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13 Paratext in the Manuscripts of Hartmann Schedel

The fifteenth century was a period of revolutionary change in terms of book culture. The new cultural paradigm of Italian humanism was spreading in the middle of the century from the Italian peninsula to Transalpine regions, solidly establishing itself in western and central Europe by the end of the century and starting to find its way to the very north of the continent. The invention and rapid dissemination of printing transformed the processes of book production, making it considerably cheaper to make books and build up book collections. Consequently, both public libraries (such as the Vatican's in Rome and that of S. Marco in Florence) and private libraries (such as Pico della Mirandola's or that of the Medici dynasty) increased in number and volume, making knowledge accessible as seldom before. Increasingly sophisticated cataloguing systems that were developed in the period thus facilitated information retrieval.

This study will examine the paratexts present in the volumes of the private library of the Nuremberg humanist doctor Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). While his largely autograph book collection is an early witness to the passage of Italian humanist learning north of the Alps, it also gives a clear picture of fifteenth-century cutting-edge medicine as it was taught in Padua. Last but not least, it also reflects the deep religiosity of its owner. Due to Schedel's intensely personal engagement in building up the library, the 366 currently identified manuscripts, 487 incunables and 160 sixteenth-century prints are rich in paratexts ranging from (auto)biographical texts to annotations and foliation.¹

Hartmann Schedel built up his library of manuscript and printed books between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. With at least 667 volumes listed in a series of catalogues,² it was easily one of the largest private libraries of the late Middle Ages.³ As a *doctor artis et medicine* (doctor of arts and medicine), Hartmann came from a wealthy family of artisans and merchants. His father, Hartmann senior (1380–1451), was successful in the wine trade between central Europe and northern Italy. On his father's death, Hartmann junior was entrusted to his uncle Markus (d. 1478). Intellectually the most important figure of the young orphan's life was his cousin Hermann (1410–1485), who had gained a doctorate in arts and medicine at the University of Padua in the 1440s, and who transmitted to young Hartmann his wide-ranging interests not only in medicine but also in the new Renaissance scholarship.⁴ Hartmann graduated from the

University of Leipzig with an MA in 1460, then pursued studies in canon law at the same university until 1463.⁵ In Leipzig he also attended lectures given by the eminent humanist Peter Luder (1415–1472), a disciple of Guarino Veronese: Luder had left Leipzig for the University of Padua by 1463. Hartmann, strongly encouraged by his cousin Hermann, decided to interrupt his studies of canon law and move to specialize in medicine at the University of Padua, Hermann's alma mater, where he stayed from 1463 until 1466. In Padua he also had the opportunity to immerse himself in Italian humanism.⁷ most notably in Ancient Greek taught by the famous scholar Demetrius Chalcocondyles (1423-1511). Hartmann had already shown an interest in epigraphy while in Leipzig, and would engage in systematically transcribing ancient and medieval inscriptions from originals and earlier copies in Padua and the surrounding areas, even as far as Conegliano, where he would frequently spend the summer months in order to collect and cultivate his interest in ancient and medieval epigraphy. 8 On his return to Bayaria in 1466, he took up several important positions, first as physician of Nördlingen in 1470–75, later in Amberg (1477–81) and contemporaneously as personal physician of Philip, elector Palatine, in 1479, and finally, as physician in his native Nuremberg, where he practiced until his death in 1514.9

Thanks to his inherited wealth, family connections, and personal revenue as a medical doctor, Hartmann found himself in the enviable position of considerable personal independence. As a *Doctor der Erzeney* (Doctor of Medicine) he belonged to the class of the Ehrbaren (Honorable) of Nuremberg, and is mentioned as a member (Genannter, "appointed") of the Greater Council in 1488. Contrary to most cities of the southern German area, where artisans participated in municipal government, Nuremberg, one of the most important cities of the Empire, was ruled by a set of patrician families through the City Council composed of forty-two members, twenty-six of whom had full powers. The remaining sixteen, called Genannte, were divided into eight patrician alte Genannte, and eight Genannte originally of artisan origin. The Greater Council, established in the early fourteenth century, was composed of members of the Ehrbaren Familien. 10

Until his death, Hartmann divided his time between his professional tasks and scholarly pursuits, in particular the development of his library. His cousin Hermann had started collecting books in his youth, and profited considerably from his Paduan stay from 1439 until 1444. In addition to purchasing volumes, he also copied books himself. Hermann bequeathed part of his library to Hartmann, 11 who took very seriously the inheritance of the person who had played such a decisive role in his intellectual and professional development. Hermann's books were to be but a small part of a real research library that Hartmann went on developing until his death. It was to become a family heirloom, to be passed on intact to future generations, as Hartmann indicates in his will of 1494:

Item meine Bücher alle in der Liberey schick ich, mit aller Irer Zugehörung bejeinander bleiben, und den namen der Schedel, und meinen Kindern und Iren nachkommen zu nutz behalten werden sollen.

(Item, I dispose that all my books in the library with all their paraphernalia should remain together and the name of the Schedels, and should be preserved for the profit of my children and their offspring.) 12

As well as enhancing the usability and aesthetic value of the volumes, that Hartmann would provide through foliation, running titles, indications of date and place of copy, contextualizing paratexts, ex-libris and, in some cases, additional decoration (such as illumination), 13 he catalogued his collection, which of course considerably increased its value for scholarly purposes. In addition to two almost identical catalogues, a number of fragmentary lists have been preserved.14

Disregarding Hartmann's exact instructions, his heirs started selling off volumes soon after his death. In 1552, the bulk of the library was purchased by the celebrated bibliophile Hans Jakob Fugger, member of the Augsburg banking family, who, however, sold it to the dukes of Bavaria in 1571. 15 By the beginning of the twentieth century, despite some dispersion during the nineteenth century, approximately one half of Hartmann's volumes were still kept at the Bavarian State Library. 16 A few books have been identified in other collections since Stauber's 1908 study.

Paratext in Hartmann's Volumes

As this study will show, the paratextual elements added by Schedel into his books are not just conveyors of knowledge but are witnesses of his social status and intellectual role in the transmission of culture and of his consciousness of the importance of this position. Schedel in fact provides all-round material for contextualizing his life as a scholar of many interests, ranging from classical antiquity and Italian humanism through medicine to theology, and as a highranking member of his social class.

In addition to the measures of conservation mentioned above, such as rebinding and restoring his books, Hartmann inserted paratexts of different length ranging from foliation, ex-libris, titles, and personal colophons to biographies of authors and autobiographical texts, including notes on the acquisition and embellishment of volumes. This constant and effective presence of the owner with very few books lacking any kind of marks of ownership – makes him into a true master of books and of the texts contained in them. The paratexts are elements that, first, make it possible to reconstruct his intellectual biography and the image that he wished to project to the world. Their aesthetic quality (no informal scribblings here) also suggest a second function: the library was to be the family heirloom, a concrete possession with a high financial value to be passed on down the generations as a token of the Schedels' social importance, just like a house or a piece of land. The volumes are thus not only a monument to his diverse interests and to the different uses to which he put the texts, but also a testament to his social position.

In the rest of this study, I shall examine in greater detail the following three types of paratextual element present in Hartmann's books: ex-libris, (auto)biographical texts, and peritexts¹⁷ on the formation of the library (notes on acquisition and embellishment of volumes). For all of these, Hartmann's operations marking the physical books as his own, through decoration, insertion of running titles, foliation, and portraits, will be analyzed.

Ex-libris

Hartmann's message normally reaches the reader on the front pastedown of the volumes, such as the personalized copy of his only extensive original publication, the Latin Liber chronicarum, 18 now preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287. Typically, the ex-libris (Figure 13.1) takes here the form "Liber Doctoris Hartma(n)ni Schedel de Nu^oremberga," spelled out in classicizing capitals of a type typical of Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century. 19 The doctoral title is one that accompanies his name throughout the collection, expressly singling him out as a learned man. More often, however, the indication of his academic title is even more precise. Thus, the ex-libris on the pastedown of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5 identifies the volume as "Liber Hartmanni Schedel Nu^orembergensis artium ac utriusque medicine doctoris" (A book belonging to Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg, doctor of arts and both medicines), and so gives him the full title of a medical doctor with a degree from the University of Padua.

(Auto)biographical Texts

(Auto)biographical (para)texts²⁰ of different lengths, from colophons to accounts of tens of lines, serve the same purpose, situating Hartmann in his social universe. They are mainly concerned with his academic authority based on his studies at

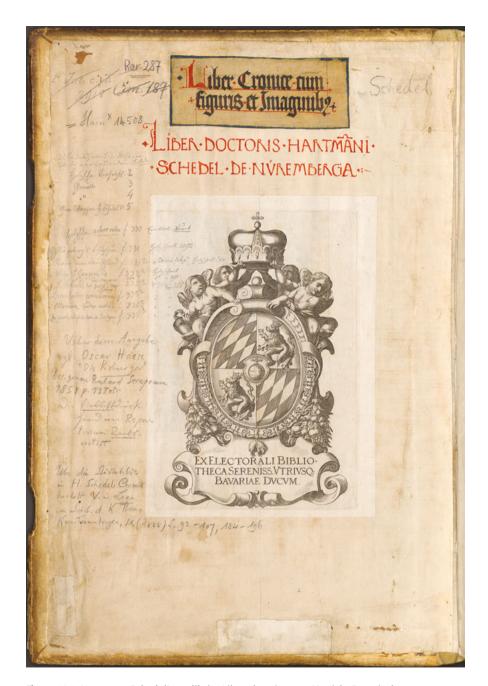


Figure 13.1: Hartmann Schedel's ex-libris. Liber chronicarum, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287, pastedown. urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00034024-1.

Padua.²¹ His paratexts make very explicit his appreciation of that institution. Thus, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13, fol. 223r, he records the start of his studies at Padua as follows:

C Anno domi(ni)ce natiuitatis Mill(es)i(m)o quadringentesimo Sexagesimotercio Kal (endis) decemb(ribus). Ego Hartma(n)nus schedel de Nuremberga arciu(m) liberaliu(m) magister. Ad antiquissimu(m) ac florentissimu(m) // studium patauinu(m) proficiscebar :-

(In the year since the birth of our Lord 1463 on December 1, I, Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg, Master of Liberal Arts, left for the most ancient and flourishing University of Padua).22

Moreover, in the colophon to two Latin-language orations delivered by Demetrius Chalcocondyles at the beginning of his courses, preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, fol. 10v (Figure 13.2), Hartmann, again asserting his doctoral title, records the momentous event of the beginning of his Greek studies:

C Scripsi Ego hartma(n)nus Sche // del de Nuremberga artiu(m) ac // medici(n)e doctor / patauin(us). In // primordio studii de manu // prefati greci. dum Initia // l(itte)rar(um) grecar(um) edocuit; // Laus deo;

(I, Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg, doctor of arts and medicine of Padua at the beginning of my study by the hand of the above-mentioned Greek man while he was teaching the rudiments of Greek literature, the Lord be praised).

Likewise, his autobiographical sketch in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13, fol. 223rv, ends with the following statement on his doctorate:

Anno vero Domi(i)ce incarnatio(n)is Mill(es)i(m)o quadringentesimo Sexag // esimo Sexto Die Jouis Deci(m)a septima mensis Aprilis In assistencia // Spectabilis virj Anthonij medulo de teruisio studij paduani rec // toris p(er) venerandu(m) collegiu(m) pu(n)ctis ut moris est in facultate me // Dicine p(re)assignatis /ac Diligenter exami(n)atis . ac de consilio om(n) i // app(ro)batus / et tandem licenciat(us) ac doctor in sacra me(dici)na creatus

(But in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1466 on Thursday April 17 in the presence of the famous man Antonio Medulo of Tarvisio, Rector of the University of Padua, a careful examination on pre-defined points, as it is customary in the Faculty of Medicine, was carried out by the venerable college. My examination was unanimously approved by the whole council and finally I was made licentiate and doctor in holy medicine).

Hartmann's authority as a learned man is derived from the authority of his teachers at Padua. The teacher-pupil relationship is underlined in the case of a few people who seem to have played a decisive role in his studies. One such person is Chalcocondyles, again present in the colophon of the Latin-language version of his orations in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, fol. 10v (Figure 13.2):

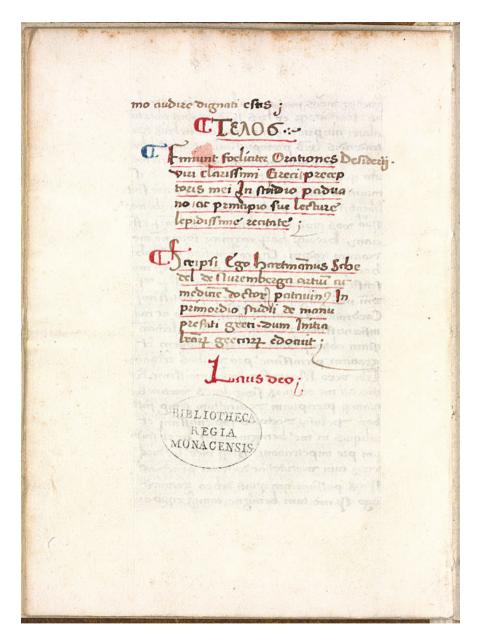


Figure 13.2: Colophon. Demetrius Chalcocondyles, *Orationes*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, fol. 10v. urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00083096-4.

C [Telos] // C Finiunt foeliciter Orationes Desiderij. // viri clarissimi Greci / precep // toris mei In studio padua- // no / ac principio sue lecture // lepidissime recitate

(The orations of Desiderius, the beloved Greek man, my teacher, end happily, They were very agreeably delivered at the University of Padua and at the beginning of his lecture).

Here, Hartmann shows his knowledge of Greek through the word telos written in Greek characters. Demetrius - here called Desiderius - the Greek, is identified as a vir clarissimus (famous man) and preceptor meus (Hartmann's teacher).

Another clearly appreciated teacher was the Paduan luminary Matteo Boldiero (d. 1465), professor of practical medicine, whose biography, with a portrait, is contained in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13, fol. 17v (Figure 13.3). On fol. 129r of this same manuscript, he is called "preceptor mei amantissimus" (my beloved teacher). The Boldiero peritext is connected with his Aggregatio simplicium medicinarum which is contained on fols. 1r-225r of the codex.²³ Another, much shorter biographical peritext on Chalcocondyles may be found in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, the abovementioned volume of orations, where Hartmann quotes Marsilio Ficino's characterization of the Greek scholar (Figure 13.4): "Demetrium Atheniensem / non //minus philosophia et eloquio qua(m) //genere athicum" (Demetrius the Athenian, no less Attic in philosophy and eloquence than by birth).

Peritexts on the Formation of the Library

A case in point is the peritexts on the formation and enrichment of the library. The academic authority of cousin Hermann Schedel, who, as we have seen above, was the founder of the Schedel family library, is brought to the fore in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 207, modern fol. 3v:

Int(er) quos non infimo ingenio ac solercia excellit Solertissim(us) artiu(m) et medicine doctor Herman(us) SchedeL patruus meus Qui prescripta et seguencia consilia / partim ex ore suo / partim p(ost) suum obitum diligentissime collegit Et ista consilia p(er) manu(m) suam scripta / ex ordinacione sui testame(n)ti Aput me hartma(n)nu(m) Schedel doctorem patruu(m) suum et liberos sue familie p(er)manere disposuit Qua(m)ob-rem meliori ornatu ac decore cum prologo ac p(re)missis ornare decreui: ut sua accurata diligencia ceteris nocior Et ad salutem a(n)i(m)e sue memoria vberior fieri possit.

(Among whom [= students of Antonio Cermisone (d. ca. 1441), professor of theoretical medicine at Padua, Hermann's teacher the highly intelligent Doctor of Arts and Medicine Hermann Schedel, my uncle, distinguished himself through his talents and cleverness. Hermann industriously collected [Cermisone's] prescriptions and following consultations, partly from the mouth of the professor, partly after his death. And in his will, Hermann



Figure 13.3: Portrait of Matteo Boldiero. Matteo Boldiero, Aggregatio simplicium medicinarum; works by Bartolomeo da Santa Sofia et al., Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13, fol. 17v. Photo © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

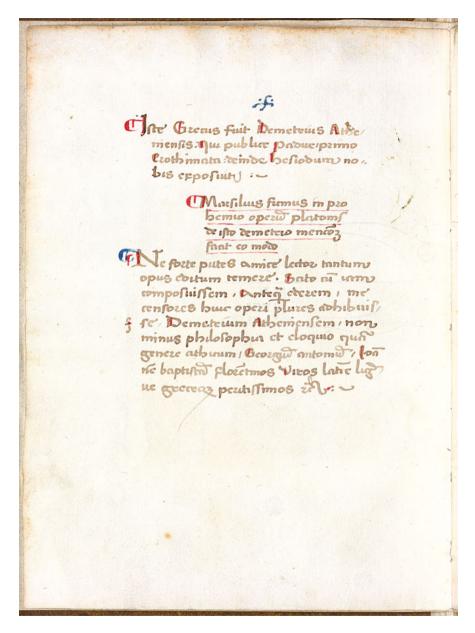


Figure 13.4: Short biographical notice on Demetrius Chalcocondyles by Hartmann Schedel. Demetrius Chalcocondyles, *Orationes*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, fol. 1v. urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00083096-4.

ordered that those consultations written in his own hand remain in the possession of me. Hartmann Schedel, doctor, his uncle and the children of his family. Because of this, by means of superior ornamentation and decoration, I decided to enhance the volume with a prologue and introductory texts, so that his precise carefulness would be better known to others and the remembrance of it would be enhanced to the salvation of his soul.)

Hermann, whose professional authority ("solertissimus artium et medicine doctor") is based on his studies at Padua under the famous professor Cermisone, entrusted important medical texts derived from the teaching of this authoritative figure to Hartmann's care. Hartmann thus explicitly becomes a link in the transmission of Paduan medical scholarship north of the Alps. It is, furthermore, Hartmann's responsibility to transmit Hermann's inheritance to future generations through the care of this and other volumes provided with the paratexts and peritexts described above. We may note here that the transmission takes on a religious dimension: not only will Hermann's excellent work ("accurata diligentia") be better-known ("memoria uberior"), but this will also contribute to the salvation of his soul ("ad salutem anime sue").

The same religious dimension is visible in the description of the acquisition and restoration of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5, a volume of translations of Galen copied at Bologna in 1304, right in the middle of the revolution of the medical curriculum at European universities, and not least in Bologna, accomplished through the new translations of Galen available from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.²⁴ Hartmann bought the volume from the Augustinians of Nuremberg in 1503, and had it restored, re-bound, and embellished with a miniature by the painter Elsner (Figure 13.5).²⁵ The costly operation made the book more useful, that is, accessible, to medical doctors ("pro utilitate medicorum sic clarescere poterit"), to the praise of God ("ad laudem dei") (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5, a piece of paper glued on fol. 1r), as Hartmann carefully explains in the note:

Anno dom(in)I Mccccc iii. Libru(m) Galieni In quo Contine(n)tur 21 opuscula In pergame(n)o Que(m) p(er) longa tempora a p(at)ribus monasterij Sancti Augustini pro certa su(m)ma pecu(n)ia Aut aliis libris co(m)mutandis sepenu(mer)o dominiu(m) habere optaui. Is liber in p(ar)ua libraria sup(er) sacristia posit(us) Retro ne+du(m) in asserib(us) Veru(m) et in p(er)gameno p(er) tineas lesio(n)(em) sensit Et folia putridu(m) odore(m) de se p(ro)pt(er) humidit(atem) testudinis emittebant /. [...] Videns aut(em) ^[marg. libru(m)^] tendere ad in+valitudine(m) / Sexternos om(n)es diuisi mu(n)daui et folia cu(m) rubrica signaui. Et Angelu(m) cu(m) armis meis p(er) dictu(m) Elsner depingi feci Et p(er) optimu(m) libror(um) [libr str] ligatorem de-nouo In Corio albo porci(n)o / et aliis orna(men)tis decorare feci / pro / [quo / interl.] sibi florenu(m) dedi / Vt nu(n)c liber iste p(ro) vtilitate medicor(um) sic clarescere poterit ad laudem dej: P(ost) hoc bibliotheca(m) eor(um) [= St Augustine] variis nouis libris ornaueru(n)t Qui eis ad utilitatem cedere possunt // HASD



Figure 13.5: Angel holding Hartmann Schedel's coat of arms added by Elsner. Galen, Galeni liber de elementis and other Galenic texts, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5, fol. 1r. Photo © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

(In the year of our Lord 1503 [I bought] a parchment book of Galen, in which 21 works are contained. For a long time I made attempts to purchase it from the fathers of the monastery of St. Augustine for a sum of money or through exchanging it against other books. That book was kept in the small library above the sacristy, in the back, not only the plates but even the parchment had been damaged by worms, and the leaves gave off a putrid smell because of the humidity of the vault ... As I saw that the book was ailing, I took apart all the fascicles, cleaned them, and marked the folios in red color. And I had the above-mentioned Elsner paint an angel with my coat of arms. And I had the book re-bound by the best book-binder in white pig skin and decorated with other ornaments. For this I gave him a florin so that this book could become beautiful for the profit of doctors to the praise of God. After this they [= the monks] enriched their library by new books which may be of use to them).

Hartmann, known to have been a very religious man, ²⁶ expresses his convictions both here and in more conventional contexts, such as colophons (as in the reference to Laus Deo in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28128, fol. 10v): thus, while he is the master of his professional, scholarly, and social sphere, he submits to the power of the divine. Indeed, his systematic care of the Schedel family library is, and not least, a religious act contributing to the salvation of the family.

Conclusion

Hartmann Schedel, a wealthy and cultured medical professional with strong humanist interests, left behind a rather unique personal monument in an extensive library of manuscripts and printed books assembled between the mid-fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. These volumes, whether entirely or partly autographical, testify to his intellectual power originating in knowledge acquired especially at the University of Padua, that not only provided him with an advanced education in medicine but also made it possible for him to engage in the vibrant northern Italian humanism of the mid-century. Academic authority characterized his mentor, cousin Hermann, also a medical doctor with a degree from Padua, who not only sent him to Italy but also entrusted to him an important part of his library, making Hartmann into a link between the Paduan heritage and Transalpine Europe. Hermann's inheritance was to be carefully preserved and developed by Hartmann, who had the means, the culture, and the perseverance to build up a real family heirloom, one of considerable economic importance, to be passed from generation to generation.

Though Hartmann was financially independent and belonged to the upper echelons of Nuremberg society, his paratexts make it clear that developing the library was a way for him to serve God. The paratextual elements inserted into his books provide, however, not only a trace of the owner's personal interaction with the knowledge provided by them but also a means of expressing the social function of the owner as a link between cultural milieux, on the one hand, and his public role as an agent of improvement in the field of medicine, on the other. By opening up his library to scholars, Hartmann furthermore made it possible to use the texts for purposes well beyond his personal needs as a medical doctor and a humanist scholar as well as his own religious creed. Paradoxically, his heirs, through their non-compliance with Hartmann's will, further increased the impact of the library outside Nuremberg, turning it into a monument not only to Hartmann's personal, wide-ranging interests but also to the vibrant culture of early Transalpine Renaissance which was imbued with late medieval and Renaissance Italian scholarship both literary and medical.

Notes

- 1. These figures are from Beyer 2012, p. 175, who also shows that the catalogues divide the books into classes: artes/philosophia 111 volumes, studia humanitatis 251, medicina 172, leges 25, theologia 143, and sundry 86; the most extensive section is thus classical and humanistic literature.
- 2. According to Beyer 2012, p. 168, n. 20, different inventories indicate up to 788 volumes.
- 3. See Fuchs 2009, p. 149; and Beyer 2012, p. 169.
- See, most recently, Merisalo 2016, p. 822, esp. n. 2. 4.
- 5. For Hartmann's academic autobiography at the University of Leipzig, see Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 245, fols. 206r-7v.
- 6. Merisalo 2016, p. 822.
- 7. Hartmann adopted a somewhat idiosyncratic, easily recognizable all'antica hand during his Paduan stay: see Merisalo 2014, pp. 123-24.
- 8. Merisalo 2016, p. 822. Hartmann also copied a text specifically concerned with the dimensions of the restored ancient capitals, now in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 961, detached from a heterogeneous volume in the nineteenth century: see Stauber 1908, p. 177.
- 9. Merisalo 2016, p. 823; for more details, see Stauber 1908, p. 4, in particular n. 1.
- 10. Stauber 1908, p. 5; and Wendehorst 2017, pp. 1317–18.
- Some of Hermann's volumes went to monasteries in Nuremberg and Amberg: see 11. Stauber 1908, p. 36.
- 12. Stauber 1908, p. 257.
- 13. See Merisalo 2017.
- Hartmann seems to have made altogether six catalogues of his collection: see Fuchs 14. 2014, p. 159. For details on the volumes currently known to exist, see Merisalo 2017.
- See Merisalo 2017. 15.

- 16. For the estimate, see Stauber 1908, p. 147. For nineteenth-century developments, see Fuchs 2009, p. 148; and Wagner 2014, pp. 139-40.
- A peritext is Genette's term for a paratextual element "around the text and either within 17. the same volume or at a more respectful (or more prudent) distance:" see Genette 1997.
- 18. Both the Latin text and the German version, Buch der Cronicken, were printed at Nuremberg by the press of Anton Koberger in 1493 at the expense of the author. The work is famous for its important program of wood-cuttings, among others.
- 19. For the history of Humanist epigraphy, see, for example, Zamponi 2010.
- I shall here leave aside the texts of the great dynastic volume Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 20. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Germ. fol. 447, a copy made in 1552 of the Schedel family book, a volume containing information on the genealogy, coat of arms, and so on of the Schedels.
- 21. In the account (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 245, fols. 206r–7v) of his studies at Leipzig, "almum gymnasium lipczense" (the bounteous high-school of Leipzig), between 1456 and 1463, he states on fol. 207v: "Considerans aut(em) Debilitatem corporis ac varias mutaciones canonu(m) et verbositatem legu(m) Ad sacram medicina(m) me applicui Et ad eam alcius aquirenda(m) Reliqui studio(m) lipczense et Italia(m) petij" (Considering, however, the frailty of the body and the various mutations of the decrees and the verbosity of laws, I took up holy medicine and in order to study it in greater depth I left the University of Leipzig and went to Italy).
- All emphases in italics in quotations are my own. 22.
- 23. The volume also contains works by Bartolomeo da Santa Sofia and others. On fol. 130r there is a portrait of Santa Sofia, with an epigram.
- 24. For these translations of Galen, see, for example, Nutton and Bos 2011, pp. 31 and 94.
- 25. See Merisalo 2017.
- 26. Stauber 1908, p. 100.