Bernardino Ramazzini was born on 4 October 1633 in Carpi, a small town in the Po valley, around 18 kilometres from Modena, to Bartolomeo Ramazzini and Caterina Federzoni, the second of five children. Bartolomeo Ramazzini, the son of one of Bernardino's brothers, Antonio, who was a doctor and much closer to his uncle, also because of their common interest in the scientific field, is to be considered his uncle's first real biographer (Ramazzini, Bart., 1716). Bartolomeo's second marriage was to Ludovico Antonio Muratori's sister. In recent years, and following the compilation of other extensive biographies (Tiraboschi, 1783; Maggiora, 1902; Maggiora, 1918; Maggiora 1933), Pericle di Pietro in particular studied and completed many of the unsolved issues in the author's life, including those that his nephew had left incomplete or were inaccurate.

Ramazzini first studied with the Jesuits in his town before moving to Parma on 21 February 1659 at the age of nineteen, where he was awarded his degree in Philosophy and Medicine. He learnt practical medicine in Rome under Antonio Maria de Rossi (1588-1671), son of the historian and archiater of Pope Clement VIII, a physician who was held in great esteem at that time, and who had previously been chief physician in Ravenna.

From Rome he went to the Duchy of Castro, in the province of Viterbo Bart., 1716) where he remained until April 1663 when he handed in his resignation because he was suffering from malaria, and returned to Carpi. There is relatively little documentation regarding these years of his life and efforts to find sounder sources proved in vain. However, all biographers are unanimous in their belief that this experience was of considerable importance to him. Ramazzini learned practical medicine; he offered his services to the poor, needy
peasants in the country; he had considerable first-hand experience of how living conditions and environment affect men's health.

When he returned to Carpi he got married on 13 February 1665 to his townswoman Francesca Guatoli. They had four children, two of whom, both boys, died during infancy. Their eldest daughter had no children and it was his daughter Gismonda who gave him his grandchildren. Three of them were to live in Padua and help their grandfather during the last years of his life, reading to him and writing for him. During this period in Carpi he successfully dedicated himself to practising medicine as well as taking an active part in the town's cultural life, as can be seen by his membership of the Accademia degli Apparenti di Carpi in 1668.

By the end of 1676 he had definitely moved with his family to Modena and it was in those years that reconstruction began on the former glory of the Studio Pubblico di S. Carlo. There is considerable documentation that Ramazzini gained increasing fame both in the clinical field and as a scholar, and he was also held in esteem by the court of Duke Francesco II d'Este. At the age of 49 he was awarded the only professorship in medicine in the newly reconstructed Studio and was also commissioned to hold the inaugural oration on 5 November 1682. At the same time as the Studio, in 1683 the Accademia Ducale dei Dissonanti was also founded in Modena and counted Ramazzini as one of its active, founding members. In the academic year 1685-1686 a second professorship of medicine was created and given to Francesco Torti. The two professorships were called Theoretical Medicine and Practical Medicine and were awarded alternately to the two professors according to no clear criteria. The courses held by Torti included subjects on physiology and hygiene while, after abandoning his comments on Hippocrates' writings, in the year 1690-1691 Ramazzini dealt with the diseases of workers in a monographic form. In 1691 both Ramazzini and Torti were awarded the honorary title "court physicians". This basically meant entertaining Francesco II for an hour before dinner, "in discussion and conversation, with virtuous readings and reasoning of literary matters". However, services of a professional nature were not excluded, for example, "feeling his pulse" after their discussions and before dinner (Di Pietro, 1983). During the time he spent in Modena Ramazzini published numerous scientific works which brought him into contact with Gottfried Wilhelm Leib-
niz (1646-1716) whom Ramazzini had met in Modena at the end of 1689. They became friends and discussed scientific matters together, as can be seen by their correspondence from 1690 to 1704 (Di Pietro, 1964; Di Pietro, 1965). The German Accademia Cesareo-Leopoldina welcomed Ramazzini as one of its members with the name Hippocrates the Third, and he received the relative diploma on 18 November 1693.

Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714), a scholar and influential librarian of the Grand-duc of Tuscany played an important role in encouraging Ramazzini’s relationships with various figures in the scientific and cultural circles of that period. They exchanged frequent letters and those by Ramazzini, now in the Central National Library in Florence, have been studied by Pericle di Pietro (Di Pietro, 1964). Other people Ramazzini corresponded with included Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694), Giovanni Maria Lancisi (1654-1720), Ludovico Antonio Muratori, and Giovanni Ascani. Ramazzini was also friends with Giovanni Cinelli (1625-1706), a restless doctor and Florentine scholar who supported him in one of his controversies. According to Di Pietro, despite the inevitable controversies, Ramazzini was well-balanced and of healthy religiosity. He wanted to make it clear he was a follower of ecclesiastic rules and interests, and even became doctor to some nuns in convents; however, he was also able to question situations imposed by the Church that were in contradiction with the most advanced medical and hygienic knowledge, such as the abolition of public baths for moral reasons, or the burial of the dead in churches. He says the following about himself in one of his letters: “Blessed be he nowadays, at least in this world, who is so skilled at pretence; I, for my part, shall always be unhappy because I have never been able to learn such an art” (Di Pietro, 1964). In another letter written in 1699 to Magliabechi he expresses his scientific and cultural leanings with great clarity: “I am happy that You write What you deem correct about Galileo, the jewel of this City, and of Borelli, both of whom I hold in great esteem. Amongst the Scholars worthy of mention I believe one must also add Bacoone, Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. Amongst Philosophers Gassendi and Descartes. Amongst Tuscan poets, Tassone and Deleman” (Di Pietro, 1964). Ramazzini also shows he is a perceptive observer of important cultural and social events (Turchi, 2002).
he told his nephew Bartolomeo in a letter dated 12 May 1713, published by Maggiora: “... This season has been terrible, rainy and no signs of spring so people are now offering public prayers. The poor wretches are starving to death and they cannot even sow the grain, which costs L. 52 a bushel, and 62 for maize. There was a lovely incident in Este. A farmer went to see a certain Messr. Gentilini who was extremely wealthy, to beseech and beg him to give him some maize for free because he and his family were starving to death. The latter refused and the farmer returned home in desperation. He took a harquebus and went to the place Gentilini was meant to pass. When the latter arrived, he jumped up with the harquebus in his hand and told him to stop and give him his money. Fearing for his life, Gentilini did so and handed him a bag with 19 sequins. The villain took just one sequin, returned the bag and told him to leave. The farmer thought about what he had done and went to visit the village priest to confess. The priest found his generosity so admirable he gave him a sequin and promised to go and meet Gentilini so he would not seek justice. When the priest went to visit the aforementioned, he promised not to bother anyone and gave him a sequin for the farmer in question. This is the following case...” (Maggiora, 1902).

The much-coveted “promotion” at the University of Padua that Ramazzini had been announcing for some time finally took place at the beginning of November 1700, the same year in which his first edition of *The Diseases of Workers* came off the printing press. The true motives and implications of this promotion are unclear. One can hypothesise that Ramazzini was aspiring to the professorship in Padua because it was a more famous university. The fact that the economic and political climate in Modena had taken a decisive change for the worse probably also played a role; in a letter to Leibniz in 1704, Ramazzini writes that his homeland was no longer the one he had left and that Leibniz had seen. In a document dated 26 August 1700 the Veneto Senate informed Ramazzini of his appointment as “Reader at the University of Padua in the professorship of Second professorship of Ordinary Practice of Medicine”. Indeed, in the early months of 1699 the second chair of Practical Medicine had become vacant and the Reformers were gathering information on various professors. In this official communication, the Senate praises the newly-elected figure as follows: “Thorough
and founded reports” have been gathered “that Doctor Bernardino Ramacini from Modena possesses the most desirable virtues and doctrine, and with the learned works he has printed, he has attested the experience he has gained at his advanced age in the difficult exercises of the Medical Field, and also in Mathematics”. It also mentions that he was “greatly inclined to hold a reading in Padua” (Di Pietro, 1983; Di Pietro, 1999).

After a one-month period to settle in, during which he also attended the public lessons, on 12 December 1700 he made the “solemn entrance” and held his Oratio Secularis. From the very first, Ramazzini's lectures found great favour with the academic authorities, who wrote him a eulogy and on 25 August 1708 confirmed his professorship, which he had feared losing on the grounds of his age since he was then 74. In March 1709 he was given the first professorship of Practical Medicine that had become vacant. Once the four-year period had finished and he had reached the age of 80, it was reconfirmed in 1713. The recognition he received during this period was incessant. In 1704 he was included amongst the “Arcadi” under the academic name of Licoro Langiano. In 1707 he became a member of the Berlin Societas Regia Scientiarum following the proposal of Leibniz who was president. In 1708 he was admitted to the “College of Philosophers and Doctors” in recognition for his “acts of public benignancy” and for the three-year period 1708-1711 he was appointed president of the “College of Artists”. He published numerous scientific works during his period in Padua, some of which were highly original and novel while others were enlargements or revisions of previous works, all of which increased his fame in the European scientific community (Shyrock, 1977).

It was from his professional activity rather than the publication of his books that Ramazzini made a certain amount of money, which he invested in property in the Modena countryside where he would spend each summer. He often wrote about these places in his letters to his nephew Bartolomeo, who was his administrator, expressing his concern about the small amount of money they yielded. After the period he spent in the Duchy of Castro, Ramazzini was in good health. After his early years in Padua, in 1703 he began to suffer from various ailments, “palpations of the heart”, which he attributed to the change in climate, diet and the wine in particular, as well as his more sedentary lifestyle. There is also
mention of a "reactive" state of depression which led him to resort to "spiritual remedies" (Di Pietro, 1999). In 1705 his sight began to fail, which was eventually to result in total blindness.

During the last years of his life, the cerebral vascular changes Ramazzini suffered from resulted in various illnesses that were "certified" by Giovanni Morgagni (1682-1771), his doctor and colleague at University, who was to diagnose the cerebral haemorrhage that was to invade the ventricles and cause his death after 12 hours. It was 5 November 1714 and Ramazzini was going to University to teach as was his habit. He was buried not far from his home in Padua, in the Church della Beata Elena Enselmini, in the district of Ognissanti, in the street that is now called Giovan Battista Belzoni (Terrible Wiel Marin and Rippa Benati, 2001).

Bartolomeo Ramazzini wrote an epigraph for his uncle and for a long time it was only possible to read it in the biography he himself had written as his grandson, Francesco Medici, who was the executor of his will, did not have it transcribed on the marble slab. This was finally done by the University of Padua on the occasion of the third centenary of the birth of Bernardino Ramazzini. Thus, since 1933 it has been possible to read the following on the side wall of the Church della Beata Elena in Via Belzoni in Padua:

BERNARDINO RAMAZZINI / CARPENSI / PHILOSOPHO AC MEDICO / IN MUTINENSI ACADEMIA / PRIMUM MEDICINAE THEORICAE PROFESSORI / POSTREMO / IN PATAVINO LYCEO PRACTICAE MEDICINAE / PROFESSORI PRIMARIO / QUI SUMMA LITERARUM JACTURA / OCTOGENARIO MAJOR / E VIVI EXCESSIT / NONIS NOVEMBRIS ANNO SALUTIS NOSTRAE MDCCXIV / UT GRATUM SE CELEBERRIMO PATRIO OSTENDERET / INSCRIPTIONEM HANC POSUIT / AMANTISSIMUS EX FRATRE NEPOS / BARTHOLOMAEUS RAMAZZINUS / MEDICINAE DOCTOR.

PATAVINA UNIVERSITAS STUDIORUM / QUOD RAMAZZINUS / DE MORBIS ARTIFICUM CURANDIS OPTIE MERITUS / EDITIS LIBRIS OMNINUM PRIMUS TRACTAVIT / ANNO SAECUL. AB EUS NAT. III REDEUNTE / HUNC TITULUM / TANDEM LAPIDE INCIDENDUM ET PROPE SEPULCRUM CONLOCANDUM / IV NON. OCTOB. A. MDCCXXXIII, XI A F.R. / CAROLO ANTI RECTORE / DECREVIT

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I. Literary works

Ramazzini's early works include those of a literary nature and are almost 30 in number and mainly poetical; one of the most expert scholars on Ramazzini, Di Pietro, grouped them as follows (Di Pietro, 1977):

Parts published by the author (Ramazzini, 1677; Ramazzini, 1688; Ramazzini, 1689; Ramazzini, 1692; Ramazzini, 1696; Ramazzini, 1700; Ramazzini, 1702);

a. Parts published in Vita by Bartolomeo Ramazzini (Ramazzini, 1716);

b. Parts published in Berrettari (Berrettari, 1693);

c. Parts published in Sammarini (Sammarini, 1880);

d. Parts published in the collection of letters edited by Di Pietro (Di Pietro, 1964);

e. New reviews published in the 1963 year's issues of Giornale de Letterati of Modena (Di Pietro, 1977);

f. Parts named in the sittings of the Ducale Accademia dei Dissonanti, of which no traces remain (Di Pietro, 1999);

g. Unpublished verses conserved in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena (Di Pietro, 1964);

Ramazzini writes the following about a sonnet he sent to Magliabechi in a letter dated 1694: "The only people I have shown it to are P. Bacchini and S.r M.e Guidoni because poetry is considered unbecoming in a Professor of Medicine; Believe me, ignorance reigns supreme, and those who wish to venture in to it, make themselves a target of damnation and jealousy...". Many agree with Di Pietro: "His poetical production is not considerable and, while it does not
diminish his character in the slightest, it is certainly not such as to add to his merits,...” “I consider his Latin verses better than those in Italian. He also handles the Latin language rather well...” (Di Pietro, 1983).

II. His “controversial” works

His “controversial” works, consisting of Criticism and Replies are controversial public declarations, frequent in the seventeenth and also eighteenth century, involving not only scholars but also scientists. Ramazzini did not wish to, or could not, keep out of at least two of these events, which caused a considerable sensation at that time and were linked to his professional life, just before he took up his teaching post at the University of Modena. The first is addressed to the doctor Annibale Cervi in Modena, and originated in a case of empyema that the latter did not recognize and who then circulated a handwritten pamphlet to justify himself. To show his disapproval, Ramazzini had it published together with his own answer (Ramazzini, 1679), Cervi replied and Ramazzini was ready to do the same but his reply was forbidden by the Duke Cesare d’Este and thus, according to Bartolomeo Ramazzini, the dispute came to a silenti peplo involuta (Ramazzini, Bart., 1716).

From 1681 to 1684, Ramazzini was involved in a much more serious dispute that resulted in at least 15 papers, three of which Ramazzini had published (Ramazzini, 1681; Ramazzini, 1681a; Ramazzini, 1682). The dispute was over Marquise Maria Maddalena Bagnesi from Florence, who married a nobleman from Modena and died immediately after giving birth because the placenta was not expelled. The woman’s family sent Ramazzini’s report on the case to the Tuscan doctor Andrea Moneglia (1624-1700), which marked the start of a “terrible furore” in which other doctors and lawyers also participated. The courts of Modena and Florence blocked the final reply Ramazzini had written and it was not to be published until after his death (Ramazzini, Gius. 1758).

Perhaps it was written too harshly: “...the young doctor from Carpi, who puts madrigals and epigrams, medical prescriptions and bloody slander to verse, who knows how to make fun of both himself and others, is also able to blend the bitter jibes of sarcasm
with the smooth honey of flattery in Italian sonnets and Latin couplets. As long as the Court is amused by the controversy and gives him the interesting air of both scientist and man of the world, it sharpens the sallies of the dispute against the other doctors-poets-courtesans, but it is ready to put a stop to them as soon as it perceives its adversary has a strong protector...” (Conti, 1941).

De abusu chinae chinae (Ramazzini, 1714), one of his later papers, written while in Padua, can be included in his controversial works, even though it differs from the others and is less aggressive and more “academic”. It is a letter Ramazzini wrote to Bartolomeo’s nephew about the use of cinchona bark, and in which he is of a different opinion to other doctors from Modena, Francesco Torti in particular (1658-1741). In this paper the author refuses to accept that medicine can be administered indiscriminately. Although he was a convinced advocate of the use of cinchona root in intermittent fevers, as he himself had seen the benefits and characteristics of the medicine, he was against the use of administering that medicine in any kind of fever as was common practice at that time. With both theoretical and practical expertise, Ramazzini said that cinchona created the same effects as those he had described in the case of excessive venesection by doctors and quacks who, being constantly armed with lancets, reminded him of those who are capable of slaughtering innocent victims rather than curing diseases. It was later proven that cinchona is certainly effective in intermittent malarial fevers but that it also acts as a generic antifebrile. Ramazzini’s comments on cinchona provoked Torti’s reply, which was published after the former’s death (Di Pietro, 1983).

III. The “epidemiological” papers

In the 1690s Ramazzini was particularly active in scientific research and production and studied the field of “public health”. The first Epidemic Constitution (rural) appeared in 1690, and Ramazzini himself described the report as a tumultariae conscriptam (Di Pietro, 1977), dedicated to Antonio Magliabechi. It focussed on the illnesses that had appeared in Modena and the surroundings during that year (Ramazzini, 1690; Ramazzini 2006). He carried out and published an analogue study the following year, The Epidemic
Constitution for 1691 (urban), dedicated “To the illustrious and renowned Wilhelm Gottfried Leibniz” (1646-1716) (Ramazzini, 1691; Ramazzini, 2006). Ramazzini had intended to give an annual report on the diseases in relation to the weather, but the Third Epidemic Constitution in the territory around Modena did not appear until 1695 and takes into consideration the observations carried out in the years 1692-1694 (Ramazzini, 1695; Ramazzini, 2006).

The Constitutions were to be reprinted in Latin more than once: in the Ephemerides of the Accademia dei Curiosi della Natura (three separate works, 1691, 1692 and 1697 respectively); all together with the Dissertation de abusu chinae chinae, in an edition published in Padua (Ramazzini, 1714); in various editions of Ramazzini’s Opera Omnia; as part of Thomas Sydenham’s Observationes medicae printed in 1716 and also in the successive editions of 1723, 1735, 1757 and 1762 (Di Pietro, 1977).

Until 2006 the Constitutions had never been translated into a modern language (Ramazzini, 2006) although Maggiora had summarized them adequately (Maggiora, 1901-1902) and Corradi translated several passages into Italian (Corradi, 1865-1892).

IV. “Geo-physical” works

In 1691 the Physical-hydrostatic Treatise on the Marvellous Origins of the Modena Sources was also published (Ramazzini, 1691a). In this work he discusses the ancient technique of excavating wells in Modena, now known as artesian, from the French region of the Artois, where it appears they were used later than in Modena. Ramazzini claimed that the wells were connected with one another and that the layers were therefore unique, as he himself had observed that while the workers were toiling, the opening of a new excavation made the water level in a nearby one decrease rapidly. The data the author obtained by recording the atmospheric pressure systematically contradicts the figures published by Borelli in 1670. This paper not only describes the techniques of these excavations and the conditions the workers are subjected to while doing so, but also comments regarding how drinkable the water in these sources is compared to that on the surface and rain water, and the author believed that the latter two are more likely to be polluted.
In his *Modena Barometrical Ephemerides* (Ramazzini, 1695a), the author describes the materials and methods he used in his detailed and lengthy studies. In particular he describes the oblique barometer, which made it possible to measure even the slightest changes in the mercury column. It appears that Ramazzini was unaware that another English researcher, Samuel Morland (1625-1695), had used this very same scientific instrument before him. On the basis of the data he gathered he rejected the common belief that the mercury in the Torricelli tube rises when there are rain clouds in the air and drops when it rains. Considerable debate followed publication of this work, involving many scholars from Modena and Germany and continuing for years until Leibniz put an end to it.

Another of his experimental studies was behind a further publication, that of *Montegibbio Petroleum* (Ramazzini, 1698). Ramazzini's inspiration for this came from a report written by Francesco Ariosto in 1460, who was the lawyer and Commissioner in that area at the time, very close to Sassuolo. It was reprinted by Oligero Jacobeo in 1690 in Copenhagen. Ramazzini discusses that report, adding his own observations. He speaks of "petroleum" also from a medical point of view, since Ariosto had claimed it also had therapeutic characteristics. Ramazzini included notes on the geological nature of the land after having studied places nearby as well, in particular the wells in Monfestino and the mud eruptions of Nirano. He also studied the "erba fumaria" that had been reported in that area, and wrote about it in a letter to the abbot Felice Viani, professor of botany at Padua.

V. "The Diseases of Workers"

Donaggio's opinion is to be shared, "This fact has not been taken into sufficient consideration — what Ramazzini did, as regards true scientific publications, case studies aside, in a concentration of knowledge and experience that culminated in lasting works from the age of 57 over a period of ten years, and in the form of five fundamental works; one could say that Bernardino Ramazzini's scientific publications, all printed in Modena, appeared in the brief and extraordinarily prolific period from 1690 to 1700" (Donaggio, 1928).
The *De morbis artificum diatriba*, published for the first time in Modena in 1700, was written over a period of at least ten years in the 1690s. It was completed when the author was 67 and had been practising medicine for over 40 years. Ramazzini did not become famous for writing this book but for other reasons, which were also why he was summoned to the University of Padua.

For Ramazzini this book was of cultural interest, as the subject was both highly original and scientific, but this was probably not the main reason. In fact, he gave no particular importance to the book, at least as regards his later success as a doctor and writer.

Certain circumstances should be outlined to help understand the origins and characteristics of the *Treatise on the Diseases of Workers*. The first was his stay of around four years in the Duchy of Castro where he was working as medical officer. It was during this period that his interest in the illnesses that afflict the poor and craftsmen was awakened. The second was his first-hand observations made during his geophysical studies, which proved as important as those concerning latrine cleaners, and which Ramazzini himself pointed out, so much so that he actually stated that it was thanks to these observations that he began writing his treatise.

It must have been these subjects that had led Ramazzini to hold an entire course entitled *De morbis artificum* ten years earlier at the University of Modena in 1690-1691.

Worthy of note is what Ludovico Antonio Muratori wrote to the Tuscan Magliabechi in the same year *De Morbis* came off the printing press in Modena and Ramazzini was summoned to Padua: “Our Doctor Ramazzini arrived safely in Venice and Padua and he will already have made his medical knowledge known. His book is quite expensive here; his intentions are anything but Hippocratic, and the books he sells should ease his avarice” (Letters, 1854).

In 1713 in Padua, Ramazzini edited a new edition of the *Treatise of the diseases of workers*, adding a *Supplement* with an additional thirteen chapters to the previous forty-one (including printers, scribes and copy-clerks, spice dealers who sugar the seeds of various plants, male and female weavers, coppersmiths, woodworkers, razor and lancet grinders, brickmakers, well-diggers, sailors and oarsmen, hunters, soap-makers, and nuns). These additional chapters were more concise and with fewer quotations (Ramazzini, 1713).
V. Works during his period in Padua

During his university career, Ramazzini gave 16 inaugural Orationes, called *Orationes jatrici argumenti* or, in one case *Orationes medicae*. One was held in Modena in 1682 and was published the following year (Ramazzini, 1683) and all the others in Padua. The Padua Orationes were published as treatises in 1700 (Ramazzini, 1701), in 1703 (Ramazzini, 1703), in 1704 (Ramazzini, 1705), in 1705 (Ramazzini, 1705a), in 1706 (Ramazzini, 1706), in 1707 (Ramazzini, 1707), in 1711 (Ramazzini, 1712) and in 1713 (Ramazzini, 1713a).

In 1708 Ramazzini had a volume published in Padua (with at least two reprints, with several variations) with eight of the Orationes, from the first in 1700 to the eighth in 1707 (the numbering of the latter does not correspond to the others, however, and it has no title-page) (Ramazzini, 1708).

The Orationes were then published in the editions of the *Opera Omnia* in a different order but including the ones that had not yet been published (Orationes of 1708, 1710, 1712, 1714), thus resulting in yet another numbering/order and causing considerable confusion (Di Pietro, 1977). Three posthumous Orationes (1710, 1712 and 1714) were added, edited by his nephew, Bartolomeo, in the first Geneva edition of the 1716 *Opera Omnia* (Ramazzini, 1716) and then included in all later editions. The remaining posthumous Orationes, that of 1708, was not to be included until 1718 in the Padua edition of the *Opera Omnia*, the first edition that finally offered the complete series of the sixteen Orationes (Ramazzini, 1718).

Maggiora quotes an independent volume entitled *Orationes et Dissertationes omnes publicae habitaee a Ramazzlno in Patavino Lyceaeo...* (Ramazzini, 1717), which he saw in the Palatine Library in Parma, but he himself remarks, “It is none other than the IV volume of the *Opera Omnia* published by Conzatti and sold separately with a different title page” (Maggiora, 1901-1902). In this regard, Di Pietro rightly points out that Conzatti did not publish that Ramazzinian work until 1718 and that the work quoted by Conzatti was not (any longer) in the catalogues of the library he had been to (Di Pietro, 1977). This remains a mystery that is not easy to solve, unless with unfounded hypotheses.

*The Health of Princes* (1710) and *Comments on the Eulogy of a Sober Life* by Alvise Cornaro (1714) were written during his pe-
period in Padua. At the age of 77, Ramazzini completed dictating *De Principum valetudine tuenda commentatio* and had it published in Padua at Conzatti, his usual publisher (Ramazzini, 1710). This he did at his own expense, however, since the publisher refused to “invest” in the publication. This was on the grounds that, as Ramazzini wrote ironically to the reader, doctors only purchase books on therapy and not those on hygiene. Ramazzini mentions this work in his letters more than once. On 14 October 1709 he writes to Magliabechi: “...I am in need of a favour from you. I have been working on a book for two months and I would like to find something novel that imparts great knowledge and history and since my eyesight is now sorely impaired I find myself unable to leaf through my books, I find myself greatly disadvantaged although I have promised to continue and dedicate it to the Serenissimo Principe Francesco, the firstborn of our Lord Duke. The book is entitled *De Principum valetudine tuenda*. I do not believe that anyone has written about this particular subject but I know that M.o Ficino published a booklet *De Studiosorum sanitate tuenda*...” (Di Pietro, 1964).

Shortly before his death, Ramazzini published *Comments on the Sober Life by Alvise Cornaro* (Ramazzini, 1714a), commenting each paragraph with medical and literary observations, “greatly improving, correcting inaccuracies and exaggerations that Cornaro inevitably made as he was not a doctor, thus making the book a true scientific treatise on personal health and which, written in Latin and under the aegis of such an authoritative person as Ramazzini, was certainly appreciated by a great number of readers, as can be seen by the number of editions that later appeared in Italy and abroad” (Maggiora, 1902). It should not be underestimated that Cornaro, who was not a doctor, wrote it in Padua, home to an important university, and wrote about subjects from the field of academic medicine with great confidence and a certain amount of arrogance, and was neither censored nor ridiculed. Any criticism he encountered during his lifetime was basically of a theological nature and concerned his presumption of prolonging life, which should really be pre-determined by God himself.

Ramazzini mentions Cornaro for the first time in his dedication in *The Health of Princes* and when he is addressing the hereditary prince, Francesco d’Este, the future Francesco III, saying: “It is not my will, however, to persuade you to follow excessively binding
rules, as Ludovico Cornaro the Venetian nobleman did in his time; and, in this not yet mature age, you do not have to distress the condition of the such elegant and dignified body nature has given you by living in an excessively sober manner..." (Ramazzini, 1992). As far as can be gleaned from accounts, Francesco III took this advice very much to heart and embraced the sober life for the rest of his life. Between 1710 and 1714, Ramazzini (1714 was also the year of his death), mentions Cornaro in several of his letters (Di Pietro, 1964) and once again in his dedication to Clemente Gian Federico d'Este as well as in his address to the "benevolent reader" at the beginning of the short manuscript. In these brief notes Ramazzini tells us that he had promised to dedicate one of his books to the young prince, and had fulfilled this commitment, albeit with delay, by resorting to a simple commentary on a book written by someone else for the first time in his life. He wants the readers to know that he did this out of pleasure, in the free time that remained after his academic commitments, at a ripe age and suffering from considerable ailments. He is truly convinced of the cultural importance of the philosophical conception linked to the sober life, also for the field of medicine, and of the material advantages to those who follow it consistently. This stance, together with a sort of prudence, criticism and interest in the scientific enrichment of the sober life method, is to be found in all twenty-three of the "sententious" comments of various lengths.
Bernardino Ramazzini's Bibliography

(The bibliography is in the order of the publication of the first editions of the books)


11. [1691a] - *De Fontium / Mutinensium / Admiranda scaturigine / Tractus / Physico-Hydrostaticus / Bernardino Ramazzini / in Mutinensis Lyceo Medicinae Professoris. / Ad Serenissimum / Franciscum ii / Mutinae, Regii &c. / Dcem X. Mutinae, / Typis Haeredum Suliani Impressorum Ducalium, 1691. in 8°.


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29. [1712] - De / Cotagiosa / Epidemia, / Quae in Patavino Agro, et tota fere / Veneta Ditione in Bove irrepit. / Dissertatio / habita in Patavino Lyceo / A Bernardino Ramazzini / Practicæ Medicinae Profes-


31. [1713a] - De / Peste / Vienensis / Dissertatio / Habita in Patavino Gymnasio / Die 20 Novembris 1713 / A / Bernardino Ramazzini / Practicae Medicinae / Professore Primario / Patavii M. DCCXIII. / Apud Jo: Baptistam Conzattum. in 16°.


37. [1758] - [Ramazzini Giuseppe], Controversia / medico-letteraria / fra li Signori Dottori / Gio: Andrea Moneglia / e / Bernardino Ramazzini /
in occasione del parto, e morte / dell' Illustrissima Signora Marchesa / Martellini Bagnesi / seguita in Modena l' Anno MDCLXXXI. / In questa nuova impressione accresciuta d' una Risposta / non più stampata del Ramazzini alla Quarta / Censura del Moneglia / con altro ragionamento / Intorno il comun pericoloso metodo d' estrarre colla / mano le Secondine / del Dottore / Gioseffo Ramazzini / Professore di Medicina, e pronipote del suddetto / Bernardino Ramazzini, Per gli Eredi di Bartolomeo Soliani Stampatori Ducali / In Modena MDCCCLVIII. in 8°.