THE CLINICAL CONSULTATIONS

Giambattista Morgagni

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dinner, and on top of this two or three ounces of water sweetened with

julep of citrous peel.

From what I have here reported out of that consultation I should depart little in the present case, or only enough to avoid making the bowel excessively slippery. If this does not suffice—although it should suffice with long use-to make the bowel so slippery that straining and prolonged effort at defecation are not needed, I should have no objection to recommending, as Redi does, only two drachms²⁷⁰ of plain cassia pulp, taken in the morning before the broth that has been mentioned. This should be repeated a quarter of an hour before dinner, if the first two drachms have not yet had their effect. And if the feces are hard and dry, I prefer that, instead of straining and force, he use very small clysters of six ounces, so that they can be kept in more easily for the proper time. These should be made only of meat broth with emulsion of barley or browned rice, and cooked, in imitation of Redi's method. Finally he gives high praise to yellow rose-butter from the drug-shops of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, stating that when the intestine has come out and should be replaced, this can be done more easily and rapidly if the end of the bowel is anointed with the aforementioned butter, which in addition to mitigating the pain and quelling the acrimony of the juices, can also, as he says, greatly strengthen the injured and weakened part.

Replacement of the intestine is made less difficult by the method of living that has been mentioned and by scanty diet, since in this way quantities of excrement will not be accumulated in the nearest part of the intestine and these could be a great obstacle to putting the intestine back into place. Moreover blood will not be formed such that either by abundance or by poor quality it can increase the thickening in the weaker part. Since all violent movements and exercises can increase this greatly, it is necessary to keep away—to say it all in a few words—from everything that experience in such a long period of time has shown, better than any physician's advice, to be harmful.

In the midst of my many other studies and preoccupations, these are the reflections or counsels that, with fully justified special attention, I have been able to offer in the exceedingly difficult case that is set before me. I beg the very learned gentleman for whom I have written this to receive it favorably, and the very skilled author of the learned history to make whatever use of it that his knowledge (for which I have high regard), and the circumstances, shall dictate, and I beg the Almighty to bless every resolution that shall be taken.

Giambattista Morgagni

Principal Anatomist at the University of Padua and Member of the Imperial Academies and of the Royal Society of London

CONSULTATION XXIV

Illustrious Sir and Highly Honored Patron:

Pesaro, May 6, 1748

My dear friend Signor Antonio Paccloni of Santa Anatoglia di Camerino has sent me the enclosed history of the symptoms that one of his sons has had and continues to have. With this he has sent me thirty lire in two and a half piastres²⁷¹ of Innocent XI [1676-1689] so that I should send everything to some famous professor in order that he would also deign to write his learned opinion for the benefit of this sick gentleman. Not having found anyone more celebrated than your illustrious self, I make bold to beg that you will be willing to console this worthy gentleman. I see that the recognition is not equal to Your Excellency's merit, but in certain cases we must make some concession to the honor of the art and to the powerlessness of him who makes the request. And so, when Your Excellency can favor me, you may let me know how I may arrange to send the two and a half piastres and, renewing my old deference, I repeat that with all respect I am Your Excellency's humble servant and pupil.

Giorgio Giorgi

History

[The patient is] a noble gentleman of 28 years, of sanguine temperament, bilious, of moderately fleshy bodily habitus, and subject to hypochondriacal illnesses. While in the state of health he tolerates hunger badly, so that when the hour of dinner and supper approaches, the moment of eating is delayed a little, he feels that he may faint, and when he eats, he does it voraciously and in quantity, although he limits himself to dinner and supper. Moreover, he is temperate in all other respects.

After his earliest years he was long subject to copious irregular hemorrhages from his nose. These ceased entirely when he was eighteen years old. However, a few months later quite a large amount of black, grumous, fetid blood was seen in his stool. This was accompanied by many dangerous symptoms. He was treated, I do not know how, and two months later was perfectly well. Since then there has not been a year in which the same kind of stool has failed to appear one or more times, although in small

quantities and without great inconvenience. On some occasions he did not

even have to go to bed. Last May (1747), after he had had great weakness and poor appetite on the previous day, without any immediate cause the same bloody, black, grumous and fetid stools reappeared, accompanied by a citrinous color in the face, precordial oppression, small cardialgias, fainting, vomiting of the same material, thirst, lack of appetite, hardness in the right hypochondrium, and pulsations there and occasionally in the head, fever, pulses large but with the difference that the pulse on the right was taut and cord-like. He then took diluents of meat juice, some nitrated drink, frequent enemas of barley water and sugar, also fomentations and the like.

He recovered completely in a month and a half. I say perfectly because the blood lasted till the seventh day but great weakness remained, along with poor appetite, difficulty in breathing when he walked up an incline, and obstinate constipation, which to a certain degree is usual in him and is unaccompanied by any perceptible lesion of the lower abdominal viscera. On the third day, when the symptoms has increased, a bloodletting was suggested but a professor who arrived and who had treated him on other occasions thought it should be put off.

The patient always lived in good health until March fifth of the present year. On that day the same evacuations recurred, with all the symptoms described above. By the same system that was used previously he is out of bed, and an attempt is being made by means of a benign stomachic, to procure the return of his appetite and strength, and by means of a laxative or benign lenitive to make the abdomen more compliant.

On many occasions in springtime and in the autumn he has been given long courses of treatment but I do not know how they were conducted. I know, however, that blood has never been drawn from him, on the supposition that stools of this kind must be atrabilious and had received their black color from a vitriolic acid; but with the frequent use of enemas, blood that had emerged from the vessels did not have time to become tinted in this way, since its sojourn in the intestines having been brief, on many occasions it came out pure and unadulterated. Hence this false supposition has been clarified. Since the good time of year is approaching, advice is requested in order to prevent the return of this sickness, at once distressing and dangerous.

It should be added that a few days ago a little blood was drawn from the arm. It appeared dissolved and serous, with little fiber. For Sig. Ant[oni]o Paccloni of Santa Anatoglia di Camerino, at the request of Dr. Giorgi. Morbus Niger of Hippocrates.

May 10, 1748

The disease from which the noble gentleman has suffered for ten years greatly resembles that which Hippocrates, near the end of Book II of the De Morbis, calls morbus niger. **72 Certainly in the case of this gentleman it has been established that he cannot go without food**73 and that when he vomits black blood, it has a cadaveric stench and that at that time there is fever, and that the legs are heavy, i.e. because of residual weakness, as Petrus Salius**274 explains in his commentary: so that the legs, he says, with weakness seem to weight the entire body. He does not doubt that when Hippocrates adds if his bowel has not acted, he says this because in these conditions the bowel is halted. He confirms the statement with the example of a famous physician known to him, who, although a sufferer from this disease, never had liquid stool.

In our case the cause of the sickness was and is the complete cessation of the copious nasal hemorrhages which this gentleman suffered from his earliest years until the age of eighteen. His blood, abundant for the age and temperament, no longer had this exit. Detained by the hypochondriacal sicknesses, i.e. by contraction of nerves around the blood vessels, probably of the liver, as is indicated by the precordial oppression and also by the hardness and pulsations in the right hypochondrium, it began to come out of those same vessels and by way of the bile duct, to convey itself to the intestines. Then, by retrograde movement of the duodenum, it went into the stomach, causing black stools first, and then the black vomiting also.

The path through these vessels being opened in this way, whenever the blood is disturbed in its circuit of the body—either through plethora or turgidity or acrimony or movement, as happens especially in springtime through varied temper of the atmosphere—it uses force in order to escape, and it overcomes before all else the resistance of those vessels, which is already weakened by the previous emergences, and in this manner the disease returns. Because this blood is detained in the intestine and is mixed there with the harsh juices that produce the constipation, and, so to speak, ferments there with the feces, for this reason grumous black fetid stool is passed.

Because of the quantity in which it emerges it leaves the bodily forces weakened, and the remainder of the blood is insufficient, so that it becomes unable to make new chyle perfectly similar to itself and hence becomes loose, serous, and poor in fiber. In addition, it cannot furnish to the stomach the fluid suitable for good digestion and for the arousal of hunger, until with the passing of time and the help of medicines everything returns to its original condition.

If, as is probable, matters are in accordance with this explanation, the main indication for preventing the recurrence of that kind of vomitus and feces, will consist of bringing it about as far as possible, that the blood cannot exert force in order to emerge, whether by abundance or quality or movement. This is quite difficult to undertake in an inveterate sickness and at the age and with the temperament that have been mentioned, yet it should be attempted very painstakingly, so that recurrence should not lead to any of the things observed by Salius and mentioned in his book De Affectis Particularibus²⁷⁵ [On Individual Diseases] in chapter 15, which is titled "On black stools." He says the disease "finally leads the sick man to dropsy", and also "it may kill the patient by a single evacuation", and also "it leads to dangerous diseases of the stomach, especially future cancer, and thus it kills"; but on the contrary if it is not overcome, the disease at least dwindles in such a fashion that, as Hippocrates promises to anyone who manages himself well in this respect "the disease even departs and ages with the body."276

If, then, the stomach has not been induced by some mild stomachic to perform its functions better, and hence the blood has not been improved, nor the strength regained, in order to accomplish these things and at the same time to prevent any of the occurrences threatened by Salius, I sould consider appropriate the discreet and intercurrent use of rhubarb. I should like this to be used instead of the drug which Hippocrates prescribes as a "potion to be given often." Instead I should prefer two other drugs that he recommends "and, according to the seasons of the year, both whey and milk." This is to say that when the stomach has been strengthened and cleansed, I would institute the use of milk to sweeten the juices and the blood and finally to give the latter the material that perhaps it has not yet regained. It should be given in whatever manner does the most good and is best tolerated, and it should be continued until the hottest season. At that time I would change to whey in the hope that with one and the other the blood can be corrected, so that neither by its quality nor its movement would it be able to attempt another profuse emergence.

But after a time if the blood is still at fault either in movement or amount, despite the regimen that will be described, I should then proceed in the manner of Hippocrates. He says, "Draw blood from the hands", "277 always carefully and with due attention to the quality of the blood and the state of the patient's strength.

However, this need should not arise when, as I have just mentioned, the six non-naturals are regulated.²⁷⁸ I would not indeed want to have the times of dinner and supper delayed but I want the patient not to eat voraciously or excessively and, as Hippocrates²⁷⁹ says, "he should keep away from sweet, oily, and fatty foods" and "he should not eat bitter

things"—here aromatics are also meant, as well as all items that heat or that cause turgescence—"or salty things." As to drink I know quite well that in this place it is unnecessary to say with the same author that "he should avoid drunkenness." It is enough to gather from this precept that the best thing is to avoid wine, especially during the time he is taking milk. At other times he should take very very little and it should be watered down with a large decoction of Chian mastic, 280 which I should advise him to take as his ordinary drink,

"And if his bowel has not acted," says our Master, "inject a bland infusion by enema." He should avail himself of such a measure quite often, and occasionally of rhubarb, but he should never take the other purges, especially aloes. "He should keep away from the sun and should not exercise or walk about," that is to say "not much," 281 If to these Hippocratic teachings we add moderation in emotional disturbances and in sleep, the entire rule of life will be expressed. This, added to the aforementioned medication, must satisfy the proposed indication, which is to bring it about that neither by abundance nor quality nor motion shall the blood be able to exert great force.

The sickness is well entrenched, hence regulation should be very long and stubborn, and the suggested medication, or some other that is harmless, simple, and appropriate, should be repeated through many seasons. If despite this, any relapse is observed, while it is present, and even more when there are signs that hint at its presence, it will be useful to refer carefully to Chapter III of Section I of Part II of Volume IV of Hoffmann's Medicina Rationalis²⁸²—to this chapter reference has already been made—and according to the circumstances to choose what will then be found more à propos among the many and wise things which that great practical physician wrote there about the morbus niger of Hippocrates, a disease that I have seen on a few occasions.

During a very busy day this is what I have been able to mention in reply to the accurate history that has been submitted and in confirmation of the wise measures that have already been adopted. I defer everything to the ability of him who is in attendance, and I beg that the noble gentleman will have the most perfect health.

Giambattista Morgagni Primary Public Professor at Padua mention it in this fleeting way. For the same professor I may likewise mention what Mauriceau³¹² points out in book 1, chapter 11 against the opinion which Aristotle states in the *Historia Animalium*, book 7, chapter 4. ³¹³

But what the same Mauriceau wrote in a slightly earlier passage, similar to what other writers on the same subject had written before him, that is, on the unwise use of excessive movement by pregnant women, since this practice also is a cause of fetal malposition, especially toward the end of pregnancy—and he repeats this in book 2, chapter 6—perhaps should not be concealed from this most noble lady, since on some occasions, although in the first months of pregnancy, she had no objection to travelling 160 miles in the postal coach. It is the opinion of the wisest men that, speaking generally, if pregnant women must be a little excessive in their behavior, they should go to excess in resting rather than in moving, and in general it is not an error to advise moderation in all six of the things that physicians call the non-naturals.³¹⁴

I must not omit the observation of the famous Deventer³¹⁵ in chapter 35³¹⁶, where he concludes that although all authors are convinced that all difficult childbirths are due solely to bad turning of the fetus within a uterus that is in proper position, he found on the contrary that a very great number of difficult childbirths, indeed, the larger part of the most difficult, come from malposition of the uterus, and this most often causes malrotation of the fetus; those fetuses which are in the proper position at first but because of the bad situation of the uterus can not find the uterine outlet, become malrotated although originally they were placed properly. This abnormal condition of the uterus could have originated in what the lady suffered during her fifth childbirth, and if such was the case, which I do not know, the same author teaches how to take care of it.

I do not have all the facts and, as I said in the beginning, this is difficult, but I have reviewed the many and varied things that have been mentioned which either on the part of the parents or of the fetus, and either a long time previously or near the time of the childbirth, could have caused the difficulty that is under consideration. Since it is impossible for me to supply the practical application, it will be very much easier, at least in part, for him who being in attendance and having observed every detail and having worked ably and successfully, can guess much better than I which one or other of these is more correct, and according to the nature of that cause, can suggest the remedies, if such is possible. Other than some advice which I have been hinting at, in this general manner, I myself can add nothing except that, if it is possible it should be arranged that no new pregnancy occurs for some time, because in time many things, even things that are hidden from us, become changed, and the uterus, allowed

to rest after many pregnancies, some of which were infelicitous, can sometimes improve greatly.

I refer this to the ability of the gentleman who is in attendance on the very worthy lady. For her and for her esteemed husband I pray to Heaven for full solace.

Giambattista Morgagni

Public Primary Professor at Padua, and Fellow of the Royal and Imperial Academies of Paris, London, St. Petersburg, etc.

CONSULTATION XXVIII

Most Illustrious Sir and Highly Esteemed Patron,

From the explanation that will be submitted together with this one of mine, Your Excellency will learn the development and present condition of the sickness of the illustrious Canon Villabruna. Your extremely learned opinion is requested for his treatment. May Your Excellency be indulgent toward my boldness in relying on your courtesy, which I have so often tested, and may you do me the deserved honor of considering me, with full and deep respect,

Your Excellency's humble and devoted servant,

Giacinto Bovio Feltre, October 15, 1840

The most illustrious Canon Villabruna, about fifty-two years of age, is of sanguine bilious temperament, of good complexion and very well nourished. After an attack of smallpox during childhood he lost the vision of his left eye, the cornea having become completely opaque. For some years, because of his duties as episcopal chancellor, he has had to be at work continuously, and on several occasions he has had an ophthalmic trouble which affected both eyes, and quite often he has had pains and strain in the eyeball. These have occurred less often in approximately the last two years and have been less annoying, since a certain viscid fluid began to exude from the skin of his nose. On condensing, this fluid formed a scaly layer, which, either spontaneously or with the help of a mild medicament, would keep coming away but would soon be produced anew.

Two months ago this light secretion became suppressed spontaneously. The patient, having undergone excessive exposure to bad weather, was

suddenly attacked, on the 20th of last month, by violent inflammation in the bad eye with slight effect also on the other eye, which very soon recovered, while the bad eye always suffered more. In order to undo this damage, blood was drawn twice from the vein involved in the inflammatory diathesis, cups were applied with scarification, two blisters were made behind the ear with pasta dell' Astorri. 317 Enemas are administered, and laxatives and temperants are given by mouth, and collyria and appropriate fomentations are applied locally. By the use of such measures the engorgement of the lids has been dispelled but a fleshy excrescence on the right eyeball was found to have progressed much more, and it has gone on depressing and investing the lower lid.

With the thought that at least this superfluous part should be removed or mortified, an attempt was first made with Bate's aqua saffirina.³¹⁸ Since this worked weakly, it was replaced by the use of burned alum combined with sugar. At the same time the blisters were cleaned out properly and he was given a tempering and sweetening decoction composed of sarsa [parilla],³¹⁹ china, etc.

Although every day this powder takes away a slight bit of the fleshy matter from the surface, no distinct diminution is perceived. On the contrary, it appears to be hardening more and more and perhaps to be extending laterally. This gives rise to the suspicion that the excrescence is continuing to grow and hence might always become larger. This experiment, however, was made only at the lower part of the bulb, below the cornea, since this was the most prominent area and the most convenient for application of the medicine and it is this part that appears uncovered by the lids in the first picture. 320 But no medicine was applied in the part under the upper lid and in the corners, since it was considered desirable to flatten the lower part completely in order to be able to apply the medicine more easily to the less exposed parts. Since experience showed that alum is insufficient to remove as much as is necessary, and since greater advances are feared, it is considered necessary to change to a stronger or different medicine. However, before new decisions are reached, the present state of the illness is explained for the wise opinions of Your Excellency and the condition is shown also in the pictures that are being sent, in order to learn which method of treatment might be the most appropriate and advantageous.

Coming now to the explanation of the present condition, if Your Excellency would have the kindness to consider the pictures, the first shows the eye and the eyelids in the situation in which they are at present; the letters A, B, C, show the excrescence on the bulb which depresses and invests the lower lid. The second shows the continuation of the excrescence over the whole bulb as it appears when the upper lid is elevated by the

fingers. It should be noted that the excrescence is advancing daily toward the cornea, so that its circumference is restricted more and more. The entire excrescence is of blood-red color; it is florid and of soft consistency, except for the lower part, which is marked A, B, C in the first picture and which is of more solid consistence. Its color is not so bright, and this is believed to be due to the drugs that have been applied.

At the letter D in fig. 2 a certain portion of the excrescence should be noted, which verges on yellowish. At the inner angle there is the elongated and hanging caruncle, through which however, no abnormal lacrimation passes. Despite this abundance of flesh in the bulb, the lids are not involved and swollen. They are not adherent to the bulb but are free and have normal movement to the extent that is permitted by the excrescence that pulls them aside. In the whole eye there is no pain except for that which is produced by the application and action of the medicines. Thus, there is neither pulsation nor pulling. During the entire time of his illness the patient has not had fever or any other symptom, except for a disturbance of the stomach which also troubles him quite often while he is healthy. Nowadays he rests properly and eats without aversion, and is depressed neither in strength nor in spirit. His natural excretions are sufficient, without the aid of artificial remedies.

It has been considered necessary to explain these matters to Your Excellency, to whom application is made for any wise suggestions that might restore to our patient the original state of health that we desire.

To Sig. Giacinto Bovio, for Canon Villabruna of Feltre. Excrescence on the eye.

December 19, 1740

In order not to delay the messenger, I shall state in this reply to Your Excellency's courteous letter the opinion that you request concerning the treatment of the sickness that afflicts the illustrious Canon Villabruna, as I learn to my great regret.

The most serious and violent ophthalmias either reach the degree in which they are called chemoses or they are followed by considerable maladies, among them that of pannus. I think that this illness can be referred somehow to one or the other of these two conditions, and more to the second than the first. Blood stagnating in the bulbar conjunctiva easily gives rise to small erosions there, especially in diseased eyes and in bodies in which the excretion of some principle tending to the erosive is suspected. In our case this exists in the material which two months ago exuded from the skin near the nose. Such a principle produces, and simi-

larly maintains and fosters, the excrescences even more when the blood has an inflammatory diathesis, that is, one which is thick and viscid and consequently inclined to remain. And so, in this treatment it is necessary to pay attention to the entire body and to the part, and wisely this has been done. But since the sickness still shows itself to be superior to the remedies and hence we must think of changing to another or stronger or different medication, I shall mention some of my humble thoughts, first as to the entire body and then as to the part.

In view of the aforementioned diathesis of the blood, I would add mild incisive plants to the sweetening decoction, and also viper,³²¹ if it is available. If this is not possible, I would give in advance a bit of viper powder because of the suppression of what was transmitted to the skin of the nose. This skin I would foment often with pieces of cloth soaked in the tepid emollient decoction, applied in such a way that no vapor goes up toward the eyes.

I should pay the same attention in giving footbaths with the same decoction and with wheat bran. I believe that not only these but also any other kinds of revulsion to the lower parts of the body are very helpful—and much more so when I remember the case of the child reported by Junckerus.³²² The child, after having been medicated in vain for some months, was finally freed from an obstinate ophthalmia on the same day on which he carelessly sustained a severe injury to his foot.

For additional revulsion, if for no other reason, every few days I should interrupt the decoction by a solvent of some kind, especially Crato's amber pills³²³ with sweet mercury.³²⁴

I do not mention proper regulation in all six non-naturals, since I suppose that this is taken care of constantly.

Coming now to discuss the local condition more exactly, I might suggest a great many recipes. But I should conclude with none of them if, after having diligently observed the results of its first applications, I did not find that they filled the bill. And so, for the sake of brevity, I shall merely mention the purpose toward which I believe the treatment should tend; this is rather to contrive to desiccate, dispel, and restrain the excrescence, than to destroy it.

Therefore, of the great forest of recipes for pannus that have been suggested by Sennert,³²⁵ by Ettmüller,³²⁶ and so many others, I would choose only those ingredients that seemed to me best adapted to my purpose. I would apply the least powerful first, and then by degrees the more powerful. I would not apply them before I could believe that the general condition had been corrected sufficiently and hence that the juices which occur in the excrescence had been corrected, and I would apply them first at a particular part of the excrescence. Only after having seen a good

effect would I apply them to the whole excrescence. And if this good effect consisted of nothing else than acting in such a way that the excrescence became no larger, I would stop, and I would be content with having a deformity rather than exposing myself to some great danger with new corrosives.

I see from the very exact history, and I praise God for it, that the excrescence is indolent and of benign color, but in some places it happens not rarely that through having been irritated too much, they become very painful and livid.

In short, to explain more clearly, I find that, for example the medicamentous stone of Crollius³²⁷ is praised highly; many recommend it not only to destroy pannus but also for any kind of ophthalmia, and I myself admit that in this kind of stone many ingredients are included which contribute to the purpose that I have suggested. But, since there are many different recipes for it, I think it would be a better plan, when the stone must be put to use, to choose the kind that dispels and dries rather than consumes, or is milder and hence less irritating because of dosage or added clayey ingredients, or because some ingredients have been omitted.

But the messenger is waiting. Therefore I add nothing except that whatever I have humbly indicated in this pressure of time, I entirely and very willingly submit to the highly esteemed ability of the very worthy Signor Alberti, to whom Your Excellency is requested to give my respects, and also my deference to the entire most eminent family of Villabruna, and to believe that I am, and with high esteem confirm myself as being,

Your Excellency's most devoted and obdient servant.

[no signature]

Most Esteemed Signor Ant[oni]o

Feltre, October 21, 1740

To-day the messenger arrived with your esteemed letter containing the learned consultations of the illustrious Morgagni and Vandelli, 318 and we are much indebted to your friendship, since you have shown such interest and have so greatly inconvenienced yourself on our behalf. Having made a complete and very careful examination of the Canon's diseased eye, we have found that the illustrious Morgagni has described it accurately under the name of pannus, which fits better than any other, since a combination of several diseases is present, to which the names given by Vandelli are suited. Therefore we have adopted the wise suggestions of both gentlemen with respect to internal medication, which will begin to-morrow and with

respect to local medication, which will be put into effect a few days from now

But I must explain a new feature that has arisen or has been discovered in the last few days and which you are requested to communicate to both of these esteemed persons. The upper lid being much looser and the bulb being freer, in the upper part of the bulb, beneath the lid, a swelling of different kind was found. It is whitish and soft and gave indications of containing pus. This suspicion is the greater that such is the stagnant matter since one or two nights previously the patient was troubled by unaccustomed pain in that area. Since it kept constantly increasing after two days of observation, and a bad effect of some kind was feared from the supposed purulent material, a puncture was made. Decayed blood came out first, and on the next day perfect concocted pus; this has been followed by partial but incomplete detumescence. In the last few days the treatment has consisted of the application of dry threads to the entire bulb. It is apparent that the excrescence has decreased to some extent, at least under its middle, and that the lower lid is therefore a little higher. What can be the result I do not know. Great eagerness to see him liberated and restored to health makes me more fearful. We have great confidence in the great ability and no less goodness of the two distinguished professors, who are begged to receive my humble respects and those of the honorable Giacinto, who sends heartfelt greeting.

I shall await a reply as to what you can say, for our information, about the new occurrences that I have described. I must extend repeated thanks for the kindness you have shown in favoring me with your various comments. But the letter is finished and I know its heart, and so I declare myself devotedly,

Your most devoted and humble servant

Lodovico Alberti

CONSULTATION XXIX

For Signor Nobili of Jesi. Reply to Sig. Petrignani. Clenching of the lower jaw.

June 19, 1750

On the sixteenth of the present month I received Your Excellency's letter dated the fourth, in which you request me to write about the report, sent at the same time, on the illness of your respected brother-in-law. Other consultations which I was obliged to write beforehand, in addition

to some exceptional duties, have not prevented me from obeying you. However, they compel me to limit myself in the present reply.

The sudden onset of the strong contraction of the jaws shows it to be spasmodic. The preceding events make one believe it came from inanition or desiccation, as the ancients taught and as Bellini³²⁹ recently explained.³³⁰ If such is the case, it is easy to understand what the purpose of medication should be, that is, different from that which Johann Ludwig Hannemann³³² intended in Case 49, year 3, decennium 2 [1685] of the Ephemerides Naturae Curiosorum and which several other famous physicians also intended or might have been able to intend among those that are alleged in that case report. All of them concern cases of spasm of the jaws that they had seen but that had other previous causes. Instead we should be guided by what Petrus Forestus332 teaches in general way in the scholia to case 108 of his book X titled De Convulsione ex inanitione." With wise judgment a great many things that are adaptable to our purpose could be obtained from these scholia, if most of these things have not been suggested already by the esteemed Sig. Pagnoni. From the very little that I have mentioned here, Your Excellency will easily find how much I agree with him in the internal and external use of suitable moisteners. If it is necessary to make use of some nerve remedies at the same time or previously, I should certainly think that in the present case the cooler ones should be preferred to the others. I pray to God that a sickness which for the most part is quite difficult, like that which we are discussing, will not end like those of Platner334 and of Riverius335 but, on the contrary like those recovered cases of Hannemann and of Schröck,336 because so worthy a gentleman deserves it and also for the solace of Your Excellency and your highly esteemed lady, to both whom I send the respects of Signora Paola and my own, and I declare again what I shall always be337

CONSULTATION XXX

Report338

The most excellent Lady N. N. about forty years old, of plethoric habitus and sanguineo-choleric temperament and abundantly supplied with blood and juices, of extremely sensitive mind but subject to anger, and having in addition very slender [blood] vessels, was married many years ago and never became pregnant. She does not know whether this is because of herself or her husband. Because of a pustular and crusted eruption in the skin, upon which there were, for a short time, rather hard nodules of the

original state of general good health. In addition to this, the most skilled physicians, even before the time of Plato, who wrote it in the *Charmides*, ³⁶⁶ always believed that the eyes cannot be treated unless the head is treated first, and the head cannot be treated without treating the whole body. Therefore they observed certain rules as to the whole body, and from the whole they go to a part.

And so, to sweeten, to strengthen, and so to speak, to preserve all the general fluids of the body so that it should reinforce and renourish itself and so that rough and irritating particles are not conveyed to the eyes from these fluids, but that particles should arrive there which can strengthen generally and can dispel much of that which lingers there abnormally and stagnates, there is no better, easier, or more acceptable remedy, and no remedy that is more compatible with the patient's age or that can be suggested during this season, than broth made with half of a mountain viper,³⁶⁷ especially with those from our Euganean Hills, prepared in a circulator. The broth should be taken every morning, either alone or after the mild flesh of the same animal, divided into snacks and made up with conserves of euphrasia³⁶⁸ or citrus.

In order to strengthen the fibers not only of the whole body generally but of the head and eyes in particular, during preparation of the broth one may add small portions of China root³⁶⁹ and of the wood of the oak mistletoe,³⁷⁰ and a very small amount of the seeds of *Siler montanum*.³⁷¹ In this way the sluggish and impure matter that has been retained will be kept moving more and more and will be dislodged.

For the same purposes it will be beneficial to drink tea often; a few flowers of linden and euphrasia should be added, and together with sugar a little bit of prepared amber.³⁷²

The use of these few and mild remedies must be accompanied by a good and suitable regimen of living which nourishes and at the same time dispels and strengthens. Arrangements should be made for digestion to occur under optimal conditions. Special applications should be avoided and everything possible should be done to make the bowel comply spontaneously. If it fails to do so, it should be stimulated, occasionally with enemas and occasionally with an ordinary mild laxative; to this may add a dose of the amber³⁷³ pill-mass of Crato,³⁷⁴ the famous physician of three emperors.

With the use and observance of what has been suggested, increased or reduced as the occasion arises, according to the prudent guidance of him who has the honor to attend Your Excellency—and to whose skill these remarks are submitted—it must be hoped that when his condition is reinvigorated, both generally and also in the impaired parts of the body, the benefits already obtained in the left eye will increase and that the advantage may reach the right eye. This will make it easier for the oculists

to observe and describe the true condition of the eyes, especially whatever abnormality there may be in the shape, diameter, and movement of the pupils, the state of clarity or opacity of the ocular humors, and in sum, everything that must be used for guidance in order to judge correctly whatever additional should be done. For lack of such information I do not prescribe anything for local application to the eyes.

This much I have considered necessary to write in prompt obedience to the highly venerated commands of one great gentleman and for the very precious health of another, for whom I pray to the All-Highest that it shall be perfect.

Giambattista Morgagni

Primary Professor at Padua, Member of the Imperial Academy of Scientific Investigators, and Fellow of the Royal Academies of Sciences of Paris and London

CONSULTATION XXXII

Report

A respectable woman thirty-six years old, of good and vigorous complexion, of sanguine temperament, impetuous, and the mother of many sons, although she always menstruated abundantly³⁷⁵ has suffered in recent years from sensations of heat in the head, inflammations of the throat, and finally, last year, from a slight touch of apoplexy, which left an obvious distortion of the mouth that has lasted for some time. A short while afterward she was widowed by the unexpected death of her gentleman husband.

Having come to the hottest season of the year, in order to turn aside the usual diversion of blood that would affect her head with immoderate fulness and excessive heat, at about the time of the dog-days she was persuaded to take a hot hip-bath, but without first taking the necessary preparatory measures that would have been suggested by any physician skilled in the art. For many days she took the hot hip-baths and then she was bled from her ankle. A few days later she had her menstrual period. It was quite abundant at first and it kept increasing every month thereafter, coming earlier and continuing longer, so that from December up to now she has not been free from bloody discharge, greater or less in amount and in color according to the time that has elapsed since the regular period.

From then until now she has emitted fresh blood for several days in such amounts that in addition to becoming weak and sometimes close to

falling exhausted, she has been having sharp pains in the region of the sacrum, the iliac bones, the pubes, and the groins, with some quickness and disorder in her pulse, occasional lack of appetite, and unusual weakness of the stomach. Sometimes the lady feels a weight resembling a ball in the region of her pubes, and sometimes still lower, in the vagina itself, especially after she has used force in emptying her bowel, which is naturally dry and constipated. This is occasionally accompanied by a frequent stimulus to urinate, and, what is more important, by a pain that at times is pungent, beneath the pubes, and by the discharge of a little grey material, dark, malodorous, and bad. These things are gradually becoming more obvious, while the discharge of fresh blood remains moderate.

CONSULTATION XXXII

Ocular inspection of the region, made by a skilled surgeon despite the lady's very great repugnance, has confirmed the suspicions originally entertained. The vaginal rugae were found to be relaxed and turgid. The uterus was somewhat low and somewhat indurated at its orifice, and at the right margin of the latter there was a corrosion a little less than ulcerated. Possibly this continues into the inner surface of the uterine

In my opinion this lady's fully sanguine temperament together with the hot hip-bath and the neglect of the preparations which were especially necessary in her case were the primary occasional causes of the uterine discharge. Many practitioners would put all the blame on the hot bath, bringer of similar troubles, since it causes enervation of the varicose tangles of fleshy fibers which enclose among themselves the many small arterial and venous channels and which together make up the muscular substance of the uterus, covered on the outside by a strong membrane and on the inside by another that is more porous and softer, which an accurate anatomist characterizes as villous because of the innumerable little siphons which guard the internal cavity of the uterus and which, if my view is correct, are nothing but extremely fine channels derived from the arteries of the uterus. These naturally receive from the arteries only a small amount of the white and thin part of the blood. This material acts to keep the inner walls of this organ smooth and soft for the necessary propagation

Now who does not understand that when the aforementioned tangles of muscular fibers have been slackened and weakened by a hot and relaxing bath, the arterial and venous channels which, with them, make up the structure of the uterus, remain, as I have said, less able to withstand the violent impact of impetuous blood, rarefied by the hot bath, which incessantly makes thrusts against their tunics, so that since the latter are dilated unduly and are made, so to speak, varicose, dilation is also forced to occur in those little lateral channels which receive only the thin white component before it reaches the arteries, and now enlarged in their diameters, also

admit the fibrous and globular component, that is to say, the live ruddy blood that runs in the arteries and veins?

And so, since the blood discharges so frequently and in such large amounts into the cavity of the uterus, this structure, delicate and very fine in its texture, is kept constantly soiled and dirty. Hence, some part of it, situated among the folds and interstices that were found by the very famous Sig. Morgagni within the cervix of the uterus, easily stagnates and rots, as it indicated chiefly by the acrid and fiery principles that are prevalent in this lady's humors; and that superficial corrosion, almost ulcerous, has been able to form, not only at the edge of the uterine orifice, as is evident on local inspection, but also internally, within the very cavity

of the uterus, as is strongly suspected.

What I have thus far said of the intrinsic vessels of the uterus, which are excessively dilated and swollen with blood, if as reason requires, I also say of the vaginal vessels-those which form part of the round ligament, and which at their tendinous ends insert into the inguinal fat and at the top of the pubic bone—and likewise of the hypogastric, hemorrhoidal, and other neighboring vessels, we immediately see clearly the origin of the pains in the pubes, groins, sacrum, etc. In addition there is the wonderful interconnection of the nerves of the uterus, which come from the sacral foramina, and of the vagi, which when irritated produce, through harmony, spasmodic contractions in the lower abdomen and even beyond. These generate flatus, weakness of the stomach, and countless other symptoms. It is not strange that, since the uterus and vagina are disordered, the urinary bladder itself should be affected in harmony with them, inasmuch as from the conflux and erosiveness of the humors there should also develop an irritation of the fibers which, like an arch, surround the end of the vesical neck and in this way form a sphincter and which, in women, according to the observations of Santorini,376 are themselves inserted exactly among the muscular fibers of the vagina.

How perplexing this sickness is, and how refractory to treatment, is well known to anyone versed in the art of medicine. Despite the most highly recommended and best-tried medicines it still continues and persists obstinately, so that since the affair is greatly protracted, all the organs have become weak and have been deprived of their natural vigor. In consequence the digestion of her food is disturbed and crude humors are being formed. The circulation of fluids is harmed and altered. Finally, all the secretions are perverted, so that cachexias have arisen, and continued fevers, and not a few other troubles. Although at times the sickness is halted entirely by strong medicines unwisely given, it returns in full flood to its course, and by overwhelming other structures more essential for life it is causing rapid

destruction.

And so, I was summoned two months ago to treat this noble patient for

the sickness that has arisen in this way. I saw the color of her face, still deeply tinged with fiery red, and I immediately turned to nitrates³⁷⁷ and to abundant cooling emulsions. In short, I had a vein opened in her hand, since I hoped in this way to turn the rapid and violent current of her blood away from the uterus and at the same time to reduce the heat. From time to time I interrupted the use of the medicines that have been mentioned, giving her a little cassia flower and urging her above all to have a little rest for mind and body, and a moderate, healthful diet. But despite all this there has been no benefit.

Since the true character of the disease has been made clearer by inspection of the area, I have paid attention to the indications for cleansing the virtually ulcerative superficial erosion and for strengthening the weakened and relaxed structures. For this purpose I have ordered applications of strengthening cerates to the lumbar regions and sacrum, and similar plasters over the pubes. Also, I have ordered that cleansing, subastringent and aromatic injections be made in the vagina with tops of yarrow,378 balantio,379 water germander,380 flowers of hypericon,381 dry roses,382 and a few pomegranate rinds, boiled together in ferruginous water with a surplus of honey of rose. I have prescribed in addition a few other medicines and these are all very simple and reliable. Among them is a decoction of the rinds of half-ripe oranges, the anodyne tincture of Helvetius,383 tormentilla root,384 Malta fungus385 with a few grains of ipecac root, and sometimes, in addition, a few little drops of liquid laudanum, the purpose being to tighten somewhat the bond between the parts of the blood and at the same time to strengthen the excessively relaxed fibers and to make them more resistant to the impact of the blood.

To tell the truth, it now seems that, because of the use of the aforementioned medicines, things are taking a better turn. However, in dealing with a sickness that is not so easily placated, and now that spring is approaching, the lady is glad to hear the wise opinion of the learned foreign professors in order to set up a systematic treatment and to return to her eagerly desired previous state of health. I had thought that, during the coming summer, in addition to the medicines already mentioned, I might continue, judiciously and as long as it might be necessary, to use purified goat's whey modified with fumitory, 386 water nasturtium, 387 sorrel, plantain, 388 and similar herbs, to cleanse the blood mass and to moderate its excessive heat, since this by its force and bad quality contributes to maintaining and increasing the effects which have already occurred in the

I intend later, in order to strengthen the parts additionally, to go on to milk containing steel, and at a suitable time to Brandola water, ³⁸⁹ which with the very delicate flowers of vitriol³⁹⁰ and the healing bitumen con-

tained therein, work with marvellous success in sicknesses of this kind, But in addition I would not omit to prescribe from time to time the use of cassia or the equivalent to prevent vigorous straining when the bowel is emptied, and also an additional phlebotomy if circumstances should require it. In this and in everything else I defer to the wise and judicious advice of the learned professors, whom I greatly respect, and to whom application is made for this purpose by the most noble lady.

Andrea Fromond³⁹¹ Physician

For a lady from Crema, at the request of Count Cittadella d'Onara. Uterine discharge with quasi-ulcerative erosion at the orifice.

April 6, 1746

This respected lady has two diseases and both are obvious. One is continuous hemorrhage from the uterus. The other is an erosion, virtually ulcerative, at the orifice of the same. The main previous causes of both are likewise obvious: of the first it is the hot hip-bath, of the second it is the hemorrhage itself. In what manner each of these causes has produced such an effect is a matter both worthy and useful to consider.

The hot hip-bath relaxes the structures in the middle and lower parts of the body and arouses a flow of blood toward them, but it relaxes most those that resist less and toward them it excites the blood more; and the blood is more excited the more it is abundant, thin, and fiery. Now because of the numerous childbirths and the persistent abundance of the menstrual discharges in the present case, the uterus must be considered the least resistant part. Moreover, the fully sanguine temperament, the failure to reduce it before the hip-bath, the uncorrected blood mass, the season of the dog-days, the repeated use of hip-baths for many days, the age, and the sulphuro-saline constitution of the blood, easily convince one that the blood is abundant, rarefied, and of fiery quality.

The uterus having so great a tendency to receive an immoderate afflux of blood, and the blood having a tendency to flow there, it is no wonder that the first menstrual period after the bath was much more profuse than usual and that in subsequent months menstruation always returned early, lasted longer, and was increased in amount, because the more the fibers of the uterus were exhausted by that first very profuse emission of blood and the more the tiny orifices of the vascular sinuses in the internal surface of the fundus were dilated, the less either could resist. Hence it must follow

exactly that even before the usual degree of turgescence of the blood had developed these orifices must open, and that they must close later than usual and emit a larger amount of blood. For the same reasons all these things always kept increasing from month to month, until finally the stage has been reached that the hemorrhage does not stop at all.

That the erosion at the uterine orifice was caused by this, is understood not only from the fact that at the beginning there was no sign of such an erosion but also from the additional consideration that the unaccustomed passage of such blood—virtually continual, later fully continual—such as has been mentioned above, at first relaxing much more, and then irritating, the part against which because of the natural narrowness and irregularity the blood must halt longer, must finally have eroded it, exactly as was observed on inspection. In this manner the erosion was produced and maintained by the hemorrhage, and the erosion, by its stimulant force, could be a new cause that would maintain the hemorrhage if the Art does not combat it.

From these considerations it is easy to point out the purposes that the Art must design exactly, in order to help the very worthy lady. These are: to bring it about that an excess of blood does not regenerate, that the particles of the blood remain somewhat more interconnected, that the sulphuro-saline quality is corrected, that the eroded structure is cleansed gently and solidified, and finally that it and the entire uterus is strengthened. In the meantime the more troublesome symptoms should not be neglected, namely the sharp pains, during which any structure could easily have a tendency to spasms, in view of the obvious distortion of the patient's mouth. This condition lasted for some time and was observed last year.

I am aware of the difficulty that is usually met in overcoming diseases of this kind. But I also know that difficulties are less when the sickness is more recent, and indeed it seems that things are taking a somewhat better turn. It is especially important that the discharge of small amounts of matter should become constantly scarcer and should be of better quality, that the pungent pain should be felt less often; this is true also of the weight that is like a ball in the region of the pubes, and of the sharp pains there and in the ilia and groins. It is true that we need not interpret them as indicating all that we read in book I of De Morbis Muliebribus, where it is written "and sharp pain seizes the groins and the lower abdomen and passes upward to the soft parts in the flanks." 392 But it is also true that we see, combined with such pains, the condition that is mentioned earlier: "if the uterus has been ulcerated, blood and pus are discharged and there is a foul smell."393 All this, except the bleeding, has been rather mild, but the present case has had the same beginning as this: "it also starts from the discharges if these have contained sharp matters and bilious matters erode" and certain diseases of the uterus "easily become malignant," as is written toward the end of the entire discussion of this material. Now in order to prevent this special disorder, or a general sickness, as far as the Art can, it has been wisely arranged, by means of varied methods of treatment, all of which are suitable, to satisfy the purposes that are detailed above; and other methods, equally clever, are now being suggested for the same purposes.

To treat the second of the two diseases, Hippocrates, in the same part of the treatise that has been cited, suggests among other things whey, and milk, and water. With regard to the first disease he does not object to milk, as might perhaps be supposed by those who in reading *Aphorisms* V. 64^{394a} do not doubt that among those to whom he says it is bad to give milk he also includes all those *quibus copiosa sanguinis evacuatio facta est* ("in whom a large evacuation of blood has occurred").^{394b} Inasmuch as, if we leave unanswered the question whether those who read *deiectio* and not *evacuatio* understood the meaning of Hippocrates better, or whether this word was inserted into the *Aphorisms* by others, as Fabricius,³⁹⁵ Vallesius,³⁹⁶ and Mercurialis³⁹⁷ suspect, having noticed that Galen, in commenting on this aphorism,³⁹⁸ did not mention it.

In reply to all these commentators I think it would be enough to cite Cornelius Celsus,³⁹⁹ who found it some while before the birth of Galen and in using this very aphorism also translated this term by the words sive sanguis fluxit.⁴⁰⁰ But, as I say, leaving this aside, it is certain that three great masters of medical practice, Haller⁴⁰¹ and the aforementioned Vallesius and Mercurialis, teach that the aphorism is not intended to be applied to all persons who have had large hemorrhages or who are having them, nor is it applicable to milk in every sense, because the first two physicians favor forbidding milk when patients have been reduced by hemorrhage to such a state that they cannot readily digest it, and Mercurialis believes in addition that for the most part it is pure milk that should be forbidden, but not milk treated with steel.

Coming now to the two sicknesses of the highly respected lady, who by God's grace has not come to protracted weakness of the stomach—coming, I say, to the three medicines that were either mentioned or not forbidden by Hippocrates, how can I not approve them, especially when I recognize that they are so well adapted to fulfill the aforementioned purposes? On the contrary, in the present season, which provides excellent whey and excellent milk, I commend first the use of pure milk medicated with Chian mastic⁴⁰² and with sorrel,⁴⁰³ acetosella,⁴⁰⁴ plantain,⁴⁰⁵ or similar herbs, to be taken after a morsel of white amber,⁴⁰⁶ crab's eye,⁴⁰⁷ catechu earth,⁴⁰⁸ and the like, combined with soft mature preserve of roses. Later the patient may go on to the milk of cows or ewes to which steel has been added. I

specify ewes because their milk has greater caseous content, as Mercurialis intends when commenting on the aforementioned aphorism, which as I have said, is Hippocrates' suggestion in which he discusses the ulcerated uterus and states perceptively that caseous milk soothes sharp and biting humors. And so I recommend the use of Brandola water⁴⁰⁹ at the proper

Friedrich Hoffmann,⁴¹⁰ in the epicrisis to Observation VIII, where he discusses the first of those two sicknesses, lays down the following precept: "these things should be used not during the actual flow of blood but at other times, to prevent recurrence. If this is not done, the flow is increased by the flaccidity of the uterus." But in the very next Observation he himself then says that he had prescribed the use of Selters⁴¹¹ waters for a month and more for a very delicate lady "who was suffering from a protracted and almost continual alternating bloody discharge from the uterus" and that with this treatment "the hemorrhage diminished perceptibly and finally ceased altogether, and the woman herself returned to her original perfect health."

Hence it appears that Hoffmann either forgot to apply his own teaching or rather that he had decided to except waters of very mild nature, and in his Examination of the Characteristics and Properties of the Principal Medicinal Sources in Germany⁴¹² he asserts that Selters waters are of that kind. But they are not any milder than Brandola water and have not their healing property. Hence he does not object to waters which act gently and if he prefers to have strength restored to the uterus by means of healing corroborants before the other waters are given for preventive reasons, I do not readily see what other waters than those of Brandola, which have properties of both kinds, could gain his approval. This is especially true because they must act at such a time that, if the other two have produced the appropriate beneficial effect, the Brandola waters could certainly be put to use during the absence of the flow and to prevent recurrence, 413 according to Hoffmann's teaching.

However, it is true that the use of each of the three recommended remedies requires great accuracy, especially in the beginning when their administration is inaugurated. It is necessary to observe the condition prevailing at that time and the condition of the stomach. At the start the doses should be given so cautiously that there is no risk, and they should be suspended exactly at the time of the menstrual period, and in brief they should be adjusted according to circumstances. But in writing to a learned physician, as I am now doing, it is unnecessary to make mention of such precautions or to discuss what can be added to the aforementioned remedies, especially in the milk.

But because it happens not rarely that some medicines, although they

are appropriate, are not tolerated, and some diseases undergo changes that are rarely seen, in that case one can think of replacing one of the medicines by frog broth made with pure water or by crayfish tails⁴¹⁴ or by whey distilled in a water bath according to the art, from one or the other and from the mildest of the vulnerary herbs.

I do not go on to other medicines, since the most praiseworthy have already been used and are being used, and because the use of the most powerful astringents is so dangerous in its consequences that it is scarcely permissible even in cases of extreme need.

As to local measures, since it is advantageous to be guided by the changeable condition of the part, I can say nothing except that they must always be suited to it, but they must also be gentle. And I say the same about the medicines, whether internal or external, that from time to time must be used against the varied symptoms and especially the sharp pains. To soothe these it is usually very effective to give enemas of pure milk with *philonium romanum*; ⁴¹⁵ these should be retained for a long time and hence must be limited to a few ounces.

The method of living must correspond to the purposes mentioned. Above all the patient should be warned that in the present case emotional disturbances can produce very great derangements. Her beverage should be Nocera water⁴¹⁶ or something similar, treated with the aforementioned mastic or with red sandalwood. ⁴¹⁷ If the stomach and the bodily forces seek wine, the patient should take dry red wine in medicinal doses, or very greatly diluted with the aforementioned water. As for food, it is best to follow the Hippocratic precept that occurs in the passage and treatise that have been mentioned: the patient should keep away from salty and bitter foods, from all seafood, and from the meat of pigs, cattle, and goats. Finally it is very important in emptying the bowel, in order to avoid the stresses that are so harmful, to make it compliant either by means of food or with the usual harmless medicines or with some kind of very mild enema.

All that I have here written during other very heavy responsibilities, I submit to the respected ability of the very worthy Signor Fromond,⁴¹⁸ so much the more willingly since I very rightly agree, both in regard to the plan and the indications and prognostications and the entire treatment, with what he has suggested and has done, as I learn from his very exact and sagacious statement. May God bless our common solicitude for the benefit of the very worthy lady, and I hope that she will have the most perfect health.

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