

Texts and Documents

BENEDETTO REGUARDATI: AUTHOR OF UGO BENZI'S

*TRACTATO DE LA CONSERVATIONE DE LA SANITADE**

by

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THE *Tractato utilissimo circa la conservacione de la sanitade* is described by D. P. Lockwood¹ as 'one of the earliest Italian medical works in the vernacular' to which 'Ugo now owes his chief distinction in the history of medicine'. No manuscript of this treatise exists, it was not mentioned in the Latin *Vita Ugonis* written about 1441 by his eldest son Soccino Benzi (1406–79), also a physician, or in any contemporary documents. The attribution derives from the first printed edition, Pietro de Corneno, Milan, 31 May 1481, in 8vo, the earliest dated work by Benzi.

It was printed four times, the second edition also at Milan, 12 May 1508 in 8vo by a different printer, Pietro Martire Mantegazza, working for Niccolò da Gorgonzola whose name appears on the colophon and his device on the lower title.² According to Lockwood (p. 398) this is the only copy surviving outside Italy where there are three other copies: in the Palatina at Florence, in the Brera at Milan and in the Comunale at Piacenza.

Mazzuchelli (II, II, p. 792) does not mention the 1508 edition, but refers to an earlier 1507 reprint (*ristampa*) of the first (1481) edition by Gotardo da Ponte, at Milan, mentioned also by Haym in the posthumous editions, by Panzer and by Sarton, who again describes it as a reprint. All these references however seem to derive from Mazzuchelli. If indeed the 1507 edition ever existed it must be rare, for it is not included among the publications attributed to Gotardo da Ponte, nor does any copy of it appear to have survived in existing collections.

Both the later Turin editions, 1618 in 12mo, and 1620 in 16mo were edited and supplemented by Lodovico Bertaldi (d. 1625), court physician of the dukes of Savoy. At the end of his second edition Bertaldi mentioned a Latin original of this work, then in the ducal library, which he offered to include in a subsequent publication of all Ugo Benzi's medical works, which he never compiled. No trace of this Latin manuscript has been found, nor any reference to it in the alphabetical index of the manuscripts from the library which Duke Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy (1666–1732) donated in 1720 to form the basis of the present Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria of Turin.³

The lack of manuscripts for the Benzi treatise is explained by the existence of an earlier Latin *Pulcherimum et utilissimum opus ad sanitatis conservacionem* by Benedetto

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¹ *Ugo Benzi Medieval Philosopher and Physician 1376–1439*, Chicago, 1951, p.342.

² Richard J. Wolfe, the Rare Books Librarian of the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, has kindly sent me reproductions of the Boston copy of this rare edition.

³ Letter of the Director, Prof. Stelio Bassi, to me, Turin, 26 November 1966.

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Reguardati of Nursia (1398–1469), first published in Rome on 14 January 1475, 8vo, which in argument and construction is the same as the treatise attributed to Benzi. Lockwood's careful summary of Benzi's *Tractato* (p. 343) applies equally well to Reguardati's text.

At least nine manuscripts of Reguardati's work survive, of which five are of the fifteenth century, including the only Italian translation, made in Milan and now at Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare XCIII.⁴ Save for occasional verbal changes and variations in spelling this translation, dated 1468, and Benzi's first edition, 1481, are almost identical. A comparison makes it clear that the translation from Reguardati's original Latin provided the Italian text for the first edition of Benzi's *Tractato*. Reguardati therefore was the author of this work and the attribution to Benzi is false.

The clue that the Reguardati/Benzi texts merited comparison was suggested to me by the charcoal-asphyxiation 'cautionary tales' which in both works are introduced at the end of the first section on Air. The first incident refers to Perugia and led Tiraboschi (VI, pp. 386–87) to suppose that Benzi must have lectured there. This Lockwood (p. 173) considers an invention. Reguardati however lectured there before 1427 when he was succeeded by Bartolommeo d'Aversa.

Lockwood's remark (p. 340) 'Though the nature and sources of the *Trattato* (*sic*) have been much discussed, the work itself has been little read (even as a preparation for editing its text)!' is equally applicable to Reguardati's work and explains why scholars and librarians have not previously correlated the two texts.

The attribution to Benzi, whether intended or accidental, concerns only the first edition of 31 May 1481 (3 May 1481 according to Lockwood, p. 394), and cannot be blamed on the Milanese printer, Pietro de Corneno. His total output was limited to four works, including the *Tractato*, and it is unlikely that he had anything personally to gain by the attribution to Benzi. Once established the error passed unnoticed. By 1481 few survived of Reguardati's former circle of friends and acquaintances in Milan. He himself left the city in 1469 for Florence where he died. His son Carlo lived in Florence or Rome, his grandson (*nepos*) Gregorio, a lawyer, was in 1481 connected with the Mercatantia court at Pisa and described as aged 40 or older.⁵ Benzi died in 1439, thirty years before Reguardati. By 1481 his surviving contemporaries would be even fewer and less likely to notice the publication of a work never previously connected with him. Two of his sons, his biographer Soccino and Andrea (1410–72), the lawyer, were both dead. Francesco his youngest son, a distinguished physician, was at Forlì or Modena and hoping for employment in the University of Bologna which he obtained in 1483.

The Milanese edition of 1508 adds nothing, for after the first edition the attribution was a *fait accompli*. The Turin editions, 1618 and 1620 are literary curiosities of the seventeenth century and reveal rather the mentality of Bertaldi, the editor, who enriched and obscured the text by *vaghe annotazioni e copiosi discorsi naturali e morali*.

Reguardati's *Libellus de conservatione sanitatis*, posthumously printed in Rome,

⁴ Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, I, p. 440.

⁵ Ms. note on the flyleaf of *Ricordi dello studio pisano, 1481–1505*, vol. IV, fol. 1v, dated 18 July 1481, in the Florentine Archives.

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1475, was his earliest work, composed about 1435–38, as appears from the earlier form of dedication to Astorgio Agnesi (1391–1451) a Neapolitan prelate, then Governor of the Mark of Ancona, and no doubt Reguardati's most influential patient. The treatise was first written in Latin for personal and public reasons. As a Norcino, Reguardati's use of Italian tended to be regional and personal rather than Dantesque which is evident in his later Latin letters. Agnesi, to whom the treatise was addressed, a Neapolitan aristocrat as well as a learned ecclesiastic, would in his familiar speech incline to dialect, while culturally he would be more fluent in Latin than Italian. To write in Latin was the normal practice for a work intended as an example of the author's erudition. Though compiled for the immediate use of Agnesi, Reguardati certainly hoped that it would attract further patrons or academic promotion as appears from the manuscript dedicated to Nicholas V. His last lectureship at Perugia had ended in 1427. Later, exiled from Nursia, he sought refuge in the war-torn Mark, with no permanent employment until he became Francesco Sforza's physician about 1442. The earlier sources of Reguardati's work, as I shall explain, were also in Latin.

The *Libellus* as first compiled by Reguardati was intended to serve Agnesi, described as *Beatissime pater*, as a health and diet manual in any emergency which might arise during his governorship (cap. I), when travelling there in times of war or peace or while hunting (cap. II), or under canvas during a campaign (cap. IV), when, no longer in contact with his own physician, he would have to rely on local doctors not acquainted with his constitution (cap. IV), and on local food rather than his accustomed diet (cap. V). The five introductory chapters reveal intimate details well known to Reguardati his physician. Agnesi slept six or seven hours at night lying on his stomach with a little feather pillow, as this position was an aid to his weak digestion. Certain pills called *elephantinae* by Mesue [the *Antidotarium*], suited his liverish tendencies. Details for making, heating and applying a mastic poultice, melted onto parchment and placed on the stomach where it would adhere without bandages are provided as a further aid to digestion. More startling is the prescription for a confection compounded from flowers, fruits, vegetables, nuts, shavings from horn, ivory, precious stones, gold and silver, dissolved in sugar, scented to taste with musk, to be taken at dawn, three or four times a month, one spoonful at a time, washed down with wine, before food. While the cure-all properties of this mixture are carefully enumerated, including its use as an antidote against poison, it was considered especially beneficial for the prelate's constitution.

The five chapters on Air, Exercise, Sleeping and Waking, Evacuation, Food and Drink and the final chapter on the Human Passions are not original, for their source, as has not previously been pointed out, derives from an earlier treatise, the *Libellus de conservanda sanitate* by Barnabas de Reatinis of Reggio, finished at Mantua on 15 October 1331 and dedicated to Simone de Corrigia, who had asked for his advice *ad sanitatem . . . corporis conservandam*. Three manuscripts of this unpublished work by Barnabas survive: in the Marciana at Venice,⁶ in Paris⁷ and at Naples.⁸ The first two manuscripts are described by Thorndike and Kibre⁹ and the

⁶ Cl. VII, cod. 34, ff. 1–20 v.

⁷ Bibl. Nat., Nouvelles Acquisitions MSS, 1430, ff. 1–10v.

⁸ Bibl. Naz., XIII G. 12, ff. 25–50, where it is followed, f. 51, by a sonnet of Agostino [Santucci] de Urbino.

⁹ *A Catalogue of Incipits . . .*, pp. 843 and 1229.

Operata de la conseruatione de la sanitare directus
 aulo primo in chusto patre et colendissimo signore
 Alisio Arzigo Vesio Napolitano et conseruatore
 de la Materia Anconitana per magistro benedictio
 di reguardati da Norsa.

Capitulo p^o Alacae.

IN summo et diligentissimo studio
 se conuenit: et bisogna d'aprire et a
 sanare le miserie et aguar di morbi
 che fontiane: et se immortano nelle
 humane mente: aduo et per propria
 companza: et conueniente et propria
 onale armonia se sanare se conuenit: et la quale ol

tra la uirtu del animo nuna cosa piu laudabile in
 migliore ne piu desiderabile se attribuisse ala humana
 conseruatione: et forse laquale nistimo mouerente ne
 zero: ne uirtu da nessuno se puo mandare ad oculte

Et in dno et unamento se fozzissimo infirmita
 dese el corpo di dnoe alla study della scientia: et dele
 uirtute: et tanto piu de hano conseruatione: homo
 ala conseruatione della sanitare sua: quanto de esse se
 uirtute be ad graue: et se et ad piu altri scilicet et
 populi a lui conuenit: et laquale cosa: et per et ob
 summo: et signore bisogna abonde de ogni opera
 et ligna et conueniente solitudine ala conseruatione
 della sanitare ista: laquale per lo dnoe aduato: et

Figure 1

Operata de la conseruatione de la sanitare . . . per magistro benedictio
 di reguardati da Norsa. Mediolani anno 1468 15 Jan. (Novara,
 Biblioteca Capitolare XCIII, f.1 and end.)

De Aere. Capitulum Primū.

Vmmo decet studio
 emergentes morboꝝ
 insidias deprimi. Vt
 appria temperie & p
 portionali harmonia
 sanitas conseruetur:
 qua nihil p̄ter anō/
 rum uirtutes melius aut optabilus
 humāo generi a natura tributū est.
 Nec ipi animoꝝ actus aut potētię
 absq; corporis sanitate pfici possunt.
 Frustra etenim egrotantē corpore
 ad uirtutū aut sciētiāꝝ gynnasia co
 naremur. Sed illoꝝ maxie attendē/
 da est sospitas. qui nō solū sibi: sed
 gregi populorū uiuūt. Hinc est bea
 tissime pater. qđ digniori solertia ad
 uestre sanitatis conseruationē: ope
 ram dari decēt. quod om̄ipotentis

Figure 2.

Pulcherrimum et utilissimum opus ad sanitatis conseruationem:
 editum ab eximio artium et medicinae professo magistro
 benedictio de Nursia . . . Rome, MCCCCLXXV die XIII
 Mensis Ianuarii. (B.M. IA 17413, f. 4r, and colophon f. 135.)

Tractato utilissimo circa la cōseruatōe d̄ la salita d̄ oposto p̄ il clariss̄o & excellētī philosofo & doctore di medicina Messer Ugo Benzo di siēa nel q̄le cōta sia lutilitate: aſai cbiaramēti po cōphēdē ch̄ i esso lege

Um sūmo & diligētīssī
 c mo studio se cōuīene &
 bīfogna depzīmere & d̄
 scaciare le insidie & aguaiti di
 morbi che sotentrāo & se imer
 zena nele humane mēte. acio
 che per propria tēperanza & cō
 ueniente & proportiōale armo
 nia la sanita se cōferui de la q̄
 le oltra la uirtu d̄ lanimo niu
 na cosa piū laudabile ni megli
 ore ne piū desiderabile se attri
 buisse ala humana generatiōe
 & sēza la quale niuno mouim̄
 to ne acto ne uirtu de animo
 se po mandare ad executione.
 Et indarno e uanaſite ne sſor
 zaramo. Infirmandosī el cor
 po di darci ali studii de la sciē
 tia e d̄le uirtude. Et tanto piū
 de auere cōsideratione lomo
 ala cōseruatione de la sanita
 de soa. quanto che essa sanita
 d̄ ba agiouaſ assī & a piū altri
 subditi e populi alui cōmessī.
 Per la qual cosa reuerēdīssī
 mo padre & obseruādīssīmo sī
 gnore bīfogna adoncha dare
 ogni opera & digna & comēda
 bili sollicitudine ala cōserua
 tione de la sanitate uoſtra: la
 quale per lo diuino adiutorio

cōseguiriti mediante la obser
 uatione de le infraſcripte regu
 le. Et primo se die studiare cia
 scuno e sſorzarsi de elegerē per
 la piū assīdua & frequente soa
 habitatione lochi done gli ha
 bia ad dormire e cōferire el
 piū puro salubre & netto aere
 & maxie neli lochi del suo go
 uerno e regimento quāto piū
 possibile gli sia secōdo la diuer
 sitade deli tempi. La qual cof
 sa non ha acedere solamente i
 beneficio de la cōseruatione
 de la sanitate ma etiādio ala
 perfectione & subuentione de
 lintellecto & de la ratiōe como
 cbiaramente se dimostra & cō
 prende per auctoritate & expe
 rientia de li antichi che lo ae
 re impuro corrupto e grosso.
 Non tanto il corpo humano
 ma lo intellecto anchora & lo
 ingegno grandemente igrossa
 e quasi obumbra & circunda i
 modo de una rubigine tute le
 uirtude de lanima. Impero e
 con diligentia e summa aduer
 tentia da schinare e da retrar
 se d̄ laere zinchiuſo & non par
 ticipante de aerezitate. Et
 simelmente le habitatione de

Figure 3.

Tractato utilissimo circa la cōseruatione de la sanitate per il clarissīmo et excellenti philosofo et doctore di medicina Messer Ugo Benzo . . . Milan, 1 June 1481. (B.M. IA 26585 f.1r)

third by Kristeller.¹⁰ My conclusions are based on the manuscript at Venice.

Though more extensive and not identical with Reguardati's subsequent treatise, Barnabas's work undoubtedly supplied the source and framework for Reguardati's five introductory chapters and his final chapter, between which is the bulk of his text, the ninety chapters on Diet in alphabetical order, with remarks on the food value of each article, its relation to various ailments and any special attributes it had as an antidote against poison. The tendency of subsequent generations to consider deliberate food poisoning as a frequent cause of death during the Renaissance was in fact a fear shared by contemporaries, even if more recently ascribed to gastroenteritis and unskilled preservation of food.

The source of these ninety chapters is another treatise, the *Compendium de naturis et proprietatibus alimentorum*, also by Barnabas de Reatinis of Reggio, completed at Venice, where he was a salaried physician, on 27 November 1338 and dedicated to Guido de Guisis of Reggio, Bishop of Concordia. Possibly Barnabas intended it to be a development of his previous work, *De Conservanda sanitade* of 1331, which had already included some of the same material on diet in the chapter on Food.

Two manuscripts of this second and also unpublished treatise by Barnabas survive, one in the Vatican,¹¹ which is the one I have used, and the other in the Laurenziana at Florence.¹² Thorndike's summary in *Isis* (1926), now also applicable to Reguardati's treatise, makes it clear that his many chapters on diet are largely derived from Barnabas: the arrangements of foods in alphabetical order, the long chapter on Meat far exceeding any other in length with its careful grouping of arguments under this head. The eight items discussed by Barnabas under the letter F become six in Reguardati's work, as also in the Benzi editions, the thirteen entries under P are reduced to ten, or rather eleven, for *Piper*, instead of standing alone, has been incorporated into the chapter *de Aromaticis*. A careful textual juxtaposition of this and also Barnabas's other treatise with Reguardati's text reveals other similarities.

Lockwood, in relation to Benzi (p. 342) describes these chapters as 'a complete Galenic dietary', the remark if now applied to Reguardati as the author of the treatise must be qualified. Even if it appears that Reguardati's work was not original but based on two unacknowledged works written by Barnabas de Reatinis his own compilation was intended for and addressed to a specific patient, Astorgio Agnesi. Galen hardly shared the preoccupation with Neapolitan diet which was one of Reguardati's main concerns. Though he may have had the same tastes as Agnesi in bread this was certainly not the case with regard to indigestible pasta. *Tortulos* [*Tortellini*] *apud neapolitanorum morem*, are recommended as the best size and shape for bread as they get thoroughly baked in the oven (cap. *de Pane*). Pasta was indigestible, especially when eaten with cheese, *cum macharonibus laganiis* [*lasagne*] *et ferculis*. (cap. *de Caseo* and also cap. *de Farro*). Trili [*tagliatelli*], mentioned separately, were just as indigestible, and equally bad for calculus (cap. *de Trilis*). Still, as the prelate was addicted and accustomed to cheese and had a special taste for it eaten in this way,

¹⁰ *Iter italicum*, I, p. 432.

¹¹ MSS. Lat. 3714, ff. 1r.—67r., described by Thorndike, *Isis*, 1929–30, p. 62, and by Thorndike and Kibre p. 1189.

¹² Ms. Gaddi reliq. 209, described by Bandini, *Suppl. II*, pp. 204–5, and by Thorndike, *Isis*, 1926, pp. 285–86 and 1929–30, p. 62.

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it was unlikely to do him any harm. Here Reguardati repeats the maxim from the general chapter on Food that what you like is good for you. A passing reference to the difficulty of singing the Holy Office during Lent due to the effect on the tongue of eating nuts, perhaps recalls *quaresimali*, those Neapolitan biscuits made from nut-paste instead of prohibited fats during Lent, but they are not mentioned by name. A delightful recipe for baked apples, spiced to taste, with details about coring, slicing and stuffing them with sugar or honey, is provided as more digestible than raw apples, *post cibum comedi possunt*. Still a favourite Neapolitan invalid dessert, they were then eaten with plums, not filled with cherry-jam as now. (cap. *Poma que dicuntur mala*.)

The final chapter on Human Passions is impersonal, save for the remark that no rules on Sex are included, *propter honestatem religionis*, for the treatise was addressed to a prelate, and because—as Reguardati concludes a little wearily, *in hac ultima et deteriori etate nostra*, from personal experience and experienced hearsay—it appears that sexual excess is harmful but moderation beneficial to the maintenance of good health. The phrase *ultima . . . etate* does not refer to old age but to the fact that Reguardati had lived and married in happier days. He had two sons, Dionisio, also a physician, and Carlo a lawyer.

The three earlier surviving manuscripts of his *Libellus* contain the dates 1465 and 1468 indicating the period in which they were transcribed, in both cases during Reguardati's lifetime, and not the date of his original *stesura* of the work. Both the Florentine manuscripts¹³ may be identical. Though transcribed after Agnesi's death, 10 October 1451, for Agostino de Rubeis's letter to Francesco Sforza, 29 May 1465, is included after the text, both manuscripts retain the earlier form of dedication to Agnesi as Governor of the Mark, which dates the treatise to before 18 February 1437 when he became Archbishop of Benevento.

As the Italian translation at Novara also has this earlier form of dedication, these three manuscripts are all linked to some original master text. The scribe of the Italian version recalls that it was *expletus*, completed, at Milan on 15 January 1468 and transcribed within six days *cum magno strepitu pullorum equorum indomitorum*. This dramatic footnote is of literary interest because it anticipates Politian's similar remark to excuse his hasty composition of the *Orfeo* at Mantua, in 1480, *in dui giorni infra continui tumulti*. The allusion to untamed colts, suggesting the purchase of horses, might be considered with similar incidents recalled in Reguardati's letters.¹⁴ The uproar, however disturbing to the scribe, is only of local significance. His haste however is explained by the fact that Reguardati was expected to arrive at Milan on 17 January 1468, and may himself have commissioned the work to take to Florence where he had been invited by Piero de' Medici, then ill. One of the other Medici physicians, Agostino di Stefano Santucci of Urbino (1393–1468), had died in Florence on 2 December. The information about Reguardati's expected arrival in Milan is from Cicco Simonetta's letter to the widowed duchess, Bianca Maria, Pavia, 16 January 1468, suggesting that she should dissuade Reguardati from accepting this appointment as a means of livelihood for his old age, by granting him possession of

¹³ The Laurentian Biscione 25, described by Bandini, *Supp.* II, pp. 256–57 and the missing Magliabechiano, XV, 145, formerly in the Nazionale (Kriesteller, *Iter Italicum*, I, p. 119).

¹⁴ M.A.P. IX, 276, 29 May 1462 and Milan, Archivio Sforzescho, Estero-Firenze, 9 August 1464.

property in Milan. He did in fact go to Florence, but not until the following spring, and then only to die there of malaria, during the summer heat, 19 July 1469, five months before the death of his patient, Piero de' Medici, 3 December 1469.

Though the translation copied in Milan does not appear to have travelled farther than Novara, it may well have served as the copy for the edition of Benzi's *Tractato*, first printed at Milan in 1481. A further problem arises from the inclusion in this manuscript, after the list of chapters and before the text, of an extract from a letter by Guarino Veronese (1374–1460) to his pupil Leonello d' Este (1407–50) which has no apparent bearing on Reguardati's treatise. The extract, described in the heading as *Quaedam praecepta de studendi ordine* is from a letter ascribed by Sabbadini to the summer of 1434.¹⁵ By 1468, the scribe's date on the Novara manuscript, both Guarino and Leonello were dead and Borso was duke of Ferrara, where Ugo Benzi had been physician to Nicholas III from 1431 to 1439. Though this may suggest some possible link with Ferrara and Benzi, both the Novara manuscript and the first edition bear a Milanese date.

The two other fifteenth-century manuscripts of Reguardati's treatise are in the Vatican. The earlier codex, Barberini 279, has the later form of the dedication to Agnesi, described both as Archbishop of Benevento and Governor of the Mark of Ancona, so it was made after 18 February 1437 when he became archbishop and before 1448 when he was made cardinal. Reguardati is simply called *physicus*. The other Vatican codex 6266, dedicated to Nicholas V, may have suggested to the printer his subsequent dedication of the first printed edition, 1475, to the reigning pope, Sixtus IV.

Reguardati himself, after Agnesi's death, 10 October 1451, was no doubt responsible for the dedication to Nicholas V of codex 6266, a presentation copy, probably offered to the pope during his first visit to Rome, 1452–53. The flourish of the dedication, describing his full status as author, *editum ab eximio artium et medicine professore Magistro Benedicto de Nursia, tunc serenissimi et potentissimi ducis Mediolani medico*, is repeated in much the same terms in Duke Francesco's letter to Archbishop Latino Orsini, 24 November 1451.¹⁶ This recommendation, intended to serve Reguardati as an introduction, was to give official support to the real object of his visit to Rome: readmission to Nursia to enable him to settle his personal affairs there. His three attempts to go to Nursia were opposed by three successive popes: in 1453 and with violence by Nicholas V, in 1460 by Pius II, in 1464 by Paul II. The political or commercial reasons for this prolonged *divieto* remain a mystery. In 1453, though lovingly received by Nicholas V *con tanti basi et inusitate carezze*, he was later *cacciato e licenziato dalle terre propinque ad la mia patria* by order of His Holiness. So all the hopes inherent in the dedication and his expedition to Rome proved vain.¹⁷

The subsequent dedication of the *editio princeps*, at Rome, 14 January 1475 to a later pope, Sixtus IV, has nothing to do with Reguardati, dead since 1469, but was a gesture of the printer, possibly inspired by the previous papal dedication of codex 6266. Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine of Messina, who was also a physician, was related to Sixtus IV and dedicated some of his other publications to him.

¹⁵ *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*, II, n. 679, pp. 269–71 and notes, III no. 679, pp. 31–32.

¹⁶ Archivio Sforzesco, Framm. Reg. Missive, no. LXX, L. 31.

¹⁷ Letter of 29 March 1453 from Pesaro (P. Giacosa, *Maestri Salernitani nondum editi*, pp. 692–93.)

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Seven printed editions of Reguardati's treatise appeared by 1500 from three Roman presses, de Lignamine, Planck and E. Silber (the four Planck editions are all variants, not reprints), and one Bologna press, D. de Lapis, 1477. A reprint of the first Lignamine edition was included without the author's name, in the miscellany *Arcana medicinae*, L. Cruse, Lyons, 1498/1500.

Since nobody profited from the attribution of Reguardati's treatise to Benzi in 1481 the motive for this remains a mystery. No literary hyena appears to have tampered with Pietro de Corneno's 1481 edition as Alessandro Sarti did with the 1498 Aldine edition of Politian's work. Some clue however might be sought among those disciples of Ugo Benzi also connected with Reguardati. One of these was Agostino Santucci of Urbino, Federico di Montefeltro's physician, who like Reguardati was frequently in attendance on the Medici family in Florence where after his death in 1468 he was succeeded by Reguardati. His personal library of 59 volumes contained 50 medical works (Ristori, pp. 35–37), including *Uno libello de conservazione sanitatis* p. 36). Though the author's name is not given, it would appear, from the very form of the title, to be Reguardati's treatise.¹⁸

Niccolò de Rubeis, a younger man, and another of Benzi's disciples, took his degree in medicine at Pavia in 1441. Like Santucci he had literary inclinations and transcribed sixteen of Benzi's *consilia* for his own use (Lockwood, p. 130) and some recipes. Perhaps he was related to Agostino de Rubeis d'Aragona of Parma, also interested in recipes and cures, who obtained from Pope Paul II for Francesco Sforza the prescription of a remedy for asthma, previously used by His Holiness and by Pius II (d. 14 August 1464). This with Agostino de Rubeis' letter dated 29 May 1465 and some other prescriptions, is appended in the Biscione manuscript 25 to the text of Reguardati's treatise. De Rubeis sent the prescription for the use of the Duchess, Bianca Maria, who had been ailing with a similar complaint. Already in the previous February Sforza had summoned Reguardati back to Cremona to assist her during an earlier stage of her illness.¹⁹ So as he was in attendance on her he may have been in contact with Agostino de Rubeis.

While this does not directly provide a motive for involving de Rubeis in the attribution of Reguardati's work to Benzi, at Milan, in 1481, he was ambassador at Milan from about 1468,²⁰ settled there in 1473, serving the Sforza dukes as ambassador to the Papacy, orator and counsellor, and *equitus auratus* until his death at Milan in 1486. It is noteworthy that his wife, who survived him, dying in 1518, was Simona, daughter of Bertano of Correggio.²¹ and so presumably a descendant, perhaps a grand-daughter, of that Simone de Correggia to whom Barnabas had dedicated the first of his two works in 1331. It may also be significant that the manuscript of the first treatise by Barnabas should be followed in the fifteenth-century miscellany at Naples by a sonnet by Agostino Santucci of Urbino. This, and the fact that Barnabas's treatise had the same title as those by Reguardati and Benzi led me to make the further comparison between the two works by Barnabas and the Reguardati text.

Plagiarism and false attribution, not always necessarily fraudulent, may have been

¹⁸ I thank Professor A. Garosi of Siena for his help in identifying this reference.

¹⁹ Sforza's letter to Reguardati, 22 February 1465, Milan, Archivio Sforzesco, Estero-Firenze.

²⁰ Cosenza, IV, p. 3103.

²¹ Argellati, pp. 2152, 2229.

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more common than is generally supposed. Reguardati's work, though clearly based on the two unpublished Latin treatises by Barnabas on health and diet, completed a hundred years earlier at Mantua, 1331, and Venice, 1338,²² is a reconstruction, not a direct appropriation, as in the case of the *Tractato* attributed to Ugo Benzi, which derives entirely from the contemporary Italian translation of the Latin of Reguardati's *Libellus de conservatione sanitatis*.

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²²According to Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, II, p. 40, a fourteenth/fifteenth-century miscellany at Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3284, contains both Barnabus de Reatinis' treatises, *De Naturis et proprietatibus alimentorum* and *De Conservanda sanitate*.