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Healing, Performance and Ceremony in the Writings of Three Early Modern Physicians

Hippolytus Guarinonius and the
Brothers Felix and Thomas Platter



M.A. Katritzky

HEALING, PERFORMANCE AND CEREMONY
IN THE WRITINGS OF THREE EARLY MODERN
PHYSICIANS: HIPPOLYTUS GUARINONIUS AND
THE BROTHERS FELIX AND THOMAS PLATTER



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Healing, Performance and
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the Brothers Felix and
Thomas Platter

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For

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PART I
Introduction



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Chapter 1

Healing, Performance and Ceremony in the Writings of Three Physicians

This book examines aspects of performance culture, and of the practice of healthcare and medicine, and some of the complex interconnections between these two fundamental areas of human endeavour. The published and unpublished early modern documents it draws on include substantial and rarely cited German-language writings by three physicians. One has achieved worldwide recognition as a physician, one is better known as a traveller, and the third is little known even within the German-speaking regions. This book focuses on how they engaged with and recorded the theatrical and festival culture of their time, and what their writings communicate about it in general, and also about healing performers, the performance of healing, and influences between healthcare and the stage, in its widest sense.

The three physicians, whose writings have not previously been studied together, are Hippolytus Guarinonius¹ and the half-brothers Felix and Thomas² Platter. The Platter brothers were Lutherans who practiced medicine in their home city of Basle. Guarinonius was a devout Catholic born in Trent, who grew up in Prague and Vienna. He chose to practice in Hall, then already in gentle decline from its medieval status as a major salt-mining centre and the largest and most prosperous city on the Tirol's North-South trade route, to a modest provincial town in the shadow of nearby imperial Innsbruck.³ The medical schools at which they qualified, those of the universities of Montpellier and Padua, were then

¹ The first volume of the longest vernacular medical treatise by Guarinonius (1571–1654) was published in 1610 as *Die Grewel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts* (here cited throughout as Guarinonius, *Grewel*). The second volume survives only as an unfinished, unpublished manuscript (Innsbruck UL, Cod.110).

² This son of Thomas Platter the Elder (1499–1582), generally referred to as Thomas Platter the Younger (1574–1628), and here referred to throughout simply as Thomas Platter, is the half-brother of Felix Platter (1536–1614). The journal of Platter the Elder is here cited from Otto Fischer's 1911 edition (Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung'). The journals of his sons Felix (Basle UL, Codex A λ III.3) and Thomas Platter (Basle UL, Ms.A λ V.7–8) are here quoted in translation from the original German language manuscripts. For ease of reference, most footnote references are to the comprehensive, scholarly editions of Valentin Lötscher (here cited as *Felix Platter Tagebuch*) and Rut Keiser (here cited as *Thomas Platter d.J.*), rather than to the manuscripts themselves. Non-German synonyms placed in brackets in Thomas Platter's manuscript are here left untranslated.

³ Brandstätter, 'Hall', 33.

Europe's most renowned, respectively attracting large communities of Protestant and Catholic German-speaking students, enjoying special privileges (Plates 2, 4–5).⁴ Felix Platter left Basle for Montpellier in 1552, returning in 1557. His much younger half-brother Thomas Platter, brought up by Felix after the death of their father Thomas Platter the Elder, left the University of Basle in 1595 to continue his medical studies in Montpellier, returning to Basle in 1600. Hippolytus Guarinonius, born three years before Thomas Platter and outliving him by a quarter of a century, boarded at Prague's Jesuit College for 11 years before completing his medical studies in Padua between 1594 and 1597.

Felix Platter was an ambitious, highly successful physician who published numerous medical treatises. His unfinished manuscript life writings, compiled in his seventies and never intended for publication, mainly cover the period from his earliest childhood to the mid-1560s. The only published works of the much shorter-lived Thomas Platter are posthumous editions of some of Felix's writings. The fair copy of his manuscript travel journal, covering the period 1595–1600, was completed by 1605. By no means all of Hippolytus Guarinonius's numerous Latin and vernacular German medical and theological treatises, tracts and translations have been published even since his lifetime, and the considerable scholarship on him is largely in German. Felix and Thomas Platter attract an international scholarship excellently served by the magisterial editions of their life writings respectively edited by Valentin Lötscher in 1976 and Rut Keiser in 1968, and less so by partial and sometimes unreliable seventeenth-century and modern translations into English of several medical publications, and selected sections of their life writings.⁵ Several passages of theatrical interest in the three physicians' writings are well known, notably a brief reference by Hippolytus Guarinonius to English actors, and Thomas Platter's impressions of an itinerant performing and healing

⁴ Such as 'the German Freedom': the right to carry weapons within the city (on which see *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 203: 26 August 1554, Montpellier).

⁵ *Felix Platter Tagebuch* (ed. Lötscher); *Thomas Platter d.J.* (ed. Keiser). Partial edited transcriptions and translations of Thomas Platter's account of his 1599 visit to England include those of Binz ('Londoner Theater'), Hecht (Platter the Younger, *Englandfahrt*) and Williams (*Thomas Platter's travels in England*). Jennett (*Beloved son Felix* and *Journal of a younger brother*) engagingly compress the accounts of Felix Platter's five years in Montpellier and Thomas Platter's studies and travels in France and Spain, into two slim, readable volumes with minimal scholarly apparatus). An anonymous French translation publishes selected sections of both brothers' Montpellier accounts (Platter, *Félix et Thomas Platter*). The first volume of Le Roy Ladurie's three-volume engagement with the Platter journals (Platter, *Le siècle des Platter*) paraphrases extensive extracts from Platter the Elder and Felix Platter's journals (English translation: Le Roy Ladurie, *The beggar and the professor*); the remaining two introduce and provide French translations of Rut Keiser's edition of Thomas Platter's journal in its entirety, complete with Keiser's scholarly apparatus and footnotes. For seventeenth-century English translations of Felix Platter's medical treatises, see: Plat[t]er, Cole and Culpeper, *A golden practice (=Praxis medica)*; Plat[t]er, Culpeper and Cole, *Platerus histories (=Observations)*.

troupe in Avignon in 1598, and of his visit to a performance of *Julius Caesar* on London's South Bank a year later. Most are unavailable in English translation. My title reflects a new perspective on a new selection of primary documents. As such, it prompts immediate questions. Why healing, performance and ceremony? Why physicians? Why these three?

Why Healing, Performance and Ceremony?

Traces of ancient shamanic and other links between healing, performance and ceremony persisted into the early modern period – and beyond – at many levels. Most obviously, they informed the activities of religious faith healers and the class of itinerant traders known as quacks, mountebanks or charlatans. They contributed to the renaissance revival of classical health therapies for melancholy based on music, laughter and comedy, and are a factor in the early modern period's heightened medical, theatrical and popular interest in supernatural phenomena and wondrous humans: magic and monsters.⁶ These links also profoundly shaped the interlocking hierarchical power networks underpinning Europe's social and political frameworks, in which spectacle is widely utilized to promote and enhance legally-binding as well as symbolic performed rituals or ceremonies (as compellingly demonstrated by the Europe-wide tradition of the Royal Touch). Recognizing the power of performance and healing to attract the respect, money and compliance of individuals, build and bind communities, and forge perceptions of physical and mental norms, early modern Church, court and city all competed for their control. Their confrontations highlight the interdependence of the practice of medicine and theatre, at a time when the boundaries between them were still porous and flexible.

Early modern healthcare and performance encroached on and enriched each other in many ways. Physicians performed public dissections to spectators in anatomy theatres; monstrous humans were eagerly examined by physicians as well as being collected by aristocrats and viewed by fairground visitors; religious centres and leaders drew crowds by staging exorcisms or other spectacular procedures associated with healing powers. Itinerant quacks pioneered many theatrical trends. Strongly incentivized to attract clients and promote their medical products and services, their stage routines often involved magic and medicine. From the beginnings of Western drama, popular theatrical trends crossed fluidly between quack and non-quack stages, in a lively culture of Europe-wide interchange. During the medieval period, the medical activities of actual quack troupes were promoted by professional performers, and medicine-peddling quacks became the earliest secular characters in the religious plays then at the heart of the Christian festive year. Their 'merchant scene', as it became known, dominated the central

⁶ This term is here used in its early modern sense of congenitally, physically abnormal human (or animal).

third of certain late medieval Easter mystery plays. It provided a public forum for ridiculing and debating popular medical practices, and initiated the surprisingly high medical content of the performing arts (which continues to flourish unabated in the age of television).

Researches into the interdependencies between early modern healing and performing do not reflect a unified field of enquiry. Generally, they follow discipline-led concerns and approaches of one or another academic field. Unremarkably, theatre historians traditionally foreground spectacle; medical historians concentrate on healthcare activities. One fruitful approach treats literary play texts as a primary documentary source for enquiries into early modern medical practice.⁷ Some are general, others focus on specific questions.⁸ Despite the heavy pressures of disciplinary agendas, increasingly holistic approaches are being pioneered by scholars publishing in several languages on another developing area: performing quacks.⁹ Groundbreaking collaborative ventures are contributing towards the goal of achieving fruitful new approaches and findings in this field.¹⁰ This book builds on these findings. In order to contextualize key texts and their English translations within the overview of early modern theatrical culture offered by the chosen three physicians, it interrogates their descriptions of spectacle and ceremony, performers, and performance strategies for insights into theatrical and medical practice, and their interfaces, and for evidence concerning specific healers and performers.

Why Physicians?

In order to maintain their position at the top of the early modern healthcare provision pyramid, qualified physicians were required to safeguard their economic interests in a precarious balancing act that postmodern medical history is only now beginning to fully explore. As well as apothecaries, surgeons and barber-

⁷ The pioneer in this field is Silvette (*The doctor on the stage*). See also: Moss and Peterson, *Disease, diagnosis, and cure*; Kerwin, *Beyond the body*; Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the practice of physic*.

⁸ Such as the need ‘to address one of the thorniest problems facing the history of Spanish medicine: bridging the gap between the elite world of academic medicine and its popular reception’ (Slater and Terrada, ‘Scenes of mediation’, 227).

⁹ Kröll, ‘Spectacles de foire’ and ‘Kurier die Leut auf meine Art’; Hattori, *Performing cures*; King, *The making of the dentiste*; Feinberg, ‘Quacks and mountebanks’; Jones, ‘Pulling teeth’; Porter, *Quacks, fakers & charlatans*; Park, ‘Country medicine’; Häde, ‘Meß-Ärtzte’; Henke, ‘The Italian mountebank’; Gentilcore, *Medical charlatanism*; Katritzky, *Women, medicine and theatre*.

¹⁰ See, for example, collaborative publications edited by Katritzky (‘The commedia dell’arte’), Jütte (‘The doctor on the stage’), Nutton (‘Medicine in the renaissance city’), or Häde and Baumbach (*Theaterkunst & Heilkunst*).

surgeons, midwives, hangmen and other professional colleagues with officially recognized healthcare expertise, they competed with various less clear-cut categories of unlicensed religious, supernatural and itinerant rivals. In the medical arena, practitioners of faith healing, magic and quackery integrated performance into their commercial and medical practice, in multifarious ways that qualified healthcare professionals increasingly ridiculed and undermined. Fortune-tellers, potion sellers, snake charmers, wise women and astrologers drew extensively on spectacle and ceremony in the service of health enhancement and promotion. A close relationship between healthcare provision and performance was central to early modern itinerant medical practice, and contributed materially to the effectiveness of its cures. Many quacks were actual performers themselves, using theatricality, in its widest possible sense, to attract customers and to promote and advertise their pharmaceuticals and healthcare services.

Qualified physicians were unusually informed and articulate observers of such activities. The privileged multiple viewpoints available to those who contributed to religious or secular performances staged within their own communities, or whose medical responsibilities took them to courts or foreign regions where they could experience performances and ceremonies inaccessible to most commoners or non-locals, greatly enriched their theatrical perceptions. As well as aiding assessment of genuine and false symptoms, diagnosis and cure, their professional training and medical experience supported accurate interpretation and communication of on and offstage healthcare practices, magic, and acrobatic routines. Keenly aware of the competitive threat of unlicensed healthcare practitioners, early modern physicians have left some of the most insightful observations on overlaps between medical and theatrical culture. No historical record is uncoloured by personal bias. The passages examined here are taken from the writings of three individuals whose social, religious and geographical backgrounds, and medical training and practice, offer contrasts as well as parallels.

Why these Three Physicians?

The decision to focus this book on passages of theatrical interest in the writings of Felix Platter, his younger half-brother Thomas Platter, and Hippolytus Guarinonius arises out of my long-term researches into German sources for the *commedia dell'arte*. Felix Platter has left a festival account featuring prominent and early use of *commedia dell'arte* costumes at a German court tournament. Thomas Platter and Hippolytus Guarinonius, familiar to theatre historians since the nineteenth century through much debated brief allusions to English actors, are the authors of several accounts of Italian *commedia dell'arte* quack troupes, of which the most informative are an extended passage in the manuscript travel journal of Thomas Platter and some three dozen theatrical descriptions in Guarinonius's published medical treatise of 1610. As well as representing substantial sources for stage practice, both clarify links between quack practice and the *commedia*

dell'arte. Unlike most other early modern texts and images documenting quacks, they not only confirm interactions between itinerant healing and performance, but illuminate the details of how they functioned.

Having previously examined each of these three accounts individually, my aim here is to study them together, contextualized within the three physicians' rich range of theatrically relevant writings. In this book, considerations of the Christian festive year, Jewish culture, English actors, quacks, magic and monsters, use this approach to address general questions regarding these physicians' records of theatre and ceremony. An examination of Jacobean drama with reference to Thomas Platter's description of the ceremony of magical impotence provides a case study for exploring previously unnoted theatre-historical connections of one particular account. This approach also contributes new findings specifically relating to the three commedia dell'arte passages, as when the stage roles noted by Felix Platter and the quack troupe described by Thomas Platter are identified, or the literary strategies that impelled the deeply devout Guarinonius to pepper his serious medical treatise with detailed descriptions of scatological itinerant stage routines are clarified.¹¹

Researches into German sources for the commedia dell'arte received a tremendous boost in the 1980s, when Jean-Marie Valentin initiated in depth investigations into the lengthy vernacular medical treatise containing Guarinonius's fleeting comment on the English actors, as an exceptional source of descriptions of commedia dell'arte lazzi, or pre-rehearsed units of transferable, expandable, stage business.¹² The characteristic stock roles, improvisational methods and lazzi of the commedia dell'arte were developed in sixteenth-century Italy, by itinerant troupes. They pioneered mixed-gender acting as a viable profession, and from around 1570, their commercial success enabled them to export it across the Alps to Spain, France, German-speaking Europe, and even London. A few of the most renowned early modern commedia dell'arte troupes were regularly financed by court invitations. Most relied on door takings from indoor, public performances in enclosed hired venues, often heavily supplemented by marketplace trading. Weather permitting, this usually involved free outdoor performances on trestle stages, in combination with the sale of medical goods or services. The commedia dell'arte was the earliest form of fully professional theatre, and the first to publicly flaunt the break from all-male drama, and from harsh restrictions imposed on year-round performing by the Christian festive year. Close attention to links between quackery and the commedia dell'arte illuminates the fundamental contribution made by this alliance to the development of year-round professional mixed-gender theatre in early modern Europe. Alberto Martino's comprehensive overview of the commedia dell'arte's early German sources considers Guarinonius's lazzi descriptions in detail, adding a further lazzo to those identified by Valentin and by

¹¹ See this volume: Felix Platter (Chapters 7 and 16); Thomas Platter (Chapters 12 and 17); Hippolytus Guarinonius (Chapters 13–15 and 18).

¹² Valentin, 'Herr Pantalon', 'Bouffons ou religieux?' and *Theatrum Catholicum*.

the present author.¹³ In an updated version of his article, again concentrating on theatre-historical and literary issues, Martino confirms the writings of Guarinonius and Thomas Platter as among the most valuable of all German sources for the early *commedia dell'arte*.¹⁴

As well as representing informative early modern German-language records relating to the Italian professional actors, the *commedia dell'arte* descriptions of these three physicians are of wider documentary significance. They are of interest as contrasting and complementary theatre-historical records, and Thomas Platter and Hippolytus Guarinonius's descriptions of professional performances in the context of medical activities, concerning itinerants who earned their living by combining performance and healing, are of considerable medical-historical relevance. Thomas Platter here provides the most detailed early modern account of the commercial strategies of *commedia dell'arte* quack troupes. Taken as a group, they offer rich insights into both the medical and the theatrical practice of early modern quacks. Their documentary value is enhanced by contextualization within longer texts, and within each physician's writings as a whole, which afford a cumulative overview of festival and performance culture, and yield numerous further passages relevant to interdependencies between early modern performing and healing.

The writings of Guarinonius and the Platter brothers reveal a shared interest in performance and theatre coloured by their own individual experiences of performing, religious beliefs, and medical expertise. Felix Platter's instrumental and dancing talents, and Hippolytus Guarinonius's contributions to local religious drama and music, reflect contrasting strategies for utilizing theatrical skills to enhance medical careers and advance social standing, even while, in the case of Guarinonius, censuring professional performers in deeply negative terms. Thomas Platter's most revealing theatrical descriptions draw on the latest ethnographical advances in the science of apodemics, involving searching personal interviews with the performers themselves, often carried out over several visits. This book approaches these three male Christian physicians' writings with reference to their personal, professional and socio-religious contexts. It is concerned to acknowledge special insights brought by early modern medical professionals to an understanding of theatrical culture per se, and with respect to synergies between medicine and performance. Part I introduces the physicians. Part II focuses on festival culture.

¹³ Katritzky, 'Hippolytus Guarinonius' descriptions', 'Comic stage routines' and 'Guarinonius' lazzi'; Martino, 'Fonti tedesche degli anni 1585–1615', 684.

¹⁴ Martino acknowledges the present author's researches into Guarinonius's and Thomas Platter's theatrical descriptions, but neither the medical-historical importance of their descriptions, nor Felix Platter's account of *commedia dell'arte* costumes in a court festival masquerade ('Fonti tedesche degli anni 1565–1615', 21, 32, 43; Katritzky, 'Was *commedia dell'arte* performed by mountebanks?', 'Mountebanks, mummers and masqueraders', 'Marketing medicine', 'Hippolytus Guarinonius' descriptions', 'Comic stage routines', *The art of commedia*).

Part III examines the three physicians' accounts of English actors, marketplace performing and healing, magic and monsters. The subject of Part IV is itinerant performing quacks. Part V provides English translations of selected source texts.

Part II focuses on the three physicians' writings on religious, civic and court festivals, performances often combining spectacle with ceremony. Taken as a whole, major passages, but also countless brief comments, demonstrate how fundamentally these depended on the annual cycle of local, regional and Europe-wide holy-day feasts and fasts. While this is by no means a new insight, these particular records build up a vivid impression of the crucial role represented by this venerable tradition, not just at communal level, but in the everyday personal and professional lives of three specific individuals. The theatrical culmination of this dominant – Christian – early modern festive year was carnival. The Platter brothers' accounts of this, based on extensive participation in France and Spain as well as in their native Basle, represent some of the most informative descriptions of their time, illuminating medical as well as theatrical aspects of carnival tradition (Chapter 4). In multi-cultural early modern Europe, not everyone participated in the Christian festive year. Chapter 5 surveys the physicians' descriptions of some festivals, ceremonies and customs of the greatest minority religious group, the Jews, with a particular focus on Thomas Platter's uniquely detailed record of Jewish life in Avignon in the 1590s.

Chapter 6 considers the physicians' references to court festivals. Largely confined to their unpublished life writings and mostly dating to the 1590s, those of the Platter brothers, despite attracting little scholarly attention, are highly informative, ranging from brief allusions at second hand, to illustrated eyewitness accounts rivalling official printed descriptions in length and detail. Several record festivals unknown from other sources. Relevant to the present enquiry are the special perspectives offered by the Platter brothers' status as trained medical practitioners, and their freedom to illuminate aspects habitually ignored, glossed over, even deliberately misrepresented in the official accounts published in conjunction with the grander court festivals. These include the major and minor injuries and accidents routinely resulting from tournaments and other performances involving martial arts or hunting, journeys to and from festivals, and the impact of adverse weather conditions. Guarinonius's references to festivals are not factual descriptions. They support specific arguments in his medical writings. One of the longest purports to record his dialogue with a merchant who has recently attended a tournament in Stuttgart. The subject of this previously unrecognized account is here identified as a tournament parade at a founding court festival of the Protestant Union, staged only days before this dialogue was written. It provides fresh and detailed insights into the Catholic reception of this groundbreaking festival, well known from the official Protestant records, and raises questions concerning modern theatre-iconographical methodologies. The subject of Chapter 7 is Felix Platter's account of theatrical costumes at a German court wedding of 1598. Unlike the festival's official chronicler, Jakob Frischlin, Platter here correctly identifies 10 tournament masquerade characters significant for the early diffusion

of the *commedia dell'arte*. This passage is here examined as a valuable, under-recognized record of the *commedia dell'arte*'s considerable impact on sixteenth-century German festival culture.

Parts III and IV consider performers and healers, and their use of medicine and theatre. They examine the role of healing, and medical marketing, in the commercial strategies of performing troupes, and the particular insights physicians bring as spectators and critics of itinerant theatre. The subject of Part III is Thomas Platter's well known account of English actors and London's theatres and other tourist attractions, here set in the context of his visit to England, and of his account of Spanish theatre. It also considers Guarinonius's most discussed theatrical comments, on itinerant English players who, in contrast to Italian *commedia dell'arte* troupes, typically performed and toured independently of medical activities (Chapter 8). The physicians' writings are interrogated to provide an overview of the roles of healthcare and performing in the economic strategies of itinerant quacks, and how and where they traded (Chapter 9). Their references to two supernatural categories, magic and monsters, are considered. Magicians, necromancers and witches, but also some faith healers and quacks, professed, or were accused of, supernatural healing and other powers. They variously drew on magic, superstition, medicine and theatre in support of a wide range of occult practices, from card tricks to the ritual of magical impotence, this latter here considered with reference to a description of the practice by Thomas Platter, and its relevance to English drama (Chapter 10). During the early modern period, monsters, widely regarded as supernatural omens, were increasingly studied as indicative medical phenomena. The three physicians' writings advance our understanding of the diverging theatricalization and medicalization of human monstrosity. The case of Pedro Gonzales and his family is revisited in the light of newly identified archival evidence. This supports previously contested details of Felix Platter's account of his personal medical examination of two Gonzales children who inherited their father's hairy face and body, and brings into sharp focus the exceptional value of humans with rare, congenital, physical abnormalities as spectacular 'tokens' in the aristocratic gifts-for-patronage exchange economy (Chapter 11).

Part IV investigates quacks' medical and theatrical strategies, through close examination of Thomas Platter's account of a quack troupe in 1598 (Chapter 12), and Guarinonius's descriptions of professional comic stage routines (Chapters 13–15). The integration of medical practice and performance typically offered by Italian *commedia dell'arte* quack troupes, is an obvious manifestation of the intertwinement of early modern theatrical and medical culture. The quack-related descriptions of Guarinonius and Thomas Platter contribute to a growing body of documentary evidence suggesting that quacks did not always simply passively borrow from mainstream theatrical practice. Successful quacks adapted spectacular routines to suit their own economic and medical agendas, and their modifications in turn influenced developments in dramatic literature and stage practice. The complex, symbiotic relationship between certain professional

healers and performers is a major factor in, and informs the specifics of, the high medical content of early modern drama. Reassessment of an account by Thomas Platter, describing the combination of medicine and performance offered by one specific Italian quack troupe he observed in Avignon in 1598, offers unprecedented insights into this relationship, and facilitates detailed consideration of an individual performer and his longterm career. Newly-discovered archival documents allow me to identify the actor whose stage name Platter gives as Zan Bragetta. He is Giovanni Paulo Alfieri, an Italian troupe leader never previously connected to medical or healthcare activities, and until now known only for having acted in Paris with the renowned French performer Valleran-le-Conte, on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1612. This new identification advances our understanding of the fluid overlaps between theatre and medicine on early modern European itinerant stages.

An examination of the commedia dell'arte descriptions of Hippolytus Guarinonius further illuminates questions regarding these interfaces. Almost wholly uncited by specialists outside the German-speaking regions, they are unusually informative regarding *lazzi*, the comic set-piece routines of the commedia dell'arte, and Guarinonius's treatise confirms that they were acted by professional quacks dependent on the sale of healthcare products and services (Chapter 13). His descriptions of some three dozen *lazzi*, ranging from fleeting allusions to lengthy detailed accounts, are examined in the context of other known records of *lazzi*, textual and visual, and with respect to what they can tell us about quack performances (Chapter 14). Didactic, literary, therapeutic and promotional explanations for Guarinonius's extensive use of *lazzi* descriptions in his medical treatise are explored. Their inclusion was intended as a medical marketing strategy offering a textual therapy for melancholy. As a vehicle for contrasting the unhealthy folly of sinful Italian stage fools with the healthy lifestyle of devout southern German Catholics, they also exemplify specific 'deadly' sins viewed by Guarinonius as being life-threatening in the medical as well as theological sense. Literary responses to these *lazzi* (not least Guarinonius's own), are considered in Chapter 15. Here, they are identified as a major element in a serious medical treatise's impact as a counter-Reformational contribution to the tradition of 'folly literature'; not random, medically inappropriate add-ons, but integral components of Guarinonius's holistic literary attempt to cure the bodies, minds and souls of his readers.¹⁵

Part V presents English translations of some source texts, including Felix Platter's account of a court festival of 1598, and Thomas Platter and Hippolytus Guarinonius's most substantial records of quack activities.¹⁶ Before moving on to a detailed consideration of their theatrical writings, it is time to take a closer

¹⁵ Initiated in 1494 by the publication of the original German-language edition of Sebastian Brant's *Ship of fools*.

¹⁶ Discussed below, in Chapter 7 (Chapter 16), Chapters 5 and 12 (Chapter 17) and Chapters 13–15 (Chapter 18).

look at the three physicians themselves. They are the subject of the remaining two chapters of this introductory section, overviewing the travels, and medical and performing interests, practice and skills informing their writings.



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Chapter 2

The Brothers Felix Platter (1536–1614) and Thomas Platter (1574–1628)

Felix and Thomas Platter are known to early modern historians far beyond the German-speaking regions. Felix, whose three older sisters¹ died in Basle plague epidemics, was the much-loved only surviving child of Thomas Platter the Elder's marriage to Anna Dietschi, the housemaid of his mentor, the Zurich humanist Oswald Myconius.² Thomas was one of six children from the second marriage Platter the Elder entered into when it seemed clear that Felix would remain childless.³ Raised in great poverty in the rural Alpine Valais and effectively educated only in his twenties by Myconius and other mentors, Platter the Elder converted to Lutheranism and established himself as a Humanist in Basle. Here he ran a printing press and, with Anna Dietschi, a boarding house for local scholars and students. From the 1530s to 1578 he was also a teacher of ancient languages, then head teacher at the Münsterplatz grammar school. Felix Platter was born in Basle, studied medicine at the universities of Basle and Montpellier, and toured Europe before returning home to marry, set up his own practice and take the posts of Basle's public health officer, professor of medicine, dean of the medical school and vice-chancellor of Basle University. All these stages were mirrored some four decades later by his half-brother Thomas.⁴

Felix's high professional ambitions had early roots. Only poverty prevented his father from formal medical study. A central chapter in the memoirs of Platter the

¹ Margaretlein 1 (1530–1), Margaretlein 2 (1533–6) and Ursel (1534–51).

² Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 90–1, 106–7, 133–4, 141, 154, 161.

³ On 24 April 1572, two months after the death of Anna (1495 to 20 February 1572), Platter the Elder married Esther Gross (c.1555–1612, see Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 164–5). Felix Platter's medical writings supplement autobiographical information in his journals, e.g. regarding his father's second family (Platter, *Observationum*, 256). The most authoritative secondary sources of information on the Platter family and their immediate circle, not always further acknowledged in the present footnotes, are Valentin Lötscher and Rut Keiser's notes to their monumental editions of the journals (*Felix Platter Tagebuch* and *Thomas Platter d.J.*) and Lötscher's biographical monograph (*Felix Platter und seine Familie*). Hippolytus Guarinonius considers noteworthy that Christoph Faber's 20-year fourth and final marriage, entered into at the age of 60, produced eight children (*Grewel*, 49).

⁴ Platter, *Englandfahrt*, XVIII–XXI.

Elder relates his entry into the service of a medical mentor, Giovanni Epiphanius.⁵ This Venetian alcoholic, banished from the Bavarian court for contravening fasting regulations, took Platter with him from Zurich to Pruntrut, when he became personal physician to Jakob Philipp von Gundelsheim, Bishop of Basle. He promised to support Platter's 'special interest in practicing medicine', but died only a few months later, in the plague epidemic of 1531 that claimed Platter the Elder's oldest child. As a publisher and teacher, Platter the Elder became a great collector of medical publications, and regularly took the young schoolboy Felix to witness public executions and dissections of human corpses.⁶ Despite struggling with several phobias, not least a nauseous reaction to all rings and ring-shaped objects and human physical nonconformity, however minor, Felix was then already studying herbals, collecting and dissecting plants and insects, keenly observing the butchering of farm animals, and expressing a strong desire to fulfil his father's frequently articulated wish for him to study medicine.⁷

On 29 September 1551, shortly before his fifteenth birthday, Felix Platter successfully underwent the University of Basle's traditional pre-matriculation ceremony and commenced his medical studies there.⁸ On 10 October 1552, Felix Platter left plague-ridden Basle for Montpellier, where he continued his medical studies on arrival three weeks later, even before immatriculating on 4 November (Plate 2). At the start of his fourth year of medical study in Montpellier, Felix Platter received a letter from Basle from his childhood friend Balthasar Hummel, who had studied and lodged with him in Montpellier in 1554.⁹ Having returned to Basle to practice as an apothecary, Hummel sent Felix a damning report of medical practice in their home city, that was in stark contrast to parental warnings concerning the powerful professional competition facing him on his return.¹⁰ Felix paraphrased Hummel's letter in his journal, noting his friend's concerns that Basle's physicians were being poached by courts, spa resorts and schools, and that the incompetence and ignorance of those that remained were seriously devaluing the healing – and earning – power of his own profession of pharmacist:

⁵ Platter, *Observationum*, 95; Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 104–14.

⁶ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 96–8, 103–5 (1546, Basle).

⁷ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 101, 111, 127 (1548–52, Basle); Hochlenert, 'Das "Tagebuch" des Felix Platter', 120–1, 154. On his 'ring phobia', see Frenken, *Kindheit und Autobiographie*, 488–9, 499–504, 536; Bumiller, 'Selbstanalyse', 308–10.

⁸ On the ceremony of 'Deponieren', a ritual cleansing of the would-be student typically involving shaving the head, filing the nails and pulling a tooth, see Lötscher (in *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 119n556).

⁹ Hummel's daughter Margaretha was one of five children to whom the newly-qualified physician Felix became godfather in 1557. *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 206, 252, 311 (11 November 1554 and August 1556, Montpellier; November 1557, Basle).

¹⁰ See, for example, *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 186, 193 (September 1553 and 26 February 1554, Montpellier).

Dr Zonion has no patients, Dr Pantaleon is in Plombières-les-Bains, Dr Huggelin is with the margrave, Dr Huber is a schoolmaster. He [Hummel] complained bitterly how difficult it was for him to stay solvent, he had no business at his apothecary, and there were few orders. Prescriptions were not highly regarded in Basle, and more often written in German than Latin. The physicians mostly prescribe purgatives based on cassia, liquorice root, or other foolish stuff. Dr Isaac [Keller] makes up his own cheap rubbish for his patients. He [Hummel] would rather be a beggar than a pharmacist in Basle. These physicians know nothing apart from purging, and unlike those of Montpellier, don't use any properly prepared medicines. He consoled himself by thinking of me, and how I would turn things around.¹¹

Felix Platter's journal entry continues by recalling his emotions on reading Hummel's words: 'This letter inspired me to think that I possessed better knowledge than some others, and could introduce many practices then unknown there, such as enemas and other *topica*, all sorts of useful remedies. And with the help of God, this is what happened'.¹² In January 1557, while preparing for the tour of France that brought him home to Basle, he sent the last of many letters to his father from Montpellier. His journal's paraphrase of this filial letter reiterates his ambition even more forcefully: 'I was well aware how difficult it would be for me to establish a practice, how much effort and work it involved. But I hoped that by God's grace it would go well for me, because I have already practiced a lot, and I intend to establish my reputation by making use of much more effective methods for healing than are customary with us [in Basle]'.¹³

Felix Platter returned to Basle in May 1557 preoccupied with two goals: becoming a fully qualified physician, and marrying Madlen Jeckelmann.¹⁴ The marriage negotiations had begun only after Madlen Erbßlin, a distant relative by marriage to whom he had been betrothed as a 10-year-old, succumbed to the plague. Acting on rumours spread by friends who discovered the teenage Felix's secret love poems to Madlen Jeckelmann, and desperate for a daughter-in-law to replace Ursel, the daughter he had just lost to the plague, Platter's father approached the widowed Franz Jeckelmann, whose reluctance to part with the daughter who ran his household was not lost on Felix.¹⁵ Twenty-year-old Felix was concerned to publicly celebrate his achievement of his twin goals in his home city, in a manner appropriate to his professional ambitions. Although University of Basle regulations then required candidates for the medical doctorate to have

¹¹ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 223–4 (11 September 1555, Montpellier). The original letter of 18 August 1555 is one of many to Felix in Basle (BUL Frey-Grynaeum I, 8, p.150).

¹² *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 224.

¹³ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 262 (12–14 January 1557, Montpellier).

¹⁴ 1534–1613.

¹⁵ Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 156–7; *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 78, 112–14, 120–1, 215, 314 (1545–57, Basle and Montpellier).

reached the age of 24, exceptionally, he was permitted to qualify shortly before his 21st birthday. His journal describes his ostentatious and costly doctoral ceremony, and his more modest wedding a few weeks later, in November 1557. The couple then moved in with his parents for three years, while he struggled to become economically independent by establishing a viable medical practice.

Felix Platter's journal adds 17 further sedentary rivals, male and female, to the five local medical practitioners named in Hummel's letter of August 1555:

When I came to Basle, there were many doctors there who had adopted medicine as their profession and practiced. Those who had qualified were:

1. Dr Oswald Baer, public health officer
2. Dr Johannes Huber
3. Dr Isaac Keller
4. Dr Adam Bodenstein, known as Carlistat
5. Dr Heinrich Pantaleon
6. Dr Caspar Petri, known as Mellinger
7. Dr Guilelmus Gratarolus [of Bergamo], known as Pergomast
8. Dr [Johann] Jacob Huggelin
9. Dr Jakob Wecker
10. the licentiate Philippus Bechius
11. *dominus* Johannes Bauhin

Additionally, there were Dr Jacob Myconius¹⁶ and Dr [Johann] Jacob Zonion, both of whom however soon moved away. Then there were the empirics, Ziliochs of St Alban, who was consulted as if he were a doctor, and the widow of Otto Brunfels,¹⁷ who was also much in demand. Then there was me, Dr Felix Platter, and a year later Dr Theodor Zwinger. So around the years 1557 to 1558 there were seventeen doctors in Basle. I had to apply considerable skills if I wanted to earn my living by my practice, and was supported in this by God's rich blessings. Also very famous at this time was Amman, the so-called peasant of Utzendorf, to whom considerable numbers of people went. He could read fortunes by divining water and practiced strange arts for many years, through which he had acquired a considerable estate. After him, the Jew of Allschwil¹⁸ attracted huge numbers of patients for a long time. There was also an old woman called Lülbürenen in Gerber Lane, to whom many sick people went, as also to the two municipal hangmen, the brothers Wolf and Georg Käser, whose oldest

¹⁶ This friend of Felix Platter was the adopted son of his father's mentor, Oswald Myconius.

¹⁷ Dorothea Helg practiced medicine in Basle until at least 1572, after the death of her husband, the humanist, physician and botanist Otto Brunfels (1488–1534), who published a respected herbal in 1530.

¹⁸ On whom see Chapter 5, this volume.

brother was renowned in Schaffhausen for his medical skills, as is their father Wolf, the hangman of Tübingen. In the meantime, I began to attract a clientele among the local citizens and nobility, who generally tested me out by sending their urine samples, from which I had to make predictions. I dealt with these so well that many were impressed and started to come to me.¹⁹

The young French-trained doctor was not in a position to turn away business or disappoint local expectations. He tackled routine tasks of a type delegated by more established physicians, and dealt with endless requests for uroscopy from sceptical patients who came to try out his skills. He goodhumouredly interpreted a man carrying a urine sample in his parent's street, whom he encountered on his return from France, as a positive omen for his own future career. Even so, references to this hugely popular diagnostic method such as his criticism of a rival's 'tricks with uroscopy', indicate that he followed the latest medical thinking in rejecting its medical and theatrical aspects as outmoded showmanship, inappropriate to educated physicians.²⁰ Within Basle, he collaborated with the surgical practice of his in-laws, the Jeckelmann family. On house calls outside the city, he frugally deployed the full range of his own medical skills. As late as 1562, he notes his extreme exhaustion, and disappointment at being rewarded with only 30 crowns, on attending his wealthy patient Dela Deschamps of Belfort virtually round the clock from 16 January to 7 February: 'not only as his physician, but also as his surgeon and his apothecary'.²¹

Felix Platter's hard work established the foundations for his brilliant career as Basle's wealthiest and most distinguished physician, with a wide network of private, religious and noble patients in and outside Basle. He was on sporadic call to many French and German courts, for example visiting the court of Lorraine at Nancy in March 1601, and accepted long-term professional responsibilities for the Bishop of Basle and Georg Friedrich, Margrave of Baden and their courts (Diagram 2).²² In 1561, his father gave him the house next door to his own, and thereafter his career quickly gathered pace. In 1562, he was appointed Dean of Basle's medical school and in 1570 he became Vice-Chancellor. In 1571, when Basle had around 10,000 inhabitants, he accepted the chair of practical medicine, and became the city's public health officer, responsible for managing epidemics

¹⁹ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 335–8 (Spring 1558, Basle).

²⁰ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 294 (9 May 1557, Basle), 414 (19 July 1563, Grächen), 449 (12 July 1566). See also Stolberg, 'The decline of uroscopy', 321, 328, 335. By the 1650s, Guarinonius is dismissing uroscopy as an unhygienic gypsy trick (Innsbruck UL, Cod.110, IV, f.496^v).

²¹ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 383–4 (1562, Belfort).

²² Platter, *Obseruationum*, 574 (Plat[t]er, Culpeper and Cole, *Platerus histories*, 380: 'sent for by the Duke of Lotharing [Lorraine], to see the Cardinal his Son'). Baumann questions the extent to which Platter's municipal and academic commitments allowed him to take on formal long-term court engagements ('Ernst Friedrich von Baden Durlach', 336).

and overseeing autopsies, physicians, surgeons and midwives, hospitals for the poor, physically sick and mentally ill, and for training and examining medical students. He oversaw construction of a botanical garden and an anatomy theatre at the medical school, and introduced teaching practices from Montpellier, such as taking students on clinical hospital visits.²³ After the death of his father, Felix Platter moved to a larger home, the so-called Samson House. Here he established his curiosity cabinet, library, laboratory and study, considerable collections of *materia medica*, geological, botanical and zoological specimens, ethnological and artistic artefacts, and musical instruments. He also grew herbs, citrus trees and other medical simples, and bred canaries, doves, rabbits, guinea pigs, marmots and silkworms.

Exotic animals, whether live or as preserved specimens, were popular ‘props’ habitually displayed by itinerant quacks. Many great museums originated in curiosity cabinets, and such spectacle, commercially motivated by quacks’ own medical agendas and their clients’ scientific curiosity and medical anxieties, is relevant to the history of collecting, and the scientific and cultural pursuits of qualified physicians. Felix Platter confessed to ‘a great enthusiasm for all sorts of living creatures’. As a young physician, he was repeatedly presented with animals of precisely the type associated with quacks, including a monkey from his patient Hannibal von Bärenfels, and, during his visit to the Valais, a marmot which died within a day.²⁴ Felix Platter’s interests put him at the forefront of developments in academic teaching museums and research collections, while his excellent business sense allowed him to earn large sums by charging entrance fees and trading in silk, plants, animals and medical simples. The collections were eventually passed to Thomas Platter’s great-granddaughter Helena and her physician husband Claudius Passavant, and dissipated as far afield as Sweden and Russia when their physician son sold it off in the late eighteenth century, after their deaths.²⁵ The apothecary, local politician, amateur scientist and great man of the theatre Renward Cysat visited Felix Platter repeatedly from the 1580s. He records his open-mouthed astonishment at his ethnographical exhibits, and Jacques Auguste de Thou was fascinated by Platter’s live catfish and elk in 1579.²⁶ Montaigne, who dined with Felix Platter and his friend and colleague the humanist and physician Theodor Zwinger²⁷ in October 1580, was impressed by the imposing size and attractively painted exterior of Platter’s house, his human skeletons and the new method for preserving the herbal specimens he had been collecting for over 20 years in

²³ Trinkler, *Pathologie*, 30–1.

²⁴ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 378, 391 (1562, Basle), 420 (22 June 1563, Visp).

²⁵ For the Platter family tree, see Boos (*Thomas und Felix Platter*, 373).

²⁶ Lötscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 128, 146–8; Bujok, ‘Ethnographica’, 17. Cysat produced Lucerne’s civic Passion plays in 1583 and 1597.

²⁷ 1533–88. Stepson of Conrad Lycosthenes, former scholar of Platter’s father, and Professor of Medical Theory at Basle’s School of Medicine.

volumes.²⁸ Thomas Platter inventoried 18 of these volumes in his housebook after Felix's death, and eight are still in the University of Basle's botanical institute.²⁹

Felix Platter's reputation was consolidated by his medical publications. His three-volume anatomy treatise of 1583 was based on the groundbreaking treatise of Andreas Vesalius, whose visit to his father's house in 1543 to discuss its publication he recalls in his journal.³⁰ Other treatises addressed aspects of the plague, the human eye, and gynaecology. In 1602, 1603 and 1608, Platter published his collected lectures in a three-volume so-called '*Praxis medica*', summarizing his medical knowledge in generic form.³¹ Rejecting the traditional 'top to toe' format of medical treatises, which commonly started with ailments of the head, working down the body to conclude with the feet, this attempt to introduce a more scientific classification of medical conditions continued to be republished until at least 1736. *Observations*, published in the final year of his life, 1614 and dedicated to his patron, the Margrave of Baden, presented 680 specific case-studies classified in similar manner.³² Most soberly anonymize details of personal patients treated by Felix or his brother Thomas, providing symptoms and outcomes (unsuccessful as well as successful), and sometimes outlining treatments and medicines. A few concern travelling performers and others he observed and interrogated outside his own practice, or heard or read about. These latter include a wandering beggar boy who made a public show of swallowing stones for money at fairs; a comic stage-player in St Gallen whose act went horribly wrong when the large live eel he was pretending to swallow dived down his throat into his gut;³³ a country fellow whose gut was allegedly invaded by a live mole that burrowed its way up his fundament; three dwarfs and numerous other anatomically exceptional humans, and theology student Sebastian Rosæus Herbipolensis, who travelled round fairs begging, after suffering a spectacular scrotal prolapse of his guts.³⁴ Early modern English citations of Platter are not limited to medical publications.³⁵ A 1662 English translation of *Praxis medica* incorporating specific cases into the original edition's generic

²⁸ Montaigne, *Complete works*, 1069.

²⁹ Basle UL, Ms.A λ V.9 ('Hausbuch'), f.507. Guarinonius collected pressed plants in a leather-bound single-volume *Herbarium* preserved in Innsbruck (Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Botanik nr.01).

³⁰ Platter, *De Corporis Hvmani Strvctvra; Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 61 (1543, Basle).

³¹ Platter, *Praxeos*.

³² Platter, *Obseruationum*.

³³ Goulart attributes versions of these two stories respectively to Vesalius and Conrad Gesner (*Admirable and memorable histories*, 79, 81). The eel was ingested, digested and expelled within a day, as Platter pointed out to another patient, whom he vainly hoped to disabuse of the delusion of having hosted a live frog within his digestive system for over seven years (Platter, *Obseruationum*, 43; Midelfort, *A history of madness*, 177–8).

³⁴ Platter, *Obseruationum*, 413–14, 456–8, 545–64, 709–10.

³⁵ References in their publications confirm that Platter was read by medical authors such as Diemerbroeck (*The anatomy of human bodies*) or Hart (*Klinike*) and more general

text, some lifted from Platter's *Observations*, some added anachronistically by the English editors, was evidently successful enough to warrant the same team's translation and publication of *Observations* itself, in 1664.³⁶

Felix Platter was born into a world in which the annual cycle of church and academic-sponsored mystery plays underpinned a lively performance culture, further enriched by amateur performances of classical and contemporary drama. Acting and music-making, important to Protestant as well as Catholic education, were integral to the pastoral and academic care provided at his father's boarding house. By his own account born to the sound of the Carnival Sunday church bells on 10 February 1499,³⁷ Platter the Elder was keenly interested in performance practice as a didactic aid. He employed older boarders to instruct his boarders in music, and directed and even wrote plays for them himself. The schoolboy Felix acted in some of these, and as an adult, his collections included 42 musical instruments. Unlike his brother Thomas, Felix was a precociously talented actor, dancer and musician, whose love of music started early:³⁸

I had a special interest in and inclination towards music, and specially for playing instruments [...] and for this reason, when I was only eight, my father allowed me to start studying with Peter Dorn the lutenist, whom he engaged to teach his boarders to play the lute [...] so that my lute-playing was later so well practised that in Montpellier they called me "the German with the lute", and I played at many banquets and serenades [...] I also greatly enjoyed playing the spinet and organ [...], clavichord [...] and harp.³⁹

His exceptional lute-playing put him in demand as a music teacher and professional lutenist during his schoolboy and student years. Even after returning to Basle from Montpellier, he excelled at exploiting his amateur musical ability to enhance his social standing and contacts, as when he entertained the noblewomen with whom he was sharing a carriage, on the way to a court wedding of 1577, on his lute.⁴⁰ Felix Platter's journal illuminates early modern music education, and records some dozen religious and secular theatrical performances in Basle during the 1540s of

writers such as Burton (*The anatomy of melancholy*), Goulart (*Admirable and memorable histories*) or Jonstonus (*An history*).

³⁶ Ignoring its anachronistic additions, Cranefield ('Little known English versions'), suggests that the English translation of *Praxis medica* (Plat[t]er, Cole and Culpeper, *A golden practice*) is more reliable than that of *Observations* (Plat[t]er, Culpeper and Cole, *Platerus histories*).

³⁷ Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 18.

³⁸ Staehelin, 'Felix Platter und die Musik'.

³⁹ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 70–3 (1543–4, Basle). See also 251, 255–6 (August–October 1556, Montpellier).

⁴⁰ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 459 (15 August 1577, Donaueschingen).

which he had direct on or offstage experience (Diagram 3).⁴¹ His recollection of the raised heaven constructed for an outdoor production of *The Conversion of St Paul* by Valentin Boltz records an unexpected outcome of its special effects. He observed this from a house on the corner of the Basle Cornmarket on 6 June 1546: ‘Balthasar Han⁴² was God the Father, in a circular heaven, that hung up on The Peacock, out of which came the ray of light: a fiery rocket that set alight Saul’s costume as he fell from his horse, [...] in the heaven thunder was produced, by turning barrels filled with stones, etc.’⁴³ In a production of this play staged by himself and his father’s boarders, Gavin de Beaufort, as Paul, was badly wounded when Felix, as God the Father, accidentally hit him in the face with a makeshift thunderbolt improvised from a log.⁴⁴ A production of *Hamanus* could have ended disastrously if the quick thinking hangman, played by Balthasar Hummel’s brother Ludwig, had not rescued his victim, played by Gamaliel Gyrenfalck, when the mechanism of the stage gallows failed and left him hanging by his neck.⁴⁵ Felix’s schoolboy theatrical career was significantly motivated by a lifelong love of fine clothes. As Lycondes in a production of Plautus’s *Aulularia*, he delighted in wearing ‘a beautiful cloak’. Conversely, when he and Gavin de Beaufort were asked to recite extracts from Virgil’s *Eclogues* at the house of Hieronymus Frobenius, the thought of wearing pastoral shepherd costumes improvised from ‘our neighbour Christelin’s torn clothes’, repelled him to the extent that he ‘feigned an illness in order to stay at home’.⁴⁶

All the early modern Platter family life writings owe their existence to the initiative of Felix Platter. His father Platter the Elder may have used earlier journals and correspondence to compile the well-known account of his life that Felix encouraged him to write in the first weeks of 1572,⁴⁷ to which he later added a brief account of his second marriage. The journal of Felix’s half-brother Thomas Platter solely covers his half-decade away from Basle, when Felix supported him in completing his medical studies and touring Europe. The scattered evidence concerning Felix and Madlen Platter’s barren but far from childless marriage stands at the heart of the family’s domestic interrelationships, which profoundly inform interpretation of the Platter journals. Felix Platter became an only child shortly before leaving for Montpellier. Throughout his childhood, he and his sister Ursula shared the family home with up to three dozen male boarding scholars each

⁴¹ See also Le Roy Ladurie, *The beggar and the professor*, 93–100.

⁴² This local stained-glass painter, a Platter family friend, attended Felix’s wedding (*Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 318: 20 November 1557, Basle).

⁴³ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 82–3 (1546, Basle).

⁴⁴ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 85–6 (1546, Basle).

⁴⁵ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 84–5 (1546, Basle).

⁴⁶ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 85, 94 (1546, Basle); Löscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 58–9; Hochlenert, ‘Das “Tagebuch” des Felix Platter’, 114–15.

⁴⁷ Platter the Elder, ‘Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung’, 158, 160.

year. While Felix and Madlen took in far fewer paying boarders,⁴⁸ several children entered their household as wards. In 1560, the two-year-old orphan Abraham Bechius became the ward of Felix, who had stopped treating his father, the physician Philip, for cirrhosis of the liver, after overhearing Abraham's shrewish mother insultingly dismiss his diagnosis. Felix Platter supported Abraham throughout his short life, paying for his medical education in Basle and France.⁴⁹ In 1565, on the death of Madlen's older brother Franz Jeckelmann, she and Felix took in his nine-year-old daughter Crischona Jeckelmann.⁵⁰ Around 1572, a newborn baby, Margreth Simon, was welcomed into the household.⁵¹ Formal adoption, with its attendant inheritance regulations, was then uncommon, particularly among wealthy couples.⁵² Gredlin, as she was known, although unadopted and keeping the surname of her widowed, homeless father, was brought up as Felix and Madlen's daughter in all but name, and remembered with parental affection and generosity in their wills. Taught the customary feminine skills of running a household, sewing, embroidery and music-making, she was only reluctantly parted with in 1604, to marry the tailor Michel Rüedin. In 1580, two years after Crischona left to get married, Madlen's younger brother Daniel died, and her household was joined by his two-year-old youngest child. Also called Crischona Jeckelmann,⁵³ she left the household in 1602 to marry Felix's half-brother Thomas Platter.

Eight-year-old Thomas Platter and his five-year-old brother Niklaus joined Felix and Madlen's household in 1582. Following the death of their father that year, their mother Esther Gross moved out of the Platter family home next door to Felix, with her sons Thomas and Niklaus and four daughters, and remarried. *Observations* notes that during the Basle plague epidemic of 1582–3, Felix Platter 'lost three sisters, *Anne*, *Vrsula* and *Elizabetha*, infants, my two Brothers and eldest Sister being out of Town [...] I sent all the young of my family to my country-house'.⁵⁴ Gross's second husband seems to have been the tiler Hans Lützelmann. Born in January 1561, his oldest child, Jakob, was baptized in May 1582, four months after Platter the Elder's death. A kinswoman, Barbara Lützelmann, stood godmother

⁴⁸ Löttscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 88–9.

⁴⁹ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 364–5 (1560, Basle).

⁵⁰ 1556–1629. Löttscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 161–2.

⁵¹ 'Histori vom Gredlin' (*Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 451–3); Löttscher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 108, 116–18, 164.

⁵² Davis, 'Ghosts, kin and progeny', 104–5.

⁵³ 1577–1624.

⁵⁴ Platter, *Observationum*, 309 (this translation: Plat[t]er, Culpeper and Cole, *Platerus histories*, 199–200). He did not offer to take in his healthy nine-year-old half-sister Magdalena (1573–1651). The Platter journals appear to suggest that when death, poverty or remarriage prevented two parents from running a joint household, it was customary for their daughters to be raised in the household of the mother or her family, and sons in that of the father, or his family.

to Thomas Platter in 1574.⁵⁵ Felix Platter refers harshly to his bereaved young stepmother in two letters of October 1582. They are addressed to the physician Basilius Amerbach, whose aid he enlisted in removing Thomas and Niklaus from their mother's plague-stricken household:

You wanted to achieve an agreement with my stepmother, that she sends me the two boys, and gives and entrusts them to me [...] two of the little girls are complaining of stomach pains, they are throwing up and running temperatures, which is increasing my concerns even more. So if it is God's will I would like to rescue the boys, provided they are still healthy [...] If she obeys and gives them to me, I will treat them as my own children. If she doesn't, she will surely suffer for it.

[*And later that month:*] She has only sent me one boy, and is keeping the other, whom I would like to have with the other one [...] In the event that the boy is not ill apart from having fallen on his nose, she should at the very least show consideration for her own children by sending him now, so that he escapes the rabble. But in the event that he really is ill, in the name of God he should stay with the others, may God show them mercy.⁵⁶

Felix's uncharacteristically belligerent threats proved successful. He took responsibility for raising and educating his half-brothers.⁵⁷ Thomas matriculated at Basle in 1590 and left for Montpellier on 16 September 1595.⁵⁸ Niklaus followed Thomas to Basle Medical School in 1595, where he died of bloody diarrhoea in 1597.

Thomas Platter was awarded his medical doctorate in Montpellier in March 1597.⁵⁹ After 18 months of professional practice in nearby Uzès and three months in Avignon, he made his Grand Tour through France, Spain, the Low Countries and England, returning to Basle on 15 February 1600. His detailed four-and-a-half-year travel journal is preserved as a fair-copy manuscript compiled during the period 1604–5, from earlier notes. In 1936, its 804 numbered and many unnumbered

⁵⁵ Platter the Elder, 'Thomas Platters Lebensbeschreibung', 165.

⁵⁶ Lötcher, *Felix Platter und seine Familie*, 154–5.

⁵⁷ Le Roy Ladurie, *The beggar and the professor*, 343–5; Frenken, *Kindheit und Autobiographie*, 533–5.

⁵⁸ The dates in Thomas Platter's journal conform to the customs of the country he is in. Swiss dates were then 10 days behind those of the Gregorian calendar (although the days of the week remained the same), presented in a Papal bull of 1582 and already adopted in Spain, Portugal, the Italian states, France and other regions. In much of Protestant Europe, the Julian calendar did not give way to the Gregorian calendar until 18 February 1700 (directly followed by 1 March 1700), or even later in England, Sweden and the Swiss Grisons. See also Blackburn and Holford-Strevens, *Year*, 683–8.

⁵⁹ *Thomas Platter d.J.*, 210 (22 March 1597, Montpellier).

folios were bound into two volumes, kept together with his friendship album in Basle's University Library.⁶⁰ The fashion for keeping these pocket-sized volumes spread across central Europe from Protestant German-speaking regions in the 1540s, creating a book-based forerunner of modern social networking websites. Tens of thousands of such albums, blank or interleaved with printed books, into which friends, teachers and acquaintances of travellers entered brief signed, dated, and occasionally illustrated inscriptions, survive in European museums, archives and libraries.⁶¹ Felix Platter refers to his album soon after his arrival in Montpellier, noting that Oswald Myconius 'died of a stroke [...] who not long before, when I took my leave of him, wrote this saying in my little friendship album'. In March 1557, the itinerant quack Samuel Hertenstein signed Felix Platter's album in Toulouse ('and thereafter there was no further news of him, where he went, or when he died'), and he collected more than 20 entries from mainly Protestant Germans studying at the University of Orléans.⁶²

Thomas published some editions of Felix's medical works but no independent writings. Although he refers to a collection of case studies from his practice in Uzès and other lost works, his only surviving manuscripts are a housebook kept from 1615, containing copies of wills and inventories, and his travel journal.⁶³ Some scholars have criticized what they perceive as the 'colourless mediocrity' of Thomas's life and journal, by comparison with his brother Felix. Clare Williams, whose expression this is, provides a helpful introduction to Thomas's extensive borrowings from the accounts of other early modern German travellers and their shared published sources, notably Braun and Hogenberg, and Sebastian Münster (Plates 2–3). Labelling Thomas Platter's journal a 'dull and tedious [...] patchwork of undigested information', she offers no insights into early modern enthusiasm for what would now be viewed as literary plagiarism, or why the approach and style of a journal written by an ambitious newly qualified physician specifically for the older brother who generously supported and financed his studies and travels, and covering a brief five-year period near the beginning of his adult life, might differ from a life narrative of his younger decades written by a successful man in his seventies.⁶⁴ The style of Thomas's journal is much less personal than that of Felix. He hardly mentions his mother's family, beyond briefly noting a meeting with his 'late stepfather Johannes Lützelmann' in Lyon, and arrangements for transferring money to him.⁶⁵ In stark contrast to that of Felix, his journal rarely reveals personal thoughts or feelings, or even mundane details of his everyday life. Exceptionally,

⁶⁰ Basle UL, Ms.A λ V.7–8; Vischer, 'Stammbücher'.

⁶¹ Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch*, 244–9.

⁶² *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 155 (January 1553, Montpellier), 269, 276–7 (March 1557, Toulouse and Orléans).

⁶³ *Thomas Platter d.J.*, 221 (9 May 1597, Uzès); Basle UL, Ms.A λ V.9 ('Hausbuch').

⁶⁴ Williams, *Thomas Platter's travels in England*, 112, 117, 136–40.

⁶⁵ *Thomas Platter d.J.*, 36, 40 (30 September and 2 October 1595, Lyon).

two references to his 'maistresse', in August 1598, afford an unfamiliar glimpse into the 24-year-old's domestic set-up in France.⁶⁶

Although both brothers inherited their father's love of theatre, Thomas, unlike Felix, inclined more to the visual arts and architecture than to music. His travels were motivated by touristic as well as educational concerns, indicating an obsessive interest in keeping up with court and municipal festivals, and visiting well-known local sights, including academic institutions.⁶⁷ Intended for circulation outside the immediate family, perhaps even for eventual publication, his journal is heavily influenced by the science of apodemics, which theorized systematic observational methods for travel-based information gathering, and historio-geographical and ethnographical approaches to travel writing. The University of Basle was then at the cutting edge of this newly emerging field of study, producing publications such as *Methodus apodemica* or *Synagoga Ivdaica*, respectively published in Basle in 1577 and 1603 by Felix Platter's university colleagues Theodor Zwinger and Johannes Buxtorf the Elder.⁶⁸ As an unusually well-educated, acute and reliable observer and an appreciative dependent, he spared no effort in writing up matters of special interest to Felix, drawing on the very latest developments in apodemics to record the routine customs and practices of people of other regions, nationality or religion. As a trained physician, he had a lively professional interest in spectacle with any sort of medical relevance. He describes general customs concerning such events as weddings, dances, royal entries and processions, and specific theatrical performances and performers he witnessed in the later 1590s. Valuable and accessible accounts of theatrical events and practice abound in early modern travel accounts, such as those of the Englishmen Thomas Coryate, Fynes Moryson or John Evelyn.⁶⁹ Thomas Platter's diary is not unusual for its period in describing itinerant professional performers and spectacle and ceremony, such as that relating to quacks or carnival, in general, and for including eyewitness set pieces describing spectacular court festivals. However, it provides exceptionally detailed information regarding professional practice, including a wide range of eyewitness descriptions of actual performances, and records with particular attention traditional carnival practices and the activities of travelling entertainers, including their promotion of medical goods and services. Some of Platter's descriptions of the actual stage routines of specific professional performers draw

⁶⁶ *Thomas Platter d.J.*, 283 (27–29 August 1598, Uzès).

⁶⁷ He claimed to have visited all 10 French universities known to him (*Thomas Platter d.J.*, 608: 9 August 1599, Paris).

⁶⁸ Deutschländer, 'Allein auß begirdt', 58. On *Synagoga Ivdaica*, see Chapter 5, this volume.

⁶⁹ Coryate, *Crudities*. Fynes Moryson (1566–1630) wrote up his extensive European travels of the 1590s in four parts. Parts I–III (London BL, MS.Harley 5133: Latin), were published in a heavily edited English translation of 1617, as *An Itinerary*. An abridged version of Part IV (Oxford CCC, MS.CCC 94: English), was first published in 1903, as *Shakespeare's Europe*.

on observations collected over a longer period. It is hardly coincidental that it took a physician to bring into such sharp focus the marketing and theatrical strategies of mountebank troupes combining *commedia dell'arte* performances with quack activity.

Felix himself produced the third autobiographical Platter account. In the final half-decade of his life, he drew on his own French student and travel journals, and correspondence with his parents, his French 'exchange students' Jacques and Gilbert Catelan, and numerous Basle friends, to compile the fair copy of his life writings. The student journals, and, to whatever extent they existed, childhood diaries, are lost, but some letters, including many of his father's (but not Felix's replies), survive in Basle's University Library. Lötscher edits several chronologically overlapping sections into one continuous narrative. They cover the period of his childhood, student years and early professional practice, from birth to the early 1560s, and append accounts of his informal adoption of Gredlin, and participation in festivals of 1563, 1577, 1596 and 1598. Although later sections are written in the hand of his half-brother, Thomas, Felix started writing his fair copy himself in 1609, at around the age his father had been during the 16 days or so in early 1572 in which he allegedly composed and wrote his entire life account. Commenting of a dissection he undertook in April 1558 that he still had the resulting skeleton over 53 years later allows the writing of this section of Felix's journal to be dated to around 1611. By the time it reaches the mid-1560s, it postdates the death in 1613 of his wife Madlen. Brief unfinished notes on a fifth festival of 1600 indicate that his life writings were cut short by his death in 1614.⁷⁰

Evaluated by some as an artless chronology, more recent literary analysis points to a structured, reflected composition, in which knowing contrasts and parallels to his father's life writings, and rhetorical, thematic and other devices, support the interweaving and juxtaposition of personal reminiscences with exemplary anecdotes and biographical sketches.⁷¹ The chosen episodes are carefully presented to articulate Felix Platter's stated ambitions and unstated opinions. He traces a self-disciplined progress from squeamish, phobia-ridden child to confident, competent and successful physician and self-constructed *pater familias*, in a narrative intended to triumphantly trump the pivotal boost to his family's social and professional rise recorded in his father's life-writings. The central role of medicine in this strategy is self-evident. Here, attention is drawn to the crucial contribution made to this process by theatrical skills, practice and interests. At a time when the significance of a holistic approach to the study of early modern theatre is receiving ever increasing recognition, Felix and Thomas Platter's journals, with their extensive descriptions of spectacle and detailed eyewitness accounts of a wide range of professional entertainers of many nationalities, offer exceptional insights into links between theatre and medicine in the age of Shakespeare.

⁷⁰ *Felix Platter Tagebuch*, 353, 438 (April 1558 and January 1565, Basle).

⁷¹ Hochlenert, 'Das "Tagebuch" des Felix Platter', 144–54, 162, 165.

Chapter 3

Hippolytus Guarinonius (1571–1654)

The physician Hippolytus Guarinonius wrote at least 15 works in German, eight in Latin, and one in a mixture of German, Latin and Italian, of which eight were published and the rest are known only in manuscript.¹ None of his major writings are yet translated outside these languages, and unlike the Platter brothers, he is little known beyond German- or Italian-speaking Europe. The illegitimate son of north Italian Catharina Pellegrini and Bartolomeo Guarinonius,² he was born in Trent in the South Tyrolean Alps. In the Catholic Etschtal region between Trent and Bolzano, then as now largely bilingual in German and Italian, the wealthy Guarinonius family owned extensive vineyards. Shortly after his birth on 18 November 1571, his father, the son of a physician and grandson of a goldsmith, was called to Vienna to take up an appointment as court physician to Emperor Maximilian II. Hippolytus's younger half-brother Bartolomeus Guarinonius was 'Doctor of medicine in Schwaz' to at least 1659, and another half-brother, Johann Andreas Guarinonius, was a courtier in Graz, to Emperor Ferdinand II (Diagram 2).³ The now discredited suggestion that Hippolytus served as a pageboy at Cardinal Carlo Borromeo's court in Milan is unsupported in his publications. Their autobiographical passages do, however, refer occasionally to Vienna and Trent, and frequently to Prague and Padua. By his own account, Guarinonius spent the first 11 years of his life in Vienna, where he had a tutor, and in 1583 followed his father, by now serving as physician to Emperor Rudolf II, to Prague, where he spent 11 years as one of around 150 boarding scholars at Prague's Jesuit College in preparation for his medical studies at the University of Padua.⁴

Rhetoric and acting were essential components of the Jesuit teaching curriculum.⁵ Jesuit schools and colleges were renowned for the extravagantly costly sets, costumes, and elaborate specially printed programmes known as periochs, of the didactic religious plays most staged on an annual basis. Produced and often written by Jesuit teachers, and with social standing trumping acting abilities when parts were distributed to pupils, these plays were often staged for the general public, even for high-ranking dignitaries, as well as for parents and

¹ Dörrer, 'Quellen', 205–7; Neuhauser, 'Die Überlieferung der Schriften', 189.

² 1534–1616. See also Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 'Dedicatio', (b)i^v.

³ Naupp, 'Über Bad-Curen', 175.

⁴ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 118, 126, 153, 568, 1192, 1237.

⁵ Thomas Platter, surveying Ghent from the tower of St Bavo's Cathedral, spotted a 'delightful comedy' being rehearsed by the Jesuits and their scholars in a courtyard of the nearby Jesuit college (*Thomas Platter d.J.*, 751–2, 10 September 1599, Ghent).

others directly connected to the school. Guarinonius learned to play the theorbo at school, but only rarely refers to his own participation in Jesuit school plays or music-making, although it seems likely that he continued to play music in Padua and Hall, and his accomplishments as a musician were praised in 1646 by Christoph Sätzl, choirmaster of Hall's imperial convent.⁶ In contrast to Felix Platter, Guarinonius strongly disapproved of the growing trend for wealthy families to ape the nobility by teaching their daughters as well as their sons to play music, and of secular music in general.⁷ However, his schoolboy enthusiasm for sport and games became a lifelong solace, informing the content and writing process of his best known work, a medical treatise published in 1610 under the biblically-influenced title *The abominations of the desolation of the human race* (Plate 6).⁸ While working on *Grewel*, he would often:

push aside pen and paper and go for a walk towards Innsbruck. Thus walking, I worked on this book more, and with much greater pleasure, and afterwards got more onto paper. And if pushed to tell the whole truth exactly how it is, I can't deny that for the most part I planned and composed this very modest and simple little work while walking or riding, then got my planned simple ideas down onto paper back at home.⁹

The 'friendly conversations and discussions' he enjoyed during some of these walks with professional colleagues such as Dr Paul Weinhart contributed materially to his treatise, and were a continuation of the longstanding habit of taking regular sociable exercise central to his approach to health.¹⁰

Book 6 of *Grewel*, 'On exercise', has noticeably more frequent autobiographical references to his decade in Prague than any of the treatise's other six books. The Platter brothers' journals offer numerous endearing passages. One of the few in Guarinonius's writings is an extended lyrical description, in 'On exercise', of an Alpine climb, that concludes by warmly inviting the reader to join him on the

⁶ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, (a)ii, 227, 1228; Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben*, 559, 575; Drexel, 'Quelle zur Musikgeschichte', 53–5.

⁷ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 370, 1160.

⁸ Guarinonius, *Die Grewel der Verwüstung Menschlichen Geschlechts*, here referred to throughout as '*Grewel*'. *King James Bible*: 'Matthew' 24 v.15: 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place'. See also Grass, 'Ein Vorkämpfer', 60–3, and on Guarinonius's use of biblical quotations: Vonach, 'Die heilige Schrift', 292, 297.

⁹ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 1173, 1234.

¹⁰ Guarinonius and three fellow students at Prague's Jesuit College had undertaken a three week midwinter walking trip to Leipzig in deep snow, during which they experienced 'much strange luck, good and bad' (*Grewel*, 1234).

next expedition, planned by himself and his companions for August 1610.¹¹ It was undertaken by Guarinonius in August 1607 to gather medicinal plants, of which, as he notes, the best grow only on high mountains.¹² Accompanying him were a porter, a goatherd, his friend Simon Kolb, and brothers-in-law Georg Thaler and Heinrich Altherr. Kolb was Sätzl's predecessor as director of music at the imperial convent of Hall, an important centre for church music, whose choirboys studied at the neighbouring Jesuit College.¹³ Thaler was Archduke (then Emperor) Ferdinand II's imperial accountant until 1638, when he entered a religious order to live out his final decade as a hermit. Altherr was married to Thaler's sister Ursula, and Guarinonius married another of his sisters, Charitas, in 1599.¹⁴ During the first two decades of the seventeenth century, perhaps on the initiative of their brother Johann Baptist Thaler, a Capuchin monk, Guarinonius worked closely with Kolb, Georg Thaler and Altherr to revitalize Hall's Marian Congregation from a defunct group of less than a dozen, into an active spiritual focus for the town, with over 3,000 congregants.¹⁵ The Congregation sponsored a chapel, whose account books of 1603–4 confirm Guarinonius's contribution of 'a beautiful pair of tin plates' and 'a beautiful picture of Our Lady' painted by himself. Led by the Jesuits of Hall, supported by the noblewomen of its imperial convent and guided by its prefect and officers, the Congregation took responsibility for staging Hall's civic religious plays and Good Friday and Corpus Christi processions. Guarinonius and Kolb, assistant prefects in 1605, respectively became prefect in 1606 and 1607, and in the three following years the office passed to Altherr, then back to Guarinonius, then to Thaler. Between them, the four held further office many times in the following decades.¹⁶ In this capacity, Guarinonius, an enthusiastic supporter of Jesuit school drama, is said to have taken part in municipal stagings of religious plays in Hall, in 1606 or 1607 directing a Jesuit tragedy, Mathäus Rader's *Theophilus*.¹⁷

The *Vitae* of Guarinonius circulated by the Congregation on his death in 1654 confirms his participation in their processions, and his devotion to the Jesuit priest Peter Canisius (1521–97). Appointed professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt by Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria in 1549, and founding head of Ingolstadt's Jesuit College by Wilhelm IV's son Albrecht V in 1555, his move to Switzerland in 1580 was possibly precipitated by a falling out with Albrecht's son

¹¹ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 1206–8 (for a similar invitation, see 579); Haslinger, 'Hochgebirgsbesteigung'; Breuer, 'Hippolytus Guarinonius als Erzähler', 1123–6.

¹² Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 434.

¹³ Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben*, 180–1, 206.

¹⁴ Nothegger, 'Aus Guarinonis Freundeskreis', 31–2.

¹⁵ These figures were estimated by Christoph Sätzl in 1646 (Drexel, 'Quelle zur Musikgeschichte', 55).

¹⁶ Klaar, *Dr Hippolytus Guarinoni*, 20–2, 40.

¹⁷ Senn, *Aus dem Kulturleben*, 498, 575; Dörner, 'Guarinoni als Volksschriftsteller', 142, 164; Bücking, 'Hippolytus Guarinonius', 67 and *Kultur und Gesellschaft in Tirol*, 126.

Wilhelm V.¹⁸ Innsbruck and Hall's Jesuit Colleges were founded on Canisius's initiative in 1562 and 1573:¹⁹

out of deep compassion for his crucified saviour, he [Guarinonius] played the part of this suffering person praiseworthy and with great piety in the Congregation [procession] on Good Friday for several years. [...] He celebrated the feast days of Francis, the Romans Ignatius and Xavier, as also of the highly estimable P[ater] Peter Canisius, with his whole household. Proof that these devotions did not take place without awe is given by a sleeve from the vestments of the highly respected P. Canisius, which our late physician carried with him when visiting infected people, saying that it had always protected him from appreciable, actual danger of illness better than the most highly regarded medicines.²⁰

A broadsheet of 1655 associated with the initiative to have Canisius canonized as a healer-saint confirms Guarinonius's use of the Jesuit leader's sleeve to treat pregnant women threatened by miscarriage, and reveals that he also used a letter from him as a personal plague amulet.²¹ Guarinonius's faith in the curative powers of religious relics is well-documented with respect to his great friend and spiritual mentor, Fra Tommaso da Bergamo, a lay brother at Innsbruck's Capucin Monastery since 1619, and a successful healer whose 'Thomas spoons', small wooden spoons said to work genuine miracles in healing the sick, were much sought after.²² While an imperial artist painted Fra Tommaso's death mask immediately after his death in 1631, Guarinonius spent two hours in prayer, supplicating his help with a serious cancer on his left palm. He rubbed the hand and fingers of Fra Tommaso's corpse on his cancerous growth: 'and in that instance the pain stopped and has not returned now for twelve years'. Before leaving, he requested hairs from Fra Tommaso's beard and a scrap of his habit as holy relics; the first of many such requests, resulting in 'such a crowd that two lay brothers couldn't keep up with cutting and distributing scraps of habit'.²³

Guarinonius viewed universities as excellent facilitators of upward social mobility, and argued strongly in favour of fathers paying the necessary premium to enable their sons to study abroad.²⁴ During the mid-1590s, when Thomas Platter was at Montpellier medical school, Guarinonius studied medicine at Padua, widely celebrated, not least by Shakespeare, whose Lucenzio is drawn to: 'fair Padua,

¹⁸ Baader, *Der bayerische Renaissancehof*, 197–8; Lederer, *Madness, religion and the state*, 72–4.

¹⁹ Nagl and Zeidler, *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte*, I, 581.

²⁰ *Vitae* of Guarinonius (cited in: Klaar, *Dr Hippolytus Guarinoni*, 37–8).

²¹ BHStA, Jesuitica 513/III (cited in: Lederer, *Madness, religion and the state*, 109).

²² Neuwirth and Witting, 'Die sprechende Architektur', 219; Guarinonius, *Thomas von Bergamo*, 69.

²³ Guarinonius, *Thomas von Bergamo*, 80–4.

²⁴ Guarinonius, *Grewel*, 260–2.