APPENDIX III

COGNITIO SVI, COGNITIO DEI AS THE RATIONALE OF ANATOMY

A. SYNOPSIS

0 1532 prelude: François Rabelais, Lyons

1 1536 N. Massa, Venice

2 1539–1663 anatomical broadsheets, Venice, Paris etc.

3 1540 L. Vasse, Paris

4 1543 A. Vesalius, Padua via Basle

5 1545, 1559 T. Geminus, London

6 1555 T. Geminus, London

7 c. 1559? anatomical broadsheet, London (Fig. 10)

8 1572 V. Coiter, Nuremberg

9 1585 S. Alberti, Wittenberg (Pl. 31)

10 1588 J. Boeckel, Helmstedt

11 1589–1661 A. Laurentius, Paris

12 1590–1621 C. Bauhin, Basle

13 1593 J. Posthius, Heidelberg via Frankfurt

14 1609–17 P. Paaw, Leiden (Pl. 8)

15 1611 C. Bartholin, Wittenberg (Pl. 32)

16 1615 H. Crooke, London, after Laurentius

17 1626 J. Riolan, Paris (Pl. 33)

18 1627 J. Riolan, Paris

19 1628, 1633 O. Fialetti, Venice (Pl. 34)

20 1630 J. Owen, Leiden and Amsterdam

21 1633 R. Descartes, Amsterdam

22 1634 J. van Beverwijck, Dordrecht

23 1634 J.v.d. Gracht, the Hague, after Laurentius

24 1636, 1638 W.v.d. Straaten, Utrecht

25 1639 C. Barlaeus, Amsterdam, after N. Tulp

26 1645 after Fialetti, Amsterdam (Pl. 34)

27 1645 C. Barlaeus, Amsterdam

28 1646 J. Hoppius, Leipzig
Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

cognitio sui

| 29 | 1647–8 | R. Descartes, Egmond, N.-Holland |
|----|--------|---------------------------------|
| 30 | 1650, 1662 | M. Hoffmann, Altdorf |
| 31 | 1658, 1679 | F. Sylvius, Leiden and Amsterdam |
| 32 | 1660 | M. Bogdanus, Berne |
| 33 | 1666 | G. Blasius, Amsterdam (Pl. 35) |
| 34 | 1668 | H. S. Schilling, Dresden (Pl. 36) |
| 35 | 1670/1680 | J. B. Bossuet, Paris |
| 36 | 1672 | P. Barbette, Amsterdam via Leiden |
| 37 | 1683 | G. Franck, Heidelberg |
| 38 | 1686 | A. Everardus, Leiden |
| 39 | 1688 | S. Blankaart, Amsterdam (Pl. 37) |
| 40 | 1690 | A. Nuck, Leiden (Fig. 11) |

proposed addenda

| 16.1 | 1619 | S. Egbertsz., Amsterdam (Pl. 5) |
| 16.2 | 1625 | J. Fonteyn, Amsterdam (Pl. 6) |
| 20.1 | 1632 | N. Tulp. Amsterdam (Pl. 1) |

B. TEXTS

0 François Rabelais, Pantagruel, Lyons, 1532 (ed. V. L. Saulnier, Geneva, 1965).

Chapter VII contains Gargantua’s letter to his son Pantagruel, a student at the university of Paris. After recommending the study of the liberal arts and natural sciences, Gargantua proceeds (p. 46): “Puis soingneusement revisite les livres des médecins, Grecz, Arabes, et Latins, sans contemner les Thalmudistes et Cabalistes: et, par fréquentes anatomies, acquiers-toy parfaicte congoissance de l’autre monde, qui est l’homme.”

A. F. Le Double, in his book Rabelais anatomiste et physiologiste, Paris, Leroux, 1899, pp. 30–31, regarded this last sentence as equivalent to γνῶθι σεαυτόν or congois-toy toy-mesme, but it must be admitted that Rabelais does not here explicitly refer to the proverb. Nevertheless, the passage indicates how the anatomical application of the proverb may have come into being: “know the microcosm” meant “know thyself”. This connexion is explicit in nos. 8, 10, 11e-e, 16, 17, 24, 34, and 36 of this appendix.

1 Nicolaus Massa, Liber introductorius anatomiae . . . opus sane tam medicis quam philosophis perutile, ut studiosis lectoribus patebit, Venice, 1536. ‘Prooemium totius operis’, cap. 1, fol. 3’:

Quales gratias Deo optimo, maximoque adiutorii ac protectori meo agere debeam, debeantque philoso-
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phi, ac maxime qui medicinam profitentur, si corporis humani particulas omnes sensu noscunt, nequaquam (ut aiunt) lingua dicere, aut calamo scribere possum. Neque mireris, magnifice ac doctissime Hieronyme, si talibus te affari incipio, cum pauci admodum sint, qui anatomiae hac tempestate student, et si tam utilis et necessaria philosophis ac pariter medicis sit, age quod etiam & idiotis pulcherrimum ornamentum esset, si seipsum cognoscerent, cum homo a natura ultimus intentus vltimam naturae perfectionem ostendat; quare docte sapiens ille Graecus dicebat, Nosce teipsum. Deo igitur benedicto una mecum gratias agere non desinas, misericordia cuius te philosophum me duce de corporis humani partibus its doctum fecisti vt inuidere nemini nostrae aetatis te oporteat.

2 An anonymous text published in anatomical fugitive sheets from c. 1539 onwards.

Vetus dictum est, atque id non ab homine, sed a Deo profectum, Nosce teipsum, quo mihi nihil aliud praecipuum esse uidetur, atque admirandum corporis humani compagem, numerum, ordinem, positum uscervum, eorurnque officia subinde contemplanda. Haec enim exacte nouisse non medicorum duntaxat interest, sed et omnium quibus in animo est, diuini opificii miranda consilia, factaque perlustrare. Neque ulium studium sanctius esse poterit, quam si homo in sese descendere tentet, ut cognoscre tandem discat, extra animam nihil inesse homini, quo praec aeris animantibus in fastum & superbiam sese erigat & extollat. Hac de caussa, humana uscera, quatenus fieri potuit, in hac tabella expressimus, quo illis qui haec in mortuorum corporibus inadaguerer, memrionem reficaremus, eos autem qui non admodum erga tam nobiliem contemplationem affecti sunt, ad amorem anatomices stimularemus.

The text given here is edited from the broadsheet published in Venice in 1539 by Gianantonio de Nicolinis de Sabio and Giambattista Pederzani, which may have been the editio princeps. In the same year it was reprinted in Paris by Jean Ruelle, with a minor alteration: quam ad admirandum instead of atque admirandum in the first sentence. French translations are found in broadsheets published at Antwerp by Silvestre de Paris, and at Paris by A. de Mattoniere: neither is dated, but both are of the sixteenth century. A German translation exists in a sheet of unknown place and date. There is an Italian translation in Il vero disegno dell'interiori del corpo humano, Milan, 1663, a broadsheet edited by one Antonio Moneta, "Barbiero, & Professore di Chirurgia". Other editions of the text are known. These broadsheets must have been chiefly responsible for the diffusion throughout Europe of the anatomical application of "know thyself".

3 Lodovicus Vassaeus (Loys Vasse), In anatomen corporis humani tabulae quatuor, Paris, 1540. 'Lodoicu Vassaeus lectori', fol. A3:

... Nam si absque anatome manca est erudito, si ad vitam recte instituentum praecipuuum est seipsum nosse, cum omnium optime Galenus humanae naturae rationem ac scientiam tradiderit, vt velut in speculo teipsum contemplari liceat, non visus sum mihi melius laborem meum collocare posse quam in ea re, quae iure optimo omnium praestantissimam haberi debeat.

224 English translation in Lind, op. cit., note 222 above, pp. 174–175.
225 The only recorded copy belongs to Messrs E. P. Goldschmidt of London, who have published it in their catalogues no. 127 (1963), pp. 66–67, item 210, and no. 160 (1980), colour plates pp. VI–VII, description p. 76, item 251.
226 Copy in the library of the Wellcome Institute, London (no. 288.3).
227 The only recorded copy is in the library of Mons University, Belgium: it has been published by E. Cockx-Indestege, 'Twee anatomische planodrukken . . .', Scientiarum historia, 1971, 13: 92–102. The text varies greatly from that of the 1539 editions.
228 Copy in the library of the Wellcome Institute, London (no. 292.8).
229 The only recorded copy is in the library of the Medical Center, University of Michigan: it has been published by L. H. Wells, 'A remarkable pair of anatomical fugitive sheets . . .', Bull. Hist. Med., 1964, 38: 470–476, figs. 1–2.
230 Copy in the library of the Wellcome Institute, London.
Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

This passage is also found in the Venice edition of 1549 (p. 9). In the French translation published at Lyons in 1547, Vasse's preface is replaced by one by the translator, Jean Canappe.

4 Andreas Vesalius, De humani corporis fabrica, Basle, 1543. 'Ad diuum Carolum quintum . . . imperatorem, Andreae Vesalii . . . praefatio', excerpt, fol. 4r:

Quamuis augurer, ex uniuersa Apollinea disciplina, adeoque tota naturali philosophia, nihil tuae Maiestati gratius acceptiusque procudi posse, historia, qua corpus & animum, ac praeterea diuinum quoddam numerum ex utriusque symphonia, & nosmetipsos denique (quod uere hominis est) cognoscimus.

5a Thomas Geminus, Compendiosa totius anatomie delineatio, London, 1545. Dedication to King Henry VIII, fol. 2r:

Quare ad meam Anatomen redeo, ad eamque reuertor, quae inanimatas licet hominis effigies proponat, tamen uiui praeceptoris munere fungitur, docetque quemlibet, qui sui est studiosus, seipsum penitus cognoscere . . . [verso] si caelitus descendit mundi meus, id est nosce teipsum: quis tam erit stolidus qui hoc exercitium diuinum, coeleste & necessarium esse neget? Per hoc enim homo sui corporis compagmen intelligens, etiam in perfectione sui noticiam ducit, inque seipsum descendit.

5b Thomas Geminus, Compendiosa totius anatomie delineatio, London, 1559. Dedication to Queen Elizabeth I, fol. 1r:

. . . Forasmuch as holye scripture bearing wyttenesse (most honorable Princessse) it pleased the only and almyghtye God to create man to the similitude of his lykenes, not only in spirite resembling the deitye of the eternall father, but also in bodie bearying the shape of Christes our God and sauioure whose humane nature is noe inseparably unite wyth the fathers deiyte . . . me thinketh doubletes that this well considered, we can no wayes come sooner to the knowledge of God, then first to learne to knowe our selues . . . [verso] . . . So that, who so in all partes learneth to knowe himselfe, may therby come to no smale knowledge of God and all his creatures. Worthy therfore as a holy oracle was written over the doore of the temple of Apollo in Delphis. NOSCE TEIPSVM. And Thales the philosopher demaunded what thynge was hardest to be done, to knowe thyselfe quod he. Whiche as it is moste harde, so is it most worthy. Also Demonas demaunded when he first profited in the studie of philosophie, then (quod he) when I began to know my selfe. . . .

6 Joannes Lygaeus, De humani corporis harmonia libri IIII, Paris, 1555. Dedication, excerpt, fol. 2r:

Caeterum operis utilitas minime obscura: quandoquidem corporis humani cognitio cum ad ualetudinem tuendam, tum ad regendos mores, & et ad multas res maximas in uita iudicandas, plurimum conduct.

The dedication and foreword are dated Bar-sur-Aube, 1554.

7 Anon., Perutilis anatomes interiorium muliebris partium cognitio ac earundem situs, figura, numerus, positio, haud iniuicunda cognititu, London, [c. 1559].

The right half of an anatomical broadsheet with two figures in woodcut, male on the

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231 English translation in C. D. O'Malley, Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, p. 323.

232 Copy in the library of the Wellcome Institute, London (no. 296.15).
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left (signed “R. S.”), female on the right. The female holds a tablet inscribed “Nosce te ipsum. Knowethy sel’’. See Fig. 10.

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Figure 10. “R.S.”, anatomical figures, woodcut for an anatomical broadsheet, English, mid-sixteenth century.

8 Volcher Coiter, Externarum et internarum principalium humani corporis partium tabulae, Nuremberg, 1572. Dedication to town council of Nuremberg, fol. A2½.

... scientiam hanc diuinam, quae totius mundi epitomen summique Dei incomparabilem et incomprehensiabilem sapientiam, et nostri ipsorum cognitionem complectitur ....

[Fol. AA2½]: Cap. tertium [i.e. quartum] de anatomiae utilitatis. Anatomiae utilitates ... variae & plurimae sunt. Vtis est in primis philosophis, quatenus ipsi hanc per se adament artem tum quoad artificium naturae in qualibet animalis parte probe esse expressum demonstrare conentur. Medicis haec ars ita necessaria existit, vt .... Tertio vtis est theologis, jurispruditis, historicis, poetis, denique omnibus, qui eruditionis ac sapientiae laudem affectant: nam anatome scientiae verae dux est aditumque ad Dei O.M. omnipotentiam ac iustitiam, quibus in construendis & formandis animantum corporibus vsus est, praebet. Cum usquam certius, quam in humani corporis structura sese expresserit summii creatoris prouidentia, hoc nomine potissimum anatomes studium nobis commendatum atque gratum esse debet, primo enim aditu, nos in Dei cognitionem adducit rapitque.
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Adijciatis vilitatem insignem quam vnumisque inde percipit, cum hac in suimet ipsius cognitionem adducitur. Omitto hic breuitatis gratia vtilitates quas inde milites, pictores, & sculptores hauriunt . . . .

9 Salomon Alberti, Historia plerarunque partium humani corporis, Wittenberg, 1585.
A woodcut on the title-page of this anatomy-book represents a skull with an hourglass and a snake, surmounted by the legend ΙΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ. See Pl. 31.

10 Johannes Bokelius (Boeckel), Anatome vel descriptio partium humani corporis, vt ea in Academia fulia, quae est Helmsteti, singulis annis publicè praelegi, ac administrari solet, Helmstedt, 1588. 'Dedicatio', fol. A3:

Conuincimur enim ex contemplatione fabricae huui, partiumque omnium vsu, diuinum fuissse huius operis Architectum, qui singulari, & sapientia, & arte insigni omnes particulam ita efformauit, & dispositit, vt aptius & praeclarius, vsuique accommodatius inueniri, & excogitati potiisset nihil.
Si quis est muni ornatus, & vtilitas, vt profecto est maxima, praeest sane his omnibus humanum corpus quod propterea μικροσαμων nominarunt veteres sapientes, quod in vnum hominem, totius mundi elegantiam, ornatum ac sapientiam concluserit DEVS optimus maximus. Quis igitur hoc opus non admiretur? . . . .
Etenim aliarum rerum contemplationem operam dare, sui autem ipsius nullam habere noticiam, aut se ipsum ignorare, turpissimum est, vt habet oraculum Delphicum, τοιωσιων ωστε quod non solum [fol. A4'] ethice, sed et physice intelligendum esse arbitrator. Docet enim nos ipsa corporis structura, de humanae naturae fragilitate quam leui momento homo, animal excellentissimum in grauissimos incidat morbos, si corporis neglegentior fuerit, quos maximos etiam vt saepius noticia sui facile euitare, ita in eodem neglegentia sui incurrere in proclii est . . . .

11a Andreas Laurentius (André Dulaurens), Historia anatomica humani corporis, Paris, 1589. Not seen. Presumably the first edition of no. 11b below.

11b A. Laurentius, Opera anatomica, 2nd edition, Hanau, 1595. 'In laudem authoris [Laurentii] et operis carmen ad Ioan. Amatum Chauigneum', fol. *4:

Si quod ab aethereo diuinitus illud Olymo
Descendisse ferunt memorabile τοιωσιων ωστε . . .
Internam fabricam ac externam nouerit omnen
Eiusdem methodo expediens breuiores recessus,
Dicitur is vere numquid cognoscere seipsum? . . .

The writer's name appears at the end of the poem in the form 'Ianus Emichoenus Alvernus'.

['Praefatio', p. 1:] Sapienter Apollinis oraculo (vt est apud Platonem in Alcibiade) quisquis incitatur ad sui cognitionem. Qui enim seipsum norit, omnia nouerit; cum in se rerum omnium habeat simulacra. Deum in primis cognosset, quoniam ad illum imaginem est efformatus . . . .
['Primus Anatomes fructus sui cognitio', p. 7:] At sui ipsius cognitioni, vt pulcerrima, ita & difficillima . . . . [p. 8] Haec itaque prima esto Anatomes vitilas, hic primus illius fructus, omnibus etiam Ethnics & Atheis communis, sui ipsius, id est naturae propriae cognitioni.
['Secunda Anatomes vitilas, Dei cognitio', p. 8:] Est altera Anatomes vitilas, nobis, quibus Euangelicae legis splendor affulsit, peculiaris Dei immortalis cognitioni . . . . [p. 9] Ad Dei igitur, & cui ipsius notitiam omnibus vitis est Anatomie.

11c-e A. Laurentius, Historia anatomica humani corporis, Frankfurt a.M., 1599 and 1600, and Paris, 1600.

In the 1599 edition, lib. I, cap. v, 'Quam sit vtilis Anatome ad sui cognitionem' is on
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... and cap. vi, ‘Quam sit utileis Anatome ad Dei cognitionem’ on pp. 8–9. English translation in no. 16 below.

11f André Dulaurens, *Toutes les œuvres*, transl. by Théophile Gelée, Rouen, 1661.
This late edition of Laurentius’s anatomical writings presents a French translation of the chapter on cognition sui on pp. 8–10, and of the chapter on cognition Dei on pp. 10–11.

12a Caspar Bauhin, *De corporis humani fabrica: libri IIII. Methodo anatomica in praelectionibus publicis proposita: ad And. Vesaliij tabulas instituta: sectionibusque publicis & privatis, comprobata*, Basle, 1590. Epistola deductoria, fol. α 2v:

... Legimus quin etiam & reges & principes adeouisse anatomes studiosos, vt Aegyptorum reges suis manibus, non solum mortuorum cadauera, sed & viuorum corpora, nacentium tamen, dissecare non abhorruerint, quo abditor morborum causas perscrutarentur: ali vero, vt seipso agnoscerent. Quid enim in hac vita praestantius, quam, considerationi & contemplationi naturae suae incumbere, corporis sui [fol. α 3r] fabricam intro aspicere, membrorum ac viscerum miras & artificiosas actiones, ad quas obedienta condita sunt & ordina omnia, considerare? Haeque iam cognita animo nobiscent voluentes & agiantes, sapientiam & prouidentiam Archetypi nostri ratiocinari & contemplari? Hinc sane praecessum illud *προσαέτως* natum esse videtur ... Hoc apophthegma, etsi a plerisque ἰδιαίκοι ad mediocratias commendatio-[fol. α 3v]-nem referatur, prima tamen fronte, magis a corpore quam ab animo, deductum & natum videtur. A qua sententia, neque adeo eloquentiae parent Cicero ad Q. fratrem, abhorret: Et illud, inquit, ἰδιαίκοι, noli putare ad arrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam, vt bona nostra norimus. Hic bona corporis magis quam animi, oratorem intellexisse credimus. Atque hoc sibi Pallade epigramma voluit ... [Anth. pal. X. 349] ... [fol. α 4r] Sic appareat, veteres hoc dicto vsos, vt quemlibet admodum, saum ipsius naturam vt perverseret. Quid enim philosopho, quid inquam medico turpius, quam in seipso suas partes & membra, earumque compositionem ignorare? præsertim vero, cum corpus nostrum ex summa prouidentia & sapientia Archetypi & Protoplastis nostri ter Opt. terque Maximi; ad similitudinem mundi sit efformatum.

12b Caspar Bauhin, *Theatrum anatomicum*, Frankfurt a. M., 1605. Excerpt, fol. b 4r:

Profecto hoc est illud ἰδιαίκοι, quod Socrates, si Platonis credimus, de coelo traxit, & e quo descendisse aperte fateretur huanenas. Referat nunc qui volet cum Cicero ἰδιαίκοι οἱ δέ ad modestiae mediocratissime commendationem, aut ad ipsam ergastulis animae nostrae attentam & philosophicum inspectionem, semper tamen eo reedit.

Reprinted unchanged in the 1621 edition, fol. b 3r.

13 Johannes Posthuis, *Observationes anatomicae*, published in M. Realduz Columbus, *De re anatomicca*, Frankfurt a. M., 1593, pp. 496–519. Posthuis’s preface is dated Heidelberg, 1 August 1593.

[Incipit, p. 497:] ἰδιαίκοι: non solum ad animam; sed etiam ad corpus referri commode potest, ac debet. Se enim ipsum non nosse videtur, qui corporis sui fabricam non habet perspectam ... . . .

Repeated almost verbatim in an anatomy lecture given at Aberdeen in 1619/20.

14 The following documents attest that nosce teipsum was used as a motto for anatomy by Pieter Paaw (1564–1617), professor of anatomy at Leiden.

233 Aberdeen University Library MS 150, published in translation by R. K. French, *Anatomical education in a Scottish university*, 1620, Aberdeen, Equiress, 1975.

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Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

14a Engraving, anonymous after Jan Cornelisz. van 't Woudt (Woudanus), published at Leiden by Jacob Marcius, 1609 (Pl. 8).

14b Engraving by Willem Swanenburgh after Jan Cornelisz. van 't Woudt (Woudanus), published at Leiden by Andries Clouck, 1610.234 These two engravings after two different drawings by Woudanus show the anatomy-theatre of Leiden university and the collection of skeletons which was exhibited in it during the summer. In each picture, six skeletons bearing pennants stand around the circumference of the hall. One pennant in each engraving is inscribed with the phrase nosce teipsum. For the other inscriptions see Appendix V no. 18a, p. 96 below. The anatomy-theatre was designed, administered, and used by Pieter Paaw.

14c P. Scriverius (Schrijver), In theatrum anatomicum, quod est Lugduni in Batavis, secante et perorante V.C. Petro Paui med. botanico & anatomico præstantissimo, 1615, text to an engraving by A. Stock after J. de Gheyn II, showing P. Paaw dissecting, headed Theatri anatomici academiae lugduno-batavae delineatio, issued by "Petrus Paaw amsteldamensis" and dedicated by him to the government of the city of Leiden, [Leiden 1615].235 Excerpt, vv. 61–2:

Hic, hic disce mori, viator, & te
nosse ante omnia disce, disce quid sis . . . .

For the context of these verses see Appendix V no. 18b, p. 97 below.

14d P. Bertius, poem dedicated to P. Paaw, published in Paaw’s Primitiae anatomicae. De humani corporis ossibus, Leiden, 1615, fol. **1v. The poem ends:

Debemos cuncti merito tibi: te duce namque
noscere jam nostras coepimus exuvias.

14e H. Delmanhorstius, Adorea osteologiae, a poem dedicated to P. Paaw, published in the same book. Excerpt, fol. **3v:

... virumque cano, cui se sublime Theatrum
(mystica quo Batavis primum sapientia Athenis
intellecta senis Spartani, NOSCERE SE IPSVM)
Lugdunense ANA se TOMICVM, sanctum Amphitheatrum
obtulit acceptum . . . .

14f Henricus Florentius, In osteologiam . . . Petri Paawi, published in the same book. Excerpt, fol. **4v:

En tibi rimatur causas subtiliter, et te
non modo mirari, sed quoque scire docet.

234 No. 14a, the 1609 engraving (Cetto no. 301), is often attributed to Bartholomaeus Dolendo, e.g. by Cetto, p. 345. It was later re-engraved by F. de Wit (Heckscher, pl. XXXIII-40). No. 14b is Cetto no. 302.

235 The poem and the engraving were separately reprinted in P. Paaw, Succenturiatus anatomicus, Leiden, 1616. The broadsheet is reproduced in Cetto no. 307 (much reduced) and in J. E. Kroon, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het geneeskundig onderwijs aan de Leidsche universiteit 1575–1625, Leiden, S. C. van Doesburgh, 1911, f.p. 50.

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15 Caspar Bartholin, Anatomicae institutiones corporis humani, [Wittenberg], 1611.
A device on the title-page illustrates nosce teipsum (Pl. 32).

[Prooemium, p. 1] ... humani corporis structuram potissimum rimari solemus 1. Ob perfectionem maximam, quae regula est imperfectionis. 2. Quia animalia varia innumeris fere sunt, ut ipsis secundis & rimandis humana aetas his saeculis non sufficit. 3. Ob usum incredibilem ad neminem non redundantem, qui sepism & proprium edificium perno-[p. 2]-scere cupit . . . .

This passage was reprinted unchanged in the Leiden 1641 edition (p. 1).

16 Helkiah Crooke, Микрокосмография: a description of the body of man . . . collected and translated out of all the best authors of anatomy, especially out of Gasper Bauhinus and Andreas Laurentius, London, 1615. The following excerpts are translated from Laurentius (nos. 11c-e above).

[Book I, chap. 5, p. 12]: How profitable and behooueful anatomy is to the knowledge of mans selfe.
Seeing then that man is a little world, and containes in himselfe the seeds of all those things which are contained in the most spacious and ample bosom of this whole vniverse . . . whosoever dooth well know himselfe, knoweth all things, seeing in himselfe he hath the resemblances and representations of all things. First, he shall know God, because hee is fashioned and framed according to his Image, by reason whereof, hee is called among the diuines, the royall and imperiiall temple of God . . . .

Wisely therefore did the oracle of Apollo, incite and stirre vp every man to the knowledge of himselfe, as Plato hath it in his Alcibiad. This by the judgement and consent of all men, is true and sound philosophy. For Demonax being asked, When he beganne to professe philosophy, made answere, When I began to know my selfe. Socrates held it the next point to fury and madnesse, to enquire into high matters, and to search into strange and vncouth businesses, and bee ignorant in the meane while of those things that bee in our selues. This preposterous skill was once very merrily and wittily by an old wife cast in the teeth of Thales the philosopher of Miletum; who as he inconsiderately cast vp his eyes to behold the heauens, fell into a pit; the old wife cried out, Thou foole, thou priest into matters that are aboue thee, & art ignorant of those things that are below thee, nay even within thee. Surely it was a worthy speech, and not beseeeming an old beldame but a philosopher. But this same knowledge of a mans selfe, as it is a very glorious thing, so it is also very hard and difficult. And yet by the dissection of the body, and by anatomy, wee shall easily attaine vnto this knowledge. For seeing the soule of man being cast into this prison of the body, cannot discharge her offices and functions without a corporeall organ or instrument of the body; whosoever will attaine vnto the knowledge of the soule, it is necessarie that hee know the frame and composition of the body.

After this manner, Democritus of Abdera, that he might finde out the seate of anger and melancholy, cut in peeces the bodies of beasts, and when he was taxed of the citizens for madnesse in so doing, he was by the censure and determination of Hippocrates, adiudged to [p. 13] be very wise and prudent. Go too then, is not he saide to know himselfe, who can tell how to temper and order the state and condition of his minde, howe to appease those ciuill tumults within himselfe, by the storms and waues whereof he is pittifullly tossed, and how to suppress and appease those varieties of passions wherewith it were with so manie furies he is vexed and tormentet? But all this anatomy doth verie plainly teach vs. For he that seeth and observeth the whole body, which by the structure and putting together of sundry parts of diuers sorts and kinds, is (as it were) manifold & full of variety, to be made one by the continuation and ioyning of those parts; he that considereth the admirable sympathy of the parts, their mutuell consent and agreement, their common offices, or officiall administrations one for the helpe of another, how they make not any couetous reservation to themselves, but do freely communicate each with other; such a man no doubt will so moderate and order the conditions and affections of his minde, as all things shall accord and ioyn in a mutuall agreement, and the inferiors shall obey the superiors, the passions obey the rule of right reason. He that shall diligently weigh and consider the use of every part, the fashion, scituation, and admirable workemanship of them all, as also, the organs and instruments of the outward senses, he shall easily perceiue how and after what manner he is to make use of every part; then which thing, what can be more excellent, what more profitable?

. . . If you looke into the seats and residence of the faculties of the minde, you shall finde the rational faculty in the highest place, namely in the brain, compassed in on every side with a scull; the faculty of anger, in the heart; the faculty of lust or desire in the liuer: & therefore we may gather these lower and inferiour faculties, must bee serviceable and obedient to the higher, as to the queene and prince of them
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all. And if both princes and peasants would weigh and consider the mutual offices betweene the principall and the ignoble parts, princes might understand how to rule, and peasants how to obey. Princes may learme of the braine how to make lawes, to gouerne their people; of the heart, how to preserve the life, health, and safety of their citizens; of the liuer, they may learn bounty and liberality. For the braine sitting in the highest place, as it were in a tribunall, distribueth to every organ or instrument of the senses, offices of dignity: the heart like a king maintaineith and cherrisheth with his lively and quickning heathe, the life of all the partes: the liuer the fountaine and well-spring of most beneficall humidity or juice, nouriseth and feedeth the whole family of the bodie, and that at her owne proper costs and charges, like most a bountifull prince. As for the meainer sort of people, they may easilie understand by the ministering and seruile organs, what bee the limits of service and subjection. For the parts that are in the lower bellie do all servse the liuer; the stomacke dooth concoct the meate, the guts distribute and diuide it, the veines of the mesentarie prepare it; the bladder of gall, the milk and the reines, do purge and cleanse the princely pallace, & thrust as it were out of the kitchin, downe the sinke, all the filth and garbage. The parts that are included within the chest, do servse the heart; those that are in the head, do attend the braine, and so each to others, doe affoord their mutuell services. And if any one of them do at any time faile of their duty, presently the whole household government goes to ruine and decay.

... So that anatomy is as it were a most certaine and sure guide to the admirable and most excellent knowledge [p. 14] of our selves... and so much shall suffice for the first profit and commodity that wee may reape by anatomy.

[Book I, chap. 6, p. 14]: How profitable and helpefull anatomy is to the knowledge of God. It is no doubt an excellent thing for a man to attaine to the knowledge of himselfe, which thing anatomy and dissection of bodies doth teach vs, and as it were point out vnto vs with the finger; but there is another farre more diuine and vsefull profit of anatomy then the former, proper and peculiar to vs to whom the light of the gospell hath shined, namely the knowledge of the immortall God. That high Father and creator of all things... cannot be knowne but by his effects; and all the knowledge of God that can be had, must be derived not a priori, but a posteriori, not from any cause or matter preceding, but from the effects and thinges subsequent.

... Who is it therefore, that will not honor, reuere, and admire the author and workeman of so great a worke, if he do attentively advise with himselfe, how wonderfull the fabricke and structure of mans body is? ... by the view of anatomicall dissection, we see and are able to distinguish the variable and divers motions of mans body, and those also very strange, and sometime vncoth.

Some of the ancient writers, haue dignified the frame of mans body with the name & title of the Booke of God. For indeede, in all men there appeareth certaine sparkes of a naturall diuinity, or diuine nature; as Heraclitus witnesseth, who sitting in a bakers shop, and perceiuing some of his auditors which desired to speake with him, would not come vnto him into so homely a place, Come in (saith he) for euon heere there be gods also. Iouis omnia plena. All things (saith the poet) are full of Jupiter. For euen in the smallest and most contemptible creature, there is matter enough of admiration; but yet in the frame of mans body, there is (I know not what) something more diuine, as wherein appeareth not onely the admirable power of God, but his wisdome euon past all beleefe, and his infinite and particular goodness and bounty to man.

For his power, it is not onely visible but palpable also, in that of so small a quantitie of seede, the parts whereof seems to be all homogenie or of one kinde; and of a few drops of blood, he hath framed so many and so divers particles, about two hundred bones, cartilages yet more, many more ligaments, a number of membranes numberlesse, the pipes [p. 15] or trunkes of the arteries, millions of veins, sinnewes more than thirty paire, muscles almost foure hundred; and to conclude, all the bowels and inward parts. His incredible wisdome appeareth in the admirable contabulation or composition of the whole, made of so many parts, vs vnlike one to another. Enter thou whosoeuer thou art (though thou be an atheist, and acknowledgeth no god at all,) enter I beseech thee, into the sacred tower of Pallas, I mean the braine of man, and behold and admire the pillars and arched cloysters [concamerata inolucra = membranes] of that principely pallace, the huge greatness of that stately building, the pedistals or bases, the porches [rufficentia atria] & goodly frontispice, the 4. arched chambers [sinus quatuor = ventricles], the bright and cleare mirrour [speculum lucidum = septum lucidum], the labyrinthian mazes and web of the small arteries [plexus arteriolarum labyrintheos = rete mirabile or choroid plexus], the admirable trainings of the veines, the draining furrowes [cerebri elices = gyri] and watercourses [aquaeductus = aqueduct], the liuing ebullitions [?] and springings vp of the sinnewes [neruorum ... scaturigines = origins of the nerves], and the wonderful fecundity of that white marrow of the back, which the wiseman in the Book of the Preacher or Ecclesiastes calleth the silver cord. From the braine, turne the eye of thy minde to the gates of the sun, and windowes of the soule, I mean the eyes... [etc. etc.]
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Lastly, the infinite goodness and bounty of God shineth in this excellent workmanship, inasmuch as he hath so well provided for all the parts, that every one hath her proper and peculiar vse, and yet all are so fitted and knit together in such an harmonie and agreement, that every one is ready to helpe another; and any one of them being ill affected, the rest are immediatly drawne to a sympathy vse and participation with it. Which society and fellowship of the parts, Hippocrates in his booke de alimento hath thus breefelye but excellentlye expressed, _σύμφωνα μία, σύμφωνα μία, συμφεδρόν κάπτα_: one agreement, one confluence, all consenting. To conclude then, these wonderfull and euer-worthy to bee admired worke of God in the composition and frame of mans bodie, are as it were dumbe schoolemaisters, the booke of vulgar diuinie, and the doctors and teachers of diuine wisedome.

17 Johannes Riulanus, _Anthropographia et osteologia_, Paris, 1626.

In some copies one finds as a frontispiece an engraving by Crispin de Passe which shows Riulan presenting to Louis XIII an open book (symbolically, the _Anthropographia_) inscribed on the recto page Honora Medicum and on the verso Γνωθι σεαυτόν: see Pl. 33.

In some copies, with or without the above-mentioned engraving, one finds as a literary equivalent a dedicatory letter “AV ROY” (fols. Al-A3'). Excerpt, p. 1:

Sire, le presente a votre Majesté, avec les submissions que doibt vn tres-humble subiet à son Roy, la nouvelle descouerue, & curieuse recherche du petit monde, qui est le corps humain, le liure de la sagesse humaine, & theologie naturelle, qui apprend à toutes personnes, se cognoiest soy-mesmes. C'estoit la seule science de lupiter, qu'il feit grauer en lettres d'or, sur le frontispice du temple d'Apollon. C'estoit la leçon qu'un page donnoit au Roy Philippe pere d'Alexandre le Grand, tous les matins à son leuer. Souuenez vous Philippe que vous este Homme . . .

[‘Humani corporis commendatio’, lib. 1, cap. i, excerpt p. 24]: Interrogatus philosophus quando coepisset philosophari, prudenter respondit, quando coepi meipsum cognoscere, _το γνώθι σεαυτόν, τον θεὸν παρήγγειλεν, καὶ ἐργῆ καὶ τέλος, πάσης ἐς τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ εὐδοκίας, inquit Simplicius. Nam in [p. 25] humani corporis cognitione humanae diuinæque philosophiae principium continetur, si Daemonici philosopho credimus, imo culmen & perfectio, vt elegantì gradatione declarat Agapetus ad Iustinianum, qui se nout Deum noscet, Deum noscens, Deo assimilatur, assimilatur qui Deo dignus erit, dignus erit qui nihil Deo indignum admittit, sed cogitatio loquitur, et quae cogitat loquitur facit, vberimiuex sui cognitione fractus, quem ex anatome comparare & possidere licebat . . .

Quod autem nobis aperit & ostendit admirabilem nostri corporis structuram, simulque nos ad Dei summi opificis cultum & venerationem excitat & inducit, Anatomie censetur; quae nihil est aliquid quam humanae diuinæque sapientiae theatrum, lucidissimum speculum, quo nos Deumque intuemur . . . Propter ea non puduit Christianos theologiae, Lactantium, Ambrosium, Basilium, Chrysostomum, Theodoretum, diuinæ prudentiæ validiora argumenta ex nostri corporis fabricatione depromere; nam Deum qui vult nosse, seipsum vt cognoscat necessarium est, inquit D. Chrysostomus, si quidem accurata nostri corporis speculatio; sufficienter te manu deducet ad Dei cognitionem, vt eleanor D. Basilius adiunxit.

‘Index capitum’, fol. 91: “Finis anatomes explicatur. Caput XV. Pag. 85. Ad Dei summi Opificis cognitionem cultum & maiorem venerationem, p. 85. Ad sui cognitionem, p. 86 . . .”. This chapter (lib. I, cap. xv) repeats the arguments quoted above from pp. 24–25 of the book.

18 Adrianus Spigelius (van den Spiegel), _De humani corporis fabrica, libri decem_, with engravings after dissections by Julius Casserius, Venice, 1627.

The engraved title-page, designed by the painter Odoardo Fialetti, shows at the top three female figures who personify Diligentia (left), Ingenium (right), and Anatomia (centre). Anatomia holds a mirror and a skull, emblems for “know thyself”.236 The detail is reproduced in Pl. 34.

236 Cf. Appendix V section III, pp. 98–102 below.
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19  John Owen, Epigrammatum libri tres in his Epigrammatum editio postrema, Leiden, 1628. Lib. I, ep. 79, p. 176:

Nosce teipsum
Ethica jungantur physicae, te noscere si vis,
haec docet anatomen corporis, illa animae.237

There are dozens of editions; an Amsterdam edition was issued in 1633. In 1661, the present epigram was written by an anatomy-student at Edinburgh at the end of his lecture-notes on Laurentius (no. 11 above).238

20  René Descartes, letter to M. Mersenne, Amsterdam 15 April 1630, in Descartes’ Oeuvres, ed. Ch. Adam and P. Tannery, vol. 1, Paris, J. Vrin, 1974, letter no. XXI. Excerpts, p. 137:

l’estudie maintenant en chymie & en anatomie tout ensemble, & apprenns tous les iours quelque chose que je ne trouve pas dedans les liures . . . [p. 144] . . . Or l’estime que tous ceus a qui Dieu a donné l’usage de ceste raison, sont obligés de l’employer principalement pour tascher a le connoistre, & a se connoistre eus-mesme. C’est par la que i’ ay tasché de commencer mes estudes; et ie vous diray que ie n’eusse sceu trouver les fondemans de la Physique, si ie ne les eusse cherché par cete voye.

The “liures” mentioned here may have included C. Bauhin, De corporis humani fabrica: libri III (no. 12a above), which Descartes appears to have paraphrased in 1647/8 (no. 29 below).

21  Johann Rehefeld, Johannes Rehefeld . . . medicinae lycaeo hierano prof. civitatis-que erffurtinae physicus ordinarius omnibus et singulis physiologicae Γνωθί σεαυτόν artis studiosis salutem & obficia obfert, Erfurt, 1633. Excerpt, p. [3]:

Quoniam itaque D.O.M.A. in nomine Domini, proximo die lunae qui erit 14 Octobris, ad ea ipsa gressum facturus sum, atque residuala ista [p. 4] conlectanea non tantummodo verbis proponere, sed etiam corporis humani structurem ac praecipue ejusdem partes in iconibus vel tabulis anatomicae Julii Casserii, Caspari Bavhini, Vidi Vidij, Andreae Laurentij & oculariter me velle decrevi; cum ratiocinio auscultationi adjunctam ad rerum praecentum ideas haurientas ac memoriae & judicio imprimendas plus valere, experientia edoctus fuerim: hocce prius conamen candidis lectoribus, inprimis autem omnibus & singulis Γνωθί σεαυτόν Artis studiosis intimare ului . . . Deprop. è Musaeo 12 Octobr. Anno 1633.

In the British Library’s copy, both dates have been postponed by one week in a contemporary hand.

22  Johan van Beverwijck, Oratie van de nootsekelickheyt der anatomie. Ghedaen tot inleydinghe van de ontleidingh des menschelijcken lichaems op den 25 Octob. 1634, Dordrecht, 1634. Incipit, fol. A2v:

Mijn Heeren, Het is een oude ende wijs spreuke, de welcke Plato ghetyght, dat ghestelt plagh te werden voor den tempel van Apollo, als weerdighe gheacht zijnde van God ghekomen te wesen, ende de de Poëet Iuvenalis seydt dat uyt den Hemel nedergedaeits is, Kende u selven. De rijcke Koningh Croesus of Lydien quam op eenen sekeren tijdet het orakel van den selven Apollo consuleren, hoe dat hy tot de gelucksaligheyt soude komen? kreegh voor antwoort, gelijck Xenophon beschrijft, Indien ghy u selven sult kennen . . . . Ens wesen bestaet uyt ziele ende lichaeim. De nature van de ziele, seydt Hippocrates is

237  Cf. Wilkins, p. 96.
238  Cunningham, loc. cit., note 36 above, with variants jungat and animi.
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onsichtbaer: daerom en kanse niet ghekent werden, als uyt hare actien ende werckinge: die leert men door het ondersoek Ende de kennisse van al de deelen ende leden van ons lichaem, door de welcke de selfde actien ende werckinge uytgevoert werden. Willen wy dan tot kennisse van onse ziele komen, so moeten wy alvoren de kennisse van ons lichaem hebben ... [fol A2r] ... Socrates ... Demonax ... De philosooph Thales ghevraeght zijnde, wat datter swaar was? antwoorde, Syn selven te kennen ... alsoo en kan niemant oordeelen van syn lichaem, als door de anatomie, ende ontledinge van al de deelen van het selve. Waerom ook de wijsste van der werelt niet alleen van oude tijden, maer oock van deze onse eeuwe haer selven altijt neerstelijck in de anatomie geoffent [fol. A3r] hebben.

There follow passages on the uses of anatomy to the practitioner of various occupations: similar passages are found in Coiter (no. 8 above), Laurentius (nos. 11 and 16 above), and, later, van der Straaten (no. 24 below). Since both van der Straaten (n. 137 above) and Beverwijck (see below) were (like Tulp) pupils of Paaw (no. 14 above), the resemblance between their speeches may be due to the influence of either Paaw’s anatomies, or possibly Tulp’s lost inaugural speech of 1629 (see n. 190 above), or both.

Fols. A3r-B1v: the benefits of a knowledge of anatomy to theologians. A6r: “Dewijl oock het voornaemste ooghmerck van een Theologant is, den mensche te brengen tot de kennisse Gods, soo kan hem daer toe mede dienen de anatomie ...”. Fols. B1r-B2v: lawyers; B1v-B2r politicians; B2r-B5r craftsmen, architects, painters (Dürrer and Karel van Mander), sculptors, poets, physicians, surgeons, operators for bladder-stone, apothecaries, and midwives.

Fol. A5’ contains interpolated matter, not part of the speech. (Centre) emblem of Dordrecht; (above) “Ex epigrammate Isaaci Casauboni,

Ω πηγή οσφύων! Ω τόξος [sic] ἀρπαγηκέα δόντως

ην ἵππα τοῦτο σοφὸν ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΛΙΤΩΝ ἔπος.”

Below: “Juvenal. E coelo descendit γνώθι σελιτών”.

Since this edition of the speech is rare (copy in Amsterdam University library), it is convenient to reprint here from fol. B5’ the following passage which is truncated in the later editions (J. v. Beverwijck, Alle de werken, Amsterdam, 1656 and 1660, second sequence of pagination pp. 67–76; Wercken der geneeskonste, Amsterdam, 1672, third sequence of pagination pp. 3–12):

Ende, om soo verre niet te loopen [i.e. as ancient Rome], sedert de konsten ende wetenschappen hier te lande hebben beginnen te klimmen op de hooge trappen, daerse noch op vervolgen, hebben de treffelickste van ’t lante de anatomi by-gewoont, ende is ook van voorname mannen zelfs geadministreert gheweest. Gelijckse nochtanlanghs in de machtige stadt van Amsteldam [fol. B6r] gedaen is by d’Heer Doctor Sebastianus Egberti, Borgemeester aldaer, ende gecommitteerde Raedt van d’Heeren Staten van Hollant; in wiens plaetse ghelough is, ende die het huyden noch met grooten lop bekleet, d’Heer Doctor Nicolaes Tulpus Raedt ende Schepen van de selve stadt, die eerstijds met my gestuudeert heeft onder d’Heer Doctor Paaw, Professor van d’Anatomie in de Universiteit tot Leyden, voor ons beyde van seer aengename gedachtenis: Wiens ghelijckick in de administratie van d’anatomie noch binnen, noch buynen ’s landts niet gesien en hebbe. Het gene ick van deze myne goede meester, in de publike lessen, besondere collegien, ende insonderheydt in syn preperation ofte bereyden (daer toe hy mede den welgemelten Heere Tulpus ende weynigh andere admitterden) voor de publike administratie, als oock van andere buynen ’s landts, daer hy my aen recommandeerden, met aenghename moeyten, ende geen kleyne kosten van myn Ouders geheele hebbe ....

23 Jacob van der Gracht, Anatomie der wetterlicke deelen van het menschelick lichaem, the Hague, 1634. ‘Voor-reeden aan den recht-sinnigen ende konst-lustigen leser’, fol. A1r:
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Onder alle sienlijkke wercken, door de welcke den almoghenden Heer, onsen Godt, sijne ongemeiten ende oneyndelijckie wijsheyt kondigh heeft gemaekckt, niet meer te verwonderen, oft hooger te waerdere en is, als 't menschelick lichaem, tot een bequame wooning, ja heerlick tempel vor de redelick ende onsterfelick siel van hem ghesticht . . . . Andere niet minder, onder de ouderlinghen in wetenschap ver-
naemt, plachten te seggen 't ghebouw des menschelicken lichaems te wesen het alder-volmaeckste ende verhevenste boec, waer in men de onbegrijpelickie almoghenteyt, wisheyt ende goetheyt des scheppers mocht lesen. Veele daer en, boven, niet alleen onder de philosophen ende medicijnen, maer ook onder de vorsten ende prinence, regeerders des werelts, ander in vernufothayt ende verstandicheyt overtreffende, hebben sich begeven, met grooten ernst ende lust, tot een aendachtich ende rijspinnigh anmercken, ja ook ontleden der menschelick lichaemen, om door de bestandighe ende volmaeckte kennis der selve, oock meerder ende diepsinnig kennis van haren architect ofe bouw-meeester te betrachten . . . . So groot geacht ende hoch-ghwaerdeert is, eertijts geweest de anatomie oft ontledinge, ende die door haer alleen te bekom is, de grondige kennis van 't menschelick lichaem. Andreas Laurentius, Raedt de Kon-
inghs van Vranckrijk, ende sijnen ordinaris medicijn-meeester, als oock voor-leser der selve wetenschap inde wijt-vermaerde Academie van Mompelliens, in zijn Anatomique beschrijvinghe des lichaems, handelende seer aerdigh ende rijckelick alle de nuttichen deser anatomie, betoont de selve niet alleen noodigh te wesen voor natuyrlieke ende sedelickie philosophen, medicijnen, chirurgiens ende apothekers, maer ook seer dienstich voor alle schilders . . . .

The complimentary reference to Laurentius's description of “alle de nuttichen deser anatomie” refers to his Lib. I, cc. v-vi on cognitio sui and cognitio Dei (nos. 11c-
e above). These phrases are echoed in van der Gracht's earlier coupling of “de bestandighe ende volmaeckte kennis der selve [i.e. the human body], oock meerder ende diepsinnigh kennis van haren architect”.

24 Gulielmus Strateniis traiectinus (Willem van der Straaten). In susceptiam in academia patria med. pract. & anatomes professionem prologus. Recitatus XV. Kal. apr. anno MDCXXXVI, Utrecht, 1638.

This inaugural lecture in a chair of anatomy and medical practice occupies 27 pages, of which pp. 4–21 are devoted to the value of anatomy as a source of cognitio sui.

Page 3, statement of theme: “quicquid caelum, quicquid terra admiratione dignum habet, eorum omnium analogiam simul penes vos veluti in speculo con-[p. 4]-spiciatis, id operam dabo, perpensurus quam jucunda, vtilis, & necessaria sit nostri cognitio per anatomen.” Page 5, the Delphic saying “ut se ipson noscant. Quod uti fateor, non de solo corpore, verum & de anima intelligendum esse, ita & hoc velim mihi concedi, cuiuis animae cognitioni incumbenti, necesse esse, perspecta vt sit corporis structura, quod ea hujus ergastulo detenta, muneribus suis sine organo corporeo fungi nequeat;” Pages 5–10, value of anatomical cognitio sui for theologians, lawyers, philosophers; here van der Straaten borrows ideas and phrases from Laurentius (no. 11 above), without acknowledgement. Page 10, value of the same for the uneducated public, “Deus bone, quanto saepe ardoare adstant conspecturi lanienam porcorum imprims, quod horum exta quam minimum ab humanis differre credant! Quam attentas praebent aures iis qui non nisi perfunctorie & crassa Minerva de internorum viscerum natura, situ, vel actione aliquantulum effutiant.239 Millies audita est vox annuentium et assentientium istis narratiunculis, quod paria olim in hoc aut illo bruto

239 A different view was expressed by René Descartes, who went to such events “almost every day” while living in Amsterdam, 1629–30, and defended the practice with the words “ie ne croy pas qu’aucun homme d’esprit m’en puisse blâmer”: Oeuvres, ed. cit. (p. 77 above, no. 20), vol. 2, Paris, J. Vrin, 1975, letter no. CLXXVII, p. 621.
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animadverterint, quasi nimirum stupidam redoleret inscitiam, semet ipsum non nosse.”

Pages 12–17, value of anatomy for medicine; pp. 17–21 other justifications; p. 21 conclusion of this part, “Neminem, quippe, credo, asserenti jucundissimam, utilissimam, & maxime necessariam esse nostri, per anatomen, cognitionem non assensurum.”

25 C. Barlaeus, ‘In locum anatomicum recens Amstelodami exstructum’, c. 1639. Vv. 7–8: see Appendix IV, pp. 85–89 below.

26 Adrianus Spigelius et al., Opera quae extant omnia, ed. by J. A. van der Linden, Amsterdam, 1645.

The engraved title-page is a reimpersion of no. 18 above, in which the personification of Anatomia has the attributes of cognitio sui. See Pl. 34 for the relevant detail.

27 Caspar Barlaeus, ‘In anatomiam clarissimi viri Adriani Spigelii, patavini professoris’, 1645.240 Vv. 1–6:

Horrida mortalis spectacula cernite scenaes,
frustaque quies misere dilaceratur Homo.
Vita salusque istis habitant in partibus, & qua
vita hominum, sese mors quoque parte locat.
Adspice, qui temet nescis, ferae cadaver,
nexaque centenis ossibus ossa stupè ... .

28 J. Hoppius, [advertisement for an anatomy to be performed at Leipzig], Leipzig 10 March 1646. Facsimile reproduction in Heckscher, p. 12. Excerpt:

Ne autem illud pro nostris tantummodo, ad quos quidem primario spectat & pertinet ophiatria invide asseremus, consulturn fuit & omnes alios qui demonstratione & cognitione Sulipsii delectantur, in Theatrum Anatomicum admittere.

29 R. Descartes, La description du corps humain et de toutes ses fonctions, in his Oeuvres, ed. Ch. Adam and P. Tannery, vol. 11, Paris, J. Vrin, 1974. According to Ch. Adam (ibid., p. 221) Descartes composed this work at Egmond, N. Holland, in 1647/8. Preface, p. 223:

Il n’y a rien à quoy l’on se puisse occuper avec plus de fruit, qu’à tascher de se connoistre soy-mesme. Et l’utilité qu’on doit esperer de cette connoissance, ne regarde pas seulement la Morale, ainsi qu’il semble d’abord à plusieurs, mais particulierement aussi la Medecine; en laquelle je croy qu’on aurait pù trouver beaucoup de preceptes tres-assurez, tant pour guerir les maladies que pour les preuener, et mesme aussi [p. 224] pour retarder le cours de la vieillesse, si on estoit assez étudii à connoistre la nature de nostre corps ... . Au lieu que, lors que nous taschons à connoistre plus distinctement notre nature ... .

A conventional façade, possibly indebted to Bauhin, no. 12a above.

30a Moritz Hoffmann, [inscription on the inside over-door of the Altdorf anatomy-theatre, 1650], published by J. J. Baier, Biographiae professorum medicinae qui in

240 Printed on the verso of the engraved portrait of Spigelius which is found in the Amsterdam edition of his and others’ works cited in no. 26 of this appendix.
Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

academia Altorfina vnquam vixerunt, Nuremberg and Altdorf, 1728, p. 101.\textsuperscript{241}

Incipit:

QVISQVIS ES QVI TE IPSVM NOSSE AMAS
INTVS QVI ET IN CVTE SIS
HVC ADES ET STVDIIS PRAEDITVS FORTIBVS
DISSECTIONES SPECTA HVMANI CORPORSIS . . .

30b Moritz Hoffmann, Mauricius Hoffmann ad demonstrationes partium corporis humani curiose dissecti in theatro anatomico publice exhibendas medicinae atque sapientiae studiosos officiosa hac invitatione frequentes adesse jubet, Altdorf, 1662. Excerpt, p. [7]:

Quicunque igitur . . . sive medicinae [p. 8] sive sapientiae studio addicti seipsos nosse desiderant, intus & in cute, quod dicitur, qui sint, . . . animae humanae domicilium cognition habere exoptant . . . ii privatim nomina sua hora X. matut. & I. pomerid. in Theatro apud me proftibuntur, seque spectatores sanctos & attentos promittent, tesseramque introitus pro amissione quotidie ostendendam legitime comparabant . . . .

31 Franciscus (Deleboe) Sylvius, Oratio inauguralis de hominis cognitione, habita XV Kalend. Octobris Anni a Christo nato MDCLVIII, published in his Opera medica, Amsterdam, 1679, pp. 895–903. An inaugural lecture on Sylvius’s taking up of the chair of practical medicine at Leiden, 1658. Excerpts, p. 895:

Enimvero se-ipsum, hominem, undique nosse, omnium hominum interest, ergo et nostra: quapropter si quas de hominis cognitione animo volvo, foveoque cogitationes, inaugurali hac oratione comprehensas paucis persequir, rem & nobis omnibus, hominibus, & augustissimo hoc templo Academico, & expectatione vestra haud indignam me facturum existimavi . . . [p. 896] . . . Utique ad felicitatem quae duceret, viam esse sui ipius cognitionem, jam olim ipsis Ethnicis ex oraculo delphico innotuisse perhibent. Equidem omnia quodammodo novit qui se rite novit; nam ne se quidem novit, qui caetera ignorat; adeo concatenata est, & indissolubilis tum sui-ipius, tum aliarum rerum omnium cognition . . .

32 Martinus Bogdanus, [advertisement for an anatomy to be performed at Berne, 19 December 1660 et seqq.], Berne, 18 December 1660. Facsimile reproduction in Heckscher, p. 13, and translation, p. 14. Excerpt:

Tibi, quisquis curiosior fueris intuendum proponam, quae Natura in nobis omnibus occlusit. Neutiquam quod Dei opus odio prosequi videor, sed ut Te ipsum noveris, dum lustrabris oculos & auribus utrumque Palatinum in seuator sexu. Scilicet & id, in quo tuum Spiritum primum concepisti, & id in quo idem, quamdiu vivis, habitat . . . .

33 Gerardus Blasius, Anatome contracta, Amsterdam, 1666.

The additional engraved title-page (Pl. 35) shows an anatomist who looks into a mirror and sees in it the skeleton that stands behind him. The proposed meaning of the engraving is that anatomy teaches self-knowledge by revealing the mortality of man.\textsuperscript{242}

The book is dedicated to three physicians at Leiden (F. Sylvius, J. van Horne, Florentius Schuy}, two at Utrecht (H. Regius, I. van Diemerbroeck), and one at Amsterdam (J. Deyman).

\textsuperscript{241} Republished by Cetto (p. 352) and Heckscher (p. 174, n.218), but in each case spoiled by misprints.

\textsuperscript{242} Cf. Appendix V section III, pp. 98–102 below.
The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

34  Henricus Sigismundus Schilling, *Tractatus osteologicus, sive osteologica microcosmica, de ossium corporis humani admiranda structura, cui denuo adjicitur discursus physiologico-anatomicus*, hominem μακρόκοσμον, sive cognitionem sui considerandam, Dresden, 1668.

The frontispiece (Pl. 36) illustrates an interpretation of cognitio sui.

Preface to the *tractatus*, fol. A3', excerpt: "... in doctrina igitur ossium contemplabimur το γνώθι σεαυτόν, quod nos non tantum ad originis nostrae miseriam deprimit, sed & ad perfectionis nostrae praestantium evehit & deducit."

The *discursus* is separately paginated (pp. 24). It is a long essay on γνώθι σεαυτόν in an anatomical sense. Various interpretations of the phrase are discussed. The author draws extensively on Laurentius and Bauhin (nos. 11 and 12 above).

35  Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *De la connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*, Paris, 1846. The work was probably written between 1670 and 1680. ‘Dessein et division de ce traité’, p. 1:

La sagesse consiste à connaître Dieu et à se connaître soi-même.
La connaissance de nous-même nous doit élever à la connaissance de Dieu.
Pour bien connaître l'homme, il faut savoir qu'il est composé de deux parties, qui sont l'âme et le corps.
L'âme est ce qui nous fait penser, entendre, sentir, raisonner, vouloir, choisir une chose plutôt qu'une autre, et un mouvement plutôt qu'un autre, comme de se mouvoir à droite plutôt qu'à gauche.
Le corps est cette masse étendue en longueur, largeur, et profondeur, qui nous sert à exercer nos opérations. Ainsi, quand nous voulons voir, il faut ouvrir les yeux; quand nous voulons prendre quelque chose, ou nous étendons la main pour nous en saisir, ou nous remuons les pieds et les jambes, et par elles tout le corps, pur nous en approcher.
Il y a donc dans l'homme trois choses à considérer: l'âme séparément, le corps séparément, et l'union de l'un et de l'autre.

The book is divided into three chapters. The second chapter, which describes "le corps séparément", is a detailed treatise of human anatomy. It presumably draws upon the anatomy lectures of Joseph-Guichard Duverney (1648–1730), which Bossuet attended.243

36  Paul Barbette, *Opera chirurgico-anatomica ... pars III ... seu anatomia practica*, Leiden, 1672.

Cap. I, 'praefatio', p. 243, incipit "Huc adsis, Teipsum qui cognoscere desideras, parvus declarabit mundus, qualis tibi habendus sit magnus, Creatoris Architectura inemendabilis ... ."

Barbette was a native of Strasbourg who practised as a physician in Amsterdam.

37  Georg Franck von Franckenau, *Nosse Deum nosse se unica sapientia! Ergo ad anatomem suspensi ... quotidie hora X. & IV. habendam a XV Octobr. MDCXXCIII quotquot corporis sui et sanitatis cognitione ducuntur officiose et peramanter invitat Georgius Francus*, Heidelberg, 1683.

The verso of the title-page is blank except for the words "ΤΝΩΘΙ ΚΕΑΥΤΟΝ!".

243  A. F. Le Double, *Bosquet anatomiste et physiologiste*, Paris, Vigot, 1913.
Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

[Excerpt, p. 7:] Anatome quin imo est perquam necessaria omni homini ad cognitionem sui ipsius, Dei creatoris, & sacrae scripturae... Nam quoad (1.) ex ea miseram vilenque naturae suae conditionem discit, videtque se inter stercus & urinam nasci: quomodo quoque animis mores componat et diversa partium structura.

Quoad (2.) quia per effectus Deus cognoscitur, teste D. Paulo ad Rom. c. I. vers. 20. maxime si respiciamus quod suspiciendi modis mirabiliter creati simus Psalm. 139 vers. 14. Hinc veteres humani corporis fabricam vocavere Dei librum, quia in eo admirabilis Dei potentia, incredibilis sapientia & infinita bonitas lucet cujus fuerant laud. C. Sibelli dedit.

Denique quoad (3.) illud probat loco Salomonis sapientissimi regum, & regis sapientissimorum in Ecclesiast. c. XII. Possent et alia, si vacaret, scripturam adduci loca: maxime et Joibo alisque. Hocque est verum illud axioma christianum: Nosse Deum, nosse se, unica sapientia... [p. 8] qui Deum, qui vos nosse studentis, tanquam unicum sapientiam, venite & videte stupenda microcosmi...

38 Antonius Everardus, Nova ac genuina animalium generatio, necnon accuratissima corporis humani delineatio anatomica, Leiden, 1686. “Typographus [P. van der Aa] ad lectorem”, fol.*3:

Benevole lector, divinum illud, Nosce Te Ipsum, non alibi aeque nos afficit & humilitatem nostram pariter exercet, quam in perscrutazione & indagatione in mysteriorum nostri corporis tam mechanice & affabre a summo naturae Architecto constructi, et tenuissima & vix perceptibili insensibilium molecularum coagulatione & textura ortum trahentis: in qua structura palatium egregium animae rationis, tanquam in peculiari domicilio appropriato conspicuendum sese exhibet. Quis admirandam plane hujus microcosmi constructionem, extra ultimam Creatoris tanti reverentiam, sine impetate insigni perscrutari potest? Quis mundi hujus machinam insignem vasta mole praeditam inspiciens credat omnia ea, sed excellentiori in gradu in humano corpore esse limitata & brevissimis terminis circumscripita?...

Quis partes solidas miror artificio in diversas formas & figuras redactas, sua munia differentia obveinte partisque fluidas ad nutum suum absque violenta disponentes non sine delectatione insigni aspicit?...

39 Stephen Blankaart (Blancardus), Anatomia practica rationalis sive rariorum cadaverum morbis denatorum anatomico inspecto, Amsterdam, 1688.

The additional engraved title-page (Pl. 37) shows an inquest-dissection of a deceased hospital patient. Below, the legend "ΤΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ".

40 Antonius Nuck, Sialographia et ductuum aquosorum anatome nova, Leiden, 1690.

The added engraved title-page (Fig. 11, p. 84) shows Minerva pointing with her right hand to the words “anatome nova” in the title, and holding in her left hand a book inscribed “Nosce te ipsum”. This device is probably due to the publisher, P. van der Aa: cf. no. 38 above.

proposed addenda

16.1 Oil painting by Thomas de Keyser, called ‘The anatomy of Dr. Sebastiaen Egbertsz.’, 1619. See pp. 34–35 above and Pl. 5 below.

16.2 Oil painting by Nicolaes Eliaasz. (Pickenoy), called ‘The anatomy of Dr. Johan Fonteyn’, 1625. Central fragment alone survives. See pp. 34–35 above and Pl. 6 below.

244 Cetto, no. 186.
245 Cetto, no. 196.
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Figure 11. Minerva holding a book inscribed in Latin "know thyself", anonymous engraving for A. Nuck, Sialographia, Leiden, 1690, title-page. (See p. 83.)

20.1 Oil painting by Rembrandt van Rijn, called 'The anatomy of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp', 1632. See pp. 31–38 above and Pl.1 above.

aftermath

"Know thyself" continued in use as a motto for popular anatomy long after the seventeenth century. In the later period it was usually divorced from the idea of cognitio Dei, which flourished separately. Christoph von Hellwig's elaborate but derivative book Nosce te ipsum, vel anatomicum vivum was published in Frankfurt a. M. in 1720; there is a later edition with a foreword dated 1744. In 1879, G. L. Figuier published a work entitled Connais-toi toi-même: notions de physiologie à l'usage de la jeunesse et des gens du monde. It went through at least three French editions, and others in Italian translation. Both these authors discussed the meaning of their title, which in Figuier's case was derived from Bossuet (no. 35 above). Finally, in the twentieth century, the physician Frederick Parkes Weber (1863–1962) records that "know thyself" "has been used as a motto for modern 'popular' and often disgusting, so-called anatomical museums, attached to cheap 'panopticons' and dime museums" 246 – a distant degraded echo of Niccolò Massa's words, published in 1536, "docte sapiens ille Graecus dicebat, Nosce te ipsum . . ." 247

246 F. P. Weber, Aspects of death and correlated aspects of life, 4th ed., London, Unwin, 1922, p. 739.
247 Cf. pp. 67–68 above.