

The Curious Case of Isaac Casaubon's Monstrous Bladder: The Networked Construction of Learned Memory within the Seventeenth-Century Reformed World of Learning

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1 A Relic of Hard Work

Few death-bed accounts are more harrowing than that of the Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614).¹ Casaubon suffered from excruciating urological problems. At the post-mortem, the physician expected to find a sizeable bladder stone. However, when Casaubon's corpse was opened, he witnessed a twist of nature that would often be re-described over the course of the seventeenth century:

Nam aperto abdomine pro calculo inventa est vesica monstrosae conformationis ab utero matris. In sinistro latere vesicae prominebat ἔκφυσις vastae capacitatis, sese attollens usque ad sinistrum os ilii, eiusdem substantiae continua cum ipsa vesica, ut videri posset altera vesica naturali adiuncta. In eodem sinistro verae vesicae latere, foramen erat eius magnitudinis ut facile admitteret quatuor digitorum apices, pervium a vera vesica in adnatum saccum quo refluebat lotium: ubi diutius retentum, putredinem, inflammationem, tabem, et interitum tandem attulit.²

When his abdomen was opened, instead of a stone [in the bladder], there was found a bladder of a formation that had been monstrous since birth. In the left side of the bladder bulged an enormous outgrowth, which rose to the left opening of the groin, of the same substance and attached to

1 This article was written in the context of the ERC Consolidator project SKILLNET (Project no. 724972). I am grateful to Robin Buning, Karl Enenkel, Christien Franken and Koen Scholten for their comments.

2 Thorius Raphael, *Epistola medici Londinensis R. T. de viri celeberrimi Isaaci Casauboni morbi mortisque causa, edita ex museo Joachimi Morsi* (Leiden, Jacobus Marcus: 1619), fol. A2r.

the very bladder, giving the appearance of a second bladder, naturally enjoined with it. In the same left side of the actual bladder, there was a hole of such a size that one could easily stick in four fingertips: an opening from the true bladder to the bag which had grown out of it, in which urine flowed back: there the urine stagnated for a while, causing petrification, inflammation, rotting and eventually death.

Unsurprisingly, Casaubon spent his last days in terrible agony. His biographer Mark Pattison concluded in 1875 that 'Isaac Casaubon was the martyr of learning. While it is not probable that he would have survived to a great age, it is clear that his premature death, in his fifty-sixth year, was brought upon him by his habits of life, unintermitted study and late vigils'.³ This display and celebration of an extreme work ethic in itself is no exception in the world of learning: examples of excessive scholarly and scientific labour abound from antiquity onwards to the present day, comparable to other types of hardships suffered in the service of higher political, social, or religious goals.

In the seventeenth century, Casaubon had been remembered by the Reformed scholarly community of North-Western Europe as a champion of learning against what was perceived as a disingenuous and philologically flawed interpretation of Catholic historical traditions. However, these religious propagandists did not keep the memory of Casaubon's martyrdom alive single-handedly: in this particular case, the oddity of the 'monstrous bladder' fascinated medical scholars throughout the seventeenth century, and was spread by humanistic and medical scholars rather than theologians. Casaubon's 'double bladder' grew into a medical cause célèbre. Now forgotten, it kept alive the memory of Casaubon in the century following his death.

We can discern two groups of stakeholders: the philologists and the physicians, who both shared the overall context of a Protestant worldview. Together they constituted a network of stakeholders: apologists for Casaubon's employer, the English king James I who required Casaubon to write against Roman Catholic interpretations of the history of the church; reformed scholars in Leiden who recognized in Casaubon the great friend of Joseph Scaliger; Flemish and Dutch medical scholars who sympathized with Casaubon as a fellow refugee in London; and protestant physicians who were simply intrigued by Casaubon's monstrous bladder. The context, then, is clearly the confessional strife of the first half of the seventeenth century.

3 Pattison retained the idea in the revised version of his biography of 1892: Pattison M., *Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614)* 2nd edition (Oxford: 1892) 412.

However, apart from stakeholders and a particular context, for a memory culture to take hold and endure, there must also be a narrative, and preferably one with a detail that sticks in the mind. The story of Casaubon's illness and death makes for a good narrative indeed, and the bladder itself acts as a true gimmick: an unusual detail that is easily remembered. It is a 'vehicle for commemoration' that lifts 'from the historical record those ... persons representing a society's conception of its ideals and depravities' – in this case the Protestant community's ideal of the true church as recovered in Casaubon's work against Cesare Baronio, and not merely as a warning against excessive neglect of the body. The bladder stands out, not as an icon, monument, or shrine, but as a relic: an object that sanctifies an extraordinary person.⁴

In short, Casaubon's death has all the ingredients for a successful memory culture, upholding the exemplary work-ethic of a Protestant champion, as long as the context endured. This article will concentrate on the 'assemblage of texts', i.e., the network of citations, that evolved from Casaubon's post-mortems.

How could modern readers have heard of Casaubon's bladder? Chances are that they saw a picture of the intestine in a letter by his physician Raphael Thorius, appended to the *Vita Casauboni* in the massive third edition of Casaubon's letters that Theodorus Janssonius ab Almelooven published in 1709 [Fig. 9.1].⁵ That image stands at the end of a long, intertwined history that receded into the past after 1709. The story of Casaubon working so hard and dying in agony because he refused to heed his doctor's advice to take regular toilet breaks, was in fact dispersed over two genres: in the biographical context of the three consecutive editions of his letters, and in medical treatises. More precisely, there are three pedigrees in the narrative: two textual ones stemming from the two physicians who tended to Casaubon before his death in 1614, and one visual transmission, that reached back to 1614 as well, although its origins remain unclear. The textual histories came in different redactions, and even the visual source was elucidated in two versions. The ways in which these redactions were borrowed, reworked, translated, and juxtaposed created an 'assemblage of texts', in which physicians cut out elements from the character-focused biographical descriptions and pasted them into medical case examples. The collective memory of Casaubon is thus 'varied': it has come down to us in narratives told from different perspectives. Moreover, the story

4 Schwartz B., "Rethinking the concept of collective memory", in Tota A.L. – Hagen T. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies* (Abingdon – New York, NY: 2016) 9–21 (11–12).

5 Casaubon Isaac, *Epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quoquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporis accurate digestae*, ed. Theodorus Janssonius ab Almelooven (Rotterdam, Caspar Fritsch – Michaelis Böhm: 1709) first page numbering, 64.



FIGURE 9.1 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Almeloveen, ed., *Casauboni Epistolae*, first page numbering, 64. Engraver unknown

of Casaubon's bladder appeared in communities unknown to each other.⁶ The manner in which the story of Casaubon's deathbed made it to the third edition of his letters of 1709 is far more intricate than hitherto assumed. It suggests that Casaubon's final days became something of a trope among seventeenth-century scholars, in particular the medically interested Protestant ones.

The two textual traditions of Casaubon's post-mortem stem from two different sources: the eyewitness accounts by the physician Raphael Thorius, quoted above, and the case report of the physician Theodore Turquet de Mayerne. The visual transmission of the bladder itself, meanwhile, had a history of its own, and can be traced back to the Leiden professor Petrus Pauw in 1614. These three pedigrees will be discussed here one after the other.

2 Raphael Thorius's Two Accounts: From a Brief *Epistola* to a Long *Narratio*

Casaubon's physician Raphael Thorius (d. 1625), was a little-known humanist physician and Neo-Latin poet, born in the town of Belle in Flanders, and

⁶ Schwartz, "Rethinking the concept of collective memory" 11.

author of a curious *Hymn to Tobacco*, of over a thousand Latin alexandrine verses.⁷ Thorius obtained his doctorate in Leiden early in 1591 and then moved to London, where he was admitted to the College of Physicians in 1596. He ran a successful practice, and Casaubon was a regular patient of his.

On 15 July 1614 (old style), two weeks after the death of Casaubon, Thorius wrote a short letter to Hugo Grotius, describing the final hours of his patient.⁸ In 1619 this letter appeared in print for the first time, as a two-page pamphlet. The printer, the Leiden-based Jacobus Marcus (or Marci) van der Wiele (or Weele, ca. 1585–after 1650), had spotted the letter amongst the papers of Joachim Morsius, a Hamburg scholar visiting Leiden, who in turn had received the letter from the Leiden professor of medicine Otho Heurnius (1577–1652).⁹ The 364-word letter was signed in London, although Thorius's opening paragraph (in which he thanks Grotius for sending his latest work), was left out in Marcus's printed version of 1619.

In the letter, Thorius ignores circumstances and cuts to the chase immediately. His account starts on the day of Casaubon's death but does not declare his presence at the autopsy, fails to state anything about the history of Casaubon's affliction, and does not explain why he visited Casaubon in the first place. A daily 'dysuria' carried off 'the flower of doctors', we learn, due to an unknown and unheard cause. Thorius notes that 'all outward symptoms pointed at the stone in his bladder', and then gives the description cited at the start of this article. Thorius proceeds with a very detailed description of the bladder, much like an eye-witness account. He reasons that the outgrowth on the side of the bladder was originally as large as the hole in the bladder, causing an obstruction for passing water. With time, pressure of the urine caused the outgrowth to grow, even to bulge: during the six or seven final years of 'the life' (the name of Casaubon is never mentioned at this stage, as if he is demoted to an anonymous patient), it grew into a bag, functioning as a secondary receptacle for urine. 'For it was since then that effort had to be made' (again, notice the impersonal verb):

7 Grell O.P., "Thorius, Raphael (d. 1624)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: 2004); Elaut L., "Raphaël Thorius de Bailleul, médecin, humaniste et poète", *Revue du Nord* 15 (1957) 227–234.

8 Molhuysen P.C. (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* (The Hague: 1928) 335–336. The edition in Molhuysen is based on a manuscript copy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Dupuy 16, fol. 109.

9 On Jacobus Marcus, see Hoftijzer P.G., "Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century: The case of Jacob Marcus", in Rosenberg S. – Simon S. (eds.), *Material moments in book culture. Essays in honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Essen: 2014) 163–176 (165, n. 6 and 175).

[N]am ab illo tempore conatu fuit opus ad exprimendum lotium; eius rei magnum argumentum est, quod verae vesicae corpus contractum erat, densius quam pro naturae modo, profundis rugis inaequale ex desuetudine dilatationis. Ex ea partium ad excrementorum expulsionem perturbatione, omnis corporis oeconomia collapsa est, et vir magnus inter lethi cruciatus extinctus per dolores ad astra penetravit, ea constantia et alacritate ut spectantibus omnem mortis metum expectoraret.¹⁰

[...] for pushing out urine; the true bladder's walls were compressed and hardened through the pressure. From this disturbance of the body parts that served to expel excrement, the whole economy of the body collapsed, and the great man died in the torment of death and reached the stars through pains, showing such constancy and liveliness, that he chased away all fear from the hearts of those who looked on.

Here, at the end of this letter, there is finally some moral appraisal of Casaubon: he was a 'magnus vir', who despite great suffering, remained composed, even lively, and showed no fear. The 1619 Leiden version of this letter omitted the final paragraph of the actual letter Thorius sent to Grotius:

Mors ei sane licet praevisa ante, repentina tamen contigit et immatura, quippe quae multa egregia incepta interruptit; sed non est huius vel ingenii vel otii tantum funus digne procurare. Vos in hanc curam isthic incumbite, quibus ob ingenii et doctrinae similitudinem animus exurgit ad tanti herois iacturam ex merito deploranda [...]¹¹

Although he indeed foresaw his death, it still happened suddenly and too soon, because it interrupted many outstanding projects. Yet, he was not the man to have the spirit and leisure to prepare as much as a worthy funeral. You on your side should take care of this. You are similar to him in talent and learning and your mind rises to the occasion of properly lamenting the loss of such a hero.

This circumstantial request bore no relation to the actual account of the deathbed, and was therefore excised from the 1619 edition, which focussed more strongly on the medical side of things. Grotius never wrote an elegy,

¹⁰ Thorius, *Epistola*, fol. Azv.

¹¹ Raphael Thorius to Hugo Grotius, 15/25 July 1614, in Molhuysen (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 336 (no. 355).

or at least we have no trace of it. Just a few months before, he had produced a 40-verse preliminary poem, praising Casaubon's refutation of Baronius, printed in the *Exercitationes*.¹² This poem celebrates Casaubon as the irenicist mouthpiece of James I. It criticizes the biased view of Cesare Baronio, but also Protestant tendencies to reform too eagerly.¹³ In a much later poem of 1641, Grotius would again put Casaubon in this middle-of-the-road position. He aligned him in a genealogy of irenicist thinkers, starting with Erasmus, 'cast in bronze in Holland' (Erasmus was the first person in the Low Countries to get a public statue),¹⁴ followed by Georgius Cassander (the poem figures in Grotius's publication of his annotations on this irenicist thinker, on whom he was working already in 1614, the year of Casaubon's death), and the great reformer Philipp Melanchthon. This pedigree then runs on via the egalitarian thinker Andreas Modrevius (1503–1572), the reunionist theologian Georgius Wicelius (1501–1573), and the wavering renegade bishop Marcantonio De Dominis (1560–1624), to Casaubon ('to whom the British King was wise to commit his thoughts').¹⁵ Thus, Casaubon's industry and the excellence of his work was omitted from the 1619 printed edition of this letter, reducing it to a largely medical memory. In a letter of 4 May 1614 to Casaubon, Grotius compared him to Erasmus:

Sed rogo te, Vir Clarissime, quando tandem tibi vacaturum est ut plenam tui admiratoribus Bataviam nostram videas? Memini te huic itineri id tempus destinare, cum Baronianarum Animadversionum partem primam absolvisses. Utinam in proposito perstes; non paenitebit te consilii. Sed illud etiam atque etiam moneo ut primus tibi portus sit Rotterodamum. neque enim debet alia in Batavia urbs Casaubonum videre ante illam, quae simillimum Casaubono Erasmus genuit. illa dies propera [...]¹⁶

12 Casaubon Isaac, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI* (London, officina Nortoniana, Ioannes Billius: 1614) LXV–LXVI.

13 See the modern edition, translation, and commentary in Oosterhout M. van, *Hugo Grotius' Occasional Poetry (1609–1645)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen: 2009) 96–101.

14 The bronze statue was erected in 1622, replacing a wooden one of 1549, which was in its turn replaced by a stone one in 1557 and 1593; see Miert D. van, "Trommius's Travelogue. Learned Memories of Erasmus and Scaliger and Scholarly Identity in the Republic of Letters", *Early Modern Low Countries* 11 (2017) 51–70 (57–58).

15 Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 124–125.

16 Hugo Grotius to Isaac Casaubon, 4 May 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 319 (no. 334).

I implore you, most distinguished man: when will you finally have the opportunity to visit Holland, which is filled with people who admire you? I remember you planned to do so after finishing the first part of your *Observations* on Baronius. I hope you persist in that plan; you won't regret it. But then I urge you again and again that the port of Rotterdam be your first stop. For no other city in Holland should see Casaubon before Rotterdam, which gave birth to Erasmus, so similar to Casaubon. Make haste with that day!

Grotius, thus, placed himself and Casaubon in a particular Erasmian philosophy, between the warring confessions. That Casaubon's somewhat unclear position allowed for such an appropriation would also explain why his memory was consolidated, not so much by the champions of reformed scholasticism in the Dutch Reformed Church, but by the theologically latitudinarian, more historically minded philological scholars of the age.

Grotius first made mention of Casaubon's death on 14 August 1614, when he forwarded Thorius's letter from Rotterdam to Daniel Heinsius in Leiden:

Mitto tibi, summe virorum, historiam ornate admodum et subtiliter scriptam a doctissimo Raphaele Thorio, quae causam mortis viri incomparabilis et tibi simillimi Isaaci Casauboni complectitur. Rogo legas, deinde ostendas Pavio, qui miram constitutionem corporis, in quo habitavit admirandus ille animus, Observationibus suis anatomicis adiungat: est enim res digna medicorum exacta consideratione; postea vero obsecro cures ad me redeant literae [...]¹⁷

I send you, my best man, a story, quite well and precisely written by the learned Raphael Thorius that contains the cause of the death of incomparable Isaac Casaubon, who resembles you. Pray, read this letter and then show it to Pieter Pauw, who should include the wondrous constitution of this body in which that amazing mind lived, in his *Anatomical Observations*. For the case is worthy of close consideration by medical scholars. But please make sure the letter gets back to me afterwards.

The letter then goes on about Cassander's work, with whom Casaubon here again seems closely connected in Grotius's interpretation.

¹⁷ Hugo Grotius to Daniel Heinsius, 14 August 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerte deel* 346 (no. 362).

We will meet Pieter Pauw again later, in our discussion of the origin of the image of Casaubon's bladder. For now, this letter explains how Thorius's epistola ended up in Leiden. Two months later, Grotius admonished Heinsius to share it:

Rogatus ab amicis in Gallia nobilis Mylius, ut certos ipsos faceret de causis morbi mortisque viri, nisi tu esses, incomparabilis Isaaci Casauboni, compellavit me de literis Thorii, quibus ea historia ita describitur, ut non possit aut rectius quicquam aut ornatus dici. Respondi esse eas apud te, sed daturum me operam ne diu iis careret, ut honestissimis amicorum desideriis posset satisfacere. Quare rogo eam epistolam ad me transmittas, Hagam, si fieri potest, ubi futurus sum ad diem usque Saturni. Quo facto et me et ipsum D. Mylium devinxeris [...]¹⁸

[The special agent], the noble Cornelis van der Myle has been asked by his friends in France that he informs them about the causes of the illness and death of Isaac Casaubon, a man who would be incomparable, were it not for you. He summoned me about Thorius's letter, in which this story is described in such a manner that nothing more correct or distinguished could be said. I answered the letter is with you, but that I would make sure they would not be without it any longer, so that Van der Myle can satisfy the very honourable wishes of his friends. I ask you therefore to send the letter back to me, to The Hague, if possible, where I will be until Saturday. You will oblige both me and Mr Van der Myle.

Whether this indeed happened is unclear: there is no further mentioning of the subject in Grotius's extant correspondence. After Pauw's death in 1617, the letter apparently came into the hands of professor Otho Heurnius (1577–1652), whence it was recovered by the colourful Hamburg-born scholar Joachim Morsius (1593–1642).¹⁹

18 Hugo Grotius to Daniel Heinsius, 14 October 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 363 (no. 377).

19 See for him, and particular for his album amicorum, Schneider H., *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis. Zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: 1929).

3 Joachim Morsius's Programme for Safe-Keeping Leiden Material

This recovery by Morsius explains the context in which Thorius's short letter of 1619 came to print: Morsius wanted to rescue small texts and material relating to the generation of scholars at Leiden University in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This shows that Morsius considered Casaubon an important figure in the history of Leiden University. To gain access to lingering material, one first had to familiarize with the people who kept that material and win their trust, for instance by being accepted as a friend in the network of these people.

On 31 December 1618, the German Morsius enrolled as a student at Leiden University, calling himself "Polymathiae studens" ("studying many types of learning"). Morsius's four-volume *album amicorum* allows for a reconstruction of his movements and shows whom he met. The album includes a number of Leiden scholars, including Otho Heurnius (Leiden, 26 November 1618),²⁰ Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677), from Itzehoe in Holstein (a country man who lodged with Morsius's printer Jacobus Marcus²¹ (Leiden, 23 January 1619),²² Franco Duyckius (Leiden, 28 March 1619²³) and Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, July 1619),²⁴ to mention only a few.

²⁰ Ibidem 90.

²¹ Hoftijzer P.G., "Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century: The case of Jacob Marcus", in Rosenberg S. – Simon S. (eds.), *Material moments in book culture. Essays in honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Essen: 2014) 163–176 (167, n. 13).

²² Schneider, *Morsius*, 94. Henry Wotton, English ambassador to Venice, also signed on 23 January 1619, but in London (Schneider 109). Since, in the English Calendar, 1620 started officially only on 25 March, the date of 23 January 1619 must have been 1620 according to the normal calendar year that started on 1 January. The engraver Simon van de Passe signed in London on 27 January 1620, using the continental year calendar. The confusion over the 1619/20 year would give the impression that Morsius was constantly crossing the channel in the first three months of 1619. When Ben Jonson signed the album on 1 January 1619 (Schneider, *Morsius*, 92), this should be read as 1 January 1620, because Morsius actually enrolled at Leiden University the day before, on 31 December 1618. Of course, there is still the fact that England, following the Julian Calendar, was ten days behind Leiden's Gregorian calendar, giving Morsius 10 days to make his way from Leiden to London, but why would he have enrolled just before setting off to London and get back almost immediately? For Wotton and Jonson, see Schlueter J., "Lost and Found: Ben Jonson's Autograph in Joachim Morsius's *Album Amicorum*", *The Ben Jonson Journal* 20.2 (2013) 260–272 (262–263, for Wotton, whose entry date of 23 January 1619 Schlueter provides without comment, and 260–261, for Jonson, whose entry date seems to have been silently translated into New Year's day 1620 by Peter Beal, whom Schlueter quotes before quoting the source date 'Cal. Ian. M D C XIX').

²³ Schneider, *Morsius* 86.

²⁴ Ibidem 90.

Morsius seems to have had a keen eye for small manuscript treasures, for he struck up an alliance with the earlier mentioned Leiden printer Jacobus Marcus and in quick succession published a number of slender booklets with him, as well as with other Leiden printers. In 1619 no less than ten editions appeared with Marcus, all 'from the collection' or 'from the library' of Morsius, with poems and fragments of works by Janus Dousa, Carolus Clusius, Franco Duyckius, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Joseph Scaliger, but also of authors not connected to Leiden, such as Simon Simonides, Cesare Baronio, and Antonio Florebello.²⁵ A year earlier, in 1618, Morsius had published with Marcus a speech by professor Paullus Merula. In October 1619, he set off for London, Cambridge, and Oxford,²⁶ and met with Raphael Thorius himself on 7 December 1619. On that occasion, he may even have shown Thorius his fresh edition of Thorius's own *epistola* on Casaubon's death. Thorius in fact signed Morsius's album twice, but the second time he mentioned neither place nor year.²⁷

Back in Hamburg, Morsius in 1621 published a Latin poem by Hugo Grotius: 'Address to the Chest', praising the book chest in which Grotius escaped from Loevestein Castle on 22 March 1621. This poem, together with an epigram on his imprisonment, 'spread like wild fire', according to its modern editor.²⁸ As attested elsewhere in this volume, Grotius's chest became a true *objet de mémoire*, even when Grotius's brother Willem de Groot had to admit in 1644 that he was unable to locate the chest, much to the dismay of Grotius himself: 'I would not want the monument of such great divine favour towards me to be lost!', he answered. 'It won't have flown up to heaven, will it?'²⁹ Morsius, who sometimes used the pseudonym 'Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita' (which translates as 'Resurrecting Virtue-lover Cosmopolite') had a clear eye for printing the memorable paper monuments by the greatest scholars of his time: the Scaligers, Dousa, Casaubon, and Grotius.

Leiden University Library keeps a convolute of eight works edited by Morsius, with an autograph dedication to the Latin poet Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plempius from Amsterdam (1574–1638), who jotted down an epigram on the

25 See the list of Marcus's publication edited by Morsius in Hoftijzer, "Leiden-German book-trade relations" 167, note 19.

26 Christian Hennig signed the album in Amsterdam on 5 October 1619 and Peter Gool in London on 29 October 1619); see Schneider, *Morsius* 89 and 90.

27 *Ibidem* 105.

28 Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 371.

29 Nellen H.J.M. – Ridderikhoff C.M. (eds.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, vol. 15 (The Hague: 1996) 596 (no. 6971: 'Nolim perire monumentum tanti in me divini beneficii') and 720 (no. 7037: 'non enim in caelum evolaverit?'). See Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 372. See the contribution in this volume by Paul Hulsenboom and Alan Moss, 289–290.

last page, praising Morsius's efforts to 'salvage from a dark grave' the 'monuments of the fame of eloquent men': 'You make an effort to print; always some author is born to you [...], thus you have nothing in common with death' (despite the name Morsius, *mors* being Latin for death).³⁰

He found such things perhaps in the papers of Otho Heurnius, a Leiden professor with whom he struck up a friendship – as he did with the Leiden professor of medicine Reinier Bontius (1576–1623), a former student of both Heurnius's father Johannes (1543–1601), who died of bladder and kidney stones, and of Pauw.³¹ Heurnius, who signed Morsius's *album amicorum* twice,³² contributed a liminary poem to Morsius's 1619 edition of Gulielmus Laurembergius's epistolary dissertation on the treatment of bladder stones.³³ This interest in bladders is of course also clear from the publication of Thorius's letter, which the printer Jacobus Marcus claimed to have seen in the possession of Morsius, which Morsius in turn had received from Heurnius, and which he printed to dispel 'various rumours by various people about the death of the Prince of the Learned.'³⁴

30 Leiden University Library shelfmark 1366 E 11:9: 'C.G. Plempii Epigrammatium ad Ioachim Morsium: / Tu facundorum fama monumenta virorum / tradis et in multo lumine scripta locas / Tu vigil in vitam doctas extendere chartas, his procul obscurum funus abesse iubes. Niteris, excudis; semper tibi nascitur auctor/ qui vetus aspiciat sidera sive novus / Sic commune tibi nihil est cum morte [...]' Plemp signed Morsius's *album amicorum*, mentioning no place or date of entry (Schneider, *Morsius* 98–99).

31 See Morsius's attestation of friendship to Bont(ius) in Leiden, University Library, ms. BPL 3316: 1, undated. Bontius also signed Morsius's *album* (in 1614, according to the editor of this *album*). We have no other evidence that Morsius visited Leiden in 1614, but Ludwig von Böneburg signed the *album* in Rotterdam on 12 April 1612, and John Thorius did so in Leiden on 27 April 1612 (Schneider, *Morsius* 81 and 105; for this John Thorius, Schneider refers to Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon* vol. 4, 1172, but the Thorius mentioned there seems too old to qualify; a son of Raphael Thorius was called John, but was born around 1600; he matriculated twice in Leiden, once on 26 June 1620 and once on 13 July 1626 (Du Rieu, G. [ed.], *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV* [The Hague: 1875]) 148 and 193) and obtained his doctoral degree on 26 August 1626 (Molhuysen P.C. (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, Tweede deel: 8 Febr. 1610–7 Febr. 1647* (The Hague: 1916) 127, here printed as 'Thirius', but see Grell, 'Thorius'). In 1612 he was aged 12, which is a bit young to have signed Morsius's *album*.

32 Schneider, *Morsius* 90–91: one of these two entries is from 26 November 1618; the other bears no place and date. Was it perhaps when Morsius visited Leiden in 1614, as is suggested by the entry date of Reinier Bontius? See previous footnote.

33 Laurembergius Gulielmus, *Epistolica dissertatio continens curationem calculi vesicae*, edita ex bibliotheca Ioachimi Morsii (Leiden, Bartholomeus a Bild: 1619). This was one of two publications that Morsius had printed with someone else than Jacobus Marcus.

34 Thorius, *Epistola* fol. A<1>v: 'Typographus Lectori Salutem. Varii variorum rumores fuerunt de obitu doctorum principis Isaaci Casauboni. At veram huius Herois morbi mortisque causam, detectam epistolio quodam R[aphaelis] T[horii] eximii Londinensis

Clearly, then, Morsius successfully associated with philologists, medical scholars, and printers in Leiden, winning their trust and advertising the overlooked fruits of the likes of Scaliger, Dousa, and Grotius. With his printing of Thorius's *Epistola*, he clearly inscribed Casaubon into this Leiden context.

4 The Reception of Thorius's *Epistola*

In 1638, Thorius's *Epistola* was reprinted as an appendix to the first edition of Casaubon's correspondence. The editors, André Rivet and Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, both professors in Leiden, left no stone unturned in soliciting the help of their colleagues, asking them to send in autographs or handwritten copies of any Casaubon letters they might have. Isaac Casaubon's son Meric complied also, but with great care. In fact, the material they received was copied in versions that were sometimes redacted: either the editors or the suppliers silently left out certain passages.³⁵ Here the posthumous construction of Casaubon the hero is perpetuated in a paper monument. The flow of manuscript sources is again impressive: Jacques Dupuy asked Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc for letters from Casaubon. In his turn receiving two Casaubon-letters from De Fabrot, Peiresc sent these on to Dupuy, who passed them on to Hugo Grotius, who forwarded them to Leiden.³⁶

Gronovius managed to add a new source, in addition to Thorius's *epistola*: immediately after Thorius's letter at the end of the 1638 edition of Casaubon's letters, there is a second account of Casaubon's end, also by Thorius. This time it is called not an *Epistola*, but a *Narratio*: a story or a history. It is six times longer than the letter. The account is more detailed, but above all, Thorius now added a great deal more circumstantial evidence, lionising Casaubon. The work is a rhetorical reworking of his original account: a carefully constructed *narratio* (the proper argument in the theory of rhetoric). In fact, Thorius's *Narratio* is part of an epideictic piece of rhetoric. While the disease takes centre stage in the short *Epistola*, in the *Narratio* the suffering is the focal point:

medici, ad primatem Belgii virum [i.e. Grotius – DvM], cum apud Dn. Morsium vidissem, exemplar petii. Quod ille, quemadmodum ab excellentissimo philosopho et medico Otthone Heurnio acceperat, haud invitus (quae morum eius facilitas) mecum communicavit. Quo ne solus fruerer, usibus tuis id repraesentare consultum duxi. Tu conatus meos approba, et vale feliciter'.

35 Dibon P., "Les avatars d'une édition de correspondance: les *Epistolae I. Casauboni* de 1638", *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* 1.2 (1981) 25–65 (examples of censorship on 58–59).

36 Dibon, "Les Avatars" 33–34.

Casaubon transforms from a patient into a person, and not just any person, but a great scholar who regarded his studies as the very essence of his existence.

These two accounts were published in the first edition of Casaubon's letters that appeared in 1638, and they were reprinted in the second, expanded, edition of the letters, published in 1656 by Johannes Georgius Graevius. As in the first edition, the two accounts of Thorius appear at the end, unaltered.³⁷

This edition project had been passed on to Graevius by Gronovius, through the intervention of the dedicatee, Reinesius. We can gather this from the dedicatory letter that sheds some light on the construction of Casaubon as a philologist rather than a church historian or theologian: the words 'God' or 'Church' appear nowhere in this letter. Graevius thanks his dedicatee for introducing him to Gronovius, when Graevius himself 'set off to Holland, that palace of so many illustrious minds, in order to learn to cultivate my talent.' Although he was a total stranger, Gronovius acknowledged Graevius's potential, and introduced him to 'those great heroes of this age, [Gerard] Vossius, [Daniel] Heinsius, [Jan Gaspar] Gevartius, [Peter Paul] Rubens and others'. Gronovius had also delegated this second edition of Casaubon's letters to Graevius. This story is similar to Morsius's story, although with larger dimensions: contrary to Morsius, Graevius stayed on in the Dutch Republic to become a professor, and his edition of Casaubon's letters was incomparably heftier than Morsius's edition of Thorius's *Epistola*. The procedure was the same however: editors had to win the trust of the 'heirs' of Casaubon through admittance into their social circles.

In the meantime, however, the physician Johannes van Beverwijck (1594–1647) from Dordrecht had Thorius's *Epistola* printed in 1641 in his *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo (Exercise on Hippocrates's aphorism about kidney- or bladder stones)*.³⁸ A Dutch translation appeared in Beverwijck's *Alle de wercken (Complete works)* of 1663 and 1672.³⁹

In 1679, the Swiss physician Théophile Bonet (1620–1689), editor of Mayerne's book on gout in 1676, published his *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia*

37 Casaubon Isaac, *Epistolae, editio secunda, LXXXII epistolis auctior, et iuxta seriem temporum digesta*, ed. Johannes Georgius Graevius (Magdeburg – Helmstedt – Brunswick, Christianus Gelrachus – Simon Brekensteinus – Andreas Dunckerus: 1656) 1049–1050 (*Epistola*) and 1050–1058 (*Narratio*).

38 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo, ad N[obilissimum] V[irum] Claudium Salmasium [...] Accedunt eiusdem argumenti doctorum epistolae* (Leiden, Elsevirii: 1641) 282–285.

39 More precisely in the complete works that is entitled *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, Jan J. Schipper: 1663, and Amsterdam, the widow of Jan J. Schipper: 1672, resp.), second page numbering, 244 The page numberings in the 1663 and 1672 editions are the same, but they differ from those in the complete works of 1656 and 1660.

practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis (Cemetery, or Practical anatomy based on bodies of people who died of illness), a book that was republished in 1700. The 1679 and 1700 editions mention Casaubon's bladder and contain Thorius's *Epistola* under the heading "A more succinct description of the affliction of the same bladder by Raphael Thorius" ("Eiusdem vesicae affectus succinctior descriptio a Raphaelae Thorio"). Halfway through the letter, Bonet inserted a heading "SCHOLIA", suggesting that the letter itself was structured as such by Thorius.⁴⁰ Finally, the *Epistola* appeared in Almeloveen's 1709 edition of Casaubon's letters.⁴¹

Thorius's *Epistola* thus appeared seven times in Latin (in 1619, 1638, 1641, 1656, 1679, 1700, and 1709) and twice in Dutch (1663 and 1672). The letter was printed in a more complete version in Volume 1 of the edition of the correspondence of Grotius in 1928. For the first time it was now noted that this letter of Thorius, kept in a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was actually addressed to Grotius.⁴²

Thorius's longer *Narratio* was much less popular. It appeared in all three editions of Casaubon's letters, was reprinted in Russell's edition of Casaubon's

40 Bonet Theophile, *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis. In III Tomos distributa* vol. 2 (Geneva, Leonardus Chouët: 1679) 1279; Bonet Theophile, *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis [...]* Editio altera, quam novis commentariis [...] illustravit vol. 2 (Geneva, Cramer – Perachon: 1700) 647. The sub-heading appears before the passage starting with 'Quaeres, et bene, qui potuit vivere ad eam aetatem cum organo necessario tam male conformato?' (You ask, and rightly so, who could live to such an age with a vital organ so misshaped?)

41 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, first page numbering 64.

42 A new transcription and a German translation of both the *Epistola* and the *Narratio* is helpfully given in Ludwig W., "Das Monument des Londoner Arztes Raphael Thorius zur Erinnerung an Leben und Sterben von Isaac Casaubonus (1614)", *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 19 (2017) 271–297, revised and reprinted in Ludwig W., *Florilegium Neolatinum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2014–2018*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber (Hildesheim: 2019) 345–372. Ludwig fails to identify the addressee ('Ein Name wird nicht angegeben. Vielleicht soll sich jeder Leser angesprochen fühlen') and wrongly identifies his own translation as the first (we have seen that Beverwijck had already translated it into Dutch). Ludwig rightly stresses the character of paper monument that Thorius left, but he seems unaware of the textual tradition other than the 1619 edition of the *Epistola* and the printing of the *Epistola* and the *Narratio* in the three editions of Casaubon's correspondence. Although he does mention a reference by Caspar Bartholinus (Ludwig, *Florilegium Neolatinum* 368) to Thorius (see below), he does not mention those of Beverwijck and Bonet. Mayerne's post-mortem was also not part of his studies, despite Bartholinus's mentioning of 'Brovardus' (but Bartholinus seems also not to have known that Brovardus drew on Mayerne's account, since Beverwijck, which is obviously Bartholinus's source, does not mention Mayerne either).

Ephemerides and in a modern edition, accompanied by a German translation.⁴³ It did not appear in the works of Beverwijck and Bonet, but we will see that they instead opted for another account of Casaubon's death bed: Brovardius's redaction of Theodore Mayerne's post-mortem report, which brings us to the textual tradition of another source.

5 Theodore Turquet de Mayerne's Account

While Thorius's account, thus, found its way into the editions of Casaubon's correspondence, Beverwijck had managed to lay his hands on a second long account of Casaubon's autopsy, drawn up by the Huguenot scholar-physician Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), which he printed in his 1641 *Exercitatio*.⁴⁴

Mayerne knew Casaubon well. Both had lived at the Parisian court of Henri IV in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and both had been pressured to convert, with promises of advanced career opportunities. Having both refused to do so, they left France in 1610, shortly after the murder of Henri IV, taking up positions in London at the court of James I.⁴⁵ Casaubon knew Mayerne well enough to complain about his high salary of 1400 pounds.⁴⁶ Mayerne also knew Thorius well. Casaubon wrote in his diary that Thorius approved of prescriptions by Mayerne, and that the three of them had sat down together, chatting and having breakfast.⁴⁷ Among the unpublished Latin poetry of Thorius is one poem addressed to Mayerne.⁴⁸

43 Casaubon Isaac, *Ephemerides*, ed. J. Russell, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1850) 1242–1249, endnote 1065; Ludwig, *Florilegium* 347–360.

44 Beverwijck, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo* 257–281.

45 It is coincidental that they both entitled their diaries *Ephemerides* (Greek for diaries, or journals); Mayerne's case studies herein share little similarity with Casaubon's personal prayers and records of activity.

46 Nance B, *Turquet de Mayerne as Baroque Physician. The Art of Medical Portraiture* (Amsterdam – New York: 2001) 10.

47 Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, vol. 2, 842 (31 May 1611): 'Heri in magnis angoribus meis praescripta fuerat πόσις a clarissimo medico D. Maierne, et probaverat D. Thorius'; 914: (24 January 1611): 'Cum amicis hodie fui D. Capello, Maiernio et Thorio'; 1050 (16 April 1614): 'Apud Maiernium virum clarissimum hodie pransus sum cum Thorio medico eruditissimo, quorum consiliis quae de mea valetudine inierunt, benedic, O Pater. Amen'; 1055 (4 May 1614): 'Hodie medici D. Maiernius et D. Thorius ad me venerunt, et ad prandium apud D. Maiernium deduxerunt. Multa illi de meis morbis, quibus faxit Deus ut medicinam facient. Amen'.

48 And another one, dedicated to Casaubon's son Meric Casaubon. See Grell, "Thorius".

Mayerne's own original medical case books, the *Ephemerides*,⁴⁹ were published in 1695, 1700, 1701, and 1703. These four editions all contain (all with the same page number) Mayerne's discussion of the so-called 'History of the illness and death of Isaac Casaubon and of the monstrous shape of his urinary organs, as found when the corpse was dissected on the 1st day of July 1614'.⁵⁰

Beverwijck in his 1641 *Exercitatio* actually fails to mention Mayerne as the author. What he does say instead, however, provides a clue about the networked structure of the memory of Casaubon. For we read on page 281 'Please have this, most distinguished man, from your Brovardus'.⁵¹ This 'Brovardus' is likely to be have been Johannes Brouvaert, a Brussels-born member of the London College of Physicians, who contributed, alongside Raphael Thorius (and Constantijn Huygens no less) to a 1622 collection of printed elegies remembering the life and death of Simon Ruytinck, who had been a minister of the word to the Dutch Reformed community in London.⁵² There is a clear link with the Netherlands: the collection was printed at Leiden by Isaac Elsevier, the university's printer. So here we encounter a Reformed sub-community of Dutch physicians: Thorius, Brouvaert, and Beverwijck. The same Brouvaert had met Joachim Morsius in London two years earlier, where he signed the latter's album on 6 March 1620.⁵³ These connections tie Brouvaert securely into

49 This account was originally part of the manuscript of Mayerne's *Ephemerides* (British Library, ms. Sloane, 2065), but it seems to have been removed after 1652. See Nance, *Mayerne* 23, 31, 60 (n. 29), and 202.

50 Mayerne Theodore Turquet de, *Consilia, epistolae et observationes*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, Samuel Smith – Ben Walford: 1695) 144–154; *Opera medica, complectentia consilia, epistolas et observationes, pharmacopeam variasque medicamentorum formulas*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, R[obert] E[veringham?]: 1700) 144–154; *Opera medica, complectentia consilia, epistolas et observationes, pharmacopeam, variasque medicamentorum formulas*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, R[obert] E[veringham?]: 1701) 144–154; *Opera medica, in quibus continentur consilia, epistolae, observationes, pharmacopeia, variaequae medicamentorum formulae*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, D. Browne – Richard Smith – P. Varenn: 1703) 144–154: 'Historia morbi et mortis D. Isaaci Casaboni et conformationis partium urinarium montrosae, qualis reperta fuit in dissecto cadavere, 1 die Iulii 1614.'

51 Beverwijck, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo* 281: 'Haec habe, clarissime vir, a tuo Brovardo.'

52 *Epicedia in obitum reverendi clarissimi doctissimique viri D. Simeonis Rutingii, fidelissime verbi divini dispensatoris in Ecclesia Londinensi Belgica, diversorum* (Leiden, Isaacus Elzevirius: 1622). Thorius opens the collection with a long epicedium on page 3–8; Brovardus's poem, signed 1 February 1621, is on pages 25–26. The poem by Huygens, who befriended Thorius when he visited London in 1618–1619, is on page 20. Four poems by the Dutch reformed minister and colleague of Rutingius, Ambrosius Regemorterus, are on pages 16–18.

53 Schneider, *Morsius* 82. Mayerne himself does not appear in Morsius's album.

the network and show that he was in a very good position to lay his hands on Mayerne's account.

A comparison with the original Latin text of Mayerne that was printed later, in 1695, 1700, 1701 and 1703, shows that Brovardus redacted some of the non-medical parts out of Mayerne's account. In the opening fragment below, I set in **bold** the words that Brovardus left out and I *italicized* the words between square brackets that he added:

Mayerne's text, with Brovardus's interventions

Translation

Is. Cas. singularis eruditionis vir, humaniorum studiorum, literarum cognitione peritia toti notus orbi et criticorum sui temporis Coryphaeus facile princeps. [Summus et clarissimus vir Isaacus Casaubonus] Corpus tenue, gracile, [et] siccum a natura sortitus erat, temperamento [ex] bilioso, **quod vitae conditione atque annorum decursu in melancholicum degeneravit** [plurimum declinante]. Ignei vigoris et coelestis originis animam **obsepiebat**, continebat fragile ergastulum, quod exili, nec importuna mole haud grave, hospitem sui plane iuris esse sivit. Hinc factum ut literis deditissima mens parvam admodum habuerit sui domicilii rationem. Ita vir magnus non impalluit modo, sed pene inaruit chartis. **Utinam Capularis Acheronticus etiam insenuisset.**⁵⁴

Isaac Casaubon, a man of rare learning, known to the whole world because of his experience in the knowledge of humanistic studies and learning, was, as the Coryphaeus of his time, easily the prince of critics. He [The great and famous mister Isaac Casaubon] was allotted a **thin and slender** body, [and] dry by nature, and of a bilious temperament, **which degenerated due to his way of life, and degenerating with age** [declining very much] into a melancholical body. This fragile prison **enclosed**, contained a soul of fiery vigour and of heavenly origins. This body, not quite heavy due to its slender and not unfavourable weight, allowed its guest to be his own master. Hence it happened that this mind, dedicated entirely to learning, had little consideration with its home. Thus, the great man not only grew pale but almost dried up amidst his papers. **I wish he yet would have grown old having one foot in the grave.**⁵⁵

54 Cf. Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 627–628: 'Itane tibi ego videor oppido Acherunticus? Tam capularis?'

55 I have adapted the English translation in Nance, *Mayerne* 94.

Brovardus omitted some synonyms, but more importantly he excised the praise of Casaubon as a prince of learning who died too early, resulting in a stronger emphasis on his physical condition. For the Latin text of Brovardus's redaction, Beverwijck in later Dutch editions of his work on bladder and kidney stones, the *Steen-Stuck* (1649, 1656, and 1660⁵⁶) referred the reader back to his 1641 *Exercitatio*. However, in 1663 and 1672, he included a Dutch translation of Brovardus's redaction in the *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt*, as part of retitled re-editions of his complete works.⁵⁷ By 1672, then, Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's text had appeared once in Latin and twice in Dutch. It was, however, unclear to any reader that Mayerne was the original author of the account.

This only became apparent in 1679, when Théophile Bonet published Brovardus's redaction (again followed by Thorius's short letter, as we have seen above) in his *Sepulchretum*, where the history is headed as 'descripta ab Excellente Theodoro De Mayerne. Broatio' ('copied from the excellent Theodore De Mayerne, for Broatius' (*sic*: the confusion about the name of Brovardus would indicate that Bonet had no clue who Brovardus was)).⁵⁸ Again, he added a subheading "Scholia" halfway through the text, furnishing the account with a more scholarly appearance of a *narratio* and a comment with explanations.⁵⁹

This text was again reprinted in Bonet's second edition of 1700, now as '*descripta ab Excellente Theodoro De Meyerne Broatio adscripta*', that is to say '*ascribed to Broatius*'. This acted as a correction of the idea, no doubt brought into the world by Beverwijck, that Brovardus was the author of the text.⁶⁰ The next step would be to restore Mayerne's own, somewhat fuller, account, unredacted by Brovardus. This saw the light in 1695, 1700, 1701, and 1703 in Mayerne's own printed works.⁶¹ Finally, it was also printed in Almeloveen's third edition

56 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teykenen, 't voorkomen ende genesen van steen en graveel : als mede het Ite deel, wesende brieven van meest alle de treffelijckste genees-meesters deser Eeuwe, beroerende deselve Materie* (Den Briel, M. Feermans: 1649 or Dordrecht, Leendert Baenwijck: 1649) 42; *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1656) 27; *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1660) 27.

57 Beverwijck Johannes, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, I. I. Schipper: 1663) in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664 [sic]) 240–246; and *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, Jan J. Schipper: 1672) in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1680 [sic]).

58 Bonet, *Sepulchretum* (1679) 1246–1249.

59 Ibidem 1248.

60 Bonet, *Sepulchretum* (1700) 644–647.

61 See above, note 49.

of Casaubon's letters of 1709,⁶² but Almeloveen seems to have been unaware of Bonet's correction, or of Mayerne's medical works for that matter. He failed to mention Mayerne's name, ascribing the story to Brovardus instead: 'I thought it would be favourable to print the accurate history of the last stage of his health, left to posterity by the renowned Brovardus, together with a *Letter* of the outstanding physician Raphael Thorius'.⁶³

Yet, people might even have read about the bladder, not in the letters of Casaubon, or the work of Beverwijck, Bonet or Mayerne, but in the *Institutiones anatomicae* of 1641 by Caspar Bartholinus, as published by his son Thomas Bartholinus. Their account constitutes another branch leading back to Thorius's *Epistola*.

Bartholinus's textbook, 'enhanced by numerous hitherto unpublished opinions and observations of recent authors' (added by Bartholinus's son Thomas) has a title page sporting eight portraits of anatomists, including Pauw and Otho Heurnius. We see here how, in the eyes of a Danish physician, the Leiden medical professors belonged to a canon starting with Hippocrates and Galen, leading through Andreas Vesalius and Johannes Riolanus, on to Casparus Bauhinus and Adriaan van den Spiegel, and ending with Pauw and Heurnius [Fig. 9.2]. Connected to these last two physicians, we now imagine how the young German Morsius brought Thorius's letter before the public eye, drawing on an extensive Leiden scholarly network with links to the reformed refugees in the Dutch Church in London.

In 1641, the elder Bartholinus first referred to 'Raphael Thorius describing to us similar bladders found in the corpse of the great Casaubon. Thus nature wished that this man's mind, rising beyond mortals, left posterity with equal awe as the constitution of his unique body.'⁶⁴ This observation was reprinted in the second edition of 1645.⁶⁵ The third edition of 1651 added the name of Brovardus (suggesting that, by then, Bartholin had read Beverwijck's Latin

62 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, 60–64.

63 Ibidem 60: 'Accuratam postremae valetudinis Historiam a viro clarissimo, D Brovardo, posteris traditam, una cum Raphaelis Thorii, medici praestantissimi, Epistolam subiicere gratum fore sum arbitratus'.

64 Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae, novis recentiorum opinionibus et observationibus, quarum innumerae hactenus editae non sunt figurisque auctae* (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1641) 116 (book 1, chapter 20) 116: '[...] raro duas [...] quales [...] nec dissimiles in cadavere Magni Casauboni repertas nobis descripsit Raphael Thorius. Ita volente natura ut siut animus eius supra mortales, ita corporis singularis constitutio parem admirationem posteris relinqueret'.

65 Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae, novis recentiorum opinionibus et observationibus, quarum innumerae hactenus editae non sunt, figurisque Secundo auctae*, ed. Thomas Bartholinus (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1645) 104.

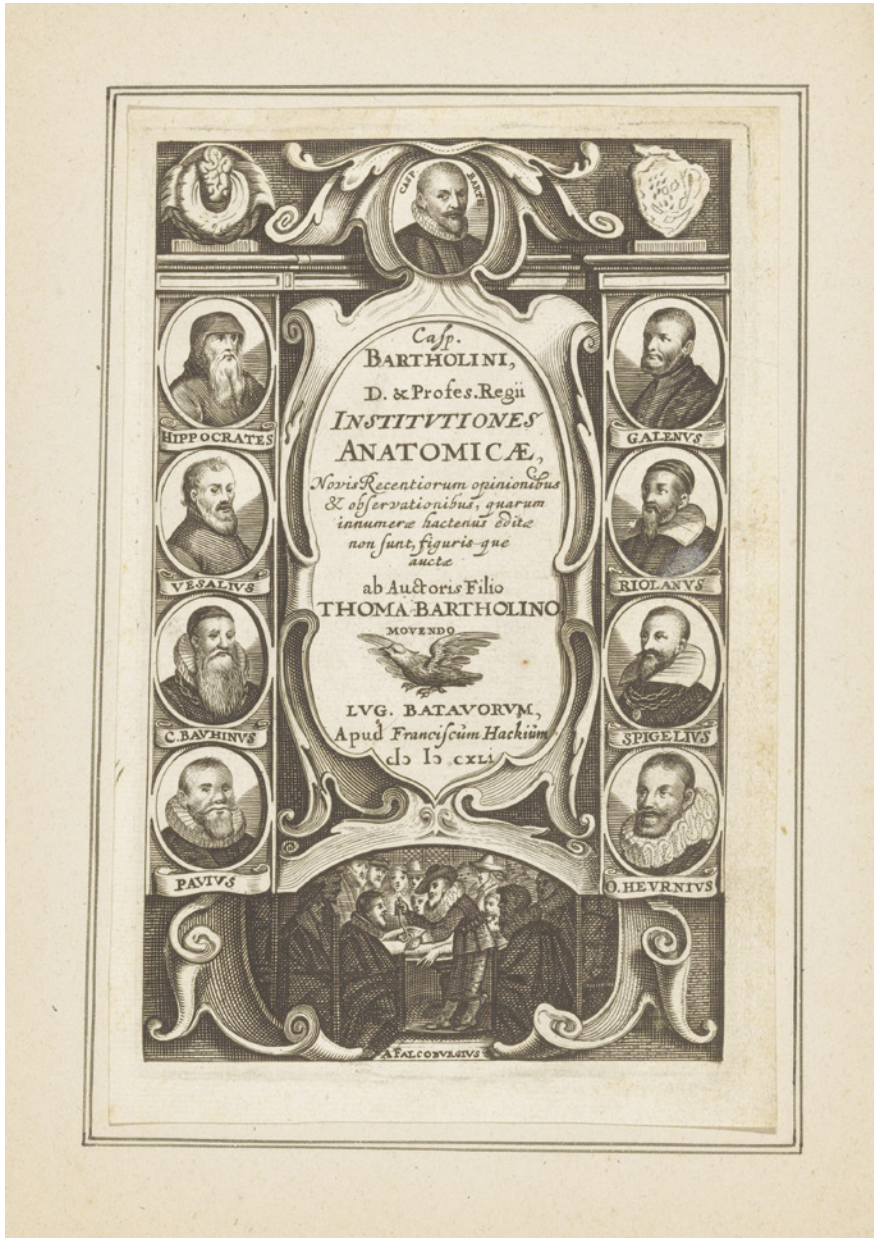


FIGURE 9.2 Title page of Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae* (1641)

Exercitatio of 1641).⁶⁶ In the fourth edition of 1667, he added yet one more sentence, referring the reader on to Beverwijck's work for an image of the bladder.⁶⁷ This story was printed a number of times in other editions.⁶⁸ In total, seven consecutive editions told the story of Casaubon's bladder, with five of them also referring to Beverwijck's image. This brings us to perhaps the most salient element of the story of Casaubon's bladder: the image itself.

6 The Image of Casaubon's Bladder

Beverwijck, as we have seen the first one to publish Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's post-mortem, was also responsible for publishing an image of Casaubon's deformed bladder. He first mentioned the curious case briefly in 1637 in his earlier mentioned *Steen-Stuck* (*Stone piece*), a Dutch work on kidney and bladder stones:

Soo ghedenckt my dat Doctor Pauw saliger, Professor te Leyden, ons eertijts getoont heeft een dubbelde blaes van den grooten Casaubon, aen syn E. uyt Engelant gesonden; aen de rechte blaes hingh onder gelijck een sack, daer een groote steen in gheweest hadde.⁶⁹

Thus I remember that the late doctor Pauw, professor in Leiden, once showed me a double bladder of the great Casaubon, sent to him from England. Below on the actual bladder was hanging a kind of bag, which had contained a large stone.

66 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatomia ex Caspari Bartholini parentis Institutionibus omniumque recentiorum et propriis Observationibus Tertium ad sanguis circulationem reformata* (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1651) 127 and 129.

67 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque Observationibus, inprimis Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini ad circulationem Harveianam et vasa lymphatica Quartum renovata, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, ex officina Hackiana: 1673) 197: '[...] relinqueret: huius autem figuram exhibuit Beverovicus' (Bartholin gives no bibliographical reference for Beverwijck).

68 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome Quartum Renovata non tantum ex Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini, sed etiam ex omnium cum veterum tum recentiorum Observationibus ad circulationem Harveianam directis, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, Joannes Antonius Huguetaan: 1677) and Idem (Leiden, Marcus and Joannes Henricus Huguetaan: 1684) 197. Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque Observationibus, inprimis Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini ad circulationem Harveianam et vasa lymphatica Quintum renovata, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, Jacobus Hackius: 1686) 197.

69 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, ende ghesenen van Steen ende Graveel* (Dordrecht, Fransoys Boels: 1637) 38–39.

A year later, this text appeared in a Latin translation of the *Steen-Stuck*.⁷⁰ In 1649 a reprint of the Dutch *Steen-Stuck* appeared, and Beverwijck was now a bit more specific: he now mentioned the year 1614 (Pauw had died in 1617), and he also added an image of the bladder and its monstrous outgrowth, but somehow printed mirrored [Fig. 9.3]. It is strange that the very first time we can see the image in print, it appears as a mirrored copy; it suggests that the model on which it was based already contained the three reference numbers to which Beverwijck added three references:

Soo gedenckt my, dat Dr Pauw sal.r. Professor te Leyden, ons in 't Jaer 1614 getoont heeft een graveelige Blaes (1) van D. Casaubon uyt Engelandt gesonden; aen welcke slinker zijde hing een ander (2) gelijk een sack, van het selfde wesen, alwaer het Water door een gat (3) in quam ende wederom uyt-leeckte. Om de seldtsaemhey van 't gebreck, ende in soo seldtsamen man van geleertheyt, hebben wy 't selve alhier voor-gestelt: doch is breeder beschreven in ons Latijnsch Werck.⁷¹



FIGURE 9.3
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1649) 41. Engraver unknown

⁷⁰ Beverwijck Johannes van, *De calculo renum et vesicae liber singularis, cum epistolis et consultationibus magnorum virorum* (Leiden, Elsevirii: 1638) 31: 'Sic memini clarissimum praeceptorem Petrum Paaw nobis olim ostendisse quasi duplicem vesicam, ex Anglia ad se missam, summi viri Isaaci Casauboni. Vesicae sacculus quidam appensus conspiciebatur, qui calculum continuerat.' (Thus, I remember that the famous teacher Peter Pauw once showed me the double bladder, as it were, of the most distinguished mister Isaac Casaubon, sent to him from England. Hanging on the bladder, some kind of bag could be seen that had contained a stone.)

⁷¹ Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1649) 42. This Latin work was Beverwijck's, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo*, which printed Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's post-mortem. See above, note 44.

I thus remember that the late doctor Pauw, professor in Leiden, showed us in the year 1614 a stony bladder (1) of mister Casaubon, sent from England; on its left side hung another [bladder] (2), like a bag, from the same substance, in which water streamed in and out through a hole (3). Because of the rarity of this defect and because it appeared in a man of such rare learning, we have inserted a picture here. But it is described more elaborately in our Latin work.

This expanded fragment now mentioned the year 1614 and the hole at the point where the bladder and its outgrowth connected. Beverwijck had the story (in Dutch) and the image of the monstrous bladder reprinted in 1651,⁷² 1652,⁷³ 1656,⁷⁴ 1660,⁷⁵ 1663,⁷⁶ 1664,⁷⁷ and in 1672 [Figs. 9.4–9.10].⁷⁸

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- 72 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1651) 6, which is part of *Alle de Wercken, soo in de Medecyne als Chirurgye*. There is no place or year on this title page, but the subsequent convolute has works with their own title pages, including the *Steen-Stuck*, which starts with a sixth new page numbering.
- 73 Beverwijck Johannes van *Steen-stuck* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1652) in Idem, *Alle de Wercken, soo in de Medecyne als Chirurgye* ([Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1652]) sixth new page numbering, 6.
- 74 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1656) in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de Medicyne als Chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1656) fourth new page numbering, 27.
- 75 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1660), in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de Medicyne als Chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1660), fifth new page numbering. The image of the bladder is slightly different, and although the letters run exactly like the 1656 edition, the text does seem to be typeset anew.
- 76 Beverwijck, *Schat der Ongesondheydt ofte Genees-konste van de Siekten, verciert met Historien en koopere Platen* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1663), in *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1663), third new page numbering, 237. Although the original treatise *Steen-stuck* still retains its own title, it has now lost its title page and is hardly recognizable as a stand-alone work (starting on page 228), and its chapters (it starts with chapter 28) are continuous with the preceding pages.
- 77 Beverwijck, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt*, Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1663 [sic], 237, in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (followed by a title page *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie*) (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664), third new page numbering, 237.
- 78 Beverwijck, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, the widow of Jan J. Schipper: 1672), 237, in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie* (Amsterdam, the widow of Jan Jacobz. Schipper: [1672]), third new page numbering, 237.



FIGURE 9.4
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1651) 6. Engraver unknown

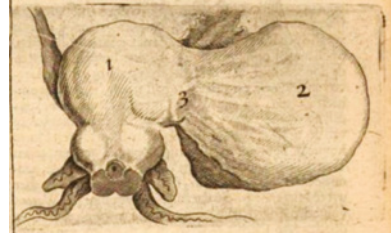


FIGURE 9.10
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1672) 237. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.5 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1652) 6. Engraver unknown

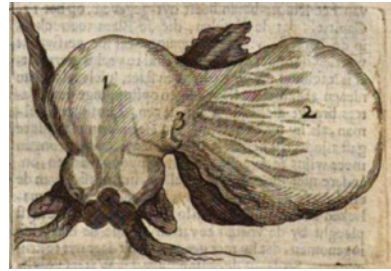


FIGURE 9.9 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1664) 237. Engraver unknown

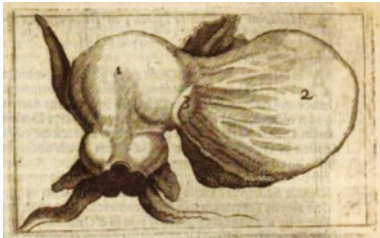


FIGURE 9.6
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1656) 27. Engraver unknown

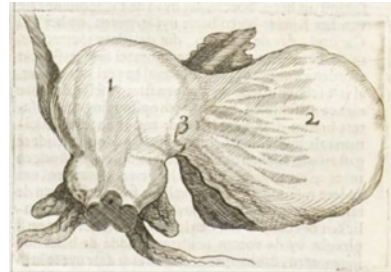


FIGURE 9.8
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1660) 237. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.7
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1660) 27. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.11
The engraving of
Casaubon's bladder
in Mayerne, *Consilia,
epistolae et observationes*
(1695) 154. Engraver
unknown

In 1695, the same image, this time in a very crude version, appeared in Mayerne's works at the end of his case description, and was reprinted in 1700, 1701, and 1603 (page 154 in all four editions) [Fig. 9.11]. Mayerne's edition also shows the likely source of the image: the editor, Joseph Brown, based his edition on the handwritten *Ephemerides* of Mayerne, and this suggests that the crude image was quickly drawn by Mayerne himself, after the body of Casaubon was opened on the same day he had died.

Beverwijck, however, had declared that the bladder had been 'sent' to Petrus Pauw. We remember that Grotius requested Daniel Heinsius to show Thorius's *Epistola* to the same person, i.e. Petrus Pauw. If this is no coincidence, then did Thorius actually *sent* Pauw the bladder, either as a prepared organ or (more likely) as an image? Probably not: the letter to Grotius did not refer to an accompanying bladder at all, nor did Grotius mention it when he forwarded Thorius's letter to Heinsius and requested it back, in October 1614. Pauw must have independently lain his hands on a drawn copy from Mayerne's sketch in his *Ephemerides* or on a drawing from the actual bladder, or indeed even secured a prepared version of the bladder. If so, why did the ever-curious Joachim Morsius not include an image in his *editio princeps* of Thorius's letter? Most likely, Morsius never saw the image of the bladder Pauw that owned, as Pauw had died in 1617, two years before Morsius came to Leiden. While Thorius's letter may have passed from Pauw to Otto Heurnius, the bladder eventually made its way to Beverwijck.

Be that as it may, Beverwijck's image was more elaborate than the one in the edition of Mayerne's work of 1695, suggesting an independent transmission of the bladder, based on an autopsy of a preparation of the organ, and not a copy

of Mayerne's crude drawing of it. We know that Beverwijck lay his hands on a shorter version of Mayerne's case report, copied out by Mayerne's acquaintance Brovardus, who also knew Thorius and Morsius. Maybe Brovardus had made a fine, more detailed drawing, after Mayerne's own more sketchy drawing, or Brovardus relied on a more detailed transmission of drawings. At this point, the early history of the bladder's image remains unclear.

Beverwijck provided the picture in 1649, 1651, 1652, 1656, 1660, 1664, and 1672. Brown had it reprinted four times in different print runs of Mayerne's work. So when Almeloveen had the picture printed in his edition of Casaubon's letters in 1709, it was the thirteenth time that the image appeared in print. He had the bladder reproduced just before the text of Thorius's *Epistola* and after ending his long *Casauboni Vita* with the sentence 'it was a unique and hitherto unknown monster of a bladder, probably never before observed by any mortal being. I deemed it necessary to add a picture of it, so that it is clear to everyone.'⁷⁹

7 The Transmissions Converge in 1709

It was only in this third and definite edition of Casaubon's letters of 1709 that the two traditions of Brovardus (in fact Mayerne) and Thorius's *Epistola* and *Narratio* came together, with the image of the bladder. It is this edition that Casaubon's nineteenth-century biographer Mark Pattison relied on.

However, something far more transformative happens in the third edition of Casaubon's letters. The very busy scholar Theodorus Janssonius ab Almeloveen failed to gain fame on account of his classical studies, but he should interest us because he acted as a brilliant networker and facilitator in the Republic of Letters.⁸⁰ He published primarily on *recentiores* and is the first biographer I know of to have written a history of a printers' family: the French house of Estienne or Stephanus, i.e. Casaubon's family-in-law through his wife Florence Estienne. His 1709 edition of Casaubon's letters completely dwarfs the second one: it is much more complete, much larger, but also has much more apparatus, including notes and comments. It also contains the letters of Casaubon's son, in addition to the latter's prefaces to his editions, as well as Casaubon's own

79 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, 60: 'singulare atque incognitum hactenus et forte nemini mortalium unquam observatum vesicae monstrum, cuius effigiem apponere ut unicuique pateat, censui necessarium.'

80 See Stegeman S., *Patronage and Services in the Republic of Letters. The Network of Theodorus Janssonius Van Almeloveen (1657–1712)* (Amsterdam: 2005).

prefaces to many editions of classical texts. And it has a huge *Vita Casauboni*, of no fewer than fifty-two thousand words (32 pages in folio), which cites extensively from Casaubon's letters and *Ephemerides*, which had hitherto been completely ignored (an edition of it appeared only in 1850).⁸¹

Casaubon was thus canonized: Almelooven's massive edition functions as an encyclopedia on Casaubon: it reprints available sources, prints a host of new sources, including previously published 'keys' to identifying anonymous persons mentioned in the letters. There are numerous footnotes in the edition, and the *Vita* cites extensively from source material. Its oversized folios make for a worthy paper funeral slab: a true monument for Casaubon. This work above all others helped to construct Casaubon as an archetypical scholar, a classical philologist who suffered the consequences of a heroically industrious life that was dedicated to, and ultimately consumed by, his work for the greater good of historical truth.

7.1 *The Social Framework of Casaubon's Post-Mortem*

When in 1925 Maurice Halbwachs discussed the social framework of collective memory, he wrote that with the changes in conventions taking place in society, the representation of the past also evolved. Whatever individuals remembered, the collective recollection shows a change in vocabulary and social conventions, in pace with the evolvment of the social environment.⁸² The artificial surrounding is exterior to the individual, but does envelope her and the individual's memories are inscribed in those of this framework; they cannot even exist without it.⁸³ Halbwachs largely spoke of lived personal memories in relation to collective memories, but we have learned that as soon as the framework changes, so do the memories, in particular if those memories are not personal, but are transmitted. In the case of remembering Casaubon, the social framework did change, and this change is likely to have been responsible for the fading away of the memory of Casaubon. What did this social framework look like in the seventeenth century, when Casaubon was widely heralded as a champion of learning?

The first edition of Casaubon's letters had been the initiative of a very authoritative Reformed theologian, André Rivet, but he left it to the classical scholar Gronovius to complete the work. Gronovius delegated the second

81 A new and more complete edition is in the making. See Campagnolo M., "Casaubon's *Ephemerides* as a Companion of Calvinist Ascesis through Labour", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 4.3 (2019) 316–329.

82 Halbwachs M., *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: 1925) 377.

83 Halbwachs M., *La mémoire collective*, ed. G. Namer, with the cooperation of M. Jaisson (Paris: 1997) 107–108.

edition to another German classical scholar, Graevius. The editor of the third edition, Almeloveen, was likewise a classical scholar. Casaubon's bladder, meanwhile, was a case study much repeated by Beverwijck, a Dutch physician who corresponded widely with figures such as Constantijn Huygens, Anna Maria van Schurman, Caspar Barlaeus, Hugo Grotius, and Gerardus Johannes Vossius, i.e., with the philologically minded princes (and one princess) of the Republic of Letters: classical scholars, poets, philosophers. Caspar Bartholin was a theologian and medical scholar, like his son Thomas, who published almost exclusively medical works. Mayerne was 'a man of many projects performing diplomatic tasks for King James, mixing paints for the great artists of his day, and selling cosmetics to the great ladies of the court, all while passionately pursuing the secret of alchemy'.⁸⁴ Evidently, Casaubon was appropriated by classical scholars and medical (alchemical, even) humanists, more than by religious leaders.

The philologists and physicians who remembered Casaubon were of course Reformed stakeholders, but Casaubon's Anglican leanings, his somewhat Arminian sympathies when it comes to the question of royal power over the Protestant church, the fact that he was courted for years by the Jesuits and Gallicans alike, hardly helped to make him into a hard-line orthodox Reformed hero: the Republic of Letters adopted him, not the Reformed church, the synods, the classes or the individual ministers of the word – who all could have done the same thing. Casaubon was appropriated as a scholarly martyr above everything else: his dedication to *studium* is much more pronounced than his dedication to God – even if quick glance at his diary would have convinced anyone that God played a more important role in Casaubon's life than *studium*, because to him all his *studium* was a pious service to God.

The reception of Casaubon centred geographically in Leiden, a place that Casaubon himself had never visited. But Leiden University cast a wide net: Thorius and Brovardus were Flemish physicians in England; Mayerne a French physician in England; Morsius, Gronovius, and Graevius were all German polymaths coming to Leiden (and travelling on to England in Morsius's case). The memory of Casaubon's suffering was upheld and transferred to a next generation in a geographically mobile network of philological and medical scholars from France, Flanders, England, and Germany, circulating the institutional converging point of Leiden University. The character of this intricate network made the memory of Casaubon more resilient. The assemblage of texts and images and the complicated ways in which these were redacted, copied, translated, and reproduced in word and image mirrors the manifold social network as a rich paper tissue of reception. Casaubon's memory was not carried by one

84 Nance, *Mayerne* vii.

clearly defined group of stakeholders, limited in number, but by a network of overlapping disciplines through different media and sources. If the memory of Casaubon was not constructed top-down by the university, nor bottom-up by one individual, then the process came about through a co-creation for which the network acted as a conduit⁸⁵ – the same kind of networks on which the 1638 and 1656 edition of Casaubon's letters drew. Overarching this social and material network was an ecclesiastical history on which the Reformed world grafted its historical identity.

This raises the question of course why the cult of Casaubon seems to have ended after Almeloveen. Whereas his memory was vital during the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century the Republic of Letter's familiar central battlefield of theology informed by philology and history was reoriented towards the new fields of study opened up by new types of natural philosophy. After the *Querelle*, the greatest minds of the Republic of Letters were as much reading the book of nature as the word of God. Certainly, they were doing so from the same motivation to understand their position as men in relation to God, but the competition of this new context made ecclesiastical history into a specialisation, that became increasingly formalised and professionalised under the influence of the likes of Muratori, while biblical philology (not Casaubon's core business) developed into a more and more specialized field of work. This does not mean that ecclesiastical history and classical as well as biblical philology lost their vitality as endeavours, but the self-reflexive awareness of that particular philological community as constituting the key paradigm of knowledge did dwindle, and so did the collective memory of Casaubon and his ordeal. Casaubon never really became part of a 'cultural memory' in the Enlightenment: there was too little support for a 'cult' of commemoration.

It all started so promising: his bladderless body was buried in Westminster Abbey, in what later became the Poet's corner, at the entrance of S. Benedict's chapel. Six bishops, two deans, and almost the whole clergy of the metropolis followed the body.⁸⁶ Eighteen years later a funeral monument was erected, by a friend of Casaubon, who was recently appointed as bishop of Durham. However, in the course of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth, the likes of the 'polyhistor' such as Casaubon, Morsius, Gronovius,

85 Rigney A., "Cultural memory studies: mediation, narrative, and the aesthetic" in Tota A.L. – Hagen T. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies* (Abingdon – New York, NY: 2016) 65–76 (69).

86 According to yet another account, one by bishop Lancelot Andrewes to the Leiden professor of Greek Daniel Heinsius; see Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* 418.

Graevius, and Almeloveen came together in the pedantic classical philologist that was satirized by George Eliot in her novel *Middlemarch*. The 'Mr. Edward Casaubon' she portrayed had little to do with the historical Casaubon, even if that character was inspired by the figure of Casaubon's own biographer Mark Pattison. But 'Mr Casaubon', and in particular the futility of his philological work, tied in with the popular imagination of the 'dry' classical scholar, 'dead from the waist' down.⁸⁷ Casaubon surely suffered great pain from the waist down, but for the seventeenth-century Reformed province of the Republic of Letters he had actually been an example of astounding vitality in fighting at the forefront of the most important controversy of the seventeenth century: the battle field of philologically-undergirded ecclesiastical history.

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87 Nuttall A.D., *Dead from the Waist Down. Scholars and Scholarship in Literature and the Popular Imagination* (New Haven – London: 2003).

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88 Although in this 1663 edition the original treatise *Steen-stuck* still retains its own title, it has now lost its title page and is hardly recognizable as a stand-alone work (starting on page 228), and its chapters (it starts with chapter 28 and ends with chapter 38 on page 287) are continuous with the preceding pages and following pages.

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