

Girolamo Manfredi's *Il Perché*: II. The *Secretum secretorum* and the book's publishing success

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Summary. This article, the second part of a two-part essay on the sources and reception of Manfredi's work, examines the relationship between the *Liber de homine (Il Perché)* written by Girolamo Manfredi and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*. It accounts for the success of the *Liber de homine (Il Perché)* in Italian and Iberian contexts, analysing twenty-six Italian editions produced from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, as well as the only two existing translations, one printed in Catalan (1499) and the other in Spanish (1567, followed by four reprints in the sixteenth century). The existence of the Catalan translation was discovered in 2001 by the authors of this article. The Catalan and Spanish translations do not depend upon each other; moreover, the printed editions exemplify the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century circulation of medical texts in vernacular languages.

Keywords. early printing; *Liber de homine (Il Perché)*; Girolamo Manfredi; medicine; physiognomy; Ps.-Aristotle; *regimen sanitatis*; *Secretum secretorum*; vernacularisation

In the first part of this two-part essay, we introduced this important, widely read medical text as well as its author, and we analysed one of its main sources, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*. In this second part, we will turn to the other sources of Manfredi's work, and we will identify a second major source used by Manfredi: the *Secretum secretorum*, which, like the *Problemata*, was also a pseudo-Aristotelian composition. Manfredi's use of this widely circulated work calls for a deeper study than the one presented here, particularly with regard to motivating factors and relationships with other works and excerpts; thus, this study is only intended as an introduction to the subject. Here it will be suggested that the success of Manfredi's work is due to the fact that he was inspired not only by the pedagogical *Problemata* and the tradition of *regimina sanitatis*, but most particularly by the highly valued and widely diffused

Secretum secretorum. Finally, in closing, a summary will be furnished of the information currently available on the dissemination of *Il Perché* in Italian, Catalan, and Spanish.

Il Perché and the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum secretorum

The first part of this two-part essay ended with this question: what inspired Girolamo Manfredi to unite a health regime and a physiognomy treatise in one volume? It seems that we must look for the answer in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* and the most widely circulated health regimes of the Middle Ages.

The pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* is one of the most common and widely diffused texts of the Middle Ages; it had an enormous circulation between the tenth and seventeenth centuries, and it is known through over six-hundred surviving manuscripts written in numerous languages¹. Its origins are unclear: it can be traced back to an Arabic original composed in the tenth century with the title *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* that was circulated in two versions, a short one and a long one, which seem to stem from a common archetype. The short version, which is the oldest, is divided into seven or eight books (according to the known manuscripts) that constitute a *speculum principis* (mirror of princes), supposedly based on a letter which Aristotle sent to his disciple Alexander the Great for his instruction during the Persian campaign. The long version, which arose during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, took on an encyclopaedic nature upon reaching ten chapters, adding new sections on medicine (including a health regime), astrology, physiognomy, alchemy, numerology, and magic to the earlier moral and political sections.

The two versions of the *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* reached Western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the middle of the twelfth century, Johannes Hispalensis, who worked in Toledo, translated the short version into Latin, which has survived in some 150 manuscripts. A century later, an enigmatic Philip of Tripoli, about whom we only know that he was a cleric in the Latin church of Tripoli (Syria) during the first half of the thirteenth century, translated the long version into Latin with spectacular success, as

¹ For what is written in the follow paragraph, see Ryan and Schmitt, 1982. For the extraordinary diffusion of the work, see Grignaschi, 1980. An updated review of the question is in Williams, 2003; Zamuner, 2005, gives special attention to the Romance language tradition of the text.

proven by the over 350 manuscripts known to exist. Apart from the prologues and the initial letters, the translation by Philip of Tripoli² is made up of political and moral advice, rules of general hygiene, medical advice divided according to the four main parts of the human body (the head, the chest, the eyes and the testicles), a dietary regime, a section on medicinal simples and astrological medicine, and, in conclusion, some chapters on physiognomy, derived partly from the *Physonomia* by Rhazes³. Witnesses to the success of the *Secretum secretorum* are the numerous translations made into various vernacular languages⁴ and the diverse commentaries written on it, including those by Albert the Great and Roger Bacon.

Because of the heterogeneity of the topics it covers and its peculiar structure that easily allows for the suppression of chapters, the translators, adaptors and copyists of this encyclopaedic work have given different meanings to the whole according to the particular selection of chapters they decided upon. We must also bear in mind that sometimes the order of the chapters differs from manuscript to manuscript: some manuscripts in the Italian tradition, for example, place the physiognomy section after the medical section and not at the end of the work, as occurs in the Latin tradition. The *Secretum secretorum* was sometimes presented as a *speculum principis*, as for instance in those manuscripts that compile exclusively the chapters having an ethical or political content. It could be read as a book about the occult sciences in the cases where its alchemical, magical and astrological content was the main interest⁵. Also, it could be understood as a medical work: some of the existing Latin manuscripts contain only the chapters dedicated to hygiene and physiognomy⁶, and we know that French and Italian copyists and translators circulated extracts that contained only medical fragments. There are fragmentary Italian testimonies containing exclusively the

² For the different copies conserved, see Thorndike and Kibre, 1963, col. 267.

³ On the second treatise of the *Liber ad Almansorem*, translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, which circulated autonomously with notable success from the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth century, see Agrimi, 2002, esp. pp. 20 and 104-107. For a general overview on Rhazes, see Jacquart and Micheau, 1990, esp. pp. 55-68.

⁴ The *Secretum Secretorum* was translated into different languages from Latin. We are aware of different translations into Hebrew, Turkish, Russian, Czech, Croat, German, English, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, French and Italian. For the surviving manuscripts in Romance languages, see Zamuner, 2005.

⁵ This was how Roger Bacon understood it in his commentary (*ca.* 1269). See Bacon, 1920. For the relationship between esoterism and science, see Eamon, 1994.

⁶ See *Aristoteles latinus*, 1957, 2, 1305 (*Epistula de dieta*), 2, 1341 (*De signis corporis*) and 2, 1348 (*De regimine sanitatis*). See Ryan and Schmitt, 1982, p. 19, n. 86.

De regimine sanitatis and the *De calore naturali* sections; others contain only the section on physiognomy⁷.

The *Secretum secretorum*, which contributed greatly to reinforcing the link established by Ptolemy between medicine and astrology, was without doubt well known to Girolamo Manfredi, both a doctor and astrologer. It cannot be determined which Latin version he used, or whether he worked instead with an Italian translation⁸, but we cannot rule out the possibility that some fragmentary Latin or Italian version gave him the idea of dividing his work into two large sections, one containing a health regime, and the other a physiognomic treatise; in this regard, it should be remembered that in the Middle Ages, physiognomy was studied above all by physicians, who were often also astrologers and palmists, and who even sometimes acquired fame as magicians⁹. We must also bear in mind that the short version of the *Secretum secretorum*, although focused on moral and political subjects, unites both disciplines in a single chapter¹⁰.

Long before Girolamo Manfredi, the association of these two subjects had already been made in the middle of the thirteenth century by Aldobrandino da Siena in his *Régime du corps*, the first treatise on hygiene to be composed in the vernacular language, and one which attained a noteworthy success, as shown by the sixty-eight French manuscript versions and the translations made into Italian, Catalan, and Flemish¹¹. Aldobrandino da Siena divides his treatise into four large parts: general principles of hygiene, studies of particular organs, dietetics, and physiognomy. The latter is the shortest part and derives, as does the section of the *Secretum secretorum*, from Rhazes. Some of the fragmentary Italian versions contain only the section on physiognomy¹². Moreover, there is another health regime, written in Italian in this case, that

⁷ Ryan and Schmitt, 1982, p. 13. For the ten or so French translations in existence, see Monfrin, 1982, esp. 81-82. We also know that the medical sections of the *Problemata* circulated independently, because we find them in miscellaneous medical manuscripts: see Ventura, 2006, p. 115; and Milani, 2001, pp. 216 and 242.

⁸ The Italian manuscript tradition stems from the different Latin versions compiled from the text by Philip of Tripoli, and the oldest known Italian translation dates from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries. See Zinelli, 2000, and Milani, 2001, note 74.

⁹ Caro Baroja, 1988, p. 63.

¹⁰ In the seventh, dedicated to military strategy, a section on physiognomy is joined with a health regime. In the Spanish translation, for example, we have a “Capítulo de las fechoras de los omnes” (Chapter on the features of men) and a “Capítulo del ordenamiento bueno en pensar del cuerpo” (Chapter on a good regime for caring for the body). See Kasten, 1957, pp. 62-72.

¹¹ Féry-Hue, 1986; Cifuentes, 2002, p. 103.

¹² Zinelli, 2000, p. 545.

relies on the *Problemata Aristotelis* as a source: the *Libreto de tutte le cosse che se mangano* by Michele Savonarola (1385-1466). Savonarola was a professor at the universities of Padua and Ferrara, both of which Manfredi attended¹³.

The circumstances indicated above make it clear that Girolamo Manfredi could have been inspired by works within the tradition to which he contributed. It should be added that many health regimes, like the *Régime du corps* itself, have a section dedicated to the care of the different members and organs of the human body, ordered *a capite ad calcem*¹⁴. For all these reasons, the pairing of a health regime and a treatise on physiognomy must have been, in the end, a natural one according to the perspective of a doctor and astrologer eager to make these branches of academic knowledge more accessible to his late-fifteenth-century public.

There exists a piece of evidence of a textual nature indicating a direct link between the *Il Perché* and the *Secretum secretorum*. In the first chapter of his health regime (I.I.69), in the section dedicated to food, Girolamo Manfredi invoked the authority the doctors of India, who had proved that mixing milk with either acetous substances or fish caused leprosy because the mixture corrupted the blood¹⁵. This quotation is surprising because of its vagueness as well as the geographical area he refers to, and it stands apart from his other citations of authorities: Avicenna, Aristotle, Galen and Ptolemy (the authorities he cited were few, but this is not unusual in a text meant for the wider public, such as was his). The doctors in India had also been invoked as authorities in the *Secretum secretorum*, and here as well this reference is found in a chapter dedicated to diet. Nevertheless, the specific context was rather different, occurring when the *Secretum secretorum*'s author compared the different opinions of a Greek doctor, a "Mede" (i.e. Persian) doctor, and an Indian doctor about the existence of a universal medicine:

Reasonably, the Greek indicated and said that taking any amount of hot water every morning, filling the mouth twice, would render any man healthy so that he would not need any other medicine. The Persian affirmed that it was very good indeed to take millet grains on an empty stomach. The Indian said that if somebody took 5 grains of cumin each day on an empty stomach, that person would not need any other medicine¹⁶.

¹³ Ventura, 2006, p. 119.

¹⁴ Arnaldus de Villanova, 1996; Nicoud, 2007.

¹⁵ Manfredi, 1988, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶ "Sane Grecus indicavit et dixit quod sumere quolibet mane aquam calidam pleno ore bis, ita sanum redderet hominem quod non indigebit alia medicina. Medus vero affirmavit quod jejuno stomacho prodest multum sumere de granis milii. Indus dixit quod si quis

The success of Il Perché: printed editions and translations

Il Perché became an authentic best seller. Manfredi had determined to write a widely accessible treatise on medicine in Italian rather than Latin because the public that was literate in the first language was much greater than the university-trained readership, as indicated in the first part of this paper. We have seen that the first Bologna edition (1474) was followed by two more in the fifteenth century (Naples 1478, Bologna 1497)¹⁷, and by 1650 over twenty editions had been printed, which we can classify into two groups discussed below.

1. *Opera nova intitulata Il Perché, utilissima ad intendere la cagione de molte cose & maximamente alla conservatione della sanità, novamente stampada.*

Editions: Venice, 1507, 1512, 1514¹⁸, 1520¹⁹, 1523, 1524, 1525²⁰, 1532,

sumere .5. grana cimini cotidie jejuno stomacho, alia non indigeret medicina” (Ps.-Aristotle, *Secretum secretorum*, chap. 19, 18-23, according to Bacon, 1920, p. 87).

¹⁷ Galeazzi and Zigiotti, 1989, quote an earlier edition from 1473, which we have not been able to document. It does not appear in Valenziani and Cerulli, 1965, 4, pp. 32-33, notes 6110-19. We believe that, very probably, the identification of this edition is the result of confusion.

¹⁸ *Libro del homo in lingua materna, compilato per misser Hieronymo di Manfredi da Bologna ad utilità et delectatione del genere humano, inelqual dilucida le cause della natura circa la conservatione dela sanità et dele cose se sumeno in cibo et poto, con la compositione del homo per la quale se cognosce naturalmente le bontà et defecti di quello, ditto vulgarmente Perché* (Venice, 1514). Edition quoted only by Galeazzi and Zigiotti, 1989, which does not appear documented in Norton, 1958. There is a copy in Valencia, Biblioteca General i Històrica de la Universitat de València, which we have consulted. After the title of the work by Manfredi there is a male human figure, with lines that show the different parts of the anatomy. In the colophon, above the name of the printer, the price of the volume appears hand written in Catalan, which was bought in Bologna shortly after being printed (“Costà lo present libre en Bolònia VII iugacello, a 16 de febrer de 151?” (The present book costed 7 iugacello in Bologna on 16 february 151?). The last number, which is difficult to read, could be a 4, a 5 or a 7). We are grateful to Rosanna Cantavella (Universitat de València) for providing us with this information. A copy of the 1507 edition is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter PBN).

¹⁹ Some editions have rather different titles, like this one from 1520: *Opera nova intitulata Il Perché, utilissima ad intendere la cagione de molte cose & maximamente alla conservatione della sanità e phisonomia et virtù delle herbe, novamente stampada*, Venice, 1520 (Barcelona, Biblioteca de l’Institut Botànic de Barcelona, hereafter BIB). A copy of the 1524 edition is in PBN.

²⁰ Edition quoted by Galeazzi and Zigiotti, 1989, who, on the other hand, does not include those from Venice, 1524, 1532, 1536 and 1540. This may simply be an error in transcription by both authors.

1536²¹, 1540, 1567²²; Ancona, 1512²³, 1514.

These editions contain a preface in Latin that mentions Girolamo Manfredi as the author of the work, and where it is claimed that the work was translated from Latin into Italian. This is followed by a table of contents with the titles of the chapters and the questions contained in each of them. The first book has seven chapters and the second thirteen, and these contain altogether a total of 568 questions with their respective answers, appearing in the text without divisions of any kind. All later editions are reprints of the *editio princeps* (Bologna, 1474), which already included the aforementioned preface²⁴.

2. Libro intitolato Il Perché, tradotto di latino in italiano dell' eccellente medico & astrologo M. Hieronimo de' Manfredi et dall'istesso in assai luoghi dilucidato & illustrato, con mostrar le cagioni d'infinite cose, appartenenti alla sanità, con la dichiarazione delle virtù d'alcune herbe. Opera utilissima è necessariissima, & di nuovo ristampata e rispurgata da quelle cose che havessero potuto offendere il semplice animo del lettore.

Editions: Venice, 1588, 1591²⁵, 1591²⁶, 1596, 1600, 1607, 1613, 1622, 1629;

²¹ Manfredi, *Opera nova intitolata Il Perché* [...], Venice, 1536 (London, British Library, hereafter LBL). In the title we read 1536; in the colophon, 1526. A copy of the 1540 edition is in PBN.

²² This edition bears the title *Opera nova intitolata Il Perché, utilissima ad intendere la cagione di molte cose & massimamente alla conservazione della sanità & phisonomia et virtù delle herbe, novamente emendata, et purgata de gli errori innumerabili, et nel primo esser suo ridutta et riformata*, Venice, 1567 (Milan, Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lettere e Giurisprudenza, Università degli Studi di Milano, hereafter MLG). We thank Alessandra Veronese (Università di Pisa) for a first examination of the volume preserved in MLG.

²³ It is the first book published in Ancona, by Bernardinus Oliva. Edition only quoted by Galeazzi and Zigiotti, 1989, but documented in Norton, 1958, p. 2.

²⁴ We have checked this in the editions of Ancona from 1514 and Venice from 1523, 1532 and 1536, with copies locatable in LBL (thanks to Carmen Caballero, Universidad de Granada, then at the University College of London, for the enquiries made in this respect); in those of Venice of 1507, 1524 and 1540, conserved in PBN (our thanks this time to Lola Badia); and that of Venice from 1520, with a copy conserved in BIB (whose staff we thank for allowing us to consult it); and in the Venice edition of 1567, from the copy in MLG already mentioned.

²⁵ Edition printed by Giovanni Battista Bonfandino (Barcelona, Biblioteca de la Universitat de Barcelona).

²⁶ Edition printed by Giovanni Fiorina (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, hereafter MBN).

Padua, 1668; Venice, 1678²⁷.

This second group of editions, as the title indicates, is characterized by editorial changes imposed on Manfredi's text. These editions are practically identical to each other, and any variation among them is of little significance.

The first of these, printed by Ventura Salvador, opens with a prologue by the printer addressed to the readers in which he claimed that the author of the work was Aristotle, the Prince of Philosophers, and explained that he had decided to reprint it because it is an important text that gives the answer to many questions. He also justified the manipulations to which the text has been subjected:

Being the work of a gentile, deprived of the light of true faith, I have given it to extremely learned and Catholic persons to cleanse it, and they have returned its health, so to speak. Herewith it can be faithfully read by everyone, without any problems of conscience²⁸.

In fact, this edition and the others in this group contain 110 fewer questions than those in the previous group, a censorship which sprang from the ideological fall-out of the Counter-Reformation. Its influence impacted the content of this work thusly: eighteen questions about sexual matters, eighty-two on physiognomy and palmistry, and another ten on diverse subjects were suppressed²⁹.

In the table – sometimes at the beginning of the text, in other cases at the end – it is stated that the work is divided into eight parts and the chapters are numbered in each of them, with their respective titles³⁰. After the table, the text begins with these words: “Opera intitulata il Perché, utilissima ad intendere le cagione de molte cose, & massimamente alla conservatione della sanità, & cognitione delle virtù dell’herbe [...]” (A book entitled *The Reason Why*,

²⁷ These two last editions have a somewhat different title: *Il novo lume dell’arte overo Il Perche, opera copiosa di varie cognitioni, cioè osservation per la sanità, qualità de cibi, virtù dell’herbe, fisonomia, secreti mirabili, qualità de l’arie, paesi e città, et altre, etc., dell’Eccll. Medico & astrologo il sig. Gieronimo de Manfredi*, Venice, 1678 (MBN).

²⁸ “Et essendo opera composta da un Gentile privo del lume della vera fede, l’ho data à ripurgare à persone dottissime, & catolichissime, le quali le hanno restituito veramente (per dir così) la sanità. La onde per lo adietro potrà esser fidelmente letto da tutti, senza alcuna sorte di scropolo” (Manfredi, 1988, p. 17).

²⁹ See Galeazzi and Zigiotti, 1989, which compares the Ancona edition of 1512 and the Venice edition of 1588.

³⁰ This description is based on the copy of the 1588 edition conserved in MBN, that we consulted personally.

extremely useful for understanding the reasons for many things, especially regarding the preservation of health and the knowledge of the properties of herbs [...]). The eight parts are divided clearly in the text. The first six correspond to the health regime and the remaining two to the treatise on physiognomy. This group of editions also contains the usual fragment in verse in the first part, and a woodcut illustration of the different parts of the human body in the fourth part³¹. After the last *perché*, there is a fragment that does not appear in the editions in the earlier group: a recipe entitled, “Unguento da viso qual usava la Regina de Ungaria, cosa eccellente” (Ointment for the face which was used by the Queen of Hungary, an excellent thing).

Given its vigorous publishing campaign, it is hardly surprising that *Il Perché* exercised an influence that extended beyond the medical field and outside the geographical area of Italy. We know that its physiognomic section constituted one of Leonardo da Vinci's sources of anatomical knowledge³², and that it circulated in the Iberian Peninsula both in Catalan as well as Spanish (in the latter language it came out in multiple reprints that testify to its great popularity).

The existence of a Catalan translation was unknown for a long time. Brian Lawn indicated only the existence of a Spanish translation, although he cautiously refrained from excluding the possible existence of others:

A Spanish translation appeared c. 1570 from the pen of Pedro de Ribas, which was also frequently reprinted; but, as far as I know, the work was never translated into any other language³³.

Now, however, we know that a Catalan translation was made. Printed by Pere Posa in Barcelona in 1499, the Catalan translation attributed the work to Albertus Magnus, and the name of Girolamo Manfredi appears nowhere in it³⁴. On 2r, where a summary of the work is laid out, we read:

Here starts the *Quesits o perquens* of the reverent master Albert the Great, of the order of the Preachers and Archbishop of Cologne, master in arts and sacred theology and most excellent philosopher. In this book marvellous secrets are revealed, both about things concerning the preservation of life and

³¹ The woodcut illustration is found on 159r of the 1588 edition (MBN) and on 160r of the 1591 edition, printed by Giovanni Battista Bonfandino. In the 1600 edition (160r) this woodcut represents just a small human head (MBN). The other 1591 edition, printed by Giovanni Fiorina, contains no woodcut illustrations.

³² See Laurenza, 1997, 1998, esp. pp. 13-20. Cherchi, 2007, studies the relation existend between the burlesc dialogue *La cazzaria* (1530-40) by Antonio Vignali and *Il Perché*.

³³ Lwan, 1963, p. 112.

³⁴ Carré and Cifuentes, 2001.

health in men and about human composition and physiognomy. The present book is divided in two parts: the first on things concerning the preservation of life and health in men; the second, on things concerning human composition and physiognomy. And each part is divided in chapters and each chapter in queries or questions and the solutions to these, as follows³⁵.

As a consequence of the cloaking of the work's true authorship, it has been erroneously identified and catalogued in all the bibliographic reference works, from the earliest, such as that by Francisco Méndez (1796), to the current catalogues of incunabula; it was even included in Konrad Haebler's classical repertoire³⁶. The mistake is not surprising, as no one had undertaken a study of the Catalan edition in depth until 2001, and thus the authors of those reference works often too quickly identified it with the apocryphal *Secreta Alberti*. In our earlier work³⁷, we showed that the text published by Pere Posa constitutes a translation into Catalan of Manfredi's *Il Perché*, and that this translation was made from the Italian edition printed in Naples by Francesco del Tупpo in 1478³⁸. Proof of this is not only the shared attribution to Albertus Magnus³⁹, but also the direct

³⁵ "Comèncan los *Quesits o perquens* del reverent mestre Albert Gran, de l'orde de Freres Predicadors e archebisbe de Colunya, mestre en arts e en sacra theologia, e philosoph excel·lentissim. En lo qual libre declara maravellosos secrets tant de les coses pertinents a la conservació de la vida e sanitat de l'home quant a la composició e phisonomia humana. E és partit lo present libre en dues parts: la primera és de les coses circa la conservació de la vida e sanitat de l'home; la segona, de les coses circa la composició e phisonomia de aquell. E cascuna part és divisa per capitols, e los capitols per quesits o demandes ab les solucions de aquelles segons se segueix." (Manfredi, 2004, p. 78)

³⁶ Méndez, 1796, 58, note 43; Haebler, 1903-1917, 1, note 10, "Albertus Magnus, Quesits"; Sanpere i Miquel, 1904-1905, 4, p. 94; Copinger, 1895-1902, 2.2, p. 296, note 205a; Aguiló i Fuster, 1923, note 241; *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 1925-1938, 1, note 674; Klebs, 1938, note 18.08; Vindel, 1945-1951, 1 (*Cataluña*), note 141; García Romero, 1921, p. 12, note 6; Palau i Dulcet, 1948-1977, 1, note 5205; Sosa, 1973, note 15; López Piñero *et al.*, 1981-1986, note 33; Palanca Pons and Gómez Gómez, 1981, note 263; García Craviotto, 1988-1990, nota 201; and Torra and Lamarca, 1995, note 25.

³⁷ Carré and Cifuentes, 2001.

³⁸ About Del Tупpo, see Farenga, 1960-, with extensive bibliography; and Ryder, 1990, p. 330. For the publishing activity of Del Tупpo, see esp. Fava and Bresciano, 1991-1992, 1, pp. 28-46 and 2, pp. 36-67; De Frede, 1955; and Santoro, 1984, pp. 39-43.

³⁹ "INCOMENZA EL LIBRO chiamato della uita costumi natura & omne altra cosa pertinente tanto alla conseruazione della sanità dellomo quanto alle cause et cose humane, composto per Alberto Magno, filosofo excellentissimo. Lege feliciter" (Here starts the book called *On the life, customs and every other thing concerning both the preservation of health in men and the human causes and matters*, composed by Albert the Great, most excellent philosopher. Read happily) (Hellings, 1992-, Unit 13, MI 95, 1v).

relation between the texts of the Naples edition and the Barcelona edition when compared with the Bolognese *editio princeps*. The following table offers some examples from the first part of the book:

Comparison of the first italian editions with the catalan translation		
Bologna, 1474	Naples, 1478	Barcelona, 1499
quando tocha <i>il corpo</i> (I, V.20)	quando tocha <i>il corpo</i> <i>nudo</i>	quant toca <i>lo cors nuu</i> (I, IV.20)
il buono <i>dal superfluo</i> ; <i>consequentemente</i> tanto più tosto se sca- zia fuora e cussi per il contrario (I, V.40)	il buono <i>dal superfluo</i> & <i>esso superfluo conse-</i> <i>quentemente</i> tanto più tosto se scazia fuora e cussi per il contrario	lo bo <i>del superfluu</i> <i>e lo supèrfluu con-</i> <i>següentment</i> pus tost se foragita e axí per lo contrari (I, IV.40)
imperò che la natura quanto <i>più</i> la ritiene (I, V.81)	imperò che la natura quanto <i>più puo</i> la ritiene	per ço com la natura quant <i>més pot</i> la reté (I, IV.81)
La seconda è la mol- titudine del'humido <i>radicale e substantifico</i> (I, VI.40)	La seconda è la mol- titudine del'humido <i>radicale substantifico</i>	La segona es la multi- tut del humit <i>radical</i> <i>substantifich</i> (I, V.40)

The reason why the name of Girolamo Manfredi was suppressed in the Naples edition of his *Liber de homine. Il Perché* and in its place appeared the name of the great German Dominican is not known; we will suggest a hypothesis to explain this occurrence. In the first place, we know that the *Omnes homines* (see part I) was ascribed to Albertus Magnus in four manuscript versions⁴⁰. Also, the Dominican was the author of a work with the same title as Manfredi's and the *De homine* by Albertus constitutes one of the two parts of his *Summa de creaturis* (which contains the *De quatuor coævis* and the *De homine*), written around 1245-1250 and printed during

⁴⁰ The attribution is not surprising as the compiler of the *Omnes homines*, as well as Salernitan questions and *De animalibus* by Aristotle, also used *De animalibus* and the *Quæstiones super De animalibus* by Albertus Magnus (Lawn, 1963, pp. 102-103). See Goldstein-Préaud, 1981.

the Renaissance (Venice, 1498, 1519). This work is considered, together with others by the same author (*De bono*, *De sacramentis* and *De resurrectione*), to form part of an authentic theological *summa*. It is a work which, obviously, has nothing to do with Girolamo Manfredi's treatise⁴¹. However, we know for certain that this work by Albertus Magnus circulated in the Kingdom of Naples and that precisely when Del Tuppo was preparing his edition of Manfredi's treatise, one of the copies was at the centre of an extensive public dispute between several individuals on the one hand, and King Ferrante I on the other (1477)⁴². We may wonder whether the "student"⁴³ Francesco del Tuppo possibly became confused or, perhaps better, whether we are witnessing one of those editorial manoeuvres that were so common in the first years of the printing press. Del Tuppo may have thought that Girolamo Manfredi's book would sell much better in Naples if it was printed in the name of a celebrated author like Albertus, above all after the king himself had so publicly demonstrated his interest in that author's *De homine* – a point which Del Tuppo does not fail to mention in the book's dedication:

You [Bernardino Geraldini] are a faithful student of every virtue, but in order to avoid prolixity in words, I send you the work of the singular philosopher Albert the Great, which I have had printed at your expense by my

⁴¹ Hain, 1826-38, note 572, classified the edition by Francesco del Tuppo with the works by Albertus Magnus under the title *Il libro della vita, costumi, natura [...]*, but without identifying it with any of the writings by the Dominican of Cologne. On the other hand, Goff, 1973, p. 401, placed it correctly in the section dedicated to Girolamo Manfredi and pointed out that the attribution to Albertus Magnus was false. On the *Summa de creaturis*, see Gilson, 1944; Klebs, 1938, note 27; and Stillwell, 1970, note 568. In modern times it has only been published in Albertus Magnus, 1890-1999, 34, pp. 307-798 (*Prima pars de quatuor coæquævis, scilicet materia prima, tempore, coelo, et Angelo*) and 35, pp. 1-661 (*Secunda pars, quæ est de homine*). On the work of Albertus Magnus, see the collection of studies in Weisheipl, 1980.

⁴² The manuscript "*Allibertus* [sic] *Magnus De homine*," which ended up in the hands of King Ferrante, is quoted by De Marinis, 1947-1953, 2, pp. 263-266, note 528bis. Possibly this very book was sent by King Alfonso II of Naples to Lorenzo de' Medici, according to the inventory drawn up by the humanist Fabio Vigile di Spoleto around 1508-1513 (*Index regalium codicum Alfonsi Regis ad Laurentium Medicem, ex Neapolitana eius Bibliotheca transmissus hoc ordine*, no. 286 among the books on natural philosophy; see *ibid.*, 2, p. 198, Inventarium B). Later, this book, like many others, passed into the hands of the king of France and today it is catalogued as PBN, Lat. 6522 (MS from the fifteenth century described in *ibid.*, 7-8). For more details, see Carré and Cifuentes, 2001, pp. 557-560.

⁴³ Del Tuppo studied logic, philosophy and theology, but never gained the degree of doctor, so in many of his editions, including the one we are studying, he classifies himself as *legum studens*.

faithful German. Here you will be able to speculate on the subject of human health, the knowledge of mortals, useful and harmful food and everything that is for the living to understand. It is a book so dear to the Most Sacred King that he said so with his own mouth, and he called it a book of all science, and even if woven in the mother tongue, nonetheless it is ornamented with most singular secrets; and as you were concerned with justice, you have tenderly attended to the health of your subjects. Be well and triumph⁴⁴.

The *Liber de homine. Il Perché* was also translated into Spanish, the language in which it was printed in Zaragoza in 1567 and on four more occasions throughout the second half of the sixteenth century⁴⁵. With the title *Libro llamado El Porqué, provechosísimo para la conservación de la salud y para conocer la phisonomía y las virtudes de las yerbas*, it was translated from “Tuscan” into Spanish by Pedro de Ribas, vicar of the parish of San Nicolás de Bari in Zaragoza, who dedicated his work to Zaragoza’s Archbishop, Fernando de Aragón (1498-1575). The following editions of this translation have been traced so far⁴⁶:

Year of publication	Place of publication	Printer
1567	Zaragoza	Juan Millán
1581	Madrid	Francisco Sánchez
1587	Alcalá de Henares	Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica
1598	Madrid	Pedro Madrigal
1598	Madrid	Pedro Madrigal

⁴⁴ “Tu [Bernardino Geraldini] siei de omne uertu alupno fidelissimo, ma per non extenderme in prolisità de parole te mando el filosofo singulare Alberto Magno quale alla despesa tua ho facto da fidelissimi mei Germani imprimere. In el quale la salute humana, la cognitione de mortali, li cibi utili et dapnusi porrai speculare et omne cosa che ad uiuente pertenga intendere. E uno libro tanto caro al Sacratissimo Re che con la sua bocha a affermato e chiamolo libro dopne scientia et anchora che in materno sermone sia textuto puro e de singularissimi secreti ornati, et como sei stato auido della iustitia così alla sanità delli regniculi ai teneramente uacato. Uale et triumphā” (dedicatory epistle reproduced by Fava and Bresciano, 1991-1992, 2, p. 49).

⁴⁵ López Piñero *et al.*, 1981-1986, notes 954-59; López Piñero *et al.*, 1987-1996, notes 339-44; and, particularly, Carré and Cifuentes, 2006. See also the critical edition of the text in Manfredi, 2009.

⁴⁶ Palau i Dulcet, 1948-1977, 7, p. 553. Pérez Pastor, 1970, 1, p. 71, notes 147-148, also includes an edition supposedly printed in Madrid in 1579, which, as we stated in Carré and Cifuentes, 2006, is the result of confusion.

Like the Catalan translation, these five identical editions (the latter four are simply reprints of the first) do not contain Manfredi's name. Nevertheless, the Spanish translation has nothing to do with the Catalan one. As proof of this there is not only the statement by Pedro de Ribas who says he worked from an Italian text, as we have seen, but also the presence of a question in the treatise on physiognomy that appears in the Italian and Spanish text but not in the Catalan translation⁴⁷:

II.I.31. Why does hair heat up the head, being by nature cold and dry, and, similarly, why do they burn so fast?

Hair heats up the head accidentally, because it amplifies and retains the natural heat of the head, tightly and compactly, as do clothes worn around the body. They burn and heat up fast because they are thin in substance⁴⁸.

There is additional evidence of the circulation of Manfredi's work in an Iberian context from both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. A German student or traveller in Spain in 1605 drew up a list of Spanish books he wanted to read, among which was the *El Porqué*⁴⁹. A later notice demonstrated that a copy of the Italian edition printed in Venice in 1678 was in the library of the Catalan monastery of Sant Feliu de Guíxols in 1785⁵⁰.

* * *

Il Perché by Girolamo Manfredi, printed in its original Italian on three occasions in the fifteenth century, printed more than twenty times du-

⁴⁷ Manfredi, 2009, p. 110.

⁴⁸ "II. I. 31. Perché i capelli rescaldano il capo, essendo di sua natura freda e sicca, e similmente tosto se accendono? El capillo rescalda il capo accidentalmente, in quanto reverbera e ritiene il caldo naturale del capo stretto e unito, come fa le veste che sonno atorno il corpo. Tosto se accendono e se rescaldano perché sonno de substantia sottile" (Manfredi, 1988, p. 186).

"¿Porqué los cabellos calientan la cabeça, siendo de su naturaleza fríos y secos, y semejantemente presto se encienden? El cabello calienta la cabeça accidentalmente en quanto reverbera y detiene el calor natural de la cabeça apretado y unito, como hazen las vestiduras que están alrededor del cuerpo. Presto se encienden y calientan porque son de sustancia delgada" (Manfredi, 2009, 110).

⁴⁹ Cátedra García, 1988, p. 52.

⁵⁰ "El Porqué de todas las cosas. 1 tomo 12.º p.^a romana. Venetia 1678 (italiano)" (The Reason for All Things. 1 volume 12.º roman page. Venice 1678 [Italian]), under the heading "Autores incógnitos" (Unknown authors); see Batlle i Prats, 1970-1971, p. 225.

ring the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, translated into Catalan and Spanish during the years of the first printing press, and reprinted repeatedly in Spanish, demonstrates the success achieved in Western Europe by scientific works written or translated into vernacular languages. The conditions were ripe for this: if on the one hand there was a clear demand for this kind of book from diverse social and professional groups, on the other hand there were printers, booksellers and even publishers willing to risk their money on a product which appealed to a sure and growing market. With their wide linguistic dominions – and thus wide markets – and with the support of political rulers that was a source of social prestige, the Italian and Spanish publishing industries enjoyed considerable power, which helps explain the abundance of Italian and Spanish editions of Manfredi's text. By contrast, the single existing edition in Catalan nevertheless bears witness to the rising vernacularisation of science in this more limited linguistic area, which occurred hand in hand with the development of the publishing business. Despite the complex and extensive impact that the Catalan language had upon this process, as has been demonstrated in recent studies⁵¹, and despite the early appearance of this language in the world of the printed book as a useful vehicle for the dissemination of scientific knowledge, it suffered an increasing setback during the first third of the sixteenth century from which it would not recover. Circumstances linked to publishing and commerce – especially the overwhelming impact of the free market in such a reduced market – and circumstances of a political and social nature – such as the recent loss of its own quasi-court – reinforced each other and ultimately affect the linguistic habits of the public that took an interest in the kind of vernacular texts which Manfredi's work represents.

The public outside the university, most of whom were not physicians, valued Manfredi's work as a practical means of gaining access to Galenic medical knowledge in the language they spoke. For them, the markedly pedagogical question-and-answer format, the preventive-medicine approach underlying the 'non-natural things', and the compilation of so much useful knowledge combined into a single work were all very appealing. No doubt, this appeal had been cleverly planned by Girolamo Manfredi when he based his work on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, drawing from the tradition of *regimina sanitatis* and, perhaps to an even greater degree, the *Secretum secretorum*, all of which were renowned among the public described above.

⁵¹ Cifuentes, 1999, 2002.

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