Christoph Sander

Magnetism and Nutrition

An Ancient Idea Fleshed out in Early Modern Natural Philosophy, Medicine, and Alchemy

Abstract: Already in Antiquity, Galen linked magnetic attraction, by way of an analogy, to the idea that animal parts are able to attract their own 'specific quality'. For example, a kidney attracts urine just like the magnet attracts iron. In the Middle Ages, Averroes argued that foodstuff and iron possess a specific disposition which allows them to move themselves towards the body and a magnet respectively. Thus, the concepts of 'specific attraction' and 'dispositional selfmovement' were regarded as crucial to understanding the powers of both a magnet and a living body. Particularly in the early modern period, these concepts were spelled out differently by Aristotelians, Galenists and Paracelsians. During this period, the magnetism-nutrition analogy was also transformed into a vitalist principle in order to explain magnetic attraction itself. Natural philosophers such as Gerolamo Cardano suggested that a magnet, being alive in some way, seeks out iron as its foodstuff – a popular idea among alchemists as well. This paper aims to trace the complicated history of two intertwined concepts, 'nutrition' and 'magnetism', which were closely related in pre-modern times but appear to be unrelated from a modern perspective. By uncovering the historical origin(s) of this relation, its rationale, its subsequent transformation and its dissolution, the historical concept of 'nutrition' will come into sharper view from the perspective of the history of ideas. At the same time, from the perspective of the philosophy of science, this historical study presents a test case scenario for

In 1629, the Dutch philosopher and trained physician Isaac Beeckman jotted down some thoughts in his scientific diary after reading Galen's *De marcore*.¹

discussing the importance of metaphors and analogies in the formation of scien-

Note: I would like to thank Dorothea Keller for her patient editing and refinement of the many references in this paper, and Michael Infantine for his linguistic revision.

tific theory.

¹ See Isaac Beeckman, Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634, ed. by de Waard (1939), vol. III, p. 124: Hinc mihi in mentem venit quaerere an membra corporis nostri nutrimentum trahant per virtutem quandam magneticam, an potiùs eo modo quo cor sanguinem attrahit, videlicet

Bibliography

- Abel, Eugen (ed.) (1881): Orphei Lithica. Accedit Damigeron De lapidibus. Berlin: Calvary. Alcover, Madeleine (ed.) (2004): Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac. Les Estats et Empires de la Lune et du soleil: (avec le Fragment de physique). [Champion classiques.] Paris: H. Champion.
- Alonso, Manuel (ed.)(1944): [Petrus Hispanus.] Comentario al "De anima" de Aristóteles. Madrid: Instituto de Filosofía Luis Vives.
- Averroes (repr. 1962): De physico auditu libri octo. [Aristotelis Opera cum Averrois commentariis 4.] Frankfurt a.M.: Minerva [repr. of the edition 1562 - 74, Venice: Giunta].
- Baur, Heinrich/Steiger, Renate (ed.) (1983): Nicolai de Cusa: Idiota de sapientia, de mente, de staticis experimentis. [Opera omnia V.] Hamburg: Felix Meiner.
- Baur, Ludwig (ed.) (2010): Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln. [Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Mittelalters 9.] Münster i. W.: Aschendorff.
- Benzenhöfer, Udo (1987): "Joachim Tancke (1557-1609). Leben und Werk eines Leipziger Paracelsisten." In: Sepp Domandl (Ed.), Paracelsus und Paracelsisten: Vorträge 1984/85. Salzburger Beiträge zur Paracelsusforschung 25. Wien: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, p. 9-81.
- Berkel, Klaas van (2013): Isaac Beeckman on Matter and Motion: Mechanical Philosophy in the Making. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Boas, George (1947): "Aristotle's Presuppositions about Change." In: The American Journal of Philology 68. No. 4, p. 404-413.
- Boylan, Michael (1982): "The Digestive and 'Circulatory' Systems in Aristotle's Biology." In: Journal of the History of Biology 15. No. 1, p. 89-118.
- Brock, Arthur John (ed./transl.) (1916): Galen. On the Natural Faculties. [Loeb Classical Library 71.] London/ New York: W. Heinemann/G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Brunn, Walter A.L. von (1967): Kreislauffunktion in William Harvey's Schriften. Berlin; New York: Springer.
- Bruns, Ivo (ed.) (1892): Alexander Aphrodisiensis. Scripta minora. Quaestiones. De Fato. De Mixtione. [Commentaria in aristotelem graeca, Supplementum aristotelicum 2.2.] Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Buchheim, Thomas (2007): "Effective Primary Causes: The Notion of Contact and the Possibility of Acting without Being Affected in Aristotle's De Generatione et Corruptione." In: S. Stern-Gillet/K. Corrigan (Eds.), Reading Ancient Texts. Volume II: Aristotle and Neoplatonism. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 162. Leiden: Brill, p. 65-96.
- Caroti, Stefano/Celeyrette, J./Kirschner, Stefan/Mazet, Edmond (ed.) (2010): Nicole Oresme, Questiones super Physicam (Books I-VII). [Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 112.] Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Čermáková, Lucie (2018): "Athanasius Kircher and Vegetal Magnetism: Analogy as a Method." In: Early Science and Medicine 23. No. 5-6, p. 487-508.
- Clark, Gillan (transl.) (2014): Porphyry. On Abstinence from Killing Animals. London: Bloomsbury.
- Clave, Étienne de (1635): Paradoxes; ou, Traittez philosophiques des pierres et pierreries, contre l'opinion vulgaire. Ausquels sont demonstrez la matiere, la cause efficiente

- externe, la semence, la generation, la definition et la nutrition d'icelles. Paris: La veufue Pierre Chevalier.
- Clericuzio, Antonio (2000): Elements, Principles, and Corpuscles: A Study of Atomism and Chemistry in the Seventeenth Century. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Daniel, Dane T. (2006): "Invisible Wombs: Rethinking Paracelsus's Concept of Body and Matter." In: Ambix 53. No. 2. p. 129-142.
- De Waard, Cornelis (ed.) (1939): Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634. La Haye: M. Nijhoff.
- Debus, Allen G. (1966): The English Paracelsians. Watts History of Science Library. New York:
- Debus, Allen G. (1977): The Chemical Philosophy: Paracelsian Science and Medicine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. New York: Science History Publications.
- Debus, Allen G. (1991): The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Decaen, Christopher A. (2007): "The Impossibility of Action at a Distance." In: Peter A. Kwasniewski (Ed.), Wisdom's Apprentice: Thomistic Essays in Honor of Lawrence Dewan, O.P. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, p. 173 – 200.
- Delatte, Louis (ed.) (1942): Textes latins et vieux français relatifs aux Cyranides. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 93. Liège/Paris: Faculté de philosophie et lettres/E. Droz.
- Delaurenti, Béatrice (2006): "La fascination et l'action a distance: questions medievales (1230 - 1370)." In: Médiévales 50, p. 137 - 154.
- Dopsch, Heinz (1993): "Humanismus, Renaissance und Reformation Paracelsus und die geistigen Bewegungen seiner Zeit." In: Dopsch, Heinz/Goldammer, Kurt/Kramml, Peter F. (eds.), Paracelsus (1493 - 1541): keines andern Knecht. Salzburg: A. Pustet, p. 249 - 258.
- Dopsch, Heinz/Goldammer, Kurt et al. (eds.) (1993): Paracelsus (1493 1541): keines andern Knecht. Salzburg: A. Pustet.
- Eis, Gerhard (1965): Vor und nach Paracelsus: Untersuchungen über Hohenheims Traditionsverbundenheit und Nachrichten über seine Anhänger. Stuttgart: Fischer.
- Falcon, Andrea (2005): Aristotle and the Science of Nature: Unity without Uniformity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fierz, Markus (1983): Girolamo Cardano, 1501 1576: Physician, Natural Philosopher, Mathematician, Astrologer, and Interpreter of Dreams. Boston: Birkhäuser.
- Fletcher, Angus (2005): "Living Magnets, Paracelsian Corpses, and the Psychology of Grace in Donne's Religious Verse." In: ELH 72. No. 1, p. 1-22.
- Forrester, John M. (2013): The De subtilitate of Girolamo Cardano. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.
- French, Roger K. (1994): William Harvey's Natural Philosophy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Furley, David J. (1983): "The Mechanics of Meteorologica IV: a Prolegomenon to Biology." In: Paul Moraux/Jürgen Wiesner (Eds.), Zweifelhaftes im Corpus Aristotelicum: Studien zu einigen Dubia: Akten des 9. Symposium Aristotelicum, Berlin, 7.-16. September 1981. Peripatoi 14. Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, p. 3-93.

- Gadebusch Bondio, Mariacarla (2005): "'Officinae sanguinis' Theorien zur Hämopoese in der Renaissance." In: Mariacarla Gadebusch Bondio (Ed.), Blood in History and Blood Histories. [Micrologus' Library 13.] Firenze: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, p. 137-167.
- Gerabek, Werner E. (2009): "Romantische Medizin und Religiosität." In: Dinzelbacher, Peter (ed.), Mystik und Natur zur Geschichte ihres Verhältnisses vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart. [Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien 1.] Berlin; New York: Walter De Gruyter, p. 141-154.
- Giglioni, Guido (2015): "Scaliger versus Cardano versus Scaliger." In: Lines, David A. / Kraye, Jill/Laureys, Marc (eds.), Forms of Conflict and Rivalries in Renaissance Europe. Göttingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, p. 109-130.
- Glasner, Ruth (2009): Averroes' Physics: A Turning Point in Medieval Natural Philosophy. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Goddu, André (1984): The Physics of William of Ockham. [Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16.] Leiden: Brill.
- Goldammer, Kurt (ed.) (1965): Ethische, soziale und politische Schriften; Schriften über Ehe, Taufe, Busse und Beichte. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus Abt. 2, Bd. 2.] Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.
- Goynes, Michele/de Leemans, Pieter (eds.) (2007): Aristotle's Problemata in Different Times and Tongues. [Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 39.] Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Grell, Ole Peter (ed.) (1998): Paracelsus: The Man and His Reputation, His Ideas and Their Transformation. [Studies in the History of Christian Thought 85.] Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Hall, Thomas S. (1975): "Euripus; Or, the Ebb and Flow of the Blood." In: Journal of the History of Biology 8. No. 2, p. 321-350.
- Halleux, Robert (1970): "Fécondité des mines et sexualité des pierres dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine." In: Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 48. No. 1, p. 16-25.
- Halleux, Robert (1974): Le problème des métaux dans la science antique. [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liege 209.] Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Hankinson, Robert James (1998): Cause and Explanation in Ancient Greek Thought. Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press.
- Hasse, Dag Nikolaus (2010): Latin Averroes Translations of the First Half of the Thirteenth Century. Hildesheim/New York: Olms.
- Henry, John (2001): "Animism and Empiricism: Copernican Physics and the Origins of William Gilbert's Experimental Method." In: Journal of the History of Ideas 62. No. 1, p. 99-119.
- Hesse, Mary B. (2005): Forces and Fields: The Concept of Action at a Distance in the History of Physics. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications.
- Hiller, Johannes Erich (1952a): "Die Mineralogie des Paracelsus. Teil I: Die naturphilosophischen Gedanken zur Genese und Heilwirkung der Mineralien." In: Philosophia naturalis 2, p. 293-331.
- Hiller, Johannes Erich (1952b): "Die Mineralogie des Paracelsus. Teil II: Mineralien und Bergbau bei Paracelsus." In: Philosophia naturalis 2, p. 435-478.
- Hirai, Hiro (2001): "Les Paradoxes d'Etienne de Clave et le concept de semence dans sa minéralogie." In: Corpus: revue de philosophie 39, p. 45-71.
- Hirai, Hiro (2008): "Les logoi spermatikoi et le concept de semence dans la minéralogie et la cosmogonie de Paracelse." In: Revue d'histoire des sciences 61. No. 2, p. 245.
- Holmes, Brooke (2012): "Sympathy between Hippocrates and Galen: The Case of Galen's Commentary on Epidemics II." In: Pormann, Peter E. (ed.), Epidemics in Context: Greek

- Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition. [Scientia Graeco-Arabica 9.] Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, p. 49-70.
- Hossfeld, Paul (ed.) (1993): Albertus Magnus. Physica, libri 5-8. [Opera omnia 4.2.] Münster i. W: Aschendorff.
- Ideler, Jules Louis (ed.) (1841): "Alexandri Aphrodisiensis Problemata". In: id. (ed.), Physici et medici araeci minores. Berlin: Reimer, p. 3-80.
- Jaeckle, Erwin (1993): "Der Naturphilosoph Paracelsus." In: Dopsch, Heinz/Goldammer, Kurt/Kramml, Peter F. (eds.), Paracelsus (1493 – 1541): keines andern Knecht. Salzburg: A. Pustet, p. 173-180.
- Jammer, Max (1999): Concepts of Force: A Study in the Foundations of Dynamics. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications.
- Johnson, Mark (2010): "Philosophy's Debt to Metaphor." In: Raymond W. Gibbs (Ed.), The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 39-52.
- Kaimakēs, Dēmētrios V. (ed.) (1976): Die Kyraniden. [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 76.]. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain.
- Kamtekar, Rachana (2009): "Knowing by Likeness in Empedocles." In: Phronesis: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy 54. No. 3, p. 215 - 238.
- Kaske, Carol V./Clark, John R. (ed.) (1998): Three Books on Life. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 57.] Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance
- Kerner, D. (1973): "Paracelsus und die 'magnetische Kraft'." In: Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift 115. No. 11, p. 466-470.
- Kiessling, Gottlieb (ed.) (1963): Ioannu tu Tzetzu Biblion historikēs tēs dia stichōn politikōn alpha de kalumenēs: Graece = Joannis Tzetzae historiarum variarum chiliades. Hildesheim: Olms.
- King, W. James (1959): "The Natural Philosophy of William Gilbert and His Predecessors." In: Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology Series Bulletin 218, p. 121-139.
- Kovach, Francis J. (1979): "The Enduring Question of Action at a Distance in Saint Albert the Great." In: The Southwestern Journal of Philosophy 10. No. 3, p. 161-235.
- Kovach, Francis J. (1986): "Action at a Distance in St. Thomas Aquinas." In: Kennedy, Leonard/Marler, lack C. (eds.), Thomistic Papers II. Houston: Center for Thomistic Studies, University of St. Thomas, p. 85-132.
- Kovach, Francis J. (1987): "Aguinas Theory of Action at a Distance: A Critical Analysis." In: idem, Scholastic Challenges to Some Mediaeval and Modern Ideas. Stillwater Okla.: Western Publications, p. 149-177.
- Kovačić, Franjo (2001): Der Begriff der Physis bei Galen vor dem Hintergrund seiner Vorgänger. Philosophie der Antike 12. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Lakoff, George/Johnson, Mark (2003): Metaphors We Live By. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langermann, Y. Tzvi (2011): "Different Hue to Medieval Jewish Philosophy: Four Investigations into an Unstudied Philosophical Text." In: Fontaine, Resianne/Glasner, Ruth/Leicht, Reimund/Veltri, Giuseppe (eds.), Studies in the History of Culture and Science a Tribute to Gad Freudenthal. [Studies in Jewish History and Culture 3.] Leiden/Boston: Brill, p. 71-90.

- Lawn, Brian (1993): The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic Quaestio Disputata: With Special Emphasis on Its Use in the Teaching of Medicine and Science. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 2.] Leiden: Brill.
- Leinsle, Ulrich Gottfried (2009): "Wie treibt man Cardano mit Scaliger aus? Die (Nicht) Rezeption Cardanos an der Jesuitenuniversität Dillingen." In: Muslow, Martin (ed.), Spätrenaissance-Philosophie in Deutschland 1570 – 1650: Entwürfe zwischen Humanismus und Konfessionalisierung, okkulten Traditionen und Schulmetaphysik. [Frühe Neuzeit 124.] Tübingen: Niemeyer, p. 253 – 277.
- Lessing, Michael Benedict (1839): Paracelsus, sein Leben und Denken: Drei Bücher. Berlin:
- Letoublon, Françoise (2014): "The Magnetic Stone of Love. Greek Novel and Poetry." In: Cueva, Edmund P./Byrne, Shannon P. (eds.), Companion to the Ancient Novel. [Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World.] Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, p. 330-351.
- Letter, Paul (2000): Paracelsus: Leben und Werk. Krummwisch: Königsfurt.
- Lohrmann, Dietrich (2008): "Motus continuus und motus perpetuus in der mittelalterlichen Technik und Physik." In: Andreas Speer/David Wirmer (Eds.), Das Sein der Dauer. Miscellanea mediaevalia 34. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter.
- Maclean, Ian (1984): "The Interpretation of Natural Signs: Cardano's De Subtilitate versus Scaliger's Exercitationes." In: Vickers, Brian (ed.), Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 231 – 252.
- Maggiòlo, Mariani (ed.) (1954): Thomas Aquinas. In octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis. Turin/Rome: Marietti.
- Maier, Anneliese (1943): An der Grenze von Scholastik und Naturwissenschaft: Studien zur Naturphilosophie des 14. Jahrhunderts. Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt.
- McGinnis, Jon (transl.) (2009): Avicenna, The Physics of the Healing. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University.
- McVaugh, Michael Rogers (2012): "Losing Ground. The Disappearance of Attraction from the Kidneys." In: Zittel, Claus/Horstmanshoff, Manfred/King, Helen (eds.), Blood, Sweat and Tears: The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe. [Intersections 25.] Leiden/Boston: Brill, p. 103-137.
- Meyer-Steineg, Theodor (1913): "Studien zur Physiologie des Galenos." In: Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin 6. No. 6, p. 417 – 448.
- Moran, Bruce T. (1991): The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical Medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen, 1572 – 1632. [Sudhoffs Archiv, Beihefte 29.] Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Morani, Moreno (ed.) (1987): De natura hominis. [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.] Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Moreau, Elisabeth (2012): "Le substrat galénique des idées médicales d'Isaac Beeckman (1616-1627)." In: Studium 4. No. 3, p. 137-151.
- Nauck, August (ed.) (1886): Porphyrii Platonici Opuscula Selecta. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Oelze, Anselm (2018): Animal Rationality. Later Medieval Theories: 1250-1350. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
- Pagel, Walter (1958): Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance. Basel: Karger.
- Pagel, Walter (1982a): Joan Baptista van Helmont: Reformer of Science and Medicine. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Pagel, Walter (1982b): Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of Renaissance. Basel: Karger.
- Pauli, Heinrich (ed.) (2001): Nicolai de Cusa: Sermones III. [Opera omnia XVIII/2.] Hamburg: Felix Meiner.
- Pines, S. (1961): "Omne quod movetur necesse est ab aliquo moveri: A Refutation of Galen by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Theory of Motion." In: Isis 52. No. 1. 21-54.
- Platnauer, M. (ed.) (1922): Claudian. London; Cambridge, Mass.: Heinemann; Harvard University Press.
- Preisendanz, Karl/Henrichs, Albert (eds.) (1973): Papyri graecae magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Provijn, Dagmar (2014): "Bloody Analogical Reasoning." In: Weber, Erik/Wouters, Dietlinde/Meheus, Joke (eds.), Logic, Reasoning, and Rationality. [Logic, Argumentation and Reasoning 5.] Dordrecht: Springer, p. 217 - 232.
- Radl, Albert (1988): Der Magnetstein in der Antike: Quellen und Zusammenhänge. [Boethius 19.] Wiesbaden/Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag.
- Rashed, Marwan (2011): "Introduction." In: id. (ed.), Alexandre d'Aphrodise, commentaire perdu à la "Physique" d'Aristote (livres IV-VIII) les scholies byzantines: édition, traduction et commentaire. [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina 1.] Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, p. 33-165.
- Rashed, Marwan (ed.) (2015): Al-Hasan ibn Musa al-Nawbakhti. Commentary on Aristotle De Generatione et Corruptione. [Scientia Graeco-Arabica 19.] Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Riddle, John M./ Mulholland, James A. (1980): "Albert on Stones and Minerals." In: Weisheipl, James A. (ed.), Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays. [Studies and Texts, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 49.] Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, p. 203 – 234.
- Röhr, Julius (1923): Der okkulte Kraftbegriff im Altertum. [Philologus, Supplementband 17.1.] Leipzig: Dieterich.
- Roller, Duane H.D. (1959): The De Magnete of William Gilbert. Amsterdam: Hertzberger.
- Rommevaux, Sabine (2010): "Magnetism and Bradwardine's Rule of Motion in Fourteenthand Fifteenth-Century Treatises." In: Early Science and Medicine 15. No. 6, p. 618-647.
- Rutschow, Hans (1965): "Über den Magnetismus bei Paracelsus." Inaugural-Diss. Universität
- Sailer, Vera-Sophia (2012): "Das Buch als Medium der Bildung für die Lebenspraxis bei den Kartäusern." Diss. Universität Wien.
- Sakamoto, Kuni (2016): Julius Caesar Scaliger, Renaissance Reformer of Aristotelianism: A Study of His Exotericae Exercitationes. History of Science and Medicine Library 54. Leiden: Boston: Brill.
- Sánchez Muñoz, Luis/Irene Pajón Leyra (2015): "The Magnetic Stone of Posidippus' Poem Nr. 17: The Earliest Description of Magnetic Polarity in Hellenistic Egypt." In: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 195, p. 30-37.
- Sander, Christoph (2018): "Magnetism in Renaissance Science." In: Sgarbi, Marco (ed.), Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy. Dordrecht: Springer International Publishing, p. 1-6 (https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02848-4_944-1).
- Sander, Christoph (2019): "Magnets and Garlic: An Enduring Antipathy in Early-Modern Science." In: Intellectual History Review (forthcoming), p. 1–38 (https://doi.org/10.1080/ 17496977.2019.1648924).

- Sander, Christoph (2020): "Magnetism for Librarians. Leone Allacci's De magnete (1625) and Its Relation to Giulio Cesare LaGalla's Disputatio de sympathia et antipathia (1623)." In: Erudition and the Republic of Letters (forthcoming).
- Schipperges, Heinrich (1993): "Das Menschenbild des Paracelsus." In: Dopsch, Heinz/Goldammer, Kurt/Kramml, Peter F. (eds.), Paracelsus (1493 – 1541): keines andern Knecht. Salzburg: A. Pustet, p. 181-186.
- Schott, Heinz (2002): "Paracelsus and van Helmont on Imagination: Magnetism and Medicine before Mesmer." In: Scholz Williams, Gerhild/Gunnoe, Charles D. (eds.), Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine and Astrology in Early Modern Europe. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 64.] Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, p. 135-147.
- Schott, Heinz (2011): "Paracelsus und die Magie der Natur." In: Albrecht Classen (Ed.), Religion und Gesundheit: Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, p. 99 – 112.
- Schröter, Joachim (1941): "Die Stellung des Paracelsus in der Mineralogie des 16. Jahrhunderts." In: Schweizerische mineralogische und petrographische Mitteilungen 21. No. 2, p. 313 – 331.
- Schütze, Ingo (2000): Die Naturphilosophie in Girolamo Cardanos De subtilitate. [Humanistische Bibliothek 49.] München: Fink.
- Sharples, R.W. (transl.) (2014): Alexander of Aphrodisias. Quaestiones 1.1-2.15. London et al.: Bloomsbury.
- Strunz, H. (1951): "Die Mineralogie bei Albertus Magnus." In: Acta Albertina Regensburg 20, p. 13-19.
- Sudhoff, Karl (1933): "Die Schriften des sogenannten Basilius Valentinus." In: Philobiblon 6, p. 163 – 170.
- Sudhoff, Karl (ed.) (1925): Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus Abt. 1, Bd. 9.] Hildesheim: Olms.
- Sudhoff, Karl (ed.) (1928): Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus Abt. 1, Bd. 2.] Hildesheim: Olms.
- Sudhoff, Karl (ed.) (1929a): Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus, Abt. 1, Bd. 1.1 Hildesheim: Olms.
- Sudhoff, Karl (ed.) (1929b): Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus, Abt. 1, Bd. 12.] Hildesheim: Olms.
- Sudhoff, Karl (ed.) (1930): Medizinische, naturwissenschaftliche und philosophische Schriften. [Sämtliche Werke [von] Theophrast von Hohenheim gen. Paracelsus, Abt. 1, Bd. 2.] Hildesheim: Olms.
- Taub, Liba Chaia (2012): "Physiological Analogies and Metaphors in Explanations of the Earth and the Cosmos." In: Zittel, Claus/Horstmanshoff, Manfred/King, Helen (eds.), Blood, Sweat and Tears: The Changing Concepts of Physiology from Antiquity into Early Modern Europe. [Intersections 25.] Leiden/Boston: Brill, p. 41-63.
- Temkin, Owsei (1972): "Fernel, Joubert, and Erastus on the Specificity of Cathartic Drugs." In: Debus, Allen G. (ed.), Science, Medicine and Society in the Renaissance: Essays to Honor Walter Page. New York: Science History Publ., p. 61-68.

- Temkin, Owsei (1977): The Double Face of Janus and Other Essays in the History of Medicine. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Theoharides, Theoharis C. (ed./transl.) (1971): "Galen on Marasmus". In: Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 26, p. 369-390.
- Thijssen, Johannes M.M. Hans/Streijger, Michiel/Bakker, Paul J.J.M. (ed.) (2010): John Buridan. Quaestiones super libros De generatione et corruption Aristotelis. [History of Science and Medicine Library 17.] Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Ugaglia, Monica (ed.) (2005): Leonardo Garzoni. Trattati della calamita. [Filosofia e scienza nell'età moderna 3.] Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Vilborg, Ebbe (ed.) (1955): Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Clitophon. [Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 1.] Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Wang, Xiaona (2016): "Francis Bacon and Magnetical Cosmology." In: Isis 107. No. 4, p. 707 – 721.
- Wardy, Robert (2007): The Chain of Change: A Study of Aristotle's Physics VII. [Cambridge Classical Studies.] Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weill-Parot, Nicolas (2012): "Magnetic Attraction as a Challenge to the Inanimate Realm. The Example of Walter Burley." In: Jacquart, Danielle/Weill-Parot, Nicolas (eds.), Substances minérales et corps animés: de la philosophie de la matière aux pratiques médicales, 1100-1500. Histoire de savoirs Montreuil: Omniscience, p. 87-110.
- Weill-Parot, Nicolas (2013): Points aveugles de la nature: la rationalité scientifique médiévale face à l'occulte, l'attraction magnétique et l'horreur du vide (XIIIe-milieu du XVe siècle). [Histoire 20.] Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Weisheipl, James A. (1965): "The Principle Omne quod movetur ab alio movetur in Medieval Physics." In: *Isis* 56. No. 1, p. 26-45.
- Wöhrle, Georg/ Strohmaier, Gotthard (eds.) (2009): Die Milesier: Thales. [Traditio praesocratica 1.] Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.
- Wolfson, Harry Austryn (1929): Crescas' Critique of Aristotle; Problems of Aristotle's Physics in Jewish and Arabic Philosophy. [Harvard Semitic Series 6.] Cambridge: Harvard University
- Zanetto, Joseph (ed.) (1985): Theophylacti Simocatae epistulae. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

For the entire article, please ask:

c-sander@heimat.de