

IMAGES OF Leprosy



Disease, Religion, and
Politics in European Art

CHRISTINE M. BOECKL

Habent sua fata libelli

EARLY MODERN STUDIES SERIES

GENERAL EDITOR

MICHAEL WOLFE

St. John's University

EDITORIAL BOARD OF EARLY MODERN STUDIES

ELAINE BEILIN Framingham State College	HELEN NADER University of Arizona
CHRISTOPHER CELENZA Johns Hopkins University	CHARLES G. NAUERT University of Missouri, Emeritus
BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF Boston University	MAX REINHART University of Georgia
PAULA FINDLEN Stanford University	SHERYL E. REISS University of Southern California
SCOTT H. HENDRIX Princeton Theological Seminary	ROBERT V. SCHNUCKER Truman State University, Emeritus
JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON University of Wisconsin–Madison	NICHOLAS TERPSTRA University of Toronto
MARY B. MCKINLEY University of Virginia	MARGO TODD University of Pennsylvania
RAYMOND A. MENTZER University of Iowa	JAMES TRACY University of Minnesota
MERRY WIESNER-HANKS University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee	

IMAGES OF
Leprosy

Disease, Religion, and
Politics in European Art

CHRISTINE M. BOECKL



Early Modern Studies 7
Truman State University Press

Copyright © 2011 Truman State University Press, Kirksville, Missouri USA
All rights reserved
tsup.truman.edu

Cover: *St. Elizabeth Bathes a Leprous Patient*, 1470–77, painted panel. Detail of main altar, St. Elizabeth Cathedral, Košice, Slovakia. (Image courtesy of St. Elizabeth Cathedral, Košice, Slovakia)

Cover design: Teresa Wheeler

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Boeckl, Christine M., 1933-

Images of leprosy : disease, religion, and politics in European art / Christine M. Boeckl.

p. cm. — (Early modern studies series ; v. 7)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-935503-14-9 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-935503-15-6 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Leprosy in art. 2. Art, European—Themes, motives. I. Title. II. Title: Disease, religion, and politics in European art.

N8219.L35B64 2011

704.9'49616998—dc22

2011003348

No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any format by any means without written permission from the publisher.

The paper in this publication meets or exceeds the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1992.

Contents

Illustrations	vii
Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction An Ancient Disease in European Images	1
Chapter 1 Leprosy Worldwide and the State of Modern Research	8
Chapter 2 Historiography of Hansen's Disease in Europe	24
Chapter 3 Societal Responses to Leprosy in Europe	45
Chapter 4 Development of the Leprosy Iconography	67
Chapter 5 Christ Healing a Leper in Christological Cycles: The Political Significance of Imperial and Royal Commissions, ca. 800–1200	92
Chapter 6 Patron Saints of Leprosy and Their Images in Religious and Political Contexts, ca. 1200–1800	107
Chapter 7 Diversity in Leprosy Subjects: Biblical Themes and Increasing Secularization, ca. 1450–1750	131
Conclusions Images of Leprosy as a European Cultural Phenomenon	162
Appendix A Sources Related to Leprosy Images	167
Appendix B The Most Prominent Saints Associated with Leprosy	191
Endnotes	195
Bibliography	215
About the Author	223
Index	225

Illustrations

Fig. 1.1	Patient with Lepromatous Leprosy, 1931.	11
Fig. 1.2	Same Patient with Lepromatous Leprosy, 1933.	11
Fig. 1.3	Leprosy Case Observed on Street.	13
Fig. 1.4	Patient with Late Neural [Borderline?] Leprosy.	14
Fig. 1.5	Reconstructive Surgeon Examines Young Patient with Flexion Deformity of Hand; comparison with a detail from a fifteenth-century painting (fig. 3.4).	16
Fig. 1.6	Trained Technician with The Leprosy Mission Instructs Patient in Care of Artificial Limb.	17
Fig. 1.7	Map of Norway, Average Incidence Rates of Leprosy by County (1851–1920).	21
Fig. 2.1	<i>The Suffering Job and His Wife</i> , detail of Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.	25
Fig. 2.2	<i>Annual Leprosy Inspection</i> , 1493, woodcut from broadsheet.	27
Fig. 2.3	Cover of <i>Codex Aureus</i> , ca. 870, gold relief.	31
Fig. 2.4	<i>Christ Healing a Leper</i> , detail from cover of <i>Codex Aureus</i> , ca. 870, gold relief (fig. 2.3).	32
Fig. 2.5	Leper's Head, detail of <i>Christ Healing a Leper</i> from cover of <i>Codex Aureus</i> (fig. 2.4).	33
Fig. 2.6	<i>Christ Healing a Leper</i> , from <i>Gospel Book of Otto III</i> , ca. 1000, book illumination.	34
Fig. 2.7	<i>Christ Healing a Leper</i> , comparison of details from fig. 2.6.	36
Fig. 2.8	<i>Lazarus and Dives</i> , detail of cloister column, Abbey of Cadouin, France.	40

- Fig. 2.9 Head of Lazarus, detail from *Lazarus and Dives* (fig. 2.8); comparison with Patient with Lepromatous Leprosy. 42
- Fig. 2.10 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Head of a Young Man*, 1523, drawing. 43
- Fig. 3.1 Aureliano Milani, *St. Aloysius of Gonzaga (?) Administering the Viaticum to a Plague Victim*, first quarter 18th century, oil on canvas. 54
- Fig. 3.2 *William of Tyre Discovers Baldwin IV's First Symptoms of Leprosy*, 14th century, book illumination. 56
- Fig. 3.3 *Inspection of Leprous Patients*, woodcut in Hans von Gersdorff, *Feldbuch der Wundartznei* (Strasbourg: Johannes Schott, 1517), p. 67. 58
- Fig. 3.4 *St. Elizabeth Bathes a Leprous Patient*, 1470–77, detail of main altar, St. Elizabeth Cathedral, Košice, Slovakia. 61
- Fig. 3.5 Gentile da Fabriano, *The Crippled and the Sick Cured at the Tomb of St. Nicholas*, 1425, painted panel. 63
- Fig. 4.1 *Josaphat Meets a Leper and a Cripple at the Gate of Jerusalem*, detail from Vincent Beauvais, *Miroir Historial*, fol. 373, book illumination. 70
- Fig. 4.2 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Naaman's Cure in the Jordan*, detail of Naaman Triptych, ca. 1524, painted panel. 74
- Fig. 4.3 *Christ Healing a Leper*, detail from *Andrews Diptych*, 9th century?, ivory relief. 76
- Fig. 4.4 Detail from *Christ Healing Ten Lepers*, 12th century, mosaic, Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily. 77
- Fig. 4.5 Detail from *Emperor Constantine Struck with Leprosy*, ca. 1240, fresco, Capella di San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. 81

- Fig. 4.6 Detail from *Pope Sylvester Baptizes Emperor Constantine*, ca. 1240, fresco, Capella di San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. 82
- Fig. 4.7 *St. Martin and a Leprous Beggar*, detail from Cšeriny Altar, painted panel. 84
- Fig. 4.8 Israel van Meckenem, *St. Elizabeth with a Leprous Beggar (Die Heilige Elisabeth)*, 1475–80, engraving. 86
- Fig. 4.9 *St. Elzéar of Sabran Ministering to Leprosy Patients*, ca. 1373, marble carving. 88
- Fig.5.1 Detail from *Christ Healing a Leper*, 12th century, mosaic, Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily. 103
- Fig. 6.1 Detail from *Emperor Constantine Struck with Leprosy*, ca. 1240, fresco, Capella di San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. 112
- Fig. 6.2 Detail from *Constantine Offers the Tiara to Sylvester*, ca. 1246, fresco, Capella di San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. 114
- Fig. 6.3 Detail of *Officium Stratoris*, ca. 1246, fresco, Capella di San Silvestro, Santi Quattro Coronati, Rome. 115
- Fig. 6.4 *Prefect Tarquinius Interrogating St. Sylvester*, 1322, fresco. Detail of *Legend of Sylvester, Constantine, and Helena*, fresco, Hohe Domkirche St. Peter und Maria, Cologne. 118
- Fig. 6.5 *St. Peregrinus, the Leprous Pilgrim*, 1350–51, book illumination. 121
- Fig. 6.6 St. Elizabeth Placing a Leper in Her Husband's Bed, detail of *Holy Kinship Altar*, 1516?, painted panel, Smrecany Church, Slovakia. 125
- Fig. 6.7 St. Elizabeth's Eviction from Wartburg (left) and St. Elizabeth Bathes a Leprous Patient (right), details of *Holy Kinship Altar*, 1516?, painted panel, Smrecany Church, Slovakia. 126

- Fig. 6.8 Hans Holbein the Elder, *St. Elizabeth with Three Male Petitioners*, 1516, painted panel, right wing, *Sebastian's Altar*. 127
- Fig. 7.1 Cosimo Rosselli, *Christ Healing a Leper*, detail of *The Sermon on the Mount*, 1481, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace. 133
- Fig. 7.2 *Christ Healing a Leper*, a comparison of details from figs. 2.6 and 7.1. 135
- Fig. 7.3 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Naaman Triptych*, ca. 1524, painted panel. 137
- Fig. 7.4 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *SS. Cosmos and Damian*, 1524, detail of *Naaman Triptych* (fig. 7.3). 138
- Fig. 7.5 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Soldier[?]: The Leprous Naaman*, 1524, detail of *Naaman Triptych* (fig. 7.3). 141
- Fig. 7.6 Cornelis Engebrechtsz, *Soldier[?]: The Leprous Gehazi*, 1524, detail of *Naaman Triptych* (fig. 7.3). 142
- Fig. 7.7 Hieronymus Bosch, *St. Bavo Giving Alms to the Poor and Sick*, ca. 1504–08, right outer wing of the *Altar of the Last Judgment*, painted panel. 146
- Fig. 7.8 Comparison of figures 1.3 and 7.7. 149
- Fig. 7.9 Rembrandt, *Man in Oriental Costume or King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy[?]*, ca. 1639, oil on panel. 152
- Fig. 7.10 Jacques de Gheyn II, *Dan*, ca. 1589, engraving. 154
- Fig. 7.11 Claes Jansz Visscher (author), *Procession of Lepers on Copper Monday*, 1608, etching. 159

Acknowledgments

The ancient scourge known the world over as Hansen's disease, or clinical leprosy, has recently been the subject of numerous outstanding publications. This volume provides the latest and most comprehensive overview in the field from the art historical perspective.

Approximately ten years ago, the topic was suggested to me by medical historian Luke Demaitre (University of Virginia), whose most recent book, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine: A Malady of the Whole Body* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), was essential for the conception of this study. I am sincerely grateful for his endorsement of my project. I thank Daniel H. Connor, M.D. (Georgetown University), for his help with the clinical and bacteriological aspects of Hansen's disease and the use of his photographs, which are invaluable contributions to this study. I acknowledge my indebtedness to John E. Bennett, M.D. (National Institute of Health) for introducing me to the latest editions of his key publication in infectious diseases, even before the volumes arrived at the libraries. The international experts Mark Spigelman, M.D., and Helen D. Donoghue, M.D. (UCL Medical School, Center for Infectious Disease and International Health), graciously provided information on crucial DNA data to complete the history of the disease. Additionally, I received important information from the European leprosy research facilities in Bergen, Münster, and Budapest, and I owe a debt of gratitude to Lorentz Irgens, Ph.D., M.D. (National Leprosy Register of Norway), and Eva Tank-Nielsen. Director Ralph Klötzer (Gesellschaft für Leprakunde, Münster) and Director Maria Vida (Semmelweis Museum, Budapest) also contributed to this book. While visiting Budapest, I was very kindly received by the staff of this exceptional medical museum. Particular thanks go to historian Livia Kölnei, whom I must credit with supplying me with historical data and introducing me to the wealth of images still *in situ* in Eastern European churches. Thanks are also due to Jo Robertson, research officer at Oxford University (ILA Global Project on the History of Leprosy). I was fortunate to be able to work with Documentary Photographer Patricia Gallinek, R.N.,

who recorded leprosy missions globally; I received her permission to publish images depicting modern facilities and treatment options.

To my friends and colleagues at UMD, I am deeply indebted for their encouragement and input to my research, first and foremost Susan Jenson, who helped shape this book by extensive discussions of the material and her kind editorial assistance. With gratitude I also acknowledge the quintessential technical support of Elisabeth Hartjens (Imagefinders) in preparing illustrations for printing as well as the scholarly assistance of Elisabeth and her sister, Maria Wieken-Mayser, and of Konrad Groß (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln mit Bibliothek St. Albertus Magnus). Moreover I owe a debt of gratitude to Eva and Nicholas H. Allen (University of Maryland, University College) and Edith Wyss in getting my challenging project started. I also appreciated the help extended by Shirley Bennett, Diana Whithee, Marguerite Tassi, Elizabeth Ettinghausen, Bertha L. Gutmann, and Sally Wages. Special thanks are due to my revered former professor Jean Caswell for her continued interest in my work!

I want to mention gratefully several individual scholars and international institutions. In my hometown, Gerhard Schmidt (University of Vienna), Renate Trnek (Akademie der bildenden Künste), Gudrun Swoboda (Kunsthistorisches Museum), and Irmgard Hutter (independent scholar in Byzantine studies); at Munich's Alte Pinakothek, Martin Schawe (Curator of Early German and Netherlandish paintings); at Washington, DC's National Gallery of Art, Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. (Curator for Dutch Art), Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Curator of Old Master drawings), and Andrea Gibbs (Image Collection); Gudrun Bühl, Gerriane Schaad, and Natalie Tetriatnikov at Dumbarton Oaks; and C. Griffith Mann at The Walters Museum of Art, Baltimore. At the National Library of Medicine, National Institutes for Health, Stephen Greenberg with his profound knowledge of rare books and images in the collection, kind and resourceful Crystal Smith (reference librarian), and historian Michael Sappol all have been of great help. Indispensable for my research were Paul Williamson (Curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and Joe Plommer (Academic Image Rights Assistant, Victoria and Albert Museum, London) who searched beyond the call of duty all possible sources to provide me with the correct high-intensity images. He also facilitated the process of getting the required

permission papers ready on time. Similarly when time was of essence, I received assistance from Diane P. Naylor (Chatsworth's photo librarian).

Special thanks are due to historians Raymond and Elizabeth Metzger (University of Iowa) for their extensive input and their support of my project from its inception. I acknowledge the beneficial advice of several theologians who generously donated their time and shared their expertise: Fr. Martinus Cawley, Shawn Madison Kraemer (St. Joseph's University), and Stephen Vicchio (College of Notre Dame of Maryland).

Richly illustrated art history publications are a special challenge to any press. I am extremely grateful to Nancy Rediger, Director/Editor-in-Chief at Truman State University Press, along with her excellent staff. I want especially to thank Teresa Wheeler, designer not only of this book's striking cover but of the cover for *Images of Plague and Pestilence*. The excellent work produced by copy editor Barbara Smith-Mandell cannot be expressed in words; production editor Judy Sharp is largely responsible for great legibility of the fifty-some illustrations in this book; and last but certainly not least, I thank Michael Wolfe, General Editor for the Early Modern Studies series.

Most of all, I thank my dear friend, Dee Fischer, for her dedicated efforts in preparing my book manuscripts for publication! I also thank Frances Kianka for scholarly advice, editorial skills, and support when under time pressure. Further, I thank my former graduate student Lucia Plachy for her efforts in executing my extensive correspondence in Slavic languages. Finally, I want to mention José Girón (Bank of America) for solving at a critical moment my wire-transfer problems to Eastern Europe.

There cannot be any doubt that the manuscript has improved as the result of the anonymous readers' astute observations and thought-provoking questions; I am sincerely beholden to them. I am deeply grateful to my children and their families for their loving support and especially for their assistance with computer technology, without which my efforts would never have gone to print.

Introduction

An Ancient Disease in European Images

“Leprosy remains unique in the annals of human disease, in its epidemiological pattern, and in the social and religious reactions which it engendered,” wrote Keith Manchester in his seminal article, “Leprosy: The Origin and Development of the Disease in Antiquity.”¹ Because leprosy is still a global concern at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the disease recently generated a great deal of attention in a number of scholarly fields, from medical science to literary reviews. This volume analyzes select artworks spanning over a millennium that portray persons suffering from leprosy. The topos *lepra* and its visualization in murals, stained glass, book illuminations, sculpture, and other media probably first appears in the fourth century CE. Subjects depicted in these images are based on scripture and hagiographic accounts; secular topics are rare. This inquiry highlights the significance of leprosy themes in mainstream Western art—incidentally, the only culture to develop that topic. Byzantine visual conventions, although illustrating the same biblical scenes, never investigated clinical manifestations of the illness.

Although this volume is an interdisciplinary art historical handbook covering art, history, medicine, and religion, it uses terminology customary to the field of art history, since images are the primary documents and art history provides the fundamental debate. Discussion of style is restricted to comments on the realism of clinical leprosy markers. Comparisons of historic sculptures and paintings with clinical photographs, a methodology I developed in *Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconography and Iconology*, present the reader with a tool to gauge the medical knowledge of the artist, physician, and/or patron, by investigating the manifestations of Hansen’s disease in medieval and early modern representations. This exploration pursues several objectives—all essential for a novel art historical analysis. First and most significantly, it discusses the status of modern medicine and reviews how knowledge of leprosy was gained over the last two thousand years and how it affected the visual arts. Recent DNA research opened a new approach

to the long-debated topic: is the biblical *lepra* the same sickness as clinical leprosy (i.e., Hansen's disease)? Analyses of scenes depicting Christ healing a leper, included in chapter 2, provide evidence that Western art illustrated the symptoms of the stricken in such a way that one can identify the manifestations as clinical leprosy. Chapter 4 also presents original research that describes the developments in leprosy iconography (description of the image).

The four introductory chapters address clinical leprosy worldwide, the European history of the disease, societal responses, and the development of leprosy iconography. Because of the diversity of the subject matter, these chapters use a topical approach and may be read independently; they also serve as useful reference material anticipating some of the questions readers may have regarding later discussions in the text. Innovative blending of multidisciplinary issues introduces and frames chapters 5 through 7, the three chapters of iconological interpretations (meaning of the images). The last and most crucial segment of the book targets the main argument concerning iconological explorations regarding how the ancient scourge became an emblematic vehicle to recount and express the inherent symbolic meaning of the images. This section opens the proverbial window to the past that allows us to search for answers to the following questions: Who commissioned the works? What were the patrons' motivations? What was the religious significance of the art? When, where, and, above all, why was a subject with little popular appeal depicted repeatedly? Finally, the book will consider the status of the victims: What attitudes were held by society toward the sick in general and the disenfranchised, leprosy-infected patients in particular, and how did history visually record these persons? This part of the discussion is presented chronologically, focusing on the evolution—how the subjects developed over time. I maintain that the various terrifying aspects of the disease become the overarching concept that unifies the discussion by introducing narratives about the lives of historic and legendary figures stricken with the dreaded illness. Rulers, beggars, saints, and sinners, the metaphor of leprosy supplies the background against which the enlightening stories are projected. Because the literature on leprosy is vast, a cursory annotated presentation of the most important sources, organized by the various disciplines, is included in the introduction.²

Chapter 1 includes information on current attempts to treat leprosy victims with multidrug treatments on an outpatient basis; this part was written under the expert guidance of Daniel H. Connor, M.D. To gain a historical view on contagion and on epidemiology, treatises available to medical practitioners at various periods regarding diagnoses, treatment, and prevention of the illness are cited. Luke Demaitre's brilliant archival study of original medical manuscripts, *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine*, mentioned in the acknowledgments, is compulsory reading; it is one of the most important works in that field.

For medical questions concerning the leprosy discussions of chapters 1 and 2, several books are essential. Chapman H. Binford and Daniel H. Connor's *Pathology of Tropical and Extraordinary Disease: An Atlas* is a groundbreaking publication that includes the seminal observations of Binford's pioneering experiences at the time when effective drug therapy was not yet available. His co-editor, D. H. Connor, published his own field experiences more recently in *Pathology of Infectious Disease. Mandell, Douglas, and Bennett's Principles and Practice of Infectious Diseases*, now in its 7th edition, is a key work. Other important medical handbooks I consulted included W. H. Jopling's *Handbook of Leprosy*. The innovative and unique research project of Lorentz Irgens, M.D., Ph.D., *Leprosy in Norway: An Epidemiological Study Based on a National Patient Registry*, aided me in determining previously ignored environmental aspects of Hansen's disease and how these could have been related to earlier events. Of utmost significance are the findings of the international team of DNA experts (C. D. Matheson et al.) published in 2009, which provides the first scientific evidence that leprosy was present in ancient Palestine at least since around the birth of Christ.

In 1974, Samuel Brody was the first author to undertake a truly interdisciplinary approach to leprosy in *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature*.³ Katharine Park, Charlotte Roberts, and, above all, Keith Manchester produced numerous excellent, and more recent, publications on the divergent aspects of leprosy. For a brief review of the cultural history of the disease, see Sheldon Watts's *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism*. Carole Rawcliffe's *Leprosy in Medieval England* is an indispensable resource, with its wealth of information on pre-Reformation English art and its comprehensive discussions of leprosy legends and imagery. Marcia Kupfer's *The Art of Healing: Paintings for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town* is considered a

benchmark in Romanesque scholarship. Several innovative publications by David Marcombe also contributed to the content of chapter 3.

Iconography provides the foundation for this art historical analysis of leprosy, but this volume also contains an important compilation of textual sources that influenced, over a thousand-year period, the Europeans' perception of leprosy; these are listed in the appendix. The analysis of leprosy themes begins with the Old Testament, which is remarkable in the often-contradictory connotations associated with *sara'at/lepra* that provide vital information regarding how religion evaluated leprosy patients. Even though Latin Western art rarely illustrated these subjects, Kurt Weitzmann's and John Lowden's profound publications on a series of Greek *Octateuchs* are essential for our understanding of Old Testament traditions.

New Testament scenes, on the other hand, primarily stressed Christ's compassion in healing the suffering. Miracle cures make up the majority of leprosy subjects in Christian art and must have been illustrated in countless illuminated Bibles (not all of them survived, or have been studied) between the ninth and the nineteenth centuries. The Index of Christian Art (formerly The Princeton Index: Art before 1400), a thematic register combined with photographic illustrations, provides by far the most effective place to start research on this extensive topic. Although it is difficult to quantify leprosy images, the Index's organization by subject matter, location, media, and dates is useful in gaining insight, for instance, into the number of extant manuscripts in a specific region. Moreover, numerous standard lexica assist with subject matter and lists of illustrations. Gertrud Schiller's *Iconography of Christian Art* and E. Mâle's *Religious Art in France, the Late Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* present the best overviews. However, the discussion on "Aussatz und Aussätzige" in H. Aurenhammer's *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* provides the most thorough treatment of the subject. Louis Réau's *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, though somewhat outdated, is still a valuable research tool. *Lepra in de Nederlanden (12de–18de eeuw)* and K. Grön's richly illustrated article "Leprosy in Literature and Art" both introduce pertinent material. The same is true of W. B. Ober, M.D.'s "Can the Leper Change His Spots? The Iconography of Leprosy." Collectively these publications have approximately one hundred historical images illustrating patients of leprosy; many of the articles are written quite recently. Finally, Andor Pigler's

Barockthemen is interesting primarily for the dearth of leprosy imagery, since the topic was rarely pursued after the Renaissance period.

On iconological interpretations, see Erwin Panofsky's *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Christ healing a leper is the most popular of all leprosy themes, revealing the Christocentric tendencies of the Carolingian, Ottonian, and Norman rulers. E. Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*; James Snyder's *Medieval Art*; Percy Schramm's *Kaiser, Rom und renovatio*; and Janet L. Nelson's fascinating *Charles the Bald* provide insight into the political background of that era.

The sixth chapter, focusing on patron saints of leprosy, deals explicitly with political theology (a theological concept dominated by political, social, economic, and cultural concerns). Numerous murals portray St. Sylvester baptizing and thus curing the "leprous" Emperor Constantine, a narrative based in part on the spurious ninth-century Donation of Constantine, which guaranteed great privileges to the heirs of St. Peter's throne. For the historic background of this section, see F. Seppelt and G. Schwaiger's *Die Geschichte der Päpste*. It contains more relevant historic details than the *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes* (yet the *Dictionary* is a far more recent publication). Since the sixth chapter deals largely with the time of the Crusades, both theology and history are essential for understanding religious leprosy subjects of that period. A remarkably large portion of the legendary medical patron saints originated in the East; similarly the translocation of Eastern cults and the adoption of Levantine medical knowledge may have influenced the developing Western European culture. In addition, the founding of new religious nursing orders brought changes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; on this, see for example, D. Marcombe's *Leper Knights: The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England*. Around 1200, these events triggered responses by the Latin Church that concerned the treatment of the leprous population, including the edicts of Lateran Councils III and IV and laws pertaining to the founding of leprosaria, all of which changed the fabric of European society for centuries to come. Although clinical leprosy was known in Europe since Roman times, circumstantial evidence supports the theory that crusader traffic contributed to the first "real" or "imagined" European health crisis of the Middle Ages.⁴ Franciscans and other mendicant orders were concerned with the physical and spiritual health of the poor and the sick, and over the centuries, as Christian theology

About the Author

Born in Vienna, Austria, Christine M. Boeckl studied art history and classical archaeology at the University of Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Institut). Emigration from Europe to the United States delayed the completion of her studies. She received her doctorate in 1990 at the University of Maryland, College Park. Dr. Boeckl taught art history for twenty years. She recently retired from the University of Nebraska as professor emerita and returned to her family in the Washington, DC, area, where she continues to publish numerous art historical articles in international journals. She is the author of another interdisciplinary book, *Images of Plague and Pestilence* (Truman State University Press, 2000).

Index

Bold indicates an image

A

- Aaron Gives Directions Concerning a Leper* (Octateuch Vatican 747), 72
Aaron the Levite, 72
Abbey of St. Denis, 62, 98, 119, 120
Acta Sanctorum (*Acts of the Saints*), 6, 89
Acts of Sylvester (*Vita beati Silvestri*), 81, 108
The Adoration of the Golden Calf (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
Adoration of the Magi (altarpiece; Bosch), 150
Aegidius (St. Giles), 78, 79, 80
The Agony in the Garden (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
Albucassis (Islamic surgeon), 59
Alexander II (pope), 48
Alice of Schaerbeek, Lady, 51, 52, 53, 201n17
American Journal of Dermatology, 128
Amicus and Amelius (poem), 52
Andrews Diptych (*Christ Healing a Leper*), 75–76, 76
Annual Leprosy Inspection (Nürnberg woodcut), 26, 27, 65–66, 150
Anthony the Abbot (saint), 78, 80
Antiquities of the Jews 9.10 (Flavius Josephus), 28, 73, 151–52
“A Painting of Lepers by Hans Holbein the Elder” (Virchov), 128
Aretaeus of Cappadocia, 24, 97
Arius and Arianism, 108, 208n3
Ars Medica (exhibition catalog), 158
The Art of Healing: Paintings for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town (Kupfer), 3–4
The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain (exhibition), 147
Atharva Veda (Sanskrit hymns), 18

- Aurenhammer, H., 4
Avicenna (Persian physician), 37, 59
- ## B
- Balathal, India, 166
Baldwin IV (king of Jerusalem), 48, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 62
The Baptism of Christ (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 133
Barbara (saint), 126
Barlaam (saint), 78
Barockthemen (Pigler), 5
Bassus, Junius, 25, 198n5
Bax, Dirk, 147
Beauvais, Vincent de, 69
Beggar (engraving; Van der Velde), 160
Belshazzar's Feast (Rembrandt), 157
Benedictine Abbey of Reichenau (Augia), 99–100
Benedict Of Nursia (saint), 52, 81, 83
Benedict XII (pope), 49
Benetius (saint), 81
ben Israel, Manasseh, 157
Benitius, Philip, 85, 89
Benizzi, Philip, 85, 89
Bernward of Hildesheim (bishop), 99
The Betrayal (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
Biblia Pauperum (Pauper's Bible), 73
Biblioteca Sanctorum (reference book of the saints), 6, 206n32
Binford, Chapman H., 3, 9
The Birth of Moses (lost Sistine Chapel fresco), 134
The Birth of Purgatory (Le Goff), 6
Black Death, 38, 46, 198n9, 199n25. *See also* bubonic plague
Blunt, Anthony, 145
Boeckler, Albert, 98
Bol, Ferdinand, 158

- Bonaventure (saint), 85
 Boniface (saint), 48
 Bosch, Hieronymus, 145, **146**, 147–48, **149**, 150, 160, 211n26
 Botticelli, Sandro, 134, 135
 Brody, Samuel, 3
 bubonic plague, 38, 46, **54**, 55, **61**, 123, 131, 157, 161, 199n25, 209n23
 Buklijas, T., 128
The Byzantine Octateuchs (Weitzmann), 4, 71–72, 203n6
- C**
 Cagots of Béarn (Géstains), 49–50, 144
The Calling of the First Apostles (Sistine Chapel fresco; Ghirlandaio), 133
 “Can the Leper Change His Spots?” (Ober), 4, 143, 211n14
 Capella di San Silvestro (Santi Quattro Coronati), frescos of, 110–15, **112**, **114**, **115**
 Carloman (son of Charles II the Bald), 97
 Carolingian renaissance. *See* Christological cycles; *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram*
 Carus, Lucretius, 24, 26, 197n3
 Cathedral of Cologne, 115–17, **118**
 Cathedral of Košice, Slovakia, 122
 Cathedral of Monreale mosaics, 77, **77**, 102, **103**, 104, 208n27
 Cawley, Fr. Martinus, 48, 51, 164, 201n17
 Charlemagne, 94–95
 Charles II the Bald (Carolus Calvus), 5, 30, 32–33, 95–98, 105. *See also* *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram*
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor), 49
 Chauliac, Guy de, 38, 46, 129, 199n25
Chirurgia of Roger Frugard (Guido de Arezzo), 55
Christ Crowning William II (Monreale mosaic), 102
Christ Handing the Law to St. Peter and a Scroll to St. Paul (Capella San Silvestro), 110
Christ Healing a Leper (Andrews Diptych), 75–76, **76**
Christ Healing a Leper (Monreale mosaic), 77, **77**, 102, **103**, 104
Christ Healing a Leper (Ottonian miniature), **34**, **36**, 100–101, 135, **135**, 143
Christ Healing a Leper (Sistine Chapel fresco), 132, 133, **133**, 134, **135**
 Christ healing a leper, depictions of. *See also* *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram* about, 73, 74–78, 92, 105
Andrews Diptych, 75–76
 Monreale mosaic, 77, 102, 104
 Ottonian miniature, 100–101, 135, 143
 Sistine Chapel fresco, 132, 133, 134
 Christological cycles. *See also* *Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram*; Ottonian book illumination
 Carolingian renaissance, 30, 32–33, 36–37, 41, 42–43, 47, 75, 90, 92–93, 93–98, 165
 Christ healing a leper as subject in, 32, 34, 75, 92, 99, 100, 105
 depiction of misericordia in, 30–33, 42, 90, 105
 Norman cycles, 101–6
 Ottonian cycles, 98–101
 political significance of art in, 92–93, 94
Christ Preaching (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 133
 Church of St. George mural (Reichenau-Oberzell), 99
 Church of St. Michael in Hildesheim bronze column, 99
The Circumcision of Moses’ Son (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino-Pinturicchio), 134
 Cistercian abbey at Cadouin, 39, **40**, 80
Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, about, 30–36, 95–98
Christ and the Fallen Woman, 95, 96
Christ Cleansing the Temple, 95, 96
Christ Healing a Leper (cover), 30, **31**, **32**, **33**, 42, 95, 97, 207n7
Christ Healing a Leper (illuminated folio), 33–36, **34**, **36**, 41, 42, 97
Christ Healing the Blind, 96–97
 Coiter, Volcher, 150
 concomitance, 53, **54**, 55, 202n21, 202n24

- Conner, Daniel H., 3, 6, 9, 30, 32
 Constantine I (emperor), **81**, 81–82, **82**, 90, 98, 99, 106, 108–9, 205n25, 208n4
 Constitutum Domini Constantini Imperatoris. *See* Donation of Constantine
 Conti (cardinal), 114
A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings (Rembrandt Research Project Foundation), 151, 152–53, 155, 156
 Corvinus, Matthias (King Matthew of Hungary), 60
 Cosmos (saint), 78, 137, **138**, 140, 144, 145
 Council of Lyons (1245), 114
 Council of Trent, 53, **54**, 55
The Crippled and the Sick Cured at the Tomb of St. Nicholas (Gentile da Fabriano), 61, 62, **63**, 79, 203n34
The Crossing of the Red Sea (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
The Crucifixion (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
- D**
 Dagobert I, king of Austrasia, 120
 Damien (saint), 78, 137, **138**, 140, 144, 145
 Damien of Molokai, Fr. (saint), 22–23, 52, 89–90, 206n35
 Dan (biblical patriarch), 153, **154**, 155
 Dance of the Dead (*danse macabre*) tradition, 123
Das Lorscher Arzneibuch (early medieval manuscript), 29
 de Arezzo, Guido, 55
 de Beauvais, Vincent, 69
 de Gheyn II, Jacques, 153, **154**
 de Groot, C. Hofstede, 156
 Della Rovere, Francesco (Pope Sixtus IV), 132
 Delphine of Glandèves, 87
 del Sarto, Andrea, 89
 Demaitre, Luke, 3, 13–14, 38, 59, 65
De rerum natura (Lucretius), 24
Die Geschichter der Päpste (Seppelt and Schwaiger), 5
 “Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Betreuung der Aussätzigen in den Legenden” (essay; Vida), 60, 62
- The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Brody), 3
 Dives and Lazarus parable, 39, **40**, 80
Doctor’s Visit to a Plague Victim (Venice woodcut), 16, 26
 Donation of Constantine (Constitutum Domini Constantini Imperatoris), 5, **81**, 81–82, **82**, 98, 99, 101, 105–6, 110–15, **112**, **114**, **115**, 116–17, **118**, 208n5
 Donoghue, H. H., 19
Double Portrait with Richildis (Charles II the Bald), 97
- E**
 Eisler, Robert, 151, 155
 “elephantiasis” as medical term for leprosy, 29, 43–44
 Elisha (prophet), 73, 137, 138, 139–40, 144
Elisha Refusing the Gifts of Naaman (Grebber), 158
 Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia (saint)
 “Die Heilige Elisabeth und die Betreuung der Aussätzigen in den Legenden” (essay; Vida), 60
 as intercessory saint, 6, 52
 life of, 85
St. Elizabeth Bathes a Leprous Patient (painted panel), 60–62, **61**, 122–23
 St. Elizabeth Cathedral, Košice, Hungary, 60–62, **61**
St. Elizabeth Placing a Leper in Her Husband’s Bed (painted panel), 124, **125**
St. Elizabeth’s Deathbed (painted panel), 124
St. Elizabeth’s Eviction from the Wartburg (painted panel), 124, **126**
St. Elizabeth’s of Hungary Dispensing medicine to a Leprous Beggar (fresco), 128–29
St. Elizabeth’s with Three Male Petitioners (painted panel), 126, **127**, 128
St. Elizabeth with a Leprous Beggar (engraving; Israel van Meck-enem), 85, **86**

- Elzéar of Sabran (saint), 81, 85, 87–89, **88**
Emperor Constantine Struck with Leprosy
 (fresco; Capella de San Silvestro,
 Rome), **81**, 81–82, **82**
- Engelbrechtsz, Cornelius, 73, **74**, 136–45,
137, **138**, **141**, **142**
- Epidemics and History: Disease, Power
 and Imperialism* (Watts), 3
- ergotism (St. Anthony's Fire), 131
- Ettlinger, L., 132
- Eusebius of Caesarea, 108
- Eusebius of Nicomedia, 108
- F**
- Fabiano, Gentile da, 61, 62, **63**, 64, 79,
 203n34
- Farovic-Ferencic, S., 128
- Feldbuch der Wundtartzney* (Gersdoff), 57
- Field of Blood cemetery (Jerusalem), 19
- The Fight over the Body of Moses* (Sistine
 Chapel fresco; Signorelli), 134
- First Bible of Charles the Bald* (portrait), 97
- First Council of Nicaea, 108
- Four Regents of the Leprooshuis* (Bol), 158
- Fourth Lateran Council, 5, 48, 49
- Francis of Assisi (saint), 52, 59, 81, 83–85,
 89
- Frederick II (emperor), 114, 115
- Frederick II (Holy Roman Emperor), 51,
 98
- Frederick of Austria, 116
- G**
- Galen, 29
- Gallinek, Patricia, 6, 15
- Gehazi (Elisha's servant), 71, 139, 140,
142, 144
- George (saint), 79, 80, 205n20
- Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II), 99
- Gersdoff, Hans von, 57
- Gerson, Horst, 151
- Géstains (Cagots of Béarn), 49–50, 144
- Ghirlandaio, Domenico, 133, 134
- Gibson, Walter S., 137, 139, 140, **141**, **142**,
 144, 145
- The Gift of the Keys* (Sistine Chapel
 fresco; Perugino), 133
- Giles (Aegidius) (saint), 78, 79, 80
- Global Project of the History of Leprosy,
 15
- Golden Legend* (Voragine), 6, 62, 69, 85,
 105, 124
- Gorden, Bernard, 37
- Gospel Book of Otto III*. See Ottonian
 book illumination
- Great Interregnum, 115–16
- Grebber, Pieter de, 158
- Gregorian Reform, 101, 105, 107
- Gregory I (pope), 93, 124
- Gregory II (pope), 48
- Gregory IV (pope), 95
- Gregory IX (pope), 85
- Gregory V (pope), 99
- Gregory VII (pope), 101, 105
- Gregory XI (pope), 132
- Grön, K., 4
- H**
- Hamilton, Bernard, 50
- Handbook of Leprosy* (Jopling), 3
- Hansen, Gerhard Henrik Armauer, 7, 22
- Hansen's Disease. See leprosy
- Head of Young Man (Jeune Lépreux)*
 (Hans Holbein the Younger),
 41–43, **43**, 200n33
- Henry IV of Germany, 101
- Henry VII of Germany (Henry the
 Lame), 51, 52, 98
- Hertul, Master, 84
- Hippocrates, 29
- Holbein, Hans the Elder, 124, 126, **127**,
 128
- Holbein, Hans the Younger, 41–43, **43**,
127, 128, 200n33
- Hugh of St. Victor, 136
- I**
- Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Réau), 4
- Iconography of Christian Art* (Schiller), 4
- “illness as metaphor,” 161, 162
- Images of Plague and Pestilence: Iconogra-
 phy and Iconology* (Boeckl), 1, 7
- The Index of Christian Art, 4
- Innocent II (pope), 48
- Innocent IV (pope), 113–14, 115
- Inspection of Leprous Patients* (woodcut),
 57, **58**

- Investiture Controversy (1075–1122), 101, 107
- Irgens, Lorentz, 3, 20–21
- J**
- James (saint), 148, 150
- Jerome (saint), 29
- Jeune Lépreux* (Hans Holbein the Younger), 41–43, **43**, 200n33
- Jewish Sacrifice* (Sistine Chapel fresco; Botticelli), 135
- Joanna of Castile, 147
- Job (biblical figure), **25**, 25–26, 75–77
- John XXII (pope), 49, 116
- Jopling, W. H., 3
- Josaphat as a Child Meets a Leper and a Cripple* (book illumination), 69–70, **70**, 203n3
- Josephat (saint), 69–70, **70**, 78, 203n3
- Josephus, Flavius, 28, 29, 73, 151–52, 156, 157
- K**
- Kaiser, Rom und renovatio* (Schramm), 5
- Kantorowicz, Ernest H., 5, 92–93
- King Matthew of Hungary (Matthias Corvinus), 60
- The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Kantorowicz), 5
- Knüsel, Christopher, 39, 44
- Kölnei, Livia, 59–60
- Kottek, Samuel, 28
- Kupfer, Marcia, 3–4, 49, 80
- L**
- Labors of Hercules* (ivory relief panels), 96
- Last Judgment* (fresco; Capella San Silvestro), 111
- Last Judgment Triptych* (Bosch), 145, **146**, 147
- The Last Supper* (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
- The Last Testament and Death of Moses* (Sistine Chapel fresco; Signorelli), 134
- Lateran Council III, 5, 47, 48, 49
- Lateran Council IV, 5, 48, 49
- The Lawgiving on Sinai* (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
- Lawrence (saint), 80
- lazar houses (leprosaria), 47, 50, 80, 122–23, 161, 205n22
- Lazarus (saint), 26, 39–41, **40**, **42**, 44, 77–78, 79, 198n6, 205n23
- Lazarus Klep, the Leprous Beggar* (Rembrandt), 157, 160
- Lazarus of Bethany. *See* St. Lazarus
- Legendarium* (illuminated manuscript; Master Hertul), 84
- Le Goff, J., 6
- Leo II (pope), 94
- Leo IX (pope), 109
- Leo X (pope), 49
- The Leper King and His Heirs* (Hamilton), 50
- Leper Knights: The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England* (Marcombe), 5
- Lepers Sent out of Camp* (Octateuch Vatican 747), 72
- “lepra” (Greek word for leprosy), 2, 19, 29, 42–44, 165
- Lepra in de Nederlanden*, 4
- leprosaria (lazar houses), 47, 50, 80, 122–23, 161, 205n22
- leprosy (Hansen’s Disease). *See also* Levitical tradition
- and bubonic plague, 38, 46, **54**, 55, **61**, 123, 131, 157, 161, 199n25, 209n23
- characteristics of, 8–10, 26
- clinical manifestations of, **11**, **13**, **14**, 15–20, **16**, **17**, 30, **32**, 32–36, **33**, **34**, **36**, 37–38, 39–41, **40**, **42**, 43–44, 50, 52, 59, **61**, **63**, 64, 68–70, 85, **86**, 87, **88**, 211n18
- and the Crusades, 5–6, 66, 78, 107
- diagnosis of, 15–16, 55, **56**, 57, **58**, 59, 202n29
- dress codes for sufferers of, 38–39, 48, 68–70, 87, 158, **159**, 211n13
- drug therapy and management programs, 13–14
- as European cultural phenomenon, 161, 162

- leprosy (Hansen's Disease), *continued*
- faking leprosy, 27, 65, 131, 148, **149**, 150, 158–60, **159**, 164, 211n27
 - functional recovery from, 15–16, **16**, **17**, **32**, **61**, 196n14
 - lepromatous type, 9, 10, **11**, 12, 13, **13**, 50, 165
 - photographic studies of, **11**, 11–17, **13**, **14**, 196n10
 - protective/preventative gestures/postures in depiction of, 26–27, **27**, **54**, 55, 65–66, 68–70, 166, 198n6
 - research in, 8–11
 - transmission of, 10, 53, 62, 165, 195n6, 197n31
 - tuberculoid type, 9–10, 12, **14**, 29, 50, 165
 - and tuberculosis, 20–22, 131, 197n28
 - leprosy, history of, 3–6, 20, 23
 - ancient world, 24–29, 59
 - continental United States, 22
 - in early Greece and Rome, 24–25, **25**, 46
 - in early modern Europe, 37–44, 128–30, 161, 162
 - European Middle Ages, 29–37, **31**, **32**, **33**, **34**, **36**, 45–47, 59–65, 120, 131, 150–51
 - in Hawaii, 22–23
 - Norwegian Leprosy Research Project, 20–21, **21**
 - origins and global spread of, 13–15, 18–23, 165–66, 196n18, 197n31
 - leprosy and sainthood. *See* patron saints of leprosy; *specific saints*
 - leprosy as political metaphor, 94–97, 110, 119, 162–63. *See also* Donation of Constantine
 - leprosy iconography. *See also* patron saints of leprosy; secular leprosy imagery; *specific saints*
 - biblical imagery, 132–51, **133**, **135**, **138**, **141**, **142**, **146**, **149**
 - depiction of miraculous recovery, **74**, 90, 129, 134, **135**, 135–36, 136–45, **137**, **141**, 210n6, 210n8
 - depiction of victims in, 164–65
 - development of, 66–68
 - lack of, in lazar houses, 163–64
 - in the Latin West, 67–68, 203n2
 - literary sources of, 67, 70–78: Byzantine Octateuchs, 4, 71–73, 203n6; New Testament, 73–78, 129; Old Testament, 71–73, **74**, 90, 100–101, **137**, 137–45, **138**, **141**, **142**, 203n5, 208n23
 - northern Renaissance, 136–51, **137**, **138**, **142**, **146**, **149**
 - signifiers of leprosy, **27**, 38–39, 48, **58**, **63**, 65, 68–70, **70**, **84**, 87, **88**, 129, 134, **135**, 135–36, **141**, 142–45, 148, **149**
 - southern Renaissance, 132–36, **133**, **135**
 - “Leprosy in Literature and Art” (Grön), 4
 - Leprosy in Medieval England* (Rawcliffe), 3, 45, 80
 - Leprosy in Norway: An Epidemiological Study Based on a National Patient Registry* (Irgens), 3, 20–21
 - Leprosy in Premodern Medicine* (Demaitre), 3
 - The Leprosy Mission, 17, **17**
 - “Leprosy: The Origin and Development of the Disease in Antiquity” (Manchester), 1
 - Les vitraux narratifs de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Manhès-Déremble), 117
 - Levitical tradition, 18, 28, 35, 39, 46–48, **135**, 135–36, 158, **159**, 161, 208n23
 - Lewine, C., 132–33
 - Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Aurenhammer), 4
 - Life of Constantine* (Eusebius of Caesarea), 108
 - The Life of St. Francis* (St. Bonaventure), 85
 - Lillium medicine* (Gorden), 37
 - The Little Flowers* (biography of St. Francis of Assisi), 84–85
 - Louis IV of Bavaria, 116
 - Louis IX of France (saint), 52, 85, 89
 - Louis XIV of France, 49
 - Lowden, John, 4
 - Lucretius Carus, 24, 26, 197n3

M

Magnus, Albertus, 10
 Major, James, 147
 Mâle, E., 4
 Manchester, Keith, 1, 3, 19, 39, 44
Mandell, Douglas, and Bennett's Principles and Practice of Infectious Diseases (Mandell, Douglas, and Bennett), 3, 10
 Manhès-Déremble, Collette, 117
Man in Oriental Costume or King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy (Rembrandt), 151–53, **152**, 155–58
 Mannerist period in European art, **137**, 137–38, 145–51, 210n11
 Mantheo (Egyptian author), 28
 Marcombe, David, 4, 5
 Martin of Tours (saint), 52, 81, 83
 Mary Magdalene (saint), 79, 80
 Mary of Burgundy, 147
 Master Hertul, 84
 Master of the Joseph Sequence (Master of Afflingham), 147–48
 Matthew, king of Hungary (Matthias Corvinus), 60
 Maximilian I (Holy Roman Emperor), 147
Medicine and Hygiene in the Works of Flavius Josephus (Kotteck), 18
Medieval Art (Snyder), 5
 Mellinkoff, Ruth, 139, 144
 Mentzer, Raymond, 49
 Milani, Aureliano, **54**, 55, 123
 Miriam (Old Testament prophet), 71
Miriam Becomes Leprous (*Octateuch* Vatican 474), 72–73
Miroir historial (Vincent de Beauvais), 69
Missal of St. Denis, St. Peregrinus, the Leprous Pilgrim (manuscript), 119–20, **121**
 Mitchell, Piers D., 50
 Mollat, Michel, 109
 Monreale mosaic, 77, **77**, 102, **103**, 104, 208n27
 Moses, 71, 72
Moses in Egypt and Midian (Sistine Chapel fresco; Botticelli), 134
Moses's Hand Becomes Leprous (*Octateuch* Vatican 747), 71–72, 203n5

Mütherich, Florentine, 95

N

Naaman's Cure in the Jordan (Engelbrechtsz), 73, **74**, 90, 129, 136–45, **137**, **138**, **141**, **142**
 National Hansen's Disease Clinical Center (Baton Rouge, Louisiana), 22, 197n31
Nativity of Christ (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 133
 Nazarites, 48, 201n9
 Nelson, Janet L., 5, 96, 97
 Nicholas (saint), 78, 79
 Norman cycles, 101–6
 Norwegian Leprosy Research Project, 20–21, **21**
 Nürnberg, Germany, 26, **27**, 64–66, 131, 150, 160

O

Ober, W. B., 4, 35, 143, **143**, 163, 211n14
Octateuch (Vatican 474), 72–73
Octateuch (Vatican 747), 71–72
 Office of the Dead (Separatio Leprosorium), reading of, 48
 Otto II of Germany, 99
 Otto III of Germany, 48, 99
Otto III Enthroned Between Church and State (folio), 99–100
 Ottonian book illumination, **32**, 33–36, **34**, **36**, 41, 42, 48, 98–101, 135, **135**, 143

P

Panofsky, Erwin, 5
 Park, Katherine, 3
 pathognomonic composition, **40**, 41, 77, 77, 205n16
Pathology of Infectious Disease (Conner), 3
Pathology of Tropical and Extraordinary Disease: An Atlas (Binford and Conner), 3, 9
 patron saints of leprosy. *See also* Constantine I (emperor); Sylvester (saint); *specific saints*
 builders and titular saints of leprosy houses, 79–80, 109
 canonization of, 78–79

patron saints of leprosy, *continued*
 depiction of, 80, **81**, 81–83, **82**, **84**,
 84–89, **86**, **88**
 and the introduction of Eastern medi-
 cal knowledge to the West, 78
 ministering to the afflicted, 79, 83–89,
86, **87**, 89–90
 performing miracles, 79, 80–83, **81**,
82, **84**, 89, 206n30
 stories of, as political theology, 5–6,
 107–9, 129
 as victims of leprosy, 79, 80, 205n21
 Paul (apostle/saint), 111, **112**
 Pauper's Bible (*Biblia Pauperum*), 73, 204n9
 Peregrinus (saint), 62, 119–20, **121**
 Perlove, Shirley, 156
 Perugino, Pietro, 133, 134
 Peter (apostle/saint), 111, **112**
 Philip Benizzi (saint), 85, 89
 Philip the Handsome of Burgundy, 147
 Pigler, Andor, 5
 plague. *See* bubonic plague
Poor Henry (Der arme Heinrich) (von der
 Aue), 52
The Poor in the Middle Ages (Mollat), 109
*Prefect Tarquinius Interrogating St. Sylves-
 ter; Legend of Sylvester, Constantine
 and Helena* (Cathedral of Cologne
 mural), 117, **118**
The Presentation in the Temple (Rem-
 brandt), 156
 The Princeton Index, 4
*Procession of the Lepers on Copper Mon-
 day* (Visscher), 158–60, **159**
*The Punishment of Korah and the Sons of
 Aaron* (Sistine Chapel fresco; Bot-
 ticelli), 134
Purification after Leprosy (Octateuch
 Vatican 747), 72

R

Rafi, A., 19
 Rawcliffe, Carole, 3, 45, 80
 Réau, Louis, 4
*Religious Art in France, the Late Middle
 Ages: A Study of Medieval Iconog-
 raphy and Its Sources* (Mâle), 4
 Rembrandt, 151–58, 160

Rembrandt's Faith (Perlove and Silver),
 156
The Resurrection and the Ascension (Sis-
 tine Chapel fresco; Ghirlandaio),
 134
 Richildis (second wife of Charles the
 Bald), 96
 Ridley-Jopling disease classification
 system, 8
 Roberts, Charlotte, 3
 Rosen, Jakob, 156
 Rosselli, Cosimo, 132, 133, **133**, 134, **135**,
 135–36, 160
 Rothari, king of the Lombards, 166
 Rubin, Miri, 53

S

sainthood and leprosy. *See* patron saints
 of leprosy; *specific saints*
 Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, 48
San Paolo fiore le mura Bible (patriarchal
 basilica), 97
 Santi Quattro Coronati, frescos of,
 110–15, **112**, **114**, **115**
 “*sara'at*” (Hebrew word for leprosy), 18,
 19, 29, 35, 36, 37, 71–72, 165
 Schiller, Gertrude, 4
 Schramm, Percy, 5
 Schwaiger, G., 5
 Schwartz, Gary, 151, 157
 scripture references
 Gen. 49:16–18, 153
 Exod. 4:1–8, 72
 Exod. 28:6–29, 156
 Lev. 8:1–13, 156
 Lev. 13:9–46, 18
 Lev. 13:38–39, 72
 Lev. 13:45, 35, 105
 Lev. 13:45–46, 69
 Lev. 13 and 14, 71
 Lev. 14:1–32, 72
 Num. 5:2–4, 71, 72
 Num. 6:8, 164
 Num. 6:8–21, 48
 Num. 12:9–15, 72–73
 2 Kings 5:1–27, 73, 137
 2 Kings 5:27, 49, 140
 2 Chron. 26:16–22, 73, 151

- 2 Chron. 26:16–23, 18, 19
 2 Chron. 26:20–23, 156
 2 Chron. 26:23, 19
 Job 2:7, 25–26, 75
 Job 2:8, 76
 Psalms 13:5, 139
 Psalms 52:53, 139
 Proverbs 8:15, 95
 Matt. 5–7, 134
 Matt. 5:17, 101
 Matt. 8:1–4, 73, 97, 134
 Matt. 10:8, 101
 Matt. 26:6–7, 78
 Mark 1:40–41, 73
 Mark 8:22–26, 96
 Mark 14:3–4, 78
 Luke 5:12–15, 73
 Luke 16:10–26, 39
 Luke 17:12–19, 104
 John 2:14–17, 96
 John 8:3–11, 96
 John 11:1–46, 80
 Rev. 6:15, 111
 Sebastian (saint), 5, 126
 secular leprosy imagery. *See also* leprosy iconography
 cultural significance of, 158, 162, 163–64
 faking leprosy, 159, **159**, 160
 Last Judgment Triptych (Vienna), 147–48
 Man in Oriental Costume or King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy (Rembrandt), **152**, 153, 155–58
 as political metaphor, 162–63
 signifiers of leprosy in, 155, 160, 163, 212n35
 as social conscience signifier, 158, 163, 164
 Separatio Leprosorium ritual (reading of the Office of the Dead), 48
 Seppelt, F., 5, 115
The Sermon on the Mount (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 132, 133, **133**, 134, **135**
 Signorelli, Luca, 134
 Silver, Larry, 156
 Simon the Leper (biblical figure), 78
The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy (Ettlinger), 132
The Sistine Chapel Walls and the Roman Liturgy (Lewine), 132–33
 Sixtus IV (pope) (Francesco Della Rovere), 132
 Snyder, Graydon F., 100
 Snyder, James, 5, 94
The Song of Moses (Sistine Chapel fresco; Rosselli), 134
 Spiegleman, Mark, 19
 St. Aignan-sur-Cher lazaret house, 80, 205n22
 St. Aloysius of Gonzaga (?) *Administering the Vaticanum to Plague Victims* (Milani), **54**, 55, 123
 Stanford, J., 19
 St. Anthony's Fire, 131, 148
 St. Anthony Triptych (Bosch), 148, 211n26
 St. Bavo Giving Alms to the Poor and Sick (*Last Judgment Triptych*) (Bosch), 145, **146**, 147, 148, **149**, 150
 St. Benedict Healing a Leper (mural), 83
 St. Catherine's church, Augsburg, Germany, 126
 St. Elzéar Ministering to the Lepers (Anonymous), 87–89, **88**
 St. Francis Caring for the People in a Leper Colony (illuminated manuscript; Master Hertul), 84
 St. John Preaching by the Jordan (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 133
 St. John the Baptist monastery (Israel), 19
 St. Lazarus and Dives, 39, **40**, 80
 St. Martin Healing a Leper (Cseriny Altar, Slovakia), 83, **84**
 Stone-Ferrier, Linda, 159
The Stoning of Christ (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 134
The Stoning of Moses (Sistine Chapel fresco; Botticelli), 134
Studies in Iconography: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (Panofsky), 5
The Suffering Job and His Wife (Vatican), **25**, 25–26, 76, 198n5

Sushruta Samhita (ayurvedic medicine text), 18
 Sylvester (saint), 81–82, 90, 108–9, 110–15, 115–17, 119. *See also* Donation of Constantine
 Sylvester Chapel mural (Church of Goldbach on Lake Constantine), 99
 Sylvester I (pope). *See* Sylvester (saint)
 Sylvester II (pope) (Gerbert of Aurillac), 99
 syphilis, 131

T
 Tarquinius (Roman prefect), 117, **118**
The Temptation of Christ (Sistine Chapel fresco; Botticelli), 135
 Theophano (Byzantine princess), 99
 Third Lateran Council, 5, 47, 48, 49
 Thomas Aquinas (saint), 134
 Thomas Becket (saint), 80
 Tomb of the Shroud, 19
 Toulouse, France, parliament of, 49
The Tribute Money (Sistine Chapel fresco; Perugino), 133
Tristan and Isolde (medieval tale), 52
 Trnek, Renate, 147
 tuberculosis, 20–22, 131, 197n28
 Tümpel, Christian, 153, 155

U
 Ulrich (saint), 78
 Urban V (pope), 87
 Uzziah, king of Judah, 18, 71, 73, 151, **152**, 153, 155–58

V

Van der Velde, Jan II, 160
 Varro, Marcus Terentius (Varro Reatinus), 26
 Via Latina cemetery, Rome, Italy, 75
 Vida, Maria, 60, 62
 Virchov, Rudolph, 128
 Visscher, Claes Jansz the Younger, 158–59, **159**
Vita beati Silvestri (Acts of Sylvester), 81, 108
 von der Aue, Hartmann, 52
 Voragine, Jacopo, 6, 62, 69, 85, 105, 124

W

Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland, 87
 Watts, Sheldon, 3
 Weitzmann, Kurt, 4, 71–72, 203n6
 William II (king of Sicily), 102, 105.
See also Cathedral of Monreale mosaics
 William of Tyre, 52
William of Tyre Discovers Baldwin IV's First Symptoms of Leprosy (miniature), 55, **56**, 57

Z

Zedechias the Jew, 30, 32–33, 98
 Zoticos (Roman official), 109