

MEDICAL ISSUES AND PEOPLE IN VIEW OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LATIN WORKS PUBLISHED IN KRAKÓW

MEDICINSKA PITANJA I LJUDI S POGLEDOM NA LATINSKA DJELA IZ SEDAMNAESTOG STOLJEĆA OBJAVLJENA U KRAKOVU

Michał Czerenkiewicz^{*,**}

SUMMARY

This paper investigates the Latin works dealing with medicine and physicians, published in seventeenth-century Kraków. The main purpose of the research is to present the leading persons of academic medicine working in those times in this city and to follow through the selected works, which constitute a part of Neo-Latin literature in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The scholastic way of the discourse did not always mean overuse of the authorities, however both ancient and modern were being evoked. By presenting the segment of the medical milieu of seventeenth-century Kraków, namely those academics who published their works there, the author claims that sometimes the neglected Latin editorial production of the Cracovian printing shops is an important part not only for the history of the development of medicine in this region of Europe but also for the cultural heritage of the state's community. Although the Latin language might enable the broader extent of these medical works, most of them were addressed to a particular scientific public. The essay shows that many medical doctors were known for their activities in various fields, such as poetry and city management,

* Correspondence Address: Chair of Editorship and Auxiliary Sciences, Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, ul. Gołębia 14, 31007 Kraków, Poland. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2219-6262>. E-mail: michal.czerenkiewicz@uj.edu.pl.

** The paper has been written within the post-doctoral research project (dec.no. 2016/20/S/HS2/00078), carried out under the auspices of the National Science Centre, Poland, at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków (academic supervisor: Prof. dr. hab. Janusz S. Gruchała).

and that the panegyric works may serve as one of the sources of recognition of their biographies and medical output as well.

Keywords: history of medicine, book, Neo-Latin, University of Kraków, seventeenth century

PRELIMINARIES

The medical literary production of the Commonwealth of Poland (1569–1795), especially the one in its long-time formal capital, Kraków (in Latin: *Cracovia*), considered in view of the book culture or history of literature, seems to await more attention than it was paid to as of yet, despite the fact that there are some essays that deal with medicine in early modern Poland. One of them is by Maria Juda, who depicts a medical book on the scale of the entire Old Poland (Juda, 2011, pp. 61–72). An important part of the legacy of the bygone culture of the book are the prints that were published in Kraków in the seventeenth century.

One of the aims of this paper is to present an outline of the main and characteristic features of medical studies and medicine in view of the Latin printed texts published in Kraków. The texts are investigated and treated both as historical and literary sources, especially since there are rather, apart from some exceptions, overlooked and unacknowledged aspects of the history of early modern medicine of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. One of the reasons for this could be that a significant part of the printed sources was written in Latin, which may have discouraged prospective researchers from the present Polish and foreign medical academies, where in some places, the Latin courses are being gradually reduced. As can be seen, the scope of this paper is narrowed to the editorial production published in Latin, not in the vernacular language, since this is a useful criterion to determine the research subject and as the research area is the Neo-Latin medical literature and referring to physicians, released in selected printing shops. These were run by Mikołaj Lob (15.–ca. 1617), the successors of Jakub Siebeneicher (ca. 1556–1604), Andrzej Piotrkowczyk the Elder (15.–1620), Stanisław Giermański (?–1627), Maciej Jędrzejowczyk (15.–1638), Franciszek Cezary the Elder (ca. 1583–1651), Krzysztof Schedel the Elder (ca. 1585–1653) and his family successors, as well as by Aleksander Dymowski (?–1651), Walerian Piątkowski (?–1652), Łukasz Kupisz (?–1655), Stanisław Bertutowic (?–before 1657)¹, and the University of

¹ The dates of life of the printers are proffered after The Union Catalogue of Polish Research Library Collections (NUKAT). The probable date of birth of Krzysztof Schedel the Elder has been stated by the author. The selected dates of other persons are proffered after CERL Thesaurus.

Kraków itself (Socha, 2016). The early printed works in Polish will sometimes be adduced as contextualization for the Latin part of the editorial repertoire. I would like to answer these questions: which issues are the fields of interest of the authors publishing their works in the former Polish capital? To what extent the petrified academic customs influenced the shape of the medical discourse in Kraków as one of the Central European cities? What were the ways of binding together arts and medicine in the literary output? The assumption of this paper is that only elucidation of the mutual connections between natural science, history, and literature, in conjunction with denominational questions, results in a widescreen portrayal of one discipline in early modern times (Feola, 2016), and regarding the background, also the city's social classes. Another scope of this paper is to recall the works which, if they are not of the top importance for the history of medicine itself, are the documents of their times.

In this paper, I will concentrate on the literary production published in the Cracovian printing offices in the seventeenth century. The purpose of the conducted research is to examine the condition of medical studies and medicine based on books as the primary source. Sources such as manuscripts or medical instrumentarium of those times are then outside the scope of the research. Medicine in seventeenth-century Kraków differed from this in, e.g., sixteenth-century Italy, so in this paper, neither the Renaissance scholarship is more precisely characterised, nor the characteristics of the seventeenth-century science are the key subject since there are more or less comprehensive studies (Siraisi, 2004).

Some seventeenth-century specialists associated with the University of Kraków also published works in other cities, e.g., Jan Toński in Venice or Jacek Łopacki in Padua. Nevertheless, here the basis is limited only to the works published with the Latin or Polish version of the name 'Kraków', mentioned in the imprint, the city which was the main centre of the academic life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time. This conceptualisation will enable us to follow through the publishing movement in an important scientific city and strong editorial centre of the state.

The source basis of the research covers several dozens of early printed books and booklets, as well. The results of the investigation from a historical and literary point of view will be shown on the basis of some selected representative literary testimonies of the seventeenth century. Among them, we may distinguish the works dealing essentially with medical questions, the commemorative works honouring some physicians, and the books, which not only deal with strictly medical topics but also remark on specialists in

medicine. The selection of these primary sources has been conditioned by the significance of the individual works and their authors' contributions to the development of academic medical knowledge in Kraków at that time.

This study will present some leading figures of the medical faculty of the University of Kraków and some of their works to prove that the seventeenth-century Cracovian physicians (both theoreticians and practitioners) continued the humanistic cultural formation (Axer, 2012, pp. 50, 64, 66). After sketching the state of the research, I will characterise in general terms the condition of medicine in Kraków, especially in relation to the university in the seventeenth century. Then I will try to present some of the works and their authors according to the covered topic. Simultaneously, as far as possible, in accordance with the chronological order, I will also adduce some Latin editorial production, which deals with medical issues in the literary and not strictly the scientific field. The paper ends with an attempt of summing-up.

STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Early modern medicine in Poland is worth noticing, even though it has not always been considered in scientific surveys. None of the Cracovian physicians of the seventeenth century has been evoked in the *Introductio in historiam medicinae litterariam* (*Introduction to the Literary History of Medicine*) by Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (Blumenbach, 1786; Gryglewski, 2021, online). Blumenbach (1786, pp. 211-12), however, mentions John Jonston acting in Leszno, a town in western Poland, and some physicians from Breslau, nowadays in Poland; there are evoked: Daniel Sennert (Blumenbach, 1786, p. 217), Paulus Ammann (Blumenbach, 1786, p. 306), and Christoph Wolf (Blumenbach, 1786, p. 370).

We can read research papers on individual authors and synthetic outlines of the history of medicine in Kraków. However, they are prepared rather with the omission of questions concerning literary values or the generic status of the medical works. The register of the Cracovian physicians up to the second half of the eighteenth century, together with some excerpts mostly from the Jagiellonian University Latin archives, was prepared by Józef Majer (1839, pp. 44-50). There is also a lexicon of physicians working in Poland by Stanisław Kościński (1888) and the biographies of the seventeenth-century Cracovian physicians by Jan Lachs (1929). The history of the medical faculty of the Academy, from its beginnings till the second half of the eighteenth century, was presented by Mieczysław Skulimowski (1964, pp. 13-53). Also, Henryk Barycz

wrote about Polish medicine in the seventeenth century, however he rather sketched the status of discipline in Kraków in those times (Barycz, 1970, pp. 142-146; Urban, 1964, pp. 294-295, 300-302; Przyboś, 1964, pp. 321-23). We may be acquainted with the history of Polish medicine by reading works of such authors as, among others, Władysław Szumowski (1961, 2017) or Zdzisław Gajda (2011). The worthwhile outline of the history of medicine, among others, at the Academy of Kraków has been portrayed by acknowledged medicine professor Janusz Skalski (2016, pp. 181, 197-98, 227, 269-71, 274-75, 2017) as well. Skalski (2016, p. 242, 2017, p. 105) also sets down, as one might say, some prejudices and stereotypes assigned at large to early modern society, such as its attitude towards witches.

A valuable source addressed to the Cracovian profession of medicine was printed in 2017, namely the collection of the epitaphs devoted to physicians, among them those of the seventeenth-century Kraków, *Monumenta medica Cracoviensia* (Gajda, 2017). All the above-mentioned historians of medicine have their seventeenth-century predecessors, namely Bartłomiej Dylągowski (Skulimowski, 1981, pp. 3-4, 15-16) and Szymon Starowolski (to whose the *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, the *Monumenta ...* by the modern historian of medicine, Zdzisław Gajda, are referred by its title), whose works will be discussed in the further part of this paper.

In comparison with the famous Polish doctors of the sixteenth century, such as Józef Struś from Poznań or Wojciech Oczko, the authors of, among others, the work on thermal springs and the *Przymiot* covering venerology issues (published in 1581) (Brzeziński, 2004, pp. 61-62), Polish physicians of the succeeding century are less known. The eminent person of the Commonwealth of Poland of those times was the Jesuit Michał Boym, though he acted mainly abroad as a physician propagating Chinese medicine. It is assumed that at the University of Kraków, one of the oldest universities in Central Eastern Europe, scholars carried out research on medicine in the seventeenth century rather as a subsidiary of the mainstream of this discipline. Despite the decline and stagnation at the Academy, caused, among others, by the several wars (Wilson, 2011) in which the state was involved, one may admit that the key physicians, who worked at the above-mentioned university, undertook important questions which they treated seriously, however mainly not in a deepened way. This time is usually stereotypically conceived as a period of stagnation in Polish medicine, while elsewhere, the development of the scientific revolution was continued (Ijsewijn & Sacré, 1998, p. 324). Early modern medicine of the seventeenth century, practised and taught in Western

countries and Italy, is perceived as the developing ideas of the Renaissance turn (Gigliani, 2014, pp. 679-690).

The main printed sources telling us about the themes covered by the Cracovian physicians are largely disputations and dissertations; they are not often treatises, among various genres in which early modern scholars presented medical knowledge (Rütten, 2013, p. 69). We can find hardly any printed Latin *consilium* (Ijsewijn & Sacré, 1998, p. 346; French, 2003, pp. 121-122) among investigated books, but the physicians gave their advice on how to cure specific nosological units. It may be stated that almost all the medical works, written and published in Kraków, were short *synopseis* of the medical questions (Juda, 2011, pp. 61-72), published mainly *in quarto* of several leaves, sometimes *in folio*, and in the latter case, the volume was usually limited to two leaves. We must also admit that not so many medical works were published then. It was, seemingly, not a question of the lack of money because, in 1619, a special fund was established in Kraków for printing the scientific works of academic scholars. Let us make an assumption that only a small number of these productions can be recognised as a substantial treatise.

THE CRACOVIAN PHYSICIANS' MULTITASKING AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THEIR EPOCH

The physicians who authored the discussed works were educated in Kraków and sometimes in Italy, which is certified by papyraceous diplomas, nowadays kept at the Museum of the Medical Department of the Jagiellonian University (Gajda, 1998, pp. 66-67). They also continued their tenure in other cities, such as, for instance, Lublin and Zamość (Mikołaj Ignacy Fatowicz, Tomasz Franciszek Ormiński), situated in Eastern Poland. Studying abroad was also the case of their sixteenth-century predecessors. Obtaining doctoral degrees in medicine at the Academy of Kraków was difficult to accomplish in the seventeenth century. Hence, some physicians chose Padua to get their doctorates as it is written in the laudatory obituary of 1648, published in 4°, dedicated to Jerzy Pipan, who, after studies in Kraków, moved to Padua and became the rector of that university: "Academia creavit medicum in vita morali, Patavium in vita naturali, urbs Cracovia in vita civili" ("Academy created physician in the moral mode of life, Padua in the natural mode of life, the city of Kraków in the civic mode of life") (Michalski, 1648, leaf A₃ r.) It, however, did not mean that the physicians educated in Italy could then matriculate easily at the university in Kraków, which was quite resistant to changes. In

the seventeenth-century medicine at the Academy, there is a continuation of Galen's and Hippocrates' traditions. However, a more practical attitude, based mainly on observation, occurs.

Many authors, not only in Kraków (Gaj, 2015, pp. 29-46), specialised in remote disciplines, such as composing panegyric pieces (Lachs, 1922, p. 316; Cerdeira, 1995, pp. 427-39) and medicine. Panegyricism, widely present in the literature of those times, seemed to be an inseparable vehicle for creating one's image, as well as scholars' image. The forthcoming Cracovian medics at the counterpart of nowadays high school and the University learned the techniques of composing both panegyric prose and poetry. The titles of the occasional prints show the wide range of the local physicians' activities. This phenomenon may be analysed against the background of the continuation of humanistic culture in the seventeenth century. Poetry was a field of activity of physicians such as Jan Stanisław Dżidowski (since 1693 at the Faculty of Medicine) (Wachholz, Białoń & Grochowski, 1963, pp. 16-17) or Stanisław Wosiński. Not only poetry but also linguistics was the field of interest of some medical doctors. Bartłomiej Kazimierz Malicki authored the grammar of French, *Klucz do języka francuskiego* (*Key to the French Language*) published in Kraków in 1700 by the *officina Schedeliana* (the Schedels' printing shop). The major figures of Kraków medicine were involved in theology, philosophy, and a number of liberal arts. Some physicians, e.g., Mikołaj Żórawski and Tomasz Franciszek Ormiński, developed merchantable calendars in Polish. Medicine in calendars, although rather an issue of minor significance, concurs with the whole composition of the work in which readers were interested.

Some of these physicians also acted in the municipality (e.g., Józef Częczkiewicz, Jan S. Dżidowski, Stanisław A. Łopacki, Jan Łukaszewicz, Jakub Reynekier, Jan Zajączkowiec, Michał Behem) (Wachholz, Białoń & Grochowski, 1963, pp. 16-17) and they significantly affected the city's affairs. The evidence of that is a dedication letter in the *Quaestio de phrenitide* (*Inquiry on Brain Inflammation*) in which Gabriel Ochocki, named 'senior' (ca. 1601-1673), entrusts his work, called 'medica lucubratio' ('laborious medical writing') and 'memoria nostra primam medicae facultatis Academiae Cracoviensis propaginem' (Ochocki, [1629], leaf A₂ v.) ('the first, as we remember, offspring of the medical faculty of the Academy of Kraków') to Jan Tęczyński, the voivode of Kraków. In fact, we may assert that every professor of medicine at the Academy of Kraków was a versatile scholar. Some of them were the members of the municipal self-governance, according to the explanation: "Scitis, quis optimus est in vita civili medicus? Qui sana dat consilia civitati [...]" ("Do you

know which physician is the best as far as civic activity is concerned? This, who gives sane advice to the community [...]” (Dzidowski, 1648, leaf B₄ v.)

We may assume that the physicians did not confine their reading practice only to the medical literature. The collections of books of some physicians contained the works by Justus Lipsius, Erius Puteanus or Julius Caesar Scaliger (Lachs, 1930, pp. 72, 94-95)², attesting also an effect of the Netherlandish thought on the intellectual curriculum of both the physicians and penmen. However, northern humanism (Borowski, 2001) seems not to have a crucial impact on their academic background.

POST-TRIDENTINE IMPACT

Physicians working in Kraków were strongly influenced by post-Tridentine reform, as was the case in some other medical faculties in the seventeenth century (Piñero, 2006, p. 79). The impact of the Counter-Reformation may be seen, among others, in recognising Aristotle’s philosophy or Aristotle himself, whose authority also served earlier in scholastic thought (French, 2003, p. 150). Although in the sixteenth-century Cracovian Latin medical books we also see these, in which discourse is conducted in accordance with the scholastic manner and the principles of this philosophy, they seem to still be predominant in the seventeenth century. Many medical works of the seventeenth century had a rather scholastic mode of proposing questions as far as the structure of the work was concerned. While specifying an illness, two kinds of definitions were sometimes introduced: formal and real one. In the Cracovian works of the seventeenth century, the dimension of medicine, although it is mainly scientific—accordingly to the contemporaneous comprehension of this term—is to some extent connected with philosophical and religious convictions (Płonka-Syroka, 2009, p. 49). Therefore, in some aspects, it represents the ‘thought style’ (Płonka-Syroka, 2009, pp. 48, 57) of the representatives of the culture who are its active makers (according to Ludwick Fleck) (Płonka-Syroka, 2009, pp. 56-59). Direct religious references may be observed in some works, of which small numbers had been devoted to the representatives of the clergy and one to God Himself. The *Quaestio de angina (Inquiry on Acute Throat Inflammation)* by Jan Toński was dedicated ‘For the celestial the greatest Physician of the body and the soul ...’ (‘Coelesti corporis et animae Archiatro ...’) (Toński, 1648, leaf [I] v.) The *Quaestio de peripneumonia (Medical*

² I am grateful to the late Prof. dr hab. Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa for pointing out this work on a collection of books belonging to Cracovian physicians.

Inquiry on Pneumonia) by Piotr Mucharski finishes with the call ‘Glory and grace to God’ (*Deo gloria et gratia*). Stanislaus Wosiński (1676, leaf B, r.) or possibly the printer himself marked the confessional profile of the author of the *Quaestio medica de febre maligna* (*Medical Inquiry on Malignant Fever*) by the acronym finishing the very text of dissertation: A.M.D.G.B.M.V. (‘For the major glory of God and Blessed Virgin Mary’) and more such anagrams may be found in medical writings. In another work, in the dedication letter to the Polish King Jan III Sobieski by Jan Zajączkovic (1695b, leaf [2] v.) the Saviour is called ‘animae et corporis medicus’ (‘doctor of soul and body’) and the very disquisition is preceded by a philosophical preface invoking God.

Also, the city itself was shaped by the activity of the Church institutions such as orders. Just in the first decade of this century, namely in 1609, Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God (in Latin: *boni fratres*) came to Kraków (Pietrzekiewicz, 2009, pp. 48-49), where they started to run their almshouse and treat poor townspeople. They were not linked with the university directly; they were mainly practitioners, also known for the use of herbalism, while not all the professors of the Academy ran their medical practice. The almshouse of the *boni fratres* supplemented the activity of the hospitals of Saint Roch and Saint Spirit, situated in Szpitalna (‘Hospital’s’) Street in Kraków (*Katalog*, 1916, pp. 29-32). The mutual connection between religion and medicine itself (Lindemann, 1999, p. 11) seems to be, however, looser than in some other parts of Europe. While there are only few reflections of Paracelsism in the Cracovian prints, it was quite present in England, where the impacts of the reformed confessions were also strong (Elmer, 1989, p. 10-45). The Roman Catholic Church shaped a huge part of the editorial process and production in Kraków in the period of time we are dealing with by means of institutional censorship and disseminating religious ideas that were widely present also in some scientific books. The printed output of the contemporaneous physicians is one of the markers of its intellectual formation (Giurgevich, 2016, p. 254).

15th CENTURY BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING IN KRAKÓW AND AFTERWARDS

On the cultural map of Poland, the printing industry emerged as a result of transregional connections. In Kraków, the first printer in the country, allegedly Kasper Straube from Bavaria, since 1473 issued four prints in Latin. In the first half of the sixteenth century, other printers from the Ger-

man-speaking areas launched their print shops in Kraków, and then printing presses run by natives also started their activity. Medical works by Matthias from Miechów and the *herbaria* ('zielniki') authored by Stefan Falimirz, Simon Sirenus, and Hieronim Spiczyński were also published here. The seventeenth-century printing in the Commonwealth of Poland is much more diversified than before, not only due to the increase in the number and size of printing offices but also thanks to their institutional and proprietary affiliation. In Kraków, there were mainly bourgeois printing shops (Gruchała, 1997; Pirożyński, 2000, p. 346) in those times. Cracovian printers published works on medical questions predominantly in connection with the figures operating at the academy.

AN OUTLINE OF THE STATE OF THE CRACOVIAN MEDICINE IN THE FIRST PART OF THE 17TH CENTURY

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1602, the former graduate of the Academy, Jan Zemełka (Joannes Zemelius, ca. 1539-1607), founded two new departments: anatomy and botany (Barycz, 1970, p. 143; Giżewski, 1978, pp. 101-118; Gajda, 2011; Sokołowska-Pituchowa, 2002), and eleven years later, Joachim Oelhaf, by publishing his works in Heidelberg and Gdańsk and earlier in Altdorf, carried out the post mortem examination, the first one in this region of Europe (Brzeziński, 2004, p. 57).

Despite these facts, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the stagnation and the collapse of scientific research and personal involvement in carrying the academic duties seemed to be a common feature of the professors of every faculty at the Academy of Kraków. We may conceive that statement from the dedication letter addressed by Adam Romer to the chancellor of the university, Cracovian bishop Piotr Tylicki in the edition of Cicero's *Orationes* (*Speeches*) of 1610 (Cicero, 1610; Estreicher, 1896, p. 260) published in Kraków by Mikołaj Lob. In a large passage in which Romer complains about the academic and moral standards of the Cracovian professors and emphasizes Tylicki's ability to overcome this state of breakdown, he writes: 'Praecepte, vigilantissime Cancellarie, ut quisq[ue] suam professionem curet. ... Medicus stet in vocatione sua, legat Galenum, Hippocratem, medeatur aegris' ('Please command, the most diligent Chancellor, that everybody takes care of his own occupation. ... Let the medic stay in his vocation, let him read Galen and Hippocrates and let him treat unwell') (Cicero, 1610, leaf [9] r.-[9] v.) One may deduce that, according to Romer, the physicians did not perform their duties

properly, read the works of two great authorities of ancient medicine eagerly, nor did they practice their profession. Interestingly, there is a postulate of combining both theoretical, based on the proven authors, and practical aspects of a physician's job, which in fact, is understood as a special kind of occupation or vocation.

The mentions of the Cracovian professors in the dedication letter by Romer resulted in the fact that this edition of Cicero's speeches in 1610 was not allowed to be exported to the famous book fairs in Frankfurt (Żurkowska, 2010, pp. 23, 25). Such kind of censorship seems not to have occurred often in Kraków, as far as the books covering medical issues are concerned.

Among the books related to medicine, the compact *Chronologia medica* (Dylągowski, 1635; Wróblewski & Bieganowski, 2014, pp. 80-100) (*Medical Chronology*), composed by Professor Bartłomiej Dylągowski, is of pioneering character on the ground of both Polish and Latin history of medicine. A decorative title page with a cityscape of Kraków proceeds the work dedicated to the whole faculty of medicine and equally to Krzysztof Naymanowicz, professor of medicine, dean of the medical faculty, and city councillor, one of the most outstanding and famous Cracovian physicians of the seventeenth century. Dylągowski organises the history of medicine by enumerating groups of famous physicians in compliance with their place of origin: the Greeks, Arabs, Latins (including Italians), Germans, Spanish (together with Portuguese), French, Poles, and English. The 'saint physicians', *philosophi prisci* ('primitive philosophers') and three various chronological systems: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are also included. Among Polish physicians, only two published their works in Kraków in the seventeenth century: Sebastian Petrycy and the above-mentioned Simon Sirenus. The author refers to their works written in Polish, whose titles may be translated as *Instruction or Principles of Conduct During Pestilence ...* (Petrycy, 1613) and *A Collection of Classified Plans, from Latin Called Herbarium* (Sirenus, 1613):

'Sebastianus Petrycy. Scripsit in medicina remedium contra pestilentiae. Obiit 1628. || Simon Sirenus reliquit grande opus in re herbaria'. ('Sebastian Petrycy. In the field of medicine, he wrote a cure against plague. Died in 1628. || Simon Sirenus bequeathed a huge opus on herbalism') (Dylągowski, 1635, leaf D₁ r.)

The preposition *in*, next to the surname of Petrycy, indicates his versatility in various disciplines, and this, as well as the case of the addressee of the dedication, Krzysztof Naymanowicz, will be discussed later in the paper.

As we can state, Dylągowski (1634) does not mention any author publishing in Latin in Kraków in the seventeenth century. However, the author himself released *Quaestio physica de natura motus* (*Natural Inquire on the Character of Movement*) just a year before publishing his history of medicine.

Also in the 1630s, another work portraying the history of scholarly medicine was composed, namely *Laudatio almae Academiae Cracoviensis* (*Praise of the Fertile Academy of Kraków*) of 1639 by Szymon Starowolski (1639), former lecturer at the Academy and then a known polymath (Gajda & Zwolski, 1999a, p. 67, 1999b, pp. 39-49). Starowolski describes both the past of the Academy and its contemporary times, that is, those of the year 1639; this work is useful for obtaining knowledge not only about the first four decades of seventeenth-century medicine but of its whole range up to Starowolski's times. Some laudatory works may serve as a historical source for reconstructing the state of medical faculty through the biographies of physicians. From the literature published in Kraków in the seventeenth century, we may sometimes become acquainted more with the biographies of physicians than with their scientific works.

Although Starowolski was not a physician, he inserted the biographies of some physicians into his works, such as, apart from the above-mentioned *laudatio*, in *Scriptorum Polonicorum Hekatonas seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogia et vitae* (*Hekatonas of the Polish Writers, that is Hundred Laudatory Biographies of the Brilliants Penmen of Poland*) published during his life twice in Frankfurt am Main (1625, 1644) and once in Venice (1627). In Starowolski's Latin texts, we find a wide range of panegyricism which may be an obstacle in scrutinising the actual level of development of the Kraków intellectual background. However, especially the Latin *Praise of the Fertile Academy of Kraków* is important both as a historical source, as well as the testimony of mixing science with the interpolations of the literary focus. Starowolski characterises some persons by composing short praises devoted to particular scholars of four university faculties. In his *Laudatio ...*, the panegyrist mentions a dozen or so medics of the bygone century whose surnames are mixed in some parts with those of the present times. Starowolski tries to show his contemporaries as *gli uomini universali*. When picturing them in medicine in a not very emphasised way, sometimes it almost disappears among rhetorical, political, and municipal activities since the main aim of Starowolski is to praise, not to deliver critical historical information. In 1655 in Kraków, Starowolski (1655) realised the collection of Latin epitaphs of various persons, called *Monumenta Sarmatarum* (*Memorial of the Sarmatians*), and published as

a huge volume *in folio*. In this work, there are sepulchral inscriptions of the physicians of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century from several cities of the Commonwealth of Poland, Warszawa, Poznań, Wschowa, Kalisz, Lublin, Zamość, and Kraków.

In Starowolski's works, there are some poems written by another physician, Nicolaus Żórawski (1595–1665), another example of Renaissance skillfulness. Apart from authorship of poetry, he was a teacher of Greek, a mathematician, and also an astronomer. As we can notice, Żórawski was fluent both in *trivium* as well as in some disciplines of the *quadrivium* and nowadays, he is rather known as an author of calendars, poet, and translator than a physician (Peressin, 2020, p. 66; Czerenkiewicz, 2019a, pp. 20, 23–24, 88, 125), since we do not have any printed medical work by him.

Among the seventeenth-century physicians was Walenty Fontanus (1536–1618), who occupied himself with astrology just like Żórawski and many other medics. Fontanus was famous also for his mathematical talents (Starowolski, 1655, p. 161) and, similarly to Matthias from Miechów, he acted as a rector of the Academy several times (Starowolski, 1655, p. 161). There is a short obituary, from 1600, by his son, Florian, in which there are proofs of Walenty's humanistic education, and these are the quotes from the work *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV de subtilitate ad Hieronymum Cardanum* (*Exoteric Exercises. Fifteen books on exactness to Girolamo Cardano*) by Julius Caesar Scaliger and the words of the ancient astronomer Cleomedes (Fontanus, non ante 1618, leaf [2] v.)³ Their words about virtue, truth, and wisdom are said to be often cited by the late physician. The humanistic background of Fontanus is also mentioned in the remaining memorial quoted by Starowolski (1655, p. 161), in which references to the classical heritage serve as an argument in praising the learned medical practitioner: 'In facienda medicina punctum omne merenti' ('[for this man] in practicing medicine earning to obtain common appreciation'; cf. Hor. *Ars*, 343) and 'In vita plusquam Socrati' ('living a life better than Socrates').

³ The place of printing and the printer's name has been defined in the Section of Early Printed Books, Jagiellonian Library, Krakow, https://katalogi.uj.edu.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991009595779705067&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_UJA:uja&lang=pl&search_scope=MyInstitution&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,Fontanus&offset=0 [accessed: 12 July 2021].

ISSUES ADDRESSED AND SOME OF THE AUTHORS

Let us look at the issues addressed in the Latin medical works. Subsequent rector of the Academy, who himself later conflicted with his alma mater, Krzysztof Naymanowic, worked at the same time with Fontanus in his first years of medical activity (Strzegocki, 1646). His most famous medical work is *De plica* (*On Polish Plait*) (Naymanowic, 1610). The writing is interesting not only from the point of view of the history of the society but also due to the political context. It was dedicated to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, voivode of Kraków, in 1610, three years after finishing his rebellion against the Polish King Zygmunt III. This letter may be seen as a way of linking Zebrzydowski with the university. In the typical panegyric address to Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, Naymanowic, in accordance with the affected modesty topos (Curtius, 1990, p. 83), calls his work, among others, as ‘rough little question’ (*rudis quaestiuuncula*) and ‘a small gift’ (*exiguum munus*).

This inquiry (*quaestio*) was undertaken in harmony with the doxies of Ercole Sassonia (Milewska-Ważbińska, 2020, pp. 117, 118), mentioned in a short word to the reader. Naymanowic seemed to be aware that the opinions of this Paduan physician, under whose guidance he studied in Italy, might not be appreciated; to endear the favour of a less progressive intellectual milieu of Cracovian doctors, he added additional conclusions according to Aristotle’s doctrine. He distinguishes three causes of *plica*, called by him in Polish (as Ercole Sassonia also did): ‘gościec’, namely the humid character of air, syphilis, and a rough-and-ready lifestyle, which he considers the main reason. The treatment should start with the purification of the body since there is an overabundance or corruption of liquids in the flesh.

Another famous physician of the first part of the seventeenth century was Sebastian Śleszkowski (ca. 1576–1645), who studied in Kraków, Germany, and Italy (Tazbir, 1997–1998, p. 561–563). Among his works, only the medical ones do not discredit him since he was also, not only from today’s perspective, infamously involved in public affairs. His *Praxis phlebotomiae* (*Practicing of Phlebotomy*), published for the first time in Kraków in 1615 in the printing shop of the successor of Jacob Siebeneicher (Estreicher, 1930, p. 242), belongs to the broadest medical books of those times in the city. In 1615, the work was printed without the name of the place of printing and the printer’s name, which might be a way of avoiding direct potential accusations from the precursors of more accurate treatment and empiricism in medicine. Indirect evidence of this presumption is in the preface to the reader, where the author

himself writes about his concerns about possible calumny. We may add that the printer preferred to be anonymous, as the writer had previously warned.

Next year *De febribus* (*On Fevers*) by Śleszkowski (1616a) was published by the Cracovian printer Stanisław Giermański (15...–1627), putting the name ‘Cracoviae’ and his name on the title page. Also, in 1616 both works were re-issued as *Opera medica duo* (Śleszkowski, 1616b) by the same publisher, and there was also Giermański who published work on phlebotomy and, as we deduce, this time neither the author nor the printer paid attention to the anticipated malevolent commentaries.

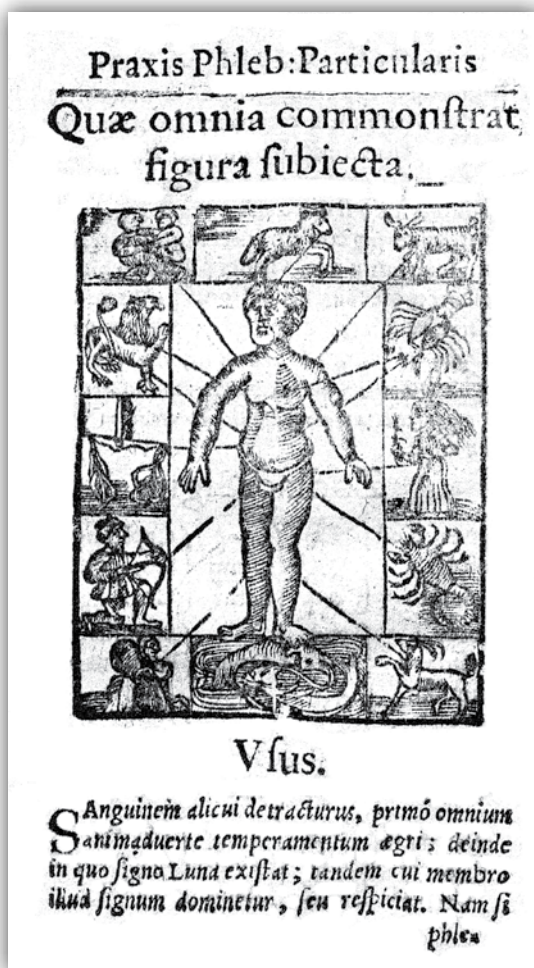


Figure 1. Śleszkowski, *Praxis phelobotomiae...*
 (Śleszkowski, 1616B, leaf 112 v. Public domain).

Vein cutting was still considered the basic way of preserving health in line with the humoral theory (Ekes, 2020, pp.24–27), and Śleszkowski distinguishes two kinds of this procedure: general and particular. He considers phlebotomy as a medical remedy for a high number of multifarious diseases. The *Praxis phlebotomiae* contains a graphic of the human body (Śleszkowski, 1616b, leaf 112 v.), also occurring in calendars, which makes this work outstanding against other Latin works printed in the city. However, it is also evidence of a belief that this treatment depends on the setting of celestial bodies.

The book's target was not only affiliated with university physicians but also practitioners of non-academic medicine. An even broader range of readers was prospected for *De febribus*, which is defined on the title page: 'non solum medicis ad curandum, verum etiam reliquo omni hominum generi praecavendum' (Śleszkowski, 1616a, title page) ('not only for physicians for treatment but also for protecting oneself for all remaining kinds of people'). Although the author (Śleszkowski, 1616a, title page) relies on theories from Hippocrates' school and those of Galen, he also adduces to the authors called 'huius aevi expertissimi' ('the best proved of this age') but does not mention them directly.

A kind of contemporaneous guidebook on the classification of toxins and their properties, special remedies called *theriaca*, and other ways of coping with poisons is *Tetras medicorum operum* (*Foursome of Medical Works*), published for the first time in 1618 and next year as *Medicorum operum tetras*. In 1621 in Braniewo, North-Eastern Poland, the extended (Bentkowski, 1814, p. 451) version of the work was released under the relevantly changed title (Tazbir, 1997–1998). Also, these editions were proposed to a broad audience. Although Śleszkowski acknowledges the old-time statement of three kinds of diseases: wrong complexion, wrong composition, and loss of unity of humours to be the truth, he reaches for early modern authors, namely Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), Guido Guidi (the Elder, 1508–1569), Jean Riolan (the Elder, 1539–1605), and gives many practical health prescriptions.

The works of Śleszkowski differ from other medical books issued in Kraków in the seventeenth century. Most of them were written in order for a person to be incorporated into the faculty. These were so-called theses 'pro loco' ('to obtain a position'), and the medical printed production of some physicians not so rarely ended with the writing of such a work. It was actually infrequent for a professor to publish any medical works after joining the university team. Joining the medical faculty was followed by at least one panegyric print. There is a repeatable scheme of the layout of the works 'pro

loco' title page, as well as of the very content. The date of the diploma thesis defence, often with space left for the exact day, was usually mentioned on the cover page. That is the case of Gabriel Ochocki senior's (Hajdukiewicz, 1978, pp. 492-495) first medical work *Quaestio de motu cordis* (*Inquiry on the Heart Movement*) (Ochocki, 1628; Skalski, 2016, pp. 309-310, 2017, pp. 113-114).

The renowned physician's work was published no later than March 1628. It was dedicated to the city of Kraków council and equipped with Kraków's coat of arms with a poem. It is a short brochure with one question, whether the heart's movement is spontaneous or is a result of its inner calor and blood's motion. Ochocki claims that it is naturally conditioned by *diastole* and *systole* of the hearth, the inner warmth, and not the blood's ebullition. He divides the discourse into four conclusions and then in *corollaria*. This booklet was issued in the same year as the publication of William Harvey's 1628 treatise on the heart's and blood's movement (Gryglewski, 2018). Nevertheless, the scopes of these two works were different since they were a scientific, learned dispute and the *synopsis* that proposed the theses for discussion to obtain an academic degree.

In parallel with Harvey, Polish physician Jan Toński (Giżewski, 1978, p. 101-118) wrote an unfinished, remaining manuscript disputation titled *De motu sanguinis* (*On Blood's Movement*) (Giżewski, 1978, p. 101-118). Toński, before joining the medical faculty in 1648 (Wachholz, Białoń & Grochowski, 1963, p. 45), authored works in mathematics (*Arithmetica vulgaris et trigonometria*, *Common Arithmetic and Trigonometry*) and the *Quaestio de angina* (Toński [1648]), the writing mostly in the field of laryngology, not cardiology, in which he makes references to Harvey's opinion on arterial blood circulation. In the treatment of angina, Toński accorded priority to physicians who had relied on doctrine. He had faith only in proven methods of unscientific medics and declined curing by the similarity between the cases.

In September 1628, the disputation on Ochocki's *Quaestio de temperamentis* (*Inquiry on Right Proportions*) (1628) took place, during which the bachelor, using the term from Aristotelian and Thomistic philosophy, claimed that the right proportion of the mixed ingredients was prime quality. He dedicated his work to the unnamed physicians of the Academy, a group he wanted to join. Shortly afterwards, in January 1629, Ochocki finally obtained the licentiate's degree, defending the second query after baccalaureate, *Quaestio de sympathia and antipathia mixtorum* (*Inquiry on Sympathy and Antipathy of the Mixed Elements*), a pass for putting in for doctorate. The two title notions with reference to substance designate the 'hidden qualities of blended things' (Ochoc-

ki, 1629, leaf A₃ r.). In crude terms, sympathy helps in mending, and antipathy causes illnesses.

In 1629, Gabriel Ochocki, in his *Quaestio de phrenitide*, dealt not with the inflammation of the diaphragm or insanity itself, as the word *phrenitis* may suggest, but with the symptoms of encephalitis (Herman, 1958, p. 26), which manifest in insanity, according to him, uninterrupted and the acute fever, resulting from the inflammation of cerebrum and meninges. The treatment recommended in compliance with the humoral doctrine includes phlebotomy, making blisters, sometimes purgation, the irritating balance of humours, and a thin diet.

Ochocki wrote this work while he was applying for the position of a medicine doctor. It is noteworthy that the ceremony of his promulgation took place at the St. Mary's Church in the Main Market Square in Kraków. The relations between the ecclesiastical environment and the academic one were very strong at the University. However, there were also discordances between medicine professors and the Cracovian bishop or Jesuit order. Both the hierarch and this clergy's representation wanted to impose their supremacy over the Academy. In this struggle, Krzysztof Naymanowicz played a huge role in this enterprising conventual community.

One of the most interesting figures acting in several areas was Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno (Skalski, 2016, pp. 180-183; Quirini-Popławska, 2010, pp. 17-46; Lisowski, 2008, pp. 105-113), a famous physician (known as far back as 1591 for his Latin work on *morbis Gallicus*), translator, and poet; Petrycy was also skilful in the following disciplines: physics, politics, ethics, poetics, and medicine. In his commented edition of Aristotle's *Ethics*, published in Kraków in 1618 (Petrycy, 1618, pp. 134-135; Budzyńska-Daca, 2005, pp. 122-123; Gajda, 2015, p. 155 – in the latter some excerpts on medicine from *Etyka* commented by Petrycy are quoted), he also presents a list of passions. His medical works in Polish concern hot springs and the curing of pestilence.

Sebastian Petrycy, the author of the paraphrase of the Horatian *Carmina*, is the best example of the seventeenth-century humanistic formation among the physicians of the Academy. As Simon Starowolski (1655, p. 82) writes in the quoted *Monumenta Sarmatarum*, Petrycy was a person involved for the common profit: 'For the Kingdom, City, for all people' ('regno, urbi, omnibus'). Sebastian Petrycy's epitaph also emphasises his ethical values (Budzyńska-Daca & Botwina, 2010, p. 102) – they are considered to be as important as his writings and prescriptions. This is not only a panegyric con-

vention but rather the explicit manifestation of the humanistic tradition, still vivid among the seventeenth-century medics. However, it was reinterpreted and applied to the new social and cultural circumstances.

The son of Sebastian, Jan Innocenty, following his father's versatility, acted as both a historian and a physician, coping in his works written in Polish with plague remedies (Petrycy, 1622, *Preservation or Defense against Pestilence ...*) and curative springs (Petrycy, 1635, *On Thermal Waters in Drużbak and Lackowa...*). After Petrycy's death, *Przydatek do wód* (*Supplement to Thermal Waters*) was published in 1655. Jan Innocenty authored a kind of guidebook, *Palaestra oratoria* (*Rhetorician Battling School*), for those who would like to follow Cicero's style in rhetoric. His first medical work published in Kraków was Latin *Quaestio de hydropse* (*Inquiry on Dropsy*) (Petrycy, 1620), which he proposed after returning from Italy as a candidate for a doctorate. The sign of these foreign studies may be seen in pointing to Jean Fernel (Petrycy, 1620, leaf A₃ v.) and André du Laurens (Petrycy, 1620, leaf A₄ v.), early modern French medics, instead of alleging directly to the name of Galen. Adopting this Greek physician's theory, Jan Innocenty Petrycy differentiates three kinds of dropsy (*anasarca*, *ascites*, and *tympanites*). The booklet, dedicated to the councillors of Lviv, Petrycy's natal city, opens with the graphic of the coat of Lviv's arms and a poem. Petrycy's writing is quite different from an array of issues proposed at the Academy of Kraków. Apart from the standard-issue conclusions and corollaries, there are some additional deductions and propositions, as well as another extract, called *paradoxum*, and a typographical final ornament. As in other centres, likewise in Kraków, as we may observe, the medical profession was sometimes continued by the son of a famous physician. The merits of both Petrycy, especially of Jan Innocenty, are extolled in the occasional print of 1641 by Thomas Canevesi, a mathematician, astronomer, and physician.

Canevesi's quite instructive work (1641) is the *Bustum Ioannis Innocentii Petricii* (*Tomb of John Innocent Petrycy*) (Giedroyć, 1911, pp. 125-28), which is devoted to the deceased Sebastian Petrycy's son. Although this work is composed in a panegyric funeral speech way and uses sugarcoat style, it may act as a shortened biography of Jan Innocenty Petrycy, whose death is metaphorically called a wound (*vulnus*) (Canevesi, 1641, leaf A₂ v.) to the Academy's body. This is not the only literary reference to his profession; his youthful learning is conceptualised in the form of a culinary conceit as adapting curative liquor to the soul (*in succum animae*). His father is depicted as a philosopher, poet, and translator, and the mention of him functions here in a simile as a reference point: Jan Innocenty is featured as the father's image. Like him, the

younger Petrycy visited Italy, where he was taught in Bononia by Giulio Cesare Claudino and ‘joined the wisest entourage of physicians so that he never disregarded the general education of studies, without which the person of wisdom in our minds is portrayed as mutilated’ (‘sapientissimum medicorum chorum ingrediebatur, ut encyclopaediam studiorum, qua sine truncata in mentibus nostris sapientiae effingitur persona, nusquam omitteret’) (Canevesi, 1641, leaf A₄ v.). Abstracting from the literary figure, the word of Greek origin, *encyclopaedia*, introduced into Latin in Renaissance times, is worth noticing. Canevesi wants to point out the versatility of Jan Innocenty in many disciplines. Also, the reference to Claudino, the author of such work as *Paradoxa medica sive Tractatus novi ... de natura et usu thermarum* (*Medical Paradoxes that is New Treatises ... on the Character and Usage of Termal Springs*), has not only the factographical value, but it is also a way of praising Petrycy himself.

The Italian inspiration is the one that is apprehensible at the Academy of Kraków by the example of Petrycy. The reflection of hermetism may also be seen – in Canevesi’s text, where Trismegistus’ opinion is found that every man is a miracle and merits to be adored and to be a saint (Cf. Canevesi 1641, leaf B₁ r.). Some traces of hermetism may be found in other Latin works, e.g., in Jan Zajączkovic’s *De apoplexia*. (Zajączkovic, 1695b) Let us add that magic and hermetic art were not the main subject of theory nor practice by the scholars and physicians at the Academy of Kraków in the seventeenth century. However, the Polish King Zygmunt III Waza favoured alchemic researches carried out, among others, at his court by Michał Sędziwój (Sendivogius), Sebastian Petrycy’s contemporaneous.

Jan Innocenty Petrycy favoured the traditional medical school, namely *medicina rationalis*, in opposition to *medicina empirica* (‘empirical’) and *methodica* one. Canevesi (1641, leaf B₄ v.) calls these two ‘conceit’, and praises Petrycy’s allegiance to Hippocrates and Galenus and distinguishes five branches of medicine, which were well known to the decedent: physiology, aetiology, hygiene, symptomatology, and finally treatment. Petrycy’s attitude towards his profession displayed itself in setting aside the contemporary manner of preparing remedies without taking heed of arrangement, weight, or quality and keeping medicaments prepared according to the East Indian, African, or Arabic advice. Faculty of Medicine (*senatus medicorum*) (Canevesi, 1641, leaf B₁ r.) was one of the areas of Petrycy’s activity, alongside rhetoric literature (his mind is depicted as a shield to pacify the ‘pestilence of literature’, *pestis literarum*, which simultaneously refers to the theme of medical works and the corruption of literature) (Canevesi, 1641, leaf B₄ r.), historiography, and

city council. Thanks to invoking some issues of Thomas Canevesi's *Bustum Ioannis Petricii*, we have a general prospect on the intellectual formation of Cracovian medicians tenured at the Academy.

Wawrzyniec Śmieszkowic, sometimes using his Latinised form of surname Gelasinus, was coetaneous to both Sebastian and Jan Innocenty Petrycy. He is mostly known as an author of panegyric poems and prose works, some of them addressed to Sebastian Petrycy. However, he also composed in 1629 *Quaestio de scorbuto* (*Inquiry on Scorbutus*), which enabled him to enter the medical faculty. According to Śmieszkowic, scorbutus has its origins in the internal organs, primarily in the spleen, and is a kind of fault quality of melancholic ferment. The dysfunction of the spleen, together with this of the liver, will be later, in the last decade of the 17th century, conceived as the main cause of arthritis by Jan S. Dżidowski (1692) in his *Quaestio medica de arthritide* (*Medical Inquiry on Arthritis*), which was published by the University's printing shop.

A deserved physician, Piotr Mucharski (1594–1666), the Polish king's court medic, also composed, like Śmieszkowic, the occasional works of Polish and Latin epithalamia published by the Cracovian printers. His medical printed output is the *De peripneumonia quaestio medica* (Mucharski, 1650), in which he is concerned with the inflammation of the lungs, drawing upon Galenus. Franciszek Roliński (1642), later similarly to Śmieszkowic, a university rector, wrote *Quaestio de apoplexia* in 1642, claiming that apoplexy as a symptom is conditioned only by the blood circulation, not by spirits, as later it will be argued by Jan Zajączkowic. After defending the thesis, the *Echo virtutum ... Francisci Rolinski* (*Echo of Virtues of ... Franciszek Roliński*) by Stanisław Dyxon, dedicated to Roliński, was published. The latter is described as a physician who derides Proserpina and protects ill from fever (Dyxon, 1642, leaf A₃ r.). Medicine with reference to the figures of the physician Machaon and Apollo of Greek mythology is called 'iura Machaonis/artesque Phaebeas' ('laws of Machaon and Apollonian skills') (Dyxon, 1642, leaf A₃ v.)

One of the greatest minds in seventeenth-century Kraków, Jan Brożek (1585–1652), is better known as an astronomer, mathematician, polemicist writer, and protector of the university's integrity against Jesuits than as a physician (Majer, 1842). Although Simon Starowolski devotes to Brożek only one panegyric sentence in his *Laudatio almae Academiae Cracoviensis*, enumerating his different activities, he notes him as the first among the physicians of the seventeenth century, and he mentions him in his other works. We may obtain more biographical information concerning Brożek from an

extensive laudatory obituary on the occasion of his first death anniversary, *Rosae Broscianae (Roses of Brożek)*, by Jan Dziejic (1653). However, as far as medicine is concerned, we are informed that Brożek was appointed a medic of the Cracovian bishop, and that was after completing medical education in Padua. The author of the writing emphasises that there is a fixed border even for the man most versed in medicine, namely death, for which there is no cure “in hortis” (Dziejic, 1653, leaf D_[i] r.), that is at Jan Brożek medical skills and knowledge. The work is partly a panorama of contemporaneous Cracovian academia, similar to *Laudatio ...* by Starowolski, and in parts Brożek’s biography and collection of poetry devoted to the deceased academician. He died sharing fate with the victims of the plague, the notion of which in the old texts might refer to *pestis bubonica* and a conglomerate of illnesses, as reminded by Mary Lindemann (1999, p. 46). In the 17th century, Kraków was a theater of the struggles against the bubonic plague several times; for instance, it was at the end of 1651 when the pestilence started in Kraków, and it stopped in late autumn of 1652, the year of Brożek’s decease.

SELECT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CRACOVIAN MEDICINE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY AND THEIR WORKS

In the second half of the century, there were also physicians from the Łopacki family. In his occasional work, one of the panegyrists, Stanislaus Szlachetka, emphasises the crucial role of Jacek Łopacki the elder during the pestilence and his large engagement to the benefit of the city, here might denote the city establishment (‘... ut regina urbium, Cracovia, a Te vitam saepe accipiat’, ‘that the king of the cities, Kraków, often receives life from you’ – in Polish noun ‘Kraków’ is masculine, so it is more appropriate to commute the translation of *regina* to ‘king’), Łopacki’s accurate diagnoses (‘ab acutissimis oppressi morbis, salutaria experiantur alexipharmaca’, ‘people oppressed by the most acute diseases find out healthful antidotes’), and his practice in hospitals (‘felicem ac expeditam in nosocomiis egeni dexteram depraedicent’, ‘people in need staying in hospitals obtain favourable and expedient right hand’) (Szlachetka, 1658).

Łopacki conducted research on epilepsy, the disease around which a lot of misunderstanding arose. In 1658, he wrote the short brochure *De epilepsia quaestio medica pro loco inter doctores medicinae obtinendo (Medical Inquiry on Epilepsy to Obtain the Position among the Medicinae Doctors)*. The author throws light on the aetiology of this medical condition, called *morbus Herculeus*

(‘illness of Hercules’), without making any references to supernatural forces. People who suffered from epilepsy could very seldom expect understanding and receive professional treatment from their contemporaries since the illness was considered a disorder caused by the daemons. That was also the case with all the persons afflicted with any mental disorders. What is worth emphasising, is proffering among different ways of treatment, namely surgical, pharmaceutical, and diet (these three methods were a common way of treating various diseases) the surname of the Netherlandish physician Pieter van Foreest (1521–1597), who advised to avoid certain foods as e.g., easily corruptible and goatish liver. Łopacki might have become acquainted with these medical recommendations during his external studies. After a dozen or so years after Łopacki’s disputation, there was a Kraków bishop, Andrzej Tomicki, who, in 1671, opened a nosocomium for brainsick persons. Similar philanthropic endeavours were developing rapidly in Kraków.

After defending the dissertation by Łopacki, the occasional prints were published. One of the doctors of the faculty of medicine, also the doctor of philosophy, Samuel Kowalewski (1658), authored an occasional brochure titled *Aureus ramus* (*Golden Branch*), containing a double-page poem, preceded by a dedication. Kowalewski mentions the laureate’s education in Kraków and Padua, where he practiced necroscopies. Recalling this fact is one of the ways to praise a new doctor.

Łopacki the elder was a key figure in an occasional work by Joannes Machatar (1658) from Moravia, *Redivivus Aesculapius* (*Aesculap Reborned*). What is significant is that half of the work is devoted to the city council of Kraków, to whose members the work was dedicated, and in whose pursuits Łopacki was involved.

Jacek Łopacki addressed some panegyric poems, e.g., one of them is printed in the *Vandalides Heliconis Jagelloniani* (*The Vandalian Progeny of the Jagiellonian Helicon*). The title of the collection alludes to one of the ethnogenetic myths which tell about the ancient and ‘Northern’ origin of the citizens of the Commonwealth of Poland. It was written when Łopacki was a bachelor. The poem entitled *V[iro] d[octo] Hyacinto Łopacki Panacaeam animorum* (*For the Learned Man Jacek Łopacki is Offered a Remedy for All Diseases of the Souls*) (Gostomiowski, 1642, leaf I r.) remarks on his medical education.

In funeral praise of the former rector of the University, Martin Winkler, Jacek Łopacki the elder is called ‘*facultatis medicae honos et corona*’ (‘honour and crown of the medical faculty’) (Dasczyński, 1700, leaf C₁ v.) which is a

laudatory phrase, and in the same breath conveys his real prominence in the Cracovian medical background.

Two sons of Jacek Łopacki, namely Jacek Augustyn and Stanisław Antoni, were also physicians. The former also acted as clergyman (Wachholz, Białoń & Grochowski, 1963, p. 28; Gajda, 1973, p. 408). The latter wrote a valuable work *Quaestio medica de ophthalmia* (*Medical inquiry on ophthalmia*) (Łopacki, 1691). The author raises the question of whether this eye illness, defined as ‘inflammatio tunicae adnatae oculi cum rubore, ardore et dolore’ (Łopacki, 1691, leaf [A₁] v.) (‘an inflammation of the conjunctival layer, accompanied with redness, heat and pain’) may be treated with surgery, pharmacotherapy, or diet, and he replies affirmatively to all these methods (Łopacki, 1691, leaf [A₂] r.).

Another physician, Stanisław Słowakowic, whose two sons were physicians too, is known more for his calendars (Krzysztofik, 2010) and astrological works than for his medical output. However, his poem dedicated to Raimond Giovanni Fortis was published in Fortis’ Paduan edition of the *De febribus et morbis mulierum facile cognoscendis* (*On Fevers and Easy Recognition of the Women’s Diseases*) in 1668 (the JU Online Libraries Catalogue, 2021). His important contribution was *Quaestio medica de paralyysi* (*Medical Inquiry on Paralysis*) of 1675 (Słowakowic, 1675; Wachholz, Białoń & Grochowski, 1963, p. 40; Dobrzyńska, 1975, pp. 174-175). Although based on the humoral theory, Słowakowic also distinguishes external and internal anticipatory factors which may lead to paralysis.

Apart from his involvement in medicine, Słowakowic acted also as a city councilman and his surname as an MD and professor is mentioned as one of the persons present at ‘confirmatio generalis iurium’ (‘general confirmation of rights’) by the Polish King August II on 28 September 1697 in the juridical act (*Przywileje i konstytucje* 1697, p. 21 [i.e. 12]).

Quite a similar theme, as covered by Słowakowic, was explored by Jan Zajączkovic in his work on apoplexy. It has two editions of 1695 (Zajączkovic, 1695a, 1695b); one of them was dedicated directly to the Polish King Jan III Sobieski, the famous winner of The Battle of Vienna, and as such, the work is more extended and ornamental. The main medical part of the work is also more comprehensive, supplemented with the presentation of diverse comprehending of this disease over the centuries and with the corroborations of the discourse, including descriptions of various cases of patients with apoplexy and disquisition of planets’ conjunction and their role in the episodes

from Polish history, especially contemporary ones. The edition addressed to King Sobieski also covers astrological tables showing the supposed impact on the development of the affliction to certain unnamed persons. In this part of the work, Zajączkovic (1695a, leaf Q r.) makes references to the section *De mystica sanguinis anatomia* (*On the Mysterious Blood Anatomy*), from the *Anatomiae amphitheatrum* (*Amphitheatre of Anathomy*) by Robert Fludd (1574–1637), called ‘insignis Philosophus’ (‘famous philosopher’), which may be interpreted as one more the author’s evidence and at the same time the addressee’ of the working interest in occult philosophy.

Zajączkovic (1695c) also authored a dissertation on the role of wisdom in the world, titled *Optimum elixir apoplexiae mundanae, sapientia* (*The Best Medicinal Substance for World Apoplexy, Wisdom*). The publication provides another trace of his MD defence. What is significant is that during the ongoing procedure of obtaining the degree among the doctors and professors of medicine, he proposed a philosophical thesis, and the name of the disease served merely as a metaphor describing the world’s vanity and transience.

Some troubles related to – as we would say – the human resources at the University started especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was despite the fact that some previous rectors of the Academy were well-merited professors of medicine: above-mentioned Jan Brożek, as well as Krzysztof Naymanowic (regardless of his subsequent conflict with the Academy) or Franciszek Roliński, the elder. This collapse resulted in smaller numbers of medical works in Latin and quite less numerous medical authors in comparison with the first half of the century.

MEDICINE, BOOK CULTURE, AND THE LATIN WORKS IN KRAKÓW

In the seventeenth century, works such as the guidebook by Simon of Łowicz (ca. 1512–1554), *Enchiridion medicinae pro tyrun culis huius artis* (*Handbook of Medicine for Young Beginners of This Art*) (Szymon z Łowicza, 1537), are rare. This book was published in the sixteenth-century printing shop run by the successors of the famous printer Florian Ungler. It contains a comprehensive view of medicine, together with explanations of some Latin terms. This writing is quite a good point to compare both the editorial layout (Socha, 2016, p. 23) and the range of topics between books published over two centuries.

One of the indicators of the progress of the medical sciences practised in seventeenth-century Kraków was that fewer direct references to the great authorities of the past centuries in the course of time were made. The argumen-

tation of their discourse does not overexploit the *auctoritates* ('authorities'); it is rather clear and concise. The Latin of these works is mixed together with the terms of Greek origin, transliterated into Roman types, and very seldom written with Greek characters (Śleszkowski, 1616a, p. 16).

Most contemporary Cracovian medical books are less decorative than those published in the Renaissance. The layout of the discussed seventeenth-century editions generally is more moderate. The Gothic type is replaced by the Roman type and cursive. The initials were not used as often as, for instance, in the edition of Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* of 1543, in which historiated initials were inserted (Lambert, 1952, p. 6). The effigy of the coat of arms of the author's protector is occasionally attached to the text. It happens most often in occasional prints in honour of physicians, which were an inseparable part of the academic custom after obtaining an MD degree or incorporating into the faculty. Penmen of these pieces connected mainly mythological plots with the figures of praised physicians.

On the one hand, the reception of the works, thanks to the Latin language, was more accessible to scholars from foreign scientific centres. However, on the other, it was rendered difficult to be adopted by persons representing "folk medicine", who looked for applicable hints on diseases and treatment. The role of a guidebook was provided by the works in Polish or by handwritten medical recommendations. Works in Latin seemed to be targeted mainly at the inner circle of the physicians' background, above all at the Academy of Kraków and the University's branches in other cities. These works, shown in their parts in this paper, deserve our attention as a documentation of the development and reception of human thought, even if nowadays we may esteem most of them as outdated in their prevalent parts and not as elaborate as some other medical treatises in Europe.

Acknowledgments to linguistic proofreaders, Małgorzata Litwińska and to William H., English tutor, who read this paper.

REFERENCES

Primary sources

1. Blumenbach, J. F. (1786). *Introductio in historiam medicinae litterariam*. Goettingae: apud Jo. Christ. Dieterich.
2. Canevesi, T. (1641). *Bustum Ioannis Innocentii Petricii [...] sive oratio in eius funere [...] conscripta [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina Andreae Petricovii [...].

3. Cicero, M. T. (1610). *Orationes, Pro lege Manilia, Pro Sexto Roscio, Catilinae quatuor* [!], *antequam iret in exilium. Post reditum in senatu, nona Philippica, Pro Marco Marcello Adami Romerii* [...] *commentariis illustrata*. Cracoviae: in officina Nicolai Lobii.
4. Dasczyński, S. (1700). *Manipulus sacer virtutum et meritorum* [...] *Martini Winkler* [...] *dum* [...] *mortales eius exuviae* [...] *tumulentur* [...]. Cracoviae: typis Schedelianis.
5. Dylański, B. (1634). *Quaestio physica de natura motus* [...]. Cracoviae: in officina typographica Matthiae Andreoviensis.
6. Dylański, B. (1635). *Chronologia medica cum titulis honorificis, maioribus suis a grata posteritate delatis* [...]. Cracoviae: typis Alexandri Dymowski.
7. Dyxon, S. (1642). *Echo virtutum excellentissimi* [...] *Francisci Rolinski philosophiae et medicinae doctoris* [...] *dum* in [...] *Academia Cracovien[si] pro loco inter doctores obtinendo disputaret* [...] *audita et enarrata*. Cracoviae: apud Stanislaum Bertutowic.
8. Działyński, J. (1692). *Quaestio medica de arthritide pro loco inter* [...] *medicinae doctores et professores in alma Universitate Cracoviensi obtinendo* [...] *proposita* [...]. Cracoviae: typis Universitatis.
9. Dziedziץ, J. (1653). *Rosae Broscianae in spatioso d[ivi] Iagelonis* [!] *campo natae* [...]. Cracoviae: apud Lucam Kupisz.
10. Fontanus, F. (non ante 1618). *Dialogus in obitum* [...] *Valentini Fontani* [...]. Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk.
11. Gostomiowski, G. K. (1642). *Vandalides animorum*. In G.K. Gostomiowski, *Vandalides Heliconis Iagelloniani* [...]. Crac.: In Officina Typographica Valeriani Piątkowski [...].
12. Kowalewski, S. (1658). *Aureus ramus doctrinae medicae* [...], *Hiacynthus Łopacki, philosophiae et medicinae doctor Patavinus* [...], *dum* [...] in *Lyceo Iagelloniano pro loco inter* [...] *medicinae doctores obtinendo nodosam de epilepsia disputaret quaestionem ... praesentatus*. [Cracoviae]: Typis viduae et haeredum Francisci Caesarii [...].
13. Łopacki, S.A. (1691). *Quaestio medica de ophthalmia pro loco inter clarissimos et excellentissimos inclutae medicae facultatis doctores et professores in alma Universitate Cracoviensi obtinendo* [...] *proposita* [...]. Cracoviae: typis Universitatis.
14. Machata, J. (1658). *Redivivus Aesculapius, m[agister] Hyacinthus Łopacki, philosophiae et medicinae doctor, urbis inclutae Crac[oviae] consul in alma Universitate Crac[oviensi] inter d[ominos] medicinae doctores cooptatus sub* [...] *auspiciis* [...] *Francisci Rolinski philosophiae et medicinae doctoris* [...] *praesentatus* [...]. Crac.: apud viduam Lucae Kupisz [...].
15. Michalski, J. (1648). *Medicus triplex in funere* [...] *Georgii Pipan, medicinae et i[uris] u[triusque] doctoris, equitis Venetiarum S[ancti] Marci, consulis Cracoviensis* [...]. Cracoviae: in officina viduae et haeredum Andreae Petricovii [...].
16. Mucharski, P. (1650). *De peripneumonia quaestio medica* [...] *pro loco inter* [...] *medicinae doctores et professores* [...] *obtinendo* [...] *proposita* [...]. Cracoviae: apud chalcographum regium Franciscum Cesium.
17. Naymanowicz, K. (1610). *De plica pro loco inter doctores medicinae obtinendo in alma universitate Cracoviensi ad disputandum proposita quaestio*. Cracoviae: in officina Andreae Petricovii [...].
18. Ochocki, G. (1628). *Quaestio de motu cordis, quae praesidente* [...] *Mathia Wonieiski, medicinae doctore, ordinario anatomes professore, Acad[emiae] procancell[ario] necnon consule Crac[oviensi]* [...] *a m[agistro] Gabriele Ochocki pro obtinenda prima Facultatis Medicae laurea decidetur* [...]. Cracoviae: in officina Andreae Petricovii [...].

19. Ochocki, G. (1628). *Quaestio de temperamentis pro obtinenda secunda medicae artis laurea a m[agistro] Gabriele Ochocki [...], praesidente [...] Matthia Wóniejski [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina Francisci Caesarii.
20. Ochocki, G. (1629). *Quaestio de phrenitide a m[agistro] Gabriele Ochocki, philosophiae doctore, medicin[a]e lice[n]t[i]ato, in Alma Acad[emia] Crac[oviensi] proposita, cum in aedibus Divae Virginis Circuli Cracoviensis [...] medicinae doctor renuntiaretur [...]*. Crac.: typis Matthiae Andreoviensis.
21. Ochocki, G. (1629). *Quaestio de sympathia and antipathia mixtorum a m. Gabriele Ochocki [...] proposita cum [...] medicinae licenciatus renunciaretur a [...] Mathia Wóniejski [...] anno M.C.XXXIX, mense Ianuar[io] die hora 15*. Crac.: ex officina typ. Francisci Caesarii.
22. Petrycy, J. I. (1620). *Quaestio de hydrope pro loco in alma Universitate Cracovien[s]i inter medicinae doctores possidendo publice ad disputandum proposita [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina typographica Francisci Caesarii.
23. Petrycy, J. I. (1622). *Praeservatio abo Uchrona powietrza morowego [...]*. W Krakowie: w Drukarni Sebastiana Fabrowica.
24. Petrycy, J. I. (1635). *O wodach w Druzbaku i Łęckowej [...]*. W Krakowie: w Drukarni Andrzeja Piotrkowczyka.
25. Petrycy, S. (1613). *Instrukcyjja abo nauka, jak się sprawować czasu moru [...]*. W Krakowie: w drukarni Mikołaja Loba [...].
26. Petrycy, S. (1618). *Etyki Arystotelesowej, to jest jako się każdy ma na świecie rządzić [...]* Pierwsza część [...] Przydatki też są położone [...] przez doktora Sebastiana Petrycego, medyka. W Krakowie: w drukarni Macieja Jędrzejowczyka.
27. *Przywileje i konstytucje* (1697). *Przywileje i konstytucje sejmowe za panowania Augusta II Roku Pańskiego M.DC.XC.VII*. W Krakowie: w drukarni Mikołaja Aleksandra Schedla [...].
28. Roliński, F. (1642). *Quaestio de apoplexia [...] proposita*. Cracoviae: typis Francisci Caesarii.
29. Śleszkowski, S. (1616a). *De febribus liber [...]*. Cracoviae: typographo Stanislao Giermański.
30. Śleszkowski, S. (1616b). *Opera medica duo, unum praxis phlebotomiae [...] alterum de febribus [...]*. Cracoviae: typographo Stanislao Giermański [...].
31. Słowakowic, S. (1675). *Quaestio medica de paralyssi quam m[agister] Stanislaus Słowakowicz phil[osophiae] et medicinae doctor [...] publicae velitationi in [...] Universitate Cracoviensi in lectorio d[ominorum] theologorum pro loco inter [...] medicae facultatis doctores et professores possidendo, exposuit [...]*. Cracoviae: typis Universitatis.
32. Starowolski, S. (1639). *Laudatio almae Academiae Cracoviensis [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina Christophori Schedelii [...].
33. Starowolski, S. (1655). *Monumenta Sarmatarum viam universae carnis ingressorum [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina viduae et haeredum Francisci Caesarii [...].
34. Strzegocki, W. (1646). *Vera iustificatio Academiae Crac[oviensis] opposita falsae Christophori Nayman iustificationi [...] declarata [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina Christophori Schedelii [...].
35. Syrenius, S. (1613). *Zielnik herbarzem z języka łacińskiego zowią [...]*. Cracoviae [...]: (W drukarni Bazylego Skalskiego).

36. Szlachetka, S. (1658). *Hyacinthus ob pulchritudinem corporis et animi, chorago Musarum ac medicinae parenti Apollini dilectus [...]*. Cracoviae: in officina Schedeliana [...].
37. Szymon z Łowicza (1537). *Enchiridion medicinae pro tyrunculis huius artis....* Cracoviae: in officina Ungleriana [...].
38. Toński, J. (1648). *Quaestio de angina a m[agistro] Joanne Tonski, medicinae doctore publice ad disputandum pro loco inter medicinae doctores in Academia Cracoviensi obtinendo in [...] Iagellonicae Domus d[ominorum] theologorum lectorio [...] proposita*. Cracoviae: apud Lucam Kupisz [...].
39. Wosiński, S. (1676). *Quaestio medica de febre maligna pro loco inter [...] medicinae doctores et professores in celeberrima Academia Cracoviensi obtinendo publice a m[agistro] Stanislawo Wosiński, philosophiae et medicinae doctore, consule Cracoviensi, s[acrae] r[egiae] m[ajestatis] secretario, proposita [...]*. Cracoviae: typis Universitatis.
40. Zajączkowiec, J. (1695a). *Quaestio medica de apoplexia [...] pro loco inter [...] viros [...] facultatis medicae in alma Universitate Cracoviensi doctores et professores obtinendo [...] proposita [...]*. Cracoviae: typ. Nicolai Alexandri Schedel [...].
41. Zajączkowiec, J. (1695b). *Quaestio medica de apoplexia sub felicissimis auspiciis [...] Joannis III [...] pro loco inter [...] viros [...] facultatis medicae in alma Universitate Cracoviensi doctores et professores obtinendo [...] proposita [...]*. Cracoviae: typ. Nicolai Alexandri Schedel [...].
42. Zajączkowiec, J. (1695c). *Optimum elixir apoplexiae mundanae sapientia seu Oratio in rebus mundanis vim maximam sapientiae demonstrans in actu responsionis pro loco inter clarissimos viros [...] facultatis medicae in alma Universitate Cracoviensi doctores et professores obtinendo [...]*. Cracoviae: typ. Nicolai Alexandri Schedel [...].

Secondary sources

1. Axer, J. (2012). Reception of the Mediterranean Classical Tradition in Central and Eastern European Culture. *Recepcja śródziemnomorskiej tradycji antycznej w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*. In R. Kusek & J. Sanetra-Szeliga (Eds.), *Czy Polska leży nad Morzem Śródziemnym? / Does Poland Lie on the Mediterranean?* (pp. 18–81). Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.
2. Barycz, H. (1970). *Barok*. In B. Suchodolski (Ed.). *Historia nauki polskiej*, t. 2 (pp. 5–230). Wrocław-Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN.
3. Bentkowski, F. (1814). *Historia literatury polskiej wystawiona w spisie dzieł drukiem ogłoszonych*, t. 2. Warszawa-Wilno: Drukiem Zawadzkiego i Komp.
4. Bigotti, F. (2019). Galen's Legacy and the Transformation of Natural Philosophy in the Late Renaissance: from 'mens' to 'ingenium'. In R. Bassi (Ed.), *Rinascimento Veneto e Rinascimento Europeo - European and Venetian Renaissance* (pp. 91-103). Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
5. Borowski, A. (2001). The "Northern Humanism" and Renaissance Idea of Europe. In J. Kieniewicz (Ed.), *Terra Mariana. The Cultural Intercourse Between the European Center and Periphery in Modern Time* (pp. 168-171). Warszawa: OBTA.
6. Borowski, A. (2018). Rozmowa o sztuce bycia człowiekiem. In B. Castiglione (Ed.), *Książka o dworzaninie* (pp. 5-25). Kraków: Universitas.

7. Brzeziński, T. (2004). *Dawna medycyna i lekarze. Studium kształtowania zawodu*. In T. Brzeziński (Ed.), *Historia medycyny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Lekarskie PZWL.
8. Budzyńska-Daca, A. (2005). *Cnoty i retoryka w dziele Sebastiana Petrycego z Pilzna*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
9. Budzyńska-Daca, A. & Botwina, R. (2010). Petrycy of Pilzno versus Francis Bacon: Breaking through towards Harmony and Comprehensible Philosophy. *Studies in Logic, Grammar and Rhetoric*, 20(33), 99–112.
10. Cerdeira, C. (1995). Early modern English Medical Wills, Book Ownership, and Book Culture. *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 12(2), 427-439.
11. Chmiel, A. (1932). *Domy krakowskie. Ulica Sławkowska*. Kraków: Druk W.L. Anczyca i Spółki.
12. Curtius, E. (1990). *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
13. Czerenkiewicz, M. (2019a). *Polonia illustrata. Łacińska twórczość panegiryczna Szymona Starowolskiego*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe "Scholar".
14. Czerenkiewicz, M. (2019b). Wartości w życiu akademickim na przykładzie piśmiennictwa naukowego. Studium przypadku – łacińskie druki oficyny Schedlów. In A. Budzyńska-Daca & E. Modrzejewska (Eds.), *Retoryka i wartości* (pp. 185–206). Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
15. Długopolski, E. (Ed.) (1916). *Katalog*. In *Katalog kościoła N.P. Maryi w Krakowie*. In *Teka grona konserwatorów Galicyi Zachodniej*, t. VI. Kraków: Nakł. Grona Konserwatorów Galicyi Zachodniej.
16. Dobrzyńska, J. (1975). *Drukarnie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1674–1783*, In *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, z. 53. Warszawa, Kraków: PWN.
17. Ekes, K. (2020). Krew w kontekście teorii humoralnej w renesansowej książce kucharskiej Bartłomieja Sacchiego, zwanego Platiną. In W. Ślusarczyk, R. Wilczyńska & G. Frischke (Eds.), *Krew. Medyczne i kulturowe aspekty na przestrzeni dziejów* (pp. 21–34). Lublin: Wydawnictwo Episteme.
18. Elmer, P. (1989). Medicine, Religion and the Puritan Revolution. In R. French & A. Wear (Eds.) *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (pp. 10-45). Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press.
19. Estreicher, K. (1896). *Bibliografia polska*, pars III, 3 (14). Kraków: czcionkami Drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
20. Estreicher, K. (1930). *Bibliografia polska*, pars III, 17 (28). Kraków: czcionkami Drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
21. Feola, V. (2016). Aspects of the Production and Circulation of Early Modern *Scientiae*: Religion, Natural Philosophy, and Openness. *Nuncius. Journal of the Material and Visual History of Science*, 31(1), 1–9.
22. French, R. (2003). *Medicine before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xww&AN=125078&site=ehost-live>

23. Gaj B. (2010). *Ślązaczka. Pomiędzy rustica grossa i Pallas Silesiae – portret kobiety w literaturze łacińskiego Śląska*. Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski (Studia i Monografie – Uniwersytet Opolski, nr 441).
24. Gaj, B. (2015). *Śląscy lekarze a literatura nowołacińska w XVI i XVII w.* In M. Ganczar & P. Wilczek (Eds.), *Literatura piękna i medycyna* (pp. 29–46). Kraków: Homini - Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów.
25. Gajda, Z. & Zwolski, S. (1999a). Szymon Starowolski o Wydziale Lekarskim Akademii Krakowskiej. *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, 62, 68-74.
26. Gajda, Z. & Zwolski, S. (1999b). Wydział Lekarski w «Laudatio Almae Academiae Cracoviensis» Szymona Starowolskiego z r. 1639. In *Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Prace Komisji Historii Nauki*, t. 1 (pp. 39-49).
27. Gajda, Z. (1973). Łopacki Stanisław Antoni. In E. Rostworowski (Ed.), *Polski słownik biograficzny*, fasc. 76, t. XVIII/1. Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo.
28. Gajda, Z. (1998). *Muzeum Wydziału Lekarskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*. Kraków: Katedra Historii Medycyny Collegium Medicum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
29. Gajda, Z. (2011). *Do historii medycyny wprowadzenie*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM.
30. Gajda, Z. (2015). *Przewodnik po Krakowie dla medyków, czyli Kraków medyczny w aspekcie historycznym*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
31. Gajda, Z. (2017). *Monumenta medica Cracoviensia*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
32. Giedroyć, F. (Ed.) (1911). *Źródła biograficzno-bibliograficzne do dziejów medycyny w dawnej Polsce*. Warszawa: Drukarnia Krzysztofa Kowalewskiego.
33. Giglioni, G. (2014). Medicine. In P. Ford, J. Bloemendal & C. Fantazzi (Eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Macropedia* (pp. 679–690). Leiden-Boston: Brill.
34. Giurgevich, L. (2016). Visiting Old Libraries: Scientific Books in the Religious Institutions of Early Modern Portugal. *Early Science and Medicine*, 21, 252–272.
35. Giżewski, D. (1978). Poycja Jana Tońskiego w anatomii polskiej XVII wieku. *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, XXIII(1), 101–118.
36. Gruchała, J. S. (1997). Das humanistische lateinische Buch in Polen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. In S. Fussel & J. Pirożyński (Eds.), *Der polnische Humanismus und die europäischen Sodalitäten. Akten des polnisch-deutschen Symposions vom 15.–19. Mai 1996 im Collegium Maius der Universität Krakau* (pp. 101–110). Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.
37. Gryglewski, R. W. (2018). Pomiędzy *anatomia animata i physiologia experimentalis*, *Medycyna Nowożytna*, 24(3) (supl.), 99-108, 10.4467/12311960MN.18.017.10183
38. Gryglewski, R. W. (2021, July 12). *Zarys historii Katedry Historii Medycyny CM UJ*, <https://kchm.cm-uj.krakow.pl/o-katedrze/>
39. Hajdukiewicz, L. (1978). Ochocki Gabriel starszy, In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. XXIII (pp. 492-495). Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo PAN.
40. Herman, E. (1958). *Neurologzy polscy*. Warszawa: PZWL.
41. IJsewijn, J. & Sacré, D. (1998). Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, part II. In *Literary, linguistic, philological and editorial questions* (Second entirely rewritten edition). Leuven: Leuven University Press.

42. Jankowiak, L. A. (2005). *Słownictwo medyczne Stefana Falimirza. T 1. Początki polskiej renesansowej terminologii medycznej*. Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, Instytut Sławistyki PAN.
43. Juda M. (2011). *Książka medyczna w dawnej Polsce. Zarys problematyki*. In G. Wallner & E. Łoch (Eds.), *Zasługi oraz dylematy życiowe i zawodowe lekarzy chirurgów w świetle literatury i medycyny*, part 4 (pp. 61-72). Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.
44. Kosiorowska-Majka, I. (2016). Kobieta a nowołacińskie teksty medyczne (przykłady śląskie i inne). *Terminus*, 18, z. 3(40), 255–270. 10.4467/20843844TE.16.009.6819
45. Kościński, S. (1888). *Słownik lekarzów polskich obejmujący oprócz krótkich życiorysów lekarzy Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce osiadłych, dokładną bibliografią lekarską polską od czasów najdawniejszych aż do chwili obecnej*. Warszawa: nakład autora, skład główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa.
46. Krzysztofik, M. (2010). *Studium z dziejów krakowskich kalendarzy astrologicznych XVII wieku. Almanachy Stanisława Słowakowica jako podstawa uogólnień*. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka.
47. Lachs, J. (1922). *Alcune notizie sugli allievi polachi presso la scuola di medicina di Padova*. In S. Windakiewicz (Ed.), *Omaggio dell'Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere all'Università di Padova nel settimo centenario della sua fondazione*. Cracovia: Tipografia dell'università.
48. Lachs, J. (1929). *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich XVII wieku*. Poznań: nakładem Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk [...].
49. Lachs, J. (1930). *Krakowskie księgozbiory lekarskie z XVII wieku*. Lwów: nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie.
50. Lambert, S. W. (1952). *The Initial Letters of the Anatomical Treatise De humani corporis fabrica, of Vesalius*. In S.W. Lambert, W. Wiegand & W.M. Ivins Jr. (Eds.), *Three Vesalians Essays to Accompany the Icones Anatomicae of 1934 (1–24)*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
51. Lindemann, M. (1999). *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
52. Lisowski, W. (2008). Sebastian Petrycy (1554–1626) – prekursor wenerologii. In W. Lisowski (Ed.), *Prekursorzy medycyny polskiej*, t. 1 (pp. 105-113). Warszawa: Bellona.
53. Łyskanowski, M. (1998). Medycyna polska doby baroku. *Medycyna. Dydaktyka. Wychowanie*. 3(4), 48-64.
54. Majer, J. (1839). Kilka wiadomości z dziejów Wydziału Lekarskiego w Uniwersytecie Krakowskim. In *Rocznik Wydziału Lekarskiego w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim 1839*, t. 2, 44-50.
55. Majer, J. (1842). *Zawód lekarski Jana Brosciusa*. W Krakowie: w Drukarni Uniwersyteckiej.
56. Milewska-Ważbińska, B. (2020). Między medycyną a literaturą. Parateksty łacińskich traktatów o kołtunie jako przejaw renesansowej erudycji. *Analecta*, XXIX(2), 115-126.
57. Peressin, R. (2020). *La versione greca dell'orazione "Pro Archia poeta" di Mikołaj Żórawski (1632). Contributi all'edizione e allo studio del testo*. Berlin: Peter Lang.
58. Pietrzekiewicz, I. (2009). *Miser Res Sacra. Bonifratrzy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Kraków: Drukarnia Pijarów.

59. Piñero, J. M. L. (2006). The Faculty of Medicine of Valencia: Its Position in Renaissance Europe. In M. Feingold & V. Navarro-Brotóns (Eds.), *Universities and Science in Early Modern Period*. Dordrecht: Springer.
60. Pirożyński, J. (2000). Kraków. In J. Pirożyński (Ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, t. 1: *Małopolska*, pars 2: *Wiek XVII-XVIII*, vol. 1: A-K. Kraków: PAU.
61. Płonka-Syroka, B. (2009). Interpretacja faktów historycznych we współczesnej historiografii medycyny i antropologii wiedzy. In K. Kleszczowa & J. Gwóźdźnik (Eds.), *Faktografia w badaniach historycznych* (pp. 43–61). Katowice: Biblioteka Śląska.
62. Przyboś, A. (1964). Akademia Krakowska w drugiej połowie w. XVII. In K. Lepszy (Ed.), *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, t. I (pp. 321–23). Kraków: PWN.
63. Quirini-Popławska, D. (2010). Dla duszy i dla ciała. Zaslugi Sebastiana Petrycego z Pilzna dla polskiej myśli filozoficznej oraz dla medycyny przełomu XVI i XVII wieku. *Perspektywy Kultury*, 3(2), 17-46.
64. Rütten, Th. (2013). *Early modern medicine*. In M. Jackson (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
65. Siraisi N. G. (2004). Medicine and the Renaissance World of Learning'. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 78(1), 1-36.
66. Skalski, J. (2016). *Medycyna w Polsce od czasów najdawniejszych do upadku I Rzeczypospolitej, Zarys*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Lekarskie PZWL.
67. Skalski, J. (2017). Medycyna w Polsce przedrozbiorowej. In W. Noszczyk (Ed.), *Dzieje medycyny w Polsce*, t. I: *Od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1914* (pp. 1-121). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Lekarskie PZWL.
68. Skulimowski, M. (1964). Dzieje fakultetu medycznego Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego do reform Kołłątaja (1364–1779). In L. Tochowicz (Ed.), *Sześćsetciecie medycyny krakowskiej*, t. 2: *Historia katedr* (13–53). Kraków: PWN.
69. Skulimowski, M. (1981). *Facultas medica Cracoviensis. Pamiątki historyczne i zabytki kultury medycznej w zbiorach międzywydziałowej Katedry Historii Medycyny i Farmacji Akademii Medycznej im. Mikołaja Kopernika w Krakowie*. Kraków: Akademia Medyczna im. Mikołaja Kopernika w Krakowie.
70. Socha, K. (2016). *Typografia publikacji pochodzących z drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1674-1819*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
71. Sokołowska-Pituchowa, J. (2002). *400 lat Katedry Anatomii w Krakowie (1602–2002). 400 Years of the Chair of Anatomy in Kraków*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
72. Szumowski, W. (1961). *Historia medycyny*. Warszawa: PZWL.
73. Szumowski, W. (2017). *Historia medycyny filozoficznie ujęta*. Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki.
74. Tazbir, J. (1997–1998). Śleszkowski (Śleszkowski) Sebastian, In *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. XXXVIII (pp. 561-563). Warszawa.
75. The Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL Thesaurus), https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/_search
76. The JU Libraries Catalogue, https://katalogi.uj.edu.pl/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma991009595779705067&context=L&vid=48OMNIS_UJA:uja&lang=pl&search_

- scope=MyInstitution&daptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&qquery=any,contains,Fontanus&offset=0
77. The JU Libraries Online Catalogue, <https://chamo.bj.uj.edu.pl/uj/lib/item?id=chamo:1408099&fromLocationLink=false&theme=system>
 78. The Union Catalogue of Polish Research Library Collections (NUKAT), <http://katalog.nukat.edu.pl/heading/search?theme=nukat>
 79. Urban, W. (1964). Akademia Krakowska w dobie reformacji i wczesnej kontrreformacji (1549–1632). In K. Lepszy (Ed.), *Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1764*, t. I. Kraków: PWN.
 80. Wachholz, L., Białoń, J. & Grochowski, J. (1963). *Skład osobowy Wydziału Lekarskiego i farmaceutycznego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364–1949, Akademii Medycznej w latach 1950-1963 w sześćsetlecie Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego i Akademii Medycznej w Krakowie*. Kraków: PWN.
 81. Wilson, P. H. (2011). *The Thirty Years War. Europe's Tragedy*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
 82. Wróblewski, A. & Bieganowski, L. (2014). *Chronologia medica* Bartłomieja Dylągowskiego – pierwsza polska historia medycyny i bibliografia medyczna z XVII wieku wraz z tekstem łacińskiego oryginału i przekładem na język polski. *Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny*, 77, 80-100.
 83. Żurkowa, R. (2010). Księgarnie krakowskie w kamienicy Kromerowskiej. In R. Żurkowa et al. (Ed.), *Historia krakowskiej księgarni 1610-2010. Rynek Główny 23. Main Market Square. The story of a Kraków Bookshop, 1610-2010*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MWK.

SAŽETAK

Članak istražuje latinska djela objavljena u Krakovu u sedamnaestom stoljeću, koja se bave medicinom i liječnicima. Glavni je cilj istraživanja predstaviti vodeće osobe akademske medicine koje su u to vrijeme djelovale u ovom gradu te pratiti odabrana djela koja čine dio novolatinske književnosti u Poljsko-Litavskoj Uniji. Skolastički način diskursa nije uvijek značio prekomjerno korištenje autoriteta, nego se upotrebljavalo i staro i moderno. Prikazujući segment medicinskog miljea Krakova sedamnaestog stoljeća, odnosno onih akademika koji su ondje objavljivali svoja djela, autor tvrdi da je katkad zanemarena latinska redakcija krakovskih tiskara važan dio ne samo za povijest razvoja medicine na ovim prostorima Europe nego i za kulturnu baštinu državne zajednice. Iako bi latinski jezik mogao omogućiti širi opseg ovih medicinskih djela, većina njih bila je upućena određenoj znanstvenoj javnosti. Esej pokazuje da su mnogi liječnici bili poznati po svom djelovanju na raznim područjima, poput pjesništva i upravljanja gradom, te da panegirička djela mogu poslužiti kao jedan od izvora prepoznavanja njihovih biografija i medicinskog opusa.

Ključne riječi: povijest medicine, knjiga, novolatinski, Sveučilište u Krakovu, sedamnaesto stoljeće