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ABSTRACT

Starting with the study of Magnus Hundt's *Antropologium* (1501) and Galeazzo Capra's *Anthropologia* (1533), this article will first show that the comprehensive study of humankind— with a focus on the unity of body and soul— predates the Renaissance and has its roots in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Then, it will argue that these early anthropological works are narrowly linked to Italian fifteenth-century treatises on human dignity and to sixteenth-century commentaries on natural philosophy. Although neglected in secondary literature on Renaissance concepts of dignity, these anthropological treatises deploy much medical knowledge to buttress their portrayal of humankind. Finally, this contribution will demonstrate that both Hundt and Capra predominantly worked in the tradition of medieval authors, whose view of humankind and its possibilities was far less negative than what is often presented in scholarship on the Middle Ages. The conclusion takes a closer look at the theoretical implications of my analysis of the quest for humanity.

KEYWORDS

Early anthropology; human dignity; humanity; medieval; medicine

Introduction

At first glance, it may seem odd to study Hundt's *Antropologium* and Capra's *Anthropologia* through the same lens, especially since both compete for the claim of having first promoted anthropology as an academic discipline. They represent the supposed archetypical differences between Northern and Southern Europe, between Latin and the vernacular and between Scholasticism and Italian Renaissance literature. The heavy, 250-folio learned treatise by the Leipzig professor Magnus Hundt was published in 1501. The second, a tiny octavo booklet by the Milanese courtier Galeazzo Capra/Capella, comprises three elegant dialogues and appeared in 1533 in Venice from the presses of Manutius' heirs. Despite their substantial differences in size, scope, genre, set-up and content, both works use the term anthropology in their title. This label is appropriate since the books bear the hallmarks of the discipline of anthropology, as it is still understood today; that is, as the study of humankind and of the society's cultures and structures that humans created to live in.¹

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The indication *Antropologium/Anthropologia* was new in the early sixteenth century, and was a neologism of the time. Hundt's choice for *Antropologium* (sic! he did not translate the theta, CS) denotes a treatise in which human nature is considered in all its bearings, and which epitomizes the human's eminence through the various mental and physical aspects of his being. Capra's *Anthropologia* is more focussed on the study of humankind in the sense of mapping and assessing the various facets of a human being's existence. Nonetheless, the overall message of the works barely differs as they bring up similar topics and draw on the same sources (Cfr Bauer 1984 and 2012). Both Hundt and Capra, in fact, favour an integrated approach towards human nature. They sought to probe what it means to be human(e) and live accordingly; and for this reason, they attempt to explain the enigma of humanity with the help of theology, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, anatomy, physiology and literature.

The French authors Jean Bouchet and Robert Cénéau can be accounted as other initial users of the neologism, albeit in a less extensive, less systematic and thus mainly ethnographic way (Vermeulen 2015, 7, 360). In the tradition of the French 'grands rhétoriciens', the poet, historian and polemicist Bouchet (1467–1557) aimed to demonstrate which topics rhetoric comprised and could legitimately engage with: historical knowledge, natural and moral philosophy, anthropology, geography and philology. His deploy of 'entropologie' refers to knowledge of the history, ways and customs of people living in countries that were studied within the discipline of geography (Bouchet 1517; Britnell 1986; Delft 2005, 49). This is also the meaning that the French bishop Cénéau (1483–1560) allotted to anthropology, a term which he coupled with chorography in the title of his *Gallica Historia, in duos dissecta tomos: quorum prior ad anthropologiam Gallici principatus, posterior ad soli chorographia[m] pertinet* (Cénéau 1557). The work was dedicated to the French king Henry II and strongly advocated the glorious origin and deeds of the various peoples of France and their excellent living conditions (Doublet 1906).

Since most early anthropologies support their respective cases by extensively quoting from and commenting on Aristotle's his writings, it seems relevant to recall that the ancient Greeks had never established a genuine science or philosophy of the human being. In Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*, the word *anthropos* just designates a human who displays the right kind of behaviour; but the expression did not develop into an equivalent of *humanitas*, a concept that today is linked to the use of the word anthropology. The first conceptualization of humanity and what it means to be human should be situated in the Roman Republic. There it crystallized under the influence of Cicero and his contemporaries (Cfr. Riexs 1967; Bödeker 1982; Giustiniani 1985; Høgel 2015). But, anthropology as the encompassing study of the human and his value is a typical invention of the Renaissance movement, which quickly gained popularity in the course of the sixteenth century (Trinkaus 1982; Stark 2012). Modern Renaissance scholarship has often neglected that this interpretation mainly occurred within the field of medicine, and especially in anatomy and physiology, where it was elaborated in interaction with developments in natural philosophy and theology (Carlino 1995; De Angelis 2010).

Hundt's and Capra's type of entangled philosophical as well as anatomical and physiological inquiry of humankind remained the prevalent mode of argumentation for a long time. For example, Descartes in his well-known *Traité de l'homme*, a study in the same overarching anthropological tradition, does not refrain from anatomical exegesis (Shapin 2000). Emphasis on the physical aspects prevailed in early modern anthropologies,

until Leibniz and Kant disjointed the medical and philosophical disciplines. This eventually led to the establishment of anthropology as an independent academic discipline in the course of the nineteenth century (Sturm 2008; De Angelis 2010; Vermeulen 2015).

In current scholarship, the reflection on being human and its associated criteria is predominantly connected to the fifteenth century, when human dignity appeared on the agenda as a separate philosophical issue (Steenbakkens 2014). The present contribution seeks to demonstrate that Hundt and Capra built on several earlier Italian treatises on the topic. It will also show that the use and interpretation of these sources revert back to pre-existing late classical Stoic and medieval Christian writings, which had explored, and *positively* assessed, human potential. The fact that already in the ninth century an unknown author produced a *De dignitate conditionis humanae* bears witness to such a perspective. The treatise discussed dignity as the fundamental condition of living as a human, arguing that human beings were created to pro-actively proceed towards self-esteem and goodness (Marenbon 1981; Lebech, Evoy, and Flood 2009). In this sense, the present contribution conjoins the historical meaning of the term anthropology with the uncovering of the medieval roots of the discussion on dignity. Such a combination suggests that the medieval view on humankind was not as negative as many scholars still assume. Even pope Innocence III's proverbial *De miseria humane conditionis* (1195), the book that is consistently employed to corroborate medieval pessimism, was originally conceived as a written diptych. The optimist counterpart never really came into being, due to the author's elevation to the papal throne (Kehnel 2005). In the following centuries, the missing part inspired many authors to highlight human capabilities to create a meaningful, healthy and worthy life for themselves, and to outline the right lifestyle to achieve this.

Eighty years ago, Charles Trinkaus first brought the optimistic message of fifteenth century Italian humanists to the fore (Trinkaus 1940 and 1970). On the verge of World War II, he published *Adversity's Noblemen; the Italian Humanists on Happiness* (1940). Unfortunate timing seems to have been responsible for the oblivion into which his book has fallen. Possibly, his statement also sounded too 'Burckhardtian', despite the fact that the then young scholar cautiously refrained from boiling down Renaissance triumphalism to a reductionist positive *Zeitgeist* as was advocated by the founding father of Renaissance scholarship and nineteenth-century classicist Jakob Burckhardt. Thirty years later, the, by then, eminent Renaissance specialist reiterated his thesis on fifteenth-century human excellence and dignity, by presenting a more nuanced portrayal of the era. This time, he paid due respect to the various intellectual currents of the fifteenth century – Stoicism, Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism, Epicureanism – in combination with the often deeply felt Christian principles of life. Genesis 1:26 'And he said: Let us make man to Our image and likeness', quoted numerous times by Hundt and Capra, serves as a motto for the two rich volumes written by Trinkaus (Trinkaus 1995). By demonstrating how Hundt and Capra rallied to this call, just as much as their more famous predecessors, this article picks up where Trinkaus' story leaves off, and widens his anthropological arguments.

In terms of content, the portrayals of humankind by Hundt and Capra are by and large in line with early modern anthropology, as recently analysed in books on the emergence and development of such interest (Leinkauf 2005; Liebersohn 2008; De Angelis 2010; Höfele and Laqué 2011; Vermeulen 2015). However, these studies focus on later material and do not take into account the content of either Hundt's *Antropologium* or Capra's *Anthropologia*. This is quite unfortunate because the analysis of such works would allow

to tie up Trinkaus' assessment of fifteenth-century human dignity treatises with natural philosophical investigations of human nature, a genre that emerged in the mid-sixteenth century and quickly gained popularity. Thomas Leinkauf's (2005) stimulating mapping of anthropological constants shifts from the fifteenth century – in the work of humanists theorizing on human dignity such as Nicolaus Cusanus, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola – to the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus, Leinkauf also overlooks Hundt and Capra, even though their opinions perfectly fit his findings on the ability of self-knowledge and on the possibilities for a dignified human existence. His background as a philosopher shaped his interests; therefore, the broader foundation and implications of the earliest footprints of anthropology remain outside his scope. A closer look at the interplay between ethical, literary and medical information in the works by Hundt and Capra may extend credit to his thought-provoking thesis of tripartite 'Selbstrealisierung' (self-realization): *Selbstkonstitution*, *Selbsterkenntnis* and *Selbsterhaltung* (constitution of the self, knowledge of the self and preservation of the self). In fact, the protagonists of this contribution, Hundt and Capra, duly confront their readers with the adage of the Delphi oracle 'Gnothi seauton' as the start of every reflection on human functioning (Cfr. Carlino 1995; Leinkauf 2005, 132–133).²

In his survey of the genesis of anthropology as the science of man, the historian of science Simone De Angelis also omits Hundt and Capra from his perceptive study, which starts out directly with the many mid-sixteenth century commentaries on Aristotle's *De anima* (De Angelis 2010). Through an amalgam of anatomical, physiological, but also natural and moral philosophical argumentations, these commentaries reveal the extensive medical knowledge of the authors as well as of the intended readers. Hundt's treatise in particular is a precursor of this genre.

Han Vermeulen (2015) is the third scholar whose work has been seminal for the present article. His historiography of anthropology entails a conceptual history, which attempts to map the genesis of the discipline and its various branches. Although Vermeulen focusses on the German Enlightenment, he carefully unravels the tangle of anthropological interests characterizing the period that gave birth to the modern fields of ethnology and ethnography. In so doing, he exposes the various ancestors who dealt with the anthropological discipline in fields such as anatomy, physiology, literature, philosophy and theology; and, amongst them, he (shortly) mentions Hundt and Capra. Following his lead, my article contends that the interest in the human and his capacities is older and broader than usually assumed, and that at the same time, it meets societal and individual needs for reflection on the *human raison d' être* and *condition humaine*.

This concurs with Patrick Fazioli's recent appeal not to overlook the Middle Ages when charting the genealogy of the anthropological discipline. He warns his audience not to restrict 'the boundaries of legitimate anthropological inquiry to a modern and Western worldview', since this may lead to the exclusion of 'any conception of the human that does not comport with this particular epistemological framework' (also Liebersohn 2008; Fazioli 2014, esp. 350; Fazioli 2017). Searching for proto-anthropological tendencies may be a questionable practice within the context of scholarship in the history of science. However, it does make sense to embark on a more broadly defined enterprise, by tracing historical explorations and conceptualizations of humankind and past views of the human and his nature as attempted here below.³ This approach responds to the present concern of the way in which the field of anthropology has been divided into separate domains such

as archaeological, physical, biological, linguistic and social/cultural anthropology, always taking into account that the categorization of these domains may strongly differ depending on the geographical area.⁴ Departing from Hundt and Capra, the present article aims to break down these disciplinary demarcations and tries to follow recent calls, as that of Tim Ingold (2017, 22), for a critical and speculative anthropology ‘that makes a conversation of human life itself’ by posing crucial questions.

In order to achieve the objectives discussed above it will be necessary to sketch a genealogy of anthropology and to contextualize the earliest anthropological range of thought, capturing (late) medieval ideas on a truly human(e) existence as well as the modern fragmentation of anthropology. Past ideas on humankind will first be succinctly presented as a prelude to an in-depth discussion on both *Antropologium* and *Anthropologia*. Following the positioning of the respective authors within their intellectual and historical context, their treatises on humankind will be analysed in more detail. How did these authors view themes such as human nature, the mental and physical aspects of human existence and the carving out of the right lifestyle? The conclusion presents their integral vision of humankind and its capacity for creating a dignified existence, and places it within the theoretical developments in the premodern study of humans and humankind. It finishes with a short reflection on the present-day directions of the anthropological discipline.

The study of humankind in context

Speculation about the nature and capacities of the *anthropos* – the one and only erect creature facing upwards in contemplation of God and the stars – can already be found in the *Etymologiae Bk. XI, 5* by the early medieval encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville. When pointing to the difference between humans and animals, Isidore quotes Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (I, 84), on how animals spend their lives looking at the soil, concentrating only on their food (Cfr. Bauer 1984).⁵ The etymological connection between *homo* (human) and *humus* (soil) became a topos. For instance, the Italian humanist Giannozzo Manetti, probably one of Hundt’s sources of inspiration, used ‘anthropos’ in his treatise *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* in the following way: ‘Hence the Greeks seem to have named him more rightly and correctly *anthropos*, because he looks up, than we *homines* from *humus* or than the Hebrews Adam from *Adama*’ (i.e. dust of earth, CS) (Trinkaus 1995, 231).

In historiography, the theme of nature, substance and value of the human is mostly linked to Italian humanism, and in particular, to Pico’s paradigmatic oration on humankind (Borghesi 2012a, 2012b; Bori 2012, 85–94; Pico della 2012; Steenbakkers 2014). However, this ‘Manifesto of the Renaissance’ was one of many statements on the issue, and was part of an already widely established genre, addressing far more topics than those in Pico’s oration. The limited scope of the oration is primarily a consequence of its purpose; it had been devised as publicity for his 900 *Conclusiones* (Borghesi 2012a; Bori 2012; Trinkaus 1995). Writing on the human’s positive capacities had started already in late Antiquity with the apology of God’s creation by the church father Lactantius (ca. 250–320) entitled *De opificio dei* (On the Workmanship of God, or the formation of man) (Lactantius 1965, 3–59), as well as with a fourth-century Neo-Platonist treatise by the Syrian Christian Nemesius of Emesa. In *On the Nature of Man*, Nemesius (ca. 386/7) (Nemesius 2008) summarized the doctrines of ancient philosophers and physicians on the elements, the functions of the body and the soul, and concluded that a human being’s spiritual life was conditioned

by the body's natural limitations (Trinkaas 1995, 186–187). This tradition was picked up in the twelfth century by scholastic intellectuals such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventure, Peter Lombard and William of Saint-Thierry (Boureau 2008). Albertus Magnus was one of the main sources of inspiration for the protagonists of the present paper. He wrote the treatise *De homine* (Albertus 2004) and edited several of Aristotle's biological works, especially the Greek philosopher's *De animalibus* (Mahoney 1980; Siraisi 1980). Medieval anthropological reasoning very much revolved around the interpretation of bible texts on the creation of the human 'In His image and likeness' (Middleton 2005; Mieth 2014). Thomas Aquinas, for instance, considered the aim of humankind's creation to be the humans' resemblance to God, since they count with rational faculties that allow them to imitate God through self-knowledge and self-love, and thus enable them to reach human dignity.⁶

As was mentioned in the introduction, anthropological excursions on human nature and its dignity as a genre continued far into the seventeenth century. René Descartes and Thomas Hobbes devised treatises on human nature in which physical characteristics were thoroughly showcased. In several editions, Descartes' *Traité de l'Homme* contained medical illustrations and was sometimes combined with medical treatises (Hutchins, Eriksen, and Wolfe 2016; Hobbes 1999; Shapin 2000). A similar procedure can be found in Hundt's *Antropologium*, which contains woodcuts of the human members and organs (Figures 2 and 3). The true ending of the physico-philosophical *De homine* tradition is marked by Immanuel Kant's *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798). In this diatribe, the philosopher carefully marks off physiological characterizations of the human species from moral descriptions, asserting that philosophers should only be interested in the human as a living being who freely takes action to build a personality. Aesthetical appreciations and physical judgments are purported to belong to different fields, which philosophers should avoid (Sturm 2008 and 2009).

Another root of the discourse on the human prospect for fulfilment and contentment emerged around 1200. At that time, Cardinal Lothario Segni (1160–1216), later pope Innocence III, wrote *On the misery of the human condition* (Innocentius III 1955), which emphasized human frailty in soul and body. Segni's observations generated multiple responses and for centuries resonated with a learned public, whose members had embarked on a quest for the right way of life. However, in 1366 Petrarch wrote a balanced counterstatement *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, which paid respect to both prosperity and adversity (Petrarca 1991; Kircher 2009). In the first chapters of book I, a personification of Reason discusses the profits of a healthy and well-proportioned body with the personification of Joy. The readers are, for instance, encouraged to select an 'uxor formosa', who would produce vigorous offspring. This theme is also brought up by Capra (f. 12v-13), who does not shy away from extolling the pleasures and results of sex. In the second book, Petrarch argues the opposite: Reason speaks with a man called Grief, elucidating the consequences of deformities and other mental and physical weaknesses. The scheme of dealing with different viewpoints in separate books is likewise imitated by Capra.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, Aurelio Brandolini, Giovanni Garzoni, Bartolomeo Fazio, Gianozzo Manetti, Galeotto Marzio, Lorenzo Bonincontri and Benedetto Morandi wrote sophisticated and often dialogic discourses on the characteristics of humankind and its individual members. These treatises contain descriptions of the human's physical qualities based on ancient and medieval texts, including specialist medical ones from

coeval handbooks (Cfr. Trinkaus 1995; Stark 2012). The most famous of these odes to humankind is the treatise of the Florentine Giannozzo Manetti, dedicated to the art-loving king Alfonso of Naples (Manetti 1975, 1990; Glaap 1994; Schmeisser 2006; Foà 2007). Book I of his eulogy concentrates on the beauty and functionality of the human body and its design. Book II expounds upon the qualities and accomplishments of the (rational) human soul, whereas III develops an integral representation of the human as an indissoluble unity of body and soul. Book IV sums up the argument and presents a strong refutation of classical, biblical and patristic texts that had advocated the human propensity to misery (including illness) and had celebrated death. Here, not surprisingly, Manetti resolutely criticizes Innocence's *On the misery of the human condition*. In the final chapters, he expresses his hope that King Alfonso will profit from his advice and use it for the establishment of a long, healthy, fruitful and above all enduringly happy life. In this sense, Manetti presents a very optimistic view of humankind. The human was expected to 'reason and proceed' so as to answer and fulfil all the possibilities that God's creation allowed him. Both Hundt and Capra are heavily indebted to Manetti's treatise in set-up, content and tone, although proving they actually used it would not be possible.

Magnus Hundt and human dignity

Magnus Hundt was born into a scholarly family in Magdeburg (Steinmetz 1984, 33–54; Sudhoff 1909, 113–121; Worstbrock 2006; Bullough 2008; Bünz 2009, 158–159;) (Figure 1). After being awarded a Master of Arts in 1486 from the University of Leipzig, he started studying medicine at the same institution, from which he earned a baccalaureate in 1499. In 1500, he switched to theology, for which he received a doctorate five years later; in the meantime, he also took holy orders. Despite his studies in the higher Faculties, the Leipzig Faculty of Arts remained Hundt's main arena of activity, so much so that he was promoted to Dean in 1497. As a member of the Kleines Fürstenkolleg, which housed the *magisters* and students of the Faculty of Arts, his main occupation for decades was teaching the arts and philosophy. In 1512, he became a canon in Meissen, one of the canonries connected to Leipzig University, but continued to work as a professor (Cottin 2007, 287–293).

As a lifelong academic, Hundt was conversant with a wide range of genres, though he preferred a concoction of scholastic texts on philosophy and theology, which he edited, summarized, provided with commentaries and sometimes authored himself. In the early stages of his career, Hundt produced the large-scale *Compendium totius logice* (1493), which is a compilation of the works of logic by Petrus Hispanus with an extensive commentary, and the *Codicillus proprietatibus terminorum* (1499), a survey of fourteenth-century *logica moderna* (Moss 147–148). His transition to medicine also resulted in the work *Parvulus philosophiae naturalis* (1500), an extensive commentary on the *Compendium* of Petrus Gerticz of Dresden. The *Parvulus*, which in terms of content is related to the *Antropologium*, is dedicated to Hundt's pupil, Arnold von Wöstefeld. Another work that is thematically connected to the *Antropologium*, albeit being a fully moral philosophical text, is his edition of (pseudo) Seneca's *Liber de moribus humanae vitae* (1499 and 1502), which was tellingly published with a letter by Marsilio Ficino to Cherubino Quarquali on the duties of man (*Epistola* III, 53; Colish 1985, 16).



Figure 1. Andreas Hundt, Magnus Hundt sr. and Magnus Hundt jr. Illustration from the list of doctors from the Artes Faculty of Leipzig University, summer semester 1521.

In the introduction to his *Antropologium*, Hundt rolls out his programme: he envisions presenting a survey of the human as a whole, pointing to the fact that God created both body and soul, a union which made him human (f. 4v). The epigram on the title page succinctly summarizes the topic: fulfilment is only possible when humans learn to get to the bottom of their secrets, implying the importance of studying properly and living well. In other terms, his book will help them by explaining the golden rules in order to achieve

that goal. Moreover, the full-page picture of the human head and its various parts, to the left of the letter of dedication to his pupil Wolfgang von Anhalt-Köthen (Kindscher 1898; Thomas 2004), underscores the author's overall message: human beings should use their head instead of losing it. Mind and body capacitate them for a happy and healthy life (Figure 2). Such an elaborate title conveys, already from the start, that the content of

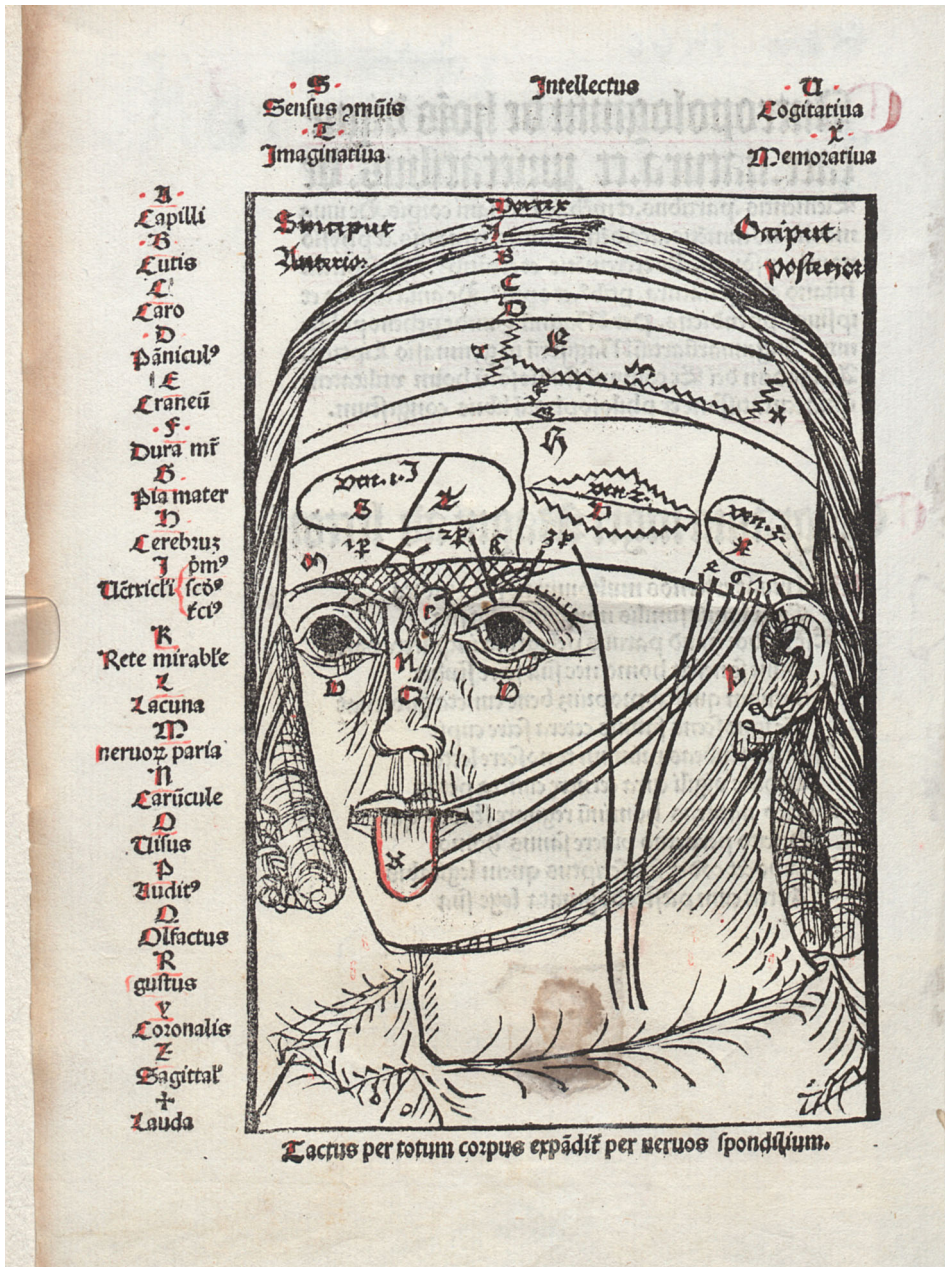


Figure 2. Hundt, *Antropologium*: Human Head, f. 1v. The following illustrations are all from the Munich copy of Hundt's, *Antropologium*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1466.

the book will also delve into medical matters, thus resembling the traditional regimen, which so many physicians drew up for their patients:

Anthropology on the dignity, nature, and qualities and on the elements, parts, and members of the human body. On the same's resources, damages, accidentals, faults, remedies, and physiognomics. On excrement and excreta. On the human spirit and its nature, parts, and operations. On the human soul and with appendices.⁷

The *Antropologium* gives a discursive argument in scholastic style with numerous quotes from a wide array of sources. It employs a layout comparable to its Italian examples. The aims of the book and its philosophical foundations are explained in the preface. The body and the spiritual (spirit and soul) parts of the human are subsequently addressed, discussed in more (the body) and less (spirit and soul) detail. The bulk of the text, chapters 5 up to 57, deals with the human body and elucidates its needs and workings. In this current context, it is neither possible, nor necessary to give a detailed analysis of these chapters. It suffices to state that the components of human physiology are explained by introducing the main medical concepts of the time, such as elements, qualities, virtues and complexions. Subsequently, the principles on which human anatomy is based are laid out, and the outline of the appearance, workings, functions and problems of the various body parts and organs is systematically referred back to standard medieval medical handbooks including, among others, Avicenna's *Canon*, Averroes, Rhasis, Mesue, Pietro d'Abano, Haly Abbas, Johannes Turrisanus, Jacobus Forliviensis, Nicolaus Salernitatus, Gerardus of Cremona, Valestus de Taranta, Bernard de Gordon, Johannes Serapion, Michael Savonarola, Mondino de Liuzzi. Some of the medical explanations are supported by woodcuts, providing additional illustration of the operations of the body and its parts (Le Fanu 1962) (Figures 2 and 3). Moreover, the author suggests possible therapies to treat a wide array of pathologies, demonstrating that he aimed to inform the readers about the structure and functioning of the healthy human, including ways to readjust imbalance. The entire medical argumentation is in line with Hundt's overall praise of human excellence. He discusses, for instance, the much-revered Renaissance topic of human proportions, by reasoning that these bring about the beauty and elegance of a human being. As a paramount example of perfection, the Roman emperor Vespasian is put forward, who, according to his biographer Sueton, had a well-proportioned body with firm and compact limbs and enjoyed excellent health (Sueton, *About the Lives of the Caesars*, 8: 20 and Hundt f. 19r).

Hundt's comprehensive perception of humankind is most explicit in the Preface and elaborated in the first three chapters, which focus, respectively, on the excellent dignity of human nature, on the nature of the human, and on his characteristics. Next to the last lines of the Preface, a reader – or decorator, as many capitals are adorned by red ink – of the Munich copy of the *Antropologium* drew a red hand in the margin. The index finger points to the line: *Antropologium de homine de toto non parte dumtaxat* – anthropology of the whole human being and not just of a part (Figure 4). Subsequently, Hundt announces that he had examined the best authors on the theme, which, as the discouraged author remarks had not exactly been a light task. Longing for the end, yet just embarking on a journey of more than 200 pages, he invokes Seneca's praise of modesty from the *De tranquillitate animi* and declares to have written a piece that is neither exquisite nor special, but that can still be useful, even if executed in a mediocre style and done in

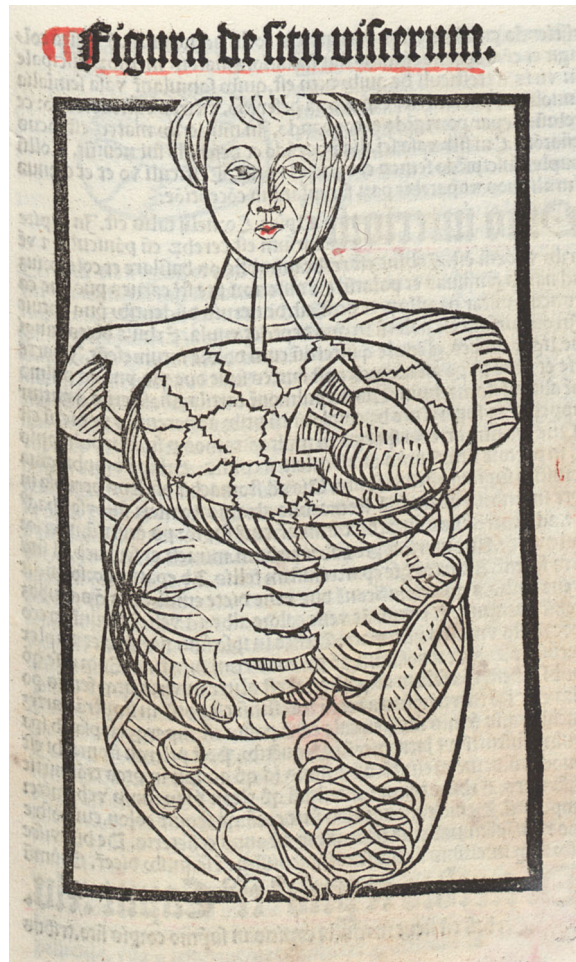


Figure 3. Representation of digestive system, f. 60r.

a cursory way (f. 11). The didactic characterization of the work is appropriate since it was intended to be a *curriculum*, in the original sense of subjects comprising a course of study in a school or college, and thus providing directions on how to achieve health and happiness. Nonetheless, the teacher's frustration towards his pupils, apparently sometimes refusing to improve, could not be suppressed: 'Learn, you wretched creatures, discover the causes of things, what we are and what we are born for' he quotes Persius' *Satyrae* 3: 67 (f. 4r). A similar expression of (light) doubt about human capability as well as professorial despair appears in a paragraph that refers to Ovid's laudatory account of the creation of humankind from the *Metamorphoses*. This passage extols a creature that rose far above animals. Possibly drawing from his long experience as a teacher, Hundt concedes in the subsequent lines that, alas, human youngsters are often not very different from animals: both are unruly and have to be disciplined (f.6r.; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.68–88).

Despite the predominantly scholastic content of the treatise, its first part is rather humanistic and displays knowledge of classical authors (Horace, Juvenal, Livy, Ovid, Persius, Pliny the Elder and Seneca), who had all pointed to the fact that a human

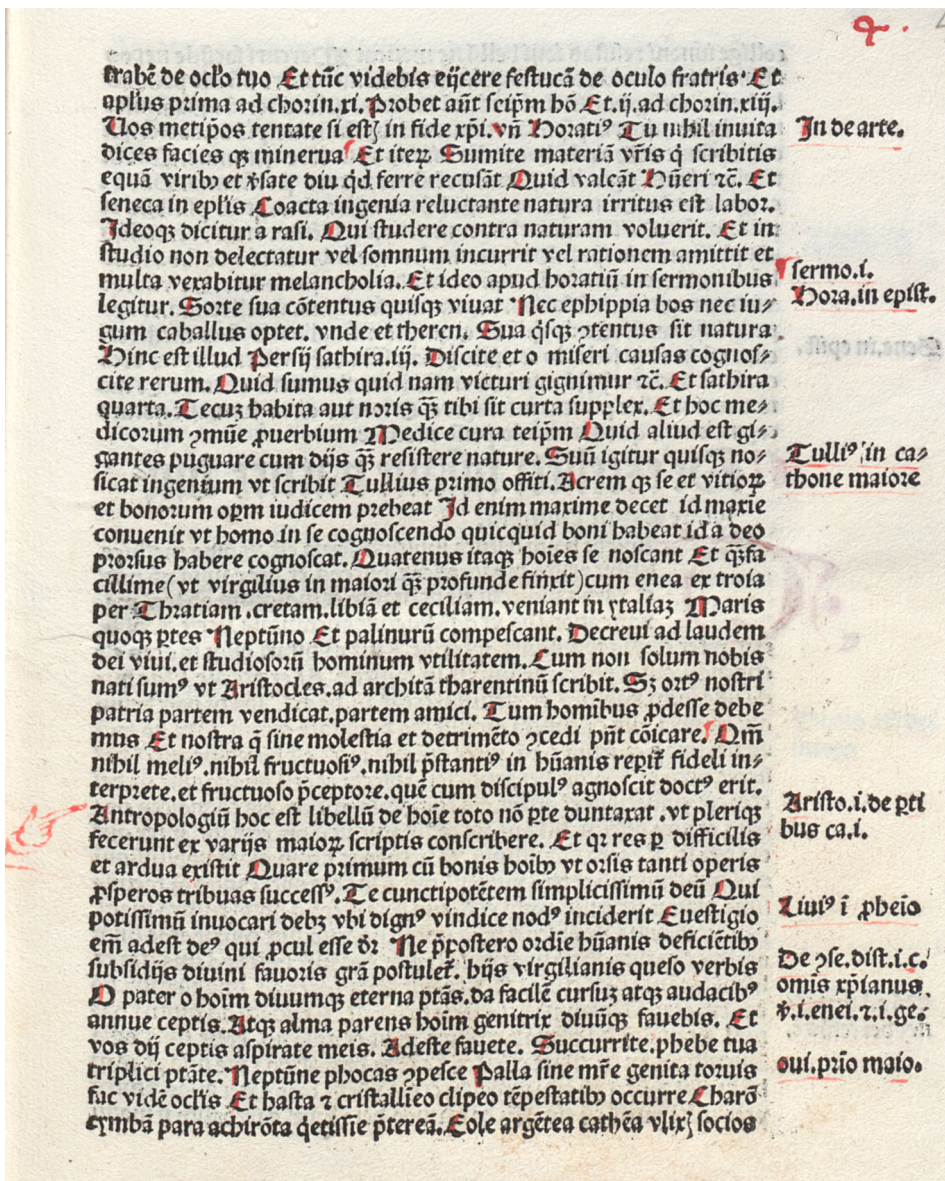


Figure 4. Little indication hand from the Preface of the Antropologium, f. 4r.

being should study because that was a pre-eminently human thing to do, bound to improve life. Hundt tries to show off a humanist veneer by quoting the most famous Renaissance authors such as Giovanni Boccaccio, Dante, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. The preface even starts with quoting the Neo-platonic treatise *De anima et demone*, which forms part of the *Theologia Platonica* by Proclus (412–485) (f. 3v). This implies that the author was probably acquainted with the recent translation of the work by Marsilio Ficino. Proclus is said to have acclaimed the human, who by nature was capable of knowing and understanding, but needed training to use expertise and wisdom properly, in order to become able to distinguish between right and wrong (f.

3v). This statement is further emphasized by reference to the Arab-Jewish philosopher Isaac Israeli (ca. 855–955), who in his *Liber de definitionibus* had asserted that philosophy is complete human self-knowledge, implying both his body and his soul (f. 3v; Muckle 1938).⁸ It is clear that the main concern of Hundt's argumentation on humankind is the necessity of learning and especially of using knowledge and expertise for the creation of a civilized society.

In order to emphasize once more the crucial importance of education, Hundt's discourse is sprinkled with quotations from (and references to) the Bible, with the aim of foregrounding moral discernment and self-knowledge (f. 3v, Lucas 6 and Matthew 7). Already at the beginning of the book, we encounter the spirit of self-help, taking things into one's own hand, for instance when Luke 4:23 is quoted: 'And he [Jesus] said to them: Doubtless you will say to me this similitude: Physician, heal thyself' (f. 4r). What follows is an exhaustive anthropology, in which medieval Christian views on the topic act as point of departure. Significantly, human nature is praised by reference to the famous *Ecce Homo* passage from John 19, emphasizing His (i.e. the son of God) Incarnation in a human being (f. 12v). 'In His image and likeness' (Genesis 1: 26) is also taken as a leitmotiv throughout the exposition of human dignity and its facets. Since the Bible verses are quoted innumerable times, they may be well called the common thread of the *Antropologium*. Hundt demonstrates his awareness of the incongruities in the biblical representations of the Incarnation, and touches upon the difference between image and likeness. The uniqueness of humankind is a point repeatedly brought forward, usually followed by (an odd mixture of) examples: the human is unique in having a head that is in proportion with the rest of his body, in having facial features that can express emotions and a heart that inclines to the left; moreover, only humans can have sexual intercourse time and time again. The author buttresses his claims by repeatedly quoting Pico della Mirandola's *Heptaplus*: 'Solus imago dei' – only he is the mirror of God (f. 9r), which refers to the connection between the spiritual and the physical as well as the link between God and the world. For that reason, humans are hailed as the most perfect of animals, by far outshining all other creatures. Sometimes the tone becomes outright triumphant. Many phrases start with 'solus homo – only the human', stating that the human is stronger and wiser, more helpful and courageous, better in fights, more disciplined or willing to learn the correct behaviour, and finally more divine, honest and moderate than any other creature. Hundt concludes that it is up to humankind to honour God and know Him (f. 13v–15v).

The biblical explanations are, however, not very systematic, and they are interspersed by quotations from Aristotle's *De anima* and *De generationibus*, Pseudo-Aristotle's *De causis proprietatem elementorum*, *Physionomia* and *Problemata* and Albertus Magnus's *De animalibus* Book 20–22. Together, these learned treatises are used to prove human excellence and exceptionality compared to other creatures.⁹ Hundt follows Albertus Magnus's *De homine* in that he proposes a comprehensive doctrine of the human as a unity of body and soul, supplementing its arguments with the same author's *De animalibus*, where the *doctor universalis* had included long passages on human excellence and explanations on what distinguishes the human from other creatures (Anzulewicz 1996, 1998; Collins 2010). In fact, for his text Hundt borrowed many other passages directly from Albertus, and, more often than not, without interpreting and consulting the original sources himself. At first sight, it would seem typically 'humanist' to talk about the human as a microcosm employing expressions such as 'The human is the image of the whole world'

or 'The human is the node between God and the world'. Yet, even though the latter expression originates in the work of the then highly esteemed mythical author Hermes Trismegistus (as indicated in the margin), both quotations can actually also be found in Albertus's *De homine* (2.17 and 27) (f. 5v-6r). But Hundt aims higher than Albertus, who had expressed his vast medical knowledge in separate works on embryology, physiology, food, sleep and the senses (Siraisi 1980). One might argue that the medical part of the *Antropologium* is a grand elaboration on Albertus's quite meagre passages about the body in the *De homine*. Albertus's influence, moreover, can also be felt in the rather traditional interpretation of the body and its organs as instruments of the soul. In particular, chapter 5 *On the natural and divine properties of the human*, from book 20 of Albertus's *On animals*, is crucial. Here, he explains that if humans subject themselves completely to the world and thus to the body, they take on the features of an animal. A human being becomes concupiscent like a pig, angry like a dog, and obsessed like a lion. In this regard, the influence of the heavens is recognized and appraised manifesting itself especially by means of dreams that can affect the human's bodily constitution. But despite the reservations about the downsides of human physicality, there are still extensive physical arguments to prove the excellence of humankind even in the introductory chapters. Many of Albertus's physical arguments to prove human excellence such as his members' proportions, his erectness, his head being the part of the body nearest to God and heaven (and therefore the most suitable place for the rational soul) can be already found here and will be later repeated and substantiated in the purely medical parts of the *Antropologium*. The extensive use of Albertus Magnus must be framed in the growing admiration that the *doctor universalis* received throughout fifteenth-century Germany, corroborated by a particular attention towards his natural philosophical oeuvre by most of the Italian and German humanists (Mahoney 1980; Collins 2010).

The anthropologizing introductory sections gradually work towards a complete integration of physical aspects into the definition of the human, by discussing the concept of *complexio* (temperament) and extending it to embrace the central importance of health for a meaningful existence. Once more, Hundt's reasoning is based on a mix of theological, philosophical and medical arguments. Despite departing from Matthew and Luke's adage that a human being cannot live on food alone, the author arrives at the conclusion that God has bestowed the best complexion upon the human, that of measure and temperance. This observation is also to be found in the introduction to Giovanni Pico's *Heptaplus*, this time duly mentioned, but also underscored by many other references to classical and medieval authors (f. 10v). In order to maintain the best temperament, a human being needs to feed himself properly on what the earth so generously bestows upon him, and he should regulate his life, opting for an appropriate lifestyle (f. 10v). On the whole, the tone is very positive, and any possible flaws in the human constitution are smoothed over. For example, even if a human being's sensorial capacities are indeed not as good as those of animals, he still uses them far better than any other of God's creatures. Sovereign use of the senses suggests that the human is able to remember things, a quality that has allowed him to produce works of art and science (f. 10v).

Advice on how to become good thus requires instruction for the right way of living. Although the author bases himself here on Ficino, he somewhat traditionally claims that there are three choices in lifestyle – contemplative, active and voluptuous (f. 12r and v). Fortunately, reason in human nature ensures that humans are inclined to opt for

the proper lifestyle, combining active and contemplative pursuits, which, as is claimed, have both their merits. The ability to make this choice sets humans apart not only from animals, but also from semi-human creatures such as giants, pygmies, Cyclops, wildmen, mermaids and mermen, and Laestrigonians (giant cannibals from the *Odyssey*). All of these living beings lack the wisdom of humans, tend to be steered by their passions, and are therefore bad, gluttonous and barbarian: despite sharing some features (f. 13v), they cannot be called human. The section on human properties lists again numerous differences between human beings and animals, including those with semi-humans. The examples highlight, in particular, physical characteristics: only the human loses his own baby-teeth, has a voice capable of articulation, has hair only on his head, breast and genital area, and so forth.

In a passage on human dignity, where the human being is depicted in accordance with Aristotle and Galen as a creature primarily made from flesh and bones, Hundt gives the last word to Albertus Magnus's exultant view: 'The human is the liveliest, because of all animals he lives longest except the elephant, thanks to his prudence and his perfect lifestyle' (f. 12r; Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus* 18.8).¹⁰ All these positive statements on human capabilities make it evident that Hundt's compendium truly is equivalent to the Italian treatises on human dignity, albeit spawning his argument more with specialist medical knowledge. In the light of this optimism, it is also significant that Cicero's *On duties* is quoted repeatedly. This treatise, in fact, sums up the talents and possibilities of the human, by favourably comparing them to the potential of animals:

Man, on the other hand – because he is possessed of reason, by which he discerns consequences, sees the causes of things, understands the rise and progress of events, compares similar objects, and connects and associates the future with the present – easily takes into view the whole course of life, and provides things necessary for it. (f. 11v-12r; Cicero *De officiis* 1:11:4)¹¹

If each of the human's talents is properly employed, and as long as physical aspects are not neglected, life may potentially aspire to perfection.

In sum, Magnus Hundt wrote an overarching, encyclopaedic survey of human knowledge that furthers the ideal of human(e/n)ess as within reach of educated men. The fact that the readers might pass on their expertise to others willing to learn about well-being and leading a good life is clearly taken for granted. Hundt's didactic approach suggests a different categorization for this book than a medieval treatise *On the misery of the human*, or a Renaissance exposition on human dignity. The letter of dedication to his then pupil at the university, the young count Wolfgang von Anhalt-Köthen, gives a clue about the nature of this work. The *Antropologium* is a manual on living well in the form of a mirror for princes. The work foremost explains the how and why of the health, happiness and success of the future ruler of Anhalt-Köthen, including his lands and its inhabitants.

Capra and human destination

Born in Milan in 1487, Galeazzo Flavio Capra, at times called Ca(p)pella (perhaps to avoid the meaning of his surname 'goat') held the position of secretary to the chancellor of the duke of Milan, Girolamo Morone (Ricciardi 1976; Benzenhöfer and Rotzoll 1991). He served

as an ambassador to Duke Francesco II Sforza in Venice for a prolonged period since his employer was banished from his own territories. On the armed conflicts between the Milanese, the French and the then pope Leo X, Capra wrote an extensive historical work in eight books dedicated to the duke, which went through three editions. A short monograph by his hand about the adventurer Gian Giacomo Medici was published posthumously. The diplomat was on friendly terms with the historian Benedetto Giovio as well as with the scholar and poet Pietro Bembo. The friendship with the latter is recalled by the penchant for ambivalence and irony in Capra's *Anthropologia*. Both authors wrote dialogues about the benefits and drawbacks of certain aspects and conditions of life. Whereas Bembo's *Asolani* considers the pros and cons of love, Capra weighs the human species. The two works are specimen of the numerous fictional Cinquecento dialogues, which deal with all kinds of topics, ranging from mnemonics, painting, beauty and navigation, to lofty discussions of medicine and philosophy (Cox 1992).

Capra composed poems in Latin and also published a short dialogue in Italian on the excellence of women in 1526, which was later incorporated in his *Anthropologia*. The complete volume of *Anthropologia* consisted of three books and was hailed by the author as a 'ragionamento (account of) della natura humana' between three participants: a poet Musicola, a medical doctor Girolamo Segazzone and a Messer Lancino Curtio. The house of a noble lady in Milano provides the scenery where the three convene for a day and an evening. The lady is called Iphigenia, though the choice of her name is not clarified in the text. Although the speakers mainly deliver monologues, the *Anthropologia* tries to feign a lifelike dialogue by letting them react every now and then on each other's argumentation.¹² Each character discusses his own topic: the first defends the dignity of the male, the second the excellence of women, while the latter disproves all points made in the previous orations. In fact, mister Curtio emphasizes the misery of human existence and the vanity of studying humankind, albeit in a rather temperate and not very convincing manner. Many of the names mentioned and themes discussed can also be encountered in Hundt's scholarly treatise, in which, not unexpectedly, they receive more extensive and in-depth attention.

The first part revolves around the male, but the text touches upon many features of human creatures in general. Musicola starts out by giving a description of God's complete creation, which according to the speaker culminates in humankind. The familiar axiom 'know thyself- here in Italian *Conosci te medesimo, fosse il primo precetto dell'humana vita*' (know yourself is the first rule for human life) appears at the outset, and possessing *ratio* is declared crucial for accomplishing this (f. 4r). The emphasis on individual human agency is remarkable, here taken together as *stimuli* (f. 6v): they are consequently discerned as *utilità* (usefulness), *piacere* (pleasure) and *honore* (honour), which are held to be governed by reason, counsel and ingenuity, respectively. In this context, we also encounter the various domains of human activity, which are discussed in long lists and explained on the basis of detailed examples from mythology, the Bible, history, or literature. Usefulness is connected to agriculture, clothing, architecture and seamanship, but also to the pursuit of wealth, health, strength and proficiency (f. 6–8). To pleasure belong hunting, sport, making music, painting and sculpture, singing and the very special carnal pleasure of sex (f. 11–12). Honour is seen as the domain of the soul in particular, as it should be immortal and aspire to eternal fame and glory; though, honour is a quality that can be attained not just through literature, but also with the help of weapons.

In this sense, it is regarded as the outcome of bodily strength, too. The author brings to mind that the Trojan hero Hector won battles thanks to his physical abilities, and even to his proficiency in ball games (f. 12r, 14r).

Each topic aims at proving the merit of males, for which the author uses many examples that combine physical and mental abilities. Some include ethnological observations about the clothing habits of the Scots (f. 8v), or are set in the field of ethics, for example when referring to Aristotle's ideas on happiness (f. 10v, 23v). This condition is not merely understood as the result of the quality of a person's mind in combination with virtues, but also as the effect of fortune (10v). Health is embraced as essential for well-being, all the more since human capacities are not enough to make up for not being in good physical shape and are often powerless in the face of illness (f. 11v). Therefore, it is a relief that God had invented medicine to heal the sick.

The overall conclusion is that men are better, that is, more complete creatures than women, and not in the least because the Latin words *vir* (man) and *virtus* (virtue) are interconnected (f. 26r). This etymological interpretation dates back to Isidore of Seville's early medieval encyclopaedia of universal knowledge (*Etymologiae* XI, ii, 17–19). Musicola concedes that women are crucial for generation, but adds rather nastily that, due to this task, they are nearer to animals than males (f. 26v). Sometimes Capra mentions his sources, but he mostly limits himself to name dropping, or utters no word about the origins of his information. Apart from being indebted to Bembo's *Asolani*, which the author acknowledges in the introduction, the *Anthropologia* also recalls Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*. It stresses that men should be able to sing, know about artists and their works (16r, 22v), as well as appreciate good food (f. 13r, 16v). Fame acquired in war was important, but in the end, the right way of reading and writing is judged to be more essential (f. 21).

The second part of the *Anthropologia* concerns a speech on women delivered by doctor Segazzone and is inspired on the genre of the virtue treatise. The group of the four main Platonic virtues – prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance – later on joined by magnanimity, wisdom and love (f. 29–31, 35) –, act as point of departure. The orator brings forward traditional examples from catalogues of famous women, which highlight characteristic female virtues such as chastity. However, the resulting passages seem to be quite ironic at times due to several exaggerations. For instance, the observation that women are superior to men because during sex their position allows them to look up to heaven is a case in point (f. 46r). The same goes for declaring Adam stupid and naive because he ate the apple, thus forcing Jesus to become human to amend the original sin (f. 48). Nevertheless, the overall drift is that women can indeed perform virtuous deeds, as testified by a long list of examples, which include the biblical Judith alongside many others from Antiquity.

All in all, women are judged wisely in a not purely rational, but in a rather more general sense (f. 38–39). Hence, their wisdom cannot be earned *pur sang*, although some literate women are deemed worthy of mention in this respect. For females, the author prefers the virtue of prudence, which, he states, cannot be acquired by studying law in Bologna (f. 38v). By and large, he appreciates the better judgment of females and says that, for that reason, they are chosen to raise children. The life story of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, figures as a best practice case (f. 37v). She supported the political career of her sons and studied Latin and Greek, but for the Romans she was worshipped because of her virtues and received a statue for her impeccable behaviour. Doctor Segazzone hails

physical beauty as the special preserve of women because they are smaller, better proportioned, and have more delicate flesh, whereas men often sport bad skin and are commonly ugly (f. 39–42, 45v). In general, physical qualities are interpreted physiognomically, pointing out a lack of deftness and dexterity in the case of males. In this light, the penchant for physiognomy is another resemblance to Hundt's text. Despite all this praise, the author warns that beautiful women only cause trouble and warns their fathers and husbands to keep them at home (f. 36r).

The third part of the *Anthropologia* concentrates on the qualities and characteristics of the human species as a whole – the author now consequently uses the indication 'Huomo'. At the beginning of his address, the third orator, Messer Lancino, deals with the traditional aspects in which humans differ from (and are superior to) animals: ratio and speech, but also their physical and sexual dissimilarities (f. 53). Alas, he sighs, the human overuses his outstanding capacities, leading to failure and quarrelling. The preachers screaming on the Italian streets serve as one example of this, although, he observes, they rightly point to human misery (f. 52v, 65v). Here, the arguments Hundt had used to demonstrate the superiority of men are sometimes turned around and now and then taken to the absurd. For example, the Leipzig professor judged animals ugly because of their pelts, whereas here they are favoured as their furry covering protects them from the cold and bad weather. Lancino concludes that human clothing is not bad as such, although garments often constitute a negative burden: people tend to own far too many items, which, o horror, they even sprinkle with perfume (f. 67r).

The overall tenet in the third part is balance. While many people live a good life, some tend to overdo things out of vanity. In those cases, the result is misery, although here the traditional despair of the medieval treatises has developed into something rather practical, not to say prosaic (f. 70–74). Knowledge, it is argued, brings humans much (lists of agricultural products and the commodities of merchant navy are featured) – but it also paves the way to misuse and laziness. The last part of the third speech is dedicated to the quest for the right attitude towards life, a topic that is discussed rather cursory from the laughing Greek philosopher Democritus onwards. None of the philosophers, Lancino claims, has managed to find the answers to vital questions, and humankind keeps muddling on. He deems old age the best period of life since then death is near, even claiming that the Delphi oracle had prophesied its visitors that death was the best feature of life (f. 74r). In the very last scene, the *Anthropologia* is quickly wrapped up because night is falling in the house of Iphigenia. The hostess expresses approval with Segazzone's ideas on the excellence of women, whereas the others pay lip service to Lancino's pessimism towards reaching human well-being (f. 74v).

It is not really possible to compare Capra's graceful lines, obviously meant to amuse and provoke a public of male courtiers, to the elegant yet serious and learned praises of human dignity by Italian humanists, or to the extensive scholarly treatment of human excellence by Hundt. Hopefully, the exploration above has made clear that Capra deploys the same arguments and inspects the special qualities of human existence like the others. His main stances echo in two later vernacular dialogues from the end of the sixteenth century. Giuseppe Ligeti's (d. 1599) *De la nobiltà de principali membri dell'huomo* and his *Il Ceva, overo dell'eccellenza et uso de' genitali* both revolve around the subject matter of human uniqueness (Muratori 2017). They use the same examples such as the alleged excellence of women and the nature of humankind.¹³ The first and most important treatise stages a

contest about the nobility of the main bodily organs, and features the principle human members fighting each other for supremacy. In fact, the dialogue refers to the ongoing conflict between Galenism and Aristotelianism about the seat of rationality in the body. In a manner similar to the undecided battle in Capra's *Anthropologia*, it remains unclear which organ really wins. The author promotes both an official and an alternative solution alongside one another. As was the case with Hundt and Capra, the content is situated at the intersection of medical expertise and philosophical speculation. *La nobiltà* recalibrates the conflict of medicine and philosophy in order to convince the reader that anatomical and natural philosophical expertise may both prompt innovative interpretations of human nobility, of the human body, but also of the human being as a whole.

Conclusion – Trinkaus revisited

It is well known that various catastrophes permeated through the fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries: from bad weather, crop failure, the witch-hunts, and the epidemics of plague and syphilis to the Reformation and the consequent wars of religion. The conviction has grown that optimism was not a prominent characteristic of the start of the Early Modern Era. However, upon a closer look, this view fails to give a comprehensive depiction of the period. In fact, it was particularly then that trust and faith in human capacities reached their peak. God's highest creature was considered capable of taking his own fate in hand, by building on his talents. No other historian has studied this notion more systematically than Charles Trinkaus (Trinkaus 1940, 1982, 1995). And the anthropologies of Hundt and Capra discussed above confirm his position: they present an optimistic view of the human as a capable and dignified being, and in like manner, they advocate the belief that the exploit of his mental and physical talents allows him to take pleasure in, and benefit from, his earthly presence. Even if Hundt and Capra acknowledge the incompleteness of human life, they nonetheless tend to commend humankind's talents and capacities. According to both authors, self-knowledge and active valorization lead the way in improving human existence. Thomas Leinkauf (2015) is therefore right, in his characterization of early anthropological endeavours, to single out the attitude of self-agency and self-realization. Hundt's and Capra's central tenet holds that a well-lived and dignified human existence was within the bounds of possibility, meaning that both authors took decisive steps in the development of historical reasoning on human(e)ness and its components.

This claim should not occlude that the main reason to study and compare Hundt's and Capra's writings is that they are the first users of the term anthropology, and had good reasons for doing that. Since they wrote in a different language, had different geographical and intellectual backgrounds, worked 30 years apart and had different types of readers in mind, one may argue that it makes no sense to discuss their quests for humanity in tandem. Yet, their shared use of the term in the title of their works and the subsequent outline of the basic components of an anthropological scope does allow a joint treatment. Both aimed to sketch the human condition and its possibilities. Such condition, which is directly linked to human dignity rests upon three pillars: physical health, excellent rational capacities and impeccable morals.

The innumerable scholarly quotations from ancient, medieval and Renaissance philosophers and medical doctors in the 250-folio work by Magnus Hundt were intended for

university-trained lawyers, medical doctors and German princes, who were expected to demonstrate how the citizens of their towns and states could exploit their talents and achieve a good life. It is worth noting that both well-being and welfare were considered to lie within reach of the educated, and it was the duty of political and cultural leaders to enable their citizens to act with this aim in mind. Hundt's anthropological view of the human strays from the traditional body–soul-complete human being division in Italian Renaissance treatises on human dignity. Instead he opts for the sequence: integral human being, body, spirits and finally soul, suggesting that a holistic definition of the human is a prerequisite for an optimistic view on his capability. In addition, Hundt's selection of sources and his scholastic reasoning reveal that Renaissance trust in human abilities has older, that is, medieval and thoroughly Christian roots. In particular, the extensive use of the Bible as well as of ancient and medieval medical works makes evident that the period often scorned as the Dark Ages conveyed a rather uplifting and empowering conception of the human. In his positive interpretation of the human's creation in the image of God, which resumes the patristic exegetic tradition, Hundt found many medieval precursors (Middleton 2005). Yet, his elaborate incorporation of the whole body of medical learning – available at Northern European universities – was innovative and turns him into a transitional figure, an observation that fundamentally challenges overly strict periodizations as well as longstanding epistemological ruptures between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Magnus Hundt was not only the very first to use the term anthropology in the title of his work, but he also predated other scholars, who in the wake of a renewed study of Aristotle, marked the onset of the anthropological discipline – combining theology, medicine and natural philosophy – and pointed at the human's physical, psychological and moral characteristics. In that respect, it is significant to direct our attention to the two genres that conflate in the *Antropologium*. Next to being intended as a princely mirror, the work is a very learned equivalent of the late medieval *regimen*, containing sets of rules for happy and healthy living. Around 1500, such self-help books had become highly popular and, especially in their printed form they were often intended for general use (Nicoud 2007).

In his comprehensive study Simone De Angelis (2010) has thoroughly shown that in the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries quite different endeavours converged to mark the onset of a 'science of man': Bible studies, philosophical dignity literature, the study of Aristotle's natural philosophy, but also anatomical, physiological and psychological investigations. In that respect, it is peculiar that it took almost another century after the publication of Hundt's *Antropologium* for an author to employ the term again in the title of a study. In 1594, Otto Casmann published in Frankfurt his *Psychologia anthropologica sive animae humanae doctrina*, whose argumentation ties in with Hundt's, albeit being far more dualistic in its reasoning (Casmann 1594). This finding is buttressed by the fact that two years later Casmann judged it necessary to publish a complementary part, which was tellingly entitled *Anthropologiae pars II. h. e. de fabrica humani corporis methodice descripta* (Casmann 1596). This second volume provided the crucial, but hitherto missing physical arguments in the assessment of the human and his characteristics (Leinkauf 2005, 123–133 and 156–157; De Angelis 2010, 198–203; Vermeulen 2015, 361). After another 50 years, the Königsberg Lutheran theologian Andreas Otto might also have been inspired by Hundt in writing his *Anthroposopia seu Iudicium hominis de homine ex lineamentis externis a capite usque a calcem proximum*, applying

the same medieval medical head-to-toe approach (Otto 1647). Nonetheless, this work shows a shift in emphasis. Whereas Casmann concocted an anthropological treatise in the sense of a descriptive science of man, Otto merely concentrated on physiognomy and chiromancy. The two works, however, demonstrate that the reception of Hundt's difficult to understand sources and soon outdated encyclopaedia of humanity had been very limited. Remarkably, both followers, who engaged in the use of anthropology in the title of their works lived, just like Hundt, in the North-eastern parts of Germany.

Despite his playful and sometimes even sarcastic ambivalence, Galeazzo Capra can be also hailed as an optimist. He presents the array of potential attitudes to life and parlays the possibilities for fulfilment they offer to both men and women. It is clear that his anthropology is mainly meant to provide entertainment in courtly circles. The readers of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* and other fictional dialogues on societal and scholarly topics – including the ways to relate to these in terms of morals and way of life – can be expected to have recognized Capra's ultimate goal. The genre, as deployed by Castiglione and Capra, goes back to the Roman authors Cicero and the rhetorician and satirist Lucian of Samosata, the latter having written exclusively in Greek (Cox 1992, 9–21). Despite the fact that Capra only reveals his sources very broadly, it can be garnered that he was familiar with coeval philosophical explorations on human nature as well as with the established literary genre by Boccaccio and Petrarch concerning the merits and demerits of certain ways of life. The content of the dialogues is inspired by the many catalogues of illustrious men and women of the late Middle Ages. The author compares the qualities of men and women and consequently recommends modesty, temperance and the golden mean.

Although authored in Northern Italy, the work is part of the *Quérelle des Femmes* – the women's question, in which the male scholars pled either the inferiority of women to men or their nobility. In this respect, it is telling that Jean Bouchet, the third initial user of the term anthropology, also wrote on the excellence of women (Swift 2008, 21–96). The same sarcastic vein in his writing on the nature of various species emerges in Richard Harvey's *Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes and the Brutans History* (1593). This satirical apology might be dubbed a specimen of early anthropological interest. In fact, the book gives the first known use of the word 'anthropology' in English: 'Genealogy or issue which they had, Artes which they studied, Actes which they did. This part of History is named Anthropology.'¹⁴

The present contribution aims at answering the call by Patrick Fazioli, who recently insisted on reading anthropology in the sense of humane on a global scale and on the necessity to include the views of premodern periods such as the Middle Ages, which have been absent from the history of anthropology (Fazioli 2014 and 2017). Indeed, studying the how, why and what of a dignified and well-lived life demands the development of a global, intercultural anthropology that is historically, philosophically and scientifically informed. By aiming to demonstrate that human and humane are intertwined, Hundt and Capra lead us in the right direction. Especially Hundt's many medieval sources demonstrate that Fazioli was right in incorporating the Middle Ages in his search for authentic anthropological enquiry, in terms of conceptualizing humanness. This should not prevent us from distinguishing between the history of anthropology, in the sense of the anthropological discipline, and the anthropological scope, that is, the what, how and why of humankind and its destination (Ingold 2017). Both Simone De Angelis and Han Vermeulen outlined the roots of present-day anthropology. This contribution hopes

to have shown that the roots of the 'science of man' were more encompassing and older than these authors set forth.

Several modern writers have used the term anthropology following the ideals and aims of late medieval and early modern authors, who themselves were not familiar with the term. On the basis of his study of fifteenth century 'human dignity' treatises, Charles Trinkaus foregrounded themes for a 'Renaissance anthropology', as such showcasing 'the condition of man', 'agency to improve his existence' and 'divine potential' (Trinkaus 1982). Caroline Stark as well as Andreas Höfele and Stephan Laqué elaborated upon Trinkaus' use of anthropology. In particular, the former points to the influence that the rediscovery of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* and Manilius's *Astronomica* had on the fifteenth-century 'debate over man'. In this sense, Hundt's and Capra's views on humankind seem to concur with Stark's highlighting of the praises given to the human's ability of overcoming obstacles and perfecting his humanness, as the condition or quality of being human. This especially goes for the use of the ratio and the pivotal role of knowledge and creativity, which authors like Giovanni Pontano and Lorenzo Bonincontri judged essential for human progress (Stark 2012). Whilst Stark as a classicist remains within the paradigm of Renaissance scholarship on 'dignity of man' treatises, Höfele and Laqué (2011) are more ambitious. They coin Hundt and Capra precursors of German 'philosophical anthropology' for their concern with the universals of human existence. The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century investigation of the human is taken as an answer to the changing world of the period: new knowledge, new continents and new religions. Therefore, never had humanity been more in need of description and definition. This crisis indeed compelled not only Hundt and Capra, but also reformers like Martin Luther to draw up their interpretation of the human and his features.¹⁵

Notwithstanding their historical anthropological orientation, the gist of Höfele and Laqué's pleading is that twenty-first century humankind is again in transition, implying that the exploration of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pictures of humankind (or human-kinds) can inform us on possible scenarios. The objective of their 'humankinds project' is to learn from a broad realm of historical anthropological investigations and apply them to current endeavours for improving the lives of human beings and giving them access to a dignified life. To such purpose it is crucial to define anthropology comprehensively, approaching it as a discourse rooted in many genres, social practices and in a wide array of academic disciplines, that is, the sciences, economics, law, and, of course, the humanities. They contend that:

all of these disciplines are involved in the regulation of the discourse of man: what is humanly possible and permissible in the sciences, what is ethically proper in law and in politics, what is plausible and thinkable when considering the nature of humankind in the humanities, in philosophical reasoning and artistic representation. (Höfele and Laqué, 7–10)¹⁶

Indeed, Hundt and Capra would have endorsed this viewpoint.

Due to technological advancements, our understanding of the human body and mind are undergoing transformation: tellingly, the present period has been coined the Anthropocene (Monastersky 2015). Analysing historical conceptualizations of humankind and their connected practices may indeed offer essential input for ongoing debates. The disciplines of history and anthropology, especially when combined, can inform us about the lived and experienced body and soul in the past, as well as help us examine the variable

conditions of a respectable human life and how these were appreciated over the years. Analysis of both *Antropologium* and *Anthropologia* may therefore rebalance, and contribute to several recent studies on human dignity and its topicality (for instance, Lebech 2009; Düwell 2014a; Kateb 2014). Moreover, the coalescence of varied sources from Antiquity and the Middle Ages in these first specimens of anthropology ignites a fruitful diachronical perspective, while the incorporation of physical and psychological aspects furthers a more welcome, integral view of humanity.

Marcus Düwell's thought-provoking and encompassing *Cambridge Handbook of Human Dignity* in particular seeks to create a common understanding of human dignity by linking it to the inception of the human rights regime, thus making the notion current, although perhaps a bit too modern (Düwell 2014a, 2014c).¹⁷ However, in view of the present article on the historical quest for humanity, the development and codification of sets of human rights in connection to concepts of human dignity is worthy of some last consideration at the far end of its tail. The concept of human dignity became pivotal in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, whose article 1 reads 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.' Not surprisingly, most scholars start their survey of human rights at the end of the eighteenth century with the American and French revolutions (Cfr. Bourke 2011). In a like manner, Düwell's noble aim was to chart the modern and topical commitment to human rights and relate its central notion – human dignity – to earlier understandings of the concept. The result is an impressive survey, which shows how many different intellectual traditions merge into it.

However, in discussing older periods, this intellectual history of human dignity rather turns a blind eye on the integral anthropological explorations of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era, despite giving plenty of thought to present-day developments in the field of biology, medicine and bioethics. Since the works of Hundt and Capra exemplify that being human and acting humane are inextricably bound up, and entails physical, psychological as well as moral aspects, they would not have been out of place in the *Handbook of Human Dignity*. Of course, the compilers of this huge enterprise are excused to have missed so difficult to fathom obscure writings. This does not hinder that early anthropology, both as a discipline and as a history of genuine and broad anthropological interest, can inform us on 'What it means to be human.' To explore and foster interpretations of human dignity opens a window of opportunity for the anthropological discipline. Hundt and Capra are good models for such an innovative type of engaged practicing.

Notes

1. This is the common ground for all definitions. The entire Oxford Reference was consulted. The distinction Tim Ingold (2017, 21) makes between *ethnography* (a study aiming to describe life as it is lived and experienced by people, somewhere, sometime) and *anthropology* (an inquiry into the conditions and possibilities of human life in the world) is revealing.
2. Andrea Carlino discussed this tendency in anatomical illustrations.
3. This is the argument of Fazioli (2014), although he predominantly refers to anthropology in the sense of ethnology. There is a vast literature that points to medieval interest in humankind and its operations, which cannot be discussed here. These authors do underscore Fazioli's and my own point that during the Middle Ages a multifarious search for 'how to be human' existed. For examples of this literature: Trinkaus (1982); Anzulewicz (1998); Bryson (2009); Stark (2012). This is also the point Tim Ingold (2017) makes.

4. In the USA, Britain, and the European continent (esp. France and Germany) other categorizations are used. See the various lemmata in Oxford Reference. Anglo-Saxon orientation: Barth (2007); Kuklick (2008); Mills (2008). For Germany, Jakob Tanner (2006) and Wulf (2013). Eriksen and Nielsen (2013) cover Europe and the USA.
5. Survey terminology: Bauer (1984 and 2012/2013). Isidore (2006, 231: 4).

Human beings (homo) are so named because they were made from the soil (humus), just as is [also] said in Genesis (cf. 2:7): 'And God created man of the soil of the earth'. Incorrectly, the whole human is named from this term, that is, the whole human consisting of both substances, the association of soul and body. But strictly speaking, 'human being' comes from 'soil.' 5. The Greeks called the human being Anthropos because he has been raised upright from the soil and looks upward in contemplation of his Creator (perhaps cf. h4, 'eye, face, countenance').

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. 1.84:

While the rest of the stooping animals look at the ground, he gave the human an uplifted countenance, and ordered him to see the sky, and to raise his upturned face to the stars. And the human stands erect and looks toward heaven so as to seek God, rather than look at the earth, as do the beasts that nature has made bent-over and attentive to their bellies.

6. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* I, q. 93, Art. 4. On this Imbach (2014, 64–66).
7. 'Antropologium de hominis dignitate, natura et proprietatibus, de elementis, partibus et membris humani corporis. De iuvementis, nocumentis, accidentibus, vitiis, remediis et physionomia ipsorum. De excrementis et exeuntibus. De spiritu humano eiusque natura partibus et operibus. De anima humana et ipsius appendicitis.'
8. Israeli's book might have been a source of inspiration for Hundt. It is a collection of 57 definitions, mostly paraphrases and quotes, and was widely read by Christian scholars such as Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus. Edition with introduction: Isaac and Muckle (1938).
9. The *Problemata* enjoyed great popularity during the Renaissance, see Blair (2003).
10. 'Homo sit vivacissimus itaque cunctis animalibus diutius vivit praeter elephantem ratione seu prudentie et perfecti regiminis.'
11. 'Homo autem, quod rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum videt earumque praegressus et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines comparat rebus que praesentibus adiungit atque annectit futuras, facile totius vitae cursum videt ad eamque degendam praeparat res necessarias.'
12. This concurs with what Cox (1992, 6) observes:

For all its dialectical structure, there is, then, a tendency towards closure and 'monologue' in the humanist dialogue. There is even evidence that some writers conceived of the dialogue as having a principally expository function, dismissing its more grandiose claim to be a means of discovering new truths.

13. Ligeti might have used Capra's dialogue on female excellence and not the book on the same topic by Heinrich Agrippa as is suggested by Muratori (2017, 8).
14. *Oxford English Dictionary*, consulted 10 February 2018: <http://www.oed.com.proxy-ub.rug.nl/view/Entry/8436?redirectedFrom=anthropology#eid>
15. In 1535, Martin Luther lectured on the Bible book Genesis at the University of Wittenberg. To catch the attention of his students and acquaint them with the subject matter of their course, the professor chose to hold a thought provoking disputation on the philosophical and theological definition of man, see Ebeling (1977).
16. Cfr. the argument of Tim Ingold (2017, 22), who asks for a 'generous, open-ended, comparative, and yet critical inquiry into the conditions and possibilities of human life in the one world we all inhabit'.
17. Düwell explicitly limits human dignity to its moral and political dimensions and therefore holds anthropological, and what he (in the context of Pico della Mirandola) deems 'cosmological speculation' aloof, since they do not specifically justify that the human being has rights. Düwell (2014b, 26–27).

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