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Abstract	<p>In the last years of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century an extraordinary boom of lexicographical works dealing with medicine took place in Europe, particularly in France, and to a lesser extent in Germany and the UK. This lexicographical fever spread to other European countries such as Spain, where, together with the local publications, translations of medical dictionaries, mostly from French (and to a lesser extent from German) were to be found. However, not all the planned works, whether originally written or translated, found their way to becoming printed material. Causes were varied: together with the (most obvious) economic one, many others were to blame, among them cultural, social, or religious factors. In this chapter, Bertha Gutiérrez-Rodilla and Carmen Quijada-Diez focus on those causes, taking four different cases as examples: Francisco Suárez de Ribera's <i>Diccionario médico</i> and Joaquín de Villalba's <i>Diccionario de higiene y economía rural veterinaria</i>, both compiled by Spaniards in the eighteenth century; and two other encyclopedic medical dictionaries translated into Spanish in the nineteenth century—one from French and the other from German. For various reasons, all four of these works were somehow stranded in their editorial processes.</p>	
Keywords (separated by '-')	<p>History of medical metalexigraphy - Specialized dictionaries - Unfinished lexicographical projects - Book trade history - Spain - Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries - Francisco Suárez de Ribera - <i>Clave médico-chirúrgica universal y diccionario médico</i> - Joaquín de Villalba - <i>Diccionario de Higiene y Economía rural veterinaria</i> - <i>Diccionario de ciencias médicas</i> - Translation - Hugo von Ziemssen - <i>Tratado enciclopédico de patología médica y terapéutica</i> - <i>Handbuch der speciellen Pathologie und Therapie</i></p>	



CHAPTER 6

Stranded Encyclopedic Medical Dictionaries in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Spain

Bertha Gutiérrez-Rodilla and Carmen Quijada-Diez

0 An extraordinary boom of lexicographical works dealing with medicine
1 took place in the last years of the eighteenth century and in the nine-
2 teenth century in Europe, particularly in France, and to a lesser extent in
3 Germany and the UK. This lexicographical fever spread to other Euro-
4 pean countries, in which, together with the local production, translations
5 of medical dictionaries originally written in German, English, or French
6 were to be found. Such was the case in Spain, where, together with
7 some originally Spanish-compiled works, quite a large number of medical

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1



dictionaries were translated from French and, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, from German.¹

Not all of these planned works, whether originally written or translated, found their way to the final destination that was print, however. The reasons for this lack of success or for interruptions to the publication process in Spain were manifold: on the one hand, at that time there were no institutions that supported or helped lexicographic initiatives to move forward (or the few that did exist were not willing to help publish these types of works). This was not the case in neighboring countries like France, where lexicography was experiencing its golden age. On the other hand, most of these works were encyclopedic dictionaries of medicine consisting of many volumes. Therefore the publication of the last volume usually occurred well after the publication of the first volume, so that many of the works became obsolete very soon, all the more so in view of the rapidly-increasing pace at which scientific discoveries and changes were taking place—especially in the field of medicine, and especially in the nineteenth century.

Obsolescence was an even bigger risk when works were to be translated, either from French or German into Spanish. In the case of translated works, obsolescence was thus responsible for causing many of

¹The global history of medical lexicography has not been written yet, although there are several partial contributions of unequal value, such as Reinhard R. K. Hartmann, *The History of Lexicography* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986); Barbara von Gemmingen and Manfred Höfler, *La lexicographie française du XVIII^e au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1988); Béatrice Didier, *Alphabet et raison: Le paradoxe des dictionnaires au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: PUF, 1996); Jean-Charles Sournia, “Des dictionnaires médicaux,” in *Langage médical français*, ed. Jean-Charles Sournia (Paris: Privat, 1997), 117–125; Sarah Ogilvie and Gabriella Safran, eds., *The Whole World in a Book: Dictionaries in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). The imbalance between works dedicated to general lexicography and specialized lexicography is considerable, the latter being almost non-existent. In the case of French medical lexicography, however, there has been a big effort to piece together a history, mainly thanks to the works of Bernard Quemada: *Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire médical (1600–1710)* (Besançon: Annales littéraires de l'Université de BE 2, no. 5, 1955); *Les dictionnaires du français moderne, 1539–1863* (Paris: Didier, 1968); “Du glossaire au dictionnaire: deux aspects de l'élaboration des énoncés lexicographiques dans les grands répertoires du XVII^e siècle,” *Cahiers de lexicologie* 20, no. 1 (1972), 97–128. For the case of English medical dictionaries, see Roderick McConchie, *Discovery in Haste: English Medical Dictionaries and Lexicographers 1547 to 1796* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019).

28 these encyclopedic works to remain unfinished in Spanish or, alterna-
29 tively, published with a reduced number of volumes in comparison to
30 the originally projected number.

31 To all these factors must be added a few more: the economic and social
32 elements that could hinder publication, as well as strictly personal ones, as
33 we shall see in the following pages. We are therefore dealing with a multi-
34 causal phenomenon of *strandedness*. By using this analytical concept,
35 we will explore aspects rarely dealt with in previous studies of medical
36 lexicography and encyclopedism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century
37 Spain. In doing so, we hope to shed new light on the development of
38 modern lexicographic practice, its challenges and contexts. In view of
39 our own research here, we can infer that the reasons for works' being
40 set aside or stranded have little to do with what we might call intra-
41 metalexical reasons (philological or linguistic ones). Nor does
42 *strandedness* relate to ignorance or a mere lack of knowledge about how
43 to create dictionaries or a simple lack of utility for targeted audiences.
44 One could say that, in the Spanish case, the origins of this *strandedness*
45 are rather extra-metalexical, i.e., linked to those economic, social,
46 and even personal factors already mentioned. These will be further elab-
47 orated in the following pages in our examination of some remarkable
48 examples from the history of Spanish medical metalexical in the
49 eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

50 THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL SCENARIO
51 IN THE MEDICAL FIELD C. 1700–1900

52 After some very timid beginnings in the seventeenth century, a specialized
53 monolingual lexicography that could be considered “modern”² gradu-
54 ally developed during the first half of the eighteenth century and had
55 already acquired by the end of the century a remarkable level of develop-
56 ment in France, the cradle of the lexicographical fever. In France, between
57 1740 and 1800, at least 20 modern original dictionaries of medicine were
58 published, as well as the French translation (carried out by Diderot) of
59 what is usually considered the first modern medical dictionary, *A Medic-*
60 *inal Dictionary*, by Robert James, published in London between 1743
61 and 1745.³ Also in Germany and Great Britain in the last decades of the
62 eighteenth century, lexicographical compendia started to see the light, but
63 to a much lesser extent than in France.⁴ We should stress that the history
64 of medical metalexicography has barely been studied yet. As Roderick
65 McConchie points out: “[t]here is certainly published research on medical
66 terminology and medical terms in dictionaries, however, and this is an

²In this study, the criteria qualifying a specialized dictionary as “modern” are: it is written in a language other than Latin, it has more or less elaborated definitions (not just equivalent words), and it contains original texts, i.e. it is not only composed of extracts from other previous texts, but it is mainly composed of texts originally written by its author(s). Getting to the bottom of the concepts of intertextuality, imitation, and inspiration in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century lexicography goes beyond the scope of this work, but, as will be shown in the next pages, translation played a major role not only in the dissemination of the first medical encyclopedic dictionaries, but in the very inspiration and thus creation of domestic lexicographical projects. On the issue of identifying sources and acknowledging “borrowed” texts, see in extenso Linn Holmberg, “The Forgotten Encyclopedia: The Maurists’ Dictionary of Arts, Crafts, and Sciences, the Unrealized Rival of the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d’Alembert” (PhD diss., Umeå University, 2014), 179–182.

³Some say this was not the first one, but rather J. Guyot’s dictionary, published in Brussels in 1733. See Quemada, *Introduction à l’étude du vocabulaire médical*, 36. As McConchie points out, James did compile his dictionary himself, but also used the method of stitching together the work of others, “sometimes in translation and sometimes epitomized or reworked,” and he considers this method a typical one of the eighteenth-century encyclopedists and lexicographers. See McConchie, *Discovery in Haste*, 143. As we will argue below, there was in Spain too a remarkable precedent to James’ work, Francisco Suárez de Ribera’s dictionary.

⁴In-depth explanations of this phenomenon and the case in Spain can be found in Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, *La constitución de la lexicografía médica moderna en España* (La Coruña: Toxo-Soutos, 1999), 34–35.

67 expanding area, but the dictionaries themselves and those who compiled
68 them remain largely in the outer darkness. [...] Research articles on the
69 history and nature of these fascinating dictionaries are slowly beginning to
70 appear, but the whole area remains a goldmine of rich research pickings.”⁵
71 Furthermore, works dealing with Spanish-language medical lexicography
72 have been carried out almost exclusively over the last twenty years by
73 this present work’s authors and their research team, a team that has been
74 studying and analyzing primary sources in order to write the history of
75 Spanish medical metalexigraphy. It is for this reason that our chapter
76 mainly relies on research carried out by ourselves.

77 In Spain, particularly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, there
78 were several completely original specialized dictionaries, together with
79 some translated works, some of which were aborted soon after they were
80 launched: either they were not completed, or they remained in manuscript
81 form and were unpublished. Such was the case of Manuel Martínez’s
82 1745 Spanish-language translation of Bartolomeo Castelli’s well-known
83 *Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum* (1598). Martínez’s translation remained
84 unpublished, after failing to receive the necessary publication approval
85 from the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid.⁶ Two similar instances
86 were those of the *Clave médico-chirúrgica universal y diccionario médico*
87 (“The Universal Medical-Surgical Key and Medical Dictionary”) by Fran-
88 cisco Suárez de Ribera (c. 1686–1754) and the *Diccionario de higiene y*
89 *economía rural veterinaria* (“Dictionary of Hygiene and Rural Veterinary
90 Economy”) by Joaquín de Villalba (1752–1807), both of which will be
91 addressed in the following sections and will show that envy and profes-
92 sional jealousy could act as powerful forces leading to the failure of many
93 lexicographical endeavors.

94 On the other hand, specialized lexicography, especially medical lexi-
95 cography, was consolidated in the nineteenth century in countries such
96 as France or Germany, where a new type of lexicographical reper-
97 tory enjoyed great success: the encyclopedic dictionary. The difference

⁵ See Roderick McConchie, “The Lost History of Medical Lexicography,” Helsinki Society for Historical Lexicography (2014), accessed 11 October 2019, <https://blogs.helsinki.fi/hellex-society/the-lost-history-of-medical-lexicography/>.

⁶ The case of Manuel Martínez is dealt with by Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “Cuando las instituciones no apoyan las iniciativas de los científicos: el caso de la Real Academia de Medicina y algunas propuestas lexicográficas,” *Quaderns de Filologia: Estudis lingüístics* 17 (2012): 163–164.

98 between *dictionaries*, *glossaries*, and *encyclopedic* works has long aroused
 99 controversy in the specialized literature, despite some clarifying works,⁷
 100 and it still does, given the number of researchers who have written about
 101 the rise of the encyclopedic dictionary.⁸ As McConchie puts it, “there
 102 is a muzzy borderland between this [the dictionary] and encyclopaedias.”⁹ A medical encyclopedic dictionary, however, was understood in
 103 the nineteenth century as a work in which various authors tried to
 104 compile knowledge from different areas of medicine, extracted from
 105 books, journals, or even periodicals and newspapers. In such works,
 106 what mattered most were “things” and concepts, particularly the newest
 107 concepts, rather than words or terms. This helps explain why they did not
 108 have articles under headwords corresponding to every term in a conven-
 109 tional terminological dictionary, but rather primarily under headwords
 110 whose meaning had undergone an important shift in recent times. A
 111 desire for comprehensiveness on the part of those who composed such
 112 works (usually practicing physicians) meant that the information offered
 113 tended to be very broad: sometimes a single entry spanned several pages.
 114 Consequently, such compendia often comprised multiple volumes.¹⁰

116 Encyclopedic dictionaries of medicine were, in short, updated medical
 117 manuals, arranged in alphabetical order, and born with the aim of offering
 118 professionals the most complete possible review of the latest discoveries
 119 and research. By means of these works, readers could get more or less
 120 up to date on the latest novelties without having to buy and read all the

⁷ Quemada, “Du glossaire au dictionnaire,” 97–128; Sournia, “Des dictionnaires médicaux,” 120–121; Werner Hüllen, “The paradigm of John Wilkins’ Thesaurus,” in *The History of Lexicography*, ed. Reinhard R. K. Hartmann (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986), 115–125; Tom McArthur, “Thematic lexicography,” in *The History of Lexicography*, ed. Hartmann, 157–166.

⁸ Richard Yeo, *Encyclopedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); John Considine, “Our Dictionaries Err in Redundancy,” in *Symposium on Lexicography XI. Proceedings of the Eleventh International Symposium on Lexicography May 2–4, 2002 at the University of Copenhagen*, ed. Henrik Gottlieb, Jens Erik Mogensen and Arne Zettersten (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 195–205; Jeff Loveland, *The European Encyclopedia: From 1650 to the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Ogilvie and Safran, ed., *The Whole World in a Book*.

⁹ McConchie, *Discovery in Haste*, 4.

¹⁰ Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “Cuando querer no es poder: las dificultades para introducir en España los diccionarios médicos franceses del siglo XIX,” *Cuadernos de Filología Francesa* 22 (2011), 114–115.

121 books or journals in which they might be announced. In this sense, it
122 is no coincidence that the phenomenon of medical encyclopedism arose
123 in France in the second half of the eighteenth century and reached the
124 important peak of which we speak in the first decades of the nineteenth
125 (the golden period of French medicine), spreading from there to other
126 places such as Spain, where it arrived with a certain delay and in a rather
127 more subdued way.¹¹ Scientific advances were indeed gradually entering
128 Spain,¹² and Spanish physicians understood perfectly well the usefulness
129 of these works. However, general encyclopedic dictionaries of medicine
130 were ceasing to make sense in the second half of the century and began to
131 give way, on the one hand, to specialized medical dictionaries (focused on
132 specific medical areas, such as anatomy, hygiene, pharmacology, etc.) and,
133 on the other hand, to the first general and specialized medical journals.¹³
134 By then, general encyclopedias had come to be seen as a burdensome,
135 costly means of fighting against medical obsolescence in the face of
136 agile and versatile journals and periodicals, which, like these dictionaries,
137 sought mainly to report on medical innovations. It was undoubtedly more
138 convenient and cheaper to acquire different issues of journals than to
139 continue to subscribe to encyclopedias containing numerous volumes,
140 which were already out of date when they appeared on the market. Taking
141 into account too the time lapse involved in translating several volumes of
142 these works into Spanish, and the economic expense that this generated,
143 it is easy to understand why some of them were lost along the way or
144 why, in any case, the number of volumes published in Spain was greatly
145 reduced compared to that of original publications. The two examples

¹¹The situation of Spanish medical encyclopedism at that time is set forth in Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, "La obra lexicográfica de Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza: sus diccionarios enciclopédicos de medicina," *Asclepio: Revista de historia de la medicina y de la ciencia* 64, no. 2 (2012): 470.

¹²On how modern scientific and medical discoveries entered Spain, see, for instance, José María López Piñero, *La introducción de la ciencia moderna en España* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1969); Elvira Arquiola and José Martínez Pérez, *Ciencia en expansión: estudios sobre la difusión de las ideas científicas y médicas en España (s. XVIII–XX)* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1995).

¹³On the issue of disseminating medical research see Carmen Quijada-Diez, "Dissemination of Academic Medical Research Through Translation," in *Routledge Handbook of Translation and Health*, ed. Şebnem Susam-Saraeva and Eva Spišáková (Oxford: Taylor & Francis/Routledge, forthcoming 2020).

146 following, Spanish translations originating from a French and a German
147 medical dictionary respectively, will serve to illustrate these points.

148 FRANCISCO SUÁREZ DE RIBERA'S CLAVE

149 MÉDICO-CHIRURGICA UNIVERSAL Y DICCIONARIO MÉDICO

150 The first of the aforementioned repertories, if completed, could have been
151 the first modern European medical dictionary. It was planned to appear
152 in Madrid between 1730 and 1731, ten years before the publication of
153 James' *A Medicinal Dictionary*.¹⁴ In fact, only the first three volumes
154 of this compendium, composed by the physician Francisco Suárez de
155 Ribera,¹⁵ were published, totaling 1410 pages and only reaching the letter
156 C (see Fig. 6.1).

157 After studying Medicine at the University of Salamanca, Suárez de
158 Ribera worked in various Spanish cities, finally settling in Madrid, where
159 he acted as family doctor to the upper classes until culminating his
160 career by becoming doctor of the Royal Chamber in 1731, a position
161 he held until his death. It should be noted that one of the cities he had
162 worked in was Seville, where he enjoyed good relationships with inno-
163 vative physicians, especially those of the Royal Medical Society, of which
164 he was a member and whose gatherings he attended. This association
165 pushed him to develop, despite his initial Aristotelian-Galenic education,
166 an innovative attitude by accepting novelties completely opposed to his
167 background training, such as iatrochemistry and an emphasis on the prac-
168 tice of medicine.¹⁶ Consequently, it is not surprising that Suárez de Ribera

¹⁴Francisco Suárez de Ribera, *Clave médico-chirurgical universal y diccionario médico*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Viuda de Francisco del Hierro, 1730–1731). We have used for this study the copy available at the Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional de España). It remains unknown what success, if any, this work had, but we assume it must have been a modest one, given the scarce number of copies of this work in university and research libraries.

¹⁵Regarding this author's surname, it must be noted that he is often referred to as Suárez de Rivera (instead of Ribera). However, in most of today's critical literature on his figure, he is cited as Suárez de Ribera, which is also the way he called himself. That is therefore the way we will be referring to him, Ribera, while respecting the bibliographical references in which he appears as Rivera.

¹⁶For previous research on Suárez de Ribera and his work, see Luis Sánchez Granjel, *Francisco Suárez de Ribera, médico salmantino del siglo XVIII* (Salamanca: Seminario de Historia de la Medicina Española, 1967), especially pages 19ff; José María López Piñero,

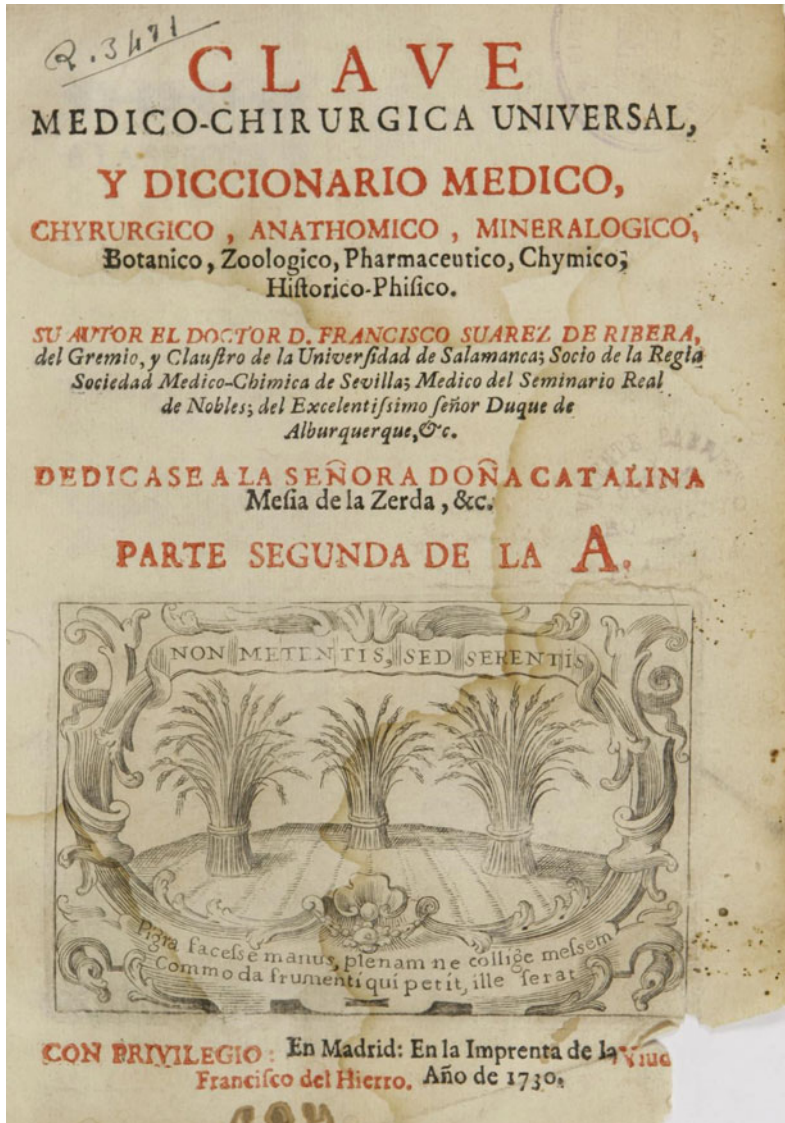


Fig. 6.1 *Clave médico-chirúrgica universal y diccionario médico* by Francisco Suárez de Ribera, of which only three volumes were published in Madrid between 1730 and 1731 (Source Photo from the Spanish Virtual Library on Bibliographical Heritage, Spanish Ministry of Education and Sports, freely available at <https://bvpb.mcu.es>)

169 should have decided on his own to undertake the great enterprise of
 170 developing a dictionary of medicine, without having in front of him a
 171 model to use, i.e., a dictionary of medicine that would serve him as a
 172 guide. This does not mean to say that he did not make use of some works
 173 as sources, as a detailed analysis of the volumes published makes clear:
 174 for instance, he must have read and used the *Diccionario de autoridades*
 175 (“Dictionary of Authorities”), published between 1726 and 1739, which
 176 gave rise to the foundation of the Royal Spanish Language Academy. He
 177 must also have consulted some vocabulary of Arabic origin, such as *Arte*
 178 *para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga: Vocabulista aravigo en letra*
 179 *castellana* (1515) by Fray Pedro de Alcalá, or even the Spanish trans-
 180 lation by Andrés Laguna of Dioscorides’ *Materia medica* (1555), just to
 181 mention a few.¹⁷

182 Ribera’s work is accompanied by a good number of explanatory charts
 183 and tables (most of them are drawings of plants) and is adorned with
 184 a brief initial history in which it reviews the great minds of medicine
 185 throughout history. It clearly has a terminological approach, not an ency-
 186 clopedic one, since it is more focused on defining words and terms and
 187 fixing their meanings than in thoroughly setting out each term with
 188 in-depth definitions or explanations. That was of no little interest at a
 189 time when the language of medicine was gradually getting complicated
 190 as a result of the ongoing scientific and medical developments. In fact,
 191 the Spanish medical historian Antonio Hernández Morejón assessed it a
 192 century later with the following words: “Rivera knew that a work of this
 193 nature was extremely useful and necessary [...]. Certainly, it would have
 194 become very worthwhile, had he been able to conclude it.”¹⁸

195 However, the work was neither completed nor maintained at a consis-
 196 tent level in the three volumes that did see the light of day. In fact, the
 197 volumes show great differences among themselves: if the first volume
 198 begins with short, clear definitions for each theme, as the reading

Diccionario histórico de la ciencia moderna en España. vol. 2 (Barcelona: Península, 1983), 340ff.

¹⁷ Laguna’s version of Dioscorides’ *Materia medica* was published as *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo, acerca de la materia medicinal, y de los venenos mortíferos, traducido de lengua Griega, en la vulgar Castellana, e ilustrado con claras y substanciales anotaciones, y con las figuras de innumerables plantas exquisitas y raras* (Antwerp: Casa de Iuan Latio, 1555).

¹⁸ Manuel Hernández Morejón, *Historia bibliográfica de la medicina española* (Madrid: Viuda de Jordán e hijos, 1842–1852), 407–408. Our translation from Spanish.

199 progresses, the definitions are diluted and the author enters into all kinds
 200 of disquisitions, expansions, subtle qualifications, chains of reasoning, and
 201 even personal reflections in the form of a panegyric on some author.
 202 Another peculiarity of the dictionary is that Suárez presents words not
 203 only in Spanish, but also in Latin, Greek, Arabic, French, English,
 204 German, Italian, Portuguese, and even Catalan.¹⁹

205 It is not possible to know exactly why this work was so quickly
 206 dropped. But one can imagine that Suárez de Ribera himself must have
 207 understood quite soon that the task was enormous and that in no way
 208 could he dedicate all his time to completing a dictionary like the one he
 209 had devised. But what there is no doubt about at all is the discouragement
 210 that he must have felt on seeing the poor reception of the volumes
 211 that had already been published. Nonetheless, his innovative thinking and
 212 mixed relations with medical tradition, together with his broad erudition
 213 and impressive record of publication, only served to awaken fiery hatred,
 214 jealousy, and envy among his contemporary and even later colleagues,
 215 particularly after he became chamber doctor in 1731, which is precisely
 216 when he stopped publishing more volumes of his dictionary. All of this
 217 happened in the context of eighteenth-century Spain, when attachment
 218 to the past was fierce and it was very difficult to carry out initiatives that
 219 might break with the sterile and desolate ethos of the time.²⁰ In the
 220 specific case of medicine, in the last years of the seventeenth century,
 221 progress had taken hold in Spain as a result of the so-called *novator*

¹⁹ His behavior regarding the equivalents he presents is rather inconsistent: in the first volume, he barely presents words in other languages; he does so in the second volume (not systematically in all the languages, but increasingly in many of them) and then almost all the words in the third volume appear with multilingual equivalents. See Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “Lo que pudo haber sido y no fue: Francisco Suárez de Rivera y la lexicografía médica moderna,” in *Actes del colloqui “La historia dels llenguatges iberoromànics d’especialitat (segles XVII–XIX)”*, (Barcelona: Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada, 1998), 311–314.

²⁰ We have to bear in mind that seventeenth-century Spain was still strongly divided between nobles and peasants, that the currency was devalued somewhat frequently, that many workers did not receive their salaries and that taxes were not always paid. Demographic and economic growth took place in the last years of the century and would not be noticed until well into the eighteenth century. See John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700–1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

222 movement,²¹ driven by the controversial doctrine of blood circulation
 223 set out by William Harvey (1578–1657) in 1628. Throughout most of
 224 the century following, these innovative beginnings suffered great weak-
 225 ness because of institutional and intellectual resistance. All of this would
 226 provoke innumerable and continuous disputes between three groups of
 227 doctors: those who defended the new ideas from abroad, the obstinate
 228 Galenists (who were clinging tirelessly to the past), and the moderate
 229 Galenists, who, without renouncing previous postulates completely, were
 230 slowly opening up to the incoming novelties.²² It is in this context that
 231 Suárez de Ribera’s dictionary was published, a novelty in its own right,
 232 not only because of its content, but also because of the way it was
 233 presented to the public as a *dictionary*. There is no doubt that it was very
 234 difficult for such a repertory to achieve enough success to continue, so
 235 we must conclude the author decided to interrupt his work and dedicate
 236 his efforts to other matters.

237 JOAQUÍN DE VILLALBA’S *DICCIONARIO DE* 238 *HIGIENE Y ECONOMÍA RURAL VETERINARIA*

239 If Suárez de Ribera’s dictionary stopped at the third published volume,
 240 that of Joaquín de Villalba y Guitarte (1752–1807) did not even leave
 241 the press. In fact, in order to analyze it, it is necessary to visit the
 242 Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional de España), which holds
 243 the manuscript of the first volume alone.²³ This Aragonese served as a
 244 military surgeon, the librarian of the Royal College of Surgery of San
 245 Carlos in Madrid, and finally as a professor of Hypophysiology at the

²¹The *novator* or *novatores* movement refers to the time period in Spain between the last part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. It is also referred to as the Spanish pre-Enlightenment.

²²See Alvar Martínez Vidal and José Pardo Tomás, “Un siglo de controversias: la medicina española de los novatores a la Ilustración,” in *La Ilustración y las ciencias: para una historia de la objetividad*, ed. Josep Lluís Barona Villar, Javier Moscoso and Juan Pimentel (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003), 108.

²³Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 13455, Joaquín De Villalba, *Diccionario de higiene y economía rural veterinaria*. The remaining volumes should be archived in the Royal Academy of Medicine Archives in Madrid (Real Academia de Medicina de Madrid), given that Villalba had sent them there in order to get the necessary approval to publish his work. However, despite having carried out a thorough search, it has been impossible to trace them.

246 School of Veterinary Medicine in Madrid. He sought to develop a dictio-
 247 nary, probably influenced by reading the *Cours complet d'Agriculture* of
 248 Jean-Baptiste François Rozier (1734–1793),²⁴ whose Spanish translation
 249 was published in Madrid between 1797 and 1803.²⁵ At least one copy of
 250 the translation was at the library of the School of Veterinary Medicine in
 251 Madrid.²⁶

252 Villalba undertook the enterprise of compiling such a work, taking
 253 advantage of an opportunity offered by the School of Veterinary
 254 Medicine, which in 1805 proposed to the Royal Academy of Medicine
 255 of Madrid a “plan for the formation of a historical veterinary dictio-
 256 nary,” according to which the different subjects would be grouped into
 257 separate dictionaries, as “executed by the French in their Methodical
 258 Encyclopaedia.”²⁷ The plan was presented to the Royal Academy of
 259 Medicine in 1805, although it had already been approved in April 1802,
 260 in and by the School of Veterinary Medicine. It is plausible that Villalba
 261 might have already begun to work on his dictionary, inspired by Rozier’s
 262 work, and that he was the one that conceived the idea of presenting the
 263 volumes he had written as part of a dictionary for veterinary students.

264 The interest taken at the time by academies, associations, and soci-
 265 eties in the study and promotion of science led some, such as the Royal
 266 Academy of Medicine of Madrid, to become true partners in the creation
 267 of dictionaries, but it also led to the cancellation of some important lexi-
 268 cographical initiatives, including the one under study here. As previously
 269 mentioned, the five volumes prepared by Villalba had to be presented to
 270 the Royal Academy of Medicine, which was to report on them and censor

²⁴ Jean-Baptiste François Rozier, *Cours complet d'agriculture, théorique, pratique, économique et de médecine rurale et vétérinaire ou Dictionnaire universel d'agriculture*, 10 vols. (Paris: Hôtel Serpente, 1781–1800). Two additional volumes were published in Paris in 1805.

²⁵ Villalba’s life is examined in Antonio Carreras Panchón, *Joaquín de Villalba (1752–1907) y los orígenes de la historiografía médica española* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1984).

²⁶ On the presence of medical dictionaries in nineteenth-century Spanish private and public libraries, see Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, *Diccionarios de medicina del siglo XIX en bibliotecas públicas y privadas de España* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, forthcoming 2021).

²⁷ Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “Cuando las instituciones no apoyan las iniciativas de los científicos,” 164. See also Archivo de la Real Academia Nacional de Medicina, leg. 21, doc. 1213.

271 as a prelude to publication. Six members of the Academy evaluated the
 272 dictionary, five of whom judged it harshly: although some of the criticism
 273 was pertinent (and the errors rectifiable), much of it was inconsistent. For
 274 example, the academicians took Villalba to task for including quotations
 275 in Latin but later berated him for not including all the names of plants
 276 and animals in Latin. Another misguided point of criticism, if we take into
 277 account the fact that the dictionary was aimed at veterinary students, and
 278 thus had to have a didactic and informative spirit, was that the definitions
 279 were “not very scientific,” the style was “coarse,” and the lexicon was
 280 “not very specialized.”²⁸

281 In the end, the dictionary went unpublished. The reasons for its
 282 rejection by the censors can be found, first of all, in the previous deal-
 283 ings Villalba had had with some of them. For example, one of them,
 284 Tomás García Suelto (1778–1816), enjoyed a good relationship with the
 285 professor of the San Carlos College of Surgery José Severo López (1754–
 286 1807), who had been responsible a few years before for holding back the
 287 original copy of another work by Villalba for more than a year, his *Hipofisi-*
 288 *siología* (“Physiology of the Horse,” finished in 1806 but not published
 289 either). Those who have studied Villalba’s life and work point out that
 290 the aversion of García Suelto to Villalba was due mainly to pecuniary
 291 motives: Villalba, in his dual capacity as professor in the School of Veteri-
 292 nary Medicine and librarian at San Carlos College, earned a higher salary
 293 than Severo López and many other colleagues in the profession, among
 294 whom Villalba aroused great envy. For that very reason, they sought
 295 to torpedo his initiatives and any attempt he made to be named Court
 296 Surgeon.²⁹

297 In conclusion, it is plausible that Villalba’s attempt to create and
 298 publish a five-volume dictionary of veterinary medicine was foiled due
 299 to personal rivalries with the Royal Academy’s censors. Another factor
 300 might have been the Inquisitorial process in which he was involved during
 301 the last years of his life and which remained unresolved at his death.³⁰

²⁸ The comments on Villalba’s work can be found in the Archivo de la Real Academia Nacional de Medicina, leg. 21, docs. 1222, 1233, 1237, 1239, 1244, 1245.

²⁹ See for example Luis Sánchez Granjel, “Villalba. Hernández Morejón. Chinchilla,” *Medicina e Historia* 72 (1977): IV–VI; Carreras Panchón, *Joaquín de Villalba*, 72–76; Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “Cuando las instituciones no apoyan las iniciativas de los científicos,” 164–170.

³⁰ See Carreras Panchón, *Joaquín de Villalba*, 156–172.

302 Otherwise, this stranded medical dictionary would have filled a gap in
303 field of reference—one can easily imagine the usefulness of such a project
304 given the social and economic circumstances in the late eighteenth and
305 early nineteenth century, such as the shortage of professionals, including
306 physicians, to deal both with intellectual questions and the practicalities
307 of daily life in the extensive geography of Spain, particularly in rural areas.
308 In this respect, it is necessary to emphasize that Villalba’s work, like that
309 of Rozier, was not limited to presenting information strictly related to
310 veterinary medicine, but also covered a wide range of practical knowledge,
311 offering guidelines on how to proceed in situations of ill-health, whether
312 individual (injuries, illnesses) or collective (epidemics, for example), as
313 well as what we would now call first aid, advice on breastfeeding and
314 raising children, and so on. One can see this approach as a modern one,
315 given that in the nineteenth century such works constituted a well-defined
316 and established genre known as “domestic medicine,” launched in the
317 previous century, especially with the publication of the *Domestic Medicine*
318 *or the Family Physician* (1769) of William Buchan (1729–1805), which
319 quickly reached several editions and was also translated into the main
320 European languages, including Russian.³¹ In this sense, at the minimum,
321 Villalba’s work reflected the interest shown by many European physicians
322 in these matters at the turn of the century. In any case, had it not been
323 stranded, it would have been an original piece of work in the Spanish
324 social, economic, and historical context.

325 TWO STRANDED TRANSLATIONS INTO SPANISH

326 As noted above, the reasons that altered, slowed down, or even prevented
327 the publication of medical dictionaries in Spain were not always imperfec-
328 tions of human nature (e.g., envy, restlessness, or jealousy). *Strandedness*
329 could also be an outgrowth of other factors, as it was in the case of
330 some encyclopedic medical dictionaries translated into Spanish in the
331 nineteenth century. These works faced problems of a different nature.

³¹ William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine or the Family Physician* (Edinburgh: Balfour & Smellie, 1769); Charles E. Rosenberg, “Medical Text and Social Context: Explaining William Buchan’s ‘Domestic Medicine’,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 57, no. 1 (1982): 22–42. On its repercussions in Spain, see Enrique Perdiguero Gil, *Los tratados de medicina doméstica en la España de la Ilustración* (Alicante: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 1990).

332 To begin with, encyclopedic dictionaries included varied and extensive
333 information that was generally adapted for the readers of the countries
334 in which they were initially published. When these works were translated,
335 those in charge of doing so had to adapt their content to the peculiarities
336 and idiosyncrasies of the Spanish public. They were forced, then, to betray
337 fidelity to original text, even to the point of altering it to conform to the
338 reigning morality in Spain at the time.³² There is evidence of this in the
339 titles of some of the translated works, like in the case of the translation
340 from German to Spanish of the *Real-Encyclopädie der gesamten Heilkunde*
341 by Albert Eulenburg (1840–1917),³³ “directly translated and arranged
342 for the use of Spanish doctors by Dr. Isidoro de Miguel y Viguri.”³⁴

343 In translations and adaptations of medical dictionaries into Spanish in
344 the nineteenth century, four types of modification took place with respect
345 to the original texts: synthesis of content, updating, expansion or substi-
346 tution to adapt it to the target audience, and corrections, whether of
347 errors or anti-Spanish sentiments. The motivations behind these modifi-
348 cations were, to some degree, the same ones that led to the stranding of
349 some of the medical dictionaries into Spanish or, at least, to their publi-
350 cation being altered from what was planned for initially. In the following
351 pages, we shall explore two examples of Spanish translations: one, a dictio-
352 nary published originally in France and two, a dictionary published in
353 Germany.

³²This and other translation-related aspects of medical dictionaries are covered in detail in Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla and Carmen Quijada-Diez, “La adaptación del contenido en los diccionarios médicos traducidos y publicados en España en el siglo XIX,” in *Translatio y Cultura*, ed. Pedro Aullón de Haro and Alfonso Silván (Madrid: Dykinson, 2015), especially p. 202.

³³Albert Eulenburg, *Real-Encyclopädie der gesamten Heilkunde: Medizinisch-chirurgisches Handwörterbuch für praktische Ärzte* (Wien and Leipzig: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1880–1883).

³⁴Albert Eulenburg, *Diccionario enciclopédico de medicina y cirugía prácticas, escrito en alemán bajo la dirección del Dr. A. Eulenburg; traducido directamente y arreglado para uso de los médicos españoles por el Dr. D. Isidoro de Miguel y Viguri*, 13 vols. (Madrid: Agustín Jubera, 1885–1891).

DICCIONARIO DE CIENCIAS MÉDICAS

354

355 This dictionary constitutes an excellent sample of the exercise of synthesis
 356 and substitution of content that had to be carried out by those respon-
 357 sible for its translation into Spanish.³⁵ Originally composed by a team of
 358 authors in French, the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales* was published
 359 in France between 1812 and 1822, in no less than 60 volumes. It was the
 360 first of many encyclopedic medical dictionaries published in that country
 361 originally written in French and not the product of a translation (such as
 362 Diderot's translation of James' *A Medicinal Dictionary*). Not only was
 363 it a great success in France, but it started a lineage of very fruitful ency-
 364 clopedic publications. The Spanish version, published between 1821 and
 365 1827, had only 39 volumes, which means that it lost a third of the original
 366 content in the process of translation and publication. Even so, it was not
 367 the most drastically reduced of the period's translated Spanish-language
 368 medical dictionaries. The *Dictionnaire de médecine*, for example, went
 369 from 29 volumes in French to 8 in Spanish,³⁶ and the *Real-Encyclopädie*
 370 *der gesamten Heilkunde* by Albert Eulenburg went from 27 volumes in
 371 the third edition in German (1893–1901) to only 13 in Spanish.

372 These instances of shortening reflect the difficulties involved in
 373 translating encyclopedic dictionaries in Spain, difficulties that prevented
 374 Spanish translators from achieving the pace and degree of development
 375 of their counterparts in France. Furthermore, the *raison d'être* of ency-
 376 clopedic dictionaries of medicine was to give readers updated information
 377 on new advances that were taking place, at a time in the steady progress
 378 of medicine. The considerable lapse of time between the appearance of
 379 the original compendium and its Spanish translation or adaptation meant
 380 that the translations had little relevance when they finally saw the light of
 381 day. In the case of the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales*, the first volume
 382 of the French original was published in 1812, while the Spanish edition

³⁵ *Diccionario de ciencias médicas, por una sociedad de los más célebres profesores de Europa, traducido al castellano por varios facultativos de esta corte*, 39 vols. (Madrid: 1821–1827). The copy we have studied, in quite good condition, can be found in the Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional de España). Given its widespread availability in university and research libraries in Spain, it must have enjoyed considerable success.

³⁶ N. F. Adelon, J. Béclart, P. H. Bédart et al., *Diccionario de medicina y cirugía, ó Repertorio general de ciencias médicas consideradas bajo sus aspectos teórico-prácticos... traducida al castellano por D. Manuel Álvarez Chamorro, D. José María Velasco y D. Juan Sierra y Gato*, 8 vols. (Madrid: D. S. Compagni, 1851–1855).

383 came out almost ten years later. Such a delay was undoubtedly excessive
384 for Spanish readers eager to obtain up-to-date knowledge.

AQ1 385 This must be added the considerable economic burden involved in
386 publishing so many volumes, which was rarely offset by the enthusiasm of
387 readers, who were unwilling to make the investment necessary to acquire
388 all the volumes (and all the less so when the country's economic situa-
389 tion was not particularly prosperous). This is confirmed by the fact that
390 many of the people who had originally subscribed to buy the dictionary
391 volume by volume eventually cancelled their subscriptions, convinced that
392 the process was endless.³⁷ This led the publishers to implement different
393 fixes. On the one hand, they drastically reduced the number of volumes.
394 In fact, they promised the subscribers that the Spanish dictionary would
395 only have twelve, which in itself was a manifest hoax, since it would have
396 been impossible for the sixty French volumes to be condensed into that
397 few. On the other hand, in order to update their source's aging content,
398 they asked the translators to supplement it with information extracted
399 from more recent works, thereby substantially altering the source text in
400 the translation.

401 In addition to the above, the translators decided that, on some occa-
402 sions, the content had to be adapted to the Spanish public in order to
403 increase its usefulness and make it more attractive, as was the case with the
404 entry on medical waters ("Aguas medicinales"), where the French waters
405 originally discussed were replaced with Spanish ones. Another example
406 is to be found in the entry "Declaración," which had been written in
407 accordance with French legislation and had to be adapted to the laws
408 and practices of Spain. On other occasions, the information in the French
409 dictionary, which was virulently anti-Spanish, had to be corrected. So it
410 happened in the case of the entry on military medicine ("Medicina mili-
411 tar"), which had led some Spanish doctors to seek amends in the Spanish
412 press and request a correction by the editors of the original text.³⁸

413 While important, these circumstances were not the only ones that the
414 publisher of the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales* in Spanish had to deal
415 with: slightly earlier, a Spanish doctor, Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza
416 (1783–1849), also director of the journal *Décadas de medicina y cirugía*,

³⁷ This behavior is set out and explained in Gutiérrez-Rodilla and Quijada-Diez, "La adaptación del contenido en los diccionarios," 203.

³⁸ Gutiérrez-Rodilla, *La constitución de la lexicografía*, 45–46.

417 was involved in the preparation of a domestic encyclopedic medical dictio-
 418 nary, not a translation, although it was inspired to a certain extent by
 419 the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales*. Since he first began working on
 420 his dictionary in 1816, Hurtado had been very attentive to what was
 421 appearing in the volumes of the French compendium, a work that he
 422 valued enough to translate three of its articles and publish them as an
 423 independent book dedicated to “generation” (i.e., reproduction).³⁹ He
 424 valued the French dictionary so much that he integrated everything he
 425 found interesting in it into his compendium, a fact alluded to in the notice
 426 (“Advertencia”) with which the first volume of his work begins. But, at
 427 the same time, when he found the French dictionary to be incomplete,
 428 he supplemented it with articles or information he considered pertinent,
 429 convinced that, acting in this way, he was offering the Spanish public the
 430 best dictionary of medicine he could make, without forcing them to resort
 431 to those produced in other countries.⁴⁰

432 Hurtado’s *Diccionario de medicina y cirugía o suplemento al*
 433 *Diccionario de Antonio de Ballano* (“Dictionary of Medicine and Surgery
 434 or Supplement to the Dictionary of Antonio de Ballano”)⁴¹ was published

³⁹ Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza, *Tratado histórico y fisiológico completo sobre la generación: Traducción hecha de los tres artículos Generación, Hombre y Mujer del Diccionario francés de Ciencias Médicas* (Madrid: Antonio Martínez, 1821).

⁴⁰ Hurtado’s project is explained in Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “La obra lexicográfica de Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza,” 480.

⁴¹ Antonio Ballano had published between 1805 and 1807 in seven volumes the *Diccionario de medicina y cirugía de Antonio Ballano* (“Antonio Ballano’s Medicine and Surgery Dictionary”). Given the acceptance that this compendium had had, Ballano himself promised to produce a supplement that would update its content and began to work on it, but illness and ultimately death prevented him from fulfilling his promise. Faced with this situation, another doctor from Madrid, Tomás García Suelto, took on the commitment, but death also prevented him from carrying it out, so it was finally Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza who took charge of the famous supplement, to which he dedicated seven years of his life, as he himself revealed at the end of the work. However, the four volumes that make up the *Diccionario de medicina y cirugía* prepared by Hurtado de Mendoza and published between 1820 and 1823 are in fact an independent repertoire and very different from the one he supposedly supplemented, as anyone who has compared them can easily deduce. See Gutiérrez Rodilla, “La obra lexicográfica de Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza,” 473–475. See also Consuelo Miqueo, “Enciclopedismo médico: cambio y progreso en el Diccionario de medicina y cirugía de Antonio Ballano (1805–1823),” in *Los viajes de la razón: estudios dieciochistas en homenaje a María Dolores Albiac Blanco*, ed. María Dolores Gimeno Puyol and Ernesto Viamonte Lucientes (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015), 183–208.

435 between 1820 and 1823, coinciding in part with the *Dictionnaire des*
436 *sciences médicales* (1821–1827), with which he clearly competed. The
437 competition ended up being an open war between the works and their
438 makers, as attested to by the large number of reviews published in the
439 medical press.⁴² This occurred at a time when the translators of the
440 French dictionary ironically and disdainfully criticized not only Hurtado’s
441 dictionary, but also his character and medical convictions. Meanwhile,
442 he busied himself by demonstrating through page after page of news-
443 paper articles, editorials, and advertisements that it was he who was
444 directing what his enemies considered a “biased and ignorant version”
AQ2 445 of the *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales*.⁴³ The controversy reached such a
446 height that it in no way contributed to improving the sales of the Spanish
447 version of the French dictionary and indeed helps explain the limited
448 commercial success that the lexicographical adventure had.

449 As a result of these factors, this *Diccionario de ciencias médicas* found
450 itself stranded: not just because the cost-efficient model of periodical
451 publication threatened to draw out the project beyond the interest of
452 readers, but also because of an open war between medical lexicographers
453 and the impossibility of delivering an up-to-date Spanish work based on a
454 French original from almost ten years before. In short, the Spanish version
455 of the very well-known *Dictionnaire des sciences médicales* was neither
456 economically profitable (in a relatively impoverished country) nor capable
457 of fulfilling its fundamental mission, i.e., to offer updated and current
458 medical information. As if this was not enough, the Spanish physicians to
459 whom this information was aimed were frustrated by having to wait for
460 the Spanish translation. Most of them had a good knowledge of French,
461 and so many ended up refusing to buy a Spanish dictionary that never
462 seemed to be fully published and opted instead for the original French.
463 This would explain the large number of copies of the French original in
464 Spanish libraries, mostly from the donations of private medical libraries.⁴⁴

⁴²These reviews are critically analyzed in Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “La obra lexicográfica de Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza,” 480–482.

⁴³See also Consuelo Miqueo, “La introducción y difusión del brusismo en España,” in *Ciencia en expansión. Estudios sobre la difusión de las ideas científicas y médicas en España (s. XVIII–XX)*, coord. Elvira Arquiola and José Martínez Pérez (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1995), 173.

⁴⁴This is an aspect that is covered in depth in Gutiérrez-Rodilla, *Diccionarios de medicina* (forthcoming 2021).

HUGO VON ZIEMSSSEN'S *TRATADO ENCICLOPÉDICO DE PATOLOGÍA MÉDICA Y TERAPÉUTICA*

Hugo von Ziemssen (1829–1902) was a German physician, the director of Munich's general hospital, the editor of the journal *Deutsches Archiv für klinische Medizin*, and a very prolific writer. The *Tratado* (“Treatise”) we are dealing with here was originally published in Germany in 17 volumes between 1874 and 1885 under the title *Handbuch der speciellen Pathologie und Therapie*.⁴⁵ In the Spanish translation (see Fig. 6.2), we find instances of adaptation, updating, and content reduction such as those we have already set out previously.

The *Tratado* was published in Spain between 1887 and 1901 in 22 volumes under the title *Tratado enciclopédico de patología médica y terapéutica traducido al español por el Dr. Francisco Vallina*,⁴⁶ although the increase in the number of volumes compared to the original is due more to an editorial and commercial decision than to an expansion of content, since what occupies a single volume in the German edition fills several in Spanish. And that is in fact our first finding when comparing the original and its translation: the distribution of the content varies considerably. It is striking, for example, how different the order is in which the volumes were published in Spanish. The German edition begins with a volume on public health that is not found in the translation. It continues with infectious diseases and does not deal with diseases of the respiratory system until volume 4, which is precisely where the translation into Spanish begins. With respect to infectious diseases, they occupy the second and third volumes of the original edition, but do not appear in the translation until volumes 20, 21, and 22, with a delay, moreover, of more than ten years relative to the original publication. The fourth to ninth

⁴⁵ Hugo von Ziemssen, *Handbuch der speciellen Pathologie und Therapie*, 17 vols. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1874–1885).

⁴⁶ Hugo von Ziemssen, *Tratado enciclopédico de patología médica y terapéutica traducido al español por el Dr. Francisco Vallina*, 22 vols. (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1887–1901). This work is available in several Spanish university libraries, as well as the Spanish National Library. One can therefore deduce that it was a useful tool for both practicing physicians and researchers. See also Carmen Quijada-Diez, “La recepción de la ciencia en la España decimonónica a través de la traducción,” in *La traducción y la interpretación en contextos especializados (II): un enfoque multidisciplinar para la transmisión del conocimiento científico*, ed. J. M. Castellano and A. Ruiz (Granada: Comares, 2018), 131–133.

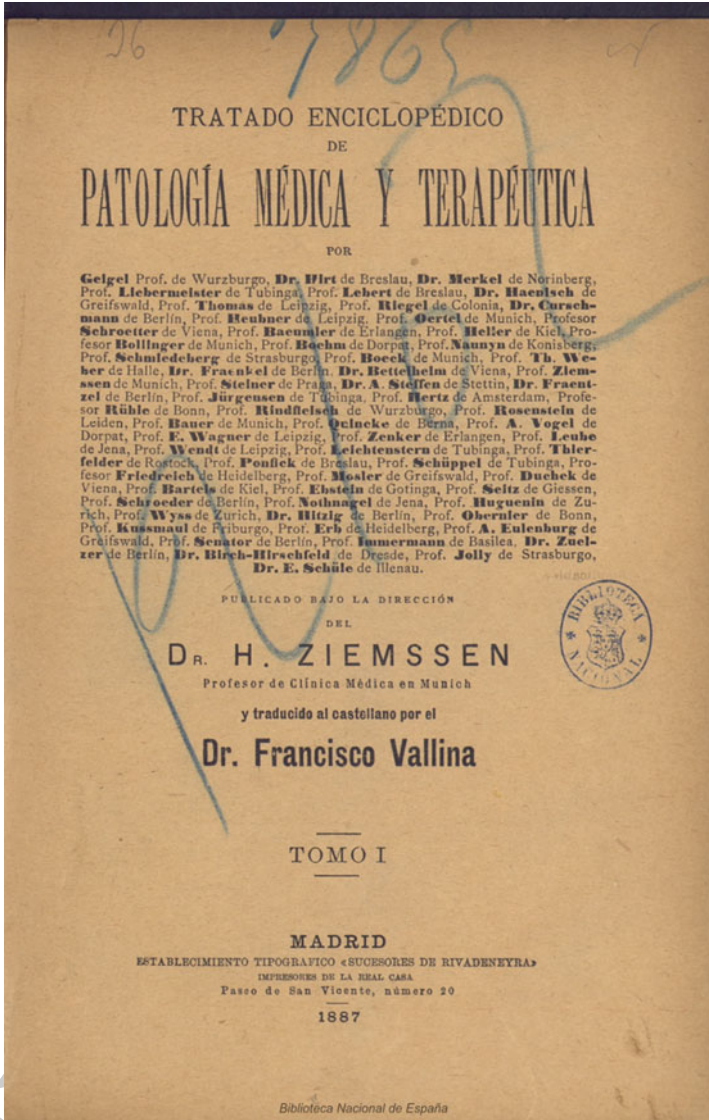


Fig. 6.2 *Tratado enciclopédico de patología médica y terapéutica traducido al español por el Dr. Francisco Vallina.* Translation from German into Spanish, published in Madrid between 1887 and 1901 (Source Image from the Spanish National Library)

492 volumes of the translation cover the nervous system, whereas the original
493 edition does not deal with it until volume 11. Even more striking is the
494 absence in the Spanish version of a volume dedicated to diseases related
495 to the female sexual organs, which occupy a whole volume in the origi-
496 nial edition (volume 10). Equally surprising is the absence in the Spanish
497 edition of material on two major areas, corresponding to volumes 14 and
498 16 of the original version: skin diseases and mental illnesses.⁴⁷

499 The translation therefore eliminates four major areas from the original:
500 public health, diseases related to the female sexual organs, skin diseases,
501 and mental illnesses. In a preliminary hypothesis, it might be that the
502 elimination of those related to public health has to do mainly with cultural
503 aspects, since the German volume that deals with it is dedicated above all
504 to describing the state of public health in the German-speaking sphere. It
505 is not so easy to speculate conclusively about the elimination of the other
506 three major themes, especially regarding diseases of the female sexual
507 apparatus: Is its elimination in the Spanish version due to the morals of
508 the time? The version of this same work published in English does repro-
509 duce this volume in its entirety.⁴⁸ Regarding the volumes devoted to skin
510 diseases and mental illnesses, which were published as volumes 14 and
511 16 originally, perhaps their late publication in the German series made
512 translating them into Spanish seem less viable. Taking into account that
513 the first volume was published in 1874 and volume 14 was published in
514 1883, we find a lapse of almost ten years. While in Leipzig the volume
515 relating to skin diseases was published in 1883, it would still take four
516 years for the first translated volume of the work to appear in Spain (vol.
517 I, “Diseases of the Respiratory Apparatus I,” published in 1887). Such
518 large lapses of time between the publication of an original work and the
519 beginning of a translation put an end to more than one encyclopedic work
520 in Spain, at a time when the phenomenon of encyclopedism was giving
521 way to journals, a more effective and economical mode of communication
522 in the fight to avoid obsolescence and to keep physicians updated.

⁴⁷ The correspondence of volumes and possible hypothesis explaining discrepancies are set out in Carmen Quijada-Diez and Bertha M. Gutiérrez-Rodilla, “La traducción al español de diccionarios médicos alemanes en el siglo XIX,” *Revista de Lexicografía* 23 (2017): 193–195.

⁴⁸ Hugo von Ziemssen, *Cyclopaedia of the Practice of Medicine: Vol. X. Diseases of the Female Sexual Organs* (New York: William Wood and Company, 1875).

CONCLUSIONS

523

524 In the preceding pages, we have presented four different cases of
525 medical dictionaries, for various reasons, encountered difficulties in their
526 publishing processes and remained stranded. The selection of the four
527 repertoires is not accidental, because with them we have tried to illus-
528 trate different reasons that could stop or even render the publication of
529 valuable encyclopedic works impossible. Such impediments also hindered
530 the introduction of scientific novelties that were circulating in Europe,
531 many of which could have improved medical practice in Spain. We have
532 examined the examples of: Suárez de Ribera's *Dictionary*, for whom the
533 magnitude of the undertaking combined with loneliness and envy on the
534 part of colleagues led him *motu proprio* to abandon the task of composing
535 what would have been the first great modern European medical dictio-
536 nary; the unpublished work of Joaquín de Villalba, which failed due to
537 personal rivalries as well as the inaction of institutions such as the Royal
538 Academy of Medicine of Madrid; and, lastly, two large translated encyclo-
539 pedic medical dictionaries, Eulenburg's and Ziemssen's treatises, which
540 were never published in their entirety in Spanish because the value of
541 their content decreased as time elapsed between the original publication
542 and the translations. In short, problems of all kinds prevented eighteenth-
543 and nineteenth-century Spanish medical lexicography from reaching the
544 level of neighboring countries, but also, above all, made it impossible for
545 the various lexicographical initiatives that Spanish physicians undertook
546 to succeed in the way they undoubtedly deserved.

547 In light of our study, we do not think it is imprudent to assert that,
548 when evaluating the history of medical metalexigraphy and encyclope-
549 dism (like that of other specialized branches of knowledge), researchers
550 should not rely only on palpable, tangible results, i.e., the dictionaries
551 that were published and can be consulted, but also on projects left incom-
552 plete or unfinished by promoters. In fact, the study of the circumstances
553 surrounding the initiation, development, and eventual lack of progress
554 of such works is even more interesting and revealing than the anal-
555 ysis of everything related to those dictionaries and encyclopedias that
556 were published successfully. Thus, this study puts us on the trail of the
557 diverse and innumerable factors that lie behind the success or failure of
558 all encyclopedic endeavors, especially in the age of Enlightenment.

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