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**From Portugal to Russia: The Many Lives of the Eighteenth-
Century Physician Ribeiro Sanches**

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To my parents and sister, who taught me resilience and integrity.

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Resumo

Ribeiro Sanches (Penamacor, 7 Março 1699 – Paris, 14 Outubro 1783) é uma das mais destacadas figuras do panorama intelectual português setecentista. É particularmente conhecido por ter servido como médico na corte russa (especialmente por ter salvado a vida da Imperatriz Catarina, *a Grande*), por ter inspirado reformas educativas em Portugal, por ter sido o primeiro a apresentar ao Ocidente os benefícios para a saúde dos tradicionais banhos russos, por ter sido discípulo de Hermann Boerhaave, pela sua entrada na *Encyclopédie* de Diderot e d’Alembert, e pelas suas ligações a academias científicas.

Ficou conhecido como o “médico dos males de amor” devido aos estudos que conduziu sobre a origem e o tratamento da sífilis. Era consultado pelas mais altas patentes da Rússia e, depois de a abandonar, continuou a receber pedidos de ajuda médica de nobres e intelectuais russos e europeus. Para além da Medicina, Sanches desenvolveu um vasto trabalho pedagógico e sociopolítico. Vários são os tratados que dedicou à educação de jovens e ao desenvolvimento de instituições de ensino, bem como a aspectos vários da política, economia, saúde, gestão de recursos naturais e história portuguesas e russas. Alguns destes trabalhos foram encomendados por personalidades de grande renome, como o Marquês de Pombal ou D. Luís da Cunha, do lado português, e Ivan Betskoy ou o Conde Vorontsov, do lado russo. Escritas em português, francês e latim, as suas obras foram traduzidas para russo, alemão, inglês e italiano, mas grande parte dos seus escritos permanece em manuscritos por estudar.

Pela extensa e variada correspondência que manteve e fomentou, é seguro afirmar que Ribeiro Sanches foi um ponto nodal no intercâmbio científico nos quartéis médios do século XVIII – não só dentro da Europa, onde se movia agilmente dentro da *Respublica literaria*, mas também com a Rússia (que dava então importantes passos para se europeizar), mobilizando nobres e intelectuais, e com a China, desenvolvendo uma valiosa correspondência com os Jesuítas portugueses em Pequim, passando ainda pelo Brasil e por Angola.

A centralidade do papel que os livros desempenharam ao longo da sua vida só foi ainda parcialmente apreendida. As suas bibliotecas pessoais foram desde sempre reconhecidas como espólios valiosos e têm sido alvo de estudos. Mas abordámos nesta dissertação vários episódios que comprovarão que Sanches era reconhecido como um *connoisseur* do mercado livreiro, tendo sido neste âmbito consultado várias vezes, tanto por instituições como por particulares. A sua correspondência demonstra um olhar sempre atento às possibilidades para completar a sua colecção ou a dos seus próximos.

Dada a importância que representa na história intelectual portuguesa, Sanches foi já objecto de dezenas de investigações, especialmente em Portugal. No entanto, dois aspectos lamentáveis caracterizam a historiografia que tem vindo a ser desenvolvida sobre a vida do médico. O primeiro é que a maioria, para além de oferecer pouco mais do que uma revisão da literatura existente, raramente a cruza com fontes primárias. A quantidade de informações erradas que circulam sobre a vida de Ribeiro Sanches tem contribuído para o estabelecimento de uma autoaprovionada teia de falsidades, tão profundamente enraizadas que dispensam serem postas em causa ou a exigência da verificação em fontes primárias. Qualquer pessoa que procure informar-se sobre a vida de Ribeiro Sanches enfrenta uma rede aparentemente indestrinçável de contradições. Confrontados com a infabilidade dos estudos existentes no que toca aos aspectos biográficos de Sanches, sujeitámos as nossas leituras a um método quasi-cartesiano, encetando um esforço metódico para rastrear todas as informações à sua fonte primária e sempre que possível referenciá-la. Acreditamos que esta estratégia deverá agilizar futuras investigações e melhorar a sua qualidade.

O segundo aspecto é o cisma que se verifica entre as historiografias russa e ocidental, portuguesa, em particular. Praticamente não encontramos historiadores ocidentais a consultar fontes russas, e vice-versa. Como consequência, os progressos feitos quer de um lado, quer do outro ficam restringidos às suas esferas linguísticas. Os documentos descobertos na Rússia nos anos 80 e já parcialmente publicados

e estudados, por exemplo, ainda não tiveram a devida recepção na historiografia portuguesa. Nenhuma das publicações portuguesas exclusivamente consagradas a Ribeiro Sanches até hoje parece ter recorrido directamente a fontes russas.

Nesta dissertação, tentámos reconciliar até certo ponto as investigações de historiadores russos e ocidentais, e resolver algumas ideias erróneas sobre a vida de Ribeiro Sanches que estão largamente disseminadas pela e enraizadas na historiografia. Navegando por fontes portuguesas, francesas, russas, alemãs e latinas, construímos a imagem mais completa à data da estadia e do percurso de Ribeiro Sanches na Rússia. Não almejámos dar ao leitor uma visão compreensiva da vida ou da produção intelectual do médico. Concentrámo-nos principalmente nos anos que passou na Rússia, pois este é o período sobre o qual menos se sabe e menos se tem investigado no Ocidente. Em menor grau, focámos também a juventude de Sanches, visto que ela é habitualmente abordada como um mero preâmbulo e não tem sido, por isso, sujeita a um escrutínio adequado. Os anos em Paris, onde Sanches viveu durante grande parte da sua vida, foram os mais produtivos do ponto de vista intelectual e são indispensáveis para a compreensão da sua rede de contactos, mas recaem fora do âmbito do nosso trabalho. Em compensação, têm sido alvo de mais investigações.

Num primeiro momento, delineámos os primeiros anos de Sanches em Penamacor, na Guarda, em Coimbra, Salamanca, Benavente e Lisboa, bem como as figuras que o influenciaram nestes anos formativos. Acompanhámo-lo por Génova, Londres, Montpellier, Marselha, Bordéus, Livorno, Pisa, e de volta a Bordéus, traçando *pari passu* as inquietações religiosas que deixou escritas: a lenta mas plena conversão ao Judaísmo, seguida da profundamente arrependida reconversão ao Cristianismo. Daí partimos para Leiden, o principal ponto de viragem na vida profissional de Sanches, graças ao mestre Herman Boerhaave, que permanecerá a sua principal influência até ao final da vida.

No segundo e mais central momento, seguimo-lo até à Rússia, onde desempenhou funções de médico do Estado e da cidade de Moscovo, membro da Chancelaria Médica em São Petersburgo como examinador de Medicina e Cirurgia, médico principal dos exércitos em campanhas da Guerra Russo-Turca, tendo estado presente no cerco de Azov de 1736, médico do Corpo de Cadetes de São Petersburgo e médico da Imperatriz Anna Ioannovna, da Regente Anna Leopoldovna, do infante Imperador Ivan Antonovich e da Imperatriz Elizaveta Petrovna, tendo da última sido também conselheiro de Estado. Analisámos as circunstâncias da sua saída da Rússia e das suas ligações à Academia das Ciências de São Petersburgo, bem como a correspondência que durante estes anos estabeleceu com os Jesuítas em Pequim. Esboçámos assim o estado da arte sobre os primeiros 48 anos da vida de Ribeiro Sanches, incidindo também sobre os esforços que durante esses anos empreendeu para promover a circulação de conhecimento e estabelecer pontos de contactos entre intelectuais geograficamente dispersos.

Num terceiro momento, procurámos clarificar alguns dos pontos mais problemáticos das narrativas que correm sobre a vida de Sanches. Por exemplo, será verdade que Sanches serviu na corte de Catarina, *a Grande*? Era Sanches maçom? Terá sido membro de tantas academias e sociedades científicas quantas tem sido dito? E, afinal, era Sanches um judeu nas sombras ou um católico convicto? Abordámos todas estas questões, resolvendo-as quando possível.

No final, elencámos os suportes investigativos que consideramos que devem ser desenvolvidos para agilizar futuros estudos sobre a vida e a obra de Ribeiro Sanches, bem como alguns tópicos que merecem ainda ser investigados, e deixámos em anexo alguns elementos retirados de fontes russas que poderão ser empregues em investigações futuras.

Palavras-chave: Ribeiro Sanches, Rússia, Academia das Ciências de São Petersburgo, correspondência científica, medicina setecentista

Abstract

Ribeiro Sanches has been a subject of research time and again. However, there are two regrettable aspects about the historiographical work that has been developed. The first is that most publications offer a mere review of existing literature without cross-checking it with primary sources, which has contributed to establish a web of deeply rooted misinformation about Sanches's life. The second aspect is the divide between Russian and western historiographies. Western historians seldom resort to Russian sources, and vice versa. Consequently, the progress made on either side remains confined to its own circles.

In this dissertation we attempt to reconcile to some extent the investigations of Russian and western historians and to resolve some widespread misconceptions, or, where success is not met, at least to expose the need for further inquiries. Confronted with the unreliability of the existing literature, we delved into a painstaking effort to track every piece of information to its primary source and to reference it, so as to expedite future research.

Our aim is not to provide the reader with a comprehensive view of the life or intellectual production of Ribeiro Sanches. We focus on the biographical aspects of the years he spent in Russia, for this is the subject regarding which less is known. To a lesser degree, we focus also on his youth, since it is usually addressed as a mere preamble and therefore not subject to critical scrutiny. The Paris years, his most productive from an intellectual point of view and crucial to understanding his network, fall outside of our scope for now. We navigated through Portuguese, French, Russian, German, and Latin sources to build the most accurate picture to date of Sanches's path in Russia.

Keywords: Ribeiro Sanches, Russia, Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, scientific exchange, eighteenth-century Medicine

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Introduction

António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (Penamacor, 7 March 1699 – Paris, 14 October 1783) is best known for having served as a doctor in the Russian court (particularly for saving a young Catherine the Great's life), for having inspired important educational reforms in Portugal, for introducing foreigners to the health benefits of the Russian baths, for being a disciple of Hermann Boerhaave, for his entry in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, and for his connections to scientific Academies.

As a physician, he was a distinguished venereologist and became known as the “doctor of the maladies of love”. The Russian *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron's* entry on Sanches states that he “introduced foreign doctors to the therapeutic use of the Russian steam bath and the internal use of sublimate in syphilitic diseases”.¹ However, Sanches's work is not only medical in tenor, but also pedagogical, political, economic, historical, philosophical, and journalistic *avant la lettre*. While in Russia, Sanches earned an honourable reputation not only as a physician but also as a socio-political thinker, a reputation which he would consolidate in his Parisian years. Written in Portuguese, French or Latin, some of his works have been translated also into Russian, German, English and Italian. But most of his written legacy remains in manuscripts, and many are yet to be studied.

From his extensive and varied correspondence, it is safe to say that Sanches was a nodal point of scientific exchange within Europe, between Europe and China, China and Russia, and Russia and Europe. But his scientific correspondence also reached South America² and Africa.³ The subject matters of his writings were even vaster, extending to North America.

To say that Sanches was underappreciated in Portugal in his own time would be an understatement. Although he was known within important intellectual circles, and consulted by prominent characters, such as the statesman Marquis of Pombal, the first printed reference to Sanches in Portugal, to our knowledge, dates from 1759, thirty-three years after his departure from the country.⁴ By then, Sanches was already sixty years old. The second reference would appear thirteen years later in the Portuguese edition of a French medical book, in which the translator dedicated the book to Sanches.⁵ So to say that “in Portugal, odes were composed in honour of Sanches”⁶ probably gives the wrong idea that he was widely acclaimed in his birth nation. The only known odes written about Sanches are those by Filinto Elísio, whom he knew personally. And it must be said that not only they were published after Sanches's death,⁷ they were written not in Portugal but in Paris, where Elísio had sought refuge from

¹ “Санхец, Антон”, in *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*, ed. Иван Ефимович Андреевский, vol. 8a (Saint Petersburg: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1900), 367.

² *Vide infra*, p. 51.

³ He sent, for example, correspondence to D. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, governor and general captain of the kingdom of Angola, inquiring about remedies from Angola and Congo. V. “Codices manu scripti Boerhaave cum Doctoris Sanchez annotationibus et istius opuscula aliquot, a me animadversa J. Alvarez da Silva ...Lutetiae Parisor”, manuscript kept in the National Library of Portugal, COD. 11512.

Kaplanov says Sanches also had correspondents in Ecuador. We have not found evidence of it and Kaplanov does not cite sources, but it must be said that he had access to archives in Saint Petersburg whose content is unknown in Portugal. V. Рашид Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес – первый еврейский интеллигент в Российской империи”, *Вестник Еврейского университета в Москве* 1.14 (1997): 154.

⁴ Diogo Barbosa Machado, “ANTONIO RIBEIRO SANCHES”, in *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1759), 56-58.

⁵ Joseph Raulin, *Breves Instrucções sobre os Partos a favor das Parteiras das Provincias* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1772).

Willemse identified the translator (“M.R.D.A.”) as Manoel Ruiz de Almeida, from a letter of the translator to Sanches, dated 16 December 1772, announcing the conclusion of the printing process. Said letter can be found in the Austrian National Library, Cod. 12714, f. 97. V. David Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave, et son Importance pour la Russie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), x.

⁶ Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 155.

⁷ Three odes, dated 1781, 1789 and 1809. V. Maximiliano Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches. A sua vida e a sua obra* (Porto: Eduardo Tavares Martins, 1911), 161-163.

the Inquisition. In the nineteenth century, things do not improve: we find but a handful of historical writings about Sanches, and always integrated in encyclopaedic works⁸ or articles in periodicals;⁹ not a single monograph. A proper interest in Ribeiro Sanches would only be kindled in the twentieth century.¹⁰ His vast correspondence and the high-ranking positions he held, in contrast, attest to international recognition at least as early as in his Russian years.

If, on the one hand, Sanches remains mostly unknown in Portugal, even among scholars, on the other, the existing literature seems excessive inasmuch as it seldom adds anything new but more frequently spreads misinformation. The amount of misinformation scattered about Sanches in historical publications has created a self-reinforcing web of untruths so deeply rooted that they need not be questioned nor justified with sources. Even when sources are cited, they seem not to be cross-checked with primary sources. This attests to the fact that even those few researchers who take interest in Sanches delve only superficially into his biography.

Crossing sources to write even the briefest sketch about the life of Ribeiro Sanches unravels a bewildering web of incompatibilities and contradictions. The matter of Sanches's supposed memberships in so many European academies and societies constitutes a good example of this historiographical chaos. But there are issues with other commonly held assertions; namely, that Ribeiro Sanches was a descendant of the physician and philosopher Francisco Sanches, that he served in the court of Catherine the Great, that he was a pupil of Gravesande and Burmann, that he was a freemason and, lastly, that he was a Jew. We will address all of these issues and others, with varying degrees of success.

Where Fernando Augusto Machado, as late as in 2001, complained of a strange lack of interest in Sanches's pedagogical work,¹¹ we found that his pedagogical ideas and their impact on educational reforms are precisely the most mentioned and explored aspect in Portuguese papers. Nonetheless, they are yet to be crossed with the pedagogical works Sanches wrote for Russian institutions and nobles.¹² The main lines of investigation concerning Ribeiro Sanches we find studied thus far are: his pedagogical ideas and their role in Portuguese educational reforms; his considerations on the Russian baths; his ideas

⁸ Innocencio Francisco da Silva, "ANTONIO NUNES RIBEIRO SANCHES", *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1858), 213-214, and vol. 8 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 261-263; Francisco António Rodrigues de Gusmão, "Um Invento Portuguez", *Archivo Pittoresco* XI, (1868), 139-141, 147.

⁹ Sousa Viterbo's transcriptions of a letter from D. Vicente de Sousa Coutinho and two letters to D. Luiz da Cunha in *Arte* (1880) and *Commercio Portuguez* (1882).

¹⁰ In the first decades, most notably with the unrivalled research developed by Maximiliano Lemos and, though to a lesser extent, some other academics in his circle. Also notably with Joaquim de Carvalho and his associates' attempt, in the late 50s and in the 60s, to collect and publish Sanches's works.

Kaplanov associates the fall of the dictatorial regime in Portugal with the growth of research about Sanches, but while it is true that most works about Sanches are from the late twentieth century and henceforth, to us this seems a *non sequitur*. To say that, during the authoritarian regime of the Estado Novo, "[Sanches's] legacy was studied and published, as a rule, by historians close to the liberal opposition"¹⁰, referring to Joaquim de Carvalho and his associates' endeavour to publish the collected works of Sanches, sets a possibly accidental but at least probably unnecessary political tie. Even if we take into account Sanches's "stubborn anticlericalism", which would certainly not have been lauded by the authorities, it need be shown whether the regime truly hindered any attempts to develop investigation about Sanches. Kaplanov says that after 1974 (the year the Estado Novo was overthrown by a military coup) "all new works on Sanches, which had previously remained in manuscript, began to appear". V. Капланов, "Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес", 155. What works exactly are being alluded to, we do not know.

It should be noticed that sparse professional interest in Sanches was already itself historical, and we find works about Sanches published in every decade of the twentieth century. Furthermore, other reasons explain this shift. For one thing, the bicentennial of Sanches's death motivated a conference and exhibition in Coimbra which unsurprisingly sparked new research in the 80s and onwards. Kaplanov also mentions manuscripts, previously known only by name, being found in Lisbon, but other than "Apontamentos para descobrir na América portuguesa..." (v. n. 21), we have missed whatever findings he is referring to. V. Капланов, "Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес", 156.

¹¹ Fernando Augusto Machado, *Educação e cidadania na ilustração portuguesa: Ribeiro Sanches* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2001), 19.

¹² V., e.g., Владислав Ржеуцкий, "Pro et contra: идеал воспитания высшего дворянства в России (вторая половина XVIII – начало XIX века)", in *Идеал воспитания дворянства в Европе. XVII–XIX века*, изд. Владислав Ржеуцкий, Игорь Федюкин и Владимир Берелович (Москва: Новое литературное обозрение, 2018), 219-230.

on public health and their influence on the reconstruction of Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake; his ideas on the origin and treatment of venereal disease; the illuminist slant of his work; Boerhaave's recommendation and his positions in Russia; his role in the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg; his Paris and Saint Petersburg libraries; and his exchange with the Jesuits at Beijing.

Already in 1936 the renowned historian António Ferrão had argued that, after all that had been written about Sanches, a new work would only be justifiable if new documents were found.¹³ Almost a century later, there are some major loose ends regarding Sanches's life, there are manuscripts left to inquire into, and the contents of his works at large remain to be studied. But although much has been written since about Sanches, few works present new information. The complete works of Ribeiro Sanches started being published in the late 1950s, but only two volumes came to see the light of day,¹⁴ and they are no longer available on the market.

Besides, most recent work on Sanches has been written in Portuguese and thus remains off-limits to the greatest part of the community of historians of science, and historians at large. At least equally upsetting is the fact that Portuguese papers never draw on Russian sources, and they do exist. Thus, as we proceeded with our investigations, we found a polarization in the published materials regarding the sources consulted. In Portugal, where most work has been written, we hardly see authors visiting Russian sources or literature directly. Likewise, Russian authors, at least as far as they were available to us, seldom resort to Portuguese sources or literature. According to Rachid Kaplanov, in Russia Sanches has aroused the attention mainly of historians of Medicine and historians of Jewry.¹⁵ We also found Russian papers about his contacts with nobles such as Count Vorontsov, and about the library he sold to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. But Kaplanov complains of “a noticeable ignorance of Portuguese history and foreign archives”¹⁶ on the part of the Russian researchers, which reinforces our argument that it is necessary to establish a dialogue between Russian and western research.

Most of Sanches's known manuscripts are currently kept in the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé in Paris,¹⁷ in the National Library of Spain,¹⁸ in the University of Pennsylvania,¹⁹ in the District

¹³ António Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros: Novos elementos para as biografias desses académicos* (Lisboa: Ottostráfica, 1936), 3-4.

¹⁴ Organized by organized by Joaquim de Carvalho: António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Obras*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1959-1966). The first volume comprises the texts “Método para Aprender e Estudar a Medicina”, “Apontamentos para fundar-se uha Universidade Real na cidade do Reyno que se achasse mais conveniente”, “De Academia Georgia Augusta, quae Gottingae est” (statutes of the University of Göttingen), and “Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade”. The second volume contains Andry's “Précis historique sur la vie de M. Sanchès”, “Apontamentos para estabelecer um Tribunal e Colégio de Medicina na intenção que esta Ciência se conservasse de tal modo, que sempre fosse útil ao Reino de Portugal, e dos seus dilatados domínio”, a letter to Joaquim Pedro de Abreu, and “Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos”.

¹⁵ Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 155.

¹⁶ The example given is the entry about Sanches in the *Еврейской энциклопедии*, “which makes the unfounded assumption that Sanches was among the Masons who fled from Lisbon to Paris during the anti-Masonic persecution of the 70s in the eighteenth century”. V. Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 156.

¹⁷ There are nine tomes of Sanches's manuscripts in the Catalogue ancien of the library, almost all of his own hand: BIU Santé, Médecine pole, MS 41, MS 42, MS 43, MS 2015, MS 2016, MS 2017, MS 2018, MS 2019, MS 2020. A table of contents of each tome can be consulted at https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/histoire/ancien-catalogue/index.php?index=ribeiro+sanches&date=&cote=&m_siecle=.

There is word in the 1860s of the Eschola de Lisboa obtaining permission to copy in full Sanches's volumes of manuscripts at the Faculté de Médecine de Paris, an initiative that fell apart due to the value Paris required, 5000 francs. V. “ANTONIO NUNES RIBEIRO SANCHES”, in *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, ed. Innocencio Francisco da Silva, vol. 8 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 261.

¹⁸ Five volumes under the title *Miscellanea Medica*, MSS/18370, MSS/18371, MSS/18372, MSS/18373, MSS/18374, with the following description: “scripts, made by Dr. A. Ribeyro Sanchez, including important cases, details of the war between Russian and Turkey in 1755 (Dr. Ribeyro Sanchez acting as first physician), medical notes on various diseases (especially Lues Venerea), on inoculation for the small pox, letters from China (written by the Jesuits A. Pereyra, P. de Souza, D. Pinheiro, A. Hallerstein and A. Gomez), notes on the Inquisition, on the colonies of Portugal, on education, on Catholic universities, copies of correspondence, on the disturbances of the Jesuits in AMERICA, RUSSIAN DIARY, and numerous other highly interesting papers in Latin, Spanish, French and German.” Digitizations available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>.

¹⁹ Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, UPenn Ms. Codex 1657, named *Colecci[ón] de vari[os] tracta[dos]*. Tomo [segundo], containing: “f.1r-14v: [Letter about the end of the persecution of Marranos in Portugal

Archive of Braga,²⁰ in the National Library of Portugal,²¹ and in the Torre do Tombo National Archives,²² while a great deal of his received correspondence is kept in the Austrian National Library²³. There are also some scattered letters throughout Europe, at least in Uppsala,²⁴ Glasgow,²⁵ and Évora²⁶. Letters from Sanches to Jacob Staehlin kept in the Russian National Library²⁷ and manuscripts from the Vorontsov collection at the Odessa State Library and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents in Moscow²⁸ were also identified in the second half of the twentieth century, though they still do not figure in western

by the Inquisition] / Philopater [António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches]; f.16r-19v: Notícias da frota de Russia / Doctor Sanches; f.21r-25v: Extrait du registre des resolutions des seigneurs Etats d'Hollande et West Frise, pris dans l'assemblée de leurs nobles et grandes puissances le jeudy 10 fevrier 1752; f.27r-32v: Noticias que saõ necessarias saberse [??] Russia para que Portugal possa naõ somente introduzir ali o seu commercio, e mutuamente a Russia em Portugal, mas taõbem retirar outras utilidades da boa amizade, e intelligencia com a Corte da Russia / Doctor Sanches; f.33r-33v: Etat des forces militaires de Russie / [António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches]; f.36r-83v: [Notes to the writer's son on improvement in Portugal with reference to Sanches's work on New Christians / Luiz da Cunha?]; f.85r-131v: [Diplomatic correspondence from Paris, 1737 / Luiz da Cunha].²⁹ Digitization available at <https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p31n7xr4g>.

We stumbled upon this volume by chance and have not found reference to it in any source (possibly because it was auctioned only in 2011, having apparently always been in private collections until then). This being identified as the second of three volumes of collected manuscripts, we could not identify the other two.

²⁰ “Arquivo António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches”, PT/UM-ADB/PSS/AANRS, containing twenty-three miscellaneous manuscripts from the years 1749-1779, previously in the private collection of the 1st Count of Barca. Digitizations available at <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/details?id=1532077>.

²¹ “Dissertações, observações e estudos”, COD. 511; “Peculio de varias receitas para diversas queixas”, COD. 520; “Codices manu scripti Boerhaave cum Doctoris Sanchez annotationibus et istius opuscula aliquot, a me animadversa J. Alvarez da Silva ...Lutetiae Parisor”, COD. 11512; “Carta sobre a Educação da Mocidade Portuguesa”, COD. 10896; “Missionarios Aos Payses alheios (carta de António Ribeiro Sanches a Pedro da Costa de Almeida Salema manifestando-se contra a acção das missões católicas, datada em "Belle Ville" a 28 de Maio de 1760 (f. 105-111)”, COD. 235; “Mon journal”, F. 381.

The anonymous manuscript “Apontamentos para descobrir na América portuguesa aquelas produções naturais que podem enriquecer a Medicina e o Comércio, Paris, Outubro de 1763”, COD. 6941/4, digitization available at <https://purl.pt/27752>, was identified by Gisele C. Conceição as also being from Sanches. V. Conceição, “Evidências”, 522.

²² Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, liv. 681, <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4659153>. Manuscripts in French about Russia, according to Georges Dulac, “Science et politique: les réseaux du Dr António Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783)”, *Cahiers du Monde russe. Russie-Empire russe-Union soviétique et États indépendants* 43.2-3 (2002), 251.

²³ “626 Letters of autographs of men of doctors, especially physicians, to the teacher Antonio Ribeiro Sanches, a former *archiatrum* of the emperors of the Russian Federation, dated 1735-1783, in Latin, French, and Portuguese. Each volume is a list of letters sent, among which the most famous names are Albert Haller, Gerhard Van Swieten, Leonhard Euler, Gaubius Lyon, Schoepflin of Strasbourg, JG Gmelin, Jacob Stehlin, etc. There are also some letters of Sanches to friends.” [free translation] – Cod. 12713 HAN MAG, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13960907>, Cod. 12714 HAN MAG, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC16293207>. All these letters are from the Parisian period, according to André Rocha, “Um epistolário vienense de Ribeiro Sanches”, in *Relações entre a Áustria e Portugal: testemunhos históricos e culturais* (Coimbra: Almedina, 1985), 245.

²⁴ A letter from Sanches to Albrecht von Haller, from Berlin, dated 18 November 1747, is kept at the Uppsala University Library, in The Waller Manuscript Collection, Waller Ms espt-00118, with the description “Discussion on Gmelin and some plants from Peking; author's plans for travels in Europe and, perhaps, to visit the addressee; request for help in purchasing a number of books, not least by the addressee”. Digitization available at <http://waller.uu.se/23370.html>.

²⁵ In the collection of manuscripts of the Glasgow University Library, GB 247 MS Hunter H139, there is an “Extract of letter from Dr. Sanchez of Paris to Mr Magalhaens at London, 2 Nov. 1769, referring to Dr. Hunter's paper on the Bones & Teeth 'of that Animal the Russians call... Mammouth”, <http://collections.gla.ac.uk/#/details/ecatalogue/301398>.

²⁶ Three letters from Sanches to Manuel Pacheco Sampaio Valadares: Moscow, 18 January 1733; Saint Petersburg, 20 March 1735; Saint Petersburg, 15 July 1735. One letter from Sanches to Gonçalo Xavier d'Alcáçova, Paris, 2 November 1772. Public Library of Évora, BPE-RES cod. CIX/1-1, n.º 7, previously identified as Cod. $\frac{CX}{1-13}$.

²⁷ Forty letters from Sanches to Staehlin, sent between 1770-1777, are kept in the National Library of Russia, ф. 871, ед. хр. 664, “Письма к Якову Яковлевичу Штелину”. Digitization available at <https://vivaldi.nlr.ru/lk000000673/view/>.

²⁸ Российский государственный архив древних актов, ф. 1261 “Воронцовы”, оп. 1, дд. 2837, 2781-2784; Д. 2837: “Notes by an unknown author on the fine arts, science and technology as applied to Russia. Draft. No signature. In French”, 1765, 33 folios. Д. 2781, “Notes / on the issue of the education of abandoned children in Russia under Catherine P: a / an outline of the history of the founding of the London Hospital in 1759, b / its regulations, c / considerations on the applicability of the regulations to Russian conditions and d / plan for institutions for the upbringing of children in Russia. Draft translations in extracts and notices. No signature. In French”, 1765, 49 folios. Д. 2782, “Note by an unknown person on the state of education in Russia and on the influence of knowledge on the civil and political state of society. Draft, no signature. In French”, 1765, 33 folios. Д. 2783, “Notes by an unknown person about society under the title: "Discourse on the political economy of states, especially as applied to Russia" / "Reflexion sur l'économie politique des états appliquées particulièrement a l'empire de Russie" / In French”, 1767, 5 folios. Д. 2784, “Notes by an unknown author / D'Alembert? / on the socio-historical development of Europe and Russia. In French”, 1771-1773, 46 folios.

literature.²⁹ At least up until recently there were meeting records, manuscripts and correspondence pertaining to Sanches in the Russian Academy of Sciences. But in 1989 a fire devoured some of Sanches's manuscripts and correspondence kept at the Library of the Academy of Sciences (then of the USSR),³⁰ so we do not know what exactly can be found there presently. Although these archives were studied by David Willemse and in depth by Kaplanov before the fire (his hand copies being sometimes our only access to Sanches's lost manuscripts), most of the Kaplanov's work has unfortunately gone missing.³¹

The 1960s and 1990s brought about important new material about Ribeiro Sanches from Russia. The aforementioned letters to Jacob von Staehlin, kept in the Russian National Library, were studied by Willemse, and manuscripts from and about Sanches in the Vorontsov collection were identified,³² reintroduced into scientific circulation,³³ and studied by João Miranda. These discoveries were to our knowledge the most significant breakthroughs for Sanches's researchers in decades. At the outset, our plan for this dissertation was precisely to investigate what manuscripts, correspondence or other documents relating to Sanches are kept in Russian archives, but the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine as of February 2022 has made it impossible for us to travel to Russia.

The fact that these archives, as well as other Russian sources, remain left out in western bibliography at large is odd, given that Sanches held prominent positions in Russia for sixteen years. David Willemse, João Miranda and Georges Dulac were the only western authors we found to have directly consulted these archives. The results of Willemse's investigations were published in *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave, et son importance pour la Russie* (1966),³⁴ where, amongst other important contributions, Sanches's role in the development of reform projects for Russian educational institutions is firstly expounded. Miranda complemented Willemse's investigations with material from Soviet archives that Willemse could not access,³⁵ but to our knowledge published only one article about Sanches,³⁶ which is in Russian and therefore has had little if any impact on western scholarship, and one book chapter about the ties between the Jesuits at Beijing and the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, where Sanches makes some appearances.³⁷ Georges Dulac proceeded in the 2000s

²⁹ Ж. А. Н. Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес и русско-португальские связи в XVIII в.,” *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 8: История* 3 (1987), 43; Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 156; Dulac, “Science et politique”, 251.

³⁰ José Milhazes, *A Saga dos Portugueses na Rússia* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011), 55.

³¹ This information was shared with us by José Milhazes, who has written extensively about the historical, political, and cultural relationships between Portugal and Russia. Having conducted research in Russia for 38 years, he possibly knows the Russian archives and sources better than any other Portuguese historian alive. We are grateful for the leads he gave us at the inception of this work.

Kaplanov alludes to the material concerning Sanches stored in the Soviet archives: “extensive correspondence, [notes] in the margins of the book and, most importantly, the treatises about different issues of social life and culture of Europe in general and Russia (these, in particular) remained practically unexplored”. Рашид Капланов, “А. Н. Рибейру Саншес и абсолютистское государство (по данным советских архивов)”, *Труды. Интервью. Воспоминания* (Москва: Центр научных работников и преподавателей иудаики в вузах «Сэфер», 2010), 67.

³² Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес”, 43; Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 156.

³³ Notably with the publication of 40 volumes of archival material in *Архив Князя Воронцова*, ред. П. И. Бартнев (Москва: Университетская типография, 1870-1895).

³⁴ David Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave, et son Importance pour la Russie* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966).

³⁵ “Однако а монографии Виллемсе, изданной 20 лет назад, не использован, да и не мог быть использован ряд источников, в том числе из советских архивов. Думается, что документы М. Л. Воронцова, Д. М. и Д. А. Голицыных, М. М. Щербатова, материалы Петербургской Академии наук, остававшиеся до сих пор вне поля зрения биографов Саншеса, внесут некоторые дополнения к общей картине деятельности ученого и русско-португальских связей.” Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес”, 41.

³⁶ Ж. А. Н. Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес и русско-португальские связи в XVIII в.,” *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 8: История* 3 (1987), 41-52.

³⁷ João Manuel S. A. Miranda, “Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio científico e cultural entre a Academia das Ciências de Petersburgo e a comunidade dos «Jesuítas Matemáticos» em Pequim nas décadas de 30–50 do século XVIII”, in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missão no Oriente* (Lisboa: Brotéria-Fundação Oriente, 2000), 331-364.

to incorporate the findings of Russian archives and authors in his articles, written in French or in Russian.³⁸ But in Portugal, where most research on Sanches has been developed, Russian sources are still not used.

Nearly sixty years after the new archival material began to appear in Russia, these archives and related publications remain out of the scope of the majority of western research on Sanches. And a lot has been written. The surprising fact that very few western historians have bothered with what Russian historians had to say, plunging these discoveries into a vacuum, becomes less surprising in the light of the lack of bridges between researching poles and, above all, the language barrier, which has been a key hindrance in both directions. Russian and Portuguese are rare enough languages in the curriculum of an historian of science, let alone the conjunction of the two. But establishing a dialogue between sources, we believe, would tremendously enrich the production of knowledge on this remarkable character and allow for a more comprehensive study of the life and legacy of Ribeiro Sanches.

On the one hand, in this dissertation we attempt to reconcile to some degree the investigations of Russian and western historians, even though the fact that we are prevented from visiting Russia hinders this goal to a considerable degree. To this effect, we will give greater focus to the years Ribeiro Sanches spent in Russia. On the other hand, we attempt to resolve some widespread and deeply rooted misconceptions about his life, and where success is not met, at least to expose the need for further enquiries, wherefore we subjected our secondary sources to a quasi-Cartesian doubt. We again focused especially on Sanches's Russian years, but also found it necessary to tackle his youth. What is currently said about his early years consists more often than not in preambulatory acritical regurgitation. As a consequence, our picture of Sanches's youth is impressionistic at best and contradictory at least.³⁹ Finally, we gathered information regarding as many primary sources as we could, so as to streamline further research. We believe that new works on Sanches must derive primarily from them. This dissertation does not aim in the slightest to provide the reader with a comprehensive view of Sanches's life or intellectual production. The Paris years, for example, his most productive from an intellectual point of view, and of the highest importance to understand the development of his *oeuvre* and networks, fall outside of our scope for now.

As we believe Sanches to be deserving of the chance to be more widely known, and in the hopes of sparking cross-continent interest, we decided to write in English. All uncredited translations from the Russian, Latin, French, German, and Portuguese are our responsibility. Author citations were preferably left in the original.

³⁸ Жорж Дюлак, "Рибейро Санчес о политике колонизации и колониях в России (1765-1766)", *Европейское Просвещение и цивилизация России* (Москва: Наука, 2004), 264-280; Ж. Дюлак, "Наука и политика: Корреспондентские сети доктора Антониу Рибейру Саншеса", *Отношения между Россией и Францией в европейском контексте (в XVIII–XX вв.)* (Москва: ИНИОН РАН, 2002), 7-35; Georges Dulac and Ludmilla Evdokimova, "Politique et littérature. La correspondance de Dmitri A. Golitsyn, 1760-1784", *Dix-huitième siècle* 22 (1990), 367-400; Dulac, "Civiliser la Russie: Sept ans de travaux de Ribeiro Sanches (1765-1771)", *La Culture française et les archives russes. Une image de l'Europe au XVIIIe siècle* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIIIe siècle, 2004), 239-284; Dulac, "Deux mémoires de Ribeiro Sanches sur la «civilisation» de la Russie (1765 et 1771)", *Les Archives de l'Est et la France des Lumières* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIIIe siècle, 2007), 422-493; Dulac, "Deux réseaux au service de l'Académie des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg: autour de Ribeiro Sanches et de Johann Albrecht Euler", *Dix-huitième siècle* 40.1 (2008), 193-210; Dulac, "Politique de civilisation en Russie selon Ribeiro Sanches (et Diderot)", *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 54 (2019), 121-145; Dulac, "Ribeiro Sanches et le développement de la Russie: le travail politique d'un médecin encyclopédiste (1764-1771)", *Ici et ailleurs: le dix-huitième siècle au présent. Mélanges offerts à J. Proust* (Tokyo: France Tosho, 1996), 393-421; Dulac, "Science et politique: les réseaux du Dr António Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783)", *Cahiers du Monde russe. Russie-Empire russe-Union soviétique et États indépendants* 43.2-3 (2002), 251-274. Though we could not access most of these works.

³⁹ The best account remains that of Maximiliano Lemos's 1911 biography, v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 1-103.

Portugal

Penamacor, Guarda and Coimbra

António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches was born in Penamacor on March 7, 1699. His genealogy has been thoroughly researched and expounded by Lemos.⁴⁰ It is often said that he was a descendant of the famous philosopher and physician Francisco Sanches (1551–1623),⁴¹ but we have found evidence neither to support nor refute this claim. His parents, Simão and Ana Nunes, were New Christians summoned by the Inquisition in 1715 and 1712, respectively.⁴² Simão Nunes was a merchant,⁴³ but historians diverge regarding whether he was wealthy or poor, a respected Talmudist or a true convert,⁴⁴ a travelled man or otherwise. These questions we are in no position to resolve either.

Sanches's proclivity for reading began early. At home he did not have many books, so he borrowed them from his fellow countrymen, namely from a man very learned in History called Francisco Taborda Nogueira. At the age of thirteen, Sanches left *escola latina* and was sent by his father to Guarda, "to learn how to play the zither".⁴⁵ This event possibly coincided with his mother being summoned by the Inquisition in May 1712. Sanches stayed in Guarda until 1716. He lived with a relative, probably his uncle Antonio Rodrigues and/or⁴⁶ his paternal aunt Leonor Mendes,⁴⁷ who recommended him to a learned old man that quickly grew fond of him and taught him about national History.⁴⁸ It was during this period that Sanches learned the distinction between Old and New Christian. This man, whose identity we have not identified, explained to Sanches that they were both New Christian and that this differentiation had come up in Portugal in 1505.⁴⁹ He did not tell Sanches about the Inquisition, even though he had had to deal with it himself. Indeed, he would not go into religious discussions with him, simply stating frequently that truth and charity sufficed to make a man good. This precept had a lasting impact on Sanches, who seems to have tried to always live by it and invokes this mentor warmly throughout the years.⁵⁰

Another important figure from this time was the scholar Martinho de Mendonça de Pina e de Prouença (1693–1743), who "through his books and directions" made him fall in love with the *belles*

⁴⁰ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 5-9, where a family tree can be consulted.

⁴¹ V., e.g., José Luís Doria, "António Ribeiro Sanches: a portuguese doctor in 18th century Europe", *Vesalius: acta internationales historiae medicinae* 7.1 (2001): 27; "RIBEIRO SANCHES (António Nunes)", in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. 15 (Lisboa: Editorial Enciclopédia, 1935-1957), 628.

⁴² Both trial records are available for reading: "Processo de Simão Nunes", Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 7906, digitization at <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2308001>; "Processo de Ana Nunes", Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 5010, dig. <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2354937>. <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2308001>

⁴³ "Mercador de sola" and "tratante" are the terms used in his and his wife's Inquisition trial records.

⁴⁴ Some authors also say Simão Nunes was one of the most respected a Talmudists and a Hebraists among the savants, and that he instilled the love of learning in his son from early on, preparing him for the philosophy of the ancient Greeks and Maimonides. V., e.g., Augusto Isaac d'Esaguy, *Dois inéditos de Ribeiro Sanches* (Lisboa: Imprensa Médica, 1958), 1.

⁴⁵ Letter from Sanches to Sampaio Valadares sent from Saint Petersburg, dated 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos de Historia da Medicina Portuguesa* 4.3 (1913), 92.

⁴⁶ We know from Simão Nunes's trial record at the Inquisition that Leonor was already a widow in 1715, but not since when.

⁴⁷ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 11.

⁴⁸ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 92.

⁴⁹ The distinction between Old and New Christians arose in 1497 to refer to the Christianized group that resulted from the General Conversion of the same year. V. A. J. Saraiva, H. P. Salomon, and I. Sassoon, "The Birth of the Portuguese New Christians", in *The Marrano Factory* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1.

Either Sanches was taught wrong or he remembered the date wrong. In any case, in his treatise *Christãos Novos e Christãos Velhos em Portugal*, he identified the origin of the distinction in 1492: "Não se conheceu o nome de Cristão velho, e Cristão novo em Portugal até o tempo de El Rei D. Manuel, quando obrigou os Judeus que tinham sido expulsos de Castela, no ano de 1492, a abraçar a Religião Cristã." V. António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Cristãos Novos e Cristãos Velhos em Portugal* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 1.

⁵⁰ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 93.

lettres at the age of fourteen.⁵¹ At the time, Proença was in his early twenties, but he was to become a librarian in D. João V's Royal Library, an illustrious member of the Royal Academy of History,⁵² and eventually the chief keeper of the Torre do Tombo archives.⁵³ Interestingly, he would also write one of the most important pedagogical treatises in Portugal, *Apontamentos para a educação de um menino nobre* (1734).⁵⁴ It would not be out of place to imagine that some of Sanches's own pedagogical ideas were influenced by Proença. Furthermore, we can perhaps trace back to this figure the seeds of Sanches's urge to leave Portugal. Proença often advised him to consider leaving the country so that he could "learn the things that if he stayed he never would be able to".⁵⁵

In 1716 Sanches left for the University of Coimbra, where he would study for three years.⁵⁶ He enrolled in the College of Arts, then still in charge of the Jesuits.⁵⁷ The education he received left a permanent bad impression on him, save for his philosophy teacher Manuel Baptista, whom he still cherished and corresponded with many years later.⁵⁸ Explicit critiques to the pedagogical methods of the University of Coimbra can be read in *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade* (1760) and in *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina* (1763), as well as throughout his correspondence. Two contemporaries of Sanches at the University of Coimbra with whom he regained contact later in life were Polycarpo de Sousa,⁵⁹ future bishop of Beijing,⁶⁰ and the poet Francisco de Pina e Melo.⁶¹

In the second year of college, Sanches spent the holidays in Tomar, at a father's relative, a very rich man who had in times been imprisoned by the Inquisition. He was "very attached to the nation" and lent Faria e Sousa's *Epítome de las Historias Portuguesas* to Sanches. He got very upset whenever the Inquisition was brought up, and taught Sanches about the way New Christians were treated in the country. But he was very pious, never uttering a word against Christianity, observing all Christian rituals and seeing to it that Sanches prayed the Rosary.

Sanches says he returned to Coimbra and after the third year went to Salamanca,⁶² but this may not be true. Although there are records of Sanches's enrollment in the first (1716-1717) and second

⁵¹ Letter from Sanches to Francisco de Pina e Melo sent from Paris, dated 16 September 1760. A transcription of the letter can be read in Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros*, 47-67.

⁵² Sanches established remarkable contacts with these two institutions later in life: *vide infra*, pp. 15 and 21, respectively.

⁵³ Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros*, 10.

⁵⁴ Rómulo de Carvalho, *Relações entre Portugal e a Rússia no Século XVIII* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979), 18.

⁵⁵ Also in the letter to Francisco de Pina e de Melo dated 16 September 1760. V. Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros*, 47.

⁵⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 93.

⁵⁷ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 12-14.

⁵⁸ In a letter draft to Father Manuel Baptista from 1747, Sanches wrote to his former teacher: "Quando considero com quanto amor e cuidado V. R. tinha dos meus estudos e aproveitamento enquanto tive a fortuna de ser seu discípulo em Coimbra no anno 1716 e nos seguintes." Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 12. According to Lemos, the letter draft was kept in the library of the Faculty of Medicine in Paris, vol. VI, p. 258, so it can presumably now be found at the Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé in Paris, Médecine pole, MS 2017, p. 258. Lemos assumes the letter is unfinished and hence was unsent, but we may guess it was a draft of one of two letters sent to his old teacher from Saint Petersburg, ordering instruments and books for the Jesuits at Beijing (v. n. 372373).

In Baptista's reply it becomes clear that the feeling of appreciation was mutual: "e desejara muito que Vossa Merce de mais perto de ore ad os mas desse de si, porque o desejo muito ver; e não duvide disto, porque esta relação que há de Mestre para discipulo he muito semelhante a Relação de Pay para ilho, e por isso concilia amor." About this correspondence, see Correia, "A propósito de uma carta endereçada a Ribeiro Sanches", 1-2.

⁵⁹ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 15.

⁶⁰ *Vide infra*, p. 36143.

⁶¹ Three letters from Sanches to Pina e Melo, from Paris, dated 31 July 1758, 7 March 1759 and 16 September 1760, were published in Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros*, 39-67. We learn that Sanches and Melo knew each other from Coimbra in the first letter.

Some sources (v., e.g., Joaquim Nabais, "Ribeiro Sanches: Relações de Um Penamacorense na Europa Esclarecida do Séc. XVIII", Exhibition catalogue (Penamacor: Museu Municipal de Penamacor, 2011), 9, https://www.cm-penamacor.pt/cm-penamacor/uploads/writer_file/document/2682/brochuradaexposicao.pdf) also list André Pereira as a contemporary student, but Pereira was only in Coimbra in 1714-1715, and had already embarked for Macao when Sanches enrolled.

⁶² In the 15 July 1735 letter to Valadares, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 93.

(1717-1718) courses of Arts of Professor Manuel Baptista, there are no records of him passing the exams or receiving degrees from the College of Arts. To clear any doubts, there are also no records of Sanches enrolled or attending exams in Medicine, Law or Canons.⁶³ The reasons why Sanches abandoned Coimbra are a topic of discussion. Andry writes that Sanches already dreamed of Medicine when he read Philosophy, but a medical career was apparently against his family's wishes. When he was eighteen, one of his uncles, an esteemed legal advisor in Penamacor, would have persuaded him to take up Law by making him his successor and offering the hand of his seventeen-year-old daughter.⁶⁴ This is, to our knowledge, the only episode in Sanches's life where marriage or a life companion is equated. Sanches consented, working diligently at his uncle's office, and contacting daily with his future bride, "more seductive for her character than for her beauty".⁶⁵ This would explain his whereabouts for the years 1718-1720, and it is probably the period he is referring to when he tells Valadares that he also studied Civil Law for two years.⁶⁶ A chance encounter with Hippocrates's *Aphorisms* would have been the turning point, rekindling his old passion, making him give up Law, and complicating his familial relationships. It was then another uncle, Diogo Nunes Ribeiro, a doctor in Lisbon, who became his protector.⁶⁷

Between Salamanca, Benavente and Lisbon

Sanches enrolled in the University of Salamanca on 28 November 1720, in the Faculty of Medicine, also studying Arts that year.⁶⁸

In 1721, when Sanches visited Lisbon during the holidays, he was warmly welcomed in his uncle Diogo Nunes Ribeiro's household, which had all already been denounced to and interrogated by the Inquisition.⁶⁹ Diogo instructed his nephew about the inner workings of the Jewish persecution machine,⁷⁰ which he had a profound knowledge of, but also began introducing him to Judaism. Sanches claims that until he was 23, he lived and thought in plain accord with Christianity.⁷¹ However, following some intense discussions with his uncle and his uncle's sister-in-law Teresa Eugénia, Sanches began giving in to their arguments and reading the Pentateuch, leaving for Benavente disorientated.

In Benavente he stayed with another uncle, João Nunes, who had also been summoned by the Inquisition,⁷² but referred to it only to say he had admitted to his faults and repented. Sanches did not

⁶³ According to former director of the University of Coimbra Mário Brandão, who searched the university archives for the years 1716-1720. Maximino Correia, "A propósito de uma carta endereçada a Ribeiro Sanches", offprint of *Imprensa Médica* Jan 1961 (Lisboa: Imprensa Médica, 1961), 3-4.

⁶⁴ To read a discussion of the possible identities of this uncle and cousin, v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 16-18.

⁶⁵ Charles-Louis François Andry, "Précis historique sur la vie de M. Sanchès", in *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Ant. Nuñez-Ribeiro-Sanches* (Paris: Guillaume de Bure, fils aîné, 1783), 7. Although Andry mixes up the University of Salamanca for the University Coimbra.

⁶⁶ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 14.

⁶⁷ Andry, "Précis", 7.

⁶⁸ On 17 December 1721, there is a second enrolment in Medicine, and then again on 15 December 1722 and 20 December 1723. V. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 32.

⁶⁹ Diogo and his wife Grácia Caetana da Veiga's trial records can be accessed at: "Processo de Diogo Nunes Ribeiro", Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2367, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2302285>; "Processo de Grácia Caetana da Veiga", Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 3054 and 3054-1, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2302998>, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2302999>.

⁷⁰ Most trials (95%, according to a survey by Herman Prins Salomon, 80% according to Francisco Bettencourt) targeted Jews and New Christians. V. Herman Prins Salomon, "Reaberto o debate entre I. S. Révah e A. J. Saraiva sobre o criptojudaismo peninsular?", *Caderno de Estudos Sefarditas* 5 (2005), 89; Francisco Bettencourt, *The Inquisition. A Global History, 1478-1834*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 345. For more about the Portuguese Inquisition, v., e.g., António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa (1536-1821)* (Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2013), the first complete history of the Portuguese Inquisition published since its extinction in 1821.

⁷¹ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 93.

⁷² His trial record in the Inquisition has not yet been identified.

utter a word about his religious doubts to João Nunes and returned to Salamanca for his classes still in a state of confusion. Busy with his studies, he claims not to have had much time for theology, but for the following two years he did not confess, and upon his next return to Benavente and Lisbon, he was already fully converted to Judaism.⁷³

Unlike Coimbra, the University of Salamanca and other universities that Sanches would come to attend allowed the students to learn with whomever they pleased. Graduation depended only on the professors' final exam.⁷⁴ So Sanches intercalated his lessons in Salamanca with practice in Guarda, and it was presumably during this period that Sanches became a pupil of Bernardo Lopes de Pinho. Diogo Nunes Ribeiro recommended the young Sanches to this reputed village doctor of Guarda, and Pinho became his master for two years, and another influential figure for him. Sanches accompanied him in his medical visits, learning about ailments and treatments *in situ*.⁷⁵ Sanches remembered Pinho fondly even in his later years, commending his expertise and his soft skills, which seemed to have a very positive impact on patients' recoveries.⁷⁶

Sanches graduated *nemine discrepante* from Salamanca on 5 April 1724.⁷⁷ That same year he moved to Benavente and stayed briefly in Lisbon with his uncle.⁷⁸ In Benavente he met the surgeon Julião dos Reis and befriended the poet Manuel Pacheco de Sampaio Valadares, with whom he still corresponded from Russia.⁷⁹ He practiced Medicine in Benavente for two years, but, although he might have gained the trust and esteem of the locals,⁸⁰ finding a prestigious employment would hardly have been possible: honorable positions required proof of pure Christian blood, which Sanches would never be able to prove, due to his New Christian lineage.⁸¹

⁷³ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 94-95.

⁷⁴ António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Apontamentos para fundar-se uma Universidade Real na cidade do Reino que se achasse mais conveniente* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 21.

The impressions left by the education system in Salamanca were not the best either. V. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 39-42

⁷⁵ Andry, "Précis", 7.

Doria situates meeting Pinho before the Coimbra years and says that it was the time spent with this doctor that made Sanches become interested in Medicine, disappointing the wishes of his father and uncle, who wanted him to practise Law. V. Doria, "António Ribeiro Sanches", 28. We could not find records to validate either of these narratives. We went with Andry's account because he was a friend of Sanches and could have learned this from the doctor himself, and dismissed Doria's, as we do not understand what it is based on and no sources are cited to justify it.

⁷⁶ About Lopes de Pinho, Sanches wrote: "Mon maître, le docteur Pinho, médecin de la ville de Guarda, étoit doué de tous ces avantages. J'ai été son disciple pendant deux ans; & j'ai observé que dans le mois pendant lequel il faisoit son service dans l'hôpital de la Miséricorde de cette ville, il y avoit une beaucoup plus grande quantité de malades qui sortoient guéris, que dans l'autre mois où l'autre médecin étoit de service, quoique ce médecin fût très-instruit: mais il étoit d'un caractère dur, ce qui le faisoit haïr des malades. Je me souviens que lorsque mon maître entroît dans la salle des malades, tous levoient la tête pour le voir; tous avoient la gaîté & la satisfaction peintes sur le visage; ceux qui désespéroient de leur état, étoient consolés; il relevoit leur esprit abattu, par la grâce, la décence, le jugement, la douceur qu'il mettoit dans ses paroles, & le courage qu'il leur inspiroit pour supporter les douleurs qu'ils éprouvoient." Ribeiro Sanches, "Affections de l'ame", *Encyclopédie Methodique. Médecine*, ed. Félix Vicq-d'Azyr, t. I. (Paris: Panckoucke, 1787), 264.

⁷⁷ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 38-39.

According to Doria, "he received his graduation with the dissertation *Venae rubrae nunquam absorvent*, which has been lost", Doria, "António Ribeiro Sanches", 28. But it is not true; this was the dissertation he wrote in the University of Leiden.

⁷⁸ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 58-59.

⁷⁹ Three letters from Sanches to Sampaio Valadares have reached us, containing critical biographical information: the first from Moscow, dated 18 January 1733, kept in the Public Library of Évora and transcribed in Maximiliano de Lemos, *Archivos de Historia da Medicina Portuguesa*, Nova série, 3.2 (1912), 40-41; the second, sent from Saint Petersburg, dated 20 March 1735, is transcribed in Maximiliano de Lemos, *Archivos de Historia da Medicina Portuguesa*, Nova série, 3.2 (1912), 42-44; the third, sent from Saint Petersburg, dated 15 July 1735, is kept in the Public Library of Évora, ms. cx/1-13 and transcribed in Maximiliano de Lemos, *Archivos de Historia da Medicina Portuguesa*, Nova série, 3.2 (1912), 45-48, 3.3 (1912), 75-80, 3.4 (1912), 131-139, 4.1 (1913), 25-31, 4.2 (1913), 57-62, 4.3 (1913), 90-96, 4.4 (1913), 119-128, 4.6 (1913), 137-143 (the transcription of this letter is scattered through many issues due to its length) and partially transcribed in Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 4-8. We are not sure if the letter of March 1735 reached Valadares: when Sanches was writing the third one, in July, he still had not received an answer to it, v. Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, in Lemos, *Archivos* 4.6 (1913), 142.

⁸⁰ Andry, "Précis", 8.

⁸¹ Sanches speaks of this issue himself: "o novo Medico se tirar as suas inquiriões de limpeza de sangue, alcançará o partido que pretende; e o Medico que naõ pode tirar Inquiricoens limpas fica rejeitado delle, ainda que servisse a dita Camara

In 1726 he finished his first work, *Discurso sobre as Águas de Penha Garcia*,⁸² and left Portugal never to return. The reason for his departure is also a matter of discussion. Sanches's first biographers, and other historians who quote them, justify his exit solely with his intellectual thirst, which his homeland lacked the resources to feed.⁸³ Others invoke his cousin Manuel Nunes Sanches's denunciation to the Inquisition in October 1726, and the subsequent fear he must have felt of being persecuted.⁸⁴ Others draw on the confessional letter he wrote to Sampaio de Valadares in 1735: after explaining the steps taken to his conversion to Judaism, Sanches confesses that a certain passage of *De Civitate Dei* made him terrified that he was not circumcised, and so he decided to go north, where he believed he "would find the Jews and the Jewish law, the Holiest thing in the world". Sanches departed without saying a word to anyone but his uncle Diogo. Interestingly, he wrote to his uncle from the house of an Englishman, where it is implicit that he was staying, since Diogo paid him a visit there.⁸⁵ This raises the question of who this Englishman was and whether he influenced Sanches's decision to move to London. Unfortunately, we found no other clues regarding his identity.

por quarenta annos. Ja se ve que este Medico rejeitado nao pode ter cargo honroso; como ser Medico de hum Hospital famoso; ser familiar do Santo Officio, nem ser de nenhuma ordem Militar, nem mesmo ser Terceyro do Habito de San Francisco." António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade*. (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1922), 140.

⁸² Left in manuscript. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 69.

⁸³ Andry, "Précis", 8. Félix Vicq-d'Azyr, "Sanchez (Ribeiro)", in *Oeuvres de Vicq-d'Azyr*, vol. 3 (Paris: L. Duprat-Duverger, 1805), 223.

⁸⁴ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 67-69.

⁸⁵ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 95.

The European Journey

London

Having left Portugal never to return, Sanches travelled first to Genova and then to London. The reason for this detour is unclear; it may have served to avoid suspects or for pragmatic travel reasons. His uncle Diogo also departed for London with his wife and children soon afterwards, assuming the name Samuel Nunes Ribeiro. By 1727, Sanches was living with them and with his younger brother Manuel, who was studying pharmacy.⁸⁶ Sanches attended schools and hospitals in the English capital,⁸⁷ henceforth favoring practical and demonstrative methods of teaching medical subjects, as is clear for example in his *Método para aprender e estudar a medicina* (1763).⁸⁸ But his interest, then as always, extended past the purely medical fields. Sanches also paid heed to the way physics, chemistry, natural philosophy, and pharmacy were taught in England,⁸⁹ and frequented the mathematics lessons of Jacob Stirling.⁹⁰ According to Vicq-d'Azyr, he also attended the anatomy lessons of James Douglas.⁹¹ Although we cannot confirm this, there is evidence in his writings that he was at least familiar with Douglas's methods.⁹² Seeing the benefits of combining medicine and pharmacy, Sanches henceforth considered it a necessity that all physicians acquired practical pharmaceutical knowledge. English medical books, such as William Lewis's improvement of Quincy's *New Dispensatory*, remained some of his biggest influences throughout the years.⁹³

At the time, there was a large community of Portuguese Jews who sought refuge from the Inquisition in London.⁹⁴ Among Sanches's circle was the famous physician Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, who would become his assiduous correspondent, and Isaac Sequeira de Samuda (formerly Simão Lopes Samuda⁹⁵). Sanches promptly got circumcised – a decision he would come to regret deeply. A year later, covered in shame, he claims to have noticed some faults in Judaism and to have grown weary of Jews, “with that humor and the barbaric costumes mixed with those of the northerners”, and of the abuses he saw them commit. Remorseful, he oscillated between a desire to redeem his Christianity by rejecting the Talmud and passionate deistic discourses.⁹⁶ According to the letter to Valadares where he confessed all of this, Sanches left London consumed by thoughts of damnation and redemption, “and for other reasons as well”. These reasons are not specified, but his bad health might have been one of them: according to Andry, although Sanches considered settling in London, “a grave illness, which he attributed to the climate, made him renounce this project.”⁹⁷

⁸⁶ Lemos, “Amigos de Ribeiro Sanches”, *Estudos de História da Medicina Peninsular*, (Porto: Tip. a Vapor da Enciclopédia Portuguesa, 1916); Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 71-72.

⁸⁷ Letter to Joaquim Pedro de Abreu, kept in the BIU Santé, Médecine pole, MS 2019, f. 167, *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 75.

⁸⁸ “Do mesmo modo que para aprender a Anatomia são necessários Mestres que a ensinam demonstrando-a no corpo humano, assim a Química não se poderá jamais aprender que vendo, e obrando pela direcção de um Mestre inteligente. Será preciso que saiam Estudantes aprendê-la principalmente em Leyde, em Londres, e em Edimburgo, porque de outro modo jamais se poderá introduzir a Química Médica em Portugal.” António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 23.

⁸⁹ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 76-77.

⁹⁰ Draft of a letter to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757, the manuscript of which is kept in the National Library of Spain, MSS/18372, fl. 243v, digitization at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 3, document 913.

⁹¹ Vicq-d'Azyr, “Sanchez (Ribeiro)”, 223.

⁹² Sanches, *Método*, 16; Sanches, *Apontamentos para Estabelecer-se um Tribunal e Colégio de Medicina* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 15.

⁹³ Sanches, *Método*, 37.

⁹⁴ Carvalho, *Relações entre Portugal e a Rússia no Século XVIII*, 19.

⁹⁵ Cousin of aunt Grácia Caetana.

⁹⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 95-96.

⁹⁷ Andry, “Précis”, 8-9.

Montpellier, Marseille and Bordeaux

Sanches attended the University of Montpellier in 1728, but practically nothing is known about this period.⁹⁸ Afterwards, he spent some time in Marseille, where he met Jean-Baptiste Bertrand (1670–1752).⁹⁹ In *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie vénérienne*, Sanches refers that he met a few times with Bertrand in 1728. The two physicians discussed the causes of the plague that had devastated Marseille in 1720-1721, and which Bertrand had dealt with successfully.¹⁰⁰ This meeting had a great impact on Sanches's path, for it was Bertrand who first prompted him to go and listen to Boerhaave, showing him the master's *Aphorisms* and advising him eagerly to learn his doctrine.¹⁰¹ Sanches then moved to Bordeaux with his brother Manuel, teaching Latin and History to one of his tenants' children.¹⁰² This is all we know from his stay in France, but it probably lasted only a few months, for reasons that will become clear.

Livorno and Pisa

Sanches left Bordeaux for Livorno searching for a medical position.¹⁰³ He was a few months in the University of Pisa,¹⁰⁴ but from his studies there we only know that he met Father Alberto Soria, a philosophy teacher with a fondness for mathematics.¹⁰⁵ Soria, whom he afterwards reencountered in Livorno, became an important influence for Sanches. The discussions they carried, along with some further readings, were the final step for his abandonment of the Jewish law. In his heart, however, he claimed still not to abide to Christianity.

Another important figure for Sanches in Livorno was João de Almeida, knight of the Order of Christ and former secretary of the Portuguese embassy in Rome. Almeida sought the doctor because of a stomach fistula and the two immediately got along. Sanches shared his spiritual doubts, but Almeida vowed not to denounce him to the Inquisition; on the contrary, he offered him his protection, money, and a letter of recommendation to go to Rome. Sanches, however, could no longer leave his brother in Bordeaux with the Jewish family, specially knowing he had no means of leaving. So he departed for Bordeaux, again without saying a word to anyone. On his way, in Genoa, he went to confession before catching the boat, sharing his life story with a Dominican priest. In his soul, he claimed, he felt fully Christian again but dare not take communion.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ Although there is no mention of Montpellier or Marseille in the immensely rich letter to Valadares where Sanches sketched out his European tour (he mentions only Bordeaux after London), we know that he visited these cities. Sanches listed the University of Montpellier among those he attended, for example in the letter to Joaquim Pedro de Abreu, Paris, 26 March 1760, v. Sanches, *Obras*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1966), 134. It is Andry who places this period in 1728, v. Andry, "Précis", 9.

⁹⁹ Andry, "Précis", 9.

¹⁰⁰ "En 1728, j'ai fréquenté plusieurs fois M. Bertrand, qui avoit été le Médecin de la Ville de Marfeille, pour traiter les Malades de la Pefte en 1720 & 1727." This reference, however, is not present in the first 1752 edition, lest it missed us. V. António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie venerienne* (Paris: Durand/Pissot, 1752). We found it only as early as in the revised and corrected edition from 1777: António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie vénérienne* (Leiden: André Koster, 1777), 151.

¹⁰¹ "Comme ce respectable Médecin, homme très-instruit, est le premier qui m'a excite à aller entendre le grand Boerhaave, en me montrant un jour les Aphorismes, & me conseillant avec empressement d'aller apprendre cette doctrine; je respecte sa mémoire avec la plus vive reconnaissance". Sanches, *Dissertation*, 153.

¹⁰² This family descended from Simão Pires Solis, a New Christian who had been unjustly accused of vandalizing and robbing the Santa Engrácia church, and for those crimes was sentenced in 1631 to be dragged by his tied hands through the streets of Lisbon unto Santa Engrácia, where his hands would be severed and burned in front of him, before he himself burned at the stake in an auto-de-fé.

¹⁰³ The dates of these travels are unfortunately not specified.

¹⁰⁴ Letter draft to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757.

¹⁰⁵ Sanches alludes in passing to his attendance at the University of Pisa in a letter to Joaquim Pedro de Abreu, 26 March 1760: "o que aprendi por trinta e quatro anos nas Universidades de Pisa, Montpellier e Leyde, nas Escolas e Hospitais de Londres e da Rússia, e pela correspondência (...)".

¹⁰⁶ V. n. 108.

Back in Bordeaux

He arrived in Bordeaux in the winter of 1729 and reunited with his brother Manuel, persuading him to reconvert as well. The two agreed to return to Portugal, though they did not have enough money to travel even by foot. By a twist of fate, the young man Sanches had tutored in Bordeaux was sent to the University of Leiden to study Medicine. It was decided that Sanches would accompany the young student, while his brother was to go back to London under the protection of the parents. The three took a boat to London, whence Sanches and his disciple took to Leiden. Sanches arranged for his brother to go to Paris to learn surgery.¹⁰⁷

Leiden

In the Dutch Republic, Sanches acted neither as a Jew nor as a Christian. He had ceased to observe any Jewish ceremonies since his *séjour* in Italy, but he also dare not attend mass in public, fearing that his hosts might withdraw their help. His brother in Paris lived as a Christian.¹⁰⁸ Sanches enrolled in the University of Leiden on 12 April 1730¹⁰⁹ and studied with Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738)¹¹⁰ until 1731.¹¹¹ Sanches's admiration both for Boerhaave's didactic methods of teaching and for his medical efficiency is patent in his letters and works. He was a dedicated and vivacious student,¹¹² and told Valadares that he had learned more in two years with Boerhaave and Albinus than he had in the previous twenty years.¹¹³

Regarding other masters Sanches had in Leiden, the literature diverges. Andry states that, at the University of Leiden, Sanches studied anatomy with Albinus, chemistry with Gaubius, pharmacy with Van Swieten, and medicine with Boerhaave. But he also refers to the professor of humanities Burmann as Sanches's old master, whose works he revisited in his last days.¹¹⁴ Lemos also states that Burmann is often referenced in Sanches's work, but is unable to find evidence that Sanches was his pupil in Leiden.¹¹⁵ Other authors are quicker to say that Sanches studied with Burmann.¹¹⁶ Doria not only promptly states that all these were masters of Sanches in Leiden, but also adds to the list one Gravesende, which we assume is a misspelling of the name of Willem Jacob 's Gravesande.¹¹⁷ Gravesande was indeed

¹⁰⁷ V. n. 108.

¹⁰⁸ We find hardly any other information about these years of travelling, learning all this in the aforementioned letter sent to Valadares on 15 July 1735.

¹⁰⁹ The university records were consulted by Willemse. V. *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 64.

¹¹⁰ Boerhaave was a leading figure in the application of physics to medicine, spreading influence both through his classes, his books, such as the *Institutiones medicae* (1708) and the *Aphorismi de cognoscendis et curandis morbis* (1709), and his disciples, who disseminated his doctrines to other countries (Van Swieten, for example, exported his teachings to Vienna, Edinburgh and Göttingen, after becoming the personal physician of the Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa). Boerhaave construed health and sickness as expressions of such variables as forces, weights, and hydrostatic pressures, a model which encouraged experimentation. With Newton's *Principia* being published in 1687, mechanistic models had gained an unprecedented expression in other fields of knowledge as well. "Boerhaave promoted mechanistic disease explanation within a corpuscularian matter theory, seeing health in terms of hydrostatic equilibrium, a balance of internal fluid pressures. He distinguished between disorders of the 'solids' and those of the 'blood and humours'." Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Fontana Press, 1999), 246.

¹¹¹ Letter to Jacob de Castro Sarmento, dated 11 November 1752, partially reproduced in Jacob de Castro Sarmento, *Appendix ao que se acha escrito na Materia Medica* (London: Livraria d'Alcobaça, 1758), 137-139. Digitization available online at <https://purl.pt/34093/2/>.

¹¹² According to the letter from Gaubius to Sanches, Leiden, 25 November 1777: "un témoignage de l'attention hippocratique avec laquelle vous avez pratiqué notre art. J'ai été étonné de vous voir la même vivacité que dans la jeunesse, lorsque nous étions ensemble, malgré votre grand âge". V. "Extrait d'une Lettre de M. le Professeur Gaubius à M. Sanchès", Sanches, *Observations sur les Maladies Vénéériennes* (Paris: Théophile Barrois le jeune, 1785), viii.

¹¹³ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.2 (1913), 62.

¹¹⁴ Andry, "Précis", 9-10, 24.

¹¹⁵ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 86.

¹¹⁶ E.g., Nelson de Campos Ramos Junior, "Mediador das Luzes: concepções de progresso e ciência em António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783)", Postdoc diss. (University of São Paulo, 2013), 53.

¹¹⁷ Doria, "António Ribeiro Sanches", 28.

a professor at the University of Leiden in the years Sanches attended classes there, but we have found no evidence that he was his teacher at some point.

As to Gaubius, there can be no doubt that they met. Forty years later, Sanches still revered him “with the same respect he had retained for his masters”.¹¹⁸ In turn, after years of correspondence, Gaubius would come to consider Sanches one of his best friends.¹¹⁹ Regarding Van Swieten, Sanches attended also in 1730-1731 the lectures he gave at home on pharmacy and *materia medicae*.¹²⁰ The two would also correspond for many years, and Van Swieten always esteemed Sanches, considering him a man of great erudition.¹²¹

Thus we have confirmed that Sanches studied with Boerhaave, Albinus, Gaubius, and Van Swieten. As for Gravesande and Burmann, the direct links to Sanches in Leiden need to be proven.

Book consultancy for the new Royal Library of the University of Coimbra

While in the Dutch Republic, Sanches visited the minister Luis da Cunha frequently in The Hague.¹²² The two worked together on occasion in service of the kingdom of Portugal. For example, when King João V erected a public library¹²³ for the University of Coimbra, the then secretary of State Cardinal da Mota contacted Luis da Cunha to acquire “Philosophy and Medicine books, especially of modern systems.”¹²⁴ This first purchase and the following were mediated by Cunha, who, on Sanches’s advice, included books that followed the Leiden method. The king was eager to reform education in Coimbra at large,¹²⁵ and this book selection was a step closer to the modernization of the medical teaching.¹²⁶

In 1730, during one of his visits, Sanches penned at Cunha’s request “and under his direction a new teaching method to be introduced in the University of Coimbra”. Cunha sent this proposal to the Portuguese court, but it was never implemented.¹²⁷ Although the Cardinal was pleasantly surprised with Sanches’s knowledge of the Portuguese and foreign medical education systems and found it “not only convenient, but necessary to implement all of his proposals”, he feared the reluctance of all those “who,

¹¹⁸ Journal entry from 11 March 1772: “depuis quarante et un ans je vous [Gaubius] ai veneré avec le respect que j’ai conservé pour mes maîtres”, *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 87.

¹¹⁹ Not the other way around, as is said in Palmira Fontes da Costa and António Jesus, “António Ribeiro Sanches and the circulation of medical knowledge in eighteenth-century Europe”, *Archives Internationales d’Histoire des Sciences* 56 (2006), 188, n. 13.

See the abovementioned letter from Gaubius to Sanches, Leiden, 25 November 1777: “je l’ai lu [*Observations sur les Maladies Vénéériennes*] avec plaisir, non-seulement comme la production d’un de mes meilleurs amis & (...)”.

¹²⁰ “Formou-se, e com permissão que Boerhaave lhe alcançou do Senado Académico, ensinava em sua casa (não como Lente) a Matéria Médica e a Farmácia, a quem ouvi algumas lições nos anos 1730 e 1731.” Sanches, *Método*, 37.

¹²¹ “I received [these] letters from a most erudite man, whom I esteemed and esteem always, Ribeiro Sanches, then archiater of the Empress of Russia”. The original reads: “Literas accepi ab eruditissimo viro, quem magni semper feci et facio, Ribeiro Sanches, Russorum Imperatridis tunc Archiater”. *Commentarii in Hermanni Boerhaave Aphorismos de cognoscendis et curandis morbis*”, *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 88.

¹²² Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 85.

¹²³ Still a Portuguese national monument, currently known as the Joanne Library.

¹²⁴ Letter from the Cardinal da Mota to D. Luís da Cunha, 12 October 1729. Library of the Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, ms. 592, n. 408, *apud* Ana Cristina Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural e Formação das Elites no Pombalismo”, *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000), 30.

¹²⁵ Some sources say that D. João V even invited Boerhaave to teach in Portugal, but we could not confirm this. V., e.g., António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1966), 198.

¹²⁶ Cardinal da Mota to D. Luís da Cunha, 2 August 1730. Library of the Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, ms. 592, n. 399, *apud* Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural”, 30-31.

Upon analysing this correspondence and crossing Sanches’s book lists with the lists of books that in fact arrived at Coimbra, however, the historian Silva Dias suggests that the University revised Sanches’s selection. José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Portugal e a Cultura Europeia (Sécs. XVI a XVIII)* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1953), 171, 277.

¹²⁷ Letter draft from Sanches to Gaspar Saldanha, then rector of the University of Coimbra, from 21 July 1763. This letter is kept in the National Library of Spain, MSS/18371, fl. 276-276v, digitization available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 2, documents 608-609.

without further examination, reject any novelty just for being new”. He proposed to publicize these ideals but did not trust the document with the Professors of the University, claiming this would be harmful to their cause.¹²⁸

Cunha went as far as to propose that Sanches be forgiven, since he greatly regretted having converted to Judaism. He suggested that Sanches’s safety be assured in Portugal, so that he could return and be a driving figure of medical reformation.¹²⁹ The cardinal discussed this possibility, agreeing that Sanches would be helpful for Medicine in Portugal, but arguing that the “Portuguese austerity” would not forgive his Judaism “nor at least his blood”. Although he granted that the Inquisition could be swayed, he could not agree to a decision that would bring harm to Sanches, whom he advised to seize his fortune in Paris.¹³⁰

Nearly three years later, the Cardinal lamented that the new Medicine books seemed to be doing little service.¹³¹ The professors stuck to their old teaching systems and the reforming rector, Francisco Carneiro Figueiroa, was not firm enough to adopt concrete measures despite the resistance of the staff. However, the seeds of reformation were planted for future generations.¹³²

Leiden was indisputably a turning point for Sanches’s professional future. Not only did it take his medical knowledge to new heights, but his talents were also promptly recognized and rewarded. In 1730, the Russian government asked Boerhaave to recommend¹³³ three doctors for the most responsible

¹²⁸ Cardinal da Mota to D. Luís da Cunha, 17 October 1730. Library of the Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, ms. 592, n. 395, *apud* Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural”, 31.

¹²⁹ “Na dita Universidad.^e ha hum Professor Portuguez chamado Ant.^o Ribeiro Sanches que havendo estudado em Coimbra, se formou em Salamanca, depois estudou em Padua, depois em Londres, e ultimamente estuda debaixo de Boerhave, e estudara ainda 3 annos para se crer perfeito nesta Sciencia, afim de a praticar em Paris, e tem em Leyde a reputação de hum estupendo engenho. Elle se arrepende de se ter feyto judeu e facil.^{te} se reduzira a ir p.^a a Patria se não tivera medo da Inquisição, se a charidade de tirar huma alma do Caminho de perdição e a utilidade de grangear hum tão bom sogeito abrem alguma porta para que possa voltar com segurança, he certo que poderia ser de conveniência para ir abrindo os olhos aos que ignorão, o que S. Mag.de quer que se saiba”, Luís da Cunha to Cardinal da Mota, 6 July 1730. Letter kept in the National Library of Portugal, “Correspondência de D. Luis da Cunha datada da Haia e de Paris”, caixa 61, maço 2, *apud* Silva Dias, *Portugal e a Cultura Europeia*, 275.

¹³⁰ “P.^a a Medecina reconheço, q̃. seria util o socorro de chamarse esse Portuguez q̃. assiste em Leyde; mas também V. Ex.^a reconhecera q̃. elle não so na Religião, q̃. actualmente professa, mas ainda so no sangue tem huma exclusiva horrorosa à austerid.^e Portugueza para não poder aqui graduarse; e q̃. a nossa Nasção não he capaz de dissimular estes defeitos sem q̃. em todos os instantes os esteja lansado em rosto, como fazião a estre pobre homem por emulação, e por genio. Esta consideração, e não a do embarço da Inquisição. q̃. de resto seria vensivel, he a q̃. me obriga a não concorrer p.^a q̃. elle experimente tão gr.^e danno, e embarassarlhe a fortuna q̃. certam.^{te} achara em Paris, aonde não há os escrúpulos da nossa terra”, Cardinal da Mota to Luís da Cunha, 2 July 1731. Library of the Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, ms. 592, *apud* Silva Dias, *Portugal e a Cultura Europeia*, 276.

¹³¹ Cardinal da Mota to Luís da Cunha, 29 January 1733. Library of the Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, ms. 592, n. 388, *apud* Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural”, 31.

Pina e Melo’s words to Sanches come to mind: “(...) nossa Universidade de Coimbra, que he a Patria das Sciencias do Reino, se he q pode ter este nome o máo methodo (...) Tudo aqui he mercenário, e ninguém se applica instado do genio, mas só do interesse, e em este se conseguindo, se acrescenta huma tenda ás fraldas do Parnaso, e não se cuida mais em vencer o cume: Por esta causa vem as livrarias, mais p.^a a pompa, q. para a utilidade, e os livros, q. parecem q. lhes dá algum alento o seu ornato, não são mais, q. huns cadáveres inúteis, q. desmentem, com as tintas, a escuridade das cinzas.” Letter from Francisco de Pina e Melo to Sanches, 22 May 1758, transcribed in António Ferrão, *O Poeta, Critico e Moralista Francisco de Pina e Melo* (Lisbon: [n.p.], 1938), 115.

¹³² In the purchase lists for the library were authors such Grotius, Puffendorf, Wollf, Heinecio, Mabillon, Tomasio, Fleury, Quesnel, John Locke, Herbelot, Boerhaave, Gassendi, Descartes, Kepler, Galileu, Torricelli, Gravesande, Bayle, Capasso, Petrus Van Musschenbroek Jan Van Musschenbroek, and, amongst other pieces, numerous thematic dictionaries, encyclopedias, specialized bibliographical directories, minutes for European scientific academies. According to Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural”, 31-32.

¹³³ Herman Boerhaave had earned the highest esteem of the Russian tsars. Peter I had met with the doctor during his European tours, and Anna Ioannovna later invited him to be her archiater. In a letter dated 13 June 1730 to the director of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, his former student Laurentius Blumentrost, Boerhaave expressed his gratitude for the invitation, but declined the position. V. Inge F. Hendriks, “The development of Russian Medicine in the Petrine era and the role of Dutch doctors in this process”, *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Медицина* 14.2 (2019), 159.

medical positions in Russia.¹³⁴ When Sanches was about to leave for Paris,¹³⁵ Boerhaave told him that he could take the job with a stipend of six hundred *réis*.¹³⁶ This was not uncommon, as approximately half of the doctors in Russia before 1770 were Leiden-educated.¹³⁷ Sanches agreed to this, and Boerhaave recommended him to the Russian government as the most worthy candidate known to him.¹³⁸ According to Andry, upon finding that Sanches already was a doctor at the end of the academic year, Boerhaave offered to reconstitute his tuition fees.¹³⁹ Sanches published his inaugural dissertation in the University of Leiden, *Venae rubra nunquam absorvent*, but did not defend it, possibly because he was preparing his departure.¹⁴⁰

On 3 July 1731,¹⁴¹ the contract was signed in the Schbaalje Notary in Amsterdam between Sanches and Albertus Seba, a merchant who had received written instructions for this purpose by Nicolas Bidloo, of the Moscow Medical Office. Sanches would be employed as a doctor at the service of the Russian Empress under the following conditions: that he would take the first boat indicated by Seba to depart for Saint Petersburg; in the capital he would seek the apothecary Leopoldi at the Principal Apotheque, and Leopoldi would instruct him about his trip to Moscow; for the travel expenses to Moscow, Her Majesty would give Sanches, through Seba, one hundred rubles (exchange rate of 48 sols per ruble); Sanches's annual pay would be six hundred rubles, starting the moment he began his journey for Moscow; once in Moscow, a contract would be drawn at the Medical Office for five years of service, at the end of which, if he no longer wished to serve in Russia, he would be given "an honest passport and another sum of one hundred rubles for his return trip".¹⁴²

According to Hendriks, this letter is kept in the Fundamental Library of the Military-Medical Academy, in Saint Petersburg, Ed. Ep. XIII-89, pp. 74-75.

¹³⁴ Самуил Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец. Лейб-медик императрицы Елисаветы Петровны", *Восход* 7 (1898), 24.

¹³⁵ For reasons not specified, but presumably to join his brother Manuel.

¹³⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 120. Although in an earlier letter to Valadares, of 18 January 1733, he says he earned 500 rubles, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 40.

¹³⁷ John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health and Urban Disaster* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 38-39.

¹³⁸ Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец", 24.

¹³⁹ Andry, "Précis", 10; Carvalho, *Relações*, 20 (the source is not cited, but it was presumably Andry).

¹⁴⁰ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 103.

¹⁴¹ Not June, as said in Чистович, *История*, ССХС, and in the literature that follows this source, such as Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 103.

¹⁴² The contract manuscript can be found at the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam, n. 6172, act 44. The digitization is available at <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/241.3.39/start/100/limit/50/highlight/50> and a transcription can be read in Willemse, *Antônio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 66-67.

Willemse supposes from other contracts found at the notary in the same archive, acts 47 (signed 16 July 1731) and 55 (signed 3 August 1731), that the other two doctors recommended by Boerhaave were Henry Smith and Johan Ulrich Gerding. Willemse, *Antônio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 68. To Henry Smith we will come back to, as he would become a problematic presence for Sanches.

Russia

Sanches arrived in Russia in 1731. He lived through the reigns of Anna Ioannovna (r.1730-1740), Ivan IV (r.1740-1741, regency of his mother Anna Leopoldovna, due to the emperor's youth), and Elizaveta Petrovna (r.1741-1762), though he is most famous for having saved a young Catherine the Great's life. He served in Russia for sixteen years, but his ties with the Russian court extended past his stay in the country. In Paris, Sanches kept in touch with Russian noblemen and intellectuals, and seems to have taken some part *in absentia* in the upbringing of the future Paul I.¹⁴³

Physician to the senate and city of Moscow

Sanches left the Dutch Republic in June 1731 and arrived in Russia in October.¹⁴⁴ He referred to his first job as “physician of the city” in Moscow, a job he equated to that of “Medico do Senado” in Portugal.¹⁴⁵ He received a salary of 500 *réis* paid for by the Empress.¹⁴⁶ Andry says Sanches arrived in Saint Petersburg in 1731 and that Bidloo placed him in Moscow, but does not specify what position he held.¹⁴⁷ Lemos pieces both these statements together to say that Sanches was appointed by Nicolaas Bidloo “physician of the senate and city” in Moscow.¹⁴⁸

The professional parallels between Bidloo and Sanches are significant: not only had Bidloo also studied in Leiden, having acquired the same approaches to the technical and practical aspects of medical science, he contributed immensely to the development of medical teaching in Russia. Bidloo had served as first physician to Peter the Great¹⁴⁹ and designed at his orders the first medical school in Russia: the Medico-surgical school in Moscow, with a hospital and an anatomical theatre.¹⁵⁰ Bidloo managed and taught at the Medico-surgical school from its foundation in 1707 until his death in 1735.¹⁵¹ Sanches, on his side, would lay ideological and practical foundations for the reformation of medical education in Portugal in his *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina* (1763),¹⁵² and of education at large in *Cartas*

¹⁴³ BIU Santé, 2915, 148 *apud* Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 154. “2915” was possibly a lapse of transcription; Kaplanov is probably referring to MS 2015.

¹⁴⁴ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 105.

¹⁴⁵ Letter draft to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757.

¹⁴⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 18 January 1733, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 40-41. Unless this is a matter of conversion, this clashes with the contract he signed, *vide supra*.

¹⁴⁷ Andry, “Précis”, 11.

¹⁴⁸ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 106.

¹⁴⁹ Peter the Great had shown great interest in the Leiden University and its statutes, visiting it in 1697, 1698 and 1717. V. I. F. Hendriks, et al., “Medical instruments in Imperial Russia: from a blacksmith to a factory for medical instruments, headed by a leading surgeon NL Bidloo”, *Журнал анатомии и гистопатологии* 10.2 (2021), 91.

¹⁵⁰ The school accepted “people from all ranks”, graduates of seminaries and the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. The curriculum included anatomy (taught on cadavers), surgery, desmurgy, internal diseases with autopsy, pharmacy science, Latin and drawing. Apothecary science was studied in the apothecary garden. There were no textbooks, and Bidloo taught students from his handwritten books. V. Татьяна Сергеевна Сорокина, *История медицины*, Том I, Глава 7 “Клиническая медицина нового времени (1640-1918)” (Москва: Академия, 2008). “The school worked along the lines of Leiden University both theoretically and practically. Furthermore, Nicolas Bidloo introduced the Leiden method of exam for surgeons. This school laid the foundation for a systematic higher medical education in Russia. In 1710 Bidloo finished a handwritten Instruction to study surgery for his students. It is not only a scientific publication, but it is also the first and original textbook for higher medical education in Russia. The manuscript habitually contains terms, names, and the use of surgical instruments in French, German and even Dutch.” Hendriks et al., “Medical instruments in Imperial Russia”, 91.

¹⁵¹ J. Dankmeijer and Th. Röell, “Nicolaas Bidloo and the Institution of Medical Education in Moscow”, *Boerhaave and his time: Papers read at the International Symposium in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of Boerhaave's Birth, Leiden, 15-16 November 1968* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 165.

Despite the attempts of Laurentius Blumentrost, president of the Academy of Sciences, to subordinate the school to the Medical Office, the school maintained relative independence (answering only to the tsar and the Monastic order) for as long as Bidloo was in charge. Яков Алексеевич Чистович, *История первых медицинских школ в России* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Якова Трея, 1883), 81.

¹⁵² *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina, ilustrado para estabelecer-se uma Universidade Real na qual devam aprender-se as Ciências humanas de que necessita o Estado civil e político*, first published in Paris in 1763.

sobre a Educação da Mocidade (1760). But Sanches also contributed to reformation in Russia, not only through his practice and teaching while living there, but also through later writings, such as the *Plan pour l'Éducation d'un Jeune Seigneur* (1766)¹⁵³ and *Copie d'un Plan d'Éducation envoyé à M le Chancelier de Russie* (s.d.),¹⁵⁴ whose target was the young Russian nobility,¹⁵⁵ or *Sur la Culture des Sciences et des Beaux Arts dans l'Empire de Russie* (1765),¹⁵⁶ where a support for the reformation of the Cadet Corps can be found.¹⁵⁷ Both men strived to improve medical education systems and institutions under the sign of Leiden.

According to Gruzenberg, in 1731 Sanches was appointed state physician/chief doctor of the Medical Office¹⁵⁸ in Moscow, where it was his responsibility to train paramedics, pharmaceutical *gezels*¹⁵⁹ and midwives.¹⁶⁰ Geography might not have been a problem, as this institution had an office in Moscow and another in Saint Petersburg,¹⁶¹ but in Sanches's own narrative, a position in the Medical Office appears only as his second job, in which he was an "examiner of Medicine and Surgery".¹⁶²

If we follow Andry's biography, it was only in 1733 that Johann Christoph Rieger, then *leib-*physician¹⁶³ of Empress Anna Ioannovna and director of the Medical Office,¹⁶⁴ summoned Sanches to Saint Petersburg, appointing him member of the Medical Office in 1734 and physician of the armies in 1735.¹⁶⁵ By January 1733, fifteen months into life in Russia, Sanches complained he was constantly ailed by scurvy, which he attributed to the cold weather.¹⁶⁶ The exact circumstances of his departure from Moscow remain unclear.

¹⁵³ The manuscript, which consists of education plans for the children of Kirill Razumovsky, is kept at the Arquivo Distrital de Braga, B Ms. 640, f. 63-90. Digitization available at <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/viewer?id=1532081&FileID=939239>. The manuscript in itself does not have a title, *Plan pour l'éducation d'un jeune Seigneur* was the title given by Andry. It has been transcribed, translated and published in Fernando Augusto Machado, *Educação e Cidadania na Ilustração Portuguesa – Ribeiro Sanches* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2001), 107-223, and in Brian F. Head, *Plan pour l'éducation d'un jeune seigneur russe* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016), 24-181. Head does a comparative study of his and Machado's translations, as well as a philological analysis of Sanches's French and his use of Russian words.

¹⁵⁴ Written for Count Mikhail Vorontsov, concerning the education of one of his young relatives, the manuscript is kept in the National Library of Spain, MSS/18373, fl. 15 (digitization available online at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 4, document 1089).

¹⁵⁵ Ржеуцкий, "Pro et contra: идеал воспитания высшего дворянства в России (вторая половина XVIII – начало XIX века)", 219-230. Digitization available at <http://maxima-library.org/knigi/knigi/b/490813>. Ржеуцкий guesses the *Copie* manuscript is probably from 1756.

¹⁵⁶ Manuscript first transcribed and made public in Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 126-167.

¹⁵⁷ Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 173-174.

¹⁵⁸ Медицинская канцелярия, also translated as Medical Chancellery, headed from its origin in 1721 to 1731 by Johann Deodatus Blumentrost (1676-1756), life physician of Peter the Great and Catherine I. Not to be confused with his younger son Laurentius Blumentrost (1692-1755), founder and first president (1725-1733) of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, director of the *Kunstkamera* from 1718-1724, and also a pupil of Boerhaave in Leiden University.

¹⁵⁹ A *gezel* [гезель] was an assistant to a physician or pharmacist. The title was given, from the late 16th unto the 19th century, to graduates of western higher educational institutions who had insufficient academic performance to obtain a higher medical title. V. "Гезель", Международная военно-историческая ассоциация, May 12, 2022, <http://www.imha.ru/1144523284-gezel.html>.

¹⁶⁰ Самуил Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец. Лейб-медик императрицы Елисаветы Петровны", *Восход* 7 (1898), 24.

¹⁶¹ Григорий Маркович Герценштейн, "Медицина в России", in *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*, vol. 18a (Санкт-Петербург: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1896), 887.

¹⁶² "O Primrº emprego que tive nelle [Imperio] foi de Medico da Cidade que corresponde ao dos nossos Medicos do Senado. Depois da Chancellaria de Medicina adonde fui examinador de Medicina e Chirurgia." Letter draft to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757.

¹⁶³ V. n. 245.

¹⁶⁴ In charge of the entire medical department in Russia between 1732-1734. "Ригер, Иоганн-Христофор", *Русский биографический словарь*, ed. Александр Александрович Половцов, vol. 16 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1913), 182-183.

¹⁶⁵ Andry, "Précis", 11-12.

¹⁶⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 18 January 1733, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 41.

Member of the Medical Office

The signature “A. Ribeyro Sanches. St. Peterburg 1734” in a dictionary manuscript still kept at the Library of the Academy of Sciences proves that Sanches was already in the Imperial capital in that year.¹⁶⁷ According to Stroïev, in 1734 Sanches managed to eradicate a scurvy epidemic that was ravaging the Alexander Nevsky school, founded by archbishop Feofan Prokopovich in 1721 for orphans and poor children.¹⁶⁸ This deed earned Sanches the friendship of the archbishop, who invited him to teach a course “about natural history and means of preserving one’s health”. Prokopovich, already old and debilitated, became Sanches’s patient until his death two years later.¹⁶⁹

In the letter from 20 March 1735 to Sampaio Valadares, Sanches mailed nearly 100\$000 *réis* to one João Capanoli, 15\$000 of which should buy him a good *meia-viola*,¹⁷⁰ four packs of strings, three to four ounces of good tobacco and a few books,¹⁷¹ while the rest should be sent to his father¹⁷² in Penamacor.¹⁷³ In July he shared news of his family: his uncle Diogo/Samuel Nunes Ribeiro was living “in Carolina, in the America of the English”,¹⁷⁴ but he and Sanches did not correspond, as the letters would need to be mediated by the London Jews and Sanches neither wanted contact with them nor thinks they would want contact with him.¹⁷⁵ As for his brother Manuel, he had written to him from Paris saying he would like to return to Portugal, if Sanches consented to it. The older brother was hesitant to complying, due to fear of the Inquisition, and advised him not to.¹⁷⁶ Regarding the possibility of returning to Portugal himself, Sanches told Valadares he would not do it on his own initiative, for fear of the Inquisition and because he would not conform to “the country’s disorders”. But on the off chance that the king should summon him, if he felt he “could do good for the homeland”, he would be ready to

¹⁶⁷ Сергей Николаев, *От Кохановского до Мицкевича: Разыскания по истории польско-русских литературных связей XVII — первой трети XIX в.* (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского Университета 2004), 66-67.

¹⁶⁸ Stroïev cites Betskyoy: “En 1734, il (Sanchès) fut mandé par l’archimandrite du cloître Alexandrovsky, afin d’examiner les élèves qui se trouvaient sous sa direction au nombre de cinquante environ et âgés de huit à quinze ans, lesquels étaient tous atteints de la maladie. Sanchès s’aperçut avec étonnement que tous avaient les gencives pourries au point que l’on pouvait leur arracher les dents sans peine rien qu’avec les doigts. Chez plusieurs élèves même le mal s’étendait à tout le palais jusqu’à la gorge. Le docteur s’enquit tout d’abord de la nourriture des enfants, des exercices qu’ils faisaient et du lieu où ils dormaient. Il apprit alors qu’ils couchaient tous ensemble dans un vaste dortoir souterrain dépourvu d’air et au milieu duquel se trouvait un grand poêle en bois; en fait de literie, ils avaient, comme dans les corps de garde, des planches séparées ou même jointes ensemble tout le long des murs, sur lesquelles ils se couchaient souvent tout habillés. Le médecin, ayant reconnu la cause de la maladie, s’appliqua à la faire disparaître. Il lui suffit de faire sortir les enfants de cette cave et de les loger séparément au troisième étage; il ordonna, en outre, de ne pas tolérer les excès de nourriture et de boisson. Ces simples mesures, jointes à des gargarismes de la bouche, amenèrent au bout de quelques semaines seulement la guérison complète des enfants.” V. Stroïev, “Savants et hommes d’État russes d’origine juive”, *Revue des études juives* 52, 103 (1906), 130.

¹⁶⁹ Stroïev, “Savants”, 130. We must take this story with a grain of salt since we could not confirm it and no sources are cited (although unfortunately that is usually not a particularly suspicious sign in the literature).

¹⁷⁰ A portuguese string instrument, akin to a guitar.

¹⁷¹ *Noticias Cronológicas da Universidade de Coimbra*, by Francisco Leitão Ferreira; *Tratados Historicos, Politicos, Ethicos, y Religiosos de la Monarchia de China*, by Domingo Fernandez Navarrete; “A Vida ou História del Rei D. Joao o 2.º de Portugal” – it is unclear what book this was, Lemos speculates it might be the *Crónica do príncipe D. João*, by Damião de Goes, though the number of volumes does not match Sanches’s indications (at any rate, Sanches indicated that if the money did not suffice, this book should be discarded); “From Padre Andrade, Iter. Hebetence, or Hebetum” – it is also unclear what book this was, Lemos guesses *Novo Descobrimento do Gram Catayo, ou Reinos de Tibet*, by Padre Antonio Andrade. In case these books could not be found, Sanches tells Valadares he should select other History books he deemed worthy.

¹⁷² Which proves Andy wrong in saying Sanches’s father passed when Sanches was leaving for Russia in 1731, v. Andry, “Précis”, 11.

¹⁷³ Sanches to Valadares, 20 March 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 42-44; Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.6 (1913), 142.

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Nunes Ribeiro would become known in his own right as one of the first Jewish immigrants to the Georgia colony in 1733. He provided vital medical aid which saved the new colony from extinction by a ravaging epidemic in its first year of existence. For more about the life and work of Diogo/Samuel Nunes Ribeiro, v., e.g., Richard D. Barnett, “Dr. Samuel Nunes Ribeiro and the settlement of Georgia”, *Migration and Settlement. Proceedings of the Anglo-American Jewish Historical Conference*, ed. Aubrey Newman, 63-97 (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1971); Barnett, “Zipra Nunes’s Story”, *A Bicentennial Festschrift for Jacob Rader Marcus*, ed. Bertram Wallace Korn, 47-61 (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1976).

¹⁷⁵ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 121.

¹⁷⁶ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 124-125.

leave.¹⁷⁷ A few days later,¹⁷⁸ however, he confesses to Valadares that he had so much love for his homeland that he would trade his comfortable and prestigious position for a chance to serve it, if only he did not have to go through an *auto de fé* and be sentenced by strangers.¹⁷⁹ Sanches had been spending a lot of time trying to come up with a solution to end the “Judaic blindness” that pervaded Portugal. In this letter, he sent Valadares an extract from his recently finished sketch of *Origem da denominação de Christão Velho e Christão Novo no Reino de Portugal*,¹⁸⁰ begun in his first year in Russia.¹⁸¹

Mediating the book exchange between the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the Lisbon Royal Academy of History

Sanches also informed Valadares that the secretary of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg had promised to offer books to the Royal Academy of History of Lisbon, so as to kindle correspondence between the two institutions. He would conduct this mediation “because the love for his homeland impelled him to”.¹⁸² A few months later he told Valadares that the president of the Academy and chamberlain of Her Royal Majesty, Johann Albrecht von Korff, was going to present the Portuguese Royal Academy of History with the works the academy had printed. Initially, four volumes were to be sent together with Sanches’s letter,¹⁸³ but a few days later the number had grown to “ten to twelve magnificently bound volumes” which Korff would send himself. The subjects were Mathematics, Botany and “antiquities of China and the Chinese language”.

The secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Christian Goldbach, read at a conference meeting on 2 June 1735 the letter of invitation for the “Lisbon Society of Sciences” and informed all present that the books would be sent through Sanches.¹⁸⁴ Goldbach also secretly revealed to Sanches the contents of this missive.¹⁸⁵ Sanches was to ship the books through Hamburg, instructing the

¹⁷⁷ “Eu não tenho intenção alguma de passar a Portugal de meu livre alvedrio; primeira por medo da Inquisição, na qual lá terei testemunhas contra mim, e posso aqui jurar que excetuando com meu Tio e outro médico e uma sua cunhada mulher de muito juízo, ainda que errado, que em Portugal nunca falei com outrem do Judaísmo, mas vamos adiante: a segunda que eu não poderei sofrer ver lá tantas desordens sem falar alguma coisa: mas se acaso (isto é impossível) me mandarem um salvo conducto firmado pela mão de ElRei estou pronto para partir, no caso que possa fazer bem á pátria, que de outro modo não o desejo. Mas isto são desejos mal fundados.” Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.1 (1913), 31.

¹⁷⁸ The letter is so long that partway Sanches confesses it has already taken him nearly a month to write it, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 124.

¹⁷⁹ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 126.

¹⁸⁰ The final manuscript dated Paris, 8 November 1748, and bore the title *Origem da denominação de Christão Velho, e Christão Novo no Reino de Portugal, e as causas da continuação destes nomes como tambem da cegueira Judaica. Com o methodo p.^a se extinguir em poucos anos esta differença entre os mesmos Súdítos, e a cegueira Judaica, tudo p.^a augmento da Religião Catholica e utilidade do Estado*. The digitization is available at <http://pesquisa.adb.uminho.pt/details?id=1532080>.

¹⁸¹ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 111-112.

¹⁸² Sanches to Valadares, 20 March 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 43.

¹⁸³ “O que contem estas obras que são 4 volumes em 4.^o são Matematicas, Filosofia, Antiguidades, escritas por Professores todos quais alemães com quem tenho bom conhecimento, e principalmente com o Secretário, que é o mais foute, e capaz homem que tenho conhecido e sabe tudo me parece que se póde aprender, ademais de saber as Línguas da Europa, até a Castelhana, Grego, Latim e Hebraico. No latim é um Cícero, e êle escreverá á Nossa Academia em latim, queira Deus que haja lá quem lhe saiba responder na mesma língua e frase, porque já morreram os Osorios, os Rezendes, os Goes e os Vieiras. Esta Academia foi fundada por Pedro o Grande, Primeiro Imperador da Rússia com as mesmas leis e imunidades, que a de Paris instituída por Luís XIV. Ela principiou no ano de 1725 e como mais moderna, invita a nossa que é mais antiga, de outro modo o não fizera, porque não é costume que uma Academia invite a outra pela correspondência, sem esta razão.” Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 125.

¹⁸⁴ “Idem [Hr. Justiz-Rath Goldbach] lieset einen an die Lissabonsche Societät der Wissenschaften cociipirten Brief auf, worinnen an hiesige Verlags-Bücher, so durch Hrn. D. Anton Ribeira Sanches überschicket warden sollen, gedacht worden.” At the meeting were present, amongst others, Von Korff, Goldbach, Bayer, Schumacher, Euler, Delisle, and Fischer. *Протоколы заседаний Конференции Императорской Академии наук с 1725 по 1803 года*, Т. I: 1725-1743 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1897), 203.

¹⁸⁵ The invitation letter read as follows (Sanches’s translation): “Ha muito tempo que ardentemente desejamos de ter comunicação com tão douta e generosa sociedade, até que felizmente o D.^f Sanches.....[high praises to Sanches omitted by humility] nos prometeu que franquearia as dificuldades da distância que somente até agora nos impediram; aplaudimos a ocasião e também a fortuna que alcançamos porque como nas sciências ha um vínculo maravilhoso, estando este fortificado com os vossos sublimes engenhos esperamos tirar utilidades, que raramente se encontram, e posto que saibamos que as vossas

aforementioned João Capanoli¹⁸⁶ to redirect them to one Dr Francisco Pacheco, who in turn would deliver them to Martinho de Mendonça de Pina, to Father Lima or, in their absence, to the secretary of the Royal Academy of History.¹⁸⁷ Sanches would henceforth be in charge of sending the Academy's correspondence to its destination in Lisbon, hoping to do so via Francisco Pacheco.¹⁸⁸ The Royal Academy received nine volumes, and the Oratorian António dos Reis, a famous Latinist, was appointed to reply to the Imperial Academy.¹⁸⁹ The Count of Ericeira produced a summary of the received works and read it on a session with the king on 22 October 1736.¹⁹⁰ The Russian Academy would in turn be presented with Portuguese works in 1738.¹⁹¹

The meeting records of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences show that this institution continued to send Lisbon its publications until the end of the century and that it published the correspondence with the Royal Academy of History, as well as other materials pertaining to the exchange, in the *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae*. Sanches appears in some of these records reporting to the Academy on the contents of the works received, particularly those written in Portuguese.¹⁹²

After discussing with the archiater/chief physician, presumably Johann Fischer, some points of his treatise on the learning of Medicine in Portugal, he instructed Sanches to write a pharmacology manual with recipes which would be followed in the making of all the remedies in Russia. The archiater even gave orders for a botanical garden to be constructed, amongst other suggestions Sanches had discussed from his project for Portugal. Sanches was happy to see his ideas validated by the highest intellectual authorities in Russia, lamenting on the other hand “the Portuguese foolishness” for which he saw no cure. He started working on the *Pharmacopeia ad usum Imperii Rutheni* around March 1735 and was still dedicated to it in July.¹⁹³

Chief physician of the armies

According to Lemos, Sanches accepted the position of physician of the armies with satisfaction. It did allow him to study the diseases of the campsites and observe the military hospitals, which he already wanted to learn about.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, considering Sanches's reluctance to travel due to his poor health, often mentioned in his war journal, he might not have been entirely satisfied. As physician of the armies, Sanches participated in the Turkish campaigns of the Russian army carried out under the

doutas fadigas sómente se conservam nas antiguidades desse Reino, como nós também nas deste Império temos parte juntamente com as Matemáticas, Física e História natural poderemos com a comunicação dar maior proveito á matéria e maior admiração á posteridade”. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.6 (1913), 141.

The omitted praises were: “... Cum vero nuper vir clarissimus Antonius Ribeiro Sanches, vestras, qui hic Artem Medicam feliciter et cum magna laude exercet...” Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 110.

¹⁸⁶ We found other possible references to João Capanoli only in fragments of commercial correspondence, and could not piece together his occupation. At any rate, he seems to be a mailing or shipping intermediary.

¹⁸⁷ Along with the Academy's books, Sanches was also shipping others to Valadares.

¹⁸⁸ Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.6 (1913), 140-141.

¹⁸⁹ Excerpt of Reis's answer: “Quopropier clarissimo viro Antonio Ribeiro Sanches, nostrati, non agere gratias non possumus, qui sedulitate sua tam magni, taintpie prolixi itineris spatium, quo Ulyssipo nostra ab ista Petropoli sejungitur, haud formidans, non Epistolam tantum vestram, sed et libros ad nos perferendos suscepit.” Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 111.

¹⁹⁰ Afterwards published as *Extratos Académicos dos Livros que a Academia de S. Petersburgo mandou à de Lisboa* (1738). Silva Dias, *Portugal e a Cultura Europeia*, 131-132.

¹⁹¹ Ж. А. Н. Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес и русско-португальские связи в XVIII в.”, *Вестник Московского университета. Серия 8: История* 3 (1987), 51.

¹⁹² João Manuel S. A. Miranda, “Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio científico e cultural entre a Academia das Ciências de Petersburgo e a comunidade dos «Jesuítas Matemáticos» em Pequim nas décadas de 30–50 do século XVIII”, in *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionaçãõ no Oriente* (Lisboa: Brotéria-Fundação Oriente, 2000), 359.

¹⁹³ Sanches to Valadares, 20 March 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 44; Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.4 (1913), 125-126.

¹⁹⁴ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 113. No sources cited.

leadership of Field Marshal Burchard Christoph, Graf von Münnich.¹⁹⁵ This was Sanches's only experience treating wounds,¹⁹⁶ and he seized this opportunity to study the treatment of syphilis, a subject he would investigate his whole life and in which he would become an internationally renowned specialist.

He departed for the St. Anna Fortress in Voronets on 2 September 1735 with doctors Paulsen and Pappelbaum, to join the Crimean expedition.¹⁹⁷ The best source of information about Sanches's years in the military campaigns is his journal, but the details of where he was and when are often confusing or apparently contradictory. We will summarise what we could gather but advise all interested parties to consult the journal directly.

We do not know when exactly he left Saint Petersburg, but he was in Voronets in November 1735. Having been in Voronets for seventeen days, he was ordered by Münnich to head for Novopavlovsk¹⁹⁸ and attend to the health of General de Brilly.¹⁹⁹ Sanches arrived in Novopavlovsk on 4 November 1735,²⁰⁰ and his stay extended, long past his prediction, until April. Not only did he treat the general's intermittent fevers and indispositions, he was also constantly summoned to assess someone's fitness for battle or to attend to patients.²⁰¹ When in his *Observations* he recalls testing syphilis treatments on Russian soldiers in the winter of 1735,²⁰² he is presumably referring to his practice in Novopavlovsk. He had not been paid in four and a half months and hence depended greatly on the general's aid. This situation displeased him much, since Sanches deplored the general's temperament and manners, and as a rule sought independence and detachment in his relations.²⁰³

Sanches is mentioned in a 1735 letter from a pharmacy *gezel* named Rolof²⁰⁴ to "the archiater of Novopavlovsk". The newly arrived *gezel* went to Sanches and gave him his instructions. Sanches told him to meet commandant Inbger, who would show him to his lodgings. Apparently, the housing conditions were beyond terrible. Rolof reported to Sanches that the medicines were not even safe, and Sanches went with him to meet General Debrenn and solve the matter.²⁰⁵

It is difficult to reconcile Sanches's supposed stay in Novopavlovsk between November 1735 and April 1736 with his claim that on March 4 he was with commander-in-chief Levashov²⁰⁶ in Rivne.²⁰⁷ It is even more difficult to reconcile it with his work in the General Hospital of Biala Gore,²⁰⁸ since this hospital was supposedly active between the winter of 1735 and February 1736. We know how he got to

¹⁹⁵ П. И. Хотеев, "Пять очерков из ранней истории Академической Библиотеки", *Петербургская библиотечная школа* 2.46 (2014), 11.

¹⁹⁶ "A minha experiencia nas feridas não foi mais que por dois annos nos quaes fiz duas campanhas contra os turcos e os tartaros", *Peculio de varias receitas para diversas queixas* manuscript, fol. 142, kept in the National Library of Portugal, F.R. 832.

¹⁹⁷ Чистович, *История*, ССХС. No sources cited.

¹⁹⁸ Presumably not present-day Novopavlovsk, which did not yet exist, but Borisoglebsk, which at the time bore this name.

¹⁹⁹ Journal entry of 14 April 1736. Transcription in António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Diário de Campanha na Guerra Russo-Turca (1735-1739) e Outros Textos* (Penamacor: Câmara Municipal de Penamacor, 2006), 7.

²⁰⁰ Journal entry of 12 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 3.

²⁰¹ Journal entry of 14 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 7.

²⁰² "Pendant l'hiver de 1735, j'ai traité quarante soldats Russes par la méthode de la salivation", Sanches, *Observations*, 96.

²⁰³ "a deste senhor que parece que saiu dos colhões de Hércules; como se ele não saísse de um buraco junto do cu como todos saíram." Journal entry of 15 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 10. Sanches also alludes to disagreements with the archiater (Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 12). We do not know if he is referring to Fischer or to "a local archiater".

²⁰⁴ In turn, Rolof is alluded to in Sanches's diary, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 8.

²⁰⁵ "Съ порученною мнѣ полскою аптекою прибыль я сюда счастливо, и сейчас-же явился доктору Санхесу, и подаль ему свою инструкцію; тотъ мнѣ сказалъ, чтобы я шель къ коменданту Инбгеру, который укажетъ мнѣ домъ. (...) Я репортоваль объ этомъ доктору Санхесу, и тотъ пошелъ вивств со мною къ генералу Дебреньн, а генералт послалъ со мною адъютанта къ Либгеру съ приказомъ, чтобъ отвели мив хорошій домъ." Сергей Михайлович Соловьѣв, *Исторія Россіи съ древнѣйшихъ временъ*, Том XX, гл. 3 (Санкт-Петербург: Общественная польза, 1749-1755), 1441-1442.

²⁰⁶ Vasily Yakovlevich Levashov (1667-1751).

²⁰⁷ Journal entry of 25 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 27.

²⁰⁸ Journal entry of 12 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 3.

Biala Gore: he was ordered by Levashov (presumably in early April) to head for the Azov encampment and “with great regret and peril” he was transported by two soldiers on a small boat along the Don River to the Cossack village of Biala Gore,²⁰⁹ where the General Hospital was located. But how can we reconcile this with his prolonged stay in Novopavlovsk? Sanches’s own account is awfully confusing, but the next months become a bit clearer.

Sanches was summoned from Biala Gore again to Novopavlovsk by Brilly on April 13. The general wrote to him that he had received an order from General Levashov to leave for Azov with all the soldiers from Voronets and Novopavlovsk in the galleys at Taurov, and Sanches was to accompany him. This plan displeased Sanches. He had already received orders to leave on foot immediately with the surgeons and the apothecary, and the galleys at Taurov would still take three weeks to depart. Besides, the galleys would be unfavourable for his frail health. He went to Novopavlovsk to explain this to Brilly and left his things in Biala Gore, expecting to return briefly,²¹⁰ but the general was displeased and hampered his mobility for the following days. After many unpleasant situations, Brilly consented to his departure on April 18. The following day, Sanches dined one last time with the general and left Novopavlovsk on foot.²¹¹ He joined Captain Menshikov²¹² in the “Bakinsky regiment”²¹³ and they arrived in Azov on May 29.²¹⁴

Sanches was with the troops in Azov during the 1736 siege.²¹⁵ In the time spent together in campaign, Sanches earned the high esteem of Graf von Münnich.²¹⁶ In Azov and in campaigns along the rivers Dnieper and Dniester, a third of the Russian soldiers were seized, and many killed, by dysentery, scurvy and remittent fevers.²¹⁷ By observing how the diseases arose, manifested, and dissipated, Sanches concluded that the quality of the air had a great impact on health. He observed that unventilated, unclean, and overcrowded hospitals were a hotbed of disease, and later developed important sanitary notions from these experiences, notably in *Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos* (1756).²¹⁸ For example, he advocated for the separation of patients in different hospitals according to their ailments: emergencies, chronic diseases, and convalescents. He also wrote down precise architectural instructions for the design of new ventilated hospitals and the bettering of existing ones.²¹⁹

²⁰⁹ We have not been able to determine if this was the official name of the village or where exactly it is located. Sanches situates it south of the Don, in a valley at the end of which two mountains of white and thin *creta* rise. Biala Gore is presumably a transliteration of белые горы, i.e., white mountains.

It seems that Sanches already had been to Biala Gore but was summoned by General Brilly

²¹⁰ Journal entry of 13 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 6.

²¹¹ Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 6-19.

²¹² Alexander Alexandrovich Menshikov (1714-1764), not to be confused with his father Alexander Danilovich Menshikov (1673-1729), military leader and associate of Peter the Great.

²¹³ Journal entry of 24 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 22.

²¹⁴ Journal entry of 29 May 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 43.

²¹⁵ “Eu vi e senti os efeitos de 500 barris de pólvora que pegaram fogo de uma vez, por uma bomba que arrebentou dentro do armazém da praça de Azof, quando os Russos no ano 1736 a sitiavam: estava distante meia légua”, Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 86.

The siege days until June 19, when the journal ends, are described in Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 43-50.

²¹⁶ This we learn in a letter from Staehlin to Andry, dated 20 December 1783, from Saint Petersburg. V. Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 16.

²¹⁷ Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação*, 52.

²¹⁸ For example, Sanches observed that many patients who entered the hospital with mild and unrelated complaints caught malignant fever after a few days. When the Azov hospital reached maximum capacity, he sent eighty wounded soldiers with a surgeon to recover two leagues away from the main camp. He received updates on the patients’ statuses daily and observed that they did not catch the malignant fever. All got cured in three weeks, except for two whose wounds were fatal. Sanches concluded that the cause of the fever must be in the hospital, being generated through the corruption of the air, regardless of the diseases with which the patients arrived in the hospital. Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação*, 39.

²¹⁹ Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação*, 39-40.

Sanches’s sanitary (and humanitarian) notions Sanches, ahead of his time as they were, are one of the most praised aspects of his legacy today. But, like most of his untimely ideas, they were met with resistance and only reached the public due to the sheer stubbornness of the author. The publication of the *Tratado da Conservação*, pioneer treatise on public, urban, domestic, monastic, military, naval, and personal health (v. e.g., Luís de Pina, “A marca setecentista de Ribeiro Sanches na história da Higiene político-social portuguesa”, offprint of *O Médico* 283 (Porto: Tipografia Sequeira, 1957), 15-21), was self-financed at

Another essential experience from these military campaigns was observing the habits of the Russians concerning steam baths, which he saw soldiers improvise on the camping sites. Sanches studied the impact of the baths on health and from his observations and reflections sprung the work for which he is best known internationally, *Mémoire sur les bains de vapeur de Russie* (1771).²²⁰ That we know of, this was the first work ever written about the characteristics of the Russian baths. Sanches not only described how they were built and used, but also pointed out their curative and preventive applications.²²¹ For example, he ascribed the relatively low mortality from smallpox in Russia to the use of these sweat and vapor baths.²²²

In Azov Sanches himself was seized by the malignant fever that so many of his patients acquired after a few days in the field hospital,²²³ and was bedridden in his tent for a few days. During this time, all his bags, money and documents were stolen,²²⁴ which may explain why the earliest journal entry that reached us dates from 12 April 1736, even though Sanches kept a journal since he arrived in Russia, in 1731.²²⁵ It was possibly to this event that he was referring to when he said he had lost “in his fickle life” his writings about the campaigns, the Cossacks of the Don, and the Tatars of Crimea. And this is also possibly the illness that got him to be called back to Saint Petersburg.²²⁶ At the beginning of 1737, many foreign doctors in the army of Field Marshal Münnich complained that the officers prevented them from doing their duty.²²⁷ We must wonder if Sanches himself experienced such tensions and if they could have been another reason for his wanting to leave.

great cost, as he disclosed to his friend Soares de Barros: “Se ó haver impresso esse livro [...] não me fizesse perder mais de quarenta moedas, haviame de resolver escrever um tratado contra o Gallico [...] Mas he muito Santo, e meritorio trabalhar para o publico... Mas eu sou hũa partícula deste publico, e elle não so não trabalha para mim mas arruinoume e perdeome.” Letter dated 7 Mars 1759, transcribed in Ferrão, *Ribeiro Sanches e Soares de Barros*, 45.

These works are marked by the hopeful bitterness that pervades all his writings about reform of any kind. He writes with a clear and thoroughly designed goal of change, but aware that “it is more difficult to introduce one useful thing than thirty things damaging to society”. Whether discussing necessary changes in education, health, religion, economy, or politics (as his knowledge was vast, so his vision was holistic), he alludes constantly to the harmful stubbornness and lack of vision of those in power. Yet his prolificacy was obviously fueled by more than the prospect of being met with resistance. Sanches wrote with painstaking detail about his ideas for the betterment of society, but he had a certain type of reader in mind: “What I propose is to be pondered by people who do not live by imitation of the vulgar”. He sought maximum clarity in his writing style, because his aim was above all to inform, regardless of the reader’s background, to provide the context and the reasons for his claims, and evade the corrosive dogmatism he was met with throughout life. Sanches, *Tratado*, 2, 40.

²²⁰ *Mémoire sur les bains de vapeur de Russie, considerés pour la conservation de la santé et pour la guérison de plusieurs maladies*. Sanches sent the manuscript in French to Ivan Betskoy in 1771, along with another text on agriculture. The book was first published in Russian translation in 1779, as *О парных российских банях, поелику споспешествуют оне укреплению, сохранению и возстановлению здравия*. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 22.

²²¹ Augusto Machado, “Introdução”, 19.

²²² Wilhelm Michael von Richter, *Geschichte der medicin in Russland*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Wsewolojsky, 1817), 265.

²²³ Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação*, 39.

²²⁴ Andry, “Précis”, 12.

²²⁵ Sanches writes this in a journal entry from 1757, the manuscript of which is kept in the National Library of Spain, MSS/18371, fl. 43v, digitization available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 2, document 376.

²²⁶ “No terceyro anno fui primeiro Medico do Exercito que guerreava em Crimea, em Tartaria contra os Tartaros daqueles districtos; destas Campanhas, e dos Cossagues do Don, e dos Tartaros de Crimea escrevi o que observei tocante as producoens naturais, Religião, Costumes, ley e trato, obra que perdi na m.^a inconstante vida. Por cahir enfermo fui chamado a viver na corte de Peterburg”, letter draft to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757, National Library of Spain, MSS/18372, fl. 243v.

²²⁷ Although the Russian government gave them material conditions they hardly could find in their own homelands, the newly formed medical class, composed mainly of foreigners, did not in general fit in socially, due to ignorance of the Russian language and customs, ego (due to the pompous reception on the part of the government, which needed medical professionals it could not find in its own people), and also a clash of interests with other classes, especially the military. So many and grave were the unpleasant situations between physicians and officials that Anna Ioannovna had to issue a personal decree, spread throughout the army, “which put an end to these indecent and harmful jokes”. The “moral order” of physicians, then, only became significant when they were united in the faculty, a special corporation that unified them by their education, scientific interests and importance for society. To this effect, archiater Fischer was a key figure, spearheading the medical class with pride and assertivity. Яков Алексеевич Чистович, *Очерки из истории русских медицинских учреждений XVIII столетия* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Якова Трея, 1870), 3-4.

In his famous *Histoire naturelle*, Buffon used information Sanches collected during his travels in Tartary between 1735 and 1737. Sanches travelled through Ukraine, the banks of the Don, the Syvash sea, Kuban, and the deserts between Crimea and Bakhmut, and provided Buffon with detailed physiognomic and behavioral descriptions of the different peoples he had seen there.²²⁸ Curiously, our best source of information about Sanches's departure from the military campaigns is also Buffon: the article about geese in *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux* also made use of Sanches's observations. Ill and afraid of being kidnapped by Kuban Tatars, Sanches left Azov in the autumn of 1736 and walked along the Don River, sleeping in Cossack villages along the way and arriving in Novopavlovsk in the winter.²²⁹

On 13 December 1736 he started writing *Materia medica*,²³⁰ a collection of teachings he gathered throughout the years²³¹ from authors like Boerhaave, Van Swieten, Johann Boeckler, John Quincy, Friedrich Offmann, Pliny the Elder, Abraão Zacuto, or Garcia de Orta, as well as news from his international correspondents. On 20 December 1736 Sanches started *Versurae phisicae (morbosae)*,²³² a collection of anatomopathological observations, drawn mainly from Frederik Ruysch but also from his own practice. Lemos postulates that *Praxis medica interna*, another collection of clinical notes Sanches gathered from his readings, was also started in this period.²³³ One might guess that this proliferation of notes means that by December he had regained some stability and was back in Saint Petersburg.

Physician in the Cadet Corps

Sanches worked for three years in the hospital of the Cadet Corps, in Saint Petersburg, as a physician, “not a teacher”.²³⁴ Richter mentions a report signed by Sanches which proves that he was by 1737 employed as a senior physician in the Cadet Corps.²³⁵ Yakov Chistovich sets the date on 12 April

²²⁸ “M. Sanchez premier Médecin des armées Russiennes, homme distingué par son mérite & par l'étendue de ses connoissances a bien voulu me communiquer par écrit les remarques qu'il a faites en voyageant en Tartarie. Dans les années 1735, 1736 & 1737, il a parcouru l'Ukraine, les bords du Don, jusqu'à la mer de Zabache & les confins du Cuban jusqu'à Asoff; il a traversé les deserts qui sont entre le pays de Crimée & de Backmut; il a vû les Calmuques qui habitent sans avoir de demeure fixe, depuis le royaume de Cazan jusqu'aux bords du Don; il a aussi vû les Tartares de Crimée & de Nogai, qui errent dans les deserts qui sont entre Crimée & l'Ukraine, & aussi les Tartares Kergissi & Tcheremissi qui sont au nord d'Astracan depuis le 50^{me} jusqu'au 60^{me} degré de latitude. Il a observé que (...) M. Sanchez dit en avoir rencontré 300 à cheval qui venoient au service de la Russie, & il assure qu'il n'a jamais vû de plus beaux hommes (...); il dit que le lieutenant général de Serapikin qui avoit demeuré long-temps en Kabarda, lui avoit assuré que les femmes étoient aussi belles que les hommes; mais cette nation si différente des Tartares qui l'environnent, vient originairement de l'Ukraine, à ce que dit M. Sanchez, & a été transportée en Kabarda il y a environ 150 ans.” Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, avec la description du Cabinet du roy*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1749), 382-384.

²²⁹ “il y a de ces oies qui réellement sauvages pendant tout l'été ne redeviennent domestiques que pour l'hiver ; nous tenons ce fait de M. le docteur Sanchez, & voici la relation intéressante qu'il nous en a communiqué. «Je partis d'Azoff, dit ce savant Médecin, dans l'automne de 1736 ; me trouvant malade, & de plus craignant d'être enlevé par les Tartares Cubans, je résolus de marcher en côtoyant le Don, pour coucher chaque nuit dans les villages des Cosaques, sujets à la domination de Russie. Dès les premiers soirs je remarquai une grande quantité d'oies en l'air (...) j'en vis un si grand nombre au coucher du soleil, que je m'informai des Cosaques, où je prenois ce soir-là quartier, si les oies que je voyois étoient domestiques (...) Je ne cessai de voir ces oiseaux que lorsque j'arrivai à Nova-Pauluska, où l'hiver étoit déjà assez fort.»” Buffon, *Histoire naturelle des oiseaux*, vol. 9 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1783), 53-54.

²³⁰ *Materia medica, in qua nimina, vires, praeparationes remediorum continentur*. Manuscript kept in the BIU Santé, Catalogue ancien, MS 41.

²³¹ There are entries at least up until 1780.

²³² *Versurae phisicae (morbosae), chemicae, physiologicae et historiae naturalis, anatomiae*. Manuscript kept in the BIU Santé, Catalogue ancien, MS 43.

²³³ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 120-121. All these collections are kept in the

²³⁴ Sanches, *Método*, 17.

²³⁵ «A report to the director and colonel of Tettau regarding the illness of a cadet von Fock, which is signed by Doctor Sanchez and the surgeon Pappelbaum.» Wilhelm Michael von Richter, *Geschichte der medicin in Russland*, vol. 3 (Moscow: Wsewolojsky, 1817), 263. Richter was a Russian historian of Medicine and an honorary member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, whose archives he accessed regularly.

1737, and reports a salary increase of 50 rubles.²³⁶ Stroïev says his nomination followed an upsurge of illness and death in the Cadet Corps, an institution dear to his protector Münnich.²³⁷

Years later Sanches would advise Ivan Betskoy about the reorganization of this institution, writing for him the aforementioned treatise *Sur la Culture des Sciences et des Beaux Arts dans l'Empire de Russie* (1765), which concerned the Russian teaching system, and the reformation of the Cadet Corps specifically.²³⁸

By this time, Sanches already enjoyed great prestige. Fischer was director of the Medical Office,²³⁹ and Sanches replaced the *stadt*-physician in case of absence.²⁴⁰ He had, for example, the final say in the autopsy protocols on especially important cases.²⁴¹ A book from Chistovich contains, amongst other Russian medical documents from the eighteenth century, two sensible forensic cases from 1739 where Sanches played a key role.²⁴² The first situation was the sudden death of a copyist of the Secret Office, Grigory Elisev. The Adjutant General Andrey Ivanovich Ushakov personally handed the case to the archiater Fischer on April 27 and demanded a detailed written report on the cause of Grigory Elisev's death to be delivered that same day. On the *stadt*-physician Minyatti's absence, Fischer ordered the surgeon Hangart to inspect and open the body of the deceased copyist and report back to the Medical Office. Since Fischer had determined that all forensic medical examinations were subject to review by the *stadt*-physician and Minyatti was absent, he ordered that a Russian copy of Hangart's report should be sent to Sanches. In turn, Sanches should "send his opinion to the Medical Office as to whether the splitting of the cranium had really caused the copyist absolute death, or whether it could perhaps be avoided by timely trepanning and due care." Following Sanches's report, Fischer communicated to General Ushakov that the blow to the head was definitely the cause of death but that if immediately after the injury a profuse bleeding and then a correct trepanation of the skull had been performed in the patient, then he might not have died.²⁴³

The second medico-legal case happened a few days later. On 11 May 1739, the Medical Office was demanded to examine the body of Ivan Maltsov, a clerk of the Office of the Main Artillery. Maltsov had been beaten up on April 24 and in the following days developed symptoms that, despite the treatments, ended up killing him on May 11. The autopsy was performed by Hakmann and Hangart and, on the absence of *stadt*-physician Minyatti, their report was sent for Sanches's evaluation on May 14.

²³⁶ Чистович, *История*, СХС.

²³⁷ Stroïev, "Savants", 130. Again, no sources are cited.

²³⁸ It is not true that Betskoy recognized having used Sanches's *Sur la Culture* as the basis for the elaboration of the reformation statutes of the Cadet Corps, as is stated in Augusto Machado, *Educação e Cidadania*, 112. What is true is that in another document, containing reflections about the reformation of the Cadet Corps, Betskoy recognizes drawing often on Sanches's considerations: "Un Médecin distingué, Mr. Sanchèz, dont j'insere les avis dans plusieurs endroits de ces réflexions, m'a dit souvent (...)", v. Ivan Betskoy, "Institution du Corps Impérial des Cadets", in *Les plans et les statuts des différents Etablissements, ordonné par sa Majesté Impériale Catherine II. Pour l'Education de la Jeunesse et l'Utilité générale de son Empire*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Marc-Michel Rey, 1775), 100. Willemse holds that Betskoy's own *Устав императорского Шляхетного сухопутного кадетского корпуса* (1766) drew many ideas from Sanches's work, and does a comparative study of both these works in Willemse, *Antonio*, 126-174.

²³⁹ Чистович, *Очерки*, 1.

²⁴⁰ The Medical Office included a *stadt*-physicist, an surgeon [операторъ] and a doctor. At this time, the *stadt*-physician was Matthias Муняти, the surgeon was (Johann?) Balthazar von Hangart, and Jacob von Haltern was the doctor. "In case of illness or absence of the *stadt*-physician, he was replaced by Dr. Sanches (Antonius Ribeyro Sanches) of the Cadet Corps". Чистович, *Очерки*, 4.

Other members of the Medical Office comprised were one secretary for Russian correspondence, another for German correspondence who was also a translator from German into Russian, two Russian clerks, five copyists, one German clerk, one scribe and one Russian accountant. This choice of staff is better understood in light of the fact that all written documents of the Medical Office were written both in German and Russian, in two parallel columns. Чистович, *Очерки*, 2.

²⁴¹ Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхеи", 25.

²⁴² The physicians of the Medical Office also performed all forensic medical examinations, attested sicknesses or incapacities of taking military service and autopsied human bodies. Чистович, *Очерки*, 5.

We transcribe both of Sanches's reports on these autopsies in the annexes.

²⁴³ Чистович, *Очерки*, 9-11.

Sanches was asked to assess whether the clerk had died “from the received beatings or from some kind of internal illness, and what kind of illness exactly”. Based on Sanches’s evaluation, the Medical Office notified the Office of the Main Artillery on May 19 that the clerk Maltsov had been rapidly killed from a boil [Geschwür] in the brain that already was there before the beating. The beating might at most have accelerated the clerk’s death.²⁴⁴

Gof-physician

Sanches’s merits were also recognized in the Russian court. He was preferred to many other doctors with seniority as *gof-physician*²⁴⁵ under Anna Ioannovna (r. 1730-1740).²⁴⁶ According to Chistovich, he was appointed *gof-physician* on 3 March 1740 with a salary of 2000 rubles, an apartment, firewood, and a carriage. At the same time, he was to attend to the sick at the Cadet Corps until another doctor was found to replace him.²⁴⁷ However, according to Sanches himself, he had already been appointed *gof-physician* in 1739, and then *leib-physician* later in the same year.²⁴⁸

The Empress had been ill for eight years for unknown reasons. Sanches was called to examine her and diagnosed her with urolithiasis. Andry states that Sanches prescribed palliatives since there was no treatment for kidney stones,²⁴⁹ but Gritsak says that kidney stones were surgically removed since the time of Hippocrates and it was the Empress’s preference to be treated only with drugs, enduring excruciating pains until her death. Anna Ioannovna died on 17 October 1740, and Sanches’s diagnosis was confirmed upon the autopsy.²⁵⁰

Amongst Sanches’s other patients was the cabinet minister Artemy Petrovich Volynsky, whom he still visited in prison after Ernst Johann von Biron had him arrested in 1740.²⁵¹

Leib-physician

Upon the death of Anna Ioannovna, the successor to the throne, Ivan Antonovich, was only two months old. His mother Anna Leopoldovna became regent.²⁵² Sanches was appointed second *leib-*

²⁴⁴ Чистович, *Очерки*, 12-15. We include Sanches’s autopsy reports in the annexes.

²⁴⁵ А гоф-медик [*gof-physician*] was a physician who served in the court and provided assistance to court officials and servants. А лейб-медик [*leib-physician*] was a doctor or consultant to one of the persons of the royal house. “Лейб-медик”, in *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*, ed. Иван Ефимович Андреевский, vol. 17a (Санкт-Петербург: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1896), 496.

²⁴⁶ Хотеев, “Пять очерков”, 11.

²⁴⁷ Чистович, *История*, ССХС.

²⁴⁸ “fui chamado a viver na corte de Peterburg adonde fui Medico da Escola Militar adonde São educados 500 Nobres. No ano 1739 me fizeram Medico da Familia da Corte da Imperatriz Anna Ivanowna; no mesmo Anno a Mesma Imperatriz me honrou com o cargo de Seu Medico Ordinario, que chamão LeibMedicus. No anno seg.^{te} 1740 por morte desta Princesa João III seu sobr^o succedeo no throno, e fiquei sendo seu Medico: no fim do mesmo anno S. Magestado Imperial Elisabet Petrowna veyo no mesmo throno e fiquei tão bem Seu Medico ate o fim do anno 1747 no qual por achaques fui obrigado a pedir a m.^a demissão que recebi honrosa com sello daquele Imperio e que conservo” Letter draft to Diogo Barbosa Machado, 22 February 1757, National Library of Spain, MSS/18372, fl. 243v.

²⁴⁹ Andry, “Précis”, 14.

²⁵⁰ Елена Николаевна Грицак, *Популярная история медицины* (Москва: Вече, 2003), 82.

According to Gritsak, the autopsy, which was not only permitted but even obligatory at that time, was carried out by Anton Wilhelmovich de Theils, Abraham Kaau-Boerhaave “and his assistant Maut”, Ribeiro Sanches, and Pavel Zakharovich Kondoidi. Sanches was entrusted with the “abdominal province” and Kondoidi with the “secret province”. A branchy stone of bright red color was found in the bladder, the presence of which Kondoidi identified as the main cause of death. But this cannot be reconciled with the fact that Abraham Kaau-Boerhaave would only arrive in Russia in 1746 (v. p. 32).

²⁵¹ “Онъ же былъ домовымъ врачомъ извѣстнаго несчастливца, кабинетъ-министра Волынскаго, котораго посѣщаль и въ заточеннїи.” Михаил Дмитриевич Хмыров, *Исторические статьи М.Д. Хмырова* (Санкт-Петербург: Вас. Петр. Печаткин, 1873), 369.

²⁵² Anna Ioannovna made his favorite Ernst Johann Biron regent but his rule lasted only three weeks (17 October 1740-9 November 1740), after which he was deposed and arrested in his chambers by Graf von Münnich.

A book issued by the Portuguese and Russian Ministries of Foreign Affairs about the diplomatic relations between the two countries states that due to Ivan’s youth, Sanches was made part of the Council of Regency in 1740 and there remained until

physician²⁵³ with an annual salary of 3000 rubles and put in charge of the health of the young Emperor, along with the archiater Fischer, who was first physician.²⁵⁴ Specific instructions about how to assist and treat the emperor in case of illness were given to the two physicians on 5 November 1740.²⁵⁵

Anna Leopoldovna held Sanches in the greatest esteem. According to Gruzenberg, the Empress put so much faith in Sanches that when she stayed in Riga she sent him the prescriptions of the physicians who were with her there for his review.²⁵⁶ But the regent relied on Sanches with issues intellectual as well as medical. On his recommendation, she was supplied with novelties of the western book market.²⁵⁷ More than that, Sanches compiled a list of 156 French books, and ordered them from Amsterdam, for the regent's personal collection.²⁵⁸ It has been speculated that this library might have been intended for

1747, v. *Relações Diplomáticas Luso-Russas: Colectânea Documental Conjunta (1722-1815)*, org. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Lisboa: Instituto Diplomático, 2004), 780. We could not confirm this information, and no sources are cited, but Anna Ioannovna's regency lasted just until 1741, and we know only of Elizaveta Petrovna making Sanches a State Councillor in 1744 (more on that ahead).

²⁵³ V. n. 245.

²⁵⁴ Richter, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 263-264.

²⁵⁵ The transcription "without any literal changes" of the set of instructions can be found in Richter, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 304-307 (a Portuguese translation from Richter can be found in Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 131-132):

"Ihre Pflucht und Bemühung hiebei wird hauptsächlich darin bestehen, ihre Kaiserl. Majestzet höchste Person zu Eier und vor die Erhaltung Dero Gesundheit nach äusserstem Vermögen und bestem Wissen und Gewissen Sorge zu tragen, wobei dann, um solchen Entzweck mit desto besserem Success zu erreichen, nöthig seyn wird:

1. Dass obbesagte beide Leibmedici in allen Stücken was Ihre Kaiserl. Majestaet Gesundheitszustand betrifft, jederzeit de concert zu Werke gehen und nichts, als was vorher gemeinschaftlich unter einander überlegt anordnen, vornehmen, auch zu solchem Ende:

2. Die Besuchung des Kaisers, so viel möglich, allemal beide zugleich und mit einander anstellen, oder doch wenigstens, dafern je zuweilen einer von ihnen allein hingehet, er Solches dem andern, und wie er Ihre Kaiserl. Maj. Zustand befunden, sogleich communiciere, niemals aber allein und vor sich das Geringste ordiniere, sondern nach Inhalt des ersten Punkts, über Alles gemeinschaftlich gerathschlaget, auch von beiden zusammen ein gemeinschaftliches accurates Journal von Ihre Kaiserl. Maj. Gesundheitszustand von Tage zu Tage gehalten und solches Journal an einem aparten Ort, damit einjeder von ihnen allemahl dazu kommen könne, verwahrt werde.

3. Dafern Ihre Kais. Maj. einige Unpässlichkeit zustösse, welche eine ordentliche Cur erforderte, so soll alsdann der Doctor Azzariti auch dazu berufen und über die zugebrauchende Mittel und Remedia gleichfals mit ihm zu Rathe gegangen, auch daher in solchem Falle demselben das zuhaltende Journal communiciert werden. Wie dann auch übrigs:

4. Von denen beiden Leibmedicis mit Zuziehung dieses Azzariti und auch noch anderer geschickter Medicorum von nun an die Methode, auf welche Art des Kaisers Person und dessen: Gesundheitszustand zu tractieren sei und wie man, um alles, was dabei nöthig, auf das genaueste wahrzunehmen, sich darüber zu benehmen habe, aufgesetzt, auch selbiges hienächst gehörigermaassen befulget werde.

5. Ausser Ihre Kais. Maj. Person haben sie auch der Beiden Kaiserl. Eltern Hoheiten so oft und auf was Art Dieselben Solches verlangen werden, zu bedienen.

6. Auch haben sie dem bei Ihre Kais, Maj, und zu Deroselben Bedienung bestellten Frauenzimmer in allen Vorfällenheiten bestermaassen und mit allem Fleiss um so vielmehr zu assistieren, als zur Erhaltung Ihre Kais. Maj. Gesundheit, auch die Conservation dieser zu Dero Wart-und Pflege verordnete Personen sehr nöthig ist.

7. Dafern ihnen bei dieser Function annoch Zeit übrig bleibt, auch ausser dem Hofe Phivatpatienten zu besuchen, so ist ihnen solehes zwar allemal, soweit es ohne Versäumnis ihrer Hauptverrichtungen geschehen kann, nach wie vor erlaubt, jedoch werden sie sich dabei solcher Häuser, wo Krankheiten, so auf einige Art ansteckend seyn können, insonderheit aber Kinderblättern und dergleichen befindlich, auf das sorgfältigste enthalten, auch sothane ihre Privaturen, um nicht gar zu sehr durch selbige distrahiert zu werden, nicht weiter, als auf solche Personen, so wirklich in Ihre Kais. Maj. Diensten stehen, extendieren."

Richter found this original instruction, written in Russian and German, in the manuscripts of the Reicharchivs under the inscription: краткое наставление определеннымъ при бывшемъ Императоръ Иоанна III Лейб-медикамъ, Архиатеру Фишеру, и Доктору Рибейру Санхесу.

²⁵⁶ Gruzenberg, "Доктор Санхец", 25.

²⁵⁷ Капланов, "Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес", 154. No sources cited.

²⁵⁸ Later, Elizaveta Petrovna ordered that these books be transferred to Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov. They ended up in the Engineering and Military Library of Peter III and it was in the catalogue of the Emperor's French books that a note written by Jacob von Staehlin about Sanches's role in the selection and purchase for Anna Leopoldovna was found:

"C'est le Medecin de Cour Mr Sanches Ribeira qui par ordre en a dressé la liste, d'après la quelle l'on les a fait venir d'Amsterdam, pour une Bibliothèque de cabinet de la Princesse Anna de Meklenbourg, apres la retraite de la quelle S. M. I^{re} en a fait present au chambellan Ivan Iwanow Schouwaloff. 1775"

The catalogue can be found in the National Library of Russia, Отдел рукописей, ф. 871 "Штелин фон Шторкбург Я.", № 69, л. 33v.-36r (correct order of the folios: 34, 35, 36, 33). V. Владимир Александрович Сомов, "Французская «Россика» эпохи просвещения и русский читатель", in *Французская книга в России в XVIII в.* (Ленинград: Наука, 1986), 224-227;

the infant Ivan Antonovich, future Emperor, although the list does not contain propaedeutic books, classics of literature or natural history books.²⁵⁹ The collection contained books on the history of European countries, politics and diplomacy, memoirs and biographies, geographical atlases and travelogs, books about Asia, America and Africa, philosophy books, ancient history and literature, military and engineering books, study guides and pedagogical books, dictionaries and general reference books. The fact that the *belles-lettres*, Anna Leopoldovna's favorite genre, do not figure in this selection indicates that this was not a personal library, but most likely an official or working library.²⁶⁰

In March 1742, Sanches drew up instructions for the surgery professor who would teach the “disciples of the two hospitals of Saint Petersburg”, the Land and Marine military hospitals. The aim was the foundation of a surgery school that would train army and navy surgeons not only in surgery but also in the treatment of wounds and diseases typical among soldiers and sailors.²⁶¹ This work was one of many Sanches wrote regarding the functioning and reformation of Russian institutions, and it was a precursor to his famous *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina* (1763).

It was also in 1742 that Sanches learned from a German surgeon who had lived many years in Tobolsky, Siberia, that the corrosive sublimate was used in this region to treat the venereal disease. Sanches proceeded to make experiments to determine the exact dosages that should be administered to patients of strong and frail build.²⁶² He asked his friend Jean-Frédéric Schreiber, physician of the Cadet Corps, professor of anatomy and surgery, and member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, to also conduct some tests on his patients. Sanches adapted the method and, meeting success in these experiments, became convinced of the safety of the procedure. He was able to treat some chronic diseases accompanied by other venereal symptoms and, associating this treatment with others he had previously prescribed, got good results.²⁶³ Sanches shared his observations with Van Swieten in letters sent to Leiden in 1742, 1743 and 1743.²⁶⁴ Van Swieten thanked Sanches²⁶⁵ and in turn proceeded to conduct experiments of his own, adapting and publishing a modified version of the treatment in the fifth volume of *Commentaria in Hermannii Boerhaave Aphorismos*. It became a widespread therapy until the nineteenth century, known as *liquor Swietenii*.²⁶⁶ Although Van Swieten expressed his debt to Sanches,²⁶⁷

Natalia Speranskaya, “French books of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, or “bibliothèque de cabinet” of Regent Anna Leopoldovna?”, *Вублиооука: E-Journal of Eighteenth-Century Russian Studies* 7 (2019), 51.

²⁵⁹ Speranskaya, “French books”, 56.

²⁶⁰ For a study about the contents of this book collection and comparison with other book collections of the time, v. Speranskaya, “French books”, 56-59. The inventory of the collection is transcribed in Speranskaya, “French books”, 62-86.

²⁶¹ *Instructions pour le Professeur de chirurgie, qui enseignera la chirurgie aux Disciples des deux Hôpitaux de St. Peterburg* (“donne a Mosco Mars année 1742”), manuscript kept at Austrian National Library, Cod. 12713, ff. 4-7, transcribed in Maximino Correia, *Projecto de instruções para um professor de cirurgia: Manuscrito inédito de António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, offprint of *Folia Anatomica Universitatis Conimbrigensis* 31.1 (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1956), 2-9.

²⁶² “J’ai travaillé pendant quelque temps à faire des expériences pour m’assurer de la dose de ce remède, & j’ai trouvé qu’on pouvoit donner aux personnes robustes un demi-grain par dose de sublimé corrosif diffous dans une once d’eau-de-vie faite avec le grain fermenté, une ou deux fois par jour, en faisant entrer aussi-tôt le malade dans le bain de vapeurs, & aux personnes affaiblies par la maladie, ou naturellement délicates, la quatrième partie d’un grain en vingtquatre heures jusqu’à parfaite guérison de tous les symptômes.”

Although the surgeon would not disclose what dosage should be administered, he told Sanches that he gave his patients the corrosive sublimate in grain brandy, having them enter the Russian steam baths immediately, where they sweated according to their strength, after which they were put to bed. The German surgeon claimed to have by this method cured exostoses, caries, ulcers of the worst quality, etc. Sanches, *Observations*, 3.

²⁶³ Sanches concluded that the treatment was more efficient if the patient entered the steam bath first and took the corrosive sublimate once he started to sweat, proceeding straight to a bed in a warm room next to the bath. Sanches, *Observations*, 4-7.

²⁶⁴ Letter from Sanches's friend Alvares to one Lafaye, sent from Paris on 26 February 1762, transcribed in Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 338-340.

²⁶⁵ In a letter sent from Vienna on 28 April 1747, as Sanches recounted to one Gobets in a letter transcribed in Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 340-341.

²⁶⁶ V., e.g., Pieter van Genderen Stort, *Dissertatio medico-chirurgica inauguralis, de hydroiodate potassae, medicamine in syphilide tertiaria efficacissimo*, vol. 1 (Leeuwarden: Suringar, 1845), 40.

²⁶⁷ “litteras accepi ab eruditissimo viro, quem magni femper feci, & facio, Ribeira Sanches, Russorum Imperatricis tunc Archiatro, in quibus indicat, quod Veteranus Chirurgus daret mane ac vesperi, in desperatissimis etiam malis venereis, unciam sequentis remedii: R. Mercurii sublimati corrosivi drachmam, spiritus fermentati ex hordeo, vel secale parati, semel rectificati,

Sanches was displeased that he did not mention the importance of the Russian steam baths for the efficacy of the treatment, replacing them in the procedure with the decoction of the roots of marsh mallow and licorice in milk, or with the decoction of barley or oats in milk. He was even more upset to see attributed to himself the statement that salivation usually appeared in patients who used corrosive sublimate. Sanches had never observed the slightest salivation in patients who followed the treatment rigorously – only in patients who had caught cold after the bath, instead of staying warm as prescribed.²⁶⁸

During his years as *leib*-physician, Sanches kept an active role in the circulation of artifacts within his scientific networks. In 1740, Gaubius asked Sanches to order from Persia the native manna and borax, which he did. Sanches sent the manna also to the botanist Peter Collinson, who in turn showed it to the physician and plant collector John Fothergill,²⁶⁹ whence Fothergill's article "Observations on the Manna persicum" published in the London Royal Society.²⁷⁰ Sanches asked for information about the borax to the Scottish physician John Cook,²⁷¹ who worked in military hospitals in Astrakhan and accompanied Prince Golitsyn's embassy to Persia. On 21 April 1744, Cook sent him a letter from

uncias centum & viginti. Augebat, vel minuebat dosin, pro ratione effectuum sequentium; ficque curabat hos morbos certissime, absque ullo secutto mallo. Additur, salivationem sequi pro ratione.

Multum me delectabat hujus remedii communicatio: Disebam inde, cum in singulis unciis contineretur médium granum sublimati sorrosivi, posse illius integrum granum dari spatio diei naturalis, absque noxa. Cum autem moris esset Chemicis, accendere Alcohol vini supra *turbith minerale, & praecipitatum rubrum*, ut haec, mitiora sic reddita, tutius interno usui servire possent, sperabam simile quid fieri posse, dum sublimatus corrosivus digereretur, & solveretur, in tam larga copia spiritus frumenti rectificati. Adhibui hoc remedium; sed statim dabam superbibendam libram decocti *rad. althaeae*, vel alterius decocti emollientis, addendo aliquam glycirrhizae partem, ob saporis gratiam; quandoque tertia, vel quarta, addebam quartam partem lactis, in usum similem. Hoc modo facile ferebant remedium aegri, & de nulla re querebantur.

Adhibuerunt alii spiritum vini, loco spiritus frumenti, &, quantum novi, eodem cum effectum.

Constanter usus fui hoc remedio, in hac proportione, quam *D. Sanchez* mihi indicaverat; medii nempe grani sublimati corrosivi ad unciam spiritus; unde miratus sum, quod invenerim apud Eruditissimum Medicum Parisinum, in literis *Sanches ad Gmelin* datis, laudari aliam proportionem, nempe, ut quatuor grana sublimati sorrosivi solvantur in quadraginta octo unciis spiritus vini; sic duodecima tantum grani pars in singulis unciis haberetur. Dubitabam, an forte numeris in epistola scripta fuissent 24 grana, & casu excidisset primus character, adeoque error hic contigisset? Consuli errorum Catalogum, & non inveni.

Notandum est, quod in literis *D. Sanchez* legeretur, salivationem sequi hujus remedii usum: Dum septem grana mercurii sublimati corrosivi, in aqua fontana soluti, absumebantur octidui spatio, quarta dia jam aderat salivatio, ita ut très quaturve librae quotidie expuerentur. Notatur quidem, quod os internum minus tumeret, nec halitus oris adeo foeteret, ac fieri folect, dum, data *calomela*, salivation excitatur. Sed, cum in votis haberem, Luem curare, absque salivatione, minorem remedii quantitatem exhibui, nempe cochlear, sive unciam mediam, mane & vesperi, ut illam evitarem. Si in hominibus robustis, aut in Lue Venerea magis inveterata, lentius procederet cura, mane & vesperi dabam drachmas sex, id est, cochlear cum dimidio; si nec sic votis responderet eventus, dabam duo cochlearia mane, & totidem vesperi. In juniori aetate, minuebam remedii quantitatem.

Cum per plura experimenta jam certus essem de utilitate hujus remedii, & facile praevoderem, plures forte elapsuros annos, antequam quintum Commentariorum tomum absolverem, volui communicare pluribus hujus remedii usum, ut citius innosceret illius utilitas; hinc Medicis pluribus, & quidem in divertissimis regionibus, cum quibus mihi commercium litterarium intercedebat, uti & illis, qui me de aliis morbis consulebant, indicavi simpliciter, Commentariis reservans deductionem rationum, quae me impulerunt, ut *sublimatio corrosivo uterer*, cum honore laudaturus illos, per quos profeceram."

Gerard van Swieten, "Lues venerea", *Commentaria in Hermanni Boerhaave Aphorismos de cognoscendis et curandis morbis*, vol. 5 (Paris: Guillaume Cavelier, 1773), 512-513.

²⁶⁸ Forty years after first testing his treatment, in his *Observations sur les maladies vénériennes* (1785) Sanches still vouched for the use of corrosive sublimate, but only if a Russian steam bath could be used, and only if there were superficial venereal symptoms (such as ulcers, scabs, exostoses, caries, or condyloma). Otherwise, despite the opinion of several renowned physicians, he would never resort to corrosive sublimate. Sanches, *Observations*, 7-9.

According to Andry, when Sanches came to France, saw the malefices of Van Swieten's treatment, and became aware of the difficulty of establishing Russian steam baths in Paris, he opted for a treatment with a mercurial salt which, mixed with saline, resinous and aromatic remedies, and administered as a pill, also gave good results with many chronic diseases, especially those that originated from a "degenerated venereal vice". Andry, *Précis*, 10.

²⁶⁹ According to the *Materia medica* manuscripts, kept at BIU Santé, MS 41, *apud Lemos, Ribeiro Sanches*, 124-125.

²⁷⁰ John. Fothergill, "Observations on the Manna persicum", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 43.472 (1744), 86-94.

²⁷¹ Author of *Voyages and travels through the Russian empire, Tartary, and part of the kingdom of Persia*, in two volumes (Edinburgh: for the author, 1770).

Astrakhan with the requested information.²⁷² In 1743, the Imperial Academy of Sciences acquired a rare Dutch copy of the Old Testament from Sanches.²⁷³

Sanches also met the explorer Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov, who had taken part in Gmelin's 1733 scientific expedition to Siberia and arrived in the peninsula of Kamchatka in 1737. Krasheninnikov had stayed in Kamchatka for four years, producing the first description of the peninsula, which he published upon his return to Saint Petersburg.²⁷⁴ Sanches met him, presumably after Krasheninnikov's election to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1745, and heard his insights about the peninsula.²⁷⁵

Boerhaave's manuscripts and nephews, Herman and Abraham Kaau

Completing a full circle, in 1741 Sanches asked Van Swieten to recommend three doctors to enter Russian service.²⁷⁶ In a letter dated 21 June 1741, Van Swieten replied that all six disciples of Boerhaave he had contacted were thankful for the opportunity but could not depart for Russia for various familiar, professional and marital reasons. He hence propounded the late Boerhaave's nephews and disciples, Herman and Abraham Kaau. Herman²⁷⁷ gave proof of being an excellent doctor. Abraham had also given proof of his medical expertise, namely through his book *Perspiratione Hippocratica*, but had become suddenly deaf one night and therefore could not practice medicine.²⁷⁸ Most importantly, Van Swieten informed Sanches that Herman had inherited Boerhaave's manuscripts. Sanches gave the greatest importance to these manuscripts and promptly seized the opportunity to place Herman as a doctor at the Russian court, including in his work contract with the Medical Office a clause that obliged him to bring to Russia Boerhaave's manuscripts.²⁷⁹ On 20 October 1741, Van Swieten wrote to Sanches that Herman Kaau had come to say goodbye but that he would not be bringing all of Boerhaave's manuscripts to Russia. The manuscripts that concerned anatomy, physiology and chemistry belonged to Abraham. Abraham's deafness might not allow him to be a doctor, but Van Swieten proposed that he be hired as a teacher, since Boerhaave had diligently trained him in anatomy, physiology and chemistry, in compensation for his impairment. Boerhaave had even asserted that Abraham was the most capable of his disciples to teach these subjects.²⁸⁰

An entry in Sanches's journal from 28 April 1742 tells us he was by then finally studying and copying Herman's manuscripts.²⁸¹ As for Abraham, he was hired as professor of anatomy and physiology

²⁷² BIU Santé, MS 2018, f. 78v, *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 125.

²⁷³ Especially valuable as it was the only known copy, according to the Academy's *unter*-librarian Ivan Ivanovich Taubert. Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец", 26.

²⁷⁴ Степан Петрович Крашенинников, Описание Земли Камчатки (Санктпетербург: при Императорской Академия наук, 1755).

²⁷⁵ BIU Santé, MS 2018, f. 77v, *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 125.

²⁷⁶ Willemse, *António*, 70. Let it be reminded that it was thusly that Sanches himself got into Russia, through Bidloo asking Boerhaave to recommend three doctors.

²⁷⁷ Herman Boerhaave's nephew became the heir of his uncle, who had only a daughter, so he attached the family name Boerhaave to his surname. Like his uncle, Herman Kaau-Boerhaave had no male heirs, so upon his death, his brother Abraham Kaau became his heir. In 1740, with the permission of the daughter of Herman Boerhaave, countess De Thoms-Boerhaave, Abraham also changed his surname to Kaau-Boerhaave, v. Inge F. Hendriks et al., "The role of Dutch representatives in the development of medicine in Russia from the 9th to the 13th century", *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета. Медицина* 14.1 (2019), 54-55. The records may become confusing as both men are called Herman Boerhaave, so we'll preferably refer to the nephew as Herman Kaau.

²⁷⁸ A partial transcription of the letter, kept in the Austrian National Library, Cod. 12713, f. 104-104v, can be found in Willemse, *António*, 71-72.

²⁷⁹ Willemse, *António*, 71.

²⁸⁰ A partial transcription of the letter, kept in the Austrian National Library, Cod. 12713, f. 107v-108, can be found in Willemse, *António*, 72.

²⁸¹ Sanches does not do copy the manuscripts in full, "because he believed he was not allowed to make a full copy", despite the fact that "he had never intended to print these works for as long as Boerhaave's heirs lived". There is reason to believe he would regret bitterly this noble decision, since he will still be trying to copy the remaining parts twenty years later. In a letter from 15 February 1762, Sanches appeals to Karl Friedrich Kruse, who was first physician of Peter III and had by his marriage to Herman's only daughter inherited Boerhaave's manuscripts, to allow him access to the parts of the *De corde* that he had not

at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, arriving in Russia in 1746²⁸² and joining the Academy on 7 November 1747.²⁸³ Both brothers led prestigious careers at the Russian court.²⁸⁴

It is thanks to Sanches that not only these two men but also Boerhaave's manuscripts wound up in Russia.²⁸⁵ But we must read Andry with a grain of salt when he maintains that the duty of providing advantageous positions for his former master's nephews was at this point Sanches's only reason to stay in Russia, and, once this goal was accomplished, he left.²⁸⁶ For one thing, Sanches's career only grew more prestigious during these years, for another, he only requested to leave Russia in 1747, five years after Herman's arrival in Russia, a year after Abraham's. At any rate, it is clear that Sanches went to great lengths, throughout his life and as late as into his sixties, to try to copy, compile and publish his late master's manuscripts.²⁸⁷

Following Elizaveta Petrovna's coup in December 1741, Sanches retained the prestigious position of *leib*-physician. According to Chistovich, at the behest of the Empress, he was appointed her second *leib*-physician on 5 November 1741, with was discharged of his duties in the Cadet Corps.²⁸⁸

copied in 1742. Furthermore, he asked Koindoidi to persuade Kruse to allow him to publish the copies he had, "for the good of Medicine & the ill" & also for both of them, if Kruse was not disposed to publish them himself. Apparently Sanches's endeavors were fruitless, since in 1776 Gaubius proposed to find the missing parts of the *De corde* and complete Sanches's copy. Willemse, *António*, 73-76.

Lemos confuses the identities of Boerhaave's nephews. He first mistakes Abraham for Herman in saying that Abraham lent Sanches the manuscript of *De corde* upon arriving in Russia (v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 95), and then mistakes Jacob for Herman in saying that Sanches had obtained favorable positions for Sanches's nephews, Abraham Kaau and Jacob Kaau, "Jacob Kaau being the one that lent him the manuscript *De sectis medicorum*" (v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 136).

²⁸² Sanches says that Boerhaave's nephew Jacob Kaau lent him the manuscript of *De Sectis Medicorum* ("[Boerhaave] começou no Auditório público a ensinar no ano 1703, a 26 do mês de Outubro a História da Medicina com este título *De Sectis Medicorum*. E porque nenhum Autor da sua vida fez menção destas leituras, me é forçoso dizer aqui que as possuo, e que as mandei copiar do original que seu sobrinho Jacob Kaau Boerhaave me emprestou em Petersburgo." Sanches, *Método*, 23-24), but Willemse is certain that Sanches mixed up Jacob for Abraham. Willemse, *António*, 79.

²⁸³ Пётр Петрович Пекарский, *История Императорской академии наук в Петербурге*, Том 2 (Санкт-Петербург: Императорская Академия наук, 1873), 372.

²⁸⁴ Herman was appointed member of the State Council of Russia and on 7 December 1748 Empress Elizaveta made him Privy Councillor, her first *leib*-physician and General Director of the Medical Office. He died in Moscow on 7 October 1753. V. Hendriks et al., "The role of Dutch representatives", 54.

Abraham was elected member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences upon delivering the speech "De gaudiis alchimarum" and most of his works were printed in the Academy's publications. Despite his deafness, he acquired the reputation of an excellent practitioner in Saint Petersburg, where he died on 14 July 1758. V. "Бургав-Кау, Авраам", in *Энциклопедический словарь Брокгауза и Ефрона*, том 5 (Санкт-Петербург: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1891), 13.

²⁸⁵ The Netherlands only retrieved the manuscripts in the first half of the twentieth century, v. Willemse, *António*, 80.

²⁸⁶ Andry, "Précis", 16.

²⁸⁷ A volume with hand copies of Boerhaave's manuscripts is kept at the National Library of Spain, MSS/18374, digitizations available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 5. The volume opens with a 1768 inscription from Sanches: "Omnia qio in hoc volume continentur vel a me fuere ex Magni Boerhaave autographo descripta, vel meo nutu." Willemse, *António*, 73 indexes the manuscripts contained in this volume as follows:

"a) Praelectiones de Corde. Inchoatae octobr. 14: 1735 ab Hermanno Boerhaave Medicinae Professore Academia Leydensi dictatae et ex autographo descriptae

b) Praelectiones de motu humorum per vasa hominis inceptae 17 9/11 16

c) Praelectiones de sanguine humano 17 11/11 31 – 17 /3 38

d) Hermanni Boerhaave Praelectiones de Morbis Oculorum. Ex autographo descriptae anno 1741 (?) Petropoli.

De Effectu Lentis Crystallinae – 17 4/5 14 Prael. 20

e) Hermanni Boerhaave Praelectio Publica prima anno 17 26/9 03 habita in auditório medico post ferias aestivas

Praelectio 2 17 29/9 03

De Sectis Medicorum

Praelectio habita 17 9/1 04."

Additionally, there is record of Sanches being in possession of copies of *Morbis sensuum* and *De morbis cordis* (v. Sanches, *Método*, 36), and an excerpt of *De morbis nervorum* made by Van Swieten (v. letter from Sanches to Castro Sarmento. dated 11 November 1752). Possibly there are mentions to other copies that have missed us.

For more information about Boerhaave's manuscripts and Sanches's endeavours to copy, compile and publish them, see Willemse's chapter "Sanches et les Manuscrits Boerhaaviens", in *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 64-107.

²⁸⁸ The first *leib*-physician was the Count Johann Hermann Lestocq, with a salary of 7000 rubles. Чистович, *История*, ССХС.

At court, Sanches had to treat many members of the royal family. It was presumably during these years that Ekaterina Dmitrievna Golitsyna, lady of state of Empress Elizaveta and the wife of Dmitry Mikhailovich Golitsyn, became his patient. Sanches and the Golitsyns became close and maintained constant friendly relations well past Sanches's stay in Russia.²⁸⁹

In 1744 he cured the fifteen-year-old bride of Prince Peter Fedorovich (Duke of Holstein and future Emperor Peter III),²⁹⁰ from a bout of pleurisy.²⁹¹ This bride was none other than the future Catherine the Great. In her memoirs, the Empress wrote that, after oscillating between life and death for 27 days, it was Sanches's treatment of an abscess that revived her.²⁹² For this deed Sanches made an appearance in the gazette *Санктпетербургские Ведомости* on 26 March 1744.²⁹³

Councillor of State

The Empress Elizaveta made Sanches State Councillor [статский советник] in 1744.²⁹⁴ From a newspaper article, we may guess that the nomination was in the beginning of October.²⁹⁵ Nonetheless, it cannot be the case that this was what allowed him to become a sort of protector to academics like Gerhard Friedrich Müller and Johann Georg Gmelin, as Dulac maintains.²⁹⁶ Sanches's endorsement for the raise of Müller and Gmelin's salaries dates from 1743, and hence precedes his nomination as State Councillor.

In May 1745, the Imperial Academy of Sciences carried negotiations through Sanches with Abraham Kaau-Boerhaave about the latter's admission as professor in the Academy. In June, the Academy's secretary Schumacher²⁹⁷ petitioned the Imperial Cabinet for the appointment of Kaau as an academician in the department of anatomy, and it was added that he "was also very skilled in chemistry".²⁹⁸

²⁸⁹ The Golitsyns granted Sanches a lifelong pension (v. Andry, "Précis", 17) and turned to him for medical consultations until the end of the 1770s (v. Миранда, "Рибейро Саншес", 44). There is, for example, correspondence from 1757 attesting to Sanches being asked to spend the summer with the Princess aiding in her treatments (v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 193). She also asked Sanches for updates about the lands of Mafra (Rocha, "Um epistolário vienense", 342): through correspondence with Gonçalo Xavier de Alcáçova Carneiro, Sanches conducted *in absentia* experiments with the soil from Mafra for the treatment of cancer (v., e.g., Ernesto Ferreira, "O Médico Português Ribeiro Sanches e a Cura do Cancro", offprint of *Petrus Nonius* 3.3-4 (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1941), 5-9).

Correspondence from Alcáçova to Sanches is kept at the Public Library and Regional Archive of Ponta Delgada, "Arquivo Mello Manoel da Câmara", mçs. 60-61.

²⁹⁰ According to Andry, Sanches was called to assist the Duke of Holstein himself, who was gravely ill. Sanches would have saved spent thirty days at his bedside and saved him. We wonder if Andry did not confuse the Duke for the Duke's bride, since we find evidence of this episode nowhere else, and since he does not mention the episode with Catherine. Andry, "Précis", 15.

²⁹¹ П. И. Хотеев, "Пять очерков из ранней истории Академической Библиотеки", *Петербургская библиотечная школа* 2.46 (2014): 11

²⁹² "Je restai entre la vie et la mort pendant 27 jours, durant lesquels on me saigna seize fois, et quelquefois quatre fois dans un jour. [...] Enfin, l'abcès que j'avais dans le côté droit creva par les soins du médecin Sanchès, Portugais. Je le vomis, et dès ce moment je revins à moi. Je m'aperçus tout de suite que la conduite qu'avait tenue ma mère pendant ma maladie, l'avait desservi dans tous les esprits." In Catherine II, *Mémoires de l'Impératrice Catherine II. Écrits par elle-même* (London: Trübner & Co, 1859), 12.

²⁹³ *Санктпетербургские Ведомости*, 26 March 1744, 7. Information we got from the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences's database, at http://ecatalog.ras.ru:8080/cgi-bin/irbis64r_11/cgiirbis_64.exe, though we could not get access to the gazette itself.

²⁹⁴ Хотеев, "Пять очерков", 11.

A nomination Andry ascribes to the saving of the Duke of Holstein, v. Andry, "Précis", 15.

²⁹⁵ We know from the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences's database, at http://ecatalog.ras.ru:8080/cgi-bin/irbis64r_11/cgiirbis_64.exe, that Sanches is mentioned in the gazette *Санктпетербургские Ведомости*, 4 October 1744, 17. We could not get access to the article itself, but it is placed under the description "действ. стат. сов.", so it is most likely to concern Sanches's nomination.

²⁹⁶ Dulac, "Science et politique", 259.

²⁹⁷ Johann Daniel Schumacher (1690-1761), then secretary of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and director of its Library.

²⁹⁸ A letter from Schumacher to Sanches, dated 27 May 1745, reads: "обдумавъ дѣло г. Каау, я нахожу, что нѣтъ ничего легче какъ доставить ему мѣсто профессора въ Академіи, если пожелаетъ онъ взять на себя анатомію и въ то же время

Honorary member of the Academy of Sciences

While preparing his departure from Russia, Sanches requested to be made an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences,²⁹⁹ a position that was officially granted to him on 1 September 1747, along with a stipend of 200 rubles.³⁰⁰

The book sale to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences

Another schism between Russian and western literature on Sanches concerns his library. In the West, Sanches's library is a recurring theme and refers to the books he had in Paris at the time of his death and which were auctioned.³⁰¹ But to someone reading in Russian, "Sanches's library" may just as well refer to the books he sold to the Library of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Richter was, to the best of our knowledge, the first author to mention this sale.³⁰² Willemse doubted that it had ever occurred, since Sanches wrote to Schumacher on 27 March 1748 that he was still waiting for his books and manuscripts to arrive from Amsterdam, where the boat was stranded due to the War of the Austrian Succession.³⁰³ We do not see why it would not be possible, even likely, for Sanches to have sold some of his books and kept others. At any rate, the evidence that came to light since leaves no doubt that this transaction took place.

When preparing to leave Russia, Sanches sold his personal library to the Academy of Sciences. This was not an unusual practice; during the Academy's first years the library was actively replenished with private collections.³⁰⁴ Sanches dictated the terms of sale in a note to the Academy on 23 August

направлять занятія Ломоносова, который уже сдѣлалъ успѣхи въ химіи и которому назначается каѳедра по этой наукѣ съ жалованьемъ по 800 рублей въ годъ. Dies diem docet...." Пётр Петрович Пекарский, *История Императорской академии наук в Петербурге*, Том 2 (Санкт-Петербург: Императорская Академия наук, 1873), 353.

²⁹⁹ It is not true, then, that Sanches was quickly made a member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences on account of his "scientific and cultural elevation", nor that it was on the basis of this membership that he established contacts with the Portuguese Academy of History, as stated in Nadejda Ivanovna Nagovitsina Machado, "Literatura russa em Portugal: das vias de difusão aos sentidos de receção: o caso de Leão Tolstói" (PhD thesis, University of Minho, 2015), 14-15. Sanches was only made a member sixteen years after arriving in Russia, already preparing to leave, and by his own request.

³⁰⁰ We produce here a transcription of this record, dated 1 September 1747, from the archives of the Imperial Academy of Sciences:

"Понеже находящійся въ службѣ Ея И. В.* дѣйствительный статскій совѣтникъ и второй лейбъмедикъ Антоній Рибери Санжесъ отнущенъ въ свое отечество, который при отпускъ своемъ требовалъ, чтобъ его, господина Санжеса, учинить почетнымъ при академіи членомъ, съ обыкновеннымъ при томъ пенсіономъ, а онъ, въ отечествѣ своемъ будучи за-моремъ по своей наукѣ для здѣшней академіи разныя піесы и диссертациі присылать будеть; того ради указу Ея И. В.* канцелярія академіи наукъ приказали: ему, господину Санжесу, быть при академіи почетнымъ членомъ физическаго класса, съ опредѣленіемъ Ея И. В.* жалованія по двѣсти рублевъ на годъ. И оную жалованную дачу производить ему, Санжесу, сего сентября съ перваго числа, о чемъ къ расходу послать указъ; ему, Санжесу, какъ и прочимъ почетнымъ членамъ, дать за рукою академіи господина президента дипломъ, е для того оный написать на пергаментъ подмастерью Махаеву, а капсель къ оному серебрянный употребить отъ присланнаго изъ иностранной коллегіи диплома умершаго профессора Гросса."

Материалы для истории Императорской академии наук, Том VIII: 1746-1747 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1885), 542.

³⁰¹ This was presumably Sanches's will. Already in 1773 he had projected selling his library, emphasizing that he had amongst his books some manuscripts of his late master Boerhaave. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 96.

³⁰² Richter writes that Sanches's library was purchased after his departure in 1747 by the Imperial Library, which thus received a considerable increase in the number of medical books. Richter, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 264. As Gruzenberg point out, though, the term "Imperial Library" is ambiguous. Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец", 27.

³⁰³ Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 17, n. 35.

³⁰⁴ For more information about private collections in the Library of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, v. "Библиотека Российской академии наук. Книжные фонды" at http://www.rasl.ru/b_resours/base/index_b.php.

1747,³⁰⁵ to which he annexed a catalogue of the books.³⁰⁶ According to Khoteev, this catalogue is still preserved in the St. Petersburg branch of the Academy's archives³⁰⁷ and reveals a preoccupation to stay abreast of the latest findings in medical science. Containing 447 editions in over 700 volumes in Latin, French, English, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, it was by the standards of the eighteenth century an excellent and fairly large collection.³⁰⁸ The total sum proposed by Sanches amounted to 1145 rubles and 55 kopecks, a value which he proposed to round down to 1000 rubles, and no less, if the Academy chose to acquire the complete collection. As Sanches was about to leave the country, he requested that the Academy expedited the process.³⁰⁹

More than 200 of the catalogued editions were published during Sanches's stay in Russia. This shows that at least half of the collection was assembled in these years. According to Khoteev, the Saint Petersburg Academic Bookstore was Sanches's main source of replenishment. The volumes he could not purchase in the Russian book market, he received from his acquaintances abroad.³¹⁰ Indeed book exchanges are a leitmotiv in Sanches's correspondence, as he frequently asked his friends to send him books, either listing the specific titles he was looking for or asking them to choose some works they recommended about such or such subject.³¹¹

From the same date as Sanches's nomination as an honorary member of the Academy, 1 September 1747, there is another Academy meeting record discussing the sale conditions of Sanches's personal library. The Academy considered that the catalogue contained "not only books of different subjects and in different languages, in good binding, but also with a moderate price".³¹² The price was low even for

³⁰⁵ We here transcribe Sanches's note, which can be found in *Материалы*, Том VIII, 534:

"Représentation à la chancellerie de l'académie impériale de sciences.

Si la chancellerie de l'académie impériale voudra faire examiner le catalogue des livres ci-joint, elle sera informée non seulement du choix des livres en différentes langues et matirées bien conditionnés, mais aussi du prix raisonnable qui y est marqué, lequel vient à la somme totale de roubles r. 1145: 55: En cas que la chancellerie de ditte académie me veuille faire la grâce de les acheter tous ceux qui sont marqués dans le catalogue si-dessus mentionnés, je les venderois pour le prix de mille roubles, et pas moins, priant au même tems la chancellerie de l'académie impériale, en cas qu'elle veuille les acheter, de prendre en considération qu'étant sur mon départ, que j'en voudrois être expédié le pus tôt qu'il seroit possible.

Antonio Ribeiro Sanches."

³⁰⁶ *Материалы*, Том VIII, 542.

³⁰⁷ ЛО ААН, ф. 3, оп. 1, № 110, л. 33-61. In fact, according to Khoteev, two catalogues are preserved: one by Sanches's own hand (attached to the letter about the sale sent to the Academy), the second compiled by the librarian I. Taubert after the purchase. Хотеев, "Библиотека лейб-медика Рибейру Сенчеса", 104.

³⁰⁸ Khoteev published the catalogue of Sanches's books in the article П. И. Хотеев, "Библиотека лейб-медика Рибейру Сенчеса", *Книготорговое и библиотечное дело в России в XVIII – первой половине XIX в.* (Ленинград: Библиотека Академии Наук СССР, 1981), 104-141. We include the catalogue in the annexes, making it available for a broader audience.

For a study about the collection and its contents, v. П. И. Хотеев, "Пять очерков из ранней истории Академической Библиотеки", *Петербургская библиотечная школа* 2.46 (2014), 11-13.

³⁰⁹ *Материалы*, Том VIII, 534.

³¹⁰ Хотеев, "Пять очерков", 11.

³¹¹ V. n. 171.

³¹² "Понеже находящийся при дворѣ Ея И. В. дѣйствительный статскій совѣтникъ и лейбъ-медикусъ Антонио-Рибейро Санжесъ въ свое отечество изъ Санктъ-Петербурга отпускается, и у онаго Санжеса находятся для академической императорской библиотеки книги надобныя въ оную, -того ради, какія у него есть, велѣно ему подать при письменномъ въ канцелярію академіи наукъ представленій каталогъ, постановя онымъ книгамъ умѣренную цѣну. И прошедшаго августа 23-го числа оный Санжесъ подаль въ канцелярію академіи наукъ представление, и при ономъ приложилъ каталогъ, и требуетъ пересмотрѣть. А оный де содержитъ въ себѣ не токмо книги разныхъ матерій и на разныхъ языкахъ, въ хорошемъ переплетѣ, но и съ умѣренною цѣною, которая учинитъ всего-на-все тысяча сто сорокъ пять рублевъ пятьдесятъ пять копеекъ. А ежели оная канцелярія академіи наукъ всѣ въ ономъ каталогѣ объявленныя книги купить, то онья уступаетъ за тысячу рублевъ, и притомъ проситъ, чтобъ его, Санжеса, въ деньгахъ платежемъ не задержатъ. Симъ опредѣлено: 1) показанныя книги по каталогу разобрать, которыхъ нѣтъ въ библиотекѣ, ть взять въ библиотечку и записать въ оный каталогъ; 2) которыя въ библиотечку не надобны, тѣ съ реэстромъ отдать въ книжную лавку, гдѣ, положи настоящую цѣну, въ продажу употребить; 3) ему, Санжесу, за показанныя книги выдать пынѣ, отъ расхода регистратора Иванова, пятьсотъ рублевъ, и послѣ онья, когда деньги въ книжной лавкѣ будутъ, возвратитъ въ канцелярію къ расходу, гдѣ ихъ записать въ приходъ; а другую половину заплатить отъ сего опредѣленія въ годъ изъ книжной лавки, и для того ему, Санжесу, въ оныхъ недоданныхъ пятистахъ рубляхъ дать вексель или обязательное писмо. О чемъ къ господину совѣтнику и библиотечкару Шумахеру, Прейсеру и регистратору Иванову дать указы." *Материалы для истории Императорской академии наук*, Том VIII: 1746-1747 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1885), 542-543.

the standards of the time, though we are not sure of the accuracy of Andry's estimate that the selection was worth 30000 livres.³¹³ The Academy bought the complete collection, deciding to incorporate in its library the books it did not already have and to sell the remainder. Thus over 300 titles were integrated in the Academy's Library, including almost all the medical books.³¹⁴ This addition we can count as an important step towards the establishment of the first Russian Medical Library in 1756.³¹⁵

The exit controversy

Regarding his departure from Russia, again the sources vary tremendously. Richter says the Empress was particularly fond of Sanches and honorably granted his dismissal at his request.³¹⁶ Gruzenberg ascribes this request to an eye sickness.³¹⁷ Andry builds up a climate of instability at court following Elizaveta's coup, where Sanches saw his friends and protectors arrested, exiled or tortured, and thinks up ways of retiring, waiting for the favorable moment to request his leave.³¹⁸ But this narrative begs the question of whether it would have taken six years to find a favorable moment. Other authors are quick to impute Sanches's departure to his being "involved in State conspiracies", without citing sources,³¹⁹ or to "political intrigues and allegations of Judaism" without further discussion, going as far as to say that he was forced to leave.³²⁰

The expulsion narrative can be traced back at least to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1905), which states that Sanches was ordered to resign and leave St. Petersburg, although the Empress's conge praised his great skill as a physician and the honesty with which he had discharged his duties. Sanches then would have hastened to sell his property and leave for Paris, whence he corresponded with Count Razumovsky, then president of the Academy of Sciences, asking for an explanation. Razumovsky inquired chancellor Bestuzhev and the conclusion was that "the only reason for Sanchez's discharge was the fact that the empress, who hated the Jews, had been told that he professed Judaism".³²¹

Whatever the cause or combination of causes for his departure, what is certain is that Elizaveta granted Sanches his dismissal on 4 September 1747 with an honorable farewell certificate, in which his

³¹³ Andry, "Précis", 16.

³¹⁴ Хотеев, "Пять очерков", 11.

³¹⁵ Established by Kondoidi, also a Leiden-trained physician, who succeeded Herman Kaau as General Director of the Medical Office. Inge F. Hendriks et al., "The role of Dutch representatives", 55.

³¹⁶ Richter, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 263-264.

³¹⁷ Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец", 25.

³¹⁸ Andry, "Précis", 15.

³¹⁹ Conceição, "Science and power relations", 23.

³²⁰ V., e.g., Costa and Jesus, "António Ribeiro Sanches", 187.

³²¹ "SANCHEZ (SANCHEZ), ANTONIO RIBEIRO", in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Herman Rosenthal and Max Rosenthal, vol. 11 (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1905), 37-38.

rendered services are mentioned with much praise and honors.³²² His departure made the news in the gazette *Санктпетербургские Ведомости* on 11 September 1747.³²³

We will dismiss the expulsion narrative as it mixes up two separate events: Sanches's dismissal from service at court and Sanches's dismissal from the Imperial Academy of Sciences. We shall discuss the circumstances of his expulsion from the Academy further ahead. For now, it suffices to say that the only evidence the expulsion narrative invokes – the correspondence with Razumovsky – clearly concerns the Academy affair. For one thing, it dates from 1749, two years after Sanches's departure, aligning rather with the Academy affair beginning in November 1749. For another and more definitive reason, the contents of said correspondence pertain only to the Academy affair, as will be demonstrated in due time.

However, it is interesting that the Academy talked of Sanches's departure for his homeland.³²⁴ If it is true that Sanches was bound for Portugal when he left Russia, that means something happened in the return journey that made him abandon this intent. But it is difficult to believe Sanches would be willing to return in the first place, even though he deeply wished to, since he said a few years earlier that he would not risk going back to Portugal without a safe conduct from the king. Besides, when his brother Manuel asked for his blessing to return to Portugal, he asked him not to go, fearing the expectable persecutions.³²⁵ If it is true that Sanches was experiencing pressures at court due to suspicions of Judaism, we are left wondering if Sanches could have used his return to Portugal as proof that he was not a Jew and had nothing to fear of the Portuguese Inquisition, just so he could get his conge and depart peacefully.

To sum up Sanches's professional path of sixteen years in Russia, it can be safely stated that he held sequentially the positions of physician of the State and city of Moscow, member of the Medical Office, where he was an “examiner of Medicine and Surgery” in Saint Petersburg, chief physician of the armies in the Crimean campaign, physician in the Saint Petersburg Cadet Corps, *gof*-physician and possibly also *leib*-physician of Anna Ioannovna (r. 1730-1740), *leib*-physician of Anna Leopoldovna (regency 1740-1741), young Ivan IV Antonovich, and Elizaveta Petrovna (r. 1741-1742), and Councillor of State also under Empress Elizaveta. As to the position of vice-president of the Russian Court of Medicine,³²⁶ within the context where Sanches mentions this job,³²⁷ we can only guess that it is

³²² The certificate was found by Richter in the archives of the Medical Office and transcribed Richter, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, 590 (annex XVI):

“Копія изъ абшида, данного Доктору Антонію Рибеиро Санхесу при отпускъ изъ Россіи.
Божіею милостію МЫ ЕЛИСАВЕТЬ ИМПЕРАТРИЦА и проч.

Оказатель сего, Медицины Докторъ Антонію Рибеиро Санхесъ, выписанъ и принятъ былъ въ службу Нашу съ капитуляціею въ 1731 году, съ которою оную Нашу службу, во исправленіи по искусству его Медицинскаго дѣла, будучи при разныхъ мѣстахъ до нынѣ препроводилъ, какъ искусному Доктору Медицины и честному чловѣку надлежить; добропохвально, такъ что за оказанные въ томъ его труды и искусство Всемилостивѣйше отъ Насъ пожалованъ и обрѣтался при ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЙ Нашей Особѣ вторымъ Лейбмедикомъ съ рангомъ Дѣйствительнаго Статскаго Совѣтника, и понеже онъ докторъ за бользнями, которыми онъ одержанъ, просилъ изъ службы увольненія, того ради указали Мы дать ему сей абшидь за собственноручнымъ подписаніемъ

ЕЛИСАВЕТЬ.

С. Петербургъ Сентября въ 4, 1747 года.”

³²³ *Санктпетербургские Ведомости*, 11 September 1747, 6. Information we got from the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences's database, at http://ecatalog.ras.ru:8080/cgi-bin/irbis64r_11/cgiirbis_64.exe, though we could not get access to the article itself.

³²⁴ “Антоній Риберо Санхесъ отнушенъ въ свое отечество (...), а онъ, въ отечествѣ своемъ будучи за-моремъ по своей наукѣ для здѣшной академіи разныя піесы и диссертациі присылать будеть”, *Материалы*, Том VIII, 542.

³²⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 176.

³²⁶ V., e.g., Augusto Machado, “Introdução”, 10-11; Nagovitsina Machado, “Literatura russa em Portugal”, 16.

³²⁷ “que por trinta e nove anos empregados a estudar a Medicina em cinco Universidades, e a praticá-la como vice Presidente de um Tribunal Médico, como Médico da Escola Militar da Nobreza de Rússia, e ultimamente de três Monarcas do mesmo Império”, Ribeiro Sanches, *Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina* (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2003), 38.

either the job at the Medical Office or the position of State Councillor. Furthermore, he was made at his request an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences upon his departure from Russia.

On his way to Paris, Sanches apparently was received by the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great.³²⁸ The Paris years will be particularly important for Sanches's intellectual production, for the widening of his scientific network and the strengthening of his personal relationships.

The expulsion from the Academy of Sciences controversy

On 10 November 1748, a year after his departure from Russia, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna withdrew both Sanches's honorary membership to the Academy and his pension.³²⁹ The decree was handed to the president of the Academy, Count Kiriil Razumovsky, who in turn communicated it to the Academy office.³³⁰ Razumovsky notified Sanches of the decision in January 1749, asking him to return his diploma to a Russian residing in Paris named Gross.³³¹ Sanches was bewildered but obeyed. He wrote back inquiring the reason for this dishonor, fearing that he might have been accused of political unreliability. Alluding to an incident that could have originated such rumors, he attempted to prove his innocence.³³² Razumovsky forwarded the inquiry to Chancellor Bestuzhev, at the time residing in Moscow with the Empress,³³³ to which Bestuzhev replied in April that Sanches should not be concerned, for the situation "did not at all contribute to his disgrace". He had lost his position due to "his Judaism, not any political causes". The Empress wanted the members of her Academy to be "good Christians" and she had been informed that Sanches was a Jew.³³⁴

There are at least two possible names that can be associated with Sanches's undoing: Henry Smith and Herman Kaau. Smith, who we have seen had been recommended by Boerhaave to enter into Russian service at the same time as Sanches,³³⁵ appears throughout the years as a pernicious presence in

³²⁸ "Il passa à Berlin où il eut l'honneur de saluer le Roi; & malgré l'intérêt que la dernière révolution de Russie inspiroit alors, & la profonde connoissance que M. Sanchès devoit avoir de toutes les parties de l'administration & de l'état de cet Empire, il n'entretint le Roi de Prusse que de Physique & d'Histoire-Naturelle." Andry, "Précis", 16.

³²⁹ It is then not true that Sanches received his pension from the Empress punctually until his death, as said in D'Esaguy, *Dois inéditos*, 3. As we have seen, the pension would only be restituted in 1962 by Catherine the Great.

³³⁰ "Г. Гроссу, что я исполниль, написавъ въ то же время къ нему, что мой образъ дѣйствій не заслуживаль подобнаго обращенія со мною. Г. президентъ отвѣчалъ мнѣ, что ея императорское величество не гнѣвается на меня ни за какой политической промахъ, но что ея совѣсть не допускаеть, чтобы я оставался въ ея Академіи, когда исповѣдую иудейскую вѣру. Я отвѣчалъ на это съ большою умрѣнностью, что такое обвиненіе ложно и есть тѣмъ болѣе клевета, что я католической религіи; но что я не забочусь опровергнуть это, потому что мнѣ от рожденія суждено, чтобы христіане меня признавали за еврея, а евреи - за христіанина, и что сверхъ того Провидѣніемъ это предназначено крови, текущей въ моихъ жилахъ, той самой, которая была и у первыхъ святыхъ Церкви и св. апостоловъ, униженныхъ, преслѣдованныхъ и мученныхъ при жизни, чтимыхъ и поклоняемыхъ послѣ ихъ смерти"

Материалы для истории Императорской академии наук, Том IX: 1748-1749 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1885), 537.

³³¹ Our best guess is that this was Genrikh Ivanovich Gross (1713-1765), who was minister plenipotentiary in Paris for the years 1745-1748, according to the records of the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, <https://www.rusemb.org.uk/gross/>.

³³² Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхецъ", 28.

³³³ Петръ Баргеновъ, "Письма о докторѣ Санхецѣ, устраненномъ изъ Академіи Наукъ по причинѣ Жидовства", *Русскій Архивъ. Историко-литературный сборник. 1870. Выпуски 1-6* (Москва: Типографія А. И. Мамонтова и К°, 1870), 280.

³³⁴ "Monseigneur,

Sur la lettre que V. Exell. m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire je n'ay rien autre chose à luy repondre, que ce que Mr. Sanches étoit inquieté d'une chose qui n'a absolument rien contribué à sa disgrâce.

Sa Maj-té Imp. ma gracieuse Souveraine a tous les égards pour les savans, et même Elle protège les arts et les sciences au suprême degré. Mais, Monseigneur, Elle veut aussi que ceux qui sont dans son Academie soyent de même de bons Chretiens. Et on a informé Sa Maj. Imp. que le Doct. Sanches ne l'est pas. Ainsi c'est son Judaïsme et point de causes politiques, à ce que je sçache, que luy foit perdre sa place. Je suis avec de profond respect. Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

à Moscou ce d'Avril, 1749."

Баргеновъ, "Письма о докторѣ Санхецѣ", *Русскій Архивъ* (1870), 282-283.

³³⁵ V. n. 142.

Sanches's life.³³⁶ We know that Smith denounced him publicly in court as a Jew, though we know not when.³³⁷ Herman Kaau, who had gotten his job in Russia thanks to Sanches,³³⁸ seems however to have also become his nemesis. In the summer of 1749, Van Sieten and Sanches lamented the fact that Kaau had proven himself maliciously ungrateful towards Sanches, though in what manner we know not.³³⁹ At any rate, Herman Kaau acquired the reputation of someone who “could not tolerate having other skilful doctors nearby, including his own brother,” and “got them fired under frivolous pretexts”.³⁴⁰

Razumovsky conveyed the contents of Chancellor Bestuzhev's letter to Sanches, telling him that the Empress was not upset “for any wrongdoing or infidelity committed directly against Her or Her interests”, but that the true reason for his “disgrace” was that Her Majesty simply could not in conscience allow in the Academy someone who had traded Christianity for Judaism. Nonetheless, Razumovsky had ordered 500 rubles to be sent to Sanches “for the books to Mr. Vigor”,³⁴¹ 238 rubles for the pensions that the Academy owed Sanches until the day of the expulsion, and he asked Sanches that, in case he had incurred further expenses for the Academy, he sent him the account so as to be reimbursed.³⁴² Some payments for books bought by Sanches indicate that there was further correspondence between him and Razumovsky, but it is yet to be identified.³⁴³

On 11 August 1749, Sanches appealed to the famous mathematician Leonhard Euler, also a member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, giving him an account of the circumstances. This is how we know that Sanches replied to Razumovsky, “with great moderation”, that such an accusation was “false and all the more slander” since he was a Catholic, but that he did not care to refuse it because he was “destined from birth to be marked as a Jew by Christians and as a Christian by Jews”.³⁴⁴ Euler

³³⁶ Already in 1736 Sanches harboured a profound hatred for “the Irishman”: “aquela, a mais ímpia e falsa [amizade], do irlandês, aquele traidor o mais horrendo que conheci”. Journal entry of 15 April 1736, v. Sanches, *Diário de Campanha*, 10.

³³⁷ A letter from Staehlin to Andry, dated 20 December 1783, written upon learning of Sanches's death, gives notice of this incident: “Sous ce dernier règne, il essuya un choc assez fâcheux et sensible par la grossièreté d'un médecin anglais, M. Smit /.../, qui lui reprochait publiquement qu'il était un Juif Portugais, vu par lui-même en fonction dans la grande Synagogue à Amsterdam”. *Apud* Rocha, “Um epistolário vienense”, 247.

³³⁸ *Vide supra*, p. 32.

³³⁹ This we learn in a letter from Van Swieten to Sanches, dated 13 August 1749: “Quoyque je soupçonnais bien quelque chose par rapport a Monsr. Kaau, cependant je croyois seulement que il auroit montre quelque indocilité de tems en tems pour vos av, mais je pensois pas, qu'il auroit esté ingrat envers vous, et d'une maniere si noire. Je le deteste et veux plus parler de luy doresnavant, tant pour pas renouveler vos chagrins, que parce que je le crois indigne avec toute sa brillante fortune, qu'on pense a luy (...).” Letter kept in the Austrian National Library, Cod. 12713, f. 142, and partially transcribed in Willemse, *António*, 53.

What was it that Kaau did is probably specified in the letter from Sanches to which Van Switen is answering, but the missive has been lost.

³⁴⁰ Willemse cites a letter sent to the Dutch government on 8 November 1753 from a Dutch envoy in Russia called De Swart: “le défunt [Herman Kaau] n'a ni pu ni voulu tolérer auprès de lui des médecins habiles, même pas son propre frère, comme l'expérience, à plusieurs reprises, l'a prouvé ; au contraire, il a réussi à les faire chasser sous des prétextes frivoles en les remplaçant par d'autre qui arrivèrent ici encore couverts de la poussière de l'école”. Letter kept at the National Archives of The Hague, *dossier* 7403, “Etats-Généraux”, *apud* Willemse, *António*, 96, n. 92.

³⁴¹ We found no other references to this exchange.

³⁴² “Monsieur.

Vous avez très bien fait d'avoir obei aux ordres de Sa Majesté Imp. Elle n'est pas fâchée contre Vous, autant que je sache, à cause d'une faute ou d'une infidélité faite directement contre Elle ou contre Ses intérêts. Mais Elle croit que Sa conscience ne Luy permet pas de laisser un homme dans Son Academie, qui, ayant quitté l'Etendart de Jesus Christ, s'était laissé entraîné de combattre sous celui de Moysse et des Prophetes du Vieux Testament. Voicy, Monsieur, la veritable cause de Votre disgrâce. Non obstant tout cela, j'ay fait payer à vos ordres les 500 R. pour les livres à Mr. Vigor, et j'ay ordonné de Vous payer de même Votre pension jusqu'au jour que Sa Maj. Imp. avait ordonné de Vous exclure du nombre des Académiciens, avec 238 R. qui fait exactement la somme que nous Vous devons. Si Vous avez fait encore quelques autres dépenses pour l'Academie, enenvoyez moi le compte; je Vous le rembourseray, étant très parfaitement, Monsieur, etc.”

Бартеневъ, “Письма о Донторъ Санхецъ”, *Русский Архивъ* (1870), 283-284.

³⁴³ Грузенберг, “Доктор Санхецъ”, 29.

³⁴⁴ We transcribe a fragment of Sanches's letter to Euler, doubtless a translation from either Latin or French, but still the only access we have to it:

“Необходимо, чтобы я вамъ сообщилъ, что рѣшила обо мнѣ императорская Академія. Въ прошедшемъ январѣ мѣсяцѣ я получилъ предписаніе г. президента гр. Разумовскаго отдать мой дипломъ г. Гроссу, что я исполнилъ, написавъ въ то же время къ нему, что мой образъ дѣйствій не заслуживалъ подобнаго обращенія со мною. Г.

and Sanches were on good terms and nurtured a profound reverence for one another, as attested by previous correspondence.³⁴⁵ Euler took Sanches's side and addressed Schumacher on 29 August 1749 expressing that he "strongly doubted that such deeds could bring glory to the Academy".³⁴⁶ But it seems the matter stopped there.

Thus Sanches was stranded in Paris deprived of his pension and of the prestigious position for which he was so well known. We will not delve into the French years, deserving of a separate work, so let us skip straight to 1762, to finish the account of the Academy membership.

On 1 January 1762, immediately following Elizaveta's death, Razumovsky wrote to the Academy's office appealing for the restoration of Sanches's pension and former title of honorary member, of which he had been deprived due to the "vain slandering of his comrades". Razumovsky argued that Sanches had proved his innocence and, moreover, his zeal for Russia, "acquiring great knowledge in the sciences and arts for the benefit of Russians and rendering all sorts of useful services, which those who were in Paris cannot begin to praise".³⁴⁷ However, we have notice of no action being taken until November.

When Catherine the Great rose to power, Betskoy explained to her the offences Sanches had been subjected to by Elizaveta Petrovna.³⁴⁸ Catherine still remembered that the Portuguese doctor had saved her life when she was fifteen. She expressed her gratitude by not only reinstating the stipend Elizaveta had revoked but increasing it fivefold. The Empress issued the order on 12 November 1762 for a pension of 1000 rubles a year to be given to Sanches for the rest of his life, "for the reason that he, with the help of God, saved me from death".³⁴⁹ In the bills of the Empress for 1762, there is a registered expense of 1000 roubles for the pension of "Doctor Sanches", so we know that Sanches's pension was restored immediately in the year of her ascension to the throne.³⁵⁰

According to Lemos, Sanches was informed that the Empress had restored both his pension and his honorary membership at the Academy through a letter of 22 November 1762 from the librarian Ivan Ivanovich Taubert. On 10 January 1763, Sanches would have replied to Taubert thanking him for the

президентъ отвѣчалъ мнѣ, что ея императорское величество не гнѣвается на меня ни за какой политической промахъ, но что ея совѣсть не допускаетъ, чтобы я оставался въ ея Академіи, когда исповѣдую іудейскую вѣру. Я отвѣчалъ на это съ большою умрѣнностію, что такое обвиненіе ложно и есть тѣмъ болѣе клевета, что я католической религіи; но что я не забочусь опровергнуть это, потому что мнѣ от рожденія суждено, чтобы христіане меня признавали за еврея, а евреи - за христіанина, и что сверхъ того Провидѣніемъ это предназначено крови, текущей въ моихъ жилахъ, той самой, которая была и у первыхъ святыхъ Церкви и св. апостоловъ, униженныхъ, преслѣдованныхъ и мученныхъ при жизни, чтимыхъ и поклоняемыхъ послѣ ихъ смерти"

Сборник Императорского Русского Исторического Общества, Том 7, 175.

³⁴⁵ V., e.g., the long letter from Euler to Sanches, dated 9 May 1740, where Euler explains in length his probability theory, "quae ut benigne et quasi mei erga Te officii summi monumentum accipias vehementer rogo." Transcribed in Joaquim de Carvalho, "Duas cartas de d'Alembert e de Euler (Pai) dirigidas a Ribeiro Sanches", *Revista Filosófica* 5 (1955), 197-201.

³⁴⁶ "я сильно сомнѣваюсь, чтобы подобные, удивительные поступки могли много содѣйствовать къ распространенію славы Академіи наукъ", *Сборник Императорского Русского Исторического Общества*, Том 7, 175.

³⁴⁷ "въ послѣдующемъ времени невиновность свою доказалъ и особливо живучи въ Парижѣ, по всегдашнему своему усердію къ Россіи, приѣзжающимъ туда для приобрѣтенія себѣ в наукахъ и художествахъ вѣщаго знанія россиянамъ оказывалъ всякія полезныя услуги, коихъ бывшіе в Парижѣ довольно похвалить не могутъ"

Сборник Императорского Русского Исторического Общества, Том 7, 176.

³⁴⁸ Andry, "Précis", 17.

³⁴⁹ Transcription of Catherine II's order to reconstitute Sanches's pension:

"Списокъ съ приказанія Екатерины II А. Олсуфьеву о пенсіонѣ доктору Санше.
(12 ноября 1762 года).

Бывшему напередъ сего въ здѣшней службѣ лейбъ-медикомъ, нынѣ же обрѣтающемуся въ Парижѣ, доктору Санше производить изъ комнатной суммы пенсіону по тысячѣ рублевъ на годъ, по смерть его, для того что онъ меня, за помощію Божією, от смерти спасъ.

Екатерина."

Сборник Императорского Русского Исторического Общества, Том 7 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1871), 175. This volume collects papers of Catherine II stored in the State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³⁵⁰ *Сборник*, Том 7, 119.

copy and translation of Razumovsky's decree, which reinstated him as an honorary member and a pensioner of the Academy. Sanches thanked the Empress herself on a letter of 25 May 1763.³⁵¹

The fact that the Empress's decree mentions only the pension has led some authors to say that only the pension and not the membership was restored.³⁵² But Sanches is referred to in the Academy's meeting record of 14 April 1763 as "a member of our Academy residing in Paris",³⁵³ so Lemos's account is most probably true and the key is in the Paris manuscripts.

³⁵¹ Lemos does not specify where he gathered this information, but from his previous clues we assume that it was from the manuscripts kept at Paris. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 195.

³⁵² V., e.g., Грузенберг, "Доктор Санхец", 33.

We have not found an analogous decree from the Empress concerning the membership, nor Razumovsky's decree of November 1762, nor any allusions to Sanches in the Academy's meeting records for the year 1762 at all. V. *Протоколы заседаний Конференции Императорской Академии наук с 1725 по 1803 года*, Том II: 1744-1770 (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1899), 472-493,

³⁵³ "Propositum est Collegis, ut, qui velit, cogitet de commissionibus V. Cl. Sanchesio Ribeyra, Membro nostrae Academiae Parisiis commoranti, deferendis." *Протоколы заседаний*, Том II, 497.

Exchange with the Jesuits at Beijing

The first contacts between the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the Jesuits at Beijing began on the initiative of the sinologist Theophilus Siegfried Bayer.³⁵⁴ Bayer sent on 1 September 1731 a letter to the missionaries at Beijing through the commercial caravan of Lorenz Lange, which returned in 1733 with three replies³⁵⁵ and at least five other letters to Joseph-Nicholas Delisle.³⁵⁶ The exchange with the Jesuits started being a more recurring and important theme for the Academy in 1734, when another caravan was being prepared by Lange to head for Beijing.³⁵⁷ The subject became less mentioned in the 1740s,³⁵⁸ and regained breath in the 1750s, extending well into the 1770s. The last received letter was from the French Jesuit Pierre-Martial Cibot on 10 October 1777.³⁵⁹ The first allusion to Sanches in these meeting records concerning the relations with the Beijing Jesuits is on 20 January 1738, where he is listed among the recipients of this correspondence.³⁶⁰

The exchange between Ribeiro Sanches and the Beijing Jesuits spanned at least sixteen years, from 1734 to 1750. If it was started at the service of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, it nonetheless gained an interest and legitimacy of their own, as attested by the fact that it extended not only past Sanches's stay in Russia but also beyond his expulsion from the Academy. Some letters from the Jesuits to Sanches have survived, namely those sent by André Pereira, Polycarpo de Sousa, Domingos Pinheiro, Augustin Hallerstein and Antonio Gomes.³⁶¹

The earliest, written by André Pereira, dates from 30 December 1736. It was a reply to a letter Sanches would have sent on 12 September 1734.³⁶² The missives took months to reach their destination, since they were transported in caravans that had to travel over 6000 km. When Sanches tells Sampaio Valadares on 15 July 1735 that he had written to the Portuguese Jesuits, this is presumably the letter he was referring to. Sanches was writing to Valadares about some books about China he had ordered for a professor “who understood the Chinese language and maintained correspondence in Beijing with our

³⁵⁴ For a study of the correspondence between the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the Jesuits at Beijing, v. João Manuel S. A. Miranda, “Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio científico e cultural entre a Academia das Ciências de Petersburgo e a comunidade dos «Jesuítas Matemáticos» em Pequim nas décadas de 30–50 do século XVIII”, *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionaçãõ no Oriente* (Lisboa: Brotéria-Fundação Oriente, 2000), 331-364.

³⁵⁵ One collective letter of 12 September 1732 signed by Ignaz Kögler, André Pereira and Karel Slaviček, another of the same date from Dominique Parrenin, and a third of 3 July 1732 from Antoine Gaubil. These letters are kept in the Архив Академии Наук, разряд III, опись 1, n.º 82, f. 15-18, 22-24v, 25-28v. Bayer replied individually to each of them in November 1734. V. Miranda, “Alguns aspectos”, 345 (n. 30), 353.

³⁵⁶ Three from Antoine Gaubil, another from Ignaz Kögler and yet another from Karel Slaviček – all from 1732. Delisle replied in towards the end of 1734. Miranda, “Alguns aspectos”, 351.

³⁵⁷ As witnessed by the growing discussions on the meeting records (e.g., October 7, 11, 18 and 28), v. *Протоколы заседаний*, Том I.

³⁵⁸ Which can be explained with the death of Slaviček (1735), Bayer (1738), Pereira (1743) and Kögler (1747), and the departure from Russia of Sanches and Joseph-Nicholas Delisle (both in 1747).

³⁵⁹ Miranda, “Alguns aspectos”, 344-350. The correspondence between the Academy members and the Jesuits is kept in the Архив Академии Наук, разряд III, опись 1, n.º 82. It contains letters from fifteen Jesuits (André Pereira, Domingos Pinheiro, Félix da Costa, Dominique Parrenin, Antoine Gaubil, Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, Michel Benoît, Alexandre de La Charme, Jacques-François d'Ollières, Jean-Paul Collas, Pierre-Martial Cibot, Joseph-Louis Desrobert, Karl Slaviczek, Agostinho Hallerstein, Florian Joseph Bahr) and twelve Academy members (Teophile-Ziegfried Bayer, H. F. Müller, Joseph-Nicholas Delisle, Stepan Jakovlevitch Rumovsky, Nikita Ivanovitch Popov, I. Amman, I. Ch. Hebenschtreit, S. . Krasheninikov, Ioham-Georg Duvernois, Ch. G. Kratsenstein, G. V. Richman, I. E. Tseiger).

³⁶⁰ *Протоколы заседаний*, Том I, 452.

³⁶¹ These letters are kept in the National Library of Spain, MSS/18371, fl. 2-40v, and the digitizations can be found online at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 2, documents 334-373. Most were transcribed in Arthur Viegas, “Ribeiro Sanches e os Jesuítas”, *Revista de História* 9 (1920), 81-87, 227-231, 256-270, and in Viegas, “Ribeiro Sanches e o P. Polycarpo de Sousa, terceiro bispo de Pekim”, *Revista de História* 10 (1921), 37-40, 241-263, according to Miranda, “Alguns aspectos”, 355, n. 63.

³⁶² Letter from André Pereira to Sanches, dated 30 December 1736. National Library of Spain, MSS/18371, fl. 2-3v, digitization available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 2, documents 334-336.

Fathers”.³⁶³ This professor was presumably Bayer. Sanches seized the opportunity to engage with the Jesuits himself resorting to the caravans that left from Saint Petersburg to Beijing every three years.³⁶⁴

On 15 March 1739 Sanches replied to André Pereira and initiated correspondence with Polycarpo de Sousa, his contemporary at the University of Coimbra and then Bishop of Beijing. These would become his main correspondents, but we also have missives to Sanches from Domingos Pereira, Antonio Gomes, who had replaced Pereira in the meantime, and Augustin Hallerstein. On 1 July 1743 Sanches was presenting to the Academy the notes of André Pereira’s observation of a comet in Beijing the previous year.³⁶⁵ On 20 April 1744, Gmelin reports to the Academy that Sanches was responsible for gathering all correspondence to the Jesuits before the departure of the caravan, and that all interested parties were to hand him the letters unsealed.³⁶⁶ Gmelin requested that Sanches ordered from the Jesuits a specific seed he needed for the botanical garden.³⁶⁷

By 1747, the year Sanches left Russia and André Pereira died, four caravans with correspondence had already been sent from Saint Petersburg to Beijing.³⁶⁸ But the caravans were not the only means Sanches used to correspond with the Jesuits. Some missives have a headnote saying the reply was sent via Lisbon and India,³⁶⁹ while others let us know that Sanches also established contact via London and Macao. For example, Gaubil commented with Delisle that “the Portuguese doctor at St. Petersburg” had sent as a present to Beijing, from London via Macao, “the machine for electricity and the transit instrument [*instrument des passages*]”.³⁷⁰ Aiding Sanches with acquiring and shipping said instruments from London was Castro Sarmiento, who also corresponded with the Jesuits and sent them books and scientific instruments.³⁷¹ Sanches’s former Philosophy teacher from Coimbra, Manuel Baptista,³⁷² also helped Sanches send mathematical instruments and books to Beijing: the instruments were sent in a *nau* from Lisbon to India in 1747 (no *naus* went directly to Macao); the books were kept at the Jesuit College

³⁶³ “Eu mandei vir Navarrete sobre muitas coisas da China para o professor que fez a crítica à nossa Prosódia, ele me diz que há o 2.º volume mas que é raro porque os PP. da Companhia o sumiram: de outro modo com o caracter que vm. cê lhe dá de mistura ou miscelânea notável, não o mandará vir. Esse dito Professor entende a lingua sinense e tem correspondência em Pequim com os nossos PP. a quem escrevi daqui pelo Presidente que foi desta Côrte á da China com alguns livros que tinha de matemática; nós temos lá um P.º chamado Pereira, que é Presidente do Colégio das Matemáticas da China; aqui nos chegaram há 4 mezes tristes novas de ditos PP. porque estavam em perigo de serem expulsados todos como cristãos daquele Império. Deus acuda a tanta perda.” Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.3 (1913), 91.

³⁶⁴ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 126.

³⁶⁵ “Quas Cl. Sanches cum Academia communicaverat Observationes cometæ 1742 Pekini a R. P. S. I. Ant. Pereyra institutas, hodie in Consessu productæ et earum copia posta in scriniis Academicis reposita fuit.” *Протоколы заседаний*, Том I, 746.

³⁶⁶ As reported by Gmelin to the Academy of the meeting of 20 April 1744. “Cl-mus Gmelinus declaravit Conventui, D. D. Sanches in litteris ad se privatim datis notum fecisse, quod merces brevi in Regnum Sinarum mittentur et quod sibi permissum sit, si quas litteras ad P. P. e Societate Jesu in Sinis morantes deferendas habeat, ilæ hac occasione transferri possint. Paratum simul se declarasse nominatum D. Doctorem, si quidam ex Academicis litteras ad eosdem P. P. scribere velit, easdem fasciculo a se mittendo jungendi, dummodo litteræ sint apertæ nec sigillo munitæ.” *Протоколы заседаний*, Том II, 16.

³⁶⁷ Letter from Gmelin to Sanches, dated 19 April 1744, kept in the Austrian National Library, Cod. 12713, fol. 329.

³⁶⁸ Letter from Sanches to Manuel Baptista, sent in 1747 from Saint Petersburg. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 126. The incomplete letter manuscript kept in the BIU Santé, Catalogue ancien, MS 2017 (vol. VI), *apud* Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 298.

³⁶⁹ A handwritten note reads “Resposta a 25 Mayo 1747 por Lix.” in a letter from Domingos Ribeiro, another from Augustin Hallerstein and yet another from Polycarpo de Sousa.

³⁷⁰ A letter from Hallerstein to Cromwell Mortimer, 18 September 1750, also attest to Sanches’s offer: “And the agronomical apparatus of our house, that we can depend upon, almost intirely consists of a micrometer, a pendulum-clock, and a two-foot quadrant. To which may be added a transit-instrument, which we have received a few days ago, by the courtesy of Dr. Antonio Ribeyro Sanchez, a Portuguese, and first physician to the court of Russia : to which if a good quadrant, such as are made now were added, then we might attempt greater things.” Augustin Hallerstein, “L. A letter from the Reverend Father Augustin Hallerstein, of the Society of Jesus, President of the Astronomical College at Pekin in China, to Dr. Mortimer, Sec. RS Translated from the Latin by Tho. Stack, MD & FR S”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 47 (1752), 320.

³⁷¹ Letter from Gaubil to Delisle, 25 October 1750, *apud* Charles Ralph Boxer, “A Note on the Interaction of Portuguese and Chinese Medicine in Macao and Peking (16th-18th Centuries)”, *Estudos para a História de Macau. Séculos XVI a XVIII*, vol. 1 (Fundação Oriente: Lisboa, 1991), 162.

³⁷² V. n. 58 **Erro! Marcador não definido.**

of Santo Antão and would be sent in the same manner the following year, as they had not arrived in time to be shipped together.³⁷³

The Library of the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg was greatly enriched by the exchange with the Jesuits. The first Chinese books that entered the library were those brought in 1739 by Lange: 82 volumes in eight *porte-feuilles*.³⁷⁴ These were an offer from the Jesuits announced in a letter to the Academy from André Pereira on 12 May 1737, to which he had annexed a catalogue of the 82 titles. Similarly, Parrenin had by January 1738 sent a catalogue of 292 works that the Academy would be presented with.³⁷⁵ By 1774, the Library owned 202 *porte-feuilles* containing nearly 2500 volumes of Chinese books, still very rare in Europe.³⁷⁶

Establishing this book exchange was also of the greatest interest to the Jesuits in Beijing. Further away from inquisitorial censorship, they actively sought to acquire the most relevant books regarding a wide range of subjects, building a library distinguished by its excellence. Amongst a comprehensive selection of history, scripture, commentaries, theology, geometry, mathematics, astronomy, and natural history, were, for example, Verney's *Verdadeiro Methodo*, several of Isaac Newton's works and a Latin edition of John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*.³⁷⁷ Sanches, ever more known for his knowledge of the book market, was then a very useful connection for the Jesuits. He sent them, for example, astronomy books³⁷⁸ and the publications of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg.³⁷⁹ Polycarpo de Sousa's private book collection contained Peter Van Musschenbroek's *Elementa Physicae conscripta in usus academicos* (Leiden, 1734), a personal gift from Sanches.³⁸⁰

In exchange, Sanches received natural history curiosities, rare plants and knowledge of their medicinal uses. In a letter to the botanist Peter Collinson, for example, he talked about his experiences with rhubarb, whose roots he first received from China through the Jesuit missionaries there.³⁸¹ If a specimen had arisen the interest of one of his friends, Sanches presented him with it – another proof of the generosity that his acquaintances ascribed him throughout his life.³⁸² Albrecht von Haller, for example, was bestowed with plant seeds from Beijing.³⁸³

³⁷³ “[L]he dou a notícia de como tenho recebido duas cartas de Vossa Merce de Petersburgo, a 1.^a com a encomenda dos Instrumentos Mathematicos para os Padres da China, a 2.^a com a encomenda dos Livros para os mesmos Padres. A 1.^a carta respondi a Vossa Merce por Londres, remetendo a carta ao seu correspondente Peter Collinson, porque ele me escreveu. E a Vossa Merce dava a noticia de ter aqui chegado a encomenda dos Instrumentos Mathematicos, os quaes já foram remetidos nesste ano pela não, que foi para India, por não ir daqui para Macao. A 2.^a carta respondo agora, e lhe dou a noticia de como chegou a encomenda dos Livros, e ficaõ no Collegio de S. Antão, para irem para o ano que vem, porque não chegaraõ a tempo, em que se podessem remeter com os Instrumentos Mathematicos”. Letter from Manuel Baptista to Sanches, sent from Lisbon to Paris on 10 August 1748, transcribed in Maximino Correia, “A propósito de uma carta endereçada a Ribeiro Sanches”, 1-2.

³⁷⁴ Johann Vollrath Bacmeister, *Essai sur la Bibliotheque et le Cabinet de curiosités et d'histoire naturelle de l'Académie des sciences de Saint Petersburg* (Saint Petersburg: Weitbrecht & Schnoor, 1774), 129.

³⁷⁵ Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences record meeting of 20 January 1738, *Протоколы заседаний*, Том I, 452.

³⁷⁶ Johann Vollrath Bacmeister, *Essai sur la Bibliotheque et le Cabinet de curiosités et d'histoire naturelle de l'Académie des sciences de Saint Petersburg* (Saint Petersburg: Weitbrecht & Schnoor, 1774), 128.

³⁷⁷ Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1977), 360-361.

³⁷⁸ Andry, “Précis”, 14.

³⁷⁹ Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 360.

³⁸⁰ Noël Golvers, “Scientific books and individual *curricula* among Jesuit *Indipetae* in Portugal and China (17th-18th cent.)”, *Euphrosyne* 45 (2017), 225.

³⁸¹ Грузенберг, “Доктор Санхеи”, 31.

³⁸² “Il parvint à force de peines & de soins à établir dans les sciences une nouvelle branche de commerce en envoyant des livres d’Astronomie aux Jésuites de la Chine [on a trouvé cette correspondance parmi ses papiers] dont il recevoit des plantes rares, & des curiosités d’Histoire-Naturelle. Il les examinoit avec ses amis; & lorsqu’un caillou, une fleur, avoient paru flatter davantage la curiosité de l’un d’eux, il ne manquoit jamais de les en gratifier; un pareil présent n’a de valeur que pour qui fait l’apprécier, & le mérite de celui qui reçoit tient lieu de reconnaissance aux yeux de celui qui donne.” Andry, “Précis”, 14.

³⁸³ “Je crois que vous aurez vu notre bon Amy M^r Gmelin & qu’il vous a rendu les semences de plantes de Pékin & les préparations de auditu & les fèves de S^t Ignace”, letter from Sanches to Albrecht von Haller, dated 18 November 1747 and sent from Berlin. Uppsala University Library, The Waller Manuscript Collection, Waller Ms espt-00118. Digitization available at <http://waller.ub.uu.se/23370.html>.

Sanches and the Jesuits discussed and shared their observations regarding many subjects, some of which Sanches incorporated into his writings. For example, Polycarpo de Sousa redirected to Sanches some thoughts of André Pereira concerning a heat wave that in July 1743 had caused an excess mortality in Beijing. The dead bodies exposed to the heat originated a pestilence which in turn caused more deaths, and the tragedy ceased only when a wind finally rose and it rained. Sanches incorporated Pereira's account in his *Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos* (1756), using it as an example of the impact of the air quality on health.³⁸⁴

Sanches was probably the first qualified Portuguese physician to take a scientific interest in the Chinese *materia medica*.³⁸⁵ The Jesuits were often not qualified to answer him, so they inquired Chinese physicians before replying about technical matters. But, according to André Pereira, the Chinese medical knowledge could not be compared with the European.³⁸⁶ He gave as an example the fact that Chinese physicians did not believe in the effects of bleedings or of violent purging, and as a consequence many patients, especially women, died. The Jesuits told Sanches of the Chinese belief in the therapeutic properties of ginseng and rhubarb. Sanches asked for a treatise about the therapeutic virtues of tea. Polycarpo de Sousa informed Sanches that leprosy was not as frequent in China and that the plague did not exist at all. The bishop ascribed the absence of plague to the extent of the cities, the width of the streets, the low-rise houses, and the Chinese extraordinary cleanliness – another observation that would have echoes in Sanches's aforementioned treatise about the health of populations, in which he advocated for the organization and cleanliness of urban spaces.³⁸⁷

The Jesuits sent Sanches medicines and instructions on how to use them. His interest in Chinese medicine grew so much that he expressed to Polycarpo de Sousa his wish to accompany one of the caravans to Beijing. Sousa discouraged this idea vehemently due to the dislike and suspicion with which foreigners were regarded in Beijing, not to mention the perils of the journey itself.³⁸⁸ Pereira had already alluded to the Chinese pride, which made them “despise any other nation and regard it as barbarous”.³⁸⁹

By intermediate of the Jesuits, Sanches studied the Chinese medical developments about venereal disease. As we have mentioned, Sanches would come to acquire reputation as a specialist in this topic.³⁹⁰ He asked the Jesuits if there were references to the venereal disease in any Chinese books prior to Christopher Columbus reaching America.³⁹¹ This query clearly contained the seeds of one of his most influential works, *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie venerienne* (1750), in which Sanches traced the history of the appearance of syphilis in Europe and attempted to prove that it did not come from

³⁸⁴ V. n. 218 quoque, e.g., Sanches, *Tratado da Conservação*, 5, n. 9: “O Pa. André Pereira Mandarim do Tribunal das Matemáticas de Pequim escreveu ao Ex.mo Bispo Polycarpo de Sousa estando em Macau, a carta seguinte datada de 30 de Julho 1743, a qual me comunicou o mesmo Ex.mo Bispo pela remarcável observação que contém. Diz ele «a Providência Divina livrou a v. Ex.& de experimentar a calamidade que nestes dias padecemos nesta corte por causa dos calores excessivos (...)”

³⁸⁵ Charles Ralph Boxer, “A Note on the Interaction of Portuguese and Chinese Medicine in Macao and Peking (16th-18th Centuries)”, *Estudos para a História de Macau. Séculos XVI a XVIII*, vol. 1 (Fundação Oriente: Lisboa, 1991), 159.

³⁸⁶ Letter from André Pereira to Sanches, dated 10 May 1737. National Library of Spain, MSS/18371, fl. 4-7, digitization available at <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000135738&page>, volume 2, documents 336-339.

³⁸⁷ Boxer, “A Note”, 161.

³⁸⁸ Boxer, “A Note”, 162.

³⁸⁹ André Pereira to Sanches, 10 May 1737.

³⁹⁰ António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dissertation sur l'origine de la maladie venerienne, pour prouver que le mal n'est pas venu d'Amerique; mais qu'il a commencé en Europe, par une epidemie* (Paris: Durand/Pissot, 1752). Furthermore, he was asked to write an entry about the venereal disease for Diderot and D'Alembert's famous *Encyclopédie*. V. «VÉROLE, grosse, maladie vénériene», *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Vol. XVII (Neufchastel: Samuel Faulche, 1765), 83-84.

S. J. Zakon, “Antonio Nuñez Ribeiro Sanchez (1699-1783): An Eighteenth Century Syphilologist”, *Archives of Dermatology and Syphilology* 37.6 (1938), 1040-1043.

³⁹¹ Boxer, “A Note”, 160.

America, as commonly believed, but that it started in Europe.³⁹² Polycarpo de Sousa answered Sanches on 18 June 1746 that he could not find anyone who could tell him when the disease had begun, for it had been known from time immemorial. The Chinese called it *Tien pao chuam*, “the wound by which Heaven revenges itself”. The most common and effective cure was to have all the food cooked in water with “*kina mollis*” (China-root, *smilax china*), and to boil tea also in water with this plant. Sousa had also asked two Chinese physicians what were the oldest Chinese books that discussed syphilis treatments, but they did not have the time to undertake such a quest.³⁹³

In this vein, another decisive exchange came indirectly from the French Jesuit Dominique Parrenin. Aside from assembling interesting details about autopsies and dissections in China, Parrenin wrote a survey about the venereal disease in China. He addressed a draft to archiater Fischer and the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg in a letter dated 21 March 1737.³⁹⁴ Fischer gave this missive to Sanches in 1740.³⁹⁵ In a manuscript of 13 September 1755/1775,³⁹⁶ Sanches wrote a commentary to Parrenin’s survey, explaining why the disease the French Jesuit was describing could not be the venereal disease known in Europe: the symptoms and transmission were different. Sanches also discussed the remedy samples Parrenin had sent to Fischer, and which Fischer had in turn given to him. While Polycarpo de Sousa presumed the Chinese did not know of the treatments with mercury, one of the remedies Parrenin had sent was precisely a preparation of mercury.³⁹⁷

There is an anecdote circulating whereby Polycarpo de Sousa would have complained to Sanches that the chief of the caravan Lebratovsky had borrowed from him 1400 rubles for caravan expenses and then left Beijing without a word. The bishop, understandably upset, would have asked Sanches on 13 June 1746 “not to recommend him such ungrateful people”.³⁹⁸ But a closer look at this letter tells a different story. While indeed Lebratovsky had borrowed the money, which the bishop gathered by mobilizing Chinese Christians and some merchant friends, it is not true that he had left without a word. Lebratovsky soft-soaped the bishop and sent him presents, which he distributed among those who had contributed to the sum. But when Lebratovsky returned the silver, its carat was inferior to that which Sousa had given him. So as not to stain the public image of the Russian man, Sousa replaced the inferior

³⁹² The origin of syphilis is still an unresolved matter. V., e.g., Luís Filipe Thomaz, *Cristóvão Colombo, o Genovês, meu Tio por afinidade* (Lisboa: Academia da Marinha, 2001), 513-515.

³⁹³ Boxer, “A Note”, 160.

³⁹⁴ Pierre Huard and Ming Wong, “Les enquêtes françaises sur la science et la technologie chinoises au XVIII^e siècle”, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 53.1 (1966), 164.

³⁹⁵ Said letter is transcribed with a commentary from Sanches of 13 September 1755 in D’Esaguy, *Dois inéditos*, 6-13.

³⁹⁶ On page 6, D’Esaguy says the manuscript is from 13 November 1775 but the transcription then reads 13 November 1775, on page 13.

³⁹⁷ Transcription of Sanches’s commentary: “Não compartilho da opinião do falecido R. P. Parrenin, de que a doença dos Chineses por ele descrita seja a Doença Venérea, tal como a conhecemos na Europa, desde o ano de 1493-1494.

O segundo processo de apanhar esta doença é, para os Chineses pelo contacto, ou contágio. Na Europa não se apanha esta doença senão pelo acto da *geração*.

As duas modalidades da doença chinesa manifestam-se, à parte diversos outros sintomas, por dores nas articulações. Na Europa as dores causadas pelo Mal Venéreo aparecem só no centro dos ossos, nas pernas, coxas e braços, e outras vezes na cabeça, de onde muito, a miúdo provém a cárie do crânio.

O Arquiatro Fischer, ao oferecer-me este MS, remeteu-me também as amostras dos remédios que o referido Reverendo Padre lhe enviara, a ele e à Academia Imperial das Ciências de S. Petersburgo. Eram de número bastante elevado, perderam-se devido às minhas viagens e por me ter mudado apenas me recordo de três que me chamaram a atenção:

1. Uma preparação de mercúrio, que tinha o aspecto de pequenas contas partidas e transparentes, e que os nossos químicos não descobriram até agora.

2. Peles de Serpente (não de Víbora) que se encontram nos países quentes entre as silvas: em Portugal são o grande remédio contra a tosse dos cavalos, misturadas com azeite vulgar e miolo de pão. Este remédio constituirá um magnífico remédio antiespasmódico e sudorífico. Nunca li nem ouvi dizer que os médicos as utilizassem in *Morbis Pectoris*, in Pthisi.

3. A conrayerva, em tudo semelhante à que nos vem da América do Sul Espanhola.

Eis tudo o que tenho a dizer sobre a carta acima referida.

R. Sanches, Medicus Imper. Aug. Russorum”, v. D’Esaguy, *Dois inéditos*, 13.

³⁹⁸ Николай Николаевич Бантыш-Каменский, *Дипломатическое Собрание Двѣль между Россійскимъ и Китайскимъ Государствами с 1619 по 1792-й Годъ* (Казань: Типография Императорского университета, 1882), 253-254.

silver with better quality one, but Lebratovsky left without receiving the emissary he had sent to settle the matter. This episode, however, did not seem to diminish Polycarpo de Sousa's consideration towards Sanches in the least. The bishop told him "not to feel sorry" for the episode "nor to express his disapproval to the archbishops, for it is enough that we both take our lessons for next time". In fact, he looked forward to receiving his letters, and asked Sanches to make sure that he always sent him one whenever there was an envoy to Beijing.³⁹⁹

The last letter from a Beijing Jesuit to Sanches is from Polycarpo de Sousa on 15 October 1750, seven years before the bishop's death. It ends on a note as friendly as ever, looking forward to news from Sanches.⁴⁰⁰ Why the correspondence ceased must be explained within the context of the Paris years.

³⁹⁹ V. letter from Polycarpo de Sousa to Sanches on 13 June 1746, and Miranda's clarification in "Alguns aspectos", 362-363.

⁴⁰⁰ "Amigo do Coração em o Senhor. Polycarpo indigno Bispo de Pekim."

About some biographical mix-ups

Not yet Catherine the Great

The fact that Sanches saved Catherine the Great's life has led some authors to assume he served in her court,⁴⁰¹ but one quick look at the chronology should be enough to dismiss this undoubtedly seductive headline. Sanches served in Russia only until 1747, years before Catherine II (r. 1762-1796) rose to power. What is true is that he saved a young princess Sophie from a bout of pleurisy in 1744, upon her arrival in Russia, years before she became Catherine the Great.⁴⁰²

Later in life, as Empress, she was able to express her gratitude directly to Sanches by not only reinstating the stipend Elizaveta had revoked,⁴⁰³ but also by increasing it fivefold. Furthermore, Catherine the Great presented Sanches with a coat of arms which read "Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo".⁴⁰⁴ This coat of arms figured in the seals of his correspondence, for example with Teodoro de Almeida between 1774 and 1777.⁴⁰⁵ Kaplanov adds that Pavel I Petrovich, son and heir to Catherine II, felt obliged during his visit to Paris in 1782 to thank Sanches personally for saving his mother.⁴⁰⁶

Memberships in Academies and Societies

The issue of Sanches's membership in European academies and societies is rather chaotic, as throughout the literature it can be read that he was a member of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris, the French Royal Society of Medicine, the Royal Society of London, the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, the Royal Medico-Portopolitan Academy, and the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

We can safely state that Ribeiro Sanches was an honorary member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, as proven above.⁴⁰⁷ But even so there are different reports about the year he gained membership. In the official online records there is an error, whereby he is said to have been «Почетный член с 01.01.1762 - по 10.11.1748» and «Вторично почетный член с 01.07.1762»,⁴⁰⁸ that is, an honorary member from 1 January 1762 to 10 November 1748, which is chronologically impossible, and a second time honorary member from 1 July 1762. What is certain is that he was made an honorary member on 1 September 1747, that Empress Elizaveta revoked his membership on 10 November 1748, and that the membership was restored in 1762, almost certainly in November.⁴⁰⁹

It is believed that Sanches was also a member, at least a corresponding member,⁴¹⁰ of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris⁴¹¹ but, while we find connections to other members, we were unable to

⁴⁰¹ V., e.g., Carlos Fiolhais, "Prefácio", in Joaquim Fernandes, *O Grande Livro dos Portugueses Esquecidos*, (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2008), 14; Piwnik, Marie-Hélène, "Question agraire et reforme du majorat dans le portugal des lumieres", *Les Voies des Lumières: le monde ibérique au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Carlos Serrano, Jean-Paul Duviols, and Annie Molinié-Bertrand (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1998), 146.

⁴⁰² *Vide supra*, p. 29134.

⁴⁰³ *Vide supra*, p. 3939.

⁴⁰⁴ "Believing himself born to serve all men and not himself", an excerpt drawn from Lucan's *Pharsalia* II: 380.

⁴⁰⁵ Francisco António Rodrigues de Gusmão, "Um Invento Portuguez", *Archivo Pittoresco* XI, (1868), 140.

⁴⁰⁶ Капланов, "Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес", 154. No sources cited.

⁴⁰⁷ *Vide supra*, p. 35.

⁴⁰⁸ "Саншес (Саншес) Антониу Нунес Рибейру", Почетные члены с момента основания, Российская академия наук, April 21, 2022, http://www.ras.ru/win/db/show_per.asp?P=id-52058.ln-ru.

⁴⁰⁹ *Vide supra*, pp. 41-4242.

⁴¹⁰ "SANCHEZ (Antonio-Nunes Ribeiro)", *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, ed. Jean-Chrétien-Ferdinand Hœfer, vol. 43 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils, et C^{ie}, 1864), 255.

⁴¹¹ V., e.g., Vítor de Sá, «A apresentação», in *Dificuldades Que Tem Um Reino Velho para Emendar-se e Outros Textos*, Ribeiro Sanches (Porto: Inova, 1971), 36; Isabel Malaquias, "A geografia do saber em António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches através

find evidence of his own membership. At least one author set the year of the election (for both the Academy of Saint Petersburg and Paris) as 1939.⁴¹² However, he is not listed in the official catalogue.⁴¹³ According to Andry, Sanches was a Foreign Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris,⁴¹⁴ which is not to say that he was a member, but his name does not seem to be listed even in the list of correspondents.⁴¹⁵ Yet other sources refer to Sanches as a member of the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris [Académie Royale de Chirurgie].⁴¹⁶ But we could only find evidence that he was listed among the “foreign associates” of the French Royal Society of Medicine,⁴¹⁷ having been elected in July 1778.⁴¹⁸

Furthermore, many authors list Sanches as a member of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge,⁴¹⁹ and at least one goes as far as to specify the year he was made a member: 1750.⁴²⁰ But of this we have found no evidence either – his name is not catalogued among the former fellows in the Society’s records.⁴²¹ Perhaps Sanches has been supposed a member due to his contributions to this society and his contacts with some actual members, such as Isaac Sequeira Samuda, Jacob de Castro Sarmiento or João Jacinto de Magalhães. This attribution may have arisen from a confusion between Ribeiro Sanches and Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, who was also a Portuguese physician and indeed was a member of the The Royal Society of London.⁴²² Castro Sarmiento translated Sanches’s *Dissertation on the Origin of Venereal Disease* into English and translated and presented his *Observation on the Paralysis of the Intestinal Caecum* to the Royal Society of London.⁴²³ At any rate, the attribution is contemporary of Sanches, since a letter from M.R.D.A. (whom Willemse identified as the translator Manoel Ruiz de Almeida⁴²⁴) also addressed Sanches as a “member of the Royal Society of London, of the Imperial Academy of Petersburg, and of the most celebrated in Europe, etc. etc.”⁴²⁵ If he really was an official member, that remains to be proved.

do inventário da sua livreria”, *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 14.1 (2012), 205; Gisele Cristina da Conceição, “Ciência, poder e circulação de conhecimento no século XVIII: Ribeiro Sanches e o Brasil colonial”, *Topoi* 20.42 (2019), 825.

According to António Rodrigues Moutinho, “António Ribeiro Sanches, Ilustre Médico e Escritor Setecentista, Natural de Penamacor (1699-1783)” (Porto: [s.n.], 1973), 3, Mairan consulted Sanches on occasion and his replies earned him this nomination. No sources cited.

⁴¹² Conceição, “Ribeiro Sanches e o Brasil colonial”, 825. No sources cited.

⁴¹³ “Tous les membres du passé depuis 1666”, Académie des science, April 21, 2022, <https://www.academie-sciences.fr/fr/Table/Membres/Liste-des-membres-depuis-la-creation-de-l-Academie-des-sciences/>.

⁴¹⁴ Andry, “Précis”, 6.

⁴¹⁵ João Jacinto de Magalhães, who after Sanches’s death also could not find his friend’s name in the parisian Academy’s list of the correspondents, said: “Je ne trouve point le nom du Dr Sanches dans la liste des correspondants de l’Académie Royale des Sciences de Paris. Apparemment il s’est demis de cette correspondance à cause de ses occupations; peut-être aussi qu’il ait voulu vaquer cette place pour que l’on pusse y élire quelqu’un de ses amis ce qui ne paraîtra point improbable à ceux qui, comme moi, ont connu la vigueur et la chaleur de son attachement pour ses amis.” Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 126, n. 1.

⁴¹⁶ Augusto Isaac de Esaguy, “Une lettre de Ribeiro Sanches Adressée au Marquis de Pombal”, in *Mélanges d’histoire de la médecine hébraïque: études choisies de la Revue d’histoire de la médecine hébraïque (1948-1985)*, ed. Gad Freudenthal and Samuel S. Kottke (Leidenn: Brill, 2003), 243; Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 205.

⁴¹⁷ As stated in Andry, “Précis”, 6, and Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 159.

⁴¹⁸ *Histoire de la Société Royale de Médecine. Année M.DCC.LXXVI* (Paris: Philippe-Denys Pierres, 1779), 33.

⁴¹⁹ V., e.g., Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 144; Fernando Augusto Machado, “Introdução”, in Ribeiro Sanches, *Memória sobre os banhos de vapor da Rússia. Seguida de Sífilis, doença venérea crónica* (Vila Nova de Famalicão: Húmus, 2011), 6; Ana Simões, Ana Carneiro, and Maria Paula Diogo, “Constructing knowledge: Eighteenth-century Portugal and the new sciences”, in *The sciences in the European periphery during the Enlightenment*, ed. Kostas Gavroglu (Dordrecht: Springer, 1999), 27.

⁴²⁰ “Biografia de Ribeiro Sanches”, Centro de Estudos Judaicos, April 21, 2022, http://www.estudosjudaicos.ubi.pt/rs_biografia.html.

⁴²¹ Fiolhais’s recent study about the Portuguese presence in the Royal Society also does not mention Sanches as a member. Carlos Fiolhais, *Membros Portugueses da Royal Society / Portuguese Fellows of the Royal Society* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2011).

⁴²² Record of Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, The Royal Society catalogue of past fellows, April 21, 2022, <https://catalogues.royalsociety.org/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Persons&id=NA7618&pos=1>.

⁴²³ Doria, “António Ribeiro Sanches”, 30.

⁴²⁴ Willemse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, x.

⁴²⁵ «Membro da Sociedade Real de Londres, da Academia Imperial de Petresburgo, e das mais celebres da Europa, etc. etc.» The full transcription can be found in Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 357-358.

We can safely state that Sanches was elected a corresponding member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences in 1780,⁴²⁶ a few months after its foundation in December 1779.⁴²⁷ He was also made a member of the short-lived Academia Médico-Portopolitana⁴²⁸ in 1751, along with Castro Sarmiento.⁴²⁹

Additionally, he corresponded with the Brazilian Academy of Medicine and Natural History,⁴³⁰ through its founder José Henriques Ferreira.⁴³¹ The two discussed for example the proper management and exploitation of Brazil's natural resources.⁴³² One author says it was through Sanches that Carl Linnaeus learned about the foundation of the Academy of Sciences of Rio de Janeiro and that he played a role in the association of this academy with the Swedish Academy of Sciences, but no sources are cited.⁴³³

To sum up, in what regards Sanches's memberships in European academies and societies, we can safely state that he was an honorary member of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences (with an interregnum between 1748 and 1762), a foreign associate of the French Royal Society of Medicine, a corresponding member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, and a member of the Academia Médico-Portopolitana, but documental evidence needs to be gathered to prove his membership to the Royal Society of London, the Academy of Sciences of Paris, and the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris.

⁴²⁶ José Alberto Silva, "A Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa (1779-1834): ciências e hibridismo numa periferia europeia" (PhD thesis, University of Lisbon, 2015), 333. Silva transcribes the lists of members elected to the Academy in 1780. Conceição, "Ribeiro Sanches e o Brasil colonial", 825, precises the date of the nomination as 22 May 1780, but no sources are cited and we could not confirm it.

⁴²⁷ Alberto Iria, *A Fundação da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1986), 1285.

⁴²⁸ Founded in 1749 by the doctor Manuel Gomes de Lima Bezerra in association with João de Carvalho Salazar and sponsored by D. João de Bragança, v. Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo*, 279. It is also referred to as Academia dos Escondidos da Cidade do Porto and Academia dos Imitadores da Natureza.

⁴²⁹ Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo*, 282.

⁴³⁰ Also known as Scientific Academy of Rio de Janeiro, its foundation was sponsored by Luís de Almeida Portugal, second Marquess of Lavradio and viceroy of Brazil. The academy was active between 1772 and 1779. V. Vera Regina Beltrão Marques, "Escola de homens de ciências: a Academia Científica do Rio de Janeiro, 1772-1779", *Educar, Curitiba* 25 (2005), 39-57.

⁴³¹ Curiously, Ferreira was related to Sanches by his father António Ribeiro de Paiva, whose paternal grandmother, Ana Nunes Ribeiro, was sister of Sanches's maternal grandmother, Maria Nunes Ribeiro. José addressed Sanches in his letters as "uncle". V. José Lopes Dias, *Duas Cartas Inéditas do Dr. José Henriques Ferreira, Comissário do Físico-Mor e Médico do Vice-Rei do Brasil, a Ribeiro Sanches* (Lisboa: Imprensa Médica, 1959), 2-3.

⁴³² "Transcreverei para aqui alguns capítulos de uma carta que me escreveu de Paris o Dr. Antonio Ribeiro Sanches em resposta de outra em que lhe dava notícia da Academia que aqui tinha procurado estabelecer, e de outras matérias e produções deste país", Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Manuscrito azul, n. 374, f. 343v, *apud* Marques, "Escola de homens de ciências", 44.

Sanches wrote some pieces about the Portuguese colonies in Brazil, their government and natural resources: *Discurso sobre as Colónias, sobre a América portuguesa e sobre a Agricultura* (1763), *Considerações sobre o governo do Brasil desde o seu estabelecimento até o presente tempo* (1777), *Sobre as lavouras e fábricas de tabaco do Brasil* (1778), *Dos efeitos do descobrimento da América e conquistas, e se as colónias devem ser regidas pelas mesmas leis que o centro do Reino de que dependem* (n.d.), *Apontamentos / Para descobrir na America Portuguesa aquellas produções naturaes que podem enriquecer a Medicina, e o Commercio* (1763, manuscript kept in the Portuguese National Library of Portugal, COD. 6941//4, and available online at <https://purl.pt/27752/1/index.html#/1/html>). The exploitation of the natural resources of the colonies for Medicine, Natural History and trade is also discussed in *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade* (1760) and in *Método para Aprender e Estudar a Medicina* (1763).

For more on Sanches's writings on Brazil, v. Gisele Cristina da Conceição, "Science and power relations: Circulation of agents and natural philosophical knowledge between Portugal and Brazil in the 18th century – The case of António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches", in *Cross-cultural exchange and the circulation of knowledge in the First Global Age*, ed. Amélia Polónia, Fabiano Bracht, Gisele C. Conceição and Monique Palma (Porto: CITCEM / Afrontamento, 2018): 24-25; Gisele Cristina da Conceição, "Evidências da circulação de conhecimento filosófico-natural sobre o Brasil em um manuscrito de 1763 de António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches", *História, Ciências, Saúde – Manguinhos* 24 (2017): 519-533; Gisele Cristina da Conceição, "Ciência, poder e circulação de conhecimento no século XVIII: Ribeiro Sanches e o Brasil colonial", *Topoi* 20.42 (2019): 818-841.

⁴³³ Marques, "Escola de homens de ciências", 46-47.

Freemasonry

Sanches has on occasion been pointed out as freemason,⁴³⁴ but we have come across nothing in our research that could point to it. Tracing back this narrative, the first reference we find to Sanches as a freemason is the *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei* (1865), which lists him *en passant* among the masons who had to flee Portugal upon the ascension to the throne of Queen Maria I.⁴³⁵ This is, of course, chronologically impossible, since Maria I only became queen in 1777. Yet the *Jewish Encyclopedia of Brockhaus and Efron* (1912) takes up this information to place Sanches “among the freemasons who were persecuted by the Inquisition in Portugal in the 1770s and forced to flee”.⁴³⁶ Kaplanov considered this an unfounded assumption,⁴³⁷ and clearly, even if it is true that Sanches was a freemason, it is chronologically impossible for him to be fleeing Portugal in the 1770s, as he had not been to Portugal since 1726. Furthermore, this subject is altogether absent from Sanches’s best biographies. As no author that has listed Sanches as a freemason offered references or explanations, the *onus probandi* falls on those who insist upon it.

Jew or Christian

It is not within the scope of this paper attempting to arrive at any definite conclusions regarding Sanches’s religious beliefs. However, this is an unavoidable topic even for a brief overview of his life. Sanches himself gave the issue a great deal of importance, as attested by his surviving correspondence and essayistic writings.

The New Christians were constantly subjected to discrimination and persecution by the Portuguese State and ecclesiastical authorities. Only in 1773 was a law enacted in Portugal to extinguish the distinction between Old and New Christians, but even then Sanches knew it would not be safe to return to his homeland. Sanches was convinced that “these laws can never abolish the hatred and contempt that the primitive Portuguese nation feels towards the ‘New Christians’”, and indeed that in a few years, or if the king should die and the fear of punishment diminish, “the old hatred against the ‘New Christians’ could grow because of these laws”.⁴³⁸ Knowing that promulgating laws was not enough to change mentalities, he believed that ignorance must be addressed at its root. For Sanches, this meant implementing changes in public education, a topic he was passionate about his entire life. He was therefore enthusiastic regarding Pombal’s measures to secularize education and contributed himself to these reforms.

Sanches was baptized on 17 March 1699 by Father Domingos Mendes,⁴³⁹ and what can undoubtedly be said is that he was a New Christian, which is to say that he would forever live under a sword of Damocles in his birth nation, and even elsewhere he was never to have absolute peace of mind. The most important testimony we have regarding the evolution of his faith is the aforementioned letter

⁴³⁴ V., e.g., A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Presença, 1990), 40, 184; Ana Carneiro, Ana Simões and Maria Paula Diogo, “Enlightenment Science in Portugal: The *Estrangeirados* and Their Communication Networks”, *Social Studies of Science* 30.4 (2000), 600.

⁴³⁵ “Dagegen begann mit dem Regierungsantritt der Königin Maria I. (13. Mai 1777) wieder eine traurige Periode für die portugiesische Maurerei. Die ausgezeichnetsten Männer, welche deselben angehörten, entgingen nur durch die Flucht ins Ausland den Händen der Inquisition: so Frc. Man. do Nascimento, welcher nach Frankreich flüchtete (...); ferner die Doctoren Ribeiro Sanches und d’Avelar Brotero und der Abt Corrêa da Serra”, v. Carl Lenning, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1865), 600.

⁴³⁶ “Среди масонов, подвергшихся в 70-х годах 18 в. преследованию со стороны инквизиции в Португалии и вынужденных бежать, находился и доктор Ribeiro Sanches”, “Санхец, Антон”, *Еврейская энциклопедия Брокгауза и Ефрона*, Том 13 (Санкт-Петербург: Брокгауз-Ефрон, 1912), 955.

⁴³⁷ Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес”, 156.

⁴³⁸ BIU Santé, MS. 2015, f. 187-187, v.º, apud Willemse, *António*, 11.

⁴³⁹ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 311.

to Sampaio Valadares sent from Saint Petersburg on 15 July 1735. There are good reasons to believe that Sanches really did repent his conversion to Judaism.

It should also be noted that his famous work *Origem da denominação de Christão Velho, e Christão Novo no Reino de Portugal* is in fact less progressive than what may be expected. Despite the fact that his family was persecuted and he himself retained so much fear of the Inquisition that he never returned to Portugal, although he deeply wished to, Sanches proposed very drastic and violent measures against the Jews. Those who confessed to Judaism should be punished with death, along with those that provided false witness.⁴⁴⁰ He reconciled this harshness with the claim that in Portugal there were no Jews, but only a “Judaic blindness” that was really a reaction against the violence exerted over some individuals whose birth and life circumstances forced to live together and isolated. Sanches was concerned about bringing into the Catholic Church those individuals that the religious persecutions pulled away from it. He reasoned that these people should be integrated in society rather than driven to abandon the country, taking with them their riches, since this exodus was taking a heavy toll on national production and wealth.⁴⁴¹ Concerned with the reactions this opuscle might give rise to, Sanches signed this work under the alias Philopater. When he first sent a first draft to Sampaio Valadares, he asked him dearly not to disclose to anyone his authorship, expressing the fear that the distance did not protect him from receiving a poisoned letter.⁴⁴²

There has never been a consensus among authors regarding Sanches’s faith, but if we are to believe his own words, he regretted his temporary conversion to Judaism deeply and lived the rest of his life as a Christian in his heart.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ “mas ha de consentir comigo que emquanto as leis não favorecerem que os Cristãos Novos se misturem com as mais Nações, e emquanto os que confessam que são Judeus (sendo presos Judeus) não forem castigados com a morte, e as testemunhas falsas não forem punidas do mesmo modo, que sempre em Portugal haverá as mesmas desordens. (...) nesta cousa se a executasse mostraria ao mundo [o Rei] que amava o seu reino livrando-o de Cristãos Novos, sem o misturar com a sua nobreza, e que desterrava todo o judaismo”. Sanches to Valadares, 15 July 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 4.6 (1913), 139-140.

⁴⁴¹ Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 112.

⁴⁴² “Mas seja com a condição que V. M. ce não declare o meu nome, ainda que póde mostrar o mesmo original, porque se os que forem judeus o souberem, advirta V. M. cê que não tenho a vida segura porque poderei morrer com o cheiro de uma carta envenenada.” Sanches to Valadares, 20 March 1735, v. Lemos, *Archivos* 3.2 (1912), 43.

⁴⁴³ For more on this topic, v., e.g., Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos, “Ribeiro Sanches e a questão dos judeus”, *Revista de História das Ideias* 4.1 (1982), 117-142; Raul Rêgo, “Prefácio”, in *Christãos Novos e Christãos Velhos em Portugal [Origem da Denominação]* (Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 2010), 1-19.

For an overview of the roles of Portuguese Jews in Russia and the attempts of large Portuguese-Jewish merchants to start trade with Russia, v. Рашид Капланов, “Антонио Нунес Рибейро Саншес – первый еврейский интеллигент в Российской империи”, *Вестник Еврейского университета в Москве* 1.14 (1997): 154–174; José Milhazes, *A Saga dos Portugueses na Rússia* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011).

Role in the history of the relations between Portugal and Russia

At the time of Sanches's arrival in Moscow, no diplomatic relations existed between Russia and Portugal. The first Portuguese ambassador in Russia would be nominated only in July 1778, and the first Russian ambassador in Portugal shortly after, in January 1779.⁴⁴⁴ The first documented commercial contacts between Portugal and Russia date back from the seventeenth century and seem to have existed only indirectly, either carried out by Portuguese men living in other European states or using other European states as intermediaries.⁴⁴⁵

Sanches comments with his friend Sampaio Valadares that he was the second Portuguese man known to have lived in Russia, the first having been António Manuel Luís Vieira.⁴⁴⁶ Vieira was a Jew who had fled from the Portuguese Inquisition, enlisted in the English or Dutch navy and there was scouted by Peter the Great in one of his European tours. We say «English or Dutch» because, whereas Russian sources (such as the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron* and Vasily Klyuchevsky's classic *A History of Russia*) hold that Vieira was working in the Dutch navy when he was found by Peter I, Portuguese sources rely on a letter from the abbot Tomás da Silva de Avelar,⁴⁴⁷ who, having met with Vieira in Saint Petersburg, wrote that the Tsar had found him in the navy in England in 1697.⁴⁴⁸

Sanches, then, was not the second Portuguese man to have set foot in Russia. The above-cited abbot Tomás da Silva de Avelar⁴⁴⁹ was sent to Russia by the king D. João V to attend the coronation of Catherine I.⁴⁵⁰ He arrived in Moscow on 16 May 1724, two days before the ceremonies, and stayed there for about a month and a half, travelling then to Saint Petersburg, where he would remain until the end of August. In Saint Petersburg he was received not only by António Manuel Luís Vieira, but by Peter the Great himself twice, having even dined at his table in the Tsar's birthday.⁴⁵¹ In the letter where Avelar shares all this, it is implied that there was another Portuguese envoy travelling with him, though it is not clear who. Furthermore, there is an allusion to an acquaintance of Vieira in Saint Petersburg who was «a Jew of Portuguese origins named Costa».⁴⁵² We can only suppose that this was a reference to João da Costa, descendant of Portuguese *marranos*, and one of Peter the Great's closest jesters.⁴⁵³

The Prince Manuel, brother of King João V, also visited Russia one year before Sanches. Leaving Portugal against the will of the king in 1715, aged eighteen, Manuel would wander through Europe for nineteen years, meeting with abbot Avelar along the way. The *infante* arrived in Moscow on 3 August 1730, making acquaintance with the new Empress Anna Ioannovna. He was appointed the castle of the late general admiral François Le Fort and “dedicated himself enthusiastically to winning the hand of the

⁴⁴⁴ *Relações Diplomáticas Luso-Russas: Colectânea Documental Conjunta (1722-1815)*, org. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Lisboa: Instituto Diplomático, 2004), 18, 23-24.

⁴⁴⁵ V. José Milhazes, *A Saga dos Portugueses na Rússia* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2011), 25-26.

⁴⁴⁶ V. Rómulo de Carvalho, *Relações entre Portugal e a Rússia no Século XVIII* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979), 2-3. The letter to Valadares was sent from Moscow, dated 18 January 1733.

⁴⁴⁷ A letter to Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho, then Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and Envoy Extraordinary in London. Said letter is kept at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Manuscritos da Livraria n. 368, Letter n. 62, *apud* Carvalho, *Relações*, 3.

⁴⁴⁸ In Russia Vieira would initiate a brilliant career as general-in-chief of the Saint Petersburg Police and a *protégé* of Peter the Great. V. Milhazes, *Saga*, 41-48.

⁴⁴⁹ Uncle of the botanist Félix da Silva Avelar, better known as Félix de Avelar Brotero. Brotero was a friend of the poet Filinto Elísio, who wrote the famous odes about Sanches. Avelar and Elísio both moved to Paris in 1778, fleeing from the Inquisition.

⁴⁵⁰ Carvalho, *Relações*, 7.

⁴⁵¹ More information about Avelar's stay in Russia can be found in this his letters to Azevedo Coutinho, kept in the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo: Manuscritos da Livraria, n. 368 (“Cartas a Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho 1723/1739”, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4696418>) and n. 369 (“Cartas a Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho 1721/1737”, <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4696431>).

⁴⁵² Carvalho, *Relações*, 11-12.

⁴⁵³ Milhazes, *Saga*, 55.

Empress, or at least of her niece Anna Leopoldovna. Her majesties, however, did not share in his enthusiasm and had him leave for Saint Petersburg, from there to Riga and finally Warsaw on October 19.⁴⁵⁴

We can then count at least six Portuguese men known to have set foot in Russia before Sanches. But the role Sanches played in bridging the two countries was indisputably the most fruitful, although (or perhaps because) it was intellectual above all else. Sanches wrote extensively about the social organization, education, health, agriculture, economy, and politics of both countries. He even sketched out the foundations for establishing trade between the two countries, going over its costs and benefits, listing Portugal's natural resources and pondering which might be most needed in Russia (e.g., salt), analyzing Russia's commercial relations with other countries and habitual imports, payment possibilities (bills of exchange), ports and customs duties.⁴⁵⁵ But more impactful were the networks Sanches devised, which comprised the political and intellectual elites of both Russia and Portugal. It was Sanches's networking that made possible the mutually beneficial book exchange, and resulting correspondence, carried out between the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Lisbon Royal Academy of History – to our knowledge, the first direct exchange of any sort between Russia and Portugal.⁴⁵⁶

The contacts established by Sanches with the Jesuits at Beijing on behalf of the Imperial Academy of Sciences must also be considered, as many of these were Portuguese: André Pereira, Polycarpo de Sousa, Domingos Pinheiro and António Gomes.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, it was also Sanches's networking skills that made possible the contacts between the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and other Portuguese scientists, whether living in Portugal (such as Martinho de Mendonça Pina e Proença and António Jacinto de Araújo, in Lisbon) or not (such as Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, João Jacinto de Magalhães and Emanuel Mendes da Costa, in London).⁴⁵⁸

We can only guess that if Sanches's potential to establish more and more prolific contacts between the two countries was not deployed, it was either due to a lack of interest or to a reluctance to turn to a religiously compromised figure, regardless of the potential benefits to the country, as evidenced in Cardinal da Mota's words.⁴⁵⁹ Regardless, these were some of the fruits the Portuguese intellectual History reaped from Sanches's life-long enterprise to bridge geographically scattered thinkers and knowledge centers.

Even though Sanches never returned to his homeland, he often manifested his wish to do so, being hindered only by the certainty that he could never have peace in it. Sanches remembers his homeland with a mixture of fondness and anguish, but his love for it made him work hard until the rest of his life on projects pertaining to the development and betterment of his birth nation, whether on matters sanitary, educational, economic, political or social.

⁴⁵⁴ Carvalho, *Relações*, 14-16.

⁴⁵⁵ UPenn Ms. Codex 1657, f. 27r-32v: "Noticias que são necessarias sabersse [na?] Russia para que Portugal possa não somente introduzir ali o seu commercio, e mutuamente a Russia em Portugal, mas taõbem retirar outras utilidades da boa amizade, e intelligencia com a Corte da Russia." Digitization available at <https://colenda.library.upenn.edu/catalog/81431-p31n7xr4g>.

We stumbled upon this volume by chance and have not found reference to it in any source (possibly because it was auctioned only in 2011, having apparently always been in private collections until then). This being identified as the second of three volumes of collected manuscripts, we could not identify the other two.

⁴⁵⁶ Хотеев, "Пять очерков", 11.

⁴⁵⁷ Miranda, "Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio", 359 also mentions the Jesuit Félix da Rocha, but we did not find correspondence between him and Sanches.

⁴⁵⁸ Miranda, "Alguns aspectos do intercâmbio", 359.

⁴⁵⁹ V. n. 130.

Conclusion

Fully aware that we did not cover all relevant Russian sources, we believe nonetheless to have assembled a considerably more complete picture than the one that previously existed about the years Ribeiro Sanches spent in Russia.

In the course of our research, we assembled a list of those we thought would be the most helpful strategies to optimise future investigations about Ribeiro Sanches. First, although we have given in the Introduction a fairly thorough guide to Sanches's disperse correspondence and where to find it, a complete inventory mapping out all his known manuscripts and correspondence would be most helpful.⁴⁶⁰ Second, as the best source of information about Sanches's life seems to be precisely his correspondence, it would be immensely helpful for future researchers if his letters were compiled in a single edition. While a good number of transcriptions can be found in the literature, they are nonetheless scattered. Plus, there are other known letters which have been biographically crucial and remain difficult to access. Third, a compilation of the manuscript fragments from Sanches's journal is still in order. This task is made difficult not only by the physical dispersion of the fragments (Paris, Madrid and Lisbon) or the habitual palaeographic conundrums, but also by the fact that they blend different languages – at least Portuguese, French and Latin. This goal had already been set by Faustino Cordeiro,⁴⁶¹ who contributed with the (at the time) lesser-known fragments kept in the National Library of Madrid. Finally, it will be necessary to fulfill our primary goal of investigating what information about Ribeiro Sanches can be found in Russia. We have pointed out in the Introduction to the material that has been found at the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg, at the Russian National Library, and the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, but there is likely to be more, even if only in periodicals and monographies that are not digitized.

These in regard to investigative tools. Concerning content, we can also point out some useful future directions. We attempted to bridge western and Russian sources with regards to Sanches's life in Russia, but our sketch will certainly need to be completed. Furthermore, it will need to be integrated with an account of his life in Paris that similarly draws on Russian sources. In Paris Sanches maintained strong ties with Russia,⁴⁶² and these deserve a comprehensive study of their own. Important material awaits more investigation in the correspondence of Russian nobles, like Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov, Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov, Dmitri Mikhailovich Golitsyn, Ivan Ivanovich Betskoy, Graf von Münnich, and Nikolay Erofeevich Muravyov, and intellectuals such as Jacob von Staehlin, Leonhard Euler, Kirill Grigoryevich Razumovsky, Sergei Gerasimovich Domashnev, Mikhail Mikhailovich Shcherbatov, and Mikhail Matveyevich Kheraskov.⁴⁶³ We know that while living in Paris, Sanches not only kept contact with many high-profile Russians, but wrote, for example, dissertations on the development of science and education that were compiled for Ivan Betskoy in connection with the creation of new educational institutions in Russia, such as *Sur la Culture des Sciences et des Beaux Arts dans l'Empire de Russie* (1765).⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, it has been proven that he drew up education plans for the children of Kirill Razumovsky, the *Plan pour l'éducation d'un jeune Seigneur* (1766),⁴⁶⁵ and for one of Mikhail Vorontsov's⁴⁶⁶ young relatives.⁴⁶⁷ João Miranda advanced in 1987 a lot of information gathered

⁴⁶⁰ Lemos made one (v. *Ribeiro Sanches*, 296-310) but it is in need of being updated.

⁴⁶¹ Faustino Cordeiro, "Introdução", in António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Diário de Campanha na Guerra Russo-Turca (1735-1739) e Outros Textos* (Penamacor: Câmara Municipal de Penamacor, 2006), xvi.

⁴⁶² Andry had alluded to the fact in the "Précis", 16-17, but the implications are still being unraveled.

⁴⁶³ Миранда, "Рибейро Саншес", 44; Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 202.

⁴⁶⁴ Willemsse, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches*, 117-174.

⁴⁶⁵ V. n. 153.

⁴⁶⁶ V. n. 154.

⁴⁶⁷ Ржеуцкий, "Pro et contra", 219-230.

from Russian archives regarding Sanches's ties to Russia during the Paris years, but since it was written in Russian it remains abreast of most western historiography.

Another striking proof of the schism between sources is the literature about the library Sanches had in Paris. A catalogue of the 1113 titles was prepared in 1783 for the auction that took place after his death,⁴⁶⁸ and republished by Willemse in 1966.⁴⁶⁹ At least two detailed studies of the collection have been carried out in Portugal since.⁴⁷⁰ However, the extremely interesting new material found in Russian archives in the 1980s about the formation and original purpose of this book collection,⁴⁷¹ still has not reached western historiography after 35 years. We did not delve into this discussion because it falls within the Paris years and hence out of the scope of this dissertation. But it is one of the interesting issues left to study. Similarly, the catalogue of his library in Russia, which he sold to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, is altogether unknown in the West. We republish this inventory in the annexes and encourage all interested parties to read the work developed by Khoteev about its contents.⁴⁷² It might be interesting to develop a comparative study of the two libraries.

Sanches's libraries have been given importance for their obvious excellence and eclecticism, as well as for the fact that they illustrate Sanches as a man of vast culture and a will to keep abreast of the latest developments in science. But his relationship with books is stronger than we realized. Investigating about Sanches unraveled the centrality of books in many of his most prestigious services: the consultancy for the new Royal Library for the University of Coimbra, the exchange with the Jesuits in China, the mediation of the exchange between the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences and the Lisbon Royal Academy of History, ordering books for Academy members such as the sinologist Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, consultancy for the personal library of the Russian regent Anna Leopoldovna, acquiring rare books for the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, the sale of his personal library to this Academy and the enrichment it represented, and finally the posthumous auction of his personal library – though we are convinced that further research about the Parisian years might complete this picture.⁴⁷³ Books were evidently central in the life and work of Ribeiro Sanches, as we could already anticipate from the fact that he so often requested books in his correspondence, but a proper study about this relation is in order.

Although Sanches's network has been recognized as “without doubt one of the most amazing of the time”,⁴⁷⁴ a fair picture of its relevance within the *Respublica literaria* can only be grasped when it is reconstructed and compared with that of his peers.

Sanches as a physician, the originality and value of his medical work, also remains to be studied by an historian of medicine.

Finally, after Lemos, whose exceptional job no one wishes to follow, no comprehensive biography of Sanches has been written. Over a century has passed since it was published. A new

⁴⁶⁸ *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Ant. Nuñez-Ribeiro-Sanches* (Paris: De Bure, fils aîné, 1783). Andry's famous biography comes from precisely this catalogue. The auction would take place at Sanches's house in the Rue de la Verrerie on Monday, 15 December 1783, and the following days, at 3 p.m.

⁴⁶⁹ Willemse, António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, appendixes.

⁴⁷⁰ Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, *A Biblioteca de António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1986); Isabel Malaquias, “A geografia do saber em António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches através do inventário da sua livraria”, *Agora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 14.1 (2012), 203-226.

⁴⁷¹ Миранда, “Рибейро Саншес”, 44-47.

⁴⁷² П. И. Хотеев, “Пять очерков из ранней истории Академической Библиотеки”, *Петербургская библиотечная школа* 2.46 (2014), 11-13; П. И. Хотеев, *Книги с автографами лейб-медика А.Н.Р. Саншеса в фондах Библиотеки Российской академии наук : каталог* (Санкт-Петербург: Библиотека Академии Наук, 2003).

⁴⁷³ For example, by 1768 Sanches had plans to sell his personal library to Russia again (v. Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches*, 202) but by 1772 he had offers in Paris and, as he wished for his books and manuscripts to be in Portugal after his passing, he tried to negotiate the terms of sale with Gonçalo Xavier de Alcáçova Carneiro as a mediator (v. Letter from Sanches to Xavier de Alcáçova, Paris, 2 November 1772, transcribed in Francisco Abreu, *António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches: Uma Nação no Tempo, Um Sábio na Época* (Castelo Branco: RVJ, 2020), 93-95).

⁴⁷⁴ Dulac, “Science et politique”, 251.

biography of Ribeiro Sanches will need to be written once the journal and the correspondence have been compiled, and once the bridges between western and Russian sources have been established satisfactorily in regard to both the Russian and French period.

These contributions would doubtlessly help bring about more complete and more sound knowledge about Ribeiro Sanches. But subjacent to all of them must be a practice of transparency regarding where information comes from. While in theory the importance of citing and checking sources has been well established among historians, the Portuguese literature, as exemplified by the work written on Sanches, proves itself too often too unreliable. If different historians have given emphasis to different aspects of Sanches's life throughout the years, that is only natural. But how do we account for the generalized lack of scrutiny the source material has been submitted to? This hints at greater problems regarding how history has been and is still being written, and we may offer only tentative explanations.

What happens with Sanches happens with many other of our most prominent figures. Counterintuitive as it may seem, we find that some of the most revered men in Portugal have often been victims of this unconscious callousness and enveloped in almost hagiographic accounts. Critical criteria are lowered when the bill seems to fit so well into a preconceived notion of what a man like Sanches should be like. Some things do not seem to need being checked. For another thing, lack of scrutiny is a natural, if not inevitable, consequence of an academic milieu where quantity is not only praised but required, and originality too often valued above solidity. This is made worse by the fact that in both the Portuguese and the Russian historiographical landscapes the practice of stating historical "facts" without citing, much less checking, sources is normalised.

Knowledge cannot be built on a long line of unchecked work. Of course, to someone mentioning Sanches *en passant* the frailties of his biography may pass unnoticed, and we are unlikely to spend our writing lives without accidentally spreading misinformation, but this is why citing cannot be dispensed with. While the historical endeavor always carries uncertainties and risky assumptions – and we will not delve into debate on whether we can reach any historical truth –, certain practices can and must be adopted to reduce the spread of misinformation. Writing about an historical subject perhaps should not always require a constant checking of primary sources, but when there is a long-standing tradition of not checking, then this becomes a moral duty of the historian.

We leave in the annexes some elements retrieved from Russian archives that have not, to our knowledge, yet been published in the West. Hopefully some day they may be properly incorporated into Sanches's historiography. It is our wish that further useful investigations be carried out so as do justice to a figure so unique for the Portuguese History of Science.

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- . «Библиотека лейб-медика Рибейру Сенчеса». *Книготорговое и библиотечное дело в России в XVIII – первой половине XIX в.: Сборник научных трудов*, 104-141. Ленинград: Библиотека Академии Наук СССР, 1981.
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- . *Очерки из истории русских медицинских учреждений XVIII столетия*. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Якова Трея, 1870.

Appendixes

Inventory of the personal book collection Ribeiro Sanches sold to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1747

This inventory was published by Khoteev in 1981. It was assembled from two catalogues found in the Leningrad Branch of the archives of the USSR Academy of Sciences.⁴⁷⁵ The first was written by Sanches himself and is attached to the letter he sent to the Academy office proposing the sale.⁴⁷⁶ The second was made by the famous librarian Johann Caspar Taubert after the purchase. Khoteev crossed the two lists, arranged the bibliographic descriptions by alphabetical order and numbered them. The bibliographic descriptions are presented “in a somewhat abbreviated form” and “were refined when the corresponding publications were identified in the funds of the USSR Academy of Sciences”. Brackets [] mark authors of works published anonymously which Khoteev established. Asterisks * mark books donated by the Academic Bookstore.⁴⁷⁷

We transcribe the inventory, translating Khoteev’s notes⁴⁷⁸:

- “1. *Acta literaria Sueciae, etc. Upsaliae et Stockholmiae, 1725—1739, 4 vol., 4°.*⁴⁷⁹
2. *Acta physico-medica, etc. Norimbergae, 1727—1730, 6 vol., 4°.*⁴⁸⁰
3. **Adolphi Ch. M.** *Tractatus de fontibus quibusdam soteriis, etc. Lipsiae ei Wratislaviae, 1733, 8°.*
4. **Aelianus C.** *Varia historia, etc. Lugduni Batavorum, 1731, 2 vol., 4°.*
5. **Albinus B. S.** *De ossibus corporis humani. Leidae Batavorum, 1726, 8°.*
6. **Albinus B. S.** *Historia musculorum hominis. Leidae Batavorum, 1734, 4°.*
7. **Alciato A.** *Emblemata, etc. Patavii, 1661, 4°.*
8. **Alpino P.** *De medicina methodica libri tredecim, etc. Lugduni Batavorum, 1719, 4°.*
9. **Alpino P.** *De praesagienda vita et morte aegrotantium libri septem, etc. Lugduni Batavorum, 1733, 4°.*
10. **Alpino P.; Bondt J. P.** *Alpini... Medicina Aegyptiorum, etc.; J. Bontii Medicina Indorum. Lugduni Batavorum, 1718, 4°.*
11. **Amelot de la Houssaye A. N.** *Histoire du gouvernement de Venise. Amsterdam, 1705, 3 vol., 12°.*
12. * **Amman J.** *Stirpium rariorum in Imperio Rutheno sponte provenientium icones et descriptiones, etc. Petropoli, 1739, 4°.*
13. **Andry de Boisregard N.** *L’Orthopédie, etc. Bruxelles, 1743, 1 vol., 12°.*
14. **Arbuthnot J.** *Essai des effets de l’air sur le corps humain. Trad. de l’anglois, etc. Paris, 1742, 8°.*
15. * **Argens J.-B. de Boyer.** *La Philosophie du bon sens, etc. Londres, 1737, 12°.*
16. **Argens J.-B. de Boyer; Cochois (M-lle).** *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de l’esprit et du coeur. La Haye, 1744, 12°.*
17. **Arrianus F.** *Arrian’s history of Alexander’s expedition. Transl. from the Greek. London, 1729. 2 vol., 8°.*

⁴⁷⁵ ЛО ААН, ф. 3, оп. 1, № 110, л. 33-61, found by archivist Sergey Pavlovich Luppov.

⁴⁷⁶ *Vide supra*, pp. 35-3636.

⁴⁷⁷ П. И. Хотеев, “Библиотека лейб-медика Рибейру Сенчеса”, *Книготорговое и библиотечное дело в России в XVIII – первой половине XIX в.: Сборник научных трудов* (Ленинград: Библиотека Академии Наук СССР, 1981), 104.

⁴⁷⁸ Except the terms *аллигат* (алл.) and *конволют* (конв.), to facilitate future consultation in Russian archives.

⁴⁷⁹ Two volumes (1730-1739) were left in the Library, the other two (1725-1729) were transferred to the bookstore.

⁴⁸⁰ Four volumes (1727-1729) were left in the Library, two volumes (1730) were transferred to the bookstore.

18. The Art of nursing, or the method of bringing up young children according to the rules of physick, for the preservation of health, and prolonging life. London, 1733, 8°.
19. **Astruc J.** Academical lectures on fevers, *etc.* London, 1747, 8°.
20. **Astruc I.** De morbis venereis libri novem, *etc.* Litetiae Parisiorum, 1740, 2 vol., 4°.
21. **Aurelius Antoninus M.** De rebus suis... libri XII. Londini, 1697, 4°.
22. * **Aurelius Victor S.** Historia romana, *etc.* Amstelodami, 1733, 4°.
23. **Ausonius D. M.** Opera. Parisiis, 1730, 4°.
24. **Avicenna.** Libri in re medica omnes, qui ad nos pervenere, *etc.* Venetiis, 1564, fol.
25. **Avreu J. R.** Historiologia medica, fundada e estabelecida. Lisboa Occidental, 1733—1739, 2 vol., fol.
26. * **Bacon F.** The Philosophical works, *etc.* London, 1733, 3 vol., 4°.
27. **Baillet A.** Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs. Amsterdam, 1725, 4 vol., 4°.
28. **Barbato G.** Dissertatio elegantissima de sanguine et ejus sero, *etc.* Francofurti ad Moen, 1667, 12°. АЛЛ. 4 В КОНВ. с №№ 170, 377, 380.
29. **Barbette P.** Opera omnia medica et chirurgica, *etc.* Genevae, 1688, 4°.
30. **Barclay R.** Theologiae vere Christianae apologia. Londini, 1729, 8°.
31. * **Bartholinus Th.** Acta medica et philosophica Hafniensia. Ann. 1671 et 1672. Hafniae, 1673, 4°.
32. * **Bartholinus Th.** Anatome quartum renovata, *etc.* Lugduni, 1684, 8°.
33. **Baudelot de Dairval Ch.-C.** Histoire de Ptolémée Aulètes, *etc.* Paris, 1698, 12°.
34. * **Bayle P.** Dictionnaire historique et critique. Rotterdam, 1702, 3 vol., fol.
35. * **Bayle P.** Lettres, *etc.* Amsterdam, 1729, 3 vol., 12°.
36. **Becher J. J.** Physica subterranea profundam subterraneorum genesin, e principiis hucusque ignotis, ostendens, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1738, 4°.
37. **Bellini L.** De urinis et pulsibus, de missione sanguinis, de febribus, de morbis capitis et pectoris, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1730, 4°.
38. **Bellini L.** Exercitationes anatomicae, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1726, 4°.
39. **Belloste A.** Le Chirurgien d'hôpital, *etc.* Amsterdam, 1707, 8°.
40. **Belon P.** L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux, *etc.* Paris, 1555, fol.
41. **Bembo P.** Opéré, *etc.* Venezia, 1729, 4 vol., fol.
42. La Biblia, que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento. Trans. en Español. Amsterdam, 1602, fol.
43. Bibliotheca Weidmanniana, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1735, 8°.
44. Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe. Amsterdam, 1734—1746, 26 vol., 8°. ⁴⁸¹
45. **Binningerus J. N.** Observationum et curationum medicinalium centuriae quinque, *etc.* Montbelgardii, 1673, 8°.
46. **Blackmore R.** A Critical dissertation upon the spleen, *etc.* London, 1725, 8°. АЛЛ. 2 В КОНВ. с № 50.
47. **Blackmore R.** Discourses on the gout, a rheumatism and the king's evil, *etc.* London, 1726, 8°.
48. **Blackmore R.** Essays upon several subjects. London, 1716, 8°.
49. **Blackmore R.** A Treatise of consumptions and other distempers belonging to the breast and lungs. London, 1735, 8°.
50. **Blackmore R.** A Treatise of the spleen and vapours, or hypocondrical and hysterical affections. London, 1726, 8°. АЛЛ. 1 В КОНВ. с № 46.

⁴⁸¹ The archival file does not indicate where these magazines arrived - to the Library or to the bookstore.

51. **Blégnny N.** Zodiacus medico-gallicus, *etc.* Genevae, 1680—1685, 5 vol., 4°.
52. * **Bodin J.** De Republica libri sex, *etc.* Ursellis, 1601, 8°.
53. **Boecler J.** Cynosura materiae medicae continuata, *etc.* Argentorati, 1729, 4°.
54. **Boecler J.** Cynosurae materiae medicae continuatio secunda, *etc.* Argentorati, 1731, 4°.
55. **Boecler J. H.** De scriptoribus graecis et latinis, ab Homero ad initium saec. post Chr. nat. decimi sexti, commentatio postuma. Lugduni Batavorum, 1729, 8°.
56. **Boerhaave H.** Elementa chemiae, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1732, 2 vol., 4°.
57. **Boerhaave H.** Index alter plantarum quae in horto academico Lugduno-Batavo aluntur. Lugduni Batavorum, 1727, 4°.
58. **Boerhaave H.** Institutions de médecine. Paris, 1743, 3 vol., 12°.
59. **Bohn J.** Circulus anatomico-physiologicus, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1686, 4°. АЛЛ. 1 в КОНВ. с №№ 417, 418, 419, 420.
60. * **Boileau-Despréaux N.** Oeuvres, *etc.* Amsterdam, 1729, 2 vol., 12°.
61. **Bollani D.** De gli errori popolari d'Italia, libri sette, *etc.* Venetia, 1603, 4°.
62. [**Bonnaire L.**]. Les Leçons de la sagesse sur les défauts des hommes. La Haye, 1744, 3 vol., 12°.
63. **Borelli G. A.** De vi percussiois et motionibus naturalibus a gravitate pendentibus, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1686, 4°.
64. [**Borrichius A.**]. Appendix ad Curas posteriores recognitas ... Ch. Cellarii, *etc.* Jenae, 1732, 12°. АЛЛ. 2 в КОНВ. с №№ 82, 83.
65. **Brunner B.** Consiliorum medicorum liber unicus. Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1727, 4°.
66. **Brunner J. C.** Experimenta nova circa pancreas. Lugduni Batavorum, 1722, 8°.
67. **Brunner J. C.** Glandulae duodeni, *etc.* Francofurti et Heidelbergae, 1715, 4°.
68. **Buddeus J. F.** Compendium historiae philosophiae, *etc.* Halae Saxonum, 1731, 8°.
69. **Burdon W.** The Gentleman's pocket-farrier, *etc.* London, 1730, 8°.
70. **Burman P.** Carmen elegiacum, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1725, fol.
71. **Burton W.** An Account of the life and writings of H. Boerhaave. London, 1746, 8°.
72. **Bytemeister H. J.** Catalogus bibliothecae Lautensackianae, *etc.* Helmstadii, 1737, 8°.
73. **Cabrera de Cordova L.** Filipe Segundo, rey de España. Madrid, 1619, fol.
74. * **Caesar C. J.** Commentarii de bello Gallico et civili. Lipsiae, 1726, 8°.
75. **Caesar C. J.** De bellis Gallico et civili Pompejano, *etc.* Lugd. Bat. et Rotterodami, 1737, 4°.
76. * **Callières F.** De la manière de négocier avec les souverains, *etc.* Amsterdam, 1716, 12°.
77. **Camerarius J. R.** Sylloges memorabilium medicinae et mirabilium naturae arcanorum centuriae duodecim, *etc.* Argentorati, 1626—1630, 12°.
78. * **Canepari P. M.** De atramentis cujuscunque generis, *etc.* Londini, 1660, 4°.
79. **Carr R.** Medicinal epistles upon several occasions. London, 1714, 8°.
80. **Catherwood J.** A New method of curing the apoplexy. London, 1715, 8°.
81. **Catullus C. V.** C. V. Catullus Veronensis, et in eum J. A. Vulpii ... novus commentarius locupletissimus. Patavii, 1737, 4°.
82. **Cellarius Ch.** Curae posteriores de barbarismis et idiotismis sermonis latini, *etc.* Jenae, 1733, 12°. АЛЛ. 1 в КОНВ. с №№ 64, 83.
83. **Cellarius Ch.** De latinitate mediae et infimae aetatis liber, *etc.* Jenae, 1733, 12°. АЛЛ. 3 в КОНВ. с №№ 64, 82.
84. **Cellarius Ch.** Elementa astronomiae, *etc.* Merseburgi, 1689, 8°.
85. * **Celsus A. C.** De medicina libri octo, *etc.* Lugduni Batav., 1657, 12°.
86. **Cheyne G.** An Essay on regimen, *etc.* London, 1740, 8°.
87. **Cheyne G.** The Natural method of curing the diseases of the body and the disorders of the mind depending on the body. London, 1742, 8°.

88. **Chirac P.; Silva J. B.** Dissertations et consultations médicales de Messieurs Chirac ... et Silva, *etc.* Paris, 1744, 2 vol., 12°.
89. * **Cicero M. T.** Epistolarum ad familiares libri XVI. Lipsiae, 1735, 8°.
90. **Cicero M. T.** Lettres de Cicéron à Atticus, *etc.* Amsterdam, 1741, 6 vol., 12°.
91. * **Cicero M. T.** Opera omnia, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1737, 5 vol., 8°.
92. * **Cicero M. T.** Opera philosophica, *etc.* Berolini, 1745, 8°.
93. * **Cicero M. T.** Tusculanes de Cicéron, *etc.* Paris, 1737, 1 vol., 12°.
94. * [**Cochois (M^{le})**]. Lettres philosophiques et critiques, par M-elle Co**, *etc.* La Haye, 1744, 12°.
95. **Cohausen J. H.** Hermippus redivivus, *etc.* Francofurti ad Moenum, 1742, 8°.
96. A Collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, *etc.* London, 1704, 1732, 6 vol., fol.
97. * **Colombo R.** De re anatomica libri XV. Parisiis, 1572, 8°.
98. **Comines Ph.** Las Memorias, *etc.* Amberes, 1643, fol.
99. * **Commercium litterariuni ad rei medicae et scientiae naturalis incrementum institutum, etc.** Norimbergae, 1731 — 1743, 1745, 11 vol., 4°.
100. **Condoidi P.** Dissertatio medica inauguralis de morbis aetatum, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1732, 4°. АЛЛ. 3 В КОНВ. с №№ 199, 356.
101. **Cope H.** Demonstratio medico-practica prognosticorum Hippocratis, *etc.* Dublini, 1736, 8°.
102. **Courcelles D. C.** Ieones musculorum plantae pedis eorumque descriptio. Lugduni Batavoium, 1730, 4°.
103. **Croissant de Garengéot R.-J.** Nouveau traité des instrumens de chirurgie les plus utiles, *etc.* Paris, 1727, 2 vol., 12°.
104. **Croissant de Garengéot R.-J.** Traité des opérations de chirurgie, *etc.* Paris, 1731, 3 vol., 12°.
105. [**Curll E.**]. An Historical account of the life and writings of the late... Mr. J. Toland, *etc.* London, 1722, 8°. АЛЛ. 1 В КОНВ. с №№ 390, 391.
106. **Dale S.** Pharmacologia, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1739, 4°.
107. [**Dangeau L. de Courcillon**]. Des Principes du blazon, *etc.* Paris, 1715, 4°.
108. * De Bononiensi Scientiarum et Artium Instituto atque Academia commentarii. Bononiae, 1731, 1 vol., 4°.
109. **Degner J. H.** Historia medica de dysenteria bilioso-contagioss, *etc.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1738, 8°.
110. **Delius H. F.** Amoenitates medicae circa casus medico-practicos haud vulgares, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1745, 8°.
111. * **Derham W.** Théologie physique, *etc.* La Haye, 1740, 8°.
112. **Descartes R.** Les Passions de l'âme. Paris, 1650, 8°.
113. **Dio Cassius.** The History of Dion Cassius abridg'd by Xiphilin, *etc.* London, 1704, 2 vol., 8°.
114. **Diodorus.** Bibliothecae historicae, *etc.* Basileae, [s. a.], fol.
115. **Dioscoridus.** Opera quae extant omnia. Francofurti, 1598, fol.
116. Dissertations mêlées sur divers sujets importants et curieux. Amsterdam, 1740, 2 vol., 8°.
117. * **Dodoens R.** Frumentorum, leguminum, palustrium et atuatilium herbarum, ac eorum quae eo pertinent historia. Antverpiae, 1566, 8°.
118. **Douglas J.** Descriptio comparata musculorum corporis humani et quadrupedis, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1729, 8°.
119. **Drelincourt Ch.** Opuscula medica, *etc.* Hagae Comitum, 1727, 4°.
120. **Duddell B.** A Treatise of the diseases of the horny-coat of the eye, and the various kinds of cataracts. London, 1729, 8°.
121. [**Durand D.**]. La Vie et les sentimens de L. Vanini. Rotterdam, 1717, 12°.

122. **Duret L.** Interpretationes et enarrationes in magni Hippocratis coacas praenotiones, *etc.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1737, fol.
123. **Du Verney J.-G.** Traité de l'organe de l'ouïe, *etc.* Leide, 1731, 12°.
124. **Egede H.** A Description of Greenland, *etc.* London, 1745, 8°.
125. Epistolarum laconicarum atque selectarum farragine duae ... G. Cognati ... opera, *etc.* Basileae, 1554, 16°.
126. * **Erasmus Roterodamus.** Encomium moriae, sive declamatio in laudem stultitiae. Leydae, 1622, 12°.
127. * **Ernesti J. A.** Clavis Ciceroniana, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1739, 8°.
128. * **Espinel V.** Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregon. Madrid, [s. a.], 8°.
129. **Ettmüller M.** Opera omnia, *etc.* Venetiis, 1734, 5 vol., fol.
130. **Euclid.** nlementorum libri priores sex, item undecimus et duodecimus. Oxoniae, 1723, 8°.
131. **Eugalenus S.** De morbo scorbuto liber, *etc.* Amstelodami, 1720, 8°.
132. * **Euler L.** Tentamen novae theoriae musicae, *etc.* Petropoli, 1739, 4°.
133. **Eusebius Pamphili.** Histoire de l'église, *etc.* Paris, 1686, 5 vol., 12°.
134. **Eustachius B.** Tabulae anatomicae, *etc.* Amstelaedami, 1722, fol.
135. Extractos Academicos dos livros, que a Academia de Petersburg mandou à de Lisboa. Lisboa Occidental, 1738, fol.
136. * **Faber B.** Thesaurus eruditionis scholasticae, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1735, 2 vol., fol.
137. * **Facciolati J.** De optimis studiis orationes X, *etc.* Lipsiae, 1725, 8°.
138. Fasciculus dissertationum medicarum quarum I-ma de tunica choroidea, auctore L. Heister, II-da de febrium intermittentium causa, auctore C. Linnaeo, III-ia de naturali foetus in utero materno situ, auctore J. Onymos, IV-ta de caussa vices cordis alternas producente, auctore A. Ens. Lugduni Batavorum, 1745, 8°.
139. **Fénelon.** Oeuvres spirituelles de feu M-gr F. de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon. Rotterdam, 1738, 2 vol., 4°.
140. **Fernel J.** Universa medicina, *etc.* Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1656, 4°.
141. * **Ficino M.** De le tre vite, *etc.* Venetia, 1548, 8°.
142. * **Fick J. J.** Selectus Londinensium apparatus chymico-pharmaceuticus, continens pharmacopoeiam G. Batei, *etc.* Francofurti ad Moen, 1711, 12°.
143. * **Fonseca R.** Consultationes medicae, *etc.* Francofurti ad Moenum, 1625, 1 vol., 8°.
144. **Fonteyn N.** Responsum et curationum medicinalium liber unus, *etc.* Amstelodami, 1639, 12°.
145. **Foreest P.** Observationum et curationum medicinalium ac chirurgicarum opera omnia, *etc.* Francofurti, 1660, 3 vol., fol.
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⁴⁸⁴ Transcribed from Хотеев, "Библиотека", 105-118.

Two autopsy reports requested by the Russian Medical Office⁴⁸⁵

Autopsy report written by Ribeiro Sanches upon the sudden death of Grigory Elisev, a copyist of the Secret Office, April 1739

“Ex mandato Cancellariae Medicae ut meam de renunciatione morbi, quo scriba Gregorius Elisseoff prope mortem laboravit, sententiam, loco absentis physici, dicerem, cognovi ex historia morbi a chirurgo Hanhart descripta quae sequuntur: «Illum Gregorium Elisseoff vel conto vel pertica aliove instrumento contundente fuisse in capite acriter percussum: quartaque die post acceptas plagas cadaver fuisse lustratum et apertum: in cujus capite sanguinis grumos inter cranium cutemque fuisse inventos. Cranium a sutura coronali versus suturam sagittalem latitudine duorum pollicum fuisse scissum et laceratum: Inter vero cranium et duram matrem supra anteriorem sinistrum cerebri lobum sanguinis grumum magnitudine ovi gallinacei fuisse factum, per cujus molem ipsemet lobus tantum praemebatur, quantum durities grumi resistebat: Duram vero matrem a cranii depressione ad fornicem orbitae sinistrae divulsam apparuisse. Cerebrum vero ad cetera sanum.

Ex his puto, chirurgus peritus ad dictum scribam Elisseoff decumbentem si acerssus fuisset, qui largis sanguinis evacuationibus, incisione lata triangulari loco contuso, trepano ex arte applicato post decem a percussione horas, ossis divulsis fractivae composita vel elavata si fuissent, morbum in se susciperet tractandum, Divina favente gratia forsitan in sanitatem potuisse restitui: Neglectis vere remediis dictis, quae ars sana per experimenta multoties salutaria vidit, necessario mors plagas similes huic, quam dictus Gregorius Elisseoff passus fuit, neglectas sequi debuit. Haec mea sententia fidesque. Antonius Ribeyro Sanches, M. D.”⁴⁸⁶

Autopsy report written by Ribeiro Sanches upon the death of Ivan Maltsov, a clerk of the Office of the Main Artillery, May 1739

“Ex mandato Cancellariae Medicae ut sententiam de morbo, qui mortis causa fuit scribae Ioanni Maltzoff, ex vi. q. renunciationis, quam chirurgus Hanhart ad me missam exaravit, certus tunc factus fui, antedictum scribam Maltzoff plagis in dorso latereque dextro 24 die aprilis fuisse percussum: in morbum deinde pectoris incidisse, postea in carum soporemve profundum, aphonum et intra decimum septimum a morbi initio diem animam effluisse. Cadavere externe lustrato nullas in eo vibices apparuisse, abscessum pusve acre larga copia ventriculis cerebri fuisse inventum, in pulmone dextro parum, pulmones utrosque costis adhaesisse, quod vitium potatoribus, qualis, dam in vivis erat, fuit dictus scriba.

Ex his signis morbique effectibus colligo indicoque abscessum in capite mortis fuisse tantum causam intra tam breve tempus; minime vero acceptas plagas, quae tantum mortem accelerare potuerunt, et levem illam puris in pulmone dextero quantitatem inventam, quae facillime ubi adnati costis sunt pulmones, fieri potest, generare. Hae et vi renunciationis ad me missae sententia vera est. Dabam Petropoli, 16 maii 1739. R. Sanches, M. D.”⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ For context, *vide supra*, p. 2727.

⁴⁸⁶ Яков Алексеевич Чистович, *Очерки из истории русских медицинских учреждений XVIII столетия* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Якова Третьякова, 1870), 10.

⁴⁸⁷ Чистович, *Очерки*, 14.

Letters from Count Vorontsov to Ivan Shuvalov mentioning Sanches

Letter from Vorontsov to Shuvalov, 4 December 1764, Berlin

“Милостивый государь мой Иванъ Ивановичъ.

Чрезъ сіе имѣю только о полученіи вашего письма отъ 20 ноября увѣдомить и васъ благодарить за изображенныя въ ономъ дружескія обо мнѣ изъясненія. Прошу увѣрен нимъ быть и о взаимныхъ моихъ мнѣніяхъ и благодарности моей. А какъ ваше превосходительство по благосклонности вашей и дружбѣ Приемлете участіе что до меня касаться можетъ, то имѣю въ откровенности, хотя и о публичномъ уже дѣлѣ, увѣдомить, что неудачной мой бывшей зять Строгановъ подалъ челобитную ея императорскому Величеству объ разводѣ съ женою своею, которая ему обратно отдана быда; но онъ потомъ не устыдился С. П. Бургскому архіерею подать, съ которой при семъ посылаю копію, которую прочтя обще съ князь Дмитріемъ Алексѣвичемъ Объявля ему мой поклонъ, прошу ко мнѣ обратно прислать. Вотъ, милостивой мой государь, первая пріятная встрѣча къ возвращенію моему въ отечество! Даруй Боже, чтобы она и послѣдняя была. Вы можете легко признать, что къ мучительнымъ моимъ болѣзнямъ господинъ Строгановъ мнѣ еще чувствительную рану прибавилъ; только я оную нынѣ перенесъ, довольствуясь немало тѣмъ, что я лишусь неблагодарнаго чловѣка и непотребнаго зятя, котораго свойствомъ ни чести ни удовольствія во всѣ 7 лѣтъ не имѣлъ. А жена моя еще менѣе того имѣла. Ежели сіе письмо Граша Якова Александровича въ Парижѣ застанеть, то прошу ему о горести моей сообщить и спросить его, получилъ ли онъ пакетъ съ письмами моими, въ Италію о немъ адресованными.

За обѣщанное отправленіе Баженова покорнѣйше вашему превосходительству благодарствую; я уповаю, что онъ меня здѣсь еще застанеть, ибо по нынѣшней непроѣздимой распутицу я долженъ до надежной дороги здѣсь остаться и уповаю чрезъ 4 или 5 недѣль отсюда выѣхать.

Н. А. Корфъ обрѣтается теперь въ Курляндіи въ деревнѣ г. Симолина, и ему есть легче.

Прошу сказать дружеской поклонъ г. Саншесу, И. П. Гурьеву и Хотинскому; пребываю съ непремѣннымъ почтеніемъ вашего Превосходительства покорный и вѣрный слуга г. М. Воронцовъ.

1764, Декабря 4 (15) іня въ Берлинѣ.

О негодномъ зятѣ моемъ писано было ко мнѣ, что онъ совсѣмъ Промотался, лутчія деревни Распродаль, а Достальныя въ закладѣ; сказываютъ, что изъ лутчихъ друзей его находится Оулиппъ Ивановичъ Генингеръ, которой имъ руководствуетъ. Ваше превосходительство сами признаете, что мы всѣ обманулись въ немъ, думая, что онъ хорошаго воспитанія и честныхъ сентиментовъ, но сверхъ легкомысленности и вѣтренаго нрава его онъ и злое сердце имѣеть.”⁴⁸⁸

Letter from Vorontsov to Shuvalov, 17 February 1766, Saint Petersburg

“Милостивой государь мой Иванъ Ивановичъ.

Сколь пріятно было мнѣ получить дружеское ваше письмо отъ 19 числа, столь съ прискорбіемъ увѣдомился я изъ онаго, что вы частыми коликами Страждете; будучи увѣренъ о воздержаніи вашемъ въ пищѣ и Питъѣ, приписываю сіи припадки ваши худому воздуху парижскому въ зимнемъ врѣмени, и что по сырости онаго нельзя уберечься отъ простуды; я

⁴⁸⁸ Петръ Баргеньевъ, “Письма гр. М. Л. Воронцова къ И. И. Шувалову (1737—1766)”, *Русскій Архивъ. Историко-литературный сборник. 1864. Выпуски 1-12* (Москва: Типографія А. И. Мамонтова и К°, 1864), 377-378.

желаю, чтобъ сіе письмо не застало васъ въ семь огромномъ городѣ и Ласкаюсь, что вы прилежаніемъ и совѣтами г. Саншеса совершенно воспользованы и получили прежнее здоровье, а поѣздка въ Италію при благорастворенномъ весеннемъ воздухѣ совсѣмъ васъ Оправитъ. Я сердечно желаю, чтобъ сія поѣздка къ удовольствію вашему исполнилась, и мнѣ весьма радостно будетъ слышать о благополучномъ продолженіи пути вашего, только по отдаленіи отъ границъ сѣверныхъ я не Ласкаюсь часто получать отъ васъ писемъ, тѣмъ паче, что и я въ маѣ мѣсяцѣ намѣренъ отсюда выѣхать въ Кимру; однакожь не смотря, на сіи разныя и дальныя разлученіи прошу отъ времени до времени дружескимъ увѣдомленіемъ о вашемъ пребываніи въ Италіи меня безъ извѣстія не оставить, а я конечно не премину отъ вѣтными служить, только бы зналъ куда письма мои адресовать.

Графъ Еирила Григорьевичъ писалъ ко мнѣ изъ Милана, и я по слогу письма его заключаю, что онъ весело путешествіе свое продолжаетъ, прошу вашего Превосходительства при свиданіи сказать его сіятельству мой поклонъ.

Графъ Мартынъ Карловичъ поручилъ мнѣ приложенное при семъ письмѣ ко вашему превосходительству переслать.

Сегодня я писалъ къ маркизу Воттѣ, чтобъ онъ прислалъ ко мнѣ портреты великаго герцога Тосканскаго и его супруги, я прошу васъ по прибытіи его во Флоренцію ему о томъ припоить и освѣдомиться чрезъ маркиза Гваданьи о заказанныхъ нами сдѣлать большіе портреты ея и в. и его высочества Живописцу МаркФерзону, котораго вы обѣщали лутчимъ письмомъ съ оригиналовъ нашихъ написать. Только мы и понынѣ никакого извѣстія не имѣемъ, и ежели оныя портреты готовы, я прошу вашего Превосходительства приказать оному МаркФерзону отослать въ Ливорну къ Аѳонскому купцу Жерми, которой ему за работу заплатитъ и оныя сюда моремъ отправить. На сіе письмо я буду ожидать отъ васъ дружеская отвѣта и пребываю навсегда вашего Превосходительства покорный и вѣрный слуга г. М. Воронцовъ.

1766 Февраля 17 (28) въ С. П. Бурхѣ.

Для извѣстія вашего дружески увѣдомляю, что я сегодня послалъ чрезъ маркиза Жерми во Флоренцію золотую медаль абату Лоренцо; вы можете съ симъ абатомъ знакомство вести, которой отменнымъ мастерствомъ въ живописной работѣ, пишетъ какъ Пастелье въ Миниатюрѣ, я недавно получилъ здѣсь одну картину его искусства и имѣю честь его рекомендовать вашему превосходительству.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁹ Петръ Баргеньевъ, “Письма гр. М. Л. Воронцова къ И. И. Шувалову (1737—1766)”, *Русскій Архивъ. Историко-литературный сборник. 1864. Выпуски 1-12* (Москва: Типографія А. И. Мамонтова и К^о, 1864), 390-392.