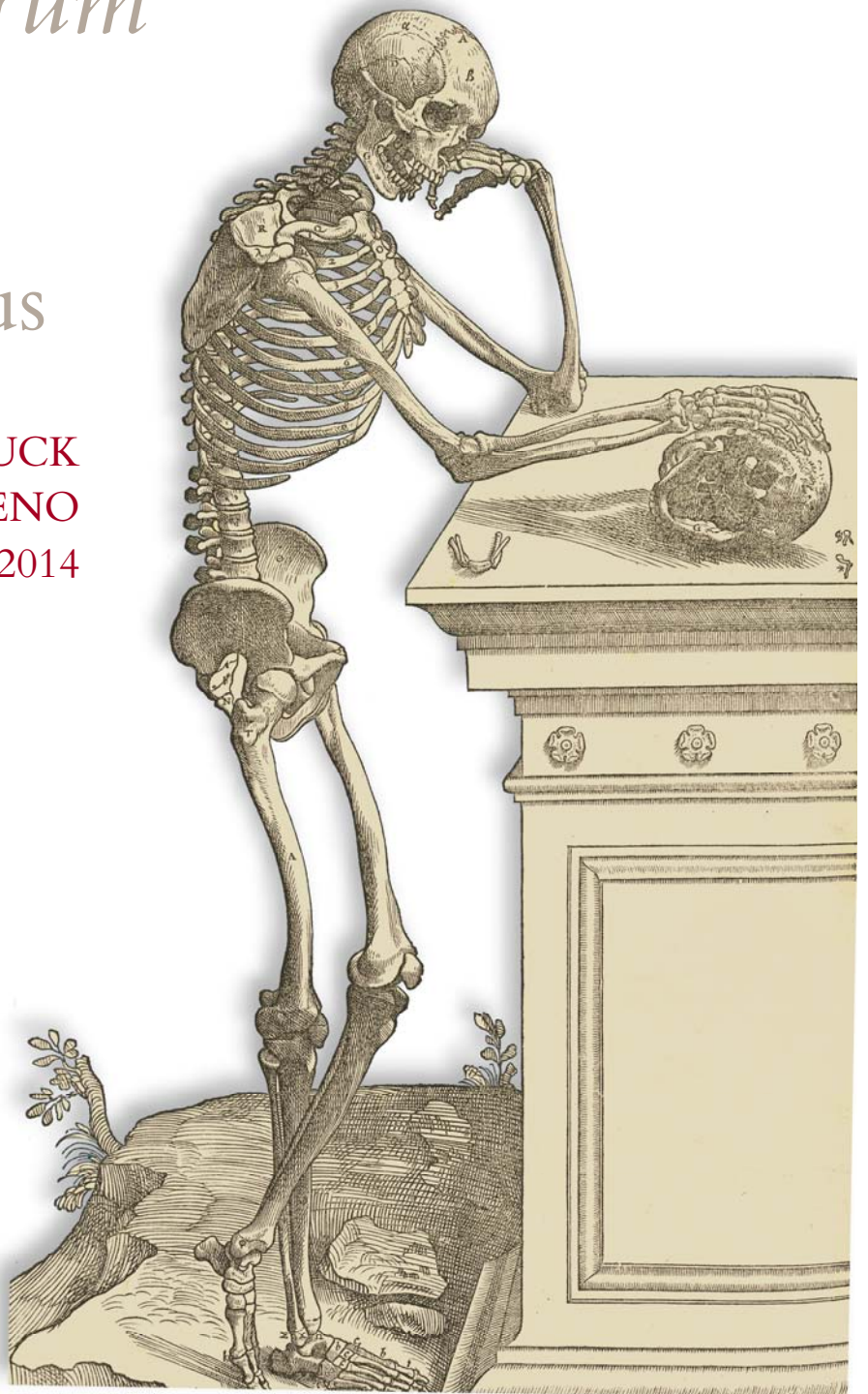


La *Fabrique* de Vésale et autres textes

Éditions, transcriptions et traductions
par Jacqueline Vons et Stéphane Velut

*The Paraphrasis
in nonum librum
Rhazae,*
first book by
Andreas Vésalius

Maurits BIESBROUCK
Omer STEENO
Janvier 2014



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Introductory note

The *Paraphrasis in nonum librum Rhazae* is the first book published by Andreas Vesalius. It was printed by Rutgerius Rescius (Roger de Giffen) in Louvain in February 1537, and republished several times in the 16th century¹.

Several editions and translations of Rhazes' treatise into Latin had been issued since the beginning of the century ; indeed, the book was used as a manual for medical studies, in Louvain as well as in Paris². It features descriptions of diseases affecting the various parts of the body, and indicates the appropriate remedies for each. In addition to the printed texts, Vesalius had at his disposal handwritten commentaries to Rhazes' books, left by his grandfather, Everard van Weesele, physician to Archduke Maximilian³. Vesalius's book is a paraphrase, featuring the Latin text accompanied with commentaries and annotations, sometimes marginal. Rhazes' text is preceded with a preface to Nicolas Florenas, physician of the Empire and friend to the family, as well as a laudatory poem by Joost Welsens from The Hague⁴, and it is followed with a letter to the reader (or, in the copy owned by the Interuniversity Library, with a letter addressed to Roger de Giffen).

These introductory texts have to be taken into consideration. Indeed, Vesalius defines in these the method he uses for paraphrasing, and displays his interest for questions of nomenclature, in the specific context of the controversy between humanist physicians and physicians following the medical tradition. None of these texts had been translated into French up until now.

Jacqueline Vons
May 2014

¹ See M. Biesbrouck and O. Steeno, *Introduction*.

² In addition to the first Venetian editions, the BIU Santé owns the Lyon edition (1510), and that which was published in Paris by Simon de Colines in 1534, which Vesalius may have seen during his stay in Paris.

³ *A. Vesalii epistola rationem modumque propinandi radicis Chynæ decocti pertractans*, Basileæ, 1546, p. 197.

⁴ See M. Biesbrouck and O. Steeno, *Introduction*.1

The Paraphrasis in nonum librum Rhazae, first book by Andreas Vesalius

In the 16th century, before joining one of the three major faculties (theology, laws – canon and civil – or medicine), most of the students would start their *cursus* at the faculty of *artes* or liberal arts. In Louvain, four Colleges prepared students to the master of arts : the Pig (*Porcus*), the Lily (*Lilium*), the Falcon (*Falco*) and the Castle (*Castrum*). Philosophy, logic, physics, metaphysics and ethics sparked off the most vivid interest. Aristotle was a most appreciated author. But mathematics, astronomy and music were also on the syllabus. There were also a number of practical exercises in Latin along with lessons in eloquence and, for the most advanced years, *disputationes* and *quaestiones quodlibeticae*, during which the students had to defend a certain point of view and to respond to the questions asked by their fellow students or the masters. The common language was Latin, precisely, and mastering this “universal language” was one of the conditions to be admitted as a student, in addition to paying the registration fees and to pledging loyalty to the statutes. The duration of the studies varied considerably from one university to another, according to the period and even from one student to another. Exemptions and shortening of studies were possible according to what lectures had been taken and to the initial level of the student. The system was quite flexible. However, most of the students left the arts faculty after a mere two years, often without any degree. A student had to be fourteen at least to take the baccalaureate, eighteen for the bachelor’s degree and nineteen for the magistrate or the doctorate *es arts*⁵.

Vesalius registered at the *Pedagogium Castri* on February 25, 1530 to read arts⁶. He probably attended the *Collegium Trilingue* or Collège des trois langues founded by Hiëronymus Busleyden (Arlon, 1470 – Bordeaux, 1517), after Desiderius Erasmus’ project (Rotterdam, October 27, 1466, 1467 or 1469 – Basel, July 12, 1536), in order to perfect his knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Entrance to the college, frequently visited, was free on days when there were no lessons at the pedagogies. The students did not have to pay any registration fees or to take any examinations. This initiative was soon imitated everywhere in Europe.

After studying arts, and on the advice of Nicolas Florenas, a physician friend to the family, Vesalius left for Paris in 1533 in order to start studying medicine there. His professors were mainly Jacobus Sylvius (Jacques Dubois, Amiens, 1478 – Paris, January 1555) and Johann Günther von Andernach (Andernach, 1505 – Strasbourg, October 4, 1574). But in 1536, a third war was declared between King Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V, which forced Vesalius to go back to Brabant before he was able to take the baccalaureate, which was only organized once every two years around the third Thursday of Lent.⁷ Back in Louvain, Vesalius pursued

⁵ Lucie VERACHTEN. Studeren en doceren aan de universiteit te Leuven ten tijde van Hieremias Triverius [Studying and teaching at the University of Louvain at the time of Hieremias Triverius]. *Hieremias Triverius Brachelius 1504-1554*, Brakel, Werkgroep Triverius 2004, 500, 53-66, ill. ; E.H.J. REUSENS. *Promotions of the arts Faculty at the University of Louvain*, Ch. Peeters, Louvain, 1869, p. 1-13.

⁶ Omer STEENO, Maurits BIESBROUCK. Ghysbrecht Colen, alias Gisbertus Carbo, een Leuvense vriend van Andreas Vesalius [Ghysbrecht Colen, alias Gisbertus Carbo, a friend of Andreas Vesalius in Louvain], in Luc MISSOTTEN (ed.), *Omtrent Andreas Vesalius* [About Andreas Vesalius], Antwerpen-Apeldoorn, Garant, 2007, p. 21-40, ill. ; IDEM. Ghysbrecht Colen, alias Gisbertus Carbo, Andreas Vesalius’s friend from Leuven, *Vesalius. Acta Internationalia Historiae Medicinae*, 2007, 13, n° 2), 75-76.

⁷ Ernest WICKERSHEIMER. *La médecine et les médecins en France à l’époque de la Renaissance* [Medicine and physicians in France

his medical studies, as well as the preparation of a book on the translation into Latin of Rhazes' ninth book, addressed to king Almansor, the *Paraphrasis in nonum librum Rhazae*. This book has been considered to be his baccalaureate dissertation by many authors, including Cushing. Although the words *Medicinæ candidato* are featured in the title (as we shall see), J. Vons has drawn the attention on the fact that no thesis in medicine seems to have been printed before the end of the 16th century⁸. This book is the first known piece of work by Andreas Vesalius. The *Paraphrasis* was reprinted several times, including thrice in its author's lifetime, and its title changed according to the moment and the circumstances of the publication. Harvey Williams Cushing (Cleveland, Ohio, April 8, 1869 - New Haven, Connecticut, October 7, 1939) considered everywhere in the world as the father of neurosurgery, who was also a historian of medicine and a passionate book collector⁹, mentions six editions of the *Paraphrasis*, numbered I.-1 to I.-6, a numbering he borrows from Feyfer¹⁰. These editions had already been mentioned by F. van der Haeghen¹¹.

during the Renaissance], Maloine, Paris, 1906, p. 57.

⁸ Jacqueline VONS and Stéphane VELUT. *André Vésale. Résumé de ses livres sur la fabrique du corps humain [Andreas Vesalius. A summary of his books on the fabrication of the human body]. Andreae Vesalii Bruxellensis suorum de Humani corporis fabrica librorum epitome* (1543), Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2008, CXXI, 282 [p.VII-XXXVI].

⁹ John Farquhar FULTON. *Harvey Cushing, a biography*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield (Ill.), 1946, ill.

¹⁰ François Martin Gérard de FEYFER. Die Schriften des Andreas Vesals [The writings of Andreas Vesalius], *Janus*, 1914, 19, 435-507, 7 pl., 1 tab.

¹¹ Ferdinand van der HAEGHEN. Liste sommaire des œuvres d'André Vésale [A summary list of the books by Andreas Vesalius]. In *Bibliotheca Belgica - General Bibliography of the Netherlands*, by the chief librarian and the curators of the University of Gant library, First series, C. Vyt, Gand, 1880-1890, vol. 25. Later edition by Culture et Civilisation (Brussels, 1979) in 6 volumes.

Description of the editions

I.-1. The editio princeps, Louvain : Rutgerus Rescius, 8°, February 1537, 106 p.

Digitized edition BIU Santé. The different copies of this first edition shall be examined in the next chapter¹².

Title : *Paraphrasis, in nonum librum Rhazae medici Arabis clariss. ad Regem Almansorem, de singularum corporis partium affectuum curatione, autore Andrea Wesalio Bruxellensi Medicinae candidato. Lovanii ex officina Rutgeri Rescii, mense Februari, 1537.*

[Paraphrase of the ninth book by the most famous Arab physician Rhazes [addressed] to King Almansor, on the treatment of the diseases affecting the various parts of the body, by Andreas Vesalius, candidate in medicine, Louvain, Rutgerus Rescius, February 1537.

Although the term *candidatus* most often means “preparing the first or the lowest academic degree,” it could also be used, in the 16th century, as a synonym of *baccalaureus*¹³. The question is therefore whether the reference to *Medicinae candidato* in the title means that Vesalius was already a laureate, or if he was still preparing to become one. Streeter’s opinion was that he had obtained this title in Paris, but he fails to bring any argument and, in fact, Vesalius was too young to have taken the examination¹⁴. He probably obtained his baccalaureate at the beginning of 1537 in Louvain, then his bachelor’s degree at the end of the year in Padua, and right afterwards his doctorate in medicine, in December. Whatever the case may be, we may consider that Vesalius wrote the *Paraphrasis* with a view to obtain his first academic title.

This in octavo book comprising 106 ff. features a dedication to Nicolas Florenas, dated from Brussels, February 1st 1537, followed by a poem written by Jodocus Velsius. It ends with a letter to the reader (*Candido lectori*), dated March 1537, followed with an *index* listing the various chapters, and a list of *errata*. Cushing notices that the typographical characters are quite worn out and that there are no dropped initials or marginal annotations. This last statement is incorrect. Although there are indeed pages without any marginal annotations, most of them do comprise one to three such annotations. In fact, Cushing did not own a copy of this first edition, and he used Dr. Erik Waller’s copy (from Sweden) to make his description. The correspondence between the two colleagues concerning the precious package transported in times of war, with all the risks in entailed, has been kept¹⁵. In addition, Cushing only knew of two other copies : that of the British Museum (London) and that of the Austrian National Library

¹² *Paraphrasis*, BIU Santé <http://catalogue.biusante.parisdescartes.fr>

¹³ Matthias MARTINEZ. *Dictionary tetraglotton novum*, Amstelodami : ex officina Petri et Abrahami, Someren, 1687 ; see entry : *baccalaureus* : « hoc nomine vocatur qui in Academicis studiis primum gradum adeptus est ». In her retirement speech as a professor of medieval history at the Free University of Amsterdam, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens showed how the content of the words *candidatus*, *baccalaureus* and *licentiatus* changed across time (which is not so much the case for *doctor* and *magister*) ; the titles of Bachelor and that of doctor were obtained nearly at the same time, or very little time one after the other. After obtaining his degree, the student was immediately or almost immediately promoted to the title of doctor in medicine. See Hilde DE RIDDER-SYMOENS. *Nieuwe wijn in oude zakken, of toch niet? De Bolognaverklaring in historisch perspectief* [New wine in old wineskins, or not? The Bologna declaration from a historical perspective], in *Welke Universiteit willen wij niet?* Gent : Academia Presss, 2007, pp. 27-46.

¹⁴ Edward Clark STREETER. *Vesalius at Paris*, *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 1943, 16, 121-128.

¹⁵ Erik WALLER. *The Waller Manuscript Collection*: Uppsala University Library, on Vesalius’s *Paraphrasis*. See n° 00040, 00041, 00183, 00184, 00185, 00201, 00202, 00204, 00428 and 00845.

(Vienna).

Other irregularities than those we have already mentioned can be observed. In the running title at the top of each recto page, the ‘Z’ from RHAZAE DE MOR. CUR appears once in roman type, once in italics, as in Velsius’ poem. In the title on the verso of the pages, the word *nonum* in PARA. IN NONUM is sometimes printed with a double ‘n’ (nonnum), and on f. 97 and 98 one finds ARA instead of PARA. In the letter to the reader, *Candido lectori*, a few words are not syllabified as they should be. In general, nearly all the commentators agree on the fact that the typographical quality of this first edition left a lot to be desired, and that this was the reason why Vesalius decided to make another one.

Indeed, the book was printed again a few weeks later, in March, by Robert WINTER in Basel. The mention *Medicinae candidato* is no longer in the title. Most often, this is explained by the fact that Vesalius had then passed the baccalaureate, or that he was sure he would obtain it shortly.

I.-2. The second edition, Basel: Robertus Winter, 8°, March 1537, 224 p.

Title : Paraphrasis, in nonum librum Rhazae medici Arabis clariss. ad Regem Almansorem, de affectuum singularum corporis partium curatione, Andrea Vesalio Bruxellensi autore. Rerum ac verborum in hoc opere memorabilium diligentissimus Index. Basileae in officina Roberti Winter. Anno M.D.XXXVII. Mense Martio.

[Paraphrase of the ninth book by the most famous Arab physician Rhazes [addressed] to King Almansor, on the treatment of the diseases affecting the various parts of the body, by Andreas Vesalius from Brussels, author. A very precise index of the important words and things mentioned in this book. Basel, Robert Winter, March 1537].

This second edition was doubtlessly produced much more carefully than the previous one. Between the dedication to Nicolas Florenas and the poem, there appears quite an elaborate *index rerum et verborum*. Each page comprises twenty-four lines, as many as in the first edition, but the typography is much clearer, and there are fewer abbreviations in the text, making it much easier to read. Although Vesalius had good reasons to establish this second edition, the rapidity with which it was done and the precise moment of its publication are not only remarkable, but also raise questions. Cushing has already observed that the short month of February would have been barely sufficient to accomplish all the revision work on the original text. There are also dating problems: the dedication to Florenas in the first edition was dated February 1st, 1537 and the letter to the reader, *Candido lectori*, in Rescius’ edition bore the mention *Anno. 1537. Men. Mar.*, i.e. the month of March. The date of the colophon in the second edition by Winter is also *Mense Martio* ; the letter to the reader bears no date, but the dedication is dated February 1st, 1537, as the previous one. It is as if the first edition had been printed before it was completed, and as if there no time had elapsed between the two editions, which is quite a difficult enigma to solve.

According to Cushing, the Russian librarian Leon Nemoy (1901 - 1997), working at the university library of Yale, tried to solve the problem by supposing that Vesalius had dated the dedication to Florenas (February 1st, 1537) and the letter to the reader (March 1537) following the civil year, while Winter had adopted the church calendar, which started in Basel on March

25 (not March 21 as Cushing says). According to this different calendar, called the Annunciation calendar, in which the new year started on March 2, the second edition could have been published at the beginning of the year 1538¹⁶. Although these variations in the date of the beginning of the year have to be taken into account for this period of our history, Dr. Theodoor Goddeeris rightly observes that such a supposition raises new problems, as Vesalius was already working full time in Padua in December 1537¹⁷. The simplest, most obvious explanation may well be that all these dates are indeed correct, but that Rescius worked with a limited number of characters. One may suppose he started his composition right upon receiving the manuscript of the dedication, *i.e.* on February 1st at the earliest, or just a little later. He then printed the first page(s), retrieving the characters to types at the following pages, and so on. We know that many printers had only a limited stock of materials, and that for this reason they frequently printed one page at a time. Vesalius certainly knew this too, and he may have taken this time gap into account while preparing his text. Thus the beginning of March was imminent and he had not finished his letter to the reader yet, the table of contents or the *errata*, which he could not do until the printing was completed, and the number of pages set. At that time he had certainly drawn conclusions on the quality of the printing and had enough time to prepare – at least mentally, if not more – for a new edition with a more efficient printer, during that month of March still.

Cushing found eleven copies of this second edition, respectively in Amsterdam, Breslau, Leiden, at the *Royal College of Physicians Library* in London (bound with Galen's *De humoribus liber*, 1558); Waller's copy in Sweden; Cushing's personal copy (which is today at the *Yale University Library*); one at the *Osler Library* of McGill University in Montreal (Quebec); two copies in Washington, D. C.: *Army Medical Library* (Surgeon General's Office), now *National Library of Medicine*; one at the *New York Academy of Medicine* (Streeter's copy), another one at the *Library of Dr. J. C. Trent* (1914–1948) in Durham (North Carolina); one in Birmingham, Alabama, *Reynolds Historical Library*. There are two copies at the *Bibliotheca Walleriana*, donated by the bibliophile Dr. Erik Waller, now hosted at the University Library of Uppsala: one of them comes from S. Kapsner's library, and the other from G. Rolfinck and J. F. Blumenbach's. We have located yet another copy at the *National Library of Medicine* in Bethesda (Maryland). Other copies can be found at the *British Library* in London; at the University Library of Aberdeen (bound with a new edition of the *Conciliator enucleatus* by Petrus de Abano); at the *Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg*; at the *Universitätsbibliothek Basel* and in Vienna, both at the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* and at the *Universitätsbibliothek*. Six copies have been located in Italy, two of which in Rome (at the *Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma* and at the *Biblioteca Lancisiana*), one at the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, one at the *Biblioteca nazionale Braidense* in Milan, one at the *Biblioteca Civica Berio* in Genoa (with an ex-libris by Demetrio Canevari), and yet another one at the *Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati* in Sienna. This particular copy features an ex-libris and the signature of a previous owner. In Germany we know of seven copies: *Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München*, *Staats und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, *Universitätsbibliothek Eichstatt-Ingolstadt*, and *Universitätsbibliothek Leip-*

¹⁶ Harvey CUSHING. *A bio bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*, Schuman's, New York, 1943 [see p. xxvii and 3-7].

¹⁷ Theodoor GODDEERIS. Letter to Mr. Biesbrouck, July 19, 2008.

zig. In her *census*, Elly Cockx-Indestege also mentions two copies in Belgium : one at the Royal Library of Brussels, and the other at the University Library of Gant¹⁸. According to F. van der Haeghen (*Bibliotheca belgica*), the University Library of Louvain also owned a copy, but it was lost, maybe in a war-related fire, as were other books by Vesalius¹⁹.

I.-3. The third edition, Basel: Henricus Petrus, fol., March 1544, 590 p.

Title : Abubetri Rhazae Maomethi, ob usum experientiamque multiplicem, et ob certissimas ex demonstrationibus logicis indicationes, ad omnes praeter naturam affectus, atque etiam propter remediorum uberrimam materiam, summi medici opera exquisitoria ... per Gerardum Toletanum ... Andream Vesalium ... Albanum Torinum ... latinitate donata ... collata & restaurata, sicut a medicinae candidatis intelligi possint Basileae, In officina Henrichi Petri, 1544, [48], 590 p.

[Chosen work by Abubetrus Rhazes Maometh, ... translated into Latin, collected and proof-read...by Gérard de Tolède, physician in Cremona, Andreas Vesalius from Brussels and Alban Thorer from Winterthur, ... Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1544...].

Vesalius' text (p. 209-275) is part of a book comprising other texts by Rhazes ; after an index, the paraphrase itself starts on page 212 under the title *Abubetri Rha / zae Maomethi Scientia Peritiaque / insignis Medici ad regem Mansorem liber nonus, / Andrea Vesalio Bruxellensi / Paraphraste*. The translations of the other books *ad Almansorem* are notably by Gérard de Crémone, with a personal translation by Thorer for Book 10. The volume also comprises a *Liber de pestilentia*, translated by Giorgio Valla.

Cushing mentions ten copies of this particular edition : one at the *British Museum* (now at the *British Library*) in London ; Leiden ; Waller ; Cushing's personal copy, now at *Yale University Library* next to John Farquhar Fulton's copy (1899-1960) ; *Army Medical Library* (Surgeon General's Office) now *National Library of Medicine* in Washington, D.C. ; *Harvard Medical School Library* in Boston (Massachusetts) ; *New York Academy of Medicine Library* ; *Lane Medical Library* in San Francisco (California) ; *Medical Society of the County of Kings and Academy of Medicine* in Brooklyn (New York) ; *Columbia University Medical Library* in New York ; *Welch Medical Library* at the Johns Hopkins University Medical School in Baltimore (Maryland) ; Dr. LeRoy Crummer's collection at the University of Michigan in Ann Harbor (Michigan) ; *Library of Dr. O. O. Fisher* in Detroit (Michigan). Both Harvey Cushing and John F. Fulton's personal copies are now at the *Yale University Library*. Waller's is at the *Bibliotheca Walleriana* at Uppsala University ; this copy bears two inscriptions : *Daniel Sennertus D. and Ex. Bibliotheca D. Martin Gotthelf Loescher*. There are yet other copies in Sweden, at the university library of Lund ; at the university library of Manchester (UK) ; and at the university library of California - Los Angeles. This last copy was donated by Dr. John A. Benjamin, and is kept in the *John A. Benjamin collection*²⁰ ; in 1968 it was still mentioned by O'Malley and Gnudi (1968) in the cata-

¹⁸ Elly COCKX INDESTEGER. *Andreas Vesalius. A Belgian census: contribution towards a new edition of H.W. Cushing's bibliography*, Royal Library Albert I, [Brussels], 1994, ill. [voir p. 3-8].

¹⁹ Omer STEENO, Maurits BIESBROUCK. Stolen and Lost Copies of Vesalius's *Fabrica*. *Acta med. Hist. Adriatica*, 10 (2), 2012, pp. 213-236.

²⁰ See the catalogue of the University of California - Los Angeles: <http://catalog.library.ucla.edu>

logue of Benjamin's collection, which means that the collection had not been donated yet at the time²¹. We have discovered yet another copy at the *Hardin Library for the Health Services* at the University of Iowa²². The *Universidad Complutense de Madrid* owns a copy that can be consulted online. The catalogue of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris) mentions five copies ; there is also one copy at the *Bibliothèque universitaire centrale* in Lille. In Italy, several libraries own a copy : the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale* in Florence, the university library of Bologna, the *Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense* in Milan, the *Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati* in Sienna, the *Biblioteca comunale Labronica Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi* in Livorno, the university library of Pisa, and the *Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana* in Faenza. The university library of Basel owns three copies : one that belonged to Caspar Bauhin (1550–1624), which he obtained from the printer (*Caspari Bauhini Med. Doctoris ex dono D. Heinrich Petri*) ; one that belonged to Prof. Moritz Roth in 1887, with an ex-libris by *P.C. Marchant, Doctoris Medici Bisuntini* ; and one which is bound with the two editions by Dantzius published by H. Petri (1543 and 1545). This copy presents an ex-libris by H. Pantaleon, and once was at the *Museum Rem. Faesch*. In Germany there is one copy at the *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* and another one at the *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*. The university Library of Melbourne owns a copy that was donated by Mrs. F.M. Meyer. Elly Cockx-Indestege found another copy of this edition at the city library of Antwerp (cf. note 15). As we shall see, a copy was sold at auctions by Sotheby's in London in 1994 and one in New York by Christie's in 1998. The antique dealer Bernard Quaritch (London) offered one in 2007, and Roger Gaskell (Warboys, U.K.) another one in 2010.

[I.-3a.] Facsimile edition of this third edition, Brussels: Culture and Civilization, 1973, 590 p.

Green cloth binding, stamped with gold on the rear panel. Grand quarto format of 590 pages. Complete facsimile of the 1544 Basel edition. We do not know what original copy this facsimile was made from by the publishing house *Culture and Civilization*, which at the time was located 115, avenue Gabriel Lebon in Brussels, and stopped its activities a few decades ago. So far, we have located copies of this edition at the university of Salamanca, at the university library of Bern, at the university library of Würzburg and at the university library of Erlangen-Nürnberg. The *Instituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana* in Rome and the *Biblioteca di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Firenze* also own a copy each, as well as the *New York Academy of Medicine* and the *Library of Congress* in Washington. This last copy bears an ex-libris of the Library of Congress, with stamps of the library and pencil-made annotations.

²¹ Charles Donald O'MALLEY, Martha Teach GNUDI (comps.). *The John A. Benjamin Collection of Medical History. Catalogue & First Supplement*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, 56 p. (catalogue, 1964) and 9 p. (first supplement, 1966); see p. 43, n. 543.

²² Richard EIMAS (comp. & ed.). Rhazes [Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakaryia, al-Razi] (865-925), in *Heirs of Hippocrates*, University of Iowa Press, Iowa City (Iowa), 1990; see issue n°. 60, p. 19.

I.-4. The fourth edition, Lyon: J. Tornaesius, 16°, 1551, 212 p.

Title: the same as I.-2.

Cushing mentions six copies of this edition, respectively at the *Royal College of Surgeons Library* in London ; university library of Louvain ; Cushing's personal copy, bound with the treatise *Morborum internorum prope omnium curatio* by J. Dubois, 1544 (now at the *Yale University Library*); *Library of Dr. John F. Fulton* in the *Historical Library* of the Yale University School of Medicine in New Haven (Connecticut) ; in Dr. LeRoy Crummer's collection at the university of Michigan in Ann Harbor (Michigan) and at the *Medical Society of the County of Kings and Academy of Medicine* in Brooklyn (New York). The *Bibliotheca Walleriana* (Uppsala) also owns a copy that apparently comes from Waller. In Louvain this I.-4 is not to be found anymore – it was probably consumed by flames in 1914 or 1940. Louvain therefore has no copy left of the *Paraphrasis*. There are other copies yet around the world : *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* ; *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, *National Library of Medicine* in Bethesda (Maryland), Iowa University library ; *Bibliothèque nationale de France* ; *Bibliothèque Universitaire Santé* in Lyon ; *Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Montpellier* ; *Universitätsbibliothek Wien* ; *Universitätsbibliothek Basel* ; university library of Barcelona ; *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* and *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*.

Elly Cockx-Indestege has discovered two more copies of this fourth edition in Belgium, one at the Royal Library of Brussels, the other at the University library of Mons (cf. note 15).

I.-5. The fifth edition, Wittenberg : Crato (Krafft), 8°, 1586, 164 p.

Title : the same as I.-2.

An *index* of the most important compound drugs, the recipe of which is given in the book, was added.

Cushing mentions his own copy, now at the *Yale University Library*. There is another one at the *National Library of Medicine* in Bethesda (Maryland). We numbered three copies in Germany : *Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg*, *Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* and *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg*.

I.-6. The sixth edition, Wittenberg : Z. Lehmann, 8°, 1592, 184 p.

Title : Paraphrasis, in nonum librum Rhazae, medici Arabis clariss. ad Regem Almansorem, de affectuum singularum corporis partium curatione, Andrea Wesalio. Rerum ac verborum in hoc opere memorabilium diligentissimus Index. Witebergae. Typis Zacharioe. Lehmanni. 1592.

[(Title, see I, 1) Wittenberg, Imprimerie Zacharias. Lehmann, 1592].

This edition is a page-by-page re-impression of the previous edition. Cushing did not even know its title, and referred one to de Feyfer “and others” – probably F. van der Haeghen – who had seen this particular edition. He mentioned one copy only, that of the *Royal College of Surgeons Library* in London, which he was unable to consult due to the war circumstances. Today,

this copy is at the university library of Aberdeen. There is another one at the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna and two in Germany : *Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg* and *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz*.

Apart from the 1973 facsimile [I.-3a], there have been no new editions of the *Paraphrasis* that we know of since 1592, probably because its content was already outdated, but mostly because, twenty-eight years after his death, Vesalius' name was more and more identified with the *Fabrica*, his anatomical *opus magnum*, which had been so famous and had made him immortal. Elly Cockx-Indestege, who found the five copies mentioned in Belgium, has not inventoried editions posterior to 1592 either (cf. note 15).

The *princeps* edition: the copies we know of to this date

Vesalius must not have requested numerous printed copies of his first book, but the precise number is not known. Quite remarkably, the Inventory made by Hieronymus Cloet, who had his humanist bookstore on “Schipstrate” (Boat Street, in Latin *Navalistrata* or *Platea Navium*) in Louvain next to the *Collegium Trilingue*, still mentions for the year 1543 – *i.e.* six years after the publication – three copies of Rescius’ edition. This inventory in 22 folios is kept in the university archives of Louvain, and comes from Henry de Vocht. It comprises a little above one thousand titles, not classified in a systematic manner, which must have complicated research for the customers. Although the ordinary provider of Rescius’ editions was not Cloet, but Bartholomaeus Gravius, Cloet’s inventory presents several copies of Vesalius’ former Greek professor. Gravius’ bookstore was located in the *Gulden Zonne* (Golden Sun) house in Malines Street, in front of Cloet’s house and of the entrance of the *Collegium Trilingue*²³.

In addition to the copy that was lost in the fire at the University Library of Louvain, Cushing had thus mentioned in 1943 three remaining copies of this first edition: that of Dr. Erik Waller from Sweden, that of the *British Museum* in London, and that of the Austrian national library. We were able to locate further copies.

[1. Louvain University Library destroyed]

H. Cushing signals that this copy was lost during the fire at the university library in 1914²⁴. At the same time, there disappeared the precious copy of the first edition of the *Fabrica* (1543) donated to the library by Emperor Charles V himself, as well as a copy of the 1552 *Fabrica* and an extremely rare copy of the *Epitome* on vellum paper, which according to Cushing was hand-colored²⁵.

This lost copy of the *Paraphrasis* is the one that Ferdinand van der Haeghen used for his description in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*²⁶. Indeed, it corresponds fully to the first edition. It comprised the *Candido lectori* letter at the end, before the synopsis of the addressed topics. Van der Haeghen also gives a summary of the dedication to Florenas as well as of the letter to the reader. It ends with a long quotation from the *Epistola radicis Chynae*, in which Vesalius explains the reasons why he himself burnt some of his books, and which ones.

²³ Pierre DELSAERDT. De boekhandelsinventaris van Hieronymus Cloet, 1543 [The inventory of Hieronymus Cloet’s library, 1543], in IDEM, *Suum quisque bibliothecam: boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de - 18de eeuw*, Leuven, 2000, 497 p.; cf. bijlage bij hoofdstuk 3: Een humanistische boekhandel naast het *Collegium Trilingue*: Hieronymus Cloet en zijn boekenassortiment in 1543. 609 : Wasaleus [sic] in librum Razi III - Drie exemplaren van Andreas VESALIUS, *Paraphrasis in nonum librum Rhazae medici Arabis clariss. ad regem Almansorem, de singularum corporis partium affectuum curatione*, Leuven: Rutgerus Rescius, 1537, 8° (NK 4089).

²⁴ Harvey CUSHING. *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²⁵ Cf. note 16 ; Harvey CUSHING. *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁶ [HAEGHEN, Ferdinand van der]. A summary list of the books by Andreas Vesalius, in “Rhazes”, *Bibliotheca Belgica - General Bibliography of the Netherlands, by the chief librarian [Ferdinand van der Haeghen] and the curators of the University of Gant library*, First series, Gant: C. Vyt, 1880-1890, Vol. 25.

2. Lisbonne Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal S.A. 9333 P.

Modern binding of brown leather, no back cover, worn condition. Some pages have wormholes. In the margins one finds contemporary annotations, and in places the text has been underlined. This copy comprises the *Candido lectori* letter, the index and the *errata*. The last page is missing. The page edges are cut. It is kept in the library's main collection (*Fundo general*).

3. London British Library 544.b.14

This is only copy kept at the *British Library* today. In Cushing's time, the *British Library* was called the *National Library* and was part of the British Museum. The book has the green binding of the 19th century *British Museum Library*. The *Candido lectori* letter is there. The copy contains no information on previous owners, merely featuring the "Museum Britannicum" stamp that was used between 1753 and 1836. It previously belonged to Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), a physician and book collector from the north of Ireland.

4. London Wellcome Library b1669272x (record no. 54255434)

19th-century spotted calf binding with golden edge and back, adorned with labels, "PARAPHRASIS / IN NONUM / LIBRUM / RHAZAE" on red leather and "A. WESALIUS" on green leather; at the bottom, on red, "1537." On the title page, in the middle, below the title, a signature in printed letters: "IOH.MAURITIUS"²⁷ and two round stamps of similar sizes: one in the middle against the left edge, "MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON" with an empty middle section, and the second one at the bottom and on the right: "* MEDICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON * CHANDOS ST. CAVENDISH SQ. W. L.," featuring "ESTABLISHED 1773" in the middle. On the verso these stamps can be seen through the paper. The verso in turn features two other stamps, rectangular with flattened corners, at the top "BRITISH MUSEUM / SALE DUPLICATE / 1787," at the bottom "MVSEVM / BRITAN / NICVM." Completely at the bottom and in the middle, handwritten: "II 2." The last page O8 is missing²⁸.

The copy comes from John Morris's library, bought in 1660 by Charles II. It was part of the *Old Royal Library* donated in 1757 by King George II to the *British Museum*. It was sold during the 1787 'British Museum duplicate sales' (lot 2267, 6d) to James Sims, whose collection was in turn bought in 1800 by the *Medical Society of London*. Then, in 1967, this copy was transferred to the *Wellcome Library*,²⁹ along with a large part of the collection. The *British Museum* must therefore have owned two copies between 1757 and 1787.

²⁷ Ioh. Mauritius is the signature of Johannes of Nassau or John VI of Nassau-Dillenburg, also Jan – or Johan – VI the Old (Wiesbaden, November 22, 1535 - Dillenburg, October 8, 1606). (Personal communication of Jan Roegiers to Omer Steeno on November 17, 2010). This Ioh. Mauritius was the second son of William the Rich and Juliana of Stolberg, and a younger brother to William of Orange. He may be considered as the ancestor of the currently reigning Dutch dynasty. Johannes of Nassau married three times: on June 16, 1559 with Elisabeth of Leuchtenberg (1537- 1579), with whom he had thirteen children; on September 13, 1580 with Cunigonda Jacoba van de Palts (1556-1586), with whom he had four children; and on June 14, 1586 with Johanna van Sayn-Wittgenstein (1561-1622), who gave him seven children. See Wikipedia http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_VI_van_Nassau-Dillenburg consulted on 18.11.2010.

²⁸ See the catalogue of the Wellcome Library: <http://library.wellcome.ac.uk>

²⁹ *Ibid.* and Julianne SIMPSON. Correspondence of July 28 and 29, 2010 to Maurits Biesbrouck.

5. Madrid Universidad Complutense (U.C.M.)

‘Complutense’ indicates the origin of the Alcala de Henares, the old university city where Don Carlos had his accident. On the title page, at the top and in the middle, a date is given: “1372,” in the upper left corner “3,” in the upper right corner but a little bit lower “C92.” At the bottom there is an oval and horizontal stamp bearing the inscription “BIBLIOTECA” in the middle. In the title the name “Wesalio” is underlined. The stamp was applied again at the bottom of the first page of the dedication and again in the outer margin of the folio 49r. Several passages are underlined in the text, and there are margin annotations here and there. This copy can be consulted online.

The previous owner was Antonio Hernández Morejón (Alaejos, Valladolid, July 7, 1773 – Madrid, July 14, 1836), physician and historian of medicine.

6. Uppsala Uppsala universitetsbibliotek

As previously stated, Cushing used this copy comprising the letter to the reader to describe the book in his *Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius* (1943). Dimensions 14,1 x 10,6 cm. The title page shows no special features. Cushing mentions an hourglass-shaped urn watermark at the top of every eighth page approximately. On the last page one finds the annotations Erik Waller mentions in his letter dated March 5, 1937: “I only know of one other recorded copy of the Louvain edition: namely, that cited by de Feyfer ; and what you say of your copy having some annotations on the last leaf which suggest Vesal’s own handwriting is most exciting.” This copy therefore comes from Dr. Erik Waller’s collection. Hans Sallander, who was compiling Waller’s collection in Uppsala, mentions an ex-libris by Adolphus Carey, member of a renowned English family³⁰.

7. Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 70.Cc.236

The pages O3–6 are missing, including the letter to the reader, the *index* and O8. This is the copy that was exhibited between January 31 and April 25, 1976 at the City Museum of Louvain for the 550th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Louvain.

It formerly belonged to Wolfgang Lazius, then to the *K. u. K. Hofbibliothek Wien (Bibl. Palat. Vinodobonensis)*, but in 1976, it was in Vienna in the *Österreichische Staatsbibliothek*, where it still is. The library also has a copy on microfilm (MF 556)³¹.

8. Yale. Yale University Library

Dr. John Allison Benjamin (1906 – December 25, 1992), an American urologist, found this copy at an antique dealer in Galt (Ontario, about 300 km west of Toronto). In May 1946 he entrusted it to Dr. John F. Fulton so that a photostatic copy might be made in Yale in order to complete Cushing’s collection³². In 1963 Benjamin donated it to the *Medical Library* of Yale

³⁰ Hans SALLANDER. *Bibliotheca Walleriana, a catalogue of the Erik Waller collection*, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1955, 2 vols.: I, 471 p., II, 494 p.

³¹ Gerard van der SCHUEREN. [364-367] : Andreas Vesalius. In J. ROEGIERS (ed.), *550 Jaar Universiteit Leuven 1425-1975*, Stedelijk Museum, Leuven: 1976, 259-261 [see p. 259 n. 365].

³² John Allison BENJAMIN. A Vesalian treasure is found, Andreas Vesalius’s first publication, *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, 1947, 2, n° 3, 53-55.

University³³. This copy is not mentioned by O'Malley & Gnudi (1968), which indicates it was not any longer in Benjamin's collection in 1964³⁴. Thomas G. Falco, a researcher at the university library of Yale, confirmed that Dr. Benjamin indeed donated his copy, which also contained the letter to the reader (*Candido lectori*)³⁵.

On September 21, 1946 Dr. John F. Fulton sent a letter to his colleague John A. Benjamin in New York, accompanying the precious copy he was sending him back after its photostatic reproduction. At the time there were only three known copies, which Dr. Waller did not even know. We understand from this letter that he believed there was only one other copy except his (maybe that of the *British Museum* in London). Fulton therefore sent him a carbon copy, so that it might be known that Dr. Benjamin also owned a copy. Cushing had known for a few years already that there were at least three copies. But neither Fulton, nor Benjamin nor Waller did. Quite remarkably, Fulton mentions in that very same letter the fact that he could consult the first copy of Vesalius' bio-bibliography by Cushing (New York: Schuman's, 1943). This piece of information was thus available to him, but he did not know it³⁶. The online Orbis catalogue of the university library of Yale currently mentions both the photocopy Dr. Benjamin's article refers to, and the copy he donated³⁷. On the title page one can see, at the top and on the right, the name Ch. Lewis, probably a former owner.

9. Paris. Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé de Paris (BIU Santé): a unicum

On the title page, at the top and on the right, is featured the shelf number "33336." On the right of the printed title, an oval vertical stamp represents Hippocrates' left profile, above his name in Greek letters "Hippokrates" and circled with the mention "ECOLE DE SANTE DE PARIS 14 FRIMAIRE AN III." Beneath the *errata* on the last folio, there is a handwritten ex-libris, become illegible apart from "Joh[annes?] ... Lovanio libro." The part that comes after "Joh" is illegible because of a horizontal spot. The meaning of the two upstrokes at the end of the first name and at the end of *Lovanio* is unclear.

This copy is a *unicum* because, instead of the letter to the reader (*Candido lectori*), it contains a letter Vesalius wrote to his friend Rutgerus Giffeus Buscoducensis, who was still unknown until recently³⁸. Rutger of Geffen or Roger of Giffen, under which name he is also mentioned, was born in Geffen, a village very close to Bois le Duc. He registered at the University of Louvain on December 29, 1530, at the same pedagogy – the *Pedagogium Castris* – as that where Vesalius had registered on February 25 of the same year. He was promoted *es artes* in Louvain in 1533. Later, he became a theologian and acted as *tentator licentiandorum* for the March 1539 promotion. Vesalius must have held him in high esteem to take the trouble to insert a personal letter bearing his name, and to make R. Rescius print this special copy as a present for him.

³³ Finding Aid for the John Allison Benjamin Papers. In III B. *History of medicine*, Box 4, Folder 17: <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/data/13030/d2/tf4v19n9d2/files/tf4v19n9d2.pdf>

³⁴ Cf. note 18.

³⁵ Thomas FALCO. Personal correspondence on September 10 and 14, 2009.

³⁶ John F. FULTON. *Letter to Dr. John A. Benjamin*, Historical Library Yale University School of Medicine, New Haven (Connecticut), 21 September 1946.

³⁷ See the Orbis catalogue of Yale University: <http://orbexpress.library.yale.edu>

³⁸ Maurits BIESBROUCK. Rutgerus Giffeus, a new friend of Andreas Vesalius, which makes of the *Paraphrasis* copy at the BIU Santé a completely unique copy. *Histoire des Sciences Médicales*, 2011, XLV, n° 2, 196-199, ill.

This is what makes of the *Paraphrasis* at the BIU Santé a unique item. Of note, several printing mistakes are corrected in this letter to Rutgerus Giffeus. Tracking the origin of the copy has proved impossible.

The proud declaration of Vesalius stating he is the youngest medical author ever only appears in this letter to Giffeus, not in the letter to the reader featured in the other copies. Of note, he already announces other projects, as at the end of his dedication to Florenas, notably the realization of better things, as early as possible. Obviously, Vesalius already had it in his mind to publish a more elaborate work, a project he once again stated he had in his 1538 *Tabulae anatomicae sex*, notably in the preface to Narcissus Parthenopeus Vertunus, first physician to Emperor Charles V.

The contents of the first edition

Preface

We have seen that the first edition starts with a *Præfatio* dedicated to Florenas : *Ornatissimo Viro D. Nicolao Florenati, inuictiss. Caroli Caesaris Medico peritiss.* It bears a date : *Bruxellis Cal. Feb. An. M.D.XXXVII.* Vesalius states that it was Florenas who encouraged him to study medicine and gave him a good working method. He underlines that the therapeutics of his time is very different from that of the Greeks, and bears the mark of that of the Barbarians and the Arabs. That is the reason why he considers it important to compare the Arabs and the Greeks on this precise point, so that nothing be lost; this method had already been recommended to students in medicine by the best professors in Paris. Following this advice, Vesalius starts by comparing Rhazes, who according to Jacques Dubois (Iacobus Sylvius) surpassed all the others, with what the Greeks had written, all the more so as he dealt with almost all the diseases in this small book, and did not differ much from the doctrine of the Greeks. His intention was to correct all the errors and to present a text written in elegant Latin. Indeed, there had been an evolution over the last twelve years or so to denounce false medications and impart order in their names. That is why Vesalius chooses to edit a translation of Rhazes. In other words, his work is not a new literal translation, but a paraphrase, which allows him to add what he thinks is necessary and to explain what is unclear. Finally he asks Florenas to keep writing him letters and to guide him in the course of his studies until he is able to offer him some more important work, more worthy of him (*donec maiora & tuae excellenti doctrinae digniora parauero*). He states once again his plan to publish a major work, a plan he also expresses, using different words, at the end of his letter to Rutgerus Giffeus.

Poem

The preface is followed with an eight-line poem by Jodocus Velsius of The Hague (*ca.* 1510 – after 1581). Jodocus (also Judocus, Justus) Velsius or Joost Welsens studied, among other places, in Louvain, where he attended the *Collegium Trilingue* until 1537. He may have met Vesalius there. He was promoted *Dr. art. et med.* in 1538 in Bologna, and established his practice between November 22, 1540 and January 1st, 1541 in Antwerp. In the same year, he also obtained the title of doctor in medicine in Louvain, and met the Portuguese humanist Damião de Gois. Persecuted by the Inquisition for heresy, he fled Louvain around Easter 1544 and settled in Strassburg, where he lived until 1550. On November 17, 1545 he became a canon at the *Saint-Thomasstift* (the collegial church); on October 17, 1548, he married Beatrice von Steinhoven. In 1550 he went to Cologne. The Cologne Council, wishing to establish at the University a college of the three languages, as in Louvain, appointed Velsius as a professor of philosophy and Greek in August 1550. Since he was married, he could obtain no remuneration from the University, but he was paid by the City Council, and his income was raised in 1551 and again in 1552. Initially a Catholic, he then inclined towards Protestantism. In 1554 he reproached the University of Cologne with not preaching the true doctrine of Christianity, which gave rise to a long-lasting controversy. After an intervention by the Faculty of Theology of Louvain in November 1554, he was imprisoned from December 1555 to March 1556. As a professor of

Greek and philosophy, he remained attached to the University of Cologne until 1556, but subsequently led a wandering life. During the month of September of the same year, he caused a scandal in Strasbourg when he publicly attacked Calvin about his doctrine of predestination. On April 15, 1557, he was suspended by the City Council. Until 1562 he resided in Frankfurt and Heidelberg, again in Strassburg, then in Basel, in Zurich, later back around Heidelberg and later still in Marburg. Even during this period, he published several books. At the beginning of 1563 he was in London, where he presented his *Christiani Humanis Norma* to Bishop Edm. Grindal. In the same year he went back to the Netherlands, where he had residences in several cities; he was in Groningen in April 1566, where he married Grete Cassens; he was in Leiden in 1578 as in 1580–1581, which is the year when we lose track of him. He wrote a number of books on medicine, philosophy and mathematics, including several translations and commentaries. Like Vesalius, he requested Oporinus to print some of his books. But having caused several scandals, he was considered a heretic and became an isolated man. He nonetheless had a good reputation among scientists. One can find a bibliography and a very abundant literature on J. Velsius³⁹.

The letter to the reader / to Giffeus

The text of the eighty-five chapters on pathology is followed with the letter to the reader *Candido lectori*, dated *Anno. 1537. Men. Mar.* (letter replaced by an almost identical letter, addressed to Rutgerus Giffeus, dated *Lovanii. Anno. 1537* in the *unicum* copy at the BIU Santé) on two pages, then with an index presenting the titles of all the chapters. The last page features the *errata*. There is no colophon. In his bio-bibliography of Vesalius, Cushing translated the poem, the dedication and the letter to the reader into English.

The text

The topic Vesalius chose to address comes as no surprise. Rhazes' work aroused considerable interest; Jacques Dubois, for example, one of Vesalius' professors in Paris, admired the Arab author. Vesalius owned a copy of a book by Rhazes, which once belonged to his grandfather, and he had been incited by Nicolas Florenas to write this paraphrase. However, while the *Ninth book of Rhazes to King Almansor* was quite famous at the time of Vesalius, today it only has a historical value, because most of its medical concepts are outdated. It is an overview of most of the diseases and their treatments, mainly based on the use of a vegetal polypharmaco-copeia and of other products that can be found in nature.

³⁹ Valerius ANDREAS. Iustus Velsius. In *Bibliotheca Belgica: de Belgis vita scriptisque claris. Praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae inferioris descriptione*, Editio renovata, et tertia parte auctior, Jacobus Zegers, Lovanii, 1643, 605-606 ; Philippe DENIS. Justus Velsius (Welsens). In André SÉGUENNY (ed.), *Bibliotheca dissidentium: Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles [A repertory of religious non conformists in the 16th and 17th centuries]*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana LXXIX, Tome I, Valentin Koerner, Baden-Baden, 1980, 49-95; J.V. POLLET. Justus Velsius. In IDEM, *Martin Bucer*, Tome I. *Études*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977, 323-341 ; Klaus-Bernward SPRINGER. Velsius (Velsen, Welsens). In *Biographisches-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Spalten, 2002, XX, 1492-1495; Jean-Noël PAQUOT. Josse Velsen, or Justus Velsius. In IDEM, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la Principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, Tome second, L'imprimerie académique, Louvain, 1768, 334-336; *Wikipedia*: Justus Velsius, consulted on December 17, 2010 : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justus_Velsius.

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