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NOTES

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS


INTRODUCTION

1. André Thevet, Histoire d’André Thevet Angoumousin, cosmographe du Roy, de deux voyages faits aux Indes Australes et Occidentales, ed. Jean-Claude Laborie et Frank Lestringant (Geneva: Droz, 2006), 211. Among chroniclers, humanists writing in Latin and in the vernacular, and physicians, it became apparent very early that syphilis was sexually transmitted, as shall be seen here and in later chapters. What is curious is that Fracastor, whose shepherd Syphilus or Syphile would give his name to the disease in later centuries, attributes the transmission to the air and not to sexual relations with men or women already infected with the disease. Fracastor describes how the vast spaces of air are filled with the pollution and an unknown filth spreads its contagion throughout the air: “Paulatim aerij tractus et inania lata / accepere luem uacuasque insuetus in auras / marco iji coelumque tuli contagi in omne,” Jérôme Fracastor, La Syphilis ou le mal français / Syphilis sive morbus gallicus, trans. Jacqueline Vons (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2011), I: vv. 247–49. Vons notes that it is indeed remarkable that Fracastor omits mention of the sexual transmission of the pox from the first book of his celebrated work, Fracastor LXIII. Jean Fernel, court physician to Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, among others, could not be more blunt in attributing the transmission of the pox to sexual intercourse: “Il [le mal vénérien/Lues Venerea] se contracte seulement par le coit ou par quelque autre contact impur,” Jean Fernel d’Amiens, Le Meilleur traitement du Mal Vénérien 1579, trans. L. Le Pileur (Paris: G. Masson, 1879), ch. 1, 3.

3. Francesco Guerra, “The Problem of Syphilis,” in First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old, ed. Fredi Chiappelli et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 2: 845–51. A recent article, called to my attention by Plymouth State University anthropologist Katherine C. Donahue, reveals that modern genomic sequencing in 1998 confirms the “convention of dividing the bacterium into three subspecies: T. pallidum subspecies pallidum (syphilis), T. pallidum subspecies pertenue (yaws), and T. pallidum subspecies endemicum (bejel).” Yet the subspecies are remarkably similar. The researchers have not found a single case with a corresponding reliable date and clear evidence of treponemal skeletal lesions that demonstrates the presence of syphilis in Europe prior to Columbus’s return from the New World. See Kristin N. Harper, Molly K. Zuckerman, and George J. Armelagos, “Syphilis: Then and Now,” The Scientist Magazine, February 1, 2014, 1–8, http://www.the-scientist.com/TheScientist/daily/2014/02/05a.html.


5. William Eamon, 10. Eamon references Fioravanti’s work, Capricci medicinali (Venice, 1582), originally published in 1561: “Thus the armies of both sides, having so many times eaten human flesh, began to be polluted in such a way that not a single man remained who was not full of sores and pains, and the majority became bald” (49v).


7. See the variant spelling, grosse vairolle, in the title of Thierry de Héry’s La Méthode curatoire pour la maladie vénérienne, vulgairement appelée grosse vairolle, et de la diversité des ses symptomes (Paris: Matthieu David et Arnoud L’Angelier, 1552), cited by Vons XXVIII.


12. Barbara B. Diefendorf, The Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre. A Brief History with Documents (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2009), 13–14: “Once again, however, Catherine’s attempt at compromise offended people on both sides of the religious divide. Protestants complained that their right to worship was still too limited, while Catholics were outraged that any worship was permitted at all” (13).

13. François Lopez de Gómara, Histoire générale des Indes occidentales et terres neuves, qui usques à present esté descouvertes, augmentée en cest cinquiesme édition
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de la description de la nouvelle Espagne de de la grande ville de Mexiques, autrement
nommé, Tenuctilan, composée en espagnol par François López de Gómara, et traduite
en Français par S. de Genillé Mart. Fumée. À Paris chez Michel Sonnus, rue saint
Jacques, à l’enseigne de l’escu de Basle, M. D. LXXVII; 40°. López de Gómara states:
“Au commencement ce mal estoit bien violent, infect, & deshonneste: mais aujourd’hui il
n’est si rigoureux, ne si deshonneste” [In the beginning this illness was very violent, infec-
tious, and filthy: but today it is not so severe, nor as foul].

taires de France, 1992), II: ch. 37, 772. All citations in French will refer to this edition,
and in English to the translation of Donald Frame: The Complete Essays of Montaigne,

oré Champion, 2003), I: 267, v. 97.


17. In Sampling the Book: Renaissance Prologues and the French Conteurs (Lewis-
burg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1994), I examine Foucault’s discussion of likeness in
the context of prefatory metaphors (46–47).


Champion, 2007), II: 196.

20. Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism (Baltimore:

21. John Henderson, The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the

22. Rudolph Arbessmann, “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine,” Tra-

23. Recueil de poésies françaises des XV° et XVI° siècles. Morales, facétieuses, histo-

24. François Rabelais, Le Quart Livre faits et dits héroïques du bon Pantagruel, in
au bon Dieu, vous obtiendrez santé.”

25. Léry, Histoire d’un voyage, 176–77; for the English translation of Léry’s work I
cite Jean de Léry, History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, trans. Janet Whatley (Berke-

26. Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale, ed. Charles-Antoine Chamay (Geneva:
Droz, 2005), Satyre V, 105, v. 384.

Jacques Pineaux (Geneva: Droz, 1977), Chanson XXXVIII, 50; Chanson XXVI, 40.


(Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1997), 40: 689: “Certainly France, nay the
whole world, might thus be bound in friendship. For if the sore is covered up by bad
terms rather than truly healed, I fear that when the wound is opened on some occasion
soon afterwards, the old poison may burst out with more harm than ever.”

30. Marjorie O’Rourke Boyle, “Erasmus’ Prescription for Henry VIII: Logotherapy,”
Renaissance Quarterly 31, no. 2 (1978): 161–72. She quotes Erasmus’s letter of advice
to Henry VIII, Erasmii epistolae, ed. P. S. Allen et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,
1906–53), V, 318, ll. 250–51.


33. I note the recent discovery of a manuscript by Ingrid De Smet of a manuscript from Montaigne’s library, signed “Michaël Montanus,” and containing notes from a course on Roman law given by the legal scholar and historian François Baudouin. See “Un manuscrit de François Baudouin dans la librairie de Montaigne,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 75 (2013): 105-11. Baudouin’s position as a “moyennur,” in favor of peace between the Catholics and Protestants at the failed *colloque de Poissy* in February 1561, mirrors Montaigne’s view that the tolerant state where justice rules is a healthy state. Discipline, whether in the individual’s or the army’s willingness to heed the law, creates a prosperous and healthy country. When jurisprudence fails, when each person takes the law into his or her own hands, the kingdom reeks of infection. In speaking of the monstrous religious and civil conflict in which France had been engaged for much of his lifetime, Montaigne depicts the conflict eating away at its own body: “Monstrueuse guerre: les autres agissent au dehors; cette-cy encore contre soys e ronge et se desfaict par son propre venin. . . . Toute discipline la fuyt. Elle vient guarir la sedition et en est pleine” (*Les Essais*, III: 12, 1041B/796) [Monstrous war! Other wars act outward; this one acts also against itself, eats and destroys itself by its own venom. . . . All discipline flies from it. It comes to cure sedition and is full of it]. For both Baudouin and Montaigne, the health of the kingdom depended on respect for the law.

**CHAPTER 1**


2. E. Jeanselme, *Histoire de la syphilis. Son origine. Son expansion. Progrès réalisés dans l’étude de cette maladie depuis la fin du XVe siècle jusqu’à l’époque contemporaine. Extrait du Traité de la syphilis*, vol. 1 (Paris: G. Doin, 1931), 121. Jeanselme notes that Gasparis Torella (also spelled Gaspare Torrella) observed the secondary infection passed to babies from wet nurses or nursing mothers as early as 1500 in his *Dialogus de dolore, cum tractactu de ulcерibus in pudendagra evenire solitis* (Impressus per Joannem Besicken & Martinum de Amsterdam, 1500). Jeanselme comments that Torella witnessed nurses with pustules on their breasts or face breastfeeding or kissing young babies. Torella states that the child’s infection is a secondary infection passed on from the nurse, whose disease was a primary infection. For a very complete discussion of the consequences of having healthy wet nurses from the Italian mountainous, rural areas nurse babies born most often of prostitutes infected with syphilis, see David Kertzner, *Amalia’s Tale* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008). Set in the nineteenth century, the story of Amalia Bagnacaval-li’s struggle, through her lawyer Augusto Barbieri, to seek redress and compensation in the courts documents the dangers of contracting syphilis through nursing infant children.

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5. Fernel d’Amiens, Le Meilleur traitement du Mal Vénérien. This is a French translation of De Luës Venerea curatione perfectissima Liber, an edition published posthumously in 1579.


7. Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale, 47, vv. 159–60.

8. Fracastor (Hieronymus Fracastorius), La Syphilis ou le mal français, Liber II, 47, vv. 236–40: “Interea si membra dolor conuulsa malignus / torqueat, oesypo propera lenire dolorem / masticinoque oleo, lentum quibus anseris unguen, / emulsumque potes lini de semine mucum, / narcissumque, inulamque, liquentiaque addere mella.” Vons's French translation is extremely readable and provides an excellent and extensive introduction. The editio princeps was published in 1530, following unauthorized versions made when a version of the first two books sent to Pietro Bembo for comments fell into the wrong hands (La Syphilis, XLVI–LI). Fracastoro went on to add the third book, in which he develops the fable around the naming of the disease and, just as importantly, the praise of guaiac wood as the saving remedy for both indigenous people of the New World and Europeans later.

9. Ulrich von Hutten, De l’expérience et approbation Ulrich de Hutten notable chevalier touchant la medecine du boys dict guiacum pour circonvenir et deschasser lama-ladie indeuement appellee françoise. Aincoys par gens de meilleur urgent est dicte et valier touchant la medecine du boys dict guiacum pour circonvenir et deschasser lama-


11. Opera omnia, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig, 1859–1870), IV: 27–41. Jillings notes that it was “written probably in Augsburg, published in Mainz by Johann Schöffer in February 1519,” and translated perhaps by Martin Bucer in 1519 (16. n. 42). While effective treatments for syphilis are not really the subject of this book, it is well known that Hutten made famous the use of guaiacum or holy wood, a treatment later commented on by the chroniclers back from the New World, such as Jean de Léry. See my article “The Old World Meets the New in Montaigne’s Essais: The Nexus of Syphilis, Cannibalism, and Empirical Medicine,” Montaigne Studies 22, nos. 1–2 (2010): 85–100.

12. In his recent article “From Satura to Satyre: François Rabelais and the Renaissance Appropriation of a Genre,” Renaissance Quarterly 67, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 377–424, Bernd Renner shows the evolution of satire from the more ludic, less scathing Horatian satire typical of the first half of the sixteenth century and of Rabelais’s Pantagruel and Gargantua to the more biting, “punishing” satire characteristic of Juvenal which took hold in France as the religious wars progressed (390–91).

13. As will be evident in chapters 5 and 6 of this book, discipline is a theme taken up by several literary giants of the second half of the century, such as Montaigne and Agrippa d’Aubigné, who also advanced the countersuggestion that the absence of discipline weakened the health of the kingdom.


17. Citing Judson B. Gilbert’s *Disease and Destiny: A Bibliography of Medical Reference* (London: Dawsons, 1962), Vicary states that “it is possible each of them [François I, Charles V, and Henry VIII] had acquired syphilis in their youth and their tailors, or physicians, had suggested they adopt the artifact worn by soldiers” (18). See also Katherine Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 202. She speculates that François I “probably” contracted syphilis by 1524 and suffered from it until his death. In her recent book *Blood Will Tell: A Medical Explanation of the Tyranny of Henry VIII* (Bloomington, IA: Ashwood Press, 2012), Kyra Cornelius Kramer advances the theory that Henry VIII did not suffer from syphilis but rather from the inheritance of the Kell positive blood type, known to cause fetal and newborn mortality as well as McLeod syndrome, provoking both debilitating psychological and physical problems such as those from which the king was known to suffer (chapter 1).


19. These attributes of the physician are present in the “ancien prologue” to the abbreviated version of the fourth book published in 1548 (771).


23. See Deborah N. Losse, “Revisioning Saint Augustine: Rabelaisian Intertexts of Augustine’s *Confessions*,” *Allegorica* 23 (2002): 19–31: “Panurge is clearly troubled by a divided will, where he cannot be receptive to the signs that God gives him because he is a slave to passion. His will is divided. Augustine describes his own state of mind before conversion” (26). Augustine expresses the dilemma in these terms: “Ita duae uoluntates meae, una uetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritualis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam” (*Confessions*, VIII, v, 10) [So these two wills within me, one old, one new, one the servant of the flesh, the other of the spirit, were in conflict and between them they tear my soul apart]. The Latin citation is taken from Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, ed. Pierre de Labriolle, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994); the English translation from Saint Augustine, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin, *Confessions* (London: Penguin Books, 1961).
24. Gargantua’s remonstration against the Church’s involvement in clandestine marriages undertaken without the parents’ knowledge (ch. 48, Le Tiers Livre) is one illustration of the importance of the parental role. A second illustration is found in the colloquy “A Marriage In Name Only Or An Unequal Marriage” (Erasmus, Colloquies, 40: 843–59), discussed in chapter 2 of this book, in which Erasmus rebukes the parents who married their daughter to an inappropriately old and syphilitic man. They have simply ignored their parental duty to select a suitable spouse for their daughter.

CHAPTER 2


3. When the English translation of the Latin text of the Colloquies is cited, the work referenced will be Collected Works of Erasmus (abbreviated CWE). For the Latin text of the Familiarum colloquiorum formulae or Colloquia, the Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, I–3 (abbreviated OO) will be used (Amsterdam: The New Holland Press, 1969).

4. See Eva Kushner, “Les Colloques et l’inscription de l’autre dans le discours,” in Dix conférences sur Érasme. Éloge de la folie—Colloques, ed. Claude Blum (Paris: Geneva: Honoré Champion, 1988), 33–47. In his insightful article “The Mimesis of Marriage: Dialogue and Intimacy in Erasmus’s Matrimonial Writings,” Renaissance Quarterly 57, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 1278–1307, Reinier Leushuis cites Kushner’s view of the diverse origins of the Erasmian dialogue: “Erasmus adopts in the Colloquies a mixture of the characteristics of the harmonious Ciceronian model (where, after a brief introduction or narratio, two or more characters discuss . . . the argument they stand for in order to emphasize the more persuasive one), the dissymmetrical Socratic model (with the predominance of a Socratic voice that seeks to lead the interlocutor step-by-step to the truth), and the Lucianic model (characterized by its vivacious and satirical exchange),” (1295). In Less Rightly Said: Scandals and Readers in Sixteenth-Century France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), Antonia Szabari refers to Erasmus’s “lowering of the tone” as a “corrective device” (11). Turning to Lucianic satire “as a mask to mitigate the offensive potential of an utterance,” Erasmus seeks to correct in lighter, amusing manner, one that is more effective than assuming a stern, overbearing voice. While his modus loquendi did not always assuage the anger of the censors nor of readers opposed to his point of view, Szabari points out that this satirical mask “proves to be effective in converting French humanists to anti-Catholic reformed ideas” (12).


6. It should be noted that Erasmus added five dialogues (not related to the theme) to another edition published in 1531, as well as two more dialogues to the edition published in 1533—this last the final edition overseen by its author and widely reprinted (OO, introduction, 14–15).
7. Jeanselme, *Histoire de la syphilis*, 63–65. Citing from Oviedo’s *Historia general y natural* (volume 1, book II, chapter 7, p. 28), Jeanselme quotes Oviedo stating that when the armies of Charles VIII met the Spanish armies, the sickness passed from the Spanish to the French and Italian soldiers (65). Oviedo observes that this was the first time that the sickness had been seen in Italy (“c’est la première fois qu’on la vit en Italie”). Oviedo notes as well that since it was at the time that the French soldiers arrived with Charles, the Italians called the sickness the French disease (“et comme c’était à l’époque où les Français vinrent avec le dit roi Charles, les Italiens appelèrent cette maladie le mal Françèse”; 65).

8. In his formal study of the *Colloquiorum Familiarium formulae*, Franz Bierlaire attributes a more one-sided contest between the Carthusian and soldier than does Kushner, but Bierlaire is correct in stating that the Carthusian sweeps away the soldier’s arguments one by one: “Le chartreux balaie un à un tous les arguments antimonastiques du soldat,” *Érasme et ses colloques: Le livre d’une vie* (Geneva: Droz, 1977), 66.


10. Franz Bierlaire notes the parallel, drawn by Erasmus, between the youth’s reading of Erasmus’s edition of the New Testament and the young man’s efforts to successfully persuade the prostitute to reform her life, much as in the conversion of Thais by the hermit Paphnuce. It is part of the Erasmian goal to inspire youth to embrace modesty and to turn away from whoring (*Érasme et ses colloques*, 68–69).

11. Much as Marguerite de Navarre would later amuse the readers by inscribing her persona in the *Heptaméron*, Erasmus inscribed his own edition of the New Testament (1516) in Greek, and his Latin translation is based on the Greek text, which the young man takes along with him on his trip to Rome. Lucretia notes that some label Erasmus “more than a heretic.” To which the young man states: “You don’t mean that man’s reputation has reached this place?” CWE, 39: 384). This bantering allows Lucretia to note that his name and reputation as a heretic have come to her through her clients of the gown—the priests who frequent the brothel. These clergy, no doubt ignorant of Greek and so unable to question his new Latin translation, follow the Church’s view that Erasmus is in league with Luther, presumably because his reliance on the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament leads him to omit mention of the Trinity in the opening of 1 John 5:7: “There are three that bear record in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these are three in one.” See George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000), 43. Erasmus’s satirical view of corrupt and poorly educated clergy comes through in his self-inscription in the colloquy.

12. In a letter to Erasmus, François Rabelais alludes to this same care that the expectant mother takes to shelter her unborn child, here referred to as a seed within her that she has never seen. He likens the natural maternal love to the care and nurturing that Erasmus has provided Rabelais, even though Erasmus has never seen the physician’s face nor known his name; see *La Correspondance d’Érasme*, trans. P. S. Allen, H. M. Allen, and H. W. Garrod (Bruxelles: University Press, 1981), 10: 170.

14. In his book *Lost Girls: Sex and Death in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), Nicholas Terpstra explores the deaths of very young women who were brought to the Casa della Pietà in Florence at an early age, either because they were orphaned or, more usually, abandoned by their parents (151). He suspects syphilis to have been a principal cause.

15. Montaigne, *Les Essais*, II: 8, 399. In this essay, “De l’affection des pères aux enfans,” addressed to madame d’Éstissac, who was the widow of Jean d’Estissac, Montaigne resumes a theme in the colloquy between Fabulla and Eutrapelus—that mothers are best suited to nourish children in the first years before the father assumes the education of the child’s mind. Eutrapelus lets Fabulla know that when she states she is less concerned with the formation of the body of her child than with his mind, she speaks “piously” but not “philosophically,” because it is the father’s role to form the child’s mind: “There will come a time, a grace of God, when you will send away your young son from you out of doors to be accomplished with learning and undergo harsh discipline, and which indeed is rather the province of the father than of the mother, but now its tender age calls for indulgence” (229). Montaigne also decries the injustice of the practice of sending children to the wet nurse, in that the children of the wet nurse suffer from being separated from their mothers so that the mothers can serve as wet nurses to the noblewomen. Like Erasmus, he acknowledges the “natural” bond between the mother and the child but laments the fact that in his century, such natural bonds have weakened: “Au demeurant, il est aisé à voir par experience que cette affection naturelle, à qui nous donnons tant d’authorité, a les racines bien foibles” (II: 8, 399).


18. Bierlaire reports that on May 16, 1526, theologians had declared that children were not to read the *Colloquies* because the dialogues were a corrupting force (*Les Colloques d’Érasme*, 217).

19. Bierlaire speculates on the identity for Pompilius Blenus, stating that he is certainly a composite of aging syphilitics. Chief among the names proposed for creating the composite portrait of the aging syphilitic who marries a youthful beauty are Henri von Eppendorf, Ulrich von Hutten, and Thomas Brun (*Érasme et ses colloques*, 100). Iphigenia as a tragic figure would have been recognized by all readers of the *Colloques*.

20. An anonymous poem, “La complainte de Messire Pierre Liset sur le trespas de son feu nez” refers to the pock-ridden former president of the Parlement de Paris, who had banned many Protestants from Paris for heresy. See [Théodore de Bèze], *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale*, 162–67.


23. I am reminded of Grandgousier’s failure to understand the bellicose intentions of Picrochole and his desire for world conquest in Rabelais’s *Gargantua*. Writing to his son
Gargantua to urge him to return home, Grandgousier shows what measures he has taken to persuade Picrochole to make peace: “My intention is not to provoke, but to appease; not to attack, but to defend, not to conquer, but to protect my loyal subjects and hereditary lands, which Picrochole has invaded without cause or occasion, and from day to day pursues his mad enterprise with excesses intolerable to free men” (*Complete Works*, 71). “Ma délibération n’est de provoquer, ains de dapaiser; d’assaillir, mais défendre; de conquéster, mais de garder mes féaulx subjectz et terres héréditaires és quelles est hostillement entré Picrochole sans cause et occasion, et de jour en jour poursuit sa furieuse entrprinse avecques excès non tolérable à personnes libères” (*Oeuvres complètes*, 133). The two interlocutors evoke the captivity of François I after the battle of Pavia (February 24, 1525), and this mention permits us to date the passage from between February 1525 and 1526. Erasmus corresponded with both Charles V and François I. He wrote to François I on his return to Paris in a letter dated June 16, 1526, and spoke of the public joy on the end of hostilities between the two rivals. See CWE, 40: 731, n. 89.

24. Medical metaphors were not unknown to Erasmus. In explaining his vast revisions of the much smaller 1518 and 1519 unauthorized versions of the *Formulae*, the humanist comments on his revisions: “Voyant cette oeuvre accueillie des écoliers avec le vif enthousiasme . . . je fis servir cet engouement au progrès des études. Les médecins n’accordent pas toujours aux malades les aliments les plus salubres; ils leur permettent quelquefois ceux qui excitent davantage leur appétit” (emphasis added); *De utilitate colloquiorum*, in OO, I: 3, 123, cited by Bierlaire, *Érasme et ses colloques*, 33.

25. Writing *Syphilis sive morbus gallicus* (1530) at roughly the same time, Girolamo Fracastoro (Hieronymus Fracastorius) creates an epic version in which is suggested the link between the violence waged in territorial expansion with the outbreak of syphilis. In his heroic poem, the Spanish soldiers’ shooting down the birds in the New World and invading the lands of peaceful indigenous peoples there bring on the vengeance of the gods and eventually lead to the spread of the dreaded unknown disease to Europe. Fracastoro describes a bird, speaking for Apollo, forseeing the future wars and deaths of the Spanish: “Sed non ante nouas dabitur summittere terras, / et longa populos in libertate quietos, / molirique urbes, ritusque ac sacra nouare, / quam uos infandos pelagi / terraque labores / perpessi, diuersa hominum post praelia, multi / mortua in externa / tumuletis corpora terra” [But you will not have a chance to subjugate the new lands nor their inhabitants who have lived there so long, nor to establish cities or your religious rites and sacred ceremonies before many among you have endured horrible suffering on land and sea, fought with foreigners, and burried dead bodies in foreign land], Fracastor, *La Syphilis ou le mal français*, Liber III, 71, vv. 179–84 (my translation from the Latin).


27. See Bierlaire, *Les Colloques d’ Érasme*: “C’est dans la rue qu’Érasme choisit ses personnages et c’est le plus souvent dans la rue qu’il les fait se rencontrer” (79). Evangelical humanists, such as Bonaventure des Périers, continue to highlight the wisdom of the common people, as in the case of the herring seller (“la belle harangere”) who takes on the learned regent on the Petit Pont in Paris, *Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis* I–XC, ed. Krystyna Kasprzyk (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1980), Nouvelle 63, 233–37. Overwhelmed (“accablé”) by the *harangere*, the scholar retreats to the “college de Montaigue.”
CHAPTER 3

1. Losse, “Old World Meets the New,” 85–100. My article draws on the work of Eamon, “Cannibalism and Contagion,” 1–31. Eamon points out that the surgeon Leonardo Fioravanti advanced the theory that the syphilis epidemic in Italy had been caused by the practice of using the dead body parts of soldiers during the French invasion of Naples as a base for food in the soldiers’ camps (Eamon, 10, 11). For cannibalism as a violation of natural law, see also Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, 80–87.

2. Thevet, Histoire d’André Thevet Angoumoisin, 211.

3. Janet Whatley, in her translation of Léry’s work, History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, notes the separate origins of yaws and syphilis. Yaws is rooted in the treponema pertenue and not the treponema pallida, the source of syphilis, but Francesco Guerra points out in his article, noted in the following, that these two strains are morphologically indistinguishable. In another article, “The Origins of Syphilis,” Harrison comments on the attribution of syphilis as the “Great Imitator” (1–7). One of the clearest explanations of the relationships of various types of syphilis is to be found in an article by Guerra, “The Problem of Syphilis,” 845–51. Summarizing the work of L. H. Turner, Guerra states that the treponemes of pinta (found only in America), yaws (found in the moist and hot climates of central Africa and the East and West Indies), endemic syphilis (found in the hot, arid climates of Northern and Southern Africa, Arabia, Siberia, and central Australia), and venereal syphilis (developed and now existing in urban society) “are morphologically indistinguishable” and progress from an early stage of primary and secondary lesions to a latent stage ending with tertiary lesions (846).

4. Léry, Histoire d’un voyage, 109. All citations in English follow the translation of Janet Whatley in History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, 4. In his book Le Huguenot et le sauvage (Geneva: Droz, 2004), Frank Lestringant surmises that Léry’s decision to publish his memoirs of his travel to Brazil served both his own and his Huguenot party’s purpose: “On comprend donc comment l’Histoire de Léry réalise la synthèse entre un projet littéraire personnel et la commande passée par les représentants du parti Huguenot” (97; translation mine) [So we come to understand just how much de Léry’s History brings about the synthesis between an individual literary enterprise and a charge past through the officials of the Huguenot party].


6. Harrison worked with Dr. A. Cavaillon, president of the International Union against Venereal Disease, to confirm the dates of the earliest mention of urban edicts in France demanding that individuals infected with “la grosse vérole” leave the confines of the city in question (Harrison, “The Origins of Syphilis,” 6).

7. Anatole de Montaiglon includes this poem in a volume of poetry extending from the reign of Louis XII (1498–1515) to the end of the Valois line, at the death of Henri III in 1589. He goes on to note that these for the most part anonymous works reveal what is on the mind of the people: “Tout ce qui a occupé ces époques, tout ce qui les caractérisé, s’y trouve représenté; les idées religieuses, les satires catholiques ou protestantes;—l’histoire, la petite encore plus que la grande, par les pièces de circonstance” Recueil de poésies françaises des XVᵉ et XVIᵉ siècles: morales, facétieuses, historiques, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon, 3 vols. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1855), I: 68–72; I: vii. For more on the Evangelical humanist writers’ satirical use of Latin in an irreverent context to satirize the abuses and shortcomings of the Catholic clergy, see Deborah N. Losse, “Parler le latin de leur mere. Code-Switching: Latinisms to Mark Satirical Intent in the Renaissance Tale,” La Satire dans tous ses états, ed. Bernd Renner (Geneva: Droz, 2009), 92–103.

9. Arbesmann, “The Concept of ‘Christus Medicus’ in St. Augustine,” 1–28. In *The Renaissance Hospital*, Henderson notes the “awareness” of the Augustinian concept of Christus medicus in Renaissance Florence. An image of Christ touching a wound in his side, “as depicted in Bicci di Lorenzo’s fresco,” is placed as a lunette over the doorway leading to the cemetery of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (114–115). Henderson mentions as well a familiarity with the thirteenth-century Dominican friar Domenico Cavalca, whose work *Lo specchio della croce* reports that Christ “came as a doctor not just to visit us, but to cure us” (115).


11. See Bakhtin, *L’Oeuvre de François Rabelais*, 164, 175. See also the English translation, Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 161, 173. “La goutte et la vérole “joyeuses maladies,” resultant d’un abus immodéré de nourriture, boisson et plaisirs sexuels, sont par consequent substantiellement liées au ‘bas’ materiel et corporel. La vérole était encore à l’époque la ‘maladie à la mode,’ alors que le theme de la goutte était déjà répandu dans le réalisme grotesque” (164/161) [Gout and syphilis are “gay diseases,” the result of overindulgence in food, drink, and sexual intercourse. They are essentially connected with the material bodily lower stratum. Pox was still a “fashionable disease” in those days. As to gout, it was widespread in grotesque realism].


14. Pérouse and Dubois note in their introduction that Noël du Fail seems to have been a supporter of the reform movement during one period, but other evidence suggests that he was “bel et bien catholique” (8). I recognize that he was indeed eager to reform the church and its abuses: indulgences, pilgrimages, and undue belief in the power of the saints to intervene in stopping the advance of medical infirmities. In short, his seems to be a belief in the power of the individual to appeal directly to God. In evoking the “gros chanoine” who takes up with the young woman, he attacks the hypocrisy of the clergy. Dominique Bertrand comments on the “tensions sensibles” between the appeal to oral tradition in Du Fail and the traces of the “savant humaniste” in his work. There exists, she points out, a heterogeneity of style in his tales, especially in the evolution between the *Propos rustiques* and the *Balivernies, ou Contes nouveaux d’Eutrapel, autrement dit Léon Ladulphy*. The fact that Du Fail takes up the name of an interlocutor used by Erasmus in the colloquy “The New Mother” or “Puerpera,” discussed earlier, reveals his ties to Evangelical humanism. While observing the pull between oral and written styles,
popular and learned contexts, Bertrand acknowledges that Du Fail remains conscious of the difference between the two levels and quotes Marie-Claude Bichard-Thomine’s conclusion that he never arrives at the “heureux mélange des langages” that can be found in Rabelais: Dominique Bertrand, “Autrement dire: les jeux du pseudonyme chez Noël du Fail,” *Seizième Siècle* 1 (2005): 265–66. Cited by Bertrand, Marie-Claude Bichard-Thomine, *Noël Du Fail, conteur* (Paris: Champion, 2001), XCI.

15. *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale,* xvi. Citations will be from this edition; translations are mine. Chamay notes the findings of Eugénie Droz in “L’auteur des *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale,*” in *Les Chemins de l’hérésie* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1976), 4: 81–100. In “Les Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale: Jeux et enjeux d’un texte de combat,” in *La Satyre dans tous ses états,* ed. Bernd Renner (Geneva: Droz, 2009), 267–84, Chamay and Bernd Renner comment upon the vacillation between the ad hominem attack on Pierre Lizet in this work with the less direct and more nuanced attacks on other Catholic polemicists that is common in the satiric poetry of the period. They do note the particularly vitriolic language of which Lizet is the target (267–84). The acerbic language of the *Satyres chrestiennes de la cuisine papale* is an example, as pointed out by Bernd Renner, of the passage from more playful Horatian satire to the scathing satire characteristic of Juvenal. The latter marks the transition to the violent years of the Wars of Religion. See Renner, “From Satura to Satyre,” 390–91.


17. References will be made to Désiré, *Le contrepoison des cinquante-deux chansons de Clément Marot.* Marot’s work (*Cinquante deux psalmes de David. Traduictz en rithme Françoise selon la verité Hebralque, par Clément Marot.* Avec plusieurs autres compositions tant dudict Autheur que d’autres, non jamais encore imprimées [Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1549]) was fundamental in making the beauty of the psalms accessible to Evangelical Reform-minded Christians, and Désiré understood the threat to the Catholic Church.

18. G. Wylie Sypher comments: “[the Catholic] insistence upon identifying Protestantism and any toleration of it with moral corruption stemmed from an underlying conviction that the current advance of heresy was symptomatic [emphasis mine] of a general moral crisis manifest throughout society” (“Faisant ce qu’il leur vient à plaisir”: The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 111, no. 2 [Summer 1980]: 60). John Henderson mentions the moral component brought to the discussion of diseases in the later sixteenth century by the Counter-Reformation. He states that those admitted after 1574 to the Incurabili hospital in Florence where the pox was treated had to produce both a “certificat from their physician of having need to take the wood [guaiacum] and a certificate from their parish priest that they are really poor and cannot afford to treat themselves” (110). The Incurabili hospitals were set up specifically to deal with “incurable” diseases, and especially the *Mal Francese* or French disease (Henderson, 267).

19. See Katherine Maynard, “‘Miel empoisonné’: Satire and Sickness in Ronsard’s *Discours des misères de ce temps,*” in *La Satyre dans tous ses états,* ed. Bernd Renner (Geneva: Droz, 2009), 245–64. Maynard states that Ronsard links the Protestants to melancholy by their very unkempt and withdrawn appearance: “le front de rides labouré”; “les cheveux mal peignez” (578, vv. 5–6). Olivier Pot, as Maynard comments, speaks of the “complète médicalisation du problème théologique” (252), here evoked not in terms


21. “Réponse de Pierre de Ronsard aux injures et calomnies de je ne scay quels Prédicantereaux et Ministre aux de Genève,” Oeuvres complètes, II: 595–621. See reference to page 597, verse 36, on page 1097. Explaining the reference on page 597, “Qui remonte et repousse aux Enfers un rocher / Dont tu as pris ton nom” [Who in Hell pushes uphill and back down a rock, / A rock whose name you took for your own], Gustave Cohen remarks that hidden in this reference to rock is the real-life model for Brother Zamariel, Antoine de la Roche-Chandieu: “Antoine de La Roche-Chandieu, mais c’est le nom réel de son adversaire Zamariel.” (1097).

22. Perhaps to preclude further comparisons between himself and Zamariel, Ronsard suppressed references to his own delight in female conversation and affection after 1573, as civil conflict was accelerating in the wake of massacre of Saint Barthélemy: “J’aime à faire l’amour, j’aime à parler aux femmes,” a line that follows “Je ne loge chez moy trop de severité,” line 550. See Oeuvres complètes, II: 1098, n. 18.


24. It is known that Ronsard was keenly aware of Huguenot sensibilities about the lack of public confession in the Catholic Church. In his “Continuation du discours des miseres de ce temps,” he critiques Huguenot hypocrisy in insisting on open confession but failing to throw themselves into the process in a sincere and heartfelt manner: “Jesus, que seulement vous confessez ici / De bouche et non de coeur, ne faisoit pas ainsi” (II: 551, vv. 12–13).

25. E. T. Dubedout noted early in the twentieth century that Ronsard’s antipathy for Reform theology is rooted as much in his faith in his country as it is in his Catholic beliefs. The two go hand in hand: “La Réforme, odieuse à Ronsard catholique, le fut davantage peut-être à Ronsard patriote,” “Le ‘Discours’ de Ronsard,” Modern Philology 1, no. 3 (January 1904): 447. Dubedout urges us to see in the “Response” the sincerity of his faith and the ardor of his patriotism (456). To read the poem in the light of civil and religious conflict is to go beyond the role of Ronsard as courtier and to understand the double motivation for writing: his faith and his patriotism. See also Daniel Ménager, Ronsard: Le roi, le poète et les hommes (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 167–85, cited in Szabari, Less Rightly Said, 139. Szabari states: “Ronsard attributes first and foremost a political and civic function to religion, namely, that it assures the links between people in a society” (252, n. 40).


27. Langer notes that it was the last major polemical piece written against the Protestants before the edict of September 1663, forbidding inflammatory texts (Langer, 345, n. 3).

CHAPTER 4

1. See Géralde Nakam’s edition of Jean de Léry’s *Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre*, 292: Léry, *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy. Guerre civile et famine. Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre de Jean de Léry*, ed. Géralde Nakam (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1975). To make a distinction between Nakam’s lengthy and detailed introduction and Léry’s original text, reference will be made to *Au lendemain de la Saint-Barthélemy* when Nakam’s introduction is concerned and to *Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre* when Léry’s text is cited. Léry speaks of the “appétit desordonné” of the husband, wife, and old lady who were caught consuming the limbs and parts of their three-year-old daughter who had died of hunger during the siege of Sancerre.

2. “Sur Jean de Léry. Entretien avec Claude Lévi-Strauss. Propos recueillis par Dominique-Antoine Grisoni,” in Léry, *Histoire d’un voyage*, 7. In his interview, Claude Lévi-Strauss reveals the similarities between his own life and that of Jean de Léry: the age at which they composed their work on the indigenous peoples of Brazil, the time elapsed between the stay in Brazil and the final redaction and publication of their work, and the wars (Wars of Religion for Léry, World War II for Lévi-Strauss) and subsequent persecution brought on by the wars that they witnessed.

3. Brazilwood ink was red in substance and made from a liquid extract of brazilwood. Lestringant reports that it was also used for dying cloth (*Histoire d’un voyage*, 61, n. 1). All quotations from the French will refer to the fine edition of Frank Lestringant, and English translations will be those of Janet Whatley’s very readable translation of Léry’s work, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, xlv.


5. Frank Lestringant describes this type of cannibalism as “le cannibalisme de vengeance” [cannibalism of vengeance], where descriptions appear of the vicious repression carried out by Catholics against Huguenots and where in the massacre of Saint-Barthélemy, Catholics are described by Protestants as eating the livers and hearts of massacred Huguenots (“Catholiques et cannibales,” 233–45). Lestringant describes initially four types of cannibalism present in the Protestant polemical writings: cannibalism of vengeance (*cannibalisme de vengeance*); habitual cannibalism (*cannibalisme de coutume*), such as one finds in maritime folklore of starving sailors; cannibalism of hunger (*cannibalisme de famine*), found in stories of siege or famine; and criminal cannibalism (*cannibalisme criminel*), in which an individual will punish another for betrayal by feeding him or her parts of a human being. In the end, Lestringant states that these four constitute two categories of cannibalism: forced cannibalism (*cannibalisme de contrainte*) and violent cannibalism (*cannibalisme de violence*; 233).

6. Andrea Frisch points out that Léry’s comparative eye stops short of condoning the nudity of the Tupinamba women. The beauty of the Tupi women could stand up to that of the European woman, but the excesses (“superfluité”) of European clothing were neither more or less praiseworthy (“louables”) than Tupi nudity—both lacked modesty. “Léry’s espousal of a Calvinist ‘modesty’ creates a standard according to which both Europeans and Americans fall short,” “In a Sacramental Mode: Jean de Léry’s Calvinist Ethnography,” *Representations* 77, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 88. Frisch notes that his
Calvinist antipathy for resemblance, most evident in the Catholic belief in the transformation of the Host into the body of Christ, the wine into the blood of Christ, leads Léry to note differences, as in the contrast of the nudity of the Tupinamba women and the exaggerated finery of the Europeans (91). “In the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to Calvin, ‘the Spirit is the primary witness who gives us a full assurance of this testament [of the Eucharist].’” Frisch cites the Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 597. She also cites the French: “Le Saint-Esprit, qui est le principal témoin, nous prouve avec certitude ce témoignage, nous le fait croire, entendre et reconnaître; car autrement nous ne lepourrions comprendre,” Institution de la religion chrétienne, Institutio christionae religionis (Geneva, 1955), 4.14.22. 288. This translation is based on the 1560 French edition of Calvin’s work. See also Andrea Frisch, The Invention of the Eye Witness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures #29, 2004), 161.

7. Lestringant notes the polemical nature of accusations of “paillardise,” especially in the rhetoric between Catholics and Protestants (Histoire d’un voyage, 181, n. 1). I would add that in the sixteenth century, after the first outbreak of syphilis on the return of Columbus’s sailors to Europe and the rapid spread among the French, Spanish, Italian, Swiss and other European soldiers in Italy, the consequences of “paillardise” took on disastrous dimensions.

8. In his Histoire des deux voyages (1587–88), yet another rendering of his travel, Thevet speaks of the “maladie des Pians” and correctly attributes the cause to sexual transmission during intercourse. Having commented that the Tupinamba are close to animals by nature and given to lechery (“Car ce peuple, comme il est brutal, est fortaddonné à la paillardise”), Thevet blames the libidinous inclinations of women: “Qui me fait penser... que de cette malversation, et compagnie avec ces femmes ainsi eschuaffées, cette maladie a pris sa source, et n’est autre chose que cette belle verole”: Thevet, Histoire d’André Thevet, 211. I am reminded of Thevet’s Franciscan education and the powerful influence of the teachings of Saint Paul about the sexual appetites of women. Rabelais’s Tiers Livre and his portrait of the theologian Hippothadée and the physician Rondibilis (chapters 30–33) come to mind: Rabelais, Œuvres complètes, 478–94. In regards to pians, it is often translated as “yaws,” rooted in the treponema pertenue, as compared to the source of syphilis, from the treponema pallida. In his article “The Problem of Syphilis,” Francesco Guerra notes that the two strains are morphologically indistinguishable.


11. William Eamon discusses one of the most notorious surgeons who treated syphilis, Leonardo Fioravanti, and his theory that the disease, in the Old World and the New, came from eating one’s own kind. Running counter to the more established belief that syphilis was a new disease imported to the Old World by Columbus’s sailors on their return to Europe, he attributes the disease to the army cooks during the French invasion of Italy in the last decade of the fifteenth century. He cites their practice of making stews out of dead soldiers as the source of syphilis. He says that the cooks would “secretly take the flesh from the bodies of the dead and use it to make certain dishes.” Leonardo Fioravanti, Capricci medicinali dell’eccezente medico & cirurgico M. Leonardo Fioravanti, Bolognese. Divisi in Tre Libri, col privilegio. In Venezia, Ludovico Avanzo, 1561, 49v, cited by Eamon, “Cannibalism and Contagion,” 10–11. He also credits Pagden: “As
Anthony Pagden has pointed out, this view [that men who ate other men must be subhuman] was premised upon an understanding of cannibalism as a violation of the natural law forbidding the eating of one’s own kind” (Eamon 18): Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 80–89.

12. In his preface to the *Histoire d’un voyage*, Léry maintains:

Mais quant en ceste presente année de 1577, lisant la Cosmographie de Thevet, j’ay veu que il n’a pas seulement renouvelé et augmenté ses premiers erreurs, mais, qui plus est... sans autre occasion, que l’envie qu’il a euë de mesdire et detracter des Ministres, et par consequent de ceux qui en l’an 1556, les accompanerent pour aller trouver Villegagnon en la terre du Bresil, dont j’estois du nombre, avec des digressions fausses, piquantes, et injurieuses, nous a imposé des crimes; à fin, di-je, de repousser ces impositions de Thevet, j’ay esté comme contraint de mettre en lumiere to le discours de nostre voyage. (63/xlvi)

But in this present year 1577, reading Thevet’s *Cosmography*, I saw that he has not only revived and augmented his early errors, but what is more..., with no other pretext than the desire to backbite and, with false, stinging, and abusive digressions, to slander the ministers and those—of whom I was one—who in 1556 accompanied them to go join Villegagnon in Brazil, he has imputes to us crimes. Therefore, in order to refute these falsehoods of Thevet, I have been compelled to set forth a complete report of our voyage.

13. In her article, “‘And the Word became Flesh...’: Cannibalism and Religious Polemic in the Poetry of Desportes and d’Aubigné,” *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 24, no. 1 (2000): 45–56, Susan K. Silver remarks on d’Aubigné’s tendency, “offset by an antithesis an absolute evil in order to foreground an exemplary good” (50). Léry engages in the same contrast—of cannibalism by nonbelievers or papists as opposed to the strength of the Huguenots to withstand the horrors of famine and whatever cruel means of persecution may be meted out by the Catholic cause.

14. Géralde Nakam states: “Notre auteur a été interlocuteur privilégié et le protégé de La Châtre et de Sarrieu” (Léry, *Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre*, 111) [Our author was a privileged interlocutor and protégé of La Châtre and Sarrieu]. She goes on to speculate that the Catholic leadership preferred Léry over Johanneau, who was already marked by his two rebellions against Catholic forces., but she admits that a legend had developed around Léry’s personality because of his time in Brazil (111–12).


16. See Frisch, “In a Sacramental Mode,” 95: “Léry’s appeal to his own discourse locates both the authority and the referent of his testimony in the eternal present of his text.” Since the *Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre* was written first, it is likely that the technique of self-citation was begun in this work and then resumed by Léry when he wrote the definitive version of the *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*.

17. “Mais, ô Dieu éternel! voicy encores le comble de toute misere et du jugement de Dieu. Car comme il proteste en sa Loy qu’il reduira ceux qui n’obeiront à ses Commandemens en tel estat, que durant le siege il fera que les meres mangeront leurs enfans” (*Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre*, 290) [But o eternal God, here is again the
height of all misery and Divine Judgment. For as he proclaims in his Law (The Book of Deuteronomy) that he will reduce those who do not obey his Commandments to such a state that during the siege he will have the mothers eat their children. See also Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, 535, n. 2. Léry explains earlier in this same chapter of the Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil that the hunger during the siege of Sancerre was not as bad as that they experienced on board ship on the return voyage to Europe. In Sancerre they had water and wine, herbs and vine shoots (533/211). This is another example of self-citation—the moving backwards and forwards from the first Histoire to the second. It allows Léry to point out once again that the famine in Sancerre was one of the most difficult that he had ever heard about. The subtext is also that the famine was caused by the cruelty of one sect persecuting another—one sect trying to wipe out those enlightened by the Reformation.

18. In comparing cannibalism in the New World to excessive cruelty in the Old, Léry will recycle the phrase “succer le sang et la moëlle” to speak of usurers sucking the blood of widows, orphans, and the poor and eating them alive (Histoire d’un voyage en la terre du Brésil, 375/132), cited earlier in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

2. Eamon credits Oviedo as the first to mention that the crew of Columbus became infected after relations with the indigenous people in the New World and brought the disease to Europe on their return (6). See, as cited by Eamon, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Historia general y natural de las Indias, I: 55. See also Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia de las Indias, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1876), 5: 349 and Richard Holcomb, “Ruy Díaz de Isla and the Haitian Myth of European Syphilis,” Medical Life 45 (1956): 270–315.
3. Montaigne, Les Essais, II: 37, 772; Complete Essays, 586. All quotations from the French text refer to the first source; all translations from the Essais refer to Complete Essays. It is customary to acknowledge the changes/additions made by Montaigne by referring to the particular editions in which the text appears: 1580 or A, 1588 or B, and to C, the revisions made on the Bordeaux copy in the hand of the author subsequent to the publication of the edition of 1588 up to Montaigne’s death in 1592.
5. For a discussion of whether syphilis was a new disease imported from the New World or an ancient disease, see Claude Quétel, The History of Syphilis, trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 34–40.
9. Fioravanti, Capricci medicinali, 237v–238. An earlier work makes the same point about expelling the flatterers and restoring order to the body politic: Delle specchio di scientie universale (Venice, 1572), 140–45. Both works are cited by Eamon, 20.
12. In Inventing the Indigenous: Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early
Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Alix Cooper explains the tendency of Paracelsus and other medical humanists to favor local remedies rather than expensive drugs or herbs brought from exotic places (30). She cites Charles Webster, “Paracelsus: Medicine as Popular Protest,” in Medicine and the Reformation, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (London: Routledge, 1993), 70. Cooper highlights several trends in sixteenth-century medicine. First, she mentions the preference for “simples” from “plant, animal, and mineral sources,” favored by the newly edited Greek editions of ancient medical texts over compound medicines, touted by Arabic medical practices and appropriated by medieval apothecaries (Cooper, 29). Second, she describes the rise of a certain medical nationalism that came from the call for local medicines begun in Germany by Paracelsus in the 1520s and continued by Symphorien Champier in France in 1533, as evidenced in his Hortus Gallicus, pro Gallis in Gallia scriptus or French Garden, Written for the French in France (Lyon, in aedibus Melchioris et Gasparis Trechsel fratrum, 1533) (Cooper, 36). Finally, she refers to the spilling over of Catholic/Protestant tensions into medicine. In his Herbarius, Paracelsus touts the superior quality of German medicine, previously hidden by the mean-spirited and ignorant Italians: “Indeed these medicines [those of German origin] are so good that neither Italy, France, nor any other realm can boast of better ones. That this has not come to light for such a long time is the fault of Italy, the mother of ignorance and inexperience”: “The Herbarius of Paracelsus,” ed. Bruce Moran, Pharmacy in History 35 (1993): 104, and Paracelsus, “Herbarius Theophrasti de virtutibus herbarum, radicum seminum etc Alemaniae, patriae et imperii,” in Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus Sämtliche Werke. I. Abteilung: Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften, ed. Karl Sudhoff (Munich & Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1930), 2: 3; cited by Cooper, 27. It is clear that the medical debate of the sixteenth century reflects the tensions between countries and between religions.


15. Having criticized the disruptive medical practices of contemporary physicians, the essayist feels compelled to give a long justification for why he engages in thermal treatments. In spite of the fact that he hasn’t noticed any extraordinary or miraculous benefits to his health (“aucun effect extraordinary et miraculeux,” II: 37, 776A/590), he finds that the water is not unpleasant to the taste nor harmful, just a natural and simple treatment: “elle est naturelle et simple, qui aumoins n’est pas dangereuse”; 776A/590). See also Deborah N. Losse, Montaigne and Brief Narrative Form: Shaping the Essay (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 149. In a witty and informative article, Tom Conley traces the evolution of Michel de Montaigne’s “dispathie naturelle à la medecine” back to his family heritage and follows the graphic association of the family ailment, père, to the given name of Montaigne’s father (père) Pierre, “From Antidote to Anecdote: Montaigne on Dissemblance,” SubStance 58, no. 1, issue 118: The Anecdote (2009): 5–15.

16. Cooper, 36; Champier, 7–8.

18. Working in the southwest of France and in the same decade as Montaigne, Jacques Auguste de Thou, composing his *Hieracosphion*, or treatise on falconry, uses the word “pestilence” to describe the decline in military discipline and absence of respect for the law during the disruptions brought on by the Wars of Religion: “Cette pestilence se répand imperceptiblement et s’insinue jusque dans les esprits des nobles”; Ingrid A. R. De Smet, *La Fauconnerie à la Renaissance. Le Hierocosophion (1582–84) de Jacques Auguste de Thou, édition critique, traduction et commentaire précédés d’une étude historique de la chasse au vol en France au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2013), 276–77. The reference to the progression of the disease through the body as it ultimately attacks the brain recalls the passage of syphilis through the body. As Montaigne will do, de Thou denounces the displacement of old values (“les excellents arts de la paix, par lesquels nous vivons” [Quinetiam eximiae pacis, queis vivimus, artes]) to engage in civil war: “attaquer, piller et vaguer impunément” [Grassari et praedas agere, atque impune vagari] (“Premier Livre,” vv. 837–38, 276–77). He too is upset by the lack of respect for the law. He comments that the enormous waste of human and material resources in the civil wars has depleted the moral and physical fiber of France (276–77). It is of significant interest that the first edition of the *Hieracosophion* was published in Bordeaux by Simon Millanges, Montaigne’s first publisher, just two years after the publication of the first edition of the *Essais*. As Brenton Hobart observes in his recently defended dissertation directed by Frank Lestringant, war has long been linked to pestilence, as can be seen in the works of Homer, Thucydides, and Virgil, among others. Hobart shows how Paré, in his *Traicté de la peste, de la petite verolle & rougeolle: avec une brefve description de la lepre* (1568), appropriates the image of the plague with all its ravages to describe the corruption that rages through the many provinces that make up France, torn apart by the civil wars. See Brenton Hobart, “L’imaginaire de la peste dans la littérature française de la Renaissance” (Thèse pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 8 janvier 2014), 332. As Fioravanti and Montaigne do, Paré makes the connection between the human body and the body politic, and argues that it is the well-balanced life that preserves the human body as well as the state: “La vie équilibrée, qui permet la préservation du corps humain, sert également à celle du plus grand corps public” (Hobart, 364).

19. Both noted physicians, Fernel and Scaliger died in 1588—around the time of the publication of Montaigne’s third book of essays. See III: 13, 1087, n. 16. Changing theories of medicine and changing interpretations of the iterative celebration of the Eucharist destabilized the habits and ritual of Montaigne’s life and those of his community. In this regard, Lestringant follows in the *Journal de Vogage* the extensive efforts which Montaigne devoted to seeking out a multitude of Protestant theories on the Eucharist. He interviewed many pastors but was frustrated by the dogmatism and diversity of views. Lestringant suggests that in choosing Catholicism for his personal profession of faith—a religion that had for centuries fortified the kingdom of France—the essayist held to a more moderate view of the Eucharist, one in which the body of Christ is present at certain defined rituals but not at all times and places, as the Lutherans believed, or infrequently and remotely, as the Calvinists held: Lestringant, *Une sainte horreur ou le voyage en eucharistie*, 2nd ed. (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 305–8.


22. Less than thirty years earlier, when the Wars of Religion were heating up, Ronsard applied the same adjective, “monstrueuse,” as he addressed his colleague Pierre de Paschal, *historigraphe du roi*, “O toy, historien, qui d’encre non menteuse / Escris de
nostre temps l’histoire monstrueuse, / Raconte à nos enfans tout ce malheur fatal, / Afin qu’en te lisant ils pleurent nostre mal” (“Discours des misères de ce temps,” Oeuvres complètes, II: 547, vv. 3–6).


CHAPTER 6

1. See Désiré, Le contrepoison des cinquante-deux chansons e Clément Marot, Chanson XXVI, 40, and Montaigne, Les Essais, III: 12, 1046. Denis Crouzet’s monumental study, La Nuit de la Saint-Barthélémy, first published by Fayard in 1994, cites Henri Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, who blamed the corrupted morals of the Huguenot soldiers (“pires qu’Athées et Cannibales” [worse than atheists and cannibals]) for the divine scourge brought down on their people; see Crouzet, 113; Henri Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, L’Histoire de France, enrichie des plus notable occurrances survenues ex provinces de l’Europe et pays voisins, depuis l’an 1550, jusques à ces temps, par Abraham H, t. II, s. r., 1581, Fol. La 21, p. 100; Crouzet, 586, n. 4.

2. Kathleen Perry Long comments that every major edict of peace enjoined “oubliance,” or “deliberate forgetting of events” and glossing over of suffering; “‘Child in the Water’: The Spectacle of Violence in Théodore Agrippa d’Aubigné’s Les Tragiques,” Dalhousie French Studies 8 (Winter 2007): 155–65. Long speaks of the imposition of silence in the working of the peace edicts, beginning with the Peace of Amboise (1563), ending the first religious war, and continuing through the Edicts of Boulogne (1573), Beaulieu (1576), and Bergerac (1577) and finally, the Edict of Nantes (1598) (155–56). In Une sainte horreur, Lestringant addresses d’Aubigné’s expression of his own inability to avenge the suffering of previous generations: “Il sent profondément en lui l’impuissance commune à l’époque, cette faiblesse inhérente à une génération de fils collectivement indignes de succéder à leurs pères” (80) [He felt deeply within himself the impotence of the times, the inner weakness of a generation of sons collectively unworthy of replacing their fathers].


4. Showing how the Huguenot Jean de Léry, in his Histoire d’un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil, internalizes the essential aspects of spiritual witnessing to his own act of testimony as an ethnographer, Frisch underscores how witnessing and testimony become central to Huguenot writing (“In a Sacramental Mode,” 82–106). See also Frisch, Invention of the Eyewitness, where she demonstrates the legal applications and its extension to narrative. Denis Crouzet also underscores the testimonial function of the Huguenots in attempting to piece together the events of the Saint-Barthélemy massacre, especially for those who had not been in Paris to witness the events (112). The Calvinist historian Simon Goulart writes, in Crouzet’s assessment, for those “qui n’ont pas ‘veu’ [who had not ‘seen’] the massacre (112). A second motivation was to spread the true doctrine and the truth of the events to counteract the lies promulgated by the Catholics. If it was in the best interest of the Catholic royalists to depict their role as forgiving in the light of what they perceived as Protestant plots against the royal family and the Guise family,
then it was incumbent upon the Huguenots to bring together the bits and pieces of the “mémoire collective” of the survivors.

5. D’Aubigné, “Misères,” Les Tragiques, 268, v. 103; v. 107. It is useful to review Fanlo’s notes regarding the dating of the composition of Les Tragiques. He designates three periods for the composition: the beginning of Henri III’s reign, the period after the conversion of Henri de Navarre to become Henri IV, and the last period after the death of Henri IV (116).


7. Brenton Hobart shows just how Montaigne’s experience of the plague as he and his family were forced to flee is a kind of dénouement for the Essais. He experienced the physical and moral debilitation caused by the disease itself and the figurative disease—the moral infection wrought by the religious and civil unrest of his times: “Il permet d’enterrer l’ancien Montaigne pour que puisse naître un Montaigne nouveau. Au lieu de s’appuyer sur ses connaissances, il se fie désormais à l’expérience, aux choses vues (dénouement des Essais en général)” (420) [This allows the former Montaigne to be buried so that the new Montaigne can be brought to life. Instead of depending on his knowledge, he sets his trust in the experience of things he has witnessed (the conclusion of the Essais as a whole)].


9. See also Hobart’s description of France’s starving and plague-ridden body (438). Lestringant notes that d’Aubigné addresses the way in which the Calvinists viewed the ingestion of the host. Rejecting the theory of transubstantiation and holding to the fact that the bodily sacrifice of Jesus Christ is a unique event that occurred at the time of the Passion, the Calvinists refuse to partake in the cannibalistic act of eating the body of Christ. As seen in “Jugement” of the Tragiques, the Huguenots fail to digest a body that cannot be that of Christ and vomit it up as impure, whereas the Catholics participate in the blasphemous act and risk digesting the host and eliminating it through the natural process: “Alors que les catholiques s’exposent au risque d’évacuer Dieu par voies naturelles, les protestants vomissent une chair qui ne peut être Dieu” (85).

10. “Les reîtres, mercenaires allemands vêts d’un manteau noir, ont été recrutés surtout par les protestants (bien qu’il y en eût aussi dans les armées royales)” (Les Tragiques, 284, n. 372) [The reisters, German mercenaries clothed in black coats, were recruited in particular by the Protestants although there were some in the royal armies].

11. Léry mentions “les deux cuisses, jambes et pieds dans une chaudière de vinaigre, espices et sel, prest à cuire” (Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre, 291) [two thighs, legs and feet in a pot with vinegar, spices and salt, ready to cook]. The real cannibalism of the mercenaries, fighting for the radical Catholic cause, mirrors the symbolic cannibalism of the Catholic Mass, where the bread and wine are converted to the body and blood of the Lord—the “sainte horreur,” as viewed by the Protestants for whom the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in the passion and resurrection was a unique event and one that could not be repeated at every celebration of the Eucharist: “La christologie de Calvin et de ses disciples insiste par conséquent sur l’unicité de l’incarnation dans son aspect à la fois temporel, le sacrifice de la croix, et spatial, la présence au ciel” (Lestringant, Une sainte horreur, 53). Here Lestringant cites Bernard Cottret, Calvin: Biographie (Paris: Jean-Claude Lattès, 1995), 273. The mercenary soldiers indulge in exogenic cannibalism—the consumption of human flesh outside of the family. The horror of obsidional cannibalism imposed on the starving population (usually Protestant) of the besieged cities is that
famine drives the people to endogenic cannibalism—the consumption of the flesh of their own family members, their own clan (Une sainte horreur, 97).

12. In condemning the Potard family for eating their baby daughter, where the gnawed ears provide evidence of intentional if misguided cannibalism, Léry speaks of “un appetit desordonné” (which I have translated as “wild appetites”), a fact that leads him to comment on “cest cruauté barbare et plus que bestiale” (Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre, 292) [this savage and more than bestial cruelty].


14. In “Catholiques et cannibales,” Lestringant refers to d’Aubigné’s evocation of the escalating cannibalistic fever brought on by the persecution of Huguenots and by the violence of the religious wars (237). In Une sainte horreur, Lestringant reinforces d’Aubigné’s observation that the mythological figure of Thyeste was duped by Atrée into eating his children. It was not a conscious act of cannibalism. For the families of the besieged, consuming the flesh of their children was a deliberate action brought on by the starvation unleashed by the troops loyal to the Catholic extremists (195): “Les membres de ce fils sont connus au repas, / Et l’autre [Thyeste] estant desceu ne les connoissoit pas” (“Misères,” Les Tragiques, I: 292, vv. 247–48). The abomination of endogamic cannibalism brought on by the ravages of the civil and religious wars in France is worse than the crime of Thyeste because it was a deliberate, conscious act.

15. In his critical edition of Les Tragiques, Fanlo explains that the target of d’Aubigné’s criticism of tyranny is the interference of the Guise family in royal affairs. The author looks ahead to the time when the Guise family will be vanquished and “le sceptre des lis joindra le Navarrois” (294, v. 596, n. 596) [the scepter of the lily flower will be join that of Navarre], when France and Navarre will be united under a single scepter and a single monarch.

16. In the Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre, Léry suggests that the reason the Potards gave way to cannibalism while the others of Sancerre largely did not was that the Potard couple had secretly been married by the Catholic Church rather than waiting, as the Reformed Church had demanded, to confirm the death of the bride’s former husband (“Ils s’allerent espouser à la papauté”; Histoire mémorable du siège de Sancerre, 292). In both Léry’s and d’Aubigné’s works, siege-produced famine brings about a reenactment of New World cannibalism, but devoid of the ritualistic meaning it had acquired within Brazilian culture. The tyranny of the Ligue forces the inhabitants to engage in cannibalism. Those who abjure their Protestant faith in order to seek relief from salvation are forced to undergo the cannibalistic act of the Catholic Mass, where, through transubstantiation, the host consumed has been transformed into the body of Jesus Christ (Lestringant, Une sainte horreur, 97). The Potard family is twice guilty, once for abjuring their Protestant faith, and second for participating in endogamic cannibalism, what Lestringant refers to as “inceste alimentaire” (97).

17. Fanlo states that some of the Huguenot pamphlets had accused the Cardinal of Lorraine of having committed adultery with his sister-in-law Anne d’Este, wife of his brother François de Guise (316, n. 1001–4). The same language of fornication, adultery, sodomy, and incest is applied to the papacy in the final part of Les Tragiques (“Juge-ments,” II: 917, vv. 811–16):

Voicy donc, Antechrist, l’extraict des faicts et gestes,
Tes fornications, adulteres, incestes,
Les pechez où nature est tournee à l’envers,
La bestialité, les grands bourdeaux ouverts,
Le tribut exigé, la bulle demandée
Qui a la sodomie en esté concedée;

The papacy is stained by sins against nature—adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, and open brothels, for which money was exchanged for permission to indulge in life’s pleasures. Such passages confirm Marie-Madeleine Fragonard’s observation that d’Aubigné writes at the crossroads of aesthetic and ideological models and that there is a strong tension between the sacred and the profane: “D’Aubigné apparaît comme un carrefour de modèles esthétiques et idéologiques où s’exerce (entre autres) une forte tension entre religieux et profane” (674). See “Les ‘chemins enlacez’ des Tragiques,” *Revue d’Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 92e Année, N° 4 (July–August 1992): 669–78. To the false promises and sins of Rome, the martyrs chose Christ, who suffered for them and gave them his water and his bread that they might have their sins forgiven:

Qui à ma seiche soif, et à mon aspre faim
Donnastes de bon coeur vostre eau, et vostre pain:
Venez race du ciel, venez esleus du pere,
Vos pechez sont esteints, le juge est vostre frere;


Fanlo notes that d’Aubigné refers to the papacy as Antichrist and to a succession of papal vices (*Les Tragiques*, 917, nn. 811–17). The Huguenot martyrs as a chosen people have turned their backs on Rome to embrace “l’Eglise universelle” and God’s clemency (“la clémence de Dieu”; v. 832; v. 995).

18. Léry points out that the interpreters were paid back for their wanton activities with the Tupi women and describes one notable “natif de Rouen” whose body and face were covered with the telltale red sores of “une maladie incurable qu’ils nomment Pians” (*Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, 469).

19. D’Aubigné is not alone in critiquing the excesses of fashion among the courtiers. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, in the first edition of his *Hiercosophion*, published by Simon Millanges in 1582, attacks the aristocratic youth for raiding the royal treasuries of “les grands seigneurs” to pay for their fashionable new styles in clothing—high-heeled shoes (“sabots à hauts talons”) and breeches embroidered with dazzling gems (“les hauts-de-chausse . . . brodés de gemmes étincelantes” (“Deuxième Livre,” 335–36, vv. 10, 12–13). In the second edition of his *Essais* (1588), Montaigne makes similar charges about the new style of courtly fashion for men: “cette vilaine chaussure qui montre si à descouvert nos membres occultes; ce lourd grossissement de pourpoins . . . ces longues tresses de poil effeminées” (“Des loix sumptuaires,” I: 43, 269B/197) [this ugly codpiece that so openly shows our secret parts; . . . that heavy stuffing of doublets . . . those long effeminate tresses]. Composing the first edition of his *Essais* around the same time as de Thou was working on the *editio princeps* of his work on falconry, Montaigne joins with de Thou in seeing that these expenses must be cut in order to maintain the royal treasury: if the kings do it, it will happen in a month, but it must begun at court (“que les Rois commencent à quitter ces despences, ce sera fait en un mois”; I: 43, 269A/197).

20. Denis Crouzet comments on the rhetorical element in Huguenot versions of the Saint-Barthélemy massacre and subsequent violence in which emphasis is placed on choosing a life in God in preference to the corrupt life in this world ruled by the Roman Church: “Et, tout au long des années de tribulations, l’agonie, la mort qui saisit l’homme, demeure une invitation pour les vivants à prendre conscience de ce qu’il y a une autre vie à
Dieu que celle dans laquelle les maintient l’Église romaine” (160). To die at the hands of the idolaters shows the commitment of a true disciple of Christ and is preferable to life on earth (161). Lestringant shows how the bruises and blood that cover Serpon’s daughter’s body both disguise and protect her. Her assailants are repelled, and the wounds reveal her as one who has refused to yield to the Catholic “ordures” or blasphemy. The purity of her faith, the whiteness of her soul, is seen by the heavenly Father but goes unobserved by her earthly torturers (Une sainte horreur, 81).


CONCLUSION

1. See Pineaux’s introduction to *Le Contrepoison des cinquante-deux chansons de Clément Marot*, 1: “polémiquant ainsi sans relâche contre la Réforme.”

2. Paré, *Oeuvres complètes*, II: 527: “extreme nocturnal pains in the head, shoulders, joints.” Frank Lestringant mentions a parallel visual representation of the theological infection depicted by Désiré in the Catholic Richard Verstegan’s pictures in *Typus Ecclesiae Catholicae/Typus Hereticae Synagogae et eiusdem proprietates* (1585). Verstegan’s *Hereticae Synagogae* illustration shows a sharp-nosed villain whispering into the ears of a nun and a monk, presumably getting them to renounce their vows to give way to their lusty passion (“pour mieux paillarder à leur aise”; Une sainte horreur, 194). Verbal and visual propaganda depicted sexual wantonness among Protestant and Catholic clergy alike.


5. “Explication familiere et toutesfois mysterique, de l’excellente lettre qui porte pour tiltre, A nostre trescher fils en Christ, Louys de France tres-chrestien, Gregoire Pape XV etc, par Pere A. de la vraye Société de Jesus” (*Oeuvres*, II: 614–15). Jean-Raymond Fanlo observes that the attribution of this letter to Agrippa d’Aubigné is certain (*Oeuvres*, II: 559). He dates the letter to September 1621, following a papal bull from Gregory XV in the first year of his papacy, in which he extols the efforts of Louis XIII to “debeller lesdits heretiques, & reprimer leurs pernicieux efforts & desseins” (561–65).
