



EUI Working Papers

MWP 2009/20
MAX WEBER PROGRAMME

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IN 16TH CENTURY ROME

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ISSN 1830-7728

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Printed in Italy
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy
www.eui.eu
cadmus.eui.eu

Abstract

The paper focus on the sojourn in Rome of the Spanish anatomist Juan de Valverd. His role, both within the Spanish community and the political and cultural framework of the city, will be examined in various places of the urban context, to show the way in which he built his professional identity within Roman medical circles and he had been integrated into its polycentric system of scientific patronage. His cultural background and his professional activities will be examined in order to understand how he contributed to the development of medical knowledge and practice in the city and how his experience took part in the constitution of an anatomical knowledge between two horizons, the Roman and the Spanish. By examining this scientific and professional personality and his insertion in the Roman setting, I would shed light on a specific aspects of a wider history of meeting between Rome and Spain.

Keywords

Juan Valverde, 16th century Rome, urban medical system, anatomy, relationship between Rome and Spain.

Considerando Illustrissimo Señor la gran falta, que la nación nuestra tiene de hombres, que entienda la Anatomia: assi por ser cosa fea entre Españoles, despedaçar los cuerpos muertos, compo por aver pocos, que venía à Italia, donde la podrian deprender, no huelguen antes de ocuparse en otros exercícios que en este, por no estar acostumbrados, a se sigue a toda la nacion Española, part per los Cirujanos (a quíen mas falta haze no entenderla) saber poco latín, parte por aver escrito el Vesalio tan escuramente, que con dificultad puede ser entendido, sino de aquellos que primero algunas vezes an tenído el cuerpo delante de sus ojos, y muy buen maestro que se le declare; pareciame cosa muy conveniente, escrivir esta historia en nuestra lenque; porque aquellos para quíen ya la escrivó pudiessen mejor gozar de mi fatiga: y porque an escrito tan largamente tantos, que no me parecía ser necessarios nuevo trabajo. Pero mirando por otra parte las pocas cosas de dotrina, que en esta lengua ay escritas: y juntamente la poca autorídad que entre Españoles las cosas de Roma ce tienen: no se me alcavan los braços a hazerlo, hasta que el mandado de vuestra Señoria illustrissima (al qual yo come críado no podía replicar) me forço a que dexado a parte todo lo que deste mi trabajo qualquier mal considerando juvizio pudiesse dezir, mirase solo al que vuestra Señoria mandava¹.

A “Medical Spanish Rome”?

Recent studies of Rome as a cultural and scientific capital of the early modern world have shown how the city was an important centre of scientific research and activity. As part of this renewed interest, the latest results of which can be seen in two very recent books,² a lot of emphasis has been placed on the “cosmopolitan” dimension of scientific activity. There have been various surveys of foreigners in the Eternal City, both resident and transitory, which incorporate recent methodological proposals on issues such as the circulation of scientific techniques, practices and knowledge, from an urban science historical perspective.³

It is out of this historical context that I would like to focus on the sojourn in Rome of the Spanish anatomist Juan Valverde (1525?-1588?), from about 1549 to his death,⁴ in relation to the structures of ‘Medical Spanish Rome’,⁵ and on his contribution to the construction of an anatomical knowledge between two horizons, the Roman and the Spanish.

Many works, not least the celebrated *Spanish Rome* by Th. J. Dandeleet, have recently focused on the “intense human traffic between the two peninsulas” and have shown how “this traffic gave rise

¹ Juan Valverde, *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano*, Rome, Antonio Salamanca y Antonio Lafrerij : en casa de Antonio Blado, 1556, Dedication to the Cardinal Juan de Toledo, f. *iir.

² A. Romano (ed.), *Rome et la science entre Renaissance et Lumières*, Ecole Française de Rome (*Collection*), 2008, pp. 207-255 and J. Krayer and M. P. Donato (eds.), *Conflicting Duties. Science in early-modern Rome*, Warburg Institute, forthcoming in 2009.

³ One of the round tables within the framework of the Research Programme « Rome et la science » has been dedicated to « Les savants Etrangers à Rome, entre Contre-Réforme et Lumières », (Rome, 9-10 June 2003). Since then the topic has been analysed thoroughly in several articles from different perspectives. See in particular A. Romano, “Mathematics and philosophy at Trinità dei Monti: Emmanuel Maignan and his legacy between Rome and France in the second half of the seventeenth century”, in *Conflicting duties*, pp. 000-000; A. Romano- S. Van Damme, ‘Rome et Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles’, in *Les Lieux de savoir*, ed. C. Jacob., vol. 1, Paris, 2007, pp. 1165-1184 ; G. Montègre, “Un pas vers la mesure du monde : le voyage scientifique français à Rome et à la quête de l’Antique dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle », in *Rome et la science*, pp. 153-169 ou S. Brevaglieri, « Science, books and censorship in the academy of the Lincei. Johannes Faber as Cultural Mediator », in *Conflicting Duties*, forthcoming.

⁴ Valverde probably died in 1588, see F. Guerra, « Juan de Valverde de Amusco », *Clio Medica*, 2, 1967, p. 339-362: 348 and the documents he provides.

⁵ Andrea Carlino has been the first scholar to consider the relationship between the Spanish anatomist and the Spanish network in Rome that he defined as a “tessuto connettivo d’identità nazionale che si diversifica e si intensifica attraverso rapporti personali, professionali e, addirittura, di vicinato” (« Tre piste per l’Anatomia di Juan de Valverde. Logiche d’edizione, solidarietà nazionale e cultura artistica a Roma nel Rinascimento », *MEFRIM*, 114-2002-2, pp. 513-541). But his analysis is more focused on the importance of these ties for the realization of Valverde’s book than for his activity in Rome.

to innumerable chains of encounter, influence and (occasionally) conflict”.⁶ Nevertheless in this very broad sphere of historical studies examining relations between Italy and the Spanish community in Rome in the early modern era, the medical presence has never been seriously considered. In fact, while several social groups (notably, diplomats) have been studied, the presence of Spanish physicians in Rome has never been explored, either in relation to specific figures or at the level of macro-analysis.⁷ In spite of this attention paid it, many sources in this field attest to the existence of a heavy traffic in human capital and knowledge between the two cities and, especially, an influx of Spanish physicians bound for pontifical Rome. These Spanish physicians were part of a migrant population, which, during the early modern era moved to Rome for various reasons, primarily of a religious and professional nature. For example, between the end of the fifteenth- and beginning of the sixteenth-century, several Jewish doctors came to Rome from Spain following the expulsions of 1492. These played a very important part in the translation of the medical classics undertaken in the city, often with papal support.⁸

The establishment of a ghetto in Rome and more generally the repressive measures adopted by Paul IV contained in the bull *Cum nimis absurdum* (1555), which prohibited Jewish doctors from treating Catholic patients, stemmed this migratory flow.⁹ However, in the era that followed, numerous *conversos* travelled to a city where the social and religious norms that regulated access to the profession, were less coercive than the Spanish ones regarding the *limpieza de sangre*.¹⁰ There were other reasons why physicians moved to Rome. Often they wished to complete their training, or to find their way in the medical market place. In terms of the many career openings offered by the pontifical and cardinal courts, the numerous hospitals and other medical institutions. These were often already well-established and in pursuit of new and prestigious career moves. The “cultural infrastructures” of the city and its libraries, first and foremost that of the Vatican, as well as collections and printing houses, provided further encouragement.¹¹ A fundamental role was also played by the polycentric urban system which has been the subject of many recent studies and which corresponded to multiple networks of scientific and cultural patronage.¹²

The period in which Juan de Valverde was active in Rome is significant for several reasons. First, it marks a pivotal moment in relations between Rome and the Catholic monarchy, during which a shift in dynamics was under way. Recent research, especially that of M.A. Visceglia, has shown how in the early modern era it is possible to speak of two Spanish Romes.¹³ A first distinctive phase in Roman-Spanish relations began with the Borgia pope (1492) and ended with the papacy of Paul IV Carafa (1555-1559), three years after the coronation in Spain of Philip II (1556). This period was shaped by abrupt about-turns in Italian politics, complex Spanish affairs from the death of Isabel to the accession of Charles V, uncertainty over the outcome of the struggles for Italian hegemony, alongside expectations of reform in the Church. Spanish Rome was made up of a constellation of sub-communities, which differed from each other according to provenance (Castilian, Valencian,

⁶ J. S. Amelang, “Exchanges between Italy and Spain : Culture and Religion”, in Th. Dandeleit and J.A. Marino (eds.), *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society and Religion 1500-1700*, Leiden-Boston 2007 pp. 433-455: 433

⁷ There is only a general survey provided by G. Olagüe de Rose, “I rapporti della medicina spagnola ed italiana durante il Rinascimento”, *Medicina nei secoli*, vol. 5, 2 (1993), pp. 175-194.

⁸ Among them Samuele Sarfati, physician of Jules II (G. Marini, *Degli architri pontifici*, Rome, 1784, I, pp. 290-297) and Jacob Mantinus, physician of Clement VII and Paul III (V. Ravà, *Di due documenti inediti relativi al medico e filosofo ebreo Jacob Mantino*, Casale, 1903).

⁹ *Bollarium Romanum Cher.*, I, pp. 591-592.

¹⁰ Olagüe de Rose, *I rapporti della medicina spagnola ed italiana* p. 177.

¹¹ M. Caffiero, M. P. Donato, A. Romano, *De la catholicité post-tridentine à la République Romaine. Splendeurs et misères des intellectuels courtoisants*, in *Naples, Rome, Florence*, pp. 171-242 (178-192).

¹² See in particular R. Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca*, Rome-Bari, 1990; M. A. Visceglia, *Burocrazia, mobilità sociale e patronage alla corte di Roma tra cinque e seicento. Alcuni aspetti del recente dibattito storiografico e prospettive di ricerca*, in “Roma Moderna e Contemporanea”, III, 1995/1, p. 11-55; I. Fosi, *All'ombra dei Barberini. Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca*, Rome, 1997.

¹³ M. A. Visceglia, “Roma e la Monarchia Cattolica nell’età dell’egemonia spagnola”, in C.J. Hernando Sánchez, (ed), *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna*, Madrid, 2007, p. 53-77.

Aragonese...). The communities reflected the internal dynamics of the Iberian peninsula, and the religious orientation of their members (see not only the Spanish Jewish community, but also the ongoing presence of messianic, prophetic and heretical strands in Rome: the Alumbrados and Valdesian communities etc.).¹⁴ With Paul IV's papacy and the coronation of Philip II, the question of the Spanish succession was resolved and the picture changed radically. After a year of crisis – the so-called “Carafa War” (1556-1557) that ended in Spanish victory¹⁵ – the two powers forged extremely close political, religious and economic links, which Dandelelet defines (although his interpretation is now challenged) as the “Spanish domination of Rome”; at the same time, the Spanish community became more compact and acquired greater weight and visibility at the community level.¹⁶ As Manuel Vaquero Pineiro emphasized, beginning in 1561, there was a “period of renewed economic vigour, whose development, however, would lead to the affirmation of completely different behavioural principles and criteria”.¹⁷

The period of this paper, spanned by Valverde's Roman sojourn, captures this transition. The complex dynamics between Rome and the Spanish monarchy had a significant impact both on the influx of people to Rome from the Iberian peninsula, and on the Spanish community in the city. During this period that this community underwent a process of institutionalisation with the establishment of specific structures such as the *Congregation of the Resurrection* and the acquisition of greater influence on the Roman political and cultural stage, in part due to the presence of noted Spanish cardinals such as Bartolomé de la Cueva y Toledo (1499-1562) and Juan Alvarez de Toledo (1488-1557). Protectors of hospitals, the minds behind cultural circles, patrons who sponsored the writing of fundamental works on anatomy and medicine, were vital to the development of medicine in the city. In the mid-sixteenth-century, the Spanish community was equipped with several of its own institutions, including some that played a role in the city's medical life. There were two Spanish hospitals in the city: *Santa Maria di Monserrato* for the subjects of the crown of Aragon, and *San Giacomo* and *San Idelfonso degli Spagnoli* for the Castilians.¹⁸ In the latter, in 1561, the post of “permanent” physician was created, “with an annual salary of 12 *escudos* that included, amongst other things, the obligation to ‘visit and treat *infirmos domus et hospitalium Sancti Iacobi*’”.

In addition to these hospitals, the Spanish community distinguished itself through its many charitable activities.¹⁹ Many works were established in Rome by people of Spanish nationality. In fact, the intervention of notable Spaniards living in the city proved to be decisive for the development of many institutions, as was certainly the case of the Hospital de' Pazerelli, established in 1548 on the initiative of three Spanish nationals close to the Society of Jesus.²⁰ Moreover, the attention paid by the Society and by Ignatius of Loyola in particular to various forms of medicine (from the reflection on medicine contained in the *Constitutiones* to his own relations with central figures on the Roman medical scene, such as Alessandro Petroni (†1585)), led to the arrival and extended stay of leading medical figures of Spanish origin, such as Balthazar de Torres (1518-1561). Personal physician to Ignatius, Torres practised as a physician before joining the Jesuits and once inside the Society, thanks to a special pontifical dispensation granted by Paul III (1534-1549). Torres also continued to teach mathematics in the *Collegio Romano*.²¹

¹⁴ “Italy played a leading role as a source of religious dissent in Spain, within a wide-ranging, two-way trade in spiritual ideas and practices”, Amelang, *Exchanges between Italy and Spain*, p. 440.

¹⁵ On the “Carafa war”, see P. Nores, “La guerra carafesca, ossia guerra degli Spagnoli contro il papa Paolo IV”, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, s. I, t. 12 (1847), pp. 1-49. See also L. Fernández y Fernández de Retana, *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, vol. XXII.I, Madrid, 1981, pp. 405-432.

¹⁶ Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*. On this period see also, J. Martínez Millán & C.J. De Carlos Morales (eds.), *Felipe II (1527-1598). La configuración de la monarquía hispana*, Junta de Castilla y León, 1998, pp. 74-79.

¹⁷ M. Vaquero Pineiro, *L'Ospedale della nazione castiglianana in Roma*, dans RMC, 1 (1993), pp. 57-81 : 72.

¹⁸ Ivi. pp. 57-81.

¹⁹ J. Fernandez Alonso, *Las iglesias nacionales de Espana en Roma, sus origenes*, in *Antologica Annua*, IV, 1956 (pg. 17-48), J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale...*, I, pg. 189- ; Vaquero Pineiro, *L'ospedale della nazione castigliana*, RMC, I (1993), pg. 57-82.

²⁰ L. Roscioni, *Il governo della follia. Ospedali, medici e pazzi nell'età moderna*, Milan, 2003, pp. 25-29.

²¹ On the Jesuit doctor Balthazar de Torres, see *Diccionario Historico de la Compañía de Jesús*, éd. Ch. E. O'Neill et J. M. Domínguez, I, Rome, 2001, p. 3818. On teaching activities within the Collegio Romano, see A. Romano, *La Contre-Réforme*

The central decades of the 16th century were also a vital time for the Roman medical system, which must be considered within the framework of the reorganisation of the Papal State.²² Julius III (1550-1555) decreed university reform and this was undertaken. This envisaged greater supervision of university activities, which for the medical faculty at least, guaranteed unprecedented teaching continuity for several years.²³ New courses were introduced including one on anatomy (1552). The College of Physicians, the supreme authority on medical activities in the city and Papal State, completed a systematic review of the statutes (of which, unfortunately, we have no direct trace), reformed the medical licensing system and edited new *Capitula Concordiae* with the surgeons and the apothecaries.²⁴ Several other centres of medical activity, such as hospitals, were founded or renovated at this time. This period was also an important time for the development of medical learning in Rome. Several major medical classics were translated (in particular, the *Opera Omnia* by Hippocrates, edited by the humanist Fabio Calvo (d. ca. 1527) that came to light in 1549)²⁵. The city's anatomical studies, in the university and especially in the many hospitals, were in full swing.²⁶ Between 1548 and 1565 the city was host to anatomists of the calibre of Bartolomeo Eustachi (1524- 1574).²⁷ Important anatomical treatises were published by Roman printers or were based on researches that took place in the city.²⁸

So Valverde's sojourn in Rome took place in a significant period both for the Spanish Community and for the development of medical activities. However, in his professional life, like other contemporaries, his arrival in the Holy City was only the last step of a longer *peregrinatio*.

The long way to Rome

Juan Valverde de Amusco, after completing his humanist and philosophical studies in Valladolid, or in Palencia, chose, like many of his fellow Spaniards, to complete his training in the Italian peninsula.²⁹

(Contd.)

mathématique. Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique jésuite à la Renaissance, Rome, 1999, pp. 71–82 ; R. Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano*, Rome, 1954, pp. 326, 329, 335 ; M. Scaduto, 'Il matematico F. Maurolico e i Gesuiti', *Archivum Historicum S.I.*, 18, 1949, pp. 126-166.

²² For a reconstruction of the Roman medical environment in the 16th century, see Elisa Andretta, *Le scalpel de Pierre. Médecine et médecins à Rome au XVI^e siècle*, PhD Thesis, EHESS/Università La Sapienza, 2007.

²³ F.M. Renazzi, *Storia dell'Università degli studi di Roma detta comunemente La Sapienza*, Rome, , 1803-1806 is still the only extensive reconstruction of the activities of the Roman University. Some very interesting questions have been opened by the collective work *Roma e lo Studio Urbis* edited by P. Cherubini, Rome, 1992.

²⁴ On the history of the Roman College of Physicians, see F. Garofalo, *Quattro secoli di vita del protomedicato e del Collegio dei medici di Roma (Regesto dei documenti dal 1471 al 1870)*, Rome, 1950 ; A.L. Bonella, *La professione medica a Roma tra sei e settecento*, in C.M. Travaglini (ed.), *Corporazioni e gruppi professionali a Roma tra XVI e XIX secolo*, RMC, VI.3, 1998, pp. 349-366; L. A. Braconi, 'Materiali d'archivio per la storia del Collegio medico romano nel Seicento e nel Settecento', *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 4, 2000, pp. 27–38; A. Esposito, 'Note sulla professione medica a Roma. Il ruolo del Collegio Medico alla fine del Quattrocento', *RMC*, 13, 2005, pp. 21–52.

²⁵ Hippocrates, *Opera omnia. Per M. Fabium Calvum Rhavennatem virum doctissimum Latinitate donata, nunc primum in lucem aedita, quo nihil humano generi salubris fieri potuit*, Rome, 1549.

²⁶ On anatomical activities in 16th century Rome, and in particular on the teaching of anatomy within the university, see A. Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo. Libri e dissezione nel Rinascimento*, Torino, 1994, p. 89-97.

²⁷ On Bartolomeo Eustachi, see A. Portal, *Histoire de l'anatomie et de la chirurgie*, Parigi, 1770-1773, I, pp.608-634; G. Panelli, *Memorie degli uomini illustri e chiari in medicina del Piceno*, Ascoli 1757-1768, II, pp. 56-00 ; *Memorie e documenti riguardanti Bartolomeo Eustachi nel quarto centenario della nascita*, Fabriano, 1913; G. Bilancioni, *Bartolomeo Eustachi*, Firenze, 1913; P. Capparoni, *Profili bio-bibliografici di medici e naturalisti celebri italiani dal secolo XV al secolo XVIII*, Roma 1925, I, pp. 31-36; A. Pazzini, *Le Tavole anatomiche di Bartolomeo Eustachi*, Rome 1944, pp.13-79; *Bartolomeo Eustachi 1574-1974*, San Severino, 1974; L. Belloni, *Bartolomeo Eustachi, anatomico del '500 a lume di recenti ricerche*, «Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences», 29 (1979), pp. 5-10; M. Mucillo, *Bartolomeo Eustachi*, DBI, 42, (1993), pp. 531-536; S. Fortuna, *Bartolomeo Eustachio († 1574), medico e anatomista di San Severino*, in G. Danieli (ed.), *Uomini e luoghi della cultura nelle Marche*, Ancona, 2004, pp. 9-24.

²⁸ Galen, *De ossibus. Ferdinando Balanio Siculo interprete*, Rome, 1535; R. Colombo, *De re anatomica*, Venice, 1559; B. Eustachi, *Opuscula anatomica. Quorum numerum et argumenta aversa pagina indicabit*, Venice, 1563 (and 1564); A. Piccolomini, *Anatomicæ Prælectiones... explicantes mirificam corporis humani fabricam : et quae animae virse, quibus corporis partibus, tanquam instrumentis, ad suas obeundas actiones, utantur; sicuti tota anima, toto corpore*, Roma, 1585 (and 1586).

²⁹ For the biography of Valverde see F. Guerra, « Juan Valverde de Amusco », *Clio Medica*, 2, 1967, p. 339-362; C. Fernández Ruiz, *Estudio biográfico sobre el Dr. D. Juan Valverde, gran anatómico del siglo XVI, y su obra*, "Clínica y

G. Olagiù de Rose and V. Busacchi have provided precise data on the presence of Spanish students in Siena, Pisa, Padua and especially Bologna, where the College of *San Clemente degli Spagnoli* founded by Cardinal Carillo Albornoz in 1367 and still active in the sixteenth-century, provided accommodation and subsidies.³⁰ According to this research, the movement of students towards Italy continued even after the isolationist decrees promulgated by Philip II (1557-1559) which prohibited Spaniards from studying in foreign universities, but did not directly concern the Italian universities.³¹ Without the registers of the *degrees*, which other universities maintained, it is impossible to provide precise estimates for the Roman University. From what little evidence there is, however, we know that while the *Studium Urbis* could not boast the prestige of more well-established universities like those in Padua or Bologna, it was nonetheless an important step in the *peregrinatio studiorum* for future doctors from various areas in Europe and the Spanish peninsula in particular, especially in relation to anatomical studies. The biographies of Bartolomeo Eustachi agree in claiming that students from all over Europe, including those from Reformist countries, flocked to Rome to witness his dissections, like the Dutch Calvinist Volcher Coiter (1534-1576).³²

The first stop on Valverde's *peregrinatio* was the University of Padua³³ where he attended, before 1542, lessons on anatomy and surgery held by Vesalius (1514-1564)³⁴ and Realdo Colombo (1516-1559)³⁵. Here he witnessed and took part alongside Colombo in numerous anatomical dissections, several of which he recalled in his work the *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* printed in 1556.³⁶

Realdo Colombo's personality makes him a unique character in the medical panorama of the Renaissance. We know only a few important details about his origins and training. He was born in Cremona in 1510. He was the son of an apothecary who worked as a surgeon for several years, before embarking on a more general course of academic medicine. These features were to play an important role in developing Colombo's method. During his studies (Humanities and Arts in Milan and medicine in Padua), he practiced the profession of apothecary, while being apprenticed for seven years to the Venetian surgeon Antonio Plazzi. In Padua he also followed Vesalius's courses of anatomy and surgery, holding thereafter the charge of *sector* in the Flemish anatomist's dissections. Colombo's relationship with Vesalius represents a fundamental step both in his education and in his conception of medicine.

(Contd.)

Laboratorio", LXVI (1958), pp. 207-240; J. Riera, *Juan Valverde de Amusco y la medicina del Renacimiento*, Valladolid, 1986; J.L., Barona, *El pensamiento biologico de Juan Valverde de Amusco*, "Physis", 29, n.s., fasc. 2 (1992), pp. 375-402, in which the author provides some interesting remarks about the principal historiographical interpretations on the Spanish anatomist and his activity (pp. 377-382). No precise date of birth is given by biographers. Different positions concern also his medical training before arriving in Italy. See Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, pp. 345-336.

³⁰ V. Busacchi, *Gli studenti spagnoli di medicina e arti di Bologna dal 1504 al 1575*, in *Bulletin Hispanique* (1956), 58, p. 239-242; 195 and Olagiù de Rose, *I rapporti della medicina spagnola ed italiana*, pp. 175-194.

³¹ Other important Spanish physicians also accomplished their medical training in Rome. Among them Gimeno, Montaña de Monserrate, Andrés Laguna, Collado and Rodriguez de Guevara. Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 346.

³² Capparoni, *Profili bio-bibliografici*, I, p. 36.

³³ On the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Padua in the 16th century, see J. Bylebyl, « The school of Padua: humanistic medicine in the sixteenth century », in Ch. Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 335-370. On Valverde's period in Padua, see Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 346.

³⁴ The bibliography on Vesalius is rich. The work of Ch. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964 is still a reference. See also the recent monograph of H.E Chardak, *Andreas Vesalius, chirurgien des rois*, Paris, 2008.

³⁵ On Realdo Colombo, see J. Bylebyl, « Realdo Colombo », *DSB*, III, (1971), p. 354-357 ; C. Colombero, "Realdo Colombo", *DBI*, XXVII (1982), p. 241-243 ; E. D. Coppola, "The Discovery of the Pulmonary Circulation: A new Approach", in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 31, (1957), pp. 47-77 ; Carlino, *La fabbrica*, pp. 59-64 ; Id., « Tre piste », pp. 513-541, en particulier p. 518-520 ; R.J. Moes - C.D. O' Malley, "Realdo Colombo: "On those things rarely found in anatomy", *Bulletin of the history of medicine* (1960), 34, p. 508-528, A. Cunningham, *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients*, Brookfield, 1997, pp. 143-166.

³⁶ "Come facilmente in Padova il più degli anni si può vedere. Perché cavandosi i Ladroni in Vinegia pel primo furto un occhio, intravviene che si tornano a prendere indei ad un anno o due, & si mandano a Padova per farne Anatomia ; & in loro si vede che tutto il nervo di quel lato, di dove lor manca l'occhio, è molto fiacco, & anche quasi secco, senza haver patito l'altro niente", J. Valverde, *Anatomia del corpo umano*, Rome, 1559 (italian translation of *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano*, Rome, 1556), f. 142r.

Once he took his degree, Colombo obtained the Chair of Anatomy in Padua.³⁷ It was here, in fact, that Valverde met him. The association with Colombo was a vital step in Valverde's anatomical training. Valverde opted to develop his comprehension of the structure and working of the human body by experience as well as by using constant reference to the texts of the ancients. Thus it is not surprising that when Colombo moved to Pisa to take up the first Chair of Anatomy at the university in 1543, following an invitation from the Grand Duke Cosimo I, Valverde decided to follow. It is thanks to the predilection of the Spanish anatomist for biography that we can date this sojourn (1544) and confirm his intense professional relationship with Colombo. Valverde recalled at least two dissections he witnessed in 1544 were carried out by Colombo.³⁸ After these two crucial stages in the development of anatomical knowledge in Italy (the Paduan years of Vesalius and the founding of the anatomical Chair in Pisa) in which the two men played a critical role, they left Pisa in 1548 and moved to Rome. Here, Colombo hoped to find the right conditions to complete his work "written for anatomical specialists with the aim of making public the results of the dissections and to correct the errors of Galen and Vesalius, a long-winded falsifier in his own right".³⁹ As emerges from his correspondence with Cosimo I, studied by Andrea Carlino and Alessandro Parronchi,⁴⁰ Colombo believed that only Rome could provide the bodies he needed for his dissections, "which were necessary to have close to hand, to consider things properly; and in order to contradict both ancients and moderns alike". Indeed, during his time in Rome, Colombo worked with Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) "the foremost painter in the world"⁴¹, helping him with the iconographic apparatus of his work. Even if the images were never completed, his relations with the artist – Colombo was also Buonarroti's physician – were very intense.

Colombo's reports show how already in the 1540s various aspects of life in the city favoured the pursuit of anatomical studies. In the period that followed the presence of Realdo Colombo, Valverde and other famous colleagues, including Bartolomeo Eustachi and Pier Matteo Pini, helped make the city a point of reference at a European level.

Furthermore the arrival of Valverde in Rome must also be considered in relation to the "Spanish medical milieu" in Rome. It is at this time that leading personalities from the world of Spanish medicine came to Rome, like the humanist Andrés Laguna (1499-1559),⁴² physician of several pontiffs and author of an important edition of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides⁴³ and the Jesuit Balthazar de Torres. Moreover, beyond these central figures, several sources, such as the registers of the *Palazzo Apostolico*, already examined, and presumably the hospitals's ledgers or the books of licenses granted by the College of Physicians (still to be examined) could allow us to identify other – undoubtedly less celebrated but nonetheless very active on the urban scene – doctors and surgeons. This makes it possible to put the medical component alongside a population made up of "ambassadors, soldiers, courtiers, priest and painters", which according to Dandele's estimates comprised one third of the entire urban population in the second half of the sixteenth-century.⁴⁴ Valverde's arrival and sojourn in Rome was part of this broader context.

³⁷ See n. 36.

³⁸ Valverde, *Anatomia*, ff. 12v and 128v. We can find several more vague descriptions of dissections accomplished by Valverde and Colombo in Pisa on human corpses, but also on living and dead animals (Spanish edition 13v, 68, 93).

³⁹ ASF, *Carteggio universale di Cosimo*, fasc. 386, c. 258, in A. Parronchi, "Michelangelo e Realdo Colombo", in *Opere giovanili di Michelangelo*, Florence, 1968-1981 pp. 193-194.

⁴⁰ A. Carlino, « Tre piste per l'Anatomia di Juan de Valverde. Logiche d'edizione, solidarietà nazionale e cultura artistica a Roma nel Rinascimento », *MEFRIM*, 114-2002-2, pp. 513-541.

⁴¹ R. Colombo, *De re anatomica libri XV*, Venice, 1559, p. 24.

⁴² On A. Laguna, see M.A. González Manjarrés, *Andrés Laguna y el humanismo médico : estudio filológico*, Valladolid, 2000 and *Andrés Laguna : humanismo, ciencia y política en la Europa renacentista : Congreso internacional, Segovia, 22-26 de noviembre de 1999*, J.L. García Hourcade and J.M. Moreno Yuste (eds), Valladolid, 2001.

⁴³ A. Laguna, *Annotationes in Dioscoridem Anarzabeum / per Andream Lacunam... iuxta vetustissimorum codicum fidem elaborata*, Lyon, 1554.

⁴⁴ Dandele, *Spanish Rome*, p. 9.

A Spaniard in Rome

While the Spanish anatomist and his teacher Realdo Colombo shared a common understanding of anatomy, their lives in Rome took quite different paths. Colombo's reputation in the city grew rapidly. Three elements serve to confirm this. In 1549, he was personal physician of Paul III and after the Pope's death surgeon of the Conclave that elected Julius III,⁴⁵ in 1552 he was appointed lector of the first Chair of Anatomy of the *Studium Urbis*⁴⁶ and in 1556 performed the autopsy of Ignatius of Loyola⁴⁷.

Instead, his Spanish roots and ties of fraternity that bound him to his peers in the city marked the Roman sojourn of Valverde. He entered the *familia* of the powerful Spanish Cardinal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alba Archbishop of Sant'Iago and General Inquisitor of Rome, along with another Spaniard, the physician-astronomer and former physician to Paul III, Juan Aguilera⁴⁸. According to J. Amelang, Valverde and Aguilera formed "a sort of scientific *tertulia*".⁴⁹ The cultural circle that gravitated around Cardinal de Toledo included Spanish artists, like the painter from Estremadura Pedro Rubiales (1505-1560), and Gaspar Becerra (1520-1570), who created the iconographic tables in Valverde's anatomical treatise, reflecting the antique tastes of Rome in the mid-sixteenth-century. A study of the meetings of this colourful group remains to be done and could provide new perspectives on forms of *sociabilité* among intellectuals in the city.

Returning to Valverde, his professional activity was not confined to his ties with Juan de Toledo. On the contrary, his membership of this *familia* opened many different professional doors, as it did for other colleagues of his. Of Valverde himself we know that he also treated another important Cardinal: Girolamo Veralli, formally Legate to the Emperor and in France. For him the physician wrote *De animi et corporis sanitate tuenda libellus*, published in Paris in 1552. The treatise is a *Regimen Sanitatis*, a typical genre of courtly medical literature in the Middle Age, that flourished again in sixteenth-century Rome and in particular in the Papal courts, where the principles for staying healthy and keeping disease at bay were taught.⁵⁰

Most of Valverde's Roman activity was carried out in the courts, proving the versatility of physicians at the time and also his integration in the intricate system of urban patronage. But there was also another, complementary, aspect of Valverde's activity in Rome. In 1555, in fact, he was "doctor of S. Spirito", the most important hospital in strict connection with the University.⁵¹ When Juan Valverde was working within the Santo Spirito, the hospital was one of the centres of anatomical learning in Rome. All the great anatomists in the city during the century worked there at some point. Bartolomeo Eustachi received a special papal dispensation to carry out unlimited dissections. Arcangelo Piccolomini (1525-1586)⁵² worked there for ten years. All the university sectors grew out

⁴⁵ Marini, *Degli architri pontifici*, Roma, 1794, I, p.392 and G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da San Pietro sino ai nostril giorni*, Venice, 1840-1861, XIII, p.111.

⁴⁶ BAV, Vat. Lat. 12127.

⁴⁷ "Lapides autem innumerabilis pene hisce manibus extraxi inventos in renibus colore vario, in pulmonibus, in iecore, in venae portae, ut tu tuis oculis vidisti Iacobe Bone in Venerabili Egnatio Generali congregationis Iesu", Colombo, *De re anatomica*, p. 263.

⁴⁸ On Juan Aguilera former teacher of medical astrology of the University of Salamanca and then personal physician of Paul III and Jules III, see Marini, *Degli architri pontifici*, I, 369-371.

⁴⁹ Amelang, *Exchanges between Italy and Spain*, p. 442. On the circle of Juan Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal de Burgos, see also J. W. O' Malley, *Lutheranism in Rome, 1542-1543. The treatise by Alfonso Zorrilla*, "Thought", 54 (1979), p. 262-273.

⁵⁰ For a first analysis of this treatise, see Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 347. For an overview of this "medical genre" see P. Gil Sotres, *Les régimes de santé*, in M. Grmek (ed.), *Histoire de la pensée médicale*, p. 257-281; A. Arcangeli, *Del moto e della quiete. Esercizio e igiene in età moderna*, *Medicina e Storia*, IV, n. 8/2004, p. 35-55 and more recently M. Nicoud, *Les régimes de santé au Moyen Age. Naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale*, Rome, 2007 (BEFAR, 333).

⁵¹ On the Hospital of Santo Spirito, see P. Savio, "Ricerche su medici e chirurghi dell'Ospedale di S. Spirito nel XVI-XVII secolo", *ASRSP*, III, vol. 25 (1971), p. 145-168; S. De Renzi, *A fountain for the thirsty and a bank for the pope: charity, conflicts and medical careers at the hospital of Santo Spirito in seventeenth-century Rome*, in O. P. Grell, A. Cunningham, e J. Arrizabalaga, (eds), *Health care & poor relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*, London-New York, 1999, pp. 102-131 and M. Conforti and S. De Renzi., *Sapere anatomico negli ospedali romani: formazione dei chirurghi e pratiche sperimentali (1620-1720)*", in *Rome et la science* pp. 433-472.

⁵² On this anatomist see F. Pierro, «Arcangelo Piccolomini Ferrarese (1525-1586) e la sua importanza nell'anatomia postvesaliana», *Quaderni di storia della scienza e della medicina*, 6 (1965), pp. 1-35.

of this institution. This last fact is just one of many that demonstrates the ties between the hospital and the *Studium Urbis*, which were so close that it is probable that anatomy lessons were conducted here. It therefore cannot be ruled out that within the hospital and together with Colombo, Valverde carried out some teaching activity.

Other accounts help clarify the way in which Valverde took active part in the city's anatomical studies. Alongside Colombo, for example, he performed some illustrious dissections, including that of Cardinal Cybo (1491-1550) during the vacant Papal See of Paul III.⁵³ The episode is recalled in the chapter of the *Anatomia* devoted to the dissection of the portal vein (VI, 5). The cardinal "spurred blood and was opened". An account of the same autopsy was also given in book XV of the *De re anatomica* by Colombo, which affirms the public nature of the event and refers to the presence of numerous witnesses including the famous physician from Ferrara Antonio Musa Brasavola.⁵⁴ The description of this autopsy is very detailed regarding the operations carried out and demonstrates a *modus operandi*, in which tactile experience heralded discovery, showing to what extent Valverde had assimilated the anatomical teachings of Colombo.

Given his familiarity with famous cardinals, his close ties with Colombo and the powerful Spanish networks to which he belonged, there were places Valverde could have aspired to by virtue of his standing, but never succeeded in penetrating. Despite his celebrity, the doors of the College of Physicians remained closed to him. And this was not the only threshold Valverde failed to cross. Despite his closeness to Colombo, who was professor of anatomy in the city for a decade as the institution's documents show, he never obtained a role within the University. However this statement must be put into context because of the ties, that we have seen, between the Hospital Santo Spirito in which he was working and the Faculty.

The last "failure" of Valverde in Rome was connected with the Apostolic Palace. In 1555 he was proposed without success as physician to the Pontifical Family, when immediately after Paul IV's election there were discussions on the make-up of his new court.⁵⁵ This failure to gain admission can perhaps be attributed to the complex relations between the Catholic monarchy and the new pope. So, Valverde's career in Rome seems to have been to a certain degree exemplary, though this would have to be verified through an analysis of other professional careers: his arrival in Rome, the Spanish doctor, in accordance with a system of solidarity typical of modern nations; his integration into the Spanish community network, which as recent studies have highlighted was not only one of the largest foreign communities in Rome but also the most diverse and influential in the city, including among its members important cardinals and ambassadors. Already celebrated as a physician for his experience in Padua and in Pisa, he was employed in the court of one of the most illustrious Spaniards in Rome, Juan de Toledo, maybe through the intercession of other colleagues. Then, benefiting from the forms of solidarity that distinguished the Roman Iberian community, he was integrated in the civic medical system, building a professional reputation in various "centres of medicine", including the most important hospital in Rome.

In general the city's hospitals provided in fact a valid professional opportunity for the doctors who came to Rome, foreigners or not. While a comprehensive survey of the Spanish component in Rome's hospitals has yet to be attempted, several preliminary sample surveys have shown that the Spanish physicians were not confined to the institutions of the Spanish *natio*. The urban hospital network was quite dense and varied and in the mid-sixteenth-century comprised four major hospitals (the *Santo Spirito in Saxia* in the Borgo quarter, the *San Salvatore in Laterano*, the *Santa Maria in Portico in Campitelli* and the *San Giacomo in Augusta*) and many other centres whose activities and care were in principle reserved to members from the Congregations of corresponding professions (the *San Rocco* or the *Santa Maria dell'Orto*) or, as we have seen in the Spanish case, to different foreign nationals. Some of these hospitals, such as the *San Salvatore*, the *Santa Maria della Consolazione* and

(Contd.) _____

⁵³ Valverde, *Historia*, f. 121r

⁵⁴ Colombo, *De re anatomica*, p. 493.

⁵⁵ "Giovanni Valverdi medico in Santo Spirito per illustrissimo Reverendissimo Cardinale Santo Iacomo", in BAV, *Ruoli*, 21: "Notula de momoriali raccolti per farne il Rotulo della Famiglia de quelli che saranno dichiarati esser accettati da Sua Santità (1555), f. 29v.

the *Santo Spirito*, treated patients suffering from common illnesses; others were specialized in unusual afflictions, the *Sant'Antonio* for those suffering from the “fire of San Antonio”, the *San Lazzaro* for the treatment of leprosy and the *San Giacomo* for sufferers of syphilis.⁵⁶ The *San Giacomo degli Incurabili* emerged as an important centre of employment for the Iberian doctors. Like San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the foundation of the Hospital was linked to the Castilian *natio*, which in the first half of the century both opened its doors to a wider public and specialized in the treatment of “sufferers of syphilis, leprosy and other incurable illnesses”. Nevertheless the ties with Spain remained strong, as emerged from the Charter of 1546, which stated that the “Guardians” (who had direct responsibility for the overall management of the hospital), had to include a man of the cloth, a courtier, a Spanish citizen and a Roman citizen. Moreover, in the central decades of the century, the Cardinal Protector of San Giacomo was Bartolomé de la Cueva, an influential member of the Sacred College and native of Segovia. Among the physicians employed in the hospital was Alfonso Ferri (1515-?1595), a surgeon from the Kingdom of Naples and personal physician to the viceroy Pedro de Toledo, Ludovico Torres and Gaspar de la Peña.⁵⁷ So, the Roman hospital system inside the Spanish network gave Spanish doctors important professional opportunities. But, like Valverde’s case shows, for a physician who chose not to stay in the framework of his own *natio* an appointment in an important hospital, like the Santo Spirito, was possible.

However the Roman career of Valverde suggests also that the relationship between Spanish doctors and other urban structures was complex and subject to a large number of variables, and their integration was not always straightforward. This is confirmed by other sources. The *Libri* of the College of Physicians show clearly that the doors of the institution remained closed to all his Spanish colleagues.⁵⁸ Forms of protectionism that became more virulent in the second half of the sixteenth-century prohibited non-Romans and non-Roman citizens from being admitted to this institution that administered and supervised, in accordance with pontifical power, medical practices in the city and throughout the Papal State. There has been a long debate on whether these rules were strictly applied: what can be said is that the College remained hostile to the entry not of non-Romans but of persons born outside the Italian states for the entire sixteenth-century. Only the Frenchman Guillaume Giscaferres succeeded in crossing the threshold and not without great difficulties that delayed his admission for years.⁵⁹ None of the Spanish physicians living in Rome, not even one of the calibre of papal physician Andrés Laguna, would set foot in the College. However, in some earlier research a group of physicians in competition with the College came to light, the *Congregazione dei medici di San Luca*, about which, unfortunately, little is known at the present time.⁶⁰ While it was not possible to identify each of its members, some elements enabled us to surmise that this institution relied on a social protection network of Spanish origin; Bartolomeo Pescatore, governor of the Congregation is buried in the Spanish church of *S. Maria del Monserrato*, where only Spanish nationals or people very close to the community were accorded such honours; Cesare Santi, Vicar of the governor of the same Congregation, dedicated his three printed volumes to central figures from the Roman Iberian-Portuguese world (the Portuguese *condottiere* Felipe Menezes, Antoine de Perrenot de Granvelle and Antonio Cordova). It appears that this parallel group may also have provided a refuge for the Spanish physicians in Rome, who were refused entry to the official College. However at the actual stage of the research we do not have any evidence about the connection between Valverde and this group.

The “failure” of Valverde in the Papal Court also needs more of an explanation. In fact the Papal Court was a very particular case. In the sixteenth-century there were many Spaniards among the personal physicians of the popes and their relatives. Their presence fluctuated over the course of the

⁵⁶ There is no systematic study on the Roman hospitals in the 16th century. For a general overview see Andretta, *Le scalpel de Pierre*, pp. 406-420. On the San Giacomo, see A. Cavaterra, *L'ospedale a Roma nell'età moderna: il caso del San Giacomo*, (1585-1605), “Sanità, Scienza e Storia”, 1986 (2), pp. 87-123.

⁵⁷ ASR, *San Giacomo*, b. 1, f. 39v ; 43r ; 47r ; 54r ; 70r. On A. Ferri, see « Alfonso Ferri », *DBI*, 47, Rome, 1997, pp.113-115.

⁵⁸ ASR, *Università*, bb. 48-49.

⁵⁹ On the appointment of Giscaferres, ASR, *Università*, b.48, f.5v-6r.

⁶⁰ Some details in E. Andretta, *La « censure » du Lunarium de Cesare Santi. Conflits de juridiction et affrontements médicaux*, *MEFRIM*, 120.2 (2008), pp. 407-423.

century. The elective nature of the pope's power led to periodical reshuffles of the structure of the Apostolic Family. In particular, the personal nature of the doctor/patient relationship did not come with any guarantee of remaining in place at the moment of succession, even when it came to renowned physicians. Generally speaking, the recruitment of the physicians was directly proportional to the origin of the pope (for example, of the seven physicians assigned to Rodrigo Borja, four came from the Iberian peninsula: Andrea Vives di Saragozza, the Castilian Alejandro Espinosa and the Valencians Pedro Pintor and Gaspar Torella). When the services of Spanish physicians were employed the political dynamics between the papal state and the Catholic monarchy also changed. During the pontificate of Paul III, the court included Juan Aguilera (fl. 1555), the Jewish translator Jacob Mantini and several physicians from the Kingdom of Naples, who were therefore subject to the Spanish crown, such as the surgeon Alfonso Ferri and Tommaso Cadamosti. Juan Aguilera was also physician to Julius III, together with his fellow national Andrés Laguna.⁶¹ Under Paul IV meanwhile, when relations with Spain were more strained, not one Spaniard was recruited by the family for the entire duration of the papacy.

“Spanish Anatomy” in Rome?

In spite of the complexity of the Roman medical system, between the advantages and the disadvantages of being a Spanish doctor, Valverde was able to build a lively and varied career in the city. Moreover, Rome was also the place in which he chose to publish his treatise on anatomy in a dual Spanish and Italian version in 1556.⁶² The *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* is a treatise comprising seven books that deals with the main arguments of anatomy (“bone and cartilage”, “ligaments and bandaging”, “limbs necessary for the preservation of the body”, “vital organs and functions”, “sensation and motion”, “veins and arteries”, “instruments of sensation and external motion”).⁶³ The text is accompanied by a series of tables that re-propose, with some changes, the illustrations of *De humani corporis fabrica*.⁶⁴

The story of the treatise's publication, told by A. Carlino, is an interesting example of the way in which the Roman Spanish network operated.⁶⁵ Valverde's book was printed in Rome in a first Spanish edition in 1556 and was dedicated to a Spanish Cardinal (Juan Alvarez de Toledo). It was printed in a Franco-Spanish workshop (Antoine Lafrery and Antonio Salamanca) and was probably illustrated by a Spanish painter Gaspar Becerra and a French engraver Nicolas Béatrizet. Beyond the information that Carlino provides on the internal relations in the Spanish *natio* and the forms of cooperation this implied, the work itself also provides numerous clues as to how knowledge circulated in pontifical Rome and on the cultural relations between the city and Spain.

Valverde's Spanish treatise was the first original work on anatomy printed in Rome in the sixteenth-century. It was preceded by an important Latin translation of the previously unpublished *De ossium* by Galen, completed in 1531 by the Sicilian Ferdinando Balamio (1514?-1552), physician to Clement VII (1523-1534).⁶⁶ When the *Historia* came to light, 13 years had passed since the publication of *De humani corporis fabrica* and in Rome, Realdo Colombo and Bartolomeo Eustachi were working on *De re anatomica* and the *Opuscula Anatomica* respectively (the first was published in 1559 after the death of the author and the second not until 1563).⁶⁷ In both cases, even if in different ways, the works discussed the recent philological discoveries that part of previously unknown ancient anatomical learning had brought to light, and the new contributions by Vesalius. Personal observations were also added and new systems for representing the human body proposed.⁶⁸ This was the context of

⁶¹ See Marini, *Degli architri pontifici*, ad vocem.

⁶² Following Mandosio, in the Vatican library is conserved the first part of the manuscript of the treatise with a letter to Paul IV from the author, BAV, Vol. 5, *Divers. Script. sub Paulo IV*, p. 103.

⁶³ J. Valverde, *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano*, Rome, 1556

⁶⁴ On the tables of his treatise, see Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, pp. 348-351 and in particular Carlino, *Tre piste*, pp. 528-541.

⁶⁵ Carlino, *Tre piste*, pp. 524-527.

⁶⁶ *De ossibus Ferdinando Balamio Siculo interprete*, Rome, 1535.

⁶⁷ B. Eustachi, *Opuscula anatomica. Quorum numerum et argumenta aversa pagina indicabit*, Venice, 1563.

⁶⁸ In this respect, see in particular, Colombo, *De re anatomica*, libro XV and Eustachi, *Opuscula*, pp. 128-143 (*De renum administratione*).

the *Historia*'s publication and Valverde himself referred to it in the preface where he outlined a map of contemporary anatomical output, defining in particular his role with respect to his two *maestri*, Colombo and Vesalius.

Valverde's work combined the methods and content of Colombo.⁶⁹ Indeed, it fully accorded with his teacher's views. With respect to Vesalius, by contrast, Valverde was highly critical. On several occasions he criticised the Flemish anatomist's text for being difficult and structurally confused.⁷⁰ These two elements meant that the *Fabrica* was only useful to those who had previously witnessed dissections under the guidance of an "excellent teacher." There are similar criticisms in the texts of Colombo and Eustachi. However, Valverde's relationship with Vesalius was very ambiguous. On the one hand, he emphasised the need for greater synthesis and above all a clearer presentation of the latest anatomical discoveries; on the other, he recommended Vesalius to those who wished to learn more, and in any case defined him as the best, even "inspired by God in breathing new life into this forgotten branch of anatomy."⁷¹ An examination of the work shows that Vesalius was also criticised for his content.⁷² Valverde prepared a subject index with ten references to Vesalian errors, but in fact there were over 50 corrections with respect to various parts of body made to both the text and the tables of *De humani corporis fabrica*.⁷³

We have seen how the first edition by Valverde was in Spanish. Why did the author not publish in Latin (the language of choice in cultured medical communication, in which he had published his *Regimen*) or in Italian (considering he had been in Italy for over a decade)?⁷⁴ Valverde addressed the issue of language directly in the dedication of the treatise to his Cardinal protector. His main objective, he said, was to fill a gap in Spanish medical tradition. He emphasised the "great lack of men in Spain versed in Anatomy" and blamed this backwardness on his fellow nationals' conviction that "it was an ugly business [...] to cut open the dead" and on the fact that the numerous Spanish students who came to Italy to learn anatomy did not go on to practice it. Ignorance of anatomy among the Iberian monarchy was also widespread among surgeons who, not knowing Latin, could not have benefited from a work published in this language.⁷⁵ Only afterwards did Valverde reveal what was most likely the true reason for his decision to write in his native language: pressure from Cardinal Toledo. The physician confessed his hesitations over publishing a work in Spanish, given the low reputation works in this language tended to enjoy – hesitations that were only overruled by the Cardinal's wishes who believed the work to be fundamental for the Spanish nation.⁷⁶

The author's statements on this are of great interest. First of all, they show how Valverde, at least in the first edition and despite having studied and worked in Italy, had Spain as his main point of reference. They also reveal how the direct promoter of the whole enterprise was the Cardinal. The authoritative Juan de Toledo, then, was pushing from Rome for the publication of a treatise that would be a reference work in anatomy for the entire Spanish nation. The political dimension of this operation is clear. The Cardinal's plan included a desire to "capitalise on" developments in contemporary anatomical knowledge and on the Roman studies in particular, by restoring them to their native land. Writing it in the vulgate both guaranteed a wider distribution and enabled Valverde to contribute to a process of vernacularization of knowledge underway in Spain in the second half of the sixteenth-century.⁷⁷

⁶⁹ On the relationship between the works of Valverde and Colombo, see Carlino, *Tre piste*, pp. 521-524.

⁷⁰ This remark is in the dedication to Juan de Toledo, Valverde, *Historia*, f. *iir.

⁷¹ "Y pienso cierto que Dios le inspiro a ello, paraque resucitasse esta parte dela medecína tan olvidada, como necessaria". We can find this eulogy in the same dedication to Juan de Toledo, that appears like a very ambiguous text (Valverde, *Historia*, f. *ii4).

⁷² For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Valverde and Vesalius, see Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 351-357 and Barona Vilar, *El pensamiento biologico*, pp. 377-382.

⁷³ Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 325.

⁷⁴ Some first answers have been provided by Carlino, *Tre piste*, pp. 522-523

⁷⁵ Valverde, *Historia*, f. *iir.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁷ L. Gil Fernández, *Líneas maestras del humanismo español*, in J.M. Jover Zamora (ed.), *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, vol. XXI "La cultura del renacimiento (1480-1580)", Madrid, 1999, pp. 221-224.

The criticism of the condition of anatomical studies in Spain is not easy to interpret. As was shown by J. M. López Piñero⁷⁸ and later by B. Skaarup,⁷⁹ the 1550s and even before Vesalio's arrival in 1559, were years in which anatomical practices were widespread and began to be institutionalized within the universities. While it is unlikely that Valverde and the Cardinal were unaware of what was happening in Spain, we can nonetheless advance other hypotheses too. First, even if in Valencia and in a few other centres the "new anatomy" arose at this time, there were still some strong "galenic" enclaves and these may have been the trigger for Valverde's criticism⁸⁰. Second, stating Italian primacy in the field might have been one way for him to justify his presence in Italy and claim for himself a leading role in the promotion of Spanish anatomical knowledge, precisely because decentralisation enabled him to overcome the problems of the Spanish context. From the "anatomical city" of Rome, therefore, Valverde could restore to his place of birth knowledge, savoir-faire and empirical data acquired over the years.⁸¹

But in 1559, following the death of Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Valverde decided to publish a second edition of the work, this time in Italian: *l'Anatomia del corpo umano*.⁸² In the new dedication to Philip II, he explained how he was persuaded to do so by Italian friends who were interested in the subject and unable to read Spanish.⁸³ The dedication also pays homage to the Italian peninsula, which Valverde called his second home.⁸⁴ All rhetoric aside, the *Anatomia del corpo umano* offers many points of interest. First and foremost, the translation choices themselves are noteworthy. The care taken is evident in the dedication in which Valverde explains how the translation was conducted "through the constant conferring of this (Spanish) language with the (Italian) one, so that no error whatsoever was committed in the translation and nothing added or taken away...".⁸⁵ Moreover, as the author himself said, the new version was also a reply to the accusations that had followed the first edition in non-Spanish and probably Italian circles: seeing that the figures had been taken from Vesalius and being unable to understand Spanish, its detractors had accused him of plagiarism.⁸⁶ While the choice of publishing in Spanish created some problems for Valverde in Italy (where he was accused of plagiarism), the decision to publish in Italian could also have proved costly for him in Spain. In this sense, the choice of language ought to be considered together with the choice of dedication. Valverde addressed this new version to Philip II, not only as King of Spain but above all as "common patron and protector of all of Italy."⁸⁷ It was a reference not just to the government of the Spanish lands in the Italian peninsula, but also to the influence the Iberian powers exerted over Italy

⁷⁸ J. M. López Piñero, *The Vesalian movement in sixteenth-century Spain*, in *Journal of the history of biology*, 12 (1979), pp. 45-81.

⁷⁹ B. Skaarup, *Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain. The Anatomical Revolution in the Iberian Context, 1550-1600*, PhD Thesis, EUI, June, 2009.

⁸⁰ On this reaction, see López Piñero, *The Vesalian movement*, pp. 76-78.

⁸¹ Valverde preserved some ties with his homeland. In 1558 for example he brings some indulgences for the Cofradia of San Sabastian in Amusco, see Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 348.

⁸² The Italian edition was provided by Antonio Tabo of Albenga. For some details on this personality, see F. Guerra, *Juan Valverde*, p. 348.

⁸³ "Havendo io scritta l'istoria della composition del corpo humano in lingua Spagnuola qui in Roma ad istanza della buona memoria del cardinal san Iacomo mio patrone; & servitomi in essa per la maggior parte delle figure del Vesalio, per parermi più degne d'imitatione, che di biasimo: successe da poi, che molti non intendendo la lingua Spagnuole, & vedendo le mie figure non molto diverse da quelle, cominciarono à dire ch'io havea tradotta l'istoria del Vessalio [...]. Non di meno per satisfare à prieghi di molti gentilhuomini Italiani amici miei (li quali veggendo l'opera mia essere assai più breve, che quella del Vessalio; & intendendo, che era in molte cose differente dalla sua; & parendo anche loro le mie figure alquanto più leggiadre & accomodate, che le sue, desideravano di vederla nella loro lingua", Valverde, *Anatomia*, f. a2.

⁸⁴ "Al che si è aggiunto, l'esser io più tenuto alla natione Italiana che à niun'altra dalla Spagnuola in fuori", Valverde, *Anatomia*, f. a2r-v.

⁸⁵ "Avvenga che nel tradurla per essermi la lingua Italiana straniera mi son molto servito della fatica di Antonio Tabo da Albenga familiar mio, giovane assai più virtuoso, che fortunato: conferendo nondimeno sempre questa con quella, accioche nel tradurre non vi si commettesse errore alcuno; ne vi si aggiungesse, ò levasse nulla, fuor che quello, che à me pareva altrimenti", Valverde, *Anatomia*, f. A2r.

⁸⁶ See note 83.

⁸⁷ "Hor volendo io mandar questo mio libro sotto un buon appoggio, non ho potuto travare un altro più a proposito, che la Maestà vostra, essendo ella comun padrone, & protettore dell'Italia tutta", Valverde, *Anatomia*, f. a2v.

following the Carafa war. Finally, underscoring the relations between the two countries under the common denomination of the Philippine government, could have been Valverde's way of justifying his presence in Italy, and of responding to his fellow nationals who polemically called him "l'italiano".⁸⁸

The story of Valverde is very particular. On the one hand it might be considered "exemplary" of the destiny of a famous Spanish doctor in Rome. On the other hand, his case is quite singular. Once in the city, he elected the city of Rome as the place to stay and to work. However, Spain never completely disappeared from his horizon. Other physicians spent some time in Rome, but Rome was only a stage in a longer *peregrinatio*. For instance, Andrés Laguna traveled around Europe and only spent nine years in Rome. However, the Roman period is an important moment of Laguna's professional and scientific life. At the same time, his presence and especially his philological activity, affected the medical debates at the middle of the century in Rome.

In conclusion, Valverde's case allows us to propose some first conclusions. I argue that institutions, protectors, physicians and the knowledge and practices they developed were an integral, constitutive part of the Roman Medical System. In this sense the city might accept, transform, capitalise on and render the knowledge that Spanish doctors had brought with them. But at the same time it influenced, often deeply, their professional identity and their conception of medicine. In this perspective a more extensive study of Medical Spanish Rome may be able to contribute new information to the ongoing debate between those who believe that sixteenth-century Rome was 'colonised' by Spaniards and those who maintain that there was conflict and resistance. Studying an aspect of a medical activity not strictly within the city will shed a different light on Roman scientific universalism and call into question the monolithic idea of Roman centrality that the powers within the city were pursuing.

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⁸⁸ This opinión is still shared by some contemporary historians, see for exemple J.M. Lopez Pinero: "Resulta obvio que desde ningún punto de vista puede encuadrarse en lo que hemos llamado movimiento vesaliano español", *Medicina moderna y sociedad española (siglos 16.-19)*, Valencia, 1976, p. 121.