Corpse and Sound : Some Thoughts on the Function of Music in Anatomical Theatres*

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Abstract

In some early modern European anatomical theatres (Bologna, Padua, Leiden), the presence of instrumental music is documented during public dissections performed in the medical faculties of universities. This essay discusses the possible reasons for this curious presence in relation to the documented situations. In one context (Bologna), music seasoned the festive and carnivalesque atmosphere in which the annual public dissection was set. In a different context (Padua), music seems to have fulfilled a rebalancing and soothing function. This article raises the possibility that music also served as an adjuvant to personal reflection on the theme of death, at the same time as what was happening not only in the literary and pictorial fields but also on the theatrical stage. This is the time when opera was born and established itself, where the slow lingering over sentimental descriptions resembles a 'vivisection of the soul'.

Keywords:*Anatomical theatres, early modern age, music, Bologna, Padua.*

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Introduction

In universities throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, there was a truly extraordinary interest in anatomical dissection, practiced systematically since Alexandrian times, but previously already by Aristotle.[1] The preferred bodies for dissections for demonstrative purposes have always been those of prisoners sentenced to death, better if not local. Over time, a significant change in scientific perspective took place: starting from the beginning of the sixteenth century, professional observation of the human

body detached itself from the traditional Galenic view, which handed down knowledge without any direct relationship with the patient, whether alive or dead. This physical contact was previously traditionally entrusted to a lower-ranking professional, typically a barber, whose practical ease in approaching the human body made him act like a real surgeon. While the actual *medicus* studied the human body in official books, without getting his hands dirty by carving its limbs, it was a barber who intervened with his empirical surgical expertise to deal with various pathologies, 'such as fractures and dislocated bones, bladder stones, hernias, and cataracts, which university-trained physicians tended not to treat because they were considered too dangerous (especially the last two)',[2] practiced bloodletting, and treated venereal diseases with various poultices.[3] Basically, the task of the doctor who had trained in a university environment consisted in carrying over the established and immutable knowledge derived from the classical authors (in chronological order: Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna). The event was typically organized in the following way: an 'extraordinary' professor (i.e. not among the most important ones) read or declaimed the authoritative works *ex cathedra* [Figure 1]; another professor ('ordinary') indicated with his finger or a wand the spot indicated by the reader where the corpse was to be carved; finally, there was the surgeon (-barber) who materially slashed the body, under the watchful eyes of the students and often also of external onlookers.[4] There were, therefore, three figures involved in this model of anatomy lecture, defined 'quodlibetary' from the Latin term *quodlibet*, which indicated the medieval dispute on any topic (*de quolibet*), proposed by anyone (*a quolibet*): *lector*, *demonstrator*, and *sector*.[5] This procedure clearly marked the cultural distance of the third

Figure 1

protagonist, who did not understand Latin – the language of the university, of the official books – and therefore needed to be directed by the academic to know where to cut the cadaver [Figure 2].

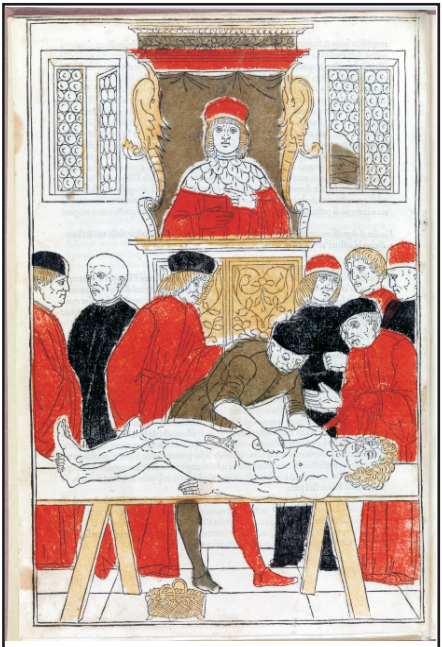

Figure 2

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, a new theoretical attitude took hold that considered the human body as an object to be investigated, not just observed, in order to confirm the traditional Galenic approach in vogue.[6] This attitude involved both medical scholars and enthusiasts of other scientific fields, such as men of letters[7] and artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A logical consequence was that many professional draughtsmen began to portray the human body with refined precision.[8] Medical students normally paid special fees to attend anatomical dissections performed on animals and humans, more expensive if the dissection involved a rare female corpse. By the sixteenth century, however, the small private places used for that purpose, such as the professor's room that convened a few students, or the dismountable structures specially erected (often outdoors) to be used from time to time, were no longer sufficient. The renewed enthusiasm for dissections necessitated the building of permanent university anatomical theatres, where autopsies could be performed and viewed by a large interested audience that included authorities and curious onlookers.

The first permanent anatomical theatres set up in Europe seem to have been the Spanish ones: Salamanca (1554)[9] and Barcelona (1573).[10] But the oldest surviving structure was the one in Padua, inaugurated on 16 January

1595. Padua is located in Veneto, in Northern Italy, and at the time the town was an integral part of the domain of the wealthy Venetian Republic for almost two centuries. Its glorious university established in the thirteenth century attracted many foreign students for its excellent teaching of medicine, eased by the traditional local religious tolerance, which, during the Counter-Reformation era, was obviously an important element for the many Protestants wishing to study in Italy. The University of Padua hosted the cream of the teachers of the time, and many fundamental anatomical achievements were made precisely in that environment (to give just one eloquent example: William Harvey's discovery of blood circulation, probably one of the greatest anatomical discoveries ever made).

The Flemish *medicus* Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) [Figure 3] also graduated from the University of Padua in 1537, and then taught there until 1542: we owe him the affirmation of the new scientific attitude according to which it was the teacher himself who had to engrave the corpse instead of one of his assistants, an act which implied a clear intention to explore rather than merely confirm what the official medical canon stated.[11] The so-called 'Vesalian revolution' thus inaugurated a new course in anatomical studies, which made investigation within the human body the true goal of anatomical dissection. This is attested by the famous image on the title page of his most important treatise *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basel: JohannesOporinus, 1543), which shows Vesalius personally working on a cadaver

Figure 3

surrounded by a disorderly and pressing crowd of spectators.

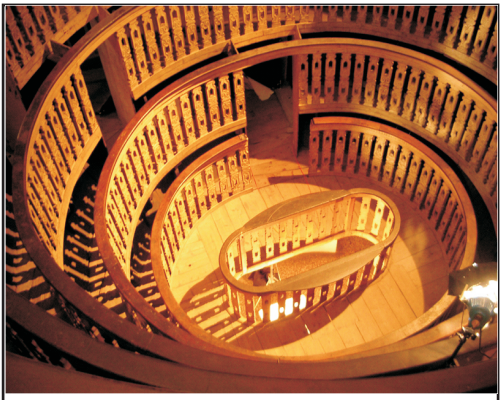

Figure 4

Already built in 1583/84, the permanent anatomical theatre of Padua [Figure 4] was then rearranged ten years later and was inaugurated in January 1595 inside the Palazzo del Bo, the main university building, where it can still be visited today. The famous surgeon and anatomist Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente (1533-1619) promoted its construction.[12] It was also he who asked the Venetian Senate in 1595 to abolish the entrance fee to the annual anatomical demonstration and to open the theatre to the public.[13]

In at least three known contexts – two Italian, one Dutch – music became an integral part of this medical-scientific world. What appears astonishing at first sight, is actually not so surprising if one considers that the very common *peregrinatio* did not always take place for purely academic reasons, especially when carried out by the wealthiest foreign students. This testimony concerning the University of Padua confirms it: 'Not all the ones who are called Students, and who go to Padua, go there to study letters; especially the majority of French students want to learn to ride, to dance, and to practice in the handling of any sort of weapon, and in music; and to finally know the Italian customs and manners they love; and more for other similar virtues than for the sake of letters'.[14] It should also not be forgotten that the commercial phenomenon of music printing originated in Venice, of whose territory Padua was part.[15] It is a fact, however, that after the death of the famous Fabrici, a scholar who attracted a great number of foreign students, many Germans moved from Padua to Leiden, in Holland.[16]

Considering the known cases in which music resonated during anatomical dissections between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it can be deduced that this interesting need arose from different reasons from time to time. In this paper, I will summarise some of the reasons that seem to underlie the demand for music in such contexts which, while it may seem curious to us, if not even morbid, evidently did not seem strange at all to those directly involved at the time. Reflections on this request for music lead me to consider that there were essentially two possible purposes to which it was assigned in anatomical theatres: firstly, to exorcise the understandable religious or social disturbance produced by the act of incision performed in first person, or from the simple view of the dissection performed by others; secondly, to rebalance and soothe the imbalance caused by such disturbance. However, I believe that the listeners of music in the anatomical theatre also benefited from a third important effect: in that unusual context, listening to music may have produced in the hearer an inner withdrawal, a reflective self-isolation on the theme of life and death, also very present in the contemporary artworks.

Music to exorcise the disturbance

Figure 5

In Bologna, dissection for legal purposes was already traditional in the fourteenth century.[17] The university statutes of 1405 regulate anatomical dissections, that took place in private and which students attended by paying a fee.[18] Subsequently, a very interesting tradition from an anthropological point of view was born, which transformed the anatomical event into a real public show to exhibit the excellence of the university teachers,[19] with the concurrence of music.[20]

However, we do not know what kind of music was performed there [Figure 5]. It seems that this tradition was also shared in the seventeenth century by other Northern Italian cities (at least Ferrara and Padua), and by at least two British cities (London and Edinburgh).[21] In 1613 or 1614, a flute performance was planned at the anatomical theatre in Leiden (Holland), to enrich the public dissection event. But although the same musicians who played at graduation parties were involved, the performance at the anatomical theatre did not take place, perhaps because of the expense involved.[22]

In short, the presence of music marked the festive event, like at the inauguration of the academic year. The public of the annual public dissection was made up of religious and civic dignitaries, from the university and the city, but also from general curious people who bought the entrance ticket and, at least in Bologna, entered the anatomical theatre in masks: the annual public dissection was in fact held there at Carnival, and could variably last up to six weeks.[23] Carnival was an appropriate time for several reasons. First of all, it was a cold period, during which the corpse could be better preserved, and secondly, it was a time when students and academics were on vacation. Finally, it was a time when it was allowed to 'subvert' the normal canons of life, and therefore the understandable melancholy arising from attending an autopsy could be soothed by the moral reversal typical of the carnivalesque fiction.[24]

In the Bolognese context, it is plausible to think that the purpose of the music during the dissection had a purely 'exorcistic' value. This interpretation would be in line with the consideration of Seicento as the century of maximum consumption of emetic and purgative drugs. In the widespread belief that ailments originated from humoral imbalances, emetics and purgatives were widely used in order to expel the pathologies produced by body imbalances, or simply to prevent any health imbalances.[25] It is therefore possible to consider music as a kind of 'psychoactive drug' useful precisely to remove the emotional disturbance caused by the shocking vision of anatomical dissections.

Music to balance the mood

The presence of instrumental music is also documented at the University of Padua, during the annual public dissection held inside the anatomical

theatre. We are informed of this through the chronicle of the German students of Padua contained in the *Proceedings of the Natio Germanica Artista* (*Acta inclytae nationis Germanicae artistarum qui sunt Patavii*, manuscript 471 of the Historical Archives of the University of Padua) of 12 December 1597 and 8 January 1600. From these documents, we learn not only that the presence of music during the dissections lasted several days, and was also usual in previous years, but also that the tradition was interrupted and then resumed on the occasions reported in the Proceedings. Conversely to what happened in Bologna, however, the atmosphere recorded in these chronicles does not seem festive at all. Indeed, the music was explicitly requested by the students themselves in order to calm the disturbing students' noisy tempers during dissections, and it seems that the music fulfilled the pre-established task well. The chronicles mention an indeterminate number of players (*fidicines*), generic musicians of stringed instruments (lutes? violins?) especially paid for their professional performance, although there is no mention of what kind of music they played.[26]

This situation seems very different from the one already seen in Bologna. In Padua, music served to appease the agitated spirits. It, therefore, seems to echo the purifying function related both to the Neoplatonic conception that reads music as order and harmony, and to the Aristotelian vision that connects it to pleasure. In both cases, music is considered in its homeopathic function, a consequence of the isomorphism between matter and living being.[27] Music, therefore, was considered as a rebalancing factor for disturbance, with a function historically already attested also by two curious letters of the second half of the fourteenth century, both from Bologna,drawn up by the notary and chancellor of the city Pellegrino Zambeccari (d. 1400). In these documents, two notable citizens are advised the services of two musicians in order to relieve their depressive state and regain peace of mind.[28] And, as already noted, 'the use of music in treating or at least alleviating psychic and spiritual sufferings may have been more widespread than has been acknowledged.'[29] Therefore, it is not surprising that even the Pavian physician Antonio Guainerio (ca. 1380/90 - ca. 1440/50) prescribed the listening of songs and music: 'Music was considered to induce humoral change in general, but it was also thought to have a specific impact on the mind.'[30] After all, this faith

in the rebalancing effects of music would explain its extreme diffusion even outside the noble and courtly circles between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example in the so-called *Accademie* (Academies), very widespread in the Veneto.[31]

Music for personal reflection

I would like to add here a third perspective on the usefulness of music in the anatomical context, hitherto ignored: the very likely impact that listening to music had at an individual level, with its personal effect. To use a metaphor in tune with the discussed topic, I believe that music has often acted as a reflective sounding board within the souls of those present at dissections, whether or not motivated by morbid curiosity. Music has the power to isolate the mind of an individual, and to connect him/her with the hidden folds of his/her own being, opening the door to intimate personal reflection. The academic setting of the early modern age saw natural Aristotelian philosophy still prevailing in some medical university curricula, including that of Padua: students of medicine were required to acquire a parallel philosophical curriculum that taught them above all to deal with the causal relationships among phenomena.[32]Therefore, music may have fulfilled the function of filling that 'emotional void' which in the seventeenth century characterised the many personal and collective anxieties arising also from the climate of great uncertainty caused by many European upheavals: from the Protestant Reformation to the following bloody wars of religion, from the dramatic waves of plague to the serious generalised economic crisis that resulted in various absolute governments on the political scene, and, finally, the great fear for the advance of the Turks, who were insistently threatening the Eastern possessions of the Venetian Republic and, implicitly, the Christianity of the whole of Europe.

One of the symptoms of the psychological bewilderment caused by the generalised religious crisis, widespread in the seventeenth century, was, for example, the increase in 'casuistry', that is, that theological approach devoted to resolving individual cases of conscience through the application of moral principles, with which the Jesuits mainly dealt. Indeed, the historian Paolo Prodi very effectively spoke of the seventeenth century as the 'century of conscience, of the anatomy of the soul'.[33] And, riding this wave, I believe that it was no coincidence that opera was born and established precisely during this same restless emotional and cultural

climate generally defined as 'baroque'. In fact, opera is a musical genre which, through the aid of an elaborate poetic text and a wonderful scenic apparatus, does not merely dazzle the senses: it delights the ears and minds of the bystanders, but at the same time it deals with describing human feelings, pleasures, fears, and anxieties.

Conclusions

The myth that Catholics and Protestants showed different cultural attitudes toward anatomical dissection has now been debunked.[34] For the members of both religious groups, observing a human body from the inside meant marvelling at the marvellous human perfection achieved by divine creation, and this allowed the scientific functions of anatomy to be linked to those of both philosophy and Christian theology.

The need for and enjoyment of music in the context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century anatomical dissection only seems unlikely at first glance. The presence of music in a festive, even carnival-like setting, certainly helped the spectators to exorcise the anthropologically heavy emotional burden of what was shown to them during demonstrative autopsies. But even where no 'carnivalesque subversion' was intended, the function of music cannot be defined in purely ornamental terms. In Padua, the students themselves declared that they had spent their money well, referring to the cachet agreed with the players, since the effect of the musical performances during the dissection was exactly what they had hoped for: restoring calm to the minds of the agitated students.

It is my opinion that, in such environments, the effects of music were not only balancing or soothing. Rather, I believe that the presence of music, especially instrumental, therefore detached from a sung text, acted on its listeners as an emotional amplifier on an individual level. In the disturbing context of the anatomical theatre, music has thus certainly contributed to increasing reflection on the *memento mori*, a theme dear to the Baroque sensibility which, at the very same time as the custom of public dissection in European anatomical theatres became established, was at the basis of a rich production of pictorial works from the Netherlands to Italy. Among the various objects portrayed that symbolise the distressing evanescence of life in seventeenth-century still-lifes, in fact, we find not only flowers, fruit, and very transparent glass, but also human skulls next to musical

instruments and music paper. What is, after all, more impalpable, and elusive than music, which disappears a moment after having resounded?

Endnotes :

[1] Andrea Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo: libri e dissezione nel Rinascimento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994) [English version: *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)], pp. 152-157; Geoffrey Lloyd, 'Alcmaeon and the Early History of Dissection', *Sudhoffs Archiv* 59/2 (1975): 113-147. Aristotle also wrote a treatise, now lost, entitled *Dissections*, but 'it was only after Aristotle that dissection came to be fully exploited'. Moreover, 'dissection was never *universally* approved by ancient natural scientists, and it came to be used confidently and systematically only after a complex process of development' (Lloyd, 'Alcmaeon and the Early History of Dissection', pp. 129 note 57, and 144).

[2] Renata Pieragostini, 'The Healing Power of Music? Documentary Evidence from Late-Fourteenth-Century Bologna', *Speculum* 96/1 (2021): 156-176, 170.

[3] On this topic, see Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo*; Florike Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy – A Morphological Investigation', in *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, eds. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003): 92-128; Eleanor Decamp, *Civic and Medical Worlds in Early Modern England: Performing Barbery and Surgery* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Rina Knoeff, 'Frederik Ruysch, Surgical Anatomy and the Amsterdam Republic of Medicine', in *Pathology in Practice: Diseases and Dissections in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Silvia De Renzi, Marco Bresadola, and Maria Conforti (London and New York: Routledge, 2018): 135-152. It was always the barbers, especially in Central Italy, who in their backrooms practised the illegal (but highly tolerated) castration of children destined for a career as singers so that they would retain the 'white voice' of childhood: see Hubert Ortkemper, *Engel wider Willen: Die Welt der Kastraten. Eine andere Operngeschichte* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch - [s.l.]: Bärenreiter, 1995).

[4] This scientific method is well described in Jerome J. Bylebyl, 'The School of Padua: Humanistic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century', in *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 335-370, p.353.

[5] See Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo*, p. 19; William S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's "Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaas Tulp": An Iconological Study* (New York: New York University Press, 1958), pp. 45-46.

[6] The Galenic tradition reconciled Hippocratic humoral theory, based on the study of the balance in the body between the four humours (black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood), with Aristotelian physics, which did not separate the body from the soul and therefore considered the soul mortal as well. It thus unified dogmatic and empirical approaches.

[7] Katherine Park, 'The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994): 1-33, 14. On the literary sphere, see in particular Jonathan Sawday,*The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

[8] On this subject, see Daniela Bohde, 'Skin and the Search for the Interior: The Representation of Flaying in the Art and Anatomy of the Cinquecento', in *Bodily Extremities,* pp.10-47; José María López Piñero, 'I saperi morfologici e l'illustrazione anatomica', in *Il teatro dei corpi: le pitture colorate d'anatomia di Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente*, eds. Maurizio Rippa Bonati and José Pardo-Tomás (Milan: Mediamed, [2004]), pp. 49-62, p.57.

[9] Teresa Santander, 'La iglesia de San Nicolás y el antiguo teatro anatómico de la Universidad de Salamanca', *Revista Española de Teología* 43 (1983): 253-273.

[10] Àlvar Martínez-Vidal - José Pardo-Tomás, 'El primitivo teatro anatómico de Barcelona', *Medicina e Historia(3ª época)* 65 (1996): 5-28. On the Spanish anatomical theatres of the modern age, see Àlvar Martínez-Vidal - José Pardo-Tomás, 'Anatomical Theatres and the Teaching of Anatomy in Early Modern Spain', *Medical History* 49 (2005): 251-280.

[11] This attitude had already been announced by the work of the

anatomists Alessandro Benedetti (1450-1512), Berengario da Carpi (1466-1530), and Niccolò Massa (1489-1569): Carlino, *La fabbrica del corpo*, p. 6.

[12] The advice to encourage this enterprise came from the Alemannic councillor Giovanni Krollio (Acts II, p. 30). The permanent structure of the anatomical theatre of Padua has Fabrici's name engraved on the entrance. He discovered the so-called *bursa Fabricii*, a sac-shaped central lymphoid organ probably existing in all birds, attached to the dorsal wall of the posterior part of the intestine. Fabrici was especially interested in identifying the functioning of body parts, according to an Aristotelian approach (see Martin Kemp, '"Il mio bell'ingenio". L'anatomia visiva nel "Theatrum totius animalis fabricae" di Fabrici', in *Il teatro dei corpi*, p.85). Moreover, he was responsible for the novelty of coloured anatomical plates (see Susy Marcon, 'L'officina delle "Pitture colorate d'anatomia" di Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente nell'ambito dell'ultimo Cinquecento veneto', in *Il teatro dei corpi*:108-130). The city of Acquapendente, today in the province of Viterbo, in Central Italy, named its main square after him where he is honoured with a statue. On his biography and teaching activity, see Giuseppe Favaro, 'Contributo alla biografia di Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente', in *Memorie e Documenti per la Storia dell'Università di Padova*, vol. I (Padua: La Garangola, 1922): 241-348; Giuseppe Favaro, 'L'insegnamento anatomico di Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente', in *Monografie storiche sullo Studio di Padova* (Venice: Premiate Officine Grafiche C. Ferrari, 1922): 107-136; Maurizio Rippa Bonati, 'Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente: per una bio-crono-bibliografia', in *Il teatro dei corpi*, pp. 268-277.

[13] Cynthia Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy: Students, Teachers, and Traditions of Dissection in Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 8.

[14] 'Non tutti, c'hanno nome di Scolari, et che vanno a Padova, vi vanno per istudiar lettere; massimamente la maggior parte di Francesi studiosi d'imparar a cavalcare, a ballare, et di essercitarsi nel maneggio di qualunque sorte d'arme, et nella musica; et per saper finalmente i costumi, et le creanze Italiane, delle quali sono invaghiti; et più per simili altre virtù, che per cagion di lettere': Pietro Buccio (orator and

poet of Brescia, Lombardy, *fl.* 1571-1576), *Le coronationi di Polonia et di Francia del cristianiss. re Henrico III* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquato, 1576), p. 137. The consulted copy (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Polon. 2) can be viewed online on the library website. In the quote shown here, I have merely distinguished *u/v* and regularised the accents according to modern Italian usage.

[15] On this phenomenon, see Sherri Bishop, 'Music Printing and Publishing in Cinquecento Venice', in *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 321-344.

[16] Klaus Bergdolt, 'L'Acquapendente e la "Natio Germanica" di Padova', in *Il teatro dei corpi, pp.* 228-234, p. 233.

[17] Nancy Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 110-113; Park, 'The Criminal and the Saintly Body', pp. 5-7.

[18] Giovanna Ferrari, 'Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival: The Anatomy Theatre of Bologna', *Past & Present* 117 (1987): 50-106, 53-54.

[19] The famous Gabriele Falloppio (1523-1562), professor of anatomy in Padua in the mid-sixteenth century, was in fact quite concerned about the scarcity of cadavers available for dissections, a fact that could tempt the local students (especially Poles and Germans) to move to Bologna or Ferrara, where these 'feasts' were normally held: Klestinec, *Theaters of Anatomy*, p. 16.

[20] The permanent anatomical theatre built in 1638 in Bologna can still be seen inside the Archiginnasio building, the city's first official university seat realized in the second half of the sixteenth century. The air raids that took place on 29 January 1944 hit the building and also destroyed the anatomical theatre, which was then faithfully rebuilt using even the original parts that had escaped destruction.

[21] Ferrari, 'Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival', pp. 82-84 note 110.

[22] Ole Peter Grell, 'The Attraction of Leiden University for English Students of Medicine and Theology, 1590-1642', in*The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as a Cultural Crossroads in the Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century*, eds. C. C. Barfoot and

Richard Todd (Amsterdam - Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992): 83-104, 95; Egmond, 'Execution, Dissection, Pain and Infamy', p. 119.

[23] Ferrari, 'Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival', pp. 50-51.

[24] This is Giovanna Ferrari's interpretation for the peculiar case of Bologna (Ferrari, 'Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival'), where she follows Mikhail Bakhtin's considerations 'on popular culture and carnival literature in his research into the work of Dostoevsky and Rabelais' (p. 102). Ferrari's vision was later challenged by Luigi Lazzerini, 'Le radici folkloriche dell'anatomia: scienza e rituale all'inizio dell'età moderna', *Quaderni storici, n.s.* 85 (1994): 193-233, who read in the widespread ceremony of the 'death of Carnival' a transposition of the killing and autopsy of those sentenced to death.

[25] Piero Camporesi, *La carne impassibile: salvezza e salute fra Medioevo e Controriforma* (Milan: Garzanti, 1994) [first ed.: Milan: Il Saggiatore 1983], *passim*. [English version: *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)].

[26] On these events in Padua, see Gioia Filocamo, 'Dissezioni anatomiche con musica a Padova nella prima età moderna', in *Music and Science from Leonardo to Galileo*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022): 89-112. The original Latin passages where these musical events are recounted are at pp. 98-99.

[27] On this topic, see Paolo Gozza, 'Platone e Aristotele nel Rinascimento: la psicologia della musica di Ficino e Giacomini', *Il Saggiatore musicale* 11/2 (2004): 233-252. On the relationship between medicine and music in the Renaissance, see Brenno Boccadoro, 'Musica, medicina e temperamenti', in *Enciclopedia della musica*, vol. II: *Il sapere musicale*, ed. Jean-Jacques Nattiez (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), pp. 361-386.

[28] These documents are edited and commented by Pieragostini, 'The Healing Power of Music?'.

[29] Pieragostini, 'The Healing Power of Music?', p.158.

[30] Naama Cohen-Hanegbi, *Caring for the Living Soul: Emotions, Medicine, and Penance in the Late Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 114.

[31] On this subject, see Inga Mai Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege 1543-1666* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2007), and Iain Fenlon, 'Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto', in *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice,* pp. 99-121.

[32] On this topic, see Bylebyl, 'The School of Padua'.

[33] Paolo Prodi, 'La cornice e il quadro. Il concilio di Trento e la musica', in *Barocco Padano 4*, *Atti del XII Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII, Brescia, 14-16 luglio 2003*, eds. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como: AMIS, 2006): 7-26; repr. in Id., *Arte e pietà nella Chiesa tridentina* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014): 259-280, 274.

[34] This is well argued in Jürgen Helm, 'Protestant and Catholic Medicine in the Sixteenth Century? The Case of Ingolstadt Anatomy', *Medical History* 45 (2001): 83-96. He compares anatomical teaching between a Protestant university (Wittenberg) and a Catholic one (Ingolstadt) in the second half of the sixteenth century, concluding that 'in their attitude to anatomy, the Catholics at Ingolstadt were no more conservative than their Protestant colleagues at Wittenberg' (p. 96).