



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Aesthesis in anatomy. Materiality and elegance in the Eighteenth-Century Leiden Anatomical Collections

Hendriksen, M.M.A.

Citation

Hendriksen, M. M. A. (2012, December 18). *Aesthesis in anatomy. Materiality and elegance in the Eighteenth-Century Leiden Anatomical Collections*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20301>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20301>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20301> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Hendriksen, Marieke Maria Anna

Title: Aesthesis in anatomy. Materiality and elegance in the Eighteenth-Century Leiden Anatomical Collections

Issue Date: 2012-12-18

Making a preparation¹

Ever since the start of my research on the Leiden historical anatomical collections in 2008, I had been wondering about the experience of making a preparation. Given the often miniscule details of the preparations, it seemed difficult to me, and that hunch was confirmed by historical anatomical handbooks, as we have seen for example in chapter 2. Yet these confirmations from historical sources were not entirely satisfying. I kept wondering what it would be like to attend or to perform a dissection, and even more, how it would be to make a preparation. After all, anatomical handbooks like Pole's 1790 *Anatomical Instructor* do provide some instructions and guidelines, but also stress the impossibility of learning such tacit somatic skills from a book.² Obviously, I am not the only historian longing for a more hands-on experience of her topic. As the historian Karin Dannehl has pointed out recently, 'living history', in the form of re-enactments, hands-on experience, and handling sessions can be helpful tools in understanding historical objects and practices. When dealing with material culture, she suggests, many gains may be had from using sensual knowledge.³ Dannehl does not specify what those 'many gains' might be, but I imagined understanding, and possibly even making explicit tacit knowledge would be possibilities.

In the summer and autumn of 2010, Hieke Huistra (working on another PhD project regarding the Leiden historical anatomical collections) and I already had the opportunity to satisfy some of our curiosity about the sensory experience of anatomy practice. We were allowed to attend some classes in the anatomical laboratory at the Leiden University Medical Center. Although I was impressed with the respectful way professors and students dealt with the dead bodies, and with the difficulty of discerning structures and organs in a real body, I also realized that our experience

¹ With special thanks to Tiemen Cocquyt.

² Pole 1790, p. xiv, xxiv-xxv.

³ Dannehl 2009, p. 130-2.

was a far cry from an eighteenth-century dissection room. Here was a gleaming, brightly-lit room, students moving around freely in white coats, wearing plastic gloves, learning anatomy from the preserved bodies of deceased people who voluntarily donated their bodies for this purpose. Textbooks and computers were at hand to look up what was seen during dissection. As the bodies were well preserved, they could be used for various classes, and the only smell was a faint chemical stench. The contrast with eighteenth-century dissections, of the unpreserved bodies of convicted criminals and paupers, done either in a cramped and stuffed anatomical theatre or in equally stuffy and undoubtedly smelly private rooms, could not have been greater.

Obviously I did not really mind the fact that the circumstances of the eighteenth-century dissection room could not be reproduced – the moral and hygienic objections would simply be too big. But the curiosity about the hands-on experience of making a preparation remained. Then, in the summer of 2011, I attended a lecture by Pamela Smith in Amsterdam, in which she recounted her experiences of trying to create casts of animals and insects based on instructions by a sixteenth-century craftsman, the metal caster Jamnitzer. She argued that although exploring historical objects through reconstructing them may seem overly emphatic, it may work as you have an external object to compare your reconstruction to. It is hard to capture the experience of reconstruction in writing, but it can be an efficient way of gaining knowledge of techniques and insights into historical accounts. Smith stressed that after trying to do something yourself, reading a historical book or manuscript on that technique is no longer a linear experience; it becomes more holistic.⁴ Inspired by Smith's lecture and the article she wrote about her experiences together with Tonny Beentjes, I knew I had to try to make an anatomical preparation myself, based on eighteenth-century instructions.⁵

It was clear straight away that this experiment would be nowhere near as thorough as the one done by Smith. The first problem was: how was I ever going to do it, with only a year left to finish my PhD? I am a historian with no background in medicine or chemistry, I have no easy access to medical equipment like scalpels and syringes, and not a clue about how to obtain the ingredients – bees wax, colourants,

⁴ Smith 2011.

⁵ Smith & Beentjes 2010.

glue made of skins- for the injection mass. I had hardly any time to work on this project, and very limited financial resources. Luckily, I found myself surrounded by people equally taken by the idea of trying to reproduce the techniques and experience of making an anatomical preparation: most importantly my research group, Hieke Huistra and Rina Knoeff, and three invaluable professionals: Tiemen Cocquyt, curator at the Leiden Museum Boerhaave, Jan-Willem Pette, curator of the medical collections at Utrecht University Museum, and Andries van Dam, curator of the Leiden University Anatomical Museum. We were joined by a bunch of other enthusiasts, mainly colleagues from our department and Museum Boerhaave employees. Andries lent us some heavy glass and metal syringes, Tiemen arranged for a room to work in and supplied us with the injection masses, small metal pipes and corks, Jan-Willem brought a bain-marie, Hieke took photographs, I send everyone extracts from Pole's book and went to the butcher's for sheep organs, and everyone present threw in their knowledge of anatomy and the materials we were using.⁶ That was the first lesson: you can only make an anatomical preparation if you have access to a network of objects, information, people, and their knowledge and contacts.

Although it is impossible to exactly reconstruct the slightly chaotic process of an attempt to recreate an eighteenth-century anatomical preparation in writing, I will try to give a textual account illustrated with photographs of it here.

First session: 13 January 2012

After some emailing and phoning, we got together in one of the conservation workshops of Museum Boerhaave on a rainy Friday afternoon in January 2012. Tiemen had already done research on how to interpret the historical recipes, and spent a couple of hours mixing two kinds of injection fluids, a coarse and a fine one, using Pole's recipe:

“Injections

⁶ The use of animal organs as stand-ins for human organs was not unusual until the late eighteenth-century rise of comparative anatomy. Most commonly pig and dog organs were used because of their anatomical likeness to humans (also see chapter 4), but as a dead dog is obviously not easily found in 2012 and the only Dutch butcher who has organs in store at all times is the Islamic butcher –who obviously does not sell pig- we chose to use sheep organs, as these are also fairly similar to human organs.

Article III

Formulae for Coarse Injections.

RED.

YELLOW bees wax, sixteen ounces;

White resin, eight ounces;

Turpentine varnish, six ounces;

Vermillion, three ounces.

DARK BLUE.

White bees wax, sixteen ounces;

White resin, eight ounces:

Turpentine varnish, six ounces;

Blue verditer, ten ounces and a half.

ARTICLE V.

Formulae for Minute Injections.

The Size which constitutes the principal part of these formulae is made in the following manner.

Take the finest and most transparent glue, one pound, break it into pieces about the size of a nutmeg; put into an earthen pot, and pour on it three pints of cold water, let it stand twenty-four hours; stirring it now and then with a stick; then set it over a slow fire for half an hour, or until all the pieces are perfectly dissolved; skim all the frothy part from the surface, and strain it through a fine canvas cloth, or, what is better, a flannel; it will then be fit for the addition of the colouring ingredients.

RED.

Size, one pint;

Vermillion, three ounce and a half.”⁷

About the interpretation of recipes, Tiemen wrote the following:

“The recipes require some interpretation - here historical background helps, as it is not always entirely clear which products are meant, or why certain ingredients are preferred over others. For a start, the materials can be divided into three groups: there is an uncoloured basis for the fine injections (‘size’), a basis for coarse injections (wax mixture), and there are pigments that add colour to these two. As Pole also notes, these bases can be prepared in advance and stored, with the desired colouring pigment only to be added before use.

Preparing the size for fine injections was rather straightforward. The only plausible candidate for an 18th-century ‘glue’ was animal (gelatin) glue - in one of its variants, originating from either skins, bones or other tissue. Given the stress on “fine and transparent” glue, one jar (1/2 kg) of finely granuled hide glue was bought (Swaak Utrecht, €8.50). The amount of water needed for turning this into ‘size’ could be read in the recipe. Hide glue is commonly used in conservation practice and some familiarity with this product helped in obtaining a sufficiently fine consistency [viscosity], but this was not of decisive importance. The glue granules were left to soak for a day. Once this mixture had become a more or less solid ‘jelly’, it was divided into parts of the correct mass. After briefly reheating and stirring, the size was ready for pigments to be added.

⁷ Pole 1790, p. 16, 22-23.

The recipe for the coarse injection mass required more interpretation, in particular the denomination 'resin'. A survey of some 19th-century varnish recipes brought to light that several sorts of resin were used in wax mixtures, so this did not clear up a lot. After reading the recipes, a professional varnish conservator, Sam Scheldeman, considered that colophonium - the resin of pine trees - was the most likely candidate for a substance called 'resin' in this period and application. [Later in the 19th century colophonium was substituted by more stable and soluble resins.] So it appeared that both the solid (resin) and the fluid (turpentine) parts of pine tree secretion were combined again in this recipe. More significant, however, was why this was done. Upon inquiry it turned out that a resin addition can be used to raise the melting point of bees wax, while adding turpentine lowers it. For an injection mass, a higher melting point [than the C. 60 degrees for pure bees wax] makes the solidified solution less vulnerable, but too high a melting point makes it impossible to inject. Adjusting the resin/turpentine ratio allows for a convenient regulation of the injection mass' consistence. (Bees wax, highest quality, was bought at Drogisterij Bik, Leiden, at about €18 for 500 g. Turpentine was about €3 for 100 ml. Three bags of 100g Colophonium cost €13.50 in total, at Verfmolen de Kat.) In practice, however, adding the colophonium to the bees wax proved not so easy. Even with continuous stirring, and at a temperature where the bees wax nearly started to boil, the colophonium dissolved very slowly. It was probably for this reason that other, more soluble, resins were being resorted to in later 19th-century injection recipes. After stirring for a sufficiently long time, we did nonetheless manage to prepare a homogeneous wax mixture for coarse injections.

The choice of pigments was revealing as well. On this occasion, we decided to work with red and blue injection masses. For red colourations Pole prescribes vermilion, while for blue he suggests to use 'fine blue smalt' as a pigment. But unfortunately for us, these turned out to be among the most expensive pigments currently on the market. Red and, particularly, blue - colours that only seldomly occur in nature - have a long history of difficult attainability. Only during the 19th century was the economy of pigments transformed by novel, chemical, production techniques - but Pole's recipes clearly date for before this time, and one wonders how this would have had its repercussions on preparation practice. Vermilion was available from Verfmolen de Kat (Zaandam) for €41.80 for 25 g - we needed close to 100 g. Comparison with other (historic) red pigments confirmed that vermilion

was among the 'purest' –deepest- reds available at that time. In the later 19th century, vermillion was partly substituted by (synthetically produced) cadmium red – but as this is even more poisonous, we were happy to use 'imitation vermillion', a more modern 'azo'-pigment (stable, safe) at a competitive price of €5.75 for 100 g (Verfmolen de Kat). Intriguingly, for blue colourations Pole had already anticipated the difficulty of finding a pure substance (Lapis Lazuli - €201 for 10 g at Kremer Pigmente), by prescribing smalt instead. Smalt is a blue pigment created from grinding cobalt-tinted blue glass into small granules. It was developed in the Early Modern period as an economic alternative for more expensive blue pigments, but has the disadvantage of remaining a rather 'macroscopic' product (bad solubility). During the 19th century a better alternative was found once ultramarine, a synthetic form of lapis lazuli, could be produced. For us, however, this meant that ultramarine can nowadays still be found easily at €5.00 for 100 g, while 'historic' smalt has to be bought at a specialized pigment dealer. In order to reduce costs, and to test their interchangeability, a bag of ultramarine (100 g, Kremer Pigmente) and a small jar of smalt (fine grind, 50 g, about € 35 at Kremer Pigmente) were procured.

After adding the pigments to the size and wax bases, the injection masses were ready. Some difficulties were foreseen in adding the correct amount of the alternative pigments (imitation vermillion instead of true vermillion, ultramarine in addition to smalt), but this was not so problematic. An advantage of pigments is that they have a clearly defined colour tone, the solution therefore does not get darker once the medium is 'saturated' with pigment. It turned out that adding the right quantity of pigment rather was a matter of feeling than exact science.

Finally, comparing the injection mass (size) to which smalt was added, to that with an ultramarine colouration, brought to light that the differences in colour tone were somehow visible, but very subtle. If the injection masses are to be seen through the tissue of a preparation, these subtleties would disappear. On the other hand, after a few hours the injection mass with smalt showed to be less 'stable', as the (heavier) smalt particles had started to sink to the bottom before the size had completely solidified. There was a blue residue on the bottom of the jar. The ultramarine solution remained homogeneous during cooling-off, eliminating the need to stir too often. To summarize, one could note that the selection criteria for

pigments have more to do with solubility, stability and economy than with absolute colour tone. Working with historic pigments is helpful for grasping the difficulties encountered in preparation practice, and would be required for the conservation of historical specimens – but for a preparation workshop, more economic modern pigments can easily be resorted to.”⁸

Thanks to Tiemen’s thorough preparations, all we had to do was start to try injecting our specimens. I had brought three sheep hearts [Ill. 62] and some anatomical illustrations, and we decided to try Pole’s recipe for injecting a heart first:

“Press out as much blood as possible from the vessels; put a pipe into one of the pulmonary veins, and another into the vena cava superior. Having injected warm water by these tubes, to clear the heart of the masses of coagulated blood which are generally found in it after death, tie the lungs at their roots, the vena cava inferior, and all the divided arteries, except the aorta, into which a pipe must be put. Throw red injection into the pulmonary vein, which will fill the left auricle, left ventricle, aorta and coronary vessels; but during this part of the injection, an assistant ought to hold and compress the aorta immediately after its giving of the coronary arteries, so as to press the injection on in them; but as by this the injection will be prevented from entering the aorta, it must be filled from the pipe which was inserted into it. The injection escaping by the intercostal arteries, may be stopped by the assistant throwing cold water onto the injection as it flows from the vessels.”⁹

As these hearts were obviously already separated, we started by pouring warm water in them, hoping that we would wash out as much blood as possible. Unfortunately, the butcher had cut off the vessels almost entirely, making it impossible to tie them off. We decided to try to close them off with small corks, and if that did not work, to press them shut instead. Then we faced the problem of

⁸ Tiemen Cocquyt, personal communication, 2012. As these technical comments may be valuable for future research, I decided to include them unabbreviated.

⁹ Pole 1790, p. 46-47.

determining the various vessels. None of the participants had a medical background, and even with the help of the anatomical tables I had brought, we had a pretty hard time distinguishing the pulmonary veins from the inferior vena cava, and the aorta from the pulmonary artery. This difficulty struck me as rather authentic – I suddenly had a much clearer understanding of the bewilderment and wonder that early anatomists, as well as early modern anatomy students who often had to work without the help of illustrated handbooks, must have experienced when first dissecting a heart themselves.

Before we started injecting, we decided to clean of fat and cartilage, but it proved quite difficult to get rid of the fatty tissue covering parts of the heart without damaging the heart itself, even though we had medical quality scalpels for the job. Because time was limited, we decided to leave some of the fat on. Because of the size of the heart chambers, we decided to start injecting with the coarse fluid. We started the process by putting the hearts in the bain-marie tub, as the coarse injection fluid recommended for the heart solidified if it cooled down to about 70-80 degrees Celsius.¹⁰ We also put the pots with the coarse injection fluid in improvised bain maries (cauldrons of water on hot plates), and warmed the syringes in the bain-marie. As one person held the heart, the other filled the syringe with hot fluid and started injecting. Actually quite a lot of pressure on behalf of the injector was required to get the fluid in, and the assistant holding the heart required help within seconds, as the injection fluid quickly streamed out of the openings that we had plugged with corks [Ill. 63].

Nonetheless, at the first attempt we managed to get two full syringes of wax into the heart, with only a small part dripping out again. We did not dare to stop this dripping with cold water during the injecting, as we feared this would also solidify the fluid that was still being pumped in. As the wax seemed to be dripping out too quickly – apparently failing to enter the smaller vessels – we assumed at some point that the (structure of the) wax must be too coarse'. We solved this by adding oil of turpentine, which had to be fetched at the drug store around the corner. After a little reheat in the bain-marie, we also injected the thinner, red wax and put the heart in cold water. It

¹⁰ This is actually a guess, as we could not find the thermometer anywhere. The estimate of 70-80 degrees Celsius is based on the fact that pure bees wax has a melting point of 62-64 degrees Celsius, and colophonium was added to heighten the melting point.

appeared to us that the red wax had entered the finer vessels on the outside of the heart at some points as well, but we did not want to cut through the heart to check it yet, as we thought the wax inside the bigger compartments might still be a bit soft. The fumes of the oil of turpentine from the heated wax became rather overwhelming at some point.

As the security staff wanted to lock up by now, we decided to call it a day. We put both the injected and the two uninjected hearts into the fridge at the museum and cleaned up. The latter proved to be easier said than done as well. As the bins would not be emptied until Monday, we had put the loose pieces of fat and cartilage in a plastic bag and taken it outside. The injection fluids, with its relatively high melting point, proved extremely difficult to remove from the syringes. As we had all been wearing plastic gloves no one had really noticed how sticky the half-hardened wax was. It seemed to me that especially for a beginning anatomist, it is almost impossible to inject preparations without spilling injection mass. This explains why most anatomy handbooks suggest that students begin by injecting water or milk, and maybe with added colourants – this is considerably less messy and expensive than using hardening waxes or even mercury mixes.

Second session: 20 January 2012

During the second session, a week after the first, we wanted to try another structure too. We thought about a skinned head or a leg bone with some veins on it, figuring that injecting those might be easier to see than the heart chambers. However, when I showed up at the butchers in the morning, he did not have any heads or legs available. He did have liver though, so I took off with a liver and another heart. Upon arrival at the museum we first took the previous week's hearts from the fridge and started cutting them up to check how far the wax had gotten in. Although it had filled the chambers and bigger vessels quite nicely, we could not see any evidence that the wax had penetrated the smaller veins. [Ill. 63] Therefore we decided to inject two more hearts with the finer injection masses.

With one of the hearts, we followed the same procedure as the week before – we injected the fluids through the bigger vessels, as Pole suggested. The other heart we decided to inject from the outside as well, just randomly sticking the injection needle into veins visible on the outside. Although this obviously did not fill a lot of

small veins, it actually did show some vein structures on the outside of the heart quite nicely. Time was passing quickly again, and about half an hour before we had to start cleaning up, we decided it would be a shame not to use the liver. Although bought fresh the same morning, it now stank tremendously. As we did not have the entire Pole handbook with us, we looked up the liver in the contemporary anatomical atlas I had brought. We figured that one of the main blood vessels that enters it, the *vena portae*, would probably be a safe bet for entering the injection mass.

As the liver was a dark brownish red, we chose the blue injection mass as we thought this would give most contrast. Not really knowing what to expect, we started injecting the blue mass. To our surprise, the result was quite spectacular: the blue waxy fluid spread quickly through the webbed structure of veins in the liver. [Ill. 65] This was instant proof that the tissue structure of the blood vessels in the liver is very different to that in the heart. Unfortunately this is where we had to end our injection experiments, as we had run out of time. We decided to put our preparations of the day, the newly injected hearts and a part of the liver in jars with 96% alcohol. After cleaning up, we went to a pub to watch the videos and photos we took, and to discuss our experiment.

Conclusion

Now, almost four months after our preparation-making experiment, the three preparations look a bit forlorn. The wax injection has run out, especially from the liver, probably because the injection mass contained quite a lot of turpentine and because we did not make an attempt to seal off the openings through which we injected the wax. Looking back, we can come up with a hundred things to do differently 'next time', but unfortunately there will be no next time in the foreseeable future. Our job descriptions do not include 're-enactment of historical anatomical practices', and our bosses do not seem too keen on funding more expensive ingredients for injection mass, instruments, and trips to the butchers. We simply do not have the time or the resources to try to make preparations again. Nevertheless, the experience of trying to make an anatomical preparation with a 1790 anatomical handbook as our guide was an invaluable one.

Nothing brings home truths about eighteenth-century practices of making anatomical preparations more emphatically an experiment like this, even if the results were a far cry from the refined, lasting preparations discussed in this book. First, it affirms that the task of making anatomical preparations relies largely on tacit knowledge. No handbook in the world can explain the exactitudes of the practice. For example, how coarse or thin the injection mass should be depends on numerous factors, like the structure of the organ one chooses to inject, the desired penetration of vessels, the temperature of the tissue, the injection mass, the room as well as the syringe. The size of both the organ to be injected and that of the syringe and needle matter greatly, as well as how many people there are around to assist. Learning how to make a well-injected preparation is an art that can only be learned through endless practice, through trial and error, with hands-on work. It is truly about gaining knowledge from all your sensory perceptions – we used our touch, smell, sight and hearing, and it takes little imagination to envision the inclusion of taste.

Making an anatomical preparation involves dealing with disgust in different degrees. The initial queasiness we felt when unwrapping the raw sheep hearts waned quickly; we got used to the smell and feel, and they were nowhere near a discernible state of putrefaction yet, so there was little about them that really bothered us. The liver really did smell bad, but even that was quickly forgotten once we got impressive results injecting it. The turpentine fumes coming off the injection mass were not exactly disgusting, but they were smelly and made us light-headed. Of course these organs were bought from a butcher, who had ‘dissected’ them from a freshly slaughtered animal body and cleaned them, withholding from us the visceral experiences of having to harvest organs from a not-so-fresh subject ourselves, so our disgust must have been minimal compared to what could be experienced in an eighteenth-century dissection and preparation room.

However, despite the initial disgust, fascination quickly took over. What had looked so straightforward in the pictures in the anatomical atlas, and seemed so uncomplicated in Pole’s description, was much more complex in practice. Even working out what vein to inject turned out to be a problem. Yet these complexities also ignited a strange kind of admiration for nature – its variety, and the fact that the sheep hearts were all slightly different. But presumably they had all worked absolutely fine, they had kept alive fairly big mammals, and in a way they were all

beautiful and perfect. This excitement and admiration intensified with the injection of the liver. Before the injection, it was a stinky, slippery clump of tissue, and in the anatomical atlas it looked like a wiry piece of machinery of some kind. But then we injected the blue wax, and all of a sudden wonderfully refined vein structures became visible. With these experiences under my belt, it was even easier to understand why the eighteenth-century Leiden anatomists wanted to reveal and exhibit the beauty and perfection they found in their anatomical practices in refined preparations.

What we also experienced distinctly was the fact that materials are resistant. The sheep hearts in particular resisted injection, the wax masses resisted remaining fluid long enough to penetrate the vessels we wanted them to, and even after putting the preparations in jars, they resist remaining stable: the coloured wax dissolves in the alcohol, slowly undoing our work and rendering the preparation invisible. Even though we did not intend to sell them, we nevertheless found that the materiality of things we used to try to make elegantly injected preparations resist commodification, or at least objectification. In fact, the aspects of the aesthesis that shaped the eighteenth-century anatomical preparations and the epistemic culture they were a part of, were still to some extent discernible in our attempt to reproduce an eighteenth-century wax-injected preparation.

**THE LEIDEN DECLARATION ON HUMAN ANATOMY/ANATOMICAL
COLLECTIONS**

CONCERNING THE CONSERVATION & PRESERVATION OF ANATOMICAL & PATHOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS

THIS DECLARATION

IS ADDRESSED TO THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR

ANATOMICAL & PATHOLOGICAL MUSEUMS & COLLECTIONS

WORLDWIDE

**From: Participants, delegates and supporters of the
International Conference on 'Cultures of Anatomical Collections',
held at Leiden University, 15-18 February 2012**

(<http://hum.leiden.edu/icd/news-events/cultures-of-anatomical-collections.html>)

We are scholars, curators and creative artists from across the world with professional involvements in human anatomy and pathology. We are writing to express our very great concern about the storage and preservation of collections of human anatomy and pathology in some parts of the world.

Almost every medical faculty possesses anatomical and/or pathological collections: human and animal preparations, wax- and other models, as well as drawings, photographs and documents and archives relating to them.

We salute and wholeheartedly commend and admire those institutions in which anatomical and pathological museum materials are celebrated and well-cared for.

However, we are also aware that in some other institutions, such collections are neglected: badly stored, poorly maintained, and rendered inaccessible to medical and other audiences.

Newer teaching methods and preoccupations have sometimes caused these collections to become under-appreciated. Financial constraints and crises can often mean that funding for the conservation, storage, and sometimes even the preservation, of anatomical collections can become de-prioritized. As a result, collections can be in great danger of becoming undervalued and neglected, which may eventually result in permanent damage.

We are aware of more than one recent instance in which curators have been marginalized or lost, and collections placed in inappropriate 'storage' conditions, rendering them liable to serious deterioration. Separated from their archives, these collections can lose identity, sometimes irrevocably.

We greatly fear that some uniquely important anatomical collections are currently in danger of being irretrievably damaged and perhaps lost to medical and cultural heritage.

We, the undersigned, wish to raise international awareness concerning the current critical situation for these collections.

Anatomical and pathological collections are medically relevant not only for future generations of medical students and faculty, and for future medical research. They are also important in the history of medicine generally, for the history of the institutions to which they belong, and also for a wider understanding of the cultural history of the body.

These collections sometimes document diseases and medical conditions that are now rare or simply no longer exist, teaching methods and preoccupations currently unfashionable or apparently superseded, and techniques of manufacture and display no longer practised. Collections often hold rare and extraordinary materials that are records of unique scientific investigations, medical conditions, and skills. In some cases these materials are the only documents that allow us to understand key changes and developments in Western medicine, and their dissemination.

Moreover, anatomical collections are crucial to new scholarly inter-disciplinary studies that investigate the interaction between arts and sciences, especially but not exclusively medicine. Such collections allow the study of interactions between anatomists, scientists and anatomical artists, and other occupational groups involved in anatomical and pathological displays. They embody the rich histories related to the display of natural history and medical cabinets; they reveal how new artistic and documentary techniques and materials were adopted by physicians and scientists in other historical periods; they demonstrate how new knowledge about the body and the natural world was presented by and for the medical, scientific and sometimes lay audiences.

Ultimately anatomical collections are important in knowing ourselves and the bodies we are. In this sense they are no less important than world famous artworks like the “Mona Lisa”, the “Venus de Milo” or Michelangelo's "David".

We urge medical faculties worldwide to mobilise all possible means in order to protect and preserve the important academic, medical, institutional, scientific and cultural heritage these collections represent.

Moreover we urge funding bodies to recognise and cherish these collections.

Babke Aarts (assistant curator, Utrecht University Museum)
David Adams (on behalf of the Institute of Anatomical Sciences, UK)
Dr. Philip Adds (senior lecturer in Anatomy, St. George's University of London)
Eva Ahlsten (Osteologist and head of the museum of medical history in Uppsala, Sweden)
Luis-Alfonso Arráez-Aybar, MD, PhD (Board Executive Officer Spanish Anatomical Society (Sociedad Anatómica Española, SAE) Professor of Human Anatomy & Embryology; School of Medicine; Complutense University, Madrid)
Gemma Angel (History of Art Department, UCL)
Prof. Rosa Ballester (historian of science, University Miguel Hernández)
Roberta Ballestriero, M.Phil. (art historian, associate lecturer for the Open University, Manchester, photographer)
Dr A.W.H. Bates (morbid anatomist and medical historian, Royal Free Hospital and UCL)
Liang de Beer (historian, Leiden University)
Dr. Philip Beh, MBBS, DMJ, FHKAM(Path), FFFLM (Associate Professor forensic pathology, the University of Hong Kong)
Dr. Annika Berg (historian of ideas / medical historian, Stockholm University)
Dr. Leo van Bergen (medical historian, Royal Netherlands Institute for South East Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden)
Dr Elizabeth Benjamin MBBS; FRCPath, Senior Clinical Lecturer /Consultant Pathologist , University College London
Prof. Harm Beukers (Scaliger professor, special collections, Leiden University)
David James Blackwood (member of the Quekett Microscopy Club)
Prof. Enrique J. Blanco Barco, MD, PhD (Professor of Human Anatomy & Embryology, Spanish Society of Anatomy (Sociedad Anatómica Española, SAE), Salamanca, Spain)
Timo Bolt, MA (medical historian, UMC Utrecht)
Jonathan Browns (Cultural Planner-Collections City of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada)
Prof. Jose-Luis Bueno-Lopez (President Spanish Society of Anatomy, the University of the Basque Country, Leioa, Spain)
Owen Burke (medical physicist at Glan Clwyd Hospital, photographer)
Dr Nicholas Cambridge MD (medical historian and Hon Research Associate, Division of Biosciences, University College London)
Prof. Li Chong Chan (Chair, Professor of Pathology, the University of Hong Kong)
Dr. Tricia Close-Koenig (medical historian, Université de Strasbourg)

- Dr. Christine Conley (art historian/curator, University of Ottawa)
 Prof. Montserrat Cabré (historian of science, Universidad de Cantabria)
 Dr. Lucia Dacome (historian, University of Toronto)
 Prof. P.H. Dangerfield (clinical anatomist, University of Liverpool)
 Andries J. van Dam (conservator, Leiden University Medical Center and directory board member
 Committee for Conservation, International Council of Museums, ICOM-CC)
 Katharine Dowson MA (RCA) Sculptor
 Prof. Dr. Sven Dupré (professor of History of Knowledge, Institute for Art History, Freie
 Universität Berlin)
 Dr. James M. Edmonson (Chief Curator, Dittrick Museum, Case Western Reserve University,
 Secretary General of the European Association of Museums of the History of the Medical
 Sciences)
 Dr. Florike Egmond (cultural and science historian, Leiden University)
 Clare Fraser (MSc MCSP BBTA; Bobath Tutor & Principal Physiotherapist; TherapyMatters –
 NeuroPhysiotherapy and Rehabilitation Clinic)
 Dennis Fullwood (secretary, Phoenix Medical Museums Club)
 J. Carlos Garcia-Reyes (historian of science, CSIC, Barcelona)
 Ari Gross (Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, University of
 Toronto)
 Sara Doll (Ruprecht-Karls-University of Heidelberg, Institute of Anatomy and Cell Biology)
 Dr. Esther van Gelder (historian of science, Museum Boerhaave/Huygens ING (KNAW))
 Dr. Anita Guerrini (historian of science, Oregon State University)
 Ayda Christina Garzón Soarte (Conservator and museologist, Universidad El Bosque, Bogota,
 Colombia, South America)
 B. Gutiérrez (Restauradora anatómica, Museo Anatómico, Universidad de Valladolid, Spain)
 Dr. Alette Fleischer (historian of science)
 Prof. Dr. Inge Fourné (professor in vascular surgery and anatomy, KU Leuven)
 Dr. Luis Conde-Salazar Gómez, Director del Museo Olavide)
 Nike Fakiner (PhD candidate, Spanish research Council and assistant curator)
 Drs. Bart Grob (curator, medical history, Museum Boerhaave, Leiden)
 Dr. David Hughes (Retired curator Pathology Museum, London)
 Prof. Hughes Dreyssé (chairman UMAC-ICOM (University Museums and Academic Collections –
 International Council of Museums))
 Flavio Häner, MA (museologist, Pharmacy Museum, University of Basel)
 Dr. Glenn Harcourt (historian of art and visual culture, independent scholar, Los Angeles, CA)
 Marieke Hendriksen MA MRes (cultural and medical historian, Leiden University)
 Christopher Henry (Director of Heritage, The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh)
 Dr. Robert Hicks (director Mütter Museum/Historical Library/Wood Institute for the History of
 Medicine William Maul Measey Chair for the History of Medicine, The College of Physicians of
 Philadelphia)
 Dr. Kathryn A. Hoffmann (historian, University of Hawaiï Manoa)
 Dr. Marijn Hollestelle (historian of science, Foundation for the History of Technology, Eindhoven)
 Assoc. Prof. PD MAG. Dr. phil. Dr. Med. Sonia Horn (Medical University of Vienna)
 Dr. Nick Hopwood (historian of medical science, University of Cambridge)
 Karen Howell (senior curator the Old Operating Theatre Museum and Herb Garret 9a St. Thomas
 Street, London)
 Prof. Frank Huisman (medical historian, University Medical Center Utrecht)
 Hieke Huisstra Msc (medical historian, Leiden University)
 Prof. Brian Hurwitz (Professor of Medicine & the Arts, Kings College, London)
 Dr. Karen Ingham, Reader in Art and Science, UK
 Dr. Tiffany Jenkins (sociologist, & arts and society director of the Institute of Ideas)
 Dr. Karin Johannisson (medical historian, Uppsala)
 Dr. Stephen C. Kenny (historian, University of Liverpool)
 Dr. Michael Kessler (director Pharmacy Museum, University of Basel)
 Dr. Rina Knoeff (medical historian, Leiden University)
 Prof. Richard L. Kremer (historian of science, curator of the King collection of Historic Scientific
 Instruments, Dartmouth College, USA)
 Dr. K.M.N. Kunzru (MB, MS, FRCS(Eng.), DHMSA; Emeritus Consultant Orthopaedic Surgeon
 Whipps Cross University Hospital, London; Medical Historian; Member, Faculty of History
 and Philosophy of Medicine and Pharmacy, Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, London; Co-
 Curator, Hunterian Society of London's Collection; Past President Royal Society of

- Medicine, London (History of Medicine Section); Past President Hunterian Society, London;
Past President (current Vice-President) Medical Society of London; Surgeon Volunteer to the
Hunterian Museum, Royal College of Surgeons of England, London.
- Prof. Frans van Lunteren (Historian of science, Leiden University, VU University of Amsterdam)
- Dr. Marta C. Lourenco (researcher / chief curator of scientific instruments, museums of the
university of Lisbon)
- Dr. Anna Maerker (medical historian, King´s College London)
- Dr. Daniel Margocsy (assistant professor of history, Hunter College – CUNY)
- Ion Meyer M.Sc. (Head of Collection/Senior Conservator, Medical Museion, University of
Copenhagen)
- Martin Weiss MSc (historian of science, Leiden University)
- Prof. G.M. Morriss-Kay (Balliol College, Oxford)
- Dr. Allister Neher (Humanities Department, Dawson College, Quebec)
- Birgit Nemec (doctoral student, University of Vienna)
- Dr. Ulrika Nilsson (medical historian, Stockholm University, Sweden)
- Dr. Bettina Noak (historian, Freie Universität Berlin)
- Prof. J.F. Pastor (Director del Museo Anatómico, Universidad de Valladolid, Spain)
- David Pantalony (curator, physical sciences and medicine, Canada Science and Technology
Museum)
- Mag. Markus Oppenauer (medical historian, Medical University of Vienna and University of
Vienna)
- Dr. Malcolm Oster (formerly senior lecturer in history of science, technology and medicine, The
Open University, UK)
- Nerea del Moral Azanza (Faculty of Fine Arts, UCM, C/El Greco Madrid)
- Drs. Lodewijk Palm (assistant professor, Institute for the History and Foundations of Science,
Utrecht University)
- Dr. José Pardo-Tomás (medical historian, CSIC, Spanish Council of Scientific Research)
- Célia Pilão (hospital manager, member of the Cultural and Medical Heritage Comission of the
Centro Hospitalar de Lisboa Central, Portugal)
- Katrin Pilz, MA (historian, Université Libre de Bruxelles, University of Vienna)
- Pascale Pollier (medical artist, chairman of BIOMAB biological and Medical art Belgium
University of Antwerp and Art Researches Science international collaborations)
- Dr. Sebastian Pranghofer (historian of medicine, Helmut-Schmidt-University, Hamburg and
Durham University)
- Prof. Concepcion Reblet, MD, PhD (The University of the Basque Country, Leioa, Spain)
- Dr Ruth Richardson (historian, King's College, London and Hong Kong University)
- Dr. Machteld Roede (Maastricht, physical anthropologist, retired coworker Maastricht University,
co-founder Dutch Association Physical Anthropology)
- Dr. Laurens de Rooy (medical historian and curator of Museum Vrolik, anatomical museum of
the Academic Medical Centre, University of Amsterdam)
- Prof. Dr. Alessandro Ruggeri (Director of "Museo delle Cere Anatomiche "Luigi Cattaneo" Alma
Mater Studiorum Bologna University -Italy)
- Dr. Miguel Ruiz-Rubiano (Anatomy Professor, Universidad El Bosque, Bogota, Colombia, South
America)
- Bari Logan (formerly Prosector, Royal College of Surgeons of England, and Cambridge University)
- Professor Luise Scheuer (anatomist and forensic anthropologist, University of Dundee &
University College London)
- Lisa Temple-cox (independent researcher, Essex)
- Professor Jose Sanudo (Department of Human Anatomy and Embryology, Universidad
Complutense de Madrid)
- Dr. Michael Sappol (historian, National Library of Medicine, USA)
- Prof. Thomas Söderqvist (Director Medical Meseion, University of Copenhagen)
- Dr. Cindy Stelmackowich (artist, art historian and medical historian, New York Academy of
Medicine and Carleton University)
- Prof. Dr. Thomas Schnalke (medical historian, Director of the Berlin Museum of Medical History
at the Charité)
- Somayyeh Shahsavari (medical student (MBBS4), St. George's University of London)
- Dr. Rajul Singh, FRC Path (Good hope hospital, Sutton Coldfield)
- Dr. Stefan Sommer (Department of Biological Sciences, Northern Arizona University)
- arch. Elisabetta Susani, Accademia delle Belle Arti d Brera, Milano (Italy)
- Prof. Laurence Talairach-Vielmas (Professor of English, University of Toulouse (UTM))

Prof. Dr. Bert Theunissen (historian of science, Utrecht University)
Barbara Tramelli (doctoral student, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin)
Dr. Karin Tybjerg (Associate Professor, Medical Museion, University of Copenhagen)
Universeum – European Academic Heritage Network (www.universeum.it)
Prof. Dr. Geert Vanpaemel (historian of science, KU Leuven)
Teresa Vázquez (member of the Spanish Anatomical Society, Senior Lecturer Human Anatomy and Embryology, University of Madrid)
Ruben Verwaal (historian of science, Utrecht University)
Prof. Fermín Viejo (Director of the Museum of Anatomy "Javier Puerta", Department of Human Anatomy and Embryology, School of Medicine, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
Robert Vonk, MA (medical historian, VU university medical center, Amsterdam)
Darren Wagner (cultural and medical historian, University of York)
Siobhan Ward & Philomena Mc Ateer (Anatomy Department, Trinity Biomedical Sciences Institute, Dublin)
Dr. Cornelia Weber (General Manager, Hermann von Helmholtz-Zentrum für Kulturtechnik, Humboldt University of Berlin)
Fleur White (artist, Visual Communication, Quekett. London)
S. Wielaard, MSc (Coordinator Anatomical Museum, Leiden University Medical Centre)
Jane Wildgoose (artist/researcher, Kingston University)
Dr. Linda Wilson-Pauwels (Professor, Biomedical Communications, University of Toronto)
Prof. Joanne C. Wilton (Bsc, Ph.D., Anatomist, University of Birmingham)
Dr. Roland Wittje (Lecturer in History of Science, University of Regensburg)
Dr. Elizabeth A. Williams (Ph.D., medical historian, Oklahoma State University)
Dr. Kaat Wils (cultural historian, KU Leuven)
Ieteke Witteveen (National Archaeological-Anthropological Memory Management, Curacao, Caribbean)
Dr. Alfons Zarzoso (historian and curator, Museu d'Història de la Medicina de Catalunya, Barcelona, CEHIC, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)
Prof. Sandra Zecchi (also on behalf of the Dipartimento di Anatomia, Istologia en Medicina Legale, Università degli Studi di Firenze)
Prof. Dr. Robert Zwijnenberg (Leiden chair of art in relation to the sciences, Leiden University)

Bibliography

Manuscript sources (MS)

Amsterdam University Library Special Collections (UvA)

Albinus, Bernard Siegfried. *Letter to Petrus Camper*. UB: HSS-mag.: X2: a-b.

Box, W. *Dictata in Physiologiam Clarissimi Viri Professoris B.S. Albini*, 4 Volumes. Signatuur hs II G 24-27.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to J. Tak*. UB: HSS-mag.: Y 123:o.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to J. Tak*. UB: HSS-mag.: Y 123:k.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to Salomon de Monchy*. UB: HSS-mag.: Y 123:l.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to Petrus Camper*. UB: HSS-mag.: X54.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to Petrus Camper*. UB: HSS-mag.: X54.

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter to Wagler*. UB: HSS-mag.: IV A 9:2 [j]

Van Doeveren, Wouter. *Letter*. UB: OTM: hs. Y 123:o.

Collection Anatomical Museum LUMC, Leiden (AM)

Boddaert, J.E. *Inventaris Der Verzameling in Het Anatomisch Kabinet Van De Rijks Universiteit Te Leiden* (1892).

Zaaijer, T. *Katalogus Der Ras-Schedels, Bekkens En Skeletten in Het Anatomisch Kabinet Der Rijks Universiteit Te Leiden* (1893).

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag (KB; Royal Library The Hague)

Bonn, A. *Brief Van Andreas Bonn (1738-1817), Geschreven Aan Johannes Altheer (1758-1840)*. 121 E 2 10. Autografenverzameling Beeldsnijder van Voshol.

Leiden University Library Special Collections (UL)

AC2/162-180: No. 161; 22 okt / 25 okt., No. 107, 2 November 1822

AC2/228 uitgaand 1822

Tulbagh, Rijk. *Letter to Arnout Vosmaer*. BPL 246.

Voegen van Engelen, Johan. *Letter to Petrus Camper*. (1779) BPL 247/26.

Voegen van Engelen, Johan. *Letter to Jean Henri Van Swinden*. (1784) BPL 755.

Voegen van Engelen, Johan. *Two Letters to Petrus Camper*. (1781) BPL 885.

Museum Meermanno-Westrianum, The Hague (MMW)

De Sille, J. Kuypers weduwe. *Letter to Johan Meerman*. 226/67. Helvoirt, 1804.

De Sille, L. *Letter to Johan Meerman*. 224/87. 's Hertogenbosch, 1802.

Nationaal Archief, The Hague (NA)

Kamer Amsterdam Ingekomen Stukken. Ingekomen Brieven Van Diverse Personen En Instanties Hier Te Lande. Met Bijlage. 1.05.01.02 483. Tweede West-Indische Compagnie (WIC), The Hague.

Stukken Gediend Hebbende Bij De Criminele Processen Op De Kust Van Guinee. Afschriften. 1.05.01.02 151-152. Tweede West-Indische Compagnie (WIC).

Stadsarchief en Athenaeumbibliotheek, Deventer/Enschede (SA)

Burman, Petrus. *Salutifera Variolarum Insitio*. 1776. Printed Poem in bundle of manuscripts.

Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg (ZA)

26.1 Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen (KZGW) 02.2.162 J.C. de Man, Naamlijst van voorwerpen van zoölogische aard alsmede van antropologische aard en pathologische voorwerpen (Middelburg 1879), met aanvullingen in handschrift tot, c. 1908

20.1410 Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie, Journaal van de scheepsdoctor van de ZeeMercur 1, Manuscript, 1788-1789.

Material first published before 1800

- "Catalogues of the Rarities in the Leiden Anatomy Theatre Kept in the British Library." (1669-1753).
- "Catalogus Eener Uitmuntende Verzameling Van Extra Fraaije Medische, Chirurgische, Anatomische, Botanische, Natuurkundige, Geographische, Historische, Reis, Landbeschryvende, Poëtische En Tooneelkundige Boeken. (...)" Middelburg: Keel, Willem Alexander, 1799.
- Albinus, B.S. *Academicarum Annotationum Liber I-VIII*. Leiden, 1754-1768.
- . *Dissertatio De Arteris Et Venis Intestinorum Hominis. Adjecta Icon Coloribus Distincta*. Leiden: Theodor Haak, 1736.
- . *Icones Ossium Foutus Humani, Accedit Osteogeniae Brevis Historia*. Leiden, 1737.
- . *Index Supellectilis Anatomicae, Quam Academiae Batavae Quae Leidae Est Legavit J.J. Rau*. Lugd. Bat. : Henridum Mulhovium et Franciscum Schuyt, 1725.
- . *Tabulae Sceleti Et Musculorum Corporis Humani*. Leiden, 1747.
- . *The Explanation of Albinus's Anatomical Figures of the Human Skeleton and Muscles. With an Historical Account of the Work. Translated from the Latin. To Which Is Added, the Explanation of the Supplement to Albinus, Containing a Compleat Anatomical Description of the Blood-Vessels and Nerves. And the External Parts of the Human Body*. London: John and Paul Knapton, 1754.
- Alpinus, Prosper. *Medicina Aegyptiorum : Accessit Huic Editioni Ejusdem Auctoris Liber De Balsamo, Et Rhapontico, Ut Et Jacobi Bontii Medicina Indorum*. Leiden: Gerard Potvliet, 1718 (1591).
- Anonymous. *De Koeckoeck-Zangh Van De Nachtuylen Van Het Collegie Nil Volentibus Arduum Huylende Met Eenen Naare Geest: Dr. Ruysch En Boeckelman Zijn De Beest. Of Een Blyeyndende Zamenspraak Tusschen Een Doctor, Proponent, En Poeet* 1677.
- Anonymous. *Holland: A Jaunt to the Principal Places in That Country*. London: W. Hay, 1775.
- Azzoguidi, G., J.B. Paletta und J. Brugnoni. *Anatomische Schriften; herausgeg. von E. Sandifort ; Aus dem Latein*. Heinr. Tabor, 1791.
- Barrow, John. "Dictionarium Medicum Universale: Or, a New Medicinal Dictionary. Containing an Explanation of All the Terms Used in Physic, ... Botany, &C. ...". London 1749. 2 vols.
- Barry, James, John Opie, and Henry Fuseli. *Lectures on Painting by the Royal Academicians*. Elibron Classics. Ed. Wornum, Ralph N. Replica of 1848 edition by Henry G. Bohn, London (fascimile reprint) ed. London Adamant Media Corporation, 2001 (1784).
- Baumgarten, Alexander. *Reflections on Poetry*. Trans. Holther, William B. Berkely: University Of California Press, 1954 (1735).
- . *Aesthetica*. Philosophische Bibliothek. lateinisch-deutsch ; übers., mit einer Einführung, Anmerkungen und Registern ed. 2 vols. Hamburg Meiner, 2007 (1750-8).
- Bilderdijk, W. "Antwoord Op De Vraag Van De Maatschappy Der Nederlandsche Letterkunde Te Leyden, Hebben De Dichtkunst En Welsprekendheid Verband Met De Wijsbegeerte; En Welk Nut Brengt Dezelve Aan De Eene En Andere Toe?" *Werken van de Maatschappy der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leyden*. 6 (1783): 1-200.

- Blankaart, Stephan. *Anatomia Reformata, Sive Concinna Corporis Humani Dissectio, Ad Neotericorum Mentem Adornata, Plurimisque Tabulis Chalcographicis Illustrata. Accedit Ejusdem Authoris De Balsamatione, Nova Methodus a Nemine Antehac Hoc Modo Descripta*. Lugduni Batavorum: Cornelium Boutestein, Jordanum Luchtmans, 1688.
- . *Anatomia Reformata, Sive Concinna Corporis Humani Dissectio, Ad Neotericorum Mentem Adornata* Editio novissima plurimis recens inventis, tabulisque novis emendatior ac locupletior. Accedit ejusdem authoris De balsamatione nova methodus, à nemine antehac similiter descripta. ed. Leiden: Boutestein & Luchtmans, 1695.
- . *Nieuw Lichtende Praktyk Der Medicynen: Gefondeert Op De Gronden Van De Deftighste Autheuren Deses Tjydts: Nevens De Hedendaagse Chymia, Als Ook De Nederlantsche Apothekers Winkel ; Rijkelyk Met Inlantsche Genees-Middelen Voorsien*. Amsterdam: Jan Claesz. ten Hoorn, 1678.
- . *Nieuwe Konst-Kamer Der Chirurgie of Heelkonst. Neffens Een Korte Ontleeding Van De Pokken En Alle Desselfs Toevallen*. 5th ed. Amsterdam: Jac. ten Hoorn, 1680.
- . *Nieuw-Ligtende Praktyk Der Medicynen. : Nevens Eene Verhandeling Van De Hedendaagze Chymie. De 7e Dr. Merkelijk Verbetert En Nagezien*. Rotterdam: Hermanus Kentlink, 1735.
- Boerhaave, Herman. *De Mercurio Experimenta*. Utrecht: Jurriaan van Paddenburg, 1735.
- . *Praelectiones Academicae in Proprias Institutiones Rei Medicae. Edidit, Et Notas Addidit Albertus Haller*. Vol. I. 6 vols. Amsterdam: J. Wetstenium, 1747.
- . *Sermo Academicus De Chemia Suos Errores Expurgante*. Leiden: Petrus van der Aa, 1718.
- . *Some Experiments Concerning Mercury. Translated from the Latin, Communicated by the Author to the Royal Society*. London: J. Roberts, 1734.
- , E. Kegel-Brinkgreve, and Antonie M. Luyendijk-Elshout. *Boerhaave's Orations*. Leiden: Sir Thomas Browne Instituut, 1983.
- Bosman, Willem. *Nauwkeurige Beschrijving Van De Guinese Goud- Tand- En Slavenkust*. Amsterdam: Isaak Stokmans, 1709.
- Bonn, Andreas. *Redevoeringen Ter Inwijding Der Volbouwde Tekenzaal... En Van De Gehoorzaal...Der Natuurkunde, in Het Gebouw Der Maatsch. Felix Meritis* Amsterdam, 1790.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990 (1757).
- Camper, Petrus. "Dissertatio Optica De Visu." *Dissertation*. Leiden University, 1746.
- . *Verhandeling Van Petrus Camper, over Het Natuurlijk Verschil Der Wezenstrekken in Menschen Van Onderscheiden Landaart En Ouderdom; over Het Schoon in Antyke Beelden En Gesneedene Steenen. Gevolgd Door Een Voorstel Van Eene Nieuwe Manier Om Hoofden Van Allerleye Menschen Met Zekerheid Te Teken*. Naa Des Schrijvers Dood Uitgegeeven Door Zijnen Zoon Adriaan Gilles Camper. Utrecht: B. Wild en J. Altheer, 1791.
- Chais, Charles. "Essaie Apologétique Etc." *Verhandelingen uitgegeeven door de Hollandse Maatschappij der Weetenschappen te Haarlem* 1 (1754): 600-60.
- Coopmans, Gadso. *Oratio De Medicamentis Indigenis Ad Morbos Belgio Familiares Feliciter Depellendos Suffecturis*. Franeker: Willem Coulon, 1774.
- . *Varis; Sive Carmen De Variolis*. Franeker: Wilhelm Coulon, 1783.
- Curtis, William. *The Botanical Magazine, or Flower-Garden Displayed*. Vol. 7. London: Stephen Couchman, 1792.

- Dapper, Olfert. *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge Der Afrikaensche Gewesten Van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Etc.* Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1668.
- De Bils, Louis. *Vertooch Van Verscheyde Eyghene Anatomische Stucken.* Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 1655.
- De Graaf, Regnerus. *Korte Beschryving Van 'T Gebruyk Der Spuyt in D' Ontleedt-Konst. Met Een Inleiding Door Dr. H.L.Houtzager.* Delft: Reinier de Graaf Stichting, 1989 (1668).
- Driessen van het Reve, Jozien J. "Frederik Ruysch in Rusland " *Geschiedenis der geneeskunde* 11 2 (2005): 68-77.
- , and Luuc Kooijmans. "Geloof Alleen Je Eigen Ogen : Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731) Held Van De Nieuwe Wetenschap." Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, 2004.
- Engelhard, Nicolaas. *Feriae Aestivae Groninganae Exhibentes Variorum Variargument Dissertationum Praecipue Philosophicarum, Vol. 2.* Groningen: Jacob Sipkes, 1736.
- Erndl, Christian Heinrich. *The Relation of a Journey into England and Holland, in the Years, 1706, and 1707. By a Saxon Physician, in a Letter to His Friend at Dresden, Wherein Are Contain'd Many Remarkable Passages and Curious Observations in Anatomy, Surgery, Physick, and Philosophy.* London: John Morphew, 1711.
- Gaubius, H.D. "Inaugurele Rede, Waarin Wordt Aangetoond, Dat De Scheikunde Met Recht Een Plaats Verdient Onder De Akademische Wetenschappen. (Vertaling Van 'Oratio Inauguralis Qua Ostenditur Chemiam Artibus Academicis Jure Esse Inserendam', 21 Mei 1731)." *Opuscula Selecta Neerlandicorum De Arte Medica.* Ed. Rossen, F. van. Vol. 1. Amsterdam, 1907. 171-228.
- Graeuwen, Paulus. *De Anatomiae Pathologicae Utilitate Ac Necessitate.* Groningae: Hajo Spandaw, 1771.
- Hemsterhuis, Frans. 1771, 1776: see Hemsterhuis 2001.
- Houttuyn, Martinus. *Natuurlyke Historie of Uitvoerige Beschryving Der Dieren, Planten En Mineraalen, Volgens Het Samenstel Van Den Heer Linnæus. Met Naauwkeurige Afbeeldingen / Martinus Houttuyn , Eerste Deels, Tweede Stuk. Vervolg Der Zoogende Dieren.* Amsterdam: F. Houttuyn, 1761.
- . *Natuurlyke Historie of Uitvoerige Beschryving Der Dieren, Planten En Mineraalen, Volgens Het Samenstel Van Den Heer Linnæus. Met Naauwkeurige Afbeeldingen / Martinus Houttuyn , Eerste Deels, Tiende Stuk. De Kruiden.* Amsterdam: Bij de erven F. Houttuyn, 1766.
- Hume, David. *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.* Mineola NY: Dover Publications, 1748 (2004).
- Kaau, Abraham. *Declamatio Academia De Gaudiis Alchemistarum.* Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1737.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Kritik Der Reinen Vernunft. Kritik Der Praktische Vernunft Kritik Der Urteilkraft. Ungekürzte Sonderausgabe Zum Kantjahr 2004.* Wiesbaden: Fourier Verlag, 2003 (1787).
- La Mettrie, Julien Offray de. *L'homme Machine.* Leyde: Elie Luzac, fils, 1748. (Also see La Mettrie 1943).
- Lindeboom, G.A. (ed) *Observationes anatomicæ Collegii privati Amstelodamensis. Pars prior (1667) et altera (1673).* Fascimile with an introduction by G.A. Lindeboom. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975.
- Lyser, Michael. *Culter Anatomicus, Hoc Est: Methodus Brevis Humana Incidendi Cadavera.* Hafniae, 1665.
- . *The Art of Dissecting the Human Body : In a Plain, Easy, and Compendious*

- Method. With the Several Instruments Necessary, Curiously Engraved; ... Translated from the Latin of Lyserus.* Trans. G. Thomson, M.D. London: Joseph Davidson, 1740.
- Mascagni, Paolo. *Prodrome D'un Ouvrage Sur Le Systè me Des Vaisseaux Lymphatiques.* Sienne, 1784.
- . *Vasorum Lymphaticorum Corporis Humani Historia Et Ichnographia.* Senis, 1787.
- Mendelssohn, Moses. *Briefe, Die Neueste Litteratur Betreffend, 4. Januar 1759 - 4. Juli 1765.* Ed. bearb. von Eva J. Engel ; mit Beiträgen von Michael Albrecht, Elisabeth Blakert und Hans Lausch. 2 vols. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2004.
- , and Gerrit Brender à Brandis. *Wijsgeerige Verhandelingen, Brieven En Gesprekken, / Van Moses Mendelszoon. ; Uit Het Hoogduitsche Vertaald, En Met Aanteekeningen, En Het Leven Van Den Autheur, Verrijkt, Door G. Brender a Brandis.* Leiden: Pieter Pluygers, 1788.
- Monro, Alexander, and Johann Friedrich Meckel. *Opuscula Anatomica De Vasis Lymphaticis.* 2 vols. Leiden: Lipsius, 1760.
- Nesbitt, Robert. *Human Osteogeny Explained in Two Lectures, Read in the Anatomical Theatre of the Surgeons of London.* London: T. Wood, 1736.
- Neumann, Caspar. *Grondlyke En Met Proeven Bewesene Medicinale En Natuurkundige Chymie.* Leeuwarden: H.A. de Chalmot, 1766.
- Noortwyk, Wilhelmus. *Uteri Humani Gravidati Anatome Et Historia.* Lugduni Batavorum: Joan. et Herm. Verbeek, 1743.
- Nuck, Antony. *Adenographia Et Uteri Anatome Nova.* Leiden: Luchtmans, 1691.
- . *De Ductu Salivali Novo, Saliva, Ductibus Oculorum Aquosis Et Humore Oculi Aqueo.* Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1685.
- . *Genees- Ofte Heelkundige Handwerken En Ondervindingen. Met Plaetverbeeldingen: Uit Het Latyn Vertaelt, En Met Een Voorreden Verrijkt Door Regnerus Van Overschuur.* Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1740.
- . *Operationes Et Experimenta Chirurgica.* Leiden, 1692.
- . *Operationes Et Experimenta Chirurgica.* Leiden: Samuel Luchtmans, 1733.
- Paterson, Samuel. *Museum Falconarium. A Catalogue of the Entire and Capital Museum of Anatomical Preparations and Other Subjects of Natural History, a Great Variety of Chirurgical, Anatomical, and Philosophical Instruments; Medicaments, Cabinets, Preparation-Glasses, and Other Effects; of the Late Mr. Magnus Falconar, etc.* London, 1778.
- Pole, Thomas. *The Anatomical Instructor ; or an Illustration of the Modern and Most Approved Methods of Preparing and Preserving the Different Parts of the Human Body and of Quadrupeds by Injection, Corrosion, Maceration, Distention, Articulation, Modelling, &C. .* London Couchman & Fry, 1790.
- Poole, R. *A Journey from London to France and Holland: Or, the Traveller's Useful Vade Mecum* Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: Duncomb, 1742.
- Quincy, John. "Lexicon Physico-Medicum: Or, a New Physical Medicinal Dictionary, Explaining the Difficult Terms Used in the Several Branches of the Profession, and in Such Parts of Natural Philosophy as Are Introductory Thereunto. ... With New Improvements from the Latest Chymical and Mechanical Authors." 5th ed. London: T. Longman, 1736.
- Rau, J.J. *De Methodo Anatomien Docendi Et Discendi.* Lugd. Bat., 1713.
- Ridley, Humphrey. *The Anatomy of the Brain.* London: Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1695.
- Rumphius, Georg Everard. *D'amboinsche Rariteitkamer, Behelzende Eene*

- Beschryvinge Van Allerhande Zoo Weeke Als Harde Schaalwisschen, Te Weeten Raare Krabben, Kreeften, En Diergelyke Zeedieren, Als Mede Allerhande Hoorntjes En Schulpen, Die Men in D'amboinsche Zee Vindt: Daar Beneven Zommige Mineraalen, Gesteenten, En Soorten Van Aarde, Die in D' Amboinsche, En Zommige Omleggende Eilanden Gevonden Worden. : Verdeelt in Drie Boeken ... Bevat Ook Met Koptitel: Beschryving En Verdeeling Der Amboinsche Hoornen En Schulpen, Door Den Heer Heer Sipman . . Vol. 1-3. Amsterdam: François Halma, 1705.*
- . *Het Amboinsche Kruid-Boek. Dat Is, Beschryving Van De Meest Bekende Boomen, Heesters, Kruiden, Land- En Water-Planten, Die Men in Amboina, En De Omleggende Eylanden Vind* Vol. 1-6. Amsterdam: François Changuion, Jan Catuffe, Hermanus Uytwerf, 1741-1750.
- Ruysch, Frederik. *Alle de ontleed- genees- en heelkundige werken van Frederik Ruysch.* Amsterdam: Janssoons van Waesberge, 1744.
- . *Effigies Penis Humani, Injecta Cera Praeparati Exhibens Inventa Anatomica Aliquot Nova Et Proprio Colore Typis Impressa a Joanne Ladmiral.* Leiden: Cornelis Haak, 1790.
- . *Dilucidatio Valvularum in Vasis Lymphaticis Et Lacteis.* Den Haag: Harmani Gael, 1665.
- . *Ontleedkundige Verhandelingen over De Vinding Van Een Spier in De Grond Des Baar-Moeders : Te Voren Noyt Ontdekt. Mitsgaders Een Nader Onderwys Wegens De Verlossing Der Nageboorte Der Barenden Vrouwen.* Frederik Ruysch. Amsterdam, 1725.
- . "Thesauri Anatomica." Amsterdam: UvA, 1701-1728. 13 vols.
- Sandifort, Eduard. *Eduardi Sandifort Oratio De Circumspecto Cadaverum Examine Optimo Practic Medicin Adminiculo.* Leiden: Sam. et Joh. Luchtmans, 1772.
- . *Observationes Anatomico-Pathologicae.* 4 vols. Leiden: P. v.d. Eyk et D. Vygh, 1777-1781.
- . *Natuur- En Genees-Kundige Bibliotheek, Bevattende Den Zaakelyken Inhoud Van Alle Nieuwe Werken, Welke in De Geneeskunde En Natuurlyke Historie, Buiten Ons Vaderland Uitkomen.* 11 vols. 's-Gravenhage: Pieter van Cleef, 1765-1775.
- , and Gerard Sandifort. *Museum Anatomicum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae.* 4 vols. Leiden: Luchtmans, 1793-1835.
- Schroder, Johannes. *Schatkamer Der Droogbereidende Geneeskunst, En Ontsloten Kabinet Der Simplicia. Iii. Deelen.* Mechelen: Lobelia, 1985 (1741).
- Smith, James Edward. *A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent, in the Years 1786 and 1787, by James Edward Smith, ... In Three Volumes. ... Vol. 1.* 3 vols. London, 1793.
- Terne, Cornelis. *Antwoord Op De Vraag, Voorgesteld Door Het Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen Te Batavia, over Het Beste Voedsel Om Nieuw Geboren Kinderen Zonder Borst of Moedermelk Op Te Voeden, Onder De Zinspreuk, Ego Fateor, Me Exeorum Numero Esse Conari, Qui Proficiendo Scribunt Et Scribendo Proficiunt, Aan Den Schryver Van Het Welke De Eerprys Eener Gouden Medaille Is Toegewezen.* Verhandelingen Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen. Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1794.
- . *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis De Abortu Et Partu Praematurato* Leiden: Theodor Haak, 1778.
- Van Doeveren, W. *Academische Redevoering Van W. Van Doeveren over De Gunstige Gesteldheid Van Groningen Voor De Gezondheid, Afteleiden Uit De*

- Natuurlyke Historie Der Stad ... ; Nu Uit Het Latyn Vertaald, En Met Eene Verhandelende Voorrede Uitgegeeven Door Matthias Van Geuns.* Groningen: Cornelis Barlinkhof, en Jacob Bolt, 1771.
- . *Bibliotheca Doeveriana, Sive Catalogus Librorum Gualth. Van Doeveren : Quorum Auctio Fiet Publ. 27 Sept. 1784.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1784.
- . *Brief Aan Eduard Sandifort, Behelzende Een Berigt Van Den Gelukkigen Uitslag Der Inenting Der Kinderpokjes, Onlangs Te Groningen Ondervonden.* 's-Gravenhage, 1770a.
- . *Dissertatio De Vermibus Intestinalibus Hominum.* Groningen, 1753.
- . *Musei Doeveriani Catalogus, Contin. Copiam Quadrupedem, Avium ... ; Quae Collegit Gualth. Van Doeveren : Horum Publ. Auctio Fiet 18 Apr. 1785.* Lugd. Bat., 1785.
- . *Raadgevinge Om De Inenting Der Ziekte Van 'T Rundvee Op Eene Gemakkelyke, Onkostbare En Voordeelige Manier Te Doen, Uit Eigene Ondervindinge Opgemaakt.* Groningen: Jacob Bolt, 1769.
- . *Sermo Academicus De Recentiorum Inventis Medicinam Hodiernam Veteri Praestantiorum Reddentibus.* Lugd. Bat. , 1771.
- . *Sermo Academicus De Sanitatis Groninganorum Praesidiis, Ex Urbis Naturali Historia Derivandis / Dictus Cum Iterum Fasces Academicos Poneret.* Groningae, 1770b.
- . *Specimen Observationum Academicarum Ad Monstrorum Historiam, Anatomen, Pathologiam Et Artem Obstetricam, Praecipue Spectantium.* Groningae et Lugd. Bat. , 1765.
- . J. H. Voyer, and Daniel Canisius. *Q. D. B. V.! Ex Auctoritate Amplissimorum Goesanae Scholae Curatorum ... : Sollemni Discipulorum Promotione, Duabus Duorum Adolescentum Orationibus, Gualtheri Van Doeveren De Inspicienda Amicorum Fide; Danielis Canisii, Quibus Rebus Rverit Resp. Romana, Inquisituri: Suam Præmissurus Orationem De Vita Academica, Hanc Actionem Ut Cohonestare Frequenti Conventu Benigne Velint, Omnes Literarum Patronos Ac Studiosos Comiter / Invitat J.H. Voyer Goes: Huisman Jacobszoon, Adriaan, 1747.*
- . "Verhandelinge over De Waare Kinderpokjes, Die Meer Dan Eenmaal Denzelfden Mensch Aantasten." *Verhandelingen Van De Hollandse Maatschappye Der Wetenschappen.* Vol. XII. Haarlem: Hollandse Maatschappye der Wetenschappen, 1770. 189-232.
- Van Royen, Adriaan. "Voorrede" in: Philip Miller, *Groot en algemeen kruidkundig, hoveniers, en bloemisten woordenboek, behelzende de manier om moes-, bloem-, vrugt-, kruid-tuinen, wild-bossen, wijngaarden, Oranje-huizen, stook-kassen, enz. aanteleggen, enz. en allerlei gewassen te kweeken ... Waarby ook komt ... het gebruik der barometers, thermometers, en hygrometers, welke den hoveniers te pas komen.* Leiden: Pieter van der Eyk / De Weduwe Jakob van der Kluis, 1745.
- . *Poëmata.* Leiden: Cornelis van Hoogeveen jr., 1778.
- Van Hogendorp, Willem. "Vervolg Der Beschryving Van Het Eiland Timor, Voor Zoo Verre Het Tot Nog Toe Bekend Is, Waar by Gevoegd Is De Beschryving Van Eenige Nabygelegene Eilanden " *Verhandelingen Van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Konsten En Weetenschappen.* Vol. 2. Rotterdam/Amsterdam: Reinier Arrenberg/Johannes Allart, 1784. 63-101.
- Van Visvliet, E.P. "Catalogus Eener Uitmuntende Verzameling Van Extra Fraaije

- Medische, Chirurgische, Anatomische, Botanische, Natuurkundige, Geographische, Historische, Reis, Landbeschryvende, Poëtische En Tooneelkundige Boeken." Middelburg: Keel, Willem Alexander, 1799.
- Vesalius, Andreas. *De Corporis Humani Fabrica Libri Septem*. 1543.
<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/historicalanatomies/vesalius_home.html>.
- Voegen van Engelen, Johan. *De Surinaamsche Artz*. Uitgaven Van De Natuurwetenschappelijke Studiekring Voor Suriname En De Antillen. Natuurhistorische Reeks Vol. 109. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981 (1786-88).
- Von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. 1795-6: see Von Goethe 1987.
- Von Haller, Albrecht. 1725-1727: see Von Haller 1958.
- . *Bibliotheca Anatomica: Qua Scripta Ad Anatomen Et Physiologiam Facientia a Rerum Initiis Recensentur* Vol. 2. Zurich: Tiguri 1774-1777.
- , and Boerhaave, Herman. *Praelectiones Academicae in Propriis Institutiones Rei Medicae. Edidit, Et Notas Addidit Albertus Haller*. Vol. I. 6 vols. Amsterdam: J. Wetstenium, 1747.
- Von Herder, Johann Gottfried. "Plastik. Einige Wahrnehmungen Über Form Und Gestalt Aus Pygmalions Bildenden Traume." *J.G. Von Herder's Sämmtliche Werke. Zur Schönen Literatur Und Kunst*. . Vol. 11, Zur römischen Literatur. Tübingen: Antiquarisch Aufsätze, 1809 (1778). 239-363
- Von Uffenbach, Z.C. *Merckwürdige Reisen Durch Nieder-Sachsen, Holland Und England*. 3 vols. Ulm: J.F. Gaum, 1753-1754.
- Wagler, Carl Gottfried. *Verzeichnisz Der Anatomischen Präparate / Welche Von Ca. Gottl. Wagler Sind Gesammtet Worden*. Braunschweig, 1779.
- Weiland, Petrus. "Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek." Amsterdam: Allart, 1799. Vol. 1. 11 vols.
- Worm, Ole. *Museum Wormianum. Seu Historia rerum rariorum, tam naturalium, quam artificialium, tam domesticarum, quam exoticarum, quae Hafniae Danorum in aedibus authoris servantur*. Leiden: Ludovicum & Danielem Elzevirios, 1655

Modern works

- Abraham, Lyndy. *A Dictionary of Alchemical imagery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998
- Adams, Percy G. *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1962.
- Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. "Objects and the Museum." *Isis* 96 4 (2005): 559-71.
- . "Owning and Collecting Natural Objects in Nineteenth-Century Britain." *From Private to Public: Natural Collections and Museums*. Ed. Berretta, Marco. New York: Science History Publications, 2005. 141-54.
- . *Morbid Curiosities. Medical Museums in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing : Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Ambrose, C.T. "The priority dispute over the function of the lymphatic system and Glisson's ghost (the 18th-century Hunter-Monro Feud)." *Cellular Immunology*, 2007, Vol.245 (1), p.7-15
- Anthon, Charles. *A Classical Dictionary: Containing the Principle Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors Part Two*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1842.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Live of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Aransiola, Joshua Oyeniyi , and Suraj Olalekan Asindemade. "Understanding Cybercrime Perpetrators and the Strategies They Employ in Nigeria." *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 14.12 (2011): 759-63.
- Arnold, Ken. "Museums and the Making of Medical History." *Manifesting Medicine*. Ed. Bud, Robert. London: NMSI Trading Ltd, Science Museum, 2004. 145-74.
- Ball, Philip. *Elegant Solutions. Ten Beautiful Experiments in Chemistry*. Cambridge: The Royal Society of Chemistry, 2005.
- Barasch, Moshe. *Modern Theories of Art: From Winckelmann to Baudelaire, Volume 1*. New York: NYU Press, 1990.
- Barge, J.A.J. *De Leidsche Anatomie Herdacht. Toespraak Bij De Opening Van Het Anatomisch Laboratorium Der Rijksuniversiteit Te Leiden Op 2 October 1923 Gehouden*. Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1923.
- . *Het Geneeskundig Onderwijs Aan De Leidsche Universiteit in De 18de Eeuw*. Leiden: S.C. van Doesburgh, 1934.
- . *De Oudste Inventaris Der Oudste Academische Anatomie in Nederland*. Leiden/Amsterdam: H.E. Stenfert Kroese's Uitgevers Mij N.V., 1934.
- . *De Stichting Van Het Academisch Klinisch Onderwijs Te Leiden Voor 300 Jaren. Herdenkingsrede Gehouden in De Bijeenkomst Van Den Academischen Senaat Der Rijksuniversiteit Te Leiden Op 29 October 1937 Door Den Rector Magnificus*. . Leiden: H.E. Stenfert Kroese's Uitgevers-Mij N.V., 1937.
- Beardsley, Monroe C. *Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present: A Short History*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1975.
- Bertoloni Meli, Domenico. "The Color of Blood: Between Sensory Experience and Epistemic Significance." *Histories of Scientific Observation*. Eds. Daston, Lorraine and Elizabeth Lunbeck. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011. 117-34.
- Bianchi, F. et al. "Environment and Genetics in the Etiology of Cleft Lip and Cleft Palate with Reference to the Role of Folic Acid." *Epidemiologia e Prevenzione* 24.1 (2000): 21-7.

- Bots, Hans. "Van Universitaire Gemeenschap Tot Academische Kring. Enige Aspecten Met Betrekking Tot De Opkomst En Ontwikkeling Van Geleerde Academies En Genootschappen in West-Europa." Ed. Genootschap ter bevordering van Natuur-, Genees- en Heelkunde. Amsterdam, 1976.
- Bradt, Hilary. *Slow Devon and Exmoor*. Chalfont St Peter, Bucks: Bradt Travel guides, 2010.
- Breman, Joel G., and D.A. Henderson. "Diagnosis and Management of Smallpox." *New England Journal of Medicine* 346 (2002): 1300-08.
- Brown, Bill. "Thing Theory." *Critical Inquiry* 28 1 (2001): 1-22.
- Brugmans, Sebald Justinus et al. *Pharmacopoea Batava*. Amsterdam: J. Allart, 1805.
- Bruijn, Iris. "Ship's Surgeons of the Dutch East India Company in the Eighteenth Century. Commerce and the Progress of Medicine." Leiden University, 2004.
- Bucklow, Spike. *The Alchemy of Paint: Art, Science, and Secrets from the Middle Ages*. London/New York: Marion Boyards, 2009.
- Bussagli, Marco. *Het menselijk lichaam. Anatomie en symboliek*. Antwerpen: Ludion, 2007
- Carey, Margaret. "Gender in African Beadwork." *Beads and Bead Makers. Gender, Material Culture and Meaning*. Eds. Scimia, Lidia D. and Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg, 1998. 83-93.
- Chaplin, Simon. "John Hunter and the Anatomy of a Museum." *History Today* 55 2 (2005): 19-25.
- Chappel, T. J. H. "The Yoruba Cult of Twins in Historical Perspective." *Africa* 44 (1974): 250-65.
- Cheetham, Mark. *Kant, Art and Art History: Moments of Discipline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Clark, Stuart. *Vanities of the Eye. Vision in Early Modern European Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Clarke, Edwin, and C.D. O'Malley. *The Human Brain and Spinal Cord. A Historical Study Illustrated by Writings from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968.
- Cole, F.J. "The History of Anatomical Injections." *Studies in the History and Method of Science*. Ed. Singer, Charles. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 285-344.
- Collingwood, R.G. *The Principles of Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938.
- Collins, Harry. "Actors' and Analysts' Categories in the Social Analysis of Science." *Clashes of Knowledge: Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Science and Religion*. Eds. Meusburger, Peter, Michael Welker and Edgar Wunder: Springer, 2008. 101-10.
- . *Tacit and Explicit Knowledge*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Cook, Harold. *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine and Science in the Dutch Golden Age*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Cuhaj, George, and Merna Dudley, eds. *Standard Catalog of World Coins 1701-1800*. 5th ed. Iola WI: Krause Publications Inc, 2010.
- Cunningham, Andrew. *The Anatomical Renaissance: The Resurrection of the Anatomical Projects of the Ancients*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- . *The Anatomist Anatomis'd. An Experimental Discipline in Enlightenment Europe*. London: Ashgate, 2010.
- . "The Pen and the Sword: Recovering the Disciplinary Identity of Physiology and Anatomy before 1800. Part One. Old Physiology: The Pen." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 33 (2002): 631-65.

- . "The Pen and the Sword: Recovering the Disciplinary Identity of Physiology and Anatomy before 1800. Part Two. Old Anatomy: The Sword." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 34 (2003): 51-76.
- . "The Principality of Blood. William Harvey, the Blood, and the Early Transfusion Experiments." In: Santing, Catrien, and Jetze J. Touber (eds). *Blood-Symbol-Liquid*. Leuven: Peeters, 2012, p. 193-204
- Dalzel, Archibald. *De Geschiedenis Van Dahomy, Een Binnenlands Koninkrijk Van Afrika; Benevens Het Verhaal Eener Binnenlandse Reize in Afrika (...) Naar Het Engelsch Met Plaatzen*. Den Haag: J.C. Leeuwenstyn, 1800.
- Daniëls, Carel Eduard. *De Kinderpok-Inenting in Nederland : Meerendeels Naar Onuitgegeven Bescheiden Bewerkt : Eene Medisch-Historische Studie*. Amsterdam: Post, 1875.
- Dannehl, Karin. "Object Biographies: From Production to Consumption." *History and Material Culture. A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*. Ed. Harvey, Karen. Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources. London: Routledge, 2009. 123-38.
- Daston, Lorraine. "The Empire of Observation, 1600-1800." *Histories of Scientific Observation*. Eds. Daston, Lorraine and Elizabeth Lunbeck. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011. 81-113.
- , and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2007.
- , and Peter Galison. "The Image of Objectivity." *Representations* 40 (1992): 81-128.
- . ed. *Things That Talk. Object Lessons from Art and Science*. New York: Zone Books, 2008.
- , and Katharine Park. *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998.
- De Bolla, Peter. *The Discourse of the Sublime. Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- De Clippel, Karolien. "Alchemist / Alge Mist. Het Beeld Van De Alchemist in De Zeventiende-Eeuwse Schilderkunst Van De Lage Landen." *De Wijze En De Dwaas. De Alchemist in Woord En Beeld*. Ed. Jacobs, Davy. Brugge: Uitgeverij Van De Wiele, 2007. 27-38.
- Den Heijer, Henk. *Naar De Koning Van Dahomey. Het Journaal Van De Gezantschapsreis Van Jacobus Elet Naar Het West-Afrikaanse Koninkrijk Dahomey in 1733*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000.
- . *De Geschiedenis Van De WIC*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007.
- De Rijcke, Sarah. "Regarding the Brain. Practices of Objectivity in Cerebral Imaging. 17th Century-Present." *Dissertation*. Groningen University, 2010.
- De Rooy, Laurens, and Hans van den Boogaard. *Verzamelaars Van Vorm*. Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2009.
- De Vries, Ad, and Arthur de Vries. "Rattle." *Elsevier's dictionary of symbols and Imagery*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004.
- Dewhurst, Kevin. *The Quicksilver Doctor. The Live and Times of Thomas Dover, Physician and Adventurer*. Wright: University of California, 1957.
- Dobbs, Betty J.T. *Alchemical Death and Resurrection: the Significance of Alchemy in the Age of Newton*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Libraries, 1990.
- Dubin, Lois Sherr. *The Worldwide History of Beads. Ancient, Ethnic, Contemporary*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2009.
- Dupré, Sven, and Christoph Lüthy. "Introduction: Silent Messengers. The World of Goods and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Early Modern Netherlands." *Silent Messengers. The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the*

- Early Modern Low Countries*. Dupré, Sven, and Christoph Lüthy (eds). Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2011.1-12.
- Eagleton, Terry. *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Eales, Nellie B. "The History of the Lymphatic System, with Special Reference to the Hunter-Monro Controversy." *Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* XXIX.3 (1974): 280-94.
- Earnshaw, Pat. *Lace in Fashion from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1985.
- Ebenstein, Joanna. "Morbid Anatomy Blogspot". New York, 2007. 3 May 2012. <<http://morbidanatomy.blogspot.com/>>.
- Eijgenraam, M.J. "'Menschlievendheid En Eigen Belang'. De Behandeling Van De Slaven Aan Boord Van De Schepen Van De Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie." *Archief. Mededelingen van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der wetenschappen* 10 (1990): 77-104.
- Elshout, A.M. (also see Luyendijk-Elshout, A.M.) *Het Leidse Kabinet Der Anatomie Uit De Achttiende Eeuw. De Betekenis Van Een Wetenschappelijke Collectie Als Cultuurhistorisch Monument*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1952.
- Fagg, William. *Yoruba Beadwork. Art of Nigeria*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1980.
- Fara, Patricia. "Marginalized Practices." *The Cambridge History of Science*. Ed. Porter, Roy. Vol. 4. Eighteenth-Century Science. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 485-507.
- Farram, Steven. "Jacobus Arnoldus Hazaart and the British Interregnum in Netherlands Timor, 1812-1816." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 163 4 (2007): 455-75.
- Fontes da Costa, Palmira. "The Making of Extraordinary Facts: Authentication of Singularities of Nature at the Royal Society of London in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century." *Studies in history and philosophy of science* 33 2 (2002): 265-88.
- . *The Singular and the Making of Knowledge at the Royal Society of London in the Eighteenth Century*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.
- Ford, John M.T. "A Medical Student at St Thomas's Hospital, 1801-1802. The Weekes Family Letters." *Medical History, Supplement No. 7*. London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1987.
- Fuchs, Daniel, and Geo Fuchs. *Conserving*. Munich: Reuss, 2000.
- Geerars, C.M. "Theorie Van De Satire." *Documentatieblad Werkgroep 18e eeuw* 15/16 (1971): 1-41.
- Gettens, Rutherford J., Robert L. Feller, and W. T. Chase. "Vermilion and Cinnabar." *Studies in Conservation* 17.2 (1972): 45-69.
- Geyskens, D.C., and C.J. van der Klaauw. "Der Heutige Zustand Der Anatomischen Kabinette Früherer Jahrhunderte in Leiden." *Janus Archives internationales pour l'histoire de la médecine et la géographie médicale* 38 (1934): 179-92.
- Goodwin, Charles. "Professional Vision." *American Anthropologist* 96 3 (1994): 606-33.
- Gould, Stephen Jay, and Rosamond W. Purcell. *Finders, Keepers: Eight Collectors*. London: W.W. Norton, 1992.
- Gowing, Laura. "Marked Bodies and Social Meanings." *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Enlightenment*. Ed. Reeves, Carole. Vol. 4. Oxford/NY: Berg, 2010. 133-53.
- Graham, Gordon. *Philosophy of the Arts. An Introduction to Aesthetics*. 2nd ed.

- London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Greer, Germaine. "Gunther Von Hagens' Body Worlds Is Strictly Showbiz." *The Guardian* Monday February 25 2008.
- Groningen, Museumhuis. "Universiteitsmuseum Groningen." *Extra Intermuseaal*. January (2011): 4.
- Guépin, J.P. "Het Bataafse Oor: Drie Eeuwen Latijnse Poëzie Door Nederlanders Geschreven." *De Tweede Ronde: tijdschrift voor literatuur* 7.4 (1986): 135-48.
- Guerrini, Anita. "Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 59 2 (2004): 219-39.
- . "Duverney's Skeletons." *Isis* 94 4 (2003a): 577-603.
- . *Experimenting with Humans and Animals: From Galen to Animal Rights*. Johns Hopkins Introductory Studies in the History of Science. Eds. Green, M.T. and S. Kingsland. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003b.
- Guyer, Paul. "The difficulty of the sublime." *Histories of the Sublime* 9-10 December 2004 Madelein, C., J. Pieters and B. Vandenabeele eds. Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten (2005): 33-43.
- Gwilt, Joseph. "Aesthetic." *An encyclopædia of architecture, historical, theoretical, and practical*. Ed. Papworth, Wyatt. New York: Bonanza Books, 1842 (1982).
- Hacking, Ian. *Historical Ontology*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Hagner, Michael. "Enlightened Monsters " *The Sciences in Enlightened Europe*. Eds. Clark, William, Jan Golinski and Simon Schaffer. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999. 175-217.
- Hall, James. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008.
- Hallam, Elizabeth, and J. Hockey. "Death, Memory and Material Culture." *Materializing Culture*. Eds. Gilroy, Paul, Michael Herzfeld and Danny Miller. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Hansen, Julie. "Resurrecting Death: Anatomical Art in the Cabinet of Dr. Frederik Ruysch." *The art bulletin : an illustrated quarterly* 78 4 (1996).
- Hammermeister, Kai. *The German Aesthetic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Harvey, Karen. "Introduction: Practical Matters." *History and Material Culture. A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*. Ed. Harvey, Karen. London: Routledge, 2009. 1-23.
- Helm, Jürgen, and Karin Stukenbrock, eds. *Anatomie. Sektionen Einer Medizinischen Wissenschaft Im 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003.
- Hemsterhuis, Frans. *Wijsgerige Werken. Uitgegeven, Ingeleid En Van Een Commentaar Voorzien Door M.J. Petry*. Budel / Leeuwarden: Damon / Fryske Akademy, 2001.
- Hendriksen, Marieke. "Une Recherche Commune De « L'homo Perfectus » ? La Perfection Dans La Relation De Travail De Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770) Et Jan Wandelaar (1692-1759)." *Alliage* 67 (2010).
- , Hieke Huistra and Rina Knoeff. "Recycling Anatomical Preparations" *Medical Museums. Past, Present, Future*. Eds. Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. and Elizabeth Hallam. (forthcoming 2013)
- Henschen, Folke, and Kenneth P. Oakley. *The Human Skull. A Cultural History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1966.
- Herman, Bernard L. "Introduction. The Discourse of Objects." *The Stolen House*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1992. p. 3-14.

- Huisman, Tim & A.M. Luyendijk-Elshout *De Volmaakte Mens : De Anatomische Atlas Van Albinus En Wandelaar*. Mededeling Uit Het Rijksmuseum Voor De Geschiedenis Van De Natuurwetenschappen. Vol. 0926-8936; 248. Leiden: Museum Boerhaave (Leiden), 1991.
- . *The Finger of God. Anatomical Practice in 17th Century Leiden*. Leiden: Primavera Press, 2009.
- Huistra, Hieke. "Collecties Op College. Het Gebruik Van Anatomische Preparaten in Het Negentiende-Eeuwse Geneeskunde Onderwijs Aan De Nederlandse Universiteiten." *Van Lectio Tot Powerpoint. De Geschiedenis Van Het Onderwijs Aan De Nederlandse Universiteiten*. Eds. Dorsman, L.J. and P.J. Knechtmans. Hilversum: Verloren, 2011. 25-42.
- . "Dead Body in the Closet: The Leiden Anatomical Collections, Their Meanings and Their Audiences in the Nineteenth Century." PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2013 (forthcoming).
- Hyrzl, Joseph. *Handboek Der Praktische Ontleedkunst : Als Leidraad Bij De Anatomische Oefeningen En Tot Het Vervaardigen Van Præparaten / Joseph Hyrtl ; Naar Het Hoogduitsch Door J.A. Boogaard En T. Zaayer*. Trans. Boogaard, J.A. and T. Zaaijer. Schiedam, 1865.
- Israel, Jonathan. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Jacob, Margaret, C., and W.W. Mijnhardt (eds). *The Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century: decline, Enlightenment, and revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Jardine, Nicholas. *The Scenes of Inquiry : On the Reality of Questions in the Sciences*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- . "Uses and Abuses of Anachronism in the History of the Sciences." *History of science* 38.121 (2000).
- Jorink, Eric. "Het Boeck Der Natuere' : Nederlandse Geleerden En De Wonderen Van Gods Schepping, 1575-1715." Proefschrift Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2004.
- . *Reading the book of nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575-1715*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- , and Bart Ramakers. "Undivided territory. 'Art' and 'science' in the early modern Netherlands." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 61, Zwolle: WBooks, 2011.
- Jorissen, W.P. *Het Chemisch (Thans Anorganisch Chemisch) Laboratorium Der Universiteit Te Leiden Van 1859-1909 En De Chemische Laboratoria Dier Universiteit Vóór Dat Tijdvak En Hen, Die Er in Doceerden*. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1909.
- Jütte, Robert. "Die Haut Als Heilmittel." *Verborgten Im Buch - Verborgten Im Körper: Haut Zwischen 1500 Und 1800*. Ed. Zeuch, Ulrike: Wolfenbüttel, 2003. 161-66.
- Kavey, Allison B. "Mercury Falling. Gender Malleability and Sexual Fluidity in Early Modern Popular Alchemy." *Chymists and Chymistry. Studies in the History of Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry*. Ed. Principe, Lawrence M. Sagamore Beach: Chemical Heritage Foundation & Science History Publications, 2007. 125-35.
- Kemp, Martin. "'the Mark of Truth': Looking and Learning in Some Anatomical Illustrations from the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century." *Medicine and the Five Senses*. Eds. Bynum, W.F. and Roy Porter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 85-122.
- , and Marina Wallace. *Spectacular Bodies: The Art and Science of the Human Body from Leonardo to Now*. Hayward Gallery, 2000.

- Klein, Ursula, and E. C. Spary. "Introduction: Why Materials?" *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and Laboratory*. Eds. Klein, Ursula and E. C. Spary. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Kluvel, Amanda. *Reis door de hel der onschuldigen: de expressieve politiek van de Nederlandse anti-vivisectionisten, 1890-1940*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000.
- Knoeff, Rina. "Sex in Public. On the Spectacle of Female Anatomy in Amsterdam around 1700." *L'Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*. 23.1 (2012): 43-58.
- . *Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738): Calvinist Chemist and Physician*. Amsterdam: Edita, 2002.
- Knox, F. *The Anatomist's Instructor, and Museum Companion Being Practical Directions for the Formation and Subsequent Management of Anatomical Museums*. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black., 1836.
- Konert, Jürgen, and Holger G. Dietrich. "Giovanni Battista Morgagni Und Der Beginn Der Pathologischen Anatomie " *Anatomie. Sektionen Einer Medizinischen Wissenschaft Im 18. Jahrhundert*. Eds. Helm, Jürgen and Karin Stukenbrock. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 127-38.
- Kooijmans, Luuc. *De Doodskunstenaar. De Anatomische Lessen Van Frederik Ruysch*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2004.
- . Translated by Diane Webb. *Death Defied. The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch*. History of Science and Medicine Library. Vol. 1872-0684. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Korsmeyer, Carolyn. "Fear and Disgust: The Sublime and the Sublate." *Revue internationale de philosophie* 4.246 (2008): 367-79.
- . *Savoring Disgust. The Foul & the Fair in Aesthetics*. Oxford Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Koudounaris, Paul. *The Empire of Death. A Cultural History of Ossuaries and Charnel Houses*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2011.
- Kraatz, Anne. *Lace. History and Fashion*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1989.
- La Mettrie, Julien Offray de. *Man a Machine. French-English Including Frederick the Great's Eulogy on La Mettrie and Extracts from La Mettries the Natural History of the Soul*. La Salle, Illinois: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1943.
- Latour, Bruno. *Science in Action*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- . *We Have Never Been Modern*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies. 2007 paperback edition ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Le Fanu, W.R. "More Letters from B.S. Albinus to Robert Nesbitt." *Janus Archives internationales pour l'histoire de la médecine et la géographie médicinale* 36 (1932): 1-26.
- Legêne, Susan. "Flatirons and the folds of history. On archives, cultural heritage and colonial legacies." *Traveling Heritages. New Perspectives on Collecting, Preserving and Sharing Women's History*. Ed. S. Wierings. Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008. p. 47-64.

- Lehmann, Ann-Sophie, and Herman Roodenburg. "Introduction." *Netherlands Yearbook for Art History*. Eds. Lehmann, Ann-Sophie and Herman Roodenburg. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2008. 7-13.
- Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (LUMC). "Catalogus Historische Anatomische Collectie LUMC." Ed. Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum. Leiden 2010. (Partly accessible via <http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl>)
- Leonard, C.H. and Gray, Henry. *The Concise Gray's Anatomy*. New York: Cosimo, 2005
- Leopardi, Giacomo. "Dialogi Di Frederico Ruysch E Delle Sue Mummie." *Operette Morali*. Milaan: A.F. Stella, 1827. p.163-71.
- Lewis, Stephen. "A Pathological Misunderstanding." *Wellcome History* Spring.46 (2011): 6-7.
- Lindeboom, G.A. (ed) *Observationes anatomicæ Collegii privati Amstelodamensis. Pars prior (1667) et altera (1673)*. Fascimile with an introduction by G.A. Lindeboom. Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975.
- . "Inleiding Bij De Surinaamsche Artz." *Uitgaven Van De Natuurwetenschappelijke Studiekring Voor Suriname En De Antillen. Natuurhistorische Reeks* Vol. 109. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981.
- Luck, Georg. "Love Elegy." *Latin Literature*. Eds. Kenney, E. J. and W. V. Clausen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- LUMC catalogue: see Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum.
- Luyendijk-Elshout, A. M. "Antony Nuck (1650-1692) the "Mercator" of the Body Fluids. A Review of His Anatomical and Experimental Studies. ." *Circa Tiliam. Studia Historiæ Medicinæ Gerrit Arie Lindeboom Septuagenario Oblata*. Eds. Meer, C. van der, J.V. Meininger and J. Schouten. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974. 150-64.
- . "Death Enlightened: A Study of Frederik Ruysch." *Journal of the American Medical Association* 212 (1970): 121-6.
- . "Introduction." *Dilucidatio Valvularum in Vasis Lymphaticis Et Lacteis, 1665 / Frederik Ruysch. Facs. Ed. / with an Introd. By A.M. Luyendijk-Elshout*. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1964.
- . "Morgagni, Ruysch, E Boerhaave. I Tre Moschettieri Dell'anatomia Sottile." *Scienza E Cultura, Informazione Dell'università Di Padova*. Padova: Università di Padova, 1983. 301-20.
- . "The Elegant Anatomist: The Italian Medical Connections of Eduard Sandifort (1742-1814)." *Italian Scientists in the Low Countries in the Xviiith and Xviiiith Centuries*. Eds. Maffioli, C.S. and L.C. Palm. Nieuwe Nederlandse Bijdragen Tot De Geschiedenis Der Geneeskunde En Der Natuurwetenschappen. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989. 305-20.
- Maerker, Anna. "Model Experts: The Production and Uses of Anatomical Models at La Specola, Florence, and the Josephinum, Vienna, 1775-1814." Cornell University, 2005.
- . *Model experts: wax anatomies and Enlightenment in Florence and Vienna, 1775-1815*. Manchester: Manchester University Press 2011.
- Malik, Kenan. *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*. Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1996.
- Margócsy, Dániel. "Advertising Cadavers in the Republic of Letters: Anatomical Publications in the Early Modern Netherlands." *British Journal for the History of Science* 42 2 (2008): 187-210.
- . "A Museum of Wonders or a Cemetery of Corpses? The Commercial Exchange of

- Anatomical Collections in Early Modern Netherlands." *Silent Messengers. The Circulation of Material Objects of Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*. Eds. Dupré, Sven and Cristoph Lüthy. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2011. 185-216.
- Mazzolini, Renato G. "Las Castas: Interracial Crossing and Social Structure, 1770-1835." *Heredity Produced. At the Crossroads of Biology, Politics, and Culture, 1500-1870* Eds. Müller-Wille, Staffan and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger. Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology. Cambridge, MA/London, England: The MIT Press, 2007. 349-73.
- McClellan, James E. *Science Reorganized. Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Meerman, Johan. *Eenige Berichten Omtrent Het Noorden En Noord-Oosten Van Europa*. 4 vols. Den Haag: Erven Js. van Cleef, 1804.
- Menninghaus, Winfried. *Disgust: The Theory and History of a Strong Sensation*. Trans. Eiland, Howard and Joel Golb. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Messbarger, Rebecca. *The Lady Anatomist. The Life and Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Meyer, Birgit. *Religious Sensations. Why Media, Aesthetics and Power Matter in the Study of Contemporary Religion*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2006.
- Miller, William Ian. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Molhuysen, P.C. *Bronnen Tot De Geschiedenis Der Leidsche Universiteit. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*. 7 Vols. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913-1924. (Accessible via: http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/leidsche_universiteit/#page=0&size=800&accessor=toc&source=1)
- Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley "Saturday; Small-Pox." *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Ed. Wharnccliffe, Lord. Vol. 3. London: Richard Bentley, 1837. 366-9.
- Moore, Wendy. *The Knife Man. The Extraordinary Life and Times of John Hunter, Father of Modern Surgery*. London: Bantam Press, 2005.
- Moran, Bruce T. "Introduction." *Isis* 102.2 (2011): 300-04.
- Mueller-Wille, Staffan, and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger. "Heredity - the Formation of an Epistemic Space." *Heredity Produced. At the Crossroads of Biology, Politics, and Culture, 1500-1870* Eds. Müller-Wille, Staffan and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger. Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology. Cambridge, MA/London, England: The MIT Press, 2007. 3-34.
- Newman, William R. *Atoms and Alchemy. Chymistry and the Experimental Origins of the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- . *From Alchemy to "Chymistry"*. The Cambridge History of Science. Eds. Park, Katharine and Lorraine Daston. Vol. 3 Early Modern Science. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- , and Lawrence M. Principe. "Alchemy Vs. Chemistry: The Etymological Origins of a Historiographic Mistake." *Early Science and Medicine* 3.1 (1998): 32-65.
- Niederländische, Philologie. "Structuur En Geschiedenis Van Het Nederlands. Een Inleiding Tot De Taalkunde Van Het Nederlands: De Woordenboeken Van De 16e T/M De 18e Eeuw ". Berlin, 2009. Freie Universität Berlin. 3 August 2010. <<http://neon.niederlandistik.fu->

- berlin.de/nl/nedling/taalgeschiedenis/woordenboeken_van_de_16e_tm_de_18e_eeuw/>.
- Nisbet, R.G.M., and Margaret Hubbard. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Noble, Louise Christine. "And Make Two Pasties of Your Shameful Heads": Medicinal Cannibalism and Healing the Body Politic in Titus Andronicus." *ELH* 70 3 (2003): 677-708.
- Nutton, Vivian. "The fatal embrace; Galen and the history of ancient medicine", *Science in Context*, 2005, 18, 1: 111-121
- . "The fortunes of Galen", in R. J. Hankinson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 355-390
- Olry, Regis, and Kaoru Motomiya. "Paolo Mascagni, Ernest Alexandra Lauth and Marie Philibert Constant Sappey on the Dissection and Injection of the Lymphatics." *Journal of the International Society for Plastination* 12.2 (1997): 4-7.
- Onnasch, Ernst-Otto. "Receptieonderzoek. De Eerste Receptie Van Kants Filosofie in Nederland." *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 68 (2006): 133-56.
- Ololade, Olatunji. "Where Body Parts Are Called Credit Cards." *The Nation* 30/07/2011 2011, Online ed.
<http://www.thenationonlineng.net/2011/index.php/columnist/friday/ololade-ololade/14038-where-body-parts-are-called-credit-cards.html> (last consulted 25 April 2012).
- Otterspeer, Willem. *Groepsportret Met Dame II. De Vesting Van Macht. De Leidse Universiteit, 1673-1775*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2002. Print.
- . *Groepsportret Met Dame III. De Werken Van Wetenschap 1776-1876*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2005. Print.
- Park, Katherine. *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection*. New York: Zone Books, 2006.
- Pemberton III, John *African Beaded Art: Power and Adornment*. Northampton, MA: Smith College Museum of Art, 2008.
- Pickstone, John V. *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Pinney, Christopher. "Four Types of Visual Culture." *Handbook of Material Culture*. Ed. Tilley, C. London: Sage, 2006. 131-45.
- Pochat, Götz. *Geschichte der Ästhetik und Kunsttheorie. Von der Antike bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Köln: DuMont Buchverlag, 1986.
- Pol, Arent. *Schepen Met Geld. De Handelsmunten Van De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie 1602-1799*. Den Haag: SDU Uitgeverij, 1989.
- Porter, Roy. *Flesh in the Age of Reason*. London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books, 2003.
- . (ed.) *Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Powers, John C. "Scrutinizing the Alchemists. Herman Boerhaave and the Testing of Chymistry." *Chymists and Chymistry. Studies in the History of Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry*. Ed. Principe, Lawrence M. Sagamore Beach: Chemical Heritage Foundation & Science History Publications, 2007. 227-38.
- . *Inventing Chemistry. Herman Boerhaave and the Reform of the Chemical Arts*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Priester, L.R. *De Nederlandse Houding Ten Aanzien Van De Slavenhandel En Slavernij, 1596-1863. Het Gedrag Van De Slavenhandelaren Van De Commercie Compagnie Van Middelburg in De 18e Eeuw*. Scriptiereeks Crgz. Middelburg: Commissie Regionale Geschiedbeoefening Zeeland, 1987.

- Principe, Lawrence M. "Alchemy Restored." *Isis* 102.2 (2011): 305-12.
- Prown, Jules David. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17.1 (1982): 1-19.
- . *Art as Evidence. Writings on Art and Material Culture*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Punt, H. "Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770). On 'Human Nature'. Anatomical and Physiological Ideas in Eighteenth Century Leiden ", 1983.
- Rheinberger, Hans-Jörg. *On Historicizing Epistemology: An Essay*. Cultural Memory in the Present. Eds. Bal, Mieke and Hent de Vries. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Ricardo Brown, B. *Until Darwin, Science, Human Variety and the Origins of Race*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010.
- Richardson, Ruth. *The Making of Mr. Gray's Anatomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Riskin, Jessica. *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Roberts, Lissa. "Centres and Cycles of Accumulation." *Centres and Cycles of Accumulation in and around the Netherlands During the Early Modern Period*. Lissa Roberts (ed). Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2011.3-27.
- . "The Death of the Sensuous Chemist: The 'New' Chemistry "And the Transformation of Sensuous Technology." *Empire of the Senses. The Sensual Culture Reader*. Ed. Howes, David. Oxford: Berg, 2005. 106-27.
- , Simon Schaffer, and Peter Dear, eds. *The Mindful Hand. Inquiry and Invention from the Late Renaissance to Early Industrialisation*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007.
- Rookmaaker, L.C., and R.P.W. Visser. "Petrus Camper's Study of the Javan Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros Sondaicus*) and Its Influence on Georges Cuvier." *Bijdragen tot de Dierkunde* 52 2 (1982): 121-36.
- Ronson, Albert R. *The new medicine and the old ethics*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Rosner, Lisa. *The Anatomy Murders : Being the True and Spectacular History of Edinburgh's Notorious Burke and Hare, and of the Man of Science Who Abetted Them in the Commission of Their Most Heinous Crimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Rouffaer, G.P. "Waar Kwamen De Raadselachtige Moetisalah's (Aggri-Kralen) in De Timor-Groep Oorspronkelijk Van Daan? ." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* VI VI (1899): 409-675.
- Rousseau, G.S. *Nervous Acts. Essays on Literature, Culture and Sensibility*. Basingstoke / New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Rutten, A.M.G. *Dutch Transatlantic Medicine in the Eighteenth Century under the Cover of the West India Company*. second ed. Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2000.
- Rutten, Willibrord. "'De Vreselijkste Aller Harpijen' : Pokkenepidemiee N En Pokkenbestrijding in Nederland in De Achttiende En Negentiende Eeuw : Een Sociaal-Historische En Historisch-Demografische Studie." Landbouwwuniversiteit Wageningen, 1997.
- Sacré, Dirk. "An Imitator of Fracastorius's Syphilis : Gadso Coopmans (1746-1810) and His Varis." *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 45 (1996): 520-38.

- Sandifort, G. *Museum Anatomicum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae Descriptum*. II plus Plano with test prints vols. Lugd. Bat, 1827.
- Santing, Catrien. "Andreas Vesalius's *De Fabrica corporis humana*, depiction of the human model in word and image." *Body and Embodiment in Netherlandish Art/Lichaam en lichamelijkeid in de nederlandse kunst*. *Netherlands Yearbook for Art History*. Eds. Lehmann, Ann-Sophie and Herman Roodenburg. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2008, pp 59-85
- , and Jetze J. Touber (eds). *Blood-Symbol-Liquid*. Groningen Studies in Cultural Change (H.W. Hoen, ed.), vol. XLIV. Leuven: Peeters, 2012
- . "De Menselijke Canon. Het Vraagstuk Van De Ideale Mens in De Nederlandse Medische Wetenschap." *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden / The Low Countries historical review* 122 1 (2007): 484-503.
- Schaffer, Simon. "Genius in Romantic Natural Philosophy." *Romanticism and the Sciences*. Eds. Cunningham, Andrew and Nicholas Jardine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 82-98.
- Schickore, Jutta. *The Microscope and the Eye: A History of Reflections, 1740-1870*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Schiebinger, Londa. *Plants and Empire. Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge MA/London UK: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Schlothauer, Andreas. "Kopfjagd Und Schädelkult in West-Afrika." *Schädelkult. Kopf Und Schädel in Der Kulturgeschichte Des Menschen. Begleitband Zur Sonderausstellung*. Ed. Wiczorek, Alfried. Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen. Mannheim: Schnell Steiner, 2012. 117-23.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. "Accumulating the World: Collecting and Commodifying 'Globalism' in Early Modern Europe." *Centres and Cycles of Accumulation in and around the Netherlands During the Early Modern Period*. Lissa Roberts (ed). Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2011.129-154.
- Schultka, Rüdiger, and Luminita Göbbel. "Präparationstechniken Und Präparate Im 18. Und Frühen 19. Jahrhundert, Dargestellt an Beispielen Aus Den Anatomischen Sammlungen Zu Halle (Saale)." *Anatomie. Sektionen Einer Medizinischen Wissenschaft Im 18. Jahrhundert*. Eds. Helm, Jürgen and Karin Stukenbrock. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 49-82.
- science: *an annual review of literature, research and teaching* 38.121 (2000): 251-270.
- Scott, Rebecca. "Body Worlds' Plastinates, the Human/Nonhuman Interface, and Feminism." *Feminist Theory* 12.2 (2011): 165-81.
- Shapin, Steven, and Simon Schaffer. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump. Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- . *Never Pure. Historical Studies of Science as If It Was Produced by People with Bodies, Situated in Time, Space, Culture, and Society, and Struggling for Credibility and Authority*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010.
- Smith, Pamela H. *The Body of the Artisan. Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- . *The Workshop of History. Reconstructing Lived Experience in Early Modern Europe*' Huygens-Descartes lecture 2011, Amsterdam, 15 June 2011 (unpublished).
- . "Vermillion, Mercury, Blood and Lizards: Matter and Meaning in Metalworking." *Materials and Expertise in Early Modern Europe: Between Market and*

- Laboratory*. Eds. Klein, Ursula and E. C. Spary. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010. 29-49.
- , and Benjamin Schmidt, eds. *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400 - 1800*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- , and Tonny Beentjes. "Nature and Art: Making and Knowing: Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century Life-Casting Techniques." *Renaissance Quarterly* 63 1 (2010): 128-79.
- Snelders, H.A.M. "Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen in De Periode 1778 Tot 1816." *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw*. 41/42 (1979): 62-90.
- Snelders, Stephen. *Vrijbuiters van de heekunde. Op zoek naar medische kennis in de tropen 1600-1800*. Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Uitgeverij Atlas, 2012
- Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *Reading Eighteenth-Century Poetry*. Reading Poetry. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Spary, E.C. "Of Nutmegs and Botanists: The Colonial Cultivation of Botanical Identity." *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Eds. Schiebinger, Londa and Claudia Swan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 187-203.
- Spillane, John D. *The Doctrine of the Nerves. Chapters in the History of Neurology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Staves, Susan. "The Puzzle of the Pox-Marked Body." *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Elighthenment*. Ed. Reeves, Carole. Vol. 4. Oxford/NY: Berg, 2010. 155-74.
- Steinke, Hubert. *Irritating Experiments. Haller's Concept and the European Controversy on Irritability and Sensibility, 1750-90*. The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine. Eds. V. Nutton, C.J. Lawrence and M. Neve. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2005.
- Stoll, Mareidi, and Gert Stoll. *Ibeji. Zwillingfiguren Der Yoruba / Twin Figures of the Yoruba*. Düsseldorf: Hub. Hoch, 1980.
- Sturm, Lars-Burkhardt. "Präparationsrtechniken Und Ihre Anwendung in Den Meckelschen Sammlungen Zu Halle/Saale." *Anatomie Und Anatomische Sammlungen Im 18. Jahrhundert. Anlässlich Der 250. Widerkehr Des Geburtstages Von Philip Friedrich Theodor Meckel (1755-1803)*. Eds. Schultka, Rüdiger and Josef N. Neumann. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007. 377-88.
- Sugg, Richard. *Mummies, Cannibals And Vampires. The History Of Corpse Medicine From The Renaissance to the Victorians*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Suringar, G.C.B. "Het Bijeenbrengen Eener Verzameling Van Natuurlijke Voorwerpen Voor Het Akademisch Onderwijs, Omstreeks Het Midden Der Achttiende Eeuw. Eerste Afzonderlijke Lessen over De Natuurlijke Historie, Door Den Hoogleraar Allamand, En over De Zoölogie Door Le Francq Van Berkhey." *Ned Tijdschr Geneeskd*. 11 (1867): 265-84.
- Swan, Claudia. "Collecting *Naturalia* in the Shadow of Early Modern Dutch Trade." *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Eds. Schiebinger, Londa and Claudia Swan. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 223-36.
- Swiderski, Richard M. *Quicksilver : A History of the Use, Lore and Effects of Mercury*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008.
- Thomas, Simon. "Teunis Zaaijer." *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. Eds. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918. Vol. 4.
- Tompsett, D. H. *Anatomical Techniques*. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone, 1970.

- Trivellato, Francesca. "Venetian Glass Beads, Female Labour and International Trades." *Beads and Bead Makers. Gender, Material Culture and Meaning*. Eds. Scimia, Lidia D. and Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg, 1998. 47-82.
- Van Delft, Dirk. "De Schoonheid En De Dood." *NRC Handelsblad* Zaterdag 18 december 2004.
- Van der Borg, Els. "Het Ontslag Van De Stadsvroedmeester Cornelis Terne. Wedijverende Beroepsgroepen Te Leiden in De Achttiende Eeuw." *Holland: regionaal-historisch tijdschrift* 22 (1990): 109-20.
- Van der Korst, J.K. *Een Dokter Van Formaat: Gerard Van Swieten, Lijfarts Van Keizerin Maria Theresia*. Houten: Bohn Stafleu van Loghem, 2003.
- Van de Roemer, Gijsbert M. "From Vanitas to Veneration. The Embellishments in the Anatomical Cabinet of Frederik Ruysch." *Journal of the History of Collections* (2009): 1-18.
- Van der Zwaag, Pieter. "Wouter Van Doeveren (1730-1783) : Leven En Werken Van Een 18e Eeuws Hoogleraar in De Geneeskunde." Amsterdam VU, 1970.
- Van der Zwan, Nelleke. *Oog Voor Kralen*. Berg en Dal: Afrikamuseum, 1985.
- Van Duuren, David, et al. *Physical Anthropology Reconsidered. Human Remains at the Tropenmuseum*. Bulletins of the Royal Tropical Institute. Ed. Kouwenhove, Arlette. Vol. 375. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2007.
- Van Gelder, Esther. *Tussen Hof En Keizerskroon. Carolus Clusius En De Ontwikkeling Van De Botanie Aan Midden-Europese Hoven (1573-1593)*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011.
- Van Heiningen, Teunis Willem. *Gerard Sandifort (1799-1848) in Twee Werelden*. Utrecht: Elinkwijk BV, 1995
- . *The Correspondence of Sebald Justinus Brugmans (1763-1819)*. 2009. <<http://www.dwc.knaw.nl/archive/images/PDF/2009-vHeiningen-Correspondence%20Brugmans.pdf>>.
- Verheij, Irene. *Op Reis Met Clara. De Geschiedenis Van Een Bezienswaardige Neushoorn*. Rotterdam: Natuurmuseum, 1992.
- Vogelzang, Jacques. *Ere Ibeji. Beelden Van Tweelingen, in Het Bijzonder Van De Yoruba Van Nigeria*. Berg en Dal Afrikamuseum, 1994. Vossiuspers UvA, 2009.
- Von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Goethes Werke*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987.
- Von Haller, Albrecht. "Albrecht Hallers Tagebücher Seiner Reise Nach Holland " *Haller in Holland. Dagboek*. Ed. Lindeboom, G.A. Delft: Koninklijke Gist- en Spiritusfabriek N.V., 1725-1727 (1958).
- Walter, Tony. "Body Worlds: Clinical Detachment and Anatomical Awe." *Sociology of Health & Illness* 26.4 (2004): 464-88.
- Weber, Andreas. *Hybrid Ambitions. Science, governance, and empire in the career of Caspar G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854)*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012
- West Fitzhugh, Elisabeth. "Red Lead and Minimum." *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*. Ed. Feller, Robert L. Vol. 1. London/Washington DC: Cambridge University Press/National Gallery of Art, 1986. 109-39. Print
- Wieczorek, Alfried, ed. *Schädelkult. Kopf Und Schädel in Der Kulturgeschichte Des Menschen. Begleitband Zur Sonderausstellung*. Mannheim: Schnell Steiner, 2012.
- Wilcox, A.J., et al. "Folic Acid Supplements and the Risk of Facial Clefts: A National Population-Based Control Study." *British Medical Journal* 334.7591 (2007).

- Wilson, Philip K. "Eighteenth-Century 'Monsters' and Nineteenth-Century 'Freaks': Reading the Maternally Marked Child." *Literature and Medicine*, Vol. 21, no. 1, spring 2002, p. 1-25
- Witkam, H.J. "Catalogues Anatomy Hall Leiden University." Leiden: Leiden University, 1980. 86.
- . "Over De Anatomieplaats, De Albinussen En De Sandiforts." Leiden, 1968.
- Zaaijer, T. *Beschrijving van twee vrouwenbekkens uit den Oost-Indischen Archipel*. Leiden: Doesburgh, 1862.
- . *Het Gewicht Eener Doelmatige Ontleedkundige Techniek. Redevoering Ter Aanvaarding Van Het Hoogleraarsambt Aan De Hoogeschool Te Leiden*. Leiden: Firma Jacs. Hazenberg, Corns. Zoon, 1866.
- Zijlmans, Jori. *Hond & Baas. Een Geschiedenis Van Haat En Liefde*. Den Haag: De Nieuwe Haagsche / Haags Historisch Museum, 2002.
- Zuidervaat, Huib J. "Egbert Philip Van Visvliet (1736-1799); Een Middelburgs Verzamelaar Van Vrienden, Naturalia En Fysische Instrumenten " *Zeeland* 3 2 (1994): 87-95.

Online resources

- Aesop. *Aesop's Fables: Complete, Original Translation from Greek. By Aesop. Translated Form the Greek by George Fyler Townsend (1887)*. Ed. forgottenbooks.org. 2007. <www.forgottenbooks.org>.
- Camper collection online:
<http://anatomie.ub.rug.nl/index.htm>
- Geschiedeniszeeland.nl. "Kralen". 2009.
 <<http://www.geschiedeniszeeland.nl/themas/slavernij/handelsgoederen/kralen?lng=nl>>.
- Groningen University Museum:
<http://www.rug.nl/museum/tentoonstellingen/actueel/BinnensteBuiten>.
- Historical calculator:
<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/calculate.php>.
- Kunstkamera, St. Petersburg. "Frederik Ruysch's Collection." MAE RAS, 2010.
<http://www.kunstkamera.ru/kunst-catalogue/index.seam?c=RUYSH>
- Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (LUMC). "Anatomisch Museum Lumc". Leiden, 2012. Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum.
 <<http://www.lumc.nl/home/0003/71210065101221/90331050631221/>>.
- Nijmegen University Anatomical Museum:
<http://www.umcn.nl/ONDERWIJS/MUSEUMVOORANATOMIEENPATHOLOGIE/Pages/default.aspx>.
- "Voc Opvarenden". The Hague, 2008. Nationaal Archief.
 <<http://vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl/detail.aspx?ID=1270029>>.
- Von Haller, Albrecht. to Carl Linnaeus, 14 April 1737, The Linnaean correspondence, linnaeus.c18.net, letter L0182.