THE LIBRARY

## The Ontario Institute

for Studies in Education

Toronto, Canada




Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2008 with funding from Microsoft Corporation
?


# THE <br> SCHOOL of SALERNUM REGIMEN SANITATIS SALERNITANUM 

The English Version BY SIR JOHN HARINGTON

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF SALERNUM BY FRANCIS R. PACKARD, M.D.

AND A NOTE ON THE PREHISTORY OF THE REGIMEN SANITATIS BY FIELDING H. GARRISON, M.D.


NEW YORK
PAUL B. HOEBER

$$
\text { I } 920
$$

# Copyright, 1920, <br> By PAUL B. HOEBER <br> Published June, 1920 

610.71145

$$
\begin{aligned}
& R 335 \\
& R 335
\end{aligned}
$$

Printed in the United States of America

## CONTENTS

PAGE
I. History of the School of Salernum
Francis R. Packard ..... 7
II. Note on the Prehistory of the Regimen Sanitatis Fielding H. Garrison ..... 53
III. The Salerne Schoole ..... 67
IV. Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum ..... 159
V. Notes on the English Text ..... 181
VI. Notes on the Latin Text ..... 204
ViI. Index of Subjects ..... 210


## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE
Sir John Harington ..... Frontispicce
Tailpiece, the Printer's Device Appearing in Scola Salernitana. Venice: Carl Brogiollus, 1630 ..... 52
Tallpiece, Appearing in Medicina Salernitana. Venice: Johann Saver, 1615 ..... 63
Villa Nova Commenting on the Schola Salerni ..... 64
First Page of a MS of Harington's Translation, in a Scribe's Hand but with Harington's Own Correc- tions Opposite 75
Reproduction of the Title Page from the English Version by Harington ..... 67
The Medieval Physician in His Office Opposite 76
The Banquet ..... 78
The Public Bath ..... 83
The Public Bath ..... 85
The Morning Draught ..... 89
The Signs of the Zodiac ..... 91
Arnold of Villa Nova ..... 99
The Four Seasons ..... 129
The Four Temperaments Opposite 130
The Four Temperaments ..... 133
The Sanguine Man. ..... 135
The Choleric Man ..... 137
The Phlegmatic Man ..... 139
The Melancholy Man ..... 14I
Bleeding to Cheer the Pensive ..... 151






[^0]

## HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF SALERNUM

By Francis R. Packard, M.D.

DURING the periods known as the Dark and Middle Ages, medicine, as a science, practically ceased to exist. In the Christian era hospitals and asylums for the sick were established, but it cannot be said that the clinical material thus gathered was utilized to much good. Leper hospitals in great numbers were established throughout Europe and England, necessitated by the spread of that disease by pilgrims and crusaders returning from the East.

To their preservation in various monastic libraries we owe the possession of most of the literary remains of ancient Greek, Latin, and Arabian medicine, but no additions were made during many centuries to the knowledge of anatomy, physiology, or other fundamental branches of medicine. The monks who wrote
on medical subjects were either mere copyists who transcribed ancient manuscripts which were contained in monastic libraries, or compiled formularies of therapeutic measures as absurd as those of the most primitive races.

The Benedictines were, from the medical point of view, the most active of all the religious orders. At the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Casino, near Naples, in the ninth century, medicine, such as it was, was not only practiced but taught. Unfortunately, the records which remain of the cases treated there are chiefly accounts of miraculous cures wrought by St. Benedict, and though interesting from a historical point of view, possess absolutely no scientific value. The monastery had been founded by St. Benedict himself in the early part of the sixth century, and was sacked by the Lombards towards its close. The monks fled to Rome, but returned to Monte Casino in 720, when they rebuilt the monastery, only to be destroyed again, this time by the Saracens in 884. It was restored once
more some seventy years later and became one of the most famous monasteries of the medieval era. It continued its existence as a monastery until 1866, when at the dissolution of such institutions it was spared because of the intervention of some English well-wishers of Italy, and was classed as a national monument, with its monks as custodians.

One of the chief duties of the Benedictine order was to care for the sick. Although St. Benedict had forbidden the monks to act as teachers, the injunction was from an early period generally disregarded, and we find Monte Casino referred to not only as a hospital but as a medical school at a very early date. Most of the cures wrought at the shrine, however, were of a miraculous nature, such as that of the Emperor Henry II of Germany, in 1022, who had gone to the monastery to seek relief from stone in the bladder. He fell into a deep sleep during which St. Benedict relieved him of the cause of his sufferings. Several of its abbots, notably Bertharius, in the ninth
century, and Desiderius (who became Pope Victor III), in the eleventh, wrote books on medicine, including four books on the miraculous cures wrought by St. Benedict.

One of the most famous inmates of the monastery was Constantinus Africanus, who was born in northern Africa and travelled extensively in Egypt and India in the pursuit of knowledge. When he returned to Carthage he was accused of sorcery and obliged to fly for his life. He fled to Salernum where he was appointed secretary to Robert Guiscard, who had shortly before captured the town. He soon, however, gave up his position and entered the monastery at Monte Casino where in the silent cloister he wrote the many medical works which have preserved his name. These were chiefly translations of and commentaries on Arabian and Greek authors, and it is principally to the labors of Constantine that we owe the injection of Arabic medicine, such as it was, into the medical learning of Europe. Con[ 10 ]
stantine died in 1087. Although undoubtedly a most learned man, the estimate of his writings given by Freind in his "History of Physick," 1750, is pretty generally adhered to by modern authorities. Freind states that though he compiled many books, most of what he wrote was merely a translation of the works of the Greeks and Arabians, and in many instances he was guilty of gross plagiarisms. A collected edition of the works of Constantine was published at Basle in 1539.

On a hill, just above the site of the present city of Salerno, thirty-five miles to the southeast of Naples, there was situated the ancient city of Salernum, which is first known as a Roman colony in 194 B. C. Because of its salubrious situation it became famous as a health resort at an early period in its history. After the Lombard conquest the city achieved great importance. In 1075 it was captured by Robert Guiscard, the Norman, after a siege lasting eight months. The city continued to prosper until it was sacked and its
material prosperity ruined by the Emperor Henry VI, in 1194.

The monks of Monte Casino early realized the importance of Salerno as a health resort, and they lost no time in extending their influence to that town. They established monasteries in the city and many authorities consider that the organization of the medical school of Salerno on a scholastic basis was chiefly attributable to their activities. That the teaching of medicine was carried on from a very early period at Salerno is certain, but the origin of the school is involved in great obscurity. The tradition which was formerly most generally accepted was that the school was founded by four physicians, a Jew, a Greek, a Saracen and a Latin, who foregathered at Salerno about the middle of the seventh century. This cosmopolitan group was supposed to explain why medicine, as taught at Salerno, embodied the learning of all nations. The prevalent view is that the school had no definite point of origin, but [ 12 ]
simply grew up out of the gathering together of many sick patients, especially those of wealth, for, like modern resorts of a similar nature, the majority of the people at Salerno were persons of means. Salerno was right in the path of many of the Crusaders and was a favorite stopping place for them both on their way and returning. Thus it was that Robert of Normandy, to whom I shall refer later, visited Salerno, and there were thousands of others who did likewise.

The fact that the town was a resort for those who engaged in the holy wars would naturally attract the monks of the not far distant monastery, and, as we have seen, they hastened to erect monasteries and churches in its midst. At these shrines were deposited various holy relics which were reputed to possess miraculous healing properties, and during the tenth century arose a cloud of testimonials not only to the healing properties of the air and baths and to the skill of the physicians of Salerno, but an immense num-
ber of tales of the wonderful cures wrought at its altars by saintly means. There were four shrines of especial importance from the medical point of view. They were those in which were enclosed the relics of St. Matthew, St. Archelaus, St. Thecla and St. Susanna.

The literary activity of the School of Salerno first manifested itself about the middle of the eleventh century. There exist a series of treatises which are by different authors manifesting rather an erudite knowledge of the writings of previous authorities in Arabic, Greek and Latin than any especial originality. Among the earliest known authors of Salerno were Gariopontus and Petrocellus or Petronius. The former's compilation entitled "Passionarius Gąleni" was long extolled as an authority on therapeutics, although it is said to be an almost literal copy of a work by Theodore Priscianus of Constantinople. Gariopontus wrote about IO40. Petrocellus wrote his practice about 1035 . One of the most traditionally famous authors of

Salerno was Trotula, who has descended in the vernacular to quite modern times as Mother Trot. Trotula was a woman of noble family who not only wrote but taught at Salerno. She wrote on obstetrics, hygiene, and many other medical subjects, about the year 1059. Malgaigne ${ }^{1}$ thought that he had proved that although Trotula existed and was a distinguished female resident of Salerno, there was no evidence that she had anything to do with the authorship of the works attributed to her. Trotula is stated, by those who believe in her authorship, to have written two books, "De Mulierum Passionibus," generally known as Trotula Major, and a work on cosmetic hygiene, known as Trotula Minor. De Renzi in his history of the school of Salerno states his belief that Trotula was the wife of John Platearius, one of the members of the family of that name who occupied a professional chair at Salerno. In looking into the question of the authorship of books written

[^1][15]
in the ages before the invention of printing, it is constantly necessary to bear in mind that titles, authors' names, and other essential details of the books were frequently confused to an astonishing degree, because the successive copyists by the necessary frequency with which errors were made led to a consecutive increase in the obscurity as to many things of vital import. Very often the copyist would interpolate contemporary matters without indicating in any way that he deflected from the original. Thus Malgaigne studied the supposed works of Trotula in different manuscripts of various dates. From his researches he concluded that there was no reason to think that Trotula was really the authoress of the works, as the name Trotula was only used in the title as "Summa quæ dicitur Trotula," but nowhere in any of the manuscripts was there any distinct statement that Trotula or any other woman was the writer. In some of the manuscripts the name Eros is used for Trotula. Most [ 16 ]
authorities hold with de Renzi, however, that Trotula was a very real person indeed and worthy of all the posthumous fame she had achieved. There were other women besides Trotula who practiced medicine and wrote on medical subjects at Salerno.

In the fifteenth century Costanza or Costanzella Calenda, a woman famous alike for her beauty and intellectual acquirements, received the degree of doctor of medicine.

Abella was another woman who wrote on medical topics in the early part of the fifteenth century. She was the authoress of two treatises in Latin verse, "De Natura Seminis Hominis," and the other "De Atrabile."

Rebecca Guarna and a lady who wrote under the name of Mercuriadis also wrote medical books. The exact dates at which these three females flourished are uncertain, but the thirteenth was the century which witnessed their activities.

Women were undoubtedly admitted to the medical course at Salerno and received de-
grees and licenses to practice. There is no authentic record, however, of a woman having served as a member of the Faculty.

Other authors of Salerno in the eleventh century were Johannes Afflacius, Bartholomæus, the two Cophons, and Ferrarius. Archimathæus wrote about the year inoo, two works, one a practice of medicine, the other a guide to the physician on his comportment and bearing to his patients. Daremberg ${ }^{1}$ quotes the following interesting directions given by Archimathæus for the guidance of the physician on his professional visits:
"When the physician goes to visit his patients he should place himself under the protection of God and of the angel who accompanied Tobias. On his way he will try and learn from the person who came to fetch him as much as possible of the condition of the patient in order to put himself au courant of the affection he will have to treat, so that

[^2]if, after having examined the urine and felt the pulse, he cannot soon learn the nature of the illness, he can by means of the facts previously ascertained at least inspire confidence in the patient by proving to him that he has divined something of the nature of his sufferings. It is well that the sick man before the arrival of the physician should confess himself or undertake to do so, because if his doctor finds it necessary for him he will believe his case desperate, and the inquietude will aggravate his illness, whereas more than one sick man who provides against the reproaches of his conscience recovers because of his reconciliation with the Great Physician.
"On his entrance the physician makes his salutations with a grave and modest demeanor, seats himself to take breath, praises, if opportunity affords, the beauty of the location, the elegance of the mansion, the generosity of the family, in this way gaining the good will of those present and giving the sick man time to regain his composure. (Archimathæus then
gives minute directions as to feeling the pulse and the examination of the urine.)
"On departing the physician promises the patient he shall recover; to those who are about the sickbed, however, he must affirm that the patient is very ill; if the patient recovers the physician's reputation will be enhanced, should he die the physician can state that the outcome was as he predicted. He should not allow his eyes to fix themselves upon the wife or daughter, however beautiful they may be, for that would forfeit his honor and compromise the welfare of the patient by drawing upon the household the anger of God. If he is requested to dine, as is the custom, he must show himself neither indiscreet nor greedy. Unless he is forced he should not take the first place at the table, although that should be reserved for the priest or physician. If in the house of a peasant he should taste everything without finishing it, remarking on the rusticity of the food; if, on the contrary, the table is delicate, he [ 20 ]
should not yield to the pleasure of the appetite. He should ask for information as to the state of the patient from time to time, who will be charmed to find that he is not forgotten amidst the pleasures of the repast. Upon leaving the table the physician must go to the bedside of the patient, assure him how well he has fared, and above all must not forget to show solicitude as to the regulation of the diet of the sick man."

It is evident that there was a good bit of charlatanry mixed with the medicine of the venerable Archimathæus.

Among these authors should be mentioned especially Cophon the Younger who wrote in the twelfth century a book on the anatomy of the pig, "De Anatomia Porci," which was probably the standard textbook of anatomy at the School, and a book on the practice of medicine, "Ars Medendi."

Daremberg spoke in terms of special commendation of the writings of Cophon the Younger, stating that he described certain
conditions not referred to by any other of the Salernian writers, among which may be mentioned ulceration of the palate, scrofulous glands in the neck, and condylomata. He refers to the custom which prevailed with Cophon, as well as many other of the Salernians, of giving different prescriptions to be used for rich patients than those to be given to patients less fortunately situated. This custom was not the result of any desire on the physician's part to make invidious distinction, but because medicines could be given in a more agreeable form to those who could afford to pay for the gilding of the pill. Thus for a purge for a person of noble birth Cophon recommended rhubarb, very finely powdered, while for peasants he used mirobolanum macerated with or without sugar.

Nicholas Præpositus, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, was, as his name implies, director of the School. ${ }^{\text {' }} \mathrm{He}$ wrote an Antidotarium which achieved great fame as a pharmacopœia. Nicholas would
seem to have been an ardent ecclesiastic to judge from the religious names which he gave to the various remedies contained in his books, such as Potio Sancti Pauli or the drink of St. Paul; Emplastrum Apostolicon or the apostolic plaster. Most of his remedies were nauseous mixtures of many ingredients. He also wrote a little book called "Quid pro quo," which gave a list of the drugs which could be substituted for one another in "case of difficulty in procuring any special preparation.

Matthew Platearius was another twelfthcentury author of Salerno and a member of a family who supplied the school with several of its faculty. Much confusion exists among writers as to individuals of the Platearius family. Daremberg said that there were three, two named John and one named Matthew; all held chairs at Salerno.

Master Bernard, the Provincial, also wrote on pharmacy at this epoch. To him we owe the preservation of many curious prescrip-
tions in vogue in his time. Bernard had an especially tender regard for the stomachs of archbishops. He particularly recommends wine for them and states that he discovered from his experience in the case of Archbishop Alphanus that it was not wise to give archbishops vomitive medicines on an empty stomach, but only after a meal.

Musandinus who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century was the author of a book on the preparation of food and drink for the sick (De modo præparandi cibos et potus infirmorum).

The most famous of the twelfth-century authors, however, was Ægidius Corboliensis. He was a native of Corbeil, near Paris, and after studying at Salerno, he returned to the French capital to practice. He was physician to Philip Augustus and wrote several books in Latin verse, one on the pulse (De Pulsibus), one on the urine (De Urinus) and a larger one on medicaments.

The best known literary product of Salerno
was the famous poem which survived many hundreds of years in great esteem as a standard textbook, and which is the best known literary survival of medieval medicine.

Before the invention of printing the Schola Salernitana or Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum (sometimes called the Flos Medicinæ Salerni and Medicina Salernitana) was spread over the civilized world in innumerable manuscript copies. Sir Alexander Croke ${ }^{1}$ in his edition of the poem enumerates twenty editions which were printed between the years 1480 and 1500 , and Baudry de Balzac stated that to 1846,240 editions of the poem were printed, and that there existed more than roo manuscript copies in European libraries.

The poem was written as a work of medical advice for the benefit of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror. ${ }^{2}$ Robert had been a rebellious

[^3]son and had actually wounded his own father in a battle in 1079. The Conqueror forgave him and in 1087, when William died, Robert became Duke of Normandy, while his younger brother became King of England. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fraternal feuds in which the sons of William the Conqueror indulged after their stern father's death. In 1096, Robert was seized with the crusading ardor and to raise funds for the purpose mortgaged his dukedom to his brother William for 10,000 marks. On his way to the Holy Land he passed a winter at Salerno, which was the capital of the Duchy of Apulia, whose reigning duke, Ruggiero, was related to Robert. The two dukes seemed to have enjoyed one another's society immensely, and had a mutually agreeable time.

Before sailing in April, Robert repaired to Monte Casino and received the benediction of the monks. Finally he arrived with his followers in the Holy Land, aided in the capture of Jerusalem, and the establishment of [ 26 ]

Godfrey de Bouillon as king of the conquered land. In September, IO99, Duke Robert returned to Salerno where Duke Ruggiero welcomed him once more to the hospitalities of his court. Here the returned warrior fell in love with Sybilla, daughter of the Count of Conversano, and was married to her. One reason for Duke Robert's return to Salerno is said to have been to seek relief in the skill of its physicians for a poisoned wound of the arm which he had received in the war. A romantic tale states that the physicians told him that there was but one chance for his recovery. This was to have the poison sucked from his wound. His affectionate wife volunteered for this service, but the Duke sternly refused to consider the proposition. Sybilla, not to be daunted, waited until he was sound asleep one night and then proceeded to suck the wound, with most wonderful results, as it healed as if by magic. As the result of a year passed in pleasant dalliance at the court of Duke Ruggiero, Robert lost [ 27 ]
the crown of England, for while he was there William Rufus died, and although Robert was acknowledged as his successor by his companions in Italy, his brother Henry had secured actual possession of the throne of England. Robert tried for some years to dispose of his brother, but was finally, at the battle of Tenchebrai, in 1106, taken prisoner by Henry and passed the last twenty-eight years of his life in captivity.

Attempts have been made to question the statement that the poem was intended for Duke Robert, but Sir Alexander Croke in the edition which he so ably edited advanced reasons which he thought should settle the point decisively. He states the poem was evidently written as early as the end of the eleventh century (Duke Robert's time), because it is imitated and referred to by Ægidius Corboliensis in the middle of the twelfth century, and because of the early imitations of it at the universities of Paris and Montpellier. In the second place, no other king of England
was connected with Salerno, as was Duke Robert. Richard Cœur de Lion stopped at Salerno on his way to Palestine but this was in I 199, long after the poem was in circulation. Doubt has been cast on its being Robert because he never became king of England de facto. Croke states, however, that in many ancient writings Robert is distinctly referred to as King of England. He quotes a passage from Peter Diaconus in which he is termed Robertus rex Anglorum. Thirdly, as Croke says, there is the internal evidence arising from the recipe for the cure of a fistulous wound, which was the nature of Duke Robert's complaint, and which would indicate that the person for whom it was written suffered from it. ${ }^{1}$

The authorship of the Regimen is a matter of some doubt. Daremberg considered it of composite authorship, but it is generally as-

[^4]cribed to one John of Milan, who is supposed to have been the head of the faculty of the School of Salerno at the time it was written. Some of the earliest manuscript copies of the poem bear his name, yet as Croke ${ }^{1}$ says, Arnold of Villa Nova, the earliest commentator on the poem, who died in 1313, states that it was published by the doctors of Salerno. He adds, that although the name, John of Milan, is not found in any of the lists of the learned men connected with either the monastery of Monte Casino or the School of Salerno, "Yet that it should be so generally ascribed, in later times, to a person whose very name is not elsewhere to be found, unless it were known from undisputed and indeviating tradition, and ancient authorities, it is difficult to conceive."

The Regimen is really a handbook of domestic medicine. It was not intended for the medical profession, but for the guidance of laymen, primarily King Robert, but its

[^5][ 30 ]
merits were such that the demand for it led to its being copied many times and translated into many tongues. It was quite customary, in the days before printing, to write in verse upon any subject, medical, theological, historical, etc., because it was so much easier to memorize than prose and could thus become more generally diffused and readily transmitted. Many manuscript copies are still in existence in the libraries of Europe and England. The Bodleian Library at Oxford and the British Museum each contain several. As in all books which went through numerous copyings, the text varies greatly. Thus the text commented upon by Arnold of Villa Nova contains about 363 lines, and some of the other manuscript editions contain even less, while in other manuscripts the poem is swelled to over a thousand lines. The manuscript as given by Arnold of Villa Nova is regarded as the most authentic of all the texts, because he lived (in the thirteenth century) nearer the date of its composition
than any other known commentator, and was often in Sicily in the immediate neighborhood of the place where it was composed.

Arnold of Villa Nova (1235?-13II) was born near Valencia. He studied medicine at Paris and Montpellier, and at the latter place taught for ten years. He was a very learned man, knowing Hebrew and Arabic as well as Greek and Latin. He became physician to three popes and was the physician and intimate counsellor of the Kings of Arragon and of Sicily. He was a friend of Raymond Lully, the peripatetic alchemist, to whom Arnold taught the art of making brandy from wine. Arnold is said to have been the first to use brandy medicinally. He is stated to have composed a tincture of gold wherewith he cured Pope Innocent $V$ of the plague. Arnold was a bold man and an independent thinker; and after 1299 was largely engaged in schemes of ecclesiastical and social reformation. He was accused of practicing alchemy and of holding heretical opinions. It was for Frederic of [ 32 ]

Sicily that Arnold edited his edition of the Regimen. In spite of his disfavor with the Inquisition, Pope Clement $V$ held him in high esteem, because in I3I3 that pontiff wrote letters to all those whom he thought might help in his search requesting that they aid him in recovering a book, "De Praxi Medica," which Arnold of Villa Nova had promised to send him. Villa Nova died before the book was actually sent. Another pope, Boniface VIII, was accused of heresy because he approved of the writings of Arnold. In Croke's edition of the Regimen he gives the Latin text of Arnold of Villa Nova and expresses his opinion that the version he reprints is nearer the original as written at Salerno than any other known manuscript.

The version of the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum which Sir Alexander Croke used as the text for his English reprint in 1830 is reprinted from an English edition published anonymously in 1607 under the title, "The Englishmans Doctor or the Schoole of Salerne,
or Physicall Observations for the Perfect Preserving of the Body of Man in Continuall Health."

All the translations into the popular tongues of other nations bear the same character as the English version, namely, that of a series of wise maxims written in plain language on the care of the health.

In the year 1224, the Emperor Frederick II, the Hohenstauffen, published a decree which may be regarded as setting the seal of glory on Salerno. Already King Roger III had recognized it by an edict as the source from which it was necessary to obtain authority to practice in his kingdom of the two Sicilies. By the decree of Frederick II, in 1224, it was ordered that thenceforth no one should be permitted to practice medicine in the kingdom of the two Sicilies without having undergone an examination before the faculty of Salerno. In order to be eligible for this examination it was necessary for the candidate to prove the legitimacy of his birth, to have
reached the age of twenty-one years, and to have studied medicine for at least seven years. He was examined in the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, and in the works of Aristotle. If he passed a satisfactory examination he was given the title of Magister, the term doctor being used chiefly at that time to indicate one who taught, or was a professor. In a decree subsequent to that of 1224, it was ordered that before undertaking the study of medicine, the candidate should have studied at least three years in logic. He was then required to study for five years in the medical school, after which he underwent a rigid examination. After his graduation he was required to practice for a year as an assistant or a sort of apprentice to an older practitioner. It is curious to find that during the five years that the student pursued his curriculum he was authorized to teach and expound the writings of Hippocrates and Galen. Other decrees ordained the charges which were permitted by physicians for their
services, regulated the apothecaries, requiring them to pass an examination and make only certain charges, and also set forth the training necessary for those who desired to practice surgery. In order to obtain a license as a surgeon it was necessary to study anatomy for a year at the School of Salerno or the University of Naples and pass a rigid examination.
Physicians were absolutely forbidden to accept fees or commissions from apothecaries or to have any financial interest in apothecary shops. The fees to be charged by physicians were fixed and there were rigid ordinances concerning the sale of poisons and of love philtres or other charms, and the management of contagious diseases.
To Roger of Parma, a graduate of the School of Salerno in the early part of the thirteenth century, is generally ascribed the honor of founding modern surgery. Roger, after graduating, taught for a time at Salerno before going to Montpellier where, according
to Sprengel, he became chancellor of the University, although Malgaigne believes that it was not he but another Roger who held this office. In II80 he wrote his Chirurgia. In this work he advocated the application of wet dressings and ointments to wounds, in order to favor coction and the formation of what was subsequently for many generations known as "laudable pus." This teaching prevailed for many years and although, as we shall see, it was originally opposed, its pernicious influence did untold harm. ${ }^{1}$ Roger fractured the bones in order to remedy badly set fractures. In the treatment of scrofulous ulcers and broken down glands he used tents made of sponge, and he used setons as a means of counterirritation. Roger used the ligature if cauterization and styptics failed to check hemorrhage. He also used the suture.

[^6]Roland of Parma, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, was Roger's most distinguished disciple. He wrote a surgery which in reality is merely a commentary on the works of his master, interspersed with some original views of his own.

About the year 1270, there was written at Salerno a book, "Glossulæ Quatuor Magistrorum Super Chirurgium Rogerii et Rolandi," which purported to be a commentary by four of the faculty of Salerno on the surgeries of Roger and Roland. This commentary of the Four Masters was widely copied and regarded as an authoritative work on surgery for many generations. A number of manuscript copies are contained in the libraries of Europe and England. ${ }^{1}$ The commentary of the Four Masters naturally advocated wet dressings, fomentations and ointments. Many bold surgical procedures are described in it. The

[^7][ 38 ]
use of the ligature is dwelt upon, and trephining, operations on aneurisms, and goitre are described. In reading this or other medieval works one is struck with the frequent mention of surgical measures such as the ligature, many of them known even in much more ancient times, which were subsequently allowed to lapse entirely from view. Operations for vesical calculus and anal fistula are well described.

The thirteenth century witnessed the birth of the intellectual movement which was ultimately to burst in the glory of the Renaissance. In it the great universities of Europe, many of which continue to flourish, first showed signs of real life. Crowds of students flocked to Paris and Montpellier, or to Bologna and Padua, and the great Emperor Frederick II founded the universities of Naples and Messina which under his fostering care showed marvelous growth, and threw their more ancient rival at Salerno into the shade.

As the University of Naples grew in the importance of its professors and the numbers of its students, Salerno gradually declined. No great names illumine the roll of its faculty, and from the thirteenth century it steadily lost standing. One of the last tokens of respect which it received was in 1748 , when the Faculty of Medicine of Paris referred to the Faculty of Salerno the subject of the relative standing of the physicians and surgeons in France, a matter over which professional opinion in that country was so heated that it was deemed necessary to derive aid from outside in its settlement, and the traditional reputation of Salerno led to resort being made to this authority. In 181I, the School of Salerno was formally abolished by the decree of the Emperor Napoleon. In its place a lycée médicale or secondary school of medicine was established. Daremberg visited Salerno in 1848 and tells how he found absolutely no trace of the medical school which had once been its glory. "No echo of tradition; not a [ 40 ]
stone of the ancient edifice; not one manuscript in a library; not even a good edition of the Regimen Salernitanum in the home of the only doctor, Santorelli, in whom the old remembrances were not extinct."

It became the custom for students as well as teachers to travel from one city to another in search of learning. In this peripatetic fashion not only did the seeker of wisdom derive what he sought, but learning was more generally diffused and the scope of men's minds broadened and mellowed. From this time it is almost impossible to assign a teacher to one particular school, as they not only taught as a rule in more than one, but also went to several to obtain their education. Unfortunately in almost every centre of learning the same slavish submission to tradition prevailed, and scholasticism and superstition benighted the minds of those who should have led the fight for intellectual freedom. The influence of the Arabs had overshadowed the pure Greek tradition. Very few of the scholars
[41]
of France or of Italy had any knowledge of Greek, and Hippocratic medicine was known to them solely through the medium of its Arabic and monkish translators who disfigured and corrupted it by the introduction of their fantastic, superstitious and nauseating interpolations.

Sir Alexander Croke (1758-1824) was a distinguished English lawyer and scholar, who, in addition to publishing many legal works, attained distinction as a student of Latin and Greek. In 1830 he published the little volume in which was contained the Latin text of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum," with a translation into English, published anonymously, in the year 1607. The book contains a learned dissertation on the Latin poetry as used in the composition of the School of Salerno, with an historical introduction and numerous notes. It has long been out of print and difficult to obtain.

In the present edition we have reproduced the Latin text used by Croke, which was
[ $4^{2}$ ]
published in 1491, with the following title: "Regimen Sanitatis, cum expositione Magistri Arnaldi de Villa Nova. Incipit Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum excellentissimum pro conservatione sanitatis totius humani generis perutilissimum: nec non a Magistro Arnoldo de Villa Nova Cathelano omnium medicorum viventium gemma, utiliter, ac secundum omnium antiquorum medicorum doctrinam veraciter expositum: noviter correctum ac ememdatum per egregissimos ac medicinæ artis peritissimos Doctores Montispessulani regentes, anno MCCCCLXXX, predicto loco actu moram trahentes." At the end, "Hoc opus optatur quod flos medicinæ vocatur. Tractatus qui de Regimine Sanitatis nuncupatur finit feliciter impressus Argen: (Strasburg): Anno Domini MCCCCXCI, in die Sancti Thomæ Cantuariensis. Apud me." Croke compared and corrected it with other editions of the same century. The English text used by Croke was published anonymously in 1607, with the following title:
"The Englishmans Doctor or, Schoole of Salerne. Or, Physicall Observations for the perfect Preserving of the Body of Man in continuall Health. London: Printed for John Helme, and John Busby Junior and are to be solde at the little shop, next Cliffords Innegate, in Fleet-streete. 1607."

In 1870 Dr. John Ordronaux, professor of medical jurisprudence in the Law School of Columbia College, New York, published his edition: "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum. Code of Health of the School of Salernum, translated into English verse, with an Introduction, Notes and Appendix." Professor Ordronaux reprinted the Latin text of the edition published at Rotterdam by Zaccharias Sylvius in 1657, which he considered the editio recepta. It was entitled "Schola Salernitana, sive De Conservanda Valetudine Præcepta Metrica. Autore Joanne de Mediolano (hactenus ignoti) cum luculenta et succinta Arnoldi Villanovani in singula capita exegesi. Ex recensione Zaccharix Sylvii. Medici Rot-
erodamensis. Cum ejusdem Præfatione. Nova editio, melior et aliquot Medicis opusculis auctior. Roterodami. Ex: Officina Arnoldi Leers, 1657." This text differs in places from the Latin text of the r491 edition given by Croke, particularly in the inclusion of the additions by way of commentaries of Arnold of Villa Nova. The variations from the text of Croke's edition have been placed in footnotes in the present edition, our object being to give the reader as nearly a final Latin text as possible. Professor Ordronaux also added to his text the additions made to the text of Arnold of Villa Nova by Daremberg in the edition published in Paris in 186I. As Daremberg derived these from various Salernian authors other than those who might be regarded as the authors of the original "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum" and therefore entirely extraneous to it, they have not been included in the present reprint.

The English translation made by Professor Ordronaux is a free one, and though more
[ 45 ]
polished and poetical than the old English translations is, by consequence, no more literal.
The most complete of the modern editions of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum" is that originally published in 1860 by Daremberg. This has been republished with additional commentaries, in 1880, with the following title: "L'Ecole de Salerne, traduction en vers Français par Ch. Meaux Saint-Marc, avec le texte Latin. Précédée d'une introduction par le docteur Ch. Daremberg, et suivie de commentaires avec figures. Paris, J. B. Baillière et fils, 1880 ." In this edition the Latin text is much longer than that given in those of Croke and Ordronaux, and there are very full notes and commentaries. The Latin text, however, contains matter of periods very much later than the date of the original composition, and written by authors who lived several centuries after the time at which it was composed. These additions though possessing much intrinsic interest cannot, [ 46 ]
therefore, be justly considered as representing the body corporate of the original.

The English text which is reproduced in this edition is that of Sir John Harington which was first published in 1607. Harington was one of the most characteristically Elizabethan of the courtiers of the Virgin Queen. He was born in 156I. His father's first wife was a natural daughter of Henry VIII, who had been richly endowed by that parent with the confiscated estates of several religious establishments. She died without issue, leaving her property to her husband, who remarried, this time with one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlewomen, by whom he had John, the translator of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum." As the father had loyally stood by Elizabeth when she was in the distress which beset her prior to her ascent to the throne, the latter befriended him after that event. She acted as godmother to his son John, and throughout the latter's eventful life she remained his benefactor although her patience must have been sorely
tried by some of his innumerable escapades. Sir John Harington was a man of culture and esteemed a great wit by his contemporaries. He wrote a number of books, many of them showing a ribald vein. He is the inventor of the modern water-closet which is described in a work entitled "A New Discourse of a Stale Subject called the Metamorphosis of Ajax. London, 1 596." In Elizabeth's time a common term for privies was the jakes (see Prof. Adams' article on Harington in the Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Oct., 1908). His translation of Orlando Furioso, published in 1591, is said to have been brought about as a punishment. He had written and circulated in manuscript among the ladies of the court, a translation of the twenty-eighth book, containing the story of Gioconda. Queen Elizabeth scolded him for circulating such an improper piece of literature among the women of her court, and as a punishment ordered that he remain in retirement in the country until he had translated the entire work, in lieu of only the im-
proper portion. He got into serious trouble with his royal mistress in connection with the Irish expedition, on which he accompanied the ill-starred favorite, Essex. He wrote many epigrams which have been published and at his death, which occurred in 1612, left several manuscripts bearing on contemporary history which were published many years after his death. Just why Harington undertook the publication of his English version of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum" is not known. He was appointed as one of those to look after the education of Prince Henry, and it is possible he thought the book might contain matter of service to his youthful charge. ${ }^{1}$

I have appended a list of a few of the books which are most readily accessible bearing upon the subject of the School of Salerno. A full bibliography of the subject would require many pages. The following will cover the subject as fully as would be necessary for the

[^8]general reader, and as the books of both Daremberg and Croke contain copious bibliographies, I have not thought it necessary to repeat them.

L'Ecole de Salerne et les médicins Salernitains. G. Bécavin. Paris, 1888.

Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum. A poem on the preservation of the health in rhyming Latin verse. Addressed by the School of Salerno to Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, with an ancient translation; and an introduction and notes by Sir Alexander Croke. Oxford, England, 1830.

Glossulæ Quatuor Magistrorum super chirurgiam Rogerii et Rolandi. Nunc primum ad fidem Codies Mazarieni edidit. Charles Daremberg. Paris, 1854.

Storia documentata della scuola medica di Salerno, by S. De Renzi, 2nd edition, Naples, 1857.

Collectio Salernitana; ossia documenti inediti, e trattati di medicina appartenenti alla scuola medica Salernitana, raccolti e illustrati da G. E. T. Henschel, C. Daremberg, e S. Renzi premessa la storia della scuolare publicata a cura di S. e Renzi. Napoli, 1852-1859.

$$
[50]
$$

The School of Salernum, by H. E. Handerson. An address read before the Medical Society of the State of New York, 1883.

Euvres complètes d'Ambroise Paré revues et collationées sur toutes les èditions, avec les variantes; ornées de 217 planches et du portrait de l'auteur; accompagnées de notes historiques et critiques; et précédées d'une introduction sur l'origine et les progrès de la chirurgie en occident du sixième au seizième siècle, et sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Ambroise Paré, par J. F. Malgaigne. Paris, 1840.

Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum. Code of health of the School of Salernum. Translated into English verse with an introduction, notes and appendix: by John Ordronaux, LL.B., M.D. Philadelphia, 1870.

L'Ecole de Salerne, traduction en vers Français par Charles Meaux Saint-Marc, avec le texte Latin, précédée d'une introduction par le docteur Ch. Daremberg et suivie de commentaires avec figures. Paris, J. B. Baillière et fils, 1880 .

The Schola Salernitana; its history and the date of its introduction into the British Isles, being the Finlayson Memorial Lecture, by Norman Moore, Glasgow M. J., 1908, lxix, 241-268.

Zum Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, by K. Sudhoff. Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med., Leipz., 1914, vii, 360; 1915, viii, 292, 352.

The illustrations accompanying the text are drawn chiefly from the old editions of the "Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum," some of them being old cuts used in the German editions of Curio in the sixteenth century, and utilized by Croke in his edition. The headpieces and initial appearing in the English version have been exactly reproduced from the Harington edition.


## NOTE ON THE PREHISTORY OF THE REGIMEN SANITATIS

 By Fielding H. Garrison, M.D.IN spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, it has been fairly well demonstrated, through the researches of Sudhoff and Neuburger, that the influence of Constantinus Africanus upon the School of Salerno was only episodic and negligible, although his Latin translations from the Arabic writers were destined to play a unique part in the fastening of Saracenic culture upon the medicine of Western Europe, during the 12th century and later. The Saracen overlords of Sicily, during their period of domination (8291060), made frequent incursions into Southern Italy, and, in ioi6, as Leo Ostiensis relates, ${ }^{1}$ forty brave Norman pilgrims saved Salerno from one of their attacks. Islam was therefore

[^9]not specially popular with the Salernitans. During the Norman dominion of Sicily (106090), what little of the Arabic culture went over to Salerno was quietly absorbed by peaceful infiltration, so that Constantine, in Sudhoff's phrase, was "a mere symptom of a great historic process."

It is also clear that the School of Salerno was of purely laical character, a civitas Hippocratica in the midst of monastic foundations, and the reasons for this are not far to seek. The fact that Salerno was ruled by Northern overlords, by Lombard dukes during the 9th and 10th centuries, and, after the irth century, by Norman princes, Hohenstauffen and Anjou emperors, counted for something. But the point of greatest importance is that the far southern location of Salerno, its proximity to that "Magna Grecia" which formed the "toe" of the Italian boot, put the little town in direct touch with the last survivals of a vanishing Greek culture which from the 6th century B.C., and long after the Roman con-
quest of Greece, had gone on untouched and undisturbed, in spite of Cicero's "Magna Gracia nunc quidem delenda est," and the gradual decay of its towns. Up to the Ioth century, Sicily, Reggio, and Otranto were still part of the Byzantine Empire. Greek influences from Byzantium itself were not wanting also. Knowledge of Greek was extremely widespread all over Sicily and Northern Italy. Medical translations, made directly from the Greek into Latin, abounded, and, as Sudhoff has shown, so numerous were the towns and communities in which Greek was the spoken language that the Hohenstauffen emperor, Frederick II (II98-1250), actually had his legal ordinances printed simultaneously in Latin and Greek. ${ }^{1}$

Thus, Salerno at the start stood heir to the Latinized Greek culture of Brindisi, Reggio, Sicily and Beneventum, and the earlier compilations of its School were in no wise different from the other compilations of the 6th-8th

[^10]centuries. At Salerno was compiled the famous "Latin Dioscorides," an alphabetical arrangement of extracts from pseudo-Apuleius, Oribasius, Gargilius, etc., a work of trimming and interpolation, which, to distinguish it from the 7th century "Lombard Dioscorides" (a Latin translation of the first five books) is either styled "pseudo-Dioscorides" or, given its original spelling, "Dyasccrides" (Sudhoff). ${ }^{1}$ From this Salernitan "Dyascorides," along with Gargilius, Constantinus Africanus, and the Gothic-Lombardic "pseudo-Pliny," afterwards published at Rome in 1509, was compiled the famous herb-book of the irth century, "Macer Floridus." ${ }^{2}$ The tendency of the period was toward pseudo-authorship, to pass off a patch-work of choppings and trimmings from the early writers, stitched together with many "insertions," as the bona fide treatise of some famous name of the past, such as Dioscorides or Pliny or Apuleius, in

[^11]order to make it more widely read and renowned. In the period succeeding the Dark Ages, in which timid learning, paralyzed by the constant succession of wars and social upheavals, ever pulled its forelock to authority, ${ }^{1}$ this device naturally suggested itself. The "Regimen sanitatis," essentially a compilation passed off as an original production of the Salernitan School, had a similar origin. In its original form, it was a short poem of 362 verses, about which Arnold of Villanova wrote a commentary, and which the zeal of De Renzi and his predecessors has increased to 3520 verses. According to Sudhoff, neither Frederick II nor Gilles de Corbeil ever heard of it. His later investigations would make it seem probable that the poem did not become generally known until about the middle of the 13 th century. ${ }^{2}$ The statement of Haeser that most of the manuscripts begin with the words

[^12]"Anglorum regi" must be accepted with caution, for Sudhoff, who has devoted his life to the study of medical manuscripts, finds that while "Anglorum regi" appears in the printed editions, many of the 8o-odd MSS known begin with the dedication "Francorum regi." ${ }^{1}$ This disposes of the old story that the poem was composed for the benefit of Robert, son of William the Conqueror, who, having sustained a wound in the arm, stopped at Salerno for treatment. The date of his visit (IIOI) has given wide currency to the belief that the "Regimen sanitatis" goes back to the IIth century or earlier. Sudhoff traces its origins to a prose hygienic epistle ( $D e$ conservatione corporis humani) supposed to have been written by Aristotle for the benefit of his pupil, Alexander the Great, and translated into Latin, at the beginning of the 12 th century, by a baptized Jew, John of Toledo (Joannes Hispanus). In i860 F. J. Herrgott, a medical professor of the Strassburg Faculty, had al-
$$
{ }^{1} \text { Pagel-Sudhoff, op. cit., } 173 .
$$
ready found some indications of an early ancestor of the "Regimen" in a parchment MS. made by the nun Guta in the cloister at Marbach in II54. ${ }^{1}$ In this, the arrangement of certain dietetic precepts by months and the marked resemblance of these to the monthly series in the "Regimen" is significant and striking. In the 12 th century, during the primacy of Raimund, Archbishop of Toledo ( $1130-50$ ), Toledo was a great storehouse of Arabic MSS., and its school of medical translators, of whom Gerard of Cremona was the earliest (III4-87), had no insignificant influence upon mediæval medicine. Among these, John of Toledo Latinized his hygienic Alexan-der-epistle from an Arabic MS., the Sirr-elasrâr, or "Secretum secretorum," attributed to Aristotle and alleged to have been found in a remote temple. This supposititious MS. of pseudo-Aristotle, a compilation from Greek sources, was frequently translated in the Middle Ages. The use of the high-sounding names

[^13]of Aristotle and Alexander was a mere Arabic business device, to give "go" to the production. The temple fiction, like the story of the epistle which Cæsar is said to have found in an ivory capsule (capsula eburnea) in the tomb of Hippocrates, was also one of the stalest bits of Arabic supercherie. ${ }^{1}$ The Alexander-epistle of pseudo-Aristotle enjoyed wide popularity. Some sixty-five manuscript versions have been found, including many translations. The original translator, John of Toledo, as with pseudoPliny and pseudo-Dioscorides, was destined later to have many spurious compilations foisted off under his own name. As in the later "Regimen," John dedicates his epistle to royalty, Princess Tharasia, daughter of Alphonse VI, being in this instance flattered with the title of "Queen." In the 14th and 15 th centuries, there was, in fact, a veritable

[^14]flood of hygienic rules, addressed to great lords and ladies, some for travel and sea voyages, some for army campaigns, some for the régime of pregnancy, and all dealing with dietetics, the hygiene of the mouth and the teeth, bathing, care of the hair, sleep, and other phases of daily life. The striking resemblance between the prose epistle of pseudoAristotle and the versified "Regimen sanitatis" was first pointed out by Sudhoff ${ }^{1}$ and developed at length by one of his pupils. ${ }^{2}$ The Alexander-epistle, at least a hundred years older, was, in all likelihood, the prose model of the poem. Many wise saws of Salerno, compressed into verse form in the "Regimen," are also found in the epistle, and the fact that the latter was derived from Greek sources is evidenced by similar passages in Oribasius.

[^15]Thus, from three different streams of culture, those emanating from Magna Græcia, Byzantium and Toledo, Salerno became the isolated outpost of Greek medical tradition in the Middle Ages. The "Regimen sanitatis," as far as it goes, confirms the view of Haeser that the Salernitan period was a "period of the domination of Greek medicine," and the opinion of Sudhoff that the Greeks were the originators of a rational system of personal hygiene, dietetics and gymnastics. But the Greeks were blind to the fact of contagion, did not in the least understand that disease can be transmitted from person to person, and hence could do nothing for prophylaxis by segregation of actual and suspected cases of infection or by incineration of fomites. This phase of public hygiene, as we know from Leviticus (XIII-XV), was the actual achievement of the Hebrews. In the later Middle Ages, the principle of isolation and segregation proved to be the main coefficient in the stamping out of leprosy. "Light from the

East," says Sudhoff, "was transformed into pulsating energy by the European peoples, while, in the Orient, the disease swung its lash unchecked and unhindered." ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ Sudhoff: Deutsche Rev., Stuttg. \& Leipz., I9II, IV, 46-48. Translation of Dr. Frank J. Stockman.



Villa Nova commenting on the Schola Salerni

## THE SALERNE SCHOOLE



# THE ENGLISHMANS DOCTOR. OR, 

## The Schoole of Salerne.

OR,
Phyficall obferuations for the perfect Preferuing of the body of CTIan in continuall health.


London
Printed for Iohn Helme, and Iohn iBusby Iunior and are to be folde at the little hop next Cliffords Inne-gate, in Fleet-
ftreere. 160 S.


## THE PRINTER TO the Reader.

 EADER, the care that I have of thy health, appears in beftowing these Phyficall rules upon thee: neither needeft thou bee afhamed to take leffons out of this Schoole: for our beft Doctors fcorne not to reade the inftructions. It is a little Academie, where every man may be a Graduate, and proceed Doctor in the ordering of his owne bodie. It is a Garden, where all things grow that are neceffarie for thy health. This medicinall Tree grew firft in Salerne; from thence it was remoued, and hath borne fruit and bloffomes a long time in Eng. land. It is now replanted in a wholefome ground, and new earth caft about it by the hand of a cunning

## To the Reader.

cunning Gardiner, to keepe it ftill in flourifhing. Much good husbandry is beftowed upon it: yet whatfoeuer the coft bee, thou reapeft the fweetneffe of it for a fmall value. It came to me by chance, as a Jewell that is found, whereof notwithstanding I am not couetous, but part the Treafure amongst my Country-men. The Author of the paines, is to me unknowne, and I put this Childe of his into the open world without his confent. Bring it up therefore well, I befeech thee, and hope (as I doe) that he will not bee angry, finding this a Traueller abroad, when by this trauell fo many of his own Countrey are fo manifoldly ben. efited.

Farewell.


## Ad Librum.

GO Booke, and (like a Merchant) new arriu'd,
Tell in how ftrange a traffick thou haft thriu'd Vpon the Countrey which the Sea-god faues, And loues fo deare; he bindes it round with waues:
Caft Anchor thou, and impoft pay to him Whofe Swans vpon the breft of I sis fwim. But to the people that doe loue to buy, (It skills not for how much) each nouelty Proclaime an open Mart, and fell good cheape, What thou by trauell and much coft doft reape,
Bid the gay Courtier, and coy Lady come, The Lawyer, Townfman, and the countrie groome,

## Ad Librum.

'Tis ware for all: yet thus much let them know,
There are no drugs heere fetcht from Mexico, Nor gold from India, nor that ftinking fmoake, Which Englifh gallants buy, themfelues to choake,
Nor filkes of Turkie, nor of Barbary,
Thofe lufcious Canes, where our rich Sugers lie:
Nor thofe hot drinkes that make our wits to dance
The wilde Canaries: nor thofe Grapes of France, Which make vs clip our Englifh nor thofe wares
Of fertile Belgia, whofe wombe compares With all the world for fruite, tho now with fcarres
Her body be all ore defac'd by warres:
Go, tell them what thou bringft exceeds the wealth
Of al thefe Countries for thou bringft them health.

## In Librum.

WIT, Learning, Order, Elegance of Phrafe, Health, and the Art to lengthen out our daies, Philofophie, Phyficke, and Poefie,
And that skill which death loues not, (Surgery)
Walkes to refrefh vs, Ayres moft fweete and cleare, A thriftie Table, and the wholefom'ft cheare, All forts of graine, all forts of flefh, of fifh, Of Fowle, and (laft of all) of fruits a feuerall difh: Good Breakefafts, Dinners, Suppers, after-meales, The hearbe for Sallads, and the hearbe that heales,
Phyficions Counfell, Pothecaries pils, Without the fumming op of coftly bils, Wines that the braine hall ne're intoxicate, Strong Ale and Beere at a more eafier rate, Then $W$ ater from the Fountaine: clothes (not deere) For the foure feuerall quarters of the yeere, Meates both for Proteftant and Puritan, With meanes fufficient to maintaine a man. If all thefe things thou want'st, no farther looke, All this, and more than this, lyes in this Booke.

Anonimus.

## In Laudem Operis.

THE Gods vpon a time in counfell fitting, To rule the world what creature was moft fitting, At length from God to God this fentence ran,
To forme a creature like themfelues (call'd Man) Being made, the world was giuen him built fo rarely,
No workman can come neere it: hung fo fairely,
That the Gods viewing it, were ouer-ioyed:
Yet grieu'd that it fhould one day be deftroyed:
Gardens had Man to walke in, fet with trees
That ftill were bearing: But (neglecting thefe)
He long'd for fruits vnlawfull, fell to riots, Wafted his god-like bodie by ill dyets. Spent (what was left him) like a prodigall heyre, And had of earth, of hell, or heauen no care, For which the earth was curft, and brought forth weeds, Poyfon euen lurking in our faireft feeds, Halfe heauen was hid, and did in darkeneffe mourne: Whilft hell kept fires continuall, that fhould burne
His very foule, if ftill it went awry,
And giue it torments that fhould neuer die,
Yet loe; How bleft is man? the Deities, Built up the Schoole of Health, to make him wife.

The
 Cire fiarts to Eny La hds JYrğe anc coth acivi from caxio gia hiad to foctr, from nowath Gio fianh,
 pofin miat no yoniccongr aitmy Gaccirin licant
 noin mobs' No tyne so ecp to Nature Needs




2

Ruse sanf mix moxnt anc fixorry fixtmembex

 Cris to wit/C no Braync, noftrad no wv/:


 donn to tane ox nuale nur doin ho Gaxme
 Cfévin $z$ ?
First page of a MS of Harington's Translation, in a Scribe's Hand but with Harington's Own Corrections.

## THE SALERNE Schoole.

THE Salerne Schoole doth by thefe lines impart
All health to Englands King, and doth aduife
From care his head to keepe, from wrath his heart,
Drinke not much wine, fup light, and foone arife, When meate is gone, long fitting breedeth fmart:
And after-noone ftill waking keepe your eyes.
When mou'd you find your felfe to Natures Needs,
Forbeare them not, for that much danger breeds,
Vfe three Phyficions ftill; firft Doctor Quiet, Next Doctor Merry-man, and Doctor Dyet.

D ISE earely in the morne, and ftraight remember,
With water cold to wafh your hands and eyes,
In gentle fafhion retching euery member, And to refrefh your braine when as you rife,
In heat, in cold, in Iuly and December.
Both comb your head, and rub your teeth likewife:
If bled you haue, keep coole, if bath' keepe warme:
If din'd, to ftand or walke will do no harme
Three things preferue the fight, Graffe, Glaffe, \& foūtains,
At Eue'n fprings, at morning vifit mountains.


The Medieval Physician in His Office.

TF $R$. be in the month, their iudgements erre, That thinke that fleepe in after-noone is good:
If $R$. be not therein, fome men there are That thinke a little nap breeds no ill bloud: But if you fhall herein exceed too farre, It hurts your health, it cannot be with ftood: Long fleepe at after-noones by ftirring fumes, Breeds Slouth, and Agues, Aking heads and Rheumes:
The moyfture bred in Brest, in Iawes and Nofe, Are cal'd Catars, or Tyfiqu:, or the Pofe.


GREAT harmes haue growne, \& maladies exceeding,
By keeping in a little blaft of wind:
So Cramps \& Dropfies, Collickes haue their breeding,
And Mazed Braines for want of vent behind: Befides we finde in ftories worth the reading, A certaine Romane Emperour was fo kind, Claudius ${ }^{1}$ by name, he made a Proclamation, A Scape to be no loffe of reputation. Great fuppers do the ftomacke much offend, Sup light if quiet you to fleepe intend.

[^16]$\Gamma^{0}$ keepe good dyet, you fhould neuer feed Vntill you finde your ftomacke cleane and void
Of former eaten meate, for they do breed
Repletion, and will caufe you foone be cloid, None other rule but appetite fhould need, When from your mouth a moyfture cleare doth void. ${ }^{2}$
All Peares and Apples, Peaches, Milke and Cheefe,
Salt meates, red Deere, Hare, Beefe and Goat: all thefe
Are meates that breed ill bloud, and Melancholy,
If ficke you be, to feede on them were folly. ${ }^{3}$

HGGES newly laid, are nutritiue to eate, And rofted Reare are eafie to digeft. Frefh Gafcoigne wine is good to drinke with meat,
Broth ftrengthens nature aboue all the reft. But broth prepar'd with floure of fineft wheat, Well boild, and full of fat for fuch are beft. The Priefts rule is (a Priefts rule fhould be true)
Thofe Egges are beft, are long, and white and new.
Remember eating new laid Egges and foft, For euery Egge you eate you drinke as oft.

FINE Manche ${ }^{4}$ feeds too fat, Milke fils the veins,
New cheefe doth nourifh, fo doth flesh of Swine:
The Dowcets ${ }^{5}$ of forme beafts, the marrow, braines,
And all fret rafting flesh, and pleasant wine, Soft Egges (a cleanely difh in house of Swaines) Ripe Figs and Rayfins, late come from the Vine:
[yeere,
Chafe wine you means fall ferne you all the Well-fauor'd rafting well, and coloured cleere. Fine qualities there are, wines praife aduancing,
[dancing.
Strong, Beautifull, and Fragrant, coole and


The Public Bath.

W
HITE Muskadell, and Candie wine, and Greeke,
Do make men's wits and bodies groffe and fat; Red wine doth make the voyce oft-time to feeke,
And hath a binding qualitie to that;
Canarie, and Madera, both are like
To make one leane indeed: (but wot you what)
Who fay they make one leane, would make one laffe
They meane, they make one leane vpon a ftaffe.
Wine, women, Baths, by Art or Nature warme, Vs'd or abus'd do men much good or harme.


QIXE things, that here in order fhall enfue, Againft all poyfons haue a fecret power, Peare, Garlicke, Reddifh-roots, Nuts, Rape, and Rue,
But Garlicke chiefe; for they that it deuoure, May drinke, \& care not who their drinke do brew:
May walke in aires infected euery houre. Sith Garlicke then hath powers to faue from death,
Beare with it though it make vnfauory breath:
And fcorne not Garlicke, like to fome that thinke
[ftinke.
It onely makes men winke, and drinke, and
$T$ HOUGH all ill fauours do not breed infection,
Yet fure infection commeth moft by fmelling,
Who fmelleth fill perfumed, his complexion
Is not perfum'd by Poet Martials telling,
Yet for your lodging roomes giue this direction,
In houfes where you mind to make your dwelling,
That neere the fame there be no euill fents
Of puddle-waters, or of excrements,
Let aire be cleere and light, and free from faults,
That come of fecret paffages and vaults.

IF wine haue ouer night a furfet brought, A thing we wifh to you fhould happen feeld:
Then early in the morning drinke a draught, And that a kind of remedie fhall yeeld, But gainft all furfets, vertues fchoole hath taught
To make the gift of temperance a fhield:
The better wines do breed the better humors, The worfe, are caufes of vnwholefome tumors. In meafure drinke, let wine be ripe, not thicke, But cleere and well alaid, and frefh and quicke.


Si tibi serotina noceat potatio vini Hora matutina rebibas et erit medicina

THE like aduice we giue you for your
We will it be not fowre, and yet be ftale: Well boild, of harty graine and old and cleare, Nor drinke too much nor let it be too fale:
And as there be foure feafons in the yeere, In each a feuerall order keepe you fhall.
In Spring your dinner muft not much exceed, In Summers heate but little meate fhall need:
In Autumne ware you eate not too much fruite: With $W$ inters cold full meates do fitteft fuite.


The Signs of the Zodiac

IF in your drinke you mingle Rew with Sage, All poyfon is expeld by power of thofe, And if you would withall Lufts heat affwage, Adde to them two the gentle flowre of Rofe: Would not be fea-ficke when feas do rage, Sage-water drinke with wine before he goes. Salt, Garlicke, Parfly, Pepper, Sage, and Wine, Make fawces for all meates both courfe and fine.
Of wafhing of your hands much good doth rife, Tis wholefome, cleanely, and relieues your eyes.

EATE not your bread too ftale, nor eate it hot,
A little Leuend, hollow bak't and light:
Not frefh of pureft graine that can be got, The cruft breeds choller both of browne \& white,
Yet let it be well bak't or eate it not, How e're your tafte therein may take delight. Porke without wine is not fo good to eate, As Sheepe with wine, it medicine is and meate, Tho Intrailes of a beaft be not the beft, Yet are fome intrailes better than the reft.

COME louc to drinke new wine not fully fin'd, But for your health we wifh that you drinke none,
For fuch to dangerous fluxes are inclin'd, Befides, the Lees of wine doe breed the ftone, Some to drinke onely water are affign'd, But fuch by our confent fhall drinke alone. For water and fmall beere we make no queftion, Are enemies to health and good digeftion: And Horace in a verfe of his rehearfes, That Water-drinkers neuer make good verfes.

MHE choyfe of meate to health doth much
Firft Veale is wholefom meat, \& breeds good So Capon, Hen, and Chicken, Partridge, Quaile, The Phefant, Woodcock, Larke, \& Thrufh be good,
[raile,
The Heath-cocke wholefome is, the doue, the And all that doe not much delight in mud. Faire fwans fuch loue your beauties make me beare you,
That in the difh I eafily could forbeare you. Good fport it is to fee a Mallard kil'd, But with their flefh, your flefh fhould not be fil'd.
$A^{\text {S choyce you make of Fowle, fo make of }}$ Fifh,
If fo that kinde be foft, the great be beft, If firme, then fmall, and many in a difh: I need not name, all kinds are in requeft. Pike, Trowt, and Pearch, from water frefh I wifh,
From Sea, Bace, Mullet, Brean, and Souls are beft:
The Pyke a rauening tyrant is in water, Yet he on land yeelds good fifh ne're the later, If Eeles and Cheefe you eate, they make you hoarfe,
But drinke apace thereto, and then no force.

COME loue at meals to drink fmal draughts and oft,
But fancie may herein and cuftome guide, If Egges you eate, they muft be new and foft. In Peafe good qualities and bad are tryed, To take them with the skinne that growes aloft,
They windie be, but good without their hide.
In great confumptions learn'd Phyficions thinke,
'Tis good a Goat or Camels milke to drinke,
Cowes-milke and Sheepes doe well, but yet an Affes
Is beft of all, and all the other paffes.

MILKE is for Agues and for Head-ach naught,
Yet if from Agues fit you feele you free,
Sweete-butter wholefome is, as fome haue taught,
To cleanfe and purge fome paines that inward Whay, though it be contemn'd, yet
it is thought
To fcoure and cleanfe, and purge in due degree:
For healthie men may Cheefe be wholefome food,
But for the weake and fickly 'tis not good,
Cheefe is an heauie meate, both groffe and cold And breedeth Coftineffe both new and old.

CHEESE makes complaint that men on wrong fufpitions
Do flander it, and fay it doth fuch harme, That they conceale his many good conditions, How oft it helpes a ftomack cold to warme, How fafting 'tis prefcrib'd by fome Phyficions, To thofe to whom the flux doth give alarme: We fee the better fort thereof doth eate, To make as 'twere a period of their meate; The poorer fort, when other meate is fcant, For hunger eate it to releeue their want.


Arnold of Villa Nova.

ATHOUGH you may drinke often while you dine,
Yet after dinner touch not once tne cup,
I know that fome Phyficions doe affigne
To take fome liquor ftraight before they fup:
But whether this be meant by broth or wine, A controuerfie 'tis not yet tane vp:
To clofe your ftomack well, this order futes, Cheefe after flefh, Nuts after fifh or fruits, Yet fome haue faid, (beleeue them as you will)
One Nut doth good, two hurt, the third doth kill.

COME $N u t$ 'gainft poyfon is preferuatiue: Peares wanting wine, are poyfon from the tree,
But bak't Peares counted are reftoratiue, Raw Peares a poyfon, bak't a medicire be Bak't Peares a weake dead ftomack doe reuiue, Raw Peares are heauie to digeft we fee, Drinke after Peares, take after Apples order To haue a place to purge your felfe of ordure. Ripe Cherries breed good bloud, and help the ftone,
If Cherry you doe eate and Cherry-ftone.

COOLE Damfens are, and good for health, by reafon
They make your intrailes foluble and flacke, Let Peaches fteepe in wine of neweft feafon, Nuts hurt the teeth, that with their teeth they crack,
With euery Nut'tis good to eate a Raifon.
For though they hurt the fpleen, they help the back,
[telling,
A plaifter made of Figges, by fome mens Is good againft all kernels, boyles and fwelling, With Poppy ioyn'd, it drawes out bones are broken,
By Figges are lice ingendred, Luft prouoken.

EATE Medlers, ${ }^{7}$ if you haue a loofeneffe gotten,
They bind, and yet your vrine they augment, They haue one name more fit to be forgotten, While hard and found they be, they be not fpent,
Good Medlers are not ripe, till feeming rotten, For medling much with Medlers fome are fhent. New Renifh-wine ftirres vrine, doth not binde: But rather loofe the Belly breeding winde, Ale humors breeds, it addes both flefh and force;
Tis loofing, coole, and vrin doth enforce.

QHARPE vineger ${ }^{8}$ doth coole, withall it dries, And giues to fome ill humor good correction:
It makes one melancholy, hurts their eyes, Not making fat, nor mending their complexion: It leffens fperme, makes appetite to rife, Both tafte and fcent is good againft infection. The Turnep hurts the ftomack, winde it breedeth,
Stirres vrine, hurts his teeth thereon that feedeth,
Who much thereof will feed, may wifh our Nation
Would well allow of Claudius proclamation.

T followes now what part of euery beaft Is good to eate: firft know the Heart is ill, It is both hard and heauy to digeft.
The Tripe with no good iuyce our flefh doth fill:
The Lites ${ }^{9}$ are light, yet but in fmall requeft: But outer parts are beft in Phyficks skill If any braines be good, (which is a queftion) Hens braine is beft and lighteft of digeftion: In Fennel-feed, this vertue you fhall finde, Foorth of your lower parts to driue the winde.

$\mathrm{O}^{F}$F Fennell ${ }^{10}$ vertues foure they doe recite, Firft, it hath power fome poyfons to expell,
Next, burning Agues it will put to flight, The ftomack it doth cleanfe, and comfort well: And fourthly, it doth keepe and cleanfe the fight,
And thus the feed and hearbe doth both excell. Yet for the two laft told, if any feed With Fennell may compare, 'tis Annis-feed:
Some Annis-feed be fweete, and fome more bitter,
For pleafure thefe, for medicine thofe are fitter.

DAME Natures reafon, far furmounts our reading,
We feele effects the caufes oft vnknowne,
Who knows the caufe why Spodium ftancheth bleeding?
(Spodium ${ }^{11}$ but afhes of an Oxes bone)
We learne herein to praife his power exceeding,
That vertue gaue to wood, to hearbs, to ftone;
The Liuer, Spodium; Mace, the heart delights,
[Lites;
The braine likes Muske, and Lycoras ${ }^{12}$ the
The Spleene is thought much cõforted with Capers, ${ }^{13}$
In ftomack, Gallingale, ${ }^{14}$ alwaies ill vapors.
@AUCE would be fet with meate vpon the table,
Salt is good fauce, and had with great facilitie: Salt makes vnfauourie vyands manducable, To driue fome poyfons out, Salt hath abilitie, Yet things too falt are ne're commendable:
They hurt the fight, in nature caufe debilitie, The fcab and itch on them are euer breeding, The which on meates too falt are often feeding: ${ }^{15}$
Salt fhould be firft remou'd, and firft fet downe At table of the Knight, and of the Clowne.

AsS taftes are diuers, fo Phyficions hold They haue as fundry qualities and powre,
Some burning are, fome temperate, fome cold, Cold are thefe three, the Tart, the Shaipe, the fowre,
Salt, bitter, byting, burne as hath beene told, Sweet, fat and frefh, are temperate euery houre.
Foure fpeciall vertues hath a fop in wine, It maketh the teeth white, it cleares the eyne, It addes vnto an emptie ftomack fulneffe, And from a ftomack fill'd, it takes the dulneffe.

$I^{\text {F }}$F to an vfe you haue your felfe betaken, Of any dyet, make no fudden change,
A cuftome is not eafily forfaken, Yea though it better were, yet feemes it ftrange,
Long vfe is as a fecond nature taken, With nature cuftome walkes in equall range. Good dyet is a perfect way of curing: And worthy much regard and health affuring. A King that cannot rule him in his dyet, Will hardly rule his Realme in peace and quiet.

THEY that in Phyfick will prefcribe you food,
Six things muft note we heere in order touch, Firft what it is, and then for what'tis good, And when and where, how often, and how much: Who note not this, it cannot be with-ftood, They hurt, not heale, yet are too many fuch. Coleworts ${ }^{16}$ broth doth loofe, the fubftance bind,
Thus play they faft and loofe, and all behind: But yet if at one time you take them both, The fubftance fhall giue place vnto the broth.

IN Phyficke Mallowes ${ }^{17}$ haue much reputation,
The very name of Mallow feemes to found, The roote thereof will give a kind purgation, By them both men and women good haue found,
To womens monthly flowers they giue laxation, They make men foluble that haue beene bound. And left wee feeme in Mallowes prayfes partiall, [Martiall. Long fince hath Horace praifed them, and The worms that gnaw the wombe \& neuer ftint,
[Mint. ${ }^{18}$
Are kil'd, and purg'd, and driuen away with

BUT who can write thy worth (O foueraigne Sage!). ${ }^{19}$
Some aske how man can die, where thou doft grow,
Oh that there were a medicine curing age, Death comes at laft, though death comes ne're fo flow:
[fwage,
Sage ftrengths the finewes, feuers heat doth The Palfy helpes, and rids of mickle woe.
In Lattin (Saluia) takes the name of fafety,
In Englifh (Sage) is rather wife then crafty. Sith then the name betokens wife and fauing, We count it natures friend and worth the hauing.

TAKE Sage and Primrofe, Lauender and Creffes,
With Walwort that doth grow twixt lime and ftone,
For he that of thefe hearbes the iuyce expreffes, And mix with powder of a Caftor-ftone, May breed their eafe whom palfy much oppreffes,
Or if this breed not helpe, then looke for none.
Rew is a noble hearbe to giue it right, To chew it fafting, it will purge the fight.
One quality thereof yet blame I muft, It makes men chafte, and women fils with luft.

# F AIRE Ladies, if thefe Phyficke rules be true, 

That Rew ${ }^{20}$ hath fuch ftrange qualities as thefe,
Eate little Rew, left your good husbands (REW)
[difeafe,
And breed betweene you both a fhrew'd Rew whets the wit, and more to pleafure you, In water boyld, it rids the roome of fleas.
I would not to you Ladies, Onyons praife, Saue that they make one faire (Efclapius faies) Yet taking them requires fome good direction, They are not good alike for each complexion.

TF vnto Choller men be much inclin'd, 'Tis thought that Onyons are not good for thofe,
But if a man be flegmatique (by kind)
It does his ftomack good, as fome suppofe:
For Oyntment iuyce of Onyons is affign'd, To heads whofe haire fals fafter than it growes: If Onyons cannot helpe in fuch mifhap,
A man muft get him a Gregorian cap.
And if your hound by hap fhould bite his mafter,
With Hony, Rew, and Onyons make a plafter. ${ }^{21}$

THE feed of Muftard is the fmalleft graine, And yet the force thereof is very great, It hath a prefent power to purge the braine, It adds vnto the ftomack force and heat: All poifon it expels, and it is plaine, With fuger 'tis a paffing fauce for meate. She that hath hap a husband bad to bury, And is therefore in heart not fad, but merry, Yet if in fhew good manners fhee will keepe, Onyons and Muftard-feed ${ }^{22}$ will make her weepe.
$T$ HOUGH Violets ${ }^{23}$ fmell fweete, Nettles offenfiue,
Yet each in feuerall kind much good procures,
The firft doth purge the heauy head and penfiue,
Recouers furfets, falling fickeneffe cures:
Tho Nettles ${ }^{24}$ ftinke, yet make they recompence,
If your belly by the Collicke paine endures, Againft the Collicke Nettle-feed and hony Is Phyfick: better none is had for money.
It breedeth fleepe, ftaies vomits, fleams doth foften,
It helpes him of the Gowte that eates it often.

CLEANE Hyfop ${ }^{25}$ is an hearbe to purge and clenfe
Raw flegmes, and hurtfull humors from the breft,
The fame vnto the lungs great comfort lends, With hony boyl'd: but farre aboue the reft, It giues good colour, and complexion mends, And is therefore with women in requeft:
With Hony mixt, Cinquefoyle ${ }^{26}$ cures the Canker,
That eates out inward parts with cruell ranker. But mixt with wine, it helpes a grieued fide, And ftaies the vomit, and the laske befide.

ELLECOMPANE ${ }^{27}$ frengthens each inward part,
A little loofeneffe is thereby prouoken, It fwageth griefe of minde, it cheeres the heart, Allaieth wrath, and makes a man faire fpoken: And drunke with Rew in wine, it doth impart Great help to thofe that haue their bellies broken,
Let them that vnto choller much incline, Drinke Penny-royall fteeped in their wine. And fome affirm that they haue found by tryall,
The paine of Gowt is cur'd by Penny-royall. ${ }^{28}$

TO tell of Creffes ${ }^{29}$ vertues long it were, But diuers patients vnto that are debter:
It helpes the teeth, it giues to bald men haire, With Hony mixt, it Ring-worms kils and Tetter:
But let not women that would children beare Feed much thereof, for they to faft were better. An hearbe there is takes of the Swallowes name,
And by the Swallowes gets no little fame,
For Pliny writes (tho fome thereof make doubt)
It helpes young Swallowes eyes when they are out.

RREENE Willow ${ }^{30}$ though in fcorne it oft
J is vf'd,
Yet fome are there in it not fcornefull parts, It killeth wormes, the iuice in eares infuf'd, With Vineger: the barke deftroyeth warts. But at one quality I much haue muf'd, That addes and bates much of his good deferts.
For writers old and new, both ours and forren, Affirme the feed make women chaft and barren.
Take Saffron if your heat make glad you will, But not too much for that the heart may kill. ${ }^{31}$

RREENE Leckes ${ }^{32}$ are good, as fome Phyficians fay,
Yet would I choofe how er'e I them beleeue, To weare Leekes rather on Saint Dauids day, ${ }^{1}$ Then eate the Leeke vpon Saint Dauids Eue, The bleeding at the nofe Leekes iuice will ftay, And women bearing children much releeue. Blacke Pepper ${ }^{33}$ beaten groffe you good fhall finde,
If cold your ftomacke be, or full of winde: White Pepper helps the cough, and fleame it riddeth
And Agues fit to come it oft forbiddeth.

OUR hearing is a choyce and dainty fenfe, And hard to men, yet foone it may be mard,
Thefe are the things that breed it moft offence,
To fleepe on ftomacke full and drinking hard, Blowes, fals, and noyfe, and fafting violence, Great heate and fodaine cooling afterwards; All thefe, as is by fundry proofes appearing, Breed tingling in our eares, and hurt our hearing:
Then thinke it good aduice, not idle talke, That after Supper bids vs ftand or walke.

Y OU heard before what is for hearing naught,
Now fhall you fee what hurtfull is for fight: Wine, women, Bathes, by art to nature wrought,
Leekes, Onyons, Garlicke, Muftard-feed, fire and light,
Smoake, bruifes, duft, Pepper to powder Beanes, Lentiles, ftrains, Wind, Tears, \& Phabus bright,
And all fharpe things our eye-fight do moleft: Yet watching hurts them more then all the reft. Of Fennells, Veruin, Kellidon, Rofes, Rew:34 Is water made, that will the fight renew.

F in your teeth you hap to be tormented, By meane fome little wormes therein do breed:
Which paine (if heed be tane) may be preuented,
By keeping cleane your teeth when as you feed, Burne Frankincenfe (a gum not euill fented) Put Henbane vnto this, and Onyon feed, And in a Tunnel to the Tooth that's hollow, Conuey the fmoake thereof, and eafe
fhall follow. ${ }^{35}$
By Nuts, Oyle, Eeles, and cold in head, By Apples and raw fruits is hoarfeneffe bred.
[125]
$7 \begin{gathered}\text { fhew you how to fhun raw running } \\ \text { Rheumes, }\end{gathered}$
[fleepe,
Exceed not much in meate, in drinke, and For all exceffe is caufe of hurtfull fumes, Eate warme broth warme, ftriue in your breath to keep,
Vfe exercife that vapours ill confumes:
In Northern winds abroad do neuer peepe If Fiftula do rife in any part,
And fo procure your danger and your fmart, Take Arfenicke, Brimftone, mixt with Lime and Sope, [hope.
And make a tent ${ }^{38}$, and then of cure there's

IF fo your head doe paine you oft with aking, Faire water or fmall beere drinke then or neuer,
So may you fcape the burning fits and fhaking That wonted are to company the Feuer. If with much heate your head be ill in aking, To rub your head and temples ftill perfeuer, And make a bath of Morrell (boyled warme) And it fhall keepe your head from further harme.
A Flix dangerous euill is, and common, ${ }^{37}$ In it fhun cold, much drinke, and ftraine of women.
$\Gamma^{0}$ faft in Summer doth the body dry, Yet doth it good, if thereto you enure it, Againft a furfet vomiting to try, Is remedy but fome cannot endure it. Yet fome fo much themfelues found helpe thereby,
They go to fea a purpofe to procure it. Foure feafons of the yeare there are in all, The Summer and the Winter, Spring and Fall: In euery one of thefe, the rule of reafon Bids keepe good diet, fuiting euery feafon.


The Four Seasons.

THE fpring is moift, of temper good and
Then beft it is to bathe, to fweate, and purge,
Then may one ope a veine in either arme, If boyling bloud or feare of agues vrge:
Then Venus recreation doth no harme, Yet may too much thereof turne to a fcourge. In Summers heat (when choller hath dominion)
Coole meates and moift are beft in fome opinion:
The Fall is like the Spring, but endeth colder, With Wines and Spice the Winter may be bolder.


The Four Temperaments.
(Daremberg.)


NOW if perhaps fome haue defire to know, The number of our bones, our teeth, our veines,
This verfe enfuing plainly doth it fhew, To him that doth obferue, it taketh paines: The teeth thrife ten, and two, twife eight arow. Eleu'nfcore bones faue one in vs remaines: For veines, that all may vaine in vs appeare, A veine we haue for each day in the yeare: All thefe are like in number and connexion. The difference growes in bigneffe and complexion. ${ }^{38}$

FOURE humors raigne within our bodies wholly,
And thefe compared to foure Elements, The Sanguine, Choller, Flegme, and Melancholy, The latter two are heauie, dull of fence, Th' other two are more Iouiall, quicke and Iolly,
And may be likened thus without offence, Like ayre both warme and moift, is Sanguine cleare,
Like fire doth Choler hot and drie appeare. Like water cold and moift is Flegmatique, The Melancholy cold, drie earth is like.


Quatuor humores in humano corpore constant, Sanguis cum cholera phlegma, melancholia.

# COMPLEXIONS cannot vertue breed or vice, 

Yet may they vnto both giue inclination,
The Sanguine game-fome is, and nothing nice, Loue Wine, and Women, and all recreation, Likes pleafant tales, and news, playes, cards \& dice,
Fit for all company, and euery fafhion: Though bold, not apt to take offence, not irefull, [full:
But bountifull, and kinde, and looking cheereInclining to be fat, and prone to laughter, Loues mirth, \& Mufick, cares not what comes after.


The Sanguine Man.
Hos Venus et Bacchus delectant fercula, risus.

QHARPE Choller is an humour moft pernitious,
All violent, and fierce, and full of fire, Of quicke conceit, and therewithall ambitious, Their thoughts to greater fortunes ftill afpire,
Proud, bountifull ynough, yet oft malicious A right bold fpeaker, and as bold a lyar, On little caufe to anger great enclin'd, Much eating ftill, yet euer looking pin'd:
In yonger yeares they vfe to grow apace, In Elder hairie on their breft and face.


## The Choleric Man.

Est humor Choleræ qui competit impetuosis.

HE Flegmatique are moft of no great
growth,
Inclining to be rather fat and fquare:
Giuen much vnto their eafe, to reft and floth,
Content in knowledge to take little fhare,
To put themfelues to any paine moft loth. So dead their fpirits, fo dull their fences are: Still either fitting, like to folke that dreame,
Or elfe ftill fpitting, to auoid the flegme:
One qualitie doth yet thefe harmes repaire, That for the moft part Flegmatique are faire.


The Phlegmatic Man.
Otia non studio tradunt, sed corpora somno.

THE Melancholly from the reft doe varie, Both fport and eafe, and company refufing,
Exceeding ftudious, euer folitary,
Inclining penfiue ftill to be, and mufing, A fecret hate to others apt to carry:
Moft conftant in his choife, tho long a chufing,
Extreme in loue fometime, yet feldom luftfull,
Sufpitious in his nature, and miftruftfull, A wary wit, a hand much giuen to fparing, A heauy looke, a fpirit little daring.


The Melancholy Man.
Restat adhuc tristis Choleræ substantia nigra Quæ reddit pravos pertristes, pauca loquentes.

WOW though we giue thefe humors feuerall
names;
Yet all men are of all participant,
But all haue not in quantitie the fame, For fome (in fome) are more predominant, The colour fhewes from whence it lightly came, Or whether they haue bloud too much or want. The watrie Flegmatique are faire and white, The Sanguine Rofes ioyn'd to Lillies bright, The Chollerick more red; the Melancholly, Alluding to their name, are fwart and colly.

TF Sanguine humor doe too much abound, Thefe fignes will be thereof appearing cheefe,
The face will fwell, the cheekes grow red and round,
With ftaring eyes, the pulfe beate foft and The veines exceed, the belly will be bound, The temples and the fore-head full of griefe, Vnquiet fleepes, that fo ftrange dreames will make,
To caufe one blufh to tell when he doth wake:
Befides the moifture of the mouth and fpittle, Will tafte too fweet, and feeme the throat to tickle.

IF Choler doe exceed, as may fometimes, Your eares will ring, and make you to be wakefull,
Your tongue will feeme all rough, and oftenCaufe vomits, vnaccuftomed and hatefull. Great thirft, your excrements are full of flime, The ftomack fqueamifh, fuftenance vngratefull:
Your appetite will feeme in nought delighting, Your heart ftill grieued with continuall byting, The pulfe beate hard and fwift, all hot extreme, Your fpittle fowre, of fire-worke oft you dreame.

F Flegme aboundance haue due limits paft, Thefe fignes are heere fet downe will plainely fhew,
The mouth will feeme to you quite out of tait, And apt with moyfture ftill to ouer-flow: Your fides will feeme all fore downe to the waft,
[flow:
Your meate wax loathfome, your digeftion Your head and ftomacke both in fo ill taking, One feeming euer griping t'other aking: With empty veines the pulfe beate flow and foft,
In fleepe, of Seas and riuers dreaming oft.

BUT if that dangerous humor ouer-raigne, Of Melancholy, fometime making mad, Thefe tokens then will be appearing plaine, The pulfe beate hard, the colour darke and bad: The water thin, a weake fantafticke braine, Falfe grounded ioy, or elfe perpetuall fad; Affrighted oftent:mes with dreames like rifions
Prefenting to the thoughts ill apparitions, Of bitter belches from the fomacke comming, His eare (the left efpeciall) euer burning.
$\triangle$ GAINST thefe feuerall humors ouerflowing,
As feuerall kinds of Phyficke may be good, As diet, drinke, hot baths, whence fweat is growing,
With purging, vomiting, and letting bloud: Which taken in due time, not ouerflowing, Each malladies infection is withftood. The laft of thefe is beft, if skill and reafon, Refpect age, frength, quantity, and feafon. Of feuenty from feuenteene, if bloud abound, The opening of a veine is healthfull found.

0F Bleeding ${ }^{39}$ many profits grow and great, The fpirits and fenfes are renewed thereby:
Tho thefe men flowly by the ftrength of meat, But thefe with wine reftor'd are by and by. By bleeding, to the marrow commeth heat, It maketh cleane your braine, relieues your eye,
It mends your appetite, reftoreth fleepe, Correcting humours that do waking keepe:
All inward parts and fenfes alfo clearing, It mends the voyce, touch, fmell \& taft, \& hearing.

THREE fpeciall Months (September, April, May)
There are, in which 'tis good to ope a veine; In thefe 3 Months the Moone beares greateft fway,
Then old or yong that ftore of bloud containe, May bleed now, though fome elder wizards fay Some dayes are ill in thefe, I hold it vaine: September, April, May, haue dayes a peece, That bleeding do forbid, and eating Geefe, And thofe are they forfooth of May the firft, Of other two, the laft of each are worft.

BUT yet thofe daies I grant, and all the reft, Haue in fome cafes iuft impediment:
As firft, if nature be with cold oppreft, Or if the Region, Ile, or Continent
Do fcorch or freize, if ftomacke meate deteft:
If Baths or Venus late you did frequent, Nor old, nor yong, nor drinkers great are fit, Not in long fickeneffe, nor in raging fit, Or in this cafe if you will venture bleeding, The quantity muft then be moft exceeding.


Sit brevis aut nullus tibi somnus meridianus.


Exhilarat tristes iratos placat amantes
Ne sint amentes phlebotomia facit. prepare
Some needfull things both after and before, Warme water and fweet oyle, both needfull are, And wine, the fainting fpirit to reftore:
Fine binding clothes of linnen, and beware, That all the morning you do fleepe no more:
Some gentle motion helpeth after bleeding, And on light meates a fpare and temperate feeding:
To bleed doth cheere the penfiue, and remoue The raging turies bred by burning loue.

MAKE your incifion large and not too deepe,
That bloud haue fpeedy iffue with the fume, So that from finewes you all hurt do keepe, Nor may you (as I toucht before) prefume In fixe enfuing houres at all to fleepe, Left fome flight bruife in fleepe caufe an apoftume:
Eate not of milke, nor ought of milk compounded,
Nor let your braine with much drink be confounded
Eate no cold meats, for fuch the ftrength impaires,
And fhun all mifty and vnwholefome aires.

BESIDES the former rules for fuch as pleafes,
Of letting bloud to take more obferuation, Know in beginning of all tharpe difeafes, 'Tis counted beft to make euacuation:
Too old, too yong, both letting bloud difpleafes.
By yeares and fickneffe make your computation.
Firft in the Spring for quantity you fhall Of bloud take twife as much as in the Fall:
In Spring and Summer let the right arme bloud, The Fall and Winter for the left are good.

THE Heart and Liuer, Spring \& Summers bleeding,
The Fall and Winter, hand and foot doth mend,
One veine ${ }^{40}$ cut in the hand, doth help exceeding
Vnto the fpleene, voyce, breft, and intrailes lend,
And fwages griefes that in the heart are breeding.
But here the Salerne Schoole doth make an end:
And here I ceafe to write, but will not ceafe To wifh you liue in health, and die in peace: And ye our Phyficke rules that friendly read, God grant that Phyficke you may neuer need.

$$
F I N I S
$$

## REGIMEN SANITATIS SALERNITANUM

Pa

## REGIMEN SANITATIS SALERNITANUM

Anglorum Regi scripsit ${ }^{1}$ schola tota Salerni.
Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum, Curas tolle graves, irasci crede profanum, Parce mero, cœenato parum, non sit tibi vanum Surgere post epulas, somnum fuge meridianum, Non mictum retine, nec comprime fortiter anum:
Hæc bene si serves, tu longo tempore vives.
Si tibi deficiant medici, medici tibi fiant Hæc tria, mens læta, requies, moderata diæta. Lumina mane manus surgens gelida lavet aqua,
Hac illac modicum pergat, modicumque sua membra
Extendat, crines pectat, dentes fricet. Ista Confortant cerebrum, confortant cætera membra.
${ }^{1}$ Notes for this and other indicated passages will be found on page 203 and the pages following.

$$
\text { [ } 159 \text { ] }
$$

Lote, cale: sta, pranse, vel i; frigesce, minute. ${ }^{2}$
Sit brevis aut nullus tibi somnus meridianus. Febris, pigrities, capitis dolor, atque catarrhus, Hæc tibi proveniunt ex somno meridiano.

Quatuor ex vento veniunt in ventre retento, Spasmus, hydrops, colica, vertigo, quatuor ista. ${ }^{3}$

Ex magna cœna stomacho fit maxima pœna. Ut sis nocte levis sit tibi cœna brevis.

Tu nunquam comedas stomachum nisi noveris ante
Purgatum, vacuumque cibo quem sumpseris ante.
Ex desiderio poteris cognoscere certo:
Hæc tua sunt signa, subtilis in ore diæta. ${ }^{4}$
Persica, poma, pyra, lac, caseus, et caro salsa, Et caro cervina, leporina, caprina, bovina, Hæc melancholica sunt, infirmis inimica.

Ova recentia, vina rubentia, pinguia jura, Cum simila pura, naturæ sunt valitura.

Nutrit et impinguat triticum, lac, caseus infans,
Testiculi, porcina caro, cerebella, medullæ, Dulcia vina, cibus gustu jucundior, ova

$$
\text { [ } 160 \text { ] }
$$

Sorbilia, maturæ ficus, uvæque recentes.
Vina probantur odore, sapore, nitore, colore. Si bona vina cupis, hæc quinque probantur in illis,
Fortia, formosa, fragrantia, frigida, frisca. ${ }^{5}$
Sunt nutritiva plus dulcia, candida, vina.
Si vinum rubens nimium quandoque bibatur Venter stipatur, vox limpida turbificatur.

Allia, nux, ruta, pyra, raphanus, et theriaca,
Hæc sunt antidotum contra mortale venenum. ${ }^{6}$
Aer sit mundus, habitabilis ac luminosus.
Nec sit infectus, nec olens foetore cloacæ.
Si tibi scrotina noceat potatio vini
Hora matutina rebibas, et erit medicina.
Gignit et humores melius vinum meliores.
Si fuerit nigrum, corpus reddet tibi pigrum.
Vinum sit clarumque vetus, subtile, maturum, ${ }^{7}$
Ac bene lymphatum, saliens, moderamine sumptum. ${ }^{8}$
Non sit acetosa cervisia, sed bene clara,
De validis cocta granis, satis ac veterata.
De qua potetur stomachus non inde gravetur. ${ }^{9}$
[ 161]

Temporibus veris modicum prandere juberis,
Sed calor æstatis dapibus nocet immoderatis. Autumni fructus caveas; ne sint tibi luctus.
De mensa sume quantum vis tempore brumæ.
Salvia cum ruta faciunt tibi pocula tuta.
Adde rosæ florem minuit potenter amorem. De Absynthio.
Nausea non poterit quemquam vexare marina,
Antea cum vino mixtam si sumpserit illam.
Salvia, sal, vinum, piper, allia, petroselinum, ${ }^{10}$
Ex his fit salsa, nisi sit commixtio falsa.
Si fore vis sanus ablue sæpe manus. ${ }^{11}$
Lotio post mensam tibi confert munera bina, Mundificat palmas, et lumina reddit acuta.

Panis non calidus, nec sit nimis inveteratus, Sed fermentatus, oculatus sit, bene coctus, Modice salitus, frugibus validis sit electus. Non comedas crustam, choleram quia gignit adustam.
Panis salsatus, fermentatus, bene coctus, Purus sit sanus, quia non ita sit tibi vanus.

$$
[162]
$$

Est caro porcina sine vino pejor ovina:
Si tribuis vina, tunc est cibus et medicina.
Ilia porcorum bona sunt, mala sunt reliquorum.
mpedit urinam mustum, solvit cito ventrem, ${ }^{12}$
Hepatis emphraxim, splenis generat, lapidemque.
Potus aquæ sumptus fit edenti valde nocivus,
Infrigidat stomachumque cibum nititur fore crudum.
Sunt nutritivæ multum carnes vitulinæ. ${ }^{13}$
Sunt bona gallina, et capo, turtur, sturna, columba,
Quiscula, vel merula, phasianus, ethigoneta, ${ }^{14}$ Perdix, frigellus, orix, tremulus, amarellus,

Si pisces molles sunt magno corpore tolles, ${ }^{15}$
Si pisces duri, parvi sunt plus valituri:
Lucius, et parca, saxaulis, et albica, tenca, Sornus, plagitia, cum carpa, galbio, truca. ${ }^{16}$

Vocibus anguillæ pravæ sunt si comedantur. Qui physicam non ignorant hæc testificantur. [ 163 ]

Caseus, anguilla, nimis obsunt si comedantur, Ni tu sæpe bibas et rebibendo bibas. ${ }^{17}$

Si sumas ovum molle sit atque novum.
Pisam laudare decrevimus ac reprobare. Pellibus ablatis est bona pisa satis ${ }^{18}$
Est inflativa cum pellibus atque nociva.
Lac ethicis sanum, caprinum post camelinum ${ }^{19}$
Ac nutritivum plus omnibus est asininum. Plus nutritivum vaccinum, sic et ovinum.
Si febriat caput et doleat non est bene sanum.
Lenit et humectat, solvit sine febre butyrum.
Incidit, atque lavat, penetrat, mundat quoque, serum.
Caseus est frigidus, stipans, grossus, quoque durus.

Caseus et panis, bonus est cibus hic bene sanis. ${ }^{20}$
Si non sunt sani tunc hunc non jungito pani.
Ignari medici me dicunt esse novicum,
Sed tamen ignorant cur nocumenta feram. ${ }^{21}$
Languenti stomacho caseus addit opem, ${ }^{22}$
Si post sumatur terminat ille dapes. ${ }^{23}$

Qui physicam non ignorant hæc testificantur.
Inter prandendum sit sæpe parumque bibendum.
Ut minus ægrotes non inter fercula potes.
Ut vites pœnam de potibus incipe cænam,
Singula post ova pocula sume nova. ${ }^{24}$
Post pisces nux sit, post carnes caseus adsit
Unica nux prodest, nocet altera, tertia mors est.
Adde potum pyro, nux est medicina veneno. Fert pyra nostra pyrus, sine vino sunt pyra virus.
Si pyra sunt virus sit meledicta pyrus.
Si coquas, antidotum pyra sunt, sed cruda venenum. ${ }^{25}$
Cruda gravant stomachum, relevant pyra cocta gravatum
Post pyra da potum, post pomum vade fæcatum. ${ }^{26}$
Cerasa si comedas tibi confert grandia dona:
Expurgant stomachum, nucleus lapidem tibi tollit, ${ }^{27}$
Et de carne sua sanguis eritque bonus.

Infrigidant, laxant, multum prosunt tibi, pruna. ${ }^{28}$
Persica cum musto vobis datur ordine justo. Sumere sic est mos: nucibus sociando racemos.
Passula non spleni, tussi valet, est bona reni. Scrofa, tumor, glandes, ficûs cataplasmate cedit, ${ }^{29}$
Junge papaver ei confracta foris tenet ossa. Pediculos, veneremque facit, sed cuilibet obstat. ${ }^{30}$
Multiplicant mictum, ventrem dant escula strictum.
Escula dura bona, sed mollia sunt meliora. ${ }^{31}$
Provocat urinam mustum, cito solvit et inflat.
Grossos humores nutrit cerevisia, vires
Præstat, et augmentat carnem, generatque cruorem,
Provocat urinam, ventrem quoque mollit et inflat.
Infrigidat modicum, sed plus desiccat acetum,

Infrigidat, macerat, melan: dat, sperma minorat,
Siccos infestat nervos, et impinguia siccat.
Rapa juvat stomachum, novit producere ventum,
Provocat urinam, faciet quoque dente ruinam. ${ }^{32}$ Si male cocta datur hinc torsio tunc generatur.

Egeritur tarde cor, digeritur quoque dure. Similiter stomachus, melior sit in extremitates. Reddit lingua bonum nutrimentum medicinæ. Digeritur facile pulmo, cito labitur ipse.

Est melius cerebrum gallinarum reliquorum. Semen fæniculi fugat et spiracula culi. ${ }^{33}$
Emendat visum, stomachum comfortat anisum.
Copia dulcoris anisi sit melioris. ${ }^{34}$
Si cruor emanat spodium sumptum cito sanat. ${ }^{35}$
Vas condimenti præponi debet edenti.
Sal virus refugat, et non sapidumque saporat. Nam sapit esca male quæ datur absque sale. Urunt persalsa visum, spermaque minorant, Et generant scabiem, pruritum sive rigorem. ${ }^{36}$

Hi fervore vigent tres, salsus, amarus, acutus ${ }^{37}$.
Alget acetosus, sic stipans, ponticus atque. Unctus, et insipidus, dulcis, dant temperamentum.
Bis duo vippa facit, mundat dentes, dat acutum

Visum, quod minus est implet, minuit quod abundat.
Omnibus assuetam jubeo servare diætam.
Approbo sic esse, nisi sit mutare necesse.
Est Hippocras testis, quoniam sequitur mala pestis.
Fortior est meta medicinæ certa diæta:
Quam si non curas, fatue regis, et male curas.
Quale, quid, et quando, quantum, quoties, ubi, dando,
Ista notare cibo debet medicus diætando. ${ }^{38}$
Jus caulis solvit, cujus substantia stringit:
Utraque quando datur venter laxare paratur.
Dixerunt malvam veteres quia molliat alvum.

Malvæ radices rasæ dedere fæces, ${ }^{39}$

Vulvam moverunt, et fluxum sæpe dederunt. Mentitur mentha si sit depellere lenta Ventris lumbricos, stomachi vermes que nocivos.

Cur moriatur homo cui salvia crescit in horto?
Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis. ${ }^{40}$
Salvia confortat nervos, manuumque tremores ${ }^{41}$ Tollit, et ejus ope febris acuta fugit. Salvia, castoreum, lavendula, premula veris, Nastur: athanasia, sanant paralytica membra. ${ }^{42}$ Salvia salvatrix, naturæ consiliatrix.

Nobilis est ruta quia lumina reddit acuta. Auxilio rutæ, vir, quippe videbis acute. Ruta viris coitum minuit, mulieribus auget. ${ }^{43}$ Ruta facit castum, dat lumen, et ingerit astum. Cocta facit ruta de pulicibus loca tuta.

De cepis medici non consentire videntur. Cholericis non esse bonas dicit Galienus. Flegmaticis vero multum docet esse salubres, Præsertim stomacho, pulcrumque creare colorem.

Contritis cepis loca denudata capillis
Sæpe fricans poteris capitis reparare decorem. ${ }^{44 \text { and } 45}$
Est modicum granum, siccum, calidumque, sinapi,
Dat lacrimas, purgatque caput, tollitque venenum.
Crapula discutitur, capitis dolor, atque gravedo,
Purpuream dicunt violam curare caducos.

## De Urtica.

Ægris dat somnum, vomitum quoque tollit adversum,
Compescit tussim veterem, colicisqus medetur,
Pellit pulmonis frigus, ventrisque tumorem, ${ }^{46}$ Omnibus et morbis subveniet articulorum.

Hyssopus est herba purgans a pectore phlegma.
Ad pulmonis opus cum melle coquatur hyssopus:
Vultibus eximium fertur reparare colorem.

$$
\text { [ } 170 \text { ] }
$$

## De Cerifolio.

Suppositum cancris tritum cum melle medetur,
Cum vino potum poterit separare dolorem. Sæpe solet vomitum ventremque tenere solutum. ${ }^{47}$
Enula campana reddit præcordia sana. Cum succo rute si succus sumitur hujus, ${ }^{48}$ Affirmant ruptis nil esse salubrius istis.
De Pulegio.

Cum vino choleram nigram potata repellit: Sic dicunt veterem sumptum curare podagram. ${ }^{49}$

> De Nasturtio.

Illius succo crines retinere fluentes
Allitus asseritur, dentisque curare dolorem, ${ }^{60}$ Et squamas succus sanat cum melle perunctus.

## De Celedonia.

Cœecatis pullis hac lumina mater hirundo, Plinius ut scribit, quamvis sint eruta reddit. [171]

## De Salice.

Auribus infusus vermes succus necat ejus. Cortex verrucas in aceto cocta resolvit. Pomorum succus flos partus destruit ejus.

Comfortare crocus dicatur lætificando, Membraque defecta confortat hepar reparando
De Porro.

Reddit fæcundas permansum sæpe puellas. Isto stillantem poteris retinere cruorem. ${ }^{51}$

Quod piper est nigrum non est dissolvere pigrum,
Flegmata purgabit, digestivamque juvabit. ${ }^{52}$ Leucopiper stomacho prodest, tussique dolori Utile, præveniet motum febrisque rigorem.

Et mox post escam dormire nimisque moveri:
Ista gravare solent auditus, ebrietasque.
Metus, longa fames, vomitus, percussio, casus,
Ebrietas, frigus, tinnitum causat in aure.

- Balnea, vina, Venus, ventus, piper, allia, fumus,

$$
\text { [ } 172 \text { ] }
$$

Porri, cum cepis, lens, fletus, faba, sinapi, Sol, coitus, ignis, labor, ictus, acumina, pulvis, Ista nocent oculis, sed vigilare magis. Feniculis, verbena, rosa, celidonia, ruta, ${ }^{53}$ Ex istis fit aqua quæ lumina reddit acuta.

Sic dentes serva, porrorum collige grana. Ne careas jure, (thure?) cum hyoscyamo simul ure.
Sicque per embotum fumum cape dente remotum. ${ }^{54}$
Nux, oleum, frigus capitis, anguillaque, potus, Ac pomum crudum, faciunt hominem fore raucum.
Jejuna, vigila, caleas dape, valde labora, Inspira calidum, modicum bibe, comprime flatum:
Hæс bene tu serva si vis depellere rheuma. Si fluat ad pectus, dicatur rheuma catarrhus: Ad fauces bronchus: ad nares esto coryza.

Auripigmentum, sulphur, miscere memento: His decet apponi calcem: commisce saponi. Quatuor hæc misce. Commixtis quatuor is is Fistula curatur, quater ex his si repleatur. ${ }^{65}$

Ossibus ex denis, bis centenisque, novenis, Constat homo: denis bis dentibus ex duodenis: Ex tricentenis, decies sex, quinqueque venis. ${ }^{56}$

Quatuor humores in humano corpore constant:
Sanguis cum cholera, phlegma, melancholia. Terra melan: aqua fleg: et aer sanguis, cole: ignis. ${ }^{57}$
Natura pingues isti sunt atque jocantes, Semper rumores cupiunt audire frequentes. Hos Venus et Bacchus delectant, fercula, risus, Et facit hos hilares, et dulcia verba loquentes. Omnibus hi studiis habiles sunt, et magis apti. Qualibet ex causa nec hos leviter movet ira. Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubeique coloris, Cantans, carnosus, satìs audax, atque benignus.
Est et humor choleræ, qui competit impetuosis.
Hoc genus est hominum cupiens præcellere cunctos.
Hi leviter discunt, multùm comedunt, cito crescunt.

$$
\text { [ } 174 \text { ] }
$$

Inde magnanimi sunt, largi, summa petentes. I lirsutus, fallax, irascens, prodigus, audax, Astutus, gracilis, siccus, croceique coloris

Phlegma vires modicas tribuit, latosque, brevesque. ${ }^{58}$
Flegma facit pingues, sanguis reddit mediocres.
Otia non studio tradunt, sed corpora somno. ${ }^{\text {69 }}$ Sensus hebes, tardus motus, pigritia, somnus. Hic somnolentus, piger, in sputamine multus. Est huic sensus hebes, pinguis, facie color albus.
Restat adhuc tristis choleræ substantia nigræ,
Quæ reddit pravos, pertristes, pauca loquentes. ${ }^{60}$ Hi vigilant studiis, nec mens est dedita somno, Servant propositum, sibi nil reputant fore tutum.

Invidus, et tristis, cupidus, dextræque tenacis, Non expers frandis, timidus, luteique coloris. Hi sunt humores qui præstant cuique colores.
Omnibus in rebus ex phlegmate fit color albus.

Sanguine fit rubens: cholera rubea quoque rufus. ${ }^{61}$
Si peccet sanguis, facies rubet, extat ocellus, Inflantur genæ, corpus nimiumque gravatur, Est pulsusque frequens, plenus, mollis, dolor ingens
Maxime fit frontis, et constipatio ventris,
Siccaque lingua, sitis, et somnia plena rubore, Dulcor adest sputi, sunt acria, dulcia, quæque. ${ }^{62}$

Denus septenus vix phlebotomiam petit annus.
Spiritus uberior exit per phlebotomiam.
Spiritus ex potu vini mox multiplicatur,
Humorumque cibo damnum lente reparatur.
Lumina clarificat, sincerat phlebotomia
Mentes et cerebrum, calidas facit esse medullas,
Viscera purgabit, stomachum ventremque coercet,
Puros dat sensus, dat somnum, tædia tollit, Auditus, vocem, vires producit et auget. Tres insunt istis (Maius, September, Aprilis),

Et sunt lunares sunt velut hydra dies:
Prima dies primi, postremaque posteriorum: Nec sanguis minui, nec carnibus anseris uti.
In sene vel juvene si venæ sanguine plenæ
Omni mense bene confert incisio venæ.
Hi sunt tres menses, Maius, September, Aprilis,
In quibus eminaus ut longo tempore vivas,
Frigida natura, frigens regio, dolor ingens, Post lavacrum, coitum, minor ætas atque senilis, ${ }^{63}$
Morbus prolixus, repletio potus et escæ, ${ }^{64}$ Si fragilis, vel subtilis sensus stomachi sit, Et fastiditi, tibi non sunt phlebotomandi.

Quid debes facere quando vis phlebotomari, ${ }^{65}$ Vel quando minuis, fueris vel quando minutus? Unctio, sive potus, lavacrum, vel fascia, motus, ${ }^{66}$ Debent non fragili tibi singula mente teneri.

Exhilarat tristes, iratos placat, amantes
Ne sint amentes, phlebotomia facit.
Fac plagam largam mediocriter, ut cito fumus
Exeat uberius, liberiusque cruor.

Sanguine subtracto, sex horis est vigilandum,
Ne somni fumus lædat sensibile corpus.
Ne nervum lædas, non sit tibi plaga profunda.
Sanguine purgatus non carpas protinus escas.
Omnia de lacte vitabis rite, minute,
Et vitet potum phlebotomatus homo.
Frigida vitabis, quia sunt inimica minutis.
Interdictus erit minutis nubilus aer.
Spiritus exultat minutis luce per auras.
Omnibus apta quies, est motus valde nocivus.
Principio minuas in acutis, peracutis.
Etatis mediæ multum de sanguine tolle, Sed puer atque senex tollet uterque parum.
Ver tollat duplum, reliquum tempus tibi simplum.
Æstas, ver, dextras: autumnus, hiemsque, sinistras.
Quatuor hæc membra, cephe, cor, pes, hepar, vacuanda. ${ }^{67}$
Ver cor, hepar æstas, ordo sequens reliquas.
Dat salvatella tibi plurima dona minuta: $:^{68}$

Purgat hepar, splenem, pectus, præcordia, vocem,
Innaturalem tollit de corde dolorem. ${ }^{69}$
Si dolor est capitis ex potu, limpha bibatur, Ex potu nimio nam febris acuta creatur. Si vertex capitis, vel frons, æstu tribulentur, Tempora fronsque simul moderate sæpe fricentur
Morella cocta, nec non calidaque laventur.
Temporis æstivi jejunia corpora siccant. Quolibet in mense confert vomitus, quoque purgat
Humores nocuos stomachi, lavat ambitus omnes.
Ver, autumnus, hiems, æstas, dominantur in anno.
Tempore vernali calidus fit aer, humidusque, Et nullum tempus melius fit phlebotomix. Usus tunc homini Veneris confert moderatus, Corporis et motus, ventrisque solutio, sudor, Balnea, purgentur tunc corpora cum medicinis.
Æstas more calet sicca, nascatur in illa

Tunc quoque præcipue choleram rubeam dominari.
Humida, frigida fercula dentur, sit Venus extra,
Balnea non prosunt, sint raræ phlebotomiæ, Utilis est requies, sit cum moderamine potus.

## NOTES ON THE ENGLISH TEXT

(I) According to Suetonius in his life of the Emperor Claudius, the latter had in contemplation the issuance of a proclamation justifying the emission of flatus wherever and whenever the need might exist. Montaigne in his Essay on the Force of the Imagination expresses the wish that the Emperor might at the same time have granted also the power to do so.
(2) i.e. This is indicated in the common expression "the mouth waters."
(3) Avicenna thought peaches a wholesome food if eaten before other heavier articles of diet. The Ancients lay stress on the difficulty of obtaining peaches exactly ripe and dwell on the dangers of the fruit when either unripe or overripe. Pears were regarded as in general unwholesome because of the difficulty with which they undergo digestion, being very apt to produce colic and flatus. Apples were regarded as indigestible because "they engender ventuosities in the second digestion." Milk was dangerous for the sick because of its tendency to curdle; but Hippocrates recommended its use in phthisis. The command to abstain from salt meat is very much in line with the modern "salt-free diet." Hare and goat's flesh were held to "engender melancholly blood."
(4) Manchet. Fine white bread.
(5) Dowcet. Testicle.
[ 18 I ]
(6) Muskadell. Muscatel was a term applied to a number of different sweet wines made in Italy, Spain, and France. Candy wine-wine of Candia.
(7) The fruit of the Mesphilus Germanica-very much like a small apple; it was only eaten when somewhat overripe.

Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636) says: "Medlars do stop the belly, especially when they be greene and hard, for after they haue been kept awhile, so that they become soft and tender, they do not binde or stop so much, but are then more fit to be eaten. The fruit of the three graine Medlar, is eaten both raw and boyled, and is more wholesom for the stomacke. These Medlars be oftentimes preserued with sugar or hony: and being so prepared they are pleasant and delightful to the taste. Moreover, they are singular good for women with childe: for they strengthen the stomacke and stay the loathsomeness thereof. The stones or kernals of the Medlars, made into pouder and drunke, doe breake the stone, expell grauell, and procure urine."

66 "Rosalind. I'll graff it with you, and then shall I graff it with a medlar; then it will be the earliest fruit $i$ the country; for you'll be rotten ere you be half ripe, and that's the right virtue of the medlar." As You Like It, Act III, Sc. II.
(8) Vinegar was formerly held in great esteem for the several reasons mentioned in the text. It was supposed to reduce obesity, to act as a sexual sedative and was in great demand as a disinfectant. Matthew Carey in his account of the epidemic of yellow fever

$$
[182]
$$

in Philadelphia in the year $\mathbf{1} 793$ states that "Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses, or smelling bottles full of thieves' vinegar." The latter, or vinegar of the four thieves, as it was more usually termed, was a preparation the composition of which was said to have been discovered by four young men during the plague at Marseilles in 1720 . It was claimed to have rendered them immune from the disease and enabled them to rob the sick while pretending to serve as nurses.
(9) Tripe. The stomach and intestines. Lites. (Lights) The Lungs.
(ı) Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636, page 1032) says of fennel (fœeniculum vulgare), "The powder of the seed of fennell drunke for certaine daies together fasting preserueth the eye-sight: whereof was written this Distichon following:

Fœniculum, Rosa Verbena, Chelidonia, Ruta, Ex his fit aquaqua lumina reddit acuata.

Of Fennell, Roses, Vervain, Rue, and Celandine, Is made a water good to clere the sight of eine.

The green leaves of Fennel eaten or the seed drunke made into a Ptisan, do fill womens brests with milke.

The decoction of Fennell drunke easeth the paines of the kidnies, causeth one to auoid the stone, and prouketh urine.

The roots are as effectuall, and not onely good for
the intents aforesaid, but against the dropsie also, being boiled in wine and drunken.

Fennell seed drunke asswageth the paine of the stomacke, and wambling of the same or desire to vomit, and breaketh winde.

The herbe, seed, and root of Fennell are very good for the lungs, the liver, and the kidnies, for it openeth the obstructions or stoppings of the same, and comforteth the inward parts.

The seed and herbe of sweet Fennell is equall in vertues with Annise seed."
(II) Spodium. Greek ( отодı $\mu$ ) ashes.
(12) Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636, page 1302) says of licorice:
"The root of Licorice is good against the rough harshnesse of the throat and brest; it opens the pipes of the lungs when they be stuffed or stopt, ripeneth the cough, and bringeth forth flegme. * * * It is good against hoarseneses, difficulties of breathing, inflammation of the lungs, the pleurisie, spitting of bloud or matter, consumption and rottennesse of the lungs, all infirmities and ruggednesse of the chest."
(13) The caper bush belongs to the genus Capparis.
(14) Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636, page 33) says of gallingale, the alpinia officinarum, or galanga:
"These roots * * * strengthen the stomach, and mitigate the pains thereof arising from cold and flatulencies. The smell * * * comforts the too cold braine; the substance thereof being chewed
sweetens the breath. It is good also against the beating of the heart. They are useful against the collicke proceeding of flatulencies, and the flatulent affects of the wombe; they conduce to venery, and heate the too cold reines. To conclude they are good against all cold diseases."
(15) Scorbutic disorders of the skin were terribly prevalent among those who went on long sea voyages in times when their chief article of food was salted meats.
(16) Colewort or cabbages were held in much esteem for their supposed medicinal properties. Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636, page 317) gives a lengthy list of the various uses to which the different parts of the plant were applied: Thus Dioscorides taught that it was good when eaten "for them that have dim eies, and that are troubled with a shaking palsie;" "It is reported, that colewort beeing eaten before meate, doth preserue a man from drunkennesse: the reason is yeelded, for that there is a naturall enmitie betweene it and the vine, which is such, as if it grow neere vnto it, forthwith the vine perisheth and withereth away." "Pliny writeth, that the iuice mixed with wine, and dropped into the eares is a remedy against deafnesse." ${ }^{* * *}$ etc., etc.
(17) Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636, page 932) says of the virtues of mallow: "The leaves of Mallowes are good against the stinging of Scorpions, Bees, Wasps, and such like: and if a man be first annointed with the
leaves stamped with a little oile, he shall not be stung at all, as Dioscorides saith. The decoctions of mallowes with their roots drunken are good against all venome and poyson, if it be incontinently taken after the poyson, so that it be vomited up againe.
"The leaves of mallowes boiled till they be soft and applied, doe mollifie tumors and hard swellings of the mother, if they so withal sit over the fume thereof and bathe themselves therewith.
"The decoction used in clysters is good against the roughness and fretting of the guts, bladder, and fundament. The roots of the Veruaine-mallow do heale the bloudy flix and inward burstings, being drunke with wine and water, as Dioscorides and Paulus Aegineta testifie."
(18) Mint was anciently a very popular remedy in all disorders associated with the female organs. It was also used very greatly in digestive disturbances.
(19) The statement in Gerarde's Herbal, ed. 1636 , page 766 , fully agrees with the laudation of sage contained in the Regimen: "Agrippa and likewise Aetius haue called it the Holy-herbe, because women with childe if they be like to come before their time, and are troubled with abortments, do eate thereof to their great good; for it closeth the matrix, and maketh them fruitfull, it retaineth the birth, and giveth it life, and if the woman about the fourth day of her going abroad after her childing, shall drinke nine ounces of the juyce of sage with a little salt, and then use the company of her husband, she shall without doubt conceice and
bring forth store of children, which are the blessing of God. * * *

Sage is singular good for the head and braine; ir quickeneth the sences and memory, strengtheneth the sinewes, restoreth health to those who haue the palsie vpon a moist cause, takes away shaking or trembling of the members; and being put up into the nostrils, it draweth thin flegme out of the head. It is likewise commended against the spitting of bloud, the cough, and paines of the sides, and bitings of serpents," etc., etc.

Sage tea is still held in much popular esteem in menstrual disorders.

Sage has previously been praised in the poem for its virtues as a prophylactic against seasickness, vide p. 9I.
(20) Rue or herb of grace had a high place in the pharmacopeia of the ancient physician. It was used both locally and internally. It was especially esteemed as a carminative and diuretic.
(21) In Gerarde's Herbal, ed. 1636 , page 170 , we find that onions "stamped with Salt, Rue, and Honey, and so applied, they are good against the biting of a mad Dog."
(22) Even the ancients found mustard of but little service in internal medicine, except as a stimulant of the digestive tract. It was in great vogue, however, as a counterirritant. Gerarde (Herbal, ed. 1636) says, "The seed of mustard beaten and put into the nostrils causeth sneezing, and raiseth women sicke of the Mother
(hysteria) out of their fits. It is good in the falling sicknesse, and such as haue the Lethargie, if it be laid plaisterwise vpon the head (after haueing been tempered with figs). It helpeth the Sciatics, or ache in the hip or huckle bone." * * *
(23) In addition to their usefulness in epilepsy and as a purgative in surfeits, there were many other medicinal uses to which they were applied. Gerarde's Herbal, ed. 1636, page 852, says, "the floures are good for all inflammations, especially of the sides and lungs; they take away the hoarseness of the chest, the ruggedness of the winde-pipe and jawes, allay the extreme heate of the liver, kidnies, and bladder, mitigate the fiery heate of burning agues, temper the sharpnesse of choler, and take away thirst." * * *
(24) Gerarde’s Herbal, ed. 1636, page 707, contains a very glowing exordium of the virtues of nettles.
"Being eaten, as Dioscorides saith boiled with Periwinkles, it maketh the body soluble, doing it by a kinde of clensing facultie: it also provoketh vrine, and expelleth stones out of the kidnies: being boiled with barly cream it is thought to bring up tough humors that sticke in the chest. Being stamped, and the juice put up into the nostrils, it stoppeth the bleeding of the nose: the juice is good against the inflammation of the uvula. * * * It concocteth and draweth out of the chest humors. It is good for them that cannot breathe vnlesse they hold their necks vpright, and for those that haue the pleurisie, and for such as be sick of the inflammation of the lungs, it
be taken in a looch or licking medicine, and also against the troublesome cough that children haue, called the chin-cough. Nicander affirmeth, that is a remedie against the venemous qualitie of Hemlocke, Mushroms and Quicksilver. And Apollodorus saith that it is a counter poison for Henbane, Serpents and Scorpions." ***
(25) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636, page 580.
"A decoction of Hyssop made with figs, and gargled in the mouth and throte, ripeneth and breaketh the tumors and imposthumes of the mouth and throte, and easeth the difficultie of swallowing, comming by cold rheumes. The same made with figges, water, honey, and rue, and drunken, helpeth the inflammation of the lungs, the old cough, and shortness of breath, and the obstructions and stoppings of the breast."
(26) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636, page 991, writes:
"The decoction of the roots of Cinke-foile drunke, cureth the bloudy flix, and all other fluxes of the belly, and stancheth all excessiue bleeding. The juyce of the roots while they be young and tender, is given to be drunke against the diseases of the liuer and lungs and all poyson. The same drunke in mede or honied water, or wine wherein some pepper hath been mingled, cureth the tertain or quartain feuers: and being drunken after the same manner for thirty daies together, it helpeth the falling sicknesse. * * * The juyce of the leaues drunken doth cure the jaundice, and comforteth the stomacke and liuer. The decoction of the
roots held in the mouth doth mitigate the paine of the teeth, staieth putrifaction, and all putrified vleers of the mouth, helpeth the inflammations of the almonds, throat and the parts adjoining * * * and helpeth the bloudy flix. The root boyled in vinegre is good against the shingles, appeaseth the rage of fretting sores, and cankerous vlcers."
(27) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636, says: "It is good for shortnesse of breath, and an old cough, and for such as cannot breath vnlesse they hold their neckes vpright. It is of great virtue both giuen in a looch, which is a medicine to be looked on, and likewise preserued, as also otherwise giuen to purge and void out thicke, tough, and clammy humors, which sticke in the chest and lungs. The root preserued is good and wholesome for the stomacke: being taken after supper it doth not onely helpe digestion, but also keepeth the belly soluble. * * * The decoction of Enula (Ellecompane) drunken prouoketh vrine, and is good for them that are grieued with inward burstings, or haue any member out of joynt." * * *
(28) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636, page 672, says:
"Pennie Royall boyled in wine and drunken prouoketh the monethly termes, bringeth forth the secondine, the dead childe and vnnaturall birth: it prouoketh vrine and breaketh the stone especially of the kidnies. Pennie Royall taken in honey clenseth the lungs, and cleareth the breast from all grosse and thicke humours. The same taken with hony and Aloes, purgeth by stoole
malancholy humours; helpeth the crampe and drawing together of sinewes. The same taken with water and vinegre asswageth the inordinate desire to vomit, and the paines of the stomacke. If you haue when you are at the sea Penny Royall in great quantitie dry, and cast it into corrupt water, it helpeth it much, neither will it hurt them that drinke thereof. A garland of Pennie Royall made and worne about the head is of great force against the swimming in the head, and the paines and giddinesse thereof. The decoction of Penny Royall is very good against ventositie, windines, or such like, \& , against the hardnesse and stopping of the mother being used in a bath or stew for the woman to sit ouer."
(29) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636 , enumerates a number of varieties of cresses, such as water cress, winter cress, bank cress, garden cress, and sciatica cress, and attributes many virtues to them. Thus of winter cress he writes: "The seed of Winter Cresse causeth one to make water, and driveth forth grauell, and helps the strangurie. The juyce thereof mundfieth corrupt and filthy vlcers, being made in form of an vnguent with wax, oile, and turpentine. * * * This herbe helpeth the scuruy, being boiled among scuruy grasse, called in Latin Cochlearia, causing it to work the more effectually."
The garden cress is also highly commended for scurvy, and "it scoureth away tettas mixed with brine."

Sciatica cress derives its name from its supposed value in that complaint.
(30) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636, page 1392, affirms of the willow: "The leaues and barke of Withy or Willowes do stay the spitting of bloud, and all other fluxes of bloud whatsoever in man or woman, if the said leaues and barke be boyled in wine and drunke. The greene boughes with the leaues may very well be brought into chambers and set about the beds of those that be sicke of feuers, for they doe mightly coole the heate of the aire, which thing is a wonderfull refreshing to the sicke patients. The barke hath like vertues: Dioscorides writeth, that this being burnt to ashes, and steeped in vineger, takes away cornes and other like risings in the feet and toes: diuers, saith Galen, doe slit the barke whilst the withey is in flouring and gather a certain juyce with which they used to take away things that hinder the sight, and this is when they are constrained to use a clensing medicine of thin and subtill parts."
(31) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1696, writes of saffron:
"Avicen affirmeth that it causeth headache and is hurtful to the braine, which it cannot do by taking it now and then, but by too much using of it; for the too much using of it cutteth off sleep, for want whereof the head and sences are out of frame. But the moderate use thereof is good for the head and maketh the sences more quick and liuely, shaketh off heauy and drowsie sleepe, and maketh a man merry. Also saffron strengtheneth the heart, concocteth crude and raw humors of the chest, opens the lungs, and removeth obstructions. It is also such a special remedie for

$$
[192]
$$

those that haue consumption of the lungs, and are as wee terme it, at death's doore, and almost past breathing, that it bringeth breath again, and prolongeth life for certaine dayes, if ten or twenty graines at the most be given with a new or sweet wine." Saffron was also much used locally in affections of the eyes and ears. The use of the meadow saffron, or colchicum, for gout, dates back to antiquity. The dangers of its too free use in that complaint were well recognized.
(32) Leeks were recommended as antidotes against the bites of venomous beasts, being used both internally and locally. The juice of the leek was considered of great value when dropped into the external auditory meatus, in earache and tinnitus aurium.
(33) Gerarde, Herbal, ed. 1636 , makes no distinction as regards the medicinal properties of white or black pepper. He writes: "Dioscorides and others agreeing with him affirme, that Pepper resisteth poyson, and is good to be put into medicaments for eies. All Pepper heateth, prouoketh vrin, digesteth, draweth, disperseth, and clenseth the dimness of the sight, as Dioscorides noteth.
(34) 'Fœniculum, Rosa, Verbena, Chelodonia, Ruta Ex lis fit aqua qua lumina reddit acute.
Of Fennell, Roses, Vervain, Rue and Celandine Is made a water good to cleere the sight of eine."
(See Gerarde's Herbal, ed. 1636, page 1032.)
(35) Guerini, "History of Dentistry," 1909, ascrıbes the origin of the legend that dental caries is due to
worms in the teeth to the following passage in Scribonius Largus:
"Suitable also against toothache are fumigations made with the seeds of the hyoscyamus scattered on burning charcoal; these must be followed by rinsings of the mouth with hot water; in this way sometimes, as it were, small worms are expelled."

He adds: "This passage of Scribonius Largus has given rise to the idea that dental caries depends upon the presence of small worms, which eat away the substance of the tooth. Such an explanation must have well succeeded in satisfying the popular fancy; and it is for this that such a prejudice, although fought against by Jacques Houllier in the sixteenth century, has continued even to our days."

Lastly he tells from his own knowledge the following story which shows a modern Italian charlatan doing very much what was taught in the Regimen:
"With regard to this I would like to record the following fact: Not many years ago there lived in Aversa, a small town near Naples, Italy, a certain Don Angelo Fontenella, a violin player, who professed himself to be the possessor of an infallible remedy against toothache. When summoned by the sufferer, he carried with him, in a bundle, a tile, a large iron plate, a funnel, a small curved tube adjustable to the apex of the funnel, a piece of bees' wax, and a small packet of onion seed. Having placed the tile on a table, the iron plate was put upon it, after it had been heated red hot. Then the operator let a piece of bees' wax fall upon the
red-hot iron, together with a certain quantity of onion seed; then, having promptly covered the whole with the funnel and made the patient approach, he brought the apex of the said funnel close to the sick tooth, in such a way as to cause the prodigious, if somewhat stinking, fumes produced by the combustion of the wax with the onion seed to act upon it. In the case of a lower tooth, the above mentioned curved tube was adopted to the furinel, so that the fumes might easily reach the tooth. The remedy, for the most part, had a favorable result, whether because the beneficial effect was due to the action of the hot vapor on the diseased tooth, or to the active principles resulting from the combustion of the wax and onion seed, or to both, or perhaps also, at least in certain cases, to the suggestion that was thus brought to bear upon the sufferer. It would not be at all worth while to discuss here such a point. The interesting point is that when the patient had declared that he no longer felt pain, Don Angelo, with a self-satisfied smile, turned the funnel upside down, and showed on its internal surface a quantity of what he pretended to be worms, which he affirmed had come out of the carious tooth. Great was the astonishment of the patient and of the bystanders, none of whom raised the least doubt as to the nature and origin of these small bodies, no one having the faintest suspicion even that these, instead of coming from the tooth, might come from the onion seed."
(36) Tents were formerly much used in surgery to keep wounds open in order that they might heal from
the bottom outwards. Many substances were used for the purpose, especially lint or other fabrics soaked in balsmic oils.
(37) Flix. Gleet, a chronic discharge from the urethra.
(38) Gray's Anatomy, ed. 1887, gives the number of bones in the adult skeleton as follows:
The spine or vertebral column (sacrum and coccyx included) ..... 26
Cranium ..... 8
Face ..... 14
Os hyoides, sternum, and ribs ..... 26
Upper extremities ..... 64
Lower extremities ..... 62
200
"In this enumeration the patellæ are included as separate bones, but the smaller sesamoid bones and the ossicula auditus are not reckoned. The teeth belong to the tegumentary system."

Any attempt at an accurate enumeration of the veins is impossible. It must be remembered that at the epoch when the Regimen was composed, injections of the bloodvessels were not practised.

In ancient East Indian medicine the following classification of the human body was made. It consists "of six members (the four extremities, the trunk, and the head), and has 7 membranes, 7 segments, 70 vessels, 500 muscles, 900 sinews, 300 bones, 212 joints,
but only 24 nerves, and 9 organs of sense, etc. The vessels contain not only blood, but they carry also bile, mucus, and air about through the body. Of the nerves, which take their origin from the navel, 10 ascend, 10 descend, and 4 run transversely, as soon as the 10 ascending nerves reach the heart, however, they divide into 30." (Baas, "History of Medicine," Handerson's translation, page 49.)
(39) Garrison's "Introduction to the History of Medicine" contains several figures reproduced by permission of Sudhoff of so-called bloodletting men (Aderlassman), illustrating the planetary influences on the human body as regarded the proper times and places for bloodletting. These figures, printed as calendars, were among the earliest productions of the printers' art. The belief in the astrological relation between bloodletting and the heavenly bodies continued into the seventeenth century. Bleeding was regarded as a very solemn function until but a few hundred years ago. Hippocrates and the ancient Greeks and Latins employed it frequently. Under the influence of the Arabian School the so-called "derivative" method of bloodletting came into vogue. This consisted in drawing blood from the opposite side of the body from the affected part. Early in the sixteenth century Pierre Brissot, a physician of Paris, proclaimed the fallacy of the Arabian view and after a fierce battle lasting over a period of years the medical profession finally returned to the standard of Hippocrates, and bled once more from the diseased side. Paré gives the
following exposition of the reasons for letting blood. 1 take it literally from Johnson's translation of his works, edition of 1678, page 41 I:
"Phlebotomy is the opening of a vein, evacuating the blood with the rest of the humors; thus Arterotomy, is the opening of an artery. The first scope of Phlebotomy is the evacuation of the blood offending in quantity, although oft-times the Physician's intention is to draw forth the blood which offends in quality, or other way by opening a vein. Repletion, which is caused by the quantity, is two-fold; the one ad vires, that is, to the strength, the veins being otherwise not very much swelled: This makes men infirm and weak, Nature not able to bear his humor, of what kind soever it be. The other is termed ad vasa, that is, to the vessels, the which is so called comparatively to the plenty of blood, although the strength may very well away therewith. The vessels are oft-times broke by this kind of repletion, so that the Patient casts and spits up blood, or else evacuates it by the nose, womb, hemorrhoids, or varices. The repletion which is ad vires, is known by the heaviness and wearisomeness of the whole body; but that which is ad vasa, is perceived by their distension and fulness, both of them stand in need of evacuation. But blood is only to be let by opening a vein, for five respects: The first is to lessen the abundance of blood, as in plethorick bodies, and those who are troubled with inflammation without any plenitude. The second is for diversion or revulsion, as when a vein of the right is opened to stay the bleeding of the left nostril. The third is to allure or draw [ 198]
down; as when the saphena is opened in the ankle, to draw down the courses in women. The fourth is for alteration or introduction of another quality; as when in sharp feavers we open a vein to breathe out that blood which is heated in the vessels, and cooling the residue which remains behind. The fifth is to prevent imminent diseases; as when in the Spring and Autumn we draw blood by opening a vein in such as are subject to spitting of blood, the Squinancy, Plurisie, Fallingsickness, Apoplexy, Madness, Gout, or in such as are wounded, for to prevent the inflammation which is to be feared. Before blood-letting, if there be any old excrements in the guts, they shall be evacuated by a gentle Clyster or suppository, lest the mesaraick veins should thence draw unto them any impurity. Blood must not be drawn from ancient people, unless some present necessity require it, lest the native heat, which is but languid in them, should be brought to extreme debility, and their substance decay; neither must any in like sort be taken from children, for fear of resolving their powers by reason of the tenderness of their substance, and rareness of their habit. The quantity of blood which is to be let, must be considered by the strength of the Patient and greatness of the disease: Therefore, if the Patient be weak, and the disease require large evacuation, it will be convenient to part the letting of blood, yea by the interposition of some days. The vein of the forehead being opened is good for the pain of the hind-part of the head, yet first we foment the part with warm water, that so the skin may be softer, and the blood drawn
into the veins in greater plenty. In the Squinancy, the veins which are under the tongue must be opened aslant, without putting any ligatures about the neck, for fear of strangling. Phlebotomy is necessary in all diseases which stop or hinder breathing, or take away the voice of speech; as likewise in all constitutions by a heavy stroke, or fall from high, in an Apoplexy, Squinancy, and Burning-feaver, though the strength be not great, nor the blood faulty in quantity or quality, blood must not be let in the height of a Feaver. Most judge it fit to draw blood from the veins most remote from the affected and inflamed part, for that thus the course of the humors may be diverted, the next veins on the contrary being opened, the humors may be the more drawn into the affected part, and so increase the burthen and pain. But this opinion of theirs is very erroneous, for an open vein always evacuates and burthens the next part. For I have sundry times opened the veins and arteries of the affected part, as of the hands and feet in the Gout of their parts; of the temples in the Megrim; whereupon the pain always was somewhat asswaged, for that together with the evacuated blood, the malignity of the Gout, and the hot spirits (the causes of the Head-ach or Megrim) were evacuated. For thus Galen wisheth to open the arteries of the temples in a great and contumacious defluxion falling upon the eyes, or in the Megrim or Head-ach."

Heister (English translation of his "General System of Surgery," London, 1757) says, "A good phlebotomist should have a steady, nimble and active Hand,
with a sharp Eye and undaunted Mind; without which he may be either liable to miss the Vein, or commit some Accident that may be injurious or fatal to the Patient and his own Character. For these Reasons it is that Venesection is less readily practiced by the Surgeon as he advances in Years: because old Age is generally accompanied with a weak Eye and a trembling Hand."

Heister gives the following directions for preparation for the operation:
"Preparatory to Bleeding you should have in Readiness, (1) a Linen Fillet, about a Paris Ell in Length, and two Fingers in Breadth, with or without small Strings fastened at each End of it. (2) Two small square Bolsters. (3) Porringers or Vessels to receive the Blood. (4) A Sponge with warm Water. (5) Some Vinegar Wine, or Hungary Water, to raise the Patient's Spirits if he should be inclinable to faint. (6) Two Assistants, who must be void of Fear, one to hold the Porringer, the other to reach you anything that you shall want. (7) A small Wax Candle, when the Patient is to be blooded at Night, or in a dark Place. (8) You must place your Patient upon a Couch; or, if he is very fearful of the Operation, lay him upon a Bed, lest he should fall into a Swoon. (9) Lastly, you should take Care that no Hair, or the Cloaths of the Patient lie in your Way. The Patient himself should take Care that nothing should give him any Concern: And he should avoid terrifying himself with recollecting the Mischiefs which have happened by the unskilful Performance of this Operation. Lastly,
the Operator should be as expert in bleeding with his left Hand as with his right. For, as you are readier at bleeding in the right Arm with your right Hand, so when you are to open the Veins of the $1 . \mathrm{ft}$ Arm, you will find it necessary to use your left Hand: And there are some Patients who insist upon being blooded in the left Arm."
(40) This was a small vein situated on the back of the hand, between the ring and little finger, known as the salvatella vein, a branch of the cubital. In the days of cheiromancy it was believed to have an intimate relation on the right side with the liver, the right kidney, and the right lung; on the left side with the spleen, the left kidney and the left lung.

## NOTES ON THE LATIN TEXT

(I) Ordronaux has "scribit" instead of "scripsit."
(2) After "minute" Ordronaux inserts:
"Fons-Speculum-Gramen, haec dant oculis relevanem,
Mane igitur montes, sub serum inquirito fontes." Arnold of Villa Nova.
(3) "Spasmus, hydrops, colica, vertigo, hoc res probat ipsa."

Ordronaux.
(4) ' Tu numquam comedas stomachum nisi noveris esse
Purgatum, vacuumque cibo, quem, sumpseris ante
Ex desiderio id pateris cognescere carto;
Haec sint signa tibi, subtilis in ore saliva."
Ordronaux.
(5) Ordronaux inserts a line:
"Corpora plus augent tibi dulcia, candida vina Alii sic,
(6) "Haec sunt antidotum, contra lethale venenum.
(7) "Vinum sit clarum, vetus, subtile, maturum."

Ordronaux.
(8) "Ac bene dilutum, saliens, moderamine sumptum."

Ordronaux.
(9) Between this line and the next Ordronaux has the following lines:
"Crassos humores nutrit cerevisia, vires
Præstat, augmentat carnem, generatque cruorem
Provocat urinam, ventrem quoque mollit et inflat.
Infrigidat modicum; sed plus desiccat acetum,
Infrigidat, macerat, melancholiam dat, sperma minorat,
Siccos infestat nervos, et impinguia siccat."
(10) "Adde rosa florem, minuitqne potenter amorem Nausea non poterit haec quemquam vexare, marinam
Undam cum vino, mixtam qui sumpserit ante Salvia, sal, vinum, piper, allium, petroselinum."

Ordronaux.
(ii) In Ordronaux's version this line is transposed so that it follows the next two, thus:
"Lotio post mensam tibi confert munera bina
Mundificat palmas et lumina reddit acuta
Si fore vis sanus, ablue sæpe manus."
(I2) "Illa bona sunt porcorum, mala sunt reliquorum Provocat urinam mustum, solvit cito ventrem."

Ordronaux.
(I3) Between the foregoing lines the following, accredited to Arnold of Villa Nova, are given by Ordronaux:
"Vina bibant homines, animantia cæetera fontes Absit ab humano pectore potus aquæ."
(14) "Quiscula, vel merula, phasianus, ortygometra." Ordronaux.
(15) "Si pisces sunt molles, magno corpore tolles." Ordronaux.
(16) These lines do not occur in the text given by Professor Ordronaux.
(17) Between this and the next line the following is found in the Ordronaux:
"Inter prandendum sit sæpe parumque bibendum."
(18) "Pisum laudandum decrivimus ac reprobandum Est inflativum cum pellibus atque nocivum Pellibus ablatis sunt bona pisa satis.
(19) "Lac phthisicis sanum caprinum post camelinum."

Ordronaux.
(20) "Caseus est frigidus, stipans, crassus, quoque durus
Caseus et panis, sunt optima fercula sanis."
Ordronaux.
(21) Between lines 106 and 107 the Ordronaux text has the following:
"Expertis reor esse rarum, quia commoditate."
(22) Between lines 107 and 108 Ordronaux has:
"Caseus ante cibum confert, si defluat alvus."
(23) "Si constipetur terminat ille dapes."

Ordronaux.
(24) "Post pisces nux sit, post carnes caseus adsit. Unica nux prodest, nocet latera, tertia mors est Singula post ova, pocula sume nova."

Ordronaux.
(25) "Si coquis antidotum pyra sunt sed cruda venenum." Ordronaux.
(26) "Post pyra da potum, post pomum vade cacatum." Ordronaux.
(27) "Expurgat stomachum nucleus lapidem tibi tollet."

Ordronaux.
(28) "Infrigidant, laxant, multum prosunt tibi prunae." Ordronaux.
(29) "Srofa, tumor, glandes, ficus cataplasmati cedunt."

Ordronaux.
(30) "Pediculos, venerem que facit, sed cuilibet obstat."
Addition by Arnold of Villa Nova, Ordronaux.
(31) "Mespila dura bona, sed mollia sunt meliora." Ordronaux.
(32) After line $\mathbf{1} 43$ Ordronaux has the following lines, which he states are an addition by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Radix rapa bona est, comedenti dat tria dona; Visum clarificat, ventrem mollit, bene bombit. Ventum sæpe rapis, si tu vis vivere rapis."
(33) "Semen fœniculi pellit spiracula culi."

Ordronaux.
[ 206 ]

Immediately following line 149, Ordronaux has the following two lines, an addition by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Bis duo dat marathrum, febres fugat atque ven enum,
Et purgat stomachum, lumen quoque reddit acutum.',
(34) "Copia dulcoris aniso fit melioris."

Ordronaux.
(35) Immediately between this line and the next Ordronaux gives the following addition by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Guadet hepar spodio, mace cor cerebrum quo que moscho;
Fulmo liquirita, splen capparis, stomachumque galanga."
(36) Between lines 157 and 158 Ordronaux's version has two lines of Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Sal primo poni debet, primoque reponi
Non bene mensa tibi ponitur absque sale."
(37) "Hic fervore viget tres, salsus, amarus, acutus:"

Ordronaux.
(38) In Ordronaux's version there is an additional line between lines 169 and 170 :
"Ne mala conveniens ingrediatur iter."
(39) "Malvæ radices rasæ deducere fæces."

Ordronaux.
(40) "Contra vim mortis, non talis medicainen in hortis."

Ordronaux.
Ordronaux states that he has substituted talis in this line instead of est, as the original has it. He points out that est plainly contradicts the preceding line, and has substituted talis, as better illustrating the general high character of the plant, of whose virtues the subsequent lines serve to give a more detailed exposition.
(41) "Salvia confortat nervos, manumque tremorem."

Ordronaux.
(42) "Nasturtium, athanasia, haec sanant paralytica membra." Ordronaux.
(43) "Auxilio rutæ, vir lippe videbis acute

Ruta viris minuit Venerem, mulieribus addit."
Ordronaux.
(44) "Sæpe fricans, capitis poteris reparare decorem."

Ordronaux.
(45) Ordronaux inserts the two following lines by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Appositas perhibent morsus curare caninos,
Si trita cum melle prius fuerint at aceto."
(46) "Aegris dat somnum, vomitum quoque tollit et usum,
Illius semen colicis cum melle medetur.
Et tussim veterem curat, si sæpe bibatur. Frigus pulmonis pellit, ventrisque tumorem." Ordronaux.
(47) "Oppositum cancris tritum cum melle medetur Cum vino potum læteris sedare dolorem Sæpe solet, tritam si nectis desuper herbam." Ordronaux.
(48) "Cum succo rutæ succus si sumitur hujus." Ordronaux.
(49) "Appositam veterem dicunt sedare podagram." Ordronaux.
(50) "Illius succus crines retinere flueutes Illitus asseritur, dentesque levare dolorem." Ordronaux.
(5I) "Hujus flos, sumptus in aqua, frigescere cogit Instinctus Veneris, cunctos acres stimulantes Et sic desicat, ut nulla creatio fiat. Confortare crocum dixerunt exhilarando Membra defecta confortat hepar reparando. Reddit focundas mansum per sæpe puellas; Ills stillantem poteris retinere cruorem, Ungis si nares intus medicamine tali."

Ordronaux.
(52) "Phlegmata purgabit, concoctricemque juvabit'"

Ordronaux.
(53) After this line (238) Ordronaux has:
"Subveninut oculis dira caligne pressis, Nam ex istis fit aqua, quæ lumina reddit acuta."
(54) "Cum hyoscyamo ure adjuncto simul quoque thure.
Sic per embotum fumum cape dente remotum.'
Ordronaux.
(55) Between lines 253 and 254 the Ordronaux contains the following:
"Si capitis dolor est ex potu, lympha bibatur.
Ex potu nimio nam febris acuta creatur
Si vertex capitis vel frons æstu tribulentur
Tempora fronsque simul moderate sæpe frieentur;
Morella cocta nec non calidaque laventur;
Istud enim credunt capitis prodesse dolori.
Temporis æstivi jejunia corpora siccant,
Quolibet in mense, et confort vomitus quoque purgat
Humores nocuos, stomachi lavat ambitus omnes.
Ver, Autumnus, Hyems, Aetas, dominatur in anno;
Tempore vernali calidus fit aer, humidusque,
Et nullum tempus melius fit phlebotomiæ.
Usus tunc homini Veneris confert moderatus.
Corporis et motus, ventrisque solutio, sudor,
Balneá, purgentur tunc corpora cum medicinis.
Aetas more calet sicca, et noscatur in illa
Tunc quoque precipue choleram rubram dominare.
Humida, frigida fercula dentur, sit Venus extra,
Balena non prosunt, sint raræ phlebotomiæ
Utilis est requies, sit cum moderamine potus."
In the Latin version used by Croke these lines form the concluding stanzas:
(56) "Et ter centenis decies sex quinque venis."

Ordronaux.
(57) "Terra melancholicis, aqua confertur pituita. Aer sanguineis, ignea vis choleræ."
Immediately after the above lines Ordronaux has the following addition by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Humidus est sanguis, calet, est vis æris illi-
Alget phlegmia, humetque illi sic copia aquosa est. Sicca calet cholera, et igni fit similata,
Frigens sicca melancholia est, terræ adsimilata."
(58) "Phlegma viros modicos tribuit, latosque' brevesque." Ordronaux.
(59) "Otio non studio tradunt, sed corpora somno."

Ordronaux.
(60) "Restat adhuc choleræ virtutes dicere nigræ Qua reddit tristes, pravos, perpauca loquentes."

Ordronaux.
(61) After this line Ordronaux has the following addition by Arnold of Villa Nova:
"Corporibus fuscum bilis dat nigra colorem;
Esse solent fusci quos bilis possidet atra.
Istorum duo sunt tenues, alii duo pingues,
Hi morbos caveant consumptos, hique repletos."
(62) Following this line Ordronaux's version contains the following which is interesting as an exposition of symptoms indicative respectively of excess of bile, of phlegm, and of black bile:
"Accusat choleram dextræ dolor, aspera lingua, Tinnitus, vomitusque frequens, vigilantia multa, Multa sitis, inguisque egestio tormina ventris, Nausea fit morsus cordis, languescit onexia Pulsus adest gracilis, durus, veloxque calescensAret, amarescitque, incendia somnia fingit. Phlegrna supergrediens proprias in corpore leges,

Os facit insipidum, fastidia crebra, salivas, Costarum, stomachi, simul occipitisque dolores, Pulsus adest rarus, tardus, mollis, quoque inanis. Precedit fallax phantasmata somnus aquosa. Humorum pleno dum fæx in corpore regnat, Nigra cutis, durus pulsus, tenuisque urina, Sollicitudo, timor, tristitia, somnia tetra; Acesunt ructus, sapor, et sputaminis idem. Levaque præcipue tinnit vel sibilat auris."
(63) Ordronaux has this:
"Balnea post, coitum, minor ætas atque senilis."
(64) "Morbus prolixus, repletio potus et escæ." Ordronaux.
(65) "Quid debes facere quando vis phlebotomari." Ordronaux.
(66) "Unctio sive lavacrum, potus, vel fascia, motus." Ordronaux.
(67) "Ver, æstas, dextras; autumnus, hyemsque sinistras.
Quatuor hæc membra, hepar, pes, cepha, cor, vacuanda." Ordronaux.
(68) "Ex salvatella tibi plurima dona minuta." Ordronaux.
(69) In the version of Professor Ordronaux the lines which follow line 344 in Croke's are to be found following line 253 .

$E$


```
610.71145
R335
R335
    Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum.
        The School of Salernum
```

610.71145
R335
R335
Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum
The School of Salernum



[^0]:    

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Introduction, Les Euvres d'Ambroise Paré.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Introduction to L'Ecole de Salerne par Ch. Meaux Saint-Marc.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, edited by Sir Alexander Croke, Oxford, r83o.
    ${ }^{2}$ Daremberg thinks the poem was not especially written for Duke Robert.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Appended to this brief history will be found a most valuable introductory note by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison in which he gives a succinct account of the latest views held by Sudhoff and other German investigators on this subject.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Edition of the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, Oxford, 1830.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a most authoritative and interesting summary of chis and other subjects, the address of Dr. Clifford Allbutt on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery, " read at the St. Louis Congress in 1904 and since published in book form, should be read. Its learned author sums up in a limited space the gist of the entire subject.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ Daremberg 'published an edition at Paris in 1854. This is readily accessible and is accompanied by the most illuminating notes.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ Opposite page 75 is reproduced the first page of a MS of Harington's translation in possession of Professor Osler, in a scribe's hand, but with Harington's own corrections. I

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ Leo Ostiensis [Marsicanusl: Chronica, I, II, c. 37. Amatus, Monachus Cassinensis: L'Ystoire de li Normant Ied. J. J. Champol-lion-Figeac], Paris, 1835, I, §35. Cited by G. La Farina, Storia, d'Italia, Firenze, 1846, 235.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sudhoff: Mitt.z. Geschi.d. Med., Leipz., 1914, XIII, 180-182.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pagel-Sudhoff: Geschichte der Medizin. 2te Aufl., Berl., 1915 , 166.
    ${ }^{2}$ Ibid., 163.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ R. Pépin speaks of the Middle Ages as "une époque où la production originale n'existait, pour ainsi dire, pas, les écrivains se copiant mutuellement." See J. Brinkmann, Leipzig diss., 1914, p. 36.
    ${ }^{2}$ Sudhoff: Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med., Leipz., 1915-16, IX, 1-9.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ F. J. Herrgott: Gaz. méd. de Paris, 1860, 3.s., XXV, 551-559.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ This tendency of the Arabic compilers and translators has been fairly well established by M. Steinschneider, the leading investigator of Arabic and Hebrew MS, in his "Alfarabi" (1869) and elsewhere. The reaction of any hidebound intelligence to some commonplaca statement ascribed to a great name affords an amusing illustration of the subtlety of this mediæval device.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sudhoff: Mitt. z. Gesch. d. Med., Leipz., I914, XIII, 308-309. Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med., Leipz., 1913-14, VII, 360; 1914-15, VIII. 377; 1915-16, IX, .
    ${ }^{2}$ J. Brinkmann: Die apokryphen Gesundheitsregeln des Aristoteles für Alexander der Grosse in der Uebersetzung des Johann von Toledo. Leipzig dissertation, 1914. This dissertation contains the facts about the Alexander-epistle given above.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Notes for this and other indicated passages will be found on page 18I and the pages following.

