manardus (Florence Bibl. Riccardiana MS 767) in which Marcellus says he had not answered earlier because he had been kicked by a horse. He defended his translation and said: "Ego enim Dioscoridem interpretatus sum, non Galenum, et alios illi concordes efficere studium mihi <non?> fuit." Manardus wrote and published two letters, one written not earlier than 1521, probably in 1522, and the other dated January 15, 1523, which continued his criticisms of Marcellus' translation of Dioscorides (see below, p. 151).

Marcellus had in his library a manuscript copy of the Old Latin Translation, now Munich 337. On folio 160 of Munich 337, inside the back cover, there is written: "Idem Marcellus Vergilius in praefatione super translat. Dioscoridis Florentiae anno 1510 in folio edita: habuisse nos tamen eius antiquissimum codicem Longobardis literis scriptum antiquitate egregium, et ob id saltem multifaciendum monumentum: quod quantus quondam Dioscorides fuerit, inculte quidem sed multa fide ostendit." If the reading of 1510 is correct, someone, perhaps Joh. Albert. Widmansted a later owner of the MS, thought Marcellus' Preface was done in that year. On the cover a note by Widmansted reads: "f. °64 et 102 indubie collige hunc codicem fuisse Marcelli Virgilii quem R^{mus} Cardinalis Capuanus a Salnuccio Sangeminianensi dono acceptum mihi in testamento reliquit." And on folio 32: "ubi cum hoc libro confer commentaria Marcelli"; and, immediately following in another hand: "Haec I. A. Widestadius (sic)." In his Preface, Marcellus wrote of the manuscript (see below). The MS is believed to have been at Monte Cassino, sometime prior to Marcellus' possession of it, but how it came into his hands is unknown. Throughout Marcellus' commentary to Dioscorides there are references to "antiquissimus latinus Dioscorides longobardicis litteris

scriptus".

Marcellus includes the treatise(s) *De venenis* as Book Six. In his translation Marcellus includes the *Notha* as part of the text although some later editions placed the *Notha* portion within brackets. In comparison with Wellmann's Greek text, Marcellus adds the following entries: (those marked with an asterisk are said by Wellmann to be interpolations) *iasminum ungentum* (I, 68 of Cologne ed., 1539); *hiberida* (I, 151); *phasiolum* (II, 99); **altera argemone* (II, 168); *muris auricula* altera (II, 176); *hieracium maius* (III, 66); **hieracium minus* (III, 66); **delphinium* (III, 73); **glycysidis sive paeonia* (III, 140); *clematis* altera (IV, 8); **saxifraga* (IV, 17); *aquaticum ocimoides* (IV, 30); **chrysanthemon* (IV, 56); **cynoglossum* (IV, 124); **bromos* (IV, 137); **cynia brassica* (IV, 184); and *lapis aetites* (within V, 100). And he omits the following: αἰγῶν ὄνυχες (II, 44, Wellmann ed.); ἧπαρ αἰγὸς (II, 45); ἧπαρ κάπρου (II, 46); κυνὸς λυσσῶντος ἧπαρ (II, 47); αἰθυίας (II, 55); σήψ (II, 65); ἀνδράχνη (II, 124—a portion of text dealing with a wild variety); σισύμβριον (III, 41); ἐλξίνη (IV, 85); ἀλσίνη (IV, 86); κῆμος (IV, 133); ἐχῖνος (IV, 141); σίκυς ἥμερος (IV, 151); βολβὸς ἐμετικός (IV, 156); and κληματίς (IV, 180). All editions except two publish Marcellus' commentary along with the translation.

The *editio princeps* was edited by Johannes Baptista Egnatius who had previously edited and commented on Hermolaus Barbarus' translation-commentary on Dioscorides.

An abridged version of Marcellus' translation found in a manuscript copy is discussed below (b), following the description of the complete version.

a. Complete Version.

Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus, Statement to the Reader (ed. of Florence, 1518). Quae legentes novisse toto hoc opere et meminisse oportet haec sunt. [*Inc.*]: Difficilem in quotidiana multiplicique naturae varietate fuisse semper et adhuc esse plantarum et medicae materiae disciplinam. Temporibus siquidem locis annorum temperamentis humana cultura et ad utramque partem continuo naturae motu variatae raro easdem se undique ostendunt. Accessisse naturae difficultatibus his diversas gentium indicationes, quibus quod alioquin idem naturae semper fuit diversum et aliud seapenumero a scriptoribus creditum est. Auxisse postremo et paulo minus quam inextricabiles tam multas difficultates fecisse novam posteriorum scriptorum medicinam, quae mixtis cum antiquis graecorum vocibus barbaris appellationibus suis quid qualeve hoc aut illud in antiquis scriptoribus fuerit aegre cognoscendum reliquit. Nocuisse illi etiam herbariorum in observando, medicorum in censendo, librariorum vero in exscribendo duas bonarum artium maximas labes negligentiam et imperitiam, quorum illi plantarum similitudine aliqua nec observatis quamdiu et quomodo oportebat earum notis, ceteri vocum et rerum ignorantia decepti plurima in disciplina hac adeo miscuerunt ut in plantis et medicae materiae cognitione et usu non respondeant aliquando notae, discrepet historia, fallat experientia, graecorum fides hoc, posteriorum auctoritas et usus illud magis ostendat et probet eamque ob causam in docendis huiuscemodi ad officium et laudem satis conantibus solam fuisse semper et posthac fore voluntatem merito aliquis crediderit. Docuisse multos per tempora medicam materiam et quae simplicia posteriores nominaverunt, graecos, latinos et barbaros, sed omnium certissime et optime, testantibus id cunctis graecorum medicis Galenoque presertim, Pedacium Dioscoridem Anazarbeum, esseque hunc quem illi tantopere laudant et caeteris anteponunt, recepta ab illis et in commentariis suis exscripta tota aliquando eius decreta manifeste indicant. Posseque id inter latinos ex Plinio etiam manifeste deprehendi. Nullum aut exiguum interpretibus eius futurum aetate hac nostra laborem, si integer et qualis quondam legebatur antiquus hic scriptor ad nos pervenisset. Turbasse infinitis pene locis intellectum eius praeteritorum temporum iniurias, quibus miscente humanas res fortuna, perierunt in graecis non minus quam in latinis, quae optima in doctrinis legeban-

tur. Turbasse itidem professorum ignorantiam et sine antiquo illo ingenii cultu tractatas ubique bonas artes. Nocuisse postremo quod vix credat aliquis, superstitionem, cuius importuno studio translata, addita mutataque toto Dioscoridis opere multa fuerunt. Circumferri passimque inter latinos legi aliquot nunc eius interpretationes. Antiquam, cui praeter alia quae habet inutilia, incredibile est quas tenebras obduxerit posteriorum medicorum continuum et importunum quoddam studium adiiciendi in dies aliorum commentariis, dum collecta simul et parata eodem loco omnia habere volunt, quae ab aliis pro eadem re dicta aliquando fuerint. Habuisse nos tamen eius antiquissimum codicem longobardis litteris scriptum, antiquitatis egregium et ob id saltem multifaciendum monumentum, quod quantus quondam Dios(corides) fuerit, inculte quidem, sed multa fide ostendit. Quoque minus elegantioris ornatus in eo erat, eo plus fidei nobis et veritatis habuit. Legi post hanc et in manibus omnium triennio iam esse *quam Suessionensis Ruellius in* [erased in 1518 DNLM copy] Gallia a se confectam aedidit. Legi itidem quam Aquilegiensis Patriarcha patritiae gentis Venetus homo Hermolaus Barbarus, addito Corollario iampridem a se confectam morte praeventus aedere ipse non potuit, sed agentibus iam idem hoc nobis, nomini et memoriae hominis consulentes, qua decebat pietate fratres eius aediderunt. Legendam ut speramus non multo post et quam nos inter tot alias publicae privataeque rei sollicitudines et occupationes, non plene integris tribus annis absolvimus. Cogitasse nos saepius aeditis duabus eiusdem scriptoris interpretationibus, nec utilem nec necessariam videri posse hanc nostram, quando ut Homerus cecinit, *σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω*, satis ad scriptoris huius intellectum fore legentibus opinari omnes verisimile erat. Et quoniam non fore honestum nobis eum laborem ipsi etiam crederemus, in quo doctissimi viri antea laborassent, inceptum bis deposuisse opus, et eo quidem animo ut quoniam tempore nos illi praevenerant, potiore iure in eo honore etiam uterentur. Cum videremus deinde antiquiorem illam interpretationem nullo bonarum literarum cultu tractatam, sordidam et inutilem iacere et praeter id plus alienae opis quam suae habentem. Ex interpretibus vero illis alterum impresso tantum Dios(coridis) codice, cuius plura pene sunt vitia quam integrae partes ad eam usum fuisse, nec in labore illo suo praeter bonam interpretis fidem ex proposito sibi scriptoris huius exemplari legentibus aliud praestare voluisse, alterum vero morte praeventum quale cogitaverat illud aedere non potuisse omnesque nihil quod ad medicinae rationem, morborum indicationes et curationis usus pertineret, aeditionibus suis addidisse ne quis in scriptore hoc aliquot locis pendere animo cogeretur, quartam nos eius interpretationem suscepisse, nullo sane maledicendi studio, nullius laudi invidentes, nec ex erratis aliorum, quod primum sibi in hoc laudis genere arripit ambitio, gloriam nostram augere cogitantes, sed quod probum hominem decebat, pro salute hominis et scriptoris huius dignitate, totam suscipientes rem.../...[*Expl.*]: Quod ut fiat nunquam dolebimus quae a nobis toto hoc opere tradentur una peritioris alicuius litura omnia deleri.

Dedication. Marcellus Virgilius Florentinus Sanctissimo Leoni Decimo Pontifici Maximo. [*Inc.*]: Potuerunt, beatissime Pater, qui gentibus toto orbe aliquando imperaverunt in amplissima quem gerebant regii honoris fortuna, multiplici laudum nominumque amictu a suis et alienis quotidie ornari.../...[*Expl.*]: meninerint semper et laudent posthac omnes omnibus humanis malis qua ratione pontificem decebat medicinam fecisse Leonem decimum.

Dioscorides, *De materia medica. Praefatio.* [*Inc.*]: Post multos non veteres tantum sed iuniores etiam, qui de medicamentorum confectionibus, viribus et probatione scripserunt, conabimur et nos charissime Aree de nobis id tibi ostendere non vano nec sine ratione studio.../...[*Expl.*]: erunt aenea vascula. Adipes medullasque omnes stamneis vasculis servari oportebit.

Liber 1, 1 [*Inc.*]: (*De iride.*) Irin sunt qui et haec Illyrida, qui Thalpidem, qui Urani-

am, qui Cathaeronta, qui Thaumastum: qui Oportritem appellent. Aegyptii Nar, Romani radicem maricam, Gladiolum et Consecratricem dicunt. A coelestis arcus similitudine qui Iris a graecis dicitur: planta haec etiam iris dicta est. Folia gladiolae herbae similia.../...[*Expl.*]: (Liber V, 103; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *De Atramento librario*...ulceribus decidit. Et haec quidem quousque satis fore credidimus Carissime Aree pro longitudine operis materiaeque et remediorum copia dicta hactenus sint.

b. Abridged Version.

An abridged version of Marcellus' translation of Books I through IV is found in a manuscript dated c. 1525 of the Wellcome Medical Library; no headings or other indications are present to identify either Marcellus or the epitomizer. The epitomizer was only interested in plants, omitting animal and mineral substances. He did not include material concerning the medical virtues or other of Dioscorides' statements about qualities. The manuscript is dated approximately 1525, although a later hand on the fly-leaf has pencilled "circa 1460 G.W." The water-mark of the paper, according to S.A. J. Moorat, appears to be Briquet's No. 539, which is entered as Brescia 1502. Beginning with iris (I, 1) each plant's description taken from Marcellus' translation is given in some ninety-three pages, plus thirteen preliminary pages of an alphabetized index. On page 90 the regular text ends with *scorioides* (IV, 191 Wellmann ed.) and immediately there follows a supplement which contains some fourteen plants previously omitted and keyed to the preceding books and folios.

Dioscorides. De materia medica. Marcellus Virgilus' abridged version. (Wellcome Ms 245) Liber 1, 1 [*Inc.*]: (De iride.) Iris a coelestis arcus similitudine dicitur. Folia gladioliae herbae similia ex se mittit; maiora tantum, latioraque pinguiora. Flores in summis caulibus.../...[*Expl.*]: (*De scorpioide herba.* p. 90; IV, 191 Wellmann ed.) Brevibus foliis herbula est: semina scorpionum caudis aequalia habens.

"Suplementum," [*Inc.*]: (p. 90) *post cap. de hypocistido. Libro primo fol. 7. deest infrascriptum cap. De Ladano.* Seu cisto alia: Est et alterum cisti genus quod.../... [*Expl.*]: (*De hyssopo.* p. 93) Duum generum hyssopus est, montana altera, hortensis altera. Origanoque similia folia habet, et umbellam rote figura in orbem circumactam profert.

Manuscript:

London, Wellcome Medical Library Ms 245, ca. 1525. Flyleaf is signed "H. Drury," who is Henry Joseph Drury (1778-1841), a classical scholar whose collection of manuscripts and rare books was sold in 1827 and 1837. (S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library. I. MSS Written Before 1650 A.D.* [London 1962] 151).

Bibl.: (The following scholars note the relationship between Munich 337 and Marcellus.) A. M. Bandini, *Juntae,* I, 38-45, 126-9, 190-1; C. Halm, G. Laubmann et al., *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis,* 2 vols. in 7 pts. (Munich 1868-81) 1, pt. 1, p. 62; Konrad Hofmann and T. M. Auracher, "Der longobardische Dioskorides des Marcellus Virgilius," *Romanische Forschungen* 1 (1882), 49-52; H. Stadler, "Ein ungedrucktes Dioskoridesfragment," *Philologus. Zeitschrift für das classische Alterthum* 50, N.F. 9 (1896) 187-8; idem, "Der lateinische Dioscorides der Münchener Hof- und Staatsbibliothek und die Bedeutung dieser Uebersetzung für einen Teil der mittelalterlichen Medicin," *Janus* 4 (1899) 548-50; idem, same title as previous article but added text in: *Allgemeine Medicinische Central-Zeitung* 15 (1900) 179-180, where he says Marcellus came into the possession of the Ms around 1490; also, see W. Ruediger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus aus Florenz*...(Halle 1898).

Editions:

(micro.) 1518, Florentiae (Florence): Per haeredes Philippi Juntae. *Notha* in text. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-330. With *De venenis* and comm. Edited by Ioannes Baptista Egna-

tius. Panzer VII, 27-28, No. 138; Bandini, *Juntae* I, 38-45, 126-129, 190-1; Renouard, *Alde,* p. xlviii; Hoffmann, BL 1, 602; Durling 1141; Choulant 1, 80; NUC. BN; Oxford, Bodleian; Cambridge UL; (DLC; DNLM; MH-A).

1523, Florentiae (Florence): Per haeredes Philippi Iuntae. Contents as in 1518 ed. Graesse 2, 404; Panzer VII, 39, No. 209; NUC. BM; BN; (DNLM; MH-A; NNNAM).

(*) 1528, Florentiae (Florence): Per haeredes Philippi Iuntae. Panzer VII, 45, No. 249; Graesse 2, 404; Choulant 1, 80; Renouard, *Alde,* p. 1i.

1529, Coloniae (Cologne): Ioannes Soter. Gk. and Lat. Gk. text is that of 1518 Aldine ed. Dedicatory epistle by Ioannes Soter. *Notha* part of text but within brackets. Bks. I-V, pp. 1-699. With *De venenis* and comm. Panzer VI, 407, No. 539; Graesse 2, 403; Brunet 2, 733-734; Ebert 1, 489; Harles BNG 320; Durling 1134; NUC. Wellcome; BN; Cas; Palermo; Vienna NB; (DNLM; CtY-M; MH).

1532, Basileae (Basel): Per And. Cratandrum et Io. Bedelium. Translation without commentary. *Notha* part of text but within brackets. Bks. I-V, pp. 1-622; with *De venenis.* Durling 1145; Pritzel 2306; Panzer VI, 289, No. 875; Graesse 2, 404; NUC. Wellcome; (DNLM, MH-A; TxU; PPC; MoSB).

1538, Venetiis (Venice): Ex officina D. Bernardini. Colophon: Venetiis per D. Bernardinum Stagninum M.D. XXXVII. Translation without commentary. *Notha* part of text but within brackets. Bks. I-V, fols. 1-393v; with *De venenis.* Durling 1147; NUC. Wellcome; (DNLM; ICU).

Biography:

Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus (Maior) was born in Florence in 1464 to Piera Strozzi and Virgilio Adriani. His teachers included Cristoforo Landino and Angelus Politianus. He was a Professor in Florence (ca. 1497-1502) and was one of the *Dieci di Balia.* Among his friends were: Robertus Acciaiuolus, Lucas Albitius, Demetrius Chalcondylas, Nicolaus Machiavellus, Cardinal Franciscus Soderinus, Aldus Manutius (Maior), Richard Thomson, Nicolaus Valorius and Michael Venturius, with all of whom he corresponded. His pupils included: Petrus Victorius, Andreas Dactius (Dazzi), Petrus Martyr, Henricus Caiadus, and Fabius Agathimus. His library included the famous old Dioscorides Latin translation, now Munich 337. In 1498 he became the Secretary of the Republic of Florence, and Nicolaus Machiavellus, Marcellus' dependent, was placed in charge of the "Prima cancelleria" (on Foreign Affairs). He remained Secretary until his death on December 1 (or Nov. 27), 1521, and is buried in San Miniato. His son was Johannes Baptista Adrianus and his grandson, Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus (Minor). In addition to Dioscorides, Marcellus studied Homer, Demosthenes, Plutarch, Horace, Lucan, Silius Italicus and Statius.

Works: (in part) *Excerpta ex variis auctoribus Graecis et Latinis* (chiefly Greek); *Nil admirari; De puerperio Socratis eiusque obstetricio; De risu et lacrimis; Oratio de militiae laudibus* (Basel 1518); *De opificio et omnibus singularibus partibus hominis; Omnia mea mecum porto; Oratio in funere Marsilii Ficini; De laude agriculturae; Pro dandis reipublicae militaribus signis imperatoriis Magnifico Laurentio de Medicis; Pro eligendo Paulo Vitellio...duce; Lezioni sull' educazione della nobiltà florentina*; on the happiness of man under Saturn and his sorrow under Jupiter; on the art of poetry, failures, flattery, grammar, progress; necrology, letters, and poems.

Bibl.: Cosenza, 1, 58-9; 5, 17-8; G. Miccoli, "Adriani," in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (1960) 1, 310-311; Emilio Santini in: *Enciclopedia Italiana* 1, 534; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollstaendiges Universal-Lexicon...* (Halle 1732-50) 47, 712.

W. Ruediger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus aus Florenz; ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss seines Lebens und seines Wirkens* (Halle 1898).

5. Janus Cornarius

Some years after his Greek text edition of Dioscorides was published in Basel by Johannes Bedelius in 1529, Janus Cornarius

prepared and published a translation and commentary. The work was dedicated to the Saxon dukes, Johann Friedrich Sr., Johann Wilhelm, and Johann Friedrich Jr., Cornarius' *epistola nuncupatoria* is dated April 12, 1555 at Zwickau. He said that he had seen the translations by Ruellius and Hermolaus, "quos tamen rarissime et in paucis admodum produximus." Like Ruellius, Cornarius was both a humanist and a practicing physician. But, Cornarius' translation of Dioscorides, unlike that of Ruellius, received little attention. The only printing contained no wooducts which would have increased its popularity.

The tract *De venenis* is published separately at the end after *De materia medica,* Books 1-5, and it is called "Dioscoridae de bestiis venenum eiaculantibus et letalibus medicamentis Libri II." In his earlier edition of the Greek text (1529) he had included *De venenis* as Book Six of *De materia medica* but with separate title. In the Greek edition (pp. 401-446) as well as the later translation, Cornarius publishes the *Notha* separately: "Quae ut supposititia ex Dioscoridae contextu removimus, hic subiecta habentur" (fol. 491, 1557 ed.). At the end (fol. 518) there is a letter of Cornarius to Johann Schroeder, a physician and mathematician from Jena.

In comparison with Wellmann's edition Cornarius adds the following chapters: (those items marked with an asterisk are said by Wellmann to be interpolations) *phasiolus* (II, 96, Cornarius' edition) **hieracium magnum* (III, 62); **hieracium paruum* (III, 63; *delphinum* (III, 74); **paeonia* (III, 141); *erinos* (IV, 25); **chrysanthemon* (IV, 48); **cynocrambe* (IV, 168); and *lapis aetites* (V, 124). And he omits the following: αἰγῶν ὄνυχες (II, 44 Wellmann); ἧπαρ αἰγός (II, 45); ἧπαρ(κάπρου) (II, 46); κυνὸς λυσσῶτος ἧπαρ (II, 47); αἰθυίας (II, 55); ἀργεμώνη ἑτέρα (II, 177-a portion of chapter in some Greek texts); σισύμβριον (III, 41); σαξίφραγον (IV, post 15, considered by W. as interpolation but published as authentic by most 16th c. eds.); κῆμος (IV, 133); βρόμος (IV, post 137, same as for σαξίφραγον); ἐχῖνος (IV, 141); σίκυς ἥμερος (IV, 151); βολβός ἐμετικός (IV, 156); and κλημματίς (IV, 180).

Dedication (ed. of Basel, 1557). Ad illustrissimos principes, Ioannem Friderichum Seniorem, Ioannem Gulielmum, et Ioannem Friderichum Iuniorem, Saxoniae duces, Thuringiae Landegravios, et Misniae Marchiones, dominos suos clementiss. Iani Cornarii medici Physici, in suam recentem Dioscoridae ad Latinos translationem, et sua in eundem Emblemata Praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Materiae medicae cognitionem necessariam esse medico, adeo clarum est.../... [*Expl.*]: tum aliorum optima scripta, ipsorum typis invulgarentur. Zviccavii XII. Calend. April. M.D. LV.

Dioscorides. De materia medica. Preface. [*Inc.*]: Quum non solum veteres multi, sed etiam recentiores, de medicamentorum praeparatione, et facultate, ac probatione scripserint, conabor tibi, charissime Arie, declarare me non vano, neque temerario... /...[*Expl.*]: aut cedria parantur. Adipes autem et medullas in stanneis vasis reponere oportet.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: (*De iride.*) Iris a similitudine arcus coelestis nomen habet. Folia profert similia gladiolo, maiora tamen et latiora ac pinguiora. Flores in caule aequali inter se distantia sitos, incurvos, varios, aut enim albi.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 146; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *De atramento scriptorio....* est charissime Arie, in quantum nobis sufficere visum est, et operis longitudinem producere, et materiae atque auxiliorum multitudinem colligere.

Notha [*Inc.*]: (*De iride.*) Alii iris illyrica, alii thelpide, alii urania, alii cathaeron.../ ...[*Expl.*]: *De irione....* in domum proieceris ad bellum et pugnam concitatio erit.

Edition:

1557, Basileae (Basel): Per Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium. With commentary following each chapter and *De venenis* (Bk. I, 519-539; II, 540, 559). Graesse 2, 404. BM; BN; Oxford, Bodl.

Biography:

See CTC II, 118.

6. Janus Antonius Saracenus

Working over an extended period of years, Saracenus collected texts, helped in establishing Greek texts of what he thought to be the complete Dioscorides, translated them, and added his commentary. A six-year privilege was given by Emperor Rudolph to Andreas Wechelus' heirs, Claudius Marnius and Johannes Aubrius. The privilege is dated May 20, 1582, Vienna, and printed near the front of the *editio princeps,* published in 1598. This edition is the most complete of all sixteenth century publications because Saracenus included not only a new Greek text, Latin translation, and commentary of *De materia medica* together with separate texts of the *Notha* and *Adscripta* but also new Greek texts, Latin translation and commentaries for two pseudo-treatises, *Euporista* (2 bks.) and *De venenis* (2 bks.).

In an epistolary dedication to King Henry IV of France (March 1, 1598), Saracenus explains that his mind was giving birth to the work when the king appointed him to his "medicorum...collegium." Henry became king in 1589. In an open letter to his readers, Saracenus says that Johannes Sambucus sent to Henricus Stephanus his readings on Dioscorides and urged him to publish a text and that Stephanus asked Saracenus to edit the translation of Ruellius to accompany the Greek text; however, Saracenus was forced by the number of errors in Ruellius to make a separate translation. He had almost finished the work when the death of his taskmaster Sambucus (d. 1584) and the loss of interest by Stephanus delayed the completion of the work. These statements, plus the 1582 privilege which had Saracenus as a physician at Lyons, would indicate that, whereas Saracenus probably started the project in the late 1570's while he was at Geneva, where he lived from around 1574, he completed the work by 1598 at Lyons where he had moved during or before 1582.

In his scholia on the Greek text, Saracenus acknowledged assistance in sending him readings from Henricus Stephanus, D. Opsopoeus, and Io. Sambucus and the use of manuscripts found at Lyons, the Vatican, and Florence. In *De materia medica,* Saracenus added the following chapters which are either not found in Wellmann's Greek edition or considered by him to be interpolations: (Items marked with an asterisk are given as alternate readings by Wellmann, but are thought by him to be interpolations.) *iberis* (I, 188 of Saracenus' 1598 ed.); *mergi iecur* (II,50); *phasiolus* (II, 130); **delphinium* (III, 84); **paeonia* (III, 157); *erinus* (IV, 29); **chrysanthemon* (IV, 58), **cynoglossum* (IV, 129); **bromus* (IV, 140); **cynocrambus* (IV, 192); and *lapis aetites* (V, 161). He omits the following: αἰθυίας (II, 55, Wellmann), ἀργεμώνη ἑτέρα (I, 177—a portion of chapter); σισύβριον (III, 41); κῆμος (IV, 133); ἐχῖνος (IV, 141); σίκυς ἥμερος (IV, 151—note by Saracenus says it is interpolation); and βολβός ἐμετικός (IV, 156).

There is an unpublished English translation of Saracenus' commentary (bks. I–V of *De materia medica*), perhaps by John Heath, found in Oxford, Magdalen College Ms 229, s. XVIII.

Dedication (ed. of Frankfort, 1598). Henrico IV Regi Galliarum et Navarrae Christianissimo. [Inc.]: Importunus haud dubie, Rex Christianissime, parumque circumspectus, imo vero temerarius fortasse videbor. .../... [*Expl.*]: qui fatorum tuorum auspicia sequimur, totique Christianae Reipublicae servet incolumem. Kal. Mart. 1598. Tuae Maiestati addictissimus Jan-Antonius Saracenus Lugdunensis.

Ad candidum lectorem. Candido lectori salutem. [*Inc.*]: Mirabere forsan, Candide Lector, undenam mihi in mentem venerit, ut novam Dioscoridis interpretationem sim aggressus, praesertim cum tot clarissimi viri eloquentia, doctrina, iudicioque insignes, Hermol. Barbarus, Marc. Virgilius, Ianus Cornarius, et Io. Ruellius in eo vertendo magna quasi contentione ac dimicatione satis superque iam pridem elaborarint egregiamque operam magna cum laude navarint. Sed tum demum mirari profecto desines cum, quibus rationibus eo adductus impulsusve fuerim, tute intellexeris. Iam olim

utriusque linguae, tum Graecae, tum Latinae peritissimum typographum Henricum Stephanum per literas frequentiores urgebat piae memoriae D. Io. Sambucus Caesareus Medicus et Historiographus, uti Regiis typis elegantioribus Dioscoridis Graecolatinum contextum mandaret, eiusque margini missas paulo ante suas notulas, seu potius varias in eum autorem lectiones, e complurium vetustorum codicum in diversis Principum bibliothecis repertorum fida diligentique collatione a se magno labore decerptas, adiiceret. Dum vero ad opus accingit sese Stephanus, Ruellianam versionem, quam quidem ceu caeteris merito anteferendam ex adverso Graeci contextus locare consilium erat, deprehendit esse, uti revera est, multis in locis paulo liberiorem, ita ut Graecis Latina non satis apte responderent; icciro me pro ea, quae mihi cum illo intercedebat familiaritate, rogat, imo vero exorat, ut eam accurate recognoscerem, et locorum omnium in quibus Ruellius, seu temeratum quempiam codicem secutus, seu etiam Plinio, uti fere est, nimium addictus sensa Dioscoridis illiusque verborum vim non satis expressisse videretur, emendationem margini adscriberem. Sed vix dum aliquot priores paginas contuleram, cum veluti deterritus oneris gravissimi difficultate, fui coactus a proposito declinare mutareque sententiam. Tot enim (venia sit dicto) subinde occurrebant censura et animadversione digna, ut partim odiosi laboris defugiendi gratia, partim et invidiae atque offensionis eorum vitandae, qui me nimium in Ruellii manes iniuriosum suspicari potuissent, satius duxerim novam interpretationem adornare quam alienam interpolare. In ea certe quidem non Paraphrastae, sed Interpretis officio me defunctum vere affirmare possum, ut qui, quantum in me fuit, ne latum quidem unguem a Dioscoridis mente recesserim, ac interim Pliniani sermonis puritatem mordicus retinuerim. Sed illi, malo, iudicium faciant, qui cum illorum versionibus meam bona fide contulerint. Utut sit, opus propemodum ad coronidem perduxeram, cum ecce nobis Sambucus diligentissimus ἐργοδιώκτης praematura morte praeripitur. Tum Stephanus animum quasi despondere, imo, quantumvis et alii complures instarent operi, moras varias nectere, diemque de die ducere, sive per iustas occupationes, quibus interdum distrahebatur, sive propter peregrinationes, quae inter ea temporis frequentiores ac pene perpetuae illi fuere, non daretur promissum implere fidemque datam exolvere. Atque inde adeo factum est, ut meae illae in Dioscoridem lucubrationes in scriniis meis plusculis annis delituerint. Id porro, cum Andreae Wecheli haeredes rei literariae iuvandae quam studiosissimi animadverterent cuperentque nonnullorum bonorum virorum desiderio et expectationi satisfacere, hoc a me tandem impetrant, eas uti patiar in hominum aspectum lucemque proferri. Hae sunt, ut semel dicam, operis instituti, simulque tamdiu ad haec usque tempora retardati causae. Quod ad Graecum contextum attinet, id operam dedimus, ut quoad eius fieri posset, nitori suo pristino restitueretur. Et si enim doctissimi Goupyli editionem Parisiensem [1549] tanquam omnium, quotquot extabant, integerrimam et emendatissimam, religiose secuti sumus, typographica tamen scripturae quae adhuc superarent menda, quantum fieri potuit, sustulimus; quae vero, et res ipsa, et exemplarium seu impressorum, seu etiam manu exaratorum certa fides et autoritas immutanda suadebant, audacter immutavimus; at nusquam seu nostris, seu aliorum coniecturis tantum tribuimus, ut citra meliorum codicum fidem quicquam ausi fuerimus, eas contenti notasse interlineari asterisco, qui te, Lector, ad Scholia nostra relegaret. Sin, quod rarius accidit, loca quaedam comperimus adeo corrupta et depravata, ut ex iis sensus nullus elici potuerit, neque tamen ulli, seu ex coniectura, seu ex antiquarum lectionum vestigiis remedio locus fuerit, asterisco marginem consignavimus. Varias autem tum Clariss. viri D. Sambuci, tum et aliorum hinc inde in Dioscoridem depromptas lectiones (nam et nonnullas idem ille D. Stephanus, nonnullas etiam D. Opsopoeus ex Palatinorum exemplarium collatione nobis communicarunt) eas, inquam, etiam citra delectum, ut de iis

liberum foret unicuique iudicium, margini eidem adscribere visum est, insuperque nonnullas etiam interpretum animadversiones et emendationes, additis perpetuo singulorum nominibus, ex quibus eas desumpsimus, ut ne suo quenquam merito defraudasse videremur. Caeterum nostras annotationes ad operis calcem reiecimus, in quibus discrepantis a caeteris interpretationis nostrae ratio plerunque redditur, nec non et varia nostra in Dioscoridem coniectanea in medium proferuntur. Sed et multa ibidem obiter ac velut in transcursu reperias in auctores alios, praesertim vero Theophrastum ac Plinium, animadversa, quae sese sub manum dederunt. Denique velut ἐξ ἐπιμέτρου diversas discrepantesque de medica materia, seu priscorum, seu etiam recentiorum sententias proponimus, interdumque conciliamus, praetereaque dubia multa, quae passim occurrebant, solvere ac diluere nitimur. Attamen velim scias, eo praecipue nos omni studio incubuisse, ut ipsius Dioscoridis corruptiora, obscuriora, difficilioraque loca restitueremus, illustraremus, et explicaremus. Habes, Lector benevole, quae in hac editione sint a nobis praestita: e quibus si fructum aliquem percepisse te animadvertero, addetur animus ad alia fortasse maiora utilioraque in apertum proferenda. Interim Vale.

There follow a group of Latin and Greek poems in praise of Dioscorides and the edition of Saracenus. The Latin poems are by Ioan. Paludius, Paulus Stephanus, Theodorus Beza Vezelius, Paulus Melissus Francus, Iohan. Posthius, Ioan. Tornaeius, and Geôrg. Ienischius, and the Greek poem is by Is. Casaubonus. The treatise *Parabilia remedia*, 2 books (see below, p. 137), follows next with Greek text, translation and commentary, and, following it, comes:

Dioscorides. De materia medica. Preface [*Inc.*]: Quoniam, amicissime Aree, conscripsere multi, non modo veteres, sed et recentiores, de medicamentorum cum praeparatione, tum etiam facultate atque examine, demonstrare tibi conabor.../... [*Expl.*]: aut cedria componuntur. Adipes autem ac medullas stanneis vasis recondi oportet.

Liber 1, 1 [*Inc.*]: (*De iride.*) Iris a coelestis arcus similitudine nomen obtinuit. Folia fert gladiolo similia, sed maiora, latiora et pinguiora: flores vero in caule ita e regione inter se collocatos ut sibi mutuo respondeant.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 183; V, 162 Wellmann ed.: *De atramento librario.*)...sponte sua excidit. Caeterum, amicissime Aree, tum pro operis modo quem destinaveramus, tum pro materia auxiliorumque medicinalium copia quam colligere licuit, hucusque dicta sufficiant.

Notha, with title: Inter Dioscoridis verba, haec in quibusdam codicibus falso adscripta reperiebantur. [*Inc.*]: (*De iride.*) Ab aliquibus iris illyrica, ab aliis thelpide, ab aliis urania *quasi coelestis*, a nonnullis cathaerum *quasi purgatrix*, ab aliis thaumastos *quasi admirabilis*, a Romanis marica radix, a quibusdam gladiolus, ab aliis opertritis, ab aliis consecratrix, ab aegyptiis nar appellatur. (*De acoro.*) aliqui choron.../... [*Expl.*]: (*De erysimo.*)...grana septem in domum proicerit, rixae et iurgia concitabuntur.

Editions:

1598 (1): See above I, 15.

1598 (2): See above I, 15.

Biography:

Janus Antonius Saracenus (Jean-Antoine Sarrasin) was born in Lyons on April 25, 1547, the same city where he died. His father, Philibert Saracenus, was a physician at the Hotel-Dieu in Lyons. He retired to Geneva where Janus Antonius first studied medicine. In 1571, Janus published a book describing a plague in Geneva. In 1573 he was awarded a doctorate in medicine by Montpellier. Returning to Geneva he was named to the Board of Two-Hundred and, in 1584, he accepted a chair in medicine at Geneva. Near the end of his life he returned to Lyons. Most sources give his death date as 1602 (on the authority of Guil. Fabricius Hildanus *Centur. epistol.* ep. 53 although November 29, 1598, is also given.) Three sons survived him, Jean, Philibert and Jacques, all of whom achieved some distinction.

Works: His only work is *De peste com-*

mentarius, Geneva 1571, Leiden 1572, Lyons 1572 and 1589.

Bibl.: Jean Astruc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la faculté de médecine de Montpellier* (Paris 1767) 354; P. Delaunay in: *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. . . : Le seizième siècle,* ed. G. Grente (Paris 1951) 631; Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* 4, 142; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. Hildesheim 1971) 747; M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne.* 2nd. ed., 38, 27; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 43, 341-2; Zedler, *Universal Lexikon* 34, 57.

7. Doubtful or Lost Translation

a. Hieronymus Bagolinus

John Rhodes used a commentary of Dioscorides by Bagolinus (d. 1552) in his edition of *Scribonii Largi Compositiones Medicae*, Padua, 1655. In the *Preface* he wrote: (fol. viii *verso*) "Ingenui nempe animi semper credidi, suum cuique reddere, maximeque Hieronymo Bagolino cuius nomen nescio qua manu ex fronte operis nondum editi derasum vestigiis subobscuris restitui, ne qua laude viri manes fraudarentur, quem Patavii anno supra millesimum quingentesimum vicesimo secundo ordinarium e primo suggestu medicinae, ut vocant, practicae doctorem in Gymnasii tabulario deprehendi. Operam ipsius vertendo Dioscoridis siluisse Onuphrium Panvinium diligentem suorum Veronensium praeconem nihil miror, quandoquidem superiori saeculo affectum opus abstrusis recondebatur scriniis, unde bono eventu in meas tandem pervenit manus." On page 175 in discussing Dioscorides: "Hieronymus Bagolinus tamen, qui apud me ineditus, ἐκ τῶν βυκῶν vertit, *ex doliis*." And on p. 191: "Quod Hieronymus Bagolinus Veronensis Medicus optime reddidit Baslus Tilaeus in Latina interpretatione Dioscoridis apud me inedita, simulque Ruellius." Other citations occur on pages 228, 285, 301, 308, and 432. There is no indication that the commentary was ever published. See Albert von Haller, *Bibliotheca Botanica. . .*, London 1771, p. 84; H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* (Berlin 1905) 2, 29.

Biography:
See CTC I, 109.

Commentaries

a. Petrus Padubanensis.

The explicit to the only manuscript copy of Petrus' gloss on *De materia medica* states that Petrus "corrected it in lecturing on it and in expounding it brought the secret parts into the light." Petrus expounded the Latin Alphabetical Redaction. The gloss was probably written sometime between 1307 or 1311, when he began lecturing at Padua following his return from Constantinople in 1303, and ca. 1316 when he died. The Preface (printed in its entirety below) says that he has seen an Alphabetical Version of Dioscorides in Greek. Possibly it was the Anicia Juliana codex (Vienna N.B. Ms Gr. Med. 1) because he had been in Constantinople between ca. 1293-1303 where the manuscript was then located. The most likely time for his writing of the gloss was the later period of his life when he lectured at Padua.

Petrus noted that there were two versions of Dioscorides' work, one in five books with many chapters and a short text for each one and another version in alphabetical order with fewer but more lengthy chapters with additions from later authors at the end of Dioscorides' regular text. (Petrus was partly mistaken because the additions to *De materia medica* are found throughout, not merely at chapter ends.) On folio 28v of BN 6820 there is Petrus' gloss to the chapter on the herb *diptarmicem* which appears in this manuscript but is not present in any other manuscript copy of the Latin Alphabetical Redaction. The gloss reads: "Istud capitulum communiter non reperitur in hac Dya(scoridis) ordinatione sed in altera." Thereby, Petrus reveals that he was here using the Old Latin Translation. Elsewhere, e.g. folios 40, 57v, and 59v, he indicates that he is referring to the older version when he refers to "the other Dioscorides." The printer of the *editio princeps* of the Latin Alphabetical Redaction together with Petrus' gloss, Colle

1478, sometimes, though infrequently, confused Petrus' gloss with the Dioscorides text and printed the gloss as if it were part of the text.

At the end of some chapters there are additions to the regular text, *e.g.*, under the chapter *Amonium*, fol. 1v, there is added: "Nascitur in Armenia." In addition to his extensive gloss, Petrus added to the text the following chapters which are found neither in the Old Latin Translation nor the Alphabetical Version: *heraclea, hiera, oleum ro(sa), oleum elatinum, oleum mellinum, oleum manthinum, oleum tellinum, oleum samsucinum, oleum ocimum, oleum abrotani, oleum anecinum, oleum susinum, oleum marcissum, olei crotini, oleum ciprinum, olei amarcini, oleum sinapinum, oleum scininum, oleum gabalinum, oleum scininum, oleum gabalinum, oleum cinamonium, oelum nardinum, oleum nardinum alio modo, oleum storacinum, oleum cambaca, olei pampinei, oleum ad omnes dolores ossium et aurium, oleum de radicula, oleum ad omnes dolores coxarum, oleum pupulinum, oleum savininum pirgitis* (added as a gloss, fol 56, and published as part of Dioscorides' text in the 1478 *editio princeps*), and *saxifraga*.

The authorities cited by name in Petrus' notes are: Serapion's *Aggregator*, Galen, Stephanus (Stephen of Antioch?), Avicenna, Mesue, Isaac Judaeus, Constantine's *De gradibus*, Isidore and Pliny. Galen and Avicenna are more frequently cited than the others.

Rubric (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 6820, fol. 1). Dioscorides per Petrum de Padua correctus et elucidatus.

Preface [*Inc.*]: Notandum quod libri Dyascorides dicti dupliciter reperitur ordinatio cum eodem tamen prohemio omnino, una quidem in quinque libros partita (ut testatur etiam Galienus Farmacorum 6to [sexto] ubi non parum hunc Dyascoridem recommendat.) in qua plura continentur capitula sed breviora ita ut volumen sit minus totum, rem enim unam quandoque incidit in plura capitula, ut Halya[bba]s Practice secundo et haec raro reperitur ordinatio in latino. Altera communis continens capitula pauciora sed prolixiora, inducens aliquando Galienum, Plinium, et alios posteriores Dyascoride, (quod) translatore fit, describens medicamina peramplius et in fine non raro aprocricant (?) capitulorum. Cuius quidem scriptura per litteras ordinata Alfabeti amplior est priori, in qua etiam capitula inveniuntur quae non in illa et econtra. Eam Aggregator siquidem immitatur magis plura capitula in unum colligens sepe. Quaedam tamen capitula in Dyas(coride) reperiuntur utroque sed in Aggregatore minime inventa, alia autem in eodem reperta que non in alterutroque reperiuntur neque etiam a Galieno, inventa enim sunt postea. Vidi etiam in greco eum secundum alfabetum eius ordinatum.

Gloss to *Preface* beside:"...compositiones oleorum scribere et .A. quam plurimi iuniores scolastici amabilis Arie (?).B. frater temptabo..." [*Inc.*]: A. discipuli vel glosatores. B. (L)i(tte)ris (e)n(im) alphabeti et est ordina(n)do (*sic*) et sermone planiori.../ ...[*Expl.*] (last gloss beside: "Ellebori ambo albus et niger. C. anno uno durare possunt.") "C. co(n)t(ra) avic(ennam) i(n) 2° qui po(n)it 30 a(n)nos."

Gloss to *Text, De materia medica* [*Inc.*]: (beside herb *acorus*, fol. iv) Dicitur gladiolus et gelia a quibusdam sed quod non sit gladiolus.../...[*Expl.*]: (herb zedoar, fol. 72) Zedoaria calida et sicca est in tertio." (Immediately following *De materia medica's* text is added): "In vino coctum et potatum cunctis, ma(s)ticis causis fisicum dividitur. Explicit Dyascorides quem Petrus Paduanensis legendo correxit et exponendo quae occultiora in lucem deduxit."

Bibl.: S. Ferrari, "Per la biografia e per gli scritti di Pietro d' Abano," *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, anno CCCXII* 15 (1915), 629-725, esp. 682-3; L. Norpoth, "Zur Bio-Bibliographie und Wissenschaftslehre des Pietro d'Abano," *Kyklos* 3 (1930), 291-353, esp. 306; L. Thorndike, "Manuscripts of the Writings of Peter of Abano," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 15 (1944), 201-219, esp. 216; idem, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1, 610-1;

2, 874-947, esp. 877, 923-4. Ferrari, Norpoth, and Thorndike all incorrectly report BN 6819 to be Petrus' gloss on Dioscorides.

Manuscript:

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6820, s. XIV-XV, fols. 1-72 (fols. 72v-74 are a table of contents). (*Catalogus... Bibliothecae Regiae* 4, 281.)

Editions:

1478: See above I, 1.

1512: See above I, 1.

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1514: See above I, 1.

Biography:

See CTC I, 127.

b. Hermolaus Barbarus

Although it seems likely that Hermolaus wrote his translation of Dioscorides around 1481-2, it is less clear when he wrote his commentary which he called *Corollarium*. As with his translation, the commentary was published posthumously in 1516 when it was edited by Johannes Baptista Egnatius, who also supplied an introduction to the *Corollarium* as a whole and to each of its five books. The date of Hermolaus' commentary may be sometime after the translation. In a letter written at Padua in the summer of 1484, quoted above (see p. 27), Hermolaus refers to his work on Dioscorides, expresses the belief that it will soon be published, and observes that he takes half an hour of each day before retiring to contemplate Dioscorides while he is in the garden or neighborhood. In the *Corollarium* he makes numerous references to the Paduan garden of his friend, Foelix Sophia. In a letter of January 8, 1489, written in Venice to Giorgio Valla, Hermolaus reveals that at that time he was concerned about interpretations of Dioscorides. The letter begins: "Cum superioribus diebus incidisset in manus meas, ipsum Perotti Cornucopiae illexit et omen et nomen ad legendum, praesertim qui Dioscoridem editurus essem paulo mox proindeque universum percurrere nec ocium nec voluntas fuit: vellicatim et saltuatim legere satis habui. Intra quatriduum absolvi quatenus ad negotium meum spectabat, errata eius nonnulla comperi. Ea tecum ut communicem oportet." (Ep. 135, vol. 2, 52-57, Branca ed.) The rest of the letter concerns problems in interpreting specific passages. In Egnatius' preface (which is written in the first person, thereby making it possible to mistake Egnatius' text for Hermolaus) to the first book of the *Corollarium*, Egnatius connects Hermolaus' work on the corrections to Pliny with his commentary on Dioscorides. Hermolaus worked on Pliny late in his life and the *Castigationes* of Pliny was published in Rome in 1492. In the *Corollarium* Hermolaus used Pliny to help identify many items, thus it seems likely that the *Corollarium* was also not produced until his older age, perhaps around 1489 when his letter indicated intense interest in Dioscorides. But since the other letter shows that Hermolaus was spending half an hour a day on Dioscorides the material was probably collected over a long period. During this period, *i.e.* 1481-1489, Hermolaus was in a number of places, including Venice, Bruges, Milan, Rome and back to Venice near his life's end.

The commentary is extensive but occasionally he listed an item without comment, namely, *myrrha Boeotica, myrrha Rhodides, iecur caprinum, iecur hircinum, scorodoprason, androsaces, hypecoon, galion*, and *oleum terebinthinum*. He added a commentary on *crocodilea* (fol. 31, 1529 ed.) to a text not found in *De materia medica*. There is no commentary to Dioscorides' preface. In contrast to all other translator-commentators, Hermolaus does not have a commentary to the apocryphal *De venenis*.

Egnatius Lectori (ed. of Venice, 1516). [*Inc.*]: En tibi Lector optime Barbari Corollarium libris quinque tandem absolutum emittimus. Quos non dubito tanto tibi gratiores iucundioresque fore quo tibi magis iam pridem persuasum forsitan erat aut ab auctore non perfectos suo aut ab aliis interceptos aud apud Hermolai fratres situ squalloreque obsitos atque etiam capite diminutos latere. Sed et ille iandudum coepto operi fastigium imposuerat et sartum tectum (quod aiunt) vel ad libellam exhibuerat et Didymus Fertinus

eius anagnostes diligenter admodum asservarat fratres quoque ipsi ut Thesaurum ac gemmas condiderant. Naec [sic] sane fallebantur opinione sua. sunt enim hi libri tales quibus nihil eruditius cultius copiosius ornatius centesimum ab hinc annum in lucem prodierit. Qui cum latinam linguam plurimum illustrent, graecam etiam aliud agentes non negligant. Qui quicquid veteres graeci latinique scriptores in hoc olim genere prodidere memoriae complectantur, ut tamen recentia quaedam foeliciter attingant. Accessit ad hoc singulare quoddam Barbari iudicium et candor animi quidam egregius in his aut aestimandis in quibus auctores ipsi diversi abeunt aut arguendis in quibus vel incuria vel imperitia peccatum ab aliis sit. Quid dicam quanto studio quantis vigiliis qua industria in hisce libris usus ipse fuerit. Nam ut Plinianae castigationes non parva cum laude virum ad rem literariam iuvandam natum exercuerint, ut Aristoteles latinitate donatus clariorem illustrioremque illum facturus mox est, sic sane libri hi quinque ab illo perpoliti et per nos tandem editi in omnes aetates illustrare illum et patriam etiam atque etiam possunt. quae cum reliquas urbes domestica externaque laude facile antecellit, tum ingeniorum copia et sublimitate nulli italicarum cesserit. Ex quo enim literae latinae ac graecae reuirescere atque efflorescere apud nostros homines coepere cum multi et clari in literis Patricii nostrates semper viguere: tum vero in hac una familia Hermolaus senior Franciscus avus et ipse denique Hermolaus noster adeo praestitit: ut obscurare maiorum suorum pene laudem potuerit. Quae cum ampla et multiplex sit, in literis tamen iuvandis et ornandis aliquanto amplior et uberior extat. Quare eo libentius id nostri praestare debent, quanto eorum ingenia longe aliorum excellant et virtutis ampliora praemia illis proposita sint. Bene vale.

Egnatius' Introduction to Corollarium. Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii Veneti in primum corollarii librum Hermolai Barbari Patritii Veneti et Aquileiensis Patriarchae Praefatio [*Inc.*]: Qui populorum ac principum res egregie gestas aut quamvis aliam studiorum partem illustrandam suscipiunt, solent illud in primis profiteri, nihil sibi maiori curae esse, nihil aeque studere, quam ut vitae usuique mortalium consulant. Hanc laudem atque eorum animi propensionem ipse etiam a puero semper admiratus, quantum mihi ocii a privatis publicisve officiis impetrare licuit, id totum honestis artibus ac liberalibus disciplinis percipiendis impendi. Nec sane quicquam antiquius unquam habui, quam ut studio, cura, industriaque mea vitae hominum prodessem, deque ea optime meritus existimarer. Assecutus id sim necne aliorum malim esse iudicium quam meum. Illud certe pro iure meo testari possum, nos hac mente animoque elaborasse, ut quicquid cogitando scribendo consequi possem, id omne ad mortalitatis fructum et utilitatem transferrem. Quamobrem Themistium adolescentes pene civitate Romana primum donavimus, tum vertendis omnibus Aristotelis eiusque interpretum voluminibus omnem operam atque industriam adhibuimus. Quod opus infiniti pene laboris cum mihi Plinianae castigationes excussissent de manibus, his mox editis, tanto animi ardore, quae remiseram, absolvenda suscepi, veteraque studia revocavi, ut non multa mihi vertenda superessent. Subiit interim, non minor hisce omnibus cura, ac nescio, an maior etiam cogitatio Dioscoridis in Latinam linguam transferendi. Quem cum emittere vel hortantibus amicis vellem, eadem animi inductione, quam a teneris hauseram, promerendi omnium opus omnium maximum ac laboriosissimum aggressus, Dioscoridis ac Plini et (ut ingenue fatear) omnis rei literariae illustrandae nova commentatione suscepi, ut nihil vel apud Graecos vel apud Latinos ad hanc diem extet in hoc scribendi genere, quod non in hosce commentarios regesserim. Ausus etiam non pauca ex recentioribus attingere corrupta scilicet et indoctorum pertinacia non satis adhuc explosa. Hosce libros Corollarii nomine nuncupare volui quod hi velut appendix additamentumque essent legitimo iustoque operi tralati Dioscoridis neque vero Dioscoridis solum, sed meorum plane studiorum scriptorumque omnium. Sic enim mihi persuadeo me quan-

tum ingenio proficere, quantum industria elaborare, quantum studio ac cura consequi potui, quantum denique iudicii in literis habui, in hosce libros contulisse. Qui si tales erunt, quales ut essent contendimus, gratulabor mihi et omnibus quibus haec scripsimus. Sin vero aliud doctorum fuerit de his iudicium, non recuso, quin quantum de his libris, tantumdem de studiis ac vigiliis detrahatur meis. Illud certe petitum ab omnibus velim eodem animi candore nostra aestiment, quo vel ipsi nostra scripsimus, vel nos de alienis iudicavimus, vel ut illi perpendi examinarique sua ab aliis vellent.

Hermolaus' Corollarium [*Inc.*]: (*Iris Illyrica. Cap. 1*) Iris aestate floret. Folio arundinaceo. Caulem habet cubitalem atque rectum.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 1018; V, 162, Wellmann ed.) Atramentum Scriptorium.... dictum est in fulgine pictoria, chalcantho: melanteria.

Manuscript:

Rubric (Perugia, Bibl. Commuale Augusta Ms C 61). Hermolaus Barbarus Patritius venetus Dioscoridem medicum e Graeco Latinum reddidit, cui et totidem reddidit capitula.../...[*Expl.*]: (Introduction to Bk. V) quam praestare consilii nostri nunquam fuerit.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: (*De saccaro.*) Saccarum laudatum ferebat india: nunc popularis ortus eius est in Aegypto, Cypro, Rhodo, Creta.../...[*Expl.*): (De Caero.) solis tam (?) longus ordo ciminum ut plane diem reddant.

(micro.) Perugia, Biblioteca Commuale Augusta, Ms C 61, s. XVI (?), fols. 40-41. Fragment from Hermolaus' chapters 306 and 307, Bk. 2, 1516 ed.; II, 82-83, Wellmann ed. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 54; Mazzatinti, V, 96-97).

Editions:

(1516): See above I, 2.

1529: See above I, 3.

1539, Coloniae (Cologne): Apud Ioan. Soterem (February). Comm. only. Separate t.p. but in some copies, including one in Wellcome Library, it is bound with 1529 ed. of Marcellus Virgilius. Panzer 6, 407, no. 539; Brunet 2, 733-734; Ebert 1, 489; Harles BNG 320; Durling 1134; NUC. Wellcome; Palermo; Vienna ÖNB; (CtY-M, DNLM; NNNAM).

Doubtful and Rejected Editions:

1492: See above I, 2.

1518, Hagenoae (Hagenau). Fabricius BG ed. Harles 4, 699; Hoffmann BL 1, 606; Panzer VII, 86, no. 153.

1534, Basileae (Basel). Fabricius BG ed. Harles 4, 693. Hoffmann BL 1, 606; Panzer VI, 303, no. 995.

1540: See above I, 2.

1560, Venetiis. J. DeSartori, *Catalogus bibliographicus*...(Vienna 1703) 4, 42.

1580, Coloniae (Cologne). J. DeSartori, *Catalogus bibliographicus*...(Vienna 1703) 4, 42: editio rarissima. v. Banks Catal. T. 1.p. 276. Bibl. Windhag. p. 413. Edit. Colon. 1530. et Venet. 1560.

Biography:

See p. 343 below.

c. Johannes Baptista Egnatius

Neither the introductory letter in the Venice, 1516, edition written to the Doge Leonardo Loredano and the Venetian Senate nor the preface to Hermolaus Barbarus' *Corollarium* is dated. (Both Egnatius' letter and preface are printed above in entirety, see p. 46.) Since he was a Professor of Letters at Venice beginning in 1496 and became actively engaged in politics in 1515, it seems likely that he started his commentary as a supplement to Hermolaus' *Corollarium*, which he edited along with Hermolaus' translation (ed. 1516). Probably his work was done in Venice when Aloisius and Franciscus Barbarus, Hermolaus' brother and nephew, gave him their relative's work for editing, probably shortly before 1515. Egnatius' commentary covers only the first book of *De materia medica*. Only fifty-seven of Hermolaus' 188 chapters to Book One are commented upon but Egnatius' chapter numbers do not correspond to Hermolaus' numbers in the *editio princeps*. The title of his commentary is: "Morborum ac remediorum vocabula apud Dioscoridem obscuriora breviter ab eodem Egnatio explicata in usum etiam mediocriter eruditorum, simul

errores, qui incuria negligentiaque librariorum irrepsere, castigati."

Commentary (ed. of Venice 1516) [*Inc.*]: (I, 1) *Carne convestit*. Emendandum pro *convertit*. Pessi. foeminarum medicamenta sunt, quae molli lana genitalibus earum conduntur.../...[*Expl.*]: (I, 199; I, 129 Wellmann ed.) *Hiberis*....Galenus certe et Avicenna et Serapio capitella dixerunt.

Editions:

1516: See above I, 2.

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

1492: See above I, 2.

1540: See above I, 2.

Biography:

Johannes Baptista Egnatius (Giovanni Battista Cipelli or de'Cipelli) called himself *Egnatius* from the town of Egna which is near Bolzano. Various authorities give 1473 and 1478 as his birthdate but all agree that he was born in Venice. He studied in Venice and his teachers included Benedetto Brognoli and Francesco Bragadin. A fellow student was later to become Pope Leo X. In 1496 Egnatius became a professor of literature at Venice where he taught until his retirement in 1549. His early career was marked by a bitter, public debate with an older colleague, Marc-Antonio Sabellico, said to be jealous of the younger Egnatius' success. In 1502 Egnatius wrote a bitter tract, called *Racemationes*, attacking Sabellico's views on ancient writers, but with Sabellico's death in 1506, Egnatius magnanimously delivered the funeral oration. In 1515 he went to Milan, as one of a four-man delegation representing the Venetian Republic to compliment Francis I and wrote a *Panegyricus* on the King's victory over the Swiss. Egnatius was a *corrector* for the Aldine Press and a member of the Aldine Academy. Aldus Manutius the Elder dedicated a part of the *Orationes rhetorum Graecorum* to him and likewise Sebastianus Corradus, one of his pupils, dedicated to him (as well as to Johannes Pierius Valerianus) the tract *Egnatius, sive Quaestura*. Among his other pupils were Erasmus, Paulus Manutius and Cunradus Thiloninus. His friends included Gaspar Contarenus, Petrus Dovitius, Andreas Franciscus (Venetus), Hercules Gonzaga, Antonius Marsilius, Marcus Molinus, Marcus Sanutus, Antonius Trivultius, Nicolaus Ursinus, and Petrus Paulus Vergerius the Younger. Although much of Egnatius' interest seemed to center in history, he studied the following authors: Arrianus, Celsus, Cicero, Eutropius, Gellius, *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*, Juvenal, Lactantius, Ovid, Paulus Diaconus, Persius, Servius, Suetonius, Valerius Flaccus, Valerius Maximus (thereby earning the name, Valerius Maximus), Valerius Probus, Vergil, S. Aurelius Victor and Aulus Sabinus. He retired on a pension from Venice in 1549 and died in Venice on July 4 (or 2), 1553.

Works: *De Caesaribus, libri III, a dictatore Caesare ad Constantinum Palaeologum, hinc a Carolo M. ad Maximilanum Caesarem*, Venice 1516, 1588 and in Abbé de Marolles' *Addition a l'Histoire romaine*, 1664; *De origine Turcarum*, 1539; *Ad Franciscum...primum De eius in Italiam adventu* and *Panegyricus*, 1540; *De exemplis virorum illustrium Venetae civitatis atque aliorum gentium*, Venice, 1554; *Exemplorum Libri II*, Paris 1554; *Raecemationes quae obscuriores aliquot authorum locos interpretantur*, Venice 1508 and Frankfurt 1607; about seventy orations; he edited and annotated Cicero, *Ad familiares* (Venice, 1508; Frankfort, 1607), Suetonius (Basel 1556), and Ovid (Frankfort 1601).

Bibl.: Cosenza, 2, 1281-1284; 5, 646-647; Ginguené, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*..., 12, 311-312; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 2, 290-291; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 15, 735; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollstaendiges Universal-Lexicon*... 8, 324-325.

Giovanni degli Agostini, "Notizie istoriche spettanti alla vita e agli scritti di Batista Egnazio, sacerdote viniziano," *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, ed. A. Calogerà (Venice 1745), xxxiii, 1-191; James Bruce Ross, "Venetian Schools and Teachers, Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century: A Survey and a Study of Giovanni Battista Egnazio," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976), 521-57, at 536-56 (with references).

d. MARCELLUS VIRGILIUS ADRIANUS

The commentary was completed in, or shortly before, 1518, in Florence. Marcellus' interest in Dioscorides, however, dates back to the early 1490's when he came into the possession of the ninth century copy of the Old Latin Dioscorides Translation, now Munich Ms 337. (See above, p. 35) The commentary is extensive, covering each of Dioscorides' chapters in *De materia medica*. Among the authorities cited are Hermolaus' *Corollarium*, Ruellius' translation, Theophrastus (*De plantarum historia*), Celsus, Hippocrates, Pliny, Paul of Aegina, Homer, Columella and Galen. Marcellus became embroiled in a controversy with Manardus (discussed above, p. 35, and below, p. 50) regarding Marcellus' translations and identifications. Marcellus wrote a long letter, probably to Manardus, on March 8, 1519, in defense of his translation; the letter constitutes a kind of commentary and is described below (b). In the Strasbourg 1529 edition there are Marcellus *Annotationes abbreviatae*, prepared and edited by Otto Brunsfels from the published commentary (described below, a.2).

Bibl.: See above p. 38.

a. 1. Full Commentary:

Commentary to Preface, De materia medica (ed. of 1518). [*Inc.*]: Incipiemus bona fide ex hoc loco reddere.../... [*Expl.*]: lignescunt eorum caules radicesque: et in cremia transeunt.

Text. [*Inc.*]: (I, 1) Non veritus quondam Hippocrates est tantus faciendae.../... [*Expl.*]: (V, 102; 161 Wellmann ed.) Asbolen...ut ostendi a nobis aliter non debuerit.

a. 2. Abbreviated commentary.

Text (ed. of Strasbourg, 1592). [*Inc.*]: (I, 1) Primum in iride animadvertisse oportet, non esse.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 173; V, 161 Wellmann ed.) *De fuligine pictoria*...repetita, ut ostendi a nobis aliter non debuerit.

Editions of Full Commentary:

1518, 1523, 1528, 1529 (Cologne): See above II, 4.

Edition of Abbreviated Commentary:

1529 (Strasbourg): See above I, 3.

b. Letter in defense of translation.

Text without title or name of addressee (Milan Ms S 81 Sup.). [*Inc.*]: Egregie vir etc. Post tres annos, a quo tempore.../...satis erit quae pro officio in bona fide habenda est. Bene vale Florentiae die viii. Martii M D XIX Fr. Marcellus Virgilius Secretarius flor.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Milan, Ambrosiana Ms S 81 Sup., s. XVI, fols. 192-197v. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 313; microfilm made available by Frank M. Folsom, Ambrosiana Collection, University of Notre Dame).

Biography: See p. 39 above.

e. JOHANNES MANARDUS.

The commentary comes in the form of three letters published in Manardus' *Epistolae medicinales*. In the first letter, written at Ferrara in 1519, Manardus writes directly to Marcellus and speaks of the arrival of Marcellus' book. Manardus found a number of objections to Marcellus' translation, identification of plants, and interpretation, but Manardus' comments are restricted to Book I of *De materia medica*. In self-defense Marcellus replied on March 8, 1520, from Florence (see above, pp. 35,50). In Manardus' first letter, he employed a Greek manuscript text ("In bonis enim codicibus legitur...") plus other authorities such as Galen to assist in interpreting *De materia medica* to which criticisms Marcellus wrote that he was translating Dioscorides, not Galen (see above, p. 35). Manardus' third and largest letter, addressed to Bartholomaeus Tingus Pistoriensis, comments on *De materia medica* (Bks. I-V) and *De venenis* (Bks. VI-IX), and it is dated January 15, 1523, at Ferrara. In this letter Manardus is aware that Marcellus had died (Dec. 1, 1521). Manardus' second letter, which comments on Dioscorides, is undated and is addressed to an unnamed friend who, at Manardus' request, had defended Marcellus. This then places the second letter as not earlier than 1521 and probably 1522 and also written at Ferrara, because the first

letter was of 1519, then there followed the friends' defense of Marcellus, and Manardus' defense against his friend. The second letter, however, remained unsent for more than two years ("supra biennium apud me delituissent"). In the opening sections of the third letter to Tingus, Manardus speaks of the reasons why he had not published the letters earlier and of how Tingus had advised against it. Now, however, that Marcellus was dead, he is ready to publish them and suggests that they might be printed by Tingus' relatives, the Giunti, or with Tingus' permission be published elsewhere. Although Manardus' *Epistolae medicinales* (Books I-VI) were published in Ferrara in 1521 (and again, Paris 1528; Strasbourg 1529; and Bologna 1531), the early editions did not contain the letters on Dioscorides.

Manardus' commentary, especially in Letter III, is rather full. He cited a number of other authorities, whom he used in his commentary on *De materia medica* and *De venenis*, such as: Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hierophilus, Pliny, Galen, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, and Serapion.

a. Letter I (Liber VIII, 1).

Io. Manardus Marcello Vergilio viro doctissimo S.D. (ed. of Venice, 1542). *Introduction*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 120) Contigit nescio quo fato, Marcelle doctissime, ut paulo postquam Dioscorides tuus ad nos pervenit, dolore pedum vexatus, surgere e lecto per dies multos non potuerim. Cui malo non aliud magis praesentaneum remedium inveniens, primum tuae interpretationis volumen sine interspiratione percurrens, magnopere levatus sum reconditam lectionem, exactissimam diligentiam, gravissimum iudicium, et (quod veluti nostro saeculo rarius, impensius sum admiratus) ingenuae mentis candorem in eo apertissime cognoscens. Huic maxime confisus, simili ingenuitate et notare et tibi significare non sum veritus, quae inter legendum non usquequaque a me probata sunt. Non monendi tui gratia, ut quem in eo albo esse dudum scierim, ut docere, non doceri, a mei praesertim similibus, debeas, sed duo ex hoc labore, si meum hoc studium non penitus fueris aspernatus, lucraturus, profectum videlicet, et tuam amicitiam, ad quam mihi nihil deesse putabam, nisi ut qui a me ob eximias et tota Europa notissimas animi dotes diligeris, hoc ipsum a me diligi te scires, non ambigens, quae tua praedicabatur humanitas, quin me vicissim esses amaturus.

Commentary. Praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Hac ergo spe animatus a prooemio exordior. In quo non probo quod pro ἀκμή graeca dictione, integram aetatem convertas.../...[*Expl.*]: non solum in herbis et morbis, sed aliis quoque in rebus vim dictionis, meo iudicio, commode exprimemus. Et hoc quidem in prooemio.

Liber I.1. [*Inc.*]: In ipso vero tractatu, cap. de. Iride, suspectum est mihi quod dicitur.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 138, I, 139, *ficus*; I, 127 Wellmann ed.) qua parte verrucas et thymos tolli per eos scribit Dioscorides addendum videtur credi. Non video etiam cur non potuerit humidum sinapi intellexisse Dioscorides.

Conclusion. (p. 138) Haec sunt, mi Marcelle, quae percurrenti mihi primum tui Dioscoridis librum moram attulere, quorum te ipsum censorem et arbitrum constituo, id probaturus reprobaturusue, quod abs te probatum reprobatumve iri cognovero. Ea igitur ut aequi bonique consulas rogo, meque in eorum numero esse scias, qui te suspiciunt, atque in hoc nemini cedere. Val. Ex Ferraria, M. D. XIX.

b. Letter II (Liber VIII, 2).

(Cuidam viro doctissimo pariter et amicissimo, qui Marcelli defensionem rogatus acceperat.)

Introduction. [*Inc.*]: (p. 139) Legi, vir doctissime, quae pro Marcello adversus me acutissime simul et eruditissime disputasti. Quibus primo congressu adeo deterritus prostratusque sum, ut deditionem vel fugam potius quam defensionem cogitarem. Verum quum post primum illum impetum, epistolam tuam humanitatis et modestiae, qua semper tua scripta scatent, undique refertam relegerem praesertimque eam partem in qua ais, obsequendi mihi gratia, magis quam veri delectu te contendisse, resumptis aliquantisper viribus, quoniam amant qui-

que sua, coepi respirare simulque cogitare, an meos illos quanquam abortivos partus, tueri quoquo pacto a morte valerem, arreptoque calamo tumultuatim, ut occurrebant, quaecunque mihi favere videbantur, in unum acervum collegi, digesturus, si tibi digna viderentur, ut prodire in conspectum hominum possent. Ea ad te hactenus non misi, pudore quodam prohibitus, quod te alioqui maioribus rebus occupatum tam crebro in haec adeo exilia demitterem. Nunc vero postquam, ni fallor, supra biennium apud me delituissent, aliud quaerenti, quum se mihi obtulissent, devorato pudore, accedere ad te iussi reverenterque veluti mancipia salutare, sententiamque tuam, etiam si capitalis esset, demissa fronte expectare.

Commentary. Praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Celsus morbi tempora enumerans eam morbi partem quam Graeci ἀκμὴν vocant.../... [*Expl.*]: materia medicinalem diligere potius australia, quam aquilonaria loca.

Liber I. 1. [*Inc.*]: De floribus iridis, ad ipsosmet provoco.../...[*Expl.*]: (I. 144, p. 139; I. 123 Wellmann ed.: *amydala*) ut id efficiat bibitum.

Conclusion. [*Inc.*]: Boni itaque interpretis officio melius functus erat Marcellus, si, quoties nulla est apud Dioscoridem, medicamini cuipiam calculi frangendi vim adscribentem, renum vesicaeve mentio, nihil ipse plus addidisset, quam quod apud Dioscoridem legebat; sed integrum reliquisset legentibus medicis, num tanta vis medicamini adesset, qua vesicae calculus posset perfringi. [p. 146] Sed hac de re nimis multa, ut de qua superius fuerit sermo. Receptui iam canendum, ut si quae supersunt copiae, ad feliciorem pugnam integrae adserventur. Vale vir doctissime pariter et amicissime. Ferrariae.

c. Letter III (Liber VIII, 3).

(Io. Manardus Barth. Tingo Pistoriensi medico S. D. Interpretatio Marcelli in reliquos Diosc. libros examinatur.)

Introduction. [*Inc.*]: (p. 146) Suadebant olim nonnulli amici, quorum consilio in re literaria uti soleo, ut eam cum aliis in publicum epistolam darem, in qua primum Dioscoridem librum per Marcellum latinitate donatum consultis Graecis exemplaribus sub examen rationis adduxeram. Quibus ego morem gerere prius nolui, quam tuam in hoc sententiam explorassem, qui ad auspicandum inter nos amicitiam veluti proxeneta extiteras et mediator. Consultus igitur tu a me per literas, eam minime publicandam duxisti, parum decere putans, ut quae amice inter nos fuerant agitata, in omnium notitiam pervenirent. Tuis itaque monitis acquiescens, non solum ab aeditione epistolae abstinui, sed et examinare reliquum operis destiti, uni tibi plus in hoc tribuens, quam plerisque contrarium suadentibus inter quos erant qui affirmarent, Marcellum apologiam et conscripsisse, et Leoni pontifici nominatim dicasse, ut vel ex hoc me quoque ad aeditionem animarent, nullam iniuriam amicis fieri dicentes, si seposito omni livore quisque quod sibi videtur, veritatis studio et legentium usui quieto et pacato animo, ut scribit, et publicat. Nullis tamen rationibus adduci ad hoc potui, ne importunus videri possem, si seni amico et valetudinario negocium facesserem et molestiam adferrem, amico praecipue alio, te videlicet, dissuadente. Postquam vero moestissimum de illius morte nuntium accepimus, negare itidem effiagitantibus amicis non amplius potui, quin residuo libri perlecto, quae secus ac ille vel legebam vel intelligebam, annotarem. Ea qualiacunque sunt, ad te mitto, ut vel, si tibi videbitur, una cum ipso Marcelli Dioscoride quem et nunc (ut audio) sub praelo affines tui Giontae habent, in lucem veniant, vel cum bona tua venia alibi publicentur. Quanquam enim in his, ut in prima etiam epistola, nonnulla sunt quae leviuscula mihi ipsi etiam videntur, nonnulla in quibus facile defendi Marcellus possit, videbis tamen (ni fallor) multa ad rem, id est, medendi artem spectantia, in quibus ille veluti homo, atque homo qui in his libris poetarum et oratorum magis quam medicorum versabatur, aperte est lapsus, quae si incastigata remanserint, possint et multis medicis imponere, et hominum vitae non parum obesse. Nec est ut quispiam vereatur, manibus Marcelli iniuriam

hac editione fieri. Si quis enim harum rerum illi sensus est, putandum est gavisurum potius bonique consulturum, quicquid bono animo, veritatis investigandae gratia, cuius inter nos agens studiosissimus semper fuit, scriptis mandatum est. Non secus etiam te facturum confido, atque quoscunque Marcelli studiosos, ut faciant, moneo rogoque. Nec me aliam ob causam haec et scripsisse et publicasse putent, quam ob veritatis amorem et amicorum id petentium obsequium. Sed iam rem ipsam aggrediamur, orsi ab his quae in fine primi lib. adversus Hermolai aeditionem disputavit.

Commentary. Liber I, 1 (without commentary to Preface). [*Inc.*]: Probari inquit Dioscorides iridem quae.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, *atramentum*, p. 184; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) chalcanthi unciam unam semis.

Commentary continues to include *De venenis*, see below, p. 000, as Bks. VI-IX, and with the explicit to Bk. IX (p. 191): et hic quidem est theriacus modus. XV. Ianuarii, M.D. XXIII.

Bibl.:

Wilhelm Ruediger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus aus Florenz. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss seines Lebens und seines Wirkens* (Halle 1897) pp. 1-19.

Editions:

(micro) 1532, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Seb. Gryphium. Edited by François Rabelais. Baudrier 8, 64-5; Durling 2913; NUC. BN; (DNLM; RPB).

1535, Basileae (Basel): (Johann Bebelius). Edited by Hieronymus Artolphus. Letter 1, pp. 125-146; 2, 146-154; 3, 154-203 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends, p. 196). Durling 2914; NUC. BM; (CtY-M; DNLM; NNNAM).

1540, Basileae (Basel): Apud Mich. Insingrinium. Letter 1, pp. 156-181; 2, 181-190; 3, 190-248 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 240). Durling 2915; NUC. BM; BN; (DNLM; NN; NNNAM).

1542, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Petrum Schoeffer. Letter 1, pp. 120-138; 2, 138-146; 3, 146-191 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 184). Durling 2916; NUC. BM; (CtY-M; DNLM; PPC).

1549 (1), Basileae (Basel): Apud Mich. Insingrinium. Letter 1, pp. 156-181; 2, 181-190; 3, 190-248 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 240). Durling 2917; NUC. BM; (DNLM; MiU; NN).

1549(2), Lugduni (Lyons): Ex officina Godefridi et Marcelli Beringorum fratrum. Letter 1, pp. 169-196; 2, 196-206; 3, 207-267 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 258). Durling 2918; NUC. Wellcome; BN; CtY-M; DNLM; InU).

1556, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud haeredes Jacobi Juntae. In *Epistolae medicinales diversorum authorum....* Letter 1, pp. 61-70; 2, 70-74; 3, 74-94 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 91). Durling 1372; NUC. Wellcome; BM; (DNLM).

1557(1), Lugduni (Lyons): Apud haeredes Iacobi Iuntae. Reissue of Lyon, 1556. Durling 1373; NUC. BM; (DNLM).

(*) 1557 (2), Venetiis (Venice): Apud Jo. Franciscum Camotium. Colophon: Jo. Gryphius excudebat. Durling 2919; NUC. BN; Wellcome; BM; (DNLM; NNNAM).

1611, Hanoviae (Hanau): typis Wechelianis. Letter 1, pp. 113-130; 2, 130-137; 3, 137-173 (comm. for *De materia medica* ends p. 168). NUC. Wellcome; BM; (DNLM).

Biography:

Johannes Manardus (Giovanni Manardo) was born on July 24, 1462, in Ferrara of a distinguished family. His father was a notary and a great uncle, Antonius Manardus, an apothecary. Educated in Ferrara where he attended the University, Manardus received a doctorate in arts and medicine on October 17, 1482, and became a lecturer. His advancement was said to be blocked because of his attacks on astrological and theoretical medicine. He married and lived between 1493 to 1502 in Mirandola where, in addition to being a physician to Giovanni Francesco Pico, he assisted the latter in editing the works of his uncle Pico della Mirandola. After brief lectureships at Perugia, Padua, and Pavia, he returned to Ferrara. Between 1513 and 1518 Manardus went to Hungary where he served as a royal physician to the successive kings Vladislaus Jagellon and Louis II. After returning to Ferrara in 1518,

he became a professor of medicine at the University in 1524, succeeding Leoniceno. He also served as a personal physician to Alfonso I d'Este, duke of Ferrara. At the age of seventy-three, his marriage to a young girl, Giulia dei Sassoli da Bergamo, produced censures by Paulus Jovius and others. The rest of his life was spent in Ferrara where he died on March 7, 1536. His teachers included Battista Guarini, Niccolò Leoniceno, and Francesco Benzi (son of Ugo Benzi). His pupils included L. G. Giraldi. Leonhardus Fuchsius is said to have borrowed from him. Throughout his life he combined a strong humanistic approach to medicine with clinical observation.

Works: His stress on precision in translations is notable, especially in his major contributions in the *Epistolae medicinales* (beginning with the Basel, 1540, ed., and eventually coming to twenty books). His other works are a commentary on Pseudo-Mesue, *Simplicia et composita* or *Grabadin* (Venice 1542, 1558, 1561, 1581, 1589 and 1623; Basel 1535, 1540, and 1549) and a partial translation and commentary on Galen's *Ars medicinalis* (Rome, 1525; Basel, 1529, 1536, 1540, and 1541; and Padua 1553 and 1564).

Bibl.: Cosenza, 3, 2098; 5, 1070; Juliana Hill Cotton, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 9, 74-75; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. Hildesheim 1971) 507.

Atti del Convegno Internazionale per le celebrazione della nascita di Giovanni Manardo, (1462-1536) (Ferrara 1963) with articles by: Mirko D. Grmek, Robert Herrlinger, Pierre Huard, G. A. Lindeboom, Heinrich Schipperges; Arpád Herczeg, "Johannes Manardus Hofarzt in Ungarn and Ferrara im Zeitalter der Renaissance," *Janus* 33 (1929), 52-78, 85-130.

f. Franciscus Frigimelica

Franciscus Frigimelica's commentary to the first four books of *De materia medica* was never published and is found in two versions in two manuscripts. The earlier and more complete is dated April 7, 1530, probably at Padua, while the other is dated October 17, 1553, Bologna. Since there is no evidence that Frigimelica lectured at Bologna (Dallari is silent) and he is known to have lectured at Padua, the version dated at Bologna may be student notes especially since it is less full than the earlier version. The earlier version may be the actual notes by Frigimelica and is now at Oxford. The 1553 manuscript, now in Erlangen, came from the medical faculty's library at Padua. In the commentary, Frigimelica's interest was in plants and animal substances while omitting the minerals. Mostly he was concerned with the purely medical aspects, including numerous prescriptions, rather than with identifications and classifications. It is noteworthy that neither Conrad Gesner in his discourse on Dioscorides' scholarship (Preface, fols. iii-ix, anno 1559, in: *Valerii Cordi Simesusii Annotationes in Pedacii Dioscoridis... De materia medica*, Tigurini, 1561; cf. also Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis*) nor any other sixteenth-century author mentioned Frigimelica's work on Dioscorides; thus, it appears to have gone unnoticed.

a. Earlier version.

Heading (Oxford Bodl., Ms Canon. lat. misc. 31): Dioscorides Clarissimi Francisci Frizimelicae.

Commentary. Preface. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Medicus iuxta Galeni sententiam in libro de constitutione isto (*sic*) artis 13° et 14°. Ipsum ister (*sic*) cognitione rerum.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 1) isti compositione medicinae sint facti.

Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1, De hirrido.) Iris menses repelit pota cum vino, ut si ita fiat

℞ vini potatis_____u(nciae) ij
iridis_____u(ncia) i

Exhibit (?) calidum iris valet in hydrope se cum hidromellit sucus iris exhibeatur.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 75v; IV, 190 Wellmann ed.: De heliotropio.) Heliotropion scorpinom herba et nota...et haec satis dicta ita et 4° libro. Finis 4: libri in laudem et gloriam illius, a quo caelum et tota natura dependet. Finem imposui vij. Mensis Aprilis anno domini nostri Jesu Christi 1530.

Manuscript:

Oxford, Bodleian, Ms Canonicianus Lat. Misc. 31, anno 1530, fols. 1-75v. Frontispiece: In Dioscoridis tratatu De simplici Frigimelica Lectore Patavino, 1648. There follows, fol. 75v, a short tract: De dolore capitis, eximii domini Francisci Frizimelicae Patavini. (H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi*, 3, 454).

b. Later version.

Heading (Erlangen Ms 909, fol. 48): In Dioscoridem annotatiunculae D. F. Frizemelicae.

Commentary. De materia medica. Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: Iris menses pellit cum vino pota. Dracma rad. in hydrope. Nam surcus radicis.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 76, Heliotropius; IV, 190 Wellmann ed.) aliquod mixia imponenda. Finis imponatur Bononiae 17, Octobris 1553.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 909, anno 1553, fols. 48-76. Added to heading in hand of the s. XVII: "med. Prof. Patavini et Bonon. scriptum hactenus non editum." (H. Fischer, *Katalog*, 2, 503-504).

Biography:

Franciscus Frigimelica was born in Padua on January 15, 1491, although some sources give the date as 1490. He received a doctorate in arts and medicine from Padua on April 1, 1518. Between 1518 and 1525 he taught sophistic and moral philosophy at Padua, and he was named professor extraordinarius in 1522. He lectured on Aristotle, Galen and Dioscorides. From 1525 to 1532 he lectured on medicine and then from 1532 to 1546 on theoretical and practical medicine. In 1546 he left the university because of ill health. Pope Julius III (1550-1555) called him to Rome in a letter of January 5, 1555, published by G. Vedova. He served as papal physician until the Pope's death, but reputedly he did not like life in the papal court. He returned to Padua where he died on April, 1559 (1558?). Marc' Antonio Morizio da Fermo delivered his funeral oration. Most of his works were published after his death.

Works: Pathologia parva, in qua methodus Galeni practica explicatur, Jena 1640; *De balneis metallicis artificiose parandis liber posthumus novi argumenti, ex bibliotheca Johannis Rhodii*, Padua 1659 and Nuremberg 1659; *Tractatus de morbo Gallico et lucubratiuncula adversus defluvium pilorum*, edited by Aloysius Luisinus, Venice 1566-7; *Consiglio sopra la pestilentia qui in Padoa dell' anno MDLV*...Padua 1555; *De dolore capitis*, Oxford Bodl. Canon Lat. Misc. 31, s. XVI, fols. 75-77v; he translated, *De utilitate viperarum*, published posthumously by his brother, Antonius; *Scriptum in libro De sensu et sensato* of Aristotle, in: Padua, Museo civico Ms C.M. 102, anno 1551, 95 fols.

Bibl.: Catteau-Calleville, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 15, 198; J. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* pt. 2, 291, 311, 313, 337, 342, 363; Paul Freher, *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum*... (Nuremberg 1688), 1244; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* 2, 767; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. 1971) 318; Charles H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors D-F," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976), 744; *Nouvelle biographie générale*...., vol. 18; G. Vedova, *Biografia degli scrittori padovani* (Padua 1832) 1, 426-432; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-lexicon*...9, 2131.

g. Otho Brunfelsius

Dioscorides widely influenced Brunfels and certainly one, possibly two, works by Brunfels may be considered commentaries. The first appears in Brunfels' *Novi herbarii tomus II*, edited by Brunfels in 1531 and published by Ioannes Schottus in Strasbourg, 1532. This work, entitled *Exegema omnium simplicium quae sunt apud Dioscoridem et collatio eorundum cum iis quae in Officinis habentur*, is devoted to Books I-IV of *De materia medica* and is chiefly lexiographic. His procedure is to discuss each chapter by identifying the plant or animal. Frequently he cites other authorities and he employs the nomenclature of many languages for equivalents. With disputed

claims—most chapters have them— he resolves the controversy at the end by stating "in Officinis...," which is his corrective. This tract appears to be working notes Brunfels probably produced for his massive three volume herbal, often called *Herbarum vivae eicones* from the title of volume I, edited by Brunfels in 1530 and published by the same publisher in 1532. Also the notes may have been gathered for his large tract, *'Ονομαστικόν* (Strasbourg, 1534). In 1529 Brunfels edited a printing of Ioannes Ruellius' translation of Dioscorides (see above, p. 16). The *Exegema,* Brunfels' first commentary on Dioscorides, was written in Strasbourg, Basel or Bern in the late 1520s or early 1530s, no later than 1531.

The second commentary, if such it may be called, is a tract printed anonymously entitled, *In Dioscoridis historiam herbarum certissima adaptatio, cum earundem iconum nomenclaturis Graecis Latinis et Germanicis*. Anno Christi 1543. Argentorati Joannes Schottus aere perennius dedit. In 371 pages it is without preface or text except for identifications of woodcuts. Jean François Seguier (*Bibliotheca botanica*, Liège 1760) and the *Catalog of the British Museum* (1960 ed., vol. 53, 111) give Leonhardus Fuchsius as the author, but Ernst H. F. Meyer (see bibl. below), after a close examination, argues convincingly that it is the work of Otto Brunfels and the engraver, Ioannes Guiditius (Hans Weydiz). This work consists of woodcuts for some 218 chapters, labelled and keyed to Dioscorides, but there is no indication of the edition used. Beside each woodcut is an identification in Greek, Latin and German. Many woodcuts are taken from the three volume *Herbarum vivae eicones* with woodcuts by Guiditius but new ones are added, a fact that may have led Seguier to consider Fuchsius as author since Fuchsius is associated with new Dioscorides wooducts during the period. Meyer, on the other hand, suggests that Brunfels was actively directing Guiditius in preparing new woodcuts to help in identifying Dioscorides' plants when Brunfels' early death in November, 1534, intervened. This led publisher Schott to print the unfinished work in 1543 anonymously because he did not feel it possible to give credit to the author. Probably this work was prepared by Brunfels around 1533-1534 in Bern where he spent the last year of his life.

a. Exegema omnium simplicium quae sunt apud Dioscoridem.

Text, without commentary to Preface, *De materia medica*. Liber I, 1 (ed. of Strasbourg, 1536) [*Inc.*]: Iris tametsi illiryca inscribatur, et in primis probatur, tamen et in Italia habetur. Et consensu omnium est radix alba, digituli crassitudine. Quae ab officinis irios, gignendi casu, pro nominativo usurpatur. Acorus.../...[*Expl.*]: (IV, 193, Wellmann's number) Scorpiodes videtur esse quam Plinius calendulam vocat: quamquam Herm. Barbarus Leontopodio tribuit hoc nomen, ut supra diximus.

Editions:

(*) [1532], Argentorati (Strasbourg): Apud Ioannem Schottum. Index Aureliensis 5, 343, no. 125. 643; Rép. Strasbourg 55, No. 122; Durling 725; Michel Guédès, "Notules de bibliographie botanique V-VIII," *Journal of the Society for Bibliography of Natural History* 6 (1972), 177-179; NUC. BN; Cambridge, UL; (DNAL; DNLM).

1536, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Apud Ioannem Schottum. In appendix to vol. II, pp. 90-126, of: *Novi Herbarii Tomus II*. Index Aureliensis 5, 348. No. 125. 676; Durling 726; NUC. Wellcome; (CtY-M; DNLM).

(*) 1537, Argentor. (Strasbourg): Apud Ioannem Schottum. In: *Herbarium tomis tribus...absolutum*, Edidit M. Herr. Index Aureliensis 5, 346, No. 125. 665. Berlin; Gotha; The Hague.

(*) 1539, Argentor. (Strasbourg): Apud Ioannem Schottum. *Herbarium tomis tribus...absolutum*. Index Aureliensis 5, 347, No. 125. 670; Sartori 4, 44; Rep. Strasbourg 1, 200; NUC. BN; Lund; Uppsala; Vienna; (NNNAM?).

b. In Dioscoridis historiam herbarum certissima adaptatio.

Bibliography:

Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, 4 vols. (Königsberg, 1854-1857; repr. 1965) 4, 298-299.

Edition:

1543, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Ioannes Schottus. Panzer IX, 361, No. 287b; Brunet 1, 1295; Schmidt RES 19; BM Cat. attributes authorship to Leonhardus Fuchsius, 53, 111. NUC. BM; (CtY-M [copy autographed by Andrea Cesalpino]; MH-A).

*Biography**:

Otho Brunfelsius (Otto Brunfels) was probably born in 1488 or 1489, though various authorities place his date between 1464 and shortly before 1500. Most authorities agree that his birthplace was in or near Mainz where his father was a cooper; the family name was taken from Castle Brunfels near Mainz. He was educated in Mainz, where he was a student of Nicolaus Gerbelius; he received a master of arts degree in 1508/09 and subsequently entered a Carthusian monastery in Strasbourg. In 1521, after supporting the movement away from Roman Catholicism, he fled the monastery with the help of Ulrich von Hutten and became a pastor in Steinau, where Erasmus befriended him. Perhaps the sale of his considerable theological works enabled him in 1524 to open his own school in Strasbourg and at the same time to marry Dorothea Heiligenhensin. Exactly when his interests shifted to medicine is uncertain, but his first published medical work was an edition of Alessandro Benedetti, *Anatomice sive De hystoria corporis humani libri quinque* (Strasbourg, 1528). He studied medicine at the University of Basel, precisely when is not clear, but he apparently received his medical degree between May, 1532 and March, 1533.

Much of his time after 1528 was devoted to collecting material, writing, and supervising the engraver Johannes Guiditius (Hans Weydiz) for realistic woodcuts of plants for *Herbarum vivae eicones* in 3 vols. The first two volumes were published in 1530 and 1531; the third was edited posthumously by Michael Heer in 1536. This Herbal, plus his other writings, earned Brunfels a place among the three 'German fathers of botany', the other two being Hieronymus Tragus (Jerome Bock) and Leonhard Fuchsius.

On October 3, 1533 he received a call as town physician at Bern, where he moved and where he died of diphtheria on November 23 (?), 1534. His wife is said to have aided in preparing some of his works for posthumous publication. Among his pupils was Gualtherus Rivius.

Works: His works may be classified as pedagogical (for example, his *Aphorismi institutionis puerorum* (Strasbourg, 1519), theological (like his *Pandectarum veteris et novi testamenti libri XII* (Strasbourg, 1527), polemical (such as his defense in 1524 of Ulrich von Hutten against Erasmus' *Spongia*), and, most important during the last years of his life, medical, pharmacological, and botanical (notably the *Herbarum vivae eicones*). For a complete listing see F.W.E. Roth, "Die Schriften des Otto Brunfels 1519-36 bibliographisch beschrieben," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Sprache, und Literatur Elsass-Lothringens* XVI (1900) 257-88.

Bibl.: Allen, V, 367-68; H. Grimm, in *Neue deutsche Biographie* II (1955) 677-78; E. H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, 4 vols. (Königsberg 1854-57, repr. Amsterdam 1965) IV, 295-303; Claus Nissen, *Die botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie* (Stuttgart, 1951), II, 25-26; J. Stannard, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* II (1970) 535-38 (with bibliography).

Hermann Christ, "Otto Brunfels und seine *Herbarum vivae eicones*. Ein botanischer Reformator des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Verhandlungen der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Basel*, XXXVIII (1927), 1-11; Michel Guédès, "Notules de bibliographie botanique, VIII. Le second volume des

*The biography is based in part on information supplied by Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Columbia University).

Herbarum vivae eicones de Brunfels (1531-1532)," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, VI (1971-1974), 177-80; F.W.E. Roth, "Otto Brunfels. Nach seinem Leben und litterarischen Wirken geschildert." *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, XLVIII (1894), 284-320; idem, "Otto Brunfels, 1489-1534. Ein deutscher Botaniker," *Botanische Zeitung*, LVIII (1900), 191-232; Erich Sanwald, *Otto Brunfels, 1488-1534. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation*. 1. Hälfte 1488-1524 (Bottrop, 1932); T.A. Sprague, "The Herbal of Otto Brunfels," *The Journal of the Linnean Society of London* (Botany), XLVIII (1928-1931), 79-124.

h. Cornelius Petrus

The introductory letter by Petrus is dated December 1, 1532, at Leyden and the publisher's colophon is dated January, 1533, Antwerp. Petrus' commentary, called *Annotatiunculae*, is devoted exclusively to plants in Books I-IV of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*. The commentary itself fills only nineteen unnumbered folios (14 cm.). In his introduction Petrus disparaged the poor knowledge of medical students, apothecaries, *medicamentarii et herbarum collectores*, and he attempts to address that ignorance. Not all plants are covered, but Petrus tries to give information about the names, identifications, and medical data of plants for practitioners in Holland. A sample entry reads as follows: "Aspalathus, crescit in maritimis Hollandiae Hollandice scijbesien, cum tamen vuae [sic] astrictoriam vim habeant cum acredine." Chapters have no numbers but are in the order of the accepted text of *De materia medica*. Few outside authorities are mentioned: Matthaeus Sylvaticus, Stephanus (Stephan of Antioch ?), and Pliny, each once. Twice he mentions "antiqua Diosc. translatio," but otherwise there is no indication of what other texts he employed. It would appear, however, that he used a Latin translation because seldom is the Greek given and then in a context which suggests a Latin translation. Immediately following the *Annotatiunculae* there is a short tract by Petrus: "De herbis quarum apud Dioscoridem nulla fit mentio."

Introduction (ed. of Antwerp, 1533). Cornelius Petrus physicus et civis clarissimae Leydensis urbis candidis lectoribus. Salutem. [*Inc.*]: Hortati sunt me saepius amici aliquot haud vulgares, immo in paucis numerandi, ut codicillum de simplicibus medicamentis a me nuper ex diversis tam veterum, quam recentiorum medicorum voluminibus in compendium relatum publicarem, cum scirent (ut affirmabant) me multis non artis medicae tantum candidatis, sed et pharmacopolis, medicamentariis et herbarum collectoribus, qui in harum rerum cognitionibus saepe numero falluntur et caecutiunt, plurimum gratificaturum, quorum sane errore sublato cum aegrotis tutius ageretur. Coeterum (ut verum fatear) fuit ista compilatio mihi quum laboriosa tum etiam taediosa, praesertim quum offenderim descriptiones herbarum mirum in modum depravatas, subditicias, frequenter etiam ineptas et confusaneas, adeo ut scriptores ipsi nonnulli mihi videantur aut nihil in re medica novisse, aut parum sobrie rem herbariam tractasse, tanta enim erat opinionum controversia, tanta varietas, ne dicam, contrarietas, ut mihi cum Baldo et Bartholo et horum nepotibus (quos ferunt in opinionibus raro concordes) nescio quid affinitatis contraxisse visi sint, ut crediderim ne Apollinem quidem cuius herbarum potentia subiecta est, nec eius filium Aesculapium litem hanc facile compositurum, nisi Chiron herbarum antistes cui iusto cognomentum inditum est, herbarios istos in concordiam gratiamque reducat. Istud cum crebrius animo voluerem plane deterruit me operis incoepti difficultas. Sed victus tandem, partim amicorum admonitionibus, partim etiam rei per se compendiosae utilitate.../ ...[*Expl.*]: Verum ut ad id quod instituimus properemus, exhibeo vobis lectores candidi libellum minutulum quidem, sed (ut spero) non usquequaquam contemnendum, neque infrugiferum, quo velut signaculo quodam ostendam, quantum praestet simplicibus medicamentis uti alia quaedam

vobis fortassis incognita et inaudita, a me vero verius experta, non modo grata futura studiosis, set et lectoribus omnibus. Absit livor, absit invidia et mordacitas, scripsimus haec candidis, non tenebricosis. Stili elegantiam non ubique servavimus, non ignorantes Manilii illud monosthicum: *Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri*. (III 39). Vale lector, et fruere commode. Ex Leyde Kal. Decemb. Anno M.D. XXXII.

Text. Commentary to *De materia medica*, Liber I, 1 [*Inc*.]: Dioscorides ille Anazarbeus diligens materialium medicinarum scriptor, ab iride vel iri exordium sumens, nullam facit differentiam iris et ireos.../... [*Expl*.] (IV, 191 Wellmann ed.) Scorpioides, Dioscorides herbula est foliis exiguis, semine caudae scorpionis effigie.

Bibliography:

L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 5, 462.

Edition:

(micro.) 1533, (Antverpiae): Ioan. Grapheus. With other short tracts, see below under *works*. Panzer IV, 351, 177b; Nijhoff-Kronenberg 1, 609; Durling 3608; Pritzel 7091; Seguier, *Bibliotheca botania* 54; A. von Haller 83; NUC. Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Musaeum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp; Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden; Ned. Maatsschappii tot bevordering der Geneeskunst, Amsterdam; (DNLM. Copy bears signature of Adebersius Vander Nÿenburrh on the titlepage with date, 1577).

Biography:

Cornelius Petrus is simply cited on the title page of the *Annotatiunculae aliquot* as a citizen and physician of Leyden. A list of matriculates for the Medical Faculty, University of Louvain, lists a Cornelius Petri de Antwerpia, with the date of January 26, 1540. Possibly these two are the same since Petrus could have practised medicine without a degree and then later matriculated at Louvain. Otherwise, there is no information about him except his published works.

Works: Contained in the *Annotatiunculae aliquot* with the commentary on Dioscorides are shorter works: *Experimenta et antidota contra varios morbos* (reprinted in *Opusculum de pestilentia*..., Filippo Beroaldo, Cologne 1552) and *De rebus occultis in natura mirandis, et alia quaedam lectu digna. Historia herbarum seu stirpium* is given in some bibliographies.

Bibl.: Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 3, 1474 and 9, 2091; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. Hildesheim 1971) 644; Johannes Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum Veterum et Recentiorum*, 4 vols. (Geneva 1731) 2, 489; A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'Université* de *Louvain Publiée Tome IV, Février 1528—Février 1569* (Brussels 1961) 201. (I am grateful to Mr. Albert Marshall for assistance on this biography.)

i. Benedictus Textor

Textor's work was probably completed in Paris in or shortly before 1534 and represents an attempt to facilitate the study of Dioscorides through a series of elaborate classification schemes. The title is: *Stirpium differentiae ex Dioscoride secundum locos communes, opus ad ipsarum plantarum cognitionem admodum conducibile*. Textor's prefatory letter was written in the house of Johannes Tagautius (Tuyaut), a physician of Paris, and says that Textor was encouraged by Jacob Sylvius (Jacques Dubois). Textor used Marcellus Virgilius' translation. The first classification is a listing of plants according to habitats differentiated by: *substantia, qualitas* (*numerus, magnitudo*), *qualitas* (*qualitas visilis*, i.e. *fulgor* and *color, odor, sapor, tactilis qualitas, figura*, and *similitudo*, i.e. *unius duorum aut plurium), situs, tempus* (*ortus, occasus*, and *maturitas*), *actio*, and *usus*. Other headings for classifications are: (2) *Plantarum discrimen a toto acceptum. Substantiae plantarum genera*; (3) *Plantarum inter se similitudo et diversitas eo ordine qui elementis graecis cernitur*; (4) *Stirpium partes praecipuae*; (5) *Stirpium differentiae ab iis tractae quae caulium vel ramorum rationem habent*; (6) *Plantarum differentiae folio mutuatae*. The intent was to provide a practical guide to Dioscorides' work for physicians and apothecaries. Modern scholars

have not studied his text to determine its originality or to assess Textor's contribution; however, Conrad Gesner wrote around 1561: "Benedictus Textor Segusianus, medicus pereruditus, libellum De stirpium differentiis ex descriptionibus Dioscoridis utili sane et pulcherrima methodo digessit." (fol. 4 of Valerii Cordii...*Annotationes*...Strasbourg, 1561).

Praefatio (ed. of Paris, 1534). Benedictus Textor Segusianus Candido Lectori Salutem. [*Inc.*]: Inter tam foedas tamque monstrosas labes, quibus conspurcatus et adulteratus est aliquot iam seculis priscus ille medicinae decor ac splendor, ut non alia pertinacius haeret eorum medicamentorum maximeque stirpium, quae tanto studio tantoque honori veteribus non modo medicis, verum regibus quoque ipsis fuerunt, ignorantia et neglectu; ita nihil est homini medico magis pudendum. Quibus quidem investigandis cum hodie doctissimi quique mirum in modum sese torqueant, nec quicquam fere obscuratum sit in tota Medicina, quod illis plus facessat negotii quodque deplorare sit aequius, quidnam evenisse putandum, si non extarent praesertim Dioscoridis illius (qui vel Galeni sententia omnium absolutissime rem tractavit) monumenta, ad quae œu sacram (quod aiunt) ancoram confugias? Proinde quando hunc unum propemodum habemus sarciendae rei longe praestantissimae ac nobilissmae tantopere commendatum, praeceptor ille noster Iacobus Sylvius praeter summam eruditionem publicae utilitatis studiosissimus saepe numero me hortatus est tota ex illo authore historia per partes plantarum digesta, rursus singula membra dissecarem per locos communes, ille inquam magno usui id fore affirmans.../...[*Expl.*]: Interim quicquid hinc percipies emolumenti, id acceptum feras velim viro illi clarissimo, cuius impulsu hoc operis susceptum, eiusdem auxilio confeci, eiusdem opera evulgatum est. Vale, Lutetiae ex aedibus Ioannis Tagautii doctoris Medici doctissimi. Ad Idus Iunias. Anno Christianae salutis. M. D. XXXIIII.

Heading, Plantarum discrimen a toto acceptum. Substantia plantarum genera. [*Inc.*]: Arbores. Ricinus, smilax quae Latinis taxus dicitur, cornus, oxyocantha, sabina, tilia lycium, arbutus, sycomorus. Arbusculae. Rhu, sabina altera.../...[*Expl.*]: *Situs*...Spina quae ex medico prodit echinum matinum aut oinaram aemulante, chamaeleon albus.

Editions:

1534, Parisiis (Paris): Apud Simonem Colinaeum. Durling 4329; Pritzel 9174; Renouard, Colines, 237; NUC. Wellcome; BM; (DNLM).

1537, Venetiis (Venice): In officina Divi Bernardini. Durling 4330; Pritzel 9174; NUC. BM; (DNLM).

1538: See above, I, 5.

1552, [Argentorati (Strasbourg): Vuendelinus Rihelius.] Durling 597; Pritzel 9174; Rép. Strasbourg (In: *Hieronymi Tragi De stirpium...libri tres*); NUC. BM; BN; Oxford, Bodl.; (DNLM).

Biography:

Benedictus Textor's birthplace is variously given as in the Earldom of Bresse, Pont de Baux, or in the Forez region. His father was Claude Textor. No dates in his life are established except through his printed works which allows one to say that he flourished 1530-1556. As indicated in the letter, partly quoted above, he lived for a time with Tuyaut, who is associated with a commentary on the Mass, and he also knew the famous Jacques Dubois or Sylvius.

Works: *De cancri natura et curatione, ex probatissimis quibusque autoribus, tum Graecis, tum Latinis*..., Lyon 1550, and Fr. trans., Lyon 1550; *De la maniere de preserver de la pestilence, et d'en guérir, selon les bons autheurs*..., Lyon 1551.

Bibl.: *Biographie universelle ou dictionnaire historique* 8, 105; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 4, 1079; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. Hildesheim 1971) 839; F. G. LaCroix du Maine, *Les bibliothèques françoises*... 1, 70; M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 41, 207-208; Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* 43, 316-317.

j. AMATUS LUSITANUS

Amatus Lusitanus wrote two commentaries on Dioscorides. The first is entitled *Index Dioscoridis* and encompasses only the first two books of *De materia medica*. As he explains in his prefatory letter, it represents only the first part of a full commentary but he thought it best to publish the first part at that time. The *Index* was completed at Antwerp and published in 1536. After each of Dioscorides' chapters there is a three part commentary. The first part, called "Philologia," consists of a multi-lingual vocabulary in an attempt to identify the substance. The second part, called "Dioscoridis Historia," is a recounting of Dioscorides' description. The third, "Iuditium Nostrum," is Amatus' commentary. Among the authorities cited are Homer, Hippocrates, Varro, Celsus, Pliny, Columella, Galen, Oribasius, Aetius, Rasa (Rhazis), Avicenna, Nicolaus (Salernitanus ?), Michael Savonarola, Lonicerus, Petrus Crinitus (*De honesta disciplina*), and Mainardus (Manardus).

Amatus completed his second commentary, according to Harry Friedenwald (see Biography, below), in 1549 in Ancona. This was the complete commentary on *De materia medica* with a revision of the earlier commentary on books I-II. He had left Ferrara for Ancona to await a decision of the Senate of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) which was considering him for a position as municipal physician. In 1551 Amatus left for Rome to treat Pope Julius III. While there he wrote the introductory epistle (May 25, 1551) dedicating the work to the Senate and leading men of Ragusa. Finally in 1553 the commentary was published. Amatus' principal interest was to observe the errors in *De materia medica* and in its interpreters. The title of the work is: *In Dioscoridis Anazarbei De medica materia libros quinque enarrationes*. He does not comment on all Dioscorides' chapters but in the second full version he lists all the chapters even when he gives no comments.

Among the numerous authors whom he criticizes was Matthiolus who had published a commentary in Italian on *De materia medica* (Venice 1544). In a letter of July 13, 1553, to Ulysses Aldrovandus, Matthiolus writes: "Soon your Lordship will see an Apologetic Epistle in print at the end of my Latin Dioscorides addressed to a certain Amato Lusitano, a Marrano physician, for whom it was not enough to have stolen the entire commentary from my work but who has also had the effrontery to write against me in more than 20 places in his wretched commentary on Dioscorides." (quoted by Friedenwald, p. 622, see ref. below). It was not until 1558 that Matthiolus' *Apologia Adversus Amathum Lusitanum, cum Censura in eiusdem enarrationes* appeared as an appendix to his Latin commentary (Venice). In an introductory letter to his *Centuria V* in 1559, Amatus speaks of his answer to Matthiolus which he had sent to a Venetian publisher. He wrote: "Since there is a law in Venice that nothing can be printed without license of the Church, I do not know whether anything may have been added or deleted. I believe that the clergy has completely destroyed my defense written against (the attack of) Matthioli; for everyone must know that I would promptly answer this Apologia." (Friedenwald, p. 623) Amatus' answer was never published but the wide circulation of Matthiolus' *Adversus Amathum* may have been a pretext for some of the persecution which befell Amathus. Among the other writers mentioned in the *Enarrationes* are Ruellius, Antonius Musa Brasavola, Jacques Dubois (Sylvius), Leonard Fuchsius, and V. Bauer (Agricola).

a. The first commentary, called "Index Dioscoridis."

Ad lectorem (ed. of 1536) [*Inc.*]: Ne forsan mireris, optime lector, quonam consilio factum sit, ut tantum duos nunc priores libros emittamus, cum tamen quatuor omneis me emissurum in praefatione pollicerer, scito a nobis non temere id factum fuisse, adeo enim liber a quodam (nomen subtacebo) cui corrigendi absens provinciam demandaveram depravatus erat, ut parum abfuerit, quin in totum supprimeremus. Ne tamen omnino opus iam diu ab ali-

quot amiculis petitum illis quasi invidere viderer, permisimus utcunque hos duos in lucem exire. Tu vero lege libenter, et caeteros indies expecta.

Commentary. In three parts, *Philologia, Historia, et Iuditium*. Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: (*Philologia*) Graece ἶρις, Latine iris, radix marica, radix consecratrix, lilium coeleste, Gallice des flambes, du glaiz, Lusitanice lirio cor de ceo, Hispanice el lirio cardeo, Germanice Violiwourtz, Theutonica lelie. *Dioscoridis Historia*. Iris folia gladiolae herbae similia. Ex se mittit maiora tantum, latioraque et pinguiora, flores in summis caulibus, et in singulis recta paribusque inter se spaciis in altum surgentes, in arcum flexos, colore in candidum, viridem, luteum, purpureum, et ceruleum variantes. Ex quo quoniam diverso colore floret, reddita coelestis archus imagine ab eo nomen invenit, radices habet geniculatas, solidas, odoratasque, quae in taleolas sectae siccataeque in umbra, tunc funiculo traiectae pendentes, in usus suos servantur. *Iuditium Nostrum*. Qui aut maiorum suorum res egregie gestas, aut materiam.../...[*Expl.*]: (II, 136; II, 186, Wellmann ed.) *Philologia*...Graece Τηλέφιον, Latine telephium sedum agreste crassula maior faba grasse, Italice frangrossa. *Historia Dioscoridis*. Telephion, foliis et caule...locis cultus inter vites. *Iuditium Nostrum*. Telephium...crassam nominant sed de hac lib. iiii magis. Finis Secundi Libri.

Bibliography:

Josè Lopes Dias, "Comentários, ad 'Index Dioscoridis' de Amato Lusitano," *IV Centenario de Juão Rodrigues de Castelo Branco—Amato Lusitano* (Castelo Branco 1968), 87-109.

Edition:

1536: Antverpiae (Antwerp): Vidua Martini Caesaris. Title: *Index Dioscoridis*. Comm. only. Under the name of Ioannes Rodericus de Castello Albo Lusitanus. Pritzel 123; Nijhoff-Kronenberg 2, 195; Adams A-923; Antonius, *Vetus*, I, 63. Univ. Lib., Cambridge; BN.

b. The second commentary, called "Enarrationes."

Introductory letter (ed. of 1553). Illustriss. Viris Rectoribus, et Ampliss. Senatui Rhacusino Amatus Lusitanus Medicus Physicus salutem et felicitatem. P.D. [*Inc.*]: Quum superioribus annis Ferrariae medicinam publice profiterer, viri clarissimi, patritius quidam vester Orator, nomine (ni fallor) Sebastianus Menseus, quod inter pleraque alia mandata a vestra clarissima Republica illud non postremum habebat, ut de medico apprime docto vestrae civitati conducendo diligenter inquireret, illuc advenit. Ille ut erat sui obeundi muneris studiosus, Antonium Musam Brassouolam, virum et doctrina et usu rerum praestantissimum, ac illustrissimi ducis illis civitatis medicum primarium adit, consulturus quis nam illi huic negotio aptior et ex usu magis videretur.... Et ecce se mihi offerunt quaedam in Dioscoridem Anazarbeum commentaria, quae annis ab hinc quindecim Antverpiae coeperam, atque in primum et secundum eius autoris librum edideram. Quae, quum scirem per multos claros in medicina viros post illam meam editionem de ea etiam re locupletissime scripsisse, inter quos connumerantur Ruellius Gallus, Brassavolus superius memoratus, Sylvius Parisiensis, Leonardus Fuchsius Germanus, Ioannes Agricola Ammonius, et plerique alii, quorum eo tempore scripta nondum extabant, supprimere utcunque decreveram. Praetereo Mathiolum Senensem virum doctissimum, qui nuper Dioscoridem e Latino Hethruscum reddidit, et illum commentariis illustravit, atque complures alios, qui ut rem medicam locupletent quotidie multa eiusmodi moliuntur et edunt. Ego minime deinde tantorum virorum scriptis deterritus coepi quae edideram relegere, atque de integro in omnes quinque libros Dioscoridis novas enarrationes cudere, ut haberem munusculum quod vestrae nobilissimae amplitudini dicarem, ad quod perficiendum non tam me doctorum virorum adhortationes impulerunt, quam meum vobis gratificandi studium excitavit, a quo, etsi non solum negotia domestica, sed etiam medendi cura

averterent, succisivis tamen post studia temporibus, amore vestri incitatus, id tandem Deo Optimo Maximo auspice perfeci. En igitur in Dioscoridis libros quinque enarrationes meas, in vestram clarissimam Rempublicam observantiae testes, vobis dedico... Venio ad Dioscoridem, cuius opus de medicae materiae cognitione inscribitur. Qui caeteris de ea re scriptoribus antecellit, atque ideo a Galeno doctissimo ac locupletissimo medicinae authore non solum laudatur, verum etiam reliquis antefertur, cuius doctrina praeclara Galenus ipse perterritus non ausus est de ea re, quum de innumeris scripserit, quippiam commentari. Hic noscuntur omnes fere herbae, fructices, arbores, plantae, fructus, gummi, resinae, pisces, metalla, lapilli, gemmae, perinde ac si penicillo depingerentur. Hinc sibi Plinius multa deprompsit, hinc totius medicinae fundamentum, quod est potissimum in simplicium cognitione, certa et indubia deprehenditur, quae tamen omnia nostris commentariis lucidiora facta, non iniquo, sed candido lectori videbuntur, ut iam quivis aromatarius a simplicium scopo aberrare haud quaquam possit, atque ideo herbarum et caeterarum rerum nomenclaturas, non solum Graece et Latine, sed Italice, Hispanice, Gallice, et Germanice expressimus, ut unus quisque tanquam e penu quod sibi conducat depromere possit. Dioscoridi antiqua adiecta nomina, ut pote hodie inutilia, consulto detraximus, quem ordinem ab aliis post me tentatum videre quivis poterit. Debeant ergo viri Rhacusini, omnes quibus hoc nostrum opus placebit, post deum vobis, quorum est auspiciis coeptum et perfectum, quem tamen si vobis non ingratum laborem sensero, vestra fretus humanitate, ad alia maiora sub vestra autoritate edenda libentissime accingar, ut cognoscat tota Italia, ne dicam Europa, vos optimarum literarum et omnium disciplinarum, et esse, et semper fuisse fautores. Valete viri clarissimi. Romae decimoquinto die Maii, 1551.

Commentary. Preface. De materia medica. [*Inc.*]: Quod medicus non solum herbarum ac simplicium medicamentorum notitiam tenere debeat.../...[*Expl.*]: at de iis satis, et ad iridis caput calamum divertamus.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Graece, ἶρις; latine iris, radix consecratrix, lilium coeleste; Lusitanice, lirio decor de ceo; Hispanice, el lirio cardeno; Italice, giglio azzurro, lilio celeste; Gallice, des Flambes, du glaiz; Germanice, blauulilien, violuurtz; Theutonice seu flandrice lelie. Iris cuius tantum radix a medicis commendatur, ea est herba, quam hodie officinae sub nomine ireos monstrant.../...[*Expl.*]: (*De atramento librario*, V, 141-2; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) De iis libro secundo abunde diximus; proinde nunc supersedemus huic quinto et ultimo libro finem imponentes.

Editions:

1553, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Gualterum Scotum. Comm. only. Pritzel 124; Graesse 1, 97; Durling 214; NUC. Wellcome; Berlin; (DNLM).

1554, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Wendelinus Rihelius. Comm. only. Pritzel 124; Graesse 1, 97; Durling 215; NUC. BM; BN; (DNLM; MsSB; NN).

(*) 1555, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Wendelinus Rihelius. Reissue of 1554 ed. José Lopez Dias, p. 87n, see bibl. above.

(*) 1557, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Jordanum Zilettum. Comm. only. Pritzel 124; Graesse 1, 97. BM; Wellcome.

(*) 1557, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Guglielmum Rovillium. Dias, p. 87n, see bibl. above.

1558 (1): See above I, 13.

1558 (2): See above I, 13.

(*) 1558 (3): See above I, 13.

(*), 1557, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Jordanum Zilletum. Dias, p. 87n, see bibl. above.

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1548: See above I, 13.

Biography:

The life of Amatus Lusitanus (João Rodrigues de Castello Branco) is filled with persecution despite his remarkable achievements. He was born in 1551 in Castello Branco, Portugal, where his parents had fled because of the Spanish expulsion of the Jews (1492). Since his parents were forced into being baptised, Amatus was a Mar-

rano. He attended the University in Salamanca where he studied medicine. Among his teachers were Pontanus, Olivares (Royal Court Physician), and Alteretes (who was a physician). About 1530 he graduated and in 1532 he returned to Portugal in the company of Juiz Nuñez (Luios Leonardo Nuñes). He became a friend of Nuñez (*Enarrationes* I, 148: "...Leonardus Nunius medicus apud Lusitanos, dignus ut primas apud regem dignitates obtineat...."). Nunez became a close friend also to Andreas Lacuna who wrote on Dioscorides. After practicing medicine, probably in Lisbon, for a short time, Amatus was forced to flee because of official persecutions of Marrano physicians and the threatening Inquisition. He went to Antwerp where he practiced medicine and earned a great reputation. At the Portuguese College in Antwerp he knew Nuñez, Manuel Brudo, Manuel Reinel, Pedro Fernandes, Ioannes Agricola and Luis Vives. Invited by Duke Ercole II d'Este to a chair of medicine, he moved to Ferrara in the summer or fall of 1540. Here he developed a friendship with Antonius Musa Brasavola (a well-known writer on medicinal plants), Canano (an anatomist), and Falconer (a botantist). The young Gabriele Falloppio probably met him on visits to Ferrara in 1545 and 1547. Amatus negotiated for an offer as municipal physician with the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and, expecting a definite contract, he resigned his chair at Ferrara to move to Ancona in May, 1547. When the final offer did not come, he occupied himself with practicing medicine and writing. In 1549, he completed his first *Centuria*. In May of 1550 he went to Rome to treat Pope Julius III, who was also being treated by Andreas Lacuna but there is no indication in the records that they knew one another. In Rome in 1551 he wrote his *Centuria II*. Later he returned to Ancona, but in 1555 Pope Paul IV issued a number of degrees restricting Jews and Marranos. Amatus' home was ransacked and two of his manuscripts were taken, one was *Centuria V*, later recovered, and another was a commentary on Avicenna, never seen again. Leaving Ancona, Amatus remained for a short time in Pesaro and then moved to Ragusa around 1555. Establishing a practice there he finished his *Centuria VI* in 1558. About 1559 he moved to Salonika where there was a community of Jews who had escaped Spain. Here he wrote *Centuriae VI* and *VII*. Although the date is not certain, he died probably on January 21, 1568, in Salonika.

Works: *Centuria I* (Florence 1551; Paris 1552); *Centuria II* (Venice 1552); *Centuriae I* and *II* (Paris 1554; Lyons 1559 and 1560); *Centuriae III* and *IV* (Lyons 1556); *Centuriae IV* (Basel 1556; Venice 1557 and 1559); *Centuriae V* and *VI* (Venice 1560), and *Centuriae I–VII* (Venice 1566, Lyon 1567-70, in 3 vols.; Lyon 1580 in 3 vols.; Bordeaux 1620, etc. See Friedenwald, p. 652, for later editions.)

Bibl.: Ernst H.F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg 1854-1857; repr. 1965) 4, 385-390; M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 1, 563; Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabrielle Falloppia*...(Modena 1928); Harry Friedenwald, "Amatus Lusitanus," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 5 (1937) 603-653 (with bibl. of earlier works); *Symposium Amati Lusitani*, in: *Atti del XXI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Medicina*, vol. 2 (Siena 1968); Maximiano Lemos, *Amato Lusitano*. (Porto 1907).

k. Dionysius Corronius

Corronius wrote one of the more modest of the commentaries in size (some nine pages in the *editio princeps*). The dedicatory letter is dated December 4, 1538, from St. Germain in Paris. The rather long letter is addressed to Cardinal Franciscus Turnonius and in it Corronius claims to have worked with Ioannes Ruellius in correcting Ruellius' translation but the accuracy or extent of the claim is unclear. Corronius enters a long plea for purity of language and against creeping "battologia." His commentary is called: "Variae aliquot in Dioscoride lectiones e diversis exemplaribus collectae." In addition to correcting Ruellius' reading of the Greek, Corronius employs the trans-

lations of Marcellus Virgilius and Hermolaus Barbarus and he cites such authorities as Pliny, Galen, Paul of Aegina, Serapion and Manardus.

Poem. Epitaphium Ioannis Ruelli Dionysio Corronio authore (ed. of Paris, 1537) [*Inc*.]: Hic situs est, in quo viguit medicina, Ruellus.../...[*Expl*.]: A mille haud quisquam tanti opus ingenii.

Introductory letter. Dionysii Corronii ad Reverendissimum illustrissimumque Cardinalem Franciscum Turnonium in Dioscoridem praefatio. [*Inc*.]: Annos abhinc plus minus viginti, Maecenas optime, cum literae bonae medicinaque primum in Gallia nostra a tenebris tanquam Cimmeriis seculorum permultorum emergere coepissent sermoque literatus nomine tantum appellationeque latinus, ad dictionis elegantiam ab infantia luculentis incrementis adolescere, Ioannes Ruellius vir peringeniosus et medicus pereruditus Dioscoridem graecum authorem lingua iam plane latina donavit, aut linguam latinam verius Dioscoridi. Quem authorem sic translatum primus, quod sciam ex quo homines meminerunt, in publicum aedidit, quod cum bona venia dictum velim virorum quorundam doctissimorum, alioquin de literis literatisque egregie meritorum potissimumque de ipso Dioscoride. Quantum autem laboris et vigiliarum Ruellius in eo opere vertendo exhauserit, iis coniicere promptum est, qui compertum habent nobiscum, unico eum exemplari usum esse eoque permendoso, nec tantum multis in locis mutilato sed etiam universo multifariam confuso, adeo illud incoeptum non magis hominem acrem et doctum, quam ariolantem et divinum poscebat. Et res certe miraculi non absimilis videri potest, hominem quamlibet singulari acumine atque acie mentis praeditum et oculatum, potuisse aliquid cernere in tanta rerum caligine, ac non quidvis potius ex incondita verborum congerie quam sensum eximii scriptoris elicere et exprimere, id quod si non est ubique ab eo factitatum, ut saepe sibi usu evenire non nesciebat, cum tot verborum totque rerum prodigiis ac vere monstris colluctans, spes tamen fuit, istiusmodi exordiis et tanquam incunabulis artis prolatis, viaque ad hunc modum tricis sentibusque expurgata, expeditius ad haec summa rerum, quae nunc videmus, fastigia perveniri posse. Nec vano augurio animus eius ductus est, siquidem extitere haud ita multo post, qui certatim hoc saxum in commune volverent. Attamen res ipsa loquitur, quanto incertius alii omnia reddiderint, sive Hermolaus Barbarus, vir alioqui suae aetatis doctissimus (huius enim subinde prodiit in Dioscoridem interpretatio, quamuis multo antea eam conscripsisset) sive Marcellus Vergilius, qui etiam illius et Ruellii versiones prius legerat quam suam aederet. Tametsi ipsi, ut ego quidem sentio, ingens habenda est cum laude gratia, cum ob multa alia, tum quod in conferendis hanc ad rem graecis latinisque exemplaribus, non parum diligens fuerit. Verum quod illi ambo minus absolutum, uterque suum, emiserint Dioscoridem, ii statim plane norint, qui translationibus eorum perlectis et cum nostra collatis, rerum quae depinguntur naturam penitius perspexerint intellexerintque. Etsi rursus silentio transmittere non queo, cum magnopere cupiam, quod Marcellus in suis commentariis sic passim Hermolai aeditionem vellicat et refellit, ut de eius integritate ac fide aliquis optimo iure dubitet. Vicissim vero idem Marcellus, tam luculentis argumentis ac testibus ab Ioanne Manardo refellitur et redarguitur, atque (ut plerisque dignus videri potest) pari talione incessitur, ut sine illustri ipsorum nota (ne quid durius dixero) res componi posse non videatur, nedum aliquid ex eiusmodi scriptis, quae ita mutuo se elidunt, firmum, stabile, aut certum statui. Id vero cum animadverteret Ruellius, praetereaque videret nullum rixandi modum fore, sed aliquid etiam eo perniciosius, talium rerum studiosis, si pari cum illis contentione ac stomacho, sua defendens altercaretur, ut erat ille summa aequitate ac morum probitate praeditus, maluit quae ipse verterat, recensere, et quacunque posset ratione meliora facere, quam insectari aliena, nedum illis concedere. Cumque aetate iam et valetudine ipsa, qua, pro dolor, nobis nimis cito ereptus est,

magis impediretur, quam ut posset tanto labori sufficere, me quoque in operis partem pro nostra familiaritate et amicitia adscivit, et vero socium consortemque studiorum omnium suorum effecit. Itaque ei totum Dioscoridem recognoscenti quam potui operam diligentissime navavi, nihil aliud (me Deus amet) eo labore sequutus, quam ut publice prodessem, quod etiam antea feceram in libris eius de stirpium natura. Quod obiter solum tibi dictum volui, Cardinalis amplissime, ut intelligeres, totum hoc triennium mihi perquam operosum fuisse. Usque adeo multum mihi negocii indulgentia tua exhibuit, quae tantum otii literarii tribuit, ex quo me procul esse ab aulica observatione atque obsequio non nolueras, ut hisce literis operam non minus in commune quam mihi impenderem. Quo hercle nomine, vel multum tibi debeam necesse est, tum ii etiam debituri sint, quicunque ex his nostris lucubratiunculis fructum aliquem percipient, si qui modo percipient. In futurum vero sic me enixurum speres velim, ne me hic frustra vixisse audias, quin curaturum potius, ut quam temporis et studiorum meorum iacturam olim feci, regium istum comitatum quocunque sors tulit auspiciis tuis sequutus, eam aliqua saltem ex parte resarciam. Quod ad ipsum vero attinet Dioscoridem, scito tantum nogotii in eo reconcinnando nobis fuisse, quantum si de integro totum vertendus fuisset. Est enim alius a capite (quod dicitur) ad calcem pene factus, ne tam multis in locis vehementer quidem suspectis lector posthac animi penderet. Itaque circunducta sublataque a nobis fuere capita etiam num integra, quae authori accrevisse certius erat, quam ut ullis rationibus indiciisve demonstrari debuerit. Tum alia cum suis membris ad unitatem redacta, in quae plus aequo minutim conscissus Dioscorides paulo minus obsoleverat, cum neque suo quarundam rerum corpori caput ullum, neque suo quarundam rerum corpori caput ullum neque pes neque manus essent.... Hoc autem loco significandum fuit omnibus studiosis, nihil in toto Dioscoride immutatum, demptum, additum, emendatumve fuisse, quod non certa ratione aut iudicio certe aliquo a nobis factum sit, consulta plerunque ad id rerum, de quibus agebatur, natura et effigie. Quae vel oculis subiecta agnitaque saepenumero optimam picturae quaesitae se ducem exhibuit. Non neglectis interim, quam multa licuit intervisere, exemplaribus ex quibus si qua nobis consentanea visa sunt, ea in rem nostram communemque vertere non piguit, tum ex illis varias aliquot lectiones seligere, si qua legentes queant ad res sanius intelligendas illicere. Quicquid igitur est in hac nova Dioscoridis facie, et tanquam persona, vel laboris vel industriae meae, id totum, purpuratorum antistum splendor ac decus, tibi dico et nuncupo utque aequi bonique consulas, etiam atque etiam rogo et obtestor. Lectoresque itidem omnes ut faciant obsecro, seque non parvam gratiam a nobis inituros existiment, si non graventur aeditione hac cum caeteris collata, vel graeco potius exemplari, si ita lubet, rem propius nosse, quae et qualis ea sit, prius experiri, quam de nobis sententiam ferre. Quod ut facias, si forte tibi per reipublicae occupationes non licet, utique multum occupato in ista Gallia Lugdunensi, ubi Christianissimi Regis legatus regni florentissimi habenas moderaris, domi habes, qui id possint, cum Hieronymum Fundullum virum utraque perornatum lingua, tum Ioannem Bruyerum Campegium medicum tibi fidelissimum curaeque valetudinis tuae addictissimum, qui ut harum rerum est aequus aestimator et iudex, omniumque philosophiae partium bene prudens, ita morum suavitate nobis cum primis charus et tanquam complectendus.../...[*Expl.*]: His etenim studiis potius immori mihi certum est, quam tuae expectationi pro virili mea non respondere. Vale o huius aevi et literarum decus et praesidium meum, e monasterio tuo sancti Germani a pratis ad Lutetiam, quarto Idus Decembris, 1538.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: Pedanius Dioscorides, non Pedacius, Iano Lascari dictus est semper hic author, qui habere vetustissimum graecum exemplar assereret.../...[*Expl.*]: hastulae regiae, aliqui habent, centaurii. *30.* cardamomum. nonnulli, nasturtium.

Editions:
1537, 1539, 1542: See I, 4 p. 16 above.
Biography:
Dionysius Corronius was probably a monk in St. Germain des Prés who flourished in 1538. He was a friend of Cardinal Franciscus Turnonius and he edited Johannes Ruellius' translation of Ioannes Actuarius' *De medicamentorum compositione*, Paris 1539.
Bibl.: Corronius' letter to Cardinal Turnonius cited above; *Bibliothèque nationale*, Catalogue 32, 706.

1. Valerius Cordus

Valerius Cordus lectured on *De materia medica* in the winter semesters of 1539/40 and 1541/43 and presented a smaller series in the summer semester of 1543. Some five years after Valerius' death in 1544, Gualtherus Rivius edited Dioscorides' works, published in 1549; he included the commentary of Cordus, though he admitted that the work had not undergone final revision ("Etsi autem fata non permiserunt autori ultimam manum huic atque aliis operibus quae inchoaverat imponere..." (See Rivius' complete Preface below, a.). The second version was edited by Conrad Gesner and published in 1561. In a letter, published in the 1561 edition, to the son of Ioannes Ralla, the uncle of Cordus, Gesner said he had received from Johannes Ralla later revisions made by Valerius Cordus. In the same letter Gesner said the revisions came through Ioannes Placotomus, a Danzig Physician and Professor at Königsberg ("...hunc enim ad me mittendum a parente tuo, ni fallor, Ioan. Placotomus insignis medicus accepit"). In the *Preface* (see below, b), Gesner said he had a corrected version through *De materia medica*, book II, chapter 108, and for the rest he followed Rivius' editon but he has some very brief manuscript or oral corrections from Cordus for the rest ("Emendatiora tamen ea quoque et explicatiora dedimus, cum alias, tum ex brevissimis quibusdam ipsius Cordi (aut ex eius ore exceptis) in V Dioscoridis libros Annotationibus manuscriptis.") It is unclear whether Ralla's corrections were in the form of a new manuscript or an annotated revision of the Rivius' edition, but, if it were the latter, then someone had to have taken lecture notes or writings by Cordus and annotated Rivius' edition since Rivius' edition was published five years after Cordus' death. In Gesner's edition there is also a letter from Johannes Crato to Gesner, dated 1559, in which Crato told of his friendship with Cordus since the days of their attending together Melanchton's lectures on Nicander's *Alexipharmaca*. Crato acknowledges Gesner's sending to him a copy of Cordus' *Annotationes*. He said that Cordus had three times lectured on Dioscorides but he has no idea what became of the lecture notes. Gesner was undoubtedly attempting to emend the *Annotationes* still further by tracing down lecture notes.

Valerius Cordus' lectures on Dioscorides are important in the history of botany because he departed from the older practice of a philological approach to Dioscorides and preferred instead to make observations on plants to students and friends while on walks in the country-side and longer excursions. On these field trips he observed directly the plants and related them to Dioscorides. Among the students said to have heard Valerius' lectures on Dioscorides were: Johannes Placotomus, Johannes Crato of Krafftheim who became the imperial physician in Vienna, Pierre Belon (Peter Bellonus), a naturalist, Hieronymus Schreiber, a physician-mathematician, and Andreas Aurifaber of Königsberg who later wrote his own commentary on Dioscorides (see below, p. 83). In the *Annotationes* Cordus seems to show more interest in the descriptions of the plants than previous commentators. He quoted former authorities, among them Antonius Musa, Pliny, Galen, Paul of Aegina, Serapion, Marcellus Virgilius, and Georg Agricola, but he appears less scholastic. He devoted special attention to establishing the proper equivalents in German. Probably he relied on Ruellius' translation.

a. Rivius' version of the *Annotationes*.
Rivius' *Praefatio*. In commentarium Valerii

Cordi (fol. a3v, ed. of Frankfort, 1549 and shortened version reprinted in 1561 ed., edited by Gesner). [*Inc.*]: Cum hos Dioscoridis libros de materia medica pene absolvissemus, amice Lector, forte fortuna incidimus in Annotationes Valerii Cordi, quas ille iam olim in Academia Witembergensi nonnullis medicinae studiosis dictaverat. Perlegimus cupide totum libellum, rati videlicet, id quod res erat, divinitus nobis oblatam occasionem, qua Dioscorides illustrior exiret, et maiore cum fructu posthac in manibus studiosorum versaretur. Verum ne nobis nimium fideremus, exploravimus et aliorum doctorum hominum de libello Cordi iudicia. Visus est omnino dignus qui in publicum quamprimum emitteretur, indignus qui iam annis aliquot intra paucorum scrinia delituisset. Etsi autem fata non permiserunt autori, ultimam manum huic atque aliis operibus, quae inchoaverat, imponere, tamen res ipsa indicat has Valerii primitias multis magnis ac perfectis (ut videri volunt) monumentis aliorum longe praestare, quod nemo non fatebitur, postquam has Annotationes cum scriptis aliorum contulerit. Fuit enim in hoc Valerio Cordo (ut obiter de autore nonnihil dicamus) cum in universa medicina perdiscenda, tum vero praecipue cognoscendi Simplicia, ut vocant, incredibile studium, ad quod illum parens Euricius medicus idemque poeta clarissimus et autoritate et exemplo inflammavit, qui filium ab incunabulis inter ipsas herbas ac flores educari voluit. Accessit ad optimam institutionem ingenium acre et rara naturae felicitas, cui nihil arduum aut inaccessum esse posset. Ad haec, mirabilis industria atque assiduitas in inquirendis rebus, insuper et perceptorum fidissima custos, memoria, qua ita excellebat hic Cordus, ut integras descriptiones singularum rerum ac diversorum autorum secum ubique animo circunferret ac expromeret, ubi opus esset. His dotibus brevi tempore eo progressus est, ut excellentes medici ac senes discendi gratia adolescentem frequentes accederent. Subinde etiam varias peregrinationes suscepit, quo certius et exactius omnia suis ipsius oculis subiecta cognosceret, neve aliorum narrationibus (quod pluribus accidisse videbat) deciperetur. Ac primo quidem perlustravit omnem fere Germaniam, ac vicinas Septentrionales regiones, intravit horrentes saltus, superavit aeditissima montium iuga, demisit se in profundissimos specus, et pleraque summa diligentia pervestigavit, quae in his partibus gignuntur, paucis hucusque nota. At quoniam bona pars medicamentorum exoticis constat, ne illa parum cognita haberet, convertit se ab Aquilone ad alteram mundi plagam, adscitoque uno atque altero comite pervenit in Italiam ubi brevi novus ille hospes propter ingenii praestantiam multis admirationi esse coepit. Sed, quae est humanarum rerum fragilitas, in ipso studiorum cursu e medio sublatus est, magno cum dolore omnium doctorum, et inaestimabili iactura totius medicinae. Non est dubium, quin unus Valerius omnes in hac parte medicos longo intervallo post se relinquere potuerit, si diutius superfuisset, et habituri eramus certi aliquid, quod in tanta caligine rerum tuto sequi licuisset, qui nunc novis subinde opinionum praestigiis circunducimur, dum nobis quilibet suas coniecturas, deum immortalem, quam frivolas saepe et inanes, obtrudit, nullus non de herbis sua somnia prodit. Lugeat itaque Germania, lugeat orbis egregii casum iuvenis et spem medicinae reflorescentis interceptam. Sed omittamus querimoniam, atque hoc potius agamus: Quoniam fata nobis inviderunt speratos fructus, quos dare ingenium Cordi poterat, fruamur interim his primitiis easque grato animo amplectamur, ac si quid, ut in opere non absoluto, desiderari forte queat, id iniuriae fortunae imputemus, quae non passa fuit nascentem foetum omnibus numeris absolvi, non persequamur nevos, quibus fere nullum corpus quantumvis insigne carere potuit. Neque enim inficiamur etiam Valerium maiore rerum experientia edoctum quaedam mutaturum fuisse, si vita ei longior contigisset. Verum certent alii adiicere, quod huic deesse iudicaverint, id erit multo laudabilius, quam si bene meritum de communi hominum vita obtrectationibus impugnent. Caeterum ut

medicinae studiosis etiam amplius gratificaremur, subiunximus huic Commentario Valeriano Epitomen Botanologici Euricii Cordi propter autorum et materiae cognationem, unde et utilitatis plurimum nec minus voluptatis ad amantes Medicinae rediturum esse speramus. Tu fruere lector his omnibus, ac bene vale.

Annotationes Valerii Cordi Simesusii (p. 449, I, 1) [*Inc.*]: Iris, sive ireos, sive iridis, in genitivo proferas, eadem est planta. Qua propter inepte distinguunt quidam, quasi diversae sint herbae, iris et ireos. Est autem iris ea radix, quae a Germanis *violwurtz* vocatur, non quod vere sit violae radix, sed quod odore violas aemuletur. Et hoc quidem nomen iridi illyricae proprium et peculiare est, quae omnium optima censetur.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 533, V, 96; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *Atramentum librarium*. Omnibus notum est quo scribimus atramentum. Hodie tamen alia ratione fit, quam qua Dioscorides docet.

Editions:

[1549]: See above I, 8.

1551, Parisiis (Paris): Apud Guil. Morelium. In: *Eurici Cordi Simesusii Botanologicon... Annot.*, pt. 2, pp. 1-395. Pritzel 1883. BM; BN.

Doubtful or rejected edition:

1545: See above I, 8.

b. Gesner's version of the *Annotationes*.

Gesner's first letter (ed. of Strasbourg, 1561). Inclyto et spectabili collegio medicorum in illustri Academia Witebergensi, Conradus Gesnerus medicus et philosophiae interpres in schola Tigurina salutem et pacem Christianam. [*Inc.*]: (fols. a2-a3) Valerii Cordi scripta quaecunque colligere potui (clarissimi viri et medici praestantissimi) ut in publicum tandem ederentur cum adornassem nuper et singulos libros singulis patronis, illis fere a quibus aliquos eorum acceperam, dedicassem. Primum qui eius in Dioscoridem Annotationes continet, in Iohannis Rallae pharmacopolae Lipsensis avunculi eius et studiorum promotoris benignissimi nomen inscripsi.../...[*Expl.*]: meque amantissimum observantissimumque vestri redamate. Valete. Tiguri tertio Cal. Iunii anni M. D. LXI.

Con. Gesnerus magnae spei iuveni N. Ioannis Rallae pharmacopolae Lipsensis, foelicis memoriae, filio. Salutem. [*Inc.*]: (fols. a3v-a4) Auctas et emendatas ab autore Valerii Cordi in Dioscoridem Annotationes, meo studio edendas, optimo et praeclaro in arte sua viro Ioan. Rallae parenti tuo, Cordi autem avunculo, nuper dedicaram, ne videlicet posthumus liber, qui nunc vigesimo fere anno a conditoris sui obitu in publicum prodit, inter tot Momos et alienae gloriae fucos sine tutore aliquo appareret. Aequum autem videbatur, ut liber ab eo mihi communicatus primum, (hunc enim ad me mittendum a parente tuo, ni fallor, Ioan. Placotomus insignis medicus accepit) ad ipsum reverteretur. Praesertim cum maximam studiorum suorum partem libri author, eius ex sorore nepos, ipsius benignitati promotionique, ut fama praediplicibus medicamentis dignoscendis summa parentis tui industria ac eruditio esset, id quod et aliis argumentis et misso ad me olim cultissimi horti vestri locupletissimo stirpium catalogo facile cognovi. Neque me olim cultissimi horti vestri locupletissimo stirpium catalogo, facile cognovi. Neque me latet multa egregia medicamenta, pharmacopolis et medicis plerisque ante ipsum incognita, ab ipso primum vestra in regione demonstrata fuisse. Itaque inscriptam in eius nomen dedicationem primae huius Cordi operum partis ante paucos menses ad typographum miseram, nullo mihi domi exemplari servato. Paulo post vero simul et optimum parentem tuum fatis concessisse, et dedicationem meam in via, nescio quorum hominum perfidia, intercidisse intellexi. Illam quidem sibi non ingratam fore perbenignis ad me literis, paulo ante mortem, iam significaverat pater. Quod si exemplar mihi superfuisset, omnino idem denuo ad typographum misissem excudendum. Vera enim solidaque gratitudo, non erga viventes solum, sed etiam defunctos, suum tuetur ac servat officium. Et sane doleo ita contigisse. Memini etiam de Cordo in epistola illa quaedam me protulisse, ab amicis accepta,

quorum non amplius recordor. Ne vero sine patrono in manus hominum, quorum plerique alienis laboribus utcunque elaboratis, obtrectant et insidiantur, liber hic imperfectus perveniret, unius defuncti loco plures excellentissimosque patronos delegi, totum nempe in illustri Academia Witebergensi Medicorum Collegium, qui omnis hosce posthumos Cordi libros tueri ac fouere, ut equidem spero, dignabuntur. Tibi autem privatim, egregii patris optime fili, has in Dioscoridem Annotationes nuncupare volui, ut sicuti unicus ab eo filius es relictus, annum aetatis, ut audio, vix decimum sextum agens, ita ut ad paternae etiam gloriae, industriae, doctinaeque fastigium aspires, te cohortarer et currenti (quod aiunt) calcar adderem.../...[*Expl.*]: Nam vel ex amicis, quibus aliquos huius voluminis dicaveram libros, perbrevi sane tempore, non solum parens tuus, iam senex, sed etiam Philippus Bechius medicus eruditione praecellens, in vigore aetatis, cum hactenus semper optime valuisset Basileae, et iuvenis omnino Caspar Collinus pharmacopola non vulgaris, apud Vallesios, obierunt. Meditemur igitur communem omnium finem, ne nos miseros inopinato opprimat. Vale, et me ama, meque vicissim tui amantissimum fore, propter Cordum praecipue cognatum tuum, quem vides quanti faciam, tibi persuadeas. Tiguri Helvetiorum, anno salutis M.D. LXI. Calendis Augusti.

Conradus Gesnerus Candido Lectori Salutem. [*Inc.*]: (fols. a4-bb1v) Doctissimae utilissimaeque istae Valerii Cordi Annotationes in Dioscoridis libros V plurimum ab ipso authore, paulo ante mortem eius, emendatae (asterisco * ubi aliqua super genuina lectione dubitatio, aut aliquid imperfectum erat adiecto) auctaeque ab initio operis usque ad Libri II, Caput CVIII (quod est de hordeo) nunc primum prodeunt. Inter quae etiam pulcherrimae sunt de succini deque sacchari naturae disputationes. Quae vero deinceps sequuntur, quoniam ab authore morte praevento absolvi non potuerunt, ex prima editione (quae scripta ab eo antequem in Italiam venisset, Francfordiae olim publicata est, cum Gualtheri Riffii Dioscoride) continuavimus. Emendatiora tamen ea quoque et explicatiora dedimus, cum alias, tum ex brevissimis quibusdam ipsius Cordi (aut ex eius ore exceptis) in V Dioscordis libros Annotationibus manuscriptis. Hoc non dissimularim, nonnulla quae superflua mihi videbantur, et nihil quam oneratura lectores (ut capita quaedam in libro secundo, super aquatilibus quibusdam animantibus, Cordo aliisque eo tempore per Germaniam eruditis adhuc incognitis) penitus a me recisa esse, quod non solum utile nihil ex professo, sed ne obiter quidem continerent quicquam.../... [*Expl.*]: Porro omnia ubique recte dixisse et iudicasse Cordum, ego mihi defendendum non sumo, nec libuit meas censuras ubique addere, etiam ubi potuissem, nam in multis ne potuissem quidem.

There follows a tract: Quinam scriptores Dioscoridis De medica materia libros et quomodo explicaverint. De nonnullis, quam qui hodie vivunt liberius iudicabunt posteri. [*Inc.*]: Amatus Lusitanus medicus, primum Ioan. Roderici Castelli Albi Lusitani nomine, in duos priores Dioscoridis libros, commentarios quosdam edidit...(Gesner reports to the reader about previous translators and commentators on Dioscorides' *De materia medica.* In his discussion, while sometimes stating that he has not actually seen the works, Gesner reports on the following: Amatus Lusitanus, Andreas Lacuna, Bartholomaeus Marantha, Benedictus Textor, Conradus Forerus, Conradus Gesner (himself), Faustus Longianus (in Italian), Gualtherus Rivius, "H.B.P. medicus," Hermolaus Barbarus, Iacobus Goupylus, Ianus Cornarius, Ioannes Agricola (on Dioscorides, Galen and Serapion), Ioannes Baptista Egnatius, Ioannes Dantzius (in German), Ioannes Lonicerus, Ioannes Manardus, Ioannes Ruellius, Marcellus Virgilius, Melchior Guilandinus, Oribasius, Otho Brunfelsius, Petrus Matthiolus, Petrus Paduanus, Robertus Constantinus, Valerius Cordus, Aloisius Anguillara (whose works he had not seen), and "Aben Bitar" or ibn-Beitar). [*Expl.*]: Eos brevi latine edendos spero, Io. Moibano doctissimo Reipub.

Augustanae medico interprete.

Letter of Crato. Ioannes Crato Ferdinandi Caesaris Augusti Medicus, Conrado Gesnero Medico Tigurino Salutem. (fols. b2-b3) [*Inc.*]: Quam syncerus et candidus sis aestimator voluntatis amicorum, optime et doctissime Gesnere, abunde satis testantur literae tuae 23 Augusti scriptae. Eas cum heri acceperim, vides quanto post ad me perlatae sint, quam fuerant datae....Ac nunc nihil aeque cupio, quam iuvare me posse editionem tuam scriptorum Valerii Cordi mihi, dum in vivis esset, coniunctissimi et amicissimi...Dioscoridem in schola Witebergensi ter legit, ac primo quidem ea dictauit, quae nescio quomodo extant.../... [*Expl.*]: Salutat te et Laelium Soccinum, cui et ego salutem opto, Zacharias Ursinus. Vratislauiae ex meis aedibus die Lucae medici et evangelistae anno 1559.

(There follow several short excerpts: one from a letter of Georg Agricola in praise of Valerius Cordus, Gualtherius Rivius' preface to Valerius' *Annotationes*, 1549 ed., and Gesner's *Bibliotheca* on Valerius.)

Andreae Ellingeri medici epigramma de inventoribus scordii et chamaedryos in Germania (fol. b4) [*Inc.*]: Scordion a Scorodo dictum, quod spiret odore.../...[*Expl.*]: Grati agnoscamus Cordi Rhallaeque fidelem/Quam studiis operam navat uterque bonis.

Valerii Cordi Annotationes. Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Iris, sive ireos, sive iridis, in genitivo casu proferas, eadem est planta, quaproter inepte quidam tanquam diversas distinguunt, iris et ireos. Est autem iris illyrica ea radix, quae in pharmacopoliis ireos et Germanice *violwurtz* appellatur. Non quod vere sit violae radix, sed quod odore violas imitatur, ea propemodum sola ab authoribus cunctis aliis eius speciebus praefertur.../... [*Expl.*]: (V, 183; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) *Atramentum librarium*. Omnibus notum est quo scribimus atramentum. Hodie tamen alia ratione fit, quam qua Dioscorides docet.

Edition:

1561, Argent. (Strasbourg): Josias Rihelius. Also included are: a letter by Gesner dealing with the preparation of the *Historia plantarum* for publication; the *Historia plantarum* (4 bks.), *Sylva observationum variarum Valerii Cordi; Loca medicaminum feracia in Germania; V. Cordi de artificiosis; V. Cordi compositiones medicinales aliquot, non vulgares, Stocchornii et Nessi in Gernatium Helvetiorum ditione montium... a Benedicto Aretio; Horti Germaniae authore Conrado Gesnero.* Graesse 2, 264; Pritzel 1884; NUC. BM; BN; Cas; Oxford Bodl; Uppsala; (CtY-M; DNLM).

Biography:

Valerius Cordus was born in Erfurt (although a tradition says Siemershausen) on February 18, 1515, to Euricius Cordus, a famous botanist-physician. According to Rivius (see p. 68 above), he was raised by his father "qui filium ab incunabulis inter ipsas herbas ac flores educari voluit." Euricius took the family to Marburg where he taught, and where Valerius matriculated and received his first degree in 1531. In 1533 Valerius studied at Leipzig where his mother's brother, Johannes Ralla had an apothecary shop. About 1539 he went to Wittemberg where he received a degree and lectured. It is uncertain whether he ever practiced medicine. At what period he wrote his *Dispensatorium* is uncertain but the manuscript, apparently not written for publication, was submitted to the city council of Nuremberg by his uncle, Johannes Ralla. The council officially adopted it and ordered its printing in 1546. Throughout his life Valerius was known to have combed the country-side in search of plants. His friends were said to include the older Melanchthon and among younger scholars, J. Crato von Kraftheim, George Ömler, and Hieronymus Schreiber; his students included Johannes Placotomus, Andreas Aurifaber and Pierre Belon (see above). Paracelsus may have visited him in Leipzig. Accompanied by Schreiber he went on a trip to Italy in 1542 where he visited Padua, Pavia, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Lucca and Livorno. He died in Rome, following either an injury from a horse's kick, or a severe fever on September 24, 1544, at the age of 29 years.

Works: In addition to *Annotationes, Dis-*

pensatorium and titles in 1561 ed., he wrote: *De halosantho seu spermate ceti vulgo dicto liber*, in: C. Gesner, *De omni rerum fossilium genere*, Zurich 1555; *Stirpium descriptionis liber IV* (Strasbourg 1563); *Epistola de trochiscorum viperinorum adulteratione* in the letters of Laur. Schulz, Frankfurt 1598.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 3, 479-480; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiter und Völker* 2, 108-109; Du Petit-Thouars, in: Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 9, 204; Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum*, 100; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg, 1854-1857; repr. 1965) 4, 317-322; *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3, 359; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, 11, 804-806.

Georg Edmund Dann, "Leben and Leistung des Valerius Cordus aus neuerer Sicht," *Pharmazeutische Zeitung*, 113 (n. 27, July 4, 1968), 1062-1072; Edward Lee Greene, *Landmarks of Botanical History*...(Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 541, Washington, 1909) 263-314; Rudolf Schmitz, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 3, 413-415; idem, "Zur Bibliographie der Erstausgabe des Dispensatoriums Valerii Cordi," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 42 (1958), 260-270; Karl Sudhoff, "Valerius Cordus, der Äther und Theophrast von Hohenheim," *Festschrift für Alexander Tschirch zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 17 Oktober 1926* (Leipzig 1926), 203-210; T. A. and M. S. Sprague, "The Herbal of Valerius Cordus," *The Journal of the Linnean Society of London. Botany.* 52(1939) 1-113.

m. Conradus Gesnerus

Gesner's lifelong interest in botanical history, and in Dioscorides in particular, resulted in two small commentaries. The first is called *Herbarum nomenclaturae variarum gentium, Dioscoridi Adscriptae, secundum literarum ordinem expositae*. Although the preface by Gesner and the tract were first published in Gesner's *Catalogus plantarum latine, graece, germanice et gallice*..., Zürich 1542, the preface is undated and there is no certainty when he wrote it. In 1541 Gesner became a lecturer in natural philosophy and ethics at Zürich and in that same year he published his own herbal, *Historia plantarum et vires ex Dioscoride, Paulo Aegineta, Theophrasto, Plinio et recentioribus Graecis juxta elementorum ordinem*..., Basel: Apud Robertum Winter (copy examined in BM). It begins with *Abrotonum* and ends with *Zizipha*. Possibly it was the research done on the *Historia plantarum* or the preparation for lectures that he first compiled the identifications of the plants in *De materia medica*. The commentary on Dioscorides is a lengthy alphabetical list of synonyms involving many languages and employing the *Adscripta*, the *Notha* and what is now considered the authentic Dioscoridean text. Gesner noted that the *Adscripta* at one time accompanied the text and that they were useful in identifying the materia medica of Dioscorides.

The second tract is a commentary on *De materia medica*, IV, 76 and 77 (Wellmann ed.) dealing with ἀκόνιτον and ἀκόνιτον ἕτερον. The first is a variety called *pardalianches*, so translated by Hermolaus Barbarus, and the second *aconitum lycoctonum vel napellus* or wolfsbane, so-called because its poison kills wolves. The work is called *De aconitro Primo Dioscoridis asseveratio* and is principally concerned with *pardalianches*. It was published with a separate title-page in Gesner's *Epistolarum medicinalium*...*libri* and it was edited by Casparus Wolphius (Wolf) of Zürich who wrote an accompanying prefatory letter on September 7, 1577, addressed to Georgius Cellarus, a Zürich physician. Though the work was not published until 1577, it was written by Gesner in 1558 as the result of an argument he had had with Matthiolus in 1542. In the introduction Gesner states: "Argumento est liber noster trilinguis ante 16 annos editus, etc. spatium itaque utrique interiectum, annum hunc 1558, circiter determinat." Casparus Wolphius explains in his introductory letter that he is publishing the work from the notes (*schedae*) left by

Gesner and he is doing so because of the long delay with his promised edition of Gesner's *Stirpium historia*, therefore "operae pretium existimavi, ut edito hoc fragmento, ceu futuri de Stirpibus operis specimine, intelligatur me neque quicquam quod ad communem utilitatem conferri debeat ac possit, quantum in me est, reliqui facere, neque pollicitationis meae penitus oblitum esse." There is no indication that the *Stirpium historia* was ever published unless Wolphius was speaking of a new edition of Gesner's *Historia plantarum* (Basel 1541) which has an entry on *aconitum* (pp. 6-7) and is different from *De aconitro Primo Dioscoridis*. In a letter (*Ep.* IV. 9) to Johannes Kertmann on August 25, 1558, Gesner wrote: "ut libellum de Aconitis, quem meditor brevi edere (saltem ad nondinas vernas) in quo multa mirabilia, citius absolvam. . . ." Gesner's use of *libellus de aconitis* would seemingly indicate that he saw it as a separate tract but Wolphius later may have once intended to make it part of a larger work before deciding on the separate publication. In the work on *aconitum* Gesner cites Matthiolus, Marantha and Fuchsius, with woodcuts derived from each of their works, in order to distinguish species. Gesner also mentions that: "misit hanc herbam pro Aconito Eustathius Quercetanus anno 1555, in fine Aprilis talem tantamque." With this date then, we judge that probably the treatise was written in Zürich in 1555 or soon thereafter. In a letter to U. Aldrovandus, P. A. Matthiolus wrote from Prague on November 26, 1558: "Il Gesnero . . .havendo veduto la mia appendice nel commento dell' Aconito et la Epistola contra al Guilandino scritta al Faloppia come l' hebbi scoperto haver errato nel carpesio et nel zurumbeto, ha hauto paura che dando fuor volumi di piante io non li scriva il diavolo contra." (C. Raimondi, "Lettere di P. A. Mattioli ad Ulisse Aldrovandi," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 13 [1906], 162.) (I am grateful to Dr. John B. Blake, National Library of Medicine, for assistance in locating aconitum in Gesner's *Historia plantarum*.)

a. Herbarum Nomenclaturae Variarum Gentium, Dioscoridi Adscriptae, Secundum Literarum ordinem expositae.

Gesner's Preface (ed. of Frankfort, 1549) [*Inc.*]: Occurrunt aliquando apud quosdam medicinae scriptores herbarum nomina inusitatiora, quorum multa intelligi posse in spem adducebar, si quis Dioscoridi adscripta variarum gentium nomina per alphabeti ordinem cum interpretatione distribueret. Itaque laborem illum mihi ipsi imposui, ut tibi candide Lector, quicquid in eo posset emolumenti contingere, communicarem, certus quidem maximam partem huius nominum sylvae apud autores non extare, si quae tamen vel pauca hinc disceres olim, labori te meo gratiam habiturum mihi pollicitus. Nam e sterquilineo gemmas repertas contemptui habere non oportet. Exempli gratia: Πολύνευρος [Πολύνευρον, Scribonius, ed. Leipzig 1887, p. 10, 2] a Scribonio Largo ad Epilepsiam et crapulam commendatur, eam ex hoc Elencho plantaginem esse deprehendes. Vales.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: Abiblabon, Hemerocalles./ Abiblabon Aphris, Lilium./ Abioton, Cicuta./ Absinthium, Abrotonum./ Absinthiomenon, Abrotonum./ Absinthium Ponticum Romanis, Abrotonum.../... [*Expl.*]: Zuoste Dacis, Artemisia./ Zugis sylvestris, Serpyllum.

Editions:

1542, Tiguri (Zürich): Ap. Christoph. Froschauer. fols. 146-158 in: Gesner's *Catalogus plantarum*...Graesse 3. 69; Pritzel 3298; NUC. BM; (DNALM; DNLM; NNAM).

1549: See above I, 8.

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

(*) 1542, Tiguri, (Zürich), Apud Froschoverum. Johannes Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum, Veterum et Recentiorum*, 4 vols. (Geneva 1731) 1, 465.

1545: See above I, 8.

b. De aconitro primo Dioscoridis, asseveratio.

Prefatory Letter (ed. of Zurich, 1577). Insigni doctrina et eruditione viro, D. Georgio Cellario, amplissimae Reipublicae Tiguri-

nae medico, amico veteri et collegae, Casparus Wolphius Tigurinus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Posteaquam, vir doctissime, gravissimorum virorum authoritate factum est, ut communis amici ac praeceptoris nostri D. Conradi Gesneri Epistolas Medicinales et Philosophicas omnes, quotquot amicorum beneficentia hoc tempore habere potui, in lucem darem, visum est hanc Gesneri de Aconito primo Dioscoridis Asseverationem, et Oxymelitis Elleborati utriusque descriptionem et usum ex relictis eiusdem schedis collectum libellum ceu corollarium quoddam iis statim subiungere. Atque ut id facerem confidentius, non nullae non omnino leves causae me impulerunt. Ac ante omnia quidem, cum mihi ipsi ego conscius essem, quantam de Conradi Gesneri Stirpium historia perficienda atque publicanda, publice edito scripto, viris eruditis spem fecerim; nec praeterea ignorarem, quam difficulter plerique eius historiae desiderium ferentes, me meamque fidem utcunque suspectam habeant, operae pretium existimavi, ut edito hoc fragmento ceu futuri de Stirpibus operis specimine intelligatur me neque quicquam quod ad communem utilitatem conferri debeat ac possit, quantum in me est, reliqui facere, neque pollicitationis meae penitus oblitum esse. Quod vero hucusque nihil laude dignum, quod quidem publice extet, in ea praestiterim, neque negligentia neque laboris impatientia aut etiam promissi taedio factum esse existimandum est; quin potius, si quid hac in parte praetermissum, id totum aut operis magnitudini atque moli aut negotiorum publice mihi atque privatim perpetuo incumbentium multitudini ac importunitati, quae vel Ampliss. Magistratus nostri iussu, vel liberorum et rei familiaris causa necessario subeunda, ascribendum erit....Et haec quidem una causa est, propter quam historiae Stirpium fragmentum hoc publicarim. Alteram vero occasionem haec ipsa Epistolarum Medicinalium praesens editio obtulit. Gesnerus ad amicos scribens frequenter in eam controversiam, quae illi De Aconito primo Dioscoridis cum Excellentissimo Matthiolo fuit, abripitur, qua eius exhibitam Aconiti figuram, vel ut fictam, vel ut facultatibus atque descriptioni minus convenientem, vituperat. Interim tamen neque Matthioli Aconitum uspiam ex professo redarguit, neque contra suum, quibus potuisset rationibus, diligentius defendit, sed utrunque se facturum in sua Stirpium historia pollicetur. Ergo cum utrinque rationes non omnino vanae aut infirmae afferri possint, ut quam iustis de causis doctissimi Matthioli Aconitum reiiciat, perspicuum esset, et contra, quam vere suum Gesnerus asserat, ex inchoatae Stirpium historiae, capite tricesimo, hanc copiosam et integram Gesneri de Aconito in utranque partem agitatam disputationem, Corollarii loco, uti dixi, huc afferre volui.../...[*Expl.*]: ut quae nobiscum adolevit ac iam etiam consenuit pene amicitia, nullis malevolorum obtrectationibus dissolvatur, quin potius, quod olim a te Monspessulum mihi perscriptum memini, Valeant qui inter nos dissidium volunt. Vale et me ama. Tiguri. 7 Idus Septembris, Anno 1577.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Aconitorum duo genera prima facit Dioscorides, lib. de materia medica quarto, capitibus 75 et 76, quorum prius id est, quod Pardalianches nominatur: de quo etiam.../...[*Expl.*]: alias dixi lib. de Animalib. Est et altera taura, de qua Hermolaus Barbarus.

Editions:

1577, Tiguri (Zürich): Excudebat Christoph. Frosch. Pt. 2, fols. 2-20v with separate t. p. of: Gesner's *Epistolarum medicinalium...libri III...partim vero emendatiora et auctiora, per* Casparum Wolphium. NUC. Wellcome; BN; Manchester; (CtY-M; DNLM; MH-A).

Doubtful or Rejected Editions:

(*) 1565, Tiguri (Zürich): In: *Epistolarum medicinalium libri tres*, ed. per C. Wolphium...De aconitro...Oxford, Bodl. (*Cat.* 2, 142).

(*) 1584, Vitebergae (Wittemberg): Ex officina typographica Simonis Gronenbergii. In: *Epistolarum medicinalium liber IV... Joa. Kentmannus ed.* Graesse 3, 69, but *De aconitro* not specifically mentioned. NUC. (DNLM).

Biography:
See CTC II, 307-08.

n. JOHANNES LONICERUS

The *Nova Scholia* were written in Marburg and completed in or before 1543. The idea was suggested by Christian Egenolph when Lonicerus was in Strasbourg (1524-1527). It was published by Egenolph in the controversial edition of 1543 (see below, p. 77,79) with the allegedly plagiarized woodcuts and with another commentary by Gualtherius Rivius as well as in another edition of the same year. The commentary is based on Marcellus Virgilius' translation which Lonicerus considered "Romana" and "elegans." Lonicerus brought to the commentary his background as a philologist and theologian although he had previously also done some medical writing. In addition to a commentary on *De materia medica* there is also a commentary on *De venenis*. A list of seventy-six authors or books, including the Bible, cited in the commentary is found on fol. 2v of the edition with Rivius. Frequently Hebrew equivalents are named in Hebrew script. To some degree Lonicerus showed an interest in the textual tradition but for the most part the concern was with nomenclature; there is a paucity of medical commentary.

Lonicerus' Prefatory Letter. Ingenio et humanitate conspicuo Christiano Aegenolpho, civi ac typographo Francofordiensi, Domino et amico suo veteri, Ioannes Lonicerus S. D. P. (ed. of Frankfort and Marburg, 1543). [*Inc.*]: Quem susceperam laborem, partim amicitia quae inter nos iam olim Argentorati coaluit ac deinceps arctiore consuetudine confirmata est persuasus, partim integritate tua, humanissime Aegenolphe, compulsus, ad umbilicum, sit Christo gloria, perduxi. In quo etiamsi diu multumque sudarim, ob publicos ac domesticos labores, quibus praepeditus non potui pro animi mei sententia insistere operi, ipsa tamen rerum naturae perquisitio, mirifica Dei sapientia, nec non amplissima Maiestas, quae ubique in creaturis sese exerit, me alacriorem quadantenus reddidit, quo minus sub suscepto onere succumberem. Marcelli versionem, quia Romana est et elegans, reliqui, quorsum enim attinet de integro Dioscoridem Latinum facere, quum proprie nobis et Romane loquatur Virgilii Marcelli eloquentissimi viri vigiliis. Quae in Dioscoride manca sunt, nisi e melioribus Graecis exemplaribus restitui non possunt, quibus qui destituitur, imprudenter mea quidem sentencia agit, si vel fide vel diligentia vel eloquentia superare Marcellum in animum inducat. Enimvero quum Marcellus in plerisque locis in suis commentariis prolixius aequo rhetoricari ac nonnullis eruditis plurimum ossium, minimum vero carnium, cancrorum instar, hoc est multum verborum, parum vero rei habere iudicaretur tuque iam decreveras, in studiosorum medicae artis gratiam, venustissimis herbarum ideis et iconibus adiectis Dioscoriden denuo publicare, ne volumen in immensum crescens (si prolixae istae Marcelli exegeses una Hermolai Barbari Corollariis adiiciendae essent) cum tibi impensas, tum emptoribus precium augeret, egisti mecum tantum, ut nova haec eaque succincta scholia conscriberem. Venio autem in spem haec non displicitura iatrices amatoribus, maxime si deprehendant me non mea in rebus arduis proferre, sed ipsissima naturae sacerdotum decreta et eiusmodo, quod doctissimis hac in professione autoribus placuerunt. Ebraea rerum vocabula nonnunquam adieci, quia observarem unam et alteram Ebraeas nomenclaturas, barbarae et exoticae nominum (quae in Dioscoridem optimum autorem irrepsit) congeriei insertas. Non tam, quod quicquid ad rem faciant, quam sacrae Iehudaeorum [sic] linguae gratia. Praestabilius erat, meo quidem iudicio (quod exiguum admodum est) unum et alterum nomina solummodo adducere, quibus apud probatiores autores herbae adpellarentur. Verum tanta barbaries ex barbarissimis Arabum medicorum interpretibus invecta est in scholam medicam, ut Hercule fortiore aliquo heroe opus sit, qui stabulum isthuc Augiae repurget. At optimus est medicus Avicenna. Fateor equidem, si latine ita loqueretur, ut posset intelligi, idem de reliquis barbaris iudicandum. Maiores et praestantiores sunt illis Graeci principes medici, Hippocrates, Galenus, Dioscorides, Aetius,

Paulus Aegineta, Simeon Sethius, ut alios praetermittam. Qui et Graece et Latine ita loquuntur hodie ut possint intelligi. Quia vero de simplicibus nemo unquam melius scripserit Dioscoride, bene merentur de humana salute, boni et eruditi viri, quotquot in eo autore illustrando bonam operam navarunt. Hic sua laude florent Ruellius, Hermolaus Barbarus et Virgilius Marcellus. Evehitur etiam suis praeconiis Hieronymus Tragus, qui accuratiore simplicium censura barbara vocabula et Germanicas herbarum adpellationes Dioscoridae librorum capitibus diserte adiudicavit. Cuius diligentia et mihi in hisce lucubrationibus profuit...Ad te itaque hypomnemata haec nostra recipe, humanissime Aegenolphe, sedulo incumbens, ut quam emendatissime in lucem cum Dioscoride prodeant. Quod si curatum dederis, non poenitebit me susceptae operae, neque sumptus tuos quos feceris Ate, sed iusta laus honestumque lucrum, Cristo duce, sequetur. Vale. Marpurgi 1543.

Commentary. Preface of *De materia medica* [*Inc.*]: Locum Dioscoridis, quo dicit τὰ δὲ λοιπά.../...[*Expl.*]: extortus vel tusus est, igni exudatas.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Iris, illyris dicitur, accepto ab gente, apud.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 103; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) quam Dioscoridi. Alia etiam est in lumine vel tenebris pharmacopolarum.

Editions:

1543: See above I, 6.

(*) 1583: See above I, 14.

Biography:

Johannes Lonicerus (Johann Lonitzer) was born in 1499 in Artern in the region of Mansfeld and received his early education in Eisleben. He attended the universities at Erfurt and Wittenberg where he received a master's degree on January 24, 1521. While a student he became an Augustianian. Briefly he was a lecturer at Frankfort on the Oder. On the recommendation of Philipp Engentinus he undertook the study of Hebrew at Freiburg University under the direction of Thomas Blaurer, but Lonicerus was suspected of plotting against the Franciscans. He fled to Esslingen and then to Strasbourg (1523), where he engaged in translating Luther's Bible into Latin. In April, 1527, he accepted an invitation from Philip of Hesse as Professor of Greek at the newly opened University of Marburg. In 1536 he succeeded Sebastian Nautzenus in the chair of Hebrew. On May 15, 1564 (1554?), he was awarded a doctorate in theology from Wittenberg. He died on June 20, 1569, in Marburg and was survived by five sons, the first of whom, Adam, married the daughter of the publisher Christian Egenolph and became a famous botanist.

Works: Lonicerus' works included: *Contra Romanistam fratrem Augustinum Alvadensem* (1520); *Biblia nova Alvedensis* (155); translations and editions of Homer (1525 and 1542), Pindar (1528, 1535 and 1560), Nicander (1531), Sophocles (1533), Callimachus (1533); Galen (1550), Paul, *Letter to the Romans* (1537), *Graecae Grammaticae Methodus* (1536), *Artis dicendi methodus* (1536), *Oratio funebris in J. Ficium* (1543), *De meteoris* (1548 and 1550), and *Oratio in obitum Ferrari* (1558).

Bibl.: F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum* (Leipzig 1871) 342; Horawitz in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 19, 158–163; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik (Königsberg* 1854–1857; repr. 1965) 4, 336–337; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 31, 600–601; Weiss, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 25, 88–89.

o. Gualtherus Hermenius Rivius

Rivius' dedicatory letter, addressed to the Senate of Frankfurt, is dated September 1, 1543, in Frankfurt. In 1541–1542, he had been in Strasbourg. Benzing (p. 37, ref. below) says the commentary belongs to Rivius' Strasbourg period. Rivius' procedure was to comment on each chapter of the full *De materia medica*, but not on the accompanying *De venenis*. Normally the first part of the commentary consists of a discussion of the nomenclature (*nomina*), and then of the *explicatio*. Occasionally the *nomina* are omitted. He discusses the names, particularly German and French equivalents, views of other authorities, habitats, and additional medical

qualities often without citing an authority. On page three of the *editio princeps*, for instance, he says of *acorus* that ships now bring it from India "ut audio." In his prefatory letter, Rivius writes: "Quamvis me non lateret viros cum singulari tum exactissima doctrina in hac re summum studium impendisse, in quorum albo Hermolaus Barbarus, Marcellus Virgilius, Leonicenus, Manardus, Ruellius, Iac. Sylvius, Anth. Musa, et ex nostris, his nullo modo inferiores, Cornarius, Cordus uterque, pater et filius, Brunfelsius, mihi olim praeceptor charissimus plurimumque observandus, et Hieronymus Tragus, homo in diijudicandis, explorandis, examinandisque simplicium, maxime stirpium differentiis extra omnem (quod de Cicerone dictum est) ingenii aleam positus, post quorum luculentas conceptiones rem paulo auctiorem facere institui, nec id fore citra communem utilitatem putans." The 1549 ed. has an expanded comm. on the *nomina* but the *explicatio* is the same.

Rivius' commentary (*Nomina et explicatio*) and the edition in which it was first published became the center of a large controversy. His publisher, Christian Egenolph, included Rivius' *Nomina et explicatio* along with the *Nova Scholia* by Johannes Lonicerus together with Ruellius' translation of Dioscorides in a de luxe edition with woodcuts. Most of the woodcuts, however, were taken from an edition of Rösslin's *Kräuterbuch* but some "new" pieces were commissioned by Egenolph to be made by a Marburg artist. Nonetheless these pieces were allegedly simply poor copies of the woodcuts in Leonardus Fuchsius' *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes* (Basel: in officina Isingriniana, 1542). Moreover, it was alleged by Fuchsius that Rivius had plagiarized from his work. The publisher Michael Isingrin protested Egenolph's edition and Fuchsius was prompted to write a defense in 1544 in refuting the *reprehensiones* of Rivius (see below, pp. 78-9). There is no record that Rivius ever answered the charges.

Conrad Gesner condemned Rivius' commentary in his *Bibliotheca universalis* (Tiguri 1545, fols. 284v-285; cf. Gesner's letter to Hieronymus Tragus in Tragus' *De stirpium nomenclaturis...libri tres*, Strasbourg, 1552, fol. xii).

Rivius' dedicatory letter (ed. of Zurich, 1543) [*Inc.*]: Quum summus rerum opifex deus homini nihil praestabilius mente, ratione atque intelligentia dederit.../... [*Expl.*]: studium, industriam, quicquid est in me vel ingenii vel virium, vestrae amplitudini esse paratissimum. Francoforti ad Moenum, prid. Cal. Septem. Ann. Do. M.D. XL. III.

Commentary. Nomina et Explicatio, Liber I, 1[*Inc.*]: Ἶρις, Graecis. Latinis Iris. Germanis himelschwertel et violwurtz. Gallis des flambes, a foliorum similitudine, quae flammae linguas referunt dicta. Quinetiam nonnulli glatiolum appellavere eadem ratione unde in quibusdam Galliae partibus nomen adhuc retinet: vocant enim du glaiz. Officinis proprium nomen retinuit. *Explicatio.* Iris radix laudatior parva, densa, frangi contumax.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 93) Alii plures lapides...Plura de lapidibus et gemmis, vide in annotationibus nostris in Theophrast. lib. 1 de gemmis sive lapidibus.

Commentary. Nomina et Explicatio (ed. of 1549). Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: ΙΡΙΣ, Graecis; Latinis, iris; Germanis himelschwertel, blaulilien et violwurz. Brabantis. Lis over Zee.../ ...[Expl. same as ed. of 1543].

Bibliography:

On the controversy between Rivius-Egenolph and Fuchsius-Isingrin, see W. L. Schreiber, "Die Kräuterbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts," publ. in the reprint of *Hortus Sanitatis* (Mainz 1485; repr. Munich 1924), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii; Eberhard Stübler, *Leonart Fuchs. Leben und Werk* (Munich 1928), 245-262; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 5, 442-443.

Editions:

1543: See above I, 6.

1549: See above I, 8.

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1545: See above I, 8.

Biography:

Gualtherius Hermenius Rivius (or Walther Hermann Ryft, or Ruff, or Reift, or Riff) was a prolific writer (Benzing lists some 194 titles) and a controversial figure, but lit-

tle is known of his life. He was born at an unknown date, probably around 1500, in Strasbourg, although Wagner says possibly in Nuremberg. One of his teachers was Otto Brunfels. In 1533/4 he matriculated at the University in Basel. He made a botanical study-trip through Germany, Switzerland and Poland. The details of the next decade are vague. Some sources say he was a physician and surgeon in Strasbourg for a period. During this decade, he first wrote under the pseudonym Q. Apollinaris, according to Josef Benzing. According to Lüdtke, sometime between 1533 and 1537 he became an apothecary in Güstrow to Duke Albrecht VII of Mecklenburg. He wanted to undertake a general pharmaceutical guide but he learned that Brunfels had already begun one. When Brunfels died in 1534, having published only the first part of his work, Rivius went back to Strasbourg to pursue his plan. Lüdtke says possibly he saw Brunfels' notes. He may have lived in Mainz around 1539 and moved back to Strasbourg in 1541-1542. In 1540, he published a pharmaceutical study called in later editions, *Der erste theyl der kleynern teütschen Apoteck.* He is also known for writing on mathematics, astrological medicine, surgery, anatomy, architecture and dentistry. In 1542 and 1545 respectively Leonardus Fuchsius and Conrad Gesner delivered attacks against him blaming him both for lack of intelligence and plagiarism though in the case of Fuchsius the plagiarism was more the responsibility of the publisher, Egenolph. Vesalius too accuses Rivius of theft in his *Omnium humani corporis partium descriptio* but Charles Singer believes Rivius was merely describing the Parisian techniques for brain dissection between 1533 and 1536. Recent evaluations of Rivius' writings in dentistry, surgery and, to some degree, distillation and pharmacy, allow the possibility that Rivius may have been more of an innovator than Fuchsius, Gesner and Vesalius assert. He was in Frankfurt in 1543-1544 and at Mainz in 1544-1545. In 1546 he alienated himself from Egenolph and went to Nuremberg then to Würzburg where he died on September 29, 1548.

Works: (for full listing, see: Josef Benzing, *Walther H. Ryff und sein literarisches Werk. Eine Bibliographie,* Hamburg, 1959). *New erfundne, heylsame und bewärte artzney gewisse hilff unnd radt, nit allein die frantzosen oder bösen blatern...*, Strasbourg 1541, Basel 1559; *Practicirbüchlein der Leibartznei,* Frankfurt 1541; *Die kleinere Chirurgi...*, Strasbourg 1542; *Iatromathematicae ad astrologicam raionem enchiridion...*, Strasbourg 1542; *Medicinae theoricae et practicae enchiridion semeioticis aphorismis totam rem complectens,* Strasbourg 1542; *Das new gross Distillierbuech wol gegründter künstlicher Distillation...*, Frankfurt 1545; *Die gross Chirurgei...*, Frankfurt 1545; *New Kochbüch für die Krancken...*, Frankfurt 1545.

Bibl.: *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten and Völker* 4, 936-937; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexikon* (Jena 1740; repr. 1971) 734-735; K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie* 2, 184.

Josef Benzing, *Walther H. Ryff...*(Hamburg 1959); Carl Lüdtke, "Walther Ryff und seine 'Teütsche Apoteck'," *Zur Geschichte der Pharmazie* 14 (1962) 25-28; F. W. E. Roth, "Hieronymus Bruschwyg und Walter Ryff, zwei deutsche Botaniker des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Naturwissenschaften* 75 (1902) 102-123; W. L. Schreiber, "Die Kräuterbücher des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts," in: *Hortus Sanitatis* (Munich repr., 1924, of Mainz 1485 ed.), pp. xxxv-xl; Charles Singer, "Brain dissection before Vesalius," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 11 (1956), 261-274; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 5 (1941), 442-443; I.-V. Wagner, "Walther Hermann Ryff—seine Verdienste um die deutsche Zahnheilkunde," *Deutsche Zahn-, Mund- und Kieferheilkunde* 20 (1970), 314-16.

p. Leonardus Fuchsius

This commentary on portions of *De materia medica* comes in the form of a *Streitschrift* written against Gualtherius Rivius' commentary on Dioscorides (1543, Frank-

furt et Marburg: Egenolph). Fuchsius' ire was apparent earlier in 1542 when in the "Epistola nuncupatoria" of *De sanandis totius humani corporis malis*, he accused Rivius of plagiarism. Fuchsius' commentary, which covers some 96 chapters of Books I-IV *De materia medica*, is almost a chapter by chapter 'correction' of Rivius' alleged errors. Book V which deals mostly with minerals was omitted by Fuchsius who was a botanist. The title is: *Apologia Leonharti Fuchsii medici, qua refellit malitiosas Gualtheri Ryffii veteratoris pessimi reprehensiones, quas ille Dioscoridi nuper ex Egenolphi officina prodeunti attexuit obiterque quam multas, imo propemodum omnes, herbarum imagines e suis de stirpium historia inscriptis commentariis idem suffuratus sit ostendit*. The dedicatory epistle was written by Fuchsius to Vitus Rudolphus Specklim, a Strasbourg sculptor, and is dated February 12, 1544, at Tübingen. A Spanish translation of the *Apologia* was made by Ivan Iapaua (Antwerp, 1557). Nowadays it is difficult to understand the bitterness of the controversy but the immediate provocation was apparently two-fold: first, the Rivius-Egenolph edition had some 200 woodcuts from the Fuchsius herbal (*Historia stirpium*, 1542, Basel: Isingriniana) and, second, Rivius in his introduction (see above, p. 77) failed to name Fuchsius among the leading experts on Dioscorides. However in the work itself Fuchsius emphasizes the alleged errors rather than the plagiarism he found in Rivius's work. In the "Epistola nuncupatoria" of *Historia stirpium*, Fuchsius wrote: "Inter omnes herbarios libros qui hodie extant, nulli sunt, qui plus crassissimorum errorum habeant, quam illi quos iam iterum atque iterum edidit Egenolphus typographus. Nam multis in locis unam atque eandem herbam pro duabus tribusve, atque et forma et facultatibus distantibus pingit...De picturis... hoc dixisse satis sit, me mirari maiorem in modum cur suis pyxidibus non appinxerit etiam assidentes pharmacopolas, aut illorum[?] ministros praecinctos corio, cum melli advolantes muscas et aquae naves, atque in iis ad transtra sedentes nautas adhiberi curaverit. Sed cum non magni faciat commoda studiosorum et ad rem augendam magis attentus sit, nihil mirum ex illius officina prodire eiusmodi libros." In 1544 Christian Egenolph wrote a reply (*Adversum illiberales Leonharti Fuchsii...calumnias responsio*, Frankfort) but he left unanswered Fuchsius' charges against Rivius.

Epistola dedicatoria. (ed. of Basel, 1544) Ornatissimo viro Vito Rudolpho Specklim Sculptori Argentoracensi solertissimo Leonhartus Fuchsius medicus S. P. D. [*Inc.*] Incidi nuper in Dioscoridem qui magnifico titulo ornatus furtivisque Gualtheri Ryffi plumis vestitus, proximo mercatu Francofordiensi ex Egenolphi officina prodiit. Quem quum obiter perlustrarem, talem certe esse deprehendi, qualem fore iamdudum animo ac mente conceperam, nempe in hoc editum, ut existimationem meam, cui illum pertinaciter infensum esse scio, violaret, Isingriniique commodis adversaretur: imo ut imprudentibus ac herbariae medicinae parum peritis (dicam enim ingenue quod res est) fucum faceret, ac scelerate suis impudentissimis mendaciis imponeret. Quid enim insolentius, quid impudentius ab eo dici potuisset, quam quod se omnium quotquot a Dioscoride sunt descripta medicamentorum vivas dare imagines ac picturas nugatur? quum nemo hodie sit in universo hominum coetu, qui illa omnia perspecta et cognita habeat, tantum abest ut viderit, et ut nativa eorundem lineamenta exprimerentur, curaverit.../...in medio adversariorum nostrorum. Bene vale. XII. Calend. Februarii, Tubingae, anno M.D. XLIIII.

Commentary to Preface, *De materia medica* [*Inc.*]: Tam plenus est mendaciorum Ryffus, ut sibi temperare.../...[*Expl.*]: furtivae picturae satis testantur.

Commentary, Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Ut Ryffi impudentiam omnes agnoscant, et quam ille studeat.../...[*Expl.*] (IV, 168, *De cnico*; IV, 188 Wellmann ed.) dicto verius est, διαβολή...ἀσθενεστέρα γίνεται

Edition:

1544, Basileae (Basel): Apud Mich. Ising. Pritzel 3144. BM; Landesbibliotek Darm-

stadt; Dresden; Staatsbibliothek Berlin; Univ. Bibl. Marburg.

Biography:

Leonardus Fuchsius (Fuchs) was born on January 17, 1501, in Wending in Bavaria. He lost his father when he was five. At age ten his mother sent him to school in Heilbronn and, a year later, to the Marienschule in Erfurt. At the age of twelve he matriculated in the Arts Faculty of the University of Erfurt; when he had become a Baccalaureus artium he returned to his native city where, despite his youth, he established his own school. At the age of eighteen in 1519, he went to study at Ingolstadt under Joannes Reuchlin (Capnio) and Jacobus Coporinus and where he specialized in Greek and Hebrew. Despite an emphasis on religious studies, he was attracted to medicine. In 1521 he was awarded a *magister artium* from Erfurt and three years later he received a doctorate in medicine from Ingolstadt. Between 1522 and 1524 he was in Munich where presumably he practised medicine. He married and in 1526 he became a professor of medicine at Ingolstadt but, because of the tumultuous religious disputes and his support of Luther, he left in 1528 to become a physician to George of Brandenburg, Margrave of Ansbach. During the period from 1528 to 1533 Fuchsius began his prodigious medical writings and earned a high reputation for successfully treating a plague. In 1533 he returned to the professorship at Ingolstadt but his protestant religious views drove him back to the Margrave. On August 13, 1535, he accepted a chair of medicine in Tübingen where he taught for the rest of his life, some thirty-one years. He rejected a professorship offered at Pisa by Cosimo de Medici, and he declined an invitation to become a personal physician to the King of Denmark. His friends included Joachim Camerarius, with whom he collaborated in some writing, and Vesalius, and he knew O. Brunfels and Valerius Cordus. Also he was familiar with the botanical works of Tragus (Bock) and Gesner. Despite the contemporaneous German efforts to depreciate Italian and French authors, Fuchsius strongly defended Hermolaus Barbarus, Marcellus Virgilius, Johannes Ruellius and others. He is especially noted for his close work with engravers for the botanical drawings in his herbal. He died on May 10, 1566, in Tübingen(?).

Works: (For full list see Stubler, ref. below) *Errata recentiorum medicorum LX numero...*, Hagenoae 1530; *Paradoxorum medicinae libri tres...*, Basel 1535; *Apologia contra Hieremiam Thriverium Brachelium...*Haganoae 1534; *Apologiae tres, cum aliquot Paradoxorum explicationibus*, Basel 1538; *De historia stirpium commentarii...*, Basel 1542; *Adversus mendaces et Christiano homine indignas Christiani Egenolphi typographi Francofortani, suique Architecti calumnias responsio, denuo in lucem edita*, Basel 1545; *Appendix in qua criminationibus ac calumniis Ioannis Placotomi obiter respondetur...*, Frankfort 1566; *Institutionum medicinae...libri*, Lyon 1555; *Dispensatorium perfectum...*, Frankfurt 1566.

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 8, 169-170; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* 2, 637-639; Paul Freher, *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum...(Nuremberg 1688) 1257; Nouvelle biographie générale* 19, 1-2; K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, 2nd ed., 1, 275.

Agnes Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution; A Chapter in the History of Botany 1470-1670*. New ed. (Cambridge 1938) 64 and *passim*.; Gerhard Fichtner, "Neues zu Leben und Werk von Leonhart Fuchs aus seinen Briefen an Joachim Camerarius I. und II. in der Trew-Sammlung," *Gesnerus* 25 (1968) 65-82; Edward Lee Greene, *Landmarks of Botanical History...* (Washington 1909) 192-219; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg 1854-1857; repr. 1965) 4, 309-317; Eberhard Stubler, *Leonhart Fuchs. Leben und Werk* (Munich 1928).

q. Anonymus B

The commentary was first published in Lyon in 1546 as an *Annotatio* to Ruellius'

translation. Explanations are given only for the following animal substances and plants; *iris* (I, 1, 1546 ed.), *montanum nardum* (I, 8), *asarum* (I, 9), *malabathrum* (I, 11), *hippocamus* (II, 2), *brassica sylvestris* (II, 113); *sonchus thymum* (III, 35), *hieracium* (III, 61), *peucedanum* (III, 74), *polium* (III, 105), *hemerocallis* (III, 117), *asplenum* (III, 128), *parthenium* (III, 132), *ascyron* (III, 147), *polemonia* (IV, 7), *quinquefolium* (IV, 34), *lotus Aegyptia* (IV, 99), *chamaeleuce* (IV, 34), *buglossum* (IV, 112), *tripolion* (IV, 119), and *thapsia* (IV, 138). In some instances, the comments are fairly extensive. Authorities cited by name are Virgil (*Georgics*), Pliny, Marcellus, G. Rondelletius, and Leonardus Fuchsius (*De historia stirpium commentarii*).

Commentary (ed. of Lyons, 1546). [*Inc.*]: (p. 7) Censetur galanga officinarum. Nec enim acori genuinam.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 378, *thapsia*) satis innuit parum idoneum ostendat.

Editions:
1546, See above I, 7.
1547 (1), See above I, 7.
1547 (2), See above I, 7.
1550, See above I, 7.
1554, See above I, 7.

r. Jacobus Goupylus

The *Castigationes* were produced as Goupylus served as editor of the Greek text in Petrus Haultinus' 1549 edition of Dioscorides with Ruellius' translation. At the time Goupylus was a physician in Paris where he had begun to practice in 1548. Goupylus' commentary is for *De materia medica*, 5 books, and it excludes *De venenis*. The commentary is published at the end of Ruellius' translation and is keyed to the sections in the preceding text, marked by pagination, verse and asterisk. Numerous references are made to various readings in "most old manuscripts" as well as to translations by Pliny (!), Serapio, the 'vetus interpres', Hermolaus Barbarus, Marcellus Virgilius, and Ioannes Ruellius and to authorities, such as, Theophrastus, Pliny, Galen, Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, and Serapion. A prefatory letter by Franciscus Fontanonus (Paris, August 3, 1549; see above, p. 32) praised Goupylus and sought to establish his work's importance in relation to other writers both on Dioscorides and in the general area of pharmacy and medicine. Conrad Gesner wrote (in: *Valerii Cordi...Annotationes...*, Strasbourg 1561, fol. v): "Iacobus Goupylus rei medicae hoc tempore disertissimus professor Luteciae dedit Castigationes in Dioscoridis libros brevissimas sed utilissimas, quibus contextus Graecus collatis exemplaribus diversis, excusis et manuscriptis, et locis veterum medicorum Dioscoridem citantium et interpretationibus quibus Latine recentiores quidam huius scriptoris libros verterunt, ac olim Plinius, et cetera, emendatur. Arnoldi Bircmanni vidua publicavit Parisiis 1549. in 8. una cum Graeco Dioscoridis contextu, et interpretatione Ruellii e regione."

Typographus lectoribus (ed. of Paris, 1549, 1.). [*Inc.*]: Cum dei optimi maximi benignitate consequutus essem, ut hae literarum formae, quas exculpsi, multis probarentur, hoc mihi studium fuit, ut optimum quenque librum in quamplurima exemplaria hac scribendi ratione transfunderem. Initium itaque huius rei a sacris mihi faciendum putavi; quas veluti primitias cum Deo persolvissem, alios huius linguae auctores praesertim bonos exprimere aggressus sum. Quam ad rem cum aliorum etiam doctorum et nobis amicorum hominum, tum Iacobi Goupyli medici opera ac iudicio usi sumus, qui nobis ut Dioscoridis libros ita exprimeremus, ut in angustum quoddam spatium contraherentur, consilium dedit, benignissimeque pollicitus est se ea diligentia, quam maximam adhibere posset, effecturum, ut hic auctor ex multorum veterum codicum fide emendatus in manus hominum perveniret. Quod ut praestaret exemplaria ab aliis excusa cum multis veteribus libris manu scriptis contulit, locosque omnes, qui perverse descripti aut deficientes essent, asterisco annotavit, ut eos postea restitueret (ea enim libros castigandi ratio potior ei visa est, quam ut ea, quae iam recepta essent, induceret). Id autem quanta fide ac diligentia ab eo sit praestitum videbitis in castigationibus, quas is in hunc auctorem scripsit;

vos igitur his nostris laboribus interim fruimini, dum vobis expressam imaginem plantarum, de quibus in hoc auctore tractatio est, apparamus. Valete. There follows a letter by Franciscus Fontanonus (see above, p. 32), an excerpt from Pliny, the Greek text of *De materia medica* and *De venenis* and Ruellius' translations of them.

Goupylus to the Reader [*Inc.*]: (fol. 382v) Cum multum dissidentia inter se quibusdam in locis vetera horum librorum exemplaria invenerim, nec facile statuere fuerit, quae potissimum lectio vera sit, satius esse duxi restitutis iam illis locis, quos me tuto emendare posse putavi, hoc quoque in quibus maior scrupulus inest, adnotare, quanquam in his etiam sunt varietates quaedam, quae parum sententiam immutant ut omni re cognita possit unusquisque, quod ipsi melius videbitur, sumere. Neque vero codicum tantum in hac diligentia fidem spectavi, verum etiam, quam scripturam sequuti sint, qui olim in Latinum sermonem hos libros converterunt, animadverti, Plinium dico, Serapionem, veterem interpretem, Hermolaum Barbarum, Marcellum Virgilium, et Ioannem Ruellium. Et quoniam medici omnes ambitiose multa ex hoc auctore sumpserunt, legimus etiam eorum commentarios, ut quod exemplar hi sequuti essent videremus. Omnino effecimus, ut multis locis obscuris lux afferretur, et quae perverse descripta essent emendarentur. Vale.

Castigationes [*Inc.*]: (fol. 383) Fol 4. pag. 1. vers. 12. alter codex manu scriptus.../ ...[*Expl.*] (fol. 391)cuius vestigia adhuc in veteribus libris extant. Castigationum in Dioscoridem Finis.

Editions:

1549 (1): See above I, 9.

1549 (2): See above I, 9.

Biography:

See p. 184 below.

s. Anonymus C, Named "H.B.P. Medicus," Possibly Johannes Bruyerinus

This rather extensive commentary was first published in Lyons in 1550 and the author is identified only as "H.B.P. Medicus." The edition has a dedicatory letter from H.B.P. to Franciscus Sangelasius, Dean of the Church at Angoulème (François de St.-Gelais of Angoulème). S. DuPetit-Thouars believed that H.B.P. Medicus is Johannes Bruyerinus (Jean-Baptiste Bruyerin). H.B.P.'s introductory letter noted that the author had assembled material for a Dioscorides commentary and, further, that he was busy translating into Latin the Arabic authors. In fact, Bruyerinus published a tract on Avicenna in 1555. Bruyerinus, according to DePetit-Thouars, might understandably have been reluctant to reveal his real name because the commentary appears to have borrowed heavily from Matthiolus, presumably from the 1548 Italian edition, although it is specifically geared to Ruellius' translation and not to the Greek text. H.B.P.'s commentary also covers the tract *De venenis*, published as Bk. VI of *De materia medica* in Ruellius' translation. In the editio princeps of Matthiolus' Italian commentary (1544) only *De materia medica* (5 bks.) is covered whereas the 1548 edition adds *De venenis* as Bk. VI.

The commentary is rather extensive, often surpassing in quantity the text of Dioscorides. Most chapters in the *editio princeps* have woodcuts. The commentary adds a *nomenclatura* to each chapter of Ruellius' translation in which equivalent words for the substances are given in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and German. Among the authorities cited by name are Hippocrates, Theophrastos, Antonius Musa, Pliny, Galen, Serapion, Isaac (Judaeus ?), Manardus, Valerius Cordus, Matthiolus, and Iulius Alexandrinus.

Introductory letter. (ed. of Lyons, 1550) Praestantissimo et peraeque eruditissimo viro, D. Francisco Sangelasio, Engolismeae ecclesiae decano H.B.P. Medicus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Quandoquidem id actutum apud me statuerim, vir ornatissime.../...[*Expl.*]: est hoc Dioscoridis scholion et tuere et lege. Vale Lugduni, sexto a Liberalibus die 1550. Et horae et genio.

Nomenclatura [*Inc.*]: Graece, "Ιρις. Latine, iris. Italice, la iride. Gallice, Flambe. Germ. Himelschvests.

Commentary, Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Inter Illy-

ricas seu Sclavonicas irides ea melior est.../...[*Expl.*]: (V, 96, *Atramentum librarium*; V, 162, Wellmann ed.) a fabris lignariis, nigra creta appellatur. Caput 95 et 96, e scripto Dioscoridis satis nota sunt.

Bibliography:

S. DuPetit-Thouars, "Bruyerin," in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 6, 73-74.

Editions:

1550: See above I, 10.

1551: See above I, 10.

1552: See above I, 10.

Doubtful or Rejected Edition:

1593: See above I, 10.

Biography:

Johannes Bruyerinus (Jean-Baptiste Bruyerin) was born in Lyons near the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was the nephew of Symphorien Champier. He practised medicine and was called to the court of Francis I and was physician to Henry II. He may be the Johannes Bruyerus Campegius medicus living at the time with Cardinal Franciscus Turnonius and mentioned in a letter of Dionysius Corronius, Paris, December 1538 (see above, p. 66). He died around 1560.

Works: De re cibaria libri XXII...Lyons 1560; Frankfurt 1600, 1606—said by dedicatory letter to have been composed in 1530; *Collectanea de sanitatis functionibus, de sanitate tuenda, et de curandis morbis, ex Averrhoe sumpta,* Lyons 1537; trans. Avicenna, *De corde ejusque facultatibus libellus,* Lyons 1559; *Averrhois Collectaneorum sectiones tres, secundo, sexto, et septimo Colliget libris respondentes, in latinum sermonem conversae,* in ed. of Averrhoes published in Venice, 1555.

Bibliography: Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker, 1, 741; Dionysius Corronius, in: *Pedanii Dioscoridis De re medica Ioanne Ruellio Suessionensi interprete*, Basel 1542, sig. A5; S. DuPetit-Thouars, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 6, 75-76; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches-Gelehrten Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. 1971), 154; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* 4, 1698.

t. ANDREAS AURIFABER (LOST)

The only known copy of Aurifaber's *Praefatio in Dioscoridem in qua praecipuae explicantur utilitates, quae tum ad philosophos ac medicos, tum ad omnes simul homines affatim redeunt ex simplicium medicamentorum diligenti cognitione* was in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, but it disappeared during World War II. The book was published in Königsberg in 1550 where Aurifaber was then a professor of medicine. (Reported by Direktor Rother, Institut für Leihverkehr und Zentralkatalog, and by Dr. Willy Unger, Direktor der Benutzungsabteilung, both of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, DDR.)

Edition:

(*) 1550, Konigspergae (Königsberg): Lufft. 8vo, (52) pp. *Index Aureliensis* 2, 476, No. 110.834.

Biography:

Andreas Aurifaber (Goldschmidt) was born in 1512 in Breslau. He studied philosophy and theology in Wittenberg. In 1540 he became Rector of the Marienschule in Danzig but after a year he returned to Wittenberg and studied medicine. Probably it was during the 1542-43 term when he attended Valerius Cordus' lectures on Dioscorides. In 1544, Aurifaber joined Duke Albrecht of Prussia's expedition to Italy where he continued his medical education. He returned in 1545 to be named Professor of Medicine at Königsberg, succeeding Placotomus who first held the post. He became a close adviser to the prince and married a daughter of Duke Albrecht. He was appointed city physician of Königsberg and died on December 12, 1559.

Works: Phaemonis (veteris philosophi Cynosophion) seu de cura canum liber...Accesserunt annotationes..., Wittenberg 1545 (repr. in *Rei accipitr. Scriptor.*, Paris 1612); *Ein gut Regiment fur die gifftige Kranckheit der Pestilentz*..., Leipzig 1543; *Ein nützlichs unnd tröstlichs Regiment wider die anfallende Gifft*..., Königsberg 1549; *Succini Historia,* Königsberg 1561 (repr. in *Consilia et Epistolae Jo. Cratonis*, Laurent Scholz ed., Frankfort 1593).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 1, 690; J. Caspary in: *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärtze*...1, 248; *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*, 8, 667; Richard Durling, *A Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Printed Books in the National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda, Md. 1967), nos. 2132-2133; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. 1971) 66-67; Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 3, 87; *Neue deutsche Biographie* 1, 456; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 3, 770; *Realencyklopädie f. prot. Theologie u. Kirche* 2 (1897) 287-288.

Georg Edmund Dann, "Leben und Leistung des Valerius Cordus aus neuerer Sicht," *Pharmazeutische Zeitung*, 113 (1968) 1070; Ed. Dan. Schnaase, "Andreas Aurifaber und seine Schola Dantiscana. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schulen in Danzig," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 11 (1874) 304-325; 456-480.

u. Lucas Ghinus

This commentary was written as a letter from Pisa on October 1, 1551, to P. A. Matthiolus in answer to Matthiolus' request for assistance in identifying plants in Dioscorides. Although Ghinus is regarded as one of the most influential of the sixteenth century botanists through his research, teaching, and correspondence, he published nothing during his life-time. The commentary is called *Placita*, and was not published until 1907 by De Toni from a manuscript in the Aldrovandi collection in Bologna. Ghinus contemplated publishing his own commentary but, upon Matthiolus' request for assistance, chose to pass his findings to him, a fact gratefully acknowledged by Matthiolus in his published letters. In his 1554 edition of Dioscorides, Matthiolus wrote: "Inter quos potissimum non gravarer hoc loco commemorare, si possem illis ex beneficii accepti commemoratione aliquam referre gratiam, Lucam Ghinum Forocorneliensem medicum ingenii et doctrinae singularis, Pisis magna cum omnium laude rem herbariam profitentem....(*Epistola nuncupatoria*, fol. [α4-α5], Venice 1554 ed.)." Ghinus' method was to relate Dioscorides' plant descriptions (and one animal product, *scorpio marinus*) to his own observations based on his famous garden at Pisa and on expeditions in the Apennines, along the Tuscan shore, and on a trip to Elba. The trips are mentioned in the *Placita*. Also he procured specimen plants and seeds from sailors and merchants who traveled to Greece, Syria, Egypt, Spain, Crete, Sicily and Calabria. He had a Greek maid with whom he consulted about the proper Greek equivalents. Ghinus was a pioneer of the *herbarium* (*hortus siccus*) or pressing and drying leaves on paper, a method he must have used to send specimens to Matthiolus and others. He follows Dioscorides' order, but in this letter, at least, only a small proportion of chapters are discussed: Book I=8; II=5; III=16; IV=26; V=0. Some samples of his methodology are: "Observavi alteram hujus speciem [anthillus] in Apenini montibus...."; "De papyro. Singulis annis plurimae naves ex insula di Madera, di S. Thomas e del Brasile in Labronensem portum...appellunt"; "Hanc aliqui pro Acathio substituere conantur, quorum opinionem ego plane approbare non audeo eo quod putem lanuginem illam non aptam esse...." Nor did he restrict himself rigidly to Dioscorides' text: "De poterio...quam Fuchsius in suo herbario genistellam vocat... desintque quaedam aliae notae quas Dioscorides suo poterio assignat."

Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 98, fol. 33). Clarissimi atque Excellentissimi D. Lucae Ghini in celebri Pisana Academia materiae medicae professoris doctissimi de quibusdam simplicibus placita, ad Andream Mathiolum Senensem celeberrimum medicum conscripta, idibus Octobris an.° LI. Pisis.

Text. [*Inc.*]: *De balsamo*. (I, 19 Wellmann ed.) Retulit mihi Monachus quidam graecus qui praeter.../...[*Expl.*] *De minore sesamoide*. (IV, 163 Wellmann ed.)...quemadmodum neque picnocomum neque Empetron.

Manuscript:

(*) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms

98 (Aldrovandi), s. XVI, vol. 2, fols. 33-53. (L. Frati, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Ulisse Aldrovandi* [Bologna 1907], 99).

Edition:

Giovanni Battista de Toni, "I Placiti di Luca Ghini intórno a piante descritte nei commentarii al Dioscoride di P. A. Matthioli," *Memorie del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 27 (1907, no. 8), 1-46, with text pp. 17-42.

Biography:

Lucas Ghinus (or Ghini) was born around 1490 in Croara d'Imola, where his father, Ghino Ghini, was a local notary. Lucas studied medicine at Bologna where between 1527 and 1532 he read *practica medicina*. In 1532-1533 he is listed in the *Rotuli Universitari* as "ad Lecturam Medicinae ordinariam vesperi," and, revealing progressively specialized interest, in 1534-1535, as "ad Lecturam Medicinae statim post lectionem in tertiis, with the clause "Legat de simplicibus." In 1537 he lectured on Galen's *De simplicibus* and in 1539 he received a chair. His lectures for 1539-1540 were simply designated "de simplicibus medicinalibus." In 1544 he went to Pisa as a professor of simples where he remained until 1554. One of his students, Ulysses Aldrovandus, preserves an outline of Ghinus' lectures (Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms Aldrovandi 98, vol. 2, fols. 69v-148) which shows that his usual method was to devote each lecture to one plant. Ghinus' connection with Bologna was never broken because he married a Bolognese, Gentile Sarti, in 1528 and maintained a house and a garden there. In Pisa he founded a Botanical Garden and in 1545 he helped with the foundation of another in Florence. Aldrovandus owned a catalogue (Ms Aldrovandi 136, vol. 14, fols. 17ff) which lists some 610 plants in Ghinus' garden. Ghinus was active in taking botanical field trips as well as in collecting seeds and specimens from merchants and sailors. In 1551 Ghinus contributed to Matthiolus information coming out of his own researches on plants. Ghinus is credited with being the first to use and develop the *herbarium*. His students include Aldrovandus, John Falconer, Andrea Cesalpino, Bartholomaeus Marantha, William Turner, and, probably, Aloysius Anguillara. Aldrovandus studied with Ghinus in 1549 at Bologna where Ghinus was vacationing at the time. In 1554 Ghinus returned to Bologna where he died on May 4, 1556.

Works: In addition to the manuscripts cited above, all in the Aldrovandi collection, there is Ms Aldrovandi 98, vol. 1, fols. 62-64 ("Petenda a Domino Luca Pisis," Frati, p. 99) and vol. 2, fols. 55-59v ("Plantae ab Excellentissimo Luca Ghino ad Mathiolum Senensem cum precedentibus scriptis missae quibus subsequentia epigramata coniuncta erant, Anno LI, VII cal Novembris," Frati, p. 99, and publ. in de Toni, see ref. above). Also *Morbi neapolitani curandi ratio perbrevis* in: J. Marquardus, Practica Theorica..., Spirae 1589; *Experimenta in praxi*, in: G. H. Velschius, *Curationum et Observationum Medicinalium Chiliades duae*, Ulmae 1676; *Lectionum de herbis ex Luca Ghino epitome* (see de Toni in A. Mieli, ed., *Gli scienziati italiani*..., pp. 3-4); *Simplicium medicamentorum nomina et communia, et Dioscoridis, et aliorum authorum*...(see de Toni, *ib.*, p. 4); and various letters, see G. B. de Toni, *Cinque lettere di Luca Ghini ad Ulisse Aldrovandi tratte dagli autografi*, Padua 1905.

Bibl.: Chr. C. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 1, 977; A. G. Keller, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 5, 383-384 (with refs.); *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle* 20, 396-397.

A. Chiarugi, "Nel quarto centenario della morte di Luca Ghini," *Webbia* 13 (1957), 1-14; Giovanni Battista de Toni, "I placiti di Luca Ghini intorno a piante descritte nei Commentarii al Dioscoride di P. A. Matthioli," *Memorie del reale istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 27 (1907, No. 8) 1-46; Idem, "Luca Ghini," In: A. Mieli, ed., *Gli scienziati italiani* (Rome 1921) 1-4.

v. Melchior Guilandinus

Melchior Guilandinus made extensive marginal notes in a copy of Petrus Haultin's

Paris edition, 1549, of Dioscorides (8 books incl. *De venenis* with Greek text, Ruellius' translations, and Goupylus' corrections). Probably they were not intented as a preparation for a separate commentary, although they could have been reformulated, but, more likely, they were simply for Guilandinus' own use as a botanist. On the title page is an almost illegible note: "Biblioteca ex (?) sr. Melchioris Guilan./R...Venat... Privilem. lega...." Before 1558 Guilandinus was in Venice, having followed his patron there from Rome at an unknown date. In 1558 he published an attack on Matthiolus' commentary on Dioscorides (see discussion below in biography). Since Guilandinus' notes do not mention Matthiolus and Matthiolus published his *Latin* commentary in 1554 (his earlier Italian commentary of 1544 is noted as having little circulation although later ones were popular) it seems likely that Guilandinus' commentary was written between 1550 and 1554. The authorities whom Guilandinus cites in the marginal commentary are Theophrastus, Columella, Pliny, Galen, Oribasios, Hermolaus Barbarus (*Castigationes Plinianae*), and Valerius Cordus ("Com. in Dios.")—the most recent authority cited being Valerius Cordus while most of the citations were from Pliny and Galen. Even though Guilandinus is known as a botanist, his commentary includes animal and mineral substances. Many notes are cross-references to other sections of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and to other authorities often with specified numbering. There are numerous underlinings and, in some cases, the words of Ruellius' translation have been crossed out and corrections made. The commentary is made for the Greek text as well as Ruellius' translation. Some plants receive elaborate commentary. The commentary extends from the printer's preface through the books of *De venenis* and the *Notha* and *Adscripta*.

Commentary to Preface, *De materia medica*. [*Inc.*]: (at bottom) Omnes auctores quos Diosc. nominat.../...[*Expl.*]: alii ubi. Porro etc. inul ns (?) folio.

Commentary, Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: (at right side) Ἶρις ἀγρία, Xyris. Dios. 202 in nomine Ephesus: non. f. 222 et confirmat Galenus in simpl.../...[*Expl.*]: (left side, V, 181, *Terra ampelitidis;* V, 160, Wellmann ed.) et Philander (?) in Vitruvium lib. 8 cap. 3. p. 329.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms Gr. V, 3 (1280), s. XVI. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 237b.)

*Biography**:

Melchior Guilandinus (Wieland, Guilandini) was born around 1520 in Prussia, in Königsberg according to some authorities; he died in Padua on December 25, 1589. Little is known of his formal education, but he learned Latin and Greek as well as medicine and natural science. At an early age he went to Sicily and then to Rome where, as he stated later, he was so poor that he lived on roots which he sold along with medicinal herbs carried on a donkey from town to town. While at Rome he attracted the attention of the Venetian ambassador, who took him to Venice. There he found another patron, Senator Marin Caballo, one of the curators of the University of Padua. With the help of Caballo, Guilandinus was able to undertake a trip in 1558-60 to Greece, Syria, and Egypt in order to procure rare plants. He planned also to go to America for botanical investigations, but in the port of Cagliari he was captured and enslaved by Algerian Corsairs and taken to North Africa. His friend and patron Gabriel Falloppio, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at Padua, ransomed him. In 1561 Falloppio secured for Guilandinus the directorship of the Botanical Gardens in Padua, and he remained there the rest of his life. He was soon given teaching responsibilities, and after the death of Falloppio in 1562, he was named to the Chair of Botany at the University; in 1578 he was given an appointment for life, and he died shortly thereafter.

Guilandinus in 1557 published his *De*

*The biography is based in part upon information supplied by Charles G. Nauert, Jr. (University of Missouri-Columbia).

stirpium aliquot nominibus vetustis ac novis, and in the period from 1558 through 1562 he was engaged in a bitter controversy arising out of his criticism of Matthiolus' translation of Dioscorides' *De re medica*. Guilandinus' criticism led to a counterattack by Matthiolus, and Paulus Hessus Germanus published a defense of Guilandinus against Matthiolus. Guilandinus was also engaged in controversy with Julius Caesar Scaliger over the latter's claim to be related to the former ruling family of Verona, the Scaligeri. This conflict may partly explain why Scaliger's son later wrote so hostile a refutation of Guilandinus' commentary on Pliny, *Papyrus*.

Works: *De stirpium aliquot nominibus vetustis ac novis* (Basel, 1557); *Apologiae adversus Petrum Andream Matthaeolum* (1558); *Papyrus, hoc est commentarius in tria Caii Plinii majoris de papyro capita* (Venice, 1572); *Synonyma plantarum* (printed in J. G. Schenck von Grafenberg, *Hortus Patavinus* [1608]); *Judicium...de quibusdam plantis horti Petri Ant. Michaelis*, ed. G. B. De Toni in *Mem. Acc. Sc. lett. ed arti Modena*, ser III, vol. IX (1908).

Bibl.: M. Adam, *Vitae Germanorum medicorum* (Heidelberg, 1620) 309-11; *Biographie Universelle* XVIII (1857) 134-35; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte* II, 902-03; C. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena, 1740; repr. 1971) 368-69; H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, 5 vols. (Königsberg, 1854-57; repr. 1971) V, 403-04; *Nouvelle biographie générale* XXII (1858) 583-84; L. Premunda, in, *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* XIV (1976) 335-36; G. B. de Toni, in: *Gli scienziati italiani*, ed. A. Mieli (Rome, 1921) 73-76; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 336, 531; VI, 224, 258, 260, 279, 446; Tiraboschi, VII (xi), 872-73, 886-87, 924-26.

Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabriele Falloppio* (Modena, 1928); G. C. Pisanski, *Nachricht von dem gelehrten Königsberger, M. Guilandi* (Königsberg, 1785); C. Raimondi, "Una lettera inedita di P. A. Mattioli a Gabriele Falloppio," *Bollectino Senese di Storia Patria* X (1903) 279-89; Josephus Justus Scaliger, *Scaligerana*, in P. Desmaizeaux, ed., *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana, et Colomesiana*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1740), II, 99,361; Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, *Historiarum sui temporis... libri CXXXVIII*, 5 vols. in 4 (Geneva, 1620-26), IV, 475; idem, *Monumenta litteraria* (London, 1640) 270-71.

W. Gabriel Falloppius

Falloppio is known primarily for his anatomical contributions, and his interest in and important contributions to pharmacy and botany are little recognized. Two commentaries on Dioscorides by Falloppio survive. The first one, containing a discussion of some thirty-one plants in the first four books of *De materia medica*, survives only in one manuscript; the second commentary covers Book I and was published in the fourth edition of his collected works in 1600. The two versions are different from one another; though they contain some of the same chapters and have some parallel phrases, they have, for the most part, a different text. The manuscript contains lecture notes in an unpolished, rough state, with the heading: "Lectiones Gabrielis Fallopii in Dioscoridem." A marginal note adds: "Incipit 26 febrvar 1553." These lectures are likely to have been delivered at Padua. The published version appears to be a revision of Ms lecture notes with some deletions and additions. These are based on lectures given in the academic year, 1560-1561 (Favaro, pp. 100, 131-132). Each version contains a lengthy, but differing, exposition and explication of Dioscorides' Preface to *De materia medica* in which Falloppio discusses simples, the necessity to recognize distinctions among plant species and the botany of plants in general. The Ms version has chapters on the following plants: *iris* (I.1) Wellmann ed.), *acorus* (I. 2), *meum* (I. 3), *cyperus* (I. 4), *cardamomum* (I. 6), *nardus* (I. 7), *nardus celtica* (I. 8), *nardus montanus* (I. 9), *asarus* (I. 10), *phu* (I. 11), *casia* (I. 13), *pseudocassia, aloe* (III. 22), *myrobalanis* (I. 12?), *hamar indus, manna, scrum lactis,*

rosa (I. 99), *viola* (III. 123; IV. 121); *absinthium* (III. 23), *stoechas* (III. 26), *fumus terrae* (II. 80?) *eupatorium* (IV, 41), *epithimum* (IV. 177), *prunus, psilium* (IV. 69), *capillus venus* (?), *asarus* (I. 10?), *iuris gallus, scammonium* (IV. 170), and *turbuis* (?). The printed version has: *iris* (I. 1), *acorus* (I. 2), *meum* (I. 3), *cyperus* (I. 4), *cardamomum* (I. 6), *spica nardus* (I. 7), *spica nardus celtica* (I. 8), *nardus montanus* (I. 9), *asarus* (I. 10), *phu* (I. 11), *malabathum* (I. 12), *cassia* (I. 13), *cinnamomum* (I. 17), *amomum* (I. 15), *balsamum* (I. 19), *basamum artificialum, asphalatum* (I. 20), *santalis, muscus arbor, muscus* (I. 21), *ambra* and *zibettum*. Thus, the commentary treats material not in Dioscorides' original text, which did not have *ambra*, for instance, even though it appears in the Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction. In the printed version there is a notable emphasis on localities of plants with a particular stress on eastern localities. As noted above under Melchior Guilandinus (see above, p. 86), Falloppio was a patron of Guilandinus and it is possible that Guilandinus' eastern journey was undertaken through Falloppio's sponsorship. Guilandinus may have increased Falloppio's awareness of the importance of habitat to plants. It might be noted that Marantha (see p. 104 below) had sent to Falloppio sometime early in July 1558 his manuscript of a Dioscorides commentary. Falloppio first encouraged Marantha in the project but in March 1559 he recommended to Marantha that he abandon it. And Matthiolus (see p. 93 below) was in correspondence with Falloppio regarding Dioscorides. Falloppio cites numerous authorities in his printed commentary and among the contemporary or near-contemporary authors are: Hermolaus Barbarus, Ioannes Ruellius, Manardus, Amatus Lusitanus, Cornarius, Lonicerus, Fuchsius, Brasavolus, Matthiolus, Guilandinus, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Ioannes Baptista Pedaldus Florentinus ("qui navigavit in Indias Orientales..."). In the chapter on *balsamum* (19, p. 52) we read: "Deus praestet, ut solers simul et vafer Guilandinus. qui iam capessit iter ad Indias Orientales, redeat ad nos incolumis." Since Cornarius' edition did not come out until 1557 and Guilandinus did not return from the East until 1561, it seems likely that the printed version, a revision of his 1560-1561 academic year lecture notes, was not prepared by Falloppio at Padua until 1561-1562, the last year of his life.

A. Lecture Notes on *De materia medica.*

Commentary on Preface, *De materia medica* (Erlangen Ms 909). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 233) Inter prolegomena illud primum.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 238v) quae libris solis similitatis (?)...conteruant (?).

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: (fol. 238v) Iris quis calida et sicca.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 284v, *turbuis*) cui non submittit zinziberis commodissime.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 909, anno 1553, fols. 233-284 with fols. 253-255v, 260v-262, 263 r-v blank. In another hand below the heading: Liber iam editus cum aliis ejusdem auctoris operibus. Originally from the Medical College at Padua. (Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* 2, 503-504).

B. *De materia medicinali in libro I Dioscoridis.*

Commentary on Preface, *De materia medica* (ed. of Frankfort, 1600). [*Inc.*]: (II. 2, p. 25) Dioscoridis de medicinali materia liber primus interpretandus sive a nobis.../...[*Expl.*]: (cap. 5, p. 31) conservatione. Sequitur modo singularium tractatio.

Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: (cap. 6, pl. 31) De iride primum tractat Dioscorides inter aromata, qui reuera aroma.../...[*Expl.*]: (cap. 25, p. 59, *zibettus*) qui in ea ingentem excitat delectationem.

Editions:

1600, Francofurti (Frankfort): Apud haeredes Andreae Wecheli, Claud. Marnium et Ioan. Aubrium. Published in: G. Falloppius, *Operum...*, *Tomus Secundus*. NUC. Wellcome; (CtY-M; DNLM; NNNAM).

(*) 1606, Venetiis (Venice): J.A. et J. de Franciscis. In *Opera*. BN.

(*) 1606, Francofurti (Frankfort): typis Wechelianis. Apud Claud. Marnium et haeredes I. Aubrii. In *Opera*. Joh. Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum, Veterum et Recentiorum* 1, 256, says commentary is in vol. 1, pt. 6. NUC. (CtY-M; DNLM).

Biography:

Gabriel Falloppius (Gabriele Falloppio) was born in Modena in 1523. His early studies were interrupted by the financial reverses of his father. He first seemed directed towards a church career but, upon his father's financial recovery, he turned towards medicine, studying under Niccolò Machella in Modena. On December 13 and 14, 1544, he performed a dissection before his teacher. Before completing his medical studies he practiced surgery but, after some disastrous operations, he returned to full-time medical studies. Possibly he spent some time at Padua under Giambattista da Monte and Matteo Realdo Colombo, the successor of Vesalius. He probably met Amatus Lusitanus in Ferrara in 1547 and in his printed Dioscorides commentary Falloppio mentions him disparagingly as "semihebraeus." About 1548 in Ferrara he studied under the direction of "my teacher" Antonio Musa Brasavola, a noted herbalist, and Giambattista Canano. He was appointed to the chair of pharmacy in Ferrara and in 1549 he went to Pisa to accept a chair of anatomy. At Pisa he was accused—wrongfully, modern scholars assert—of practising vivisection. For a short time he dissected lions in the Medici zoo in Florence. Towards the end of 1551, he assumed the chair of anatomy at Padua, succeeding to the post of Colombo, and held it until his death. Among his students was the famous anatomist Volcher Coiter. He supported Melchior Guilandinus and corresponded with P. A. Matthiolus, U. Aldrovandus, L. Ghinus, G. V. Pinelli, L. Corbinelli, G. F. Canani and B. Marantha. In 1561 he published the *Observationes anatomicae,* the only work to appear during his lifetime; all other writings were said to be lecture notes published posthumously. *Observationes* is not a complete anatomical text and consequently was not immediately recognized but its originality comes in the form of corrections he intended to the *De humani corporis fabrica* of Vesalius. He died of pulmonary tuberculosis in Padua on October 3rd or 9th, 1562.

Works: *Observationes anatomicae*, Venice 1561, Padua 1562, Paris 1562, Cologne 1562, Helmstedt 1588; *De corporis humani anatome compendium*, Venice 1571; *Lectiones de particulis similaribus humani corporis*, Venice 1571; *De parte medicinae quae chirurgia nuncupatur, necnon in librum Hippocratis de vulneribus capitis dilucidissima interpretatio*, Venice 1571; *Libelli duo; alter de ulceribus, alter de tumoribus praeter naturam*, Padua 1563; *Opuscula, edente Petro Angelo Agatho*, Venice 1566; *De morbo gallico tractatus cum scholiis marginalibus Petri Angeli Agathi*, Venice 1564, 1566, 1574; *De medicatis aquis libri septem; De metallis et fossilibus libri duo, nunc primum editi per Andream Marcolinum*, Venice 1564; *De simplicibus medicamentis purgantibus tractatus, nunc recens exactissima cura ab Andrea Marcolino collectus*, Padua 1565; *Opera genuina omnia...*, Venice 1584, 3 vols.; *ibid.* 1606; Frankfurt 1600, 1606.

Bibl.: Chaumeton in: Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 13, 560-561; Paul Freher, *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum...* (Nuremberg 1688) 1253 (with list of writings); C. D. O'Malley, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 4 (1971), 519-521 (with bibliography of earlier studies; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 6, 311-312. Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabrielle Falloppia Modenese (MDXIII-MDLXII)*, Modena 1928.

x. Andreas Lacuna

Lacuna's Latin commentary on Ruellius' translation was completed in 1553 and was a preliminary to his more famous Castilian translation and commentary on Dioscorides, first published in Salamanca in 1555. In an introductory letter (see below) addressed to Gonzalo Perez, Secretary to King Philip (dated November 4, 1553), Lacuna spoke of

his intention to produce a Spanish translation and commentary. The statement of privileges to the Lyonnaise publishers of the Latin commentary is dated April 15, 1554. In 1554 Lacuna was in Venice, where he is said to have planned to journey to the East, and where he fell under the influence of Matthiolus whom he mentioned in the *Epistola nuncupatoria* to King Phillip, September 25, 1555, written at Antwerp: "Sirviéronme no poco en este trabajo tan importante los comentarios de Andreas Mathiolo Senes, médico excelente de nuestros tiempos, el cual con increíble destreza trasladó el mismo Dioscórides en lengua toscana y le dió grandisima claridad con las singulares exposiciones que sobre él hizo, de las cuales nos aprovechamos en algunos lugares de nuestras anotaciones." (from fasc. repro. of Salamanca 1570 ed., p. xxiv) But it is uncertain whether Lacuna knew of Matthiolus when he wrote the Latin commentary. Matthiolus mentions Lacuna in the introduction to the Venice, 1565 ed. In the Latin commentary Lacuna said that he had studied all the Greek texts of Dioscorides, both in print and in manuscript, which he could find in Italy. However, César E. Dubler (ref. below, I, 65) says that Lacuna employed certain Greek Mss (Escorial Ms III-R-3 and Biblioteca del Palacio Ms) now in Spain for the Spanish translation and commentary. M. Wellman noted that Escorial Ms III-R-3 varies to a considerable degree from most Greek Dioscorides texts. In any case throughout the Latin commentary Lacuna corrects Ruellius whom he alleged to have used the wrong Greek texts. The commentary covers also *De venenis*, published as Book VI, and it contains no woodcuts although the Spanish translation has woodcuts which reflect heavy influence from Matthiolus' edition.

Lacuna's introductory letter (ed. of Lyons, 1554). Clarissimo viro D. D. Gonzalo Perez, a secretis Philippi Hispaniarum Principis, Andreas Lacuna Segobiensis S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Ostendit mihi superioribus diebus Ioannes Paccius Castrensis, utriusque Iuris Doctor, extra omnem ingenii aleam positus tuique nominis amantissimus, Odysseam Homeri abs te haud ita pridem e Graeco in vernaculum Hispaniae idioma conversam, quam sane quum raptim atque obiter perlegissem, non minori delinitus voluptate ac dulcedine, quam si Homericam loton illam gustassem, in primis quidem puritatem sermonis, versionis fidem, incredibilem diligentiam, ac raram facilitatem, quam nemo imitari possit sum admiratus; dein vero, praeclaro tui exemplo adductus, inexplebili exarsi cupiditate iuvandi simili industria patriam, ac proinde confestim ad vertendum in Hispanam linguam Anazarbeum Dioscoridem illustrandumque scholiis minime poenitendis me accinxi. Quo labore dum fungerer, annotavi septingentos vel plureis locos, in quibus autor ille, partim perversus ab interpretibus Latinis, partim mutilus ac truncus, partim genuina sua priscaque destitutus dictione conspiciebatur, quos omnes quam accuratissime fieri potuit, castigavi ac restitui, adiutus interim singulari opera et beneficio eiusdem tui Ioannis Paccii Castrensis, antiquarum rerum vindicis atque indagatoris acerrimi: qui ad subeundam provinciam tam arduam tamque meis humeris imparem (ut est animo liberali, et ingenuo) mihi fecit copiam cuiusdam antiquissimi et integerrimi codicis manuscripti, ex cuius fide recognosci aliorum exemplarium omnes mendae potuerunt. Eas igitur Castigationes Annotationesve, illustratas hac praefatione tui nominis, dum totum opus in lucem prodit, emittimus: quas quidem si tuo patrocinio dignaberis, vir amplissime, non erit cur aut ipsae pertimescant vitilitigatorum calumnias, aut ego desinam in dies maiora sub tuo nomine in publicam omnium commoditatem edere. Vale. Romae, IIII. Kalen, Novem. Anno M.D.LIII.

Commentary. Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Capite de iride, statim in ipsis auspiciis, vertit hunc in modum Ruellius: Purpurei, aut.../... [*Expl.*]: (V, *De atramento librario*; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) Putrilaginosis ulceribus, ambustisque convenit, etc.

Edition:

1554, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Gulielmum Rovillium, sub scuto Veneto. Comm. only with Comm. to *De venenis* as Bk. VI of *De*

materia medica, pp. 306-340. Pritzel 4992; NUC. BM; BN; Madrid BN; Uppsala; (DNLM; MiU).

Biography:

Andreas Lacuna (Andres Laguna or DeLaguna) was born in Segovia in 1499 to well-to-do parents; his father, Diego Fernández de Laguna, was a physician. Andreas studied Greek and Latin first under Juan Oteo y Sancho de Villaveses and in 1520-1521 he went to Salamanca to pursue his studies and later to Paris where he studied under Johannes Ruellius, Pierre Danès, and Jacques Toussaint. He is said to have had contact with Johannes Manardus (d. 1536), whose work he knew. He was a friend of the Portuguese naturalist Luis Nuñes who was also a friend of Amatus Lusitanus. In 1535 he published his first work, *Aristotelis...de phisonomia liber* and in 1536 he returned to Spain and was called to a position at the University at Alcalá. In 1539 he joined Emperor Charles V's expedition to the Netherlands with a brief stopover in London. Between 1540 and 1545 he was in Metz where by invitation he practised medicine during a plague. Here he became a close collaborator in writing with Johann Günther of Andernach. Near the end of 1542, by permissions of the Metz authorities, he taught at the university in Cologne where an oration, "Europa sese discrucians," attracted attention. During this period he wrote a criticism of Janus Cornarius' translation of the *De re rustica* of Constantinus Caesar. He returned to Metz, but, becoming restless, he traveled in the summer of 1545 to East Prussia, perhaps to Königsberg. Late in 1545 he went to Rome, via Bavaria, stopping at Bologna (November) to receive a degree and at Padua to assist in public dissections and to meet Gabriel Falloppio. During the stay he probably also met Melchior Guilandinus since they were acquainted. For the next five years he served Pope Julius III as physician. He was in Rome at the same time as Amatus Lusitanus. Lacuna's own observations and Matthiolus' Italian commentary made him aware of difficulties in Ruellius' translation of Dioscorides as a practical guide in pharmacy. After the death of Julius III he left Rome, stopping in Venice where he doubtless met Matthiolus. Lacuna is said to have planned an eastern voyage but instead resumed his journey through Germany to Antwerp and to Segovia where he arrived in 1558. He died early in 1560, while returning from a trip to Madrid.

Works: (For full list, see Dubler, ref. below) *Aristotelis...de phisonomia liber*, Paris 1535; *Galen de urinis libri duo*, Paris 1535; *Ocypum et Tragopodagra, una cum libro Aristotelis, de Mundo*, Alcalá 1538; *Castigationes...in tralationem octo ultimorum librorum de re rustica Constantini Caesaris, per Ianum Cornarium*...Cologne 1543; *Europa sese discrucians*, Cologne 1543; *De origine rerum turcarum compendiosa quaedam perioche*...Cologne 1543; *Aristotelis ...De plantis*, Cologne 1543; *Ex commentariis Geoponicis*...Cologne 1543; *Geoponicon*...Cologne 1543; *Galeni...de philosophica historia liber unus*, Cologne 1543; *Aristotelis de Mundo*...Cologne 1543; *Epitome Omnium Galeni Pergameni Operum*, Venice 1548; *De ponderibus ac mensuris*, 1548; *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo, acerca de la materia medicinal...*, Salamanca 1555, 1563, 1566, 1586, Valencia 1626, 1635, 1636, 1651, 1677, 1695, Madrid 1733; *Quatro elegantisimas y gravisimas oraciones de M. R. Ciceron contra Catilina*... Antwerp 1557.

Bibl.: *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada Europeo-Americana* 29, 306-307; Renauldin, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 22, 540.

Andrea Laguna Pedacio Dioscórides Anazarbeo (1555) ahora nueuamente publicado por el Instituto de Espána, 2 vols. (Madrid 1968-1969); César E. Dubler, *La 'Materia Médica' de Dióscorides. Transmisión medieval y renacentista*, 6 vols. (Barcelona 1953-1959)—with bibl. of works; vol. 3 reproduces in facsimile the Salamanca 1570 printing of Lacuna's Castilian translation and commentary; V. Peset, "A Note on the Spanish Version of Dioscorides' 'Materia Medica,' " *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 9 (1954), 49-58; Theodore Rothman, "De Laguna's com-

mentaries on hallucinogenic drugs and witchcraft in Dioscorides' *materia medica,*" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 46 (1972), 562-567.

y. PETRUS ANDREAS MATTHIOLUS

Reversing the usual practice Matthiolus first wrote his Dioscorides translation and commentary in Italian and only ten years later in Latin. While serving in Görz (Gorizia) as town physician, he published *Di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo libri cinque della historia et materia medicinale tradotta in linqua volgare italiana*, Venice, per Nicolo de Bascarinia da Pavone di Brescia, 1544. Although the purpose of the work is stated to be a practical handbook for practicing physicians and apothecaries, the first edition was relatively unsuccessful, perhaps because of the obscurity of the publisher, but subsequent printings were made in Florence 1547, and in Venice 1548. The Venice edition was highly successful and was published by the Valgrisi firm which printed most later Latin editions. The Italian commentary was also published in Mantua 1549, and Venice 1552. In Görz Matthiolus prepared a Latin commentary which was published by Vincentius Valgrisius in 1554. The *editio princeps*, as well as all subsequent revisions and printings, is accompanied by Johannes Ruellius' Latin translation with minor corrections by Matthiolus although in no case does the title page credit Ruellius (see above, p. 33). Nonetheless in his preface Matthiolus is generous to Ruellius. Most editions, including the first, have excellent woodcuts and add Ruellius' translation and Matthiolus' commentary to *De venenis* which is published as Bk. VI of *De materia medica*. Matthiolus' *Epistola nuncupatoria*, dated January 1, 1554, is addressed to King Ferdinand I. Later in 1554 Matthiolus accepted a position from Ferdinand and moved to Prague where Matthiolus worked on later editions and revisions to Dioscorides. In his dedicatory letter Matthiolus mentioned the work of others in the field: Hermolaus Barbarus, Nicolaus Leonicenus, Johannes Manardus, Ruellius, Marcellus Virgilius, Leonhartus Fuchsius ("apud Germanos clarae eruditionis medicus"), Antonius Musa, Otto Brunfelsius, Iacobus Sylvius and Aloysius Mundella. In the preface to the *editio princeps* (fol. 7), Matthiolus explained the reasons for his undertaking his earlier commentary in Italian of *De materia medica*: "Ad quod ea mihi visa est ratio commodissima, ut ipsum Dioscoridem in nostram Italicam linguam transferrem in eumque commentarios a nobis Italice item conscriptos adijcerem, quod tunc nos privatum studium maiorque cura subiret Italos adiuvandi quam caeteros." The relationship of the Latin edition to the earlier Italian commentary has not been established. In the commentary Matthiolus says that he made attempts to identify the plants according to Italian flora and in subsequent revisions he broadens this to include more northern European flora. In the preface of the printer to the *editio princeps* we read that Matthiolus had prepared an answer to Amatus Lusitanus' charges of errors but the *Apologia adversus Amathum Lusitanum* (dated Vienna, September 9, 1557) was not published until 1558 as an addendum to the commentary. There are revisions of the commentary made in the editions of Venice, 1558, and Venice, 1565. The latter revision is double the size of the original commentary and has superior, enlarged woodcuts taken from the Prague, 1562, edition of the Czech translation of Matthiolus' commentary. Each revision will be discussed separately below. It is noteworthy that in the 1565 edition Matthiolus had available to him in Prague the famous Juliana Anicia or Constantinopolitanus Codex of the sixth century, now Vienna Nat. Bibl. MS Med. Gr. 1 (see above, pp. 14-15). In a letter to Nicholas Michault from Ogier Ghiselin DeBusbecq, writing around 1562, probably from Frankfurt, DeBusbecq says that he was in correspondence with Matthiolus to whom he had sent "a good many specimens many years ago." (*The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin DeBusbecq*..., trans. by Edward Seymour Forster, Oxford, 1927, pp. 241-242). In the preface to the 1565 edition Matthiolus states: (fol. **4) "Atqui

nunc ad hoc munus latius obeundum me summopere iuvit clarissimus vir Augerius de Busbeke Belga, qui annis continuis septem apud Soliman Turcarum Imperatorem pro Caesare Ferdinando Oratorem egit. Siquidem is duo Dioscoridis exemplaria antiquissima Constantinopoli secum tulit, quorum alterum Antonio Catecuzeno patritio Constantinopolitano, alterum cuidam Imperatoris Interpreti (Dragomanum Turcae vocant) mei tantum iuvandi causa mutuo acceptos referebat. Quorum exemplarium auxilio non solum permultis in locis Dioscoridis exemplar, quod publice circunfertur, sed etiam Ruellii ipsius versionem castigavimus, ut ex quam plurimis adnotationibus ad marginem dispositis unusquisque facile intelliget. Ut autem omnibus perspicuum esset, unde illas acceperimus, Catecuzeni, Dragomani, meique exemplaris nomen omnibus et singulis annotationibus addidimus."

Indeed Matthiolus' published correspondence (*Epistolarum medicinalium libri quinque*, Prague, 1561) and various manuscript letters, some of which have been mentioned above, reveal that Matthiolus was indefatigable in pursuing knowledge of plants with leading experts over Europe, notably with Conrad Gesner, Ulysses Aldrovandus, Bartholomaeus Marantha, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Francesco Calzolari, Giacomo Antonio Cortusio, Gabriele Falloppio, and Luca Ghini. The latter's letters to Matthiolus (see above, p. 84) reveal that Ghini was himself preparing a commentary but in 1561 when Matthiolus wrote him he contributed his findings to Matthiolus' work.

The strength of Matthiolus' work and a reason for its extraordinary popularity lies not only in the fact that his work was practical, dealing with all aspects of plants, in particular with their identification, curative powers, living properties, and habitats and with methods of collecting, preserving and preparation, but also in the fact that his publishers printed attractive editions, normally folio size, which were well-indexed for a variety of purposes and were accompanied by reliable, realistic woodcuts. The commentary was translated into German by Georgius Handsch (Venice 1562) and edited and corrected by Joachimus Camerarius of Nuremburg (Frankfurt aM 1590, 1598, 1600, 1611, 1626; Basel 1678, edited and revised by Bernhard Verzascha), into French by Antonius Pinaeus (DuPinet) (Lyons 1561, 1566, 1576, 1579, 1605, 1680, Jean Baptiste de Ville, ed.), and by Jean des Moulins (Lyons 1572), into Czech by Thaddeus Hagek (Létha Pánie 1562) and by Adam Huber and Dan. Adam (Prague 1596).

In 1571 a compendium of the commentary (below "B") of Books I–IV was published under the editorship of Franciscus Calceolarius, a Verona apothecary, under the title: *Petri Andrea Matthioli Senensis Medici, Compendium De Plantis omnibus, una cum earum iconibus, de quibus scripsit suis in commentariis in Dioscoridem editis, in eorum studiosorum commodum atque usum, qui plantis conquirendis ac indagandis student.* Each chapter has a woodcut of the plant or item, *nomenclatura* (Latin, Greek, Arabic, Italian, German, French, Spanish, Czech, and Polish) and a listing of the *genera* (sometimes omitted when only one species is clear), *forma, locus, qualitates* and *vires*.

a. Commentarius Matthioli.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1554). Serenissimo ac potentissimo principi Ferdinando Romanorum, Pannoniae, et Bohemiae, etc. Regi...Domino suo clementissimo. [*Inc.*]: Cum universam medicinam non modo vetustissimi quique scriptores, serenissime Rex Ferdinande, sed recentiorum quoque plerique diis immortalibus receptam.../...[*Expl.*]: Quae si in lucem quandoque prodibunt, ea universa posteritas serenissimae maiestati tue accepta feret. Cui non solum haec sed et meipsum et servitutem meam dedico, dono, ac voveo. Goritiae, Calen. Ianuarii, M.D. LIIII.

Typographus Lectori: Cum non possumus id facere quod volumus, id velimus quod possimus necesse est. Non temere neque inepte quidem cogor nunc iis verbis uti; nam si ego, qui omnem meam operam in tuum usum libenter conferre soleo, non uterer

nunc tecum excusatione officii, quod mihi maxima de causa intermittendum fuit, eius facti conscientia mihi iniucunda esset. Huius operis calci Matthiolus praeclarus author adiecit Apologiam, qua se ab erroribus et calumniis vindicat, quibus notatur ab Amato Lusitano medico in suis enarrationibus, quas ille in Dioscoridem nuper edidit. Apologiae subinde idem attexuit obiectiones, in quibus contra errata illius patefacit. Utrunque libentissimo animo excudendum susceperam, ratus rem tibi non ingratam, neque prorsus inutilem me facturum. Cur autem id modo non praestiterim, in causa fuit (ut dicam ingenue quod res est) angustia temporis et rerum nostrarum infirma satis conditio: quarum ut rationem haberem, nullum tempus erat nobis reliquum. Sane maximas impensas feci, et vix nostris viribus pares, ex quibus ut iam fructum aliquem caperem, opportunum valde visum est ex usuque meo, hunc librum ad proximum mercatum Francofordiensem mittere. Qua praeterea ratione celerius a nobis satisfiet exterarum gentium expectationi, quam illis librum hunc de se concitasse intelligo.Habes igitur causam, cur hoc tempore satis angusto maluerim meis commodis, quam tuae utilitati consulere, quam etiam Matthioli voluntatem exequi, quibus tamen iandudum me meamque operam dicavi, id quod feci utriusque humanitate fretus. Quare si nunc non potui (quod non ab re praefatus sum) id facere quod volebam, si id volui quod potui, mihi ignoscas abs te peto. Dabo equidem operam, ut quae nunc remisi, quam primum absolvam, adeo ut huic libro etiam empto, ea commode assuere possis. Atque etiam adnitar, ut plura alia, quae scio vir hic clarissimus exornat, a nobis excudantur. In summa non committam posthac, ut meam diligentiam desideres, quinimo efficiam, ut me tuae magis quam meae utilitatis cupidissimum cognoscas. Vale.

Petri Andreae ad medicae materiae studiosos, praefatio. [Inc.]: Si vellem eorum morem sequi, qui antequam opus suum aggrediantur, illud in primis profitentur, nihil sibi maiori curae ac studio esse, quam ut vitae usuique mortalium consulant, hoc ipse quoque ingenue facere possem. Nam ea animi propensione ab ipsa iuventute, quantum mihi otii ab artis medicae exercitatione et cura familiari impetrare licuit, id totum ad bonorum authorum libros evolvendos, ad simplicium medicamentorum cognitionem assequendam, ac demum ad scribendum contuli. Qua in re, ut certe apud omnes testatum relinquerem, me hac mente animoque elaborasse, ut quantum studio, labore, atque industria consequi possem, humanae vitae prodessem, deque ea optime meritus existimarer, Dioscoridi omnem meam operam ac diligentiam adhibui, ut quantum in me esset, illustrior redderetur, atque omnium manibus tereretur...Cum enim ab eo tria potissimum comprehendantur, Dioscoridis contextus, nostri in eum commentarii, et plantarum imagines, de singulis aliqua nobis reddenda ratio est, ut qualem me in unoquoque gesserim, quod confitendum sit, non dissimulem. De contextu itaque Dioscoridis, quem nequaquam praetermittendum censuimus, ob plures causas, quas hic referre nimis longum esset, quaeret aliquis, cur Ioannis Ruellii Galli medici eruditissimi interpretationem praetulerim dignamque existimaverim, quae prae caeteris in nostris commentariis legatur; cum tamen duo alii viri summi pariter et doctissimi, Hermolaus Barbarus et Marcellus Virgilius Florentinus in idem studium naviter incubuerint. Fateor ingenue me Ruellii versionem secutum esse, sed non propterea aliorum praeclaros conatus contempsisse unquam, quin potius utriusque studium semper admiratum, quippe quod uterque in eo maximam laudem promeruerit. Illud autem me magis movit, ut Ruellium admiserim, quod eius conversio omnibus facta sit vulgatior ac frequentior in studiosorum manibus versetur. Adde etiam, quod haec communi omnium fere, medicorum praesertim, iudicio praeferatur, cui nimirum nobis quoque libuit subscribere ...Frequens namque hodie est, indiesque magis pullulat huiusmodi genus hominum in Italia (nescio quid fiat aliis regionibus) qui nullum in toto vitae suae cursu fructum semenve proferunt, alienos tamen avide carpunt, mox lacerant, et pedibus obterunt...

[*Expl.*]: Ab iis certe, qui grati sunt, me gratiam initurum spero; quandoquidem mihi communis utilitatis cupidissimo hoc opus non aggrediendi voluntas defuerit, sed perficiendi facultas, quam tamen omni studio consequi assidue conamur. Bene valete, et nostra boni consulite.

Commentary. Dioscorides, *Praefatio*. [Inc.]: Quantum oportet Medicos omnes, qui legitimum in arte nomen sibi comparare student, simplicium quoruncunque medicamentorum.../...[*Expl.*]: et situs tumorum et meatuum referunt.

Liber I, 1. [*Inc.*]: Iris in universum sativa est, et sylvestris. Haec duorum est generum: altera sativae, et vulgari similis, foliis tamen, flore, caule, radiceque paulo minoribus.../...[*Expl.*] (Book V, 140; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) Quare iam una cum authore nostro huic quinto libro finem imponamus, atque insuper Deo, cui omnia quae a nobis fiunt aut dicuntur, accepta ferre par est, immensas agamus gratias.

1558 ed.:

Same *inc.*'s and *expl.*'s for letter, preface, comm. to D.'s preface and same *inc.* for comm. to Bk. I, 1, but *expl.* to comm., Bk. V, 140 is different: [*Expl.*] Quod vero μέλαν γραφικόν Graeci, Latini Atramentum librarium, Itali Atramento librario, aut Inchiostro nominant.

1565 ed.:

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1565). Invictissimo Potentissimoque Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto Maximiliano secundo, etc....Ferdinando, et Carolo, Austriae Archiducibus, etc. ac caeteris universae Germaniae principibus, dominis meis clementissimis. [*Inc.*]: Herbariam medicinam (ut ab ea primum sermonem exordiar) Invictissime Imperator ac Serenissimi Principes, antiquis temporibus a Chirone illo magni nominis Centauro, Saturni ex Phillyra filio, primum repertam esse testantur, cum Plinius, tum plerique historiarum antiquarum autores...At nos elaborata ac iis nobisque laboribus ingentissimis parta abscondere atque supprimere cupimus, et fraudare vitam alienis bonis ? minime omnium, imo non tantum aliorum inventis, sed propriis nostris comparatis auxiliis praesentium et posterorum vitam iuvandam statuimus, complurium aetatis nostrae clarissimorum doctorumque virorum institutum sequuti, in quorum catalogo praecipui sunt Hermolaus Barbarus, Nicolaus Leonicenus, Ioannes Manardus, Ioannes Ruellius, Marcellus Vergilius, Leonardus Fuchsius apud Germanos clarae eruditionis medicus, Antonius Musa Brasavolus, Iacobus Sylvius, Aloysius Mundella, et alii, qui cum animadverterent, Medicam materiam, nullis olim non seculis celebrem, medicorum, qui nos praecesserunt, incuria segnitieque obsoletam, intentatam, et incultam iacere, adeo ut perpauci reperirentur Medici, qui alias fere plantas quam olera, quorum frequentior est in cibis usus, cognoscerent, humanum genus miserati, strenuam navarunt operam, ut discussa superioris seculi caligine Medicam materiam e tenebris eriperent et suae pristinae luci restituerent.../...[*Expl.*]: Interim me totum Caesareae Maiest. tuae dedico, dono ac voveo. Cui Deus Opt. Max. felicia omnia concedat. Pragae. Ultima Ianuarii. M D LXV.

Petri Andreae ad medicae materiae studiosos praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Si vellem eorum morem sequi, qui anteaquam opus suum aggrediantur, illud in primis profitentur, nihil sibi maiori curae ac studio esse, quam ut vitae, usuique mortalium consulant, hoc ipse quoque ingenue facere possem. Nam ea animi propensione ab ipsa iuventute, quantum mihi otii a medendis aegris, et cura familiari impetrare licuit, id totum ad bonorum Autorum libros evoluendos, ad simplicium medicamentorum congitionem assequendam, ac demum ad scribendum contuli. Qua in re, ut certa apud omnes testatum relinquerem, me hac mente animoque elaborasse, ut quantum studio, labore, atque industria, consequi possem, humanae vitae prodessem, deque ea optime meritus existimarer.../... [*Expl.*] quandoquidem mihi communis utilitatis cupidissimo, hoc opus non aggrediendi voluntas defuerit, sed perficiendi facultas, quam tamen omni studio consequi assidue conamur. Bene valete, et nostra boni consulite.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Iris in universum sativa

est, et sylvestris. Sativa passim in hortis habetur, folio gladii formam referente, striato, acuminatoque; caulem praefert laevem, rotundum, geniculatum, a quo ramuli in summitate exeunt... [*Expl.*]: (Book V, 140; V, 162 Wellmann ed.) Quare iam una cum authore nostro huic quinto libro finem imponamus atque insuper Deo, cui omnia, quae a nobis fiunt and dicuntur, accepta ferre par est, immensas agamus gratias.

Bibliography:

Jerry Stannard, "P. A. Matthioli and Some Renaissance Editions of *Dioscorides*," *Books and Libraries at the University of Kansas*, 4:1 (1966), 1-5; idem, "Dioscorides and Renaissance Materia Medica," *Analecta Medico-Historica. I. Materia Medica in the XVIth Century.* Ed. by M. Florkin (Oxford, c. 1966) 10-11; idem, "P. A. Mattioli: Sixteenth-Century Commentator on Dioscorides," *Bibliographical Contributions* (University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1969), 59-81; for Matthiolus' correspondence especially concerning plant identifications for his research on the commentary, see bibl. above, p. 88, on Marantha and, p. 84, on Ghinus, in G. B. de Toni ed., "I placiti di Luca Ghini intorno a piante descritte nei commentarii al Dioscoride di P. A. Mattioli," *Memorie de R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti 27* (no. 8, 1907).

Manuscript:

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms Q 117 Sup., misc., s. XVI, fols. 346-361v. Contains extracts from Matthiolus' commentary. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 308b; Adolfo Rivolta, *Catalogo dei Codice Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* [Milano, 1933], 54).

Editions:

1554: See above I, 11.
1558: See above I, 11.
1559: See above I, 11.
1560: See above I, 11.
1563: See above I, 11.
1565: See above I, 11.
1570: See above I, 11.
1583: See above I, 11.
1674: See above I, 11.

Doubtful or rejected editions:

1557: See above I, 11.
1562: See above I, 11.
1571: See above I, 11.
1593: See above I, 11.
1604: See above I, 11.
1678: See above I. 11.

b. Compendium Matthioli.

Matthiolus' letter (ed. of Venice, 1571). Serenissimo Principi Ferdinando Archid. Austriae, Duci Burgundiae, etc., Comiti Tyrolis, etc., Domino suo clementissimo. [*Inc.*]: Tametsi ingravescente iam aetate decrevissem Sereniss. Princeps, omissis studiis ac lucubrationibus.../...[*Expl.*] et modis omnibus florentem quam diutissime conservet. E. Serenissimae Celsitudinis tuae fidelis et humilis servitor Petrus Andreas Matthiolus.

Matthiolus' introductory letter to Franciscus Calceolarius. Petrus Andreas Matthiolus Senensis, Medicus, Francisco Calceolario Pharmacopaeo Veronensi. S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: Quod iam diu desiderasti compendium a nobis conscriptum de plantis omnibus de quibus diffuse satis in commentariis nostris in Dioscoridem meminimus.../...[*Expl.*]: Quae a nostris prodeunt manibus caeteris fore praestantiora. Bene Vale. Tridenti, Idibus Ianuarii M. D. LXXI.

Compendium de plantis omnibus, Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: *Iris, Graece.*] *Arabice, Asmeni iuni, et Aiersa.*] *Italice, giglio celeste, et Giglio pauonazzo.*] *Germanice, Blaugilgen, Veilwurtz, et Himel Schwertel.*] *Hispanice, Lirio Cardeno.*] *Gallice, Glayeul, et Flambe.*] *Boemice, et Polonice, Kosatec. Genera.* Alterum domesticum, alterum sylvestre. Illius tres numerantur species, versi color, lutae, candidia.../...[*Expl.*]: (IV, 181, *Vitis vinifera;* IV, 181-3 Wellmann ed.) Pensiles si prius maturae sunt, et dulces, caeteris minus ventriculum inflant, et alvum convenienter emolliunt.

Edition:

1571, Venetiis (Venice): In officina Valgrisiana. Woodcuts. Durling 3028; NUC. Wellcome; BN; Oxford, Bodl.; (DNAL; DNLM; MH-A).

Biography:

Petrus Andreas Matthiolus (Pietro Andrea Mattioli) was a son of a physician. He was

born in Siena on March 12, 1501, and moved with his family to Vienna. He attended the University of Padua where he studied medicine and natural philosophy. He received a degree in medicine at Padua in 1523. At his father's death he and his mother moved back to Siena, where he first practised medicine, and subsequently to Perugia where he studied surgery under Gregorio Caravita. Around 1520 he moved to Rome where he is associated with the Santo Spirito Hospital and the San Giacomo Zenodochium for incurables. At the time of disturbances in Rome, he moved to Trent in 1527 where he married, sired a son who died in childhood, and practised medicine. Here he became a close friend of Cardinal Bernardo Clesio, bishop of Trent, and wrote his first book in 1528 on syphilis as well as a poem of some 450 octaves on the court life of Cardinal Clesio. In 1539, Matthiolus accepted a call to go to Görz as city-physician. His long interest in medicinal plants resulted in his Italian translation and commentary on Dioscorides in 1544. In 1554, following the Latin edition of his commentary, he accepted a call to go as physician to the court of Ferdinand I and later, as dedicatory letters to various editions of Dioscorides reveal, served Maximilian II. His attack on Amatus Lusitanus, who in his commentary on Dioscorides had pointed out errors in Matthiolus as well as in many other writers, is judged by modern experts to be a bitter, personal recrimination with anti-semitic overtones. After the death of his first wife in 1557, he remarried and had two sons. In 1570 he had a third wife and subsequently three more children. In 1570 he left Prague, visited Verona and returned to Trent where he died during a plague in January or February of 1577. He is buried in the cathedral at Trent.

Works: De morbi gallici curandi ratione dialogus, Bologna 1530; *Magno palazzo del cardinale di Trento,* Venice 1539; *Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo Alessandrino*, Venice 1548; *Apologia adversus Amathum Lusitanum cum censura in eiusdem enarrationes*, Venice 1558, and in various editions of *Commentarii* as noted above; *Epistola de bulbocastaneo*. . . Prague 1558; *Epistolarum medicinalium libri quinque,* Prague 1561, Lyon 1564, Frankfurt a/M 1598, Basel 1674; *Adversus XX. problemata Melchioris Guilandini disputatio,* Padua 1562.

Bibl.: U. Davau, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 27, 290-291; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg 1854-1857) 4, 366-378; Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 9 vols. (Rome 1784), 7, pt. 2, 2-10; Bruno Zanobia, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 9 (1974) 178-180 (with added bibl.).

La vita di Pietro Andrea Mattioli (Siena 1872), not seen (collected from Matthiolus' works by Giuseppe Fabiani, edited with additions and notes by Luciano Banchi).

z. Anonymus D

This is a composite of Matthiolus' commentary, Anonymus B (Lyon 1546), and probably some new material, but the title and publisher's letter credit Matthiolus as author: *Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri sex Innumeris locis ab Andrea Matthioli emendati, ac restituti. Accesserunt tres indices: unus propriorum nominum, alter nothorum, tertius remediorum isque maximi usus*. The printer's preface is dated Lyons, August 7, 1554, which follows the January, 1554, Valgrisi printing of Matthiolus' commentary. It is noteworthy that there is no indication that Ruellius is the translator but a comparison reveals that the publisher has used Matthiolus' corrections to Ruellius' translation. The *annotationes* are not extensive and represent only a small portion of the earlier works. On page 13, the first paragraph of an *annotatio* after *Nardum Montanum* (I. 8) reads: "† In Oribasio, (qui simplicium descriptiones Dioscoridi acceptas refert), legitur λευκότεραι, hoc est, candidiores. . . Mat." But the next paragraph of the same *annotatio* begins: "*Minoribus.] Fuchsius in opere de stirp. maioribus. . . ." which is the same text as the Anonymus B of the Lyon, 1546, ed. There is a text of the *De venenis*, printed as Book VI, but without commentary. It seems likely that the Mat-

thiolus portion is pirated. There are no woodcuts.

Tipographus lectori (ed. of 1554). [*Inc.*]: Dioscoridem e typographia nostra proficiscentem sine literis ad te venire noluimus ne mutus videretur esse nuntius. Neque rursum eum literis oneravimus, ne illis legendis gravareris. Tantum sic habeto: tum, quod sit materia medicinalis, autor luculentissimus et cornucopiae locupletissimum tua de causa a nobis in hoc parvum volumen fuisse collatum, et contractum, ut quocunque terrarum te conferes, tecum quasi ἐγχειρίδιον circunferre, et aeque rusticando peregrinandoque iucundo comite, ac domi et in otio fido familiari uti et libenter velis, et commode queas. Ad haec eum squalore, naevis, atque maculis, quibus hactenus scatuit innumeris, beneficio Andreae Matthioli, hominis in hoc genere versutissimi et doctorum approbatione medici doctissimi, elatis atque expurgatis probe curatum, nitidum et tersum a nobis emitti. Castigationes praeterea quamplurimorum locorum, eiusdem Matthioli solertia, et ingenio elucubratas, et per nos hac nota † insignitas, ad calcem capitum fuisse cusas.../Lugduni ad 7. calend. Aug. 1554.

Commentary. Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Malui hoc in loco Marcelli interpretationem sequi, quemadmodum alibi quandoque.../...[*Expl.*]: (IV, 122, *chamaeleuce;* IV, 126 Wellmann ed.) Buglossum, lingua bubula.

Edition:

1554: See above I, 12.

aa. Janus Cornarius

The commentary was written at Zwickau, April 12, 1555, and accompanied his translation of Dioscorides. In the commentary, called *Emblemata*, Cornarius cites Hippocrates, Theophrastus, Nicander, Celsus, Pliny, Galen, Marcellus, Scribonius, Paul of Aegina, and Aetius but he does not appear to have used any recent authorities. He gives German equivalents, printed in Gothic script, and frequently quotes in Greek. The commentary follows each chapter and is published without woodcuts.

Epistola nuncupatoria: See p. 40 above.

Commentary to Dioscorides' preface (ed. of Basel, 1557). [*Inc.*]: In hac praefatione nihil memorabile est, quod aliquem.../... [*Expl.*]: expressi, ubi nullam privatim mentionem fecero.

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: Quae in priore Aldina editione Graeca leguntur singulis capitib. adiectae...[*Expl.*]: (V, 146, *fuligo pictoria*; V, 161 Wellmann ed.) nostrorum in illos Emblematum hic finis esto.

Edition:

1557: See above II, 5 p. 40.

Biography:

See CTC II, 118.

bb. Ulysses Aldrovandus

Aldrovandus was a great expert on Dioscorides and, although he never published on him, a large amount of Dioscorides material is found in the Aldrovandus manuscript collection at Bologna. Examples of the variety of material are notes for lectures, a large index, general notes, numerous letters concerning plants in Dioscorides (to Matthiolus, Ghinus, Marantha, Anguillara, etc.), and notes on the works of other scholars on Dioscorides (e.g., Ms 44, fols. 295–334, notes on Antonio Pasini's commentary on D. in Italian; Ms 98 on Anguillara's comm. [see below, p. 101]; and Ms 98 on Ghinus' comm. [see above, p. 84]. The earliest dated commentary comes from a short series of lectures begun on June 15, 1551 or 1555, the reading of the Ms being unclear. The date of 1555 seems more likely since he did not receive his degree until 1553. These lectures were probably delivered at the Collegio dei Dottori in Bologna; they cover only the chapters in Book One. An extensive commentary was a series of lectures which began on November 8, 1556, and concluded with the last lecture dated December 11, 1561. These were probably also given at the Collegio dei Dottori. The commentary is bound in three volumes and there seems some confusion in the way the leaves are arranged. Thus there are two commentaries on Dioscorides' preface found in vol. 2, the first of Aldrovandus' commentaries begins on folio 169 (present numbering), and a sec-

ond commentary appears on folio 110 on the preface. Following on folio 110v is the comm. for *iris* which is Book One, chap. one. I have studied this commentary only through microfilms of selected folios at the beginnings and endings; it is entirely possible that errors occur in the description.

Other Dioscorides material includes a 266 page index, a "Collecta in herbis et adnotata in Diosc(oridem)," "Annotationes in quedam ca. Dioscoridis," and "Consyderationes in Dioscoride." Since this material is undated and included in several codices it is possible that it was once part of one corpus of lecture material. According to "La vita d'Ulisse Aldrovandi...," (in: *Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi* [Bologna 1907], p. 13) Aldrovandus lectured on Dioscorides' Book III in 1562 in some 63 lectures and in 1565 he lectured on Book IV. Between 1581 and 1586, Aldrovandus (*ibid.*, pp. 17-18) began a new interpretation of Dioscorides' Book I, "...havendogli inserte molte varie piante, et altre cose naturali che in quei primi anni non trattò per haver di continuo osservato cose nove, delle quali molte non sono state note a li antichi." In 1586 he began to lecture on Book II. His letters reveal a continuing and abiding interest in pursuing Dioscorides studies. Aldrovandus owned a copy of the Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction, now Bologna Ms 620. It is uncertain if the Mss described here include the material from Aldrovandus' second commentary on Dioscorides. A closer examination of the entire Aldrovandus collection may very well bring to light more Dioscoridean material than I, relying on Frati's catalogue description and on a partial microfilm, have been able to outline. I am very grateful to Professor Diego Maltese and Signore G. Folli of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna for invaluable assistance in reading the *incipits* and *explicits*.

a. Manuscript One.

Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 44, fol. 86). A di 15 Gennaro del 1551 [or 1555].

Text [*Inc.*]: *In cap. De Acoro* (I, 2 Wellmann ed.) Omnia recte sentit illud tantum addendum est verbis eius.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 93, *De sorbo*) nascitur in silvis et opacis. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 169) Observandum est Dioscoridem tantum quinque libros scripsisse...

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms Aldrovandi 44 (Aula II-B-49), s. XVI, fols. 86-93, fol. 169- ? (Autogr.) (Lodovico Frati, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Ulisse Aldrovandi* [Bologna 1907], 50).

b. Manuscript Two.

Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 77, vol. 1, fol. 3). Die octava Novembris 1556. Lectio prima. Ulixis Aldrovandi Comentaria in Dioscoridem.

Vol. I. Text [*Inc.*]. Veteribus medicis ac philosophis fuisse morem video ut.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 234) cum vino potam inulae radicem remedio esse. Omphacinum Oleumque Cap. XXVIII.

Vol. II. Heading. (fol. 3): Annotationes in Dioscoridem. In Prooemis. XVI. *Text*. [*Inc.*]: Obscuritatis in Dioscoridem latinum quinque libros.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 169v) apud nos elevant.

Heading (fol. 110). In prohemio Dioscoridis annotationes.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Circa eos auctores de medicamentis scribentis [?].../[*Inc.*]: (commentary on regular text, fol. 110v, *In capitulo de iride*.) Advertendum propter quae multae .../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 123, *De fuligine thuris*, cap. 70; I, 68 Wellmann ed.) cum vino [or *teum*?] facile parare possit.

Vol. III. Heading (fol. 237). Lectio 41ª De Myrrha. Cap. LXVIII. [I, 64, Wellmann ed.]

Text. [*Inc.*]: Cum myrrhae, nomen equivocum sit ideo eius significationes.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 622v) Lectio 84...11ª Decembris...1561. De alno...enim dolor mitigatur et calor ac lassitudo extrahitur.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms Aldrovandi 77 (Aula III-B-53), s. XVI, 3 vols. (Frati, *Catalogo*, 74-76).

c. Manuscript Three:

Vol. I Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 98, fol. 92). Collecta in herbis et adnotata in Dioscoride.

Text. [*Inc.*]: *Lachryma* [L. oleae, I, 105 Wellmann ed.] quae Aethyopica putant quidam esse gummi Elenii.../...(fol. 148 Smilax levis.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 148v) et fiat unguentum molle.

Vol. IV. Heading (fol. 2). Annotationes in quaedam cap. Dioscoridis.

Text. [*Inc.*]: *Cap. De cucumere agresti.* (IV, 150 Wellmann ed.) Hoc medicinae elaterium est praestantissimum.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 9) Adstringit. Avicenna iubet nos securum (?)....[Line crossed out]. Other items discussed: *glaux* (IV, 138 Wellmann ed.), *aegylops* (IV, 137), *bromos* (interpolation to *De materia medica*), *xanthium* (IV, 136), *adiantum* (IV, 134), *trichomanes* (IV, 135), *tripoliam* (IV, 132), *catanance* (IV, 131), *antirrhinon* (IV, 130), *hippoglosson* (IV, 129), *leontopodium* (interpolation), *phyteuma* (IV, 128), *cynoglossum* (interpolation), and *buglossum* (IV, 127).

Heading (fol. 44). Consyderationes in Dioscoride.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Omnium medicamentorum simplicium cognitio quae in duobus.../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 48) differat queque herba a cognatis speciebus.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms Aldrovandi 98 (Aula III-B-111), 4 vols., s. XVI, vol. I, 92-148; IV, fols. 2-9, 44-48. (Frati, *Catalogo*, 98-101).

d. Manuscript Four:

Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 104, p. 1). Index omnium rerum naturalium praecipue ex Dioscoride collectarum, quae trahuntur ad usum medicum. f. 247.

Text [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1) Acetum ex floribus caryophyllorum: acetum ex.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 266) Zoophyton. 253.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms Aldrovandi 104 (Aula III-B-III), s. XVI, pp. 1-266. (Frati, *Catalogo*, 103).

Biography:

Ulysses Aldrovandus (Ulisse Aldrovandi) was born in Bologna on Sept. 11, 1522 as the son of Teseo Aldrovandi, a nobleman and notary. He first studied mathematics under Annibale della Nave, but as a youth he proved restless by running away from home frequently, once as far as Spain. In Bologna he studied under the humanist Giovanni Gandolfo, and under maternal pressure he followed a seven year course of study in jurisprudence but, on the brink of receiving a degree, he decided to go to Padua to study philosophy. There he also studied medicine and, under Pietro Catena, mathematics. Returning to Bologna, he was charged with heresy and went to Rome to defend himself. There he met Guilielmus Rondeletius, then personal physician to Cardinal Tournon, and became involved with Rondeletius' research on fish. He also devoted much of his attention to the archaeology of the Roman ruins. Upon clearing his name of heresy, Aldrovandus returned to Bologna and met Lucas Ghinus whom he subsequently followed to Pisa when Ghinus accepted a chair there. Forced by economic necessity to earn a living, Aldrovandus received a medical degree on November 23, 1553, at Bologna. On December 14, 1553, he was admitted to the Collegio di Filosofia e Medicina which enabled him to teach and to practice medicine. In 1554-5 he taught logic and in 1555-6, philosophy, but his interest was natural science which he pursued with frequent field trips with students, friends and colleagues. In 1551 he went on a botanical trip to Monte Baldo with Aloysius Anguillara and Luigi Alpago. In 1556-7 he began lecturing on "simples." On February 11, 1561, he received a chair at Bologna. Throughout this period he wrote much but did not publish, most of his publications being posthumous. His voluminous manuscripts reveal both universal and specialized interests. His correspondents included P. A. Matthiolus, Conrad Gesner, Gabriele Falloppio and many others. His two great concerns were natural history for its own sake and a general commitment to public health. Throughout his life he was involved in controversy and was the center of many arguments, especially in connection with his appointment as cura-

tor of the Botanical Gardens at Bologna. He died in Bologna on May 4 (10?), 1605.

Works: Published works: all in folio and published at Bologna: *Ornithologiae, hoc est, de avibus historiae libri XII*, 1600; *Ornithologiae tomus alter de avibus terrestribus, mensae inservientibus et canoris*, 1600; *De animalibus insectis libri VII*, 1602; *Ornithologiae tomus tertius et ultimus de avibus aquaticis et circa aquas degentibus*, 1603; *De reliquis animalibus exanguibus, utpote de mollibus, crustaceis, testaceis et zoophytis, libri IV*, 1606; *Quadrupedum omnium bisulcorum historia*, 1613; *De piscibus libri V et de cetis liber unus*, 1613; *De quadrupedibus digitatis viviparis libri III, et de quadrupedibus digitatis oviparis libri II*, 1637; *Historiae serpentum et draconum libri duo*, 1640;

Bibl.: Carlo Castellani, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 1 (1970) 108-110 (with bibliography); Cuvier, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 1, 378-379; P. Delaunay, in: *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le seizième siècle* (Paris 1951) 612; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, suppl., 1, 535-537; G. Montalendi, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 2, 118-124; *Nouvelle biographie universelle* 1, 740-747.

Aldo Adversi, "Nuovi appunti su Ulisse Aldrovandi bibliofilo, bibliotecario e bibliografo, e sulla sua inedita *Biblologia*," *La Bibliofilia* 68 (1966), 51-90, with large bibliography; *Intorno alla vita e alle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Bologna 1907) with: L. Frati, "La vita di Ulisse Aldrovandi," and A. Sorbelli, "Contributi alla bibliografia delle opere di Ulisse Aldrovandi," Mario Maragi, "Corrispondenze mediche di Ulisse Aldrovandi coi paesi germanici," *Pagine di storia della medicina* 13 (1969), 102-110; Oreste Mattirolo, *L'Opera botanica di Ulisse Aldrovandi (1549-1605)*, (Bologna 1897), it does not contain discussion of the commentary on Dioscorides; C. Raimondi, "Lettere di P. A. Mattioli ad Ulisse Aldrovandi," *Bullettino Senese di storia patria* 13 (1906), 121-185; L. Samoggia, *Ulisse Aldrovandi medico e igienista* (Bologna 1962).

cc. ALOYSIUS ANGUILLARA

In the Aldrovandi manuscript collection in Bologna there is a twenty-two leaf commentary on Dioscorides' *De materia medica* with the heading: "Judicium Aloysii Herbarii Patavini de materia medica Diosc(oridis)." This manuscript probably contains Aldrovandus' notes taken from a more complete commentary by Anguillara. The botanical-zoological aspects of 163 chapters of Dioscorides Books I-III are discussed in Dioscorides' order of presentation (Book I—70 chapters; II—52, some of which are animal substances; III—41). No discussion is made of the medical virtues. Almost certainly the author, "Aloysius," is Aloysius Anguillara who was director of the botanical gardens at Padua between 1546-1561 with a four year interruption, 1551-1555. In 1550 Matthiolus referred to the director of the botanical gardens. "in cui per opera ed ultima diligenza di M. Aluigi Romano herbario et semplicista eccellentissimo" (*Discorsi su Dioscoride*, 1550 ed.). Similarly L. Ghinus writing to him in 1551: "Aloisius Romanus olim discipulus meus" (de Toni, "Nuovi documenti," *below*, p. 291n.). Allegedly he was born in the village of Anguillara, from which he took his name, but Matthiolus suggests other possible places of birth. This treatise on Dioscorides is actually in two parts without a break: the first (fols. 37-51v) is the commentary; the second (fols 51v-58v) gives regions, *e.g.*, Appeninus, Lucca, Bononia, Calabria, etc., and below each are plants found in the area. Anguillara was noted as a wide traveller but when these travels took place is not known. The commentary does not cite authorities and the entire approach seems a highly personal attempt to employ observations as a means of identifying plants and animals. In one place he states: "Ego puto...." There seems no certainty when Anguillara might have written the commentary but it was probably after his acceptance of the position at Padua (1546) and before 1561 when he left because of a disagreement with Aldrovandus and Matthiolus. I am grateful to Signore G. Folli and Professor

Diego Maltese of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna for assistance in reading the *incipits* and *explicits*.

Section 1, Descriptions of plants.

Heading (Bologna Ms Aldrovandi 98, fol. 37): Judicium Aloysii Herbarii Patavini, de materia medica Diosc(oridis).

Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: *De iride.* Incurvi et 53 in sumitatum florum et ibi varii sunt eius.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 51v, *Laserpitium*; III, 80 Wellmann ed.) In horto nostro ligusthium. Altera species est nostra species odorata.

Section 2, Locations of plants.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 51v) Alyllum. Hic faciunt Dioscorides et Galenus.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 58v) Argenti vivi una Ursi Galeni Barberis. D. Lucae.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms Aldrovandi 98 (Aula III-B-III), s. XVI, in 4 vols., vol. 1, fols. 37-58v. (Frati, *Catalogo*, p. 98).

Biography:

Aloysius Anguillara (Luigi Anguillara, Luigi Squalerno, Aluigi Anguillara or Aluigi Romano). The date and place of his birth are uncertain. Matthiolus seemingly believed his native city was Rome in calling him M. Aluigi Romano. A later tradition ascribing Ferrara as the birthplace can be rejected. More likely he was born sometime around 1512 in Anguillara Sabazia, where Tiraboschi places him. When or whether he attended any Italian universities is uncertain, but he traveled extensively and observed plants: in Italy from Sicily to the Alps, southern Switzerland and France, Dalmatia, Illyria, Slavonia, Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus, Crete, Corfu and other Grecian islands. In his *Semplici,* he refers to the apothecary, Costantino Rodioto (Rhodes) as "il mio carissimo Maestro." He was in Bologna in 1539 and in Pisa in 1544-1545 where he corresponded with Lucas Ghinus. Anguillara, spoke highly of Ghinus and in a letter to Anguillara, Ghinus speaks of him as *discipulus meus.* On August 20, 1546, Anguillara was appointed as the first director of the botanical gardens at Padua, a position which brought him into contact with many visitors and botanical students. Alfonso Pancio, a professor of medicine, was his friend. With a four year interruption in 1551-1555, he remained as director until 1561, when he left perhaps because of the displeasure of U. Aldrovandus and P. A. Matthiolus. In 1550 Matthiolus had spoken warmly of him but later in his biography of Aldrovandus, Matthiolus attacks Anguillara severely, calling him "olitor Patavinus." Anguillara's only known printed book, *Semplici...*, is a series of fourteen opinions (*pareri*), the earliest (*Parere VII*) being written in 1549 and the last (*Parere V*) in 1560. *Semplici* is chiefly devoted to plant identification based on his observations and travels and written as letters to Marinello. Upon leaving Padua in 1561 he moved to Ferrara where he became herbalist to the Duke but his interest in traveling continued. It is uncertain whether he also taught in Ferrara. He died in a plague in Ferrara on September 5, 1570.

Works: Semplici... liquali in più pareri a diversi nobili huomini scritti appaiono, et nuovamente da m. Giovanni Marinello mandati in luce, Venice 1561; trans. into Latin with notes by Gaspar Bauhin, Basel 1593; Letters publ. by de Toni, ref. below.

Bibl.: S. DuPetit-Thouars, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 1, 709-710; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 1, 419; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg 1854-1857, repr. 1965) 4, 378-383; *Nouvelle biographie universelle* 2, 674-676; Kurt Sprengel, *Geschichte der Botanik*, 2 vols. (Altenburg-Leipzig 1817-1818) 1, 289-293; Jerry Stannard, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 1 (1970), 167; Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, 9 vols. (Rome 1784), vol. 7, pt. 2, 10-13; Albert von Haller, *Bibliotheca Botanica,* 2 vols. (Tiguri 1771) 1, 329-330.

Ettore de Toni, "Luigi Anguillara e Pietro Antonio Michiel," *Annali di botanica,* 8 (1910), 617-685; Giovanni Battista de Toni, "Nuovi documenti intorno Luigi Anguillara, primo prefetto dell'Orto Botanico di Pa-

dova," *Atti dell' Instituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 70 (1910-1911, no. 2) 289-307; idem, "Luigi Anguillara," in Aldo Mieli, ed., *Gli scienziati italiani dall'inizio del medio evo ai nostri giorni*, 1, pt. 1 (Rome 1921) 76-78; Ludovic Legré, in *La botanique en Provence au XVIe siècle: Louis Anguillara, Pierre Belon, Charles de l'Escluse, Antoine Constantin* (Marseilles, 1901) 5, 9-34.

dd. ROBERTUS CONSTANTINUS

The *Adnotationes* are in the form of a commentary added to the 1558 Lyons edition of Amatus Lusitanus' *Enarrationes* which Constantinus also edited and corrected. A dedicatory letter by Constantinus to his friend, Iacobus Dalechampius, is undated and no place of publication is given. Prior to 1558 Constantinus was in Agen where he studied under Julius Scaliger but upon the latter's death and in the same year Constantinus undertook an extended journey through Germany where he studied Greek and collected material for the *Lexicon greco-latinum* undertaken at the behest of Scaliger. Constantinus' *Adnotationes* do not cover all chapters but some 105 chapters throughout the five books of *De materia medica*. The commentary covers, however, all three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, and mineral. Some chapters are brief, not more than a few lines, while others extend to several printed pages, *e. g. marinus alga*, which is five pages in length. There seems to be a stress on hallucinatory drugs. Against the background of Amatus Lusitanus' *Enarrationes*, Constantinus adds corrections of his own, principally noting Amatus Lusitanus' errors and calling upon the authority of Pliny. He also cites numerous other authorities. Among them are: Democritus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Cato, Columella, Vergil, Strabo, Josephus, Plutarch, Nicander, Galen, Marcellus Empiricus, Orpheus (on stones), Alexander of Tralles, Jerome, Simeon Sethus, Mesue, Serapion, Nicolaus Myrepsos, Marcellus Virgilius, Ruellius, Cardanus, Fuchsius, Matthiolus (frequently cited), and Johannes Agricola. The edition includes some thirty new woodcuts by Iacobus Dalechampius of Lyons, published two to a page at the end. Throughout the regular text there are also woodcuts but the only statement as to the designers comes on the title pages: "...nec non simplicium picturae ex Leonharto Fuchsio, Iacobo Dalechampio, atque aliis." Joseph Scaliger, the son of Julius Caesar Scaliger, bitterly criticized Constantinus for his treatment of "good authors." The attack came in a letter Scaliger wrote to Franciscus Verturianus in December, 1574, and published in his correspondence (*Epistolae omnes*..., Lugduni-Batavorum, 1627, p. 104, Bk. I, Ep. 17): Accepi alteras literas cum Commentario Constantini pharmacopolae in Dioscoridem. Cujus ego doctrinam, industriam atque acumen laudo, non est quod dubitet de emendationibus Plinianis ex capite de Croco. Nam tam verae sunt quam verum est, quod ipse deprehendit, Robertum Constantinum asinum esse in bonis auctoribus tractandis. Nullius enim ignorantiam insectatus sum, a me ipso enim incipiendum esset. Impudentiam tantum ferre non possum, quam si ferrem in Roberto Constantino, mihi contra bellum gerendum esset cum modestia, cum qua mihi semper bene convenit. Sed non tanti est Constantinus, ut modestiam meam ab eius impudentia superari sinam. Hoc dico, quia, ut recte Contentus noster animadvertit, homo ineptissimus ex Plinianis male intellectis bonam sententiam se eruere posse speravit, et quod Plinio ne in somnis quidem in mentem venit, tanquam Plinianam mercedem nobis venditare conatur. Idem dico de Matthiolo, Amatho Lusitano et aliis latrantibus caniculis, quibus Ladanum Plinii non bene olet...

Dedication (ed. of Lyons, 1558) R. Constantinus Iacobo Dalechampio Cadomensi, Medico literatissimo et celeberrimo. [*Inc.*]: Solent scriptores non parum multi huius temporis atque aetatis (quod et a pluribus et humanioribus quidem ut malo exemplo ac more introductum iam video improbari) tanquam affixis praeludiis librorum initia nimis longis praefationibus farcire atque onerare, quod fastidiosum lectorem avertit, priusquam alliciat....Id vero effugiam, ut spero, quia paucis praefari et verba in compendium

conferre voluerim, praesertim cum horum bona copia non magis mihi defutura sit quam caeteris, nec per se sterilius sit argumentum, si collibuisset spatiari et longius excurrerre. At istud facere in privo campo et fundo non placet, minusque in hoc alieno, ne parum civiliter et decenter id fieri videatur. Itaque cur in hunc doctum et diligentem herbariae scriptorem extemporalem hanc recognitionem paraverim, et minusculas observationes etiam miniatula cera, sed levi manu oblitas, causa una extitit Gulielmi Rovilii optimarum partium studiosi civis et utriusque nostrum amantissimi viri petitio, cui nihil honeste possum denegare. Nam cum denuo hoc opus imprimi coeptum esset et in lemmatibus praesertim ab ipso deprehensa gravissima quaedam errata, continuo coepit a me contendere, ut singula folia dum excuderentur, quoniam medicinalis esset tractatio, relegere ne gravarer atque etiam castigare. Equidem eius amicitiae plus tribuens quam meae famae (quantulacunque est illa modo aut futura) consulens, hoc in me amice magis quam consulte recepi, nempe ut quantum mihi a privatis studiis daretur otii, ea succisiva et subsecundaria tempora ad haec recognoscenda conferrem. Ideoque ut alter Aristarchus, censoria quadam virgula, quae falso irrepsisse et subdititia esse constabat, summovere familia occoepi, et alia propria in sublatorum locum subrogare atque asciscere, breviterque omnia praestare, quae res exigere videbatur...Quapropter haec sint temporaria, Iacobe Dalechampi optime et politioris humanitatis peritissime, ut illa mansura et aetatem ferre posse confido, quae post ea severae tuae censurae commissa in lucem proferemus...[*Expl.*]: Hoc siquidem Ausoniii versu velut exordio concludam extemporalitatis epistolam, et in qua nihil est nisi dictum populariter. Vale et salue.

Commentary. Liber I, *De nardo Gallica* (I, 8 Wellmann ed.) [*Inc.*]: (p. 27) Longe aliter legitur apud Plinium; nam addit de suo, Amatus Lusitanus. *in coronas*: quae voces, in Plinii codice non leguntur. Rursus omittit haec verba: radici numerose cohaeret.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (V, *magnes*; V, 130 Wellmann ed.) absque dolore vulneret. Cardanus lib. vii. de subtilitate.

Editions:
1558 (1): See above I, 13.
1558 (2): See above I, 13.
Doubtful or rejected:
1548: See above I, 13.
1548: See above I, 13.
Biogr.
See CTC II, 272.

ee. Bartholomaeus Marantha

Bartholomaeus Marantha began a commentary on the first three books of the *De materia medica* at the urging of Lucas Ghinus (d. 1556); it was completed by 1561 or a little earlier, but fragments, found in two manuscripts, of parts of the first book are all that survive. Both manuscripts appear to be in the same hand, one (Milan Ambrosiana Q 122 Sup., fols. 31-36v) contains commentary only on the chapter *iris* (Bk. I, 1), while the other (Milan, Ambrosiana D 477 Inf. fols. 1-60) covers the chapters from *acorus* (I, 2) through *casia* (I, 13).

Our knowledge of the composition of the commentary is derived from the correspondence of Marantha with Gabriele Falloppio and Ulysses Aldrovandus. In July, 1558, Marantha sent Falloppio a draft of his completed tract, *Methodi cognoscendorum medicamentorum simplicium libri tres*; Marantha explained that much of the work derived from Dioscorides, whose study was encouraged by his late teacher, Lucas Ghinus, and by Johannes Vincentius Pinellus, "qui dum me hortatur, rogat, increpat." He explained to Falloppio that he planned a commentary on Dioscorides which he could not surely finish, he thought, in two years: "Itaque vix tribus absolutis, quos de ratione cognoscendorum medicaminum methodo conscripseram, libris, suadet [sc. Pinellus], ut haudquaquam extrema commentariorum manu expectata (quippe qui ne biennio quidem absolvi possint) in lucem illos aederem."

Falloppio in his reply of August, 1558, printed at the beginning of the 1559 edition of the *Methodus*, praised Marantha's work and encouraged him to complete his proposed

commentary: "Librum hunc tuum de methodo cognoscendorum simplicium medicamentorum, quem ad te remitto, ea cum animi voluptate perlegi, quam hominis mihi in primis cari labor eruditissimus afferre potuit ac debuit.... Fac igitur ut studiosa iuventus exoptata hac methodo frui possit, quoniam obtrectatorum calumniae sub amplissimo Iohannis Vincentii Pinelli patrocinio tibi nullo modo sunt pertimescendae. Interim vero commentarios, quos in Dioscoridem Luca Ghino sanctissimae memoriae potissimum suasore scribis, perfice, ex quibus non dubito hanc de simplicibus medicamentis scientiam maximum incrementum esse suscepturam. Vale Patavii III. Non. Augusti M.D LVIII." Marantha sent the finished commentary to Falloppio, but Falloppio was unimpressed and urged Marantha to abandon the project (see the letter of Marantha to Aldrovandus of April 20, 1561, as published by W. Vallieri, ref. below).

Marantha had however also sought advice elsewhere, and in the same letter of April 20, 1561, he tells Aldrovandus that he had received a favorable judgment from Ioannes Vincentius Pinellus at Padua: "De miei studii ho raguagliato ms. Adamo, benchè assai brevemente et...mente come io ho fatto tre libri comentando Dioscoride nella...medicinale sola et ne ho mandato il capo dell' Iride a Padova per saperne il giudicio di qualche valente huomo et mi scrive il Sig. Gio. Vincenzo Pinelli che uno assai dotto comenda la mia faticha."

Finally, in a second letter of March 4, 1562, to Aldrovandus, Marantha says that he has reworked the commentary and hopes to have it ready to publish in September. ("Dapoi attenderò alli commentarii di Dioscoride et ranconciarò i primi tre libri et spero prima di settembre haverli a ordine per istamparli et per agio poi attenderò al restante vedendone prima intra questo mezzo il sagio di questi tre.") Meanwhile Conrad Gesner knew of the writing of the commentary and in his introductory letter to the Strasbourg, 1561, edition of Valerius Cordus' *Annotationes,* Gesner wrote: (fol. a4) "Bartholomaeus Marantha Venusinus medicus condidit Methodi cognoscendorum simplicium medic. lilbros tres, eleganter profecto et erudite, quos suis typis publicavit Vincentius Valgrisius Venetiis, anno 1559. in 4. Hi ad Dioscoridis innumera loca recte intelligenda utilissimi sunt, ut commentarii quidam in eius libros, non grammatico tamen, sed philosophico more instituti videri queant. Promittit autem ex professo etiam in Dioscoridem commentarios, quos valde desideramus."

It does not appear however that the commentary was ever published, and no complete manuscript of it has so far been found.

Bibliography:

Giuseppe Favaro, *Gabriele Falloppio Modenese (MDXIII-MDXLII),* Modena 1928, pp. 81, 130; Werner Vallieri, "Le 22 lettere di Bartolomeo Maranta all' Aldrovandi," *Rivista di storia della medicina (Roma)*, vol. 8 (1964) 197-229.

Fragment 1.

Rubric (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana Ms Q 122 Sup., fol. 31). Iris. Libro primo cap. 1 Dioscor.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: *Sub rufo colore.* Galenus iiiii simplicium cap. xxiii. In quoque genere inquit, in universum.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 36v) magni esse irim ad omnia usus.

At bottom: Maranta in caput de iride Dioscoridis *(sic)* Sig. Gia. Vincenzo Pinelli.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Milan, Ambrosiana Ms Q 122 Sup., s. XVI, fols. 31-36v. (Adolfo Rivolta, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* 63; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 309a. Microfilm available at the University of Notre Dame Library).

Fragment 2.

Rubric (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana Ms D 477 Inf., fols. 1-60). In partem Dioscoridis notae Maranthae.

Commentary. Liber I, 2 [*Inc.*]: (fol. 1. Acorum libro primo cap. 2 Diosc.) *Optimum est densum candidum plenum etc.* Haec nota ad radicem pertinet, quia haec sola in usu.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 60; I, 13 Wellmann ed.) Casia...nunc casiam nigram nunc fistulam.

Manuscript:

Milan, Ambrosiana Ms D 477 Inf., s. XVI, fols. 1-60. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 288b.)

Biography:

Bartholomaeus Marantha Venusinus' (Maranta; Bartolomeo Marantha). His life is little known. He was born in Venosa in the kingdom of Naples at an unknown date. He studied at Pisa under Lucas Ghinus (ca. 1549—1556) who held a chair at Pisa between 1544 and 1555. A close relationship between Ghinus and Marantha is apparent in Marantha's correspondence with Aldrovandus, in Marantha's dedicating his publications to Ghinus, and in the fact that, for his part, Ghinus willed Marantha his manuscripts. At some point Marantha returned to Naples to be associated with the Botanical Gardens founded by Io. Vincentius Pinellus. Undoubtedly through Ghinus, Marantha corresponded about plant identifications regularly with Aldrovandus, Ghinus' colleague at Bologna, and with P. A. Matthiolus, who included one of the letters in Book IV of his *Epistolae medicinales* (pp. 159-164). He also corresponded with G. Falloppio and aided Ferrante Imperato in his *Historia naturalis*. At one period in his life, however, Marantha proposed to abandon the study of plants in order to work on his poetical dialogues on Vergil, but, as seen in his published works, he returned to botanical studies. Marantha's last published work, *Della theriaca et del mithridato libri due* (Venice: Marcantonio Olmo, 1572) was dedicated by Marantha to Melchior Guilandinus, custodian of the Botanical Gardens at Padua. Included in this work is a letter (Naples, October 30, 1570) from Bartholomaeus Marantha to M. Ferrante and Gli Otto of Naples. This letter is the last known date in Marantha's life, the place and time of his death being unknown.

Works: De aquae Neapoli in Luculliano scaturientis, quam ferream vocant, metallica materia ac viribus, Naples 1559 and 1681; *Methodi cognoscendorum medicamentorum simplicium libri tres*, Venice 1559; according to Graesse 4, 379, this was reproduced anonymously under the title, *Novum herbarium*...Venice, 1571; *Lucullianae quaestiones*, Basel 1564; *Della theriaca et del mithridato libri due* (Venice 1571), translated into Latin by Joach. Camerarius, Frankfort, 1576; *Letters* edited by Matthiolus (Book V of *Epistolae medicinales*.)

Bibl.: Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker, 4, 65; G. B. De Toni, "Marantha," in: *Gli Scienziati italiani*...Adolo Mieli, ed. (Rome 1921), 68-70; W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon*...(Jena 1740; repr. 1971), p. 511; Johannes Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum*..., 4 vols. (Geneva 1731) 2, 258; C. M. Pillet, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*..., vol. 27, 414; Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 9 vols. (Rome 1784) 2, 14-15; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 4, 260.

G. Micca, "Il 'Della theriaca e del Mithridato' di Bartolomeo Maranta," *Minerva medica* (Torino), vol. 61 (1970), 705-715; Adolfo Rivolta, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell' Ambrosiana* (Milan 1933), pp. xviii-xix; Werner Vallieri, "Le 22 lettere di Bartolomeo Maranta all' Aldrovandi," *Rivista di storia della medicina (Roma)*, vol. 8 (1964), 197-229.

ff. Antonius Pinaeus

The date of Pinaeus' prefatory letter to Duke Nicolaus Henricus is January 15, 1561, at Lyons. In the letter he mentions his French version of Matthiolus' Dioscorides and his commentary reveals much of Matthiolus' influence. The commentary was published without the text of the *De materia medica* and is in the form of a "manual" with several separate works, some little more than indices. The manual is entitled, *Historia plantarum*, and the first and largest tract is *Earum imagines nomenclatura qualitates et natale solum*. The commentary covers only Books I-IV of *De materia medica* and only the plants. Each chapter of Dioscorides is discussed in the following way: (1) there is (in the copy I saw) a colored woodcut of the plant—some 635 throughout; *iris*, for instance, has three varieties; (2) there is a paragraph on nomenclature in Latin, Greek,

Arabic (Roman script), French, and German; (3) there is a statement concerning the plant's location and habitats with other authorities often cited, e.g. Apuleius, Pliny, Matthiolus, and Fuchsius; (4) the plants' physical and medicinal properties are described. Marginal notes are keyed to Dioscorides with Galen, Theophrastus, and Pliny also sometimes cited. The second treatise is called *Simplicium medicamentorum facultates secundum locos ex Dioscoride*. This lists afflictions beginning with the head and generally moving downwards to the feet. Then below are appropriate remedies according to Dioscorides. The last three tracts, much shorter than the others, are specialized indices.

Introductory letter (ed. of Lyons, 1561). Splendidissimo viro D. Nicolao Henry, D. a Cremyeu, Trevoulx, Feurs, et Viennae Galliarum Praetori, Antonius Pinaeus S. [*Inc.*]: Ferianti mihi, Praetor ornatissime, incidit in manus anno superiore Matthiolus in Dioscoridem: quem ubi Gallice reddidissem, placuit etiam...manualem ipsum facere in nominis tui gratiam. Ex quo enim te primum vidi semper observavi unice, cum ob raras animi tui dotes, tum maxime ob sublimitatem illam ingenii, quae te valde spectabilem apud omnes nostros reddit. Mirum est enim quantum in hoc tuo aetatis flore adolevit ratio, ita exacte de omni re iudicas. Quo preiudicio quid certius habere potest frequentissimum hoc Galliarum emporium ad confirmandam illam quam de te concepit expectationem? Talis ergo cum sis, ad te velut ad exactissimum Censorum hoc telluris promptuarium mitto, ea descriptum arte, ut quicquid de plantarum ratione summi in re medica principes senserunt, in hoc Enchiridio possis conspicere, serioque ludere in hoc vasto naturae horto cum summis authoribus, sive piscari, enari, aucupari, sive demum rusticari animi gratia libeat. Quam omnem operam boni aequique consules. Vive et vale, vir ornatissime, Pinaeumque tuum ama. Lugduni XV. Ianuarii, M.D.LXI.

a. Earum imagines, nomenclatura, qualitates, et natale solum.

Commentary. Liber I, 1 [*Inc.*]: (pt 1, p. 5) Iris Graecis...Gallis, Glayeul, sive Flambe./ Locus ex Fuchsio. Nascitur in hortis, et vinearum septis. / Qualitates ex Matthiolo. Excalefacit ordine secundo completo, vel tertio inchoante, et pariter siccat. / Ex Fuchsio. Abstergit et maturat.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 640, with *vitis vinifera* listed as "Diosc. 1i. 5, cap. 1" but it is Bk. IV, 181, Wellmann ed.) et sicca est: matura autem calefacit et humectat primo ordine, ex Symeone Sethi.

b. Simplicium medicamentorum facultates secundum locos ex Dioscoride.

Heading, pt. 2, p. 1: Ad capitis dolorem ex frigiditate genitum.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: Iris illyrica cum aceto et rosaceo illita. Oleum sylvestris.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 199) Seminis lini decoctum potui datum. Oryza decoctum potum.

c. Simplicium medicamentorum facultates quae decorem praestant, ex Dioscoride.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: (p. 200) Decoris. Ad alopeciam. Myrrha cum ladana.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 217) Mel sinapi appositum.

d. Simplicium medicamentorum vires, quibus exuberantes in corpore humores vomitu et alvi deiectione excernuntur, ex Dioscoride.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: (p. 218) Expellentium medicamentorum. Ad bilem educendam. Iris illyrica drachmarum.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 225) et cibum devorati.

e. Mensurarum et ponderum typi, ad Dioscoridis mentem, ex Galeno.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: (p. 226) De ponderum ratione. Siliqua pendet chalcum.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 229) De mensuris mellis...Oxygaphus drach-(marum) 27. Cyathus drach (marum) Chemle drach(marum) 5.

Editions:

1561, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud Gabrielem Coterium. Title: *Historia plantarum*..., in 2 pts. Hoffmann BL 1, 608; Durling 1317; NUC. BM; (DNAL; DNLM; NNNAM).

1567, Lugduni (Lyons): Apud viduam Gabrielis Coterii. Reissue but new title: *Ac-*

cessere simplicium medicamentorum facultates, secundum locos et genera ex Dioscoride, 2 pts., with added letter by Coterius. Durling 1328; NUC. Wellcome; BM; (CU; DLC; DNLM).

Biography:
Antonius Pinaeus (Antoine DuPinet, sieur de Noroy) was born in Baume-les-Dames, according to his friend Louis Gollut (1535-1595), an historian, but, according to La Croix du Maine, he was born in Besancon around 1510. He studied in Paris under Johannes Sturm, a friend of Melanchthon, and under the Catholic Canon Guillaume Paradin. Between 1537 and 1543 he was a minister in a village near Geneva, possibly, according to Haag, in the village of Ville-la-grand in Chablais. He corresponded with Calvin during this period, beginning in 1538. Calvin wrote to him on January 5, 1539, "Optimo fratri Antonio Pigneto Veliensis ecclesiae ministro...." With zeal Pinaeus supported Calvin's cause. In 1543 he moved to Lyons in the service, probably as secretary or tutor, of some important person whose name is unknown. Most of his works were written during this period at Lyons. He died in Paris in 1565 or 1566.

Works: Familière et briefue exposition sur l'apocalypse de Sainct Jehan l'apostre, Geneva 1539; *Le troisième livre ou tome des Epitres illustres composées en espagnol par don Ant. de Guevare...*, Lyons 1560, *Caie Pline second: l'histoire du monde collationnée et corrigée...*, Lyons 1562; *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l'Europe, Asie et Afrique que des Indes et Terres-Neuves....*, Lyons 1564; *La conformité des églises réformées de France...*, Lyons 1564; *Taxes des parties casuelles de la boutique du Pape...*, Lyons 1564; *Les secrets miracles de nature...*, Lyons 1566; *Les commentaires de Pierre Mathiole sur l'histoire des plantes de Dioscoride, trad. en franç.*, Lyons, 1566, 1577, 1580, 1619, 1655, 1680; and *Les lieux communs de la sainte Ecriture, par W. Musculus, trad. en françois*, Geneva, 1577.

Bibl.: Robert Barroux in: *Dictionnaire des lettres Françaises...*, ed. Grente, *Le Seizième Siècle*, 16, 276; Destianges in: *Dictionnaire de biographie francaise* 12, 372; Emile Fourquet,...*Les homnes celebres et les personnalities marquantes de Franche Comté*...(Besançon 1929) 17, 80; Eugène Haag, *La France protestante*...(Paris 1877-1888) 5, 851-883; François G. La Croix du Maine, *Les Bibliothèques Françoises*... (Paris 1772-1773) 1, 47-48; Weiss in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 12, 9-10.

gg. Justus Mollerus

The work of Mollerus is entitled: *Fasciculus remediorum ex Dioscoride et Mathiolo omnibus humani corporis affectibus methodice accommodatorum*. It is not so much a commentary as a paraphrase of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Matthiolus's commentary with stress on medical descriptions and uses of drugs. In the dedicatory letter (January 1579) written from Pritzwald, Brandenburg, to Duke Udalricus, Mollerus explained that as a physician he had had difficulty using Dioscorides and had produced this arrangement to facilitate his own use of the work. However, he was persuaded that other physicians and heads of families would benefit in their medical practice by it. The method he followed was to list a malady, *e.g.*, upset stomach or melancholy, and all remedies for it in Dioscorides and in Matthiolus' commentary. Although the work is extensive, amounting to 797 pages, no examination has been made to determine its originality.

Dedicatory Letter (ed. of Basel, 1579). [*Inc.*]: Illustrissime Princeps ac Domine, Domine clementissime, Praeclara et digna homine....Huius [Matthiolus'] scripta ego nuperrime perlustrans, cum perspicerem quantum utilitatis mortalibus suis illis commentariis praestitisset, institui eosdem et Dioscor. libros de medica materia in certum ordinem secundum locos congruentium secum materiarum mihi in privatum usum colligere. Quod cum aliqui amici quibus plurimum debeo apud me vidissent, me adhortati sunt, ut hunc laborem meum qualemcunque etiam aliis communicarem et in lucem ire paterer, quibus tandem ob prae-

clara in me collata beneficia obtemperare coactus, collectanea mea in meliorem ordinem, quantum fieri potuit, distribuere coepi et omnia remedia, quae in Diosc. et Math. unicuilibet morborum generi vel speciei accommodata sparsim et diversis in locis describuntur, in unum fasciculum collegi, ita ut unusquisque paterfamilias, nec non medicinae candidatus, praesertim iis in locis ubi methodice in curando procedere non licet, ad quosvis morbos depellendos, remedia facilia, quorum copia nobis adest, et etiam nostro temperamento familiariora esse iudicantur, atque illa, quae ex pereginis regionibus, nobis corrupta et adulterata advehuntur, in promptu et ad manum quocunque tempore habere possit, praesertim cum saepissime unico simplici medicamento (modo dextre adhibeatur) periculosissimos morbos, qui alias compositis quibusdam satis preciosis, si Diis placet, a tribus mundi partibus, corrasis, expugnari nequeunt, cedere cognatur *(sic)*. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: pectore oro. Datae Illustrissimorum Marchionum Brandeburgensium oppido Pritzwald, mense Ianuario Anni 1579.

Commentary. [*Inc.*]: Omnium morborum, tam universalium quam particularium, cum totum corpus, tum partem quamdam. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Gallorum praesagium. cap. DCLX si currit araneus, pestilentium morborum praesagium est lib. 1, cap. 122.

Edition:

1579, Basileae (Basel): Ex officina Petri Pernae. Durling 3213; NUC. BM; BN; Oxford, Bodl.; (DNLM; NNUN).

Biography:

Justus Mollerus (Moller; Moeller) was a templar and a physician in the town of Pritzwald. His father was Christophorus Mollerus, mentioned in his letter above. He flourished in 1579.

Bibl.: Dedicatory letter as cited above; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 3, 594.

hh. Johannes Sambucus

The commentary of Johannes Sambucus, entitled *In Dioscoridem observationes seu notae*, is difficult to date. It was published as an addition to Janus-Antonius Saracenus' elaborate edition of Dioscorides published in 1598 (see above p. 41). In Sambucus' commentary he refers to the reading of a very old Byzantine codex which is almost certainly the Julia Anicia Codex (Vienna N.B. Ms Med. Gr. 1). As stated under Matthiolus above (p. 92), this codex had arrived in Vienna by 1565. Sambucus died in Vienna on June 13, 1584, and so this work of his was written in Vienna sometime between 1565-1584, probably towards the end of the period. In the introduction to his translation of Dioscorides, Saracenus said that Sambucus had urged Henricus Stephanus to print Dioscorides and that Sambucus had sent him notes on readings. Since the printer was sent Sambucus' notes which serve as a commentary, it seems likely that Sambucus' work must be dated near the end of his life in 1584. The introductory letter to the reader which precedes Sambucus' commentary is unidentified but it would seem to be by Saracenus. Sambucus' commentary covers only Books I-IV and, although it occupies only pp. 141-144 of Part II, it is in double columns and in folio size. Not all chapters of the *De materia medica* are covered. As stated in the opening letter, Sambucus examined many manuscripts as well as the readings of other authorities. In one place (I, 8) he refers to a Spanish Greek Ms and in another place (I, 180) to a Florentine Ms. He corrected Matthiolus' commentary in a number of places. Since they both served the same Emperor, Sambucus from Vienna and Matthiolus from Prague, and since they both were experts on Dioscorides Mss, especially Vienna Ms Gr. Med. 1, it seems likely that they knew one another.

Lectori S(alutem) (ed. of Frankfort, 1598). [*Inc.*]: Clariss. vir Io. Sambucus Pannonius, Caesareus olim Consiliarius et Historiographus, praeter varias in Dioscoridem lectiones, quas ex complurium manuscriptorum exemplarium fida diligentique collatione hinc inde excerpserat, notas etiam suas et observationes in eundem auctorem nonnullas nobis simul et semel quam liberalissime communicavit, quibus te quoque defraudare neque volui neque debui, quando-

quidem ut loca quaedam difficilia aut alioqui sat obscura iis interdum illustrantur, ita et ad alia praeterea diligentius examinanda via tibi quasi patefit. Occurrent, fateor, haud ita pauca, quae ut mihi ita et tibi fortasse merito suspectiora aut veritati dudumque receptae medicorum opinioni minus consentanea videbuntur; attamen malui, qualiacunque erant, iudicio tuo subiicere, quam temere nimiumve audacter quicquam immutare. Tuum erit, quicquid id est, aequi bonique consulere, hominemque literariae Reipub. quandiu vixit iuvandae quam studiosissimum pro tua prudentia excusare, quippe cui, ceu aulicam vitam agenti, quum alia quam medica saepenumero tractanda essent, ad amussim singula expendere non ita licuerit. Caeterum hoc unum monitum te volui, lector, ut hisce optimi viri lucubrationibus non nisi adhibito maturiore iudicio favaris. Interim vale.

In Dioscoridem observationes sive notae. [*Inc.*]: (I, 1, pt. III, p. 141) Iridem bulbosam. Recentiores veram nondum mihi videntur ostendisse. *Cap. II.* De acoro in Nothis.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (IV, 194, pt. III, p. 144) Picturae antiquae simplex ac parvum ponunt, ubi Mathiolus magnum.

Edition:
1598 (1): See above I, 15.
Biography:
See CTC II, 36-7.

ii. Janus Antonius Saracenus

Saracenus' commentary, called *Scholia*, was published as part three of his edition of the "complete works" of Dioscorides with his Latin translation. (See above p. 41). He probably began the project while he was in Geneva in the 1570's and completed the work in 1598 at Lyons. The bulk of the commentary is philological, not clinical, despite the fact that Saracenus was a medical doctor.

Scholia (ed. of Frankfort, 1598 [1]) [*Inc.*]: (pt. 3, p. 1) In Praef. Βάσσος ὁ Ιυλαῖος Vetus exemplar et Aldinum habent Τυλαῖος quae quidem secutus est Marcellus Virgilius. Quidam Τύλλιος legunt.../...[*Expl.*]: (pt. 3, p. 124) quae totius medicamenti basis est, ad ipsum gummi proportio.

Edition:
1598 (1): See above I, 15.
Biography:
See p. 43 above.

jj. Caspar Bauhinus

Caspar Bauhinus' *Additiones* to Dioscorides and Matthiolus' commentary were written at Basel in 1598 according to the dedicatory epistle to the 1598 Frankfort edition of Matthiolus' *Omnia Opera*, which Bauhinus edited (see above, p. 92). He brought to his commentary a rich background in botany which derived from his famous father, Joannes Bauhinus, whose herbal Caspar had edited. In Karen Reed's study of Renaissance botany (see ref. below), she noted that Bauhinus insisted that his students follow Dioscorides' example and observe plants in the field but Bauhinus also stressed the importance of the classics in learning botany. In the commentary, Bauhinus gives his additions after almost every chapter of Dioscorides with Matthiolus' commentary, but there is no commentary for the animal section of Book II or the minerals of Book V. His principal concern seems to be to identify and to distinguish properly the various species with new synonyms extracted from the writings of l'Obel, Dodoens, l'Ecluse and others. On page 319 there is a woodcut of American corn, labelled "Frumenti indici spica."

Epistola Dedicatoria (ed. of Frankfort, 1598). [*Inc.*]: Memorabile est, Illustrissime ac Clementissime Dux, Regum illud sapientissimi Salomonis exemplum.../...[*Expl.*]: Quod unum superest, Deum unum et trinum precor, ut Celsitudinem tuam ad Christianae Reipublicae bonum incolumem diu conservet, clementer protegat atque regat. Basileae XVI. Kal. BR. anno. M. D. CIIC. T. Celsitudinis humilis et observantissimus Casparus Bauhinus D.

(Then follows Matthiolus' *Epistola Nuncupatoria* and *Prefatio*.)

Prefatio ad lectorem Caspari Bauhini. [*Inc.*]: Quid operae in hoc volumine praestiterim, candide lector, paucis aperiam.../ ...[*Expl.*]: Haec est, candide lector, instituti ratio, quae si abs te probata cognoverimus,

ad botanica nostra absolvenda nos accingemus, alteramque phytopinacis partem absolvemus. Vale, et vive, et fave caeptis, eademque move et promove.

Poems by Iacobus Cargillus Scotus. In effigem Cl. D. Caspari Bauhini... [*Inc.*]: Pinge mihi, vitam cui debet virbius, umbra.../... [*Expl.*]: Tergeminum tandem pingere posse putas? *Idem*. In Pet. Andreae Matthioli... [*Inc.*]: Iam pridem fasces melior sceptrumque superbum.../...[*Expl.*]: Intexet propriam perpete fronde comam. A Greek and a Latin poem, both to Partinus Cuthenus Pragensis, follow the indices. [*Inc.*]: Cedant Hesperidum, cedant et Adonidis horti.../ ...[*Expl.*]: Ipsa Dioscorid Graeca docta suo.

(There follows Ruellius' translation of Dioscorides' Preface and Matthiolus' commentary.)

Bauhinus' Commentary on Dioscorides' Preface. [*Inc.*]: Cum Dioscorides de materia medica perfectum opus se scripsisse in Praefatione testetur; et Galenus.../... [*Expl.*]: et particulari methodo librorum Dioscoridis de materia medica eorundemque capitibus.

Following Ruellius' translation of Liber I, 1 and Matthiolus' commentary:

Additiones Caspari Bauhini. Liber I. 1 [*Inc.*]: Theophrasto 6. de causis plant. 13. Iris odorata est, et a gratia palati nomen accepit.../...[*Expl.*]: (IV. 20, Scorpioides; IV, 191 Wellmann ed.) ut apud Theocritum videre est, qui ob id philtrum quoque appellarunt.

Edition:

1598: See above I, 11.

Biography:

Caspar Bauhinus (Bauhin) was born in Basel in 1541, where his father, a physician and French Protestant, had sought refuge. His early education was by his father and his brother Jean, who, twenty years his senior, was a student and protégé of Conrad Gesner and an herbalist of some repute. Brother Jean had at various times been taught by Gesner, Leonhard Fuchsius at Tübingen and G. Rondeletius at Montpellier. Caspar attended the university in Basel and studied under Felix Platter and Theodore Zwinger and received a bachelor of philosophy degree in 1575. In 1577 he went to Padua where he studied anatomy with Girolamo Fabrizio (Fabricius ab Aquapendente) and attended the lectures of Marco degli Oddi and Emilio Campolongo at the Hospital of St. Francis. Probably he also received instruction from Melchior Guilandinus at the botanical gardens at Padua. He visited Bologna and learned anatomy from Giulio Cesare Aranzio. In the spring of 1579 he matriculated at the university in Montpellier to study under Parrein Dortoman but spent more time in Paris attending lectures and anatomical demonstrations of Sévérin Pineau. In 1580 he was in Tübingen and the next year he returned to Basel where he publicly dissected on February 27. He received a doctorate from Basel on May 2, 1581, and was made a member of the medical faculty. In April, 1582, he also became a Professor of Greek. He was widely recognized in the university community for holding many positions and for having a private medical practice at the same time. In 1589 he was named to a special chair in anatomy and botany. His first major botanical work, *Phytopinax*, was published in 1596. In 1597, along with his brother Jean, he was appointed physician to Duke Frederick of Württemberg. Caspar corresponded with Gesner. In both botany and anatomy his contributions, made in numerous works, were mostly in nomenclature, particularly that of muscles. In 1614 he was appointed city physician in Basel and died there on December 5, 1624.

Major Works: ΑΠΟΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑ ΙΑΤΡΙΚΗ *Quam medicae laureae causa Casparus Bauhinus...subibit,* Basel 1581; *De corporis humani partibus externis Tractatus*, Basel 1588, 1591; *De corporis humani fabrica...*, Basel 1590, enlarged, Lyons 1597, 1604, Basel 1609; ΦΥΤΟΠΙΝΑΞ *seu enumeratio plantarum ab herbariis nostro seculo descriptarum....*, Basel 1596; ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ *Theatri botanici in quo plantae supra secentae ab ipso primum descriptae cum plurimis figuris proponuntur*, Frankfort 1620, Basel 1671; ΠΙΝΑΞ *Theatri botanici sive Index in Theophrasti, Dioscoridis, Plinii et*

botanicorum qui a seculo scripserunt opera plantarum, Basel 1623, 1671, 1740. For other titles, see Whitteridge, cited below.

Bibl.: Jean Astruc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Faculté de medecine de Montpellier* (Paris 1767) 349; Albrecht Burckhardt, *Geschichte der medizinischen Fakultät zu Basel, 1460–1900* (Basel 1919) 95–123; Jeffen in: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 30, 307–308; Joannes Jacobus Mangetus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum*... (Geneva 1731) 247–248; M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 3, 301–304; *Nouvelle biographie générale* 4, 810–813; K. Schottenloher; *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, 2nd ed., 1, 38, No. 963; Gweneth Whitteridge in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 1, 522–525.

Halmai János, "Caspar Bauhin," *Orvosi Hetilap* (Budapest), 106 (1965), 276–277; Karen Reeds, "Botany in Medieval and Renaissance Universities," (unpubl. dissertation, Harvard, 1975); the same, "Renaissance Humanism and Botany," *Annals of Science* 33 (1976), 519–542; Kurt Wein, "Caspar Bauhin an Ludwig Jungermann...," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, 30 (1937) 152–166; H. Zoller, "Das Herbarium von Caspar Bauhin," *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of the History of Medicine. Current Problems*... (Basel 1966) 464.

kk. Nicolaus Maronea

The commentary of Nicolaus Maronea is devoted to Dioscorides' single chapter on the shrub *amomum* and on Pliny's description of the same plant. The work is published as a single title in the Basel edition of 1608 and is likely to have been written at Verona since the title page has "Nicolai Maroneae Veronensis Philosophiae et Medicinae Doctoris." An undated, introductory letter is written by Maronea to Johannes Pona. The treatise consists of a preface, followed by two woodcuts (one is "amomi indici racemus sive uva legitimi amomi" and the other "cardomomi, tres species."). The commentary proper is divided into sections: one a commentary on Dioscorides' account (pp. 1–46) and another on Pliny's account (pp. 47–71). Each is preceded by the Latin text of the classical authors. The concluding section is entitled: "Consensus Dioscoridis et Plinii de Amomi Historia." (pp. 72–75) Maronea concludes that apparent differences between Pliny and Dioscorides over *amomum* are, upon his examination, unimportant because the authors agreed substantially in their descriptions. An Italian translation of Maronea's *Commentarius in Tractatus Dioscoridis et Plinii De Amomo* was made by Francesco Pona and published in Venice in 1617.

Prefatory letter (ed. of Basel, 1608). Nicolaus Maronea Joanni Ponae Amico Optimo S. D. [*Inc.*]: Amomum apud veteres erat vulgaris notitiae, ut.../...[*Expl.*]: quod publicis literis comprobavi.

Maronea's Preface. [*Inc.*]: Hoc commentario sumus explanaturi Amomi, admodum .../...[*Expl.*]: quae vulgarem caphuram quodammodo sapit.

Commentarius in Dioscoridem De Amomo. [*Inc.*]: Amomum est parvus frutex, cuius fructus est.../...[*Expl.*]: habent surculos integros.

Maronea's Commentary. [*Inc.*]: In his de materia medica libris Dioscorides describit simplicia.../...[*Expl.*]: in Indico etiam racemo conspici.

Commentarius in Plinium De Amomo. [*Inc.*]: Hac secunda nostri commentarii parte.../...[*Expl.*]: haec de Cardamomo dicta sint.

Consensus Dioscoridis, et Plinii de Amomi Historia. [*Inc.*]: Iam vero ostendendus est.../...[*Expl.*]: et legitimum Dioscoridis et Plinii amomum.

Edition:

1608, Basel: Sumptibus Lazari Zetzeri. Pritzel 5818; Hoffmann BL 2, 607; NUC. BM; BN; (DNLM; DDO).

*Biography**:

Nicolaus Maronea (Maronna or Marogna) was born in Verona, became a doctor of

*The biography is based in part on information supplied by Charles G. Nauert, Jr. (University of Missouri-Columbia).

philosophy and medicine, and practiced medicine in his home town. He flourished around 1608, the date of his only published work, the *Commentarius* on Dioscorides and Pliny; the *Commentarius* was later translated into Italian by Francesco Bona (published at Venice, 1617).

Bibl.: Ferrari, *Onomasticon*, 444; C. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* III, 194; C. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena, 1740; repr. 1971) 518; S. Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Milan, 1825) III^2, 360; Pier Andrea Saccardo, *La Botanica in Italia: Materiali per la storia di questa scienza* (2 vols.; Venice, 1895 and 1901: Memorie del R. Instituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte, vol. XXV,2 and XXVI,6) I, 104; II,67; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* XIX, 1643.

II. Doubtful and Lost Commentaries

1. Guilielmus Rondeletius

On July 30, 1566, L. Joubert, one of Rondeletius' students, included in a list of his teacher's works a commentary on some chapters of the first book of Dioscorides ("commentarius in aliquot capita lib. primi Dioscoridis"). Rondeletius lectured on Dioscorides at Montpellier in 1545 and again in 1558.

Bibliography:

L. Joubert, *Gulielmi Rondeletii vita, mors et epitaphia cum catalogo scriptorum ab eo relictorum quae ad D. Jouberti manus pervenerunt*. In: *Operum latinorum tom. secund*. E. Michel, Lyons 1582, pp. 185-222; Jo. Ant. Bumaldi, "Bibliotheca Botanica..." in: Joannes Franciscus Seguierius, *Bibliotheca Botanica* (Lugduni Batavorum 1760), p. 25.

Biography:

Guilielmus Rondeletius (Guillaume Rondelet), coming from a family whose ancestors included apothecaries, was born in Montpellier on September 27, 1507. His father, a spice merchant, died while Guilielmus was young, leaving his elder brother to bring him up. Guilielmus began his studies in Paris in 1525 at the age of 18, but on June 2, 1529, he entered the university at Montpellier, where he received his baccalaureate on May 3, 1531. During his university studies, G. Rondeletius became a close friend of Rabelais. Details of his early medical training are uncertain, but, after 1531, he practiced medicine in Pertuis en Vaucluse, a small village in Provence. He returned to Paris in the mid 1530's to study Greek as well as anatomy under Jean Gunthier d'Andernach. He earned his living by tutoring the son of the Viscount of Turenne. A friendship developed with his teacher, Gunthier d'Andernach, an anatomist. Guilielmus determined to return to the university at Montpellier, but stopped first at Marinques where he practised for a period. He returned to Montpellier in 1537 and by December of that year received a doctorate. In January of the next year he married Jeanne Sandre and practised medicine. He maintained a friendship with the naturalist Guillaume Pellicier, the bishop of Maguelone and Montpellier. Upon the recommendation of Jean Schyron he accepted a position with the entourage of Cardinal de Tournon, ambassador of the King of France. With the Cardinal he visited Antwerp, Southwestern France, and Italy, where he arrived by sea in 1549. While remaining a year in Rome, he met Ulysses Aldrovandus. In November, 1550, he started a long return to France by visiting en route Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Bologna and Pisa. Back in Montpellier he practised and taught medicine. In 1545 he succeeded Pierre Laurent in a chair of medicine and discontinued his service to Cardinal de Tournon. He was elected chancellor of Montpellier in 1556, the year when an anatomical theater was constructed there, probably for him. His students include: François Fontanon, Jacques Dalechamps, Jean Molinus, Jacques Salamon d'Assas, Charles de l'Ecluse, Félix Platter, Gaspard Wolf, Jacques Utenhovens, Jérôme Martius, Léonard Rauwolf, Jean Bauhinus, Pierre Péna, Matthias de Lobel, and Janus Antonius Saracenus. Also Conrad Gesner and Pierre Belon are thought to have studied under him but did not register at the University. After the death of his first wife, he remarried in 1560 and by

1563 he adopted the Protestant cause. He died in Réalmont, Tarn, France on July 30, 1566.

Works: *De piscibus marinis libri 18...*, Lyons 1554; *Universae aquatilium historiae...*, Lyons 1555; *De materia medicinali et compositione medicamentorum brevis methodus*, Padua 1556; *De ponderibus...*, Padua 1555; *De dosibus*, Venice 1562; *De fucis*, Padua 1566; *De morbo gallico*, Venice 1566, and other titles; see Louis Dúlieu, below, for complete list.

Bibl.: Jean Astruc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Faculté de Medecine de Montpellier* (Paris 1767), 236-239; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker*, 4, 871; Cuvier in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 36, 424-426; P. Delaunay in: *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le seizième siecle*, G. Grente ed. (Paris 1951) 612; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 3, 2209-2210; A.G. Keller, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 11, 529-530.

Louis Dulieu, "Guillaume Rondelet," *Clio Medica* 1 (No. 2, 1966) 89-111, with full refs.

2. JOHANNES COSMAS HOLZACHIUS

In the 1583 edition of his *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta...*(p. 177), Conrad Gesner (d. 1565) is quoted as follows: "Cosmas Holtzachius, Basiliensis, medicus Schaphusiae, scripsit annotationes quasdam in Dioscoridem, Lugduni ante paucos annos excusum apud Frellonium. Floret anno D. 1554." The *Annotationes in Dioscoridem* (12 vo.) of Holzachius are mentioned by Johannes Jacobus Mangetus (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum, Veterum et Recentiorum* Geneva 1731), Jo. Antonio Bumaldo, (*Bibliotheca Botanica...*Lyons 1760, p. 25); Pritzel (no. 4188), Hoffmann (*BL* 1, 607), and Joannes Franciscus Seguierius (*Bibliotheca Botanica...*Lyons 1760, p. 53). However, Marie-Louise Portmann (see ref. below) reports that an intensive search failed to produce an extant copy. She and Hans Lieb of the Schaffhausen Staatsarchiv conclude that the *Annotationes in Dioscoridem* is one of those "bibliographical ghosts." Portmann's investigation is confirmed by my own search. Since Gesner and Holzachius were friends it is likely that such a book was at least planned to be published, however. (I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Herr Rother, Direktor des Instituts für Leihverkehr und Zentralkataloge, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, who kindly attempted to locate a copy in West Germany and East Germany.)

Biography:

Johann Cosmas Holzachius (Holzach) was born the second son of twelve children in the village of Ziegelhof, near Basel, around 1518. His father was later the town physician in Schaffhausen. Holzachius studied in Basel and, at around fifteen years of age, went to Paris to study. He was suspended from his studies by Johannes Sturm and it is not known when or where he received a doctorate in medicine but it was before 1549. According to municipal records on July 23, 1549, Dr. med. Johann Cosmas Holzachius married in Schaffhausen Gertrud von Waldkirch. He had three sons and five daughters and on February 25, 1559, he became a burgher of Schaffhausen. In the same year he was registered as a physician. In 1570 he also became a schoolmaster, in 1581 a marriage counsellor, and in 1570 a member of the committee "die armen krankhen presthaften lüth zu beschowen." Between June 22, 1553, and September 24, 1564, fifteen letters were exchanged between Conrad Gesner and Holzachius. These letters show that Holzachius had a medicinal herb garden. Other Holzachius letters show that he corresponded with Bonifatius Amerbach, Felix Platter, and Ulrich Iselin. He died in Schaffhausen on June 15, 1595.

Works: Prob des Uszatzes, Zürich 1588; *Experimentum et examem leprae* (lost).

Bibl.: *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* 4, 149; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* 2, 1681; Chr. K. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; Hildesheim 1971), p. 412.

Marie-Louise Portmann, "Der Schaff-

hauser Stadtarzt Johann Cosmas Holzach (1518-1595) und seine Schrift 'Prob des Uszsatzes,' " *Gesnerus* 28 (1971), 147-153; *Epistolarum medicinalium Conradi Gesneri medici et philosophi Tigurini libri* III. Liber 3, pp. 81-88, Zürich 1577; Casimirus Christophorus Schmiedel, *Vita Conradi Gesneri* in C. Gesner, *Opera Botanica*..., 2 vols. (Nuremberg 1751), 1, pp. xvii-xviii.

3. Antonius Stupanus

Albert von Haller, *Bibliotheca Botanica*... (London 1771), p. 84, mentions a commentary by Stupanus, as follows: "Huc etiam Antonii Stupani Rhaeti *simplicium medicamentorum facultates* ex DIOSCORIDE Lugd. 1561: 16° cum iconibus Matthioli." Again S. F. W. Hoffmann (*BL* [1838] 1, 608) lists: "Ant. Stupani Simplicium medicamentorum facultates ex Dioscoride. Lugd. 1561, 12— Mit Matthioli's Zeichnungen." Stupanus either wrote or edited a dispensatory of recipes written by Thibault Lespleigney (1496-1550) with the title: *Enchiridion (Dispensarium vulgo vocant) compositorum ab antiquioribus junioribusque archiatris medicamentorum tum copia, tum eruditione cunctis artis medicae candidatis satisfaciens*, Lyons, Joannes et Franciscus Frellonii, 1543. The Preface by Stupanus begins: "Hoc quoque Frelloniorum fratrum labore fruere laetabundus. Nam quum aediderint illi nuperrime forma enchiridii Dioscoridem illustriora simplicia medicamima veterumque aliquot usitatiores mixturas pertractantem, pro suo non mediocri adiuvandorum rei medicae studiosorum desyderio, hunc item pari formula libellum in lucem emittunt, composita posteriorum medicorum Graecorum, Hebraeorum, Arabum, Mauritanorum, Latinorum, et nonnullorum recentiorum medicamenta continentem." It is dated Lyons, August 6, 1543.

Biography:

Antonius Stupanus was a physician from Grisons (Graubünden) who practised in Basel. Most authorities say that he enlarged Nicolaus Myrepsos' *Dispensarium* which apparently is the *Enchiridion* (Lyons, 1543) mentioned above which Richard Durling says was by Thibault Lespleigney and edited by Stupanus. He translated into Latin the works of Albohazen Haly ibn Abenragel (Alī ibn Alī al-Ḥazm), *De judiciis astrorum*..., 8 bks., Basel 1551 & 1571. Also he edited Jean Tagault's, *De chirurgica institutione libri quinque*, Venice 1549; Loys Vasse's, *In anatomen corporis humani tabulae quatuor*...Venice 1549; and Jean Vassès' *De judiciis urinarum tractatus*..., Venice 1549. Stupanus died of the plague in Basel in 1551.

Bibl.: *Biographisches Lexicon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* 5, 467; H. L. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, vol. 5, 189, 202, and 218; Richard J. Durling, *A Catalogue of Sixteenth Century Printed Books in the National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda 1967), No's. 166-7; 2802-2803; 4300; 4547; 4551; *General Catalogue of Printed Books, British Museum, London*, 232, 51; Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis*...Zürich 1545, fol. 63; Chr. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena 1740; repr. 1971) 818; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 4, 908; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* 40, 1372.

4. Laurentius Gryllus

In 1620 Melchior Adam (see ref. in Bibl. below) reported that Laurentius Gryllus was in the process of writing a commentary on Dioscorides when he died in 1561 (or 1560?). Still later in 1771, Albert von Haller (ref. below) repeated the assertion. Gryllus was a professor of medicine at Ingolstadt who had a knowledge of simples. No trace of the commentary, finished or unfinished, appears to have survived.

Biography:

Laurentius Gryllus was born in Landeshut around 1484 but little is known of his life. He took a trip around Europe to study simples. He was a professor of medicine at Ingolstadt where he died in 1560 or 1561.

Works: Reportedly he wrote: *De thermis* and *De componendis*. His work, *De sapore dulci et amaro libri duo* (Prague 1566), pub-

lished posthumously, had a preface written by Tadeás Hajek.

Bibl.: Melchior Adam, *Vitae germanorum medicorum*...(Heidelberg 1620) 118; Albert von Haller, *Bibliotheca botanica*...(London 1771), pt. 1, p. 84; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 2, 1221; C. W. Kestner, *Medicinisches Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Jena, 1740; repr. 1971) 366; Johannes Antonides van der Linden, *De scriptis medicis libri duo* (Amsterdam, 1651) 434; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* 11, 1156.

Spurious Works of Dioscorides

III. *Alphabetum Empiricum*

The author is probably Stephanos Magnetes who, according to Ernst Meyer, wrote around 1100. One Vienna Ms attributes the work to Dioscorides alone while another gives as authors Dioscorides and Stephanos of Athens (fl. under Heraklios, 603–41). The treatise is an alphabetical listing of diseases and below these headings a discussion of remedies. Much of the material does derive from Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Liber parabilium remediorum* or *Euporista*. A Vienna Ms used by Wolphius for his translation, has as the title *βίβλος Διοσκορίδου καὶ Στεφάνου Ἀθηναίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου περιέχουσα φαρμάκων ἐμπειρίας κατὰ ἀλφάβητον σοφῶς ἐκτεθεῖσα* (Lambecius, *Comment. de bibl. Caes. Vindob.* 2, 598; 6, 99). In Wolphius' rendering, the title is translated: *Alphabetum empiricum, sive Dioscoridis et Stephani Atheniensis philosophorum et medicorum de remediis expertis liber juxta alphabeti ordinem digestus*. Ernst H. F. Meyer rejected Stephanos of Athens (fl. under Heraklios, 603–641) as a possible author but believes the author to have been the Byzantine medical writer, Stephanos Magnetes. The Greek text has not been published.

Bibl.:

H. Diels, *Handschriften der antiken Ärtze* (Berlin 1906) vol. 2, 33, 97, who lists the Greek Mss.; Ernst H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik*, 3 (1856), 365–379; George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 1 (1927), 727; 2 (1931), 1094; Lynn Thorndike, "Relation between Byzantine and Western Science and Pseudo-Science before 1350," *Janus*, 51 (1964), 20.

TRANSLATION

1. Casparus Wolphius

As he explains in his open letter (see below) Wolphius worked from a Greek Ms (now in Vienna according to Meyer) once belonging to the library of Conrad Gesner, which Wolphius had bought at no small cost; the manuscript itself had been given to Gesner by Augustinus Gadaldinus, a Venetian physician. Wolphius probably made the translation in Zurich, and he published it in 1581. He noted parallel-textual similarities in Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Euporista*, and a few from Nicholaus Myrepsos (13th c.).

Open letter. (ed. of Zurich?, 1581) Caspari Wolphii Tigurini Medici De Latina Alphabeti empirici editione, ad lectorem admonitio. [*Inc.*]: Cum Gesnerianae Bibliothecae, quam non exiguis sumptibus mihi comparavi, Dioscoridis et Stephani Atheniensis Philosophorum et Medicorum, *περὶ φαρμάκωμ* [sic] *εμπειρίας* librum, Graeco idiomate manuscriptum et nunquam, quod sciam, prius editum, liberali Augustini Gadaldini medici Veneti excellentissimi donatione Gesnero oblatum, novitate tituli invitatus, repetita lectione percurrerem, usquam adeo placere coepit.... Inter transferendum, omnia aut paucis neglectis contuli cum Dioscoridis de Materia Medica libris, quaedam vero etiam cum eiusdem Euporistis. Quamobrem ubicunque D. M. literae occurrunt, memineris ea, quae iisdem statim postponuntur, Dioscoridis esse in lib. de Mat. medica: sicubi vero D. P., ex paratu facilium libris apposita. Alicubi quaedam, sed pauca, ex Nicolai Myrepsi antidotario inserta reperies, quod vel ad rem ipsam, vel ad sensum illustrandum accommodata videbantur. Ac mutua illa authorum collatione effectum puto, ut propositorum medicamen-

torum formulae integritati restitutae, earum et tutior et commodior in praxi usus sit futurus.../...[*Expl.*]: sed praeterea ad alia eius generis maiora elaboranda excitabis. Vale.

Text, Alphabetum empiricum. [*Inc.*]: *Abortum ne faciat mulier gravida ante completum gestationis tempus*. Rubi et cumini radices linteolo involve, quod collo eius alligabis, neque enim unquam abortum faciet.../...[*Expl.*]: idem restabit. Habet autem haec herba rutae folia, sed simpliciora.

Edition:

1581, [Zürich ? n.p.). Pritzel 10679; Choulant, *Handbuch* 1, 83; Fabricius BG, Harles ed. 4, 683; NUC. BM; (DNLM).

Biography:

Casparus Wolphius (Wolf) was born in Zürich around 1525 and had a brother named Johannes. He studied in Montpellier where he received a doctorate in 1558. A friend and follower of Conrad Gesner, Wolphius bought Gesner's large library after his death in 1566 and succeeded him in the chair of natural philosophy at Zürich. In 1577 he was named Professor of Greek at Zürich where he attempted to carry on Gesner's work and to edit his letters. He died in Zürich in 1601.

Works: Edited works both of ancient authors and of contemporaries, including: Jacques Houllier (*Viaticum novum*, Zürich 1565, 1578); Cleopatra, Moschio, Priscian and various anonymous gynaecological tracts (Basel 1566, 1597); Conrad Gesner (Letters, Zürich 1566, 1577; *Euonymus*, n.p. 1569; *Tabula*, 1587); Hippocrates (Aphorisms, Sangalli 1584); Domenico Massaria (*De ponderibus et mensuris medicinalibus libri tres*, Zürich 1584); and Galen (*De secretis*, Zürich 1594).

Bibl.: *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* 43, 777; *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* 5, 979; Chr. G. Joecher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* 4, 1045; Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*. (Munich 1897) 2, 617; Renauldin in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle* 45, 13–14; K. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*. 2nd ed. (Stuttgart 1956–66), 2, 401; J. H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexikon* 58, 546.

IV. *De naturis et virtutibus Aquarum Dioscoridis*

This small tract is only known as an appendix to the second printing of the Alphabetical Dioscorides with Peter of Abano's gloss. The treatise discusses the types of water, *e.g.*, sweet, salty, cold, warm, etc., which have medical application. Waters with added substances are described, such as nitrum, aluminum, sulphur, bitumen, etc. Some waters are good for fever, others for head-aches, migraines, eye-washes, *dolores stomachi*, gout, and so forth. Most "waters" are what would now be called solutions or suspensions. Thorndike and Kibre (*A Catalogue of Incipits*..., col. 120) says the tract has additions and corrections of Peter of Abano but my reading of the text makes the assertion uncertain unless they refer to three unnumbered folios at the end which serve as an index.

Text (ed. of Lyons, 1512). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 119) Aqua omnis frigide et humide et dulcis virtutis est. Quia in omnibus infirmitatibus aquarum necessaria est. oportet et medicum eius virtutem cognoscere.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 120v) De aqua ut supra...aluminata numeris solutis etc. nec retro dictum est.

Bibl.: Thorndike-Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 120; L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 2, 923.

Edition:

1512: See above I, 1.

Doubtful or rejected edition:

1514: See above I, 1.

V. *De purgantibus*

The author of the treatise, found in only one manuscript, claims it to be a list of

purgatives or "cleaners" from Dioscorides but the text does not appear to be from Dioscorides. The medical uses of the eighty-four drugs listed are broader than merely purgatives, *e.g.*, there are remedies for dropsy and lapis lazuli is listed for fear and as a cordial.

Rubric: (Oxford, Bodleian Ms Canon. Auct. class. Lat. 272, fol. 55r-v) De purgantibus diversimode diversos humores secundum Diascoridem et primo de flegmate.

Text [*Inc.*]: Elleborus albus purgat flegma cerebri in iniectum per nares ex stomacho.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 56) Sene conficit... admixta reperitur cum spica.

Manuscript:

Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Canon. class. Lat. 272, s. XIV, fols. 55-56. (H. O. Cox, *Catalogi*... 3, 224-225; Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 497).

VI. *De venenis* and *De venenatis animalibus*

Photios (*Codex* 178) lists Dioscorides' writings as Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς (*De materia medica*), Περὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων (*De venenis*) and Περὶ ἰοβόλων (*De venenatis animalibus*). The 1499 and 1518 Aldine Greek texts published the last two tracts as Books VI-IX of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*. This was done by printing the preface to *De venenis* as Book VI and by dividing *De venenatis animalibus* into two books. Janus Cornarius' Greek edition of 1529 published the two tracts as Books VI-VIII by dividing *De venenis* and leaving *De venenatis animalibus* as a separate unit. (See discussion of Greek texts in *Fortuna,* pp. 5,9 above.) The authorship of the tracts is unknown but a date before Dioscorides is suggested, perhaps at Alexandria. Dioscorides' own preface speaks of five books and Galen (vol. 11, 794 Kühn ed.) says Dioscorides is in five books. Later writers, e. g. Paul of Aegina, Oribasius, etc., fail to cite these tracts on poisons despite their great attention to Dioscorides. Muhammad ibn Ishāq ibn al-Nadīm (d. 995), a professional bookseller, noted that there were two tracts and that neither is certainly by Dioscorides (*Fihrist*. ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge [New York 1970] 2,690). In 1829, Curt Sprengel (*Medicorum Graecorum opera*..., vol. 36) believed that the same author wrote both tracts, while Ernst Meyer (*Geschichte der Botanik*, vol. 2, 110) believed that there were two separate authors because of the differences between the two works. Meyer conjectures that the two works were combined in the seventh or eighth centuries. Although a thorough study of the commentaries, etc., has not been made, the sixteenth-century writers seemed to have expressed no doubt concerning the genuineness of the treatises. Some sixteenth-century writers, however, ignored the work(s) on poisons by translating and commenting only on *De materia medica* while others, following the published Greek texts, included them as additional books. Sometimes they are published as Books VI-IX, other times as Books VI-VIII, or Books VI-VII, or simply as Book VI by combining both treatises, or they are published separately at the end of Book V as a different treatise by Dioscorides. Hermolaus Barbarus and Saracenus called the works *Alexipharmaca* and *Theriaca*, respectively.

Bibl.:

Greek Mss for both treatises, some containing one and not the other, are listed by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der Antiken Arzte* (Berlin 1905) 2, 31-32; the Greek texts are published by C. Sprengel, *Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, vols. 25-26 of *Medicorum Graecorum opera quae extant*, C. G. Kühn ed. (Leipzig 1829-1830) 26 (2), 1-91. There is a German translation by J. Berendes, "I. Des Pedanios Dioskurides Schrift über die Gifte und Gegengifte. II. Des Pedanios Dioskurides Schrift über die giftigen Tiere und den tollen Hund," *Apotheker-Zeitung*, nos. 92-93 (1905), 933-935, 945-954. See also, Ludwig Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medicin* (Leipzig 1841) 76-77; Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* 4, 94; *ibid.*, ed. Harles, 3, 94-95; H. F. Meyer,

Geschichte der Botanik (Königsberg 1854-1857; repr. 1965) 2, 107-110; Max Wellmann in: PW 5 (1903) 1140.

TRANSLATIONS

1. HERMOLAUS BARBARUS

For date and circumstances, see above under II, 2, p. 27. *De venenis* was treated as Books VI-VIII of *De materia* medica.

Text. Book VI (ed. of Venice, 1516; fols. 120-133): De noxiis venenis ut caveri vitarique possint liber sextus. [*Inc.*]: Superioribus libris, Aree suavissime, rationem odorum oleorum unguentorum arborum.../... [*Expl.*]: (Epilogus)...dicta accurate habentur perscripta, supersedendum nobis hoc opere censuimus.

Book VII (fols. 126-129v): De venenatis animalibus et rabioso cane...quid sit Theriacon quid Alexipharmacon. [*Inc.*]: De venenatis animalibus et medicamentis quae pernitiem afferre consueuerunt.../... [*Expl.*]: (De curatione morsus canis post primos dies. XVIIII) simul et iis quibus omnino leviter occurri potuit.

Book VIII (cols. 130-133): De notis eorum quos animalia venenata morderint. [*Inc.*]: (De signa phalangii C.X.) Ubi phalangium nocuit rubor loco affunditur; qui et compuncto similis fit.../...[*Expl.*]: (Ad basiliscum curatio. C.XLI) et haec contra serpentes praeceptio, quam Theriacam vocari praediximus.

Editions:

See above under II, 2, p. 29.

Biography:

See p. 343 below.

2. JOHANNES RUELLIUS

For date and circumstances see above under II, 3, p. 29. Ruellius' translation was attached in the *editio princeps* to *De materia medica* as Bks. VI-IX, but subsequent publishers and editors varied the practice, as noted under each edition.

a. Ruellius' unedited translation.

Liber VI (ed of Paris, 1516, fol. 141v). De venenis, quoque modo arceantur vitenturque, liber sextus.

Text [*Inc.*]: Superioribus, amicissime Ari, libris tradidimus de aromatibus, oleis, unguentis, arboribus, et eorundem fructibus lachrymisque, item animalibus, melle, lacte, sevo, frumentis, oleribus, herbis, radicibus, liquamentis, vinis, metallisque. In hoc vero totius operis ultimo, facultates eorum recensebimus, quae prodesse nobis aut officere possunt. Vitantes itaque nomenclationis taedia ad institutum revertemur.../... [*Expl.*]: (De aqua frigida. Cap. XXXIIII; fol. 148) Verum quoniam aliis in locis diligentissime scripta sunt, hic ab eorum descriptione supersedemus.

Liber VII (fol. 148v): De venenatis animalibus et rabioso cane liber.

Text [*Inc.*]: De bestiis quae virus eiaculantur, et exitialibus venenis, ut circuitus medicinalis ad umbilicum perveniat.../... [*Expl.*]: De ratione victus in morsu rabiosi canis. Cap. IIII; fol. 152v) Cursim postremo subiungemus ea, quae sua proprietate nonnullis auxilium praestare possunt. Subnectemus etiam venenata quae nullis cedunt remediis.

Liber VIII (fol. 152v): De notis eorum quae venenatis demorsi sunt.

Text [*Inc.*]: (De phalangiis. cap. 1) De morsis a phalangiis locus quidem ipse, quasi ab impacto aculeo rubet, non intumescens, nec per ambitum calidus, sed mediocriter subrubens.../...[*Expl.*]: (Communis curatio in omnes ictus virulentos. Cap. XVI; fol. 154v [two folios numbered 152].) De peculiaribus remediis contra bestias quae venena vibrant consequenter est dicendum.

Liber IX (fol. 155): De remediis contra venenatos morsus.

Text [*Inc.*]: Inter ferientium venenatorum notas nihil de vespis et apibus articulatim digessimus, quae conspicuae omnibus forent, et nihil excellens aut notatu dignum in his observaretur, inter remedia tamen earum meminisse non fuit alienum. *De remediis contra vesparum apumque ictus. Cap. I.* Adversus apum vesparumque ictus.../... [*Expl.*]: (De basilisci morsu. cap. XV; fol. 156v) Ad basilisci morsum, ut Erasistratus

author est, auxiliatur castorii drachma in vino pota. Item papaveris succus. Ictuum remedia ita se habent.

Editions:

See above under II, 3, p. 32.

b. Jacobus Goupylus' Corrections of Ruellius' Translation.

For date and circumstances of the revision, see above under II, 3, p. 32. Goupylus provided an improved Greek text parallel to the translation. Goupylus divided the treatise differently than Ruellius. He ended book seven with chapter nineteen, which Ruellius had as a part, not the ending of bk. seven, and Goupylus began book eight (Ruellius' Bk. 8, chapter fourteen) with a chapter, "communis curatio in omnes ictus virulentos," and included Ruellius' book nine within his book eight. Italicized words represent Goupylus' corrections.

Liber VI (ed. of Paris, Petrus Haultinus, 1549; fol. 316). De venenis quoque modo arceantur vitenturque.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Superioribus, amicissime Aree, libris tradidimus de aromatibus oleis, unguentis, arboribus, et earundem fructibus lachrymisque, item animalibus, melle, lacte, sevo, frumentis, oleribus, herbis, radicibus, liquamentis, vinis, metallisque. In hoc vero totius operis ultimo, facultates *medicamentorum* recensebimus, quae prodesse nobis, aut officere possint. *Vitata igitur orationis prolixitate, opus institutum prosequamur*.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 332v) Verum quoniam aliis in locis diligentissime scripta sunt, hic ab eorum descriptione supersedemus.

Liber VII (fol. 333): De venenatis, in quo et de cane rabioso.

Text. [*Inc.*]: De bestiis quae virus eiaculantur, et exitialibus venenis, *ideo scribere aggredimur, ut tota curationis remediorumque ratio* ad umbilicum *perducatur*.../... [*Expl.*]: (Basiliscus. Cap. XIX, fol. 345v) Transeuntes utique ad medendi rationem, primum, ut fieri poterit, de communibus disseremus. [same as in Ruellius; VIII, 15].

Liber VIII. (fol. 346): De curatione ab animalibus venenatis morsorum.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Adversus quidem omnem animalis ictum, quod venenum vibrat, oris suctio convenit. [same as Ruellius VIII, 16].../...[*Expl.*]: (A basilisco morsi, cap. XVI, fol. 352v) Ad basilisci morsum, ut Erasistratus author est, auxiliatur castorii drachma in vino pota. Itam papaveris succus. Ictuum remedia ita se habent.

Editions:

See above I, 9, p. 34.

c. Petrus Andreas Matthiolus' Corrections of Ruellius' translation.

For date and circumstances, see above under II, 3, p. 33. He combined Ruellius' Books VI-IX into Book VI which was attached to *De materia medica*. Italicized words represent Matthiolus' corrections.

Liber VI (ed. of 1554, p. 640): De lethalibus venenis eorumque praecautione et curatione.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Superioribus, amicissime Aree, libris tradidimus de aromatibus, oleis, unguentis, arboribus, et earundem fructibus lacrymisque, item animalibus, melle, lacte, sevo, frumentis, oleribus, herbis, radicibus, liquamentis, vinis, metallisque. In hoc vero totius operis ultimo, facultates *medicamentorum* recensebimus, quae prodesse nobis, aut officere possunt. *Vitata igitur orationis prolixitate, opus institutum prosequamur*.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (Basiliscus, cap. LV; fol. 707). Ad basilisci morsum. ut *idem* Erasistratus author est, auxiliatur castorii drachma in vino pota. Item papaveris succus. Ictuum remedia ita se habent.

Editions:

See above under II, 3, p. 34.

Biography:

See p. 96 above.

3. Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus

For date and circumstances, see above under II, 4, p. 35. *De venenis* is combined in all editions as Book VI of *De materia medica*, which was also translated by Marcellus.

Liber VI (ed. of Florence, 1518): De letalibus venenis eorumque praecautione et curatione.

Text. [*Inc*.]: Tradidimus in his quae hactenus scripta sunt, charissime Aree, omnem de aromatis, oleo omni, unguentis, arboribus earumque fructibus et lachrymis, animalibus itidem, melle.../...[*Expl*.]: (Basilisci morsus curatio. cap. lxxi) cum vino pota: Similiterque papaveris liquor quod opium est. Et haec talisque contra venenata theriacae curatio est.

Editions:

See above, under II, 4, p. 38.

Biography:

See p. 39 above.

4. Janus Cornarius

For the date and circumstances of the translation, see under II, 5, p. 39 above. The translation was included in the edition of Cornarius' translation of *De materia medica*, but the *De venenis* appears as a separate work in two books. In Cornarius' earlier Greek text (Basel 1529) he had included *De venenis* as Books VI-VIII to *De materia medica*. Preceding the translation of *De venenis* is a letter to Ioannes Schroderus Vinariensus. The translation is accompanied by a commentary.

Letter. (ed. of Basel, 1557) Ianus Cornarius Medicus Physicus, Ioanni Schroedero Vinariensi, Medico ac Mathematico insigni, Neacademiae Genensis in Thuringis professori, S. D. [*Inc*.]: Quandoquidem ita contigit ut ad me accederes, charissime Schrodere.../...[*Expl*.]: filiis invitatus es ac vocatus. Vale et me ama. Zuiccavii XII. Calend. April. M.D. LV.

Liber I: De bestis venenum eiaculantibus.

Text. [*Inc*.]: De bestiis venum eiaculantibus et de letalibus medicamentis sermonem habere proposui, quo curatorius modus plene absolvatur. Neque enim ullo aliquo minus necessarius hic est his qui medicinam.../...[*Expl*.]: (Curatio morsus basilisci. cap. XXXIII) de bestiis venenum eiaculantibus modus.

Liber II: De letalibus medicamentis.

Text [*Inc*.]: Post theriacum de bestiis venenum eiaculantibus sermonem sive modum, deinceps alexipharmacum recensebimus, de eorum medicamentorum.../... [*Expl*.]: (De aqua frigida, et vino...cap. XXXVIII) quoniam in libris De antidotis exactissime descriptae habentur, hoc loco illas describere supervacuum duxi.

Edition:

See above, under II, 6, p. 40.

Biography:

See CTC II, 118.

5. Janus Antonius Saracenus

For date and circumstances, of the translation see above under II, 6, p. 41. Saracenus considered *De venenis* to be two separate works, *De venenis* and *De bestiis venenatis*..., and he published them in a large edition of what he considered to be Dioscorides' complete works. He also provided a Greek text and commentary.

Treatise 1, title (ed. of Frankfort, 1598). Liber de venenis eorundemque praecautione ac medicatione.

Text. [*Inc*.]: (pt. 2, p. 395, Gk. and Lt. ed.) Quoniam superioribus libris, amicissime Aree, tradidimus de aromatibus, oleis, unguentis, arboribus ac earundem fructibus et lacrymis, insuperque de animalibus, melle, lacte, sevo, frugibus, oleribus, radicibus, herbis, succis, denique de vinorum metallicorumque generibus, in hoc operis totius ultimo, de viribus noxiorum medicamentorum ac eorum quae contra prodesse possunt disseremus. Vitata igitur sermonis prolixitate opus in institutum prosequamur.../...[*Expl*.]: (De aqua frigida...cap. XXXIIII, p. 414) quod e sanguinis variis generibus, et quod e scinco paratur. Verum quoniam inter antidota accuratissime descripta sunt, visum est hoc loco ab eorum descriptione supersedere.

Treatise 2, title: De venenatis animalibus et ab iisdem inflictorum vulnerum signis et curatione.

Text. [*Inc*.]: (pt. 2, p. 415, Gk. and Lt. ed.) De bestiis venenatis et exitialibus venenis agere iccirco nobis propositum est, ut curationis remediorumque totus expleatur modus. Siquidem pars haec non minus quam caeterae.../...[*Expl*.]: (pt. 2, p. 439, De basilisci morsu. Cap. XXXV) Morsis a basilisco Erasistratus auxiliari asserit

castorii drachmam unam in vino potam, itidemque papaveris succum. Et ictuum quidem morsuumque venenatorum remedia ita se habent.

Editions:

See above, under I, 15, p. 43.

Biography:

See p. 43 above.

COMMENTARIES.

a. MARCELLUS VIRGILIUS ADRIANUS

For date and circumstance, of the commentary see above, under II, 4, p. 34. Following each chapter is the commentary which is published as Bk. VI of *De materia medica*. At least three editions have different *explicits* from that of the *editio princeps* since they omit several lines at the end.

Commentary (ed. of Florence, 1518 to Bk. VI titled De letalibus venenis eorumque praecautione). [*Inc.*]: Si fuisset quondam aut saltem nunc.../...[*Expl.*]: (ed. of 1518; Chapter 71, Basilisci morsus curatio) hoc modo videlicet. fo. ʒ, 1, 50 et sic deinceps. [*Expl.*]: (eds. of 1523, 1529 [Cologne] and 1529 [Strasbourg]) volumine librarios et legentes defatigare visum non est.

Editions:

For editions, see above, under II, 4, p. 38-39.

Biography:

See p. 38 above.

b. JOHANNES MANARDUS

For date and circumstances of the commentary, see above, under II, e, p. 50. The commentary comes in the form of the last of three letters, the last letter being addressed to Bart. Tingus Pistoriensis and dated at Ferrara, January 15, 1523. The letter is published in Book 8 of Manardus' *Epistolae medicinales*. The early editions, namely Ferrara 1521, Paris 1528, Strasbourg 1529, Bologna 1531, do not include this commentary, which first appears in the edition of Paris, 1532.

Letter III (Liber VIII, 3; ed. of Basel, 1549). Io. Manardus Bartholomaeo Tingo Pistoriensi medico S. D.....

Commentary on the *De venenis*. [*Inc.*]: (Ex libro sexto, p. 258) Aut oblata occasione etc. M. [in some ed.'s *Man.*] Aliter meo iudicio fidelius et plenius.../...[*Expl.*]: (Ex libro nono, p. 267) et totius libri in meo codice sic clauditur, et hic quidem est theriacus modus. XV. Ianuarii, M. D. XXII.

Editions:

See above, under II, e, p. 53.

Biography:

See p. 53 above.

c. JOHANNES LONICERUS

For date and circumstances of the commentary, see above, under II, n, p. 75. The commentary, called *Nova Scholia*, was published as part of a commentary on *De materia medica* with *De venenis* being treated without a separate title as Book VI.

Commentary (ed. of Frankfort and Marburg, 1543, fol. 81v) [*Inc.*]: De noxiis venenis eorumque praecautione et curatione praefationem Dioscoridis ad Areum Paulus Aegineta.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 84) opus ea huc transferre, tametsi ab Dioscoride hoc in loco non recedat.

Edition:

See p. 75, above.

Biography:

See p. 76 above.

d. ANONYMUS D. NAMED "H.B.P. MEDICUS" (JOHANNES BRUYERINUS?)

For date and circumstance of the commentary, see above, under II, s, p. 82. The commentary treats *De venenis* as Book VI to *De materia medica*.

Commentary (ed. of Lyons, 1550, p. 730). [*Inc.*]: Venenum omne aut per os.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 790) si tantula haec iatrices initiorum perplacere senserit.

Editions:

See above, under II, s, p. 83.

Biography:

See p. 83 above.

e. ANDREAS LACUNA

For date and circumstance of the commentary, see above, under II, x, p. 89. The commentary on *De venenis* is published as

Bk. VI of *De materia medica* without a break or separate title.

Commentary (ed. of Lyons, 1554, p. 306). [*Inc.*]: Statim in ipso prooemio, ubi Ruellius vertit, *herbis radicibus*, additur in veteri codice.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 340) solo virtus, industria, et omnis sapientia emanat.

Edition:

See above, under II, x, p. 90.

Biography:

See p. 91 above.

f. Petrus Andreas Matthiolus

For date and circumstances of the commentary, see above, under II, y, p. 92. The commentary is published as Book VI of *De materia medica*. Matthiolus made little change in this part of his commentary from one edition to the other and the incipits and explicits remain the same throughout all editions. As an example of the paucity of revision, in the Venice 1558 ed. in Chapter 46 on mice, Matthiolus merely dropped from the *editio princeps* two sentences which state that there are errors in certain letters.

Heading (ed. of Venice, 1554, p. 642): In lib. sextum Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de lethalibus venenis eorumque praecautione et curatione.

Commentary [*Inc.*]: Magnum sane et immensum beneficium acceptum referre debent sapientissimo Dioscoridi non solum medici orbis universi.../...[*Expl.*]: (Cap. 55, Basiliscus, p. 707) et omnia accepta referimus, et honorem ac gloriam tribuimus sempiternam.

Editions:

See above, under II, y, p. 96.

Biography:

See p. 96 above.

g. Janus Cornarius

For date and circumstances, of the commentary, see above, under II, aa, p. 98, and VI, 4, p. 121. Cornarius separates the tracts on poisons from each other in two distinct books, "De bestis venenum eiaculantibus et lethalibus medicamentis, libri II." A new introduction separates these two books from his translation and commentary of *De materia medica*.

Commentary. Liber I (ed. of 1557, p. 522): De bestiis venenum eiaculantibus.

Text [*Inc.*]: Non pertinere hos duos libros, de bestiis venenum eiaculantibus.../... [*Expl.*]: (Curatio morsus basilisci, cap. xxxiiii, p. 539) nunc absoluta, deinceps ad posteriorem transit.

Liber II (p. 541): De bestiis venenum eiaculantibus.

Text [*Inc.*]: Qui hunc posteriorem Dioscoridis de letalibus medicamentis librum.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (De aqua frigida...cap. xxxviii, p. 560) ex ipsis autoris verbis productis comprobavimus.

Edition:

See above II, 5, p. 40.

Biography:

See. CTC II, 118.

h. Baldellus De Baldellis

The heading of the only manuscript copy states: "Tractatus de venenis, per Baldellum de Baldellis, publice legentem in studio pisano." Baldellus de Baldellis lectured on natural philosophy and botany in Pisa from 1572 to his death in 1596. He was for a period custodian of the Botanical Gardens in Pisa. There is no other evidence as to when Baldellus de Baldellis might have written the commentary or the circumstances surrounding it.

Text (Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana Ms 62). [*Inc.*]: Duplicem proponit Dioscoridis tractationem venenorum, alteram quae docet nos quo pacto possimus praecavere venena.../...[*Expl.*]: cui aliquo sanguines.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Ms lat. VII 5 (2892), s. XVI, fols. 156-163. Cf. Valentinelli V 134-35 (Class XIV, no. 62).

Biography:

Baldellus de Baldellis (Baldello Baldelli) is mentioned by the Dominican Vigna as Baldello Baldelli di Cortona which indicates he was probably born in Cortona. Fabroni on Pisa indicates that he taught in Pisa from 1572 to his death in 1596 with the title of

Botanices Magister. G. Mazzuchelli says that he lectured on natural philosophy and botany and was custodian of the Botanical Gardens in Pisa.

Bibl.: Angelo Fabroni, *Historia Academiae Pisanae* (Pisa 1791-1795), vol. 2, 61-62, 470; Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*...(Brescia 1778), vol. 2, pt. 1, 99.

i. Janus Antonius Saracenus

For date and circumstances, of the commentary see above, under II, ii, p. 110. The Greek text, translation and commentary treated *De venenis* as a separate work from *De materia medica*.

Commentary. Liber I. (ed. of Frankfort, 1598, Bk. I, pt. 2, p. 124). [*Inc.*]: In librum ΑΛΕΞΙΦΑΠΡΜΑΚΩΝ *περὶ δηλητηρίων Φαρμ.*) Si Cornarii, Guillandini et plerorumque doctorum virorum.../...[*Expl.*]: (Bk. I, pt. 2, p. 132) secare oportet, et per clysterem vacuare.

Liber II (pt. 2, p. 133). [*Inc.*]: *Θηριακοῦ: τοῦ περιοδευτικοῦ τόπου* Quanquam etiam *τόπου* lectionem tolerari posse minime.../...[*Expl.*]: (pt. 2, p. 140) semen pro succo papaveris perperam legi crediderim.

Edition:

See above II, ii, p. 110.

Biography:

See p. 43 above.

j. Prosper Alpinus

Prosper Alpinus, the author of by far the largest commentary on *De venenis*, probably lectured at Padua on the treatise(s) in 1599 and again in 1610. The large codex has two prefaces in the same hand: the earlier one of 1599 has as its heading "Prosperi Alpini Marosticenis in lib. VI Dioscoridis. De re medica commentaria habita anno 1599;" the later preface of 1610, placed in the front in the codex, has "Praefatio in lib. VI Dioscoridis De re medica habita anno MDCX mens. novemb." In the margins are notations for lecture breaking points, *e.g.* "Lectio 4ª" (fol. 17v), but these notations go only through folio 109v and "Lectio 32." Also in the 1610 preface Alpinus wrote: "Nos, ut artem qua medici venenatis saepe auxilio esse solent, et vos quoque ad maiorem medicinae studii gloriam et incrementum, assequi possitis, praesenti hoc anno, qui XVII agitur ex quo in hoc celeberrimo Gymnasio medicamentariam ut ita loquatur medicinam, quae medicamenta simplicia ipsorumque vires atque usus ad medendum docet, ordinarie professi sumus nunc ipsum librum Diosc. commentandum suscipimus." The manuscript appears to be Alpinus' autograph and not lecture notes taken by a student. The commentary is divided into two books, although not called such. Other authorities are cited, *e.g.*, Theophrastus, Celsus, Pliny, Galen, C. Aurelianus, Rhasis, Mesue, Avicenna, Conrad Gesner, and Franc. Alpinus "meus pater" (fol. 121v). Also from time to time he cited Dioscorides in Books I-V, *De materia medica*. Scholastic discourse seems not to be the commentary's main characteristic but it is instead an elaborate, detailed clinical study.

First Preface and Liber I (Vicenza, Bibl. Com. Bertoliana Ms 7. 3. 34, anno 1599, fol. Al). [*Inc.*]: Sextum ultimumque librum Diosc. de re medica conscriptum quo ille medicamenta.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 143) plurimum devoratum surg. socc. (?) refungis.

Second Preface, preceeding first, dated November 1610, fol. 1. [*Inc.*]: Rumores belli quod plures in Italia futurum.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. A3v) irrita, invenenatis corporibus redderetur.

Liber II (fol. 143). [*Inc.*]: In lib. VI Diosc. Partem Secundam Commentarius.: Cum hunc sextum Diosc. librum in duas partes distinxit.../...[*Expl.*]: (abruptly, fol. 224, with notation at top "224 + 5") *sic tempus est* finem imponendi, ut.

Manuscript:

(photo.) Vicenza, Biblioteca, Comunale Bertoliana, Ms 7. 3. 34(509, formerly, 6. 9. 11), s. XVI (-XVII). Frontispiece has: "Codex a Prospero Alpino propria manu scriptus, et ab Antonio Larber (?) Bassanensi medico Dominico Thiene Vecentino medico donatus, suadente Francisco Testa, in publica Bibliotheca Vicentia custodiendus reponitur. Idib. jun. An. MDCCCXXXIV." At the end

there is a transcription of the 1610 and the 1599 Prefaces with the beginning note: "Copia tratta...il Sr. Dr. Thienne...."; and the closing note: "Non ebbi commodita di transcrivere di piu—il volume originale e grosso in 4to—." (Kristeller, II, 303; Mazzatinti, *Inventari*..., 2, 82, no. 509).

Biography:

Prosper Alpinus (Prospero Alpino) was the son of Francescus Alpinus, a physician, and was born on November 23, 1553, in Marostica, near Venice. In spite of an inclination for a military career, he went to the University at Padua. His master was Melchior Guilandinus, who is named as a respondent in Alpinus' dialogue, *De plantis Aegypti*. He received his doctorate in medicine on August 28, 1578. After practising medicine for a short period in Camposampiero, near Venice, in 1580 he accepted a position as physician to Giorgio Emo and in September of that year accompanied Emo to Egypt where Emo was the Venetian ambassador. The journey was an opportunity for Alpinus to explore the flora of Crete and Egypt and to gather research for *De plantis Aegypti*. The sexual pollination of the date palm is described as well as the coffee bush, banana and baobab. After three years in Egypt, Alpinus returned to Italy where in 1584 he was attached as a physician to Giovanni Andrea Doria, prince of Amalfi. He returned to Venice in 1586 (or 1590?). In 1594 the Venetian Senate elected him lecturer on simples at the University at Padua. In 1603 he became director of the Botanical Garden at Padua and enriched it with plants which he had imported from Egypt. Alpinus died on January 7, 1617 (or November 23, 1616) in Padua.

Works: Among his published works are: *De medicina Aegyptiorum libri 4*, Venice 1591, Padua 1639, Paris 1645; *De balsamo dialogus*, Venice 1591, Padua 1640; *De plantis Aegypti liber*, Venice 1592, Padua 1640, *Historiae naturalis Aegypti libri 4*, Leiden 1735; *De praesagienda vita et morte aegrotantium libri septem*, Venice-Frankfurt 1601 etc.; *De medicina methodica libri tredecim*, Padua 1611. Leiden 1719; *De rhapontico—disputatio in gymnasio Patavino habita*, Padua 1612; *De plantis exoticis libri duo*, Venice 1627; *De longitudine et brevitate morborum libri duo*, Marostica 1966.

Bibl.: Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker, 1 (1929) 100-101; Chaussier et Adelon, in: M. Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, 1, 531-532; *Nouvelle biographie universelle* 2, 211-214; G. Lusina in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome 1960) 2, 259-530; Jerry Stannard, in: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 1, 124-125 with bibl.

A. Baldacci and P. A. Saccardo, "Onorio Belli e Prospero Alpino e la flora dell' isola di Creta," *Malpighia* 14 (1900), 140-163; Augusto Béguinot, in: Aldo Mieli, ed., *Gli scienziati italiani dall' inizio del medio evo ai nostri giorni*, I, pt. 1 (Rome 1921) 84-90 (with refs.); Giuseppe Ongaro, "Contributi alla biografia di Prospero Alpini," *Acta medicae historiae Patavina*, 8-9 (1961-1963), 79-168.

VII. *Ex herbis femininis*

Ex herbis femininis is a late Roman or early medieval Latin treatise based on Dioscorides' *De materia medica* but also employing other sources. Dioscorides is frequently named in manuscripts and manuscript catalogues as the author. The treatise discusses some seventy-one herbs by giving briefly their description, medical uses and, often in early manuscripts, a picture of the herb.

The author or translator of *Ex herbis* is unknown nor is it known when he lived. Hermann Stadler ("Dioscorides als Quelle Isidors," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 10 [1898] 411.) postulated an African origin on the basis of linguistic evidence, citing synonyms for herbs. Charles Singer ("The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 [1972] 47) believed that the author or translator lived in Ostrogothic Italy (ca. 560-636 A.D.). Three pieces of evidence support the contention that the work was in existence by the sixth century:

(1) Cassiodorus' statement (discussed above, p. 20–7) that monks who do not know Greek "can turn to the herbal of Dioscorides which describes and draws the herbs of the field with wonderful faithfulness." Cassiodorus is probably referring to *Ex herbis* and not to the Old Latin Translation of *De materia medica* because: (a) He said *herbal* whereas the complete *De materia medica* discusses items from all three kingdoms, animal, vegetable and mineral (although one rubric to the Old Latin Translation, BN 12995, calls *De materia medica* an "herbal"). (b) He refers to drawings of wonderful faithfulness. Most manuscript copies of *Ex herbis* are illustrated whereas only one copy of the Latin *De materia medica*, Munich 337, has any drawings and they are crude ones.

(2) An anonymous letter to Marcellinus, perhaps by Cassiodorus, refers to "a little botanical book from Dioscorides' works, translated into Latin, in which are drawn herbal representations (*libellus botanicon ex Dioscoridis libris in latinum conversus in quo depicte sunt herbarum figure*)." The letter is found in BM Harley 4986, s. XII, fol. 44v, and Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, Ms 296, fol. 18v (see, P. Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi* [Turin 1901] 351) and it is attached to Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. I believe that this Marcellinus may possibly be Marcellinus *comes* (fl. ca. 534) the secretary of Justinian who continued Eusebius' chronicles. If this conjecture is correct, then the letter itself may be by Cassiodorus.

(3) Isidore of Seville probably used *Ex herbis* as a source for the herbs in his *Origines*, Book 17, Chapters 7–11. Valentin Rose ("Ueber die Medicina Plinii," *Hermes* 8 [1874] 38) proposed that Isidore of Seville knew *Ex herbis* and used it as a direct source and Hermann Stadler (see above, II, 1, a, p. 22) added some instances of textual similarity. The instances are infrequent, however, and it is possible, although not likely, that the author or translator of *Ex herbis* had instead used Isidore.

Unquestionably the author or translator of *Ex herbis* relied primarily on the Greek text of Dioscorides. Most of *Ex herbis* is an abbreviated, but often fairly literal, translation; however, the author or translator went beyond his source in some herbal discussions and sometimes modified his material. The herbs he chose to discuss were generally those most commonly found in Europe. The author or translator used his discretion in listing synonyms and in relating plant descriptions, their locations and their medical virtues.

The sources, if any, which the author or translator used in addition to Dioscorides are uncertain. Kästner (see ref. below) and Singer said the author or translator also used Pliny's *Natural History*, Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius* and, according to Kästner, Galen's *On simple medicines*. Max Wellmann ("Dioscorides," no. 12, *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie* 5 [Stuttgart 1903] 1134) rejected Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius* as a possible source. In some findings which I hope to publish soon, I can report that none of the above mentioned authors were employed by the unknown author or translator nor were any other known, literary sources used. There is present in *Ex herbis* new material, not derived from *De materia medica*, and, possibly, the author or translator used new information based on his own experience.

Preceding the full version of *Ex herbis* in some manuscripts, there is an abbreviated edition which will be discussed under (b) below.

Of the twenty-eight manuscripts of the full version, thirteen, possibly fourteen (because a Torino Ms, dated s. XII–XIII, was destroyed by fire), are dated twelfth-century and earlier. Five are from the ninth-century alone. Given the statistical probability of a greater loss of earlier manuscripts than of later ones, this demonstrates the popularity of *Ex herbis* during the early middle ages and its relative decline thereafter. In most of the early codices the *Herbarius* of Pseudo-Apuleius precedes *Ex herbis*, thus the two treatises, each discussing different herbs, were associated with one another.

a. Full version of *Ex herbis femininis.*

[Rubric]: (London, British Museum, Ms. Harley 5294, fol. 43v). Incipit liber medicine Dioscoridis ex herbis femininis numero lxxi. per singula nomina. [Although promised, a list of the names of herbs does not follow.]

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 43v) Nomen herbe afri sefram vocatur. Nascitur in montuosis et lapidosis locis et arenosis, folia habet similia camelleona...[Order of herbs described. Beside the name of each herb is an illustration of the plant showing full stems, flowers or fruits and root systems. 1. afri sefram [echinum in some Mss], 2. buglosos, 3. acantum, 4. helilis faci sive salvia, 5. cyminon, 6. camelleon, 7. herpillos, 8. camedrum, 9. pilogonos sive policarpus sive carcineton, sive teloma, sive mirta 10. samsucon, 11. cestros, 12. aristolocium, 13. schycas, 14. adiantos vel gallitricos vel gallcericos vel pollitricos, 15. mandragora, 16. thlaspis sive mia, 17. sisimbrion, 18. celedonia, 19. camemelos, 20. sideritis, 21. flommos, 22. linozostis [altera, *ipiozostis*], 23. antirenon, 24. britannica, 25. psillos, 26. melena, 27. tribolosa, 28. conite [coniza], 29. strignos, 30. buotthamon, 31. spyeritis, 32. yppiris, 33. aizos, 34. tytymallos, 35. helitropios, 36. scholismos, 37. acillea, 38. stafis agria, 39. camellea, 40. hecios, 41. splenios, 42. tytymallos, 43. glyciriza, 44. bulbus rufus, 45. draconthea feminina, 46. mecon, 47. colocyntios agria, 48. delfion, 49. centimorbia, 50. viola, 51. cappare, 52. ancusa, 53. cynosbatos, 54. anagallis, 55. yppicos sive corion, 56. lapatium, 57. heliotropie, 58. arnoglossos, 59. cameleuce, 60. scilla, 61. erygion, 62. hiera, 63. strucios, 64. panacra, 65. purpurea, 66. zamalenticion, 67. zamalenticion masculinum, 68. syon, 69. licanis, 70. abrotanum, and 71. aperine.]../... [*Expl.*]: (fol. 58 Nomen herbe Aperine...Item sucus eius auribus instillatus dolores aurium curat. Liber medicine Dioscoridis ex herbis femininis explicitur feliciter.

Bibliography:

(In addition to the items given above). Heinrich Kästner, employing only three manuscripts, prepared a text of the longer version of *Ex herbis*; before the chapters he often gives the text of the shortened version. The edition is defective in many ways: "Pseudo-Dioscoridis 'De herbis feminis,' " *Hermes* 31 (1896), 578-636; 32 (1897) 160. See also, Henry Sigerist, "The Medical Literature of the Early Middle Ages: A Program and a Report of a Summer of Research in Italy," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2 (1934) 36, who reports that he found "nearly fifty manuscripts" of *Ex herbis* but unfortunately he never published his list nor is it known where his notes are; Charles Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), 35-37; Hermann Stadler, "Review of H. F. Kästner ...," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 10 (1898), 310-311; G. Swarzenski, "Mittelalterliche Kopien einer antiken medizinischen Bilderhandschrift," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 17 (1902), 45-53; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1, 609. What purports to be an Anglo-Saxon translation of *Ex herbis* is found in London, B.M. Ms Cotton Vitellius C III, s. XI, fols. 58/14b-74v/31b; B. M. Harley Ms 585, s. X, fols 66v/111-101v/114; B. M. Harley Ms 6258b, s. X, chapters interspersed with Pseudo-Apuleius; Oxford, Bodl. Ms Hatton 76, s. XI, fols 110a/20a-124/29b and printed in Rolls Series (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 35 in three parts, London, 1864-66) and in vol. I of O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols. (London 1864-66; reissue with new introduction by Charles Singer and omission of Cockayne's original introduction with discussion of manuscripts, London, 1961). My preliminary study of this text reveals that, although it has elements of *Ex herbis*, it is not a straight translation.

Manuscripts:

(micro.) Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms 0. 2. 48, s. XIV, fols. 39v-63. Illustrated (Robert T. Gunther, *The Herbal of Apuleius Barbarus from the Early Twelfth-century Manuscript Formerly in the Abbey of Bury*

St. Edmunds (Ms Bodley 130 [Oxford 1925] p. xvii; not identified by M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, 3. 162-3).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms Plut. LXXIII, Cod. XVI, s. XIII, fols. 183-228. Folio 178 has a full folio size portrait of Dioscorides. Folios 178-81v have a shorter medical version of *Ex herbis femininis.* Folios 183-228 contain beautiful, well-preserved illustrations of plants. Every other folio is blank. This Ms was used by H. Kästner for his edition, *Hermes* 31(1896) 578-636. (A. M. Bandinius, *Catalogus* III, 40-41).

———, Ms Plut. LXXIII, Cod. XLI, s. XI, fols. 86v-119. In Lombardic script. Folios 84-6v have the shorter version or Book One. Manuscript has unpainted drawings. (Bandinius 3, 80-4; Beccaria 281-4; this Ms used by H. Kästner for his edition, *Hermes* 31 [1896], 578-636).

London, British Museum, Ms Add. 8928, s. X, fols. 64-76. Folio 76 is cut in half. The last complete entry, *cinosbaros*, is on folio 75v. The last partial entry, fol. 76, is for the herb *licanis*. Spaces were left for drawings that were never added. (*Index to the Additional Manuscripts*... [London 1849] 56; dated by Beccaria, *I codici*..., 268-271, as s. X but by H. Diels, *Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* 2, 31, as s. IX; Brian Lawn, *The Salernitan Questions* [Oxford 1963] 7, 12, n. 4).

———, ———, Ms Harley 5294, s. XII, fols. 43v-58. Illustrated; preceding *Ex herbis* is Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. The scribe numbered the herbs in both treatises consecutively; hence those in *Ex herbis* are numbered from cxli through ccxxi. (*A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection* 3, 259; Singer, "Herbal," *JHS*. 47 [1927] 35).

———, ———, Ms Sloane 1975, s. XII, fols. 53-73. Illustrated; it has an explicit after the entry for *panatia*: (fol. 71v) Explicit liber Dioscoridis medici de herbis muliebribus. There follow immediately herbs missing in the previous text: *purpurea, zamalention feminea, zamalention masculus, syon, lycanis, abrotanus* and *aparina*. The added section begins: Nomen istius herbe sequentis viola purpurea est. Huius herbe viole purpurea folia... It ends (fol. 73) under *aparina*: ...instillatus earum dolorem curat et medetur. Explicit atque perficitur liber medicinarum Dioscoridis ex herbis masculinis atque de herbis femininis sive semininis [sic]. Feliciter. The treatise is preceded by the shorter version of *Ex herbis* and by Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (S. Ayscough, *Catalogue* [London 1782] 1, 635-637; Scott, *Index* 145; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1, 609).

(Reported by H. J. de Vriend) London, Wellcome Medical Library Ms 573, mid s. XIII, fols. 46v-68v. Illustrated. [Inc.]: Nomen herbe licanis stefanotice. Folia habet oblonga.../...[Expl.]: et storacem calamitem statim eum liberabit./Expliciunt cure herbarum feliciter. According to H. J. de Vriend who kindly sent me information on this manuscript, the arrangement of the chapters after *abrotanum* are different from those in Lucca Ms 296. (S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*, I 446-449, who does not identify *Ex herbis*).

(Reported by H. J. de Vriend) Lucca, Biblioteca Governative Ms 296, s. XI, fols. 26v-45v. Illustrated. Same incipit as London, Wellcome Ms 573 but ending with herb *polypodion*. (I am grateful to H. J. de Vriend for sending me information and a description of this manuscript; see, de Vriend, *The Old English Medicina de Quadrupedibus* [Tilburg 1972], xxxiii-xxxiv; manuscript is described by P. Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi* (Rome 1901) pt. 2, pp. 351-353, as Pseudo-Dioscorides "Trattato di materia medica," however, Augusto Beccaria, *I codici*..., 287 describes the tract [fols. 27v-46v] as "Curae herbarum," as in explicit to London, Wellcome Ms 573).

(micro.) Montpellier, École de médecine, Ms 277 s.XV, fols. 101v-111.

[Rubric]: (fol. 101v) "Incipit liber apuliensis platonis de herbis femininis quem simon januensis vocat librum antiquum istoriatum."

[explicit]: (fol. 111) "Explicit liber platonis apuliensis de herbis femininis quem

simon januensis vocat librum antiquum istoriatum."

Not illustrated; this is the regular text of both the shorter and the longer sections of Dioscorides' *Ex herbis*. The text of the shorter version follows each herb's entry in one integrated treatise. The herbs are numbered by Arabic numerals and there are only seventy herbs numbered. This is because the scribe failed to assign a number to *scolimbo* (fol. 106).

(*Catalogue général, quarto series*, 1 (1849) 394-9; Henry E. Sigerist, "Early Medieval Medical Texts in Manuscripts of Montpellier," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 10 (1941) 42-7; James Corbett, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins*, 2 vols (1939-1951) 2. 82-3).

(micro.) New Haven, Yale Medical Library, Ms 18, ca. 1400, fols. 63v-86.

[Inc.]: (fol. 63v) *Prima herba nomen praedicte herbe echinum*. latini vocant eam spinam albam. arabes bedeguard vel bedoard. dragdes(?) achantisleuce. Stephanus achatelem. Nascitur quoque in locis montuosis et lapidosis.../*Expl.*/(fol. 86) Explicit liber medicinae ypocratis, platonis et dyascoridis philosophorum de curis herbarum, bestiarum et animalium et quomodo ex predictis medicamenta debeant fieri. Illustrated; fol. 63 has a full illustration of a man, presumed to be Dioscorides, seated on a bench and holding a book. Codex includes Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. It also contains additions to the text giving synonyms of herbs. Like Montpellier Ms H. 127, this copy places the text of the shorter version of *Ex herbis* at the end of the regular text under each plant. C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond say that this copy is a Latin translation from the School of Salerno written in Lombardy. The translation, however, is the same as the other texts which long preceded Salerno. The text is complete with all 71 herbs. (C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement* 57).

Oxford, Bodleian, Ms Ashmolean 1431, s. XI, fols. 31v-43. Folios 31v-36v are illustrated; this treatise follows Pseudo-Apuleius *Herbarius*; it omits one herb, *psillos*. (Black, *Catalogue*, cols. 1165-1166; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1, 609).

———, ———, Ms Ashmolean 1462, s. XIII, fols. 63v-80. Illustrated; preceded by shorter version of *Ex herbis* and by Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (Black, *Catalogue*, col. 1266-1268).

———, ———, Ms Auct. F. 5. 31, s. XIII, fols. 23-44. Illustrated through fol. 31v (31v-44 have blank spaces for drawings); preceded by Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (F. Madan, H. E. Craster and N. Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue* 2, 714-5).

(micro.) Paris, Arsenal Ms 1031, anno 1333, fols. 48-62v. Rubric: (fol. 48) Incipit particula secunda libri IIII^{or} tractatuum que libellus Diascoridis de simplicibus herbarum feminearum virtutibus appellatur. Illustrated; preceded by Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*; omits the following herbs: *camelleon*, *herpullos*, *camedrios* and *poligonos*. (H. Martin, *Catalogue*...II (1886) 243; H. Diels, *Handschriften* 2, 31).

(micro.) Soissons, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 50, s. XV, fols. 33-49. Illustrated; with Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (*Catalogue Général*...3 [1885] 82-83; H. Diels, *Handschriften* 2, 31).

(micro.) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Barberinianus lat. 160, s. IX, fols. 39v-48v. No illustrations; with Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (Beccaria, *I codici*... 324-331; Theodore Silverstein, *Medieval Latin Scientific Writings in the Barberini Collection* [Chicago 1957] 34-36; Charles Singer, "Greek Biology and its Relation to the Rise of Modern Botany," *Studies in the History and Methods of Science*, 2 vols. [Oxford 1921] 2, 31; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1, 609; handwritten catalogue by S. Pieralisi, "Inventarium codicum mmss. Bibliothecae Barberinae," says s. X or s. XI).

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms Lat. VII 17 (3091), s. XV, fols. 33v-49v. No illustrations; follows Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. (J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta* 5, 75-76).

Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Ms lat. 93, s. XIII, fols. 137-158v.

Illustrated; preceded by Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*; used by Kästner in his edition of *Ex herbis*. (*Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum*...1, 14).

Fragments of Ex herbis.

(*)Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms 5413-22, s. IX. fol. 108v excerpts from chapters on *heliotropios* and *arnoglossus*. [*Inc.*]: I. Erba heliotropium ubicumque fuerit, nec fastus neque striga accidit.../... [*Expl.*]: II...Erba arniglossus...cum umosico sale trita instruit. (H. Silvestre, "Noticés et extraits des manuscrits 5413-22, 10098-105, et 10127-44 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles," *Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschagpen* 5 (1953) 182-3, full fragment published).

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms Strozz. 73, s. XII, fols. 44v-48. Incipit immediately after Shorter Version of *Ex herbis*. [*Inc.*]: Hec autem herba hecinum nascitur in montuosis et lapidosis locis... The Ms contains the text from *Ex herbis* of the following herbs in order: 1) *hecinum*, 2) *buglosos*, 3) *achantum*, 4) *helylysfacos*, 5) *cyminon*, 6) *cammelleon*, 7) *herpulos*, 8) *cameropers*, 9) *poligonos*, 10) *sansucon*, 11) *cestros*, 12) *aristhosochia*, 13) *stycas*, 14) *adianthos*, 15) *mandragora feminea*, 16) *thlaspis sive mia*, 17) *sisimbrion*, 18) *celidonia* (text different from other copies), 19) *cammelleon*, and 20) *cammelleon* (text with an addition). There follows a continuous list of herbs (*botration*, *artemesia*, *monoglos*, *artemsia tagantes*, *lapatium*, *dracontea*, *satyrion*, *priapisci* and *gentiana*). The addition appears to be from Pseudo-Apuleius' *herbarius*, beginning with *botration statice* (No. IX, p. 41, Ernest Howald and Henry Sigerist, ed. [Berlin 1927] 41 ff.). The text of Dioscorides *Ex herbis* ends under *camemedron*. (Inadequately described by Bandinius, 2, 407-8).

London, British Museum, Ms Harley 1585, s. XII, fols. 81v-92v. Beautifully illustrated. The order from fol. 89 is considerably different from other versions and it has a number of omissions. Order of herbs: 1) *hecynum*, 2) *buglosos*, 3) *achantum*, 4) *saliva*, 5) *cyminon*, 6) *cammelleon*, 7) *herpullos*, 8) *camerops*, 9) *staphys agria* (textual addition), 10) *camelleia*, 11) *ecios sive alcibiados*, 12) *splenios sive colopendarios* (numbered 40 by scribe), 13) *tytimallos* [numbered 41], 14) *clytirza* [42], 15) *bulbus rufus*, 16) *draconten feminea*, 17) *meochon* [*moecon*], 18) *colocynthios agria*, 19) *coryon* [*ipericon*], 20) *lapatium* [48], 21) *elyotropium*, 22) *plantains* [*arnoglossos*], 23) *cameleuce*, 24) *anchusa*, 25) *cynosbatos*, 26) *anagallis*, 27) *abrotani*, and 28) *aparyna*. (*A catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts*..., 4 vols. [London 1808-1821], 2, 145; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1, 609).

(micro.) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms B.P.L. 1283, s. XV, fols. 36v-50. [Rubric]: (fols 36v) "Nomen herba lycanis stephanotice." [Incipit]: (fol. 36v) "Folia habet oblonga angusta lanuginosa sub albia...." Has the following herbs—those not in *Ex herbis* are marked with an asterisk(*): *lichinis*, *abrotonum*, *euzos* [*aizos*] *minor*, *menta**, *elleborum**, *tytymallan*, *bustalmon*, *urtica**, *tribulsa*, *coniza*, *vitis alba sive citharosis**, *cacabulum**, *achillea*, *echios*, *ligeicia**, *spericon*, *amortitumica*, *fionticosa**, *fronticosa angulosis**, *grumillus**, *synosarcin**, *atriplex**, *veruena**, *colocintis agria*, *polipodium*, *gorgon*, *cynosm*[*b*]*atos*, *stafis agria*, *bublus roseus**, *viola*, *sirim**, *beotonia**, *sclenas**, and *purpurea*. This appears to be a compilation from *Ex herbis*, Pseudo-Apuelius' *Herbarius* and other unidentified sources. The manuscript is illustrated. Folio 50^{r-v} ends with the poem of Jacobus' prologue to Quintus Serenus. Fol. 50v: Expliciunt cure herbarum feliciter quas scripsit henricus dictus le galoys de wallia oriundus. Explicit hic totum pro christo da michi potum. (*Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis* 3, 156-7).

London, British Museum, Ms Royal App. 3, s. XIV, fols. 20v-21v. Imperfect and without illustrations; Ms has the text only for the following: *hecinum*, *buglossos*, *achantum*, *helysiffatos*, *cuminon*, *camelleon*, *herpullos*, *camerops*, *poligano*, *sansucou*, *cestros* and *aristolochia*. [*Expl.*]: et hereutes fetus discutit. Rotundo vero hoc ipsum in

omnibus facit. (George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue*..., 4 vols. [London 1912] 2, 390).

(micro.) Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, Ms 97, s. X, pp. 476, 523-532. Illustrated; with Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. Page 476 contains herbs *echinum*, *buglossos*, *acantum* and *cyminum*, the text for the last being incomplete. Page 523 resumes for *cyminum*, followed by *elilisfacos* (Ms no. 5) and *cameleone* (No. 6) and it ends (p. 532) *panacea* (No. 43, "'...et speni superposite prosunt." (M. Inguanez, *Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, 3 vols. [Monte Cassino 1915-41] 1. 96-8; Beccaria *I codici*..., 297-303; Diels, *Handschriften*..., 2. 34.)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Bodley 130, s. XI, fols. 57-66 [fol. 60 is blank]. Illustrated; the codex is chiefly an herbal, consisting of descriptions of one hundred and forty-two plants from Antonius Musa's *De herba vettonica liber*, Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius* and Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Ex Herbis femininis*. [Inc.]: CXIC [B]uglossos ex eo dicta quod folia aspera in modum linguae bubule habeat....It has the following herbs with texts (herbs shown in brackets have names omitted by scribe): cxix. *buglossos*; cxx. [*achantum*]; cxxi. *cyminon*; cxii. [*camelleon*]; cxxiii. [*herpullos*]; cxxiv. [*camedrum*]; cxxv. [*samsacon*]; cxxvi. [*cestron*]; cxxvii. [*adiantos*]; (two omitted numbers) cxxxv. [*antirenum*]; cxxxvi. [*psillios*]; cxxxvii. [*flommos*]; cxxiiii. [*ipiozostis sive linozostis*]; cxxxv. [*antirenum*]; cxxxvi. [*psillios*]; cxxxvii. [*melena*]; cxxxvii. [*tribulosa*]; cxxxviii. [*coniza*]; cxl. [*buothalmon*]. (F. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue*, 1, 302-3; Beccaria, *I codici*..., 273-5, who says folios 66v-67 are also of Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Ex herbis*, however, the herbs discussed do not belong to the *Ex herbis*; printed in facsimile: *The Herbal of Apuleius Barbarus from the Early Twelfth-Century Manuscripts formerly in the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (Ms Bodley 130)*. Described by Robert T. Gunther. [Oxford 1925]).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 6862, s. IX. Sections of Pseudo-Dioscorides' *Ex herbis* interspersed with Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarius*. Illustrated. Where *Ex herbis* and Pseudo-Apuleius discuss the same herb, one illustration sometimes suffices. The following herbs from *Ex herbis* are included: *arnoglossa* (fol. 25r-v), *lapatium* (fol. 33 r&v), *dracontea* (fol. 36r&v) with two illustrations, one for Pseudo-Apuleius and another for *Ex herbis*, *poligonos* (fols. 37v&38) with illustrations, *aristolociae* (fols. 37v-38—bis), *camedris* (no. 8, fol. 41), *camellea* (fol. 42) with two illustrations, *britannica* (fol. 50 i.e., fol. 44) with two illustrations, *ippirum* ("alii anabasia," fol. 55 i.e., fol. 50) with two illustrations, *colocintis agria* (fol. 56v i.e., 55v) with two illustrations, *moecon* (fols. 61v-62 i.e., fols. 56v-57) with two illustrations, *bulbus rufus* (fol. 64 i.e., fol. 58) with two illustrations, and *splenios* (fol. 65v i.e. fol. 59v), with two illustrations. This Ms was used by H. Kästner for his edition, *Hermes* 31 (1896) 578-636, (*Catalogus* 4, 286; Wickersheimer, *Les manuscrits latins*...., 67-8; Beccaria, *I Codici*..., 143-5; Singer, "Herbal," *JHS*, 47 (1927) 35).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 13, 955, s. IX, fol. 145. [*Inc.*]: Abrotonum vel aeraclion. Huius genera sunt duo. Ad suspirosos et sciaticos... Includes the following herbs from *Ex herbis* with numbers: *abrotonum* (48, *viola purpurea* (50), [*elleborum nigrum* (51), not in *Ex herbis*], *samsucus* (52), and *yppericon* (53). (Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 29 [1868] 123; Beccaria, *I codici*..., 176, who lists the following herbs after *yppericon* as belonging to *Ex herbis*: *satureia, eruca, urtica, urtica cantirina, rubus, cicuta, fenum grecum* and *verbena*).

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 751, s. IX, pp. 339-340. [*Inc*]: Ad aurium dolorem dragontea semen eius tritum expressum cum oleo mixtum.../...[*Expl.*]: non fuerit distilicium sit. Contains excerpts from *Ex herbis* in codex with Pseudo-Apuleius' Herbarius. (Beccaria, *I codici*..., 372-381; G. Scherer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* [Halle 1875] 246-7).

(*) Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. VI, 59 (2548), s. XV, pp. 5, 7, 18, 23, 25. Valentinelli says Ms has Plato Apuliensis *De herbis femininis*, following *De herbis masculinis*. (Valentinelli, 5, 61-67; Kristeller, *Iter* II, 221).

(micro.) Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Ms III. F. 19, s. IX, fols. 118v-119. Folio 118v *only* has: "Nom(en) Harbaru(m) Fem----- Dioscoridis LXXI." Folio 119 has a list with the following legible herbs: *eliotropios, scolimos, arthemisia, ---anon, ... stafi (agria), camelle, ecios, splenios, tytymallos, gliciriza, bulbus rufus, dracontea, mecon, polios, colocinctios, ypericon sive eliorion, lapatium eliotropion, arnoglossos, latyriclem, cameleuce, pentafillos,* and *hiera*. (Beccaria, *I codici*..., 341-343; Diels, *Handschriften* 2, 34).

Manuscript known to be destroyed:

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms K. IV. 3, s. XII-XIII, fols. 21-32. Burned in the fire of 1904. (J. Pasinus, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 vols. [Turin 1749] 2, 101; Diels, *Handschriften* 2, 31; Beccaria, *I codici*..., 332-3; Singer, "Herbal," *JHS 47* [1927], 35; Piero Giacosa, *Magistri salernitani nondum editi* [Rome 1901] 2, 358-9).

Edition:

1896, "Pseudo-Dioscoridis 'De herbis femininis,' " Ed. Heinrich Kästner. *Hermes* 31 (1896), 578-636; 32 (1897) 160.

b. Shorter version of *Ex herbis femininis.*

The shorter version of *Ex herbis femininis* is an abbreviation of the full version and comes in two forms. The first form, dating from the ninth century or earlier, is merely *capitula* to the seventy-one herbs of *Ex herbis*. This form is found in manuscripts of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The text includes only the medicinal uses of the herbs and doubtlessly served as brief guide for easy reference by a physician. The text of the shorter version preceded the regular text of *Ex herbis*.

The second form of the shorter version is an expansion of the *capitula*, and new material is added. At some time, during the twelfth century or earlier, as revealed in three manuscripts, all of the twelfth century, some unknown author expanded the capitula by increasing the textual discussion of the medicinal uses of herbs while at the same time the author dropped eight herbs from the text: *centimorbia, purpurea, zamalentition, zamalentition masculum, sion, lycanis, abrothonum* and *aperine*. In some instances the author added new medicinal uses found neither in the regular text of *Ex herbis* nor in the first form of the shorter version (*Capitula*). In every manuscript copy of the shorter version expanded, as with the *capitula*, the text preceded the text of *Ex herbis femininis*.

In preparing the edition of *Ex herbis*, Kästner often, although not for each chapter, added in parenthesis before each chapter the text of the shorter version expanded. Since confusion is possible and since the expanded shorter version qualifies as a new version because of the additions, I have included the descriptions of both (1) the shorter version (*capitula*) and (2) the shorter version expanded.

(1) Capitula

Rubric (Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana Ms Plut. LXXIII, Cod. XLI, fol. 84): Incipit liber medicine Dioscoridis ex herbis femininis numero lxxi per singula nomina.

[*Inc.*]: I. Herba hecinum facit ad emptoicos, ad urinam, ad livores, et ad fugandos serpentes. II. Herba buglosos facit ad ilaritatem convivii. III. Herba acantum facit.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 86v) LXXI. Aperine... idem eius sucus stillatus dolores aurium acurat. Explicit brevis liber medicinae de herbis femininis.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Biblioteca Med. Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. LXXIII, Cod. XLI, s, XI, fols. 84-86v. Lombardic script. (Bandinius, *Catalogus* 3, 80-4; Beccaria, *I codici*...218-4).

London, British Museum Ms Add. 8928, s. X, fols. 62v-64. [*Expl.*]: Explicit brevis liber medicinalis Dioscoridis de erbis femininis. (Dated by Beccaria, *I codici*...268-271, as s. X but according to Diels, *Hand-*

schriften..., 2, 31, as s. IX; B. Lawn, *The Salernitan Questions* [Oxford 1963] 7, 12 n. 4; *Index to the Additional Manuscripts*.... [London 1849] 4, 56).

(micro.) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Barberiniano lat. 160, s. IX, fols. 38-39v. (Beccaria, *I codici*... 324-331; Theodore Silverstein, *Medieval Latin Scientific Writings in Barberini Collection* [Chicago 1957] 34-36; Charles Singer, "Greek Biology and its Relation to the Rise of Modern Biology," *Studies in the History and Methods of Science*, 2 vols. [Oxford 1921] 2, 68, who says this is the earliest manuscript; Diels, *Handschriften*... 2, 31; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental* Science 1, 609; handwritten catalogue by S. Pieralisi, "Inventarium codicum mmss. Bibliothecae Barberinae," who says s. X or s. XI).

(2) Shorter version expanded of Ex herbis femininis

Rubric (London, British Museum, Ms Harley 1585, fol. 79). Incipit liber Dioscoridis. In hoc enim libro continentur herbae femininae numero sexaginta una. Utilissime pro usu medicine cuius canones subterscripti sunt. Primae nomen hecynum.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 79) Haec autem herba facit ad hemptoycos et ad cyliacos et ad stomaticos et ad provocandam urinam, ad livores fetidos, ad dolores dentium sedandos, ad spasmum infantium, ad morsus serpentium, ad fugandos serpentes. Nomen herbae secundae: buglosus. Haec enim herba: facit ad hylaritatem convivii. Nomen tertiae herbae: acantum. Haec herba facit ad combustionem et luxationem...[List of herbs: 1. hecynum, 2. buglosus, 3. acantum, 4. helylysfacos, 5. cyminon, 6. camelleon, 7. erpullos, 8. camedrios, 9. polygonos, 10. samsucon, 11. cestros, 12. aristolochia, 13. stycas, 14. adiantos sive pylitricos, 15. mandragora, 16. thlaspis sive mia, 17. sisimbrium, 18. camemelos, 19. celidonia, 20. syderitis, 21. flommos, 22. lynozostis, 23. brittanica, 24. anterinon, 25. psillios, 26. melena, 27. tribulenta, 28. coniza, 29. strygnos, 30. bustalmon, 31. isfieritis, 32. hyppyres, 33. ayzos, 34. tytimallos, 35. elyotropium, 36. scolymbos, 37. achilleia, 38. stafis agria, 39. cameleia, 40. ficios, 41. splenion, 42. tytimallos, 43. glyzyriza, 44. bulbus rufus, 45. dracontea feminia, 46. moecon, 47. colocinthios agria, 48. yppericon, 49. lapatium, 50. elyotropium, 51. arnoglòsa, 52. cameleuce, 53. scylla, 54. herygion, 55. iera, 56. strutios, 57. delphyon, 58. viola, 59. capparra, 60. ancusa, 61. cynosbatos, 62. anagallis, and 63. panacia]...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 82v) Nomen huius herbae lxii [sic], panacia. Haec autem herba facit ad cancrum quo dentes decidunt. Semen eius contritum in vino menstruas amovet. Si cum melle mixtum, fetus discutit. Splenem desiccat. Expliciunt capitula herbarum feminearum.

Manuscripts:

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Plut. LXXIII, Cod. XVI, s. XIII, fols. 179^{r-v}. Folio 178 has a full portrait of Dioscorides. (A.M. Bandinius, Catalogus, 3, 40-41.)

_____, _____, Ms. Strozz. 73, s. XIII, fols. 39v-44v. (Bandinius, *Supplement* 2, 407-8).

London, British Museum, Ms. Harley 1585, s. XII, fols. 79-82v. Rubric: Incipit liber Dioscorides. In hoc enim libro continentur herbe feminee numero sexaginta una utilissime pro usu medicine. (*A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*... 2, 145).

_____, _____, Ms. Royal App. 3, s. XIV, fols. 18-20v. (George F. Warner and Julius Gilson, *Catalogue*... 2, 390).

_____, _____, Ms. Sloane 1975, s. XII, fols. 49v-52v. Omits *viola*. (S. Ayscough, *A Catalogue*....1, 635).

(micro.) Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Ashmole 1462, s. XIII, fols. 61-63v. (W. H. Black and W. D. Macray, *Index*... 10, 1266-8).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. lat. 93, s. XIII, fols. 133-135v. Folio 133 has a full illustration of Dioscorides similar to Florence Laurent. Plut LXXIII, Cod. XVI, Folio 133v is blank. Folio 134 begins the text. Facsimile reproduction with colored plates: *Medicina Antiqua*: *Codex Vindobonensis 93*, Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi, 27. Graz 1972. (*Tabulae*...1, 14).

VIII. *Liber herbarum virtuosarum lapidibus preciosis propriarum*

Two manuscripts, both of the fifteenth century, have the text of this lapidary-herbal. Fifty-six stones are combined with fifty-six herbs according to similar effects the stones and herbs are alleged to produce. First listed are stones and the order of presentation seems related to Marbode's *De lapidibus*. The effects of the stones and herbals are described in a way closer to the lapidary tradition than to that of the herbals. Both lapidaries and herbals normally have separate manuscript traditions and only in rare instances are stones and herbs combined in one tract. It is true that Dioscorides' *De materia medica* has stones in Bk. V but far fewer than the fifty-six found in this treatise. Some of the herbs discussed, *e.g.*, *plantago* and *rosmarinus*, are found in the Old Latin Translation of Dioscorides but not in the Latin Alphabetical Redaction. Since the two texts have dissimilar incipits and explicits, as well as different epilogues, though with the same closing prayer, they will be described separately.

a. Text One

Rubric (London, Wellcome Library, Ms 748, p. 8). Incipit liber herbarum virtuosarum lapidibus preciosis appropriatarum a Dyascoride philosopho compositus foeliciter. *Preface* in full. [*Inc.*]: At Dyaschorides cognoscens herbarum vires in humane salutis conservationem nec non in egritudinis expulsione considerans herbarum virtutes et corporeis creaturis suffragata conspiciens etiam hoc suffragium in verbis (*sic*) et lapidibus in anulis nec ludebant [sic] conatus docente (?) herbas proprias propriis lapidibus assignare.

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 9) Adamantis herba Aretuusia, Lucrum dat, demones fugat, sanum conservat, foliorum radicis ana. Achatis herba Absinthium: lepram curat.../... [*Expl.*]: (p. 14) Dyonisie herba Macedonia hec robur dat capitis et corporis et sanum reddit radicis solum. Quomodo herbe colligende sunt. *Epilogue* [*Inc.*]: (p. 14) Quomodo debent herbe colligi.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 14) esse mundus artifex. Oratio dicenda in collectione herbarum.

Ending Prayer. [*Inc.*]: (p. 14) Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui tue immense potentie.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 14) mundo loco reponenda quosquem ponatur in anulum./ (p. 15) Explicit liber a Dyascoride philosopho compositus.

Manuscript:

(micro.) London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 748, s. XV, pp. 8–15. (S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library* I [London 1962] 550).

b. Text Two.

Preface without title (Montpellier, Ms. 490, fol. 208). Ego Dyascorides potentias in aliud.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 208) herbas proprias propriis lapidibus assignare.

Text [*Inc.*]: (fol. 208) Adamantis herba artemisia lucrum dat. Demones fugat.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 210) Dyonsia herba macedonia. Hec robur dat corporis somnum reddit, radicis solum.

Epilogue. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 210) Scito quod hec herbe lapidibus pretiosis appropriate sunt.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 210) et debet mundus esse artifex.

Ending Prayer. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 210) Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui tue immense potentie.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 210v) mundo loco reponenda usque ponatur in anulo. Explicit liber herbarum propriarum lapidibus preciosis a Dyascoride composita sub laude dei et eius adiutorio.

Manuscript:

(micro.) Montpellier, Bibliothèque del École de Médecine, Ms. 490, anno 1464, fols. 208–210v. (*Catalogue Général, Quarto Series* 1, 471; Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, cols. 486, 994, 1410).

IX. *Liber parabilium remediorum* or *Euporista*

The genuineness of the treatise Περὶ ἁπλῶν Φαρμάκων is difficult to determine,

as the history of the scholarship on it reveals. In 1558 Johannes Moibanus, the physician to the city of Augsburg, found a manuscript in Greek which was attributed to Dioscorides. The treatise is in two books with a letter to Andromachus, Nero's physician, which serves as a preface. The chapters are arranged by ailments and afflictions from the head to the foot and the proper remedies prescribed for their treatment. As Moibanus prepared an edition of the Greek text with Latin translation, he recognized some anachronisms and used his wide knowledge of the Greek physicians, especially of Galen, to help in interpreting the text. For a time he doubted the ascription to Dioscorides, but he eventually gave up his doubts; Gesner wrote of Moibanus in the preface to the Moibanus-Gesner *editio princeps*: quotidianis documentis evidentissime tandem convictus atque ita persuasus est, ut hosce duos ad Andromachum libros non ad alium ullum quam ad ipsissimum Anazarbeum Dioscoridem referendos esse adfirmare mihi non dubitarit. Gesner agreed, though noted that he too had once had his doubts about the authorship: quamobrem genuinum hunc esse Dioscoridis librum et minime *ψευδεπίγραφον* mihi quoque nunc videtur, etsi olim diversum autorem suspicatus sum. Janus Antonius Saracenus recognized some interpolated passages but he argued for its basic Dioscorides authorship based partly on the ground, as asserted in various places in his commentary, that Aetius of Amida (fl. mid 6th c.) employed the text. Jo. Alb. Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Graeca*, ed. G. Chr. Harles, vol. 4, Hamburg 1795, 682-683) considered it spurious. Curt Sprengel in his 1829-1830 edition of Dioscorides includes the text but observes that some passages are much later, e.g., I. 154, which describes a plant first mentioned by Moses of Chorene (fl. mid 5th c.) and II. 63 which uses the word *ἑξάλιον*, first on a gold coin after Constantine the Great and used by physicians first by Actuarius and Myrepsos in the 13th c. Ernst H. F. Meyer (1854-1857) places emphasis back on the basic core of genuine Dioscorides material and says that Sprengel was incorrect where he said the treatise was not cited by later writers; Aetius and Oribasios, for instance, both cite from it. In his article in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopaedie* (1914), Max Wellmann argued that the tract should be considered a pseudo-Dioscoridean work of the 3rd or early 4th century. He made the treatise, *εὐπόριστα*, as he calls it here, analogous to the *Medicina Plinii*, or, succinctly, *εὐπόριστα* is to Dioscorides what *Medicina Plinii* is to Pliny. In a partial German translation in 1907, J. Berendes cited a number of anachronisms, including linguistic ones, and asserted that the treatise does not date before the middle of the fourth century. Further study by Wellmann led him to reverse his earlier position and to include the treatise in the third volume of his edition of *De materia medica* (Berlin 1914). Also he wrote *Die Schrift des Dioskurides Περὶ ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων* (Berlin 1914) to argue for the basic Dioscorides' authorship though allowing for some interpolations by a Byzantine compiler of the 11th, 12th or 13th century from Galenic works and from John of Damascus. He maintained that the usual title *εὐπόριστα*, found first in Moibanus-Gesner, is not the proper title, its claim being based on Aetius VIII 2, in which, Wellmann says, Aetius was not referring to a work by Dioscorides. In his examination of the Greek Mss Wellmann notes that the oldest one, Florence, Laurentian Ms 74. 10, is of the fourteenth century. He examines the fragments in Aetius, Oribasios, etc., and the parallels in *De materia medica*. He concludes that Dioscorides was the author and that he wrote it before *De materia medica*. Wellmann does not cite Berendes' article.

Bibl.:

Modern editions are: Curt Sprengel, *Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei. Libri Περὶ δηλητηρίων, ἰοβόλων καὶ εὐπορίστων spurii.* In: *Medicorum Graecorum opera quae extant*, C. G. Kühn, ed. XXVI; and Max Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis De materia medica...*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1906-1914; repr. 1958) 3, 150-326 (Gk. text only). The Greek Mss are listed by H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* (Berlin 1905) 2, 32. See

also, J. Berendes, "Die Hausmittel des Pedanios Dioskurides. Übersetzt und mit Erklärungen versehen," *Janus* 12 (1907) 10-33; 79-102; 140-163; 203-224; 268-292; 340-350; 401-412; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Harles ed. 4, 682-683; Friedrich Ernst Kind, in: *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*. vol. 158 (1912) 165-168; vol. 180 (1919) 39-41; Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist*. ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, 2 vols. (New York 1970) 2,690; Max Wellmann, *Die Schrift des Diokurides Περὶ ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medizin* (Berlin 1914); idem, "Dioscorides," in PW 5 (1903), 1140.

TRANSLATIONS

1. JOHANNES MOIBANUS AND CONRAD GESNERUS

In 1558 Johannes Moibanus found a manuscript in the city of Augsburg (now Munich, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek Ms gr. 389, s. XV) and determined to reproduce the text and make a translation of it. Working on the text while he served as city-physician to Augsburg, Moibanus employed his rich knowledge of the Greek physicians, especially Galen, to help him interpret it. However, he died on May 9, 1562, before it was completed. In July, 1562, Achilles P. Gasserus, a physician in Augsburg, sent a letter (published in the edition) to Conrad Gesner to inform him of the situation. Also, Johannes Crato sent a letter (likewise published in the same edition) from Breslau to Gesner on November 22, 1562, urging the completion of Moibanus' project. In the Preface Gesner says he received Moibanus' manuscript notes on January 22 (1563?). Gesner is said to have given much work in completing the project and when published in 1565 the title was: Εὐπόριστα...*ad Andromachum, hoc est De curationibus morborum per medicamenta paratu facilia, libri II. Nunc primum et Graece editi, et partim a Joanne Moibano...partim vero post hujus mortem a Conrado Gesnero in linguam Latinam conversi*.... Gesner's preface is dated Zürich (Tiguri), June 20, 1564.

Gesner's Prefatory Letter (ed. of Strasbourg, 1565). Amplissimis et magnificis viris, Consuli et Senatui inclytae Reipub. Augustanae, dominis patronisque suis bene meritis et observandis, Conradus Gesnerus Tigurinus...[*Inc.*]: Nova haec huius voluminis, amplissimi viri, in illustre nomen vestrum nuncupatio (admirationem ut statim initio vobis eximam), non meo, sed Ioannis Moibani nomine, optimi sane viri, et omni literarum genere doctissimi, reipublicae autem vestrae medici excellentis, ante biennium apud vos pie defuncti, instituitur.../... [*Expl.*]: Redeo ad Moibanum vestrum ac meum: de quo quidem eiusque laudibus satis multa D. Ioannes Crato Caesarae Maiestatis medicus, vir omni doctrinae et virtutum genere praeclarus, in narratione illa de ipso, quam mox praefationi nostrae subiiciam, luculenter perscripsit, quibus ego praeteritis, ea solum quae ad praesens volumen eiusque nuncupationem pertinent, in medium proferam. Moibanus igitur inter alia erudita atque utilia studia, quibus assidue vacabat, cum in bibliotheca vestra exemplaribus Graecis dicata, Dioscoridis Parabilium remediorum libros manuscriptos invenisset, et vestra benignitate illis frueretur, publica luce dignos, et medicis apprime omnibus utiles futuros iudicavit. Itaque non tantum in Latinam linguam e Graeca transferre, (quarum utriusque doctissimus erant) sed etiam symphoniis aucta mactaque, id quod ei annuat et largiatur Deus Opt. Max. qui vos omnes cum tota republica quam diutissime florentes et incolumes conservet. Amen Tiguri in Helvetiis. Anno Salutis M.D.LXIIII. Junii 20.

Letter of Gasserus. Clarissimo viro Conrado Gesnero, Tigurinae reipublicae archiatro meritissimo philosophoque doctissimo, amico suo Achilles P. Gasserus L. medicus Augsburgensis. S.D. [*Inc.*]: Eximius medicinarum doctor Ioannes Moibanus.../... [*Expl.*]: Vale et me tui amantissimum amare perge. Mense Iulio anni factae per Christum redemptionis M.D. LXII.

Letter of Crato. Clarissimo et doctissimo viro D. Conrado Gesnero medico et philosopho eximio, ornamento Germaniae, Iohannes Crato Vratislaviensis S.D. [*Inc.*]: Infandum Gesnere iubes renovare dolorem,

cum a me petis ut optimi et doctissimi viri Iohannis Moibani Vratislaviensis medicae artis doctoris eximii, vitam aetatem et virtutes memorabiles literis nostris mandare, ac ad posteritatis gratam memoriam propagare velim.../...[*Expl.*]: et nos ipsos divinae benignitatis curae atque conservationi commendemus. Vratislavia ex aedibus meis xxii Novembris, qui natalis mihi dies est, anno M.D.LXII.

Conradi Gesneri ad aequum lectorem praefatio. [*Inc.*]: De his duobus parabilium libris Dioscoridis, studiose lector, eorum translatione per Ioannem Moibanum, et iis quae ab eo morte praevento relicta erant per me adiectis, quae in dedicatoria epistola nostra ad amplissimum reipub. Augustanae Senatum a me.../...[*Expl.*]: Nos modum laudamus, ostentationem et quicquid superfluum est, damnamus.

Liber parabilium remediorum. Preface (fol. A[1]v). [*Inc.*]: Simplicium medicamentorum doctrina, Andromache honorande, hoc praestat ea quae de varie compositis agit, quod non solum expeditior sit, sed et paratu facilior tum et.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. A[2]) victus ratione gubernationeue vulgo nota minimeque operosa, emendari solere. *Liber I* (p. 3) [*Inc.*]: Doloribus capitis recentibus citra febrem ortis, auxilio sunt haec: infusa capiti, oleum sylvestris olivae [,], rosaceum.../...[*Expl.*]: (I, p. 512) in sudoribus aqua rosacea abstergenda.

Liber II (p. 513) [*Inc.*]: Cum simplicium medicamentorum, honorande Andromache, operationes, in duos tibi.../...[*Expl.*]: (II, p. 876) quae de simplicium medicamentorum viribus experiundo nobis explorata, duobus digesta libris ad te mittere voluimus.

Edition:

1565, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Iosias Rihelius. Gk. and Lat. Graesse 2, 403; Ebert 1, 489; Durling 1167; NUC. BM; (DNLM; MnU; NNC).

Biography:

Conradus Gesnerus. See CTC II. 307.

Johannes Moibanus (Johann Baptista Moibanus) was born in Breslau on February 27, 1527. His father was Ambrosius Moibanus, a physician who was once professor at Wittenberg. Johannes' early study was under his pastor, Johannes Hessus, and he learned Hebrew at an early age. His first teachers were Andreas Winglerus, M. Balthas Neandrus, Antonius Carchesius and Jeremias Venetus, from whom he learned Greek, poetry, music and arithmetic. Johannes Crato asserts that he had training in art (*picturae studiosus*). He went to study at Wittenberg where Phil. Melanchton taught him philosophy. On Melanchthon's advice he went to Nuremberg to continue to study Greek and Latin. D. Geiderus gave him private instruction in Greek and Latin but at what place is uncertain. He came to know D. Cornelius Sittardus, a botanist from Cologne, and came to share with him an interest in Dioscorides. He took a trip to Italy, visiting Padua and Bologna, where he studied Italian and Greek. Upon receiving the news of his mother's death, he returned to Germany in 1555 and practised medicine in Amberg. The following year he went to Augsburg, became city-physician, and married. In 1558 he discovered the Pseudo-Dioscorides manuscript, described above, in a library in Augsburg and the project of editing and translating the text occupied the rest of his short life. He died on May 9, 1562. There are no other published works.

Bibl.: Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte... 4, 229; Casimirus Christophorus, *Vita Conradi Gesneri*, in: Gesner, *Opera botanica*... (Nuremberg 1751) vol. 1, p. xxix; Paul Freher,...*Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum*...(Nuremberg, 1688) 1251 (most detailed); Chr. G. Joecher *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* 3, 583.

2. Janus Antonius Saracenus

Saracenus published the work as the first work in his edition of Dioscorides (see above, p. 47). In a letter to D. Io. Saporta and other professors of medicine at Montpellier which precedes the work, Saracenus declared the text highly corrupted and interpolated. The letter is dated 1598 and was probably written at Lyons. He used the same Augsburg Ms as Moibanus and there is no indication of his having employed any other text.

Letter (ed. of Frankfort, 1598). Eximio viro et amico integerrimo D. Io. Saportae, Regio apud Monspelienses Medicinae Professori, Ianus Antonius Saracenus Salutem. [*Inc.*]: Duos hosce libros, vir clarissime, qui quidem omnium prope morborum curationem per εὐπόριστα remedia eaque simplicia aut certe ex paucioribus composita complectuntur, plerique Dioscoridi Anazarbeo ascriptos falso fuisse suspicantur, nec immerito. Enimvero vix quisquam reperietur, cui vel prima inspectione non videantur partim ex illius libris de materia medica, partim ex aliorum quorundam autorum scriptis, non quidem ipsius Dioscoridis, sed alius potius cuiuspiam opera, collecti et quasi consarcinati, quippe quae apud illum extant, ac soloecismi etiam complusculi, in quos vix alibi autor ille impegisse deprehenditur, passim occurrant. Attamen cum alioqui dicendi genus unum idemque constet esse, aut certe non ita ei dissimile, quo Dioscorides noster ἐν τοῖς ὑλικοῖς usus est, praetereaque saepe numero ab Aëtio ad hunc eundem autorem remedia varia referantur, quae non aliunde quam ex his ipsis Parabilium ad Andromachum libris deprompta nemo non iudicet, una cum piae memoriae doctissimis viris Moibano et Gesnero eo facile adducor ut credam et hosce libros, aeque ac priores illos, Dioscoridi Anazarbaeo attribui oportere...Nihilominus ut quaecunque Dioscoridis nomine circunferebantur opera uno volumine comprehenderentur, hos etiam libros prioribus addiiciendos existimavimus. Praesertim cum, praeter ea remedia quae in libris de materia medica reperiuntur, quamplurima etiam alia minime spernenda contineant, quae deinde a Paulo, Oribasio, Aëtio, ac ipso quoque Plinio transcripta facile est animadvertere. Quaeque tuto, ceu tot gravissimorum medicorum authoritate confirmata, pauperum maxime gratia usurpari possunt, ut quibus ad levandos sumptus paratu quam facillima perpetuo praescribi debeant, non item operosiora illa πολυμιγῆ, quae inanem plerunque ostentationem potius quam certam utilitatem prae se ferunt....Etsi porro excellentissimi viri Io. Moibanus simul et Conradus Gesnerus hos eosdem libros iam antehac e Graecis Latinos fecerunt atque suis doctissimis annotationibus et Galeni aliorumque Graecorum artis medicae principum symphoniis illustrarunt, nec non et quamplurima depravatissimi exemplaris Augustani manuscripti σφάλματα emendarunt, ac denique in illis edendis ita foeliciter elaborarunt, ut a nemine vix quicquam amplius sperari expectarive debuerit. Attamen et nos, ne officio nostro defuisse videremur, eosdem ipsos denuo recensendos atque recognoscendos sumpsimus. Non pauca ex coniectura (quando subsidium nobis non aliunde suppetebat) restituimus. Multa (nisi fallor) in meliorem ordinem redegimus. Capitum quorundam seriem immutavimus; quae perperam disiuncta videbantur, coniunximus, adeoque numerum capitum imminuimus; quae Dioscoride authore penitus indigna legebantur, tanquam spuria et adulterina, ad operis calcem reiecimus; denique cum prior illa interpretatio minime sibi cohaerens aut continuata, sed velut abrupta, imo vero plerisque in locis manca et mutila esset, eam non reconcinnavimus modo, sed etiam renovavimus.../ ...[*Expl.*]: Interea vale, artis medicae antistes praestantissime, et me meosque, sicuti facis, amare perge. Datum Kal. Mart. anno supra millesimum quingentesimum nonagesimo octavo.

Preface, De facile parabilibus tam simplicibus quam compositis medicamentis ad Andromachum. [*Inc.*]: (pt. 1, pref. and chapter 1, p. 1) Doctrinam de simplicibus medicamentis, spectatissime Andromache, ea quae de varie compositis agit gratiorem acceptioremque esse constat, quia non modo intellectu facilior est, sed et expeditior.../ ...[*Expl.*]: (p. 2) Capiti vero, fronti ac temporibus cataplasmatis in modum adhibeto panem, cum posca et rosaceo tritum.

Liber 1, chapter 2, pt. 1, p. 2. [*Inc.*]: Doloribus capitis inveteratis haec cum aceto et rosaceo utiliter irrigantur: Spondylium, peucedanum,.../...[*Expl.*]: (p. 67) illasque edurat. Et de his quidem hactenus, reliqua proxime sequenti libro prosequemur.

Liber 2. [*Inc.*]: (pt. 1, p. 68) Quoniam, spectatissime Andromache, morborum cura-

tiones per simplicia medicamenta duobus libris distinximus.../...[*Expl.*]: (pt. 1, p. 125) illi enim argentum vivum propter cognationem circunfunditur et adhaerescit, ac simul etiam lubrico lapsu per sedem egeritur. *Epilogus*. Haec sunt, charissime Andromache, quae tibi de simplicium medicamentorum usu experimentis comprobato duobus digesta libris mittere visum est.

Edition:

1598 (1): See above I, 15.

Biography:

See p. 43 above.

3. Doubtful Translation.

H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte* (Berlin 1905) 2, 32, lists five manuscripts which he says are Latin translations of Περὶ εὐπορίστων or *De facile parabilibus tam simplicibus quam compositis medicamentis libri II.* They are: Erfurt, Ampl. F. 41, fol. 1-62v; St. Gallen, Vadian. 318; Paris, Arsenal 979, fol. 112; Salamanca, Bibl. univ. 2. 4. 6; and Venice, S. Michele di Murano Ms 6. I have examined all these Mss but the Salamanca MS, which is of the seventeenth century, and the Venice manuscript which cannot be located but whose description more aptly fits the Latin Alphabetical Redaction (see p. 23 above). Diel's references to the Erfurt, St. Gallen and Paris Mss are erroneous since all these Mss contain the Alphabetical Dioscorides. Diels gives the *inc.* and *expl.* for the Erfurt MS; it is that of the Alphabetical Dioscorides. He says that the Arsenal MS has the same content as the Erfurt MS (which is correct). For the St. Gallen, Vadianische Bibliothek Ms 218, s. XIII, he correctly gives the *inc.* as: "Pondera medicinalia signa conati sumus narrare...." Both the incipit and explicit are the same as in the Erfurt Ms. Folio one of St. Gallen has as a rubric: "Liber dyascorid. de virtutibus medicinarum"; followed by a table: "Leptomis .i. extenuatoria. Etericus.i. maiteus.../fol. 2/ ...crocordinas .i. pomos. Malactici .i. mollitina". This is followed (fol. 2) by a short tract with the *inc.* as given by Diels and an *expl.* on fol. 3 "...autem maioris magnum pensat grana ordei. dccc.xx.viii." Then immediately following is the text for the Alphabetical Dioscorides. The tract preceding Dioscorides is identified by Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 1059, as *De ponderibus Almansoris et Serapionis*, found in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Ms 5358, s. XV, fols. 191r-v.

COMMENTARY

a. Janus Antonius Saracenus

For date and circumstances, of the commentary, see p. 47 above.

Scholia (ed. of Frankfurt, 1598, pt. 1, p. 128) [*Inc.*]: (Cap. II. ἀμύγδαλα πικρά Amygdalae amarae frustra hic repetuntur, quoniam earum.../...[*Expl.*]: (pt. 1, p. 135) in Alexiph. itemque a Paulo Aegineta: uti cum oleo, a Nicandro.

Edition:

See above, I, 15, p. 20.

Biography:

See p. 43 above.

X. *De physicis ligaturis*

The *De physicis ligaturis* is a short tract describing amulet properties of both herbs and stones. It is extant only in two manuscripts. The earliest, a Cambridge manuscript of the fourteenth century, is in two parts while the more recent, a seventeenth century London manuscript, contains only the second part with the title: Liber diascoridis de physicis ligaturis. The tract is different from Costa ben Luca's work of the same title. As is frequently the case, this example of herb-stone literature can not be precisely dated but it belongs to the milieu of the literature of late eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.

Manuscript:

Part One.

Rubric (Cambridge, University Library, Ms Additional 4087, fol. 244v). Incipit liber ad secretis [sic] nature diversos auctores et dicitur liber diascorides de fisicis ligatu(ris)... [*Inc.*]: Nemo equius inter stolidos reputari debet quam qui sola est.../...[*Expl.*]: (pt.

1, fol. 245v) accedant non modica tunc aggregatur demedietas.

Part Two.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 245v) Iohannitius in libro de animalibus apud antiquos expertum quod mullier puerpera si vestibus.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 254v) difficultatem ab emonia sunt omnia que supra diximus multi sapientes expertum fuisse mitto affigunt.

Manuscripts:

Cambridge, University Library, Ms 4087, s. XIV, fols. 244v-254v. (Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, cols. 777, 910).

London, British Museum, Ms Sloane 3848, s. XVII, fols. 36-40. Contains only part two. (Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 777; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1, 611).

XI. *Quid pro quo*

A variety of tracts dealing with the substitution of one drug for another passed under the name of Dioscorides. They range from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century and no two are alike but they all contain the same elements in a short introductory paragraph, excepting Copenhagen Ms 1653 which has a much longer preface. In no instance is there any indication of an author other than Dioscorides, who is always cited. V. Dokoupil suggests Roger of Salerno as the author of the Brno Ms, but he cites no evidence for the suggestion. These tracts were undoubtedly useful in this era of polypharmacy. The Preface of Vienna Ms 5371 is cited in full below but under each manuscript the *incipits* and *explicits* are separately given.

Rubric (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 5371, fol. 121v). Incipiunt utilitates quid pro quo.

Preface: [*Inc.*]: Liber diascorides quem misit avunculo suo dicens. Utilissimus est liber iste in arte medicine, multis enim medicinarum accidit ut ea que utilissima sunt electionibus inveniri non possunt. Dicamus ergo breviter quid pro quo poni debeat.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Pro aristologia longa vel rotunda ruta dupla ponitur. Acacia ponitur sucus lentisa.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 123) Zansiel duplex est irsutum et non irsutum. Irsutum sanat vulnera, non irsutum restringit matricem et votatinei (?) latini sunt: baxiflach.

Manuscripts:

(*micro.*) Brno, Universitni Knihovna, Ms Mk 107, s. XV, fols. 173-174v. Preface, [*Inc.*]: (fol. 173) Hunc librum dyascorides noscitur fecisse, quem misit avunculo dicens.../...[*Expl.*]: Dicamus ergo quid pro quo debeamus poni.

Text. [*Inc.*]: Pro aristologia ro. vel longa.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 174v) Pro zinziber...pro zeduardus....Contains 79 drugs with substitutes in alphabetical order. (V. Dokoupil, *Soupis Rukopisů Mikulovské Dietrichsteinské Knihovný* [Brno, 1958], 189, who suggests that Roger of Salerno is the author).

(micro.) Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Ms Gl Kgl.S 1653 4 to, s. XIII, fols. 148-149.

Rubric. Anti balomenon. Incipit prologus istius libelli.

Preface [*Inc.*]: (42 lines long) Quem anti ballomena (*sic*) librum et Dioscorides noscitur fecisse.../...[*Expl.*]: (Preface, fol. 148) hic prologus in principio debet fieri libri. *Text* [*Inc.*]: Pro achantum semen: lichnis./ Pro aromaticis calamo aromatico.../... [*Expl.*]: Pro xilobalsamo. leucun radices.

Contains around 100 substitutes for drugs. (Jørgensen, *Catalogus* 426-428; H. Diels, *Handschriften*..., 2, 34-35).

London, British Museum, Ms Harley 2378, s. XV (?), pp. 208-213. *Preface*. [*Inc.*]: Diascorides noscitur fecisse hunc librum quem misit avunculo suo.../...[*Expl.*]: quid pro quo debeat poni accipe a nobis.

Text [*Inc.*]: Pro actacia.../...[*Expl.*]: Pro yris yllirica. yreos a cetera. Contains substitutes for 113 drugs. (*A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, 2, 674; Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*..., col. 412).

(micro.) Prague, Universitní Knihovna, Ms XIII F 11 [2349], s. XIII-XIV, fol. 189v.

Preface [*Inc.*]: Quoniam antibalamenon (*sic*) librum Diascorides noscitur fecisse quam misit.../...[*Expl.*]: invenire non possunt. Dicamus ergo breviter quid pro quo poni debeat.

Text [*Inc.*]: Pro aristologia rotunda ruta dupla./ Pro acacia...(J. Truhlar, *Catalogus* 2, 246-247).

Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms Vat. lat. 5373, s. XIV-XV, fols. 36v-41. *Preface* [*Inc.*]: Dyoscorides noscitur fecisse librum quem misit avunculo suo dicens.../...[*Expl.*]: loco eius in omnino. *Text* [*Inc.*]: Absintium loco eius ponit.../ ...[*Expl.*]: Zizamie lo. po. secundum lini: finis Explicit liber quam diascorides apellat quid pro utilis inno (?) dicitur. Contains 412 substitute drugs in alphabetical order.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms 5371, s. XV, fols. 121v-123. Contains 169 substitute drugs in alphabetical order. (*Tabulae*... 4, 110; Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 818).

XII. *Poem*: "Quod natum Phebus docuit..."

In the Bologna Ms alone, this 74 line poem on drugs is attributed to Dioscorides. It precedes the Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction. In all other manuscript copies, dating from the ninth through the twelfth centuries, it is anonymous. In two manuscripts (London BM Arundel 166 and Paris BN 6880) the first item in the codex is Marcellus Empiricus' *De medicamentis liber*. Perhaps for this reason, because I have found no other, the poem was attributed to Marcellus in the 1547 Aldine printing as well as in Maximilian Niedermann's critical edition of Marcellus (1916). No analytical study has been made of the work. Specific drugs are named in categories, such as aromatics. Lines 14-18 read: "Sume igitur medicos pro tempore proque labore/ Etatisque habitu summa ratione paratos, / Gramine seu malis aegro praestare medelam/ Carmine seu potius: nam eque est res certa saluti / Carmen ab occultis tribuens miracula verbis." The Explicit in the Bologna Ms is different from that in the London and Paris texts, the latter one being used in the printed editions.

Rubric: (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 620, fol. 12) Versus diascoridis in comendatione libri et sue scientiae.

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 12)

Quod natum Phebus docuit, quod Chiron Achillem
Quod didicere olim Podalirius atque Machaon
A genitore suo qui quondam versus in anguem
Templa Palatinae subiit sublimia Romae....

[*Expl.*]: (fol. 12v)

Pro vanis verbis montanis utimur herbis
Pro caris rebus pigmentis et speciebus.
Explicit dictamen Dioscoridis.

Alternate *Expl.*: (Niedermann ed. from BM Ar. 166 and BN 6880) Sed procul a curis et sano corpore vivas, Quotque hic sunt versus, tot agant tua tempora Ianos.

Manuscripts:

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 620, s. XII, fol. 12 r-v. Text precedes Latin Alphabetical Dioscorides. (Frati, *Studi italiani* 16, p. 245, n. 378).

London, British Museum, Ms Arundel 166, s. X, fol. 12 r-v. There is no rubric or other identification. (*Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, New Series, pt. 1 [1834], 1, 45-46; Beccaria, *I codici*..., 264-268).

(*) Montpellier, Bibliothèque del École de Médecine, Ms 491, s. XI, fols. 122-124. (Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*, col. 1253; not described in Montpellier cat.).

(*) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 6880, s. IX, fol. 150 r-v. Probably from Fulda. (*Catalogus* IV, 289; Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, 1, 362; Beccaria, *I codici*..., 145-147).

Editions:

(micro.) 1547, Venetiis: (Apud Aldi filios). In: *Medici antiqui omnes qui latinis litteris diversorum morborum genera et remedia persecuti sunt, undique conquisiti, et uno volumine comprehensi, ut eorum qui se*

medicinae studio dediderunt commodo consulatur...Durling 3050; NUC. (DNLM).

1916, in: *Marcelli De medicamentis liber recensuit Maximilianus Niedermann*, vol. 5 of *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum* (Leipzig and Berlin 1916), 282-284.

XIII. *Synonyma*

Two texts, each different, exist in one manuscript codex of the twelfth century. The texts are lists of items in the Dioscorides' text with synonyms and other information. The first text has no title or identification; it is found between the table of contents and the main textual body of the Alphabetical Dioscorides Redaction text. This text very briefly lists the items of the full Alphabetical Redaction along with synonyms, variant spellings (*e.g.*, *botonica, vetonica*) and drugs which weaken or counteract effects (*e.g.*, "asafetida lassat silfium et silfer," "antimonium stibeus miseo"). The second text is identified as "Sinonima nomina, D(ioscorides)."

a. First Text:

[*Inc.*]: (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 620, fol. 8) Asafetida lassat silfium et silfer./ Apium ornumon. ornimon./ Arbor malorum id est./ Antimonium stibeus miso.../...[*Expl.*]: Pastinaca agrestis id est daveus.

b. Second Text:

[*Inc.*]: (fol. 13) Aparine id est nomina sanetion./ Amaritia id est centaurus minor./ Aurosum id est auroplemun colore./ Acrimonia id est caliditas.../...[*Expl.*]: (fol. 21) Zuna id est aperaflaticum./ Zureambitis id est sanbascus.

Manuscript:

Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms 620, s. XII, fols. 8-11, 13-21. (Frati, *Studi italiani* 16, p. 245, n. 378).

APPENDIX

A. Improperly catalogued treatises attributed to Dioscorides:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms 466, s. XII, pp. 13-100. Identified by M. R. James (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, 2 vols. [Cambridge 1905] 2. 397-398.) as *De gradibus et virtutibus simplicium secundum Dioscoridem*, but it is Constantine the African's *De virtutibus simplicium medicinarum*.

(micro.) Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms Alpha L 9, 28 (Est. lat. 993), s. XV, anno 1458. The *explicit* to this illuminated herbal ends: "Explicit tractatus herbarum Dioscorides et Platonis atque Galieno et Macrove (*sic*) translatate manu et intellectu Bartholomei Minid.s (?) senis in arte speciare semper infusus." The *incipit* to the preface is: "Circa instans negotium in simplicibus medicinis nostrum..."; and to the text: "Aloen calide et sicca complexionis est in secundo..." The preface is that of Platearius' *De simplicibus* or *Circa instans* (Thorndike and Kibre, *Inc.*, col. 211) and the text has the same beginning as an herbal found in BM Sloane 2269 [Thorndike and Kibre, *Inc.*, col. 84]. See Kristeller, *Iter* I, 383a).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 6822, s. XIV, fols. 1-135v. The incipit without a heading reads: "Artemisia media quid scribo et aut fagautis...." It ends: "Explicit tractatus herbarum dyascoridis et platonis atque gallieno. Si macoau (?). translati manu et intellectu Bartholomei Mindi senis etiam...semper infusus deo gratias. amen." Like the Modena Ms above, this is an illustrated herbal in alphabetical order. See *Catalogus* 4, 281.

(micro.) Sélestat, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 96, s. XII, fols. 107v-108. [Rubric]: (fol. 107v) "Incipit de S. Dioscorides." [*Inc.*]: "Vidimus et alium venerabilem patrem apud Thebaidam Dioscorum nomine.../... [*Expl.*]: et species sanitas expetenda est." A life of Saint Dioscorides but ascribed by H. Diels (*Handschriften der antiken Ärtze*, 2, 35) as being Dioscorides, author of *De materia medica*. See, also, *Catalogue Général*..., 3. 589.

B. Manuscripts with illustrations and without text and said to be by Dioscorides:

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ms Chigi F. VII. 158. s. XV, fols. 1-108v. This is an

unknown materia medica manuscript with numerous illustrations and little textual description. Folio 1 has a drawing of five plants, plus an old man, labelled "dyascorides," who touches the herbs while an unidentified young man stands by and points to the plant. Folio 1v has a list of medical items in three columns all beginning with "A". The list begins: "aurum metallum, argentum metallum, aurum romanum arbor, auromi idem..." Folio 2 has a picture of a man, "Galienus," holding gold and silver in his hand. On the same folio are drawings of gold, silver, the tree called *aurum romi* shown with a root system, a drawing showing how a man gathers *argentum bivim* with a long handled spoon and a vessel, and a gum arabic plant. Typical other folios have three or more plant drawings, frequently with the reference to Dioscorides (*e.g.*, folio 3v has an *acacia* plant with the label, "Regre dya. propter capitulo." Other folios have drawings of Johannes Mesue, Alexander, Ysaac (Judaeus), Aliabas (alli Abbas), Albucasis, Rasis, Avenzoar, and Macer. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 474).

———, ———, Ms Chigi F. VII, 159, s. XVI, fols. 1-239. This is also an unknown materia medica manuscript with full folio illustrations of plants, animals, etc. There is no accompanying text except an identification of drawings, frequently in both Latin and Greek. There is an alphabetical list of contents, beginning: "Abiolabon 60, Abiblabon 6, Abrotanum 6, Absintium 5...." Folio 10 has the folllowing note: "Finis 1511 die V maii"; and it is followed by "Species omnium cardonia et spinarum spina arabica vel acatis arabica." The section on plants ends of folio 219v with "σιρόβιλαι. Sirobiloea". Folio 221v begins illustrations of animals, insects, birds, stones, etc. Folio 224 has four drawings depicting the manufacture of pitch for sealing ships. Folio 234v has a figure of Sophia giving to seated Dioscorides a mandragora plant. Presumably the artist of this Ms had seen the copy of the Anicia Juliana Palimpsest (Vienna Ms Med. Gr. 1). Folio 235 has a drawing of seven wise men: Crateuas, Galen, Dioscorides [below name is: "Latini Dioscoriden dicunt"] Nicander, Ruphus, Andreas and Apollonius. (Kristeller, *Iter*, 2. 474.)