(d) Such figures from other editions as illustrate the subsequent history of the work. Yours ever,

Charles Singer

¹ Mondino (Mundinus), probably da Luzzi, 13th century; there are several medieval medical authors of that name. See letter 41.

51

Singer to Sigerist, London, 23 April 1923

My dear Sigerist,

I have spent the day at the British Museum in the editions of Ketham of which there are 10 copies there.

I came to the conclusion that the following would make the best publication if it can be done: – (1). A <u>complete facsimile</u> of the 1493 edition. This is the largest page, the best print & much the most beautiful. It contains Mundinus (though in Italian) (2) A <u>reprint</u> (not facsimile) in <u>small print</u> of the <u>text</u> of the 1495 edition. On so large a page as is needed for (1) this would go with a very few pages. (3) A translation into English of passages from (2), notably of the text of Mundinus. (4) Reproductions, <u>which can be on a reduced scale</u>, of certain of the illustrations in the 1495 & later editions. (5) Introductory explanatory & bibliographical matter by myself.

If this is too ambitious I suggest leaving out some of the facsimile pages that are merely in type of (1).

Do you know where I can find a copy of the edition of 1509 printed in Milan by Giovanni di Castellione? It is said to have very beautiful figures.

I am greatly interested in this piece of work & much looking forward to it. I expect I shall have to go over to Paris in the course of doing it.

Yours ever

Charles Singer

52

Sigerist to Singer, Zurich?, 26 April 1923

My dear Singer,

Many thanks for your last letters. Excuse my not answering them earlier. When I came home from Rome there was so much work waiting for me that I hadn't time for anything.

I had a letter yesterday from Lier telling me that he hadn't yet got any news from you. Your letter of April 5th must have got lost on the way. Would you write just a few lines to Lier saying that you have sent the contract already and that you agree to his conditions.

About Ketham I like your scheme very much and I will ask Lier to do it as you suggest: 1. A complete facsimile of 1493. 2. A reprint of 1495. 3. An English translation of some passages from 2 (Mundinus) 4. Reproductions of several illustrations 5. Your text.

In the German and Italian edition we could omit 3 easily. If Lier agrees with that scheme, I'll have the facsimile done as soon as we find a good copy in Germany which wont [sic] be difficult. We could also have 2 printed at once. All depends now on Lier and I hope to have his answer soon.

If I'm not mistaken Lier told me that Olschki¹ in Florence has a copy of the 1509 edition on sale just now. Do inquire about it and try to get the British Museum to buy it.

I'm glad that you like that piece of work. It is really fascinating. I hope to be able to send you Sudhoffs [sic] text next week. The facsimile of 1491 is beautiful and 12 plates, 7 of them originally coloured are also ready.

I like your idea of publishing the Muscio MS of Brussels very much too.² I'll speak to Lier about it and I hope that we can have it done soon after Ketham. It would be much better to begin our MS-facsimiles with that short and very important MS than with Roger³ or the Dioscurides Neapolitanus.

It is very kind of [you] to think of helping me in the Leipzig business. ⁴ I dont know exactly what the prospects are. Diepgen being a German will probably be invited first but I dont know if he'll accept. ⁵ In that case perhaps they would ask me. Of cause [sic] I dont care spending my life in Germany especially now and I would prefer an ever so modest position in Switzerland or in any other country, but the only possibility for me of getting a professorship in Zurich now is to be calles [sic] abroad. However[,] I think the best to do is just to let things go and not to interfer [sic]. If a letter of you were ever useful to me I would frankly ask you for it.

Now about our Festschrift. I shall meet our publisher⁶ in a few days and I will try to have Garrisons [sic] article get into type at once.⁷ The first proofs will be sent to the various authors, the second to you and myself. You might then correct the English and I the German and Italian articles. No doubt you have seen Garrisons bibliography of Sudhoffs writings in the Bulletin of Chicago. It is no use reprinting it but I think a subject index of Sudhoffs writings under various headings (antiquity, Dark Ages, Salerno, Paracelsus, Syphilis etc.) would be very useful. What do you think of it? I could easily have it done.⁸

¹ A publisher in Florence.

² See letter 48.

³ Possibly Frugard, see letter 39.

⁴Rumors about Sigerist as Sudhoff's successor.

⁵ Paul Diepgen (1878–1966) German medical historian. See *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 1966, **50**: 1; and 'Paul Diepgen, 1879–1966', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 1966, **21**: 189–190.

⁶ Seldwyla, Zurich.

⁷ Garrison (1924).

⁸ The following page seems to be missing.

Singer to Sigerist, London, 30 April 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Many thanks for your letter of April 26th. I think the English title for the volume should be

"Essays on the History of Medicine

Presented to

KARL SUDHOFF

On the occasion of his 70th

Birthday, Nov. 26th 1923

Edited by

Henry Sigerist

and

Charles Singer"

I think perhaps there could be no harm in having the introduction in German and English and French. As we can't get French contributors would it not be possible for the Swiss contributors to write in French? If you write the introductory words in German I could of course translate them into English.

We have no English word for Festschrift. Yesterday E. G. [sic] Streeter was here. He is well on with with his essay, but looking through some of my material he discovered five anatomical drawings in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow in which he was extremely interested. I begged him to publish them said they would do very well for his contribution to the Sudhoff volume, but he simply won't do this unless my name is also attached. Under these circumstances I suggest that he and I write this article together in our joint names, and that my other article appears in the joint name of my wife and myself. This article of Streeter will only occupy two pages, but will need illustrations for which he will pay.

I said it seemed a pity that he should not also publish the article which he had originally designed, because he has taken a great deal of trouble over it. I explained to him, of course, that I must obtain your consent for such a course.

I had a card this morning from Capparoni at Rome which says you have visited him. He very much wants me to become a member of his Institute, and says you were delighted with it. What do you think of it really?

The Wellcome Museum has a rotograph of a manuscript of Ketham which they <u>say</u> comes from the Leyden University Library and is dated 1435. I am almost certain that the date is wrong, and, from my knowledge of the Wellcome Museum, I should think it quite likely that the Library is also wrong. To me it looks like a manuscript copy of the 1491 Ketham – I mean a manuscript taken from the printed book. I am in correspondence

with Sudhoff about it, and I gather from a card received from him this morning that he had not heard of it. This would be easily explained if date and place are wrong! With best regards,

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

P.S. A matter for you to turn over in your mind. It is pretty evident that Archiv must come to an end. I have been wondering whether we could have an international journal under the editorship of yourself, Wickersheimer, Streeter and myself. Streeter would, I think, endow it with a 1,000 dollars a year, and it might perhaps be made to pay except for the cost of illustrations.² We might conceivably get over the German difficulty with Wickersheimer by making French the official language on condition that articles were accepted in English, French, Italian or German. Of course Wickersheimer could leave the correspondence with the German contributors to you or me.

² Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, later Sudhoffs Archiv, still existing; the planned international journal of the history of medicine did not materialize.

54

Singer to Sigerist, London, 2 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

I wonder if you would be good enough to ask Olchki [sic] to let me have information concerning his 1509 Ketham? I was at the British Museum yesterday and they said they would consider it if I had any information about it. I don't know Olchki's address, and from my experience of the Italian Post Office I don't suppose the letter would arrive if I didn't address it fully.

If they could let me have a photograph or two of some of the pictures, all the better. Yours ever,

Charles Singer

¹ Edward C. Streeter and Charles Singer, 'Fifteenth century miniatures of extramural dissections', in Singer and Sigerist (eds), (1924), 207–210; and Singer and Singer (1924).

Sigerist to Singer, Zurich?, 5 May 1923

My dear Singer,

Many thanks for your letters of April 30th and May 2nd. Of cause [sic] I fully agree with any arrangement you would like to make with Streeter. I would like to have his article in any case, especially as mine has been quite altered. It was nearly written, but then I change the whole scheme. I call it now "Die Geburt der abendländischen Medizin". It will be rather revolutionary and I wonder how you will like it.

I saw our publisher two days ago.³ He will start printing the book at once. I have already received most of the German and Swiss MSS. Do let me have the English as soon as possible, especially those with illustrations. I have got a very good portrait of Sudhoff which has recently been taken in Leipzig. I'll put it at the beginning of the volume. The publisher will give each author 50 reprints of their respective articles, and we shall each get five copies of the book free. I think it quite decent of him. I am sorry that I cannot ask the Swiss contributors to write their articles in French. Klebs will write his in English. The others are all German Swiss and as for me, I would hurt Sudhoff's feelings by writing this special article in French.

My "delight" with the Roman Institute was mostly out of politeness towards Capparoni. It is only an embryo of an Institute, Carbonelli's not very important collection, and nothing else. Still it will develop one day. As soon as the patients are removed from the Ospedale S. Spirito, they will get several rooms there, and the beautiful Biblioteca Lancisiana will be kept exclusively as a historical library. I would suggest you to become a member as I did. For 500 Lire you are a life member. It helps them and you get their Bulletino regularly which is of the same standard as the Rivista.

About Ketham 1509 I have written to Lier. He told me of Olchki's [sic] copy when I met him in Milan. I asked him for further information. I had a letter from him this morning telling me that he quite agrees with your scheme and that he will gladly have it executed.

The MS of the Wellcome Museum must be wrong. A little while ago I discovered a German translation of a part of Ketham's gynecology. I publish it in the Archiv, but as it will take some time to come out, and as you might care to see it, I am sending you my MS by the same mail.

I would be delighted to collaborate in an international journal. The idea has occupied my mind for a long time. The Archiv is too unsatisfactory in its present state and it obviously wont [sic] get any better. I wrote a long letter to Sudhoff last autumn, suggesting him to make an international Quarterly of his Archiv, with an international editorial board. He didnt [sic] like the idea, so I dropped the thing. Now your scheme would be the very best solution. I am glad that you are coming to Switzerland this summer, so that we can discuss the question. I think we ought to start the paper next January. In

I am very sorry that I didn't see Streeter. I hoped he would come through Switzerland on his way back from Italy.

With best regards Yours sincerely [Henry E. Sigerist]

56

Singer to Sigerist, London, 8 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Many thanks for your letter of May 5th. I think your publisher is <u>most</u> generous, but at the same time I don't want him to be <u>too</u> generous. Do you mean that each contributor of an article will get five copies of the book free? If you do I think it's rather overdoing it as it would interfere with the sales. I think it ought to be enough if each author gets fifty reprints of his own article without any copy of the book at all. In the case of people who pay for their plates I think we might give a copy of the book, and in the case of German contributors who cannot buy a copy we should stretch a point and let each of them have <u>one</u>. But the others ought to buy their own as they will not have any expense in connection with the volume. My feeling is that we do not want to do our publisher badly because he may subsequently accept similar publications, and it is a good thing, from our point of view, that publishers should find Medical History a not unprofitable concern. As regards you and I, I think we might reasonably take two or three copies each and be allowed to distribute a few more for review purposes, but these latter would be sent by the Publisher on our suggestion.

I see the difficulty about French and suppose it cannot be helped, but as it is I doubt if we shall get a single article in that language.

For our international journal² I am exceedingly anxious that we should get one among the editors who is a Frenchman, and I have written to Wickersheimer to know his feeling. Of course neither you nor I would be willing to compromise on the question of accepting German articles – neither of course would consent to edit a journal which refused them. If

¹ Streeter and Singer (1924).

²Henry E. Sigerist, 'Die Geburt der abendländischen Medizin', in Singer and Sigerist (eds), (1924), 185–205.

³ Seldwyla, Zurich..

⁴ See letter 53.

⁵ Giovanni Carbonelli's collection of medical books. Giovanni Carbonelli (1859–1933), Italian medical historian and book collector, see 'Giovanni Carbonelli', *Rivista di Storia delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, 1933, **24**: 121–122.

⁶Rivista di storia della medicina.

⁷ See letter 53.

⁸ Henry E. Sigerist, 'Eine deutsche Uebersetzung der Kethamschen Gynäkologie', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 1923, **14**: 169–178.

⁹See letter 53.

¹⁰ Singer means start the journal.

pressed, however, and if unable to get Wickersheimer on any other terms, I would personally be willing to accept French as the primary language of the journal, and the language of its editorial material. I don't want to raise this point until I am forced to, however, as it is the trump card. Also I feel that French is not the best language for the purpose as far better material is appearing in English and in German. German appears to me to be out of it for editorial purposes because it would raise anew the old prejudice, so that it really lies between French and English. I would accept either but I do not know the American view.

I think after we have presented Sudhoff with his volume, he could not be hurt at not being included in the editorial list. If he were[,] the French would not join. I am therefore anxious not to raise the question publicly until the volume has been presented to him. This would prevent our starting next January, but I don't see why we should not start a month or two later. I would like to have your considered opinion on all this – at your leisure.

You can rely on our being in Switzerland in the second half of July. We have, of course, to pass through Zurich and might stop for a day or two there, but I wonder if you would not rather that we met in some little country place. Don't hurry to answer, but I should like to have your considered thoughts on this and on the suggestions about the journal.

The Wellcome manuscript³ is of course wrongly dated in the well-known Wellcome manner! It is called about 1435! I have examined the rotograph and collated it with the printed editions. There is no doubt that it is a copy of the 1495 edition. It has, however, a small interest in that the gynaecological section is abbreviated and in Dutch, but the gynaecological figure is omitted.

Many thanks for your Ketham article which I shall read with great interest.⁴ I am getting a rotograph on my own account of the Wellcome (Leiden) manuscript, and am sending it to Sudhoff. If you want a copy of the Dutch section you can either borrow it from him or I can get another for you. I am afraid the reading of it is beyond my power. I shall be interested to hear further of the Olchki [sic] copy.

I am bringing out an expanded version of my articles on herbals.⁵ It will be of a semi-popular character and well illustrated. If you know of any figures of plants that you would particularly like to see reproduced perhaps you would let me know or lend me photographs of them, for which I would of course gladly pay and acknowledge the source. I have written to the same effect to Sudhoff.

Do you know Herman Koebert <u>De Pseudo-Apulei Herbarum Medicaminibus</u>, Beyreuth, 1888?⁶

I'll send Capparoni 500 lire for his institute. You shall have the English communications as soon as possible, and I hope in any event by the end of May. I have told most of the contributors that that is the terminal date, and most of them will doubtless choose the terminal date. The article by Streeter and myself I will send off to-day after I have been through it, together with some of the photographs for it which will be five in all. Two or possibly three of the photographs are so bad that they must be taken again. With best regards to you all,

Yours ever, Charles Singer I find on enquiry yesterday that your photographer has not yet been paid for his slides. This is only the usual "official delay". Tell him its [sic] quite all right & I am seeing to it.

¹ See previous letter.

²The international journal did not materialize.

³ See letter 53.

⁴ Sigerist (1923c).

⁵ Charles Singer, 'Herbals', Edinburgh Review, 1923, 237: 95–112.

⁶ Hermann Koebert, De Pseudo-Apulei herbarum medicaminibus (Bayreuth, 1888).

⁷ Articles for the Sudhoff Festschrift.

⁸ Streeter and Singer (1924).

57

Singer to Sigerist, London, 10 May 1923a

My dear Sigerist,

Herewith the article by my wife and myself.¹ I have appended a bibliography which you had better just glance at to see if you think that it is the form Sudhoff would like.

The article by Streeter and myself must wait a day or two until I get the photographs from Glasgow.²

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

58

Singer to Sigerist, London, 10 May 1923b

My dear Sigerist,

Herewith Withington's article for the Sudhoff volume on Roger Bacon.¹ It is very clear writing and I think therefore hardly needs typing.

I found that the Streeter article needed the insertion of a short paragraph which can only be done after I have had one of the figures re-photographed.² I have ordered the photographs and the document, together with my other article, shall follow in a day or

¹ Singer and Singer (1924).

² Streeter and Singer (1924).

two, and the others as rapidly as I can gather them in, and all I hope by the end of this month.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

¹ Edward T. Withington, 'Roger Bacon, on the errors of physicians', in Singer and Sigerist (eds), (1924), 139–157.

59

Singer to Sigerist, London, 11 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Herewith Spencer's short article on the Vesalius Epitome.¹ There are some illustrations to it, but he possesses some, at any rate, of the blocks which will save the expense of publication. He has promised to lend them and I have written to him for them. They shall be forwarded to you in due course.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

60

Singer to Sigerist, London, 14 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

I have just had a line from Glasgow to say that the photographic apparatus there is out of order, and that it will be a week before we shall be able to get those photographs of which I wrote in my last. I had better hold the manuscript up until then.

I don't think I shall succeed in getting anything out of E. G. Browne who pleads advancing age and over work, but on the other hand I think that Clifford Allbutt¹ will let us have something, though rather late. I am having difficulties, too, with D'Arcy Power, but I expect he'll be all right.

² Streeter and Singer (1924).

¹ Spencer (1924).

I think it quite possible that Elliot Smith will come with us to Switzerland. Yours ever.

Charles Singer

¹ Thomas Clifford Allbutt (1836–1925), British physician and medical historian; see H. D. Rolleston, 'Allbutt, Sir (Thomas) Clifford (1836–1925)', rev. Alexander G. Bearn, *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 1, 764–765.

61

Singer to Sigerist, London, 17 May 1923 (postcard)

Can you by chance let me have a reference of anything that has been written on the list of plant synonyms in the Julia Anicia¹ & in the Apuleius Herbarium? Has any one compared the two?

C. S.

62

Singer to Sigerist, London, 18 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

I enclose in a parcel which comes with this post the following elements for the illustration of Spencer's article. ¹

- (1) Two clichées representing the nudes from the Epitome of Vesalius.
- (2) Photographs of the five muscle men from the Epitome. I suggest that in the reproduction of these only the figures should appear, and that the letter press around them should be deleted. If the clichée maker would prefer to have the actual negatives I can send them also.

There still remain to be sent two <u>clichées</u> illustrating the arteries and nerves. These Mr. Spencer omitted by error, but I have asked him to let me have them, and I will send them to you as soon as they reach me.

I enclose you also his last letter which is important for you only as containing a sentence which I have underlined in red, which says "You will let me know the cost of the extra blocks". I have answered him, thanking him for his generosity, and I have only sent it to you so that it may go into your dossier.

I am still waiting for Streeter's photographs from Glasgow, but I expect it will come to-day or to-morrow.

¹ The Dioscorides MS, Vienna, med. Gr. 1, was dedicated to the Byzantine princess Anicia Juliana.

I fear Browne and D'Arcy Power are both defaulting. They both write me to say that they are being so fearfully rushed, so I am getting an article from Robert Steele on Roger Bacon,² which will go well with Withington's. I hope, too, to get something from Clifford Allbutt. He says he would like to write. But of course he cannot be rushed. We must print him if necessary at the end.³

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

63

Singer to Sigerist, London, 22 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Can you answer these professional points? I am engaged in expanding my article on Herbals into a small volume, and I want them to illustrate it.¹

- 1. What are the earliest manuscripts of Apuleius? I should love to have a list of them if you could let me have one.
- 2. Is there any real evidence of the date of Sextus Placitus Papyriensis?² Isn't he mostly extracted from Pliny?³ Is he found associated with Apuleius in the Leiden Voss MS?
- 3. Have you ever looked at Constantine's Africanus⁴ De Animalibus, printed at the end of the Basle (Henricus Petrus) edition of Constantine, dated 1541. Isn't it Sextus Placitus? It's a puzzling thing, and I wonder whether it has anything to do with Constantine at all. I see no evidence of Arabic influence, and I think it's just a false ascription.

I expect you can answer all these things right off.

I am going to try to run up to Cambridge this week and see Allbutt and secure that article from him. The photographs haven't come from Glasgow yet but I expect they will arrive to-day.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

I am hoping for an article from Thorndike for the Sudhoff vol. ⁵ I wrote him again to-day. Elliot Smith is away but returns tomorrow. I wonder if you & Sudhoff would consent to lend me the bound Rotograph copies of the Apuleius MSS? I would only keep them for a few days. I want them for the purpose of selecting figures. I have a copy of the Leyden Voss. Is it asking too much? Please say so if you feel this.

¹ Spencer (1924).

² An article of Robert Steele (1860–1944) on Roger Bacon had appeared earlier: Robert Steele, 'Roger Bacon', in Charles Singer (ed.), *Studies in the history and method of science*, vol. 2 (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1921), 121–150.

³ The published Sudhoff Festschrift does not contain articles by Browne, Power, Steele, or Allbutt, although Allbutt writes the dedication; see letter 76.

I had enclosed card from Wickersheimer in answer to my suggestion of an 'Archiv'. Looks hopeful.

- ¹ Singer (1923e); the planned volume is probably Charles Singer, 'The herbal in antiquity', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1927, **47:** 1–52.
 - ² Sextus Placitus Papyriensis (late Antiquity), wrote on medicine.
 - ³ Caius Plinius (23/24–79 A.D.), Roman naturalist.
 - ⁴ Constantinus Africanus (c.1010-c.1087), translator of Arabic medical texts in southern Italy.
 - ⁵ Thorndike (1924).

64

Singer to Sigerist, London, 29 May 1923

My dear Sigerist,

- (1) Herewith the article of Streeter and myself, all complete and in good order. The figures should appear in the order of the numbers written in green on their backs. I suggest that one of them is left with a few lines of script just to show the palaeographical character of the manuscript. I leave you to choose which. Streeter will pay towards the cost of the illustrations, and will probably pay for the lot. The size of reproduction I leave also to your judgment. I should like the article to appear in Streeter's name but he insists that I should add mine to his as figures were of my finding.
- (2) We shall be able to get Elliot Smith's article all right, but it will be a few days before he will have time to write it.² Comrie doesn't think that his will be ready until the middle of June, and I expect that Allbutt's will not be ready until about the same date, but I am trying to get down to Cambridge next week to discuss it with him. I am going to try to get an article from Sir Humphrey [sic] Rolleston also, and am going to see him about it to-day.³ Fonahn writes that it is really impossible for him to let us have anything. This is a blow.
- (3) Thinking over the question of the title page, I believe it would be a good thing if we put the names of <u>all</u> the contributors on it, ending up with our own in the same size type but on a different line. I think they should go in alphabetical order, beginning with Allbutt who would naturally come first both in the alphabet and by reason of his seniority.⁴
- (4) I have received Lier's proofs of Sudhoff's Ketham. It is simply magnificent both in style and substance, and I most heartily congratulate you on it. It so happens that we have no copy of the 1491 edition in London; I have already started to collate the facsimile with the later editions, and I have got a good way in the translation of Mundinus. I wrote to Lier saying that I would devote the whole of September to their work, and I expect they will be able to deliver me my facsimiles before then.
- (5) I have just been called off to the telephone to speak to Humphrey Rolleston. He says he will let us have something if he possibly can, and I propose to give him some

material of my own which he will work up a little, but naturally it must be some days before we can get it over to you.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

65

Singer to Sigerist, London, 4 June 1923

My dear Sigerist,

(1) A line to say that I have been talking with Sir Humphrey [sic] Rolleston. He <u>absolutely promises</u> to deliver to me an article by June 14th, and I am sure he will keep his word.

I have had a letter from Fishbein to say that a short article from him of about 1500 words will arrive in a few days' time.

I may not be able to get Comrie's article in until the end of June, and the same applies to Allbutt's.

Elliot Smith I am worrying daily. I think we shall get something out of him all right, but it takes time. (2) During the next day or two I shall be finishing my little volume on the History of the Herbal which is an enlargement of my Edinburgh Review article. I am having three copies typed. I wonder if you would be sufficiently good natured, to read the part of it which concerns your particular specialty for me and correct the errors?

(3)² Many thanks for your list of Apuleius MSS, some of which are quite new to me. May I make a few corrections on it?

The Breslau III F.19 S.IX, is surely not illustrated. It has a certain amount of ornamentation, but no figures of plants.

The Vatican Barberini MS <u>is</u> illustrated, as is also Florence Laurent. 73.41. The Harleian MS 4986 is certainly the XIIth century and not the XIth, and I think the second half of the 12th. There is almost a sister MS to Harleian 4986 at Eton College, of which I have taken photographs. The Eton College MS is early thirteenth. Both Eton College and Harley 4986 are German work.

I have made out a genealogical tree of the MS which I will tidy up and send you. You probably will want to make many alterations in it.

(4) Have you seen photographs of Halberstadt MS and of its figures? I should awfully like to get them. I think Diepgen must have had copies for that article that he wrote in

Streeter and Singer (1924),

²There was no article by Elliot Smith

³ Humphry Rolleston, 'The reception of Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of blood in England', in Singer and Sigerist (eds) (1924), 247–254.

⁴ The title page appeared exactly as proposed by Singer.

⁵ Karl Sudhoff (ed.), *Der Fasciculus medicinae des Johannes de Ketham, Alemanus* (Milan, 1923). This edition appeared in Sigerist's Monumenta medica series.

Janus.³ Could you let me have Diepgen's address? I should also very much like to have photographs of the Berlin and Hildersheim [sic] fragments.

Can you suggest any one to write to for the purpose?

Yours ever.

Charles Singer

66

Singer to Sigerist, London, 9 June 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Enclosed letter from Cushing will interest you. Perhaps you would be good enough to send it on to Lier.

I find that we have in London the MS from which I believe the 1483 Rome edition of Apuleius Barbarus was printed. I think a facsimile of that book together with some facsimile pages from the MS might be considered for your series.² I believe I shall be able to bring evidence with me to Interlaken³ to prove my point about the source of the Apuleius Barbarus to you. The Anglo-Saxon illuminated herbal was copied from a closely similar MS, so that most interestingly the Anglo-Saxon herbal and the printed edition are not much further from each other than first cousins.

I have drawn up my genealogical tree, but have still to copy it out and you shall have it in the course of the next few days.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

Would you like me to look through the English of the translation of Sudhoff's Ketham?⁴

¹ Singer (1927) which is an enlargement of Singer (1923e).

²(3) and (4) are medieval manuscripts with their official abbreviations.. ³ *Janus*, a journal of medical history. Paul Diepgen, 'Zur Tradition des Pseudoapuleius', *Janus*, 1922, **26**: 104-107.

¹ Harvey Cushing (1869–1939), neurosurgeon and historian of medicine; see John F. Fulton, Harvey Cushing, a biography (Springfield, Ill.: C.C. Thomas, 1946), and Michael Bliss, Harvey Cushing: a life in surgery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). For a biographical introduction and Sigererist's correspondence with Cushing, see Marcel H. Bickel (ed.), Henry E. Sigerist: Correspondences With Welch, Cushing, Garrison and Ackerknecht (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 41-92.

² Monumenta Medica.

³ Interlaken, a town in Switzerland.

⁴ Sudhoff (1923).

67

Singer to Sigerist, London, 13 June 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Herewith Sir Humphry Rolleston's article. I have edited it a bit, so I think he'd better have proofs.

I had a card from Allbutt last night which makes it pretty clear that it is quite certain that we shall get something from him.² As the doyen of all those who are writing in this volume it is evident that his article should go first, and I hope your printer will be able to arrange for that. Of course his article will be rather late as he has only just started to write it.

It is a great thing to secure both Allbutt and Rolleston, who are, I think, the two most distinguished medical men in this country.

Yours always

Charles Singer

P.S. I enclose Allbutt's card. I don't suppose you can read it, but it runs as follows: "Has anybody put together from a <u>clinical</u> point of view the heart lore before Laennec? – say R. Lower; Albertini; Valsalver [sic]; Senec [sic] and especially Haller, etc. etc.³ If not I could try to do this for Sudhoff in a few <u>weeks</u>, but perhaps it is done already. C. A."

C. S.

68

Singer to Sigerist, London, 15 June 1923

My dear Sigerist,

(1) I send you in confidence – as to a discreet medical man – the enclosed absurd letter from Klebs. His trouble is, of course, that he hasn't enough work to do. He has a series of photographs of Canano, and owns the negatives. I simply want prints of them in order that I may read the work and make a few lantern slides for use in my lectures on the 'History of Anatomy'. Of course this has nothing whatever to do with the Monumenta

¹ Rolleston (1924).

²Only a preface appeared by Allbutt in the Sudhoff Festschrift.

³ Ippolito Albertini (1662–1738), Italian pathological anatomist; Albrecht Haller (1708–1777), Swiss physiologist, botanist, poet, and statesman; René Théophile Hyacynthe Laennec (1781–1826), French professor of medicine; Richard Lower, (1631–1691), British physiologist; Jean-Baptiste de Sénac (1693–1770), French anatomist and cardiologist; Antonio Valsalva (1666–1723), Italian anatomist.

Medica. Of course if Canano is edited in the Monumenta Medica it should be done by a professed anatomist, and I am quite unsuited for the task.³ Poor old Klebs is trying to fasten on me a perfectly imaginary quarrel in a matter in which I am quite innocent.

- (2) I enclose a copy of the Apuleius tree, based on the illustrations.⁴ It will be most interesting to see how it fits in with your conclusions based on text. You shall have the MS of my work in a few days, but of course the argument closely follows the figures which are hardly ready yet.
- (3) I have had enclosed from Fishbein and from Clifford Allbutt. Fishbein does not matter, but we must not do without Allbutt if we can help it, and I have therefore written to him to say that we shall keep a space for him until the end of July.
- (4) I am rather sorry you don't put the names all on the title page.⁵ I saw a Festschrift the other day which was treated in this way, and it looked awfully well. Why not ask the publisher to print a trial page in that way and one in the other so that we can compare them. The experiment could hardly cost more than 10 francs.
- (5) I quite agree with you that it would be desirable to open with Elliot Smith's article, and that would mean of course that the book would be arranged in the chronological order of the subjects which it treats. I'll try to get hold of Elliot Smith during the next few days, but he is always difficult to find. His trouble is that he has a large family and is very poor! The result is that he has to make money in all kinds of odd ways, which include journalism. But he is an awfully good fellow, extremely generous, and of course very distinguished, and I am in great hopes of getting his contribution.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

P.S. I went out yesterday to visit an old fellow student who is in practice in the country. He produced an old anatomical book & asked me if I would like to have it. It was the Italian (the best) edition of Valverde⁶ which must be very rare. Of course I seized on it. It's a most interesting work & a great stroke of luck to get it in this way.

¹ Earlier in 1923 Sigerist had also received 'absurd letters' from Klebs in connection with Canano, see the Sigerist -Klebs correspondence in Marcel H. Bickel (ed.), *Henry E. Sigerist: Vier ausgewählte Briefwechsel mit Medizinhistorikern der Schweiz.* (Bern, 2008).

² Giovanni Battista Canano (1515–1579), Italian anatomist. See Giulio Muratori, 'Canano, Giovan Battista', *Complete dictionary of scientific biography*, Vol. 3, (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 40–41.

³Canano appeared as volume VI in Sigerist's Monumenta Medica series: *Ioannes Baptista Canano*, 1515–1578, Girolamo da Carpi, 1501–1556: musculorum humani corporis picturata dissectio (Ferrara 1541?). Facsimile edition annotated by Harvey Cushing & Edward C. Streeter (Florence: Lier & Co, 1925). This included an article by Klebs.

⁴Genealogical 'tree' of Apuleius manuscripts, see letter 65.

⁵ See letter 64.

⁶ Juan Valverde de Amusco (c.1520 – c.1588), Spanish anatomist; see Francisco Guerra, 'Juan De Valverde', *Complete dictionary of scientific biography*, vol. 13 (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), 568–569.

Singer to Sigerist, London, 18 June 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Very many thanks for the photographs of the Berlin, Halberstadt and Hildersheim [sic] fragments concerning which I have a few remarks to make.¹

I quite agree with you and differ from Diepgen that the Halberstadt cannot possibly be the ancestor of the Leyden MS. I should be disposed to place its origin from the main stem before that South Italian recension was formed from which the Leyden is derived.

There are some extremely interesting points, however, in the figures. First I would point out to you that instead of a snake and scorpion fighting on one of the pages – a very usual grouping – we have a snake and cray-fish or lobster. There can be no doubt if you examine the head of the beast that this is the case. Now the cray-fish or lobster is not infrequently represented in the signs of the Zodiac instead of the scorpion. But when this is the case the document is invariably of <u>northern</u> origin. The reason is obvious; it is that the scorpion is unknown in the North, and known only in the South. From this we may infer that the Halberstadt fragment represents a document which, already in the seventh century, had departed considerably from tradition.

The herb <u>persterion</u> [sic]² on another page of the Halberstadt differs considerably from any herb with a similar name in the Leyden or Cassel MSS. On the same page as this figure, however, is a winged horse-like creature with claws which may give a clue to the origin of the MS.

I have looked all through E. H. Zimmermann's <u>Vorkarolingische Miniaturen</u> and there are quite a number of figures which resemble this very closely.³ The closest resemblance is given on Tafel 245 of that work. There is here represented figures from the Gospel book of St. Chad now in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield.⁴ This MS was written and illuminated in the British Isles, and probably in Wales, in the second half of the eighth century. It is extensively glossed in Anglo-Saxon, and represents late Celtic work under English influence.

If you glance at the lion of St. Mark on this plate you will see a creature with spotted body, open-mouthed with tongue, claws, wings and tail similar to the Halberstadt beast. The head is differently shaped and the spots are of a different type, but in symbols of the other evangelists on the same page you will see similar spots to the Halberstadt. In the same group of MSS on other plates you will see other points of resemblance.

I think the single figure of the Berlin fragment may possibly be related to the Leyden MS.

So far as I am able to make out in general the descent of the figures has curiously little relationship to the descent of the text.

If you own the negatives I wonder if you would be so very kind as to tell your photographer to send me positive prints. They would be easier to distinguish that [sic] the rotographs, for which, however, I am extremely obliged.

By the way, has your man been paid for all those magic lantern slides? The Secretary of the Department told me the other day that she was about to send a cheque, but soon

after that was taken ill with pneumonia, and I don't quite know what happened, but I should be very much obliged if you would let me know. There is no need for you to bear the expense.

Yours always, Charles Singer

70

Singer to Sigerist, London, 9 July 1923

My dear Sigerist,

(1) Many thanks for the proof of Garrison. I have corrected one copy and return it to you. I think that, as it is another man's work, I had better have another slip proof before it goes into pages.

The other copy I have sent on to Garrison himself.

(2) About the English translation of Sudhoff's Ketham. I have received the English translation from Sudhoff himself together with the original German text.²

I am sorry to say that the English translation is badly done, and in some parts really incomprehensible. This is not altogether the translator's fault. It is partly the result of Sudhoff's very involved style and careless writing. But the important point is that it would be quite impossible to publish it in English as it stands.

I have therefore sat down to translate, or rather to re-translate the whole on the basis of the MS that Sudhoff has submitted to me. I have got a fair way with this and will do my best to complete the text before I leave London. But this may be impossible and in that case I must leave the remainder until I get back on August 18th when I can finish the whole thing off in two days. I'll bring the documents with me to Interlaken.

- (3) I have had a letter from Dannemann³ saying that he has heard from you that I am coming to Switzerland and asking me to visit him at Munich. I find Dannemann a perfectly impossible person to deal with. He seems to have no common sense at all. I persuaded an English publishing house to undertake an abridged translation of his big book.⁴ They offered him what seemed to me very generous terms. I was to undertake the final editing. But Dannemann has so infuriated them with his interminable letters, un-business-like habits, scrawling writing, refusal to answer the questions he is asked and irritating bargaining with people who are trying to treat him well, that they declare that they will not answer any more of his letters. I'll tell you all about it on the 15th.
- (4) I am sorry to say we must drop the idea of Elliot Smith's article. My wife and I called on the Elliot Smiths yesterday and we found the poor old fellow almost in a state of collapse. He's frightfully overworked and generally run down, and of course, as always

¹ Berlin, Halberstadt, Hildesheim manuscripts.

² Peristerion

³ Ernst H. Zimmermann, Vorkarolingische Miniaturen (Berlin, 1916).

⁴Lichfield, a town in England.

happens with men in that nervous condition, he said it was quite impossible for him to take a holiday. After arguing with him for about an hour and a half – the gist being that if he didn't take a holiday he'd have a breakdown – he consented to come with us next Saturday. I was just off to take his ticket this morning when the poor old fellow telephones up to say that he can't come after all.

I shouldn't be surprised if he did come, but he really isn't in a state to be asked to write anything.

We are booking our rooms at an Interlaken hotel to-day, and I'll write you to-morrow which one.

Yours ever

Charles Singer

71

Singer to Sigerist, London, 11 July 1923

My dear Sigerist,

I have been working at the English translation of Sudhoff's text for the Monumenta medica, ¹ and, as I wrote to you, I am somewhat perturbed by the results. I send you the enclosed documents so that you may think the matter over before we meet to discuss it on the 15th.

It is quite out of the question to print the translation as it stands. A large part of it – perhaps the most part of it – is quite incomprehensible. It is evident that the translator's knowledge of English is not quite perfect, and his knowledge of the actual subject of the work practically negligible.

I first thought to correct the English to make it intelligible, but I found that this meant making practically a new translation.

Moreover there were passages in Sudhoff's original German which were quite incomprehensible except to one, like myself, who knew the antecedent work. Furthermore, there are large passages, e.g. the discussion of the manuscript sources of the "urine disc", which can only appeal to a very small class in any country. That class may safely be relied upon to be able to interpret German for itself.

I enclose 13 typed pages of my retranslation, together with the manuscript of the original, for you to get some kind of idea of its state. Even as it is I have had to excise parts of Sudhoff's material and add a sentence of my own here and there in order to get it into literary English.

¹ Garrison (1924).

² Sudhoff (1923); an English edition, translated by Singer, appeared in 1924.

³ Friedrich Dannemann (1859–1936) German historian of science; Friedrich Dannemann, 'Über den Parallelismus in der Entwicklung der Naturwissenschaften und der Heilkunde', in Singer and Sigerist (eds), (1924), 349–368.

⁴ Friedrich Dannemann, Grundriss einer Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, 2 volumes (Leipzig 1898).

Thinking the matter over I make this suggestion as to how it should be treated. Give up the idea of an English translation altogether, but let me write from this translation an abstract in English of Sudhoff's original, occupying, let us say, some 20 small printed pages. This can be slipped into the copies which are sold in England and America and would help the sales. I could get in to 20 pages or so everything except what the highly specialised reader would want to have, and my name added to that of Sudhoff would do something to help the sales.

If you like this idea I will undertake it directly I get back to England in August,² and indeed the task is already half done in the typewritten pages which are in your hands. If you don't like the idea, – or if it infuriates Sudhoff too much to be told that he can't write German! – I am quite willing to complete the task in the way in which I have begun it, and do my best to make something of a translation.

If you choose this last course I think I would prefer my name <u>not</u> to be associated with the translation itself because I have a suspicion that it would contain a comic element! And humour you know is a deadly weapon!

Seriously, Sudhoff is <u>sui generis</u>. You can't translate him, you can only abstract him. We who know him and are used to working in manuscripts can afford to smile at the enormous emphasis laid on rotten little manuscripts on urinoscopy, but the average English reader who buys him will not smile but will laugh outright! He will say that Sudhoff is playing a very old tune! Therefore I am all in favour of an abstract and not of a translation.

I send under registered cover the following elements: (a.) a typewritten copy of my new translation as far as it is complete. (b.) Sudhoff's own translation into English divided into two parts, the first part corrected as far as I have gone, and the second part still to be worked upon. (c.) Slip proofs of this original text.

I retain here (a.) page proofs of Sudhoff's German text.(b.) A complete facsimile of the Ketham itself. (c.) A number of pages of illustration which are to go into the appendix.

I suppose I may keep these until I return in the middle of August, particularly as they are very awkward to pack, but if not I can always get my secretary to forward them to you, to Lier & C. or to the printers Messrs. Kurt Wolf.

We much look forward to seeing you at Interlaken on the 15th. We have booked rooms for the whole party at Hotel du Lac. We arrive about 10 o'clock in the morning, and you and I can spend the whole day together. I shall let the others go off by themselves and shall have nothing to do but talk matters over with you.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

I see no objection to English <u>title pages</u> for the English edition. It would help to sell the book.

¹English translation of Sudhoff (1923).

² After Singer's vacation in Switzerland.

72

Singer to Sigerist, Oberalpsee, Switzerland, 22 July 1923

My dear Sigerist,

Herewith the correction proofs of the second part of Garrison's article. There are a large number of corrections but I must admit that they are most of them the fault of Garrison's MS. I did not realize how bad it was. I had certainly better have another set of slip-proofs before it goes into page form. I found a letter from Garrison waiting for me at this place in which he says I may 'edit' his article as I like.

You had better write to me to Vienna at

Pension Miko

Nedergasse 23/24

Wien XIX where I shall be from August 3–13. If anything urgent turns up a communication addressed Poste Restante, Vättis, Schweiz will find me there until July 30.

I have written enclosed to Sudhoff I hope you approve. I don't make you responsible as you will see.²

We have had a fine time here[.] We walked from Brienz over the Brunig through the Aare Gorge to Meiringen & on to Innertkirchen. Spent a day there on a long excursion to the Alp of the Bourg [sic]. From there we walked to the Grimsel Hospiz & spent a day on excursions from there. Next day we walked over the Nageligratli [sic] & Rhone glacier to the Furka where we stayed a day, coming to the Tiefen Gletscher on an excursion. Today we walked here from Furka.³ All are well & all enjoying it enormously.

Best wishes to Mrs. S & the children⁴ from us both,

Yours always,

Charles Singer

I find that Miss Jessie Symmers (Elliot Smith's niece) who comes with us to Wien has not had her passport visaed for Austria. I am writing (in German) to the Austrian consulat [sic] at Zurich saying that she is known to you, asking for a visa.

73

Singer to Sigerist, Vättis, Switzerland, 30 July 1923¹

My dear Sigerist,

I've had a letter from Sudhoff accepting my suggestions. He says he does not mind my abstracting him provided it occupies a good large space! So that is all right. I'll settle to it as soon as I get back on August 18.

¹ Garrison (1924).

² In his letter to Sudhoff, Singer tries to sell his ideas he had explained in the previous letter.

³ The itinerary of the Singers in the Swiss mountains was a considerable hiking tour of one week.

⁴ Sigerist's two daughters, Erica (1918–2002) and Nora (born 1922).

My wife finds she has not paid for the maps. Would Mrs Sigerist let her have a post card to Vienna to say how much they cost?

The walk has been a very great success. We have enjoyed it enormously. The weather has been good & we have crossed several glaciers.

Address till August 13 Pension Miko Nedergasse 23/4 XIX Wien As ever Charles Singer

¹ Vättis, a village in eastern Switzerland.

74

Singer to Sigerist, Vienna, 2 August 1923

My dear Sigerist,

We got here yesterday morning. Today I am spending with the Juliana Anicia. (1) I return corrected proofs of the Salerno article. I note that the printer has no letter y. This will doubtless be corrected. (2) I'm sorry about Allbutt. Under the circumstances if he would write a tribute to Sudhoff which we could put directly after your dedication I think it would help the appearance & sale of the book & be of some international[?] value also. I will see that D'Arcy Power and E. G. Browne write personal letters to Sudhoff. Before I left I wrote to Comrie to send <u>you</u> his article. Have you heard from him yet? I'll stir him up if you have not. 3

Will you write to Allbutt to say that we agree to print his dedication? I return his letter.

(3) As regards Garrison's proofs there are four notes that have been incorporated in the text.

Page 3 last paragraph

Page 5 first paragraph

Page 5 third paragraph

Page 5 last line I have put loops[?] round there. Could they be put back to their right place? I don't know how to [....] this to a German printer. Garrison's proofs are greatly improved. (4) As regards the title of Garrison's paper. Did he give us one? I don't think he did. If not I suggest:

SOME MODERN MOVEMENTS IN EPIDEMIOLOGICAL THOUGHT. By F. H. ${\rm GARRISON}^4$

Manila, Phillippin [sic] Islands

I have been through his proofs again. They can now go into page form if the notes are put in their place.

(5) I have sent their proofs to Spencer & Rolleston. Their addresses are

W. G. Spencer

2 Portland Place

W1, London

Sir Humphry Rolleston KCB

55 Upper Brook Street

W2 London

(6) The question arises about titles degrees offices etc. I prefer the German way of only giving names and towns. The difficulty is with titles such as <u>Sir</u> which are really part of the name. In Rolleston's case, too, as President of the College of Physicians his office has a real historic interest & is not inapplicable to the present volume. As regards the English and Americans I am inclined to describe them as follows:

Sir T. C. Allbutt P. C. (i.e. Privy Councillor = Geheimrat)

Regius Professor of Medicine, Cambridge

Sir Humphry Rolleston K.C.B.

President of Royal College of Physicians

London

W. G. Spencer London

Charles and Dorothea Singer London

E. T. Withington Oxford

J. D. Comrie Edinburgh

E. C. Streeter Harvard

F. H. Garrison Manila

But I will consult Rolleston himself on the point as soon as I get back to London. (7) What about Spencer's & my own pictures? (8) I have had another letter from Sudhoff who is now quite delighted with my suggestion of abstracting him. (9) This morning comes Miss Bowie[?] (one of our party) from München. She says a revolution in Germany is certain. Prices there she says, have gone up 3 times since yesterday. Most of the shops are closed.

If things should go badly try and get old Sudhoff out of Germany. We could put him up for a while & if it came to the worst & I expect the English would try to make small posts[?] for such people as we have some for the Russian professors. But I daresay this is alarmist nonsense. But it does look bad.

Yours ever,

Charles Singer

Vienna gives an impression of being now fairly prosperous. They say trade is good. We had a professor here last night who told us that he pays 5 shillings a quarter = one pound a year for his flat!

¹ Anicia Juliana (462–527/528), a Byzantine princess to whom the Vienna Dioscorides MS was dedicated.

² Singer and Singer (1924).

³ Allbutt, Garrison, Spencer, Rolleston, Withington, and Streeter are authors in the Festschrift; Power, Browne, and Comrie are not.

⁴ Garrison (1924), the title in the Sudhoff Festschrift reads 'The newer epidemiology'.

Singer to Sigerist, Vienna, 11 August 1923

My dear Sigerist,

(1)¹ Herewith the remaining proofs of Garrison's article.² The whole can now go into page proof & had better be returned to me as a whole.

Page 7 paragraph 3 reference should go into a note.

Page 8 paragraph 2 reference should go into a note.

Page 10 paragraph 1. Is it not La Tène not la Tene?³ It is the type of palaeolithic culture to which Garrison is referring.

- (2) I will write the dedication of the volume in English as you suggest. It shall be the first thing I do on my return home. For that purpose would you let me have a complete list of the contributors to the volume addressed to me in London?
 - (3) Very well let Garrison's title be "The Newer Epidemiology".
- (4) Clifford Allbutt's letter is charming and will do admirably. I will get similar but shorter letters from D'Arcy Power, E. G. Browne & Elliot Smith. I anticipate no difficulty. Elliot Smith's article must evidently fail. He is much run down & has been unwell here[?] with some digestive trouble. He is better now but not up to writing. He will however gladly write a letter.
- (5) With a view of getting letters from Power, Browne & Elliot Smith I am keeping Allbutt's for the moment but will send it back to you soon after my return.
- (6) I called on Neuburger both at his house & in the Josephinum.⁴ I had the honour, also, of an interview with Frau N. Poor fellow, it's a queer ménage! But learned men are a queer lot! He's very grateful for what has been done for him.
- (7) We get beastly accounts from Germany. I wish I could do something for Sudhoff. I'm sure he'll want it & I'll try my best. One of our party wants to go to Germany but there is great difficulty about visas.
- (8) We leave here by the Orient Express⁵ early in the morning on Tuesday August 14th & we get to London on the evening of Wednesday August 15th, so all letters are best send [sic] to London.

Best wishes to Mrs S. & the children.

Yours always

Charles Singer

¹(1) to (5) are dealing again with the Sudhoff Festschrift.

²Garrison (1924).

³La Tène culture: The European Iron Age, 450 to 1st century B.C.

⁴The Vienna Medical-Surgical Academy, later Department and Museum of Medical History

⁵Long-distance train running between Paris and Istanbul.