

The Vesalius *Epitome of De Humani Corporis Fabrica* of 1543: A Worldwide Census with New Findings

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Abstract

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The purpose of this study is to confirm the locations of known copies and find previously unreported copies in most countries of the world of the first edition (1543) *Epitome of De Humani Corporis Fabrica* authored by Andreas Vesalius in Latin and the German translation.

The locations of the two previous studies have been updated, and contacts were made at numerous institutions of higher learning, museums, and libraries.

A total of 125 copies of the 1543 *Epitome* were recorded. Of these copies, 109 were present in a total of 82 universities and institutional libraries in the world. Besides confirming the presence of the *Epitome* at the previously recorded sites, we have found that 95 were published in Latin and 30 in German, all dated 1543 and one additional dated 1555.

Private copies of the *Epitome*, which are very few (4%), were more difficult to locate.

1 Introduction

1.1 Andreas Vesalius' treatise, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, is considered the greatest work on anatomy ever produced. First published in Basel by the publisher Johannes Oporinus in 1543 when the Flemish Vesalius was only twenty-nine years old, the *Fabrica* changed the science of anatomy and the manner which it was taught and standardized the anatomical representation for the next two hundred years. Vesalius critically reexamined Galen's twelve-hundred-year-old anatomical text, which had been derived largely from the study of animals, and established the dissected human body as the reference point for anatomy. Vesalius anatomy was based on firsthand observation and he conducted the demonstrations himself rather than using an assistant.

1.2 Five years before he produced the treatise, Vesalius published, at the request of his students, six large illustrations, *Tabulae Anatomicae Sex* (1538), based on his dissections. Three of the drawings were done under Vesalius' supervision by Joannes Stephanus of Calcar, a pupil of Titian (c.1488–1576). It is also widely believed that Calcar is responsible for at least some of the illustrations in the 1543 *Epitome*, such as the three skeletons and the muscle-men.

1.3 Presented in an elegant style with classical references, Vesalius' illustrations used the woodblock technique of printing. The *Fabrica* contains some 660 pages and over 200 illustrations which were produced under Vesalius' personal supervision. The result was a detailed and easily recognizable representation of the body showing the structure of bones and muscles. A series of animated skeletons posing in outdoor landscapes are often juxtaposed with commonly recognized symbols of death, such as a tomb or a shroud. One of Vesalius' skeletal figures is shown in a melancholic position contemplating a skull placed upon a tomb and reprises a common *vanitas* motif, "What I am now, you soon will be."

Simultaneously with the *Fabrica*, Vesalius edited a succinct compendium which he called *Epitome*. It became available on August 13, 1543 with a price that was considerably lower than the *Fabrica*.

Vesalius had planned this much smaller separate edition much earlier in Italy. This is apparent from the fact that he dedicated it appropriately to the emperor's son, Prince Philip. The thin volume was to serve as an introduction to the *Fabrica*, a footpath along the high road of the greater books. It was meant not only for students of medicine but also for artists too.

1.4 The Latin *Epitome* consists of 14 pages of text printed on royal paper, with 75 lines each, and 9 large sheets of illustrations that are even larger than those in the *Fabrica*. Some plates are larger due to captions around the illustrations. In fact, the *Fabrica* contains two oversized plates—in the latter, at the last moment, two plates were inserted which were originally destined for the *Epitome*. The pages are larger than the *Fabrica* format and so had to be folded in half. The first twelve sheets were printed on both sides, but the last two leaves were printed on only one side to be cut out and pasted together for a three-dimensional display of the anatomy. These latter sheets are often lacking as a result.

1.5 In a short note to the reader at the bottom of the frontispiece, Vesalius explains that one may study the *Epitome* in two ways: beginning either with the text or with the illustrations. If one follows the latter course, one should begin with the two large nudes, a man and a woman, commonly called Adam and Eve. The man holds a skull in his left hand and the woman chastely covers the pubic area with her right hand. These figures are placed in the middle of the *Epitome*, after the text are several illustrations. The reader, therefore, has to turn the pages back from these plates. On the reverse side of the page showing Adam, one finds a standing skeleton. Turning the leaves further back toward the text, one finds several male anatomical figures, with a further layer of muscle removed in each illustration. Going forward from the illustration of Eve, two sheets appear with prints of the brain and nerves, as well as the extra sheets that need to be cut out, and two additional blank sheets.

The *Epitome* was not necessarily intended to be bound so that students or artists could attach the large plates (56 cm high by 41 cm wide) to the walls of their rooms, though one does find printed instructions for assembling the sheets if they are to be bound.

1.6 Two months after the appearance of the *Epitome*, Oporinus' office issued a German translation (*Von Des Menschen Cörper Anatomey*), made by the University Rector Albanus Torinus (Albanus zum Thor). The translation seems to have been exceedingly difficult as the German language did not have the adequate words for many anatomical terms. Torinus dedicated the translation to the Duke of Württemberg whom he served as a physician. The Duke praised the author pointing out that Vesalius had compressed into a few pages what Galen had spread over twenty-seven books. Although the German *Epitome* was directly translated from Latin and printed on the same type and size of paper, the two editions vary greatly (see Table 1).¹ The German edition is printed in gothic typeface while the Latin is in roman Basel type. The title section of the frontispiece does not

feature Andreas Vesalius' name as prominently as in the Latin edition and relegates it after the title in a smaller font size. In the copy studied, the dedication from the Duke of Württemberg precedes the original to Prince Philip and is dated August 5, 1543, written just four days before the book went to print.² Due to the larger font size and additional space needed for the translation, nearly all of the legends for the figures were printed on separate pages in the German edition and not on the margins around the illustration as in the Latin *Epitome*. This extended the entire length of the work to 19 sheets. Because the legends could not fill the entire sheet, the German edition incorporated 13 additional figures from the *Fabrica*, including two cuts depicting a

dissected abdomen and four figures of the heart. Finally, the woodcut of the skeleton features a German inscription on the column instead of the Latin hexameters. This inscription does not match that in Andreas Maschenbauer's *Zergliederung dess Menschlichen Cörpers*, first printed in 1706, which uses the same woodblocks. In addition, the sheet with the skeleton also includes an illustration of the vagina and the uterus from page 381 of the *Fabrica* along with a description of the figure at the bottom of the page. It is no surprise that Cushing thought that the German edition "must have presented a considerable(y) more difficult task for the compositor even than the Latin issue, which...was highly complicated and confusing in itself."³

Table 1: Notable Differences Between the Latin and the German Edition of the 1543 Vesalius *Epitome*

Number	Item	Difference
1	Font	Latin = Roman; German = Gothic
2	Frontispiece	Different layout for title; Andreas Vesalius' name is not as prominently featured in the German edition compared with the Latin edition
3	Portrait	Follows frontispiece in the German edition; follows Chapter 6 in the Latin edition
4	Illuminated letters	The German edition utilizes two unique letters, D and W, for the dedication pages and capital I and small D, S, A, and E were taken from the <i>Fabrica</i> ; the Latin edition uses capital T and O as well as small L, Q, O, C, I, and H, all from the <i>Fabrica</i>
5	Dedication chapter	The Latin edition includes a dedication to Prince Philip (later Philip II of Spain) dated August 13, 1542; the German edition first includes a dedication to the Duke of Württemberg dated August 5, 1543 signed by Albanus zum Thor followed by the dedication to Prince Philip
6	Chapter 2	The heading is confined to the second column in the German edition while it spreads across the page and includes a complete break in text in the Latin edition

¹ Vesalius, A. (1543). *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Librorum Epitome*. Basel: Oporinus, Wellcome Library. Retrieved from http://film.wellcome.ac.uk:15151/MaryToft/6565_F.pdf. ; Vesalius, A. (1543) *Von des menschen coerpers Anatomey* (A. Torinus, Trans.). Basel: Oporinus. (Original work published 1543). Retrieved from http://www.e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/titleinfo/691196.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cushing, Harvey. (1962). *A bio-bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*. Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, 113-114.

Number	Item	Difference
7	First figure	The Latin edition utilizes margin for character legend; the German edition margins are blank, a separate page is designated for all figure legends, with the exception of the Adam and Eve figure
8	First figure legend	The German edition has a completely separate page, which also includes four figures of the fetus from page 382 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description
9	Second figure	The Latin edition utilizes margin for character legend; the German edition margins are blank, larger font size is selected for the title
10	Second figure legend	The German edition has a completely separate page, which also includes four figures of the heart from page 565–567 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description
11	Third figure	The Latin edition utilizes margin for character legend; the German edition margins are blank, larger font size is selected for the title
12	Third figure legend	The German edition has a completely separate page, which also includes a figure of the uterus and ovaries from page 380 of the <i>Fabrica</i>
13	Fourth figure legend	The German edition has a completely separate page, which also includes a figure of a dissected abdomen from page 377 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description
14	Fourth figure	The Latin edition utilizes margin for character legend; the German edition margins are blank, larger font size is selected for the title
15	Fifth figure	The Latin edition utilizes margin for character legend; the German margins are blank, larger font size is selected for the title
16	Skeleton legend	Awkwardly placed as the figure does not appear until 2 pages later; also includes a dissected abdomen from page 378 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description
17	Fifth figure legend	The German edition has a completely separate page, which also includes a figure of the mesentery from page 364 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description
18	Skeleton figure	The German edition has a unique inscription on the column. It also includes a figure of the uterus and vagina from page 381 of the <i>Fabrica</i> along with a description of the block that runs along the bottom of the page

19	Adam and Eve figures	Cushing notes some omissions of Greek synonyms from the Adam text, but otherwise it is a German translation of the Latin in nearly an identical layout
20	Cutout figures	Their order is reversed in the German edition compared with the Latin edition; the lettering and legends for each cutout are on separate pages, adding 3 pages, including some spillover from Adam and Eve, versus 1 page in the Latin edition
21	Cutout 1 (Latin)	In the German edition, text runs across the bottom of the page; title in the German edition is actually smaller than in the Latin Edition
22	Cutout 2 (Latin)	In the German edition, figures are pushed to the margins of the page on the right-hand side; title in the German is actually smaller than in the Latin edition
23	Cutout 3 (Latin)	Title is larger in the German edition when compared with the Latin edition, the marginal legend in the German edition is missing; both editions do include a colophon
24	Print dates	Latin = June 1543; German = August 9, 1543
25	Length	Latin = 14 sheets; German = 19 sheets

The number of copies that were printed of the 1543 *Fabrica* and *Epitome* by Oporinus is unknown. The *Fabrica* and the *Epitome* were often sold together, although the *Epitome* was much smaller (-14 leaves), cost less, and often used in practice by students, artists, and physicians. It was sold unbound and with cutouts and was sometimes used as a wall chart. The *Epitome* has fewer existing copies than the *Fabrica*, and copies of the *Epitome* are much rarer to find in the antiquarian and rare book industry.

Harvey Cushing (1943) lists 22 known copies of the *Epitome* and Pozeg and Flamm (2009) found an additional 11 copies for a total of 33 (Table 2)⁴. We also report on the various countries where the books are to be found and detail some unusual aspects discovered.

2 Methods

2.1 The development of the Internet has helped greatly in searching several hundred institutions in a matter of several months. Internet catalogs such as WorldCat, American Library Association, Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), and LISTSERVs (CADUCEUS-L and MEDLIB-L) were of great help. Sending letters of inquiry to libraries not yet online, consulting with dealers and collectors, making telephone calls, and checking faxes of auction records, original catalogs, and other books were all vital to the collection and collation of information.

⁴ Cushing, 112; Pozeg, Z. I., & Flamm, E. S. (2009). Vesalius and the 1543 *Epitome* of his *De humani corporis fabrica librorum*: a uniquely illuminated copy. *Papers. Bibliographical Society of America*, 103(2), 219-220.

Table 2: Comparison of Previous Censuses of the First Edition (1543) Vesalius Latin and German *Epitomes*

Census	Number uncovered
<u>Latin <i>Epitome</i></u>	
Cushing (1943)	22
Flamm and Pozeg (2009)	33
Joffe (2015)	95*
<u>German <i>Epitome</i></u>	
Cushing (1943)	8
Joffe (2015)	30
*Includes lost or destroyed and private copies	

2.2 The method of researching copies held in institutions and libraries was relatively straightforward. Once it was ascertained which institutions owned a 1543 *Epitome*, requests were sent to the relevant librarians for any additional bibliographical details that did not appear in the online catalogs.

This included asking for confirmation of the presence of the edition, number of copies held, past ownership, type of binding, condition of the book, completeness of pages, bookplates present, previous owners, location and bookshelf call numbers, photographs (if possible), and any other relevant information.

2.3 The completion of this catalog owes much to the help of librarians who conducted their own investigations, comments, and cross-references of information. In addition, all of the listed locations by Cushing (1943) and Pozeg and Flamm (2009) were contacted to confirm the presence of the book. Discovering copies held in private collections was more involved. Auction houses were more discreet regarding the purchasing client's identity.

3 Results

3.1 Results are presented in a

geographical listing. Where available the call number or shelf mark for the various locations is given in each table.

Cushing states that he found 22 copies in Latin and 8 copies in German of the first edition (1543) *Epitome* with additional copies found late by Flamm and Pozeg giving a total of 33.⁵

The current census has found 125 copies of the *Epitome*. Of these, 109 were present in a total of 82 institutions and universities. Duplicate Latin copies were held by twelve institutions, one institution (Harvard) held two German copies and two Latin copies, and fourteen other institutions held both Latin and German copies.

The Latin edition of 1543 accounts for 95 copies (76%) while the German edition accounts for 30 copies (24%). Four Latin copies and one German copy are privately owned. Ten copies were either sold at auction or by dealers or destroyed or lost.

3.2 Geographically approximately 74% of the Latin Editions are still in European Institutions with 14 copies in Italy (23%), 12 in Germany (20%), 9 in the United Kingdom (15%), 6 in France (10%), and 5 in Holland (8%) (Table 3). In the United States there are 21 copies, and one copy in Canada, which make up the remaining 26% (Table 4).

⁵ Cushing, 115; Pozeg and Flamm, 219-220.

Table 3: Latin Copies of the First Edition (1543) Vesalius *Epitome* in Europe

Institution	Location	Call number
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Vienna, Austria	*69.B.56
Royal Library	Brussels, Belgium	RL, II 42.418e lp
National Library	Prague, Czech Republic	18 A1
Cambridge University Library	Cambridge, England	CCF.46.36
British Library	London, England	C.18.e.4
Royal College of Physicians	London, England	22204
Royal College of Surgeons	London, England	
Wellcome Library	London, England	6565/F
Bodleian Library	Oxford, England	Antiq.a.GS.1543.1
Corpus Christi College Library	Oxford, England	
Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon	Besancon, France	11374
Bibliothèque municipale de Macon	Macon, France	28 Havard
Bibliothèque municipale de Nantes	Nantes, France	14728
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; Bibliothèque nationale de France	Paris, France	FOL-S-975
Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé	Paris, France	9863
Bibliothèque nationale de France, site	Paris, France	Reserve JF - 2 -
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin	Berlin, Germany	392.(-).Fol.
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz	Berlin, Germany	gr.2" Kt 7625
Deutsche Zentralbibliothek für Medizin	Cologne, Germany	WE 269
Deutsche Zentralbibliothek für Medizin	Cologne, Germany	WE 269
Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden	Dresden, Germany	Signatur Anat.A.20; Barcode 32887821
Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden	Dresden, Germany	Signatur 1.C.206; Barcode 34232768
Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg	Erlangen, Germany	H61/2 TREW.B 29
Bibliotheca Albertina	Leipzig, Germany	Anat. 65
Universitätsbibliothek	Marburg, Germany	Rara.gr.2o.Yf.617
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Munich, Germany	Rar 747
Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek RheinMain	Wiesbaden, Germany	Rara Gr 2o Yf 617
Herzog August Bibliothek	Wolfenbüttel, Germany	M: Mb 2° 29a liegend
Biblioteca Scientifche degli Istituti Ortopedici Rizzoli	Bologna, Italy	16 b I 3
Biblioteca Universitaria	Bologna, Italy	A.5. FF.1. 6
Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica	Cremona, Italy	FA.Ab.6.16
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	Florence, Italy	MAGL.5._.258
Biblioteca Berio	Genoa, Italy	
Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense	Milan, Italy	AB. 15. 0035
Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III	Naples, Italy	3.2.4VI.J.13
Biblioteca antica V. Pinali	Padua, Italy	STM.DUCC.IV.F.-4: PINALI 12651 EX

Biblioteca antica V. Pinali	Padua, Italy	STM.DUCC.IV.F.14: PINALI 8425 EX 7952
Biblioteca Universitaria	Pavia, Italy	61.S.23
Biblioteca Universitaria	Pisa, Italy	
Ca' Foscari Fondo Storico	Venice, Italy	ANTICHI 11.A.19
Marciana	Venice, Italy	ANT 1840
Marciana	Venice, Italy	D221 D20
Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam	Amsterdam, Netherlands	OTM: OL 63-1089
Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam	Amsterdam, Netherlands	OTM: OF 06-857 (1).
Leiden University Library	Leiden, Netherlands	1402 C 11
Koninklijke Bibliotheek	The Hague, Netherlands	KW 1043 B 3
Utrecht University Library	Utrecht, Netherlands	M fol 92 LK (Rariora)
Jagiellonian University	Krakow, Poland	fol HH.I.10
Biblioteca Centrala Universitara Lucian Blaga	Cluj, Romania	4383
University of Glasgow Library	Glasgow, Scotland	Sp Coll Hunterian Ay.2.14
University of Glasgow Library	Glasgow, Scotland	Sp Coll Hunterian Ce.1.18
Palacio Real	Madrid, Spain	VIII/M/169
Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial	Madrid, Spain	RBME 28-I-17 (1 ^o)
Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial	Madrid, Spain	RBME 28-I-17 (2 ^o)
Catedral Archivo y Biblioteca	Toledo, Spain	TO-BCT, 79-1
Hagströmer Library	Stockholm, Sweden	
University Library Waller Collection	Uppsala, Sweden	
University Library Waller Collection	Uppsala, Sweden	
Universitätsbibliothek Basel	Basel, Switzerland	LB I 17:1 Folio
Universitätsbibliothek Basel	Basel, Switzerland	LB I 19 Folio
Universität Bern – Bibliothek vonRoll	Bern, Switzerland	ZB Kp I 69
Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana St.Gallen	Sankt Gallen, Switzerland	VadSig L 567

Table 4: Latin Copies of the First Edition (1543) Vesalius <i>Epitome</i> in Institutions and Universities in North America		
Institution	Location	Call number
McGill University Library	Montreal, Canada	WZ 240 V575s 1543
University of Alabama Birmingham	Birmingham, AL	
University of Alabama Birmingham	Birmingham, AL	
University of California Berkeley	Berkeley, CA	ff QM21.V45 1543
University of California Los Angeles	Los Angeles, CA	WZ 240 V631d 1543
Yale University	New Haven, CT	16th cent Vesalius VI.B-1 ++
Yale University	New Haven, CT	16th cent Vesalius VI.B-1 ++ c. 2

Library of Congress	Washington, D.C.	QM21.V425 Rosenwald Coll Copy 1
University of Iowa	Iowa City, IA	FOLIO QM21 .V425
University of Chicago	Chicago, IL	QM21.V425 1543
University of Kansas Medical Center	Kansas City, KS	WZ 240 V575e 1543
Harvard University Library	Cambridge, MA	Typ 565.43.869
Harvard University Library	Cambridge, MA	QM25;.V63
National Library of Medicine	Bethesda, MD	2295009R
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, MI	QM 21.V54
Duke University	Durham, NC	Vesalius c.1
Syracuse University	Syracuse, NY	QM21.V425 1543 ff
Columbia University	New York, NY	QM21.V47 1543 FF
University of Rochester	Rochester, NY	Vault Port- folio VS7S 1S43
New York Academy of Medicine	New York, NY	
College of Physicians Library	Philadelphia, PA	ZAd 25; 32241001720327
Moody Medical Library	Galveston, TX	WZ 240 V575dhZ 1543

In relation to the German edition, 64% are in Europe and 36% are in the United States. (44%) have remained in Germany while two are in Italy (13%) (Table 5). Seven of the 16 German-translated copies

Table 5: German Copies of the First Edition (1543) Vesalius *Epitome* in Institutions in Europe and the United States, Private Collectors and Dealers, and Destroyed In Europe

Institution	Location	Call number
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek	Vienna, Austria	69.B.56
Royal Library	Brussels, Belgium	RL, LP 3823 C
University Library	Tartu, Estonia	R V 1918:6597
Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz	Berlin, Germany	an:gr.2" Kt 7625
Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn	Bonn, Germany	
Kunst und Museumsbibliothek	Cologne, Germany	
Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg	Erlangen, Germany	H61/2 TREW.B 28
Bibliotheca Albertina	Leipzig, Germany	VI 5003
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek	Munich, Germany	Rar 747
Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek	Weimar, Germany	Ku 2° III R – 85
Biblioteca Universitaria	Pavia, Italy	50.N.3
Vatican Library	Rome, Italy	Stamp.Pal.S.
University of Glasgow Library	Glasgow, Scotland	Sp Coll Hunterian
Hagströmer Library	Stockholm, Sweden	QW Liggfol. 122 KIB
Universitätsbibliothek	Basel, Switzerland	LB I 17:2 Folio

<u>In the United States and Canada</u>		
Institution	Location	Call Number
Huntington Library	San Marino, CA	
Stanford School of Medicine; Lane Medical Library	Stanford, CA	E21H.V57E6 1543
Yale University	New Haven, CT	16th cent Vesalius VI.B-2 ++
Harvard University Library	Cambridge, MA	Typ 565.43.869
Harvard University Library	Cambridge, MA	QM25.V63G3
Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, MD	Vault.V575de 1543Bg
National Library of Medicine	Bethesda, MD	
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	Minneapolis, MN	Flat WZ240 V575a 1543e
Columbia University	New York, NY	QM21.V471 1543 FF
University of Toronto (Thomas Fisher Library)	Toronto, Canada	jah ff 00072
<u>In private collectors and dealers</u>		
Institution	Location	Call number
Sotheby's	London, England	
Private Collection	New York, NY	
<u>Missing or destroyed</u>		
Institution	Location	Call number
Louvain University Library	Louvain, Belgium	
Leopoldina	Halle, Germany	
Universitätsbibliothek	Munich, Germany	0001/2 Med. 673

There are a total of 72 institutions and universities with Latin editions of which 53 (73%) are in Europe and 19 (27%) are in the United States. Twenty-five German editions were found in 24 institutions of which 15 (63%) copies are in Europe, 9 (37%) in the United States, and one in Canada. Many institutions have duplicate copies, especially in Germany and Italy, of both Latin and German *Epitomes*.

Determining the completeness of the sets and whether they are bound or not has been more difficult. We believe that majority of the sets

are incomplete especially as the last two “cutout” pages exist in very few copies.

Private collections account for very few copies. We have found only four Latin copies and one German copy that are privately owned (4%). An additional private copy in the USA has been reported to us and an additional 10 copies are still missing. Of these, 5 were lost or destroyed while 5 were sold by dealers and auction houses in the past.

4 Discussion

4.1 Second Edition *Epitome*

As we continued to uncover an increasing amount of Latin *Epitomes* in both Europe and the United States, we hoped to discover another example of a second edition *Epitome*. As noted by Cushing, the only example that he or other scholars had come across was in the collection of Dr. Erik Waller of Stockholm Sweden (now at the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek's Waller Collection in Uppsala, Sweden) which possessed an M sheet with a colophon dated 1555; the sheet also included the star and crescent watermark, which is indicative of the paper utilized in the second edition *Fabrica*. All of the other sheets bore the watermark of the earlier German and Latin editions. Cushing concluded that "the colophon-leaf M had been reset and printed on a sheet of the paper being used for the 1555 *Fabrica*. This newly printed...leaf M has been substituted for the original leaf in a set of the leaves for the *Epitome* printed in 1543, possibly taken...from some unsold remainders."⁶ He noted that it was peculiar that only one copy has surfaced and that "other examples may in time come to light" if it was printed in a similar run as the earlier Latin and German *Epitomes*.⁷ However, given the exorbitant additional costs of the thicker paper, typeset, and new frontispiece and illuminated letters for the second edition *Fabrica*, Cushing did not believe that Oporinus would have been able to produce a companion edition of the *Epitome*.⁸ Therefore, Cushing believes that if no other copies are uncovered, Oporinus may have had created a few copies of the second edition *Epitome* as a "trial balloon" or template, with only one surviving.⁹ Given the significant amount of copies unearthed in this most recent census, we must conclude that the second edition *Epitome* was never produced en masse and that another copy will probably not surface.

4.2 Louvain University and Copies of the Latin *Epitome* Printed on Vellum

The library of the Catholic University of

Louvain originally dates to the mid-seventeenth century, although the college can trace its origins back to a papal decree of Pope Martin V in 1425. By 1914, the library's collection boasted over 250,000 volumes, including a copy of the Latin *Epitome* that was printed on vellum, one of only three of its kind, as Cushing explains.¹⁰ Spread or unusual copies are defined as special bindings printed on vellum, colored preferably in contemporary style, and with evidence of being owned by prominent individuals including royalty.

The other copies are now housed in the British Library and University of Glasgow Library respectively. Subsequently, a fourth example was uncovered by Flamm and Pozeg in their 2009 census at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial in Madrid, Spain. This copy was bound together with another Latin *Epitome* and is considered as a candidate for the Philip II dedication copy given its connection to the Escorial Library, which was known to have received a portion of King Charles V's library and was also built by a decree of Philip II.¹¹

As for the Louvain copy, in August 1914, the German army crossed through the neutral Belgium in order to invade France. Claiming that they were under fire by a civilian-led resistance movement, the Germans retreated to Louvain where they subsequently burned the majority of the town over a five-day period.

The burning of the library led to an international outcry as well as support for rebuilding following the Great War or First World War. The library was rebuilt by American architect Whitney Warren in a neo-Renaissance style and officially reopened in 1928. The library received book donations from all over the world, including a significant amount from Germany.

⁶ Cushing, 115.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Cushing, 116.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Cushing, 112.

¹¹ Pozeg and Flamm, 215

An article of the Treaty of Versailles specified that Germany donated thirteen million marks worth of books to the library in reparation for the burning.¹² By 1939, the library's collection had expanded to include over 900,000 volumes. In 1940, the German army once again invaded Louvain and the library was subjected to another extensive fire. We assume that a casualty of this attack was a copy of the German *Epitome* that Cushing had included in his census in 1939, which was most likely received through the reparation article noted above. It is not currently listed in the Louvain University Library's catalog.

Following the Second World War, the shell of the rebuilt library was restored and the library now houses over a million volumes in its collection.

4.3 Individual Copies

The British Library boasts one of the three copies that Cushing noted as being printed on vellum. Cushing also thought that its provenance could be traced to the esteemed collection of English physician Richard Mead, whose extensive library was sold off over a period of a year, including this copy which was sold to a "Ball" and subsequently ended up in the collection of the British Museum.¹³

Of the few private collectors identified specifically by name in Cushing's biobibliography on Vesalius, Dr. Josiah C. Trent was among the handful listed in the index of recorded copies. Following his death in 1961, his widow, Mary Duke Biddle Trent Semans, donated the bulk of his collection to Duke University, including a Latin *Epitome*. The catalog record reveals that the copy was probably purchased by Dr. Trent from LeRoy Crummer's collection as evidenced by the bookplates.

Harvard's Houghton Library boasts a rare instance of a bound set of both German and Latin edition, one of only two of its kind that

we came across globally. It is bound in contemporary vellum and had been intended to be handled as a book as the sheets showed little wear to the folds compared to the majority of copies we came across.

Another notable copy that we came across in our search is a Latin edition from the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England, which includes some partially colored illustrations as well as a set of hand-drawn anatomical illustrations on small slips of paper that were affixed to a larger piece of paper and interleaved in with the *Epitome* plates.

4.4 Recent Sales

In 2014, the antiquarian book dealers Martayan Lan from New York (Catalog 50) and Erasmushaus from Basel (Catalog 928) sold to a private collector in Scotland a Latin *Epitome* complete with all the woodcuts including a horizontal crease in the center of all 14 printed pages where it was once folded and now bound in contemporary vellum with the title penned on the front cover. The previous provenance is not known but is thought to have originated from a French collection.

Christies (London), in July 2015, auctioned (Sale Number 10455, Lot 173) a damaged copy of the Latin *Epitome* that was presumed to belong to the physician Hans Sloane (1666–1753) and had a British Museum octagonal stamp. The other Sloane copy in vellum remains in the British Library.

5 Conclusion

5.1 This article presents an updated list of the 125 copies including 95 in Latin and 30 in German of Andreas Vesalius' 1543 edition of the *Epitome of De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. At present a total of 109 editions are held in 82 university and institutional libraries in the world.

¹² Treaty of Versailles, Ger.-U.S.-U.K.- Fr.-It.-Jap., June 28, 1919, Article 247.

¹³ Cushing, 112.

5.2 Most of the original editions recorded by Cushing in 1943 and Pozeg and Flamm in 2009 are still present in the original collections. In this study we have found a fourfold increase in locations of both Latin and German editions.

5.3 It is estimated that over the last 470 years since it was published, nearly half of the 1543 edition of the *Epitome* have survived and, of these, majority are in university and public institutional libraries with very few remaining in private collections.

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