

APPENDIX III

COGNITIO SVI, COGNITIO DEI AS THE RATIONALE OF ANATOMY

A. SYNOPSIS

0	1532 prelude:	François Rabelais, Lyons <i>cognitio sui</i>	<i>cognitio sui et Dei</i>
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	T. Geminus, London
6	1555		J. Lygaeus, Bar-sur-Aube via Paris
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)	J. Riolan, Paris
18	1627	O. Fialetti, Venice (Pl. 34)	
19	1628, 1633	J. Owen, Leiden and Amsterdam	
20	1630		R. Descartes, Amsterdam
21	1633	J. Rehefeld, Erfurt	
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. Cognition sui, cognitio Dei

	<i>cognitio sui</i>	<i>cognitio sui et Dei</i>
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 anatomyes, acquiers-toy parfaicte congnoissance de l'aultre 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 *γνώθι σεαυτόν* or *congnois-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, 11c-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. I, fol. 3^r:

Quales gratias Deo optimo, maximoque adiutori ac protectori meo agere debeam, debeantque philoso-

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

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, etsi tam utilis et necessaria philosophis ac pariter medicis sit, age quod etiam & idiotis pulcherrimum ornamentum esset, si seipsos 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 oporteat²²⁴

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 praecceptum esse uidetur, atque admirandam corporis humani compagem, numerum, ordinem, positum uiscerum, eorumque officia subinde contemplanda. Haec enim exacte nouisse non medicorum duntaxat interest, sed et omnium quibus in animo est, diuini opificii miranda consilia, factaque perustrare. Neque ullum studium sanctius esse poterit, quam si homo in sese descendere tentet, ut cognoscere tandem discat, extra animam nihil inesse homini, quo prae caeteris animantibus in fastum & superbiam sese erigat & extollat. Hac de caussa, humana uiscera, quatenus fieri potuit, in hac tabella expressimus, quo illis qui haec in mortuorum corporibus indagauere, memoriam reficaremus, eos autem qui non admodum erga tam nobilem 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*.²²⁵ In the same year it was reprinted in Paris by Jean Ruelle, with a minor alteration: *quam ad admirandam* instead of *atque admirandam* in the first sentence.²²⁶ French translations are found in broadsheets published at Antwerp by Silvestre de Paris,²²⁷ and at Paris by A. de Matonnière:²²⁸ neither is dated, but both are of the sixteenth century. A German translation exists in a sheet of unknown place and date.²²⁹ There is an Italian translation in *Il vero disegno delli interiori del corpo humano*, Milan, 1663, a broadsheet edited by one Antonio Moneta, “Barbiero, & Professore di Chirurgia”.²³⁰ 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 Vassaesus (Loys Vasse), *In anatomen corporis humani tabulae quatuor*, Paris, 1540. ‘Lodoicus Vassaesus lectori’, fol. A3’:

. . . Nam si absque anatomico manca est eruditio, si ad vitam recte instituendam praecipuum est seipsum nosse, cum omnino 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 praestantissima 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. *4^r:

Quamuis augurer, ex uniuersa Apollinea disciplina, adeoque tota naturali philosophia, nihil tuae Maiestati gratius acceptiusue procudi posse, historia, qua corpus & animum, ac praeterea diuinum quoddam numen ex utriusque symphonia, & nosmetipsos denique (quod uere hominis est) cognoscimus.²³¹

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

Quare ad meam Anatomem 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 γῶθι σεαυτὸν, id est nosce teipsum: quis tam erit stolidus qui hoc exercitium diuinum, coeleste ac necessarium esse neget? Per hoc enim homo sui corporis compagem intelligens, etiam in perfectam sui noticiam ducitur, inque seipsum descendit.

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

. . . Forasmuche as holye scripture bearing wyttensse (most honorable Princesse) it pleased the only and almightye God to create man to the similitude of his lyknes, not only in spirite resemblyng the deitye of the eternall father, but also in bodie bearyng the shape of Christe oure God and sauioure whose humane nature is nowe inseparably unite wyth the fathers deitye . . . me thinketh doubtles that this well con-sydered, 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. Woorthely therfore as a holy oracle was written ouer the doore of the temple of Apollo in Delphis. NOSCE TEIPSVM. And Thales the philosopher demaunded what thyng was hardest to be doone, to knowe thyselve quod he. Whiche as it is moste harde, so is it most woorthy. 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. 2^r:

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

Τὸ γῶθι σεαυτὸν πανταχό'στι χρήσιμον,

antiquis non abs re dictum est. Re uera si cognitio aliarum rerum in natura delectat, quanto magis naturae nostrae contemplatione delectari nos conuenit? An ad hominem quicquam magis pertinet, quam ut seipsum cognoscat? Praeclare Galenus anatomiae scientiam ducem nobis esse ad Dei cognitionem dicebat.

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

7 Anon., *Perutilis anatomes interiorum muliebris partium cognitio ac earundem situs, figura, numerus, positio, haud iniucounda cognitu*, London, [c. 1559?].²³²

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

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).

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

left (signed "R. S."), female on the right. The female holds a tablet inscribed "Nosce te ipsum. Knowe thy self". See Fig. 10.

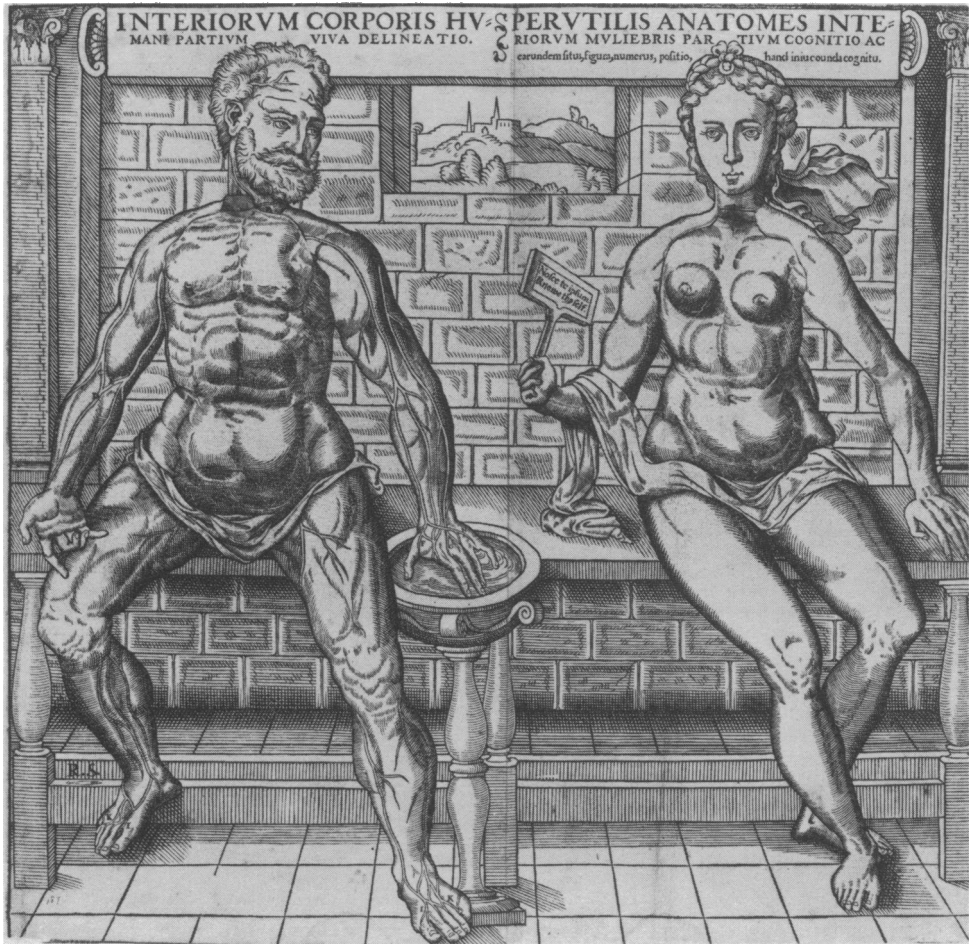


Figure 10. "R.S.", anatomical figures, woodcut for an anatomical broadsheet, English, mid-sixteenth century.

8 Volcher Coiter, *Externarum et internarum principalium humani corporis partium tabulae*, Nuremberg, 1572. Dedication to town council of Nuremberg, fol. A2^v:

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

[Fol. AA2^v:] Cap. tertium [i.e. quartum] de anatomiae vtilitatibus. Anatomiae vtilitates . . . variae & plurimae sunt. Vtilis 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 vtilis est theologis, iurisperitis, historicis, poetis, denique omnibus, qui eruditionis ac sapientiae laudem affectant: nam anatome scientiae verae dux est aditum-que ad Dei O.M. omnipotentiam ac iustitiam, quibus in construendis & formandis animantium corporibus vsus est, praebet. Cum nusquam certius, quam in humani corporis structura sese expresserit summi creatoris prouidentia, hoc nomine potissimum anatomes studium nobis commendatum atque gratum esse debet, primo enim aditu, nos in Dei cognitionem adducit rapitque.

Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

Adijciatis vtilitatem insignem quam vnusquisque inde percipit, cum hac in suimet ipsius cognitionem adducitur. Omitto hic breuitatis gratia vtilitates quas inde milites, pictores, & sculptores hauriunt . . .

9 Salomon Alberti, *Historia plerarunq[ue] 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 ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΑΥΤΟΝ. See Pl. 31.

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

Conuincimur enim ex contemplatione fabricae huius, partiumque omnium vsu, diuinum fuisse huius operis Architectum, qui singulari, & sapientia, & arte insigni omnes particulas ita efformauit, & disposuit, vt aptius & praeclarius, vsuique accommodatius inueniri, & excogitari potuisset nihil.

Si quis est mundi ornatus, & vtilitas, vt profecto est maxima, praestat sane his omnibus humanum corpus quod propterea μικροκόσμον nominarunt veteres sapientes, quod in vnum hominem, totius mundi elegantiam, ornatum ac sapientiam concluserit DEVS optimus maximus. Quis igitur hoc opus non admiretur? . . .

Et enim aliarum rerum contemplationi operam dare, sui autem ipsius nullam habere noticiam, aut se ipsum ignorare, turpissimum est, vt habet oraculum Delphicum, γνῶθι σεαυτόν: quod non solum [fol. A4^r] 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 eosdem neglegentia sui incurrere in procliui 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 autoris [Laurentii] et operis carmen ad Ioan. Amatam Chauigneum', fol. *4^v:

Si quod ab aethereo diuinitus illud Olympo
Descendisse ferunt memorabile γνῶθι σεαυτόν . . .
Internam fabricam ac externam nouerit omnem
Eiusdem methodo expediens breuiore 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) quisque incitatur ad sui cognitionem. Qui enim seipsum norit, omnia nouerit; cum in se rerum omnium habeat simulacra. Deum in primis cognoscet, quoniam ad illius imaginem est efformatus . . .

['Primus Anatomes fructus sui cognitio', p. 7:] At sui ipsius cognitio, vt pulcherrima, ita & difficillima . . . [p. 8] Haec itaque prima esto Anatomes vtilitas, hic primus illius fructus, omnibus etiam Ethnicis & Atheis communis, sui ipsius, id est naturae propriae cognitio.

['Secunda Anatomes vtilitas, Dei cognitio', p. 8:] Est altera Anatomes vtilitas, nobis, quibus Euangelicae legis splendor affulsit, peculiaris Dei immortalis cognitio . . . [p. 9] Ad Dei igitur, & sui ipsius notitiam omnibus utilis est Anatome.

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

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

pp. 7–8, and cap. vi, 'Quam sit utilis Anatome ad Dei cognitionem' on pp. 8–9. English translation in no. 16 below.

11f André Dulaurens, *Toutes les oeuvres*, transl. by Théophile Gelée, Rouen, 1661.

This late edition of Laurentius's anatomical writings presents a French translation of the chapter on *cognitio sui* on pp. 8–10, and of the chapter on *cognitio Dei* on pp. 10–11.

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

... Legimus quin etiam & reges & principes adeo fuisse anatomes studiosos, vt Aegyptiorum reges suis manibus, non solum mortuorum cadauera, sed & viuorum corpora, nocentium tamen, dissecare non abhorruerint, quo abditorum morborum causas perscrutarentur: alii vero, vt seipsos agnoscerent. Quid enim in hac vita praestantius, quam, considerationi & contemplationi naturae suae incumbere, corporis sui [fol. α 3^r] fabricam intro aspicere, membrorum ac viscerum miras & artificiosas actiones, ad quas obeundas condita sunt & ordinata omnia, considerare? Haecque iam cognita animo nobiscum volentes & agitantes, sapientiam & prouidentiam Archetypi nostri ratiocinari & contemplari? Hinc sane praeceptum illud ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ natum esse videtur ... Hoc apophthegma, etsi a plerisque ἠθικῶς ad mediocritatis commendatio-[fol. α 3^r]-nem referatur, prima tamen fronte, magis a corpore quam ab animo, deductum & natum videtur. A qua sententia, neque adeo eloquentiae parens Cicero ad Q. fratrem, abhorret: Et illud, inquit, γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, 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. XI, 349] ... [fol. α 4^r] Sic apparet, veteres hoc dicto vsos, vt quemlibet admonerent, suam ipsius naturam vt pernosceret. Quid enim philosopho, quid inquam medico turpius, quam in seipso suas partes & membra, earumque compositionem ignorare? praesertim 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.)(4^v:

Profecto hoc est illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, quod Socrates, si Platoni credimus, de coelo traxit, & e quo descendisse aperte fatetur Iuuenalis. Referat nunc qui volet cum Cicerone ἠθικῶς ad modestiae mediocritatisque commendationem, aut ad ipsam ergastuli animae nostrae attentam & philosophicam inspectionem, semper tamen eo redibit.

Reprinted unchanged in the 1621 edition, fol.)(3^r.

13 Johannes Posthius, *Observationes anatomicae*, published in M. Realdus Columbus, *De re anatomica*, Frankfurt a.M., 1593, pp. 496–519. Posthius's preface is dated Heidelberg, 1 August 1593.

[Incipit, p. 497:] Τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτὸν: non solum ad animum; 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 1619/20.²³³

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, Equipress, 1975.

Appendix III. Cognito 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 Pauio med. botanico & anatomico praestantissimo*, 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. **1^v. The poem ends:

Debemus 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. **3^r:

. . . 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. **4^v:

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.

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

- 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 innumerari fere sunt, ut iis secandis & rimandis humana aetas his saeculis non sufficiat. 3. Ob usum incredibilem ad neminem non redundantem, qui seipsum & proprium aedificium perno-[p. 2]-scere cupit . . .

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

- 16 Helkiah Crooke, *Μικροκοσμογραφία: 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 1, 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 vniuerse . . . 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 imperiall 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 *Alcibiade*. This by the iudgement and consent of all men, is true and sound philosophy. For Demonax being asked, When he beganne to professe philosophy, made answer, 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 euen within thee. Surely it was a worthy speech, and not besecming 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 stormes and waues whereof he is pittifully tossed, and how to suppress and appease those varieties of passions wherewith as it were with so manie furies he is vexed and tormented? But all this anatomy doth verie plainly teach vs. For he that seeth and obserueth 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 simpathy of the parts, their mutuall consent and agreement, their common offices, or official administrations one for the helpe of another, how they make not any couetous reservation to themselues, 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 shal accord and ioyne 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 vse 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 vse 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 euery 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 inferior faculties, must bee seruiceable and obedient to the higher, as to the queene and prince of them

Appendix III. *Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei*

all. And if both princes and peasants would weigh and consider the mutuall offices betweene the principall and the ignoble parts, princes might vnderstand how to rule, and peasants how to obey. Princes may learne of the braine how to make lawes, to gouerne their people; of the heart, how to preserue 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, distributeth to euery organ or instrument of the sences, offices of dignity: the heart like a king maintaineth and cherrisheth with his liuely and quickning heate, the life of all the partes: the liuer the fountaine and well-spring of most beneficall humidity or iuice, nourisheth 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 meaner sort of people, they may easilie vnderstand by the ministering and seruile organs, what bee the limits of seruice and subiection. For the parts that are in the lower bellie do all serue the liuer; the stomacke dooth concoct the meate, the guts distribute and diuide it, the veines of the mesenterie prepare it; the bladder of gall, the milt and the reines, do purge and clense 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 serue the heart; those that are in the head, do attend the braine, and so each to others, doe affoord their mutuall seruices. 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 selues ... 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 helpfull 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 deriued 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, reuerence, and admire the author and workeman of so great a worke, if he do attentiuely aduise with himselfe, how wonderfull the fabricke and structure of mans body is? ... by the view of anatomical dissection, we see and are able to distinguish the variable and diuers motions of mans body, and those also very strange, and sometime vncouth.

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 perceiving 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 euen heere there be gods also. Iouis omnia plena, All things (saith the poet) are full of Iupiter. 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 wisdom euen past all beleefe, and his infinite and particular goodnesse 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 seeme to be all homogenic or of one kinde; and of a few droppes of blood, he hath framed so many and so diuers particles, aboue 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 veines, sinewes more than thirty paire, muscles almost foure hundred; and to conclude, all the bowels and inward parts. His incredible wisdom appeareth in the admirable contabulation or composition of the whole, made of so many parts, so vnlike one to another. Enter thou whosoever thou art (though thou be an atheist, and acknowledgest no god at all,) enter I beseech thee, into the sacred tower of Pallas, I meane the braine of man, and behold and admire the pillars and arched cloysters [*concamerata inuolucra* = meninges] of that princely pallace, the huge greatnesse of that stately building, the pedestals or bases, the porches [*suffulcientia atria*] & goodly frontispice, the 4. arched chambers [*sinus quatuor* = ventricles], the bright and cleare mirrour [*speculum lucidum* = septum lucidum], the labyrinthean mazes and web of the small arteries [*plexus arteriolarum labyrinthosus* = 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 foecundity of that white marrow of the back, which the wiseman in the Book of the Preacher or *Ecclesiastes* calleth the siluer cord. From the braine, turne the eye of thy minde to the gates of the sun, and windowes of the soule, I meane the eyes ... [etc. etc.]

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

Lastly, the infinite goodnesse and bounty of God shineth in this excellent workemanship, inasmuch as he hath so well prouided for all the parts, that euery one hath her proper and peculiar vse, and yet all are so fitted and knit together in such an harmonie and agreement, that euery one is ready to helpe another; and any one of them being ill affected, the rest are immediatly drawne to a sympathy and participation with it. Which society and fellowship of the parts, Hippocrates in his booke *de alimento* hath thus breefelie but excellently expressed, *σύννοια μία, σύρροια μία, συμπάθεια πάντα*: one agreement, one confluence, all consenting. To conclude then, these wonderfull and euer-worthy to bee admired workes of God in the composition and frame of mans bodie, are as it were dumbe schoolemaisters, the bookes of vulgar diuinity, and the doctors and teachers of diuine wisdome.

17 Johannes Riolanus, *Anthropographia et osteologia*, Paris, 1626.

In some copies one finds as a frontispiece an engraving by Crispin de Passe which shows Riolan presenting to Louis XIII an open book (symbolically, the *Anthropographia*) inscribed on the recto page *Honora Medicum* and on the verso *Γνώθι σ'αυτόν*: 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. A1-A3^r). Excerpt, p. 1:

Sire, Je presente à vostre Majesté, avec les submissions que doit vn tres-humble subiet à son Roy, la nouvelle descouuerte, & curieuse recherche du petit monde, qui est le corps humain, le liure de la sagesse humaine, & theologie naturelle, qui apprend à toutes personnes, se cognoistre soy-mesme. C'estoit la seule science de Iuppiter, qu'il feist grauer en lettres d'or, sur le frontispice du temple d'Apollon. C'estoit la leçon qu'vn 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. I, cap. i, excerpt p. 24]: Interrogatus philosophus quando coepisset philosophari, prudenter respondit, quando coepi meipsum cognoscere. *τὸ γνώθι σ'αυτόν, τοῦ θεοῦ παράγγελμα, καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, πάσης ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἐδξωίης*, inquit Simplicius. Nam in [p.25] *humani corporis cognitione humanae diuinaeque philosophiae principium continetur, si Daemonaci philosopho credimus, imo culmen & perfectio, vt eleganti gradatione declarat Agapetus ad Iustinianum, qui se nouit Deum noscet, Deum noscens, Deo assimilabitur, assimilabitur qui Deo dignus erit, dignus erit qui nihil Deo indignum admittit, sed cogitat quae Dei sunt; & quae cogitat loquitur, et quae loquitur facit, vberimus ex sui cognitione fructus, quem ex anatome comparare & possidere licebit*

Quod autem nobis aperit & ostendit admirabilem nostri corporis structuram, simulque nos ad Dei summi Opificis cultum & venerationem excitat & inducit, Anatome censetur; quae nihil est aliud quam humanae diuinaeque sapientiae theatrum, lucidissimum speculum, quo nos Deumque intuemur . . . Propterea non puduit Christianos theologos, Lactantium, Ambrosium, Basilium, Chrysostomum, Theodoretum, diuinae prouidentiae validiora argumenta ex nostri corporis fabricatione depromere; nam Deum qui vult nosse, seipsum vt cognoscat necessarium est, inquit D. Chrysostomus, siquidem accurata nostri corporis speculatio; sufficienter te manu deducet ad Dei cognitionem, vt eleganter D. Basilius adiunxit.

'Index capitum', fol. 01^r: "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.

Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

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 anatomem 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, & apprens tous les iours quelque chose que ie ne trouue pas dedans les liures . . . [p. 144] . . . Or i'estime que tous ceus a qui Dieu a donné l'vsage de cete 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 trouuer les fondemens de la Physique, si ie ne les eusse cherchés par cete voye.

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

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

Quoniam itaque D.O.M.A. in nomine Domini, proximo die lunae qvi erit 14 Octobris, ad ea ipsa gressum facturus sum, atque residua ista [p. 4] conlectanea non tantummodo verbis proponere, sed etiam corporis humani structuram ac praecipuas ejusdem partes in iconibus vel tabulis anatomicis Julii Casserii, Caspari Bavhini, Vidi Vidij, Andreae Laurentij &c oculariter me velle decrevi; cum ἀντοφίαν auscultationi adjunctam ad rerum praelectarum ideas hauriendas ac memoriae & judicio imprimendas plus valere, experientia edoctus fuerim: hocce prius conamen candidis lectoribus, inprimis autem omnibus & singulis Γνώθι σεαυτὸν Artis studiosis intimare uolui . . . 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 nootsakelickheyt der anatomie. Ghedaen tot inleydinghe van de ontledingh des menschelijcken lichaems op den 25 Octob. 1634*, Dordrecht, 1634. Incipit, fol. A2^r:

Mijn Heeren, Het is een oude ende wijze spreucke, de welcke Plato ghetuyght, dat ghestelt plagh te werden voor den tempel van Apollo, als weerdigh gheacht zijnde van God ghekomen te wesen, ende die de Poëet *Iuvenalis* seydt dat uyt den Hemel nedergedaelt is, *Kendt u selven*. De rijcke Koningh Croesus van Lydien quam op eenen sekeren tijdt het orakel van den selven Apollo consuleren, hoe dat hy tot de gelucksaligheyt soude komen? kreegh voor antwoord, gelijkck *Xenophon* beschrijft, *Indien ghy u selven sult kennen* . . . Ons wesen bestaet uyt ziele ende lichaem. De nature van de ziele, seydt *Hippocrates* is

²³⁷ Cf. Wilkins, p. 96.

²³⁸ Cunningham, loc. cit., note 36 above, with variants *jungatur* and *animi*.

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

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, soo moeten wy alvoren de kennisse van ons lichaem hebben . . . [fol A2'] . . . *Socrates* . . . *Demonax* . . . De filosooph *Thales* ghevraecht zijnde, wat datter swaer was? antwoorde, *Syn selven te kennen* . . . alsoo en kan niemant oordeelen van syn lichaem, als door de anatomie, ende ontleding van al de deelen van het selve. Waerom oock de wijste van de werelt niet alleen van oude tijden, maer oock van dese onse eeuw e haer selven altijt neerstelijck in de anatomie geoeffent [fol. A3'] hebben.

There follow passages on the uses of anatomy to the practitioners 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. A3^r-B1^r: the benefits of a knowledge of anatomy to theologians. A6^r: "Dewijl oock het voornaemste oogherck van een Theologant is, den mensche te brengen tot de kennisse Gods, soo kan hem daer toe mede dienen de anatomie . . .". Fols. B1^{r-v} lawyers; B1^v-B2^r politicians; B2^r-B5^v craftsmen, architects, painters (Dürer and Karel van Mander), sculptors, poets, physicians, surgeons, operators for bladder-stone, apothecaries, and midwives.

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

*Ἦ πηγὴ σοφίας ! ὦ τύχος [sic] ἀριπρεπῆς ὄντως
ἦν ἄρα τοῦτο σοφὸν ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ ἔπος."*

Below: "Iuvenal. E coelo descendit γῶθι σεαυτόν".

Since this edition of the speech is rare (copy in Amsterdam University library), it is convenient to reprint here from fol. B5^v the following passage which is truncated in the later editions (J. v. Beverwijck, *Alle de wercken*, 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 lant de anatomie by-gewoont, ende is oock van voornamen mannen selfs geadministreert gheweest. Gelijckse noch onlanghs in de machtige stadt van Amsteldam [fol. B6^r] gedaen is by d'Heer Doctor *Sebastianus Egberti*, Borgemeester aldaer, ende gecommitteerde Raedt van d'Heeren Staten van Holland; in wiens plaetse ghevolght is, ende die het huyden noch met grooten lof bekleet, d'Heer Doctor *Nicolaes Tulpus* Raedt ende Schepen van de selve stadt, die eertijds met my gestudeert heeft onder d'Heer Doctor *Paaw*, Professor van d'Anatomie in de Vniversiteyt tot Leyden, voor ons beyde van seer aengename gedachtenis: Wiens ghelijck ick in de administratie van d'anatomie noch binnen, noch buyten 's landts niet gesien en hebbe. Het gene ick van dese myne goede meester, in de publijcke lessen, besondere collegien, ende insonderheyt in syn preparatien ofte bereyden (daer toe hy mede den welgemelten Heere *Tulpus* ende weynigh andere admitteerden) voor de publijcke administratie, als oock van andere buyten 's landts, daer hy my aen recommandeerden, met aenghenamen moeyten, ende geen kleynen kosten van myn Ouders gheleert hebbe . . .

23 Jacob van der Gracht, *Anatomie der wterlicke deelen van het menschelick lichaem*, the Hague, 1634. 'Voor-reeden aen den recht-sinnigen ende konst-lustigen leser', fol. A1^r:

Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

Onder alle sienlijke wercken, door de welcke den almoghenden Heer, onsen Godt, sijne ongemeten ende oneyndelijke wijsheyt kondigh heeft gemaect, niet meer te verwonderen, oft hooger te waerden en is, als 't menschelick lichaem, tot een bequame wooning, ja heerlicken tempel vor de redelicke ende onsterfelicke 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 boeck, waer in men de onbegrijpelicke almogentheit, wisheyt ende goetheyt des scheppers mocht lesen. Veele daer en boven, niet alleen onder de filosofhen ende medicijnen, maer oock onder de vorsten ende princen, regeerders des werelts, andere in vernuftheyt ende verstandicheyt overtreffende, hebben sich begeven, met grooten ernst ende lust, tot een aendachtich ende rijpsinnigh aenmercken, ja oock ontleden der menschelicke lichaemen, om door de bestandighe ende volmaeckte kennis der selve, oock meerder ende diepsinniger kennis van haren architect ofte bouw-meester te betrachten So groot geacht ende hoch-ghewaerdeert is, eertijts geweest de anatomie oft ontledinghe, ende die door haer alleen te bekomen is, de grondige kennis van 't menschelick lichaem. Andreas Laurentius, Raedt der Koningshs van Vranckrijck, ende sijnen ordinaris medicijn-meester, als oock voor-leser der selve wetenschap inde wijt-vermaerde Academie van Mompelliars, in sijn *Anatomique beschrijvinghe des lichaems*, handelende seer aerdigh ende rijckelick alle de nuttigheden deser anatomie, betoont de selve niet alleen noodigh te wesen voor natuurlicke ende sedelicke filosofhen, medicijnen, chirurgiens ende apothekers, maer oock seer dienstich voor alle schilders

The complimentary reference to Laurentius's description of "alle de nuttigheden 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 diepsinniger kennis van haren architect".

24 Gulielmus Stratenius traiectinus (Willem van der Straaten), *In susceptam 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, perpensus quam jucunda, vtilis, & necessaria sit nostri cognitio per anatomen." Page 5, the Delphic saying "ut se ipsos noscant. Quod uti fateor, non de solo corpore, verum & de anima intelligendum esse, ita & hoc velim mihi concedi, cuius 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 ardore adstant conspecturi lanienam porcorum imprimis, 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 effutiunt."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 "je 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.

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'

animadverterint, quasi nimis 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 reimpression 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 scenae,
frustaque queis misere dilaceratur Homo.
Vita salusque istis habitant in partibus, & qua
vita hominum, sese mors quoque parte locat.
Adspice, qui temet nescis, ferele cadaver,
nexaque centenis ossibus ossa stupe

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 φιλιετρεϊη invade asservemus, consultum fuit & omnes alios qui demonstratione & cognitione Suiipsius 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’vtilité qu’on doit esperer de cette connoissance, ne regarde pas seulement la Morale, ainsi qu’il semble d’abord à plusieurs, mais particulièrement aussi la Medecine; en laquelle ie croy qu’on aurait pû trouver beaucoup de preceptes tres-assurez, tant pour guerir les maladies que pour les preuenir, et mesme aussi [p. 224] pour retarder le cours de la vieillesse, si on estoit assez étudié 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. 101.²⁴¹
Incipit:

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

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]:

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

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 persequar, 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 ipsius 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-ipsius, tum aliarum rerum omnium cognitio . . .

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 lustrabis oculis & auribus utrumque Palatium in sequiori 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.²⁴²

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

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

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 osteologia microcosmica, de ossium corporis humani admiranda structura, cui denuo adjicitur discursus physiologico-anatomicus, hominem μικρόκοσμον, sive cognitionem sui considerans*, Dresden, 1668.

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

Preface to the *tractatus*, fol. A3^r, excerpt: “. . . in doctrina igitur ossium contemplabimur τὸ γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, quod nos non tantum ad originis nostrae miseriam deprimit, sed & ad perfectionis nostrae praestantiam evehit & deducit.”

The *discursus* is separately paginated (pp. 24). It is a long essay on γνῶθι σεαυτὸν 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 anatomen suspensi . . . quotidie hora X. & IV. habendam a XV Octobr. MDCXXXIII 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 “ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ!”.

²⁴³ A. F. Le Double, *Bossuet anatomiste et physiologiste*, Paris, Vigot, 1913.

Appendix III. Cognitio sui, cognitio Dei

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

Quoad (2.) quia per effectus Deus cognoscitur, teste D. Paulo ad Rom. c. I. vers. 20. maxime si respiciamus quod suspiciendis 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 ceu fusius laud. C. Sibelius deducit.

Denique quoad (3.) illud probat loco Salomonis sapientissimi regum, & regis sapientissimorum in Ecclesiast. c. XII. Possent et alia, si vacaret, scripturae adduci loca: maxime e Iobbo aliisque. Hocque est verum illud axioma christianum: Nosse Deum, nosse se, unica sapientia! . . . [p. 8] qui Deum, qui vos nosse studetis, tanquam unicam 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^r :

Benevole lector, divinum illud, Nosce Te Ipsum, non alibi aequè nos afficit & humilitatem nostram pariter exercet, quam in perscrutatione & indagatione in mysteriorum nostri corporis tam mechanice & affabre a summo naturae Architecto constructi, e tenuissima & vix perceptibili insensilium molecularum coagmentatione & textura ortum trahentis: in qua structura palatium egregium animae ratiocinantis, tanquam in peculiari domicilio appropriato conspiciendum sese exhibet. Quis admirandam plane hujus microcosmi constructionem, extra ultimam Creatoris tanti reverentiam, sine impietate 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 circumscripta? . . . Quis partes solidas miro artificio in diversas formas & figuras redactas, sua munia differentia obeuntes partesque fluidas ad nutum suum absque violentia disponentes non sine delectatione insigni aspicit? . . .

39 Stephen Blankaart (Blancardus), *Anatomia practica rationalis sive rariorum cadaverum morbis denatorum anatomica inspectio*, Amsterdam, 1688.

The additional engraved title-page (Pl. 37) shows an inquest-dissection of a deceased hospital patient. Below, the legend “*ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ*”.²⁴⁴

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”.²⁴⁵ 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 Elias. (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.

The paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'



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. I 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 teipsum . . ."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.