

EASTM 34 (2011): 15-85

## The Jesuits in China and the Circulation of Western Books in the Sciences (17th-18th Centuries): The Medical and Pharmaceutical Sections in the SJ Libraries of Peking

Noël Golvers

*[Noël Golvers, PhD Classical Philology (1984), is Senior Researcher at the F. Verbiest Institute of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and lecturer in Latin at the Katholieke Hogeschool Leuven. His research area is Latin (Portuguese, etc.) texts on the Jesuit mission in China, especially in the early Qing period, starting from F. Verbiest's astronomical work. His books include F. Verbiest and the Astronomia Europaea (1993), Ferdinand Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven (2003) [which received the 2004 award of the Royal Academy of Belgium] and The Mathematical Manuscripts of F. Verbiest from Constantinople (2009; with E. Nicolaidis). Another book (2001) concerns F. de Rougemont's Account Book (1674-1676) on daily life in Jiangnan, which has been translated into Chinese. He has also made many shorter contributions on other, mainly cultural aspects of the Jesuit mission in the same period, with regard to history of science and book culture, and communication networks between Europe and China. Contact: Noel.Golvers@arts.kuleuven.be]*

\* \* \*

**Abstract:** In total, 281 medical and pharmaceutical books, and some journals (including 'general' ones, such as the *Gazeta de Lisboa*) are preserved in the so-called Beitang collection (Peking). These, in the main, originate from the pre-1773 Jesuit collections in Peking and elsewhere. They constitute, together with other written sources, a primary source reflecting the medical aspect of the Jesuit presence and activities in seventeenth till eighteenth century China. It is possible to identify a core of 68 items brought to Peking in 1623. This is followed by a decline (in the number of acquisitions, and probably interest in upgrading the collection), until in 1685 Ferdinand Verbiest tried to provide fresh impulse to book acquisition, without significant results. Yet, medical books continued to arrive until the very end of the Jesuit presence in Peking, apparently more often at the (French) Beitang than the Portuguese college (Nantang), with its strong focus on mathematics, linked to the activities in the Astronomical Bureau of its residents. I try to tease out details of the identity of the

readers and their interests, which turn out to be multi-faceted and heterogeneous, due to the relatively long (200 year) period of acquisition. These reflect factors such as the evolution in European medicine and pharmacology, the multi-national composition of the staff, their different professional backgrounds and level of instruction, and the various types of diseases they were confronted with.

---

## 1. Introduction

Contrary to all appearances, the Jesuit scholars and scientists in the Far East, like other colleagues elsewhere in the New World, were not working in isolation. They could rely—despite the enormous practical problems caused by the vast distances involved—on a complex yet efficient network of communication with the international, European *res publica litterarum*. As pupils of Jesuit educational institutions, they were part of this scholarly world, and those who left Europe for the Far Eastern Missions continued to be informed on scholarly progress there. The modalities of this communication were shaped by circumstances, such as the availability and time schedules of ships, technological progress, as well as climatological and international political conditions. It took many different material forms (oral information, letters, manuscripts, printed books, periodicals, etc.), but always enabled them to remain informed on the most recent findings in Europe, and to communicate their own observations and other contributions. Rather than cover the entire range of learning they engaged with,<sup>1</sup> I intend to focus here only on the field of medicine and, by extension, pharmacology. Both were obviously of vital importance for the working and continuity of the mission, not only through the physical preservation of the staff, but, after a while, also as a way to consolidate prestige among the Chinese. I will investigate this topic through an analysis of the medical books they had at their disposal in one particular place, Peking. This mainly consisted of, since ca. 1600, the Portuguese College—the former Ricci residence—called Xitang, later Nantang, and its ‘Eastern branch’, the Dongtang residence, which were joined after ca. 1700 by the French

---

<sup>1</sup> These will be the topic of my book *Libraries of Western Learning for China: The Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission of the 17th-18th Centuries* (in preparation). The abbreviated references I use in this contribution are: ARSI: *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*; JS: *Japonica Sinica* (section of ARSI); Lus.: *Assistentia Lusitana*, section of the same; Lugd.: *Provincia Lugdunensis* (Lyon); BnF: *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.

residence, the old (i.e. pre-suppression) Beitang.<sup>2</sup> While some research has already been done on the mutual interaction between Western and Chinese medicine in this period,<sup>3</sup> the details of the medical books that circulated in China as a part of European instruction of the Jesuits in the field have rarely been touched upon, despite the lists of Henri Bernard (see below). A detailed description of these books, with attention to their various types, different contexts and backgrounds, and indications of their actual application will be the particular aim of this contribution.

## 2. The Portuguese College in Peking: Xitang/Nantang

When implementing the master plan Nicolo Longobardo (1565-1655) developed from 1611-1613 for establishing a network of working libraries distributed over the Jesuit residences of China, Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) collected, during an epoch-making tour through Europe in 1616-1618, a substantial library. It included a large collection of medical books, not only for the sake of completeness, but also thanks to the particular attention of his main collaborator, the former Lincean Johann Schreck (Latin: Terrentius).<sup>4</sup> This medical section—constituted with gifts (books as *elemosynas* [alms]) and other well-considered purchases, the latter probably made at the hand of the *Nomenclator* of Israel Spach<sup>5</sup>—has been described by H. Bernard, first in 1941, and in more detail in 1947.<sup>6</sup> His list was based on Terrentius' correspondence and the physically accessible and completely inventoried Beitang library in Peking. It includes botany and natural history, and totals 271 items, identified on the basis of material indications and a publication date before 1618. Using a stricter selection criterion, I arrive at a number of 68 for the Trigault-Schreck layer.<sup>7</sup> Yet, this reduction

---

<sup>2</sup> To be distinguished from the 'modern' Beitang, created about 1860 and described in the catalogue of H. Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*, Pékin, Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> The most practical and up-to-date survey of the whole field is still the chapter on medicine by U. Holler published in N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2001, pp. 786-802.

<sup>4</sup> He was born in Constanz in 1576 and died in China in 1630. For the basic details on his life, see J. Dehergne, *Répertoire des jésuites en Chine*, Rome, 1973, pp. 242-243.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Verhaeren, no. 2856-57: *Nomenclator Scriptorum Medicorum*, Frankfurt, 1591 and Argentinae [Strassburg], 1598.

<sup>6</sup> H. Bernard, 'Notes on the Introduction of the Natural Sciences into the Chinese Empire', in *The Yen-ching Journal of Social Studies*, 3, 1941, pp. 227-230 and 'Une bibliothèque médicale de la Renaissance conservée à Pékin', in *Bulletin de l'Université L'Aurore*, 8, 1947, pp. 99-118.

<sup>7</sup> More precisely 62 in Latin, 1 in French and 5 in German.

does not diminish the importance of the medical collection, nor does it affect our belief that since the early 1620s a substantial and useful medical collection influenced the work of the Jesuits present in Peking and China. Rather than focusing on the collection itself, however, I would like to emphasize how this basic collection was updated after Terrentius (Schreck) died in 1630, based on documentary evidence combined with titles extant in the Beitang catalogue.

The key text I have chosen for this purpose is a passage in a letter of Ferdinand Verbiest, dated 1 August 1685, to General Charles de Noyelle, in which the author asks directly for modern, i.e. up-to date, books on medicine to be sent to Peking:<sup>8</sup>

*Quandoquidem haec pro medicina introducenda perscripserim, rogo etiam P(aternitas) V(estra) ut nobis insigniores aliquot libros medicos, praesertim modernos, et nominatim tabulas anatomicas maiori figurâ impressas, ac denique si quid novi hac in scientia in lucem illic editum sit, transmittere dignetur. Eiusmodi tabulae (in quibus, si quid minus decens // oculis occurrerit, facile auferri aut emendari poterit) magnam illam quam Imperator de scientiis librisque Europaeis concepit opinionem plurimum confirmare poterunt. Praecipui autem quos modo in bibliotheca Pekinensi penes nos habemus de re medica libri sunt sequentes. /*

‘Since I have written this on the introduction of [Western] medicine, I ask our Fatherhood to deign to send us some distinguished medical books, especially of recent date (“modern”), and more precisely printed anatomical diagrams, of large size, and finally if there has been published something new in this science there [in Europe]. Such tables (in which something which could be offensive to the eyes easily could be torn away or emendated) will be able to largely confirm the high respect the Emperor has for European sciences and books.’

Since this is a rare example of a request for books addressed directly to the General, Verbiest apparently considered it a matter of the highest priority.<sup>9</sup> He presumably also expected from the Jesuit authorities some official

<sup>8</sup> Two copies of the hand-written letter survive, now in JS 145, f. 82-84 (dated 1 August 1685), and a copy (dated 29 August), *ibid.*, f. 85-86; the text is published in H. Josson & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, Bruxelles, 1938, pp. 488-495 (our passage on pp. 494-495).

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the making of such a request to the General was facilitated by the common background and mutual acquaintance of Verbiest and Charles de Noyelle, both (former) members of the Jesuit *Provincia Flandro-Belgica*; cf. the lists of *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgicae Antiquae* (PIBA), Leuven, 2000, vol. II, p. 168 (de Noyelle) and pp. 390-391 (Verbiest).

policy, if not organized action, rather than just the occasional sending of some individual titles. Also very revealing is the reference to the Chinese Emperor as the ultimate target.

In order to prevent needless searching by his European fellow fathers, Verbiest then goes on in the letter to mention seven medical titles and their authors that were to hand in the library of the Xitang residence in 1685. These were (in the order found in Verbiest's letter, and after having restored the original spelling obscured by modern editors):

Petrus Forestus, *Observationes Medicinales*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Frankfurt/Main, 1602;<sup>10</sup>

Fontaine, Jacques, *Opera*, Coloniae Allobr./Genève, 1612;<sup>11</sup>

De Lobel (Lobelius), Matthias, *Plantarum <seu Stirpium> Historia*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., London, 1576;<sup>12</sup>

Besler, Basilius, *Hortus Eystettensis*, Nürnberg, 1613;<sup>13</sup>

Bauhin, Caspar, *Theatrum Anatomicum*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. Frankfurt/Main, 1605;<sup>14</sup>

Libavius, Andreas, *Alchimia*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Frankfurt/Main, 1597;<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Verhaeren, *Catalogue*, no. 1625: Bibl. Trig.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 1622: Bibl. Trig.? Fontaine was a Galenist and compiler of ancient ideas. Cf. D. Kahn, *Alchimie et paracelsisme en France à la fin de la Renaissance (1567-1625)*, Geneva, 2007, p. 388 ff.; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923-1958, vol. 11, p. 553 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 2120: Bibl. Trig.?

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 1013; a copy (prob. not this one?) was offered to N. Trigault by the Bishop of Bamberg on the occasion of his visit to Würzburg (*Herbipolis*), cf. E. Lamalle, 'La propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616)', in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 9, 1940, pp. 49-120, more precisely, p. 108. For this item, see H. - O. Keunecke (ed.), *Hortus Eystettensis: Zur Geschichte eines Gartens und eines Buches (Ausstellungskatalog)*, Munich, 1989; Ray Desmond, *Great Natural History Books and their Creators*, London, 2003, p. 58 ff.; H. Walter Lack, *Ein Garten Eden: Meisterwerke der botanischen Illustrationen*, Köln etc., 2001, p. 82 ff.; M. Pinault Sorensen, *Livre de botanique*, Paris, 2009, p. 207 (with bibl.) & passim.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 961: Bibl. Trig.? This is a textbook in which the author compiled the diagrams from previous editions, such as those by Fallopius (Faloppio), and Vesalius, Eustachius (Eustachi).

<sup>15</sup> More precisely *Alchemia* (sic; frontispiece of the 1597 edition). This is missing from the actual Beitang collection; another title of Libavius *ibid.*, 2943. This is an eclectic work, but at the same time "the first systematic and practical textbook of chemistry" in which he "displays his full command of both the theoretical and practical sides of chemistry; one of the attempts to find a compromise between the traditional medicine and the chemically prepared medicines of the Paracelsian literature." (J.R. Partington, *History of Chemistry*, New York, 1961-1970, 2, pp. 247-

Crollius, Oswald, *Basilica Chymica*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., Frankfurt/Main, 1609.<sup>16</sup>

This list, written by an eyewitness who elsewhere had proven to be very well acquainted with the contents of the Xitang library, invites some interesting observations:

(1) The order of enumeration may be significant, as it seems to reflect some basic grouping, starting with two books on medical treatment (“practice”), followed by two books on medicinal plants, continuing with one book on anatomy and two books on proto-chemistry. The library’s medical section – and Verbiest’s request – thus covers the field of medicine in its broadest sense.

(2) As stated in his own words, the books he mentions were selected on the basis of their importance in the field (“*praecipui*”), and were therefore probably also the most representative ones available on the spot at that moment. We do not know how Verbiest arrived at this selection. Despite some previous personal interest in the field,<sup>17</sup> he may have relied on information received from a colleague in China or a European correspondent.

(3) The seven titles reflect a strong Germanic profile, with Jacques Fontaine (operating in the area of Aix-en-Provence) as the only exception.

248). See also A.G. Debus, in A.G. Debus (ed.), *Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to honor Walter Pagel*, New York, 1972, pp. 155-157. For an overview of the editions, see J.R. Partington, p. 175.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1404: *Bibl. Trig.* Crollius was a personal acquaintance of Terrentius, before the latter left Europe; see the letter published by G. Gabrieli, in *Rendiconti dell’Accademia dei Lincei, Classe scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, s. VI, 12, pp. 462-514, more precisely on p. 504. His book is qualified as “the first chemical pharmacopoeia”; cf. A.G. Debus, *Chemistry, Alchemy and the New Philosophy, 1550 - 1700: Studies in the History of Science and Medicine*, London, p. 188 f.: “O.C. establishes an even firmer bond between the chemist and the physician. A work of very considerable influence.”

<sup>17</sup> I refer to his interest in the acquisition of drugs (including a complete “*pharmacotheca*”) from South China, i.e. Canton (cf. H. Josson & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 166 [1670]) and even from the Philippines (JA 49-V-17, nr. 53, f° 234v.), and to a Chinese composition on the healing effect of the *Lapis serpentinus*, titled *Xi du shi you yuan yong fa* (see U. Libbrecht, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 18, 1987, pp. 209-237; *Bulletin of Chinese Studies*, 1.2, 1987, pp. 317-341), dated to between 1682 and 1687, which is contemporary with the initiative to look for new books in the West (N. Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity*, p. 790). What has been overlooked thus far is that in 1661 he had already made reference to “*multas regulas et libros practicos, in quibus (medici nostri Europaei) praescribunt, etc.*” (“many rules and practical books, in which our European physicians publish their prescriptions’, etc.) (cf. H. Josson & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest*, p. 69).

This we may ascribe to Terrentius' personal background and the areas he had crossed when preparing his journey to China (although his correspondence with J. Faber in Rome proves his great curiosity for Italian medical publications).

(4) The books were all published before or during 1613 at the latest, and all but one still exists in the actual Beitang collection, with material characteristics which are (or are supposed to be) typical for the Trigault books, which arrived in China (Macao) in 1619, and in Peking in 1623. What is more, as 1613 is the date of the most recent title Verbiest mentions, it is highly probable that no more important medical books had arrived after that time, or since the death of Terrentius in 1630.<sup>18</sup> It would have been highly illogical to request an update for a library without mentioning the most recent ones already in the collection. A confirmation of this assumption can be found in Table 2, where we see a considerable reduction in the number of extant books published within the 55 years following Terrentius' death. It emerges also that only 30 of the 281 medical books in the Beitang catalogue, or 10.60%, were printed in the 66 years between the departure of Trigault and Terrentius from Europe and Verbiest's letter of 1685. As most of these books have inscriptions that attribute them to an owner or a collection of the 1690s and the eighteenth century,<sup>19</sup> the real number of acquisitions in the period 1630-1680 certainly was still more limited, and we may safely conclude that the acquisition of medical books into the Xitang library in the period between 1620 and 1685 was indeed low. This observation also seems to match with the fact mentioned earlier that between the early 1630s and 1693 no Chinese publications on Western medicine were composed by the Jesuits in China, except for some paragraphs in works on other subjects, and these are limited to the 1630s.<sup>20</sup>

(5) This Verbiest paragraph of 1685 does not imply any deprecation of the books selected as outdated or *passé*. Indeed most of the titles he mentions were still circulating in Europe in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, in old copies, reprints or revised editions, and were

---

<sup>18</sup> See the same conclusion in H. Bernard, 'Introduction of the Natural Sciences', p. 230.

<sup>19</sup> The owners' marks refer to Antonio Provana [no. 301], Alessandro Ceaglio [no. 1572], Kilian Stumpf [no. 2604], and Dominique Parrenin [no. 3150]. See also the many inscriptions referring to the post-1700 Beitang and Nantang.

<sup>20</sup> For these dates, see N. Standaert (ed.) *Handbook of Christianity*, pp. 788-789. The only exceptions, as far as I know are G. Aleni's *Xifang dawen* (1637), probably already produced earlier than the printing, and M. Martini's *Zhenzhu linghun lizheng* of ca. 1650, which relies on Leonardus Lessius' *De Providentia Numinis* and *De Animi Immortalitate* (Antwerp, 1613, etc.), not a medical work. Also, Couplet's *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu* (Paris, 1685; Dillingen, 1687) does not mention any such titles in this period.

therefore still appreciated as useful.<sup>21</sup> The emphasis on “*libri moderni*” suggests that Verbiest was aware that the collection as such was, after 60 years, no longer up-to-date or representative, and therefore needed an ‘*aggiornamento*’.

(6) This request for books ends with an explicit (“*nominatim*”) reference to anatomical diagrams. Their separate mention after printed books—however ambiguous—suggests Verbiest was thinking of separate printed tables.<sup>22</sup> If so, he may refer to the famous ‘anatomical fugitive sheets’, which had circulated in large numbers in Europe since the early sixteenth century. An argument to prefer these loose sheets—sent in stitched or bound form—may have been the lower shipment costs.<sup>23</sup> At any rate, this emphasis on anatomical diagrams implies that the need for updating was probably especially felt in the field of (anatomy and) surgery. This may also be the immediate stimulus for the request (an accident in the context of the Emperor?). As for the printed books, it is not clear whether Verbiest had any new publication in mind to substitute Bauhin’s *Theatrum Anatomicum* (1592). Quite by chance his letter was written in the same year as Bidloo’s anatomical atlas (*Anatomia Humani Corporis*, Amsterdam, 1685) was published, and in fact almost nothing in that field had appeared in the period between the death of Terrentius and Bidloo. So, probably, his question was only formulated in general terms. Verbiest, who especially after the production of his *Yixiangtu* (Peking, 1674) was well acquainted with the positive contribution of plate books as a most appropriate support for the transmission of technological information, adds two important

---

<sup>21</sup> To add further detail: the last reprint of Forestus’ *Observationes ... Medicinales* goes back to 1676 (cf. *Petrus Forestus Medicus*, 1996, pp. 42-43), i.e. only 9 years before Verbiest’s testimony. Both Crollius’ *Basilica Chymica*—with re-issues until the eighteenth century (cf. J.R. Partington, *A History of Chemistry*, vol. 2, 1961, p. 175)—and Libavius (editions of the *Alchemia*) were the first studies to present a distinction between chemistry and vulgar alchemy, and were also very influential (see A.G. Debus, in *Clio Medica*, 7, 1972, pp. 188-189; compare this to G. Naudés appreciation in his *Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, 1634, p. 47: “*Paracelse... & Crollius ont changé la médecine*”). On the other hand, less advanced were Bauhin’s anatomical atlas—basically a compilation of former atlases (L. Choulant, *Geschichte und Bibliographie der anatomischen Abbildung*, Leipzig, 1852, p. 81)—and Fontaine’s work—considered as characteristic for pre-critical medicine, based on speculations and erudition, instead of observation or anatomical experience.

<sup>22</sup> If he wished to refer to printed books with diagrams, I would rather expect the Latin formulation: “*nominatim <libros> cum tabulis anatomicis*”.

<sup>23</sup> For basic literature on these sheets, see Le Roy Crummer, ‘Early Anatomical Fugitive Sheets’, in *Annals of Medical History*, 5, 1923, pp. 189-209 and 7, 1925, pp. 1-5, and especially A. Carlino, *Paper Bodies: A Catalogue of Anatomical Fugitive Sheets 1538-1687*, London, 1999.



*desiderata*. The first concerns the large size of the drawings, in order to make every anatomical detail clearly visible and to avoid confusion. The second involves the details of some of these drawings that might be considered obscene (“*quid minus decens*”) and thus cause offence. It is unclear whether he has in mind the feelings of the European Jesuits or those of the Chinese—who did not allow the representation of naked human bodies. As all anatomical diagrams showed the naked human body, he was in all probability thinking more of the female anatomy and details of the sexual organs.<sup>24</sup>

(7) The emphasis on anatomy, however, should not obscure the fact that his request had a broader medical scope; if not, the enumeration of botanical and other books would be senseless.

All in all, it is not purely by chance that this request for updating the medical section of the Xitang library of 1685 is combined in the same letter with a request to transfer a medical co-adjutor, Giorgio Ungaretti, from Goa to Peking.<sup>25</sup> Thus, this letter undoubtedly marks a turning point in the attitude of F. Verbiest—and the authorities of the Chinese Vice-Province—towards medicine, consisting of a genuine reappraisal of the same, based on both practical and strategic considerations. It is seen as a new ‘human medium’ to be added to the others, that is ballistics and astronomy, to strengthen the Jesuit position in China: “*Nam etsi mathematica usque modo rem Christianam hinc sustentet, medicina tamen non minores, immo maiores vires afferet.*” (“Although until now mathematics is supporting Christianity here [in China], medicine will adduce not minor, but major strength [to this cause].”)<sup>26</sup>

Before closing our analysis of Verbiest’s letter, two final observations should be added. The first concerns the Chinese Emperor as a reference point. It was he who, in Verbiest’s presentation of the project, took the

---

<sup>24</sup> On the evolution in the anatomical representation of the (male and) female body in the seventeenth century, see H. Baudry, ‘Approches iconographiques du corps féminin dans le livre médical (XVIe-XVIIe s.): Essai d’iconographie historique’, in Palmira Fontes da Costa & Adelino Cardoso (eds.), *Percursos na história do Livro Médico (1450-1800)*, Lisboa, 2011, pp. 111–131.

<sup>25</sup> H. Jossen & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 519. Ungaretti was born ca. 1651 in Mantua, since the 1670s a coadjutor and since 1687 *pharmacopola* in St. Paul’s College in Goa; cf. ARSI, *Goa*, 25 (i.e. Prov. Goan., Cat. Trienn., 1614-1699), f° 304r.; *Lus.*, 29, f° 210. It was Claudio Filippo Grimaldi who attracted F. Verbiest’s attention to the possibility of engaging Ungaretti in Peking (H. Jossen & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 519, with the wrong reading: Ongarelli); he died in Goa on 15.02.1705 (ARSI, HS, 50, 83v.).

<sup>26</sup> H. Jossen & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 492.

initiative to enquire into Western medicine, and would become – together with his courtiers – also the most prominent target of the future Western physicians and pharmacists. Secondly, Verbiest also broaches here the rules of canon law, according to which *medicina practica* (such as surgery) did not fit the institutions of the clergy. He still expects, however, to receive Papal dispensation for this.<sup>27</sup>

The next question is: how was this rather uncommon and circumstantial request received, first and foremost by the Jesuit authorities in Rome? From a manuscript gloss on one of the autograph copies in Rome – regardless of the identification of the hand of this marginal note – we know that the General backed and implemented Verbiest's suggestion, by ordering a more systematic search for copies in Lisbon, Rome, Madrid, etc.:

*Inquirantur libri celebriores moderni de hac facultate (i.e. medicina) Ulyssipone, Romae, Matriti etc., et mittantur. / 'One should search for rather famous up-to-date books in this field, in Lisbon, Rome, Madrid, etc., and should send [them to China].'*<sup>28</sup>

These three places represent the locations of the main Jesuit residences in the Portuguese, Italian and Spanish assistance respectively. What is striking is the absence from this list of Paris and some German centers—certainly more advanced from a scientific perspective than the three areas men-

---

<sup>27</sup> This is not the place to deal with this point *in extenso*. One of the central texts in the Jesuit Constitutions is to be found in Const. IV, c. 12, n. 4: "*Medicinae ... studium, ut a nostro instituto magis remotum, in Universitatibus Societatis vel non tractabitur, vel saltem ipsa Societas per se id onus non suscipiet.*" / 'The study of medicine—because it is more remote from our Institution—will not be treated (i.e. taught) in the Universities of the Society, or at least the Society will not take this burden upon itself.' For more literature and examples, see Adolfo Ferrari, 'Il contributo dei gesuiti allo sviluppo della medicina', in *Minerva Medica*, 2, 1956, pp. 528-552; C. van Collani, 'Mission and Medicine in China: Between Canon Law, Charity and Science', in S. Vloeberghs (ed.), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven, 2008, pp. 37-68. For practice in the missions, see S.J. Harris, *Jesuit Ideology and Jesuit Science: Scientific Activity in the Society of Jesus, 1540-1773*, Ann Arbor, 1988, pp. 183-184. In testimonies regarding the China mission, it appears that the Jesuits acting as physicians ("*medici*") in China were: (a) "university physicians" before they entered the Society of Jesus, either with experience (as with Johann Schreck and Alessandro Ceaglio) or without (for instance Isidoro Luci); (b) received their first experience either in Goa or in China itself (such as Antonio Gomes and José Bernardo de Almeida); (c) or were acting as surgeons and pharmacists, but these were almost all "*coadjutores temporales*". See also *infra* note 74.

<sup>28</sup> H. Josson & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 494, n. 6.

tioned.<sup>29</sup> Also unclear is whether the General intended a search for new books published in these cities and offered for sale in the local book shops, or for free copies from duplicates held in the local Jesuit libraries, to be sent as *eleemosynas* (alms) for the China mission. Anyway, this is a rare example of active interference from the Jesuit high authorities in book acquisition on behalf of the China mission, which may confirm that they recognized the strategic importance of medicine for the survival and success of the mission.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to any wider impact in the rest of Europe of Verbiest's request for an upgrade of the library and the sending of Western physicians, none is immediately evident. The fact that only 13 of the 87 medical items in the Nantang library are published after 1685 (cf. Table 1) is, of course, not a decisive argument,<sup>31</sup> as it is obvious—and common practice—that after 1685 some much older books were also purchased.

We may, at least, assume that the quest was supported by the visiting procurators of the China mission, who returned periodically and criss-crossed Europe in the second half of the 1680s and the early 1690s, viz. Philippe Couplet and Claudio Filippo Grimaldi. Indeed, several indications prove that they brought both new physicians and their books to China.

In the wake of P. Couplet, I should especially like to highlight the "*excellents livres de médecine et chirurgie*" which Pierre-François Daudy/Daudii, a Jesuit co-adjutor—*pharmacopolus* and *anatomicus* from the Lyon province (Franche-Comté)—brought to China, and which he bequeathed on his untimely death in Goa in 1693 to C.F. Grimaldi.<sup>32</sup> The latter should

---

<sup>29</sup> For Paris as a centre of medical publications in the late seventeenth century, see H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Genève, 1969 (1999), II, pp. 860-864. Madrid (and Spain in general) is, in our survey of extant copies, only represented by three copies, Lisbon (and Portugal) by nine, and Rome almost none, except for some rare copies.

<sup>30</sup> There is a remarkable synchrony with Ch. de Noyelle's suggestion of the same year to the Jesuit authorities of the Portuguese Province to pay more attention to an appropriate level of mathematical instruction in the Portuguese Jesuit colleges: see his letter of 14 July 1685 (ARSI, *Lus.*, 34, f° 168r., published in: L. Saraiva & H. Leitão (eds.), *The Practice of Mathematics in Portugal*, Coimbra, 2004, p. 635.

<sup>31</sup> These are nos. 248; 460; 723 (sent in 1734); 1072; 1148; 2862; 2938; 3606 (entered in 1741); 3915; 3965; 3983; 3995; 3996 (these 5 all entered in 1727).

<sup>32</sup> See J. Dehergne, Répertoire, no. 236 and especially Spinola, who in JS 165, f° 104r. (Lisbon, 23.X.1691) says of him: "Petrus Franciscus Daudij ... pharmacopola et anatomicus, probatae religionis et humilitatis, de quo hactenus multa feci experimenta satis dura in itinere terrestri, et hîc, in quibus semper idem existit." / 'P.F. Daudij (...), a vender of medicines and an anatomist, of proven religiosity and humility, with whom I have been through so far many rather harsh experiences

have brought them to the Nantang. Yet, among the extant books not one can be positively identified as part of the Daudy set, as his name is not found among the owners' inscriptions. This may be because either the books were unsigned from the outset, or they were stripped afterwards of their original owner's mark when they entered the Xitang/ Nantang library (as happened to the Foucquet books). That they arrived at their destination is certain, though, as Gaubil refers to them in the 1730s, probably based on his own experience, when visiting and consulting the Nantang library.

Ph. Couplet's company also had an Italian medical coadjutor, Alessandro Ceaglio (from Piemonte), characterized by Spinola as "*Doctor medicus, Romae laureatus non sine plausu, deinde per 7 annos medici officium exercuit*", who died in the same year of 1693.<sup>33</sup> His name is found in at least two extant medical books, namely the 1st edition of Pierre Jean Fabre's *Panchymici seu Anatomiae Totius Universi* (Tolosae, 1646)<sup>34</sup> and Claudius Galenus' *De Compositione Medicamentorum per Genera libri VII* (Lyon, 1552).<sup>35</sup> Neither one is a particularly up-to-date book or edition, but they were still in circulation in the late seventeenth century, when Ceaglio got his credentials. Also here we find a combination of Galenic influences and Paracelsian iatrochemistry, typifying the eclectic attitude of some Jesuit physicians. Despite the absence of a library mark or any other external indication (as in the case of Daudy's books) the survival of these books proves they actually arrived in Peking.

Lastly, there was also Giuseppe Baudino (from Cuneo), the only survivor of this company, who in 1693 continued his journey to China and Peking after C.F. Grimaldi. At least one extant medical title can be attributed to him, to which I will return anon.

---

during the journey, and here [in Lisbon], during which he has been always the same.' Daudy—about whom I did not find any more information in France—left Lisbon in the company of Ph. Couplet and Francesco Maria Spinola (Wicki, 'Indienfahrer', no. 1320: "P. Pierre Dande [sic]"), and arrived in Goa in March 1693, where he died (the date of April 1692 mentioned in J. Dehergne is impossible, and should probably be corrected into '1693'), and bequeathed his books to Grimaldi (who had arrived in Goa in October 1692: cf. S. Reil, Kilian Stumpf, 1655-1720: Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking, Münster, p. 49, where Daudy is not mentioned). The only reference to this transmission I know of is made, many years later by Antoine Gaubil, in a letter of 1732: "Le P. Grimaldi .... Le f(r)ère) Daudi, chirurgien de la province de Lion, lui laissa en mourant bien des livres de médecine et de chirurgie." See R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin, 1722-1758*, Genève, 1970, p. 339; cf. p. 336.

<sup>33</sup> Spinola, *ibidem*, f° 103r.

<sup>34</sup> Verhaeren, no. 1572.

<sup>35</sup> Verhaeren, no. 1652.

Two other medical books arrived in the Nantang in Grimaldi's wake, both via a donation in Goa. The first is a copy of Lazare Rivière's *Opera Medica Universa* (1679)<sup>36</sup>—originally the property of the already mentioned G. Ungaretti, who after his negative answer to Verbiest's invitation to come to Peking reappears on the scene again with this donation. The other is a copy of Dioscorides Pedacius' (-aeus) *De Medicinali Materia Libri VI, Johanne Ruellio Interprete* (1547), one of the many herbals derived from Dioscorides' sixth-century compilation, translated by Jean dela Ruel(le). A donor's inscription identifies it as an "*eleemosyna*" from the (still unidentified) Rector of St. Paul's College in Goa, offered probably to C.F. Grimaldi, who may have brought it to Peking in 1694.<sup>37</sup>

From this overview, one can guess that Couplet, when touring through Europe between 1684 and 1692 had come across Verbiest's 1685 message,<sup>38</sup> and in answer to it had purposely searched for medical information and appropriate candidates with experience as physicians.

The correspondence of Antoine Thomas, SJ (1644-1709)—the secretary and personal assistant of F. Verbiest since his arrival in Peking on 8 November 1685—also confirms a constant interest by the Kangxi Emperor in European medicine, manifested in new medical books, a demand for a physician and for Western medicaments. For instance, in Thomas' letter to General Thyrsus Gonzalez of 30 October 1699, he writes:

*Cum autem multos aegrotos morte liberavit medicinis Europaeis, illas admodum desiderat, quemadmodum nuper scripsi, et siquidem obtinere non possit medicum insignem, qui artem medendi Europaeam hic doceat ..., saltem magnopere optat ut, si qui libri medici novi impressi sunt, aut si quae obtineri possint nova secreta artis medicae huc transmittantur. /*

---

<sup>36</sup> Verhaeren, no. 2604. On L. Rivière (1589-1655), see L. Dulieu, 'Lazare Rivière', in *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie*, 54, 1966, pp. 205-211. The *Opera Medica Universa* was a posthumous collection of his medical writings, first published in Lyon, 1663 and reprinted several times until 1737.

<sup>37</sup> Verhaeren, no. 1477: "*Mihi petenti titulo eleemosynae datus Goae 1693 a Rev(erendo) Patre Rectore Coll(egii) S(ancti) Pauli*" / 'given to me when I asked for it as alms, in Goa 1693, by R.P. the Rector of the College of St. Paul'.

<sup>38</sup> As Couplet left Macau in December 1681 he may have found this letter after he returned from Rome to Paris in Dec./Jan. 1684/5. Comparing the rest of the communications between Verbiest and Couplet at this time, this letter may have arrived in Europe via Batavia, Amsterdam and Antwerp. Grimaldi left Macau at the end of 1686 (Dec.?).

'Because he has liberated many sick people from death using European medicaments, he very eagerly wants them, as I recently wrote, and were he not able to get a famous [Western] physician to teach European medicine here [in Peking] ..., he very eagerly wants, at least, if some new medical books have been printed or if some new secrets of the medical arts could be obtained, that these should brought to Peking.<sup>39</sup>

From the rest of this letter, we learn that the Emperor's policy of creating the circumstances for physicians to practice Western medicine in China not only included their professional instruction, but also an appropriate context for their activities. One example is the laying out, on his order, of a botanical garden for Western medicinal plants, on behalf of the "*pharmacopolium*" (Portuguese *botica*, i.e. pharmacy) of Baudino, for which Antoine Thomas asks that seeds be sent—through the Jesuit networks—from all over the world:

*Cum vero hîc habeat fratrem nostrum Bodinum insignem pharmacopolam, qui medicinas Europaeas optime perficit, ne illarum materia desit, statuit Imperator hortum construere herbarum medicinalium omnis generis, quarum propagatio serviat perpetuae utilitati sui Imperii. Eam ob rem praesertim addere me voluit has litteras praeteritis nuper scriptis, ut impense postularem a R(everen)da Adm(odum) Paternitate V(est)ra, cum toto orbe sit dispersa Soc(ie)tas nostra, quibusdam curam committeret semina omnis generis herbarum medicinalium huc transmittendi.* /

'Because he [the Emperor] has here our lay-brother Baudi-nus [Baudino; Bodino], a famous pharmacist, who pre-pares European medicaments very well, the Emperor decided, in order to avoid a lack of the [basic] material of these [medicaments], to lay out a garden with medicinal plants of all kinds, which when propagated would be permanently useful for his Empire. For this reason, he wished especially that I add this letter to the previous one, in order to ask Your Fatherhood with zeal—as our Society is dispersed over the entire world—to charge some people with the responsibility to transfer hither seeds of all kinds of medicinal plants.<sup>40</sup>

We do not know where this garden was, or if it was actually created, but this intention reminds us of another of his decisions, on which Bouvet

---

<sup>39</sup> JS 148, f° 250v.

<sup>40</sup> JS 148, f° 250v (underlining in the autograph).

reported, that is the installation of a 'laboratory' for the preparation of European drugs within the Palace.<sup>41</sup>

For the remaining part of the eighteenth century, with prominent, professional mathematicians living in the Nantang, such as Ignaz Kögler and Augustin Hallerstein, most of the evidence on the new books arriving there concerns those on mathematics. The correspondence of I. Kögler is especially revealing in this instance.<sup>42</sup> Yet, some fragmentary information proves that the arrival of medical books continued, although irregularly.

Among the 231 items with the inscription «*Collegii Soc(ietatis) Jesu Pekini (Catalogo in/adscriptus)*», there is, for instance, a nucleus of five medical books in German, all published between 1715 and 1725, and accessioned into the Nantang library in 1727. They constituted a single donation by an unknown beneficiary, who sent them from German *Mitteleuropa* to Peking in 1726/7.<sup>43</sup> They represent five different works:

Friedel, David, *Die verderbte Medicin ... darinnen gezeigt werden viele Misbräuche und Irrthümer in der Medicin*, Zittau-Leipzig, 1722 (no. 3915);

Rothen, Joh. Philipp, *Der sichere und allezeit fertige Chirurgus oder Kurtze Anleitung zur Wund-Artzneykunst*, Lübeck – Wismar, 1720 (no. 3965);

Stahl, Georg Ernst, *Der medicinischen Eröffnung*, Leipzig, 1724-25 (no. 3983);<sup>44</sup>

[anon.], *Wohlbewährte Kräuter Arzt ...*, Frankfurt – Leipzig, 1725 (no. 3995);

Woyt, Joh. Jac., *Die Curiöse Chirurgie*, Dresden, 1715 (no. 3996).<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> J. Bouvet, in *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine*, Paris, 1965, pp. 157/8.

<sup>42</sup> For an (incomplete) overview, see the list in Christian Stücken, *Der Mandarin des Himmels: Zeit und Leben des Chinamissionars Ignaz Kögler SJ (1680-1746)*, Sankt Augustin, 2003, pp. 398-407; for a series of addenda, see my review in *T'oung Pao*, 93, 2007, pp. 245-246.

<sup>43</sup> I have not had the opportunity to check whether there is any relation between these titles and the books presented at the book fair held at Leipzig / Frankfurt in that year.

<sup>44</sup> A collection of 23 medical articles. For the context of his work, see for instance J. Konert, 'Academic and Practical Medicine in Halle during the Era of Stahl, Hoffmann and Juncker', in *Caduceus*, 13.1, 1997, pp. 23-38.

<sup>45</sup> The medical works of J.J. Woyt (1671-1709) were intended as a popularization of medical professional works, using the vernacular. Most famous was his *Gazophylacium* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1719). The title preserved in Peking—published

With the exception of the collected articles of Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734)—an influential iatrochemist—the other works, which cover the domains of surgery and pharmaco-botany, seem to be written for a general public, as the use of German instead of Latin also suggests. This was a common preference for books on the “illiberal arts” of surgery and pharmacy. Circumstances imply that the (unknown) reader of the books was a Jesuit from the German *Kulturgebiet* present in the 1720s in Peking.

Twenty issues of the 2nd edition of the *Acta Medicorum Berolinensium* (...) were also sent in 1734 by T.S. Bayer from St. Petersburg («*Petropoli*») to Ignaz Kögler, André Pereira and Karl Slaviček in the Nantang. This must have represented a serious update of the collection.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, according to Gaubil, issues of the *Acta Curiosorum Naturae* (Halle - Schweinfurt), the contents of which were of major interest for the practice of medicine, were regularly acquired at the Nantang.<sup>47</sup> Earlier, in 1723, 28 issues of the same *Curiosi Naturae*—representing the whole set of issues published between 1670 and 1717—had come into the hands of the French Jesuit Joseph de Prémare, who wrote expressing enthusiastic thanks for them in a letter dated 10 October 1723.<sup>48</sup>

Both these and the aforementioned Berlin *Acta* demonstrate the important place that periodicals had obtained since the late seventeenth century in the world of scientific (scholarly) communications on recent inventions, observations, new books, etc. An important amount of evidence from China, referring to issues that had arrived or were missing and other demands for back sets, proves that this was also true for the Jesuits there.

---

posthumously—seems to be unknown, and is not mentioned in the relevant literature.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Verhaeren, no. 723. We find confirmation in the book inscription (without date) and in the correspondence between T.S. Bayer and Karl Slaviček; see J. Kolmas & J. Vrástl, *Listy z Ciny*, Praha, 1995, p. 186 (sent together with a copy of the *Cosmographia* of Christian Wolff) and *ibid.*, p. 210 (which confirms the copy had not yet arrived in the hands of the Jesuits in 1736).

<sup>47</sup> A. Gaubil, in R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 336 (1732): “Ils font donc venir tous les Leipzig [i.e. the *Acta Eruditorum*], les *Curiosi Naturae*, tout Kirker, Schot, etc.”

<sup>48</sup> JS 183, f° 110r.: “In iis iucundissime legi non tantum ea quae spectant ad medicinam chirurgiamque, qui praecipuus est celeberrimae Academiae vestrae scopus.” / ‘In these issues I not only read with the greatest pleasure things related to medicine and surgery, which is the most important aim of your very famous academy.’



Another small group of medical monographs from in the “*livraria de Namtam em Peichin*” are:

Van den Spieghel, A. (alias Spigelius), *De humani corporis fabrica*, 1627, (an ed. of Frankfurt, 1632);<sup>49</sup>

Verle, Giovanni Baptista, *Anatomia artificiale dell’occhio umano*, Firenze, 1679;<sup>50</sup>

Burnet, Sir Thomas, *Thesaurus Medicinae Practicae*, in two copies (ed. of Genève 1678 and Lyon, 1702);<sup>51</sup>

Dubé, Paul, *Le médecin des pauvres*, Paris, 1689;<sup>52</sup>

Semedo, J. Curvo, *Polyanthea Medicinal: Noticias Galenicas e chymicas*, Lisbon, 1716;<sup>53</sup>

Boerhaave, Herman, *Opera Omnia Medica*, Venice, 1757.<sup>54</sup>

This is a heterogeneous collection reflecting the multi-national composition of the Nantang staff, and so also the different medical traditions in Portugal, France, Italy, the Low Countries and Germany. The works are of very varied level, some purely compilations, some more popular, and some more advanced publications (Spieghel, Verle, Boerhaave).

Some other books – not as yet precisely identified – may have arrived through the Portuguese physician Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783), a former pupil of Herman Boerhaave in Leiden who later worked in London (1726-1728) and St. Petersburg (1731-1747). From the *Academia Imperialis Petropolitana*, of which he was a prominent member, he exchanged books with Policarpo de Sousa (1697-1757) – his *condiscipulus* at Coimbra University – who in 1729 had been appointed procurator of the

---

<sup>49</sup> Verhaeren, no. 2860. It is known for the high quality of its innovative anatomical diagrams, which were the first to create a certain distance from the old Vesalian tradition; cf. M. Cazort, M. Kornell & K.B. Roberts, *The Ingenious Machine of Nature*, Ottawa, 1996, pp. 167-168.

<sup>50</sup> Verhaeren, no. 3528. A description of the anatomical model of the eye he built in Venice, and afterwards also in Florence.

<sup>51</sup> Verhaeren, no. 1147 and 1148.

<sup>52</sup> Verhaeren, no. 248. This item is part of a tradition of popularized medical books, written for the general public, referring to this by the addition of the words “*des pauvres*” in the title; cf. note 84.

<sup>53</sup> Verhaeren no. 3606. A comprehensive book on medical treatment of the end of the seventeenth century, including all its secrets, quackery and errors; see Max. Lemos, *Historia da medicina em Portugal*, 1899 (reprint Lisboa, 1991), II, pp. 43-44; *Biogr.Lex Aerzte*, II, p. 160.

<sup>54</sup> Verhaeren, no. 1072. For Boerhaave’s position in Western medical tradition, see G.A. Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave: The Man and his Work*, London, 1969; G.A. Lindeboom, in *Dict. Scient. Biogr.*, vol. II, 1970, pp. 224-228.

Portuguese Mission in Peking and since 1740 bishop. He also exchanged letters (and books) with the Portuguese André Pereira (1689-1743), head of the Astronomical Bureau (in Chinese *Qintianjian*) and some other Jesuit missionaries, such as the astronomer Augustin (von) Hallerstein (1703-1774) and the physician Antonio Gomes (1706-1751).<sup>55</sup> Although most of the books mentioned are on mathematics (Christian Wolff, John Keill, David Gregory), at least one unidentified book on chemistry (“kimica”) arrived this way, and was used by the surgeon Antonio Gomes (1744-1751) for his medical self-study c. 1745 in the Nantang. This is reported in a letter fragment by Policarpo de Sousa, dated 18 June 1746, in which he reports on Gomes’ lack of medical skills. These consisted of some experience in Goa, instruction he had obtained from his predecessor in Peking, Giuseppe da Costa (d. 1747), and the reading of medical books in the Peking Jesuit libraries.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> These letters, preserved in a *Miscellanea Medica* which was part of Sanches’ library, arrived in the early twentieth century in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Spain, where they are mentioned by Max. Lemos in *Anais da Faculdade de Medicina do Porto*, 1, no.2, 1913. The letters of P. de Sousa and A. Pereira were published by A. Viegas, in *Revista de Historia*, 9-10 (1920-1921).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. the reference in P. de Sousa’s letter to Sanches of 18.06.1746: “O P(adre) Gomes veiu a titulo de medico, e ja lhe dei aquelle livro de Kimica, que V.M. olim me mandou. Sabe algua coisa, mais por curiosidade que por profiçao.” / ‘Father Gomes came under the pretext of [being a] physician, and I gave him that book on chemistry, which Y.R. once entrusted to me. He has some notions more by curiosity than by profession.’ (A. Viegas, *Revista de Historia*, X, 1921, p. 259); cf. *ibid.*, p. 261: “veio commigo de Macao [in 1744] quando voltey de receber a sagração, a titulo de surgiao que exercita com a pobresa, e mais que a elle recorrem nesta Corte; e **ainda que elle nunca professou medecina ouurgia, ex vi do que viu usar ao [i.e. do?] bom Ir(mão) Joseph da Costa, Napolitano que Deus levou para si [in 1747], e a lição dos livros e a experiencia da India, aonde missionou varios annos, tem feito muitas curas em casas de Regulos**, com feliz successo que eu attribuo a muita charidade com que serve a todos por amor de Deus, que o doito de grandes virtudes.” / ‘He came with me from Macau, when I returned from my consecration, under the pretext of [being a] surgeon, [a profession] he exercises with ‘poverty’, and at the Court they are making more appeals to him, and despite the fact that he never practised medicine or surgery, on the basis of what he saw Brother José da Costa doing, Neapolitan whom God took to him, and his reading of books and the experience of India, where he was a missionary for several years, he brought much good support in the houses of the [Chinese] authorities, with good success which I attribute to the much charity with which he supports everyone for the Love of God.’ As for the identification of the book mentioned in the former fragment, one wonders whether this could have been the copy of N. Lémery, *Cours de Chimie* (Paris, 1697), preserved in Verhaeren, no. 425, despite the somewhat different inscription “Dionio (Antonio?) Gomes”.

Finally, in the very last, post-Jesuit phase of the Nantang library, one can also point to three items in the collection of Alexandre de Gouveia (in Peking since 1785), all three exclusively related to chemistry and its medical applications. These are:

Macquer, Ph., *Dictionnaire de Chymie, contenant la Théorie et la Pratique de cette Science, son application à la Physique, à l'histoire naturelle, à la Médecine ...*, Paris, 1769 (no. 460);

Spielmann, J.R., *Institutiones Chemicæ Praelectionibus Academicis Accomodatae*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, rev. ed., Argentorati / Strassburg, 1766 (no. 2862);

Tesari, L., *Chymiae Elementa in Aphorismos digesta a Ludovico Tessari Philosophiae ac Medicinae Doctore ... Accedit eiusdem Prodromus de Phlogisto in coloranda corporum superficie*, Venice, 1772 (no. 2938).

They reflect the level and characteristics of medical teaching at the reformed University of Coimbra, of which A. de Gouveia was an *alumnus*.<sup>57</sup>

All in all, of the 1121 extant books that we can attribute more or less safely to the previous Nantang library,<sup>58</sup> 87 or 7.7 percent were on medicine (pharmacy).

Since the early eighteenth century, the Dongtang residence, in Western sources called *domus orientalis*, and officially also *Residentia Sancti Josephi Pekini*, housed not only the *procuratura* (procurator's office) of the Chinese Vice-Province, but also the *pharmacopolium* (pharmacy) of the Peking Jesuits.<sup>59</sup> Several of the pharmacists lived there with their helpers, at least for a while, such as Giuseppe Baudino (1657-1718) and his Portuguese *socius* Miguel Vieira (in Peking between 1707 and 1713), and the French Bernard Rodes, all *coadjutores*.<sup>60</sup> From parallel cases elsewhere—such as that of the *Collegio Romano*—I assume this *botica* (as it is called in Portu-

<sup>57</sup> On the place of chemistry and medicine in the curriculum of the University of Coimbra after Pombal's reforms in 1772, see João Rui Pita, 'Medicina, cirurgia e arte farmacêutica na reforma Pombalina da universidade de Coimbra', in A.C. Araujo (ed.), *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade*, Coimbra, 2000, pp. 129-162.

<sup>58</sup> For a more precise overview of the composition of this collection and this number of 1121, see my forthcoming contribution in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 2011.

<sup>59</sup> A series of explicit testimonies on the (also budgetary) peripetia of this *pharmacopolium* can be found in ARSL, JS 180, f. 274 and 281 ff.

<sup>60</sup> The somewhat unexpected stay of the French B. Rodes in the Portuguese Dongtang—at least for a while—is confirmed by the Catalogue of the Chinese Vice-Province of 1777 (JS 134, f° 392): "*Residentia de S. Joseph ... A. Thomas, Regis e os irmãos Joseph Baudino e Bernardo Rodes boticarios a(m)bo*".

guese) contained also a small pharmaceutical book collection, where Western books of related content were kept (as was the case at several European colleges, and in Macao). I have at least one item of evidence to support this assumption. One of the 13 extant books with the inscription «*Residentiae Sancti Josephi Pekini*», referring to this residence, is a copy of Lasaro Grandi's *Alfabeto di secreti medicinali et altri curiosi e dilettevoli d'ogni materia*, published in Saluzzo in 1680.<sup>61</sup> As Saluzzo is very near to Cuneo, the birthplace of Baudino, and 1680 is just before the year he left northern Italy for China, it seems plausible to see in the presence of this one item a trace of his activities there. If there was indeed such a collection, most of the books will have been destroyed by the fire that engulfed this library in 1812, and from which only the 13 items mentioned escaped.<sup>62</sup>

### 3. The French Jesuit Residence: Beitang

After the installment of the French Jesuits in China (Ningbo) in 1687, Jean de Fontaney requested that Western books on pharmacy and medicine be sent by the *Académie des Sciences* to Joachim Bouvet.<sup>63</sup> Of the 175 extant books that can positively be attributed to the old Beitang, 1678 of them on the basis of a book inscription of the type «*P(atrum) Gallorum Pekini*», only 33 (18,8 percent) concern medicine and pharmacy. This is a rather low number compared to the 87 medical items we can attribute to the Portuguese college Xitang/Nantang. This is probably due to the loss of a substantial part of the ancient French library in the early nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> However, this number can be partially supplemented with (1) complementary titles mentioned in letters and similar documents, and (2) some external indications, to be discussed separately.

Additional medical (and botanico-pharmacological) titles not included in the Beitang catalogue are indeed mentioned in the correspondence (both manuscript letters and others) published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, J. Stöcklein's *Neue Welt-Bott* or the *Mémoires concernant l'histoire ... des Chinois*. Here we find evidence of works by authors such as Pierre Dionis (*Anatomie de l'homme*), Joseph-Guichard Du Verney (various articles), Jan Adriaen Helvetius (*Traité des maladies*), Jean De la Ruel (*De Natura Stirpium*), Joseph de Tournefort (*Elémens de botanique*), and references to various medical

---

<sup>61</sup> Verhaeren, no. 3301.

<sup>62</sup> Verhaeren, *Introduction*, p. XV.

<sup>63</sup> On the position of Bouvet as a physician and other French missionaries, see esp. C. von Collani, 'Mission and Medicine in China', in S. Vloeberghs (ed.), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven, 2008, pp. 37-68.

<sup>64</sup> For the dramatic circumstances surrounding the survival of only a small part of the former collection of the Beitang library, I refer to H. Verhaeren in the *Introduction* to his *Catalogue*, pp. XVII-XIX.

articles (by M. Ettmüller, N. Lémery, P.A. Mattioli, etc.) in the *Dictionnaire des arts et metiers*. There are also vivid testimonies of moments of joy, such as the unexpected arrival in 1723 of a complete set of the *Acta Academiae Curiosorum Naturae* for the years 1670-1717 addressed to Joseph de Prémare, who was inspired to pen a dithyrambic letter of thanks (see below).

Similar sources also have several indications that point to a rather well furnished medical section in the same Beitang library before the suppression of the Society of Jesus. One such is the assessment of Antoine Gaubil who in 1732, after a thorough review of the stacks of the Beitang library following the earthquake of 1730, confirms to have at that time “enough books on medicine ...” (“*On est bien en livres de médecine, botanique, chirurgie, histoire naturelle, physique*”).<sup>65</sup>

What is more, acquisitions continued to arrive in the Beitang until the very end. I refer here to:

(1) The books that were the personal property of the coadjutor Etienne Rousset (1689-1758), for 39 years (from 1719 to 1758) active as a surgeon in the Beitang, and apparently the man behind the initials «E.R.» that we find twice as an owner’s mark in an extant book. Both are medical books, that is a copy of Michael Ettmüller’s *Methode de consulter et de prescrire les formules de médecine* (Lyon, 1698),<sup>66</sup> and Lazaro Rivière’s *La pratique de médecine avec la théorie* (Lyon, 1702),<sup>67</sup> acquired in 1712 and 1717 respectively, i.e. shortly before he left France for China in 1718.

(2) The books that were still arriving from St. Petersburg in 1755, especially a monograph on ligaments, titled *Syndesmologia* by Josias Weitbrecht (St. Petersburg, 1742).<sup>68</sup>

(3) A set of three recently published or re-printed (revised) medical books once owned by an unidentified *Vor-besitzer* (previous owner) J(ean) C(laude) Clémendot from Paris, that arrived in China in 1768 at the earliest (nos. 120 [the 7 volumes of Boerhaave’s *Aphorismes de chirurgie*, Paris, 1765-68], 190 [the 4 volumes of the French–Latin terminological dictionary of Elie Col de Vilars, Paris, 1759] and 192 [a course on surgery of the same Col de Vilars, Paris, 1759]).

---

<sup>65</sup> R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 334 (arranged by subject; it is possible that this reflects also the physical disposition of these books in the library itself).

<sup>66</sup> Verhaeren, no. 278.

<sup>67</sup> Verhaeren, no. 611.

<sup>68</sup> We are informed on its arrival by a reference in the correspondence of A. Gaubil, see R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 804 (11.2.1755). The very copy is still preserved (Verhaeren, no. 3084), with the inscription referring to its having been offered by the St. Petersburg Academy «*P(atrum) Gallorum S(ocietatis) Jesu) Pekin. Dono Academiae Petropoli(tanae)*».

(4) A series of books sent in 1774 by *Ministre d'Etat* Henri-Léonard-Jean-Baptiste Bertin, which included, among other titles, such “exciting” novelties as Michel Adanson’s *Famille des plantes* (Paris, 1763-1764), Etienne-François Geoffroy’s *Traité de la Matière médicale* (Paris, 1743) and François-Alexandre de Garsault’s *Les figures des plantes et animaux d’ usage en médecine* (Paris, 1765). This shipment is only known from a manuscript letter (or rather a shipping list) of Bertin, and we do not have any definite confirmation whether or not he actually put together the shipment, or whether the books really did arrive at their destination.<sup>69</sup>

All in all, from the information presented above it appears that the medical section in the old Beitang was well furnished. They constitute 18 percent of the extant books, which is significantly higher than the 7.7 percent in the Nantang. Most striking is – apart from their up-to-date character – the explicitly French nature of the book supply, which though relatively small in number embraces many subsections of the medical domain, from surgery to pharmacology.

#### 4. The Readers

Books and personal libraries speak of their readers, reflecting in various ways their interests, the background to their activities, the sources of their writings and teaching, etc. This is the case for the Jesuits in China, and especially so, for two reasons. First, the apparent budgetary limitations, combined with the high transport costs and inconvenience caused by the spatial distance, forced them to ration their acquisitions to those absolutely relevant and useful for the mission. A second reason has to do with the relative isolation of Jesuit residences in China with regard to each other (with Peking and its three to four Western residences as a probable exception). This makes it probable, more than in any other context, that the books mentioned at one particular location also reflect the interests and activities of the missionaries living there.

We have used several types of information to try to identify these readers (users), both direct and indirect, the latter not necessarily any less convincing or important.

Sources that colourfully describe the Jesuits at work with Western medical texts are rare. Joachim Bouvet narrates two particularly telling episodes in his *Portrait historique de l’Empereur de la Chine* (Paris, 1695). The first concerns the way the French Jesuits of the Beitang were preparing the translation of an anatomical book:<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> See the document in the library of the *Institut de France* (Paris), Bibl. Int. 1522, f. 63-66v., “*Notice sur les livres de botanique renfermés dans la caisse MP n° 2*”. I would like to thank Beatriz Puente-Ballesteros for this reference.

<sup>70</sup> J. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, pp. 152-153.

*Nous fimes entrer dans cet ouvrage // toutes les plus curieuses et les plus utiles découvertes qui ont été faites dans ce siècle, et entr'autres celles du célèbre Mr. du Verney et des autres sçavans de l'Académie Royale, qui se sont distingéz en cette matière, aussi bien qu'en tout le reste, par dessus toutes les autres nations. /*

'We incorporated in this work all the most curious and most useful discoveries made in this century, among them those by the famous Du Verney and other 'savants' (scholars) of the Royal Academy, who excelled in this matter, and in all the rest, throughout all the nations.'

The second scene concerns the *Pharmacopoea Regia* of Moïse Charas.<sup>71</sup>

*Nous nous mîmes donc à // parcourir la Pharmacopée du Sieur Charas, alors Directeur du Laboratoire Royal: et dans un appartement du Palais, que l'Empereur nous assigna, nous dressâmes une espece de laboratoire .... Nous fimes travailler pendant trois mois à faire des conserves, des syrops & des essences de plusieurs sortes. /*

'We thus started glancing through the Pharmacopoeia of Mr. Charas, then Director of the Royal Laboratories, and in an apartment of the Palace, which the Emperor had assigned to us, we organized a kind of laboratory ... We worked for three months preparing provisions, syrups, and essences of various kind.'<sup>72</sup>

Scenes like these are very revealing. In both cases we are almost eye-witnesses to the Jesuits' activities in the medical sphere, with Western medical books directly to hand, selected for their first class academic level and up-to-date character. Also, the presence in the background of the Emperor as the ultimate instigator and the one who provided the context in which the Jesuits worked, is even more telling. These and similar scenes, however, are rare.

In addition, we can rely on the extant books, especially when they include inscriptions, as ca. 52 percent of those in the Beitang catalogue do. The medical items with inscriptions point out to us the Jesuits with a

---

<sup>71</sup> Moïse Charas, *Pharmacopée Royale galenique et chymique*, Paris: chez l'auteur (chez Jean d'Houry), 1676, in-4°; 2nd ed., Paris: L. D'Houry, 1682 (1691). The Latin translation *Pharmacopoea Regia Galenica et Chymica, Gallice ab authore conscripta, jam vero Latinitate Donata ...* was published in Genève (J.L. Dufour, 1683-1684, 3 vols in-4°), just before the *mathématiciens du Roy* left France.

<sup>72</sup> J. Bouvet, *Portrait historique*, pp. 157-158.

medical profile, such as Johann Terrentius (the «J.T.» of nos. 270 and 2655), Alessandro Ceaglio (Latinate «*Cealius Doctor Phisicus*» [sic] in nos. 1572 and 1652) and Etienne Rousset (the «E.R.» in nos. 278 and 611). Other readers we know of only from the external testimonies, without finding any confirmation or visible trace of them in the books. These include figures such as French *coadjutores* Pierre-François Daudy and Bernard Rodes (physician and pharmacist in Peking between 1699 and 1715), and the Portuguese Manuel de Matos (surgeon in Peking from 1751 until his death in 1764) and Antonio Gomes (surgeon between 1744 and 1746). Another Jesuit father with a reported medical interest was the Italian Father Isidoro Luci (physician at the Peking Court in 1692-1693), but none of the books with his name in them have any relation to medicine.<sup>73</sup> In fact, the medical profiles of these Jesuit physicians are different, and the degree of their professional preparation varies.<sup>74</sup> Most revealing may be the case of Isidoro

---

<sup>73</sup> Verhaeren, nos 3137 and 3321 (where *Isidorus Lui* should be corrected to *Isidorus Luci*), the former a copy of G. Agnelli's *Arte de goder l'ottimo contenuta negli Esercizii Spirituali*, the latter of S. Izquierdo, *Mezzi necessarij per salvarsi*.

<sup>74</sup> Elaborating on my observations in note 27, the sociological aspects of this profession should be emphasized further. They were mainly co-adjutors, with long careers (in the case of E. Rousset from 1719 to 1758, cf. A. Gaubil, in R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 780 [1754]), and some Professed Fathers with medical instruction before they entered the Society (*extra Societatem*). Such cases include Johann Terrentius, Alessandro Ceaglio (cf. JS 165, f. 104r.) and Isidoro Luci (cf. JS 25, f. 229v.). The entire dossier may need to be revisited in the light of rules, tolerances and practices within the Jesuit Society in Europe, and the necessities of the Mission. As regards practice within the China mission, we should take into account the practical, rather than doctrinal remark of Ferdinand Verbiest in his aforementioned letter of 1685: "*Etsi medicina, praesertim practica, primâ fronte videatur a nostro Instituto aliena, cum tamen haec ipsa sit medium valde efficax ad finem quem Societas in omnibus intendit assequendum, non puto a prudentia illius alienum esse eligere medium ex natura sua licitum, atque hic et nunc maxime proportionatum ad finem illius assequendum. Atque ubi tantum animarum lucrum proponitur missionarium aliquem medicum agere minus a nostro Instituto alienum videtur quam in aliis multis missionibus, ubi minoris lucri spes affulget (etc.)*" / 'Although medicine, especially practical medicine appears at first sight as foreign to our Institute, yet, because the same is a very efficient means to attain the goal of the Society of Jesus in all respects, I think it is not foreign to the Society's prudence to select a means, which is by its proper nature allowed and is *hic et nunc* most proportionate to [reach] its goal. When so large a profit of Souls is proposed, it seems less foreign to our Institute when some missionary is acting as a physician than in many other missions, where hope for less profit [of souls] glimpses through.' (H. Jossion & L. Willaert, *Correspondance de F. Verbiest*, p. 491/492). Contrary to mathematics and music, practical medicine was considered by the Jesuits, in the same way as for instance mechanics, as an *ars il-liberalis* (as opposed to the 'seven liberal arts', which were subjects of university teaching, with courses certified by a diploma of 'licentiatus' / 'doctor'). The practice of medicine



Luci. Announced as a ‘trained’ physician of the Roman *Università La Sapienza*, on his arrival in Peking, he was forced to practice a job he turned out to be rather poor at.<sup>75</sup> A similar case is that of Antonio Gomes, who – after having gained some practical experience in Goa – was unexpectedly forced to act as a physician as the successor of the Neapolitan coadjutor Giuseppe da Costa (who practiced as a physician, surgeon and pharmacist between 1715 and 1747). For this he relied on what he had learned in Goa, picked up afterwards from his predecessor, and found during the reading (“*lição dos livros*”) of appropriate books in *studium privatum*. He left Peking (1747) and the job after one to two years. Finally, in the case of the French Jesuit Gilbert Bordes (1671-1712) we again see the European Jesuits making the wrong choice. After the procurator Claude De Lignières (Linières) in Paris had paid for his medical instruction and professional equipment, especially medical books and instruments, Bordes changed his plans on his

---

was associated with Brothers, not with Fathers. All this is clear from the request of Dentrecolles in an unpublished letter of 4 September 1718 to the Provincial of the Provincia Flandro-Belgica: “*si nempe mitteret PATRES vel mathesim vel musicam etc. callentes, vel FRATRES artis medicinae vel alterius cuiuslibet artis ILLIBERALIS peritos qui hîc Imperatori Sinensium inservire possent...*” / ‘If he would send Fathers who know mathematics or music, or *brothers* who are acquainted with medicine or whatever other illiberal art, who could be of use to the Chinese Emperor.’ Another parameter to be taken into account is the fact that in the (second half of the) eighteenth century – after the use of medicine had become an accepted argument for Jesuits to be accepted or tolerated in Peking – an alleged medical background was also used as a pretext for the introduction of new candidates at the Court, even when this did not reflect their real competence. A remark of Augustin Hallerstein in a letter to General Visconti, on 6 December 1752 (JS 181, f. 252v.) is revealing here. Finally, as far as the Portuguese context of the *padroado* has had some influence on the opinions on the position of the Jesuits-physicians, I refer to P.J. Peregrino da Costa, *Medicina Portuguesa no Extremo Oriente: Sião, Molucas, Japão, Cochinchina, Pequim e Macau: séculos XVI a XX*, Bastora, 1948, and more precisely to the observations of Charles R. Boxer, ‘Some Remarks on the Social and Professional Status of Physicians and Surgeons in the Iberian World, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century’, in *Jornal da Sociedade das Ciências Médicas de Lisboa*, vol. 138, 4-5, 1974, pp. 287-306 (also in *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, p. 139ff.).

<sup>75</sup> The contradictory evidence with regard to I. Luci is spread through several sources, such as (1) JS 25, f. 229v. (*Catalogus Patrum & Fratrum SJ qui sunt in Prov. Japp.*, 1691), 37, f° 57 - 66 (*Elogium* by Buccherelli), and 165, f° 396v. (Tomas Pereira, 30 August 1693), which all confirm his *laurea* in medicine. (2) J. Bouvet’s “*Summa eorum quae inter P(atres) Gallos et Lusitanos in Sinensi Imperio gesta sunt*” of 1694 (JS 199, II, 390r.) reports on Luci’s failure: “*Pater Lucci medicae artis erat omnino imperitus.*” / ‘Father Luci was completely inexperienced in the medical arts.’ See also M. Teixeira, *A medicina em Macau*, Macau, 1975-1976, vol. 2, pp. 19-23.

way to China, without duly returning his instruments, etc. or refunding their costs, to the great frustration of the Procurator.<sup>76</sup>

Apart from these supposed professionals—obviously the most likely readers of Jesuit medical books—other Jesuits without any medical background worked with medical books, albeit more informally or private, as shown by, for instance, Domingos Pinheiro's reference to Curvo Semedo's *Polyanthea Medicinal*,<sup>77</sup> and Amiot's reference to Coelho's *Pharmacopeia Tubalense*.<sup>78</sup> Also, the presence of some isolated medical books in personal room (*cubiculum*) libraries suggests that some titles were brought in the private luggage of Jesuits going to China primarily for personal use. One such example is the copy of Johannes Mesua's *De Medicamentis Purgantis* in Diogo Valente's (Macao, 1633),<sup>79</sup> and an anonymous *Anatomie de l'homme* (the book of the same title by P. Dionis?) in J.-F. Foucquet's (Beitang, Peking, between 1710 and 1720) luggage. The *Antidotario Romano Latino e Volgare* of 1678, property of Dominique Parrenin (no. 3150), and Mme Foucquet's *Remèdes charitables*, property of Antonio Provana (no. 301) were apparently of the same type. The latter was a copy of a very popular book and part of a genre aimed at the general public. Some other references in sources from the German assistancy in the 1730s confirm that occasionally medical books were also offered by the provincial Procurator to missionaries on leave as part of their basic equipment for their life in the mission.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> On the case of G. Bordes, most revealing is Cl. De Li(g)nière's letter to General Tamburini of 26 October 1711 in JS 174, f. 102-104; his disappointed report does not match the information given by J. Dehergne, *Répertoire*, p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> In his letter of 7 December 1746 to Ribeiro Sanches in St. Petersburg (a physician himself); cf. M. Lemos, *Noticia de alguns manuscritos de Ribeiro Sanches existentes na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Porto, 1913, p. 21. To this I should add that in 1745 the Bohemian Jesuit Johann Siebert (1708-1745)—then in Siam—requested in a letter to Maria Theresia von Wellenburg for a copy to be sent of Cunha (sic) Semedo's *Memoria Simplicium India*, either in a Latin or a German version (i.e. João Curvo Semedo, *Polyanthea Medicinal*, Lisbon, 1716 and 1741, with the subtitle *Memorial de varios simples que da India Oriental, da America e de outras partes do mundo vem ao nosso reino para remedio de muitas doenças*).

<sup>78</sup> See his remark in his ms. in Paris, BnF, Ms. Bréquigny 5, f. 306-308r., afterwards printed in *Mémoires concernant l'histoire ... des Chinois*, vol. 5, 1780, p. 494.

<sup>79</sup> This erroneously transmitted title should in all probability be identified as his *Opera de Medicamentorum Purgantium Delectu* etc. (Venice, 1589 etc.). For the complex history of this title, see S. Lieberknecht, *Die Canones der Pseudo-Mesue: eine mittelalterliche Purgantienlehre*, Stuttgart, 1995.

<sup>80</sup> See fragments of information in the accounts of the Munich Jesuit college, now in Munich, BayHptStArchiv, Jes. 579 (speaking of a still unidentified *Chirurgia*

Finally, the most convincing examples of the use of a book are those where a Western text was translated or paraphrased by a Jesuit into Chinese. Such use would constitute perhaps the most intensive form of reading, one that *ipso facto* presupposes the presence of the original on the translator's desk. It may be significant that among the texts that were at the basis of Chinese translations (paraphrases etc.) or were planned to be translated, medical texts seem to be very rare, especially when compared to mathematical and Christian ones, and their impact limited, as some were only circulating in manuscript form. The most convincing examples are:

(1) Ambroise Paré, *Anatomie universelle du corps humain*, Paris, 1561 or a similar title, translated by Giacomo Rho as *Renshen tushuo* (Peking: Xitang, before 1636);<sup>81</sup>

(2) Pierre Dionis, *L'Anatomie de l'homme suivant la circulation du sang et les dernières découvertes, démontrée au Jardin-Royal par M. Dionis*, Paris, 1690;

(3) D. Bartholin, *Anatome Quartum Renovata*, Lyon, 1677 (Verhaeren, no. 947).

Joachim Bouvet and Dom. Parrenin translated both (2) and (3) into Manchu, and also assimilated some other French medical publications, such as those by Du Verney.<sup>82</sup>

Observed topographically, Western medical books in Peking were circulating and manipulated on a threefold schema (apart from the Palace) – the Portuguese Nantang, its 'Eastern branch' called Dongtang and the French Beitang. As far as the Nantang is concerned, the evidence seems to demonstrate that, after the accession of the very rich collection that Terrentius introduced to Peking before 1630, it took some 60 years before F.

---

*Augustana* and *Dispensatoria Ratisbonensia*, the former referring to Augsburg, the latter to Regensburg).

<sup>81</sup> Paré's name is only represented in the Beitang by a copy of his *Opera Omnia* (553) and the translation by Uffenbach (3003). The arguments for this intertextual relation are presented by N. Standaert in 'A Chinese Translation of Ambroise Paré's Anatomy', in *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 21, 1999, pp. 9-33. On a project to translate (parts of) N. Lémery into Manchu, see Y. Grover's contribution in *Actes du IIe Colloque International de Sinologie*, Chantilly, 1977, p. 85 n. 9.

<sup>82</sup> H. Bernard, 'Introduction of the Natural Sciences', pp. 152-153; P. Huard, 'A propos de l'anatomie de Thomas Bartholin', in *Presse médicale*, 55, 1947, p. 399. Interesting anecdotes on the circumstances in which the translation was made are to be found in JS 176, f. 98r. and 175, f. 398. Traces on the manuscript prove that the Emperor himself intervened in the Manchu translation with corrections and suggestions, see G. Stary, 'The Kangxi Emperor's Linguistic Corrections to D. Parrenin's 'Manchu Anatomy'', in *Altai Hakpo: Journal of the Altaic Society of Korea (Seoul)*, 13, 2003, pp. 41-60.

Verbiest from 1685 on tried to revitalize this substrate, with rather limited results, as far as we can see. In both this and the French library, as we have seen, medical books continued to arrive until the very end.

From the outset I recognize three main sociological target groups that can also be discerned in testimonies and extant books. The first was certainly the Jesuits themselves, for whom the necessity of health care was directly linked to the permanent shortage of personnel and the problem of recruitment. The next, and most prominent, was the Chinese Emperor and the Court (as the natural target of the Jesuit missionary strategy). In particular, from the Kangxi Reign period on (1662) the Emperor had become the reference point for medical activities, repeatedly ordering the updating of information, and the Jesuits turned this avid attention into an *humanum medium* (human means) to the benefit of the mission. Last but not least there were the Christian parishioners and the poor (*pauperes, pobresa*). The latter group – probably less evident to the traditionally Court-bound Jesuits – appears in some accounts (e.g. the 400 taels Giuseppe Baudino spent in the 1690s to buy medicines for the poor),<sup>83</sup> and also as the specific target group of certain books, such as Paul Dubé's *Le chirurgien des pauvres*, 2nd ed. (nos. 246; 247), and *Le médecin des pauvres* (nos. 248; 249), and Mme Fouquet's *Recueil de remèdes faciles et domestiques ...*, Dijon, 1699, and *Remèdes charitables ...*, Lyon, 1682 (nos. 300 and 301).<sup>84</sup>

Before switching to a quantitative and qualitative description, I would like to deal with four external aspects of the collection that are more particularly related to book history, that is (a) the books' original owners, occasionally also donors, (b) their places of publication, (c) their languages, and (d) their authors:

a) Among the original (first?) owners, in some cases also the donors, are some physicians and pharmacists from Paris, especially one «Imbert, *Pharmacopoeus Par(isiensi)s*», once the owner of a copy of Honoré Fabri, SJ, *Tractatus Duo: quorum prior est de Plantis et de Generatione Animalium*;

---

<sup>83</sup> According to the report of 15 September 1729 by his successor Giuseppe da Costa, in JS 180, f° 281v.

<sup>84</sup> At the same time, these titles reflect a particular vogue in eighteenth-century European (and especially French) medical literature, the so-called *livres charitables* (charity books), which were addressed to professional physicians and readers, but had poor and common people as the ultimate target group; cf. J. Emelina, 'Le Médecin des pauvres et Le Chirurgien des pauvres: un témoignage sur les aspects et l'esprit de l'éducation médicale populaire au temps de Louis XIV', in *Le XVIIe siècle et l'éducation; Revue Marseille*, 88, 1972, and M. Laget, 'Les livrets de santé pour les pauvres aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles', in *Histoire, économie et société*, 3, 1984, pp. 567-582.

*Posterior de Homine* (Paris, 1666; no. 1584). He is probably to be identified as Imbert, *premier apothicaire du Corps du Roy* (d. 1763), or – less probably – his grandfather Pierre Imbert de Chastre, *apothicaire du Duc d'Orléans* (1735), an interesting connection anyway. Another is the otherwise unknown Sébastien Lainssant, «*medicus Parisiensis*», once the owner of a 1624 bilingual edition of Hippocrates, and a J.C. Clémendot, original owner in Paris of three medical books in the third quarter of the eighteenth century (nos. 120; 190; 192). There are further connections with the Paris medical scene, such as the presence of the famous *Pharmacopoea Parisiensis* (edited by H. Th. Baron: no. 932), another title, published by J. Du Boys, who identifies himself as a «*pharmacopola Parisiensis*» (no. 1488), and the complimentary copy of *De Morbis Venereis* (Paris, 1740: no. 894) that Jean Astruc sent from Paris to the French Jesuits in Peking.<sup>85</sup> The first period of the Jesuit mission in Peking brings us the copy of W. Triphyllodacnus, *Giffitiäger, dass ist: Von Ursach, Reynigung, Bewahrung und Cur Pestilentischer Luft, etc.* (Frankfurt/M., 1567: no. 3991), which was originally owned by Father Georges Kern, SJ, well-known in the history of the Innsbruck university library. He inherited the professional library of the physician J.G. Kern, and offered it in 1616 to the Jesuit college of Innsbruck. From there this book on pestilence arrived – probably through J. Terrentius – in China.<sup>86</sup>

Among the explicit donations to the China mission we find the name of Antoine Laval (1664-1728), famous Jesuit mathematician in Toulon, who offered a book to P(ater) Antonio Provana – once his fellow student in the *Collège Ste Trinité* in Lyon in 1690/1691 – as a farewell present, when he left for China in 1694.<sup>87</sup> This is a copy of Mme Marie Fouquet's *Les remèdes charitables* of 1682 destined «*in Missionis Orientis usum*» (no. 301), and another example of the aforementioned *livres charitables*. T.S. Bayer sent from St. Petersburg a signed set of the *Acta Medicorum Berolinensium* to the Nantang fathers (no. 723). Both the rector of the *Colegio São Paulo* in Goa and a local physician, Giorgio Ungaretti (Hungareti, etc.) – the latter invited a decade earlier to come as a physician to Peking – offered medical books in 1693-1694, i.e. during the temporary stay of C.F. Grimaldi, which later arrived in Peking (nos. 1477 and 2604). One of these was attributed «*in usum P.K.S.*» – certainly Father Kilian Stumpf, who was in Peking [Beitang] from 1695. Other names are the aforementioned Jean Astruc (no. 894), the

<sup>85</sup> See the inscription «P(atrum) Gallorum S(ocietatis) J(esu) Pekin. Dono authoris».

<sup>86</sup> For this interesting collection I refer to the contribution of U. Partoli, 'Ex dono P. Georgii Kern Collegii Societatis Jesu Oenipontani 1616', in *Tiroler Heimatblätter*, 74, 1994, pp. 18-26.

<sup>87</sup> On Antonio Provana, see J. Dehergne, *Répertoire*, pp. 211-212. See also the convincing material in the *Catalogi Breves* of the *Provincia Lugdunensis* (Lyon), in ARSI, Lugd., 15, II, f. 469/470.

Jesuit novitiate of Nancy (no. 1501), etc. These cases are especially interesting, as they give an idea of the social stratification of the support for the mission within particular groups in Europe, in and outside the Jesuit Society. We can assume that the lobbying activities of the provincial *Procuratores Missionum Orientalium* are partly behind this, with the French especially active in collecting books for the missionaries in China.<sup>88</sup>

b) Places of publication: Curious to know some possible differences in the composition of the book supply from Europe to China during the two centuries of the Jesuit mission in Peking, I subdivided and calculated the evidence using the dividing line of the date of the death of J. Terrentius (1630). This was in view of his major importance as a Western physician in the China mission. The results are as follows:

As regards the Terrentius layer (cf. Table 4), European publication places are, in order of importance: Frankfurt/Main (18 items); Venice (9); Basel (7); Geneva (3); Paris (3); Strassburg (3); Leipzig (3); Hanau (2); Leiden (2); Lyon (2); Augsburg (1); Erfurt (1); Ettlingen (1); Florence (1) Franeker (1); Giessen (1); St. Gervais (1); Halle (1); Ingolstadt (1); Louvain (1); Marburg (1); Padua (1); Rome (1); Toulouse (1); Tübingen (1); Uelsen (1); Wittenberg (1), i.e. 68 in total. German imprints figure strongly in this evidence, led by Frankfurt prints, followed at a distance by Venice, while the Paris contribution is relatively small.

The explanation for these figures seems straight-forward enough, when one compares them with the report of Trigault-Terrentius journey through Europe. There, we see that they stayed for at least four continuous days in Frankfurt, visiting the *Herbstmesse* (book fair) of 1616 and buying a large number of books.<sup>89</sup> As they refer in this report in explicit terms to books

---

<sup>88</sup> More names of original owners without any expressed relation with the mission, and mostly unidentified, are: the Discalced Augustinians from Paris (no. 302); the anonymous «*mestre da navegação*» of the SJ college in Alfama - Lisbon (no. 2267); one Pierre Quillebeuf (no. 2902); J.B. Barriere (no. 351); the SJ college of Innsbruck in or after 1616 (no. 3991); one Francesco Larzi (no. 3496) and an unidentified «M.A.R.» (no. 3494).

<sup>89</sup> See E. Lamalle, *Propagande*, p. 108: "Moguntiam postea venimus, ibique dies aliquot nundinas Francofurtenses illas toto orbe celeberrimas praestolati sumus, ad quas perreximus libros nonnullaque alia empturi; quadriduum ibi egimus et magnam <copiam? vim?> librorum rariorum, qui non facile alibi quam hinc reperiuntur, ubi concurrunt ex omnibus emporiis negotiatores, comparavimus." / 'Afterwards we arrived in Mainz, and there we waited some days for the Frankfurter Messe, very famous over the entire world, to which we continued [our journey] with the intention to buy books and some other features. During four days we stayed there, and we **bought a great <mass> of fairly rare books**, which not easily can be found elsewhere except here, where [book] traders from all market towns come together.'

bought from "foreign" booksellers, it was probably also there that the books printed elsewhere were bought, especially those from places that were not on their itinerary. However, it is an unpleasant surprise to find that the catalogue of this book fair has very few titles in common with the Trigault-Terrentius books!<sup>90</sup>

A survey of the books that were acquired in Peking after Terentius' death in 1630 demonstrates that the order has changed in the 'top group'. Paris is now first (45 items) and Lyon second (19 items), while Frankfurt (25) and Genève (13) are still prominent. Another observation is that the spread of the publication places is even broader than before, including some other centers in Italy, England, Spain, Portugal and even Russia. This is the result of the larger network the SJ had developed after the first decades of the seventeenth century, of which the connection with the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy was probably the last link. On the other hand, the spectacular rise of Paris (and Lyon) printings was the combined result of (i) the arrival and activities of the French missionaries since 1688, and (ii) the fact that, since the last decades of the seventeenth century, Paris had become an important center for the printing of medical books.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, the general lack of book inscriptions does not permit us to prove to what extent this success of the French publications was due to the French missionaries, and to what extent they were also used by the Jesuits of the Portuguese mission.

c) The language of the medical books: The overview presented in *Table 1* suffices to show how Latin, initially predominant, gradually gives way to vernaculars. 179 of the 281 items (63.70 percent) are in Latin, but in the Trigault-Terrentius layer, acquired in Europe at the latest in 1618, this is 62 of 68 (91.17 percent).<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> I compared these titles to the edition of the auction catalogue, which was published on that occasion, that is *Catalogus Universalis Omnium Librorum, qui hisce nundinis Francofurtensibus et Lipsiensibus Autumnalibus, de Anno 1616, vel Emendatiores vel Auctiores Proderunt*. In the medical section of this catalogue only one (!) item of the Beitang catalogue appears, e.g. Pedro Vasco Castello, *Exercitationes Medicinales ad omnes thoracis affectus decem Tractatibus absolutae, Tolosae, 1616* (no. 3021). Does this mean that the medical books were acquired from a source other than the book fair? Or does the catalogue only mention new editions or newly revised issues, and not all the books that were for sale?

<sup>91</sup> H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Genève, 1969, vol. 2, p. 860ff.

<sup>92</sup> For further details, see *Table 1* and its commentaries below. For a more general description of this shift in Jesuit publications of the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, see S.J. Harris, *Jesuit Ideology and Jesuit Science: Scientific Activity in the Society of Jesus, 1540-1773*, passim; F. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe, XVIe-XXe siècle*, Paris, 1998, p. 100ff. ("*Savoirs latins*").

d) The authors. Not one of the 68 books that form part of the Terrentius layer has a Jesuit author. Of the complete group of 281 books, there were only two Jesuit authors, viz. Leonardus Lessius with his *Hygiasticon* (no. 2028), a work on private hygiene, and Honoré Fabri's botanical work, of only secondary medical application. This is hardly surprising in view of the aforementioned restrictions in Canon Law on this kind of occupation for members of the clergy.<sup>93</sup>

### 5. Quantitative and Typological Assessment

For a quantitative assessment, it is hard to say what the rate of 281 out of 4,100 items, i.e. 6.85 percent, really implies, in terms of Jesuit appreciation for medical books, compared to other sections. The relevance of this rate is uncertain for two reasons. First, the actual Beitang collection is deficient as a source for the reconstruction of the old, pre-1773 Jesuit collections in Peking in general, especially due to major losses of books, such as those of the old Beitang and Dongtang libraries, which were almost completely destroyed. That this has a significant influence on our conclusions is shown by the items mentioned in contemporary sources as circulating in the Beitang (cf. above, 3), but which are no longer extant. Obviously, such uncertainty about the total number of medical books in the Peking collections also complicates all other comparisons, such as with the medical sections in some European Jesuit libraries for which we have complete contemporary inventories.

A second inconvenience for further quantitative observations is that only 121 of the 281 medical books, i.e. 43 percent of them, can be attributed through an inscription to one of the Peking residences.<sup>94</sup> Thus, the majority of the books cannot be attributed to any specific one of the three libraries. Therefore, a comparison between the Portuguese and French residences becomes somewhat irrelevant.

Yet, in order to get a figure as complete and representative as possible on the contents of the books they used, I have included the books that have no inscription and can therefore be not situated precisely. Even though some of them may have arrived from outside Peking and been added in the

---

<sup>93</sup> From the *Indices* in Carlos Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Société de Jésus*, vol. 10, col. 913-916, it appears that medical publications by Jesuits, however rare in the seventeenth century, were not completely unknown. On Jesuits and medicine, see especially the already mentioned A. Ferrari, 'Il contributo dei gesuiti allo sviluppo della medicina', in *Minerva Medica*, 2, 1956, pp. 528-552.

<sup>94</sup> I.e. 87 (Nantang) + 1 (Dongtang) + 33 (Beitang) = 121; this number rises to 126 (or 44.8 percent) if we include the books that can be attributed to residences outside Peking. See *Table 2* for details.



nineteenth-century phase of the library, the greater part may stem from one of the pre-1773 Peking collections, in the first place the Nantang.

With regard to typological aspects, the extant medical items represent a great variety of many different types of texts and contents. These include:

(1) Periodicals, especially the *Acta* of the *Academia Curiosorum Naturae* and the *Acta Academiae Medicorum Berolinensium* (no. 723);<sup>95</sup>

(2) Bibliographical or heuristic reference works, such as medical encyclopedias (1480), dictionaries (28; 190; 427; 460; 669), indices (1654, an index on the *Opera Omnia* of Galenus), nomenclators (2856 = 2857);

(3) Other collected works, especially *opera omnia* of top physicians (553 [A. Paré]; 1072 [H. Boerhaave]; 1591 [Gabr. Falloppio]; 2602 = 2603 = 2604 [L. Rivière]; 2902 [Th. Sydenham]; 3090 [Th. Willis]; 3107 [Zacutus]), or easily consulted overviews, called "*Bibliotheca*", "*Compendium*", "*Institutiones*", "*Synopsis*", "*Theatrum*", etc.;

(4) Plate books, including *tabulae anatomicae*, a category first mentioned by F. Verbiest in 1685, in a passage discussed above;

(5) Textbooks, often for self-study, in part because not all the Jesuits arriving in Peking *sub titulo medicinae* had complete professional training, and required further instruction (see e.g. the case of Antonio Gomes, as described by P. de Sousa);

(6) Monographs on particular aspects of *medica practica*. These constitute the largest part, and demonstrate the practical needs of the Jesuits in China when confronting real medical situations, either among themselves or among the Chinese, as well as the different treatments they employed.

## 6. An Inventory of Titles and Authors

An initial inventory – to be refined later by a more detailed analysis of the separate chapters of the more comprehensive works and by the addition of other testimonies (also from the Chinese sources) – reveals a panorama of diseases and treatments. The numbers in round brackets are from Verhaeren (1949); some of them appear in two different sections:

### Personal health care and hygiene:

Lessius, L., *Hygiasticon*, 1614 (2028);

Bright, T., *De sanitate tuenda, medicinae pars prima*, 1588 (1125);

Bicker, J., *Hermes redivivus declarans Hygieinam, de sanitate vel bona valetudine*, 1612 (1048);

---

<sup>95</sup> Side by side, of course, with less specialized and more general scholarly journals, such as the *Acta Eruditorum*, *Gazeta de Lisboa*, *Journal des Sçavans*, the *Mémoires de Trévoux* and the *Transactions of the London Philosophical Society*, which continued to arrive irregularly at the Jesuit libraries in China.

Henriques, Francisco da Fonseca, *Socorro Delphico*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed. [n.d.] (3617);  
 Diaz, Miguel, *Ultimo instante entre a vida, e a morte*, 1716; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., *ibid.*, 1720 (3610-1);  
 Tissot, S.A., *Avis au peuple sur sa santé*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1767 (679);  
*id.*, *De la santé des gens de lettres*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1768 (680).

**Anatomical structure and functioning of the human body (“structura”; “fabrica”):**

More numerous than other topics, these include works about instruments, and are represented by works by most prominent contemporary scholars in the field:

Plater, Felix, *De corporis humani Structura et Usu ... Iconibus accurate illustrati*, 1583 (2485);  
 Varoli, C., *Anatomiae sive de Resolutione Corporis Humani*, 1591 (3020);  
 Bauhin, Caspar, *Theatrum anatomicum, novis figuris aeneis illustratum*, 1596 (961);  
 van den Spieghel, Adriaan, *De humani corporis fabrica*, 1632 (2860);  
 Bartholin, Th., *Anatome Quartum Renovata*, 1677 (947);  
 van Diemerbroeck, Ysbrand, *Anatome Corporis Humani*, 1679 (1462);  
 De St.-Hilaire, *L’anatomie du corps humain avec ses maladies et les remèdes pour les guérir*, 1683-1685 (628-629);  
 Bidloo, G., *Anatomia Humani Corporis Centum & Quinque Tabulis ... demonstrata*, 1685 (1050, an innovative anatomical atlas);  
 Manget, J.J., *Theatrum Anatomicum*, 1716 (2178);  
 Eustachi, Bartolomeo, *Tabulae anatomicae*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1728 (1570);  
 Heister, Lorenz, *L’anatomie d’Heister avec des essais de physique*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1735 (342);  
 Tarin, P., *Ostéo-graphie ou description des os de l’adulte, du fœtus, etc.*, 1753 (670);  
 Winslow, Jac. Benigne, *Exposition anatomique de la structure du corps humain*, 1754 (709);  
 Sabatier, R.B., *Traité complet d’anatomie*, 1775 (625).

Some other such works are also known of indirectly, either by the Chinese imitations of (parts of) them, or references in letters from China, etc., such as Ambroise Paré and Pierre Dionis.

**Syndesmology**, i.e. anatomy of the ligaments:

Weitbrecht, J., *Syndesmologia sive Historia Ligamentorum Corporis Humani*, 1742 (3084-3085);<sup>96</sup>

Tarin, P., *Anthropotomie, ou l'art de disséquer les muscles, les ligamens*, 1750 (668).

**Anatomy of the eye:**

Varoli, C., *Anatomiae sive de resolutione corporis humani*, with a special part «*de nervis opticis*», 1591 (3020);

Verle, G.B., *Anatomia artificiale dell'occhio umano*, 1679 (3528).

**The nervous system:**

Delaroche, D., *Analyse des fonctions du système nerveux, pour servir d'introduction à un examen pratique des maux de nerfs*, 1778 (226).

**Anatomy of the fetus** and its pathology:

Aranzio, Julio Cesare, *De humano foetu*, 1595 (852).

**Diagnostics** («prognostics»), with special attention on the recognition (“*recognoscendi*”) and identification of symptoms – obviously followed by an appropriate cure (“*curandi*”):

Cardano, G., *In Hippocratis Coi Prognostica*, 1568 (1203/4);

Le Pois, L., *De Cognoscendis et Curandis Praecipue Internis Morbis*, 1588 (2026);

Alpini, Pr., *De praesagienda vita et morte aegrotantium*, 1601 (773);

Hucher, J., *De Prognosi Medica*, 1602 (1841);

Rudius, E., *De Affectibus Externarum Corporis Humani Partium*, 1606 (2633);

Plater, F., *Praxeos seu de cognoscendis ... curandisque affectibus homini incommodantibus*, 1609 (2486);

Constantin, A., *Opus Medicae Prognoseos*, 1613 (1380);

Van Swieten, G., *Commentarii in Hermanni Boerhaave Aphorismos de Cognoscendis et Curandis Morbis*, 1746 (2900);

id., 1749-55 (2901);

De Vilars, Col., *Receuil alphabétique des prognostics dangereux*, 1759 (191).

---

<sup>96</sup> On the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of this work, see the letter of Antoine Gaubil of 11 February 1755 (R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, pp. 803-804).

**Diseases affecting particular parts of the body, especially:****The nervous system:**

Delaroche, D., *Analyse des fonctions du système nerveux, pour servir d'introduction à un examen pratique des maux de nerfs*, 1778 (226);

**Venereal diseases** (“*morbis Gallicus*”; “*morbis venereus*”; “*lues venerea*”):

Botalli, L., *Luis Venereae Curandae Ratio*, 1563 (no. 1108);

Machellus, N., *Tractatus Methodicus...de Lue Venerea*, 1608 (2133);

Astruc, Jean, *De morbis venereis*, 1740 (894);

Fabre, P., *Traité des maladies vénériennes*, 1768 (282).<sup>97</sup>

**The eye:**

Schalling, J., *Ophthalmia sive Disquisitio Hermetico-Galenica de Natura Oculorum*, 1615 (2683).

**Catarrh:**

Duval, J., *Methode nouvelle de guarir (sic) les catarrhes*, 1611 (270);

Paschetti, B., *De Destillatione Catarrho*, 1615 (2385).

**The voice:**

Codronchi, B., *De Vitiis Vocis*, 1597 (1322).

**Headaches:**

Duchesne, J., *Tetras Gravissimorum Totius Capitis Affectuum*, 1609 (1492).

**Arthritis:**

Musgrave, W., *De Arthritide Anomala*, 1715 (2292);

id., *De Arthritide Symptomata*, 1715 (2293).

**Mental illness:**

Holtzemius, P., *Essentia Hellebori Extracta*, 1616 (1829).

**Epidemic typhus** (*Morbis Hungaricus*):

Ruland, M., *De Morbo Hungarico Recte Cognoscendo et feliciter Curando*, 1610 (2636);

id., *De Perniciosae luis Ungaricae Tecmarsi et Curatione*, 1600 (2637).

---

<sup>97</sup> Here we should mention the information on the history of syphilis in China, collected by the Peking Jesuits, especially P. de Sousa for the benefit of their book agent in St. Petersburg, Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches.

**Hydr-argyri-asis** (*Morbus mercurialis*):

Scheunemann, H., *Paracelsia Henningi Scheunemanni...de morbo mercuriali contagioso*, 1608; 1610 (2704 = 2705).

**The thorax:**

Vasco Castello, P., *Exercitationes Medicinales ad Omnes Thoracis Affectus*, 1616 (3021).

**Kidney stones** (*nephritis*):

Unzer, M., *De Nephritide seu Renum Calculo*, 1614 (3007).

**Diseases related to particular groups of the population,<sup>98</sup> or specific groups of patients:**

**Pregnant women:**

Mauriceau, François, *Traité des maladies des femmes grosses*, 1683 (no. 488);  
Tanaron, P.P., *L'ostetricia ovvero l'arte di ... soccorrere le donne nelle malattie*, 1768 (3497).

**Soldiers:**

Minderer, R., *Neu verbesserte Kriegs-Artzney*, 1667 (3953).

**Plague ('pestilence') victims:**

see nos. 1336 (G. Columba); 2264; 2748; 3006; 3904; 3962 (*antidotarium pestilentielle*); 3991; 4053.

**Epileptics:**

Unzer, M., *Hiero-nosologia chym-iatrica, h.e. epilepsiae seu Morbi sacri accuratissima iuxta Hippocratico-Galenica atque Hermetica principia descriptio*, 1616 (3005).

**Disabled people** (*curti*):

Tagliacozzi, Gasp., *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem*, 1597 (2925).

**Scholars:**

Tissot, S.A., *De la sante des gens de lettres*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1768 (680).

Next we turn to **treatment techniques**. These are very revealing with regard to the competence that the Jesuits and their helpers had acquired and applied to their patients.

---

<sup>98</sup> For the poor, see above, note 84.

**1. Dietetics:**

Buonamico, F., *De alimento*, 1603 (1088);

Bruyerin-Champier, *De re cibaria*, 1560 (1132).

**2. Bathing:**

Gunterius, J., *Commentarius de balneis & Aquis Medicatis*, 1565 (1772);

Ruland, M., *Vom Wasserbaden drey Theyl*, 1568 (3966);

Goebelius, J., *Diagraphè Thermalium Aquarum in Misnia apud Hermunduros*, 1576 (1712);

Jordan, T., *De Aquis Medicatis Moraviae*, 1586 (1879);

Rummel, J.K., *Gründliche Beschreibung des neu-erbauten Minerischen Bads-Neuenmarckt*, 1598 (3967);

Matthaeus, J., *Rationalis et Empirica Thermarum Marchicarum Badensium Descriptio*, 1606 (2210);

Saltzman, J.R., *Kurtze Beschreibung des heylsamer Badts und Brunnens der Sahlbrunnen*, 1612 (3968);

Fabricius, F., *Thermae Aquenses sive de balneorum naturalium facultatibus*, 1616 (1588).

From this list it is clear that this was a German speciality. As all the books are also older than 1616, they were in all probability brought to China by J. Schreck – N. Trigault.

**3. Surgery:**

Tagliacozzi, G., *De Curtorum Chirurgia per Insitionem*, 1597 (2925);

Tagault, J., *Institutione di chirurgia*, 1585 (3494);

della Croce, G.A., *Cirurgia Universale*, 1605; 1611 (3148 = 49);

Uffenbach, P., *Thesaurus Chirurgiae*, 1610 (3003);

van Foreest, P., *Observationum & Curationum Chirurgicarum*, 1610-11 (1625);

Popp, Joh., *Kurtzes Handbuchlein und Experiment vieler Artzeneyen*, 1617 (3960);

Barbette, P., *Chirurgie nae de hedendaegse practijk*, 1663 (4052);

Dubé, P., *Le chirurgien des pauvres*, 1686; 1713 (246 = 247);

Ettmüller, M., *Nouvelle pratique de chirurgie*, 1691 (279);

Ferreira, Antonio, *Luz verdadeira e recopilado exame de toda a cirurgia*, 1705 (3616);

Woyt, J., *Die Curiaese Chirurgie*, 1715 (3996);

Rothen, J.P., *Der sichere und allezeit fertige Chirurgus*, 1720 (3965);

Dionis, P., *Cours d'opérations de chirurgie, démontrées au Jardin Royal*, 1740 (243);

Heister, L., *Institutiones chirurgicas*, 1747- 48 (3795);

Delafaye, G., *Principes de chirurgie*, 1761 (225);  
 De Vilars, Col., *Cours de chirurgie*, 1759 (189);  
 Tanaron, P.P., *Opere chirurgiche*, 1763- 64 (3496);  
 Boerhaave, H., *Aphorismes de chirurgie*, 1765- 68 (120).

A separate sub-group is constituted by the Portuguese titles on surgery (almost certainly used by a Portuguese surgeon, or at least in the Portuguese Nantang), primarily Antonio Ferreira's *Luz verdadeyra e recopilado exame de toda a cirurgia*, Lisbon, 1705 (no. 3616), written by a practician of the *Hospital de Todos os Santos* in Lisbon and used for several generations as a textbook for chirurgical instruction in Portugal. There is, moreover, an updated version by Feliciano de Almeida, *Cirurgia reformada* (no. 3549) and a compilation of very unequal quality, published by João Lopes Correia, *Castello forte contra todas as infirmitades que perseguem o corpo humano*, Lisbon, 1723 (no. 3667).

#### 4. Grafting (*insitio*):

Tagliacozzi, Gasp., *De curtorum chirurgia per insitionem*, 1597 (2925).

#### 5. Prescriptions and pharmacologia:

Charas, M., *Pharmacopée royale*, 1682 (174);  
 Golletti, A., *Les remèdes choisis de l'herboriste d'Attigna*, 1690 (325);  
 Lémery, *Pharmacopée universelle*, 1697; 1716 (429-30).

**Botano-pharmaca**, including pharmaceutical plants, herbaries and descriptions of botanical gardens:

Cuba, J., *Kreutterbuch*, 1546 (3905);  
 Dioscorides, *De medicinali Materia*, interpr. Ruellio, 1547 (1477);  
 Mizauld, A., *Alexikepus seu Auxiliaris et Medicus Hortus*, 1575 (2266);  
 Alpini, Pr., *De Plantis Aegypti...Medicamenta*, 1592 (772);  
 Hornius, Chr., *Hortulus Medicus*, 1610 (1834);  
 Besler, B., *Hortus Eystettensis*, 1613 (1013);  
 Willis, Th., *Pharmaceuticè Rationalis*, 1674 (3091);  
 Perola, G. Dela Fuente, *Tyrocinio Pharmacopeo*, 1695 (3789);  
 Coelho, M.R., *Pharmacopoea Tubalense chimico-galenica*, 1735 (3596);  
 Helvetius, J.A., *Tratado das mais frequentes enfermidades*, 1747 (3644; with  
 a *Catalogo das plantas medicinaes*, in Append.);  
 Gesner, J.A., *Pharmacopoea Wirtembergica*, 1754 (1678);  
 Cartheuser, J. F., *Fundamenta Materiae Medicae*, 1755 (1219).

**Medicamenta simplicia** (*drogues simples*):

Dalechamps, *De l'histoire générale des plantes, avec indice contenant les vertus de simples médicaments*, s.a., either 1615 or 1653 (217);

*Antidotario Romano Latino e Volgare*, 1678 (3150);

Baron, *Codex Medicamentarius seu Pharmacopoea Parisiensis*, 1732 (932);

Lémery, N., *Dictionnaire universel des drogues simples*, 1733; 1759; (427-8).

**Medicamenta mixta:**

Du Boys, *In Methodum Miscendorum Medicamentorum*, 1572 (1488).

**Emetology:**

Sala, A., *Emetologia ou Triomphe des médicaments vomitifs*, 1613 (632);

Rivière, L., *La pratique de médecine*, 1702 (611).

**Elleborus** (prescribed in case of mental disease):

Holtzemius, P., *Essentia Hellebori Extracta*, 1616 (1829).

**Antimonium:**

Van Suchten, A., *Antimonii Mysterii Gemina*, 1604 (3986).

**Vitriolum:**

Sala, A., *Anatomia Vitrioli*, 1609 (2655).

**6. Chemistry**, i.e. iatro-chemistry:<sup>99</sup>

Geber, *De Alchemia Traditio*, 1598 (1669);

Unzer, M., *Hieronosologia chymiatrica h(oc) e(st) epilepsiae ... descriptio*, 1599 (3005);

Croll, O., *Basilica Chymica*, 1609? (1403);

Oberndorffer, J., *Apologia chymico-medica practica*, 1610 (2343);

Phaedro, Georgius, *Opuscula iatro-chemica*, 1611 (2436; 2437);

Ruland, Martin, *Alexicacus chymiatricus*, 1611 (2635);

Rhenanus, J., *Antidotarium pestilentiale ... sowol chimischen als gemeinen Arzneyen*, 1613 (3962);

Sala, A., *Opera medico-chymica quae extant omnia*, 1650 (2654);

Zetzner, L., *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1659-60 (3123);

Grim, H.N., *Compendium Medico-Chymicum*, 1684 (1759);

Van Mynsight, A., *Thesaurus et Armamentarium Medico-Chymicum*, 1696 (2298);

---

<sup>99</sup> For a distinction between these two terms, see W. Schneider, 'Chemistry and Iatrochemistry', in A.G. Debus (ed.), *Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to honor W. Pagel*, New York, 1972, pp. 141-150.



Lémery, *Cours de chymie*, 1697 (425 and 426);  
 Lémery, *Corso di Chimica*, 1700 (3334);  
 De Porres, M., *Medula de cirurgia y examen de cirujanos*, 1721? (3843);  
 Freind, J., *Praelectiones Chymicae*, 1758 (1642);  
 Macquer, Ph., *Dictionnaire de chymie*, 1769; 1778 (460-1);  
 Tessari, L., *Chymiae Elementa*, 1772 (2938).

### 7. Cauterization:

Fienus, *De Cauteriis*, 1601 (no. 1604).

### 8. Distillation (*distillatio*):

De Rossi, G., *De destillatione*, 1585 (2623);  
 Khunrath, C., *Medulla destillatoria et medica*, 1614 (3934);  
 Paschetti, *De destillatione catharro*, 1615 (2385).

## 7. Conclusion: Characterization of the Collection

All these books constituted in the libraries to which they were assigned (*applicado*) a cumulative collection. This formation process spanned, in the case of the Xitang/Nantang, the Portuguese college of Peking, a period of about 200 years (ca. 1623–1812), and in that of the Beitang, its French counterpart, of about one century. Physically located in a separate *armarium*, following the rules of Jesuit librarianship (as described by Claude Clément),<sup>100</sup> the books of the medical section (*classis*) will have offered the users a selective landscape of two hundred years of European medical writing and publishing. After the restitution of the Dongtang in 1692, pharmaceutical books may have been kept separately, in an annex of the Jesuit *Pharmacopolium* kept there.

At any rate, this landscape was certainly heterogeneous, as is the case for most old collections, with a discontinuous but unbroken development. They are heterogeneous not only due to the size of the books or their

---

<sup>100</sup> C. Clément, *Musei sive Bibliothecae tam Privatae quam Publicae Extractio, Instructio, Cura, Usus Libri IV*, Lugduni (Lyon), 1635, ch. XV (pp. 341-344): “Nihilominus omnino valde imperfectum sit illud Musaeum, in quo Medicorum Commentarii defuerit. Itaque instrues diligenter armarium istud Medicorum libris, ut non solum habeas panarium, verumetiam multiplicis eruditionis promptuarium.” / ‘Nevertheless every Museum [=library] in which medical Commentaries are lacking will be very incomplete. Thus one should carefully provide that cupboard with books of medical authors, so that you will have it at [your] disposal not only as a ‘container’, but also as a repository of much varied erudition.’ Here the author distinguishes three subsections: a dietetic one, a pharmaceutical one and one called “chirurgica”.

content—as we have already concluded—but also for their different character, date, quality and level, provenance and background. This is also what the extant medical books reflect.

If we develop this theme of their heterogeneous nature further, we can see, firstly, that they vary in the originality of the knowledge they provide. Uncritical compilations of traditional lore (J. Fontaine, C. Bauhin, etc.) were mixed on the shelves with monographs reflecting the rich personal experience of the writer, with innovative works, and with descriptions of new experiments (nos. 2696; 3960; 3994). A few landmarks from Greco-Roman Antiquity are present, some of them only re-discovered in the Renaissance: Hippocrates (no. 4025 = 26),<sup>101</sup> Diocles Carystius (2267), and especially Galenus (1651; 1652; 1654; 2286)<sup>102</sup> and Dioscorides (482; 1477; 3789; cf. Mattioli: 3361; 3362). Others are missing, such as the Roman Celsus (*De Re Medicina*). In addition, the Oriental tradition is present with (Johannes) Mesua (nos. 2238; 3789, also the only book on medicine in D. Valente's library in Macau), Geber (no. 1669) and Razès (nos. 1864; 2565). From more recent times stem Paracelsus (nos. 1146; 3909; 3914) and other works written under Paracelsian influence (nos. 2702; 2704); a quantity of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century medical or para-medical authors, who constituted the core of the Terrentius-Trigault collection; and authors introducing chemistry and iatro-chemistry (the pioneers Crollius and Libavius, Charas, Lémery but also some opponents of the same such as Jean Riolan (no. 2595)). Finally, a series of authorities from the second part of the seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century medical and pharmaceutical scene are represented on the shelves. These include such standard works and *coryphées* of medical writing as Ambroise Paré ("leader in surgical techniques"), Thomas Sydenham ("the English Hippocrates": no. 2902), Lorenz Heister's *Chirurgie*, all landmarks in surgery during the eighteenth century; François Mauriceau's *Traité des maladies des femmes grosses*, "leading obstetrician work in eighteenth-century Europe", Nicolas Lémery's *Cours de chymie*, another standard work, the works of Herman Boerhaave (regarded as "the founder of clinical teaching and the modern academic hospital"); that of Josias Weitbrecht's *Syndesmologia*, "in his time one of the most important anatomists", etc. It is quite revealing to check which important names were missing. One example, for instance is William Harvey, present only with a minor work (no. 1787), but not with his standard work on the circulation of the blood (*De Motu Cordis*). One should, however, be careful when applying the *argumentum ex silentio* in

---

<sup>101</sup> Hermetico-Hippocratica: 1405; 1729; 2346.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. also Hermetico-galenica: 2683; 3079; Chimico-galenica: 3596; Galeno-chimica: 3606 = 3607.

the case of Jesuit books in China due to the evidence of the large losses of books mentioned earlier.

Secondly, the books were heterogeneous in age, as I demonstrate in Table 3 and Graph 1. However, even though many of the works on the shelves were old editions (in terms of chronology), they were not necessarily *passé*, in the sense of outdated, as they were still in use—in original or more recent editions—in contemporary Europe as well. In Table 4, I attempt to show how much time had passed between the date of the publication of the edition used and the moment when the copy of that edition arrived in Peking. Any definite conclusions here are hampered by the lack of evidence in this regard for the entire group of 281 items, so I have limited myself to the 68 books brought by Trigault-Terrentius, as the moment of arrival in Peking is in all these cases the same, i.e. 1623. An investigation of the age of these books at the moment of their arrival in Peking shows an average time lapse of 23.26 years,<sup>103</sup> varying for individual books between a minimum of 7 (nos. 1405; 1643 and 3021) and a maximum of 77 years (no. 3905).<sup>104</sup>

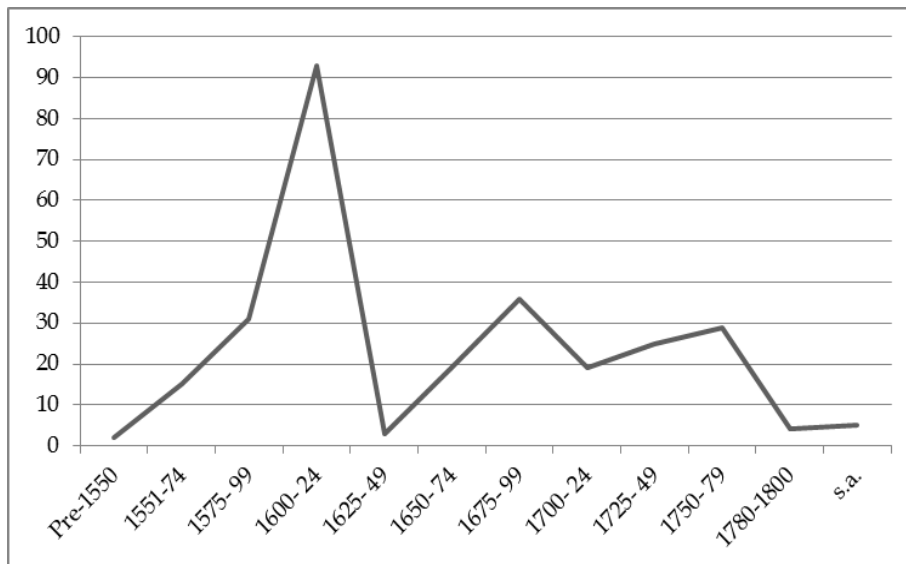
Another striking—and relevant—fact about this discrete collection is the clear preference Terrentius had for first editions when selecting his books for China. Indeed, of the 68 medical items, 47 (i.e. 69.11 percent) are first (or unique?) editions. This seems to point to his explicit intention to collect current books and information for his China library, not merely whatever item happened to be available.

---

<sup>103</sup> This is the mathematical result of the 1559 years (the total sum of years between the year of edition and 1623 for the 68 editions) divided by 68 (in fact 67, as one title is undated).

<sup>104</sup> No. 3905 is a copy of a 1546 edition of the *Kreuterbuch* (Herbal) by Johann Cuba, which on his arrival in 1623 was 77 years old. Its first (Latin) edition goes back as far as 1484. This may well prove the quality of this first herbal, published in the vernacular. It has indeed been called "the most important medieval work on natural history with illustrations", and was the first herbal written and printed in the vernacular. It has a unique position in the family of herbals or Hortus, which in the sense of the fifteenth century is not a botanical treatise, but a medical book intended for both the layman and the physician. It calls attention to valuable herbs free to all, and to remedies derived from animals and minerals, a popular medicine book but in no way popular in the modern sense, as it served also in the technical education at the time.

**Graph 1. Numerical distribution of the publication years between pre-1500 and 1800**



Source: Table 3.

When one takes into consideration the entire book collection, regardless of topic, however, it is clear that the urgency to update the medicine collection is less than for astronomy, say, or later that of technology, where the demand for *novissima* and *recentissima* was a recurrent theme in many letters to Europe, always asking for more up-to-date tables, observations and instruments. This may suggest that the domain of astronomy was more politically sensitive, due to the social and political implications of correct calendars and precise predictions in China.

Thirdly, the authors of the books in the collection are from heterogenous backgrounds. They had studied in many different countries of Europe, in old and new universities, such as (in alphabetical order) Basel, Bologna, Coimbra, Ferrara, Leiden, London, Montpellier, Padua, Paris, and Rome (La Sapienza). The works accumulated on the stacks of the medical section thus represented different traditions, as well as the composite recruitment within the Portuguese college. Portuguese 'self-help' books (such as Morato Roma, *Luz da medicina, practica racional, e methodica, guia de enfermeiros*, no. 3683)<sup>105</sup> and regional pharmacopoeia from such different

<sup>105</sup> For this appreciation, see Miguel de França Doria & Ant. Castro Henriques, 'A Luz da Medicina Pratica e Racional, e Methodica: Guia de Infermeiros, Directorio de Principiantes: um "help-yourself book" do século XVII', in AA.VV,

places as Attigna-Auvergne (Antoine Golletti, *Les remedes choisis de l'herboriste d'Attigna*, no. 325), Eichstätt (B. Besler, *Hortus Eystettensis*, no. 1013), Paris (Hyacinthe Théodore Baron, *Codex Medicamentarius seu Pharmacopoea Parisiensis*, no. 932), Rome (*Antidotario Romano Latino*, no. 3150), Setubal (Manuel Rodrigues Coelho, *Pharmacopoeia Tubalensis*, no. 3596) and Württemberg (Johann Albert Gesner, *Pharmacopoea Wirtembergica*, no. 1678) should most likely be interpreted in the light of the origins of particular missionaries. The East Indian colonies are also present, with Rheede tot Draakestein's *Hortus Malabaricus*, all accompanied by publications that emanated from the most advanced academic *milieux*, especially in Paris (Moise Charas; N. Lémery; etc.), or first-rate publications of Dutch and English specialists.

Finally, to complete this survey of the channels of communication through which the Jesuits in China obtained updated information from Europe, one should note that books other than of a professional nature may have had some part to play, though they are less easy to identify in the sources. Many remedies, medicaments and other treatments were to be found in works of general content for a popular audience. A clear example is Gaspar Cardoso de Sequeira (1559-1638), whose *Thesouro de Prudentes* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. Coimbra, 1612), a kind of household encyclopedia, was frequently used by the Jesuits, as Francesco Brancati described a well-worn copy in the Jesuit College of Macau.<sup>106</sup> One of the reasons for this frequent use may have been the medical advice and treatments it contained in the first 27 chapters of its *Livro Segundo*, as can be seen from its table of contents:

- c. 1: *Das advertencias aos medicos & cirurgioens;*
- c. 2: *Pera tirar qualquer dor de cabeça ou de outra parte do corpo;*
- c. 3: *Pera enxaqueca [i.e. 'migraine'], doença de dentes ou particular dor de dentes;*
- c. 4: *Pera tirar neucas [?] dos olhos ou dor delles;*
- c. 5: *Pera dor de ouvidos, ou surdez;*
- c.6: *Pera alporcas [i.e. scrofula, or tuberculosis of the neck] & tirar sombexugas [?].*

---

*Actas da Reunião Internacional de Historia da Medicina*, Lisboa, 2001, pp. 239-241. This appeals to a sense of medical self-sufficiency, which certainly fitted well with the situation of the Jesuit physicians in China, who lacked the backing of medical institutes or even (in many cases) competent colleagues. This may have been also the reason why the aforementioned French *livres de santé pour les pauvres* were appreciated.

<sup>106</sup> F. Brancati, in JS 143, f° 70v.: "*Amacai scio etiam hunc libellum [etiam] esse apud nostros et omnium manibus teri.*" / 'I know that among our Fathers in Macau [a copy of] this booklet exists, and is worn by the hands of all of them.'

This continues until c. 27, and is followed by an astrological section,<sup>107</sup> highlighting a final aspect of the medical books circulating in China imported from Europe, the so-called *Astrologia Medica*. Such content is also prominent in another title—a Portuguese edition as well—viz. in Frei Antonio Teixeira's *Epitome das noticias astrologicas para a medicina*, Lisboa, 1670 (no. 3742).<sup>108</sup> According to the *Prologo*, the author emphasizes the influence of “*mudanças dos tempos, e os influxos dos signos, estrelas e planetas*” on human health, so that good astrological knowledge was a pre-requisite for the appropriate practice of medicine.<sup>109</sup> This *Epitome* was intended to be a facilitator, summarizing and explaining the intricacies of this difficult astrological science to the physician.

Another, rather more unexpected, source for the circulation of medical information was common newspapers, such as the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (1715-1750). This periodical, read more or less frequently in the China mission, provided a lot of medical information, including medical advice, descriptions of medicaments, and treatments concerning drop, rheumatism, fevers, hernias, (kidney) stones, tumors, female diseases, venereal diseases, and haemorrhoids, among others.<sup>110</sup>

Some more informal contacts were probably also of significance. I refer to the correspondence the Peking Jesuits, especially those in the Portuguese college, had with the Portuguese physician Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches in St. Petersburg until 1747, and which was occasionally continued from Paris after this date.<sup>111</sup> The Peking Jesuits also will have received more

---

<sup>107</sup> c. 28: Pera pronosticar das doenças, pellas horas planetarias & outras sinaes; c. 29: Dos planetas, signos, tempos idoneos pera os medicamentos & das partes do corpo em que dominão; c. 30: Como se saberà em cada anno em que signo està a Lua.

<sup>108</sup> The most thorough analysis of this work and its influence is by L.M. Carolino, *Ciência, astrologia e sociedade: A teoria da influência celeste em Portugal (1593 – 1755)*, Porto, 2003, pp. 121-136.

<sup>109</sup> “O medico que não souber astronomia, não podera conhecer a causa, nem tão pouca a doença.” (Teixeira, p. 17; quoted by Carolino, p. 122, n. 28).

<sup>110</sup> See the inventory by Isabel M.R. Mendes Drumond Braga, ‘Medicina popular versus medicina universitaria en el Portugal de Juan V (1706-1750)’, in R. Ballester, M.L. Lopez Terrada, A. Martinez Vidal (eds.), *Dynamis*, 22, 2002, pp. 218-231; for the period 1746-1750, Ricardo Alves, ‘A Gazeta de Lisboa como fonte historica (1746-1750)’, *Historia* (Lisboa), 122, 1989, p. 17 does not offer any reference.

<sup>111</sup> Medical topics in this exchange of letters and information concerned especially historical evidence for syphilis in China. On the last shipments of Sanches from Paris to Cibot in 1776/7, cf. N. Golvers, *Portuguese Books and their*

recent medical information from the (often German) physicians travelling with Lorenz Lange who arrived in the three-yearly caravans from Moscow via Siberia to Peking.<sup>112</sup> That these contacts also included a genuine exchange of information is demonstrated from the passage in A. Gaubil's correspondence:

*"Il y a quelques jours qu'un P(ère) Portugais m'a dit qu'un chirurgien alleman venu par la caravane avoit des instructions et des mémoires. Je n'en ai pas entendu parler. Ce chirurgien a eu des rapports avec des jésuites de sa nation ici, il n'a pas paru dans cette maison françoise."*  
/ 'Only a few days ago a Portuguese Father said to me that a German surgeon, arrived with the caravan, had instructions and *mémoires* [with him]). I heard nothing about it. This surgeon had interactions with the Jesuits of his country here [in Peking], he did not make an appearance in our French residence.'<sup>113</sup>

That this route—and these encounters—also brought new medical books from Russia to Peking is demonstrated, for instance, by Josias Weitbrecht's *Syndesmologia sive Historia Ligamentorum Corporis Humani*, Petropoli (St. Petersburg), 1747 (no. 3084), which arrived in Peking in 1755.<sup>114</sup> These examples again confirm that the communication remained intact until the very end of the China mission and beyond (especially through the new books in the collection of Alexandre de Gouveia [1785 – 1808]).

These often overlooked examples complete our map of the exchange of medical books and information between Europe and China. The primary function of these books appears to have been practical, not intellectual, and it is in the Jesuits' medical practice within China that this library found its *raison d'être*. When approached from this perspective, these activities—rarely revealed in our sources from China—were situated in the field of general medicine (of course), but also in the rather more unexpected areas of obstetrics, venereal disease, and surgery. The agents of this activity were the lay brothers and some missionaries who took up this speciality, e.g.

---

*Readers in the Jesuit Mission of China (17th-18th centuries)*, Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011, p. 34.

<sup>112</sup> Some of these physicians are known by name: the English Garwin (Carwin), ca. 1716; the German surgeon Charles Huech (Heich / Heick / Heickhe) from Rostock (1745) and the Russian (?) Slatzitz (1754); this topic deserves further detailed investigation.

<sup>113</sup> A. Gaubil, in: R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, pp. 565-566 (11<sup>th</sup> June 1746); the German fathers were Jesuits of the Portuguese mission, living in the Nantang; the *Instructions* and *mémoires* are in my opinion of a medical character.

<sup>114</sup> A. Gaubil, in R. Simon, *Correspondance de Pékin*, p. 804.

Bouvet, practicing not only at the Court – from where several telling scenes are reported – but also among the poor. In addition, some of the particular themes of the European books are a mirror, I suppose, reflecting the diseases the Jesuits were confronted with in China, and it could be revealing to look for confirmation of that pattern in other Jesuit sources, and in contemporary Chinese sources. On the other hand, books were also used for (self-) teaching and transmission to Chinese physicians. In this sense this specialized library constitutes at the same time the background behind and source for the Chinese compositions by the Jesuits in this domain. Much research has already been done on this aspect, especially in the fields of anatomy and surgery. Yet I wonder whether further scrutiny of the Chinese and Manchu texts on the topic with Western titles other than Paré and Dionis could help to refine the picture of transmission? Also, the small number of these Jesuit texts in Chinese and Manchu, and the fact that most were not printed needs a specific explanation. All this raises questions about the scale, level and forms of interaction between European and native Chinese medicine, and the mutual contacts between Jesuits and Chinese physicians, whether Christian or not. The rather compact evidence provided by the 281 European books described here is necessarily mute in this regard, so we need to check other (Western and Chinese) sources, taking into account probable differences between Court life and the situation beyond it.<sup>115</sup> Such subjects are beyond the limits of this contribution, which has only tried to identify, in some detail, the competence, experience and bookish background of Jesuits practicing medicine in the Imperial city of Peking.

---

<sup>115</sup> Contacts with native Chinese medicine and physicians outside the Court are for instance visible in the case of François de Rougemont in Changshu in the 1670s. See the evidence in N. Golvers, *François de Rougemont, S.J., Missionary in Ch'ang-shu (Chiang-nan): A Study of the Account Book (1674-1676) and the Elogium*, Leuven, 1999, pp. 533-539.







Total	2	13	32	93	2	18	37	19	27	27	6	5	281
Percent of Latin ed.	50	84	84	86	100	53	45.9	42	37	33.3	16.7		

Table 2. The 281 medical items of the actual Beitang library according to their Chinese provenance

Location	Provenance; Owner's inscriptions	Latin	Anc. Greek	French	Italian	Portuguese	Spanish	German	Dutch	English	Total
Peking Nantang											
	Trigault-layer 1623	62	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	68
	'J.T.' i.e. Johann Schreck / Terrentius	1 <sup>a</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	"Nantam" <sup>b</sup>	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	"CSJ" <sup>c</sup> 1725-55	4	-	-	1	1 (1741)	-	5 (1727)	-	-	11
	T.S. Bayer 1734	1 (20 vols.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

<sup>a</sup> No. 2655.<sup>b</sup> This inscription is in nos 248; 1072; 1147.<sup>c</sup> My abbreviation for the full inscription «*Collegii Societatis Jesu Pekini*», referring to the library of the Nantang residence. The accession date of the items provided with this inscription – as far as they contain a date – is between 1725 and 1755

	<i>De Gouveia</i> 1785-1808	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>72</b>	-	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	-	<b>10</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>87</b>
Dongtang 'old', i.e. pre- 1773 Beitang		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	1698 <sup>d</sup>	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Inscr. "PP. Gallorum"	17	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
	<i>D. Parrenin</i> <i>E.R.</i> , i.e. <i>E. Rousset</i> (1712-7)	-	-	-	-	1 <sup>e</sup>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	<i>Clémentot</i> (after 1768)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
<b>Total</b> <i>Beitang</i>		<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>33</b>

<sup>d</sup> The first mention of French books in Peking in external sources, see no. 947 (a copy of Bartholin, *Anatome quartum Renovata*).

<sup>e</sup> D. Parrenin, 'owner' of no. 3150.

<sup>f</sup> Nos. 278 and 611.

<sup>g</sup> Mentioned in nos 120; 190; 192.

Total of the three residences in Peking	91	1	15	3	1	-	10	-	-	121
Locations outside Peking										
Jinan ("Cinanfu")	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Huai'an ("Houingm")	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total Other loc.	1		4	1	-	-	-	-	-	6
Total located books	92	1	19	4	1	0	10	0	0	127 = 45%
Total of unknown location	87	1	29	12	11	3	9	2	-	154 = 55%
Grand Total	179	2	48	16	12	3	19	2	-	281

**Table 3. Numerical distribution of the publication years between pre-1500 and 1800  
(276 + 5 undated [s.a.], viz. nos 217; 1651; 1767; 2565; 3617)**

	Pre-1550	1551-1574	1575-1799	1600-1624	1625-1649	1650-1674	1675-1699	1700-1724	1725-1749	1750-1779	1780-1800	s.a.
95												
90				93								
85												
80												
75												
70												
65												
60												
55												
50												
45												
40												
35												
30			31				36					
25									25	29		
20						21						
15		15						19				
10												
5												
0	2				3						4	5

**Table 4. The age of the books at their arrival in China, with the 68 Terrentius medical books as a test case (1618/9-1623)**

Book no.	Residence	Year of publication	First edition <sup>a</sup>	Distance between first and actual edition	Arrival in China	Distance between publication and arrival	Library mark <sup>b</sup>	Printing Place
270	NT	1611	1611	0	1623	12	MS; J.T.	Paris
772	NT	1592	1592	0	1623	31	BTr??	Venice
852	NT	1595	1564	31	1623	28	MS	Venice
867	NT	1611	1611	0	1623	12	BTr?	Hanau
961	NT	1605	1605	0	1623	18	BTr?	Frankfurt
1011	NT	1587	1587	0	1623	36	MS	Basel

<sup>a</sup> I.e. the first in absolute terms.

<sup>b</sup> The abbreviations are to be understood as follows:

BTr.: books forming part of the Trigault layer, with physical marks.

Btr.?: books without the same physical marks, but attributed by H. Verhaeren on the basis of other indications to the Trigault layer.

J.T.: owner's mark referring to Johann Terrentius (Schreck).

MS: books with the inscription «*Missionis Sinesis*».

NT: Xitang, after ca. 1700 Nantang, i.e. the Portuguese college in Peking and its library.

s.d.: *sine dato*, without date

s.l.: *sine loco*, without place of publication



1048	NT	1612	1612	1612	0	1623	11	MS	Giessen
1088	NT	1603	1603	1603	0	1623	20	BTr?	Florence
1125	NT	1588	1588	1588	0	1623	35	BTr?	Frankfurt
1130	NT	1612	1612	1612	0	1623	11	BTr?	(Leiden)
1132	NT	1560	1560	1560	0	1623	63	MS	Lyon
1145	-	1611	1611	1610	1	1623	13	BTr?	Francker
1204	-	1582	1582	1580	2	1623	41	BTr?	Basel
1327	NT	1615	1615	1615	0	1623	8	MS	Geneva
1403	NT	1609	1609	1609	0	1623	14	BTr	Frankfurt
1405	NT	1615/16	1615/16	1615/16	0	1623	7	MS	Erfurt
1483	NT	1597	1597	1586	11	1623	26	BTr?	Venice
1484	NT	1600	1600	1600	0	1623	23	MS	Ulyssae <sup>c</sup>
1488	NT	1572	1572	1572	0	1623	51	MS	Paris
1491	NT	1603	1603	1603	0	1623	20	BTr.	St.Gervais
1492	NT	1609	1609	1606	3	1623	14	BTr?	Marburg
1504	NT	1588	1588	1588	0	1623	35	MS	Paris
1520	-	1590	1590	1590	0	1623	33	BTr.	Frankfurt
1597	NT	1611	1611	1611	0	1623	12	BTr.	Venice
1604	NT	1601	1601	1601	0	1623	22	BTr.	Louvain
1622	NT	1613	1613	1613	0	1623	10	BTr?	Geneva
1625	NT	1610/11	1584	1584	26	1623	12	BTr.	Frankfurt
1626	NT	1602/09	1602/09	1602/09	0	1623	14	MS	Frankfurt
1627	NT	1614	1614			1623	9	MS	Frankfurt
1643	NT	1616	1616	1616	0	1623	7	BTr.	Frankfurt
1650	NT	1611/2	1611/2	1611/12	0	1623	11	MS	Tübingen
1651	NT	s.d.	1561	1561		1623		BTr.	Basel
1654	NT	1609(1608)				1623	14	BTr.	Venice

---

<sup>c</sup> I.e. Uelzen (Lower Saxony).

1728	NT	1574	1498	76	1623	49	MS	Lyon
1770	NT	1611	1611	0	1623	12	BTr?	Venice
1773	NT	1571			1623	52	MS	Basel
1809	NT	1609			1623	14	MS	Leiden
2026	NT	1588			1623	38	MS	Frankfurt
2133	NT	1608			1623	15	MS	Frankfurt
2210	NT	1606			1623	17	MS	Ettlingen
2238	NT	1602			1623	21	BTr.	Venice
2264	NT	1608(19)	1608		1623	15 (or 4)	BTr?	Augsburg
2286	NT	1568			1623	55	BTr?	Basel
2339	NT	1613			1623	10	MS	Frankfurt
2346	NT	1589			1623	34	BTr.	Padova
2486	NT	1609	1602	7	1623	14	MS	Basel
2623	NT	1585	1582	3	1623	41	MS	Basel
2633	NT	1606	1606	0	1623	17	BTr?	Venice
2634	NT	1610	1610	0	1623	13	BTr?	Venice
2636	NT	1610	1600	10	1623	13	MS	Leipzig
2655	NT	1609	1609	0	1623	14	MS, J.T.	Genève
2695	NT	1609	1609	0	1623	14	MS	Frankfurt
2697	NT	1600	1584/97	3	1623	23	MS	Frankfurt
2747	NT	1611	1611	0	1623	12	BTr?	Wittenberg
2753	NT	1602/07	1602/07	0	1623	16	BTr.	Frankfurt
2851	NT	1609	1571	38	1623	14	BTr.	Hanau
2855	NT	1597	1597	0	1623	26	BTr.	Straßburg
2856	NT	1591	1591	0	1623	32	MS	Frankfurt
2857	NT	1598	1591	7	1623	25	MS	Straßburg
3006	NT	1615	1615	0	1623	8	MS	Halle
3020	NT	1591	1591	0	1623	32	MS	Frankfurt

3021	NT	1616	1616	0	1623	7	BTr?	Toulouse
3034	NT	1591	1591	0	1623	32	MS	Rome
3905	NT	1546	1484	62	1623	77	BTr?	Frankfurt
3922	NT	1610	1610	0	1623	13	BTr?	Ingolstadt
3986	NT	1604	1570	34	1623	19	MS	Leipzig
3991	NT	1567	1567	0	1623	56	MS	Frankfurt
3994	NT	1607	1607	0	1623	16	MS	Leipzig

**Table 5. The complete set of Verhaeren's 281 medical books (short titles, with short provenance indications) according to the numbered lists of H. Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang*, 1949.**

**French section (50 items)**

28	Alexandre, Nicolas, <i>Dictionnaire botanique et pharmaceutique</i> , Paris, 1738 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
120	Boerhaave, Herman, <i>Aphorismes de chirurgie</i> , Paris, 1765-68 ("J.C. Clémendot").
121	Boerhaave, H., <i>Institutions de médecine</i> , Paris, 1743-50.
152	Buchan, William, <i>Médecine domestique</i> , Paris, 1785.
174	Charas, Moïse, <i>Pharmacopée royale Galénique et chymique</i> , Paris, 1682 ("Cinanfu").
189	Col de Vilars, Elie, <i>Cours de chirurgie</i> , Paris, 1759.
190	id., <i>Dictionnaire fr.-lat., des termes de médecine et de chirurgie</i> , Paris, 1759 ("Clémendot à Paris").
191	id., <i>Recueil alphabétique des pronostics dangereux et mortels sur les différentes maladies de l'homme</i> , Paris, 1759.
192	id., <i>Suite du cours de chirurgie</i> , Paris, 1759 ("Clémendot à Paris").
217	Dalechamps, Jacques, <i>De l'histoire generale des plantes, avec indice contenant les vertus des simples médicaments</i> , Lyon, s.a. ("PP. Gall(orum)").
225	Delafaye, George, <i>Principes de chirurgie</i> , 5 <sup>th</sup> ed., Paris, 1761.
226	Delaroche, Daniel, <i>Analyse des fonctions du système nerveux</i> , Genève, 1778.
243	Dionis, Pierre, <i>Cours d'operations de chirurgie, démontrées au Jardin Royal</i> , Paris, 1740.
246	Dubé, Paul, <i>Le chirurgien des pauvres</i> , Paris, 1686.
247	id., Paris, 1713 (or 1693?).
248	Dubé, P., <i>Le medecin des pauvres</i> , Paris, 1686 („Veyo da rezidencia de Cinanfu“ - „Da livr(ari)a da Nant'am em Peikim“).
249	id., Paris, 1694.
270	Duval, Jacques, <i>Methode nouvelle de guarir (sic) les catarrhes etc.</i> , Rouen, 1611 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)"; "J(ohannis) Terrentii").
278	Ettmüller, Michael, <i>Methode de consulter et de prescrire les formulas de médecine</i> , Lyon, 1698 ("E[tienne] R[ousset], 1712").
279	Ettmüller, M., <i>Nouvelle pratique de chirurgie</i> , A'dam, 1691.
282	Fabre, Pierre, <i>Traité des maladies vénériennes</i> , Paris, 1768.
300	Fouquet, Marie, <i>Recueil des remedes faciles et domestiques</i> , Dijon, 1699.
301	id., <i>Les remedes charitables</i> , Lyon, 1682 (A. Laval to Provana)
302	id., <i>Suite du recueil des remedes faciles</i> , Dijon, 1689 ("Aug. Disc. Paris").

325	Golletti, Antoine, <i>Les remedes choisis de l'herboriste d'Attigna</i> , Lyon, 1690.
342	Heister, Lorenz, <i>L'anatomie d'Heister avec des essais de physique</i> , Paris, 1735.
351	Hoffmann, Friedrich, <i>La medecine raisonnée</i> , Paris, 1742-51 ("J.-B. Barriere").
425	Lémery, Nicolas, <i>Cours de chymie. Contenant la manière de faire les operations qui sont en usage dans la médecine</i> , Paris, 1697.
426	id., 1756.
427	id., <i>Dictionnaire universel des drogues simples</i> , Paris, 1733.
428	id., Paris, 1759.
429	Lémery, Nic., <i>Pharmacopée universelle</i> , Paris, 1697 ("Missionis Sinensis PP. Gall(orum) Pekin.").
430	id., 1716
460	Macquer, Philippe, <i>Dictionnaire de chymie avec l'explication détaillée (...) des médicamens chymiques</i> , Paris, 1769 (Stamp of A. de Gouvea).
461	id., Paris, 1778 (1781).
488	Mauriceau, François, <i>Traité des maladies des femmes grosses</i> , Paris, 1683 ("Missionis Sinensis PP. Gall(orum) S.J. Pekin").
553	Paré, Ambroise, <i>Les oeuvres</i> , Lyon, 1652 ("PP. Gall(orum) S.J. Pekin").
611	Rivière, Lazare, <i>La pratique de medecine avec la théorie</i> , Lyon, 1702 ("E[tienne] R[ousset], 1717").
625	Sabatier, Raphael Bienvenu, <i>Traité complet d'anatomie</i> , Paris, 1775 ("Ex libris Miss(ionis) Gall(icae) Pek(ini)").
628	de Saint-Hilaire, <i>L'anatomie du corps humain</i> , Paris, 1683/5.
629	id.
632	Sala, Angiolo, <i>Emetologia ou Triomphe des medicaments vomitifs</i> , Delphes (sic, i.e. Delft), 1613.
644	[Anon.], <i>Secrets utiles et éprouvés dans la pratique de la médecine et de la chirurgie</i> , Paris, 1742 ("Resid(entia) PP. Gall(orum) Soc. Jes. Pekin.").
668	Tarin, Pierre, <i>Anthropotomie, ou l'art de dissequer les muscles, les ligamens, les nerfs et les vaisseaux sanguins du corps humain</i> , Paris, 1750.
669	id., <i>Dictionnaire anatomique ... et physiologique</i> , Paris, 1753.
670	id., <i>Ostéographie</i> , Paris, 1753.
679	Tissot, Simon André, <i>Avis au peuple sur sa santé</i> , Lyon, 1767.
680	Tissot, S.A., <i>De la santé des gens de lettres</i> , Geneve, 1768.
681	Tissot, S.A., <i>Essai sur les maladies des gens du monde</i> , Geneve, 1770.
709	Winslow, Jacques Bénigne, <i>Exposition anatomique de la stucture du corps humain</i> , Amsterdam, 1754.

### Latin Section (179 items)

723	<i>Acta Medicorum Berolinensium</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., Berolini, 1719-30 (Bayer to I. Kögler, A. Pereira & K. Slavicek).
771	Alpini, Prospero, <i>De medicina Aegyptiorum, Venetiis</i> , 1591.
772	id., <i>De Plantis Aegypti</i> , Venice, 1592 (Bibl. Trig.?).
773	id., <i>De praesagienda vita et morte aegrotantium</i> , Frankfurt, 1601.
852	Aranzio, Julio.Cesare, <i>De humano foetu liber</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., Venetiis, 1595 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)").
867	Argenterio, Giovanni, <i>Opera</i> , Hanau, 1611 (Bibl. Trig.?).
894	Astruc, Jean, <i>De morbis venereis</i> , Paris, 1740 ("PP. Gall(orum)"; "dono auctoris").
932	Baron, Hyacinthe Théodore, <i>Codex medicamentarius seu Pharmacopoea Parisiensis</i> , Paris, 1732 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
947	Bartholin, Thomas, <i>Anatome quartum Renovata</i> , Lyon, 1677.
961	Bauhin, Caspar, <i>Theatrum Anatomicum novis figuris aeneis illustratum</i> , Frankfurt, 1605 (Bib. Trig.?) > F. Verbiest).
1011	Bertin, George, <i>Medicina libris 20 methodice absoluta</i> , Basileae, 1587 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)").
1013	Besler, Basilius, <i>Hortus Eystetensis</i> , Noribergae, 1613.
1048	Bicker, Johannes, <i>Hermes Redivivus declarans Hygieinam de sanitate vel bona valetudine conservanda</i> , Giessae, 1612 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)").
1050	Bidloo, Govert, <i>Anatomia Humani Corporis 105 Tabulis (...) demonstrata</i> , Amsterdam, 1685 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
1072	Boerhaave, Herman, <i>Opera</i> , Venetiis, 1757 ("Da livr(ari)a de Nantam em Peikim").
1073	id., <i>Methodus Discendi Medicinam</i> , Venetiis, 1747.
1074	id., <i>Praelectiones Academicae...Medicae</i> , Venetiis, 1743.
1088	Bonamico, Francesco, <i>De alimento libri V</i> , Florentiae, 1603 (Bibl. Trig.?).
1108	Botalli, Leonardo, <i>Luis Venereae Curandae Ratio</i> , Paris, 1563.
1125	Bright, Timothy, <i>Hygieina</i> , Frankfurt, 1588 (Bibl. Trig.?).
1126	id., <i>Therapeutica</i> , Frankfurt, 1589.
1130	Bruële, Walter, <i>Praxis medecinae</i> , Leiden, 1612 (Bibl. Trig.?).
1132	Bruyerin-Champier, Jean-Baptiste, <i>De Re cibaria</i> , Lyon, 1560 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)").
1146	Burggrave, Johann-Ernst, <i>Biolychnium (...) Huic accessit Cura Morborum Magnetica ex Theophr. Parac. Mumia itemque omnium venenorum Alexipharmacum</i> , Franekerae, 1611 (Bibl. Trig.?)
1147	Burnet, Thomas, <i>Thesaurus Medicinae Practicae</i> , Genevae, 1678 ("Da livr(ari)a de Nantam em Peikim").

1148	id., 1702 ("Collegi Societatis Jesu Pekini").
1203	Cardano, Geronimo, <i>In Hippocratis Coi Prognostica</i> , Basileae, 1568.
1204	id., 1582. (Bibl. Trig.?)
1218	Cartheuser, Johann Friedrich, <i>Fundamenta Materiae Medicae</i> , Venetiis, 1755.
1219	id., <i>Pharmacologia Theoreticopractica</i> , Venetiis, 1756.
1233	Castiglione, Giovanni Honorato, <i>Prospectus Pharmaceutici</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., Mediolani (Milano), 1698 ("ad usum P(atris) Archangeli M(aria)e a S. Anna Carm(elitorum) Discalc(ea)t(or)um").
1322	Codronchi, Baptista, <i>De Vitiis Vocis</i> , Frankfurt, 1597.
1327	Colladon, Théod., <i>Adversaria seu Commentarii Medicinales</i> , Colonia Allobrogum (i.e. Genève), 1615 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)").
1336	Columba, Gerardo, <i>Disputationum Medicarum de Febris Pestilentis Cognitione et Curatione</i> , Frankfurt, 1601.
1380	Constantin, Antoine, <i>Opus medicae prognoseos</i> , Lugdunum (Lyon), 1613.
1397	Craanen, Theod., <i>Tractatus Physico-medicus de Homine</i> , Lugd. Bat.(Leiden), 1689.
1403	Croll, Oswald, <i>Basilica Chymica</i> , Frankfurt, 1609 ("Bibl. Trig.") > F. Verbiest.
1405	Crusius, David, <i>Theatrum Morborum Hermetico-Hippocraticum</i> , Erfurti, 1615-16 ("M(ssionis) Sin(ensis)").
1418	Dalrymple, James, <i>Physiologia</i> , Lugd. Batavorum (Leiden), 1686.
1462	Van Diemerbroeck, Ysbrand, <i>Anatome Corporis Humani</i> , Genevae, 1679 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
1463	id., Lyon, 1683 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
1464	id., Lyon, 1683 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
1477	Dioscorides, <i>De Medicinali Materia</i> , s.l., 1547 (1693 Goa).
1480	Doläus, Johann, <i>Opera Omnia ... encyclopaediam medicam dogmaticam</i> , Venetiis, 1695.
1482	Donati, Giovanni-Battista, <i>Rei medicae</i> , Frankfurt, 1591.
1483	id., Venetia, 1597 (Bibl. Trig.?).
1484	Dornkrel d'Eberhertz, Tobias, <i>Dispensatorium Novum</i> , Ulysseae (Uessel), 1600 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is) ").
1488	Du Boys, Jean ("pharmacopola Paris."), <i>In Methodum Miscendorum Medicamentorum ex Graecis, Arabibus &amp; Neotericis</i> , Paris, 1572 ("Miss(ionsi) Sinens(is)").
1491	Duchesne, Joseph, <i>Liber de Priscorum Philosophorum Verae Medicinae Materia</i> , Scti Gervasii, 1603 (Bibl.Trig.).
1492	Duchesne, J., <i>Tetras Gravissimorum totius capitis affectuum</i> , Marburg, 1609. (Bibl. Trig.?).

1501	Dupuis, Guillaume, <i>De Medicamentorum ... Facultatibus</i> , Lugd., 1552 (Noviciate of Nancy; after 1607).
1504	Duret, Louis, <i>Hippocratis magni Coacae Praenotiones</i> , Paris, 1588 (" <i>M(issionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
1519	Erastus, Thomas, <i>De Occultis Pharmacorum Potestatibus</i> , Basileae, 1574.
1520	id., <i>Varia opuscula medica</i> , Frankfurt/Main, 1590.
1542	Esthius, Lubertus, <i>Dilucida Brevis &amp; Methodica Formularum Tractatio</i> , Hanau, 1604.
1556	Ettmüller, Michael, <i>Operum omnium medico-physicorum ed. nova</i> , Lyon, 1690 (" <i>PP. Gall(orum)</i> ").
1570	Eustachi, Bartolomeo, <i>Tabulae Anatomicae</i> , Romae, 1728.
1572	Fabre, Pierre Jean, <i>Panchymici seu anatomiae totius universi</i> , Tolosae, 1646 (" <i>Cealius</i> ").
1584	Fabri, Honoré, <i>Tractatus Duo, quorum prior est de plantis et de generatione animalium, posterior de homine</i> , Parisiis, 1666 (" <i>PP. Gall(orum)</i> ").
1585	id. (" <i>PP. Gall(orum)</i> ").
1586	id.
1588	Fabricius, Franciscus, <i>Thermae Aquenses sive de Balneorum Naturalium ... Facultatibus</i> , Coloniae Ubiorum (Köln), 1616.
1591	Fallopio, Gabriele, <i>Opera Genuina Omnia</i> , Venetiis, 1606.
1597	Ferdinandi, Epifano, <i>Theoremata Medica &amp; Philosophica</i> , Venetiis, 1611 (Bibl. Trig.).
1599	Fernel, Jean, <i>Universa Medicina</i> , Genevae, 1619 (" <i>PP. Gall(orum)</i> ").
1600	id., ed. Genevae, 1644
1604	Fienus, Thomas, <i>De Cauteriis l. V</i> , Lovanii, 1601 (Bibl. Trig.).
1614	Floridus, Ambrosius, <i>Tractatus de Annis Climactericis ac Diebus Criticis</i> , Patavii, 1612.
1622	Fontaine, Jacques, <i>Universae Artis Medicae</i> , Coloniae Allobrogum (Genève), 1613 (Bibl. Trig.?.; afterwards > F. Verbiest).
1625	Foreest, Pieter van, <i>Observationum &amp; Curationum Chirurgicarum</i> , Francofurti, 1610-11 (B.Trig.).
1626	id., <i>Obs. &amp; Curat. Medicinalium l. XXVIII</i> , Frankfurt, 1602-1609 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
1627	id., Francofurti, 1614 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)</i> ").
1642	Freind, John, <i>Praelectiones chymicae</i> , 4 <sup>th</sup> ed., Napoli, 1758.
1643	Freitag, Joh., <i>Noctes Medicae sive de Abusu Medicinae</i> , Frankfurt, 1616 (Bibl. Trig.).
1650	Gäbelkhover, Wolfgang, <i>Curationum et observationum medicinalium centuria</i> , Tübingen, 1611-1612 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").



1651	Galenus, <i>In Artem Medicinalem Galeni Tabulae et Commentarii, per Theod. Zvinggerum</i> , Basileae, s.d. (Bibl. Trig.).
1652	Galenus, <i>De Compositione Medicamentorum</i> , Lyon, 1552 ("Cealius").
1654	id., <i>Index Refertissimus in omnes Galeni Libros</i> , Venice, 1609 (Bibl. Trig.).
1669	Geber, <i>De Alchemia Traditio</i> , Argentinae (Strassburg), 1598 ("Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)").
1678	Gesner, Johann Albert, <i>Pharmacopoea Wirtenbergica</i> , Stuttgart, 1754.
1712	Goebelius, Johannes, <i>Diagraphè thermalium aquarum in Misnia apud Hermunduros sitarum</i> , Lipsiae, 1576.
1728	Gordonius, Bernardus, <i>Opus Liliium Medicinae Inscriptum</i> , Lyon, 1574 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)").
1729	Gorter, Johannes van, <i>Medicina Hippocratica</i> , Patavii, 1747.
1759	Grim, Herman Nicolas, <i>Compendium Medico-Chymicum</i> , Augusta Vindel. (Augsburg), 1684 ("Cinanfu").
1767	Guarinoni, Cristoforo, <i>Consultationes Medicinales</i> , s.a., s.l.
1770	Guidi, Guido, <i>Ars Medicinalis</i> , Venice, 1611 (Bibl. Trig.?).
1772	Guintherius, Johannes, <i>Commentarius de Balneis &amp; Aquis Medicatis</i> , Argentinae (Strassburg), 1565.
1773	Guintherius, J., <i>De Medicina Veteri et Nova</i> , Basileae, 1571 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)").
1777	Gulielmini, Domenico, <i>Opera Omnia ... Medica</i> , Genevae, 1719 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
1796	Heister, Lorenz, <i>Compendium Medicinae Practicae</i> , Venice, 1748.
1797	Helbling, Johann Kaspar, <i>Disputatio medica</i> , Freiburg/Breisgau, 1615.
1809	Van Heurne, Johannes van, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , Leiden, 1609 ("Miss(ionis) Sinensis").
1827	Hofmann, Lorenz, <i>De vero usu &amp; fero abusu medicamentorum chymicorum</i> , Halae Saxonum, 1611.
1829	Holtzemius, Petrus, <i>Essentia hellebori extracta, in gratiam novorum huius patriae &amp; saeculi medicorum</i> , Coloniae 1616.
1834	Hornius, Christophorus, <i>Hortulus Medicus Hippocraticus</i> , s.l., 1610.
1841	Hucher, Jean, <i>De Prognosi Medica l. II</i> , Lugdunum (Lyon), 1602.
1864	Jacchini, Leonardo, <i>In Nonum Librum Rasis Arabis Medici</i> , Basileae, 1564.
1879	Jordan, Thomas, <i>De aquis medicatis Moraviae</i> , Francofurti, 1586.
1998	Leclerc, Daniel, <i>Bibliotheca Anatomica</i> , Genevae, 1685.
1999	Lécluse, Charles de, <i>Curae posteriores</i> , Leiden, 1611.
2026	Le Pois, Nicolas, <i>De cognoscendis et curandis praecipue internis</i> , 1585 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)").
2028	Lessius, Leonardus, <i>Hygiasticon</i> , Antwerp, 1614.

2046	Lieutaud, Joseph, <i>Synopsis universae praxeos medicae</i> , Paris, 1774.
2133	Machellus, Nicolaus, <i>Tractatus Methodicus de lue venerea</i> , Frankfurt/M., 1608 (" <i>M(issionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
2160	Maier, Michael, <i>Examen fucorum pseudo-chymicorum</i> , Francofurti, 1617.
2178	Manget, Jean Jacques, <i>Theatrum Anatomicum</i> , Genevae, 1716 (" <i>PP. Gall(orum)</i> ").
2209	Massaria, Alessandro, <i>Practica Medica seu praelectiones academicae</i> , Francofurti, 1601.
2210	Matthaeus, Johannes, <i>Rationalis et empirica Thermarum Marchicarum Badensium descriptio</i> , Ettlingae, 1606 (" <i>M(issionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
2238	Mesua, Johannes, <i>Opera</i> , Venetiis, 1602 (Bibl. Trig.). <sup>a</sup>
2264	Minderer, Raymond, <i>De pestilentia liber</i> , Augsburg, 1608 or 1619 (Bibl. Trig.?).
2266	Mizauld, Antoine, <i>Alexikepus seu auxiliaris et medicus hortus</i> , Lutetiae, 1575.
2267	id., <i>Dioclis Carystii Medici aurea (...) epistola</i> , Lutetiae, 1572 (" <i>Do novo Collegio da Comp(anh)ia de Jesu em Alsama</i> ", i.e. Alfama).
2286	Mundella, Luigi, <i>Theatrum Galeni</i> , Basileae, 1568 (Bibl. Trig.?).
2287	Mundinius, Mundinus, <i>Disputatio in III partes divisa</i> , Treviso, 1609.
2292	Musgrave, William, <i>De arthritide anomala</i> , Genevae, 1715.
2293	id., <i>De Arthritide Symptomata</i> , Genevae, 1715.
2298	Mysicht, Adrian van, <i>Thesaurus et Armamentarium Medico-Chymicum</i> , Venetiis, 1696.
2339	Nollius, Heinrich, <i>Systema medicinae hermeticae generale</i> , Francofurti, 1613 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)</i> ").
2343	Oberndorffer, Johann, <i>Apologia chymico-medica practica</i> , s.l., 1610.
2346	Odo degli Oddi, <i>In Aphorismorum Hippocratis Priores Duas Sectiones</i> , Patavii, 1589 (Bibl. Trig.).
2385	Paschetti, Bart., <i>De destillatione catharro ...</i> , Venetiis, 1615. (" <i>Collegii Societatis Jesu Pekin</i> ").
2436	Phaedro, Georgius, <i>Opuscula Iatro-chemica</i> , Francofurti, 1611.
2437	id., 1611.
2469	Piso, Wilhelm, <i>De Indiae Utriusque Re Naturali et Medica libri XIV</i> , Amsterdam, 1658.
2470	id. (" <i>Missionis Sinensis PP. Gallorum</i> ").
2485	Plater, Felix, <i>De corporis humani structura et usu</i> , Basileae, 1583.
2486	id., <i>Praxeos seu de cognoscendis ... affectibus</i> , Basileae, 1609 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)</i> ").

<sup>a</sup> Another text of Mesua was in the personal collection of Diogo Valente (d. 1633), Bishop of Japan, in Macau.

2565	Rhazes, <i>Opera Exquisitoria</i> , Basileae, s.a.
2595	Riolan, Jean, <i>Enchiridion anatomicum et pathologicum</i> , Paris, 1658.
2602	Rivière, Lazare, <i>Opera Medica Universa</i> , Francofurti, 1669.
2603	id., Lyon, 1679 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
2604	id., (Ungaretti > "in usum P(atris) K(ilian) Stumpf").
2623	Rossi, Girolamo de, <i>De destillatione</i> , Basileae, 1585 ("M(issionis) Sin(ensis)").
2633	Rudius, Eustachius, <i>De affectibus externarum corporis humani partium l. VII</i> , Venetiis, 1606 (Bibl. Trig.?).
2634	id., <i>De morbis occultis &amp; venenatis</i> , Venetiis, 1610 (Bibl. Trig.?).
2635	Ruland, Martin, <i>Alexicacus chymiatricus</i> , Frankfurt /M, 1611.
2636	id., <i>De morbo Ungarico recte cognoscendo et feliciter curando</i> , Lipsiae, 1610 "M(issionis) Sin(ensis)".
2637	id., <i>De perniciosae luis Ungaricae tecmarsi (sic) et curatione</i> , Frankfurt, 1600.
2654	Sala, Angiolo, <i>Opera Medico-chymica</i> , Rouen, 1650 ("PP. Gall(orum)").
2655	id., <i>Anatomia Vitrioli, Aureliae Allobr.</i> [Geneva], 1609 ("M(issionis) Sin(ensis)"; "J(ohannis)T(errentii)").
2683	Schalling, Jacob, <i>Ophthalmia, sive disquisitio hermetico-Galenica de natura oculorum</i> , Erfurt, 1615.
2695	Schenck von Grafenberg, <i>Biblia iatrica sive bibliotheca medica</i> , Frankfurt/M., 1609 ("M(issionis) Sin(ensis)").
2696	id., <i>Exotericorum experientorum ad varios morbos</i> , Francofurti, 1607.
2697	id., <i>Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum</i> , Francofurti, 1600 ("Miss(ionis) Sinens(is)").
2702	Scheunemann, Henning, <i>Hydromantia Paracelsica</i> , Frkf./M., 1613.
2703	id., <i>Medicina Reformata</i> , Francofurti, 1617.
2704	id., <i>Paracelsia Henningi Scheunemanni ... de morbo mercuriali contagioso</i> , Babenberg, 1608.
2705	id., 1610.
2747	Sennert, Daniel, <i>Institutionum Medicinae L. V</i> , Witteberg, 1611 (Bibl. Trig.?).
2748	id., <i>Quaestionum Medicarum Controversiarum Liber, cui accessit Tractatus de pestilentia</i> , Witteberg, 1610.
2753	Settala, Ludovico, <i>Comment. In Arist. Problemata</i> , Francofurti, 1602/07 (Bibl. Trig.).
2851	Solenander, Reiner, <i>Consiliorum medicinalium</i> , Hanau, 1609 (Bibl. Trig.).
2855	Spach, Israel, <i>Gynaeciorum sive de de mulierum ... affectibus et morbis</i> , Argentinae (Strassburg), 1597 (Bibl. Trig.).
2856	id., <i>Nomenclator scriptorum medicorum</i> , Francofurti, 1591.

2857	id., 1598 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
2860	Spiegelhel, Adrianus van den, <i>De humani corporis fabrica l. X</i> , Frkf./M., 1632 (" <i>Collegii Pekinensis Societatis Jesu</i> ").
2862	Spielmann, Jacques Renaud, <i>Institutiones chemicae Praelectionibus Academicis Accomodatae</i> , 1766 (Stamp of A. de Gouveia).
2874	Stocker, Johann, <i>Empirica sive medicamenta varia</i> , Francofurti, 1601.
2900	Swieten Gerhard, Baron van, <i>Commentaria in Hermanni Boerhaave Aphorismos de cognoscendis et curandis morbis</i> , Venetiis, 1746.
2901	id., 1749-1755.
2902	Sydenham, Thomas, <i>Opera Medica</i> , Genevae, 1716 (" <i>Quillebeuf</i> ").
2925	Tagliacozzi, Gasparo, <i>De Curtorum Chirurgia per insitionem</i> , s.l., 1597.
2938	Tessari, Ludovico, <i>Chymiae Elementa</i> , Venetiis, 1772 (Stamp of A. de Gouveia).
3003	Uffenbach, Peter, <i>Thesaurus Chirurgiae Ambrosii Parei Parisiensis</i> , Frankfurt/M., 1610.
3005	Unzer, Mathias, <i>Hieronosologia chymiatrica h.e. Epilepsiae seu Morti sacri ... descriptio</i> , Hallae Saxonum, 1616.
3006	id., * <i>Katoptron Loimoodes, h.e. de lue pestifera</i> , Hallae S., 1615 (" <i>Miss(ionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
3007	id., <i>De Nephritide seu renum calculo</i> , Halae S., 1614.
3020	Varoli, Costanzo, <i>Anatomiae sive de resolutione corporis humani</i> , Fkf./M., 1591 (" <i>M(issionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
3021	Vasco Castello, Pedro, <i>Exercitationes medicinales ad omnes thoracis affectus</i> , Tolosae, 1616 (Bibl. Trig.?).
3034	Vicarius, Bartolomaeus, <i>De aegrotantium optimo assistente</i> , Romae, 1591 (" <i>M(issionis) Sin(ensis)</i> ").
3079	Warenius, Heinrich, <i>Nosologia seu Adfectuum humanorum curatio hermetica et Galenica</i> , Lipsiae, 1605.
3081	Wecker, Johann Jacob, <i>De secretis libri XVII</i> , Basileae, 1587 (" <i>ad usum P(atris) Archangeli M(ariae) a S. Anna Carm(elitorum) Excalc(ea)t(or)um</i> ").
3083	Weinhart, Ferdinand Karl, <i>Nucleus universae medicinae</i> , Patavii, 1739.
3084	Weitbrecht, Josias, <i>Syndesmologia</i> , Petropoli, 1742 (" <i>PP. Gall(or)um</i> "). Cf. Gaubil.
3085	id. 1742.
3090	Willis, Thomas, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , Amsterdam, 1682 (" <i>PP. Gall(or)um</i> ").
3091	Willis, Th., <i>Pharmaceutica Rationalis</i> , (London?), 1674, (" <i>PP. Gall(or)um</i> ").
3107	Zacutus Lusitanus, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , Lyon, 1667.
3123	Zetzner, Lazarus, <i>Theatrum Chemicum</i> , Argentorate (Strassburg), 1659-1660 (" <i>Estes seis tomos chimicos applicados a V(ice) Provincia na China da Comp(an)hia de IESU 1680</i> ").

**Italian section (14 items)**

3148	Andrea della Croce, Giovanni, <i>Cirurgia universale</i> , Venetia, 1605.
3149	id., ed. 1661.
3150	<i>Antidotario Romano Latino e volgare</i> , Venetia, 1678 ("P(atr)i Dom(inic)o Parrenino").
3212	Bratti, Giovanni, <i>Discorso della vecchia et nuova medicina</i> , Venezia, 1592.
3269	Fioravanti, Leonardo, <i>I capricci medicinali</i> , Venezia, 1665.
3301	Grandi, Lasaro, <i>Alfabeto di secreti medicinali</i> , Salvazzo, 1680 ("Residentiae Sancti Josephi").
3334	Lémery, Nic., <i>Corso di chimica</i> , Venezia, 1700.
3347	Mansueto di Brembilla, <i>L'infermiere in pratica</i> , Venezia 1728 ("ad usum P(atris) Archangeli Mariae à Sta Anna Carmel(it)ae Discalc(ea)ti").
3361	Matthioli, Pietro Andrea, <i>I discorsi (...)Nelle sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride (...) della materia medicinale</i> , Venetia, 1568 ("S.C.").
3362	Id., Venezia, 1712 ("Chintim fu pelo P. C. de Resende 1734")
3494	Tagault, Jean, <i>Institutione di chirurgia</i> , Venezia, 1598 ("M.A.R.").
3496	Tanaron, Pietro Paolo, <i>Opere Chirurgiche</i> , Lucca, 1763-4 ("Francesco Larzi").
3497	id., <i>L'ostetrica</i> , Firenze, 1768.
3528	Verle, Giovanni Battista, <i>Anatomia artificiale dell'occhio umano</i> , Firenze, 1679 ("Collegii Societatis Jesu Pekin").

**Portuguese section (12 items)**

3549	Almeida, Feliciano de, <i>Cirurgia reformada</i> , Lisboa, 1738.
3560	Azevedo, Manuel de, <i>Ocarm.Correccão de abusos introduzidos contra o verdadeiro methodo da medicina</i> , Lisboa, 1668.
3596	Coelho, Manuel Rodrigues, <i>Pharmacopea Tubalense chimico-galenica</i> , Lisboa, 1735.
3606	Semedo, João Curvo, <i>Polyanthea medicinal</i> , Lisbon, 1716 ("Collegii Societas Jesu Pekini – 1741").
3607	Id., 1741.
3616	Ferreira, Antonio, <i>Luz verdadeyra e recopilado exame de toda a cirurgia</i> , Lisboa, 1705.
3644	Helvetius, Jan-Adriaen, <i>Tratado das mais frequentes enfermidades e dos remedios mais proprios para as curar</i> , Lisboa, 1747.
3617	Henriques, Francisco da Fonseca, <i>Socorro Delphico, que a os clamores da natureza humana para total profligação de seus males ...</i> , s.a. s.l.

3667	Lopes Correa, João, <i>Castello forte contra todas as infirmitades</i> , Lisboa, 1723.
3683	Roma, Francisco Morato, <i>Luz da medicina, pratica racional e methodica, gua de enfermeiros, directorio de principiantes</i> , Lisboa, 1672.
3684	id., 1726 ( <i>“ad usum Arch(angeli) Maria a St. Anna Carm(elitae) Disc(alceati)”</i> ).
3742	Texeira, Antonio, <i>Epitome das noticias astrologicas para a medicina</i> , Lisboa, 1670.

### Spanish Section (3 items)

3789	Fuente Pierola, Geronimo de la, <i>Tyrocinio pharmacopeo, methodo medico y chimico</i> , Zaragoza, 1695.
3795	Heister, Lorenz, <i>Instituciones chirurgicas</i> , Madrid, 1747-1748.
3843	Porres, Manuel de, <i>Medula de cirurgia y examen de cirujanos</i> , Madrid (1721 ?).

### German section (19 items)

3904	Camerarius, Joachim, <i>Synopsis Commentariorum de peste, dass ist Kurtzer doch beständiger Begriff ... von der Pestilentz</i> , Lich, 1597.
3905	Cuba, Johann, <i>Kreutterbuch</i> , Frankfurt/M., 1546 (B.Trig.?).
3915	Friedel, David, <i>Die verderbte Medizin</i> , Zittau-Leipzig, 1722 ( <i>“Collegii Pekin(ensis) Societatis Jesu – 1727”</i> ).
3922	Guarinonius, Hippolytus, <i>Die Grewel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts</i> , Ingolstadt, 1610 (Bibl. Trig.?).
3926	Hellwig, Christoph, <i>Der curieuse und vernünfftige Zauber Artzt</i> , Frankfurt, 1725.
3934	Khunrath, Conradus, <i>Medulla destillatoria et medica</i> , Hamburg, 1614.
3953	Minderer, Raymund, <i>Neu verbesserte Kriegs-artzney</i> , Nürnberg, 1667 ( <i>“V(ice)Prov(inciae) Sin(ensis.)”</i> ).
3960	Popp, Johann, <i>Kurtzes Handbuchlein und Experiment vieler Artzeneyen</i> , Coburg, 1617.
3962	Rhenanus, Johannes, <i>Antidotarium Pestilentielle</i> , Frankfurt/M., 1613.
3965	Rothen, Johann Philipp, <i>Der sichere und allezeit fertige Chirurgus</i> , Lübeck, 1720 ( <i>“Collegii Societatis Jesu Pekin – 1727”</i> ).
3966	Ruland, Martin, <i>Vom Wasserbaden drey Theyl</i> , Dillingen, 1568.
3967	Rummel, Johann Konrad, <i>Gründliche Beschreibung des new-erbauten Minerischen Bads-Newenmarckt</i> , Amberg, 1598.

3968	Saltzmann, Johann Rudolph, <i>Kurtze beschreibung des heylsamer Badts and [sic] Bronnens der Sahlbronnen</i> , Strassburg, 1612.
3983	Stahl, Georg Ernst, <i>Der medicinischen Eröffnung</i> , Leipzig, 1724-25 ("Collegii Penin(ensis) Societatis Jesu – 1727").
3986	Suchten, Alexander von, <i>Antimonii Mysteria Gemina</i> , Lipsiae, 1604 ("M(issionis) Sin(ensis)").
3991	Triphyllocladacnus, Wilhelm, <i>Giffiager</i> , F/M., 1567 ("M(issionis) Sinensis") ("Collegii Societatis Jesu Oenipontani; 1616"; "dono P.Georgii Kern").
3994	Wittich, Johann, <i>Sylva experimentorum probatissimorum tam simplicium quam compositorum</i> , Leipzig, 1607 ("Missionis Sinensis").
3995	<i>Der Wohlbewährte Kräuter Arzt</i> , Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1725 ("Collegii Pekin(ensis) Societatis Jesu – 1727").
3996	Woyt, Joh. Jac., <i>Die Curiöse Chirurgie</i> , Dresden, 1715 ("Collegii Pekin(ensis) Societatis Jesu – 1727").

### Greek section (2)

4025	Hippocrates, <i>Opera Medicorum Omnium</i> , Frankfurt, 1595.
4026	id., 1624 ("ex libris Sebastiani Lainssant medici Parisiensis" > PP. Gall(orum) S.J. Pekin").

### Dutch section (2)

4052	Barbette, Paulus, <i>Chirurgie nae de hedendaegsche practijk</i> , A'dam, 1663.
4053	id., <i>Pest-beschryving</i> , A'dam, 1664.