

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Notes on the Contributors</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
Part I Theory	1
1 Fracastoro's <i>De Contagione</i> and Medieval Reflection on 'Action at a Distance': Old and New Trends in Renaissance Discourse on the Plague <i>Isabelle Pantin</i>	3
2 The Animism of Ambient Air at the End of the Middle Ages <i>Claude Gagnon</i>	16
3 Windows on Contagion <i>Donald Beecher</i>	32
4 Contagions of Love: Textual Transmission <i>Nancy Frelick</i>	47
5 The Devil's Curses: The Demonic Origin of Disease in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries <i>Marianne Closson</i>	63
Part II Practice	77
6 Apples and Moustaches: Montaigne's Grin in the Face of Infection <i>Hélène Cazes</i>	79
7 Contagion, Honour and Urban Life in Early Modern Germany <i>Mitchell Lewis Hammond</i>	94
8 Corruptible Bodies and Contaminating Technologies: Jesuit Devotional Print and the 1656 Plague in Naples <i>Rose Marie San Juan</i>	107
9 Quarantine and Caress <i>Frédéric Charbonneau</i>	124

10	The Preaching Disease: Contagious Ecstasy in Eighteenth-Century Sweden <i>Daniel Lindmark</i>	139
Part III Projections		155
11	A Contagion at the Source of Discourse on Sexualities: Syphilis during the French Renaissance <i>Guy Poirier</i>	157
12	Contagious Laughter and the Burlesque: From the Literal to the Metaphorical <i>Dominique Bertrand</i>	177
13	The Pathology of Reading: The Novel as an Agent of Contagion <i>Michel Fournier</i>	195
14	Religious Contagion in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England <i>Nicole Greenspan</i>	212
15	Contagion by Conceit: Menstruosity and the Rhetoric of Smallpox into the Age of Inoculation <i>David E. Shuttleton</i>	228
	An Afterword on Contagion <i>Donald Beecher</i>	243
	<i>General Bibliography</i>	261
	<i>Index</i>	271

Part I

Theory

1

Fracastoro's *De Contagione* and Medieval Reflection on 'Action at a Distance': Old and New Trends in Renaissance Discourse on Contagion

Isabelle Pantin

In the Renaissance, the horrors and mysteries of contagion¹ were manifested in their most terrible form by two mysterious diseases: syphilis, recently introduced in Europe,² and the plague, which had reappeared in the West at the end of the fourteenth century.³ The works dedicated to syphilis were still relatively few and did not constitute a popular genre, but the latter had already inspired a considerable literature which expressed both a desperate feeling of impotence in the face of a curse which defied all human resistance, and a renewed effort to understand it. Thus, depending on what we are looking for, we can find in these works either remnants of archaic notions, such as explanations in terms of divine wrath or the use of analogical and magical thinking, or the first manifestations of a medical revolution in progress.

Murderous plagues and evasive causes

The plague provides the most striking and the best documented example of the complexity of the response to contagion. A discouraging disease, the plague was also stimulating in that it challenged the Galenic conception of pathology.

It could still be analysed using Galenic theory, provided that this theory was carried to its limits. In this view, it was a 'putrid fever': its victims inhaled corrupt air that attacked the organism *in tota substantia*, by some

occult quality, and putrefied it as would an instantaneous poison.⁴ But first of all, the ‘corrupt air’ explanation, already problematic in itself,⁵ did not fit the evidence: medics referred to this thesis, yet, at the same time, they issued sanitary rules (such as burning the patient’s clothes and mattress⁶) that reflected a different conception of the problem. Moreover, the Galenic doctrine viewed disease as a totally natural process – giving this expression a meaning that excluded the occult⁷ – and studied it only through observable experience. However, the plague defied observation. Medics often noted that it could be present without any external symptoms.⁸ And finally, as the result of a kind of ‘Copernican revolution’, the plague incited medics to centre their reflection on the disease itself and not on the complexion of the patient, as the Galenic approach required. Confronted with epidemics, they perceived the terrible nature of the disease and sensed that it would be more effective to base their therapy directly on knowledge of it.

When considering the propagation of the disease throughout the population, the recurrent – and sometimes suspicious – problem of ‘action at a distance’ (also involved in magnetism and astrology⁹) was encountered. It is significant that, in the case of the plague, an astrological explanation was traditionally given: a conjunction between Saturn and Mars. According to Avicenna, this contributed to the corruption of the air.¹⁰ The Black Death had been preceded, in March 1345, by a conjunction of the three superior planets (Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) in Aquarius,¹¹ which had been extensively discussed by the doctors of the University of Paris,¹² followed by many theologians, philosophers and physicians.¹³ A treatise entitled *De peste*, composed in Avignon by Raimundus a Vinario, a physician attached to the papal court and published by Jacques Dalechamps in 1552, stresses the relations between celestial *affluxus* and occult properties integrated by the Creator into certain substances (for example, the magnet): these effects are all explained by a kind of sympathy based on similitude, analogy or favourable predisposition (*conveniens aptitudo*) between the agent and the recipient subject.¹⁴ By a comparable process, certain malignant stellar influences can give us the plague when they correspond to a specific disposition of our bodies (*peculiari potestate, seu mavis specifica forma, qua ea valent in corpora nostra*).¹⁵ The spread of syphilis inspired similar speculations.¹⁶

There was another type of explanation – one that was different, but quite compatible with the first: the idea of invisible particles transmitted by breath and bodily fluids. It had been marginally expressed in Antiquity and the Middle Ages¹⁷ to justify the fact that contagion could take place not only through direct contact, but also at a distance through the air, and through more or less porous materials touched by sick people;¹⁸ these materials were called *fomites*, a somewhat ambiguous expression that referred literally to the kindling feeding a fire: it designated primarily the receptacles of the infectious particles,¹⁹ and sometimes, by extension, the particles themselves. In the Renaissance, this obscure notion encountered

that of *pestifera semina* mentioned in the *De natura rerum*, when the poem evokes the pestilence in Athens (first described by Thucydides). According to Lucretius, these invisible *semina* move randomly in space and putrefy the air by amassing together.²⁰ We can observe that there was nothing in the Lucretian description that could perplex a medic trained in the medieval tradition, except perhaps the use of the very suggestive term *semina*: he had, by other mediations, acquired a similar conception of the causes of the corruption of the air.

Fracastoro adopted this term (and a variant: *seminaria*) and extended its meanings in his *De contagione*, written in 1538,²¹ revised around 1542, and published in 1546, in Venice, with the *De sympathia et antipathia*.²² The work concerned all forms of contagious diseases, but the plague and, to a lesser extent, syphilis offered Fracastoro the most extreme cases, allowing him to progress as far as possible with his own ideas. He had already dealt with these two diseases: his great poem, *Syphilis*, had been published in 1530 (Verona, Da Sabbio),²³ and he had composed a short prose treatise on the same disease, as well as observations on the plague of 1534–35.²⁴

De contagione develops the idea that invisible living seeds (*seminaria*), capable of reproducing themselves, are the main agents of the propagation of pestilential epidemics. Thus, in the history of medicine, Fracastoro is sometimes viewed as a forerunner announcing the modern approach to pathology.²⁵ I do not intend to challenge this interpretation, for the history of science provides many similar examples: the first, seemingly fortuitous, appearance of imprecisely formulated and insufficiently demonstrated ideas, which reappear much later in the form of illuminating theories. Is there a link between the two stages, and what is the nature of this possible link? This is a major question.

I would simply like to explore another pathway – a complementary rather than a contradictory one – by examining in *De contagione* the continuation of medieval reflection on ‘action at a distance’ and, more precisely, the theory of *species*.²⁶

The theory of *species*

The theory of *species* reached its full development in the work of Robert Grosseteste (1168–1253) and Roger Bacon (ca.1214–94); it took its inspiration from two main sources, which were closely linked: the Neoplatonic metaphysics of emanation, which was expressed most particularly in the conception of light, and the geometry and physics of optics which had been elaborated first by the Greeks, then the Arabs,²⁷ before returning to the West in the thirteenth century.²⁸

According to this Neoplatonic conception, an infinite number of rectilinear rays emanate spherically from every point of everything in the universe carrying the powers of what they radiate from.²⁹ Thus, natural forces are

propagated until they find an appropriate receiver in which they can express themselves, according to the nature of the receiver.³⁰ The term *species* is used to designate that which emanates;³¹ its meaning is ‘aspect’, ‘image’³² or ‘form’, as well as ‘likeness’. The sources, or agents, that produce *species* are many: substances, celestial and terrestrial (but not pure matter), and qualities: heat, cold, humidity, dryness, light, odour, taste and sound (in other words, the ‘proper sensibles’, *sensibilia propria*).³³

Through the *species*, the agent always seeks to print its likeness on the receiver, but this is possible only if the latter has a certain degree of resemblance with the former,³⁴ which brings us to the question of sympathy. In short, *species* are what allows natural agents to ‘multiply’, although through a different sort of reproduction from that of physical generation, as it is carried out without material contact and by the simple activation of a certain potentiality already present in the receiver, and in the medium between agent and receiver.³⁵ The *species* are not transported but successively generated (‘multiplied’) in the medium, without discontinuity, but with a progressive attenuation.³⁶

For medieval philosophers, the theory of *species* was considerably advantaged by its association with optics: it thus acquired the possibility of complete geometrization, as David C. Lindberg has demonstrated. However, the example of optics also shows that the theory was ambiguous from the very beginning: the light *species*, which transmitted the image of visible objects, conformed to the laws of geometry as long as they travelled through transparent or semi-transparent media; in other words, right to the interior of the eye. But when they were conducted through the dark corridors of the nerves to the various chambers of the brain, they adopted another form of behaviour, similar to that of the *spiritus* which wandered among the humours. The same occurred in all the *species* involved in sensation. The Renaissance philosophers, and Fracastoro in particular, inherited this combination – which appears strange to our eyes – of a geometrical and almost mechanical physics, and a physiological approach, apparently as unpredictable as life itself.

Fracastoro’s synthesis

The theory of *species* lasted at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century, thanks primarily to its importance to optics. It is not surprising that Fracastoro was familiar with it. What is more remarkable is that he made an in-depth study of its possible application in solving the problem of contagion, and, with this goal in mind, searched to improve and complete it.

It is significant that he appended his treatise on contagion to a broader study on sympathy and antipathy. Like Fernel and Paracelsus, he thus situated his medical reflection inside a much larger philosophical framework,

without limiting himself to the physical world, in the narrow sense of the expression, since he was also interested in sensations, passions, imagination and intellectual knowledge.³⁷ His purpose was to examine natural changes which could not be fully explained within the framework of strict Aristotelianism.

Enrico Peruzzi³⁸ has shown, by a thorough examination of some chapters of the *De sympathia* and by a comparison with their sources, that Fracastoro was well acquainted with the philosophical literature dealing with the *species* (especially the work of Bacon), and that he accommodated the standard theory to his own purposes. His chief object was to demonstrate that the 'occult' had no place in philosophy, which had to deal with medium particular causes, excluding what concerned, on the one hand, metaphysics and first causes, and, on the other, pure matter.³⁹ All natural phenomena had natural agents, which might remain 'latent'. These natural agents were necessarily either substances or qualities.⁴⁰ The first finality of all beings was their own conservation⁴¹ which was assured by the first natural cause: sympathy, or *latens consensus rerum*.⁴² This sympathy manifested itself by a universal connection between bodies (*nexus universalis*), which excluded the void,⁴³ and, strictly speaking, action at a distance.⁴⁴ Thus, in this new conception of sympathy, a new explanation of phenomena like magnetism had to be elicited. It was developed as follows.

As the iron body and the magnet are not in contact, they must be linked by something that is sent from the one to the other.⁴⁵ This 'something' is not material atoms:⁴⁶ Fracastoro demonstrates that atomism could explain some limited effects of magnetism, but not all of them; it cannot constitute *principium commune omnibus*.⁴⁷ Only *species spirituales* provide a general solution to the problem.⁴⁸ In the traditional conception, the *species*, being immaterial, have nothing to do with local movement (according to Bacon, as we have seen, they are not 'transported' but successively and 'spiritually' generated in the medium):⁴⁹ they cannot be involved in the process of attraction, except by introducing a new quality in the attracted body, that is, by altering it.⁵⁰

Fracastoro wanted to remain in the general frame of explanations by local movement. Thus, he slightly modified the definition of the *species*: it was necessary that they be not only qualities, but also perfect substances.⁵¹ Thus he assumed that there was a substantial identity between the *species spirituales* and the embodied forms from which they emanated; the only difference was that the former had no spatial limits and were somewhat attenuated or degraded.⁵² In other respects, these 'representations' or *simulacra* of the substances⁵³ had the same capacities and powers as their sources, and by their propagation they were the main agents of the universal sympathy and cohesion in nature.

In the case of magnetism, the *species* of iron and the magnet were mingled, and a new 'whole' (and a new *continuum*) was formed, constituted

by the two bodies and by their *species*. Thus, the attraction could be explained by the general theory of *motus partium in toto*, according to the principle that parts always tend to be reunited in the whole.⁵⁴ Iron and magnet, which were mixed bodies, were attracted by each other because they were somehow similar, even if the similitude was far from complete and consisted of a latent *quid* that escaped sensory perception.⁵⁵ This *quid* was not their exclusive property, but a general principle, common to different substances.

Contagion was another, more complex case of the so-called 'action at a distance'. In this approach, to touch on one of the keys to understanding the universal order, Fracastoro followed a similar path to Bacon's, while at the same time appearing to us an incarnation of the perfect Renaissance philosopher.

As we have seen, he accepted the same premises as his medieval colleagues: the need for sympathy – which involved similitude – between agent and subject in order for one to act on the other, and the possible existence of 'spiritual' intermediaries, which, although invisible, did not escape natural laws, since they too entered the confining logic of sympathy.

As in his explanation of magnetism, his first tool was the theory of *species*. And the main model he used to understand the propagation of disease was the propagation of light and sound, which also had two phases, first in the air or in a fluid, then in the living body. In this way, he was led to combine two models: one mainly geometrical,⁵⁶ the other based more on physiological and biological conceptions.

He finds no better comparison to describe the spread of contagion than that of *species*. Thus, it diffuses itself *in orbem*, and 'we see that it imitates the movement of spiritual "*species*", whereas the bodies that possess known qualities have only one movement upwards or downwards'.⁵⁷ Chapter 7 of Book I ('Quomodo seminaria contagionis ad distans ferantur et in orbem') describes the same 'spherical' propagation; when it evokes the circulation of contagion in 'animals', it is the circulation of *spiritus* in bodily humours that becomes the model, but Fracastoro uses the term *soboles* (offspring), which in *De sympathia* express the emanation of *species* from their source (in the discussion on magnetism already mentioned).

De sympathia, cap. 5: 'embodied forms' tenuem et superficalem sui vel partem vel gradum producunt, quem Epipolim vocant qui ... momento gignitur, ac propagatur ceu soboles quædam ...⁵⁸

De contag. I, cap. 7: ... unus penetrationis modus est per propagationem et quasi sobolem, prima enim seminaria, quæ adhæserunt e vicinis humoribus ad quod habent analogiam, consimilia sibi alia generant et propagant, et hæc alia, donec tota humorum massa et moles efficiatur ...⁵⁹

In the first case, the offspring is only an attenuated simulacrum of the substance, in the second, it consists of living beings, the *seminaria*.

Atomism, as we have seen, for Fracastoro was a theory that had to be surpassed, without however being rejected altogether: rather than material atoms, he preferred spiritual *species*, which provided him with a more universal tool of explanation; but the possible existence of atoms is never denied in his book. Moreover, his conception of the generation of *species* from their source certainly has something in common with the Epicurean notion of *simulacra*: he presents the two terms as synonyms, obviously with philosophical reasoning.⁶⁰ This *soboles*, we might say, is the offspring of both Bacon and Lucretius.

In fact, his rejection of material atoms did not keep Fracastoro from recuperating the Lucretian *pestifera semina* and developing all their biological potential. Instead of replacing these Epicurean *semina* by something completely different, he improved on them by giving them all the properties of the *species spirituales*, and as well, those of the *spiritus* that lived in animated bodies. His *species spirituales* already possessed some of the powers of living beings; at least, as simulacra of all substances and qualities, they were the agent of everything in nature, in sensation and in cognition:

Harum vero spiritualium quod actio multa sit, et vis in natura : similiter est manifestum (ut iis diximus quæ de rerum sympathia et antipathia diximus) nam et sensus et intellectus movent, et principia sunt motionum in animalibus, deinde et motus locales videntur facere attractionem et fugam: nonnullæ etiam et primas qualitates producere, ut lumen quod calorem gignit ...⁶¹

The only, but decisive, difference was that the spiritual *species* did not survive when their origin disappeared.⁶² Thus, something else had to be involved in contagion. The infectious agents seemed to have a life of their own since, when their first source had vanished, they could subsist in *fomites*, in the air, and be transported from place to place, even across vast seas; thus they were necessarily corporeal, and not only spiritual beings.⁶³

The traditional definition of contagion required that the same infectious principle would be transmitted from the first patient, to the second, the third, and so on.⁶⁴ Spiritual *species* had the power to transmit an infection, even a lethal one, as in the case of the *catablephas* (the basilisk that kills with its eyes); but they could not 'generate' in another body the power that they possessed, so that a third person – then a fourth by his intermediary, and so on – could be affected.⁶⁵ Contagion did not merely consist of the transmission of a putrefaction, it involved the generation of the seeds of the disease in other bodies. The *spiritus* that assured the functions of life in

animals could operate in a similar manner (the *spiritus* present in the blood possessed in themselves the power of generating other *spiritus*), but not the spiritual *species*.⁶⁶ Since Antiquity, the *spiritus* had allowed medics to resolve satisfactorily the problems posed by the connection between the material and the immaterial, the animate and the inanimate, and contagion was certainly one of these problems. We see that Fracastoro's *seminaria*, which were alive and proliferated through generation,⁶⁷ thus providing the only possible explanation of pestilential contagions,⁶⁸ were the result of a quite complex synthesis.

In *De sympathia* and *De contagione* Fracastoro had planned to deal with natural phenomena deprived of observable causes, notably different forms of the so-called 'action at a distance'. His intention had been to explain these phenomena in the philosophical framework he had conceived: the occult causes were excluded, but not the 'latent' ones. As he believed in the coherence of the natural world (governed by the laws of sympathy), his method of explanation could not lack in logic and unity. In fact, throughout his treatise he used similar theories and modes of reasoning. But the specificity of each particular phenomenon received due attention. Contagion was more complex a problem than magnetism (which involved only local movement). To resolve it, Fracastoro chose the same point of departure (the theory of *species*) but added other elements, taken from the Epicurean representation of the spreading of diseases and from the medical conception of the *spiritus*. The result was assuredly new, but it would be hazardous to assert that it was decidedly 'modern'.

Notes

- 1 On contagion, see V. Nutton, 'Seeds of Disease. An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance', *Medical History*, 27 (1983) 1–34.
- 2 See J. Arrizabalaga, A. Cunningham and R. French, eds, *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
- 3 See J.-N. Biraben, *Les Hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens*, 2 vols (Paris: Mouton, 1975–76). The plagues described in the Bible and in other ancient sources seem to have been various forms of typhus or pox. The plague appeared in Europe in AD 541 and disappeared at the end of the eighth century. It returned in 1347 (the 'Black Death'). Then, over four centuries, it remained the most lethal disease in Europe.
- 4 See M. Ficino, *Consilio contra la pestilenzia* (Firenze, 1481): 'La pestilentia è uno vapore velenoso concreto nell'aria inimico dello spirito vitale ... quello vapore pestilente non proprio per calidita, frigidita, siccita, humidita è inimico, ma perche la proportione sua è quasi a punto contraria alla proportione, nella quale consiste lo spirito vitale del cuore', ch. 1, 2r^o-v^o. Ficino here follows the *Consilium contra pestilentiam* composed by Gentile da Foligno during the Black Death (Firenze, bibl. Laurent., Plut. 90 supra Cod. 20, fol. 65r^o-v^o); trans. in A. M. Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning* (1931; New York: AMS Press,

- 1966), pp. 37–8; see also R. French, *Canonical Medicine: Gentile da Foligno and Scholasticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Ambroise Paré assumes that the patient must be given an antidote (preferably theriaca) as soon as possible ‘pour contrarier et resister au venin, non en tant qu’il soit chaud ou froid, sec ou humide, mais comme ayant une propriété occulte’; *Traité de la peste, verolle et rougeolle, avec une breve description de la lepre* (Paris: Wechel, 1568), ch. 24. See also Lauent Joubert: ‘il n’y a propriété aucune de ses qualitez manifestes, qui rende l’air pestilent ... mais ... c’est une propriété que l’on dit spécifique et occulte’; *De peste*, trans. G. Des Innocents (Toulouse: Lertout, 1581), p. 9.
- 5 An element in itself is always pure (see Joubert, *De peste*, ch. 1, pp. 2–3), but the air can contain infectious and poisonous particles. See Jean Jasme (*Traicté de la peste*, 1376; printed in Paris at the end of the fifteenth century): ‘ceste pestilencieuse maladie est contagieuse car de corps infectz yssent humeurs et desfluent fumees venimeuses corrumpan et causans infections de lair’; cited in E. Droz and A. C. Klebs, *Remèdes contre la peste* (Paris: Droz, 1925), p. 34.
 - 6 See A. Carmichael, ‘Contagion Theory and Practice in XVth-century Milan’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44 (1991) 231ff. Such prescriptions were dictated by the theory of *fomites* (see below).
 - 7 This exclusion was not absolute, but the exceptions were limited. Galen admits that there are ‘occult virtues’ in certain remedies (especially the antidotes) which are efficient *tota substantia* (*De simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus*, ed. Kühn, XI, 823; *Methodus medendi*, XII, 356–8); these remedies, required in case of plague (see note 4 above) were identified *a posteriori* by the observation of their effects. Arab medics had been very active and inventive in this field. On the evolution of Galenism and on Arabic medicine, see O. Temkin, *Galenism: The Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973); and D. Jacquart and M. Micheau, *La Médecine arabe et l’Occident médiéval* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1990). On the importance of alchemical remedies with occult properties, see C. Crisciani, ‘Oro potabile ra alchimia e medicina. Due testi in tempo di peste’, in F. Calascibetta ed., *Storia e fondamenti della chimica. Atti del VII Convegno Nazionale* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale delle Scienze, 1997), pp. 83–93; C. Crisciani and M. Pereira, ‘Black Death and Golden Remedies: Some Remarks on Alchemy and the Plague’, in A. Paravicini Bagliani and F. Santi, eds, *The Regulation of Evil: Social and Cultural Attitudes to Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages* (Firenze: Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, 1998) *Micrologus’ Library*, 2, pp. 7–39.
 - 8 ‘Car souvent apperent bonnes urines et bonnes digestions au patient quand nonobstant ce il tent a la mort’, Jasme, *Traicté de la peste*, ch. 2. See also Paré, *Traité de la peste*, ch. 24.
 - 9 See E. Grant, ‘Medieval and Renaissance Scholastic Conceptions of the Influence of the Celestial Region on the Terrestrial’, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 17 (1987) 1–23.
 - 10 Avicenna, Canon, I. IV, F. I, tr. IV, c. 1.
 - 11 See B. Goldstein, *Levi ben Gerson’s Prognostication for the Conjunction of 1345* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Association, 1990).
 - 12 Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning*, p. 40; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Sciences* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935) III, pp. 289–92, 303–9, 326–37; Rudolf Sies, ‘Das Pariser Pestgutachten von 1348 in altfranzösischer Fassung’, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Pestliteratur*, IV (Würzburg, 1977).

- 13 H. Pruckner, *Studien zu den astrologischen Schriften des Heinrich von Langenstein* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1933); W. Cooplund (Liverpool: The University Press, 1952).
- 14 'Affluxum, qui hasce res tractant, nominarunt syderum unicuique tributam vim peculiarem, ab eo qui summæ rerum præest, qualis est Magnetis cum ferrum trahit, Electri cum aceres. Formam præficam alii vocare malunt. Ea est conveniens aptitudo, ejus quod afficit, cum eo quod afficitur, ut commode et facile alterum suam vim exerat, alterum excipiat.' Raimundus a Vinario, *De peste libri tres*, ed. J. Dalechamps (Lyon, Guil. Roville, 1552), p. 23.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 16 On the astrological explanation of syphilis, see Paola Zambelli, *L'Ambigua natura della magia* (Milano: Il saggiatore, 1991), ch. 4.
- 17 According to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (ca. first century CE) phthisis, psoriasis and ophthalmia were transmitted by putrid particles contained in breath and sudation (VII, 8, 887A). See Nutton, 'Seeds'.
- 18 These three types of contagion were described by the school of Salerno in the tenth or eleventh century. See Nutton, 'Seeds'. We find the same distinction in Fracastoro's *De contagione* (I, 2 'De contagionum differentia'); *De sympathia et antipathia rerum liber unus. De contagione et contagiosis morbis et curatione libri III*, (Venice: Giunta, 1546; Lyon: Bacquenoy for Gazeau, 1550 cited here).
- 19 Fracastoro, *De contagione*, I, 2: 'fomitem appello vestes ligna et ejusmodi, qui incorrupta quidem ipsa existientia conservare nihilominus apta sunt contagionis seminaria prima, et per ipsa afficere' (29^r).
- 20 *De natura rerum*, VI, 1098 sq.
- 21 See A. Mundella, *Epistolæ medicinales* (Lyon: Junta, 1556), n° 3, Nov. 1538, quoted by Nutton, 'The Reception of Fracastoro's Theory of Contagion: The Seed that Fell among Thorns?', *Osiris*, 2nd ser. VI (1990) n. 13; and the letter to G.B. Ramusio (10 May 1549), in *Opera* (Cominiana, 1739), section *Quædam fragmenta*, I, pp. 96–7.
- 22 Other separate editions: Venice: Scoto, 1546; Lyon: Nicolas Bacquenoy, 1550; Lyon: Bacquenoy for Gazeau, 1550; Lyon: De Tournes and Gazeau, 1554. From 1555, the treatise was included in the successive editions of Fracastoro's *Opera* (Venice: Giunta, 1555; 1574; 1584; Lyon: F. Faber, 1591; Genève: S. Crispin, 1621; Genève: J. Stoer, 1637). On the text and its reception, see C. and D. Singer, 'The Scientific Position of G. Fracastoro (1478?–1553), with Special Reference to the Source, Character and Influence of his Theory of Infection', *Annals of Medical History*, I (1917) 1–34; Nutton, 'The Reception'.
- 23 See L. Baumgartner and J.-F. Fulton, *A Bibliography of the Poem Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus by Girolamo Fracastoro of Verona* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935); F. Cairns, 'Fracastoro's *Syphilis*, the Argonautic Tradition and the Ætiology of Syphilis', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 43 (1994) 246–61.
- 24 See F. Pellegrini, Trattato inedito in prosa di G. Fracastoro sulla sifilide (Verona, 1939); *Idem*, 'Frammento inedito di G. Fracastoro riguardante la pestilenza del 1534–1535', *Rivista di Storie delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, 4a serie, 26 (1935) 253–9; *Idem*, *Scritti inediti di G. Fracastoro*, (Verona: Valdona, 1955); *Idem*, *Origini e primi sviluppi della dottrina fracastoriana del 'contagium vivum'* (Verona, 1950). On Fracastoro's medical activities, see also O. Viana, 'L'atto di ammissione del Fracastoro al Collegio medico di Verona', *Rivista di Storia Critica delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, 5 (1914) 382–3; F. Pellegrini, 'L'epidemia di *Morbus peculiaris* del 1546–1547 e il medico del Concilio del Trento', *Castalia*, 2 (1946) 271–8.

- 25 This is the view of C. and D. Singer, and of F. Pellegrini. Nutton, conversely, has stressed the traditional aspects of Fracastoro's conceptions.
- 26 On this term, see P. Michaud-Quantin and M. Lemoine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire philosophique du Moyen Age* (Roma: Edizioni del Ateneo, 1970), pp. 113–50.
- 27 Alkindi's *De radiis* (before 866), inspired by Plotinus, achieves a synthesis of neo-Platonic metaphysics and Greco-Arabic optical theory.
- 28 On this conception, completely theorized by Alhazen, and on its transmission, see D. C. Lindberg, 'Alhazen's Theory of Vision and its Reception in the West', *Isis*, 58 (1967) 321–41; *idem*, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), ch. 4; G. F. Vescovini, *Studi sulla prospettiva medievale* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1965), ch. 7. Alhazen's *De aspectibus* (or *Perspectiva*) was translated into Latin towards the beginning of the thirteenth century. Roger Bacon was probably the first European philosopher who knew and understood thoroughly Alhazen's great optical treatise *De aspectibus*: his own *Perspectiva* (composed in the 1260s) is the fifth part of his *Opus majus*. Witelo (*Perspectiva*, ca. 1274), and John Pecham (*Perspectiva communis*, ca. 1274–79) were also influenced by Alhazen. See D. C. Lindberg, *John Pecham and the Science of Optics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970).
- 29 See M.-Th. D'Alverny and F. Hudry, 'Al-Kindi, *De radiis*', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen-Age*, 41 (1974) 224. On the geometrization of this conception, see the preceding note.
- 30 See, for example, Robert Grosseteste, *De lineis, angulis, et figuris*, in E. Grant, *A Source Book in Medieval Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 385–6; and Bacon: 'A species is the first effect of an agent; for all judge that through *species* "all" other effects are produced ... the agent sends forth a *species* into the matter of the recipient, so that through the *species* first produced, it can bring forth, out of the potentiality of the matter "of the recipient" the complete effect that it intends.' *De multiplicatione specierum* I, 1, trans. in D. C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature: A Critical Edition with English Translation, Introduction, and Notes, of De multiplicatione specierum and De speculis comburentibus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 6.
- 31 See D. C. Lindberg, 'Roger Bacon on Light, Vision, and the Universal Emanation of Force', in J. Hackett, ed., *Roger Bacon and the Sciences* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 243–75. On further developments of the theory, see K. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham* (Leiden: Brill, 1988) (centred on optics and cognition); *Eadem*, 'Et maxime visus, cujus species venit ad stellas et ad quem speciem stellarum veniunt. *Perspectiva* and *Astrologia* in Late Medieval Thought', *Micrologus*, 5 (1997) 201–24; C. Gagnon, 'Le statut ontologique des *species in medio* chez Nicole Oresme', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, 60 (1993) 195–205. Leen Spruit's monumental thesis (*Species intelligibilis. From Perception to Knowledge*, 2 vols [Leiden, Brill, 1995]) provides a general survey, but unfortunately does not investigate the link between the *species intelligibiles* (in other words, mental concepts) and the *species* in the sensible world.
- 32 In Augustine *species* designates the incorporeal image of an object in the senses or in the intellect.
- 33 *De multiplicatione specierum* I, 2, pp. 32–41; *Perspectiva* I, 1, 3; I, 10, 1). On the other kinds of sources, see Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature*, pp. lvii–lviii.
- 34 The species of a substance is always substantial, etc. (*De multiplicatione* I, 2, pp. 42–3).

- 35 *De multiplicatione* I, 3, pp. 47–57. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature*, pp. lviii–lxi.
- 36 *De multiplicatione* I, 4; the propagation of light is similar (*Perspectiva*, I, 9, 4).
- 37 On other aspects of Fracastoro's philosophical achievements, see A. Orlandi, 'Malinconia e antropologia nel *De intellectione* e nel *De anima* di Girolamo Fracastoro', in *Psicopatologia e filosofia nella tradizione veronese. Atti del seminario di studi* (Verona: Università di Verona, 1994), pp. 9–17; E. Peruzzi, *La nave di Ermete. La cosmologia di Girolamo Fracastoro* (Firenze: Olschki, 1995); *Idem*, introduction to his edition and translation of Girolamo Fracastoro, *L'Anima* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1999).
- 38 E. Peruzzi, 'Antioccultismo e filosofia naturale nel *De Sympathia & Antipathia rerum* di Girolamo Fracastoro', *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia toscana di Scienze e Lettere. La Colombaria*, 45, nuova serie 31 (1980) 41–131.
- 39 See *De sympathia*, dedication to Alessandro Farnese, pp. 14–15, and cap. 2: 'quando hic non universalem et primam causam quærimus, sed particularem et propriam, quale esse non potest eorum ullum quæ immaterialia sunt: sic enim periisset natura.'
- 40 *De contagione* I, 6.
- 41 'ut sint ac conserventur' (*De sympathia*, cap. 2).
- 42 *Ibid.*, cap. 1, 'De sympathia & antipathia multorum'.
- 43 *Ibid.*, cap. 2, 'De primo rerum omnium consensus'.
- 44 *Ibid.*, cap. 5 'De attractio similium ad similia': 'Quoniam igitur nulla actio fieri potest nisi per contactum ...' (ed. Lyon: Gazeau, 1550), pp. 45–6.
- 45 'necesse est, si applicari invicem debent, demitti aliquid ab uno ad aliud', ed. cit., p. 46.
- 46 As a scientific poet and as a philosopher, Fracastoro was well acquainted with Lucretius's *De natura rerum*. His friend Andrea Navagero had prepared the edition of the poem printed by Aldus in 1515. See C. Goddard, 'Lucretius and Lucretian Science in the Works of Fracastoro', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 16 (1993) 185–92.
- 47 *De sympathia*, cap. 5, pp. 46–9. See Peruzzi, *La nave di Ermete*, pp. 103ff.
- 48 Cf. the case of the magnetic attraction of the pole: it supposes a propagation at an immense distance, and the elements transmitted cannot be material: 'Attractio autem hæc ad Athomos et corpuscula reduci posse non videtur, quoniam corpus nullum in tanta distantia demitti potest ... speciem autem spirituale nihil demitti prohibet, quod & in lumine manifestum est, cujus speciem a supremo orbe & stellis huc usque demitti constat, qua de causa attractiones similium ad corpora universaliter reduci posse, supra non arbitrati sumus.' *Ibid.*, cap. 7, p. 75.
- 49 Fracastoro recalls this conception (which he rejects): 'Porro nec videtur quomodo spiritualia hæc movere possint, præsertim trahere, quoniam productio eorum non cum motu locali, sed per quandam magis generationem partis post partem momento factam.' *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 50 'Alii dicunt alterari ferrum a magnetis specie, et ita alteratum per se moveri ad ipsam.' *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 52 'Recipiendum autem est, ut multis placet, spirituales species ejusdem rationis esse cum formis illis quarum sunt species nec differre ab iis nisi modo subsistendi: eatenus enim materiales sunt et dicuntur, quatenus crassa quadam existentia in materia sunt et certos terminos poscunt.' *Ibid.*, cap. 5, pp. 50–1).

- 53 'hæ igitur tenues et superficiales formæ aptæ imprimis sunt id quod sunt representare, usque ad crassas illas a quibus productæ sunt: propter quod simulacra earum et species sunt appellatæ: propter tenuitatem autem, et quod momento gignuntur spirituales dici consuevere: ejusdem tamen rationis cum iis, quæ et crassæ et materiales dicuntur.' *Ibid.*, cap. 5, pp. 51–2).
- 54 *Ibid.*, cap. 5, pp. 52–4. Cf. cap. 4, 'De consensu partium in toto'.
- 55 *Ibid.*, cap. 7, 'De sympathiis & antipathiis mistorum et attractione similium' (65–75). The species of the magnet do not attract iron *fortasse per id quod actu sunt sed par latens aliud in ipsi principium, quod simile ferro est aut ipsi aut principio in eo*, p. 69.
- 56 Sometimes with some touch of mechanicism, as in ch. 4 of the *De sympathia*, when he describes the movement of the *species* in the medium, using the comparison of waves propagated in water as the result of an *impetus* (*ibid.*, pp. 36–8).
- 57 'postremo quum hæc contagio undique, & ad omnem partem "se propagat", imitari quidem videtur spiritualium motum, qui in orbem fit. corpora vero quæ notis qualitatibus constant, unum tantum motum habere sursum aut deorsum', *De contagione*, I, 5, p. 234.
- 58 *De sympathia*, p. 51.
- 59 *De contagione*, p. 250.
- 60 See the text quoted above, note 52.
- 61 *Ibid.*, I, 6, pp. 236–7.
- 62 'spiritualia hæc tandiu solum durare consuevere, quandiu præsens est illud, a quo effluxere, nisi forte fuerint in intellectu'. *Ibid.*, I, 6 ('Quod causa contagionis, quæ ad distans fit, non sit reducenda ad occultas proprietates'), pp. 238–9.
- 63 'at quæ ad distans faciunt contagionem, absente etiam primo perdurant nihilominus, & in fomite, & in aere, quinimo de loco ad locum ferunt trans etiam maria, quod signum est corpus esse...' *Ibid.*, I, 6, p. 239.
- 64 See *ibid.*, I, 1: 'Quid sit contagio'.
- 65 'si enim recte definita contagio est, oportet tale in secundo fieri, quale in primo fuit, et idem esse in utroque principium, idemque et in quarto & quinto: & in aliis quæ contagionem recipiunt. tale autem non / potest facere ullum spiritualium per se, per accidens quidem nihil prohibet spiritualia enecare & dissolvere etiam misionem aliquam fugando quædam contraria, quod & fœtor facere potest, & Catablephæ animalis aspectus (ut dictum in sympathiis fuit), generare autem tale in secundo, quale in primo fuit non possunt spiritualia.' *Ibid.*, I, 6, pp. 239–40.
- 66 'oportet autem in hisce contagionibus non putrefactionem solum fieri, sed a primis seminariis, et alia quoque gigni et propagari, quæ ipsis similia natura sint, & misione, non aliter quam spiritus in animali e sanguine solent alios sibi consimiles generare, quod spiritualium nullum efficere per se potest ...' *Ibid.*, I, 6, p. 240.
- 67 *Ibid.*, I, 12: 'quoniam dictum est eam seminariis inesse vim ut sibi simile propagare, et gignere possint, sicuti et spiritus faciunt.' On *semina*, I have not yet been able to consult H. Hirai's *Le concept de semence dans les théories de la matière à la Renaissance de Marsile Ficin à Pierre Gassendi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).
- 68 See *ibid.*, II, 3.

Index

- Abditis rerum causis libri duo, De*, 64
Accum, Fredrick, 21
action at a distance, 3–15, 18, 23, 32, 48, 234
Adventures of David Simple, The, 228–9, 239, 240 n. 1
Advis sur ce temps contagieux, 209 n. 44
aeration (of sickrooms), 83–5
Afflacijs, Johannes, 48
Africa, Northern, 230
Agathonphile, 204, 210 n. 57
AIDS, 170
air, infection of, 80–7, 89, 90 n. 4, 125, 143, 234, 244–5, 250
Air, Water and Ideas, On, 125
Aix-en-Provence, 127–8
Albert the Great, *see* Albertus Magnus
Albertus Magnus, 16, 27 n. 1–2, 42, 46 n. 46
alchemy, alchemists, 18–19, 21, 30 n. 62
alcoholism, as a result of syphilis, 161
Alexander of Aphrodisias, 41, 46 n. 39
Alhazen, 13 n. 28
Alighieri, Dante, 54
Alkindi, 13 n. 27
Alkula, 145
alms, *see* charity
alopecia, 172
alterity, 117, 230
Altmann, Barbara, 62 n. 45
Amadis de Gaule, 196
Americas, 168–70, 229
see also Brazil, Native Americans
amor heroes, *see* lovesickness
Amore, De, 50, 56
Amundsen, Darrel, 106 n. 11
Anatomy of Human Bodies, The, 240 n. 15, n. 21, 241 n. 22–4
Anatomy of Melancholy, 38, 49, 58 n. 11–12, 60 n. 33, 61 n. 38, 71, 76 n. 45–6
Andriès, Lise, 194 n. 50
androgyny, myth of, 40
Angelis, Giovanni Battista de, 107, 118–19, 120 n. 1
angels, 116
Anglicanism, 214–15, 219, 221–3
see also Christianity, Church of England
Angoysses douloureuses, 55, 56, 62 n. 46–7
Anima, De, 25, 49, 59 n. 20, 61 n. 34
animal spirits, *see spiritus anima mundi*, *see* soul
Anselment, R., 242 n. 45
Antonli, Ronald, 165, 174 n. 11, 175 n. 30
Apollo, 51
apoplexy, 64
apple, of aroma, *see* perfumes
Apuleius, Lucius, 41, 46 n. 40
Aquarius, 4
Arbuthnot, John, 125
Argens, J. B. Boyer d', 127, 137 n. 18
Aristophanes, 40, 53
Aristotle, 37, 39, 170, 254
Aristotle (Pseudo), 12 n. 17, 49
Aristotelianism, 7, 43, 48
Arnaldus of Villanova, 18, 28 n. 12, 33, 42, 49, 58 n. 10
Asia, 108, 110–12, 120
Assistance to the Poor, On, 94
astral influences, 159–62, 257
see also astrum
astrology, 4
astrum, 16
see also astral influences
Athens, 5, 87
atoms, theory of, 9 n. 48, 14, 24, 41, 81, 90 n. 4, 235, 241 n. 35
fomites, 4, 9 n. 6, 11, 230, 245
Aubais, 128
Aubéry, Jean, 38
Aubigné, T. Agrippa d', 132, 138 n. 32
Augsburg, 96, 98–102, 105–6 n. 5, n. 7
Augustine, Saint, 13 n. 32, 195
Augustinian criticism, 209 n. 42
Aumont, Arnulphe d', 135 n. 3
Aumont, duchesse d', 128
Aveling, J. C. H., 225 n. 14, 226 n. 26

- Avellan brothers, 149
Aventures d'Italie, 194 n. 46–7
 Avicenna (Ibn Sina), 4, 11 n. 10, 33–4,
 37–8, 41–3, 46 n. 41, 48, 54, 58 n. 8,
 n. 10, n. 12, 59 n. 14, 67, 245
 Avignon, 4
Avis aux mères sur la petite vérole, 136 n. 8
- Babb, L., 59 n. 13
 Bachelard, Gaston, 135
 Bacon, Roger, 5–8, 13
 Baker, M. J., 61 n. 35
 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 237, 242 n. 46
 Baldwin, P., 152 n. 19
 Ball, Philip, 21, 29 n. 36–9
Banners of Love, 225 n. 22, 226 n. 37
 Baptists, 215–16, 222
see also Protestantism
 Barber, Edward, 222, 227 n. 48, n. 50,
 n. 54
 barber surgeons, 96, 98–100, 104, 119,
 159
 basilisks, 35–6, 38, 41, 42, 43, 46 n. 41,
 54
 Bataille, Georges, 177, 192 n. 1–2
 bathhouses, 158, 161
 Baumgartner, L., 12 n. 23
 Baxter, R. 220, 224 n. 5–6
Beacon Set on Fire, A, 224 n. 7, n. 9
 beards, 172
 Beaujouan, G., 30 n. 67–9
 Beecher, Donald, 58 n. 10–11
begeisterte Mägde (possessed maidens),
 140–50
see also possession
 Belin, Christian, 208 n. 26
Belle Dame sans mercy, La, 61 n. 44
 Belsunce, Bishop, 126, 136 n. 7
 Belting, Hans, 116, 120 n. 2, 121 n. 16,
 122 n. 32
 Bengal, Gulf of, 130
Berger extravagant, Le, 196, 208 n. 11
 Bernard of Gordon, 58 n. 10
 Bernart de Ventadorn, 50
 Béroalde de Verville, 186
 bewitchment, 36–8, 52, 63–76
see also enchantment, *fascinatio*,
 magic, sorcery
 Bible, 63–4, 214
 biblical authority, 235
- I Corinthians, 235
 Deuteronomy, 64
 Job, 64, 170, 239, 252
 Leviticus, 231, 249
 Luke, 76 n. 43, 146
 Mark, 76 n. 43
 Matthew, 76 n. 43
 New Testament, 71
see also melancholy of Saul
Bibliothèque française, La, 206, 211 n. 67
 bile, *see* humoral system
 Binet, Etienne, 138 n. 33, 180, 192 n. 10
 Biraben, J.-N., 10 n. 3
 Black Death, *see* plague
 Blackwood, B. G., 225 n. 15
 blindness, 64, 68, 71
 of love, 164–5
 blood
 blood vapours, 33–44, 51, 259
 distempered, 257
 as life force, 111–12, 116
 maternal, cause of disease, 236–7
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 54, 55, 245,
 259 n. 6
 Bodin, Jean, 61 n. 38, 70, 74 n. 4
 body politic, 212, 217–18, 220, 223
 Boguet, Henry, 64
 Boileau, Nicolas Despréaux de, 190
 Bokel, Johann, 43
 Bolzoni, L., 60 n. 29
Bons Mots et des bons contes, Des, 182
 Bossy, J., 225 n. 14
 Boswell, James, 255–6, 260 n. 28, n. 30–1
 Boucé, A. G., 242 n. 51
 Bouissou, R., 27 n. 3
 Bourbon, duchesse de, 132
 Bourdeu, Théophile de, 127
 Bournières, C., 176 n. 42
 Boursault, Edmé, 183
 Boycott, J. A., 32
 Brabant, 158
 Braun, Lucien, 20, 28 n. 15, 29 n. 24
 Brazil, 168–9
 breath
 polluted, 119, 249
 of sanctity, 113
 transmission by, 81–6, 143, 160–1,
 197, 230
 Brengger, Johan Georg, 100
Brief and Perfect Journal, A, 217, 226 n. 36

- Brisson, Luc, 17, 28 n. 5–6, 29 n. 41–4
 Brodie, Richard, 253, 260 n. 25–6
 Brossier, Marthe, 67, 75 n. 16, 76 n. 31
 Brunetière, Ferdinand, 194 n. 38
 Bruno, Giordano, 46 n. 31
 Budé, Guillaume, 199, 209 n. 32
 Bureau d'Adresse, 201, 210 n. 46
 burlesque, 178, 187–90
 Burton, Robert, 38, 45 n. 14, 49, 58 n.
 11–12, 59 n. 13, 60 n. 33, 61 n. 38,
 71, 76 n. 45–6, n. 50
 Buskas, Henric, 149
 Buvat, Jean, 126, 136 n. 9
- cabbala, 19, 23
Cabinet satyrique, 172
 Cacioppo, J., 244, 259 n. 2, 260 n. 11
 Caillères, F. de, 182, 193 n. 19
 Cairns, F., 12 n. 23
 Campbell, A. M., 11 n. 12
 Champion, Henri de, 138 n. 37
 Camporesi, P., 122 n. 20
 Camus, Jean-Pierre, 195, 204–5, 210 n. 58
 canonization, 119
 Canourge, La 128
 Capellanus, Andreas, 50, 56, 61 n. 34
 Cardano, Girolamo, 70
 Carlin, N., 227 n. 51
 Carmichael, A., 11 n. 6
 carnivalesque, 157, 174, 182
 Catherine of Russia, 127
 Catherine of Siena, Saint, 249–50
 Catholicism
 English, 212–24
 see also Christianity
 Cavalcanti, Guido, 39–40, 42–3, 45 n. 27,
 46 n. 28–30
 Cavendish, Henry, 22
 Céard, Jean, 74 n. 1, n. 6, 75 n. 21–2,
 76 n. 27, n. 31
 Celano, Carlo, 121 n. 7
 Celsius, Olaf, 139
 censorship, 206
 Certeau, Michel de, 75 n. 17,
 Cervantes, Miguel, 54, 59 n. 13, 196
 Cévennes, 128
 Champion, Pierre, 170, 176 n. 40
 Chantilly, 132
 Chapelain, Jean, 207 n. 7
Character of Crueltie, The, 226 n. 25
- Caractères des passions, Des*, 179, 192 n. 7
 Charcot, Jean-Martin, 76 n. 50
 charity, 98
 alms for the diseased poor, 94–104
 Charles I of England, 214–15, 217
 Charles VIII of France, 157
 Charron, Pierre, 196, 198–9, 209 n. 31,
 210 n. 55
 Chartier, Alain, 55, 59 n. 15, 61 n. 44
 Chartier, Roger, 211 n. 70–1
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 51, 54, 58 n. 11
 childbirth, 98–9, 238
 see also pregnancy
 Chochod, L., 29 n. 45–6, 30 n. 49
 Choisy, F. T., abbé de, 138 n. 34
 Cholakian, Patricia, 61 n. 35
 cholera, 80
 cholic, 64
 Christ
 Christ-like suffering, 56
 divinity of, 225 n. 18
 figure, mother as, 133
 passion, 50–51
 compared to Socrates, 51–2
 visitation by, 249
 Christianity
 Christian anthropology, 190
 burial, 100–1
 conversion to, 144–6, 148
 doctrine, 47–8, 50, 52, 95, 103
 God sends illness, 126, 132, 158–9
 God cures illness, 132
 and education, 55
 the Fall, 198, 236–7
 grace, 198
 Holy Spirit, 140, 144
 mind–body split, 252
 mystical body, 208 n. 37
 penitence, 204
 relics, 111, 119
 repentance, 144–6, 173
 sacraments, 197–8
 soul, 200
 speech, 200
 Spirit vs. Word, 140, 146
 spread of, 251
 transience of material body, 107, 116,
 118
 uncleanliness, 196, 201
 women, 200

Christianity (*continued*)

- Word of God, 197–9, 204
see also agape, Anglicanism,
 Augustine, Baptists, Bible, *caritas*,
 Christ, Chrysostom, Jerome,
 John the Baptist, Paul, prophecy,
 Pietism, Protestants, Quakers, sin
 Chrysostom, John, 180–1, 192 n. 13–4
 Church of England, 216–17
see also Anglicanism, Christianity
 Church of Scotland, 256
 Ciavolella, Massimo, 45 n. 4, 58 n. 1,
 n. 6, 60 n. 29
 circumcision, 216
 citrus (against infection), *see* perfumes
 civility, 180, 182, 185, 187, 190
see also sociability
 civilizing process, 182–3, 191
see also Elias
 Classen, Constance, 90 n. 1
 Clifton, James, 121 n. 7
 Coffey, J., 226 n. 26, n. 38, n. 44,
 227 n. 51
 Coirault, Yves, 136 n. 9, 138 n. 39
 Coiter, Volker, 103
 coitus, 36–7, 41, 42, 51, 248
 college of medicine, 96
 Cologne, 96, 100, 106 n. 10, n. 19, 246
 Colonna, Egidio, 40, 44
*Commentaire sur l'Épître de saint Paul aux
 Hébreux*, 192 n. 14
Commentaire sur saint Matthieu, 192 n. 13
*Commentary on Plato's Symposium on
 Love*, 33–9
 Commonwealth, English, 213, 215–21,
 223
see also Protectorate
complexio venereal, 35
see also imagination
Comptes amoureux, 59, 61 n. 34
concupiscentia, 52
 Condé, Louis II, le Grand, 132
 configuration model of contagion,
 229–30, 239
 Congregationalism, 215
Connnaissance des bons livres, *De la*, 187,
 194 n. 39–41, 206, 211 n. 65–6, n. 68
Consilio contra la pestilenzia, 10 n. 4
*Consolation et réjouissance pour les malades
 et personnes affligées*, 192 n. 10
 Constantinople, 126
 Constantinus Africanus, 48, 52, 54,
 58 n. 1, n. 9
 consumption, 34, 51
Contagion de la peste expliquée, *La*, 136 n. 8
Contagione, *De*, 5, 7–10, 12 n. 18–19, 14
 n. 40, 15 n. 57, n. 59, 94, 125, 230
 containment, 47–8
 contamination model of contagion, 230
Contre satyre, 188
Controverses et recherches magiques, *Les*,
 74 n. 10, 260 n. 21
Convivium, 52
 convulsions, 139, 142–4, 149
 Corbin, Alain, 90 n. 4
 Corvey, Abbey of, 247
 Corvi, Guglielmo de', 42, 46 n. 45
Cosmographie universel, 169
 Costa, Véronique, 211 n. 70
 Cotton, Charles, 87
Counterfeit Jew, *The*, 225 n. 22, 226 n. 39
 Counter-Reformation, 181
see also Protestants
 Courtin, Antoine, 182, 193 n. 21
 Crenne, Hélisenne de, 55, 56, 62 n. 46
 Crisciani, C., 11 n. 7
Critique de l'École des femmes, *La*, 183,
 193 n. 25
 Cromwell, Oliver, *see* Commonwealth,
 Protectorate
 Cupid, 162, 164–5
 Cureau de la Chambre, Marin, 179
 cures for disease
 amputation, 212, 219, 222
 diet, 258
 herbs, 69, 99
 guaic tree salve, 97, 100, 169
 intercession of saint, 111, 118–20
 isolation, 146–9, 229, 238
 good literature, 199–200, 204–6,
 209 n. 31, 210 n. 36
 for melancholy, 51–2
 mercury, 159, 160, 163
 minerals, 69
 music, 69
 name of God, 69
 phlebotomy, 37, 230
 purging, 212, 219, 230, 232, 239, 257,
 253, 257
 ridicule, of religious ecstasy, 142

- sedatives, 149
 suicide, 244
 sweating, 117, 143, 230
 texts as cures, 61 n. 38
 water cures, 146, 149
see also inoculation, laughter,
 quarantine, *Remedes...*, *Remedy...*
- Cust, R., 225 n. 18
- Dalechamps, Jacques 4, 12 n. 14
 D'Alembert, Jean le Rond, 127
 D'Alverny, M.-Th., 13 n. 29
 Dandrey, Patrick, 208 n. 10, 257, 260 n. 34
 Dassoucy, Charles Coypeau dit, 189–90,
 194 n. 46–7
 Davis, J. C., 226 n. 44
 Dawkins, Richard, 253, 260 n. 23
 deafness, 68, 71
 Debus, A. G., 21, 28 n. 14, 29 n. 19
Decameron, The, 54, 245, 259 n. 6
Declaration of the Army of England, A,
 225 n. 19
 Defoe, Daniel, 137 n. 16, 138 n. 31
 De Lancre, Pierre, 66
 Deleuze, Gilles, 121 n. 3
Delices Satyriques, 171
 Del Monte, Pietro, 20
 Del Rio, Martin, 41, 46 n. 34, 65, 66,
 68, 69, 75 n. 26, 76 n. 47–9, 252,
 260 n. 21
 Demaître, Luke, 106 n. 11
 demons, demonology, 33, 43, 63–73,
 74 n. 1, 180, 181, 198, 245, 247,
 251–3
 demonic contagion, 256
 demonic speech, 202, 207
see also Lucifer, Satan
Demon-mania of witches, on the, 74 n. 4
Demonomanie des sorciers, De la, 74 n. 4,
 76, n. 40
 Dennett, Daniel, 253, 260 n. 24
 Derrida, Jacques, 210 n. 56
 Descartes, René, 179, 192 n. 6
 De Silva, Antonio Telles, 115–16,
 122 n. 23, n. 33, n. 36
 Despars, Jacques, 26, 43, 46 n. 52
 Devant, O., 176 n. 42
 devils, 149, 197
 illusions caused by, 140
see also demons, Satan
- Diary of Alexander Jaffray, The*, 225 n. 10
Dictionnaire universel, 196, 198, 208 n. 9,
 n. 22–5, 210 n. 45, n. 51
 Diderot, Denis, 127, 207
 Diemerbroeck, Isbrand van, 231–3,
 240 n. 15–18, n. 21, 241 n. 22–4
 Dino del Garbo, 40, 42, 46 n. 30
 Dionysus, 51
Discours de la conservation de la veue,
 75 n. 25
Discours et histories de specters, 75 n. 15,
 n. 23, 76 n. 28–9
Discours exécration des sorciers, 64
Discourse on the Preservation of Sight,
 75 n. 15, 260 n. 36
Discours politiques et militaries,
 208 n. 12–14
- diseases, illnesses
 alopecia, 172
 apoplexy, 64
 choleric, 64
 cholera, 80
 consumption, 34, 51
 dropsy, 64, 101
 dysentery, 34, 42, 51
 epilepsy, 63–5, 67–9, 71, 75 n. 19,
 76 n. 44, 147, 247
 gangrene, 125, 165, 214
 gonorrhoea, 254–6
 gout, 165, 168, 249
 grind, 101
 itch, 34, 51: Spanish, 158
 kidney stones, 125
 leprosy, 51, 64, 97, 101–04, 106,
 158–9, 161, 166, 170, 198, 230,
 245, 249, 259
 mange, 34, 51
 mania, 69
see also lovesickness, erotomania,
 hypochondria
 measles, 125, 137 n. 15, 230, 234–6
 ophthalmia, 51
 parasites, 159, 251
 phthisis, 42
 pians, 168–9
 pink eye, 34
 pleurisy, 51
 pneumonia, 34
 'preaching disease', 139–53
 puerperal fever, 99

- diseases, illnesses (*continued*)
 rabies, 125, 159, 236
 rheumatic fever, 246
 scabies, 98, 125
 scrofula, 249
 scurvy, 125, 249
 skin eruptions, 63
 strangury, 64
 tetanus, 141
 tuberculosis, 42
 tumours, 117, 119
 typhus, 80
 ulcers, 107, 158, 161, 167, 170
 (genital), 173, 176 n. 42, 241 n. 40
see also French disease, hypochondria,
 hysteria, melancholy, plague,
 smallpox, syphilis
- disgust, 248–50
 dishonour, 104
 dissemination, 48
 Dolan, F. E., 255 n. 16
 Doiron, Normand, 194 n. 37
 Don Juan, 55
Don Quixote, 54, 196
 dropsy, 64, 101
 Droz, Eugénie, 11 n. 5
 Dufort de Cheverny, Jean-Nicolas, 129,
 137 n. 22
 Du Laurens, André, 38–9, 45 n. 16,
 75 n. 25, 259, 260 n. 36
 Dürer, Albrecht, 59 n. 13
 Du Souhait, François, 180, 192 n. 11
 Du Vair, Guillaume, 202
 Duvigneaud, Jean, 193 n. 23
 dysentery, 34, 42, 51
- Easthope, A., 50, 59 n. 18–19
 East India Company, 130–1
 Eck, Johann, 95, 105 n. 4
École des femmes, L', 183
 ecstasy, religious, 139–51, 152 n. 29,
 203, 206
 Edinburgh, 255
Education of a Christian Woman, 55,
 61 n. 42
 education, of children, 201
 Egmont, Count, 218
 Ehrard, Jean, 208 n. 18
Elegy of Lady Fiammetta, 55
Éléments de littérature, 191
- Elenchus of Opinions Concerning the Cure
 of the Small Pox*, 238, 242 n. 47
 Elias, Norbert, 182, 193 n. 17
 Elizabeth I of England, 216
Éloquence française, De l', 210 n. 7
Emile, ou l'éducation, 127
 empathy, 190
see also mimetism
 Empedocles, 24
see also atomism
 enchantment, 41
see also bewitchment, *fascination*,
 magic, sorcery
Encomium of Helen, 202
Encyclopédie, 126
 enthusiasm, religious, 139–43, 145, 203,
 206, 210 n. 52, 244
 in England, 140, 142
 Entrecolles, F.-X., Father, 127,
 137 n. 13
Entretiens sur les romans, 195, 207 n. 8,
 208 n. 17, 209 n. 42
 Entz, Gerhard von, 100, 104
 Epicurists, 81
 Epicurus, 41, 135
 epilepsy, *see* diseases
 Erasmus, D., 56, 59 n. 13, 158, 161,
 174 n. 5–6, 175 n. 17–20
 eros, 41, 44, 48–9, 52–3
 eroticism, 205
see also lovesickness, melancholy
 erotomania, *see* lovesickness
 Espéron, duc d', 170
 Esquirol, J. E. D., 39, 45 n. 23
Essays, *see* Montaigne
 Essex, 223
Essex Watchmens Watchword, The,
 227 n. 57
 Evelyn, John, 214, 225 n. 12
 eyes, eyebeams, 32, 33–44, 48–9, 51, 259
 evil eye, 40
see also glamour
 ocular perception, 110
 pink eye, 34
 vision, 66
 wandering of, 253
see also gaze, optics, sight, stare
Examen of Witches, An, 74 n. 5
Exanthematologia, 232, 241 n. 29–37,
 n. 39, 242 n. 48, n. 50, n. 55

- exorcism, 43, 64–5, 69, 73, 246, 253
 exoticism, 214
- Fabre, Pierre Jean, 21
 faculty psychology, 35, 38, 44, 48, 53,
 59 n. 15
 estimative faculty (*virtus estimativa*),
 34, 49–50, 53, 57, 60 n. 27, n. 29
 imaginative faculty, 60 n. 27, n. 29
see also Aristotle, Avicenna,
 imagination
- False Jew, A*, 225 n. 21–2
- Fancan, Claude Langlois dit, 196,
 199–200, 204–5, 208 n. 16,
 209 n. 33–4, 210 n. 59
- Farnese, Alessandro, 14 n. 39
fascinatio, 38, 41, 43, 51, 234
see also bewitchment, enchantment,
 magic, sorcery
- Favre, R., 136 n. 6, 137 n. 12, n. 14
- Fawne, Luke, 224 n. 7
- fear, cause of disease, 247
- Fenner, F., 240 n. 2
- Fernel, Jean, 6, 64, 65, 248
- Ferrand, Jacques, 38–9, 45 n. 5, n. 22,
 n. 26, 49–50, 58 n. 10–11, 59 n. 17,
 61 n. 37, 259 n. 3, 260 n. 14
- Ferrier, Auger, 83–5, 90 n. 8–9, 91 n. 11–15
- Ficino, Marsilio, 10, 18, 23, 28 n. 7,
 n. 11–12, 33–9, 41–2, 44, 45 n. 2–3,
 n. 7–13, n. 25, 51–2, 56, 59 n. 13
- Fielding, Sarah, 228–9, 239, 240 n. 1
- Finland, 149
- Fix, A. C., 152 n. 21
- Flaubert, Gustave, 54
- Flore, Jeanne, 54, 61 n. 34
- Florence (city of), 245
- Foa, Anna, 95, 105 n. 3
- Folger, R. 58 n. 11
fomites, *see* atoms
- Fontaine, Jacques, 20
- Fontaine, Marie-Madeleine, 29 n. 29
- Forbin, Claude comte de, 130,
 138 n. 28–30
- Fornoue, Battle of, 157
- Fortin de la Hogue, Philippe, 195, 206
- Foucault, Michel, 76 n. 32, 122 n. 19,
 208 n. 38
- Fracastoro, Girolamo, 3–15, 94, 125, 161–2,
 175 n. 21, 220, 230–1, 236, 245
- Francis Xavier, Saint, 107–20, 121 n. 5
- Francke, August Hermann, 140
- Franklin, Benjamin, 21
- Fregoso, Battista, 37, 45 n. 13, 46 n. 42
- French disease, 94–106
see also morbo gallico, Neapolitan
 disease. pox, smallpox, Spanish
 disease
- French, Roger, 11 n. 4, 105, 106 n. 38
- Freud, Sigmund, 60 n. 32, 181,
 192 n. 15, 233
- flowers (against infection), *see* perfumes
- Fuller, Thomas, 232, 235–6, 238,
 240 n. 19–20, 241 n. 29–37, n. 39,
 242 n. 48, n. 50, n. 55
- Fulton, J.-F., 12 n. 23
- Furetière, Antoine, 136 n. 9, 196, 198,
 201, 208 n. 22–5, 210 n. 51
- furor*
 lunatic, 69
 poetic, 51–2, 202
see also insania, madness
- Gagnon, Claude, 13 n. 31
- Galen, Galenism, 3–4, 11 n. 7, 17, 24,
 27, 38, 42, 46 n. 43, 48, 53, 80–2,
 89, 90 n. 5–6, 96, 141, 220–1, 223,
 234
- Gallot, Jean Gabriel, 136 n. 5
- Gamache, Cyprien de, 214, 225 n. 11
- gangrene, 125, 165, 214
- Gargantua*, 166
- Gasson, Stephen, 251, 260 n. 19
 gaze, 53–4, 56, 251
see also eyes, optics, stare, sight
- Gemma, C., 74 n. 12
- genitalia, 157, 170–1, 176 n. 42, 254–6
- Geneva, 74 n. 5
- Genoa, 112
- Gentilcore, David, 122 n. 18
- Gentile da Foligno, 10–11 n. 4
- Georgian era, 237–8
- Gerard of Berry, 33, 42, 49, 59 n. 14–15
- Gerard of Cremona, 48
- Gévaudan, 128
- ghosts, 66
see also illusion
- Girard, René, 54–5, 61 n. 41
- glamour, 41
see eye, evil

- Gnostics, 20
 Goa, 112–14, 117–18
 Goddard, C., 14 n. 46
 Gordon, B. L., 80, 90 n. 3
 Gordon, Daniel, 136 n. 7–8, n. 17
 Grant, E., 11 n. 9
 Grégoire de Tours, 10 n. 3
 Grenier, F., 29 n. 34
 Grillando, Paolo, 43
 God, *see* Christianity
 Goddu, André, 25, 30 n. 59
 Goldstein, B., 11 n. 11
 Goldstein, J., 151 n. 5, n. 9–13, n. 16, n. 20
 gonorrhoea, 254–6
 Gorgias, 202
 Goudsboum, Johan, 161, 175 n. 16
 Goulemot, Jean-Marie, 211 n. 70
 gout, 165, 168, 249
 Grape, Isak, 145, 148, 153 n. 39
 Greece, Ancient, 205, 245
 Grenaille, François de, 200
 Grosseteste, Robert, 5, 13 n. 30
 Grysselius, Johannes, 145–9, 152 n. 26,
 n. 30–5, 153 n. 36, n. 38
 guaiacum wood, *see* cures
 Guidon, Jehan, 90 n. 8
- Halle (city of), 140
 Haly Abbas, 33, 240 n. 12
Hamlet, 260 n. 37
Handlyng Sunne, 246
 Härnösand, 144–5
 Harris, Jonathan Gil, 220, 224 n. 3,
 226 n. 42–3
 Harvey, Gideon, 236, 241 n. 40
 Harvey, William, 248, 260 n. 13
 Hasselberg, C. J. E., 152 n. 23–5, n. 27
 Hatfield, E., 244, 259 n. 2, 260 n. 11
 healing, of self, 180
Healing Question, A, 227 n. 56
 Healy, M., 260 n. 39
 Hecker, J. F., 246, 260 n. 10
 Hecquet, Philippe, 127, 142–3, 147,
 151 n. 9
 Heffernan, C. F., 58 n. 11, 59 n. 13
 Heidelberg, 96
 Helen of Troy, 56
 Helmstedt, University of, 142
 Henri III of France, 170–1
 Henrietta Maria, 214
- Heptameron, The*, 54–5, 60 n. 33
 hermaphrodites, 172
 Hero and Leander, 39
 Herrlinger, Robert, 106 n. 29
 Héry, Thierry de, 159–61, 175 n. 13–14
 Hexham, 216
 Heyd, Michael, 151 n. 3, 152 n. 18,
 n. 21, 210 n. 48
 Hibbard, C., 225 n. 17, 226 n. 28
 Hildesheimer, Françoise, 203,
 210 n. 54, n. 63
 Hill, John, 257, 260 n. 32
 Hillman, James, 21, 29 n. 31–3, n. 35
 hippiatrics, 27
 Hippocrates, 48, 67, 75 n. 19, 80–1, 125,
 179
 Hirai, H., 15 n. 68
Histoire comique de Francion, 186–7,
 194 n. 35
Histoire d'une Grecque moderne, 134
Histoire d'un voyage en la terre de Bresil,
 168, 175 n. 36
 Hoernigk, Ludwig von, 104, 106 n. 37
 Hoffmann, Friedrich, 141, 149
 Hofstadter, Douglas, 253
 Holborn, 218
 Homer, 180
 homosexuality, 174
 Hopkins, D. R., 240 n. 10–11
 Howes, David, 90 n. 1
 Huet, Marie-Hélène, 242 n. 51
 Huet, Pierre-Daniel, 204
 Hudry, F., 13 n. 29, 29 n. 16
 humanism, 80, 199
 humoral system, 37, 53, 67, 68, 72, 141,
 196, 220, 231, 234–5, 244, 245,
 248–9, 252–4, 256, 258
 black bile 34, 51, 68, 70, 75 n. 20,
 n. 25, 141, 257
 see also melancholy
 Hutton, R., 226 n. 26
 hygiene, 158, 161, 174
 hypochondria, 35, 38, 39, 146, 149,
 234, 239, 256–8
 hysteria, 72, 76 n. 50, 142, 233–4, 239
 collective, 244, 246, 251
 see also ecstasy
- iatro-chemistry, 21
 Ibn al-Jazzar, 48, 58 n. 7

- Ibn Sina, *see* Avicenna
 Idel, Moshe, 23, 29 n. 47, 30 n. 48
 illnesses, psychosomatic, 63
 see also diseases
 illusion, demonic, 66
 imagination, 33–5, 38, 42, 43, 47–9,
 53, 57, 60 n. 29, 66, 72, 76 n. 41,
 195
 agitated, 142–4, 149–50
 cause of disease, 228–39, 245, 252,
 256–9
 corrupted by theatre, 251
 and fear, 256
 power of, 199–203
 wounded, 68, 71
 see also bewitchment, enchantment,
 hypocondria, impression, magic,
 phantasms, sorcery
 imitation, 196, 203
 see also mimetism
 impression, imprinting, 201–3, 233,
 238, 242 n. 49
 parent to offspring, 248–9, 250
 see also imagination
 incantation, 43, 252
Incrédulité et mescreance du sortilege
 plainement convaincue, L', 66
 Independents (sect), 215, 223
 see also Congregationalism
 India, 111, 202
 infant mortality, 126
 inoculation, 125–7, 220, 229, 239,
 242 n. 49
Inoculation justifiée, L', 127
Inoculation, or Beauty's Triumph, 237,
 241 n. 43
 Innocent VII, Pope, 252
 insomnia, 176 n. 42
 interattraction, 177–9, 182–3, 187,
 190–1
 intercourse, *see* coitus
 intolerance, 220
 intromission, theory of, 24
 see also atomism
Investigations into Magic, 74 n. 10,
 75 n. 26, 76 n. 30, 260 n. 21
'ishk (ilisci), 32, 48–9, 58 n. 7–8
 see also lovesickness
 Islam, 230, 237
 itch, 34, 51: Spanish, 158
 Jacquart, Danielle, 11 n. 7, 26, 30 n. 63–6
 Jacquin, Armand-Pierre, 195–6, 200,
 205, 207 n. 8, 208 n. 17, 209 n. 42,
 210 n. 60
 Jansenists, 142
 Japan, 112–14, 116, 205
 Jarcho, Saul, 240 n. 12, 259 n. 7
 Jasme, Jean, 11, n. 5, n. 8
 Jaucourt, le Chevalier de, 126, 136 n. 5,
 n. 10
 Jenner, Edward, 127
 Jerome, Saint, 68, 252
 Jesuit order, 107–19, 216, 218–19, 222
 Jews, conversion of, 216
 see also Ramsay
 Job, *see* Bible
 John the Baptist, 249
 see also Christianity
 Joly, B. 29
 Jonasdotter, Ella, 145
 Jones, Henry, 237, 241 n. 43
 Josselin, Ralph, 225 n. 21
 Joubert, Laurent, 11, n. 4–5, 178, 183
 Judovitz, Dalia, 121 n. 4, 122 n. 22
 Jupiter, 4

 kabbala, *see* cabbala
 Kahn, Didier, 29 n. 17, n. 30
 Kallin, Horace, 247, 260 n. 12
 Keith, George, 143
Key for Catholics, A, 224 n. 5–6
 kidney stones, 125
 Kitzinger, E., 121 n. 6
 Klawans, H., 260 n. 9
 Klebs, A. C., 11 n. 5
 Klibansky, Raymond, 59 n. 13
 Kornmann, Heinrich, 38, 45 n. 19
 Kramer, Heinrich, 42–3, 46 n. 50,
 54, 64, 74 n. 3, 252, 260 n. 20,
 n. 22
 Kreiser, B. R., 151 n. 8
 Krieger, 106 n. 13
 Kristeva, Julia, 112, 116, 122 n. 21,
 n. 31, 242 n. 44

 La Bruyère, Jean de, 196
 Lacan, Jacques, 59 n. 14, 60 n. 32
 Lacos, P. A. F. Choderlos de, 55, 57,
 129, 137 n. 25, 138 n. 27
 La Condamine, Charles-Marie de, 127

- La Fayette, Marie-Madeleine Pioche de
Lavergne, Madame de, 55
- La Flèche, 127
- Lake, Peter, 224 n. 4, 226 n. 33
- Lalande, A., 28 n. 4
- Lamentable Representation of the Effects
of the Present Toleration*, 224 n. 2,
227 n. 58
- La Mesnardière, H.-J. Pilet de, 71,
76 n. 41–2
- La Mettrie, Julien Offray de, 127
- Lamont, W. M., 226 n. 40
- Lamy, Bernard, 183, 193 n. 24, 202–3,
210 n. 53
- Lancelot and Guenevere, 54, 56
- La Noue, François de, 196, 205
- Lapland, 149
- La Rochefoucauld, François VI,
duc de, 125–6, 136 n. 4
- laughter, 177–94, 241, 254
at syphilitics, 166, 173–4
- La Vopa, A. J., 151 n. 14–15
- Leewenhoek, 241 n. 35
- Le Guérer, Annick, 90 n. 4, n. 7
- Leiden, 126
- Le Loyer, Pierre, 66, 68, 69, 75 n. 15,
76 n. 28–9
- Le Maire des Belges, Jean, 162
- Lemnius, Levinus, 67–8, 75 n. 18, n. 20,
n. 22, 249
- Lemoine, M., 13 n. 26
- Lemoyne, Pierre, 195, 200, 206,
209 n. 35–6
- Lenglet-Dufresnoy, Nicolas, 206
- leprosy, *see* diseases
- Léry, Jean de, 168–9, 175 n. 36–8
- Lestringant, Frank, 169, 175 n. 37
- Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*, 143
- Lettres philosophiques*, 126
- Lettres sur l'inoculation*, 127
- Lev, E., 28 n. 15
- Levant, The, 126
- Leviticus, *see* Bible
- Liaisons dangereuses*, *Les*, 55
- libertines, 172–4, 186
- liberty of conscience, 217–18, 221–3,
226 n. 44
- Liébault, Jean, 249
- Lille, Alain de, 42
- Lindberg, David, 6, 13 n. 28, n. 31, n. 33,
14 n. 35, 24, 30 n. 51, n. 54–5
- Lisbon, 113, 115
- Lodge, Thomas, 245, 259 n. 5, 260 n. 38
- Löffler, Anna, 98–9, 104
- Löffler, Elizabeth, 98
- London, 143, 213–15
- Loomie, A. J., 226 n. 32
- Loudun, 75 n. 17
- Louis XV, 125, 137 n. 11
- Louis XVI, 127
- Louvain, 66
- Louviers, nuns of, 65, 71, 76 n. 47–9
- love
agape, 52
amor heroes, 32–4, 42, 44, 48–50,
58 n. 8, n. 10–12
caritas, 50, 52
courtly love, 49, 50, 52
fin'amor, 40, 49
for the ill, 133
innamoramento, 51, 53–4, 56
see also eros
- lovesickness, 32–7, 44, 47–62
erotomania, 37–40, 253
see also nymphomania
marriage as cure for, 60 n. 33
see also melancholy
- Lowes, J. L., 58 n. 11
- Lucifer, 43
see also Satan
- Lucinge, René de, 170, 176 n. 48
- Lucretia and Eurial, 56
- Lucretius, 5, 9, 14 n. 46, 81, 90 n. 4
- Lulle Raymond, 18, 28 n. 12
- Lund, William, Bishop of Canterbury,
214
- Lussagnet, S., 175 n. 37
- lust, *see* sin
- Luther, Martin, 95, 105 n. 4
- Lutheran doctrine, 143, 145–6
see also Protestants
- Luyendijk-Elshout, A., 241 n. 25
- Lyons, 177
- Macao, 112–13
- Machiavelli, N., 196
- Maclean, Ian, 105 n. 8
- madness (divine), 41, 244
insania, 51, 196
melancholic madness, 68, 70–1, 76 n. 46
of accused witches, 73
see also *furor*

- Madame Bovary*, 54
 Madrid, 112, 114
 magic, 39–41, 149, 202
 amatory, 43
 astral, 28 n. 10
 incantation, 61 n. 37
 natural, 180
 see also bewitchment, enchantment,
 fascinato, miracles, philters,
 sorcery
 magistrates, civil, see state physician
 magnetism, 4, 7–8, 10, 14 n. 48
 Maire, C.-L., 151 n. 8
Malade imaginaire, *Le*, 257, 260 n. 33
 Malebranche, Nicolas, 199, 208 n. 30,
 209 n. 31
maleficia, 32, 33, 37, 45
 see also eye, evil
Malleus Maleficarum, *The*, 42, 46 n. 50,
 54, 61 n. 36, 64, 74 n. 3, 252,
 260 n. 20, n. 22
 Mandrou, Robert, 74 n. 1, 75 n. 17, 75
 n. 52
 mange, 34, 51
 mania, 69
 see also lovesickness, erotomania,
 hypochondria
 Manila, 112–13, 118
 Mannying, Robert, 246
 Marescot, Michel, 67, 76 n. 31
 Maria de la Encarnacion, 116
 Marian persecutions, 213
 Marin, Louis, 208 n. 20
 Mariotti, A. F., 225 n. 16
 Marmontel, J.-F., 191, 194 n. 48–9, 204
 Mars, 4
 Marseilles, 126–7
 Marshall, P., 30 n. 57
 Martin, Roland, 149–50
 marzipan (against infection), see perfumes
 mask
 moustache as, 89
 of physicians, 85
 for protection, 234
 Massey, Edmund (Revd), 239
 Mastrilli, Marcello, 110–23
 Masulipatan, 130
 Matton, Sylvain, 18, 28 n. 7–11
 May, Georges, 210 n. 64
 measles, see diseases
 Medea and Jason, 56
 Medici, Lorenzo di, 199
 melancholy, melancholia, 32, 38, 42–3,
 49–52, 58 n.12, 60 n. 25, 61 n. 38,
 70, 145, 149–50, 185, 244, 247, 252,
 256, 259
 melancholy blood, 39
 linked to ecstasy, 141
 erotic melancholy, 201, 245, 257
 of Saul, 64, 67, 75 n. 20
 writer's, 180
 see also *furor*, lovesickness, madness
 memes, 39, 44, 253–4, 256, 258
 memoirs, 124, 127–38
 memory, 35, 53, 60 n. 29, 89, 13, 117–18
 collective, 67
 communal, 100
 Ménager, Daniel, 192 n. 4, n. 9
 Ménéuret de Chambaud, Jean-Jacques,
 127, 135 n. 3, 136 n. 8
 Mercado, Luis, 248–9
 mercury, see cures
 Merlin, Hélène, 208 n. 37
 Mesmer, Franz Anton, 143
Méthode curatoire de la maladie
venerienne, 175 n. 14–15
 Metz, 246
 miasmas, 80, 103, 125, 135 n. 3, 197,
 231, 244, 245, 248, 259
 Michaud-Quantin, P., 13 n. 26
 Micheau, M., 11 n. 7
 Milesia, women of, 244–5, 246, 248, 250
 Miller, Genevieve, 229, 237, 239,
 240 n. 3–5, n. 8, n. 13, 241 n. 41,
 242 n. 52, n. 54
 Miller, W. I., 260 n. 16
 Milton, Anthony, 220, 224 n. 4,
 226 n. 41
 mimetism, 186–9, 244
 see also imitation
 Minderer, Raymond, 100
Mineralibus, *De*, 42
 miracles
 desire to perform, 142, 146
 through images, 110–11, 116–17,
 119–20, 120 n. 2
Miroir des Princes, *Le*, 170, 176 n. 48
Misanthropie, *Le*, 183
 mise-en-abyme, 162, 185
 missionaries, 108, 112–18
 Mithridates, Flavius, 13
 Moine, Jacques, 209 n. 44

- Molière, 183, 191, 257–8, 260 n. 33
 Molinet, Jean, 157–8, 174 n. 2–4
Monsieur Nicolas, 129, 133, 137 n. 24
Monsters and Marvels, On, 74 n. 8
Monstres et prodiges, Des, 64, 74 n. 8,
 n. 11
 Montfleury, 183
 Montgolfier brothers, 21
 Montaigne, Michel de, 59 n. 13, 85–9,
 92 n. 20–6, 170, 176 n. 43, n. 47,
 181, 192 n. 16, 196
 Montpellier, 125
 moral contagion, 143–4, 198, 256
 Moravianism, 139, 144
morbo gallico, 167
 see also French disease, pox, smallpox,
 Spanish disease
 More, Henry, 22
 Mortimer, Cromwell, 238
 moustaches, 85–9
Moyen de parvenir, Le, 186
 Mundella, A., 12 n. 21
 Munich, 98
 Müntzer, Thomas, 140
 Museum, 39
- Nagasaki, 112, 115–16, 118
 Naples, 107–8, 110–13, 116–18, 157,
 167–8
 Neapolitan disease, 161, 167, 170
 see also French disease, pox,
 smallpox, Spanish disease
 Nappi, E., 121 n. 11
 Narcissus, 57, 60 n. 32
 Nash, Gerry C., 62 n. 46
 Native Americans, 230
 see also Americas
Natura hominis, De, 18
 Natura rerum, De, 12 n. 20, 14 n. 46
Naturalisme des convulsions, Le, 151 n. 9
 naturalists, 68, 71
 Navagero, Andrea, 14 n. 46
 Navarre, Marguerite de, 54, 55, 60 n. 33
 Nazi ideology, 250
 Nedelec, Claudine, 194 n. 43
 Nedertornea, 145
 Nederkalix, 147
 Nelson, J. C., 46 n. 31
 Nemesius of Emesia, 18
 neoplatonism, 5, 17, 34, 44, 48, 52–3,
 180
 nerves, 143, 161
 Newcastle, 216
New Found Worlde, or Antarctike, 175 n. 39
 Nicki, Eva Hindrichsdotter, 147–8
 Nicole, Pierre, 197–8, 200, 208 n. 21,
 210 n. 60
Nicomachean Ethics, The, 39, 45 n. 24
 Nieremberg, Eusebio, 112–13, 122 n. 24–5,
 n. 27–9, n. 34
 Nordbäck, C., 152 n. 28
 Nördlingen, 101, 102, 105 n. 7, 106 n. 24
 Normand, Sijle, 208 n. 15
Nouvelles Réflexions sur la poétique,
 202–3, 210 n. 53
 novels
 effect of reading, 195–211
 evocation of illness in, 124
 laughter in, 183–7, 190
 pastoral, 196
 Nuremberg, 96, 98, 102–3, 105 n. 7,
 106 n. 16, n. 29, n. 31–3
 Nussbaum, Felicity, 237, 241 n. 42
 Nutton, Vivian, 10 n. 1, 12 n. 17–18,
 n. 21, 231, 236, 240 n. 14, 245,
 259 n. 4
 nymphomania, 207
 see also lovesickness (erotomania)
- Ober, William B., 255, 260 n. 28, n. 30–1
 occult
 causes of disease, 41–5, 125, 248, 251
 qualities, 4, 7, 11 n. 4, n. 7
 see also bewitchment, enchantment,
 magic, sorcery
Occultes merveilles, Les, 64, 75 n. 18, n. 20
 Ockham, William of, 25
 Ockham's razor, 25
 odour (theory of), 37, 81, 86, 88, 171
 see also smell
 Odysseus, 88
 Odhelius, Assessor, 149
 optics, 5–6, 13 n. 28, 24
 see also eyes, gaze, sight, stare
 ophthalmia, 51
 oracles, Chaldaic, 22–3
 Oresme, Nicole, 24–5, 30 n. 57–61
 Orlandi, A., 14 n. 37
 Orléans (city), 132
 Orléans, duc d', 127
 Övertornea, 144–7, 150
 Ovid, 55

- ovula, *see* seeds
- Owen, John, 221, 227 n. 45
- Pagel, Walter, 28 n. 13, 29 n. 18, n. 20–3,
29 n. 25–8
- Pajala, 147–8
- Palma, Georg, 103
- Palmer, Richard, 106 n. 9
- Palombe ou la femme honorable*, 210 n. 58
- pamphlets,
 polemical religious, 213–14, 216, 220,
 222, 224, 227 n. 56
 pro-inoculation, 239
- Pantagruel*, 54, 61 n. 38
- Panofsky, E., 59 n. 13
- papists, 214–24
 see also Catholics, English
- Paracelsus, 6, 17, 18–20, 23, 246
 Paracelsian model, 220–1, 223
 Paracelsians, 28 n. 14
- paralysis, 63, 64, 68, 71, 125
- parasites, 159, 251
- Paré, Ambroise, 11. n. 4, n. 8, 64, 66,
 74 n. 8, 90 n. 8, 159–60, 174 n. 10,
 175 n. 14, 249, 260 n. 15
- parencephelon, 35
- Paris, 129, 137 n. 21, 190
 University of, 4
- Parish, Richard, 193 n. 27
- Parker, Henry, 225 n. 19
- Parliament, English, 216
- Parnasse satyrique*, 173
- Parthénice ou peinture d'une invincible
 chasteté*, 210 n. 61
- Particular Treatise of the Smallpox and
 Measles*, A, 231–3
- Paschetto, Eugenio, 25, 30 n. 60–1
- passions
 cause of illness, 125–6, 142, 144, 233–5,
 238–9, 240 n. 25, 242 n. 53, n. 56,
 243
 danger of, 196–7, 198–205
 theories of, 183, 190
 treatises on, 178–9
 see also imagination, smallpox
- Passions of the Soul*, *The*, 192 n. 6
- Patae, Raphael, 25, 30
- Patar, Benoît, 30 n. 57
- Paul, Saint, 251
 see also Christianity
- Pausanias, 52
- Pecham, John, 13 n. 28, 24
 see also species intentiones
- Peintures morales*, 195, 200, 207 n. 5,
 209 n. 35–6
- Pellegrini, F., 12 n. 24
- Pelling, M., 151 n. 9
- penitence, *see* Christianity
- Pentecostals, 254
- Pereira, M., 11 n. 7
- Perez, Geronimo, 122 n. 23, n. 26, n. 36
- perfume
 as prophylactic against infection,
 83–5, 86–8, 136 n. 9
 citrus, 84–5
 flowers, 84–5, 249
 marzipan, 84–5
- permeability
 of the body by disease, 177, 179,
 181–2, 185, 217, 220, 238
 public–private boundary, 215
- Perpignan, 128
- Perrey, Nicolas, 109–10
- Persia, 205
- Peruzzi, Enrico, 7, 14 n. 37–8, n. 47
- Peste*, *De*, 4, 12 n. 14–15
- Peter, J. P., 136 n. 5
- Peter of Spain, 33, 42, 60 n. 21, n. 27
- Petrarch, 33, 50
- Pétronille*, 207 n. 3
- Phaedrus*, 17, 41, 44, 46 n. 35–8, 49
- phantasms, 34, 42, 45 n. 4, 53, 70, 245,
 252
 see also imagination
- pharmakon, 210 n. 56
- Philippines, 117
- philocaption, 32, 35, 38, 42–3, 252
 see also imagination (cause of disease),
 lovesickness
- philters, 43, 60 n. 28, 163
- phlebotomy, 37
- phthisis, 42
- physicians
 avoidance of contamination, 79–81,
 84–5, 88–9
 devotion to the ill, 132, 134–5
 and genetic imprinting, 248
 and poor relief, 94, 96–106
 satire of, 256–7
 scepticism vs. religious ecstasy, 140–2,
 145–51
 and smallpox, 231–2, 235–8

physicians (*continued*)

and theories of the passions, 178–9,
199–201

and treatment of syphilis, 159–60,
166, 174

and witchcraft, 64–7, 69, 71–3
witness to miracles, 119

pians, 168–9

Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 23

Pietism, 140–1, 145–6, 149, 153 n. 37
see also Christianity

Pigeaud, Jacky, 61 n. 38

pimples, 158, 164

Pinot, Gilles, 19

Pizan, Christine de, 55, 62 n. 45

plague, 3–5, 10 n. 3–4, 11 n. 5–6, n. 8,
51, 80, 82, 88–9, 95, 98, 100, 104,
97, 107–12, 116–23, 125–8, 130–2,
136–8, 161, 190, 198, 230, 235, 245,
249, 259

Planis de Campy, D. de, 159–60,
175 n. 12

Platina, Battista, 37

Plato, 17, 35, 40, 44, 45 n. 6, 46 n. 32,
n. 35–8, 52, 53, 56, 60 n. 24, n. 32,
180, 192 n. 12

Platonism, Platonists, 24, 67

Plethon, Gémistus, 22

pleurisy, 51

Pliny the Elder, 42, 46 n. 44

Pliny the Younger, 251

Plotinus, 13 n. 27, 24

Plotkin, Henry, 253, 260 n. 24

Plutarch, 38, 244, 245, 259 n. 1

pneuma, 16–17, 21, 22, 27, 28 n. 3, 31,
81

pneumatic circulation, 35

pneumonia, 34

poisons, 32, 34–8, 43, 231, 243, 245,
259

air as, 81, 90 n. 4

astral, 20

imagination as, 195

as inoculation, 220–2

love as, 51, 55

novels as, 196–7, 201, 204–5

Pietism as, 141

syphilis as, 162–3

terminology of, 189

texts as, 57

see also blood vapours, toxins

Poitou region, 136 n. 5

Politia Medica, 104

political economy, 204–5

Polizzotto, C., 226 n. 44

Pomata, G., 122 n. 20, n. 35

Pomponazzi, Pietro, 43, 68, 75 n. 21

Ponchartrain, Jérôme de, 129

popery, 213–24

Porée, Charles, 195, 205–6, 207 n. 4

porphyry, 28 n. 7

Porter, Roy, 240 n. 7

Portrait du peintre, Le, 183, 193 n. 26

Porzio, A., 121 n. 8, n. 11

possession

demonic, 142, 147

fanatic, 141

see also bewitchment, demons, devils,
Lucifer, Satan

Postel, Claude, 170, 176 n. 2

Postel, Guillaume, 20

Pourpoint fermant à boutons, Le, 167,
175 n. 34

pox, 158, 162, 164, 167, 170

see also French disease, *morbo gallico*,
Neapolitan disease, smallpox,
Spanish disease

Praestigis daemonum, De, 66

Praise of Folly, 56

'preaching disease', 139–53

pregnancy, 66, 66

see also childbirth

Presbyterians, 213, 215–6, 222–3

see also Protestants

Prévost, Antoine-François, 127, 134,
138 n. 36–7

Priestley, John, 21

Princesse de Clèves, La, 55

print culture, 107–23, 213, 223–4,
225 n. 18

see also pamphlets

Prion, Pierre, 128, 137 n. 20

Problemata, 49, 59 n. 13

Proclus, 17, 18, 22

prophecy,

French prophets, 143

gift of, 67, 69, 71

orthodoxy questioned, 140–1, 144

prostitution, 167–8, 170–1

Protectorate, English 213, 215, 217–18,
221–3, 226 n. 30

see also Commonwealth

- Protestant(s)
 authors, 168
 Catholics masquerading as, 216
 doctrine, 214, 223–4
 English, 212, 215, 217, 219, 221–2, 224
 French, 132, 170
 polemicists, 213
 sects, 215, 217
 services, 215, 217–18
 Swedish, 140
see also Christianity, Reformation
- Provence, 127, 137 n. 19
- Pruckner, H., 12 n. 13
- Psellus, Michael, 22
- Ptolemy, 16
- puerperal fever, 99
- purging, *see* cures
- Pythagoreans, 24
- Quakers, 215, 221, 223
- Qualtiere, Louis, 104, 106 n. 34
- quarantine, 79, 88, 97, 98, 108, 126–8,
 134, 137 n. 16, 142–3, 151, 161,
 212, 218
- Quatre Livres des spectres ou apparitions et
 visions d'esprits*, 66, 68–9
- Quéro, Dominique, 194 n. 51
- Questier, M., 226 n. 28, n. 33
- Quétel, C., 174 n. 1
- Quintessence satyrique, La*, 171
- Quintus Cursus, 199
- Rabelais, François, 54, 61 n. 38, 162,
 165, 171, 175 n. 31, 179–80
- rabies, 125, 159, 236
- Raimundus a Vinario, 4, 12 n. 14
- Ramsay, Thomas, 216, 219
- Ramusio, G. B., 12 n. 21
- Randall, Lesa B., 166–7, 175 n. 33
- Rapson, R., 244, 259 n. 2, 260 n. 11
- Raymond, J., 225 n. 18
- reading, silent, 186
- Recherche de la vérité, De la*, 199,
 209 n. 30
- recusancy, 217–18
- Reformation, Catholic, 170
see also Christianity, Counter-
 Reformation, Jesuits
- Refutation des opinions de Jean Wier*, 70
- Remarques sur le Berger Extravagant*,
 194 n. 34
- Remedes preservatifs et curatifs de la peste*,
 90 n. 7–8, 91 n. 11–15
- Remedy of Love*, 55
- Renzi, P. S., 121 n. 6
- repentance, *see* Christianity
- Republic, The*, 180, 192 n. 12
- Restif de la Bretonne, Nicolas, 129, 133,
 137 n. 24, 138 n. 25
- Restoration, English, 230, 237
- Rey, R., 135 n. 3, 136 n. 8
- Rhazes, 33, 42, 230
- rheumatic fever, 246
- Ribeiro do Nascimento, C. A., 30 n. 53
 Riese, W., 241 n. 28
- Rillo, Nicola, 121 n. 5
- Robbins, R. H., 46 n. 33
- Robic-de Baecque, Sylvie, 210 n. 58
- Roman comique, Le*, 184–5, 193 n. 30–3
- Roman de la Rose, Le*, 54
- Rome, 108, 110
- Ronshi, V., 30 n. 5
- Rosenberg, Charles, 103, 105 n. 6,
 229–30, 238, 242 n. 53
- Rosenfeld (city), 101
- Rousseau, G. S., 242 n. 51
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 127, 138 n. 39
- Rougemont, Denis de, 250, 253, 260 n. 18
- Rowlands, M. B., 225 n. 16
- Royal Society, 238
- Rueff, Jacob, 74 n. 11
- Ruffo, 27
- Ruskala, 147
- Rutherford, Ernest, 22
- Sabeau, D., 106 n. 12
- Sagesse, De la*, 198, 208 n. 27,
 209 n. 28–9
- Sailer, Gereon, 102
- Saint-Simon, Louis Rouvroy, duc de,
 128–9, 134–5, 136 n. 9, 137 n. 19,
 n. 21, n. 23, n. 26, 138 n. 38–40
- Saint Vitus dance, 246–7
see also Sydenham
- saliva, cause of disease, 159
- Samuelsdotter, Anna Greta, 149
- Sappho, 39, 55
- Satan, 43, 63, 67, 75 n. 20, 239, 252
- satire
 English, 104
 as a genre, 190
 of physicians, 256

- satire (*continued*)
 satyre, 157
 syphilis as source of, 171–4
- Saturn, 4
- Savio, P., 121 n. 9
- Saxl, F., 59 n. 13
- scabies, 98, 125
- Scarron, Paul, 184–5, 187–9
- Scève, Maurice, 54
- Schleiner, W., 59 n. 13
- Schmidt, A., 106 n. 10
- Schwartz, H., 152 n. 17
- Scotlands Holy War*, 225 n. 19
- Screech, M. A., 59 n. 13
- scrofula, 249
- scurvy, 125, 249
- Search for Truth, On the*, 209 n. 30
- seeds of disease, 81, 82, 205, 235–9,
 241 n. 35, 247
see also semina
- semen, 36–7, 41, 72
- semina*, 20, 37, 230–1, 236
- seminaria (pestifera)*, 5, 9–10
see also seeds
- Seneca, 90 n. 5, 196
- Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur la
 tragic-comédie du Cid*, 207 n. 7
- Sept Marchans de Naples, Les*, 167–8,
 175 n. 35
- Severinus, Saint, 236
- Shaftesbury, Earl, 142–3
- Shakespeare, William, 59 n. 13, 260 n. 37
- Shaw, J. E., 46 n. 30
- Siam, 130
- Sibyls, 71
- Sicily, 199
- Siegel, R. E., 90 n. 5
- Sies, Rudolf, 11 n. 12
- sight, restored, 133
see also eyes, gaze, optics, stare
- signatures, doctrine of, 18
- Sigogne, C.-T. de, 172, 176 n. 51
- Sill, G., 241 n. 28
- sin
 forgiveness of, 145
 illness as punishment for, 94–5,
 103–5, 169, 244, 251–2, 259
 imaginary of, 197–8, 204
 of lust, 166, 169
see also Christianity
- Singer, C. and D., 12 n. 22, 13 n. 25
- Singularités de la France antarctique*, 169,
 175 n. 39
- Siraisi, Nancy, 61 n. 38
- Sirius, 162
- skin eruptions, *see diseases*
- Slight, William, 104, 106 n. 34
- smallpox, 21, 61 n. 40, 136 n. 8, 125–9,
 132–8, 228–42
 and female transgression, 237–38
 and the imagination, 228–39
 and 'monstrous breeding', 238
 and passions, 234
 and sexual metaphors, 236
 stages of, 235
 supposed origins, 230
*see also French disease, morbo gallico,
 Neapolitan disease, pox, Spanish
 disease*
- smell (of disease), 79, 81–9, 94, 130,
 132–3
see also odour, perfume
- Smith, J. R., 240 n. 2
- Smith, Terence, 217, 226 n. 27
- sociability, 179
see also civility
- Socinians, 221
- Socrates, 51–2, 87, 88
- Sonnino, E., 121 n. 6
- sorcery, 43, 63–4, 71
 spells, 66, 73
*see also bewitchment, enchantment,
 magic*
- Sorel, Charles, 186–8, 194 n. 39–41, 196,
 206
- soul, 35, 42–3, 47, 200
 regenerated, 117
 of the world (*anima mundi*)
- Sournia, Jean-Charles, 92 n. 16
- Southworth, John, 219
- Spanish disease, 170
*see also French disease, morbo gallico,
 Neapolitan disease, pox, smallpox*
- species*, 3, 5–15, 20, 24–6, 32, 34–6,
 43–4, 53, 60 n. 28, 201, 235
Baconian species, 30 n. 53
species intentiones, 24
- Spener, Philipp Jacob, 140–1
- Spirit of Persecution Again Broken Loose,
 The*, 227 n. 53

- spirits (*spiritus*), 6, 8–10, note 4, p. 10, 51
 animal (*animalis*), 35, 40, 41, 179,
 141–2, 179
 natural (*naturalis*), 141
 vital (*vitalis*), 35, 41, 42, 141
 of the world (*spiritus mundi*), 17,
 19–21, 28 n. 10, n. 12
- Sprenger, James, 42–3, 46 n. 50, 54, 64
 n. 73, 252, 260 n. 20, n. 22
- Spruit, Leen, 13 n. 31
- Staffordshire, 217
- stare, 40, 43, 243
 at diseased face, 130
see also eye (evil), gaze, sight
- Starobinski, Jean, 211 n. 71, 250,
 260 n. 17
- State of Physick, The*, 241 n. 25–7
- state physician, 212–3, 217, 221–2
- Stephanson, Raymond, 137 n. 16
- sterility, 170
- Stevenson, D., 225 n. 18
- Stewart, S., 122 n. 37
- Stitzziel, Judd, 145, 151 n. 2, n. 4, n. 6–7,
 152 n. 28
- Stockholm, 139, 144–5, 147, 149, 151,
 152 n. 26
- strangury, 64
- Strasbourg, 97, 128
- Stuart, Kathy, 106 n. 20, n. 36
- sublime, the, 185
- suicide, 244
- Summis desiderantes affectibus*, 252
- superstition, 199, 247
- Svensson, City Physician, 149
- sweating, from syphilis, 164, 171, 173
see also cures
- Swedenborgianism, 139
- Sydenham, Thomas, 240 n. 11
 Sydenham's chorea, 246
see also St. Vitus dance
- Sympathia et antipathia, De*, 5, 7–10,
 12 n. 18, 14 n. 39, n. 41–5, n. 47–52,
 15 n. 53–6, n. 58, n. 60–8
- sympathy, 6–8, 10.
- Symposium*, 40, 46 n. 32, 52, 53, 56,
 60 n. 24, n. 32
- syncretism, 33–7
- Synnott, Anthony, 90 n. 1
- syphilis, 3, 4, 5, 12 n. 16, 157–76
see also thievery, whoremongering
- Syphilis*, 5
- Syphilus, 162
- Tachau, Katherine, 24, 25, 30 n. 52,
 n. 56
- Tarrega, Raymundm 26
- Taussig, M., 122 n. 17–18
- Taxil, Jean, 71, 75 n. 24, 76 n. 44
- Teate, Faithful, 217, 226 n. 25
- Temkin, O., 11 n. 7
- temperance, 170
- Teresa d'Avila, 76 n. 50
- Testament ou conseils fidèles d'un bon père
 à ses enfants*, 195, 206, 207 n. 2
- tetanus, 141
- theatre, source of contagion, 195
- Theology of Plato, The*, 22, 28 n. 5
- Thevet, André, 169–70, 175 n. 39
- thievery (as a result of syphilis), 161
- Thirouin, Laurent, 207 n. 6, 209 n. 42
- Thorndike, L., 11 n. 12
- Thucidides, 5
- Tiers Livre*, 166
- Tillam, Thomas, 216, 219, 225 n. 20,
 n. 22, 226 n. 37
- Tilles, Gérard, 159, 174 n. 7
- Timaeus*, 35, 44, 45 n. 6
- Tissot, S. A. A. D., 127
- Titus Livius, 199
- Todd, D., 242 n. 51
- tolerationism, 221–3
- Tombeau des romans, Le*, 196, 199,
 208 n. 16, 210 n. 59
- Touati, François-Olivier, 104, 106 n. 35,
 260 n. 35
- toxins, *see* poisons
- Traicté de la melancholie*, 71, 76 n. 41–2
- Traicté de la peste*, 11 n. 5
- Traicté de l'épilepsie*, 71, 75 n. 24, 76 n. 44
- Traité de la civilité*, 182
- Traité de la peste, verolle et rougeolle, avec
 une breve description de la leper*, 11, n. 4
- Traité de la petite verole*, 127
- Traité des passions*, 192 n. 6
- Traité du ris*, 192 n. 3, n. 5
- Traité sur la comédie*, 197, 208 n. 21
- Traité sur l'origine des romans*, 204
- trance, state of, 139, 144, 149
- Tranquillity of Mind, On*, 196
- transference, 57, 59 n. 14, 60 n. 32

- translation, effects of, 48, 57
 transport, 202–3, 210 n. 51
 Trast, Helena, 147
 travel narratives, 168–70
Treatise of the Smallpox and the Measles,
 A, 241 n. 40
Treatise on Laughter, 192 n. 3, n. 5
Treatise on Lovesickness, A, 38–9, 45 n. 5,
 n. 22, n. 26, 259 n. 3
Treatise on Monsters, 249
Treatise on Spectres or Straunge Sights,
 75 n. 15
 Tristan and Iseult, 54, 56
*Triumphe de la tres haulte et puissante
 dame Verolle*, 162–7, 175 n. 22–9,
 n. 32
 Tronchin, Théodore, 127
 troubadours, 47
*True Case of the State of Liberty of
 Conscience*, A, 222, 227 n. 47
 tuberculosis, 42
 Tübingen, 96, 101, 106 n. 26
 tumours, 117, 119
 typhus, 80
- ulcers, *see* diseases
 Ulm, 105 n. 7
 Umea, 145
 Uppsala, 144
 Ursana Health Sciences, 31 n. 70
 Urso of Calabria, 59 n. 15
Usage des romans, *De l'*, 206, 211 n. 69
- vaccination, *see* inoculation
 Vallerioli, François, 38, 39, 43, 45 n. 15
 Van Helmont, Jan Baptist, 20
 Vane, Henry Jr., 222–3, 227 n. 49, n. 56
 vapours, 72, 81–2, 207, 243, 245, 258
 escaping from skin, 143
see also blood vapours
 Varius, Dr., 101
 Vasselin, B.-R., 192 n. 4
 Velesius, Franciscus (Francisco de
 Vallés), 68
 Venice, 5, 170, 256
 venom, 190
see also poisons
 Venus, 51, 155–60, 162–5
 Venus Pandemos, 56
 Venus Urania, 52
 Vernet, Max, 207 n. 3
- Verona, 5
 Versailles, 133
 Vescovini, G. F., 13 n. 28
 Veyries, Jean de, 39, 45 n. 21
 Viala, Alain, 194 n. 42
 Viana, O., 12 n. 24
Viaticum, 49, 53, 60 n. 27
 Viau, Théophile de, 171–4, 176 n.
 49–50, n. 52
 Vienna, 105 n. 7
 Vigarello, G., 136 n. 9
Vigo en francoys, *De*, 159, 174 n. 9
virtus estimativa, *see* faculty psychology
 vision, *see* eyes
 Vives, Juan Luis, 55, 61 n. 42, 94, 102–3,
 200, 209 n. 39
 Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 126,
 136 n. 11
 vomiting, as sign of disease, 63, 119,
 173, 249
- Wack, Mary Frances, 45 n. 1, 46 n. 47,
 47, 49, 50, 52–4, 58 n. 1–2, n. 5–9,
 n. 11–12, 59 n. 14–15, n. 20–3,
 n. 25–8, 30–1, 33, 39
 Wallach, Daniel, 174 n. 7
 Walsham, A., 225 n. 4
 Watts, S., 240 n. 10
 Weld, Thomas, 225 n. 21–2
 weeping, contagious, 247, 254
 Westphalia, 247
 Weyer, Johan, 66, 70, 71, 74 n. 13,
 75 n. 20, 76 n. 33–9
 Whitaker, Tobias, 238
 whoremongering (as a result of syphilis),
 161
 Wichman, Anders, 147–8, 153 n. 39
 Widman, Johan, 101
 Wieland, Christoph Martin, 142–3
 Wier, Johannes, *see* Weyer
 Wiklund Awakening, 139–40, 144–9,
 153 n. 37
 Wiklund, Nils, 144–6, 148–50
 Wirsung, David, 101
Wisdome, *Of*, 208 n. 27, 209 n. 28–9
 witchcraft, 33, 63, 70
 witches, 63–76, 253
*Witches, Devils and Doctors in the
 Renaissance*, 74 n. 13, 76 n. 33–9
 witch hunts, 63, 64, 68, 70, 73
 Witelo, 13 n. 28

- Wittenberg, 96
Woodward, John, 233–4, 241 n. 25–7
Worden, B., 226 n. 44
World Health Organization, 229
Württemberg, Duchy of, 101
Yates, Frances A., 29 n. 40, n. 47
Yvelin, Pierre, 71, 72, 73, 76 n. 46, n. 51
Zambelli, Paola, 12 n. 16
Zeal Examined, 227 n. 49, n. 52, n. 5

