

Daide Ermacora

Monstrous animal siblings in Europe:
from the *frater Salernitanorum*
to the *sooterkin*



Boletín de Literatura Oral

Anejo n.º 7 (2022)

Davide Ermacora

Monstrous animal siblings in Europe:
from the *frater Salernitanorum*
to the *sooterkin*

Boletín de Literatura Oral
Anejo nº 7 (2022)

Esta
publicación está
sujeta a una licencia *Creative
Commons Attribution 4.0 International license*.
Informamos de que está permitido copiar y redistribuir el material
en cualquier medio o formato, así como remezclar, transformar y crear a partir
del material con cualquier finalidad, incluso comercial.
En cualquiera de estos supuestos, debe
reconocer adecuadamente
la autoría.



Reconocimiento
CC BY 4.0

2022 de la edición:

Universidad de Jaén

Davide ERMACORA

Ilustración de portada: a seventeenth-century woodcut from Thomas Lanfiere: *The Wonder of Wonders, or, The Strange Birth in Hampshire...*, London, Printed for J. Hose and E. Oliver, 1675.

Boletín de Literatura Oral, anejo, n.º 7

I.S.S.N.: 2173-0695. DOI: 10.17561/blo.vanejo7.5707

DIRECTOR / EDITOR

David Mañero Lozano (Universidad de Jaén)



SECRETARIA DE REDACCIÓN

Miriam Pimentel García (Universidad de Jaén)



EDITORIA DE RESEÑAS

Carmen Conti Jiménez (Universidad de Jaén)



COMITÉ EDITORIAL

Rafael Alarcón Sierra (Universidad de Jaén)

Rafael Beltrán (Universidad de Valencia)

Alberto del Campo Tejedor (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla)

Cristina Castillo Martínez (Universidad de Jaén)

Pedro M. Cátedra (Universidad de Salamanca)

José Checa Beltrán (CSIC, Madrid)

Jesús Antonio Cid (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Paloma Díaz-Mas (CSIC, Madrid)

Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Marta Haro Cortés (Universidad de Valencia)

José Julio Martín Romero (Universidad de Jaén)

Camiño Noia Campos (Universidad de Vigo)

José Manuel Pedrosa (Universidad de Alcalá)



COMITÉ CIENTÍFICO INTERNACIONAL

†Samuel G. Armistead (University of California, Davis)

†Alan D. Deyermond (Queen Mary and Westfield College, Londres)

Giuseppe Di Stefano (Universidad de Pisa)

Margit Frenk (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Aurelio González (COLMEX, México)

Mariana Masera (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Suzanne H. Petersen (Universidad de Washington)

Augustin Redondo (Universidad Sorbonne Nouvelle)

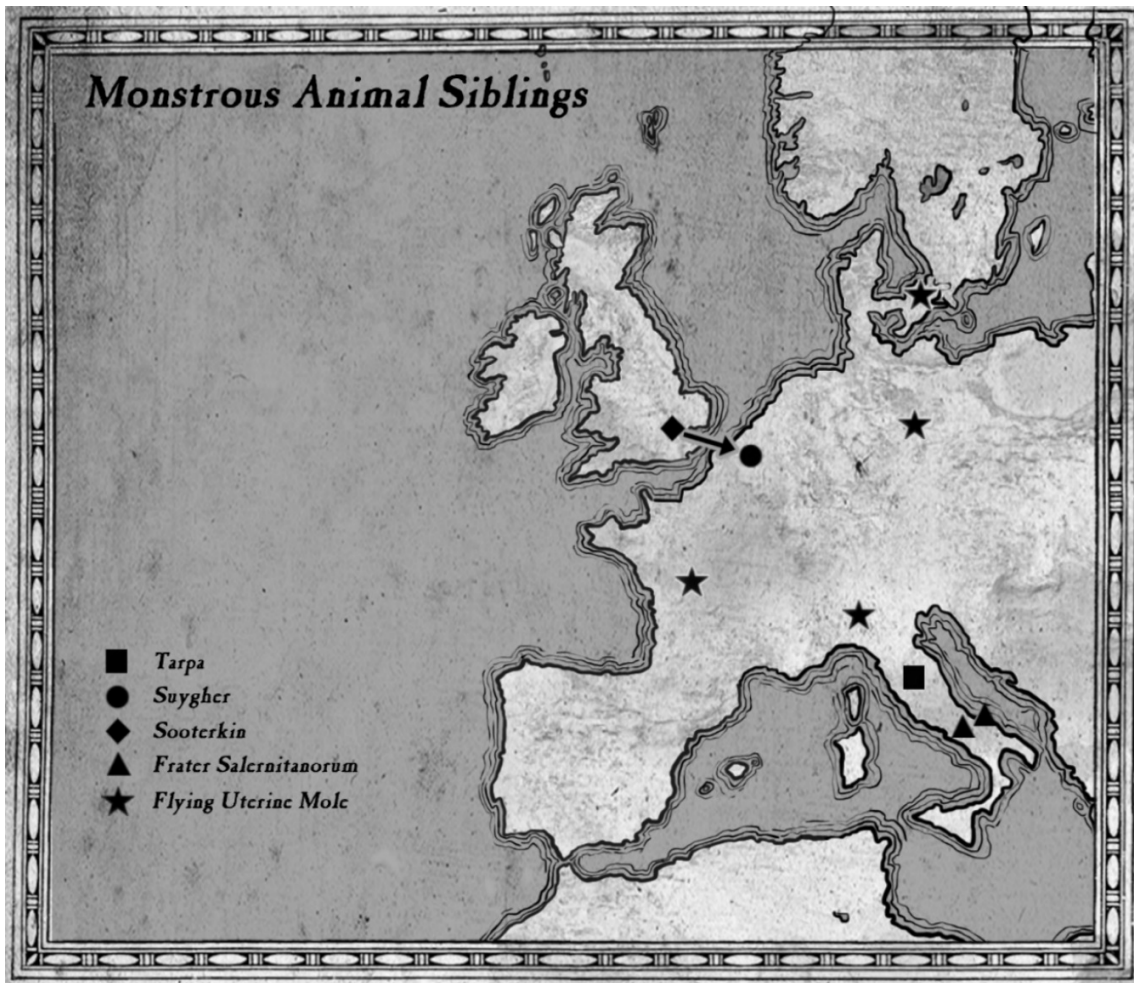
To Valerio,
who gave a whole new meaning to my family

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	6
Chapter 1: Introducing the medieval <i>frater Salernitanorum</i>	9
Chapter 2: Literary texts with the <i>frater Salernitanorum</i>	13
Chapter 3: The snake-twin complex.....	19
Chapter 4: Monstrous births and orality.....	29
Chapter 5: The derogatory <i>frater Salernitanorum</i>	31
Chapter 6: Flying uterine moles.....	36
Chapter 7: The Dutch <i>suygher/sooterkin</i>	43
Chapter 8: The Netherlands, England and the <i>sooterkin</i>	49
Conclusions.....	56
Appendix 1: Monstrous menstrual conceptions	61
Appendix 2: Some mythological Irish ‘worm’-stories	68

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An earlier draft of chapters 1-2 and 5 of this book was read, November 27, 2020, as part of the two-day online conference ‘Dimensioni culturali e scientifiche del meraviglioso in età moderna’ (University of Bari Aldo Moro, University of Naples Federico II and University of Campania Luigi Vanvitelli). Appendix 1 was the basis of a talk I gave, October 21, 2021, at the symposium ‘Indo-European Ecologies’ held at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study, Uppsala. I am grateful to Mireille Ausécache, Chiara Benati, Luke Demaitre, Barbara Hillers, José Manuel Pedrosa, Rodo Pfister, Michele Pistocchi, Giulia Zornetta and Gabriella Zuccolin for bibliography and advice. Simon Young and two anonymous referees provided valuable comments on this study that led to its significant improvement. Alberto de Antoni and Tommaso Braccini helped me with several Latin translations. None of them is responsible for the views expressed while, unless otherwise stated, translations are my own. Folklore motif references are to Stith Thompson’s *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Thompson, 1955-1958).



[Figure 1. A distribution map for monstrous animal siblings in Europe.]

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCING THE MEDIEVAL *FRATER SALERNITANORUM*

Among monstrous congenital birth traditions (van der Lugt, 2004; Spinks, 2009; Chen, 2011; Baratta, 2017), one of the most interesting and understudied types is that of an animal being born together with a baby; something closely related to, but different from the more common ‘animal born in the place of a baby’ type (motif T554 *Woman gives birth to animal*, and related sub-motifs). In Antiquity, there are occasional colourful myths about reptiles born to human beings. They were placed in a religious context and they were taken —like monstrous births more generally— to be omens¹. Ancient monstrous births were never double: either the animal alone was delivered, or ‘strange’ albeit still human children were said to have come forth simultaneously (multiple births of twins, triplets, quadruplets and so forth) (Friedman, 1981; Borghini, 1996; Gevaert and Laes, 2013; Dasen, 2005a; 2005b). The idea of the delivery of a child and an animal cannot be found, either, in the ‘prodigious’ births of Greek and Roman gods and heroes, nor in their myths dealing with hybridization and interspecific generation (see, for example, Romani, 2004; Li Causi, 2008; Bettini, 2013). Monstrous animal siblings seem to be absent from the writings of the ancients.

Compare this to medieval reports of women giving birth to the *frater Salernitanorum* (‘brother of the Salernitans’) or the *frater Lombardorum* (‘brother of the Lombards’). These are first documented in the 1100s in the writings of the Salernitan medical school: what has been called a «‘novelty’ [in] the medieval debate on twins» (Zuccolin, 2018: 100). According to these reports the *frater* was a small animal, a ‘worm’ (*vermis*) or ‘something’ resembling a mouse (*mus*), but most typically a toad (*bufo* or *crapallus*)². The *frater* was generated in the uterus, and was expelled from the body at birth together with a normal human child. An alternative name for the *frater* was *arpo*, an uncertain zoonym also attested in sources as (*h*)*arpa*/*arpia*, presumably deriving from Latin *arpas* ‘claws’: it was certainly etymologized in this way by French doctor Jean de Tournemire (1329-1396) (Creutz, 1941: 334; van der Lugt, 2004: 126-127; Ausécache, 2007: 17; Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 462; Latinitatis Medii Aevi Lexicon Bohemorum, 2020, s.v. *harpe*; Foscati, 2021: 122). Other names for the *frater* focus on its beastly characteristics: among them *pecus* ‘animal’, *fera* ‘beast, wild animal’ and *quadrupes* ‘four footer’ (Thorndike in Rufinus, 1945: XXXII and 48; Martín Ferreira, 2010: 159-160).

The syntagm *frater Salernitanorum* (and variants) was, from at least as early as the High Middle Ages, a lived phenomenon and a literary topos in the former southern Italian domains of the Lombards —the so-called *Langobardia Minor* and Apulia (a province of *Langobardia Minor*). The «mishap» (Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 461)

¹ See motifs D1812.5.1.35.1§ *Birth of deformed person (animal) as bad omen* in El-Shamy (2021: 8); T554.7 *Woman gives birth to a snake*; and T554.7.1 *Woman gives birth to reptile (lizard)* in Kirtley (1971: 466). There are obscure Assyro-Babylonian ominous teratomantic descriptions (*izbus*) of women giving birth to animals including snakes, tortoises, birds, wolves and asses: see the Akkadian omen series *Šumma Izbu* and *Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin* (translations in de Zorzi, 2014; Freedman, 2017; see Rochberg, 2016: 111-112). Pliny and Julius Obsequens recorded two instances of a woman giving birth to a snake, an omen which portended civic/social discord, war or the rise of a military strong man (Citroni Marchetti, 2008; Struck, 2014: 314-315).

² Medieval zoology, it will be remembered, often classified worms, batrachians, insects, snakes, etc. together, all being considered as creeping, disgusting and dangerous (Scanlan, 1996: 397). From a linguistic point of view, the *frater* may be perhaps encompassed within the zoological ‘wug’ category (‘worm’ + ‘bug’) coined by Brown (1984).

concerned, in fact, the women of a particular Italian region which was ruled by Lombards until it was seized by Norman invaders in the eleventh century (Foscati, 2021: 123; see Zornetta, 2020 for the historical-political context). If the beastly toad ‘double’ was not killed on emerging —before, in fact, it touched the ground— the mother or, depending on the source, the baby twin would die. There may be an ethnological reference here to the vertical posturing of parturients, delivering their children in a sitting or squatting position (O’Neill, 1974: 236; see Kirchhoff 1983; Dundes 2003 for the history of maternal birthing position). A couple of twelfth-century medical authors (Matthaeus Platearius, Gilles de Corbeil) included the detail that the Salernitans held sticks waiting to kill the toad as it came out; they even covered the floor of the house with fabrics to prevent any dangerous contact with the floor³. (A later source added that a pot of water was kept at hand to put the *frater* in, before it was thrown in a river or the sea: Spanish text in de Torquemada, 1570: 11r, translation in de Torquemada, 1600: 6). Salerno women could kill the toad within them by drinking celery (or parsley) juice and leeks; or they could take a celery and sage tonic, in the moments immediately following the monstrous birth⁴.

Medievalists agree among themselves that we are dealing here with an «ancient prejudice» (de Renzi, 1859: 331), «old beliefs» (Ausécache, 2007: 21), «popular myths» (Demaitre, 2013: 316), «fanciful legends and “popular” beliefs» (Foscati, 2021: 119 and 123) which «find their origin in medieval folklore» (van der Lugt, 2004: 183). Explanations for the monstrous birth of the *frater* were seemingly not part of the original story. The causes advanced by medieval authors to explain the monstrous *frater*, and the intimate connection between it and an infant, were, however, necessarily medical —something which has naturally attracted the attention of historians of medicine. In 1842, German physician Ludwig Choulant (1791-1861) stated that he hoped the *frater* would be subject to a more detailed investigation by gynaecologists and by those working in «the field of historical-ethnographic pathology» (Choulant, 1842: 308). Scholars have, since then, understood the *frater* in realistic/naturalistic terms: there could be, for instance, a correspondence with medieval abortion techniques (van der Lugt, 2004: 127; Ausécache, 2007: 20, both relying on Jacquart and

³ On the basis of this element, Plomteux (1965: 136) stressed the chthonic aspects of belief in the *frater*. Ausécache in de Corbeil (2017: 463) saw here, instead, a «process with a magical character», and recalled two passages from Pliny in which conception is aided if a woman keeps objects such as the placenta of a bitch or grass worms fastened to her body without them having touched the ground (add *Naturalis historia* 20: 3 for cucumber seeds: Latin text and translation in Jones, 1951: 6-7). In Pliny, the «characteristic magical requirement» that an object must not have touched the ground is, indeed, recurrent (Harris, 2020: 12). It is also worth noting that birth ceremonies, from around the world, go in the other direction and have the new-born placed on the ground as a form of welcoming.

⁴ Most of the relevant sources on the *frater* are gathered in Montero Cartelle and González Manjarrés (2018: 64, 83, 361, 587-588 and 698-699, s.v. *arpia, bufo, frater, mola, pecus*). See also Choulant (1842: 307-308), Fischer (1921), Diepgen (1924), O’Neill (1974: 223 and 233), van der Lugt (2004: 126-127, 442-443 and 508), Bates (2005: 129), Ausécache (2007), Ausécache in de Corbeil (2017: 461-464), Green (2008b: 500-501), Recio Muñoz (2011: 133), Demaitre (2013: 316-317), Zuccolin (2019: 49-53). In the twelfth-century medical commentary on the *Tabulae Salerni* by Bernard of Provence, a French physician who visited Salerno, *frater Salernitanorum* is clearly used as a synonym for ‘toad’: «It is said that toads (*grapaldi*) come to the sage and, at its root, vomit their poison and bite it. In this way, the sage is contaminated and poisoned, and its leaves, bitten by the toad (*frater Salernitanorum*), rot and dry up: the latter is deadly, while the sage which has green and vigorous leaves is good» (Latin text in de Renzi, 1859: 328, Italian translation in Molle, 1998: 339). As noted by Pastore Stocchi (1973), this is the earliest source for belief in the poisonous properties of toad-infested sage, famously depicted in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* 4: 7.

Thomasset, 1985: 223-224); or with «The notion [...] that short birth intervals are dangerous: the new fetus is like a parasite [taking] the woman's blood that should normally be turned into milk to feed the newborn» (van de Walle, 1997: 189; see, similarly, O'Neill, 1974: 223; Roux, 2008: 174-175).

Alternatively, medical historians have recalled the history of twin deliveries, the 'blighted twin birth' phenomenon and the related notion of deformity associated with the medieval category of *monstra* (Choulant in de Corbeil, 1826: 167; O'Neill, 1974; 1975: 83; Zuccolin, 2017: 86-87; 2019: 53-54); or they have explored fetal development, miscarriages, superfetation/superfecundation and the formation of the hydatidiform mole, and the moral connotations that were attached to these conditions, as well as pre-modern theories about 'bad' menstruation and the internal corruption of the male seed (see, for example, O'Neill, 1974; van der Lugt, 2004: 126-127, 183 and 442-443; McClive and King, 2007: 235-236; Ausécache, 2007; Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 79-80 and 464). Indeed, today, discussion of the *frater* has also become an exercise in retrospective diagnosis. As an «obstetrical rarity» (O'Neill, 1975: 83), was the *frater* really a uterine mole? A fibroid tumor? An animal-like mummified twin fetus? A fetus «born with an anterior neural tube closure defect» (Boer, Radziun and Oostra, 2017: 39)?⁵

From the twelfth century to the early modern period, one reads, in natural philosophy and medical speculations on the influence of male seed, that «the link between an abnormal "birth" and an evil conception was easily made» (Knoeff, 2009: 48; see further Ausécache, 2007; Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 464, and chapters 2 and 5 for Gilles de Corbeil). One might remember a relatively late source on the *frater*, the description contained in the treatise *De aegritudinibus matricis* 32, by the Pavian doctor and professor Antonio Guaineri (ca. 1380-1455), written before 1440: the Apulian peasants (*incolis*) once told him the story of a toad (*bufo*) born together with a child (Apulia is one of the *frater*'s homelands). The scientific explanation for this event—adds Guaineri, taking the narrative very seriously—depends on the different actions of male sperm, which finds its way to the good or to the corrupt part of the uterus; thus, deadly double pregnancies can result and usually the toad destroys the baby immediately after birth with a venomous bite (*venenoso morsu*) (Latin text in Guaineri, 2013: 102; see also Rodnite Lemay, 1985: 327; Terpstra, 2010: 88; Foscati, 2021: 132).

In a range of late medieval/early modern works one finds the medical conviction that the *frater* and other monstrous births are, in essence, an animalesque misinterpretation of the hydatidiform mole. The syntagm *frater Salernitanorum* (and variants) has been, historically, one of the names used to label the rare piece of shapeless flesh originating in the womb called *mola uteri*, «distinctive because of the perplexing absence of a fetus» (Worth-Stylianou, 2019b; see O'Neill, 1974: 223; Ausécache, 2007: 16-19; Conforti, 2009; Nielsen, 2017: 126-128; Montero Cartelle and González Manjarrés, 2018: 587 and 699, s.v. *mola, pecus*). Some authors established an equivalence between the *frater* and the uterine mole: for instance, the French doctor Bernard de Gordon in his 1305 medical treatise *Lilium medicine* 7: 18 (Martín Ferreira, 2010: 160; Demaitre, 2013: 316). Other medical works, such as the *Practica maior* completed ca. 1440-1446 by the Italian doctor Michele Savonarola (1385-1468),

⁵ As usual, the retrospective diagnosis of symptoms described in historical sources opens up more problems than it solves. As many have noted, in the attempt to extract purely medical data that can never be confirmed, there is the risk of anachronistically projecting contemporary medical categories of thinking into the past (take the lucid pages by Laes, 2018: 10-12, 61 and 78).

differentiated between the *frater* and pathological uterine formations resulting from the autonomous reproductive capacity of women (Zuccolin, 2019: 50-51)⁶. The long-standing mole interpretation of monstrous animal siblings has been questioned, with good arguments, by Alan Bates: he noted that one of the characteristics of a complete hydatidiform mole is that there is no associated fetus (Bates, 2003: 9; 2005: 131-132; *contra*: Taruffi, 1881: 165-166; 1889: 95-119; Hoeppli, 1959: 94-95; Gélis, 1991: 258-259; Angelini, 2012: 76; Worth-Stylianou, 2017a: 65; 2019a, and many others). Twin pregnancy with a complete uterine mole and a coexisting normal live fetus is a very uncommon medical phenomena, with an incidence of 1/22,000 to 1/100,000 (see, for example, Vimercati, et al., 2013; Sheik, et al., 2015). The rarity of this condition does not make it a particularly attractive candidate for monstrous births⁷.

⁶ The Dominican theologian and philosopher Albertus Magnus (*ca.* 1200-1280) associated the hydatidiform mole and toads produced within women, but he did not establish an identification between them: «in some [regions], as it is said and as I have heard, a toad is always produced with the [uterine] mole, since its matter is better suited for the production of a toad» (Latin text in Magnus, 1955: 218, translation in Magnus, 2008: 336). On this passage and on Albertus' wider theorizing on uterine moles, see van der Lugt (2004: 126), Ausécache (2007: 16), Foscati (2021: 120-122).

⁷ Though note that the caul birth, one of the most widespread signallers for supernatural gifts and a common foundation for many supernatural systems around the world, occurs only in 1/80,000 births (Belmont, 1971; Conese, 2018). According to Taruffi (1889: 97 and 107), a twin pregnancy mole + normal fetus was already described by Hippocrates: I was not able to identify any such detail in Hippocratic works. Hippocrates has, however, the first description of the uterine mole in medical writing: *De mulierum affectibus/De morbis mulierum* 1: 71, 2: 178, dating to the late 5th or early 4th century BC (King, 2007: 61; McClive and King, 2007: 223; Cilione, Gazzaniga and Zampieri, 2020; Foscati, 2021: 117).

CHAPTER 2: LITERARY TEXTS WITH THE *FRATER SALERNITANORUM*

Historians of medicine have not realized that beliefs about the *frater Salernitanorum* are also attested in a range of non-medical works. The still understudied convergence of literary and medical *frater* discourses is, indeed, fruit of the «typical pre-modern fascination for phenomena that were at once both monstrous and wonderful» (Zuccolin, 2019: 45). A little-known medieval occurrence is to be found in a dense section on «fabulous tales of marvels» (Merke, 1984: 134) in the *Historia orientalis XCII*: 214-218, written in 1216-1224 by French canon Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1165-1240). The *Historia orientalis* is the first part of Jacques' history of Jerusalem (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), a text which became enormously popular and which survives in numerous manuscript copies (see Jessalynn, 2003 on reception and dissemination). After having briefly introduced monstrous humans such as English men with tails and French men with horns or dog heads, Jacques writes: «In Lombardy children born with toads coming out before (*in fronte*) [them]. If one of [these children] comes into the world without a toad, his mother is considered to be adulterous by her husband because she has conceived the child with a stranger» (Latin text in Jacques de Vitry, 2008: 408).

Modern French translations of the *Historia orientalis* have rendered *in fronte* not as 'ahead, before', but as «on the forehead» (Jacques de Vitry, 2005: 301; 2008: 409) — thus misconstruing the monstrous animal sibling. Indeed, we arguably have, for these translators, something like a birthmark. This misunderstanding of Jacques' Latin seems to go back a long way and reflects translators' struggle with an alien idea. Jacques' passage may be the ultimate (first or second-hand) source of Pierre Bersuire's (ca. 1300-1362) Book XIV of his *Reductorium morale*, a collection of *exempla* written in Latin ca. 1320-1344 which also gives the toad story: *In Italia etiam aliqui sunt cum buffone in fronte nati: teste Gervasio sine hoc vero nati, non legitimithori esse censentur* (text in Bersuire, 1575: 654). Then, around 1380, an anonymous cleric translated Bersuire into Middle French in the *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, an illustrated geographical compendium. The toad which is born before the Lombard baby becomes, in this work, a 'toad on the forehead of babies' (*crappault ou front*): a French antecedent for the translation of *in fronte* chosen by modern French editors? Here follows a translation of the *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, and thus of Bersuire, in which the *frater* is loosely rendered as a 'toadstone' (!) — a motif which has nothing to do with the tradition of the monstrous animal siblings:

Gervaise [of Tilbury?] says that in Italy there are some races of men whose children, when they come from the mothers' wombs, all have a toadstone [*sic*] on their foreheads (*les enfans quant ilz naissent du ventre de leurs meres ont tous ung crappault ou front*). And if anyone is born without having this toadstone [*sic*], it is a sign that the child is not legitimate or from a faithful marriage. (Middle French text and translation in Friedman, Figg and Giogoli, 2018: 296)⁸

⁸ Note that neither Bersuire nor the editors of the *Le livre des merveilles du monde* — as noted above, a literal translation of Bersuire's Book XIV — knew about the *frater* story-complex. Bersuire relies on the authority of a certain *Gervasio*, perhaps Gervaise of Tilbury (ca. 1140-1220): this does not appear to be a reference to Gervaise's *Otia imperialia*, though, an early thirteenth-century collection of marvels cited elsewhere by Bersuire (see Friedman, Figg and Giogoli, 2018: 296: «Not found in Gervaise»).

Jacques' 'normative' writing on the *frater* implies that monstrous offspring are the rule in Lombardy and not a direct product of an adulterous *affaire*. In Jacques, «The toad would be, as paradoxical as it may seem, the guarantee of the fidelity of the women» (Pérez-Simon, 2018: 60). This is counter-intuitive —one finds many legends, with a strong moral flavour, in which «the sins of the parents are made incarnate in their [monstrous] children» (Halpert, 1958: 241); while in universal folklore «Often twins are thought to be the offspring of adultery»: think about motifs Q551.8 *Deformity as punishment* and T587.1 *Birth of twins an indication of unfaithfulness in wife* (El-Shamy, 2021: 5-6; see further on this theme Armistead, 2000: 139-141; Ashliman, 2016; Davides, 2016). There are psychological motivations: «Parents who have not been given a reason for a neonatal defect often look upon what has happened as a penalty» (Lipkin and Cohen, 1980: 47). The toad episode is missing from Jacques de Vitry's section on monstrous humans translated into Old French by Gossuin de Metz's in his verse encyclopaedia *Image du monde*, written in 1245 (text of the fourteenth-century prose version in Gossuin de Metz, 1913: 134). A deliberate omission? Perhaps the *frater* made little sense for de Metz. I shall return to this point below.

Jacques was later taken up in Book III (*De monstruosis hominibus orientis* 5: 25) of Thomas de Cantimpré's encyclopedia *Liber de natura rerum*, published ca. 1240. Thomas wrote: «In that region [i.e. Lombardy?], so says Jacobus, children are born together with a toad. But if [one] is born without a toad, [his or her] mother is judged to be an adulteress and, as she has conceived with another, is repudiated by her husband» (Latin text in de Cantimpré, 1973: 99; Friedman, 1974: 128, translation in Hope, 2017, slightly modified)⁹. In the *De monstruosis hominibus* 1215-1217, an anonymous poem about monsters dating from around 1285-1290, a sort of moralized translation in Old French of Cantimpré, it is said that Jacques de Vitry had written that «Certain [foreign] women who live there guilty of being adulteresses give birth to a toad and a child at the same time» (*d'aucunes femes qui la sont / qui d'adultere pariunt / I crapaut avec .i. enfant*) (text in Hilka, 1933: 55, amended by Pérez-Simon, 2018: 61; there is a forthcoming edition with modern French translation by Dittmar and Pérez-Simon, 2021). Here, the anonymous author reverses Jacques' statement by making the birth of the toad a proof of adultery: the author was likely influenced by the adulterous relationship/monstrous birth nexus, and 'corrected' Jacques. This would be part of the well-known cognitive processes of unfamiliar elements being reinterpreted as something familiar (Pérez-Simon, 2018: 60-61; compare Dalberg, 2008 for folk-etymology). Illuminations with women, toads and babies appear in several manuscripts of Cantimpré's *Liber de natura rerum* —note that this is another medieval work which was widely read and which has an extremely rich manuscript tradition (van den Abeele, 2008).

⁹ Thomas of Cantimpré was taken up in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* 31: 118, ca. 1244 (Douai 1624 edition: Latin text in de Beauvais, 1624: col. 2388). The precise name of the region is not reported by Thomas. The fact that before these lines Thomas quotes some examples of monsters in the East, including monsters living in the Indian mountains, led Hope (2017) to think that Thomas placed the birth of toads in «the mountains of India» as well.



[Figure 2. A woman has given birth to a toad and a baby and is nursing them. From the *Liber de natura rerum*, MS 320, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, f. 45v (dating ca. 1290). Compare the miniature with a woman holding a child in her lap with a toad sitting at a mother's feet, in the 1456 German MS M. ch. f. 150, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, f. 51vr (Hünemörder, 2001: 28).]



[Figure 3. Left: a «traditional birth attendant» (Green, 2013: 349) holding the baby and the *frater Salernitanorum*. From MS Add. 11390, London, British Library, f. 4r (ca. 1300-1325), containing Jacob van Maerlant's late thirteenth-century natural encyclopedia *Der naturen bloeme*. This work, written in Middle Dutch, was heavily influenced by Thomas of Cantimpré. Right: another miniature of the *frater* from the MS KB, KA 16, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, f. 43r, which has a copy of *Der naturen bloeme* and which was produced in Flanders ca. 1350 (Green, 2021).]



[Figure 4. The wicked Roman Emperor Nero giving birth to a frog. From MS 33, J. Paul Getty Museum, f. 226, dating *ca.* 1400-1410, which contains a copy of Jans der Enikel's late thirteenth-century world chronicle in verses *Weltchronik* (Middle High German text in Jans der Enikel, 1891: 450-451), in turn probably based on Rudolf von Ems' earlier *Weltchronik* (middle of 1200s). Compare the same scene depicted in another fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript with Jans der Enikel's work: MS Spencer 38, The New York Public Library (Alexander, Marrow and Sandler, 2005: 115). This has nothing to do with the *frater Salernitanorum*, but illustrates a humorous medieval legend widely attested from the mid 1100s (*exemplum* no. 645 *Birth, Obscene (I)* in Tubach, 1969: 53). Wishing to transcend the limits of manhood by undergoing the painful experience of childbirth, Nero summons his court doctors. Through the swallowing of a sweet or a magic potion, he takes a small frog/toad/worm into his belly. At the end of the story there is often a «fanciful etymology» (Boyarin, 2014: 32). The frog jumps out from Nero's mouth: hence the *Lateranum* name of Nero's palace, from *lata rana* 'born frog' (Graf, 1923: 267-272 and 284; Zapperi, 1983: 115-125; Perrin, 1992; Darriulat, 1995; Le Quellec, 1997; Boxus and Poucet in Jean d'Outremeuse, 2007).]

An interesting question is whether Jacques de Vitry, writing in the early thirteenth century, took his *frater* from a medical source. Intuitively, as I said above, a woman who betrayed her husband would be punished with a *frater*. In Jacques, instead, women are considered to be adulterous if they *do not* conceive toads. Marie-Geneviève Grossel suggested that Jacques' double birth of a child and a toad-like creature is «a piece of gossip gathered in the field» (Grossel, 2005: 58). This is a real possibility given that, at the time, «folklore and hearsay from travelers [had] become an important source of natural history» (Friedman, 2019: 20 and 39), and we know that Jacques went to Italy several times. But Grossel was evidently unaware of the presence of the *frater* story-complex in medieval medical writings. During the Middle Ages, medicine informed literary authors and their readership: literary, religious and medical knowledge often overlapped (see, for example, Leahy, 2015 for England). Apparently, Jacques relied on medical works: did Jacques unintentionally deform the information contained in his source(s)? There are reasons for rejecting this explanation. Maud Pérez-Simon has shown that the late twelfth-century medical poem *De uirtutibus et laudibus compositorum medicaminum* 664-719, by Gilles de Corbeil, a French doctor who also studied medicine in Salerno, gives context to Jacques' *frater* (Pérez-Simon, 2018: 59-61). Gilles had already linked the behaviour of adulterous women from Lombardy and the *frater*. More precisely, for Gilles the animal offspring was the proof that the Salernitan woman had not committed adultery. A close reading of Gilles shows that there is, by no means, a lack of logic in Jacques.

According to Gilles, the Salernitan wife is notorious for being unfaithful. She is easily seduced by foreigners: a passing French man or a traveling merchant (*Francus [...] uagus mercator*). So, when she is expecting a legitimate child, the Salernitan wife takes advantage of her pregnancy for adulterous sex: the immediate consequence is that she becomes doubly pregnant. Gilles, in fact, joined the belief—a *hapax* in the *frater* story-complex—that the first child ‘placed’ (through the sperm) in the womb, i.e. the legitimate child, is always born in second place; the monstrous *frater*, conceived after an illegitimate relationship, is instead born first¹⁰. In seeing the *frater* quitting the body, the husband is happily reassured that the upcoming human child is his legitimate child. The wife has her honour restored: «The birth of the monster, preceding that of the legitimate child, in a way “washes away” the fault from which it arose» (Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 462-463; Latin text in de Corbeil, 2017: 311-313, partial French translation in Ausécache, 2007: 6 and 12-13). Gilles’ satirical and misogynistic take on the *frater* is one of the earliest bio-medical passages explicitly dealing with monsters and sexual reproduction (I will return, in chapter 5, to Gilles de Corbeil). It is of course impossible to say *exactly* what Jacques’ sources are: he may have used, say, an unknown medical writer like Gilles, or he may have heard about the *frater* first-hand in Italy or from informants elsewhere. What should be clear is that Jacques de Vitry had transmitted, in the late thirteenth century, coherent beliefs (Pérez-Simon, 2018: 50). The problem for Gilles and Jacques, one understands, would have been if the Salernitan women had just had a single human child. This could have meant that they had broken their marriage vows.

Another non-medical *frater* text was written in Leonine hexameters and inserted into a group of poems on mirabilia and natural wonders (*De rebus obscuris* 12). It was produced, ca. 1200, at the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans (Hertfordshire) by an anonymous English cleric (Schmidt, 1968: 192 and 198; Thomson, 1980: 151-153). St. Albans had, between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a succession of monk-physicians trained in Salerno – some even became abbots (Knowles, 1963, 518 and 524; Falk, 2020: 225 and 226; see further Green, 2011: 174; Leahy, 2015: 14 for the dissemination of textual material from the medical school at Salerno in late medieval England). In the St. Albans text, there are no adulteresses and no sense of forbidden sexual intercourse, but there is the familiar idea that the new-born child dies soon after the appearance of a toad. The poet assimilates the toad, in fact, to original sin: although the mother is not explicitly portrayed as sinner, it is said that if the ‘punitive’ *frater Salernitanorum* is not immediately eliminated—through baptism?—it leads the individual to eternal death. The author also uses *captatio benevolentiae*. He submits, with rhetorical humility, that he deals with issues that do not deserve to be discussed: perhaps because they are difficult to believe or because they are about profane matters (Schmidt, 1968: 192). Here is the poem:

On the toad. A certain birth is condemned to carry a foul mark (*notam fedam*). When the mother gives birth, a deformed and dark toad comes out before the offspring. If [the toad] does not disappear with the light (*cum luce*, «when it comes to light» or «through

¹⁰ A similar logic is attested, in the Middle Ages, in speculations on multiple births. There may then be an implicit aetiological role for superfetation/superfecundation in Gilles, even if this phenomenon was never explicitly connected to the *frater* by medieval authors (Ausécache, 2007: 12-13; Roux, 2008: 174; Zuccolin, 2019: 49; Foscati, 2021: 123). This would perhaps speak against the *frater* being about medieval anxiety over intercourse with pregnant women.

baptism» if allegorical), the new-born is doomed to die. Mystery. The toad represents the sin we are born to. If [the toad] is not killed, eternal death (*irrevocabile letum*) will persecute us. If you would explain why this toad manifests itself, you will be considered worthy to take 'Priam's pledge' (*Priamide pignus* = Helen of Troy) as a reward. Good reader, please do not despise these little vile verses, which grace writes in the brevity of a simple style. (Latin text in Schmidt, 1968: 192)¹¹

¹¹ It is worth noting that Schmidt (1968: 192 and 196) ignored, here, the *frater*, and saw an indirect reference to the classical superstition of the 'hippomane' (*hippomanes*), a fleshy mass said to be found on the head of a new-born foal: a sort of ancient interpretation of unusual remnants of fetal membranes (see the early discussion provided by Forbes, 1953: 503-505). According to Schmidt, in *De rebus obscuris* the black hippomane was misunderstood and interpreted as «a black toad, whose disappearance causes the new-born to die. If mares were mentioned before, it is now vaguely spoken of by a *natio*, by which both man and beast can be understood» (Schmidt, 1968: 196). This is, I believe, a far-fetched interpretation. The hippomane has been also used to explain the widespread folklore connected to caul births: see Belmont (1971: 12) for criticism.

CHAPTER 3: THE SNAKE-TWIN COMPLEX

The *frater Salernitanorum* has been neglected by folklorists, save for the very few authors (such as Thilenius, 1905: 108; Oberli, 1982: 12) who briefly mentioned it in the context of the bosom serpent story-complex: that is, folk narratives and beliefs about snakes especially, but also other animals (insects, frogs, lizards and mice) which had taken up residence inside the human body (Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b; 2017b; Ermacora, Labanti and Marcon, 2016)¹². The *frater* is not that unusual when we think of «similar tales of unwanted symbiosis between snakes and people» (McGuire, 2002: 210; see already Rollins, 1927: 185-186). These tales were often classed as part of the monstrous birth tradition with animals and humans issuing from the same womb. In my search for parallels for the *frater*, I have found many sources which indicate an ‘unnatural’ double birth of a baby and a snake-(or a worm-)twin: what has been called the ‘snake-twin complex’ (Rudolph, 1986; 1988a; 1988b). In some of these stories which claim kinship between humans, reptiles and ‘worms’, the animal offspring emerges from the mother’s body entangled with the baby and/or (more rarely) is killed as soon as it is delivered (see, for example, Rollins, 1927: 185-194; van Moolenbroek, 1999: 186-190 and 258; Le Quellec, 2012: 80-81). I will offer, in appendix 2, an overview of some Old Irish mythological material which is not central here. During the Middle Ages «births accompanied by the simultaneous births of animals» (Pagé, 2014: 5) were, by no means, restricted to Salernitan medicine.

Take Cistercian prior Caesarius of Heisterbach’s (ca. 1180-1240) *Dialogus miraculorum*, a widely copied hagiographical collection, rich in folklore elements, dating to 1219-1223 (Hain, 1950; McGuire, 2002; Smirnova, 2010). There, there are two relevant stories which accentuate, it has been proposed, «the for some clerics troubling connection between sexuality [...] and childbirth» (Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 2006: 206). The first tale (10: 71), which Caesarius had heard from the monk Wigerius of Villers-la-Ville, Belgium, describes the delivery of a baby together with a snake coiled around his body: this happened in Flanders. After a discussion of how one could remove the snake without endangering the infant, it was suggested that a sword (*gladius*) be placed on the animal. Terrified by the cold blade of the weapon, the snake released its grip and fell from the child whom, having been baptized, survived a few days. The mother, it was believed, had previously drunk the snake together with some water from a puddle (*orbita*) (Latin text in Caesarius of Heisterbach, 2009: 2030-2032, translation in Caesarius of Heisterbach, 1929: 228-229). The swallowing of the bosom

¹² The *frater* is often there in the works of scholars who have devoted themselves to popular beliefs about the toad, but it has never been discussed by them in its own right and in an appropriate historico-comparative context: see, for example, Wilke (1913: 147), Gulder (1960-1962: 40 and 105), Plomteux (1965: 136), Ekenvall (1978: 28-29), DeGraaf (1991: 102), Pizza (1998a: 70-71; 1998b: 88; 2003: 78; 2006: 1124), Marcos Casquero (2000: 223), Berlioz (2003: 90), Dasen (2015: 83). There have been some unusual, passing interpretations. Alinei (1987: 292; 2011: 198), for instance, interpreted the phrase *bufonem fratrem Salernitanorum* —out of context— in a totemic kinship setting, that is, as an «important medieval “relict” of the totemic universe» in which the toad is called brother (*frater*) and is regarded as an ancestor (an interpretation accepted by Canetti, 2018: 103; 2019: 573). It is hardly necessary to recall, here, the frank observation of Ginzburg (1991: 310), referring to Alinei (1987) in the conclusion of his book *Storia notturna*, where the author investigated the problem of the link between witchcraft and psychotropic substances: «rich in material and observations, even if [Alinei’s] rigidly totemistic position leaves one feeling rather dubious». See Bornes-Varol and Ortola (2015: 87) for the larva and worm called ‘brother’ of man, a metaphor for the decadence of the human condition in the fourteenth-century Spanish anonymous moral poem *Libro de miseria de omne*.

serpent, here, is not a «unique» element (*pace* van Moolenbroek, 1999: 189). The idea that animals can be accidentally ingested with stagnant dirty water, or with water/food in general, is extremely recurrent in the bosom serpent story-complex¹³.

In the second narrative (10: 72), the novice Allardus at the monastery of Heisterbach told Caesarius that, around 1210 (van Moolenbroek, 1999: 187-188), in the village of Dulre in the diocese of Utrecht, a snake entered a pregnant woman's womb through her mouth while she was sleeping near a beehive: her husband glimpsed the snake's tail as the animal slipped down but he was unable to pull it out. To soothe the snake in his wife's womb, Caesarius tells us, her husband gave her sweets and milk (motif G328.1 *Serpent inside man's body eats all his food*; see Ermacora, 2017a on milk-drinking snakes). At the moment of birth, the snake came out with the child but, when the animal tried to re-enter the woman, the man killed it with his sword (Latin text in Caesarius of Heisterbach, 2009: 2030-2032, translation in Caesarius of Heisterbach, 1929: 228-229; this is *exemplum* no. 4268 *Serpent, Woman Swallows* in Tubach, 1969: 326). In Caesarius the women are *already* pregnant when they are invaded by snakes. Intriguingly, the association between imaginary animals living in the body and gestation is cross-cultural being prevalent around the world, from Antiquity to the modern period, in storytelling and mental illness (= delusional beliefs: see, for example, Rouselle, 1998; Lhomme-Rigaud, 2002: 23-25 and 163). In the background, there is a simple and persistent idea: the abdomen of the female sufferer had become enlarged due to a bosom serpent, making her appear pregnant. The animal itself had become bigger as it had nourished itself in the stomach, possibly reproducing inside and triggering, too, abnormal sensations in the abdomen: internal pain and 'fetal' movements (Ermacora, 2015a: 266-267; 2015b: 86; 2017b)¹⁴. The most important difference in respect of Caesarius —and the *frater Salernitanorum*— lies in the absence of the double pregnancy motif: the animal grows inside alone, without any human twin.

Caesarius' snakes are not a symbol of sin and his tales, although recorded in a monastic milieu, do not feature Christian or moralizing elements (van Moolenbroek, 1999: 188 and 190; *pace* Batke, 2003: 87). What we have in Caesarius are two medieval bosom serpents that seem to «com[e] as close to the folk tale as we can get in the

¹³ See motifs B784.1 *How animal gets into person's stomach (or body) (various methods)*; B784.1.1 *Person drinking from brook swallows animal eggs (frog or newt)*; and B784.1.3 *Person swallows snake semen or egg while eating watercress*. A relevant tenth-century (?) Byzantine passage can be read in Ermacora, Labanti and Marcon (2016: 296-297). More examples in Ermacora (2017b).

¹⁴ The activity of bosom serpents can result in actual pregnancy, or in conditions resembling pregnancy. This is particularly interesting when it is stated that a man with a bosom serpent and a swollen stomach looks like a pregnant woman, rather than being pregnant himself (such as the Emperor Nero: see previous chapter, Figure 4). Take, for example, a folktale of the Hausa (Edgar and Skinner, 1969: 146); or the anonymous mid-thirteenth-century collection of forty-five posthumous miracles attributed to Saint Margaret of Scotland (*Miracula Sancte Margarite Scotorum Regine* 17: 27). Sick pilgrims came to the Benedictine Abbey in Dunfermline seeking miraculous relief from Saint Margaret; in most cases, this happened through the practice of sleeping overnight at the shrine followed by Margaret's visionary appearance (Bartlett, 2013: 359 and 370). There are two separate bosom serpent incubation miracles performed by Saint Margaret: one involving a woman and one a miller who had both been invaded by lizards while they slept with their mouths open. Their health is restored when they finally vomit up a huge quantity of those animals —the original lizards have evidently reproduced inside the two bodies (a common gruesome motif: Ermacora, 2017b). Describing the condition of the miller, the text explains that «Within the space of a year [the lizards] had multiplied to such an extent that his belly swelled up and he looked like a pregnant woman just about to give birth» (Latin text and translation in Bartlett, 2003: 110-111 and 122-123). Note that miracles no. 22, 23 and 30 have, too, sick people with swollen bellies, though no animals are involved.

[*Dialogus miraculorum*]]» (McGuire, 2002: 246)¹⁵. Interestingly, Jacques Berlioz noted that Caesarius, who «records what he hears and makes no judgment» (McGuire, 2002: 211 and 239), endeavours to contextualise his narrative by giving geographical details and by talking to witnesses and contacts (Berlioz, 1991: 135-136). Caesarius often returns to the credibility of witnesses, and that is true of many marvels and wonder stories in the Middle Ages: «This seems to make sense particularly in any society with high illiteracy rates» (Brewer, 2016: 140-143, with extensive evidence). In Caesarius' *Libri VIII miraculorum* 1: 11, for instance, a minor and fragmentary work dating ca. 1225-1227, there is another bosom serpent narrative: a toad enters the mouth of a sinful young Cistercian monk who gets sick and finally vomits a large quantity of toads before fully recovering (Latin text in Caesarius of Heisterbach, 1901: 18-21; 1937: 30-31, French translation in Wallerich, 2017)¹⁶. Caesarius introduces the story saying that it came from «a character deemed worthy of faith» based at Kamp Abbey in Germany (Wallerich, 2017). Assertions of truthfulness, of course, often reinforce the central social function of legends which, generally speaking, need to appear factual and convincing to both listeners and tellers (Dégh, 2001; Wilson, 2013: 95).

Discussing Caesarius' snake tales, Jaap van Moolenbroek recalled several international modern-day narratives where the same motif of the snakes causing internal bodily disruption shows up: he would have enjoyed the snake-twin complex. The fact that sometimes there are two (or more) snakes, as we shall see, speaks though against van Moolenbroek's theory that Caesarius' serpents resemble the umbilical cord, and the fear that the umbilical cord might be disturbed during pregnancy and birth (van Moolenbroek, 1999: 186-190 and 258). It will be remembered that, in the second tale from the *Dialogus miraculorum*, the snake is slain by a man: the *frater Salernitanorum* is, likewise, typically killed straight after its birth. The main difference is that in Caesarius the snakes enter from outside and live inside the body, while the *frater* is part of the process of internal reproduction. Both the snakes and the *frater*, though, have an independent life inside the pregnant female body which they exit, together with the baby. Cross-gendered tales involving animals living inside the body as parasites were far from being perceived, by the audience, as fiction: they were, instead, part of contemporary popular understandings of how natural phenomena worked (Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b; 2017b)¹⁷.

¹⁵ Though Caesarius was referenced by several scholars interested in belief and folklore, he has been little discussed in comparative terms: see, for example, Berthold (1850: 4), Kaufmann (1891: 194), Toldo (1907: 331), Graf (1923: 271), Jacoby (1932: 21), Wittmann (1967: 58), Rudolph (1976-1977: 198), McCormick (1996: 567), Maldina (2011: 153-155). McCormick (1996: 567) wrote that the Spanish Franciscan monk Juan Gil de Zamora (*floruit* thirteenth century) has a story about a woman who is pregnant with both child and snake. McCormick did not reference a source and I was unable to track it down.

¹⁶ Hilka (1937: 30) noted that Caesarius was taken up in Herman of Bologna's fourteenth-century collection of moral tales *Viaticum narrationum* 17 (Latin text in Herman of Bologna, 1935: 19; see also Berlioz, 1990: 191). There are many cognate tales from the pre-modern period in which individuals are punished with bosom serpents because of sinful activities (Ermacora, 2015b; 2017b; 2020). In the background there is the wider theme of physical ailment as divine retribution: see, on this, Ó Súilleabháin (1973-1974), Halpert (1958; 1980), Hand (1980: 57-68), Zaluar (1980).

¹⁷ This way of understanding monstrous births is particularly clear in Renaissance medical literature, where authors regularly grouped together monstrous animal offspring, bosom serpents and even «women with animal-like and deformed wombs» (Peterson, 2010: 9-10, 72, 139 and 145; see Conforti, 2009; Knoeff, 2009). Well-known is the sixteenth-century doctor Ambroise Paré (French text in Paré, 1573: 465-471, translation in Paré, 1982: 52-60). In his sceptical 1563 treatise on the reality of diabolical

The long story of *Biancabella* from *Le piacevoli notti* 3: 3, by Giovanni Francesco Straparola (ca. 1480-1557), a literary fairy-tale collection published in 1550, features another bosom serpent conception linked to the snake-twin complex. The *incipit* of this wonder tale on the entrance of the snake is similar to Caesarius' second narrative, but the snake is a positive force. Straparola recounts how an infertile mother, the wife of a marquess of Monferrato, unable to have children while greatly desiring them¹⁸, becomes pregnant with *Biancabella*: «a little serpent crept up to [the wife's] side, slipped beneath her clothes without her taking the least notice, and entered her vagina. By subtle windings, it penetrated right into her womb and there secretly lay very quiet». The snake (presumably) fecundates the marchioness who, then, gives birth to *Biancabella*, together with the snake coiled around *Biancabella*'s neck (motif T552.2 *Child born with snake around neck*). «When the midwives who were in attendance upon the marchioness saw this, they were terrified. But without doing any harm whatsoever, the snake untwined itself from the infant's neck. Slipping down and gliding along the floor, it made its way into the garden» (Italian text in Straparola, 2000: 199-210, translation in Straparola, 2012: 423-424; there is another translation in Straparola, 2015: 147-148). The rest of the story, which is «a rather mundane [and complex] tale of the heroine's misfortune and the helpful "sister" snake who relieves it» (Waugh, 1959: 148), is not of interest here¹⁹.

The widespread motif of the reptile which creeps into the body through the vagina has been little studied by students of Straparola: «Snakes in various stories make their way into the vulvas of women, who then become pregnant» (Róheim, 1950: 19). Vaginal snakes appear in the folklore traditions of, to name a few, pre-modern Italy, Spain, Japan, and India (Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b; 2017b). Nevertheless, following on from the «fertility serpent» scene (Beecher in Straparola, 2012: 437), commentators of *Biancabella*'s story preferred to offer ambitious comparative analyses focussing on snakes and children in ancient mythology, and/or on international myths showing the cooperation between women and snakes (see, for example, Borghini, 1996; Cardigos, 1996: 138 and 152; Lavagetto, 2008: 1486). Some of them, though, have mentioned cross-cultural parallels featuring animals living in the human digestive tract (Borghini, 1996: 127; Beecher in Straparola, 2012: 439). Remarkably, as in Caesarius and Straparola, bosom serpent beliefs feature in narratives about snake-twins collected in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

witchcraft *De praestigiis daemonum* 4: 16, Dutch physician Johann Weyer (1515-1588) described, in succession, the birth of a monstrous insect from a young woman (a scolopendra?); a snake believed by another woman to live within her body; and a few expulsions from the body of remarkably long parasitic worms (Latin text in Weyer, 1563: 335, translation in Weyer, 1991: 325-326). While Ulisse Aldrovandi (see chapter 5), writing in the sixteenth century, has a woodcut depicting several bosom serpents together with monstrous deliveries. On the very same page, Aldrovandi gives the following key: «1) Serpentine monster born from human uterus; 2) Snake-like worm ejected in vomiting; 3) Eel-like monster born from the womb of a virgin; 4) Beetle-like filth expelled through urine; 5) Sketch of a millipedes excreted with urine» (Latin text in Aldrovandi, 1642: 219; on this woodcut see also the sceptical comment by Taruffi, 1881: 165).

¹⁸ Already in the fifteenth century, Italian doctor Michele Savonarola had briefly recounted how the marchioness of Monferrato was unable to give birth to children: each time she become pregnant, she miscarried (*ante autem semper faciebat mortuos*). After a bloodletting, she finally gave birth to a baby (Zuccolin, 2011: 181).

¹⁹ A detailed comparative commentary of Straparola in light of tale-type ATU 706 *The Maiden Without Hands* was provided by Beecher in Straparola (2012: 434-439).

In this period, folktales with a baby and one (or more) snake(s) coiled around the new-born's body, and especially the neck, were circulating in rural areas of France, Germany, Italy and Spain: the snake and the child are 'brothers' or 'sisters'. In most (but not all) of the collected oral sources, the snake is not dangerous. The animal behaves much as its human twin and both share, from birth, an intimate bond: what befalls one partner also befalls the other. Sometimes, the pregnant woman is fed with milk and after delivery the snake continues to live in symbiosis with the infant, accompanying the child without causing it any harm: the animal and the child «are thenceforth inseparable» (de Gubernatis, 1872: 408)²⁰. This complex of narratives, showing an «unclear» relationship with the introductory passage of *Biancabella's* wonder tale (Waugh, 1959: 148), frequently relates to the international tale-type ATU 285 *The Child and the Snake*, which can be summarised thus: «A child shares its milk with a snake. When the mother sees this, she fears for her child and kills the snake. Soon the child becomes ill and dies» (Uther, 2004: 165-166; on ATU 285 see further Ermacora, 2017a; Rölleke, 2020). The following legend recorded in a rural *milieu* in Shanti Nagar, in northern India, 1958-1959, is a good representative of the snake-twin phenomenon. Note the presence of a bosom serpent:

A woman in a village near my husband's village gave birth to a child and a snake about two months ago. The child drinks the mother's milk; the snake drinks cow's milk. During the seventh month of pregnancy, the woman felt something creeping over her lungs, and she told her mother-in-law. When she ate food, nothing happened, but milk and water went up. [The implication was that the snake was ingesting the food and that she was not digesting it] A doctor X-rayed her and found a snake in her stomach. The delivery was brought about in the eighth month because she was afraid of the snake. Both a son and the snake were born. She wanted to kill the snake, but the doctor said, «If you kill the snake, the child will die»²¹. The doctor was a government doctor from Delhi. The snake is yellow and about half an arm's length-about 1 1/2 to 2 inches in diameter. The child seems to be normal. Whenever the child takes his mother's milk, the snake also comes to the mother. They give the snake its milk separately. If they take the snake out and leave it a distance away, the snake comes back and sleeps on the bed. The people in the village are afraid of the snake. They think it is improper. Some say, «Kill it». Others say, «No, because the child may die». (Freed and Freed, 1980: 401-402)

The fact that when the snake (more rarely, the toad) is killed, during or after the delivery (as in ATU 285), the human child also dies, hints that the animal is an alter-ego

²⁰ This is there, for example, in the modern German variant already associated with Caesarius of Heisterbach by Jacoby (1932: 21). Additional evidence can be found in Nardo Cibele (1887: 149-150), Pigorini-Beri (1889: 58-59), Welsford (1920: 420), Waugh (1959), Rudolph (1976-1977), Albert-Llorca (1985: 103), Borghini (1996: 127).

²¹ The doctor's admonition to not hit the snake issued from the body of a young woman is also there in an eighteenth-century legend collected in Podansko, Pomerania. Despite the snake being allowed to go free, the girl gets sick, shrivels up and finally dies (Jacoby, 1932: 15 and 27). In a twentieth-century variant from Abruzzo, Italy, the patient, a young girl, is suspended upside down over a stream of water: six snakes, the mother and five children which hatched inside, quit her body and the woman dies «of fright» (Profeta, 1995: 28). The hanging of the afflicted patient upside down by his or her feet, over a bowl of milk or (less commonly) water, to make sure that the snake(s) comes out, is a folklore motif widely attested from the late medieval period onwards (Decourt, 2003; Ermacora, 2015b: 84-87; Hillers, 2019: 30-31; add Henslow, 1899: 141 for a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century medical cure in Middle English).

of the new-born —with a very strong relationship with its human counterpart (Rudolph, 1976-1977: 192 and 203-205; 1986: 142-145; 1988a; 1988b)²². This element cannot be found in medieval writings concerning the *frater Salernitanorum*, where the toad must be killed on emerging, otherwise the mother of the baby will die: the twins do *not* have a shared fate. In Caesarius, too, snakes and babies born from the same womb do not seem to have common destinies. In the first story from the *Dialogus miraculorum*, it will be recalled, there are twins intertwined at birth: the parasitic snake then falls from the child's body, and the child soon dies. We are not told if the snake also died or survived: its fate seems unimportant in the account. In the second tale, the snake is killed immediately after the double birth and we do not learn what happens to the infant: the logic of the story does not seem to be that he dies. In other terms, one cannot see in Caesarius a (lasting) bond being established between snake and baby: if there were such a bond, then Caesarius has transmitted both accounts in an incompetent fashion.

The fictional idea of the vaginal serpent described in Straparola may, it has been observed, «find common ground» with contemporary embryological ideas and medical beliefs dealing with the intersection between monstrosity and sexual reproduction. Think of wondrous early modern accounts in medicine, fairy-tales and the literature of women giving birth to animal offspring (Magnanini, 2008: 94-96 and 100-101; Carney, 2012; Calderone, 2013). One can usefully cite the following historicized seventeenth-century English tale, about a woman who gave birth to a snake coiled around a child's body: a nice example of the «mysterious and frightful intimacies between children and serpents» which has often struck scholars working on the European snake lore (Holmes, 1891: 224). The anomalous birth was given in an anonymous 1640 monster pamphlet *A Certain Relation of the Hog-Faced Gentlewoman Called Mistris Tannakin Skinker*. In Biancabella's tale «no one calls on hellish powers» (Bottigheimer, 2014: 157). The snake is instead demonised in the English text: «It hath beene knowne also in our knowne Country [i.e. England], when a Gentlewoman of good discent and quality hath brought an infant into the World with a live Snake wrapt about the necke and body». In memory of this remarkable event, the pamphlet continued, «that Noble Family in the emblazon of their Armes, give the Snake ever unto this day: which accident is quite

²² Rudolph grounded his comparative analysis on the snake-twin complex *kambal-ahas* 'twin of a snake' of the Tagalog people. This phenomenon, attested from as early as the 1600s in the Philippines and very much alive today, was studied ethnographically at the end of the twentieth century by Rudolph who recorded about thirty cases: he was aware of the many parallels between indigenous Filipino material and German and, more broadly, European folklore. Born together, the snake and the (often female) infant are destined for a special future: the former, in return for food and companionship, brings tutelary protection (luck, health and so on) to the family; while the latter becomes, in most cases, a healer (*herbolario*, *tawak*) specialized in the treatment of snake bites (compare Hand, 1980: 48-49 for the reputations of twins as healers in Europe). Their friendship is based on a shared childhood. In the case of separation from or the death of the house-snake, the human twin gets sick and dies. Filipino cases of snakes being born to a human mother, without the human twin are also known: these animals are usually considered to be real children and are raised as such (Rudolph, 1986; 1988a; 1988b; Baumgartner, 1988; Valdepeña Bolata, 2021: 8-11). As noted by Rudolph (1988b: 274) and Summers (2016), there are similar narratives from elsewhere in Southeast Asia, reflected in real-life practices, in which animals are raised as children. In Central Indonesia, twins are born together with crocodiles and monitor lizards that are accepted as full family members: this is the *kembar biawak* 'monitor twins' phenomenon (Koch and Acciaioli, 2007; Fauvel and Koch, 2009; Pelras, 2010: 307-314). In Singapore, in the twentieth century, snakes discovered in a baby's cot, having developed «what appears to be an unquenchable maternal affection», were also held in high esteem and became a part of local urban legends (Anonymous, 1935).

against nature, and therefore can be conferr'd upon nothing but Diabolicall Sorcery and Witchcraft» (Anonymous, 1640; see also Rollins, 1927: 185).

It is admittedly hard to say if a fairy-tale marvel was historicized here (see Szönyi, 2007: 300 for heraldic legends), or whether the early modern circulation of written accounts of birth abnormalities, and related medical theorizing, emerged in wonder tales such as Straparola's (Hoffmann, 2005: 68 and 79; Beecher in Straparola, 2012: 438). What is more, during the Renaissance the snake-twin complex occasionally surfaced in French and German literature, too. It cannot be reduced to «a remnant from ancient myth» (so Beecher in Straparola, 2012: 435 on Biancabella), or an echo of the «pagan imagination and the fantasy» of the medieval peasantry (so Oude Nijhuis, 1997: 67 on Caesarius). Three examples will suffice to make my point: one from the genre of wonder books; two from humanistic medicine (additional evidence in Rollins, 1927: 185-186). Sometimes, these stories are prosaic and illustrate the aggressive nature of the snake which attacked the baby while still in the womb²³. A remarkable birth of a boy and a snake-twin was briefly reported by the Alsatian encyclopedist Conrad Wolffhart (1518-1561) in his *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon*, printed in 1557: «In the year 1494, in September, a woman of Krakow, [living] in the square called Holy Spirit, gave birth to a dead child who had a live snake attached to its back, which was gnawing on this little dead creature» (Latin text in Wolffhart, 1557: 503, translation in Paré, 1982: 58, slightly modified)²⁴ (see Figure 5). One century after Wolffhart, a short report of a snake which came out with the *faetus* (= baby?), whose belly it encircled like a «belt» (*baltheo*), was included in a German medical article written in Latin (*non vidi*: according to Stalpart van der Wiel, 1687: 314; 1758: 298; this work, note, was first published in Dutch in 1682)²⁵.

²³ Mostly clear perhaps in two English broadsheet ballads, *The Wonder of Wonders* and *True Wonders and Strange News*, written ca. 1675, respectively, by Thomas Lanfiere and Laurence White. The ballads recount the strange multiple delivery by a woman in Hampshire of a toad and, then, together, of a serpent and a dead child (see Figure 6). The child's «face and head» had been eaten by the snake, which had also «injured» the rest of the child's body (Rollins, 1927: 185-194; Bates, 2005: 130-131; I am quoting Lanfiere's version here). A Native American narrative was collected in the late 1930s, from Atsugewi informants, in which «a [local] doctor found a bullsnake in a woman's stomach, which prevented her bearing a live child. After the doctor had removed the snake, the woman bore several healthy children even though she was rather elderly by this time» (Garth, 1953: 157). Among the Bakonzo people of contemporary Uganda, snakes appear inside the woman's pregnant belly after the *obuthambi* curse is cast upon the victim. The animals bite and destroy the fetus: sufferers are treated by traditional healers (Consigliere and Zavaroni, 2018). In the American and African cases, the infesting animal prevents normal pregnancy, i.e. the internal formation of the fetus.

²⁴ Textual history is interesting here: the episode by Wolffhart was taken up in the reprints subsequent to the 1579 edition of the *Traicte de la peste, de la petite verolle & rougeolle: avec une brefve description de la lepre* (published for the first time in 1568), by Ambroise Paré. Paré, in fact, added a section, an extended version of the passage from his *Livre traitant des monstres et prodiges* (1573), on monstrous animal births from men, women and infants. The episode from Wolffhart is to be found there (French text in Paré, 1573: 469). The famous French naturalist François-Vincent Raspail (1794-1878) uncritically believed, three centuries after Wolffhart, in the existence of the snake-twin while taking it up from Paré (Raspail, 1844: 211).

²⁵ Similar events allegedly occurred in cattle. In 1731, a German newspaper informed its readers that in Kronberg, near Frankfurt, the cows of some villagers had struggled in calving. Their calves emerged along with several snakes, in one case twisted around the body of the calf: not all of the calves were alive. The anonymous author encouraged experts in natural and physical sciences, «to investigate how these snakes could end up inside the cows» (Jacoby, 1932: 17). One might think of helminths here, but I have shown in Ermacora (2017b; 2020) that animals are not immune to bosom serpent folklore.



[Figure 5. Wolffhart provided an incisive ‘x-ray’ woodcut depicting the child’s dead body and the animal guest eating the boy’s back, apparently from within (Gould and Pyle, 1897: 112).]



[Figure 6. A monstrous birth-room scene: a toad, a snake and a baby, the last two issued together, have just been delivered by an unnamed English woman (Lanfiere, 1675). This late seventeenth-century woodcut, it has been said, «enables the viewer to see the extraordinary possibilities of the womb’s generative power» (Wagner, 2009: 25).]

Another monstrous birth appeared, in 1586, in an appendix of medical cases (*Appendix varias et novas historia*) added by Swiss physician and botanist Gaspard Bauhin (1560-1624) to his Latin translation of François Rousset’s (ca. 1530-1603) treatise on caesarean birth *Traite nouveau de l’hysterotomotokie ou enfantement Caesarien*. In Bauhin’s appendix, one can read the following case «of a girl fertilised by the seed of a snake, dispersed in the water of a fountain» (Filippini, 2021: 63). A thirty-year-old woman from Basel named Anne Tromperin, in 1576, delivered a child together with two snakes: first came the child, then one snake, then the other snake. The animals were interred, still alive, in the churchyard by the midwife (*obstetrice*). (In an English broadsheet ballad, ca. 1675, the toad and the snake siblings are thrown into the fire but the baby, issued dead from the same mother, is buried: text in Rollins, 1927: 194; see Figure 6)²⁶. Anne herself gave to Bauhin the following explanation: three months after

²⁶ The interment of the snakes in Christian ground, in Bauhin, can be explained by the fact that tellers sensed that they still belonged —as ‘twins’ of the human child— to a Christian community: compare Bates (2020: 130) for the provision of conditional baptism, in early modern Europe, «for early miscarriages that were not recognizably human, or for what might have been animals born to human

she had become pregnant, she had drunk at a local spring, and had swallowed «the sperm of a serpent». The result was that «along with the fetus snakes also began to grow» (see motifs T511.5.2 *Conception from swallowing worm (creature) in drink (of water)*, and T511.7.2.1§ *Conception from swallowing snake egg* in El-Shamy, 1999: 514; while Carey, 1963: 57 recognized T512.6 *Conception from drinking sperm* here).

If her belly was empty, Anne continued, she felt movements and «bites and stings» (*morsus et punctiones*) there. After taking food and milk she felt, instead, better again. We are told —presumably, still on Anne’s authority— that the human child was so lean, when born, that he was mostly bones, and that he survived only one year and three months. He had a «large opening» (*foramen*) in the head. This was because, Bauhin ventured, the hungry snakes had gnawed on him in the last three days before the delivery, when Anne had abstained from milk (Latin text in Rousset, 1591: 352-355, partial translation in Hammond, 1876: 164-165)²⁷. One should remember the modern Indian legend quoted above which has, as in Caesarius and Bauhin’s «horrible story» (Carey, 1963: 57), the milk-loving bosom serpent and the snake brought forth together with the new-born; this is there, too, in a nineteenth-century variant from Italy (Pigorini-Beri, 1889: 58-59). Folklore approaches taking account of oral tradition have, for the snake-twin complex, the potential to address learned and popular notions surrounding the *frater Salernitanorum*.

As I hinted above, for tradition-bearers there was little difference, or no difference at all, between a monstrous offspring and a bosom serpent birth (for a different opinion see van der Lugt, 2004: 127). The spontaneous generation of animals within the ‘corrupted’ body was a matter of belief in several cultures (Grmek, 1998: 244), and the important point to stress is the unfamiliar presence of an ‘alien’ dwelling inside a woman together with the child, not the precise mechanics by which it got there. Whether the animal entered (e.g. Caesarius and Bauhin) or was generated internally (the *frater*) was likely an unimportant matter to the sufferer. In either case, the woman experienced physical and emotional distress from the presence of the creature in her body: the «relation to the mother was that of a parasite» (Bates, 2005: 132; see also Knoeff, 2009; Conforti, 2009). Think of Salernitan women, attempting to kill/expel the toad inside their womb with abortifacient plants (Mitaritonna, 1971: 70). The unpleasant physical symptoms connected to the *frater* are, perhaps, most clearly illustrated by doctor Jean de Tournemire, writing in the fourteenth-century France. Italian women who bear the *frater*, he says, «have [= feel inside them] movements of inanimate things [= involuntary movements], [and] pain in the belly due to the sting of that animal»

mothers» (see also Filippini, 2021: 66). Alternatively, the interment of the snakes was simply done «because the churchyard was considered a practical place to conceal the corpse» (from births gone bad). In early modern England, say, the task of disposing of the body of the unbaptized dead infant was normally left to the midwife. She sometimes buried the body in the churchyard, often secretly but, in any case, without ceremony (Billingham, 2019: 53, 84, 92 and 207). See Baronti (2020: 449-454) for a Tuscan folk song in *ottava rima* (variants are known from late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century) on a woman who refuses to breastfeed a baby born to her deceased sister; she promises to give her milk to a snake, instead. A demonic ‘punitive’ snake thus appears and attaches itself to the woman’s breast: when the woman dies, she is buried together with the animal still attached to her body.

²⁷ The remarkable case of Anne Tromperin was later taken up, commented upon and linked to parallel multiple human-animal births, and to the expulsions of intrusive animals from the body, by many early modern authorities: see, for example, Sennert (1651: 124), Culpeper (1662: 152), Schurig (1732: 670-671), Rollins (1927: 1856). Note that the German physician Daniel Sennert (1572-1637) did not claim that he was a witness: he only cited Bauhin (*pace* Filippini, 2021: 63, relying on Conforti, 2009: 135).

(Latin text in von Grafenberg, 1596: 587). These are the very same sensations universally attested in bosom serpent beliefs and narratives (Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b; 2017a; Ermacora, Labanti and Marcon, 2016) —see the case of Anne Tromperin above.

CHAPTER 4: MONSTROUS BIRTHS AND ORALITY

Ynez Violé O'Neill, a historian of medicine, wrote in 1974 the following thoughtful passage on the *frater Salernitanorum* which has been forgotten by subsequent scholars: «That a physician who had managed numerous obstetrical cases could mistake an aborted fetus for an animal might at the outset seem absurd, but two facts» about the fifteenth-century Italian doctor Michele Savonarola and his profession «mitigate this stringent judgment». The first, O'Neill maintained, is that Savonarola, «claimed neither to have witnessed the birth of a *fera* [= *frater*], nor to have inspected the parturient. The events he reported were based entirely upon the testimony of his father who was not medically trained»: see next chapter. The second is that Savonarola, «like many physicians before his time and since, sought to explain the unknown by analogy to the known, to interpret traditional observations in light of dicta he accepted as authoritative» (O'Neill, 1974: 231). We should never underestimate the power of storytelling and belief in these circumstances. The framework for accounts of monstrous progeny is, indeed, often legendary: information is informally transmitted down oral channels without being empirically put to the test (de Rocher, 1982: 53).

Given that folk narratives were common during the period, many physicians used or integrated them into their medical theories: sometimes, as with the *frater*, they became foundational ideas. Thus, there is the *Zikārôn heḥōlāyîm hahōwîm beklê hahērāyôn* (An Account of the Diseases in the Organs of Pregnancy), a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Hebrew treatise on andrology and gynaecology written in Christian Castile, partially adapted from Avicenna's (Ibn Sīnā, ca. 980-1037) influential *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* (Canon of Medicine) (Caballero Navas, 2021: 356-357 and 367). The anonymous author of the *Zikārôn* relates, in the section on molar pregnancies and reproductive biology: «I have been informed by some just women and some midwives, without any lies and falsehoods, that one woman gave birth to three animals resembling quadrupeds; they were alive and they moved». The author, then, adds that «They also informed me of a woman who gave birth, with the aborted fetus, to an animal resembling a snake» (Hebrew text and translation in Barkai, 1998: 116 and 134). Note the double contextual birth of a fetus and a snake-like creature and think, too, of Caesarius of Heisterbach and the snake-twin complex described in the previous chapter. It is also clear that the Jewish physician, here, resorts «to the testimony of “virtuous” women as a means to support his theories on anomalous births» (Caballero Navas, 2014: 397-398).

For orality, abnormal progeny and the Renaissance there is, for example, the birth of a toad narrated by French jurist and witch-hunter Jean Bodin (1529-1596). While he was writing his influential 1580 demonological treatise *De la démonomanie des sorciers* 2: 8, Bodin was informed that a woman gave birth to a toad, near the city of Laon: motifs T554.8 *Woman bears frog* and T554.8.1 *Woman gives birth to toad*. Bodin included this piece of news in his treatise: «The astonished midwife and those assisting at the birth gave testimony concerning this and the toad, which many saw differently from each other, was carried to the headquarters of the university administrator» (partial translation in Bodin, 1995: 138, integrated from Bodin, 1580: 114r; see Worth-Stylianou, 2017b for a socio-historical approach to the issue of who was present at births in France, ca. 1530-1630). Interestingly, Bodin stressed the 'unstable' shape of the animal offspring with different witnesses seeing different things: as usual, a

retrospective diagnosis here might fasten on a depiction of a malformed or aborted child (Roulin, 1835: 195-196; Chaumartin, 1955: 152), a hydatidiform mole, etc.

Tales involving women bringing forth animals were a «stock story» in sixteenth-century printed news (Ettinghausen, 2015: 210; see, for example, Bates, 2005: 69 and 129; Spinks, 2009: 112 for English and German accounts with toads and frogs). In the inquisition's reports of the witch-hunt in the Basque village of Zugarramurdi, 1609-1612, there are four suspected senior witches who stated that, after having had sexual intercourse with the Devil, they had given birth to toads—one through the mouth (Spanish texts in Idoate, 1972: 144-147; Henningsen, 2004: 284; note that while two inquisitors believed the women, one was sceptical). Emma Wilby has considered the toads described in Basque witch testimonies as «echoes of miscarriage or premature delivery»; she has also connected them to medieval carvings in which «hell toads» squat on the genitals of the damned: an iconographical depiction of Hell and the deadly sins which provided, for Wilby, the 'raw imaginative material' for the witches (Wilby, 2019: 68 and 136-137). But demonological explanations of monstrous births of animals are to be found elsewhere in European witch trials (see Dall'Acqua, 1976: 369; Gaskill, 2005: 166 for Italy and England), and these came ultimately from medieval theological embryology which had explored the idea of preternatural generation from demonic intercourse (van der Lugt, 2004: 189-364). What varied, with strange animal birthings, was the medical and/or religious interpretative background. Bodin's account was inserted in a section on toads as demon familiars of witches. Bodin's logic, one understands, was that the birth of a toad was evil magic, a concrete manifestation of intercourse with a demon (Thierry, 2017: 22).

CHAPTER 5: THE DEROGATORY *FRATER SALERNITANORUM*

Two little considered aspects need attention now: the derogatory nature of writings on the *frater Salernitanorum*; and some later equivalent evidence on the Dutch *suygher* or *sooterkin*. This focus will hopefully provide fresh perspectives about the uses, the forms of transmission and the meanings of the monstrous animal sibling story-complex. What will emerge is the constant ‘otherness’ (not only in terms of immoral behaviour) of the women who are the subjects of these texts. The Salernitan-trained doctors who wrote on Lombard women; Bernard de Gordon from Languedoc who described the women of Italy; the doctors of Pavia and Bologna on southern Italian women; and finally, Dutch women (and Flemish immigrants?) as described by British authors in chapter 8. I will start by noticing that, in the High Middle Ages, in few ecclesiastical texts, Lombards were characterized by non-Lombard writers, and especially by their enemies, the Franks, as being culturally backward, superstitious and devoted to magical arts (Caruso, 2012; see Zornetta, 2020 on the political competition between Carolingians and Lombards in Southern Italy)²⁸. Centuries later, the *frater* phenomenon was, in a similar fashion, explained using «second-hand and disparaging» terminology about the Italian diet and cuisine (Demaitre, 1980: 6; see further Ausécache, 2007: 17), by the French physician Bernard de Gordon in his manual of medical practice *Lilium medicine* 7: 18 (written between 1303 and 1305). Here is one manuscript version:

it is said that [the *frater Salernitanorum*] occurs quite often in women of Lombardy, either because they work harder as they are more put upon, or because of inappropriate nutrition as in Apulia, for it is commonly said that Italian women live quite poorly, on fruits and herbs, even if they dress well. (Latin text in Audureau, 1891: 45, translation in Demaitre, 1980: 6; 2013: 316, slightly modified)

This passage survives in a series of manuscript variants which are quite different from each other: there are words that may have been interpolated in several manuscripts and it is hard to know what Bernard wrote and what was later added or removed (Luke Demaitre, personal communication, January 2018). Bernard was born in the Languedoc area and was taught in the Salerno school of medicine²⁹. Jean de Tournemire, who

²⁸ A prejudiced Frankish representation of southern Italians can be found in the short treatise *Liber contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, written around 815 by Agobard Archbishop of Lyon (ca. 779-840). Agobard dismisses there a belief/rumor which was widespread, he says, few years before among the people of Gallia. Prior to a serious epizootic plague (Newfield, 2012), Duke Grimoald IV of Benevento was said to have sent out emissaries to spread a mysterious black powder on the Carolingian fields which produced the sudden death of cattle over a vast area. In this passage, the historical enemies of the Franks, the Beneventan Lombards, are suspected of sorcery and poisoning (Latin text in Agobard of Lyon, 1981, translation in Dutton, 2004: 223). Caruso (2012) saw, in Agobard, an early reference to the later idea that Benevento is a place shrouded in superstition, witchcraft and magic.

²⁹ In the sixteenth century, Bernard was taken up by several French medical authorities who lingered on the *frater* and analogous abnormal pregnancies with animal births: see, for example, Paré (1982: 57), Brochard (1990: 232-236), Roux (2008: 175) for French doctors Ambroise Paré and Laurent Joubert. Commenting almost three centuries later, in 1578, on Bernard’s women of Lombardy who prefer to be better dressed than nourished, Joubert displayed misogynistic humour: «This is why people in France say that the female must be well dressed and ill fed. To which they add: and well beaten! Males, on the contrary, must be better fed than dressed» (French text in Joubert, 1578: 376, translation in Joubert, 1989: 181). See Worth-Stylianou (2015: 301) on Joubert’s taste in humour and interest in sayings.

practised and taught medicine in Montpellier as Bernard did before him (Dumas, 2015), had Bernard's or a similar notion on the *frater* in mind when he authored, in the fourteenth century, the *Clarificatorium partis practice medicine*, a medical commentary of the Persian polymath al-Rāzī's (865-925/934), namely Book IX of his *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* (Book of Medicine for Manṣūr) (ca. 903), translated into Latin in the twelfth century as *Liber ad Almansorem*. For de Tournemire, the uterine mole «sometimes» (*interdum*) takes the form of an animal «which the [French?] common people (*laici*, lit. 'laymen') call *arpa*, because it has claws (*arpas*) and a mouse-like pointed snout» (Latin text in von Grafenberg, 1596: 587, translation in van der Lugt, 2004: 126-127; see also Foscati, 2021: 122). De Tournemire goes on to explain in his *Clarificatorium* that the monstrous *arpa* is known in Italy as the *frater Lombardorum*: he lists a vegetarian diet (a «literary topos» for Ausécache, 2007: 17) among the causes triggering it. Italian women, de Tournemire says, «eat fruits and herbs cooked in a pan» (Latin text in von Grafenberg, 1596: 587).

The monumental herbal *De virtutibus herbarum*, composed ca. 1287-1300 by the Italian botanist and physician Rufinus (a monk), states: «If the pregnant woman eats *Atriplex*, [she] often bears the beast of the Salernitans (*feram Salernitanorum*)» (Latin text in Rufinus, 1945: 48). I was not able to find any other medieval writing establishing a direct causal link between the plant *Atriplex* (Saltbush, Orach?) and monstrous births³⁰. Bernard's and Jean's gibes about Italians, and the «pathogenesis of this bizarre affliction [...] due to a poor pregnancy diet» there (Wickersheimer, 1906: 672), can be paralleled in two earlier passages on the origin of the *frater*. The first comes from a scientific question-and-answer collection known as the *Quaestiones Salernitanae* 12, influenced by the Salernitan medical school and written around 1200 by an Englishman. There, it is explained in Latin that the *arpo*, a creeping animal/worm (*vermis*) comparable to a toad and born together with the fetus, is called the brother (*frater*) of people from Lombardy and Apulia «in derision» (*derisorie*) (text in Lawn, 1979: 286, French translation in Ausécache, 2007: 14-15). The second text features antagonism between the cities of Salerno and Benevento. In the late twelfth-century medical poem *De uirtutibus et laudibus compositorum medicaminum* 664-719 by Gilles de Corbeil (see chapter 2), it is explained that the citizens of Benevento were responsible for the transmission of the plague of the *frater* to Salerno. Here is an abridged translation of Gilles' text:

This taint of nature, this shame of humanity, this anger fallen from the sky was transmitted to Salerno by the inhabitants of Benevento to unjustly spread the infamy of the population of this city, whose reputation shines through the whole world thanks to the quality of its medicine. The origin of the monster can lie in sperm corruption, herbal consumption, menstrual abundance, a disorder of the uterus or the effect of a divine sentence for a past fault. (Latin text in de Corbeil, 2017: 312, partial French translation in Ausécache, 2007: 6 and 12-13)

Mireille Ausécache suspected, here, a sort of echo of the decade-long 'civil war' between the two cities in the mid-ninth century, and which gave rise to two different

³⁰ Note that *Atriplex* has positive values in medieval sources (Ventura in Pseudo-Bartholomaeus Mini de Senis, 2009: 263-265), and that there were comparable medieval considerations connecting in causal terms leprosy, nutritional deficiency and inappropriate food: medical explanations involved, sometimes, the theory of humours (Demaitre, 2007: 164-166). Humoral rationalizations seem to play no role in food causality for the monstrous *frater*.

Principalities and a lasting rivalry (Ausécache, 2007: 12-13; Ausécache in de Corbeil, 2017: 464). It is certainly possible that «Benevento and Salerno mutually tried to attribute the same origin [of the *frater*] to each other» (Choulant, 1842: 307-308). In other terms, the folklore surrounding the strange phenomenon of this monstrous double-birth was probably circulating in southern Italy in the form of stereotypes connected to derogatory characteristics of neighbouring communities (see chapter 8 for the similar case of the *sooterkin*). The *Sermones medicinales*, a popular medical encyclopaedia, written around 1400 by the Florentine physician Niccolò Falcucci (†ca. 1412) —more specifically *Sermo VI* on reproductive organs, *De membris genitalibus* 3: 20, proves interesting in this light. Falcucci is perhaps the first medical author to link the *frater* not only with the «southern countries» (*regionibus meridionalibus*) of Italy, but with the city of Pisa, too: «and I have also heard from from a man worthy of trust, that in Pisa [the *frater*] occurred several times» (Latin text in Falcucci, 1491: 44). The Veronese surgeon and anatomist Alessandro Benedetti (ca. 1450-1512) likely borrowed from Falcucci, while briefly linking (26: 36) the *frater* with Apulia and «Pisan territory» (*Pisanum agrum*) (Latin text in Benedetti, 1533: 407-408; see also Foscati, 2021: 124). Is this an early proof of Pisa and Florence's loathing for each other?

In his fifteenth-century medical work *Practica maior*, Savonarola specifies that women from certain parts of Apulia, if they have sex with noble men after they have been already impregnated, give birth together with the human baby to the *fera* (= *frater*) in the shape of noble animals such as eagles and hawks; while the *fera* takes on a humble appearance (lizard, owl) if the same women have their second intercourse with rustics (= men from a lower class). If the *fera* bites the baby when the animal falls to the ground on being brought into the world, the baby instantly dies. Savonarola ultimately attributes, here, the monstrous births to superfecundation: a medical theory which «established that two conceptions could also occur with sperm from different men», and a theory that «inevitably led to a negative assessment of female sexual behaviour» (Foscati, 2021: 123). «These things», concludes Savonarola, «are true but may not seem so, for we are not accustomed to seeing such things here» (Latin text in Savonarola, 1559: 269r, translation in O'Neill, 1974: 225; there is an Italian translation in Zuccolin, 2019: 52). There are earlier, thirteenth-century discourses connecting the absence of menstruation, bad nutrition and women of humble status in Albertus Magnus (Prosperi, 2015: 161-162). In roughly the same period as Savonarola certain authors reflected on the natural order and suggested that nutrition, too, worked along class lines: certain foods were only healthy for the rich, while peasants could only safely eat their own kind of food (Grieco, 1999; Montanari, 2000).

Savonarola's «fragment of folk wisdom» (O'Neill, 1974: 235; 1975: 83) about sex and class, however, was not based on earlier medical literature but, as he himself admits, on local sources collected and transmitted to him by his father —a wool merchant who had most likely travelled to Apulia on business (see also Fischer, 1921: 175). Related information shows up in Savonarola's later obstetrical-paediatric treatise *Ad mulieres ferrarienses de regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum ad septennium*, written in Paduan-Ferrarese vernacular ca. 1450-1460. There Savonarola reveals that monstrous births of snakes, frogs, bats and hawks have been reported in Apulia. These did not happen everywhere in Apulia but only in certain parts of the region, through the influence of the stars (a celestial sign?) (text in Savonarola, 1952: 143, translation in Savonarola, 2021; see also Zuccolin, 2019: 53). Savonarola elicited some reactions in early modern German doctors. Philipp Salmuth (1571-1626), in his *Observationum*

medicarum centuriae tres 1: 66, a posthumous collection of medical case histories published in 1648, derided Savonarola's information on the *frater* as being totally ridiculous and totally invented (*omnino fabulosa [...] omnino ficta*) (Latin text in Salmuth, 1648: 43). Philipp Jakob Sachs von Löwenheim (1627-1672) commented, in 1671, on Savonarola, that it was pure nonsense to think that nature can generate monsters respecting the social status of the fathers, «as if the creation of monsters could depend on the social hierarchy» (Latin text and translation in Angelini, 2013, quoting Sachs, 1671).

In the 1500s, much as in previous centuries, medical beliefs about the *frater* entered scholarly disputes about imperfect conceptions and the spontaneous generation of animals in the uterus. These creatures were alien and indeterminate but they were also, simultaneously, part of the mothers that had produced them (Zambelli, 1983: 142; Niccoli, 1990; Finucci, 2003: 56). Early modern teratological treatises emphasized the negative side of the *frater Salernitanorum*. This is something consistent with the monstrous/unnatural births that were variously and «undoubtedly used for political purposes» (Buckley 2017: 14), and religious propaganda, at the time: the birth of monsters was evidence of the wrongness of opponents (social groups), a sign of divine disapprobation, etc. (see the abundant examples discussed in Taruffi, 1881: 162-164; Spinks, 2009; Angelini, 2012: 61-64; Davies, 2012). One may also usefully recall here the medieval belief that the English were born with tails: there are innumerable similar ideas, dating back to Antiquity, directed towards 'the other', the stranger and the exotic (De Ceglia, 2009; Savy, 2012; Lloyd, 2020)³¹.

In the sixteenth century, for instance, the Italian naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) wrote, in his treatise on zoological and human abnormalities *Monstrorum historia* (published posthumously in 1642), on colourful cases of childbirths with frogs, toads and lizards, that «some call the toad the brother of the Salernitans, and the lizard the brother of the Lombards» (Latin text in Aldrovandi, 1642: 600; an information dismissed sceptically by Vallisneri, 1710: 32)³². Edward Topsell (*ca.* 1572-1625), an Anglican clergyman, has some sentences which look very similar to Aldrovandi's: «it hath been seen that a woman of Salernum hath at one time brought forth a boy and a toad, and therefore he calleth the toad his brother; so likewise a woman of Lombardy, a lizard, and therefore he calleth the lizard the Lombard's brother». Topsell, then, moralised against the depravation of the Roman Catholic Church, punished by God with «the conjoined birth of men and serpents [*sic*] [...] which doth unanswerably detect the pride and vanity of the Romish faith» (Topsell, 1608: 309; see also Rossetti, 1868)³³.

³¹ See also Lustig Piacezzi (1937), Eamon (1998: 5), Foscati (2019: 453-454) for syphilis that historically went by a variety of vernacular names ('the French disease', 'the Spanish disease', 'the Italian disease', etc.), according to the idea that the disease originated in the country of a hostile neighbour.

³² In his wider presentation of the *frater*, Aldrovandi also includes, as an authority, the twelfth-century *Practica brevis* by the Salernitan physician Johannes Platearius II ('the Younger'). He refers to the following passage: «It is also noteworthy that the substances that serve to cause menstruation also expel the placenta (*secundinam*), the dead fetus and the brother of the Salernitans. It must be considered that Salerno women, at the beginning of conception and especially when the fetus has to begin to live (*debet vivificari*), attempt to kill the aforementioned little brother (*fraterculum*) by drinking celery and leek juice» (Latin text and Spanish translation in Recio Muñoz, 2016: 735-736). The *Practica brevis* was translated into Norman French at the beginning of the 1200s (text in Hunt, 1994: 242 and 277-278).

³³ The relationship between Topsell and Aldrovandi is far from clear: see, in general, Ley (1967). The fact that Aldrovandi's *Monstrorum historia* was published posthumously, in 1642, suggests that: [1] Topsell could have been aware of Aldrovandi on the *frater* through a different published source of the Bolognese father of natural history studies; [2] that both Aldrovandi and Topsell could have leaned on the

For Topsell «The list of inhuman beasts that human mothers outside England could produce» was, indeed, «evidence of the dangers of Catholic idolatry» (Cody, 2005: 124). Here we see, once more, the derogatory use of the *frater* in accordance with an ideological/moral bias concerning people living in a specific geographical area.

same work; [3] that the editor of the *Monstrorum historia* Bartolomeo Ambrosini (1588-1657) could have used Topsell without acknowledging it: there were heavy authorial interventions by Ambrosini on the text he edited (Krämer, 2009: 321; Naas, 2011: 268). On that last point it is hard to believe that a late seventeenth-century Italian author would have read the work of a provincial Anglican priest; I wait, though, to be corrected!

CHAPTER 6: FLYING UTERINE MOLES

Ausécache has detected continuing beliefs in the *frater Salernitanorum* in an early nineteenth-century entry of a French medical encyclopedia. According to her, «clearly some midwives and doctors still echoed, in the nineteenth century, old medieval beliefs» (Ausécache, 2007: 22, on Murat, 1819). The problem with this is that the author of the entry, French doctor A. L. Murat (†1837), was not himself a believer in the *frater*. Rather, Murat created a ‘tradition of disbelief’ by criticizing «the most absurd tales about moles» which he could find in earlier literature authored by «credulous» early modern scholars, some of whom we shall review here (Murat, 1819: 5; on moles and history of medicine see, more generally, King, 2007: 61-64; McClive and King, 2007; Conforti, 2009; Worth-Stylianou, 2015; Christopoulos, 2021: 65-66 and 272-275; Foscati, 2021). Scholars working on the correlation between oral traditions and medical learning should differentiate between medical authors who accepted and those who dismissed folklore, explaining if possible the motives of these writers. There are more convincing examples of nineteenth-century beliefs about animals which grow along with the fetus in the womb of a woman.

According to physician and folklorist Zeno Zanetti (1859-1928), in Umbrian popular medicine —Umbria is a region in central Italy— there was the *tarpa*, a little creature which moved around in the womb: this recalls the medieval *arpo* or *arpa* (an alternative name for the *frater*), and the Italian *talpa* ‘mole’³⁴. Uterine *tarpa* provoked menstrual colics and pain in the womb and devoured, in sterile women, any normal child as soon as it was formed. «The local wise woman will prescribe metallic mercury internally as the means to kill a *tarpa*» (Brooks McDaniel, 1947: 35, on Zanetti, 1892: 9, 97 and 119). Zanetti is considered a reliable source on central Italian popular medicine (see, for example, Trabalza, 1978; Cirese, 1978; Charuty, 1997: 383-384; Cozzi, 2021: 533), but he is also our only source for the monstrous *tarpa*. Zanetti was apparently aware of earlier authors writing on the *frater*: he had an in-depth knowledge of historical medical works (Falteri, 2014: 234), and he briefly noted that the *tarpa* was «a small animal compared by the ancients to a bat». In Zanetti’s rational view, the Umbrian *tarpe* would just be «the solid lumps that come out with blood, and their movement of contraction would give proof of their vitality» (Zanetti, 1892: 9 and 97).

The linguistic similarity between *tarpa* and *talpa* ‘mole’ is interesting. The lawyer and chronicler Giuliano Fantaguzzi (1453-1532) recorded a series of monstrous births which happened, in the early 1500s, in several places of Italy and particularly in his hometown Cesena —again in central Italy. One of the accounts from Cesena, 1519, was about an animal sibling: a local woman «gave birth to a child with a mole (*tarpa*) attached to his body and they died» (*fé uno putto con una tarpa apicata al putto et morirno*) (Italian text in Fantaguzzi, 2012: 659). It is uncertain who died here: the mother and the child, or the child and the animal twin? Ottavia Niccoli ventured that we probably have here «Siamese twins, one of whom was not fully developed» (Niccoli, 2006: 463); we can also think of the vanishing twin phenomenon in medicine. Two centuries later, in 1726, the distinguished German physician Friedrich Hoffmann (1660-1742) entered the medical debate on ‘true’ and ‘false’ uterine moles (Brambilla, 1984: 102). Hoffmann warned the reader that masses of flesh of various sizes and forms,

³⁴ It is worth noting that several names of obscure diseases and swellings, in European dialects, can be classed as derivatives of the Latin *talpa*: these can be found from the Middle Ages to the modern period (Oberli, 1982; Rauch, 1995: 44, 50-55 and 80; Weijnen and Ficq-Weijnen, 1995: 100-101).

expelled by women previously judged to be pregnant, were sometimes taken by observers to be small animals such as «moles, bigger than a mouse» (*talpae, muris maioris*). Hoffmann explains that, while superstitious folk consider these animal-like masses of flesh to be a result of sorcery (*incantamento*), doctors prefer to linger on explicative theories involving extraordinary conception (*praeternaturali conceptu*) from weak and diseased male semen (Latin text in Hoffmann, 1726: 23).

In the *Jardín de flores curiosas* by Antonio de Torquemada (ca. 1507-1569), an erudite and widely-read Spanish miscellany written 1567-1568, there are several reports of monstrous deliveries (Orsanic, 2014). Among these, much has been made of the following «superbirth» (Lefebvre, 1968: 126). De Torquemada claims to have once witnessed «a woman that hauing had a very hard trauaile, in the which she was often at the poynt of death, at last was deliuered of a child (*criatura*), and withall of a beast (*animal*), whose fashion was lyke vnto a Firret (*huron*)». The creature «came foorth with his clawes vpon the childes brest, and his feete entangled within the chिल्ds legges, both one and the other died in few hours». This had something to do, de Torquemada reasons, with the topic of uterine moles. De Torquemada goes on, in fact, to tell of a woman who had expelled a big uterine mole shaped, at one end, as «a head vnperfectly fashioned» (*cabeça mal formada*). The woman, he adds, «told me, that when it came into the world it moued, and that therefore they had sprinkled water vpon it, vsing the words of Baptisme» (Spanish text in de Torquemada, 1570: 16v, translation in de Torquemada, 1600: 9). There is nothing demonic in the monstrous birth of the ferret-like animal (*pace* Orsanic, 2014: 358), and there is no need to maintain that de Torquemada really witnessed it (so Arrabal, 1983: 107). His sources are ultimately unknown but, thinking of Fantaguzzi, de Torquemada could have heard or read a story while he was travelling in Central Italy around 1528-1530 (Benito, 2005: 129). Both the Italian and the Spanish writers tell of a woman who delivers a baby with an animal (mole, ferret) attached to the body; shortly after the double delivery, the baby and the monstrous animal sibling die. As noted, it is unclear precisely who dies in Fantaguzzi.

Ideas similar to Zanetti's, Fantaguzzi's and de Torquemada's noxious *tarpa* are contained in the so-called *Stockholmer Arzneibuch*, a Middle Low German medical recipe collection copied into MS X 113 of the Königliche Bibliothek in Stockholm. This is a work by multiple hands (no less than 19) the oldest of which were dated, paleographically, to as early as the second half of the fifteenth century (Lindgren, 1967). Since the nineteenth century, the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch* has attracted the attention of scholars writing on real and imaginary parasites in German medieval medicine (e.g. Grimm, 1878: 341; von Ofele, 1902: 83-84 and 89; Gleisner, 1996: 97), that is, gnawing worm-like creatures assumed to cause a vast-range of inexplicable disease symptoms. Among the instances of alleged parasitism documented in the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch*, there is the following passage on a 'worm-bird' which grows together with the baby —note that the hand who wrote this passage seems to belong to the second half of the fifteenth century (Chiara Benati, personal communication, February 2021). When the woman has given birth, this 'worm-bird' rises to the heart and causes death:

When a woman has conceived, a worm may grow together with the embryo. This has wings like a bat and a beak like a bird. The worm grows together with the embryo and, once the woman has delivered, it quickly goes up to the heart of the woman within a few days and bothers it. In this way, when one thinks that the woman is out of danger, she suddenly dies, without anyone knowing what is wrong with her. Those who want to

drive away the worm and kill it, so that it does not kill the woman, should take the fruit, which grows on the ash and which is commonly called «key of the vagina». This should be pressed and crumbled to powder and given to drink to the woman, once she has delivered. This should be given her to drink [...] whether she has the worm or whether she does not have it. If she does have the worm, this will be driven away by the plant, if she does not have it, this drink does not harm. In fact, no remedy in the world is as good as the above described. (Middle Low German text and translation in Benati, 2020: 267-268, after Lindgren, 1967: 101)

There apparently was a German medical opinion, «widespread up to modern times», that the uterine mole had something to do with a real animal parasite, the cysticercus. This is a small vesicle like a bladder in which a tapeworm larva resides: in German pre-Linnaean language, *Blasenwurm* lit. ‘bladder worm’. The mole having a parasitic characteristic, of course, «is out of [the] question» (Bergmann, 1904: 1687; further on the ‘bladder worm’ in Wardle, McLeod and Radinovsky, 1975: 142). These ideas though may help to explain the following fact: as many have noted, the *modus operandi* of the ‘worm-bird’ as presented in the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch* is typologically comparable to that of the ‘heart worm’ (*herzwurm*), a fearful imaginary parasite long attested in German popular medicine. The ‘heart worm’ was thought to cause nausea, heart troubles or sudden death by biting at the heart. In the same way, the ‘worm-bird’ from the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch* targets the victim’s heart while it is connected «with maternity and childbirth, possibly to try to explain delayed and unexpected cases of death in childbed» (Benati, 2020: 267). Indeed, «Various fantastic ideas about the appearance of these worms were held at one time or another» (Kunze, 1977: 250). I was not able to find any other German account which connects pregnancy and pathogenic ‘heart worms’, or which depicts the ‘heart worm’ as a ‘worm-bird’³⁵. There is, often, the idea that the ‘heart worm’ is carried in the heart of every human being from birth: curative remedies include the use of appealing food to lure the worm out, or the swallowing of noxious substances to destroy it (Grimm, 1878: 341; Grabner, 1962: 225-227; Kunze, 1977: 249-251; Benati, 2020: 267-268 and 273).

The detail of this monstrous ‘worm-bird’ with its beak and wings (the *suygher/sooterkin*, as we will see in chapter 7, had or came to have a similar form) should perhaps be explained in the light of the linguistic similarity between *arpo* and Lat. *arpia* ‘harpy’, the winged demon of Greek and Roman Antiquity. It will be remembered that, according to Savonarola who wrote in the mid-fifteenth century, among the animal forms that the *arpo* could assume there were eagles, bats and hawks: see previous chapter. In sixteenth-century France, as the physician Laurent Joubert (1529-1583) showed in the first part of his *Erreurs populaires au fait de la médecine* 4: 7, a 1578 work intended to debunk popular medical superstitions, the folklore about the *frater Salernitanorum* and the winged *arpo* had merged with the learned mythology surrounding the harpy («flying harpies and demonic spirits») for McClive and King, 2007: 235). This was because of the harpy’s hybrid human-animal appearance in classical sources —at least according to Joubert, who disbelieved in the existence of the *frater* (French text in Joubert, 1578: 373-379, translation in Joubert, 1989: 154 and 179-

³⁵ The ‘heart worm’ is said to have a pair of stag-like horns in a «quite impressive description» contained in German manuscript source of 1601 (see, lastly, Benati, 2020: 267 and 273). It will be clear by reading Hoeppli (1959), Kunze (1977), Zysk (1996), Gardenour and Tadd (2012) that imaginary parasites are often described cross-culturally in mythical terms: different colours, multiple-headed and multi-limbed, horned, etc.

180; see Paré, 1982: 57; Brochard, 1990: 231-236 on Joubert's influence on later writers). The connection between the harpy (*arpia*), the ancient Roman town of Arpi or Argos Hippium, in modern Apulia, and the monstrous *arpo* conception was made by later doctors and historians of medicine³⁶.

Remarkably, Joubert also contains one of the earliest examples of the opinions that human animal miscarriages are just misshapen lumps of flesh produced by women. This opinion is absent from medical works on the *frater* written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Zuccolin, 2019: 53); but it is already present in Savonarola's mid-fifteenth-century *Practica maior*, where Savonarola claims that the *fera* is a piece of corrupted flesh bearing the form of a living animal —*not* an actual living animal (Latin text in Savonarola, 1559: 269r, English and Italian translations in, respectively, O'Neill, 1974: 225; Zuccolin, 2019: 52-53). Joubert relates, in fact, that, sometime before the year 1570, he was told a story about two Italian women (another derogatory tale?), one the wife of a mender, the other a young gentlewoman, who gave birth, in the same month in 1565, apparently in Genève, to rat- and cat-like black objects that «flew up and firmly attached themselves to the partition of the side of the bed, higher than the canopy» (French text in Joubert, 1578: 376, translation in Joubert, 1989: 181).

Joubert's source for this «short and dramatic anecdote» (Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 301) was the poet and soldier Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630), then almost eighteen years of age, who had heard about the case while he was a schoolboy staying in the Genevan house of the renowned French physician Philibert Sarazin (†1573). The mender's wife, note, delivered the 'rat' (with no tail), while the lady the 'cat': is this another reference to monstrous progeny working along class lines, as in Savonarola in the previous chapter? Joubert had also heard, from trusted people, an associated tale about «a most decent woman from Châtellerault» who had had a monster that «escaped from the hands of the midwife and ran all about in the bedroom like a hobgoblin (*foulet*), black and of a strange shape. It was finally caught and smothered by the midwife»³⁷. Joubert's scientific commentary runs as follows:

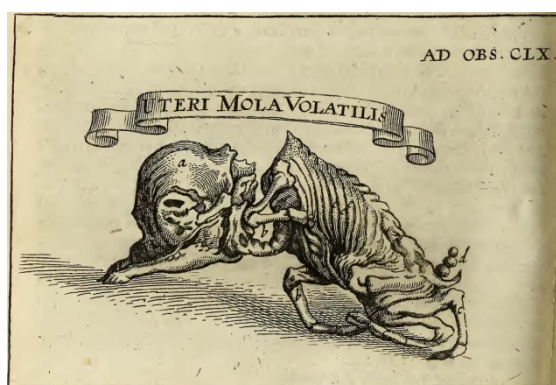
This is what is related concerning such things. Let us now see what is to be believed. It is certainly true that women engender and expel from their wombs sometime after their flowers have stopped flowing (thinking surely that they were pregnant) lumps of sinewy flesh, which can be compared to this and to that because of some resemblance they have to certain things, just as it is said of clouds, that one looks like a horse, another an inkhorn, another a hare, another a bird. But [uterine moles] are nothing like all these, and their tissue has only vegetative life, like a plant, simply, without any movements of its own, or any feeling. Thus, [the uterine mole] never was an animal, not even a reptile, or some other less perfect form of life. This is why it is utter foolishness to believe that some of [the uterine moles] fly about like harpies and suddenly go attaching themselves to the curtains of a bed prepared for a woman about to deliver.

³⁶ Storch (1749: 4-5) wrongly claimed that, already in Roman times, the *arpia* was said to be born in the form of a uterine mole, hence the later connection with the *frater*. O'Neill (1974: 235) speculated that the ancient town of Arpi influenced the name: «Although Arpi had ceased to exist by the late Middle Ages, its name lived on [...] as a synonym for the *Frater Salernitanarum* and the *Frater Lombardorum*». I would have serious doubts about this theory.

³⁷ This anecdote, notably, only appears in the second edition, 1579, of Joubert's first part of his *Erreurs populaires au fait de la médecine* (French text in Joubert, 1579: 429). De Rocher in Joubert (1989: 312) cleverly commented: «It came perhaps to be an embarrassment to Joubert and was later removed. He was obviously convinced at one time of its anecdotal strength, if not its veracity, and internal evidence suggests knowledge of follow-up inquiry, as well as a certain sympathy with the case».

(French text in Joubert, 1578: 373-379, translation in Joubert, 1989: 181-182; there is another translation in Worth-Stylianou, 2017a: 65)

Identical and, indeed, «remarkable» (Bergmann, 1904: 1687) accounts of animalistic flying uterine moles in the shape of monstrous bird-like creatures originating inside the uterus, which «seemed to be out of some medieval bestiary» (Gélis, 1991: 259), were circulating in north-western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Reports from Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark were collected, discussed in medical terms and occasionally debunked by doctors dealing with the puzzling but fascinating subject of the hydatidiform mole. How does a molar birth form? How could a mole be distinguished from a true pregnancy? Are moles always shapeless, or can they take on an animal form? Is it possible, doctors wondered, for moles to sometimes possess a life of their own? (Salmuth, 1648; Kerckring, 1670: 81-83; Bartholin, 1671; 1671-1672: Sachs, 1671; Stalpart van der Wiel, 1682: 234-237; van Lamzweerde, 1686; Gimma, 1999: 78). In 1654, the Danish physician Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680) recounted an event, related to him by female informants, which had occurred «not many years ago» in Helsingør, a Danish city: a «woman of good quality» delivered, with much pain, an animal like a dormouse (*animalculum gliri grandiori simillimum*); to the amazement of the women present at birth the animal shot into a hole in the room and was never seen again. Bartholin included the detail that the woman attempted to hide her anomalous pregnancy: in her last month, in fact, the woman's belly, which was big, had greatly decreased in size. There were rumors, Bartholin said, that the woman had kept up her belly «to the former height by the advantage of cloaths which she wore upon it». Bartholin was inclined to believe the story because «divers persons have made us relations of very strange and monstrous births from their own experience» (*Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum* 1: 10; Latin text in Bartholin, 1654: 19, partial translation in Wanley, 1678: 6).



[Figure 7. A skeleton of a dead *suygher*. From Bartholin (1671).]

Bartholin was apparently also the first, in 1671, to connect running/flying animal moles with the gossip of midwives in Copenhagen. A proof of the existence of the parasitic animal twin, called by Belgian people *suygher* and (this time) depicted as a sort of four-legged bird, Bartholin said, was sometimes to be observed on the foot of the baby that had been bitten by the blood-suckling monster in the womb; a skeleton of the flying animal mole, he added, was to be seen in a *Wunderkammer* in the Danish town of Sorø (see Figure 7) (Nielsen, 2017: 127-128, on Bartholin, 1671; 1671-1672; early

sceptical criticism towards Bartholin in Bonet, 1686: 154-155; Blondel, 1729: 42; Planque, 1762: 292-293; Astruc, 1765: 474-475). One should compare Bartholin and the foot bitten by the *suylgher* with a much-quoted German account by physician Philipp Salmuth (see previous chapter), in his posthumous *Observationum medicarum centuriae tres* 1: 66 (1648). This is a source that Bartholin himself referenced. A «matron of highest nobility, and other women worthy of trust» told Salmuth that they witnessed the countess of Leiningen complaining, during her pregnancy, that she felt something eating (*depascere*) inside her womb. She delivered a (presumably dead) female child with one side gnawed (see chapter 3 for the snake-twin eating its human sibling). Endeavouring to clear the afterbirth by detaching the placenta (*secundinae*) with her hand, the midwife was bitten on a finger by ‘something’, which made her cry out. Taking courage, the midwife drew from the womb an unfeathered (*implumem*) bird-like animal with a beak that had been in the womb with the child. The creature escaped by running until it was caught under a bench, where it was suffocated with a pillow and, then, thrown onto the fire (Latin text in Salmuth, 1648: 42-44). Both the ‘worm-bird’ from the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch* and this source hint that it was not uncommon, for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German physicians, to hear stories about extraordinary and dangerous conceptions —stories which we today associate with horror genre conventions³⁸.

What is more, late medieval and Renaissance (mostly Italian) medical descriptions of ‘animated’ molar pregnancies are known —and these were explicitly identified or connected with the phenomenon of the *frater Salernitanorum* by doctors. In their medical descriptions, uterine moles occasionally assumed «extraordinary shapes by mimicking forms found in nature, reminding the reader about the mutability of the products of the human body» (Nielsen, 2017: 126). In 1596, German physician Johannes Schenck von Grafenberg (1530-1598) gathered together approximately thirty sources from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, mostly *ad litteram*, with full bibliographical references. These appeared in his *Observationum medicarum, rararum, novarum admirabilium et monstrosarum*, «the most important collection of *observationes* of the late sixteenth century» (Pomata, 2010: 220). Von Grafenberg’s *Observationum medicarum* is an expanded and revised version, with six additional volumes (1584-1597), of von Grafenberg’s earlier 1584 work *Observationes medicae de capite humano*. The Book IV of the *Observationum medicarum* was dedicated to the human generative process and included a lengthy observation (no. 230: *De molis vitalibus*) on independently-moving uterine moles. In sum, von Grafenberg gives us a very useful list of *frater* and *frater*-like cases extracted from the medical literature available at that time (Latin text in von Grafenberg, 1596: 586-604).

Take the fifteenth-century graphic report of Giovanni Matteo Ferrari da Grado (1436-1472) in his *Practice prima et secunda pars, vna cum textu noni ad Almansore[m] de Rasis*, a 1471 medical commentary of Book IX of al-Rāzī’s *Liber ad*

³⁸ Elsewhere in his collection (1: 62), Salmuth recounts that while he was living in the house of doctor Johann Friedrich Schröter (1559-1625) (*Fridericum Scroterum*), in Jena in 1596, the following news came to him from an unnamed but trustworthy Nürnberg physician: «a woman, apparently at the conclusion of a normal gestation, gave birth to five living rats, that slipped from out the womb between the hands of the attending midwife, and, according to the habit of rats, ran to the cabinet (*hypocaustum*). Four of them were instantly killed by the attendants. The fifth being caught in the corner of the [room] was pounced upon by a cat that happened to be about, and was quickly devoured. Thereupon the cat became crazy, and jumping on the bed of the woman who had just been confined, scratched her. Nor did she desist until she too had been beaten to death by those present» (Taussig, 1907: 254-255, on Salmuth, 1648: 39-41).

Almansorem, later republished under the title *Practica seu Commentaria in nonum Rasis ad Almansorem*. In the *Practice*, Ferrari da Grado says that he personally witnessed vaginal expulsions of living objects that were moving and that lived for a few hours outside the womb. In addition, he says that he heard stories about winged animals which flew away once they had been delivered by women (*audivi mirabilia, sed non vidi, de animali generato in matrice cum alis, quod cum exivit matricem, volavit*) (Latin text in Ferrari da Grado, 1560: 393r-397v, taken up, for example, by Sennert, 1651: 120; Bartholin, 1671: 258; see also Conforti, 2009: 134-135). The connection between the *suygher* and medieval folklore of the *frater Salernitanorum* is unclear. Did the flying uterine mole and the *suygher*, as «familiar manifestation[s] of a reproductive failure» (Carney, 2012: 56), somehow depend upon the *frater*? Or, are they both part of a wider complex of legends on women giving birth to monstrous animal siblings noted in medical and ethnological accounts? Today, «the cultural significance of sooterkins continues to be debated» (Lieske, 2007: 64). It is, thus, necessary to investigate the Dutch phenomenon of the *suygher*, also called *sooterkin*, in more detail.

CHAPTER 7: THE DUTCH *SUYGHER/SOOTERKIN*

The complex of medical beliefs around monstrous animal sibling births persisted until the 1800s at both the folklore —think of the Umbrian *tarpa* seen in the previous chapter— and the learned level, hinting, perhaps, at a circular relationship that linked oral and written cultures; something contrary to the still depressingly common idea of the «antinomy of the oral and the written» (Edmunds, 2015: 3-7 and 38; see also Niccoli, 1990: 18). But, in the early modern period, how far were hydatidiform moles «considered to have any independent life, in particular the ability to move independently of the womb or of the mother body» (Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 303)? Early modern doctors were greatly fascinated by the theme of molar pregnancies (Bergmann, 1904; McClive 2002; King, 2007: 61-64; McClive and King, 2007; Conforti, 2009; Worth-Stylianou, 2015; Christopoulos, 2021: 65-66 and 272-275; Foscati, 2021). These doctors were often aware of, if not completely dependent on, previous medieval writers: think of von Grafenberg in the previous chapter; while it has been suggested that Bartholin knew, «probably from his own travels», of contemporary Neapolitan beliefs about the *frater Salernitanorum*, still circulating locally in the seventeenth century (Nielsen, 2017: 128). There may be, in the *frater* story-complex, a feedback loop between erudite readings and popular chatter circulating orally.

The *frater*, however, as noted in the previous chapter, begs comparison with the Middle Dutch *zuyger/suyg(h)er/ulyger* or, in English, *sooterkin/suterkindt*, a monstrous animal that was said in the Lowlands, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to develop alongside the human fetus —feeding on it in a parasitic relationship. It was a worm-like creature that sometimes resembled a bird, a mouse or a small mammal: «a separate tradition to monstrous births in early modern writing» (Bates, 2003; 2004; 2005: 126-133). Two different etymological explanations have been proposed for the *suygher* and *sooterkin* names (Jones, 2016b). Before reviewing them, it is important to say that *sooterkin* is commonly considered today to be a «mysterious word» (Anonymous, 1913) of Dutch origins which was only used in England or, in any case, by English-speaking people: the phenomenon was actually called *suygher* in the Netherlands. In other words, *suygher* and *sooterkin* are, respectively, a Dutch and an English word for the same thing. It is uncertain if *sooterkin* is an English adaptation («corruption» for Jones, 2016b) of *suygher*, or if both words are independent from each other but share a common ancestor. In any case, there is no doubt that *suygher* must be intended as a noun strictly related to *sooterkin*: this would solve, note, a *crux* in English linguistics (see Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 429, s.v. *sooterkin*, n.: «there is app.[arently] no similar term in Dutch»).

Suygher: several modern commentators thought that *suyghers* were called ‘suckers’ because they sucked up the nourishment intended for the fetus, or because they sucked directly on the conceived child: compare the Middle Dutch verb *sugen* ‘to suck’, and modern Dutch *zuigen* ‘to suck’ and *zuiger* ‘sucker’ (see, for example, Bergmann, 1904: 1687; Kooijmans, 2011: 93 and 361). As we shall see below, this idea that *suygher* stands for ‘sucker’ can be found as early as the sixteenth century in an influential textual passage written by Flemish physician Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568). From there, the interpretation passed into seventeenth-century Flemish medicine and English medical works (Anonymous, 1684: 49; Maubray, 1724: 377; Knoeff, 2009: 48). Lexicography proves useful in downplaying Lemnius’ theory that *suygher* means ‘sucker’: rather than go through his poorly-made argument (a borrowed folk-

etymology?), I will look at the question from what is, I hope, a more productive angle. In sixteenth-century dictionaries, entries consisted of Latin, French and English words or expressions with their Dutch counterparts. There, we learn that ‘sugar, honey’ was rendered into Flemish as *suy(c)ker* (Servilius, 1545: 136r, s.v. *mel*, *saccarum*; Meurier, 1562: 103, s.v. *sucre*; Apherdianus, 1976: 308). By extension, from ‘sugar, honey’, *suygher* was also used for ‘sweetie, darling, sweetheart’ —to express praise and endearment for either men, women or children. This sense has been evident since the sixteenth century in Dutch onomastics: the female names Soetkin, Soeteke(n), Zoeteke and Soetje are still in use today (<https://www.openarch.nl/>; <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/>). There is also the Dutch phrase *myn* (or *mijn*) *suycker mondeken/suet mondeken* ‘my sweetie, lit. my little sweet mouth/lips’ (Mellema, 1592, s.v. *ma sucrée*, *ma douceur*, *ma mignonne ou mignonette*; D’Artsy, 1643, s.v. *mon miel*, *ma sucrée*, *ma douceur*; 1694, s.v. *mon mignon*).

Sooterkin: in Jane Sharp’s 1671 *Midwives Book*, a popular English midwifery guide, the rare variant *Soote kints* is used (emended from *Soole kints*: text in Sharp, 1999: 87). We do not know Sharp’s sources or her informants here, but *Soote kints* could credibly stand for ‘sweet children’ or ‘little sugary ones’, an etymology which had been given as early as 1726; thus, «Dutch women call their children “Sooterkins”, i.e. little sugary ones, out of love and joy fulness in them» (Stephens, George, 1873: 634; see Douglas, 1726: 15-16; Haslam, 1996: 41; Uglow, 1997: 210). Compare with Middle Dutch or Flemish *soet* ‘sweet, kind’ and *soetken/zoeterken/soetkijn* ‘sweetheart, sweetie’ (diminutive), to be found, for example, in the Dutch phrase *myn* (or *mijn*) *suetken* ‘my sweetie’ (Kiliaan, 1599: 502; D’Artsy, 1643, s.v. *mon Miel*; Bensly, 1923: 48; Weekley, 1967: 1376; Ryckeboer, 2004: 68). This explanation of *sooterkin* for ‘sweetie’ is analogous to that of *suygher* above. It thus appears that both words are linguistically related to the semantics of sweetness. As «saccharine words» (Lehman, 1947: 481), they functioned metaphorically as expressions of affection, love, devotion or appreciative evaluation. It remains to be determined why the *suygher* and *sooterkin*, for ‘sweetie’, were also used to label a dangerous monstrous birth: one would expect here, in fact, a negative, not a positive word. There can be two closely interwoven reasons for this. Either ‘sweetie’ was an attempt to humanise or tame something monstrous/disturbing; or ‘sweetie’ was a hypocoristic noa name: Dutch speakers perhaps used «a word like *soetekijn* to avoid a more ill-omened name» (Bensly, 1923: 48). ‘Pretty’ substitutive names are commonly attested in ethnolinguistics for diseases and dangerous supernatural or natural beings (see, for example, Sanga, 2005; Bracchi, 2009). One should note that ‘brother’ (*frater*) is also an intimate word: I will return to the question of etymology in chapter 8.

Marvellous tales concerning childbirths, spread by midwives and especially associated with Flanders, circulated in seventeenth-century north-western Europe: there were «“suckers” running or flying through the room after birth and forcing their way into the vaginas of other women present» (Knoeff, 2009: 48). Daisy Murray went too far in claiming that the *sooterkin* «arguably emerges as the beginning of the myth of the evil twin, popular in culture today, yet undefined in the early modern period» (Murray, 2017b: 23). Murray was unaware of earlier Italian medical beliefs about the *frater Salernitanorum*. In any case, possibly the earliest author to place the *frater* phenomenon in Flanders was Valencian humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), in his philosophical/psychological treatise on the human soul *De anima et vita libri tres* 1, published in 1538. Vives narrative technique alternated theoretical assumptions with

digressions on «daily life [from] various geographical locations with which he had direct or indirect experience» (Del Nero, 2008: 286-287); something to be read in the context of the still understudied Renaissance convergences between medical and literary discourses (Worth-Stylianou, 2015; Hasson, 2017).

From 1512 to 1523, Vives resided in Bruges and Louvain where he presumably heard about women who could produce an animal in place of, or together with the child, a wonder «which frequently occurs in Italy in Naples (*Neapoli Italiae*), and in Belgian Flanders (*Flandria Belgica*)» (the reference to the South of Italy «is more general», likely not a fruit of direct knowledge: Del Nero, 2008: 287). This degenerate conception, for Vives, much as with Bernard de Gordon's description of southern Italy in chapter 5, happened in Flanders on account of the cabbage (*brassica*) and beer (*cervisia*) diet of local women. These food and drinks mixed internally with putrid humour (*putri humore*) and generated the Flemish *frater* (= *suygher*), in a manner similar to intestinal parasites: «as worms [appear] in children's belly [coming from] raw fruits» (Latin text in Vives, 1959: 11; see also Riley, 1992: 163; Del Nero, 2008: 287). The English traveller Fynes Moryson (1566-1630), who was in the Netherlands in 1592 and 1595, described the *suygher* in the unpublished Book IV of his *Intinerary* (handwritten ca. 1625-1626). Moryson observed, as Vives had: «some attribute these frequent effects [= the *suygher*, not explicitly named] to the peoples grosse feeding, and liuing much vpon waters» (Hughes, 1903: 381; see also van Strien, 1993: 216; Kew, 1995: 1365)³⁹. Two centuries after Vives, German physician Johann Storch (1681-1751) speculated, in a similar manner, that worm-like miscarriages or animal formations such as the *frater*, had been brought about by eating wormy fruits and vegetables: much as tapeworms were (Storch, 1749: 4-5)⁴⁰.

Admittedly, we do not know exactly why Vives located the *frater Salernitanorum* in Flanders (an unhealthy place for Moryson). Is Vives documenting, in the early sixteenth century, the local adaptation of a migratory legend, the Italian *frater*, first told by authors centuries earlier, which will soon become, in the Lowlands, the *suygher*? Or, rather, was there already a monstrous twin cognate to the *frater* known in local tradition as the *suygher*? These questions cannot be answered with any certainty, while it seems there were, in terms of chronology, the *frater* (Middle Ages) > flying animal mole (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch*, Joubert) > *suygher/sooterkin* (from the sixteenth century onwards). We might imagine a European complex of legends where the *frater* and the *suygher/sooterkin* are just local forms brought to light when a strong regional tradition of medical writing emerges: in this

³⁹ Italian writer Tomaso Garzoni (1549-1589), in his posthumous *Il serraglio degli stupori del mondo*, an encyclopedic discussion of the world's wonders published in 1613, was critical towards the bad food theory. There would be, Garzoni observes, while writing on Vives, many other cases of animal offspring, given that cabbage and beer are used for nutrition, in much of the world, by both men and women (Italian text in Garzoni, 2004: 127).

⁴⁰ In many societies it was believed that tapeworms grew from small-damaging worms that had been swallowed. Compare the Italian dialectal names for nematomorphs, worms that are present in puddles or stagnant freshwater: it was thought that, if ingested, they could lodge in the bowels. Bracchi (2007: 143; 2009: 152-153) noted that there are Italian names like *foraciör* 'heart-piercer' (Brescian of Bagolino), *serpënghënc'hä* 'white snake' (Occitan of Salbertrand: a reference to the nematomorphs' shining color), *strangùra-boci* 'beak strangler' (central Ligurian of Pieve di Teco), *veniìn* 'poison' (Lecchese from Premana), etc. This folklore evidence of which there are European-wide parallels, often mentioned in passing in old medical writings on human pseudo-parasitism of the *Gordius* genus, has unfortunately been little studied: see, for example, Blanchard (1897: 617), Topsent (1900: 89 and 91), Parona (1901: 629-630), Hoeppli (1959: 93), Grabner (1962: 235-238), Kunze (1977: 251-253).

case, in medieval Salerno and in early modern Flanders (see below for Levinus Lemnius). Several subsequent authors, in the seventeenth century, listed the *frater* and the *suygher/sooterkin* together, but kept them separated: they were perceived as two parallel but different, at least in geographical and linguistic terms, phenomena (see, for example, Veryard, 1701: 24; Céard, 1983: 90 and 101; Bates, 2003: 7; 2005: 130). It will be remembered that tales about a child delivered with a small mammal (mole, ferret) attached to his/her body were known in Italy, Spain and Germany between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries (see previous chapter). This seems to point to a European-wide complex of stories featuring monstrous animal siblings: see the map at the start of this monograph (Figure 1).

The earliest Dutch source in which one can read about the *suygher/sooterkin* legend at length, however, may be physician Levinus Lemnius' book on the miracles of nature *Occulta naturae miracula* 2: 40, first published in 1559. It is not true, in fact, that «There is no early modern Dutch literature on the sooterkin» (*pace* Bates, 2005: 129). Lemnius' passage, for Mary Fissel «the most detailed and gruesome discussion of a monster birth that I have read in any popular medical book» (Fissel, 2004: 211), was taken up—not least for its evocative horror—by many subsequent medical authorities (see, for example, Paré, 1982: 58-59; Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 304 for doctors Ambroise Paré and Jean Liébault; see also de Francheville, 1776: 26-27). Lemnius states that «Dutch women who live near the sea and marry sailors are particularly prone to [...] problematic births. Mariners come home after a long voyage and have sex with their wives even if they are menstruating, which leads to monstrous births». At first it appears «that the fault lies with the husbands' lack of restraint, but Lemnius quickly shifts the blame to their wives, who “voluntarily put themselves on their Husbands, and suck [*rapiunt*] the seed from them, as hungry dogs do a bone, or Cerberus his bait”» (Fissel, 2004: 210, using the 1668 English translation of Lemnius). Lemnius then records the following story:

And indeed, several years ago, a certain woman living on an island consulted me in my capacity as a physician. She had become pregnant by her husband, who was a sailor, and her belly began to grow at such a great and abnormal rate that it did not seem she would be able to bear such a heavy burden. When she reached the end of her nine months, or three quarters of a year, the midwife was called, and the woman first, with great suffering and much distress, expelled a certain lump of flesh which was quite shapeless. I surmise that she had conceived this after she had already conceived a fetus legitimately. On both sides of this heavy lump were two long handles like arms, and it moved and seemed to be in some way animate, like sponges and sea urchins which in our region are called *Elschouwe*. We see great numbers of them floating on the sea in summer, and once they are pulled out of the water, they slide along amazingly, and if they are handled for a long time, they dissolve. Shortly after this there came from her womb a monster with a hooked beak, a long round neck, eyes which moved from side to side, a long pointed tail, and feet which ran fast. As soon as it saw the light, the monster started to make a great din, running all over the room, trying to hide itself somewhere. But finally the women caught it and with cushions and pillows suffocated it. Because this sort of monster had drunk all the blood of the child it is called a leech (*Suyghers* in our language). Finally, this woman gave birth to a boy who had been so injured and torn apart by this monster that he survived only a short time after being baptised, and the woman having had great difficulty recovering, told me in detail of the great sufferings and torments which she had endured. I recommended that she follow a very healthy way of life, and should take certain things to restore her strength. For she

was very distressed and extremely run down. All these things and some others besides must serve as a warning to everyone to behave properly, decently and chastely, lest any harm or disorder befall the course of nature. (Latin text in Lemnius, 1559: 24-25, translation in Worth-Stylianou, 2019c)

Scholars have not examined the role played by belief and storytelling in Lemnius. It is uncertain whether Lemnius «state[d] his presence at the dramatic scene» (so Natale, 2008: 200). Lemnius may have been reporting, instead, a personal experience story that had been given to him by his own patient, a woman who had previously given birth to a threatening creature which acted internally like a leech (Oudnederlands Woordenboek 2020, s.v. *zuiger*, note, connected Lemnius' 'leech' inside the body to bosom serpent beliefs). Had the woman perhaps embedded belief narratives, spread by midwives and/or other women, in her autobiographical memory? As is known, elements of folk beliefs, folktale motifs and related narrative traditions may come to be experienced as personal memories by the subject, while constructing his or her own narrative (see, for example, Hopkin, 2004; Bahna, 2015; Connors and Halligan, 2015). One should remember Salmuth's cognate oral tale, cited in the previous chapter: the story was told to Salmuth by women apparently involved in the events narrated. As in Lemnius, there is the participation of a midwife in the birth of a fast-running creature generated together with the human child. As in Lemnius (see Figure 8), the creature has a beak and, after being delivered, is caught and suffocated with a pillow. I would rule out the possibility that Lemnius, writing a generation before, influenced Salmuth. Their texts are in many ways different: they seem to belong, rather, to a shared body of medical folklore circulating, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the Netherlands (Lemnius) and Germany (Salmuth).



[Figure 8. A woodcut depicting Lemnius' *suygher*. From French physician and surgeon Ambroise Paré's (ca. 1510-1590) Latin translation of his monster treatise *Livre traitant des monstres et prodiges*, in which Paré extensively quoted Lemnius (Paré, 1582: 573; French text in Paré, 1573: 466-467, translation in Paré, 1982: 58-59).]

Lemnius does not use the term *sooterkin* to label monstrous offspring, but a similar word: *suygher* 'sucker' for 'leech'. These two words, *sooterkin* and *suygher*, as I have maintained above, referred to the same phenomenon and have long been understood to be linguistically similar (see, for example, Bates, 2005: 128; Scanlon, Roscoe, 2017: 168 for eighteenth-century English doctors). Lemnius' account was so influential that, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Dutch medical authorities occasionally referred to it while calling abnormal pregnancies and/or the hydatidiform mole, the deformed and lifeless mass of flesh produced in the cavity of the womb, *suygher/suyger/suiger/zuiger* (van der Meij and Treub, 1900: 89; Oudnederlands Woordenboek, 2020, s.v. *zuiger*). The fact that the word *suygher* did not allow for a

clear pathological distinction between moles and monsters produced in the womb, in the Netherlands, is hardly surprising: «The majority of early modern medical texts reveal that the vocabulary used to describe false conceptions was often flexible and thus uncertain» (McClive and King, 2007: 232-233; see already Bergmann, 1904: 1687). Moreover, the two phenomena had regularly been assimilated in European medical thought, from the fourteenth century onwards, under the common heading of ‘monstrosity’ (Bergmann, 1904: 1688; McClive, 2002; McClive and King, 2007: 235-236; Conforti, 2009; Worth-Stylianou, 2015; Nielsen, 2017; Foscati, 2021: 131-132). It would be wrong to account Lemnius the sole influence for the use of the technical name *suygher*, and variants, in early modern Dutch medical language: Lemnius did not create the *suygher*, though he may have ‘boosted’ the use of *suygher* for monstrous births and uterine moles. In other words, while Lemnius is the first recorded author to come up with the name *suygher*, the use of the word and the related idea of the monster existed independently of him.

The memoirs of the Frisian midwife Catherina Schrader (1656-1746) may help to clarify this last point on belief and nomenclature, as they demonstrate «that ordinary people and lower-profile midwives were familiar with the concept of moles» (McClive, 2002: 220). In 1700, a Dutch woman, «old in years», brought a living boy into the world. For Schrader, «It had been predicted by a doctor that [the pregnant woman] had two “vlygers” [...] But haven’t come across any “vlygers”»: this is a rare reference which seems to attest the presence of multiple *suyghers*⁴¹. In 1710, another Dutch woman with a prolapsed uterus was cared for by Schrader: the woman was pregnant but it is not clear if she delivered a living baby. Schrader, anyway, reported that there was a quack doctor «who assured her, that she carried no child, but had a “sugar” or a “vlyger”» (translation in Marland, 1987: 55, 62 and 84-85). As has been already observed, *suger/vlyger* seems to refer here to popular beliefs on false conceptions that the Frisian midwife attributed to both contemporary empirics and learned physicians (van Lieburg, 1987: 17). On this evidence, ‘regular’ and ‘irregular’ doctors believed in the threatening nature of the *suygher*⁴². What did exactly *suygher* mean for them? Beliefs on the monstrous *suygher* were circulating widely in the Netherlands in 1725, that is, in Schrader’s years of activity (Kooijmans, 2011: 361). Was Schrader’s *suygher* a fully formed monster generated in the womb alone or with a child? Or, was Schrader’s *suygher* ‘just’ «a fleshy and spongy Substance without Bones or Bowels, preternaturally brought into the World instead of a *Foetus*» (Buys, 1769: 147)? As I have said, *suygher* was a polysemic term for any kind of false conception or pathological formation in the uterus. We do not know whether Schrader believed in the *suygher*, or whether she was rather critical/sceptical (as McClive, 2002: 220 thought). Her personal views on the matter are not recorded.

⁴¹ Descriptions about strange, simultaneous expulsions of several uterine moles, however, are known from early modern medical literature: see Bergmann (1904: 1687).

⁴² It is worth pointing out that, historically, the two figures are often confused in the medical marketplace, depending on whether their actions are regarded as trickery: the ‘good’ healer, the medical practitioner who acts in good faith; and the ‘bad’ healer, the charlatan or quack who aims to deceive (Chidester, 2003: 76; Wauters, 2018: 23; Caire, 2019: 229; Castrignanò, 2019: 428; Merceron, 2020).

CHAPTER 8: THE NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND AND THE *SOOTERKIN*

A century after Lemnius, learned Dutch doctors took issue with popular beliefs about *suyghers*. Some even conducted personal inquiries. Cornelius Stalpart van der Wiel (1620-1702) had, for instance, in the 1670s or in the very early 1680s, interviewed a number of midwives who told him that they had never witnessed the birth of *suyghers*. The *suyghers* came ultimately to be considered by Cornelius as a fanciful fable of old women and of «idle men» (*otiosorum hominum*). Afterwards, the Dutch physician apparently changed his mind, overwhelmed by the huge number (*immenso* [...] *numero*) of descriptions of such monstrous births and other teratological accounts taken from medical books composed by «writers most worthy of faith» (Latin text in Stalpart van der Wiel, 1687: 311b, partial French translation in Stalpart van der Wiel, 1758: 295; see Stalpart van der Wiel, 1682: 234-237 for the original Dutch version). What we have in Cornelius is deference to accumulated medical knowledge⁴³. There is, on the other hand, the case of the anatomist and obstetrician Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731). Dutch midwives regularly brought him dead specimens of *suyghers*, which he stored in his cabinet: it is not true, in fact, that «nobody had [ever] caught and preserved a sooterkin specimen» (as stated by Cody, 2005: 124). Ruysch questioned these midwives and more generally investigated the matter among those women who claimed they had given birth to *suyghers*: «he was curious as to what process or phenomenon could underlie these myths» (Boer, Radziun and Oostra, 2017: 39)⁴⁴. Ruysch concluded —and so did the Dutch anatomist Theodor Kerckring (*ca.* 1639-1693) (Latin text in Kerckring, 1670: 81-83)— that the midwives had never seen a living specimen of a *suygher*: in sixty-two years of dissecting female bodies he, also, had never come across the creature. The alleged *suyghers* were, Ruysch continued, no more than a ridiculous superstition connected to lumps of clotted blood in the vagina or bits of placenta, which had remained in the uterus for weeks or months: they were irregular enough to be interpreted as an animal or a monster (Ruysch, 1751: 69-70; on Ruysch see Douglas, 1726: 11-13; Bates, 2003: 8; Kooijmans, 2011: 93, 361-363 and 388; Knoeff, 2009: 48; Boer, Radziun and Oostra, 2017: 39).

As noted in chapter 7 the *suygher* was known, in England, as *sooterkin* —a word of Dutch origins which is linguistically related to *suygher*. Folklore on *sooterkins* featuring Dutch people circulated widely in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; while the term *sooterkin*, around the same period, also entered the English language with a range of «semantically elusive» (Hughes, 2000: 28) literal and/or figurative senses: ‘false birth, afterbirth, abortive proposal or scheme/enterprise, Dutchman’, etc. (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 429, s.v. *sooterkin*, n.; note: «Now

⁴³ This respect of tradition, it has been noted, helps to explain the continued presence, and the slow evolution, of some old notions in medical and psychological thinking (Dandrey, 2004; Luccioni-Sauvage, 2015). This habit of thought continues into the present: see Ermacora (2018; 2019).

⁴⁴ Women testified «that they had felt movements inside, which reinforced the suggestion that they were carrying a live animal» (Knoeff, 2009: 48). As a result, Ruysch’s son Hendrik (1673-1727), who was also a physician personally involved in providing medical education to midwives (Kooijmans, 2011: 356-359), «explained that this could not be true and that what the women felt could be attributed to wind or unusual movements of the muscles of the stomach» (Knoeff, 2009: 48, on Kooijmans, 2011: 361). See chapter 2 for the same symptoms in the context of the *frater Salernitanorum* and the bosom serpent story-complex.

rare»)⁴⁵. Learned English physicians and midwives believed that if Dutch women stayed too close to hot stoves, for example by sitting on top of them, the heat, ashes and dirt spontaneously became the fast-moving *sooterkin* within the uterus—the word ‘soot’ may have played its part here in English etymologising (see further below). When mature, the *sooterkin* could slip out from Dutch women’s bodies, typically emerging after the new-born baby. Hence, the creature’s supposed sooty or at least ‘chthonic’ appearance (Cody, 2005: 124; Bates, 2003; 2005: 128-132)⁴⁶. Interestingly, English *sooterkin* sources (which do not simply date to «the Middle Ages»: *pace* Jones, 2016a: 110) do not contain allusions to the pathologized putrefaction of menstrual blood in the womb. Yet this is there in Jane Sharp’s 1671 *Midwives Book* which talks, more generally, about the conception of children with accompanying moles (text in Sharpe, 1999: 84-85); while the term ‘menstruous’ was often etymologised as ‘monstrous’ in the «language of menstruation» of early modern England (Read, 2013: 27-28, 120 and 132; a pun on *menstruum* and *monstruum* can be already found in Savonarola: Niccoli, 1990: 11).

In the English question-and-answer periodical *The Athenian Gazette* published from 1691 until 1697 there is, for instance, the following *excursus* for the question «Whence proceeds the Shuterkin?»: «Physicians have imputed this Shuterkin (which resembles a Weezle) to the Steam and Warmth of the Stove Pots, which vivifies the natural Irrigation of the *uterus*, which has a Tendency to form something, as the Guts and Intestines, by an undue Disposition of Heat, etc. from [*sic form*] Worms» (Anonymous, 1703: 380). We have already seen that Vives had linked, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the formation of worms in the intestines to foul animals generated in the womb: add appendix 1 for Savonarola and Dominicus Lampsonius. The idea that helminths could mutate internally into other animals (birds, frogs, lizards, salamanders, snakes, leeches, lice, scorpions, etc.) and into other monstrous forms was, meanwhile, to be found in medical writing between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: one is left wondering to what extent this idea was (at least in part) folkloric in nature⁴⁷. The correspondent of *The Athenian Gazette* continues by giving the familiar

⁴⁵ Interestingly, in the eighteenth century, a Calcutta street incorporated the word. The old name of Prafulla Sarkar Street was ‘Sooterkin Lane’, «which the Corporation changed into Sooterkin Street vide notification dated September 25, 1928 [...]. Sooterkin Lane is mentioned in Wood’s map of Calcutta (1784), but the progenitor’s whereabouts are not known to us» (Thankappan Nair, 1987: 676). Sooterkin Street was eventually renamed in Prafulla Sarkar Street in 1968. The reason behind the choice of *sooterkin* for a street are not known. I give here three possibilities: [1] the name referred to a Dutchman whose residence was among the few houses in the street (compare with Grant’s Lane, also mentioned in the map of 1784: Cotton, 1907: 307-308); [2] *sooterkin*, as we shall see, in Britain also referred to chimney sweeps and perhaps by extension it was used with this sense in Calcutta; [3] ‘Sooterkin Lane’ could hide a derogatory meaning, referring to the poor conditions of the area and/or of its inhabitants. In 1910 it was lamented that «this portion of the town is in a very insanitary condition and it would be well to draw the attention of both the Chief Engineer and the Health Officer» (A citizen, 1910: 352).

⁴⁶ Apparently, in the early 1700s, ‘sootikin’ or ‘sutikin’ were English words for a small, mouse-shaped deposits formed in the vagina of poor women who did not wash themselves and who did not wear undergarments. This was affirmed in Noach and Williams (1986), but no references were given. The same authors wrote that Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and James Boswell (1740-1795) «mention men employed in London churches to sweep up sootikin after services». I was not able to track down these references, which should be taken with caution. Bensly (1923: 48) briefly compared the elements ‘monstrous birth/stove’ with the legendary Roman accounts of the birth of Servius Tullius by means of a phantom phallus rising from the fire. This is a far-fetched comparison.

⁴⁷ Think of the controversy between two leading parasitologists: Nicolas Andry de Bois-Regard (for) and Antonio Vallisneri (against) (Spataro, 2014: 262, 265 and 276; 2018: 82; Duchesneau, 2019: 143).

portrait of the Dutch *suygher*: «it usually comes forth with the Birth of the first Child, which it sometimes Corrodes; as soon as it comes in to the open Air, it will run up the Walls, and strive to hide it self, but they do all they can to kill it immediately» (Anonymous, 1703: 380). Was this, as a modern commentator put it, a «credulous explanation» influenced by «Old wives' tales», all too characteristic of the medical advice given by seventeenth-century English journalists (Cormick, 1973: 84)?

We know from Ruysch above that tales about *suyghers* were still in circulation, in the Netherlands, in 1725 (Kooijmans, 2011: 361). Fascinatingly, accounts of alleged first-hand experiences with the *suygher/sooterkin* are attested around the same time, in Britain, in medical writing. John Maubray (d. 1732), a Scottish physician and man-midwife who practised in London, claimed in 1724 to have personally assisted, «not many Years ago», at the delivery of a *sooterkin* —labelled by him «a little *Daemon*». This happened, Maubray explained, while he was traveling on a ferry from Harlingen to Amsterdam in the (former) Zuiderzee Bay⁴⁸. It was a horrible experience: upon the placenta, the «Membran's giving way, this forementioned Animal made its wonderful *Egress*; filling my *Ears* with dismal Shrieks, and my *Mind* with greater Consternation». Maubray did not exactly describe 'his' *sooterkin*, i.e. the *sooterkin* issued from the womb of the woman he had attended. Rather, he added to a conventional portrayal of the *sooterkin* according to what he had «either heard or read of this monster»: the creature sometimes precedes the birth of the human child; it has a rodent-like appearance and moves quickly; it seeks a mouse-hole or the chimney for escape leaving no evidential trace; the bystanders should be ready to capture it and throw it into the fireplace, etc. To strengthen his argument, Maubray said that he could have referenced many other authorities on the *sooterkin*, but that he contented himself «at present with one of the *Nation* [= Netherlands], viz», i.e. Lemnius, whose *suygher* episode he summarized. Maubray further added that, after he had helped the woman on the ferry,

I had occasion to talk with some of the most *learned Men*, of the several famous Universities in these *Provinces* upon this Head; who ingenuously told me, that it was so common a Thing, among the *Sea-faring*, and *meaner sort of People*, that scarce One of these Women in *Three* escaped this kind of strange Birth. [Author's italics] (Maubray, 1724: 375-377)⁴⁹

Maubray's reference to Lemnius is problematic. It will be remembered (see previous chapter) that Lemnius, writing two centuries before, had already connected the monstrous *suygher* with Dutch sailors. Was Maubray, in positing the *sooterkin* birth

⁴⁸ Stories of Dutch women who give birth to monsters while travelling on boats were already part of the medical canon decades before Maubray. For example, Danish physician and naturalist Oliger Jacobaeus (1650-1701) gave the news in 1675 that a woman from Leiden, in her fourth month of pregnancy, had delivered on a boat a horned creature like a goat (*capra*) (a drawing of the monster was included). The event happened at the Cape of Good Hope while the woman was sailing to the Asiatic Islands. After being delivered, Jacobaeus reported, the monster ran around the main deck (Latin text in Jacobaeus, 1674-1676: 98; see also Stalpart van der Wiel, 1758: 298). Some scepticism can be found in Anonymous (1758: 187).

⁴⁹ Maubray was criticized by many contemporaries who said that he was «a very credulous, or, more probably, a very ignorant person» (Stephens and George, 1873: 634 referring, in particular, to Douglas, 1726). Prints and engravings in which Maubray's belief on the *sooterkin* was satirized were published as early as 1726 (Haslam, 1996: 29, 41 and 45-46). On Maubray see also Grey in Butler (1744: 234), Oxford English Dictionary (1933: 429, s.v. *sooterkin*, n.), Bondeson (1997: 129-130), Pickover (2000: 96-97), Bates (2003; 2004; 2005: 126-133), Buckley (2017: 138).

among Dutch seafaring folk, nodding to Lemnius? Moreover, this is Maubray's description of the *sooterkin*: «a hooked Snout, fiery sparkling Eyes, a long round Neck, and an acuminated short Tail, of an extraordinary Agility of feet» [Author's italics] (Maubray, 1724: 375). Dennis Todd noted that Maubray's words can be paralleled in Lemnius' description of the *suygher*. Given, though, that «The story [of Lemnius] was quoted by other writers on monstrous birth [*sic*] [...] it is difficult to know where Maubray copied from» (Todd, 1995: 89-90 and 292)⁵⁰. Then again, Lemnius did not offer Maubray's detail that Dutch women produced *suyghers/sooterkins* in one-third of their pregnancies. This piece of information seems to be original to Maubray: it hints that the 'maritime' monster, perhaps, was still a topos in the early eighteenth century. One scholar surmised that Dutch «seafaring people believed that such births occurred frequently and [that] Maubray shared with them their superstitious belief» (Finley, 1939: 150). But we do not know if Dutch seamen themselves believed that the *suygher/sooterkin* was specific to them: as I shall explain below, in *sooterkin* narratives, much as with the *frater Salernitanorum*, the monstrous offspring was typically attributed to the 'other' (see chapter 5 for the *frater*). Indeed, Maubray used a mix of learned and oral sources to construct his *sooterkin* account.

We quickly come, then, to the question of whether «the thing [...] was, or wasn't» (Loane, 1930: 179), and whether the *suygher/sooterkin* can be considered, like the equivalent *frater Salernitanorum*, «another curious instance of the strange propensity of the human mind to torment itself with imaginary terrors» (Merivale, 1807: 23); or, in simpler words: «a mere legend» (Recio Muñoz, 2016: 735; Recio Muñoz and Martín Ferreira, 2019: 213, on Ausécache, 2007: 21-22). The English narratives concerning the *sooterkin* might have been derogatory folklore aimed at a close neighbour, enlivened by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century wars between England and the Netherlands. «Certain stories, first told by continental authors in earlier centuries, probably gained an addition set of meanings for an English audience» (Cody, 2005: 124). Small stoves used to warm the feet and the body when doing stationary work, and warming pans for the bed, were a traditional accessory among Dutch (and Dutch-American) communities. They were chiefly used by women: their «long skirts would hang over the warmer, providentially holding the heat around their feet» (Sanborn, 2009). Many Dutch paintings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depict scenes with women employing foot warmers (Vanderbilt, 1909: 310-311; Westermann, 2001: 204-205; Evans, 2003: 71). These foreign 'ethnological' customs were initially glossed in Britain: from the eighteenth century, foot stoves become more and more common there, too (Penderel-Brodhurst and Layton, 1925: 69; Porter, 1993: 78). One English commentator explained that the *sooterkin* was «a joke upon the Dutch women», on account «of their constant use of stoves, which they place under their petticoats» (Grose, 1785). As far as I am aware, original Dutch sources describing the *suygher* never make reference to the pollution of Dutch women through poor hygiene. This element might, then, be a British joke, a slight or even «a convenient insult» at the expense of Dutch women in the framework of conflictual relations (Bates, 2005: 129; see also Crowley and Crowley, 2001; Twoday, 2015).

⁵⁰ Lemnius' *suygher* cannot, however, be defined as a «monstrous serpent», *pace* Todd (1995: 292). Todd did not check Lemnius first-hand. Todd relied on other early modern writers on monstrous births in which Lemnius' *suygher* had become a snake (*serpens*), e.g. in the influential treatise on monsters *De monstrorum causis, natura, et differentiis* written by the Italian physician Fortunio Liceti (1577-1657).

It will be remembered that, in the early sixteenth century, Juan Luis Vives placed the *frater* in Lombardy and in Flanders (= *suygher*), and attempted to explain it in nutritional terms. The same was done by Moryson, writing *ca.* 100 years later. Theories establishing a causal relationship between bad food ingested by women and monstrous births were not uncommon in Renaissance and early modern tetralogical works (see, for example, Venette, 1687: 384; Prosperi, 2015: 168 for Ambroise Paré and Nicolas Venette; compare Demaitre, 2007: 164-166 for bad food and leprosy in the Middle Ages). However, why Dutch women in particular were susceptible to *suyghers/sooterkins*, and the women of other nationalities not, most foreign authors declined to say —Maubray, for instance, made no comment on this (as noted by Buckley, 2017: 138). Moreover, during the Stuart Period, several British travellers, students and tourists in Holland heard *in situ* stories about *suyghers*. Moryson, visiting the country in 1592 and 1595, and doctor Ellis Veryard (1657-1714) residing in Holland in 1678-1679 and 1682, commented, in their travel books, on the frequency of painful monstrous births (no special term was used) in the Lowlands. They made no references to stoves, pollution, etc. (van Strien, 1993: 216)⁵¹. Also, the detail that the *suygher/sooterkin* typically referred to Dutch woman —and, in Lemnius and Maubray, to an even smaller social group: Dutch seafaring folk— can be paralleled with the *frater*, which had also been posited on a people believed to be culturally backward. It had apparently only been a problem for Italian women living in *Langobardia Minor* and/or in Apulia: think of the denigratory portrait painted by Bernard de Gordon, chapter 5, a French man of Languedoc origins.

Historical linguistic research might help us. The English word *sooterkin* is typically derived from a hypothetical Middle Dutch **soetekijn* (Bensly, 1923: 48; Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 429, s.v. *sooterkin*, n.; Llewellyn, 1934: 204). It was proposed that the earliest English use of the term dates to 1654 or 1658 (Bates, 2004: 150). A *suterkyn*, however, is attested with the sense of ‘sutler, canteen-woman’ in an anonymous Middle English song, perhaps «A satire against the Flemings» (Ritson, 1829: LXXIV), contained in the 1530 collection known as *XX Songes* (text in Flügel, 1895: 145 and 436; Imelmann, 1903: 138; see the doubts raised by Williams, 1994: 1273 on Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 429, s.v. *sooterkin*, n., which, instead, has ‘sweetheart, mistress’). Moreover, the influence of the Dutch word in English might be retrospectively traced back to the adjective *sooty* (perhaps for ‘more agreeable’: Davis, 2005: 236) contained in a sixteenth-century letter in the Paston collection. This process was possibly kicked off by Flemish immigrants settled in several East Anglian towns, including Norwich, where the Pastons lived (Kihlbom, 1934: 104-105)⁵². Historically

⁵¹ Veryard, in particular, «was very inquisitive after the famous Animal call’d a *Suterkindt*, and said to precede or follow the *Foetus* in the delivery of Child-bed-women». Veryard interviewed «divers Physicians, Midwives, and others, who unanimously agreed, That there was such a thing; nay, one of them told me, She had seen one at Rotterdam, in shape like a large Mouse» (Veryard, 1701: 24). Apparently, while for some Dutch doctors who attempted to explain *suyghers* «as “normal” products of the female body» the monsters did not exist, or at least their reality was doubtful (see above for Stalpart van der Wiel, Kerckring and Ruysch), others believed (Knoeff, 2009: 48). For this latter category, see also the early eighteenth-century evidence provided by Dutch midwife Catherina Schrader, discussed in chapter 7.

⁵² Alternative manuscript readings of this enigmatic adjective, note, are also possible: Davis (2004: 332), for example, has *sooty* ‘treacherous, crafty’; and *sooty* can be intended, alternatively, as a dialectal variant of the now extinct adjective *soot* ‘sweet, pleasant, agreeable’ —from Old English *swōt* (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 428-429, s.v. *fsoot*, adj. and n.2).

speaking Flanders had been closely connected to England, and this included the exchange of, say, witchcraft beliefs across the North Sea (de Waardt, 2018).

Of course, the *suygher* story-complex was prevalent in Flanders and other parts of Holland. English people who lived there, and heard about it, could also have helped to carry the *suygher* legend to Britain. Moryson, for example, writing in the early seventeenth century, explained that he had heard «credible reports», about the *suygher* (again the term is not used), «from very Credible persons, which modesty forbides mee to write, espetially since the Curious may easily be informed thereof by many English who haue liued long in that Country» (Kew, 1995: 1365; note that Hughes, 1903: 381 gives: «incredible reports»). True, there is no proof that the monster *sooterkin* — attested locally, in the Netherlands, as *suygher*— came over with a Dutch ancestor of the English word *sooterkin* for ‘sweetheart’, perhaps originally used as a noa name (see chapter 7). However, the linguistic evidence on the early modern Dutch origin of English *sooterkin*, seems consistent with Daisy Murray’s claim —not grounded in a source-driven discussion— that «the story of the Sooterkin reached England in the sixteenth century» (Murray, 2017b: 22). Murray perhaps just relied, here, on a sixteenth-century standardized account of an animal-like creature delivered alone by an 80-year-old woman from Yorkshire, wrongly called «an early description of an English sooterkin» by Bates (2005: 69 and 128)⁵³.

According to linguists, having entered the English language, the ‘soot’ part of *sooterkin* progressively lost its ‘sweet’ meaning (see chapter 7) and became identified with ‘soot, smut’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 1933: 428, s.v. *soot*, n.2). Around 1788, *sooterkin* was clearly used in a humorous tale as a synonym of ‘chimney-sweep’⁵⁴. English *sooterkin*, thus, «could be said to literally mean “little sooty thing”» (Jones, 2016b). This connection between *sooterkins* and soot/chimneys seems to be sustained by the fact that, according to Maubray, in eighteenth-century tales these «fast-moving mole-like creatures [= the monstrous *sooterkins*] invariably scampered into the fireplace leaving no evidential trace» (Cody, 1992: 177; 2005: 124); and by the «following amusing extract» (Morris, 1895: 38-39), a tale documented in a letter dated 10 April 1622 and written by the Anglo-Welsh historian James Howell (ca. 1594-1666), then

⁵³ Here is the description of the monster, from clergymen Stephen Batman’s (ca. 1542-1584) *The Doome Warning all Men to the Iudgemente*, an updated 1581 translation of the book of wonders *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (1557), by Alsatian encyclopedist Conrad Lycosthenes (1518-1561): its «head was like to a sallet or head péece, the face somewhat formall, onely the mouth long as a Rat, the fore parte of the body like vnto a man, hauing eight legges, and the one not like the other, a taile in length halfe a yard, like to the tayle of a Rat» (Batman, 1581: 219). The mere comparison of a monstrous offspring to a rat is not in itself an indication of a *suygher/sooterkin*. The same can be said for a personal account given by the Dutch Jewish physician Abraham Zacuth (1575-1642) in his *Praxis medica admiranda* 2: 140, a collection of miracles and medical wonders published in 1634. Zacuth was once summoned by a noble woman (*non ignobilis foemina*) who was plagued by a difficult pregnancy. Cures were ineffective and Zacuth attempted to remove the fetus with the help of a clyster. The ‘fetus’ turned out to be a four-footed hairy creature with a beak (*rostro acuto*) which Zacuth preserved in a glass vase full of water (*phiala vitrea aqua plena*) (Latin text in Zacuth, 1634: 260-261; see Roling, 2010: 161). The flying uterine mole and the *suygher/sooterkin* often came to have a beak, too, an obvious sign of their animal nature.

⁵⁴ «A laughable circumstance took place at an execution some years ago. A genteel highwayman and a chimney-sweeper were to be hanged at the same time. When poor *Sooterkin* advanced near to hear the Ordinary pray, the other thrust him aside, and bid him keep his distance. “Keep my distance”, “*Mr. Highwayman!* I have as *good a right* to be here as you have!”» [Author’s italics] (Anonymous, 1788). A slightly different version can be read in *Self-Satisfied* (1794: 136).

residing in «North-Holland», to his father. No *sooterkin* shows up but, instead, an equivalent creature called a *zucchie* appears. According to Bensly, Howell's *zucchie* would seem «to be the echo of some name that he had heard in Holland» (Bensly, 1923: 48). Perhaps *zuyger*? It will be again remembered that the *sooterkin*, in the Netherlands, was called *suygher* (and variants). Here the text follows on:

A Gentleman told me, that the Women of this Country, when they are deliver'd, there comes out of the Womb a living Creature besides the Child, call'd *Zucchie*, likest a *Bat* of any other Creature, which the Midwives throw into the Fire, holding Sheets before the Chimney lest it should fly away. (Howell, 1688: 78-79)⁵⁵

⁵⁵ One may also conjecture that chimneys are symbolic equivalents of the *suygher/sooterkin* getting into female bystander's vaginas; or, alternatively, that in some cases vaginas were rendered as chimneys because of cultural *pruderie*. In a seventeenth-century English broadside ballad, the vagina with black pubic hair was a 'black hole' which a chimney sweep 'scoured' (Henke, 1988: 125).

CONCLUSIONS

«The search for improbably precise starting points is likely futile» where ‘unnatural’ gestations are concerned (Hoffmann, 2005: 79). But surely we can acknowledge that there is some form of historical relationship between the medieval *frater Salernitanorum* and the early modern *suygher/sooterkin*, a mole or mouse-like creature present in the womb with a child. In both cases we have the contextual birth of ‘uterine brothers’, a human child and an animal which belongs to the «unpleasant and verminous» category of ‘creepy crawly things’ (amphibian, reptile, mouse, etc.), perhaps related to anxieties about pregnancy and conception (Bates, 2003: 10)⁵⁶. It has been suggested, in fact, that tales featuring *suyghers* had a powerful emotional charge: they were «based on a *real* fear of animals breeding inside people» [Author’s italics] (Knoeff, 2009: 37). Authors writing on the *frater* and the *suygher/sooterkin* relied on an impressive number of written and oral sources. In the Renaissance and the early modern period, medical comments were often made in the frame of theories about spontaneous generation (see also appendix 1). Either for the *frater* or the *suygher/sooterkin*, the animal sibling was thought to have been produced inside because of unconventional processes of reproduction (mostly involving ‘faulty’ uteruses and/or the action of sperm), and/or from the corruption of some organic substance such as male seed, food and menstruation (Bates, 2005: 131; López Gutiérrez, 2012: 62-64).

Much as with the medieval *frater*, in the oldest sources on the *suygher/sooterkin* the baby or the woman dies (or risks death) after the delivery of the animal twin⁵⁷. Assuming that the earlier *frater* influenced the *suygher/sooterkin* through the flying animal mole, this difficult to explain detail was presumably hard to maintain outside the southern Italian cultural context that had first produced it —it was effectively supernatural. During the seventeenth century it dropped out of most accounts: the deadly character of such monstrous births, perhaps, made less and less sense for tradition bearers and health-care professionals. A plurality of aetiologies of monstrous births co-existed in the medieval and early modern period: supernatural, portentous, natural, etc. There was, often, stigma due to the assumption that they were the product of adultery (Bates, 2005; 2014; Davies, 2012: 60). The *frater*, as an illegitimate side effect of pregnancy never came, though, to be described in devilish terms, at least in surviving medieval sources. Demonology and magic were largely absent, too, from the mental framework of early modern doctors writing on animal-like hydatidiform moles as a kind of ‘unnatural’ conception: they favoured, instead, naturalistic explanations of monsters «felt to be not so much “supernatural” as “natural”, the possible caprices or

⁵⁶ One should remark, though, on the very general use of the word ‘anxiety’, a psychological concept often put forward by historians as a *passe-partout* for past (possibly ‘unconventional’) medical discourses. See, for example, McClive (2016) for early modern anxiety about embodiment, sexuality, reproduction, procreation, pregnancy, menses and sex during menstruation, ejaculation and sperm, paternity, etc.

⁵⁷ Joubert, in the sixteenth century, on an alleged French case of a flying uterine mole coming out in place of a baby, is also explicit on this point: «Yet it is said that these monsters must not be harmed, that the woman is to remain in bed for nine days at the least, that she must finish her lying-in as if she had had a child, or else she will also die» (French text in Joubert, 1578: 376, translation in Joubert, 1989: 181). For the deadly *frater* and flying uterine moles, consider the useful list of sources given by von Grafenberg (1596: 586-604).

aberrations of an all-powerful Nature» (Riley, 1992: 163; see already Bizouard, 1864: 99-100)⁵⁸.

In the oldest medieval sources, the *frater* was not described as moving: he just came out from the vagina and either fell on the ground or was caught. We have seen in chapter 5 that Jean de Tournemire cited, in the fourteenth century, two varieties of the same phenomenon: the monstrous *frater* birth in Italy, and the *arpo* (apparently) in France. De Tournemire characterized the *arpo* as a sort of mouse with claws and a pointed snout. In the fifteenth century, in the context of «the Renaissance fascination with [uterine] moles» (Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 299), the monstrous animal sibling increasingly took on ‘avian’ forms —think of Savonarola, Ferrari da Grado and the frightful ‘worm-bird’ from the German *Stockholmer Arzneibuch* (see chapters 5 and 6). Was the ‘pointed snout’ alternatively imagined as a ‘beak’? The same ‘avian’ forms can be found in folklore which apparently coagulated one century later in France (Joubert) and in the Netherlands (Lemnius and the *suygher*); in many ways, the Dutch *suygher* seems to be just a local name for the flying uterine mole. There may be the influence of the harpy at work here, perhaps built on an erroneous learned etymological association between *arpo* and *arpia* —an association which led Joubert to explicitly connect these phenomena. The main problem with this interpretation is that de Tournemire’s mouse-like *arpo*, and the ‘worm-bird’ from the *Stockholmer Arzneibuch*, perhaps the earliest established flying uterine mole narrative, do not seem to rest on learned models. The *suygher/sooterkin* did not just fly like a harpy: it came to be described, too, as being extremely mobile, hence its occasional mouse-like form. As «scurrying rat-like parasitic creatur[e]» (Lieske, 2007: 64; 2008: 385), it independently ran or flew around the delivery room, climbed walls, escaped up the chimney, etc. The *suygher/sooterkin* looked and acted in the opposite way to its counterpart, the new-born baby who was handled by bystanders and who was unable to move.

One wonders if Jungian psychology is a helpful tool for deciphering the monstrous animal sibling (the *frater Salernitanorum*, the flying uterine mole, the *suygher/sooterkin*, etc.). There is the archetypal theme of the ‘opposite’ twins: «fear of twins is closely connected to the belief in the “Double” [...] The Double may be thought of as “a duplicate of an individual or a part of a divided individual” [...] The opposition between good and evil is the essence of the Double» (El-Shamy, 2021: 14-16, citing Peternel, 2005: 453). In psychoanalytic terms, the *frater* could even be seen as part of the anxiety process triggered by the disturbing arrival of a younger brother or sister; and/or of the unconscious feeling that the normal fetus, with its symbiotic — ultimately ‘parasitic’ — link to the mother, can double inside producing another life parallel to the mother’s: «And the double leads to the idea of the monstrous being —a reminder of psychic bisexuality» (Lhomme-Rigaud, 2002: 41-42, 167 and 180-181). Take the following Algerian folk belief belonging to the snake-twin complex: a snake lives in the belly and may ascend to the throat, but it cannot get out. If the woman is

⁵⁸ There are, it goes without saying, exceptions. Think of Tomaso Garzoni’s *Il serraglio degli stupori del mondo*, a posthumous work published in 1613 by his brother Bartolomeo. For Tomaso the *frater* was made by the devil «to kill the parturient woman, and this still not without God’s permission, for reasons we do not know» (Italian text in Garzoni, 2004: XVII-XVIII and 126). Tomaso and/or his brother Bartolomeo relied on Martín Delrío’s 1599-1600 demonological work *Disquisitiones magicæ* 2, 7: 3 (Latin text in Delrío, 1600: 127), and on a lengthy description of the *frater* given by de Torquemada (1570: 11v^r) taken, apparently, from oral sources. The *sooterkin*, too, was occasionally labelled ‘demon’ (e.g. by Maubray, 1724: 375-377) but never explicitly connected to the devil (*pace* Marland, 1987: 84).

pregnant, the animal can be delivered on the left together with the baby, who stays on the right. This perhaps represents moral pain or a feeling of anxiety about pregnancy and conception. According to Tobie Nathan's ethno-psychoanalytical interpretation, the snake symbolises the deadly twin, the dead alter-ego or the negative-double of the fetus which takes the form of a creature that must be expelled: the projection of the unconscious mind onto an externalized object (Nathan, 1988: 159-160 and 165)⁵⁹.

It is still unclear how associated folkloric phenomena revolving around monstrous animal siblings, circulated, with little variation, from southern Italy to France, to the Netherlands, to Denmark and to Britain (likely, in the sixteenth century), taking different names over a few centuries: see the map at the start of this monograph (Figure 1). Did this happen, as I have suggested in chapter 7, because of mutual influence, the *suygher/sooterkin* descending from the *frater* between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by way of the flying uterine mole? To what extent can the monstrous animal sibling tale—with its firmly established international character—be regarded as a migratory legend? Alternatively, it can be a matter of polygenesis/convergent evolution, in which people engaged in similar psychological and corporeal problems (e.g. hydatidiform moles, mummified twin fetuses, etc.) and arrived independently, say, in Italy and the Netherlands, at similar narrative solutions... Think also of the «fairly common» (Rollins, 1927: 185) monstrous births belonging to the snake-twin complex, that is, tales of childbirths with a snake: either the snake quits the body together but independently from the baby; or the snake is wrapped around the baby (this double pattern can also be found in the Filipino snake-twin complex, see *infra* note 22; consider, too, the mythological Irish stories presented in appendix 2). Apart from the *frater*, the flying uterine mole and the *suygher/sooterkin*, there is presumably no genetic connection among these phenomena, though they all feature the peculiar narrative motif of the 'unnatural' animal sibling emerging from the woman's body together with the child.

Medical authors, as bearers of medical folklore, surely played their part in this Europe-wide convention and the «very patchwork way in which medical knowledge was both transmitted and appropriated» (Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 304). Monstrous moles, it has been said, combined interests in reproductive medicine with «the curiosity evoked by a product [...] on the borderline between the animate and the inanimate» (Worth-Stylianou, 2015: 300). The flying animal mole, in particular, «crossed boundaries and violated categories», destabilizing «the boundary between man and beast» (Nielsen, 2017: 128). Arguably, in the early modern period «molae were like 'monsters'—real and not uncommon but observed by few»: their existence was simultaneously bookish and oral (Christopoulos, 2021: 64). The sense of disturbance and wonder surrounding these phenomena was accentuated by the fact that, according to reports, some molar conceptions were able to move and/or took on distinct forms resembling animals: this occurrence was worth sharing, and consequently also worth explaining in medical terms (Bergmann, 1904: 1688; McClive, 2002: 220-221; McClive and King, 2007: 234-235; Conforti, 2009; Worth-Stylianou, 2015; Nielsen, 2017: 126-127; Foscati, 2021: 131-132). The fact, too, that 'unnatural' deliveries were used by

⁵⁹ Delusions involving snakes and other animals thought to live inside the human body are known in Algeria and in other Maghreb settings: see, for example, Livet (1914), Cixous (1948), Pirajno (1985: 74-75). There is also the contemporary story of a Somali woman who supposedly gave birth to a snake together with her baby: «the snake did not attack her as it left the womb; it was reportedly non-violent, like her new human son» (Richter, 2015).

physicians to denigrate women of certain ethnic groups, also proved an important factor in accounting for the spread of the *frater* and *suygher/sooterkin* story-complexes.

As we have seen in chapters 1, 2 and 5, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries doctors, in their medical theorizing, recorded the *frater* phenomenon with few variants; starting from the 1400s, they sometimes included brief references to their «indigenous» sources (van der Lugt, 2004: 508). These appear to be oral and/or second-hand: think, for example, of Guaineri, Savonarola, Ferrari da Grado and Falcucci. This may be connected to a sort of proto-ethnographic interest on the part of doctors and/or the increasing penetration of medical science into the countryside, part of the rise of biomedical theory and the ‘medicalization’ of the lower classes of European society taking place from the 1300s onwards (Shatzmiller, 1994: 1-24). In late medieval and Renaissance Italy, for example, small towns and rural districts hired external professional practitioners (*medici condotti*) offering health services to the local community (Palmer, 1981; Lindemann, 2010: 205-209); while, in the event of plague, many city doctors, fearing deadly contagion, preferred to flee to the countryside where they presumably lived with the peasantry (see, for example, Ferragud Domingo, 2015: 149 for Spain).

In sum, it seems reasonable to assume that the *frater Salernitanorum* belongs to a popular layer of beliefs akin to those in the snake-twin complex (so already Rollins, 1927: 185-186). In the latter, one can occasionally detect (as in Caesarius) the «fabulous reasonings» (McClive and King, 2007: 235) that the snake had lodged parasitically in the female body, before the birth event: fully formed or in the form of snake seeds/eggs from which the animal twin grew. This well-known explanation (Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b; 2017b; Ermacora, Labanti and Marcon, 2016)⁶⁰ cannot, however, be found in the *frater* story-complex. The animal twin was firmly placed by Salernitan authors in a medical context, and mostly (but not only) interpreted in the light of contemporary embryological theories. The *frater* was not an invention of Salernitan doctors, though. One might guess that a farmer from, say, late medieval Apulia believed in the *frater*. As such he transmitted, to his peers, these kinds of ideas on monstrous births entranced by the wondrous sense of attraction/repulsion that a toad and a baby, born from the same womb, provoked in himself and among his listeners. The oral transmission of narratives on monstrous births played a major role with the flying uterine mole and the *suygher/sooterkin*, too. This is perhaps most evident in Joubert, who took care to record what he had heard from ‘reliable’ (French?) informants whose main staple, as Gregory de Rocher has it, «could very possibly be an uncontrollable hyperbole in the direction of the macabre» (de Rocher, 1982: 53).

Suygher tales circulated between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among Nordic midwives —the equivalent, one might say, of the peasants of Apulia of the late Middle Ages. Interestingly, references to midwives as a professional category seem to

⁶⁰ Which is also there, today, with the Indonesian ‘monitor twins’, i.e. the belief in monitor lizards born together with human twins: see *infra* note 22. «Further inquiries about the “kembar buaya” phenomenon indicate that some Sulawesi people doubt that women really can conceive monitors and believe instead that reptile eggs may enter a pregnant woman’s body when she bathes in the river» (Fauvel and Koch, 2009: 79). Rudolph (1988b: 277) contrasted, instead, Filipino snake-twins with European bosom serpents: «When speaking of Philippine *kambal-ahas* cases it is generally assumed that the snake develops together with the foetus in the womb of the human mother. In German speaking areas, when speaking about the snakes or lizards allegedly found in the bodies of human persons, the folk legends and early reports assume [...] that they developed from accidentally swallowed snakes [*sic*] eggs».

be almost absent in the *frater* tradition which was, it has been recently surmised, «mainly transmitted [orally] by women, who were the only people allowed to attend childbirth at the time» (Foscati, 2021: 123)⁶¹. Over the centuries the monstrous animal sibling story-complex, which was initially registered by medical authors interested in abnormal births and molar pregnancies (= medicalization of marvel), likely descended into local folklore in a circulatory pattern: one of the consequences of which has been the «popularization of medical texts in the early modern period» (Maclean, 2010: 402). Think of the presence of the *frater*-like *tarpa* in nineteenth-century Umbria; or should we postulate continuity there, a kind of underground river *à la* Niccoli (1990: 17-18)?⁶² To conclude, the contextualization of learned sources on the *frater Salernitanorum* and the *suygher/sooterkin* remains crucial for any investigation of their historical trajectory, in the «fascinatingly mixed world of medical, natural history, and fairground marvel» (Hoffmann, 2005: 68). At the same time, we are obliged to treat the documentation in a typological way, studying the folklore resonances of monstrous animal siblings as a series of adaptable motifs of oral origin, oscillating between tradition and variation. These motifs were, to judge by our sources, transmitted from mouth to mouth, from mouth to text, from text to text and then absorbed once more back into a pool of oral tales.

⁶¹ There is a written reference (*ca.* 1418) to a midwife or, at least, ‘an experienced female attendant/neighbor on childbirth’ (*obstetrice*), in Portuguese doctor Valesco de Taranta’s *Philonium*: she witnesses the birth of the monstrous *frater* before this «is led to the gallows [= is killed]» (*vadat ad furcas*) (Latin text in Fischer, 1921: 175; Montero Cartelle and González Manjarrés, 2018: 361, s.v. *frater*). For iconography, see the early fourteenth-century illumination reproduced in chapter 1 which possibly shows a midwife (Figure 3). The relative absence of midwives in the *frater* story-complex may be consistent with the notorious difficulty in detecting a specialized female obstetrical profession in the Middle Ages. Historians of medicine agree that, before the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries, there is relatively little evidence in the written records for the figure of midwife (*obstetrix*) being present at births. In short, in a post-classical setting where urban life dwindled, professional midwifery declined only to re-emerge between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries with social changes (Green, 2005: 14-17; Harris and Stoertz, 2014).

⁶² This supposed continuity of *frater* notions in Italy appears less ‘exotic’, perhaps, once one acknowledges the presence of the (animal) wandering womb in the Treviso region, Italy, in the 1880s: this long-standing idea dates back to the classical period and it features, too, in popular *and* learned Renaissance discourses on hysterical feminine disorders (see, for example, Byl, 1986; Faraone, 2011; Weinryb, 2016). According to a local folklorist, there was the «common belief» (but of whom exactly?) that «the womb can jump inside the woman’s belly like a cat, and move from the tip of the nails to the end of the hairs, from the tip of the nose to the earlobes, and so on» (Bastanzi, 1888: 178; see further Oberli, 1982: 12; Ermacora, 2013-2014: 178-180 for the wandering womb in Italian folk medicine). The late antique and medieval custom of giving raw meat (veal or chicken) to cancer, conceptualized as a ravenous internal wolf/dog (Foscati, 2019: 138-143), was also described for nineteenth-century Umbria and Veneto (Bastanzi, 1888: 181-182; Turazza, 1888: 162; Brooks McDaniel, 1947: 35, on Zanetti, 1892: 9 and 209-210). I have a paper in progress on cancer taking on animal forms.

APPENDIX 1: MONSTROUS MENSTRUAL CONCEPTIONS

The cultural history of menstruation is a rich field (Delaney, Lupton and Toth, 1988; Shail and Howie, 2005; Secunda, 2020; Esteves, 2021), and this includes, in the West, ancient, late antique and medieval ideas on purity vs. pollution and the dangers of intercourse with menstruating women. These are all reflected, say, in central and widely commented works such as Pliny's *Naturalis historia* 28: 23, or the Pseudo-Albertus Magnus' late thirteenth-century *De secretis mulierum* (Latin texts and translations in Pliny, 1963: 57; Rodnite Lemay, 1992; see McCracken, 2003: 61-65). We have seen, in chapter 7, that Lemnius referenced, prior to his patient's account, the menstrual conceptions of monsters among mariners' wives, i.e. 'monstrously' deformed newborns. This has proved interesting to scholars studying the «menstrual theory of teratogenesis» in early modern literature (Ballantyne, 1896: 225; see Niccoli, 1990; Natale, 2008: 199-201). A range of learned theological and embryological speculations were involved, in Europe as elsewhere, in explanations of monstrous births. Sometimes, as in Gilles de Corbeil (twelfth century) or in Lemnius (sixteenth century), see chapters 5 and 6, there is a clear allusion to menstruation and the potential generation of filthy animals or, at least, disabled/leprous offspring (Niccoli, 1990; the latter, note, was a medical trope in seventeenth-century Britain: Read, 2013: 102-103; Murray, 2017a: 114; 2017b: 8-9). This opinion, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was fuelled by a widely-read late antique or medieval Latin translation of *Esdras* 4: 5, 8, a passage in the apocrypha which came to associate (perhaps through a scribal error) menstruating women and monstrous births as a sign of the end times: «menstruating women shall bring forth monsters» (*mulieres menstruatae parient monstra*) (text and translation in Coogan, 2007: 330; see Zanca, 1984: 36; Niccoli, 1990: 16 and 20; Nyström, 2009: 200-201).

Among those doctors, natural philosophers and humanist writers who produced treatises on monstrous births and who referenced *Esdras*, one may mention Ambroise Paré (French), Conrad Wolffhart (Alsatian), Pierre Boaistuau (1517-1566) (French), Martin Weinrich (1548-1609) (German) and Fortunio Liceti (1577-1657) (Italian) (Ballantyne, 1896: 225; Niccoli, 1990; Céard, 1996: 36, 188 and 481; Bates, 2005: 126; Natale, 2008: 201). Lemnius, it will be remembered, identified the aetiology for the appearance of monsters in Dutch mariners and sailors who had sex with their menstruating wives: a passage also borrowed (without being referenced) by the anonymous author of the 1684 English sex handbook *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (text in Anonymous, 1684: 49; see Fissel, 2004: 199 and 208; Cage, 2016: 329). In early modern Europe, and especially in Catholic France, learned medical theorists and moral theologians repeatedly debated whether conception during menstruation was possible, if menses were toxic or beneficial to a developing fetus, etc. As Cathy McClive has proved, though, there is very little evidence that intercourse during the menses was associated with monstrosity, and no evidence at all of a straightforward connection between sex during menstruation and monstrosity as seen in Flemish medicine (McClive, 2015: 26 and 64-98).

Did Lemnius draw from popular tradition his theory that monstrous children, such as the *suygher*, could be generated through intercourse with a menstruating woman? After all, in the Renaissance, «Connections between the monstrous outcomes and their causes —weakened male capacity, excessive or inappropriate sexual desire,

female autonomy— were part of common lore as well as of early modern medicine» (Carney, 2012: 63). Niccoli demonstrated that the belief that conception of monsters occurred during a woman's period could still be found in Italian, French and English folklore, as late as the nineteenth century (Niccoli, 1990: 8-9 and 18-20; add Hand, 1980: 61 for the Netherlands). It is certainly important for historians to arrange and then investigate the sources in chronological order, keeping in mind the *recentiores non deteriores* principle in philology and folklore: the more recent is not necessarily the worse. With the *suygher/sooterkin*, perhaps, we are not merely dealing with a process by which a «medical-theological hypothesis, transformed into a commonplace and then in turn into “popular superstition”» (so Niccoli, 1990: 20; note also her *tirade* against folklorists and their lack of historical sensibility). Medieval and early modern doctors did not probably invent their theories regarding extraordinary/defective conceptions in menstrual blood, but drew this particular kind of reproductive biology from the culture they were part of. As Luke Demaitre has it, «the rumor had a more likely source in popular imagination than in traditional medicine or natural philosophy» (Demaitre, 2007: 169).

What is more, with some exceptions (e.g. Dikötter, 1998: 57; McCracken, 2003: 61-65), modern commentators have also overlooked the fact that the idea of a relationship between menstruation and monstrous internal creatures pre-dates the Renaissance: nor is it, for that matter, exclusively European and/or Christian. The «myth of monstrous menses» (McClive, 2015: 75), i.e. the idea that filthy animals and strange types of ‘worms’ could be internally generated when a menstruating woman had sex, or when the menses had been retained too long in the womb, is widespread both temporally and geographically. Religious texts may be helpful here: in many societies, embryology «is most fruitfully a *religious* topic» [Author's italics] (Langenberg, 2017: 65 and 73, on Garrett, 2008: 13-16 and 153). In Europe, from the medieval to the early modern period, vernacular, theological and medical ideas agreed: intercourse with menstrual women meant that the fetus would be affected by leprosy, epilepsy and other congenital deficiencies (Niccoli, 1990; Resnick, 2000: 246-248; Demaitre, 2007: 168-171). Related condemnatory moral attitudes toward menstruation and taboos against sex during menstruation abound across the world⁶³. In ancient India, for example, menstrual blood was often regarded by men as an important agent of pollution, and in Brahmanic works there are several injunctions against sexual intercourse with menstruating women. There is, sometimes, mention of diseases and/or deformation resulting from the violations of such injunctions (Ray, 1999: 88-89).

What has been called the «ancestral and universal conception associating the maternal interior with the fermentation of monsters» (Lhomme-Rigaud, 2002: 13), is, moreover, a misogynistic cross-cultural notion which can be found in ancient Indian embryology, in which worm-like creatures are seen as dangerous etiological agents and are said to oppress women. Hindu teachings, indeed, «describe the human body as under constant attack and subject to torment by tiny worms as early as its time in the womb» (Vemsani, 2012: 24). For example, in Sureśvara's *Taittirīyopanisad-*

⁶³ Compare the anonymous fourteenth-century French *Tractatus de sterilitate*, which warns men to avoid having sex with a woman who is «full of worms» (*tineosa*). It has been claimed that this is an idea that perpetuates «misogynistic representations of women», rather than describing a real medical condition (Lindgren, 2005: 60-63). It is, in fact, unclear if *tineosa* is just an expression for ‘dirty’ or whether it really means ‘full of worms, wormy’ (Wulff in John of Gaddesden, 1923: 121 is unhelpful on this point), and if the worms are in the womb/vagina.

bhāsyavārtikam, written around 800, a Sanskrit commentary on Śaṅkara's annotations on the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, it is said that «The mouths of worms in the womb, like the prominent thorns of the *śālmali*-tree, pierce me, vexed one, tormented by the saw of the spine» (translation in van Boetzelaer, 1971: 88; additional Hindu evidence in Vemsani, 2012). Comparable notions are regularly found in Āyurvedic treatises and medieval 'Buddhist disgust texts', expressing ritual views of female impurity and/or explanations for female infertility (Langenberg, 2017: 153-154; Lin, 2017: 140). In particular, in Indian Buddhist doctrinal writings (*sūtras*), written in Sanskrit and translated into other Asian languages (Salguero, 2018; Triplett, 2019), there is a negative view of polluted women infected by fantastic worms and, in general, the idea of the body as a rotting bag of flesh⁶⁴.

Female inferiority and the dangerous and foul female body are, of course, central tenets of classical monastic Buddhist traditions from India to Japan: what has been called «the misogynistic teaching on the loathsomeness of the female body», part of a larger discourse about the dangers of female sex (Salguero, 2018; see also Faure, 2003: 55-90; Pandey, 2005). In his work on meditation (*chan* 禪) and visionary experiences in early medieval Chinese Buddhism, Eric Greene has drawn attention to a *sūtra* (T620) on meditation called *Zhi Chan Bing Mi Yao Fa* 治禪病祕要法 (Secret Essential Methods for Treating the Maladies of Meditation); perhaps translated (and reworked) into Chinese in the 450s by a certain Juqu Jing Sheng 沮渠京聲 from an unknown Indian original. In this text, written as discourses delivered by the Buddha for monks, it is said that if a meditator/practitioner feels uncontrollable and madness-producing lust, he must visualize a woman's genitals filled with «four hundred four worms, each with twelve heads and twelve mouths». Menstruation, it is added, is just «the vomit of these worms» (translation in Greene, 2021a: 151 and 264-266; see also Salguero, 2018). The contemplation of writhing parasitic worms within the body, symbolizing impurity, occasionally described as disgusting animals, was recurrent in China in early medieval Buddhist meditative practices. However, in the vast majority of cases, these creatures were visualized inside the male practitioner's own body, and not in the woman's (Greene, 2021a; 2021b: 85, 90, 128 and 232)⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ In a Mahāyāna Buddhist *sūtra* (T564) of the *Taishō* canon named in Chinese *Chuan Nu Shen Ching* 轉女身經, and in Japanese *Tennyoshin-kyō* 転女身經 (*Sūtra* on Transforming the Female Body), first translated from Sanskrit by Dharmamitra (356-442), it is stated that there are one hundred worms inside the female body. These parasites are the cause of constant suffering and anguish (Shimoda, 2009: 20; Triplett, 2014: 351; 2019: 115; Langenberg, 2017: 45, 49 and 76). Moreover, the second-century Tibetan *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra* (*Sūtra* on Entry into the Womb), itself a translation of a lost Sanskrit text which also survived in numerous Chinese and Japanese recensions (e.g. T310.13; T310.14; T317; T1451: see Dolce, 2015: 264), and Vasubandhu's fourth- or fifth-century Sanskrit treatise *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Treasury of Higher Knowledge, with Commentary), both describe the unhealthy vagina/womb as home to many thousands of types of worms (Kritzer, 2009: 80; 2014b: 184; Andreeva, 2015: 444). In the *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra*, 80,000 fantastic types of parasitic worms are also said to eat, after birth, virtually every part of the new-born's body (Tibetan text and translation in Kritzer, 2014a; see also Langenberg, 2017: 39, 87-88, 111 and 166; Salguero, 2018).

⁶⁵ In the ancient Buddhist worldview, then, it seems that not «only female bodies are inflicted with [...] worms thus depicting [female bodies] as vulnerable and weak» (so Triplett, 2014: 351-352; 2019: 115). Greene (2012: 582) compared, in a footnote, a passage from the *Shou Shi Shan Jie Jing* 受十善戒經 (Scripture on Receiving the Ten Good Precepts), a possibly fifth-century Buddhist *sūtra* (T1486). Here we find «a meditation on the impurity of women, said to be impure because they have had the "womb and its various worms as their clothing" over the course of many lives» (there is another translation in Rulu, 2012: 52-53).

There are, then, Chinese fictional works and medical textbooks focussing on menstrual problems as a specific category of illness (Wu, 2019: 105-107; Cheng, 2021: 37-40 and 55-56). Yi-Li Wu, in particular, has demonstrated that «Descriptions of menstrual illnesses accompanied by strange infestations» were relatively common in the literature of late imperial Chinese times; and that these continued in popular eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medical manuals as well (which presumably rely on older sources). These infestations featured in medical works where, usually, there are crawling creatures like worms, snakes or toads which have grown inside women's bodies. Animal expulsions typically happened during menstruation: in some cases, emerging as monstrous fetuses (Wu, 2002: 189-192 and 201-202; see also Dikötter, 1998: 55-59; Chen, 2000: 53; 2004: 36-37; 2011: 65-66; Zeitlin, 2007: 18 and 39)⁶⁶. A relevant Song medical source on menstrual blockage is Yang Zijian's 楊子建 eleventh-century *Wanquan Huming Fang* 萬全護命方 (Infallible Formulas for Protecting Life), a book preserved solely in fragments in other works. Zijian maintains that, following the accumulation in the lower body of menstrual fluids and vital essences, «strange animal-like “lumps” [...] would jump about inside the woman's belly», and that—in Zijian's words—stagnant blood could create «noxious creatures [...] resembling things such as snakes or mice, toads or tigers» (translation in Wu, 2002: 190).

Most texts on monstrous births resulting from the congestion of blood in the womb date from the post-Song period (Cheng, 2021: 60). For example, in Li Yan's 李挺 *Yi Xue Ru Men* 醫學入門 (Introduction to Medical Learning), a book of medicine which appeared in 1575, it is said that the presence of worm-like creatures produced internally would obstruct the woman's menses, while causing the patient to suffer stomach pain and making the belly swell as if the woman was pregnant (Wu, 2002: 190). In Jiang Guan's 江瓘 (1503-1565) *Ming Yi Lei An* 名醫類案 (Classified Cases from Famous Doctors), an anthology of medical cases completed in 1549 but published only in 1591, there is, likewise, a woman who spontaneously delivers, after taking a medicine (abortifacient?) from an unnamed doctor, «half a bucket full of crawling white worms». This vaginal discharge was the gruesome product of semen and blood accumulated in the body together, and a lack of *qi* 氣—a sort of vital energy element circulating in the human organism (in traditional Chinese *qi*-dominated cosmology, «all medical disorders arise from abnormal states of *qi*»: Chen, 2014: 39). Jiang Guan's medical case (taken up and commented on by various later Chinese medical authors) «comes from Jiang's own medical practice», something which may raise fascinating questions on the relationship between belief, storytelling and lived experience (translation in Wu, 2002: 202; 2010: 114)⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Wu (2002) emphasized that these noxious animals coming out from the female genitals are not placed, by Chinese physicians, in the large and somewhat fluid etiological category of the gnawing *chong* 蟲 of classical Chinese medical texts (= imaginary parasites such as insects, snakes, bugs and 'worms': Carr, 1983; Fèvre, 1993). Instead, they are categorised as menstrual ailments—spontaneous menstrual conceptions. I will show, elsewhere, that Chinese and Japanese worm-like creatures *chong* dwelling in the vagina were also understood as a female disease (see now Cheng, 2018: 17-18; 2021: 38-39).

⁶⁷ A Chinese medical source connects, too, the menses with the puzzling principle of *qi* and the turtle-shaped conglomeration-illnesses named *bie jia* 鰲瘕—'bie' 鰲 being the term for the freshwater soft-shelled turtle. The *Tai Ping Sheng Hui Fang* 太平聖惠方 (The Great Peace Sagacious Benevolence Formulary), a medical recipe book compiled around 978-922, recounts how the menstruating woman, under the particular conditions of a bad influence of *qi*, «grows turtle *jia*, accumulations as big as a small plate causing sharp belly pains and movement up and down of bad *qi* [...] if the swellings grow to the size

We have seen in chapter 5 that, in the twelfth century, the *frater Salernitanorum* was linked by Gilles de Corbeil to menstrual abundance. Savonarola similarly gave, around 1440-1446, the following medical-scientific explanation for the *frater* phenomenon: «and just as worms are generated in the intestines and other parts of the body, animals can be generated in the womb, especially if a material suitable for this type of generation is found in it, such as retained blood» (Latin text in Savonarola, 1559: 269r, Italian translation in Zuccolin, 2019: 53). The same association between parasitic worms and filthy internally-created animals shows up in a poem apparently composed by the Flemish humanist artist Dominicus Lampsonius (1532-1599), while he was staying at the Belgian town of Spa; a place, we know, that Lampsonius had actually visited (De Landtsheer, 2011: 335). Lampsonius celebrates, in his poem, the health-giving properties of the Spa waters: these kill the worms which live in the belly, pushing them to the guts where food is ejected. The waters are also effective in expelling the snakes and lizards which were born from putrid menstruation (*putridis de mensibus*) in the womb (Latin text in von Grafenberg, 1596: 599-600).

There is a possibility that Savonarola's passage above, comparing parasitic worms and monstrous animals, can be traced back to the medical encyclopaedia *Sermones medicinales* by Niccolò Falcucci. In Joubert's first part of his *Erreurs populaires au fait de la médecine* 4: 7, it is, in fact, written that certain animals «sometimes incubate in the womb from corrupt matter which has been retained, just as in the stomach and bowels large fat worms incubate strangely». This passage arguably represents general medical ideas of the time (see Ausécache, 2007: 17 for Bernard de Gordon)⁶⁸, but it is also close enough to Savonarola to postulate a link. Joubert never quotes Savonarola in his work, while a few lines below Joubert distinctly relies on the authority of Falcucci (*Nicole Floratin*)⁶⁹ on the *frater*. As we have seen in chapter 5, Falcucci touches on the *frater* —connecting it to the city of Pisa— in his section on the uterine mole (*De membris genitalibus* 3, 20). In Joubert's words, «[Falcucci] compares [live animal-like creatures issued from the womb] to screech owls or horned owls and harpies, and says that in certain regions they are called wild-creatures, or evil-

and shape of a hand or foot, it is incurable» (translation in Furth, 1999: 82). The term *jia* 癥 'hard masses/conglomerations' is first documented in second-century BC Chinese medical texts: its gynaecological sense «came to be used to designate various swellings in the female reproductive tract» (Unschuld, 2016: 284). The turtle-shaped *jia* are among several others of animal-shaped *jia*: *bie jia* probably indicated as a descriptive device the round, flat, hard, yet flexible to touch —as a turtle shell— mass as it was palpitated in the belly. Another interesting source linking *qi* and the formation of abdominal *bie jia* is to be found in Yang Shiyong's 楊士瀛 *Ren Zhai Zhi Zhi Fang Lun* 仁齋直指方論 (Prescriptions Directly Prescribed by Renzhai), a clinical text written in 1264, where it is said that when «someone regularly indulges in drinking wine, when his blood enters the wine, this will result in 'wine turtle' (*jiu bie* 酒鰲)». Instead, when someone has an excess of *qi*, «the blood congeals with the *qi*, and this will result in 'qi turtle' (*qi bie* 氣鰲)» (translation in Zhang and Unschuld, 2015: 22, 270, 276 and 381). I hope to elsewhere examine two earlier fourth-century Chinese tales in which turtle-diseases seem to have taken a literal narrative form: there are turtles living inside the sufferers' stomach, perhaps with a didactic purpose to further explain the *jia* concept.

⁶⁸ Intestinal worms formed in the human body through the putrefaction of undigested food/humours, possibly helped by the generative power of internal heat, also, were already a topos in ancient medicine (Ongaro, 1964-1965: 130-131).

⁶⁹ The modern translator of Joubert mistakenly identified Falcucci with Niccolò Niccoli (1365-1437), a Florentine humanist who left no written work (de Rocher in Joubert, 1980: 142; Joubert, 1989: 311-312). Confusion between Falcucci and Niccoli is, unfortunately, not uncommon today as noted by Rhodes (1979).

creatures». These sometimes «bite the child and kill it, and [...] in Pisa and even more so in Apulia the women are very likely to have them because of the poor food» (French text in Joubert, 1578: 375-376, translation in Joubert, 1989: 180-181).

In the background of the association between menstruation and worms/reptiles/toads as seen in China and Europe, there is, possibly, the idea that the menses and these animals are equally disgusting⁷⁰. The connection, meanwhile, can be found in an abridged edition of a compilation of curiosities entitled *Breviarium rerum memorabilium* 64, published in 1686 by the German physician Christian Franz Paullini (1643-1712). Paullini claimed that this work was written between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries by two obscure monks of the Benedictine monastery of Corvey, in Westphalia: Isibordus von Ameluxen and Alexander Insulanus (Duval, 1824). The compilation, however, must be considered as an invention by Paullini himself. Paullini was a prolific forger of pseudo-historical characters and of documents mixing monastic history and ‘curious’ medicine designed for entertainment (Backhaus, 1905: 23-27; Wallnig and Stockinger, 2010: 303 and 977; Schachenmayr, 2013: 277-280). The *Breviarium* states that, in the year 1203, «A sixteen-year-old girl complained of pains in the uterus for a long time and, finally, together with the menses, she rejected eleven small frogs: all the pain ceased» (Latin text in Paullini, 1686: 216, German translation in Paullini, 1765: 353)⁷¹.

In the 1582 treatise on the indispositions and illnesses of women by French doctor Jean Liébault (1535-1596), one reads an earlier story which recalls Paullini’s. Liébault says that «we saw a woman who had been pregnant for a full nine months and finally produced several creatures like frogs [alive or not?], together with a large amount of unhealthy blood» (French text in Liébault, 1582: 635, translation in Worth-Stylianou, 2013; 2019d). The texts are rather different from each other: I would rule out the possibility that Paullini borrowed the girl and the frogs from Liébault. After all, the *frater* had already multiplied in some Renaissance works, ‘losing’ its human twin, too. For example, Antonio de Torquemada, in his 1570 work *Jardín de flores curiosas* (see chapter 7), says that he had heard from «som men of credit, such as wold not report any vntruth», that women from the Kingdom of Naples often gave birth to «a little beast of the fashion & bignes of a little frog, or little toade, and somtimes 2. or 3. at once» (Spanish text in de Torquemada, 1570: 11vr, translation in de Torquemada, 1600: 6). Valerie Worth-Stylianou has observed that Liébault «is not really suggesting that a

⁷⁰ Think also of the aetiological myths on the origin of menstruation, i.e. the cross-cultural belief that the menstrual flow is the result of a bite of a snake, a lizard or an equivalent animal (Ploss and Bartels, 1902: 442-445; Reinach, 1905). Wood carvings from the Finschhafen District of the Morobe province, Papua New Guinea, have been linked to this: they represent a reptilian creature which seems to enter or emerge from (or bite?) the woman’s vagina. Such objects were found in a house in which the girls were secluded at menstruation (Róheim, 1940: 79). In Spanish Galicia, lizards are known to be enemies to women because they do not like the red colour of menstruation: attracted by the blood’s smell, they enter the women’s body through the vagina; snakes, instead, slither into men’s stomachs (Bouza-Brey, 1949: 538-541; Mandianes, 1997: 376).

⁷¹ The ‘editor’, Paullini, in his commentary compared a medical case of a woman who expelled several worms during menstruation (Latin text in Paullini, 1686: 216). Note that the presence of worms in the genital tract of women, causing symptoms like «pruritis, vaginitis, endometritis and occasionally intrabdominal inflammation», is a (today?) quite unusual medical condition (Bennett, 2000: 13; see, for example, Haussman, 1875; James, 1947; Shetty, Kulkarni and Prabhu, 2012). In a dense section of his *Embryologia historico-medica* on frogs and toads issuing from the human body, the German doctor Martin Schurig (1656-1733) took up the *Breviarium* and recalled that Salernitan women were frequently said to give birth to toads (Latin text in Schurig, 1732: 662; see also Jördens, 1802: 137).

woman could give birth to frogs; the creatures are simply “like” frogs» (Worth-Stylianou, 2019d). For centuries, medical scholars registered accounts of strange and abnormal births which were associated to, or identified with animal forms; sometimes, they noted that they came from oral lore (see chapter 4 for the Hebrew medieval medical treatise, Bodin, etc.); or, alternatively, they recalled their personal experiences (think of Liébault’s first person plural, which may simply mean that ‘he heard’)⁷².

In certain cases, as for the *frater*, a fully-formed animal was believed to be the outcome of gestation. In other instances —the anonymous Jewish physician in chapter 4 or Liébault— the ‘thing’ expelled from the female body was only described as being similar to an animal. In his extensive history of teratology, Italian anatomist and pathologist Cesare Taruffi (1821-1902) collected impressive evidence for monstrous births from the late Middle Ages to the 1800s. Taruffi was among the first scholars to stress the importance of distinguishing between analogy and identity (Taruffi, 1881: 165-168; 1889: 98-100); though, admittedly, medieval and early modern authors barely troubled to follow this distinction and often grouped both under the heading ‘monstrous birth’⁷³. The Italian polymath Giovan Battista della Porta (1535-1615), in his work of popular science *Magiae naturalis, sive de miraculis rerum naturalium libri IIII* 2: 24, cited the *frater* phenomenon, and maintained that the putrefied and corrupted blood of the menses could easily generate toads, frogs, lizards and similar small beasts inside a woman’s body (Latin text in della Porta, 1558: 96, translation in della Porta, 1658: 28; see also Camporesi, 1988: 82). And there are analogous early modern opinions connecting menstruation and the internal generation of animals, that are useful for contextualizing Paullini’s fabricated tale (see Niccoli, 1990; Paré, 1982: 56; Finucci, 2003: 56; Angelini, 2012: 80; Foscati, 2021: 131).

⁷² Historians working on pre-modern medical works are increasingly aware that an ‘I saw’ or an ‘I experienced’ may simply mean that ‘I heard’ about this or that case/story; this is, in other words, a ‘tag’ to give authorial authority (Green, 2008a: 252; King 2011: 222 and 225; 2013: 93; 2018: 35). Think, also, of medieval travel reports where the same rhetorical tic shows up (Nestorov, 2014: 146).

⁷³ Take the 1554 influential midwifery manual *De conceptu et generatione hominis*, by the Swiss physician Jakob Ruf (1500-1558): «It commeth also to passe, that by the corruption, that some hurtfull [animals], or shapes of [animals] are ingendred in the Matrix with children. I speake not of strange shapes conceived of beasts, as it hath often fallen out» (Latin text in Keller, 2008: 465, translation in Ruf, 1637: 140). In the same section Ruf explains «how “toads, worms, or other poisonous animals” inside the womb could gnaw away at and damage the child» (Spinks, 2009: 90). See Geil (2019) for a general take on monstrous births in early modern English-language midwifery manuals.

APPENDIX 2: SOME MYTHOLOGICAL IRISH ‘WORM’-STORIES

In a book first published in 1991, Jean-Loïc Le Quellec briefly compared Caesarius’ bosom serpent narratives (see chapter 3) with some Old Irish mythological tales in which there is the mythical pattern of oral fecundation (= asexual conception) with ‘worms’ or small equivalent creatures (Le Quellec, 2012: 80-81). Much as with the *frater Salernitanorum*, a baby, then, issues from the mother together with animals such as ‘worms’ or reptiles: the main difference is that, in the Irish stories, there is «neither demonizing female sexuality nor [the] enfeebling [of] the female body» (Chiang, 2005: 110). Given that Le Quellec touched upon the Irish material in a rather cursory manner, I will offer here a more comprehensive (but still preliminary) overview. In these Irish tales, the conception of heroes and heroines such as Étaín, Conchobar, Cú Chulainn and Conall Cernach are «ascribed to their mothers having drunk water and swallowed worms [or a fly] in the draught» (Hartland, 1909: 9-10): a clear signal of their unusual nature which conforms to the ‘heroic biography’ pattern. In some variants, the child has his hand pierced by the ‘worm’ as both lie in the mother’s womb, or at birth the child holds a ‘worm’ in each hand (Butterworth, 1956: 370; Rees and Rees, 1961: 213-243; Monette, 2008: 30 and 41; Bettini, 2013: 16-17 and 241)⁷⁴. These medieval stories with conception from supernatural causes reflect an Irish native vernacular tradition: they are almost certainly not a «parody» of the process of gestation (so Belmont, 1971: 94-95; Nagy, 2017: 335), and they have typically been analysed in the context of extraordinary birth narratives in Indo-European mythology (MacCulloch, 1911: 348-361; Schoepperle, 1913: 274-281; Chadwick and Chadwick, 1932: 216-220; Ellis Davidson, 1988: 122-126; Bondarenko, 2014: 186-193; Pagé, 2014; 2015-2016; Lajoie, 2019-2020).

There are doubtful interpretations. Discussing Celtic worm-narratives, Kristen Mills offered what she claimed was an Old Gutnish parallel «where snakes or worms are associated with conception and birth» (Mills, 2015: 150-151). The passage in question can be found in the thirteenth-century *Guta saga*: a woman called Huitastierna, on the first night she slept with her husband Hafþi, the first settler of Gotland, dreamed of three snakes (*ormar*) coiled together within her womb (*barmi*, also ‘breast, bosom’) which, then, emerged into the world. The woman questioned Hafþi and he answered that the dream was prophetic, as the snakes symbolized three sons —each with a name beginning with letter ‘G’— that she would bear him (text in Peel, 1999: 2, translation in Peel, 2005: 277). An early modern redaction of this dream-episode is contained in Niels Pedersen’s 1573-1579 *Cimbrorum et Gothorum origines*. Pedersen adds that the three serpent-brothers are intertwined inside Huitastierna as a sign of the friendship that will bind them together in the future (Latin text in Pedersen, 1695: 49-50; see Rossi, 2010:

⁷⁴ Relevant motifs are: B714 *Worm (monster) from caul born with child*; T511.5.2 *Conception from swallowing worm (creature) in drink (of water)*; T551.8 *Child born with caul (containing serpent)*; T552.2.1 *Child born bearing lizard in each hand*; T552.2.2 *Child born holding worm (in each hand)*; T557 *Child born with viper in heart (body)*; F559.7.2 *Adder grows in heart of man* (classified as F546.3.2 in Cross, 1952: 283); and T579.6 *Worm swallowed at conception eats hand of babe before birth*. For Rees and Rees (1961: 228), «a belief in the embodiment of the supernatural essence in worms and flies seems to account for the fact that in Wales it is still said of a pregnant girl that she has swallowed an insect (*pry*) or a spider (*corryn*)». This assertion lacks a specific source, though.

45)⁷⁵. Irish-Scandinavian cultural connections were strong and long-lasting and appear to have gone both ways across the North Atlantic, mediated via oral as well as by written channels (see, for example, Almqvist, 1991; Sigurðsson and Bolton, 2013). However, given the extraordinary diffusion, among different societies, including Old Norse society, of tales linking pregnancy and animals inside the body (Ermacora, Labanti and Marcon, 2016: 287-292; Ermacora, 2017b), I would suggest that no Celtic influence need lie behind the *Guta saga*. Pace Mills, the motif was probably not borrowed from Ireland.

The *Guta saga* has been approached from a pan-Scandinavian and even Indo-European perspective (see Blomkvist and Jackson, 1999: 19-23; Meulder, 2019-2020), «but virtually without parallel is the notion of Huitastierna dreaming of having three snakes coiled in her womb who are subsequently born and who, as humans, settle the island [of Gotland]» (Mitchell, 2019: 124). Various pre-modern accounts are known in which women dream of being pregnant with animals⁷⁶. Among the most common pregnancy dream animals, in the West, there are snakes. In Artemidorus' second-century treatise on dream interpretation *Oneirocritica* 4: 67, a work which may have been influenced by Egyptian oneiromancy (Prada, 2015), there is a list of eight different pregnant women who dreamed of giving birth to a serpent. Due to the contingent biological and behavioural characteristics of the snake and the mother's personal life story, each woman's male child subsequently becomes a typological figure: orator, hierophant, prophet, beguiler, thief, slave, paralytic and sick (Greek text and translations in Artemidorus, 1990: 222; 2012: 359; 2020: 205). Artemidorus, of course, gives prophetic examples but also wants to emphasize that the same dream may have different meanings according to the different circumstances of the dreamer. In Artemidorus and the *Guta saga* one finds the snake dream interpretation; moreover, the consequences of the snake dreams are quite similar in both cases: they predict a child's actual destiny⁷⁷.

What is more, today during real pregnancies, it has been said, «The type of animal the woman dreams about usually shifts with her stage of pregnancy. During the first trimester, women commonly picture fish or reptile-like creatures in their dreams» (Garfield, 1988: 178). More focused research is needed on the ancient and contemporary associations of snakes, parturition and dream imagery. Snakes in dreams are ubiquitous and have been interpreted in various ways (Peel, 2005: 247). Less common are those cases in which the individual dreams of bearing a snake — Artemidorus, the *Guta saga*— or of having intercourse with a snake, something which

⁷⁵ Various commentators have used the *Guta saga* to interpret Viking Age stone sculptures with snakes (see Pearl, 2014: 147-149, with a critical reassessment of Peel, 2005: 246-247 and 284-285); and, also, as evidence for a hypothetical cult of the snake among the early Germanic peoples (Ferrari, 1997; Rossi, 2010: 46).

⁷⁶ White elephants —symbols of sovereignty— and Buddhist tradition: e.g. Dunn-Lardeau, 1997: 50; Faure, 2018: 112-113. Dogs: medieval Dominican traditions, punning on the Latin name *Dominicani* as *Domini canis* 'hound of the Lord', talk about Saints Dominic and Bernard of Clairvaux's pregnant mothers. They had a dream of a barking dog inside them —an obvious reference to their future role as positive 'watchdogs of Christianity' (Walker-Meikle, 2012: 21-22). See also Leach (1961: 259) for dog dreams and Saint Bernard of Menthon, though this attribution appears doubtful to me.

⁷⁷ Artemidorus offers a better parallel for the Gotlandic episode in respect of the «somewhat similar tale» (Mitchell, 2019: 124) told in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: Clytemnestra dreams of giving birth to a snake that is actually a double of her son Orestes, born from the same womb. She lays this snake in swaddling clothes, and offers him milk and blood from her breasts (*Choephoroi* 526-550, 928; Greek text and translation in Aeschylus, 2009: 280-283 and 332-333). See Ermacora (2017a: 65) on Clytemnestra and the snake in the light of folklore on milk-suckling reptiles.

should be perhaps examined in the context of the cross-cultural figurative equivalence between reptiles and the fetus (Rouselle, 1998: 602; see Montserrat, 1996: 23; Beninguisse, 2003: 11, 14 and 20; Ronzitti, 2011: 25-29 for, respectively, Ptolemaic Egypt, traditional Camerun and Sanskrit embryology)⁷⁸. It is not impossible that analogous animal dreams with male children were experienced in pregnancy in medieval Gotland. As is known, there are deep links between religion and dreams: the borders are blurred and we expect mythic material to enter dreams, and *vice versa* (Bulkeley, 2016). But it might be that in the *Guta saga* we are in the realms of dream-image and of psychological fantasy, rather than of myth.

In the late Irish medieval prose narrative *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne* (The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne), a ‘worm’ (*cnuimh/cruimh*: see eDIL, 2019, s.v. *cruim*) is unintentionally swallowed with some berries (taken from a branch full of sloes) by the already pregnant Sadhbh. Her son Cian is, then, born with a parasitic ‘worm’ incubating inside his head (Nagy, 2018: 33, curiously, considered Sadhbh to be suffering from pica). «A connection is not explicitly made between Sadhbh’s eating of the sloes and the conception of the worm, but its inclusion in the text indicates that the two are linked» (Mills, 2015: 151; see already Belmont, 1970: 1225). The creature is later removed through an incision in the bulge containing it. It is kept in a box and it is fed to keep it and by extension its brother alive (translations in O’Grady, 1881: 6-10; Ní Shéaghdha, 1967: 57-61)⁷⁹. Interestingly, at a certain point of the story, Sadhbh, interrogated, «confirms Cian’s suspicion that the worm may have an intimate connection with the lifespan of its twin-of-sorts, so that to kill it, she says, may be to harm Cian as well». The monstrous ‘worm’, as Cian’s guardian, grows to a great size. But once it is killed, «the text does not tell us whatever finally happened to Cian —did he die simultaneously with the worm or not» (Nagy, 2015: 5 and 9; 2017: 325-327 and 336). The episode has been considered a monstrous parody of gestation and birth: male head vs female womb; worm vs baby; abnormal birth through incision vs natural delivery from the uterus (Belmont, 1971: 94-95; Nagy, 2017: 335)⁸⁰. However, the similarities with Caesarius’s narratives, the snake-twin complex and the

⁷⁸ The animal imagery of a new-born baby coming out during childbirth ‘like a snake’ is, meanwhile, known from Assyrian incantations addressing the baby (Couto-Ferreira, 2014: 311-312; Mirelman, 2015: 181). It has been proposed that the comparison with a crawling and slimy snake perhaps represented an ideal model for easy births, or at least reflected the hope that the child —‘coiled up within the mother as a snake’— could be delivered without complications (Steinert, 2017: 329; Minen, 2018: 194; Arbøll, 2020: 75). This theory could be strengthened by an Akkadian incantation for a woman in labour: the fetus is compared to a fish/aquatic animal (*dādum*) which has to wriggle out (see Dal Bo, 2021: 113-116, following different research avenues).

⁷⁹ O’Grady (1857: 130) considered the story of Cian and the worm «a curious piece of invention [...] probably borrowed from the classical fables of the Hydra, the Dragon of the Hesperides, &c.». Rhys (1888: 393) favoured a Müllerian interpretation: «the meaning of this hideous tale is perfectly clear: Cian represents the light of the sun, and the worm born with him is a personification of darkness and winter». Starting from this worm episode, Sterckx (2010: 71-78) offered a speculative discussion on the symbolic equivalence between the head and the uterus in the Celtic homelands.

⁸⁰ There is a theory that the ‘bulge’ on Cian’s head stands for a ‘caul’: see motifs B714 and T551.8 *infra* note 74. This has been connected to the idea that the placenta was regarded as the actual twin of a new-born child, or at least a guardian spirit-double (Butler, 1979: 69). Stronger ethnological parallels, though, are needed. See Baldwin Brady (2006: 356) for an attempt to explain in physiological terms why a twin is more likely to be a caul baby.

symbiotic/intimate relationship between the infant and the snake, all examined in chapter 3, are striking⁸¹.

Strangely enough, Joseph Nagy did not reference other Irish birth stories with ‘worms’ in his analysis of the *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, and proposed, instead, a grotesque «hide and seek» motif where the worm first conceals itself among the sloes, then in Sadhbh’s womb and finally in Cian’s head (Nagy, 2017: 325 and 334-337; 2018: 38). Similar chains of transformations focused on the «nourishment/conception nexus» and the sequence «metamorphosis (in series)/swallowing/rebirth» (Maggi, 2015: 24), are, though, very typical of Irish ‘worm’-stories (as noted by Schlauch, 1961-1962: 161-162; Pagé, 2016: 11 and 16). Take the narrative motif of the fly in the goblet swallowed with an alcoholic beverage, well attested in medieval Western hagiography, where the fly is usually a demon (see, for example, Mikhaïlova, 1994: 85; Batke, 2003: 92; Herzig, 2010). In the ninth-century mythological Irish saga *Tochmarc Étaíne* (The Wooing of Étaín), there is a story in which the heroine Étaín is consecutively transformed by a jealousy-inspired spell into a pool of water and a worm which is then metamorphosed into a very large purple fly (*cuil*). In this form, after several adventures, which include a magical size-reducing breeze, Étaín accidentally drops into a golden cup of liquid —perhaps beer or liquor— and is drunk by the unnamed wife of the warrior Étar, who soon finds herself pregnant (translation in Carey, 1995: 150-151). The swallowing of a fly, here, is not characterized in demonic terms and it allows Étaín to be reborn a thousand years after her first birth.

Daniele Maggi saw in the fly episode from the *Tochmarc Étaíne* saga an echo of the Vedic ritual drink *soma* and, more broadly, of Indo-European doctrines of reincarnation (Maggi, 2015: 24-25; 2016: 38). The Irish story-complex of magical pregnancies through the drinking of insects and ‘worms’ is a complex topic that needs to be studied within the ‘serial shapeshifting’ tradition of early medieval Ireland, a narrative device which served various purposes and social functions (Knight, 2019: 106-107; Lajoie, 2019-2020). As several commentators have remarked, caution is needed before taking Irish serial shapeshifting episodes to be Celtic (or even druidic) versions of Indo-European concepts of reincarnation, rebirth and the transmigration of souls (Ellis Davidson, 1988: 122-126; Dudley, 1997: 40; Egeler, 2013: 67; Pagé, 2016, 16; Knight, 2019: 158; *contra*: MacCulloch, 1911: 348-361, and many others). One may add that the shorter and earlier recension of the twelfth-century Middle Irish treatise on personal names *Cóir Anmann* derives the name ‘Cernach’, one of the early Irish heroes conceived by a ‘worm’ mistakenly swallowed with water, from *cern* ‘swelling’: «the worm that was in [Cernach’s] hand at birth caused a swelling (*cern*). That is why he is called Cernach» (text and translation in Arbuthnot, 2005: 87 and 126; see also Pagé, 2014: 54; 2015-2016: 85; Mills, 2015: 150). The long version of the *Cóir Anmann*, dating to the first half of the thirteenth century, gives more details: «that worm was in the boy’s hand in his mother’s womb. It pierced his hand and caused it to swell (*cernaigh*)» (text and translation in Arbuthnot, 2007: 69 and 141; see also Pagé, 2015-

⁸¹ Note that there is no indication, in the Irish story, «that the presence of the worm brings any good fortune or wealth to Cian and his family» (Nagy, 2017: 336). This motif appears in the snake-twin complex of the Philippines (see *infra* note 22), and it is to be occasionally found, too, in European snake-twin legends. On the background, there is an obvious connection with snake worship (Ermacora, 2017a: 62-64).

2016: 71). This begs a question: can Cernach's worm-inspired swelling be usefully compared to Cian's worm-inspired bulge?

To conclude, folklorists have long observed that, because of the natural absence of snakes in Ireland, Irish bosom serpent narratives and beliefs feature newts, lizards and 'worms', rather than ophidians (Ó Súilleabháin and Christiansen, 1963: 57; Mac Eoin, 1995: 325; Hillers, 2019: 20-21)⁸². One scholar remarked, in 1990, that both medieval Irish bosom serpents and worm birth stories badly needed to be studied in their own right (Tymoczko, 1990: 169). A passage from Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* 1: 31, an ethnographic description of Ireland dated to around 1188, is relevant in this context. The author (or an unknown scribe?) gives a variant of ATU 285B* *The Snake Stays in the Man's Stomach* (Uther, 2004: 166-167; Ermacora, 2015a; 2015b), which occurred on the northern borders of England (*borealibus Angliae finibus*) in his own time. A ravenous snake entered the belly of a boy while he was sleeping. After the boy had visited many English saints' shrines, he was immediately cured by going to Ireland and by drinking water there (Latin text in Gerald of Wales, 1867: 65, translation in Gerald of Wales, 2000: 28; see also Crump, 2015: 224 who recognized folklore here). This story is present only in certain manuscripts of the *Topographia Hibernica* and it is absent from others: it is not in the First Recension translated in Gerald of Wales (1982). A variant with a female sufferer, however, appears in a mid-thirteenth-century Irish poem⁸³. Gerald's (or the unknown scribe's?) narrative reflects the anti-ophidian nature of Ireland. The general assumption, already attested in the

⁸² There are, of course, exceptions. A puzzling legend from the *dindshenchas*, a medieval collection of Irish lore in prose and poetry, describes a man named Méiche, the son of the Morrígan, who has three hearts with a serpent (*nathair*) in each (see motifs T557 and F559.7.2 *infra* note 74). It is explained that the reptiles represented a great danger but, luckily, Méiche was slain by his warrior adversary Dían (or Mac) Cécht. If this had not happened, the prose version says, the snakes would have grown in Méiche's body and eventually devoured all the animals in Ireland. This tale has been dated to the late ninth or tenth century and has mythological parallels: see Shaw (2006), Mills (2015, 150), Williams (2016: 115-117), Nagy (2016), the latter comparing South Slavic ballads and bosom serpent folklore. One should stress that the Irish snakes here are a probable source of supernatural power, though, not of ailments: see Ermacora (2017b) for patients in legends and clinical cases who variously attributed heart pain to the presence of living animals (snakes included) in their heart; and Greene (2021a: 141, 148, 156 and 164) for poisonous dragons/snakes within the meditators' heart in early medieval Chinese Buddhist visionary experiences. The threatening nature of Méiche's heart snakes, note, also recalls Cian's 'worm' which grew into a giant creature and had, eventually, to be killed; it recalls, too, the longer recension of the *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, a Irish saga dating *ca.* 1100: the ravenous animal (*lon craís*, perhaps a lizard: Hillers, 2019) lives inside the victim's gullet and that would «destroy the men of Munster in eighteen months, and it is likely it would have destroyed Ireland altogether in another six months» (Middle Irish text in Preston-Matto, 2010: 4).

⁸³ The apologue of a poem in praise of the cathedral at Armagh, by Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe (†*ca.* 1272), tells how an unnamed woman in Scotland swallowed, with dirty water, a snake which reproduced in her belly. She was tormented by pain and doctors were unable to cure her. An old wise man suggested that she sail to Ireland, the island blessed by St. Patrick (*floruit* fifth century). As soon as she reached Ireland, the snakes were driven out of her body (*Ceannphort Éireann Ard Macha*: Middle Irish text and translation in Mac Airt and Fiaich, 1956: 149; Williams, 1980: 197-198 and 332). Giolla Brighde used the story to illustrate St. Patrick's power over snakes. Mac Airt and Fiaich (1956: 157-158) compared Gerald and ventured that Giolla Brighde derived the snake tale «from one of the numerous *libri exemplorum* which were the stock-in-trade of writers and especially of itinerant preachers [in] that period»; they overlooked, though, orality: see Hillers (2019) for ATU 285B* in the Gaelic storytelling tradition. According to the Bardic Poetry Database (2020), the story of St. Patrick miraculously curing a woman who swallowed a snake is also there in a Bardic poem (*Éinphéist ag milleadh Mhumhan*) by Diarmaid Mac Craith (†1411): I have been unable to find a satisfying translation for this poem.

Early Middle Ages in Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede, is that venomous reptiles (including frogs and toads) die or that they are immediately driven away because of the salutary and anti-venomous properties of Irish soil (Flechner, 2019: 211-214).

The connection between mythological ‘worm’-tales and bosom serpents, in Ireland, is particularly clear in the (probably) late Middle Irish hagiographical text *Beatha Lasrach* (Life of Saint Lasair). A female sufferer approaches, in church, Lasair, a saint who lived in the sixth or seventh century and who was «famed for her healing» (Callan, 2020: 163). The woman laments that she has been pregnant for twenty-one months with two bosom serpents: «I am weak and sick and like to die, and exhausted, feeble and without strength, and two venomous serpents have been within my body working my destruction continually, gnawing me, tearing me, and cleaving my bones for all that time». Lasair blessed water and poured it into a holy bell which she possessed. The sick woman drank from it and she was immediately delivered of a son and two ‘lizards’ (*earc*: «a reptile of some kind, lizard (?)») according to eDIL, 2019, s.v. *erc*; see Hillers, 2019: 21 for the favouring of lizards in Irish versions of ATU 285B*). «Thereafter there came unto her great efforts and mighty birth-pangs, and she bore three at one birth-to wit, two lizards and a slender, beautiful broad-skulled man-child, and thus were the two lizards, one of them in each of the child’s hands» (translation in Gwynn and O’Duigenan, 1911: 81-83; see also Mills, 2015: 151). In the story from the *Cóir Anmann* cited above the ‘worm’ which caused Conall Cernach’s conception pierced the baby’s hand and damaged it. In the *Beatha Lasrach*, «the signs of the remarkable birth are actually presented as being harmful to the mother», this being «the only case [in the Celtic ‘worm’-stories] of the pregnancy itself causing [a mother] any damage» (Pagé, 2014: 140-141; see also Pagé, 2015-2016: 83-84). I would avoid any parallel, here, with the baby Heracles strangling two serpents in his cradle in Greek mythology (*pace* Bettini, 2013: 241).

There is a fascinating seventeenth-century Chinese anecdote which bears some resemblance to the *Beatha Lasrach* and associated Irish supernatural birth tales. In China, «the belief in women being able to give birth to dragons was fairly general» (Słupski, 1999: 252). In Pu Songling’s (1640-1715) 蒲松齡 *Liaozhai Zhi Yi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio), a famous collection of supernatural tales composed ca. 1675-1705, one reads several stories in a way or another connected to dragons (Słupski, 1999; Hui, 2009: 182-183). One of these, titled *Chan long* 產龍 (Giving Birth to a Dragon), recounts the following ‘difficult dragon birth’. In 1682, a woman named Li whose husband had passed away is pregnant with his child. Her stomach begins to expand and contract rapidly but she is unable to give birth. One day, the head of a dragon (*long* 龍) emerges out of Li’s body (= vagina?), but it quickly withdraws back inside as soon as it is seen. (The dragon’s agency, here, recalls bosom serpents in classical Chinese literature and medicine)⁸⁴. Li’s family is frightened and

⁸⁴ Take the following story included in Sun Simiao’s 孫思邈 *Bei Ji Qian Jin Yao Fang* 備急千金要方 (Essential Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold for Every Emergency), a comprehensive Chinese book on medicine dated to around 650. The story validates a medical food remedy and involves, too, a dragon: «On the eighth day of the second month of 586, someone ate celery and became sick. The symptoms of the person resemble those of bloated abdomen, with the face turning bluish yellow. Upon ingesting cold food and strong sugar, the patient spat out a dragon (*jiaolong* 蛟龍) with two heads and a tail. Greatly efficacious» (translation in Liu, 2019). Chinese bosom serpents are still understudied: see

does not dare to approach her. An old woman⁸⁵ performs a Daoist ritual dance involving incantations and manipulations on Li: the placenta (*bao* 胞) falls out together with several dragon scales. Finally, Li gives birth to an infant girl with translucent skin and visible internal organs (translations in Chiang, 2005, 110-111; Pu, 2008: 651; Cheung, 2014: 57).

This is, it has been claimed, «One of the rare tales [from the *Liaozhai*] in which monstrosity is clearly seen on the child's body» (Dodd, 2013: 148). One can contrast it to contemporary Chinese medical descriptions of the generation of monsters (see previous appendix). The main difference is that the misogynistic views towards women's 'polluted' and 'weak' bodies, so typical of post-Song medicine, is absent from the dragon-birth (as noted by Chiang, 2005: 111). The story, moreover, does not contain any detail of «a supernatural procreation partner» (*pace* Weightman, 2008: 103). This seems to be a recurrent missing feature in traditional Chinese dragon-birth stories, which tend to be anecdotal and rather puzzling in narrative terms. Compare the medieval tale, set in 1185 or 1245, from the collection of short stories *Xu Yijian Zhi* 續夷堅志 (A Sequel to the Record of the Listener) by poet and writer Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257) (translation in Humble, 2019). There are also many tribal folktales and anecdotes in China about mothers who have given birth to a dragon (Eberhard, 1931: 48; 1968: 233-240). Does Pu Songling's narrative recount the anomalous birth of a single dragon-child generated by a human partner? Or, is it an anomalous birth of a baby who had formed in the womb together with a dragon and alter-ego? The latter would connect the *Liaozhai Zhi Yi* with the monstrous animal sibling theme, though the expulsion of the dragon scales (which presumably covered the dragon-child in the belly) hardly fits this interpretation.

The motif of the transparent baby is interesting. For some it «remains unclear» (Ślupski, 1999: 252), for others it reflects a «common fascination with the interior of the female body and a male desire to penetrate it» (Chiang, 2005: 111)⁸⁶. In the dragon birth tale, it will be remembered, the healer performs a Daoist ritual: did the story belong to the Daoist tradition? Early Daoist's philosophy and visual culture paid great attention to inner human physiology. There are, for instance, discourses concerning the 'five storehouses' (*wu zang* 五藏), i.e. the five organs (kidneys, liver, spleen, lungs, kidneys and gall bladder) that composed the organic mind-body system (Liu An, 2010: 900-901; Roth, 2021; this was also a general medical Chinese concept, note, not exclusive to Daoism). Moreover, the Daoist interest in bodily anatomy is to be found, in the medieval period, in the Daoist production of body maps displaying, in a symbolic fashion, the human organs/viscera: these were used as visual source material for meditative practices (Despeux, 2005; Pfister, 2016). One wonders, possibly, if Daoist

Ermacora (2017b) for an overview. Already de Groot (1907: 629 and 853) had stressed that «Old and numerous [...] are the tales of men and women who, having fallen ill, vomited snakes or vipers [...] snakes are prominent among the devils which infest and kill men by feeding on their intestines» (de Groot, 1907: 629 and 853). There was even a doctor, Fei Boxiong 費伯雄 (1800-1879), who wrote an entire book called *Guai Ji Qi Fang* 怪疾奇方 (Miraculous Formulas for Strange Disorders), «about the occurrence of unusual phenomena, such as the vomiting of snakes, in medicine» (Scheid, 2007: 86).

⁸⁵ «local witch» for Ślupski (1999: 252); «shamaness-midwife» for Chiang (2005, 111); «Buddhist sorceress» for Sondergard in Pu Songling (2008: 651).

⁸⁶ Transparent human figures occur in early Irish saga literature, American folklore, Siberian folktales and among native Indians in New England: see motifs F529.5 *Person with transparent body* and T579.8.1 *Transparent body of pregnant woman* (Bogoras, 1918: 25; Simmons, 1986: 165).

«contemplative foundations» (Roth, 2021), exploring the medical and religious knowledge of the interior of the body, can provide some context to Pu Songling's story⁸⁷. A transparent baby, with his 'five storehouses', is to be found, too, in the biography of the neo-Confucian scholar Xue Xuan 薛瑄 (1389-1464). According to poet and writer Song Maocheng 宋懋澄 (*ca.* 1569-1620), at birth Xuan's body «resembled (transparent) glass, his five cardinal organs being visible from outside. Seven days later they disappeared» (translation in Yuk, 1993: 95). Extraordinary conceptions in worldwide myth and folklore often leave a physical sign or deformity on delivered babies, thus marking their special nature (Belmont, 1971; Pagé, 2014). A comparison of the Chinese tale with the «beautiful broad-skulled man-child» from the *Beatha Lasrach* could hint that transparency is a sign of exceptional beauty and purity.

⁸⁷ Chronology and meaning are problematic, though. For instance, drawing a 'transparent' body to show the insides in the Middle Ages is obviously not the same as having, literally, a transparent body in seventeenth-century China. The visionary practices of early medieval Chinese Buddhists have, fascinatingly, the meditator seeing his own body become completely transparent, like a crystal mirror: this confirms that the meditation has been completed (Greene, 2021a: 40, 158-162, 230 and 257; 2021b: 90). See Mollier (2008), Kohn (2014) on the complex topic of medieval Buddhist-Daoist interactions.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATU: UTHER, Hans-Jörg (ed.) (2004): *The Types of International Folktales. A Classification and Bibliography Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Animal Tales, Tales of Magic, Religious Tales, and Realistic Tales, with an Introduction*, I, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A CITIZEN (1909): «Calcutta Streets», *Indian Engineering*, 46, p. 352.
- AESCHYLUS (2009): *Oresteia: Agamemnon. Libation-Bearers. Eumenides*, Alan H. Sommerstein (ed.), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4159/DLCL.aeschylus-oresteia_libation_bearers.2009
- AGOBARD OF LYON (1981): *Liber contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, in Id., *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, Lieven Van Acker (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 3-15,
- ALBERT-LLORCA, Marlène (1985): «Le serpent, la mère et l'enfant», in *Le corps humain: nature, culture, surnaturel. Actes du 110e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes*, Paris, CTHS, pp. 99-110.
- ALDROVANDI, Ulisse (1642): *Monstrorum historia...*, Bologna, Nicolai Tebaldini.
- ALEXANDER, Jonathan J. G., MARROW, James and SANDLER, Lucy F. (eds.) (2005): *The Splendor of the Word. Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, London, New York Public Library.
- ALINEI, Mario (1987): «Rospo aruspice, rospo antenato», *Quaderni di Semantica*, 8, pp. 265-296.
- ALINEI, Mario (2011): «afa, bava, bau, botta», in Id., *Nuovi studi di Archeologia Etimologica, Quaderni di Semantica*, 2, pp. 193-202.
- ALMQVIST, Bo (1991): *Viking Ale. Studies on Folklore Contacts Between the Northern and Western Worlds*, Éilís Ní Dhuibhne-Almqvist and Séamas ó Catháin (eds.), Aberystwyth, Boethius Press.
- ANDREEVA, Anna (2015): «Lost in the Womb. Conception, Reproductive Imagery, and Gender in the Writings and Rituals of Japan's Medieval Holy Men», in *Transforming the Void: Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religions*, Ead. and Dominic Steavu (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 420-478. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004306523_012
- ANGELINI, Massimo (2012²): *Le meraviglie della generazione. Voglie materne, nascite straordinarie e imposture nella storia della cultura e del pensiero medico in età moderna (secoli XV-XIX)*, Sesto San Giovanni, Mimesis Edizioni.
- ANGELINI, Massimo (2013 [1997]): «Wonderful Births and Beginning in The Modern Age. Topics in the History of Culture and Ideas», *Kultura i Historia*, 24, URL: <http://www.kulturaihistoria.umcs.lublin.pl/archives/5130>.
- ANONYMOUS (1640): *A Certaine Relation of the Hog-Faced Gentlewoman Called Mistris Tannakin Skinker...*, London, John Okes.
- ANONYMOUS (1684): *Aristotele's Master-Piece...*, London, J. How.
- ANONYMOUS (1758): «Review of *Observations rares de médecine*, by Cornelius Stalpart van der Wiel», *L'Année Littéraire*, 5, pp. 185-195.

- ANONYMOUS (1788): «A Laughable Circumstance ...», *The General Magazine and Impartial Review*, January, p. 669.
- ANONYMOUS (1913): «Medical Terms in the New English Dictionary», *The British Medical Journal*, 17 May, p. 1077.
- ANONYMOUS (1935): «Snake Returns to Baby's Cot», *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 16 September, p. 6.
- ANONYMOUS (ed.) (1703): *The Athenian Oracle...*, London, Andrew Bell.
- APHERDIANUS, Petrus (ed.) (1976): *Het Tyrocinium (1552) van Petrus Apherdianus*, Felicien J. M. L. De Tollenaere and Frans M. Claes (eds), Den Haag, M. Nijhoff.
- ARBØLL, Troels P. (2020). *Medicine in Ancient Assur. A Microhistorical Study of the Neo-Assyrian Healer Kišir-Aššur*, Leiden, Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004436084>
- ARBUTHNOT, Sharon J. (ed.) (2005): Cóir Anmann. *A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, I, London, Irish Texts Society.
- ARBUTHNOT, Sharon J. (ed.) (2007): Cóir Anmann. *A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, II, London, Irish Texts Society.
- ARMISTEAD, Samuel G. (2000). *La tradición épica de las Mocedades de Rodrigo*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca.
- ARRABAL, Luce (1983): «Algunos casos de partos prodigiosos estudiados en el Siglo de Oro», *Ibérica*, 4, pp. 103-114.
- ARTEMIDORUS (1990): *The Interpretation of Dreams: Oneirocritica*, Robert J. White (ed.), Torrance, CA, Original Books.
- ARTEMIDORUS (2012): *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Daniel E. Harris-McCoy (ed.), Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- ARTEMIDORUS (2020): *The Interpretations of Dreams*, Peter Thonemann and Martin Hammond (eds.), Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- ASHLIMAN, Dee L. (2016): *Multiple Births in Legend and Folklore*, URL: <https://www.pitt.edu/~dash/manykids.html>.
- ASTRUC, Jean (1765): *Traité des maladies des femmes...*, Paris, P. G. Cavalier.
- AUDUREAU, Claude (1891): *Etude sur l'obstétrique en Occident pendant le Moyen Age et la Renaissance*, Dijon, Darantière.
- AUSECACHE, Mireille (2007): «Une naissance monstrueuse au Moyen Age: le 'frère de Salerne'», *Gesnerus*, 64, pp. 5-23. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/22977953-0640102001>
- BACKHAUS, Johannes (1905): *Die Corveyer Geschichtsfälschungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Teil I*, Paullini, Berlin, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
- BAHNA, Vladimír (2015): «Memorates and Memory: A Re-Evaluation of Lauri Honko's Theory», *Temenos*, 51, 1, pp. 7-23. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33356/temenos.8783>
- BALDWIN BRADY, May Louise (2006): *Connecticut Roots: Pilgrim and Puritan Planters and Irish Famine Emigrants*, Baltimore, MD, Gateway Press
- BALLANTYNE, John W. (1896): «VII. Teratogenesis: An Inquiry into the Causes of Monstrosities», *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 42, pp. 220-232.
- BARATTA, Luca (ed.) (2017): *The Age of Monsters. Nascite prodigiose nell'Inghilterra della prima età moderna: storia, testi, immagini (1550-1715)*, Roma, Aracne Editrice.
- BARDIC POETRY DATABASE (2020): *Apologue Subclass: 4180. Pádraig: Miraculously Cures Woman Who Swallowed a Snake*. URL: <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/displayIndexHead.php?indexHeadID=4180>.

- BARKAI, Ron (ed.) (1998): *A History of Jewish Gynaecological Texts in the Middle Ages*, Leiden, Brill.
- BARONTI, Giancarlo (2020): *Vitae volant, scripta manent. Vicende criminali nella letteratura di piazza tra Cinquecento e Ottocento*, Foligno, Il Formichiere.
- BARTHOLIN, Thomas (1654): *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum centuria I et II*, Amsterdam, J. Henrici.
- BARTHOLIN, Thomas (1671): «Mola volatilis», *Miscellanea Curiosa; sive, Ephemeridum Medico-Physicarum Germanicarum*, pp. 255-256.
- BARTHOLIN, Thomas (1671-1672): «Molae volatiles», *Acta Medica et Philosophica Hafniensia*, 1, pp. 56-58.
- BARTLETT, Robert (2013): *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, Princeton, Princeton University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400848782>
- BARTLETT, Robert (ed.) (2003): *The miracles of Saint Æbbe of Coldingham and Saint Margaret of Scotland*, Oxford, Clarendon Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780199259229.book.1>
- BASTANZI, Giambattista (1888): *Le superstizioni delle Alpi Venete*, Treviso, Zoppelli.
- BATES, Alan W. H. (2003): «The Sooterkin Dissected: The Theoretical Basis of Animal Births to Human Mothers in Early Modern Europe», *Vesalius*, 9, pp. 6-14.
- BATES, Alan W. H. (2004): «The Sooterkin Doctor: the London Career of John Maubray, MD (1700-1732), ‘Andro-boethogynist’», *Journal of Medical Biography*, 12, pp. 147-153. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/096777200401200309>
- BATES, Alan W. H. (2005): *Emblematic Monsters. Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe*, Amsterdam / New York, Rodopi. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004332997>
- BATES, Alan W. H. (2014): «Retrogressive Development: Transcendental Anatomy and Teratology in Nineteenth-Century Britain». *Medicina nei Secoli arte e Scienza*, 26, 1, pp. 197-222.
- BATES, Alan W. H. (2020): «Monstrous Exegesis: Opening Up Double Monsters in Early Modern Europe», in *The Body of Evidence Corpses and Proofs in Early Modern European Medicine*, Francesco Paolo de Ceglia (ed.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 119-148. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004284821_007
- BATKE, Mandy A (2003): *No Food, no Purge, no Life: Effluvial Miracles and the Significance of Food to Medieval Patients*, MA thesis, Queen’s University.
- BATMAN, Stephen (1581): *The Doome Warning all Men to the Iudgemente...*, London, Ralphe Nubery assigned by Henry Bynneman.
- BELMONT, Nicole (1970): «La coiffe et le serpent», in *Échanges et communications. Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l’occasion de son 60ème anniversaire Claude Lévi-Strauss*, II, Jean Pouillon and Pierre Maranda (eds.), The Hague / Paris, Mouton, pp. 1223-1228. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111698281-030>
- BELMONT, Nicole (1971): *Les signes de la naissance: étude des représentations symboliques associées aux naissances singulières*, Brionne, Gérard Monfort.
- BENATI, Chiara (2020): «Imaginary Creatures Causing Real Diseases: Projective Etiology in Medieval and Early Modern Medicine», in *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. Projections, Dreams, Monsters, and Illusions*, Albrecht Classen (ed.), Berlin / Boston, de Gruyter, pp. 253-274. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110693669-003>

- BENEDETTI, Alessandro (1533): *Historiae corporis humani libros quinque...*, Venetiis, Lucae Antonii Iuntae.
- BENINGUISSE, Gervais (2003): *Entre tradition et modernité. Fondements sociaux de la prise en charge de la grossesse et de l'accouchement au Cameroun*, Paris, L'Harmattan.
- BENITO, José I. M. (2005): «El entorno de Benavente en el “Jardín de Flores Curiosas” de Antonio de Torquemada», *Brigecio*, 15, pp. 129-144.
- BENNETT, Gillian (2000): «Medical Aspects of the ‘Bosom serpent’», *Contemporary Legend*, 3, pp. 1-26.
- BENSLY, Edward (1923): «James Howell Again», *Aberystwyth Studies*, 5, pp. 43-73.
- BERGMANN (1904): «Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gebärmuttermolen», *Beitrag zur Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*, 30, 2, pp. 1686-1688. <https://doi.org/10.1055/s-0029-1187820>
- BERLIOZ, Jacques (1990): «L’homme au crapaud. Genèse d’un *exemplum* médiéval», in *Tradition et histoire dans la culture populaire. Rencontres autour de l’œuvre de Jean-Michel Guilcher, Grenoble, Musée Dauphinois (20-21 janvier 1989)*, Grenoble, Centre Alpin et Rhodanien d’Ethnologie, pp. 169-203.
- BERLIOZ, Jacques (1991): «Review of *Légendes et Rumeurs. Alcool de singe et liqueur de vipère*, by Jean-Loïc Le Quellec», *Le Monde Alpin et Rhodanien*, 19, 4, pp. 134-136.
- BERLIOZ, Jacques (2003): «Le crapaud, animal ambigu au Moyen Age? Le témoignage des *exempla* et de l’art roman», in *Regards croisés de l’histoire et des sciences naturelles sur le loup, la chouette, le crapaud dans la tradition occidentale. Journée d’étude (Université de Liège, 23 mars 2002)*, Liliane Bodson (ed.), Liège, Université de Liège, pp. 85-106.
- BERSUIRE, Pierre (1575): *Reductorii moralis...*, Venetiis, Haeredem Hieronymi Scoti.
- BERTHOLD, Arnold A. (1850): *Über den Aufenthalt lebender Amphibien im Menschen*, Göttingen, Dieterichschen Buchhandlung.
- BETTINI, Maurizio (2013 [1998]): *Women and Weasels. Mythologies of Birth in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226039961.001.0001>
- BILLINGHAM, Josephine (2019): *Infanticide in Tudor and Stuart England*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvqsf38s>
- BIZOUARD, Joseph (1864): *Des rapports de l’homme avec le démon: essai historique et philosophique*, VI, Paris, Gaume Frères et J. Duprey.
- BLANCHARD, Raphaël (1897): «Pseudo-parasitisme d’un Gordius chez l’homme», *Bulletin de l’Académie de Médecine de Paris*, 37, pp. 614-619.
- BLOMKVIST, Torsten and JACKSON, Peter (1999): «*Alt ir baugum bundit*. Skaldic Poetry on Gotland in a Pan-Scandinavian and Indo-European Context», *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, 114, pp. 17-30.
- BLONDEL, James A. (1729): *The Power of the Mother’s Imagination Over the Fetus...*, London, John Brotherson.
- BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI, Renate (2006): «Gautier de Coinci and Medieval Childbirth Miracles», in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 197-214. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TCNE-EB.3.4036>
- BODIN, Jean (1995): *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, Randy A. Scott (ed.), Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.

- BODIN, Jean. (1580): *De la démonomanie des sorciers...*, Paris, Jacques du Puys.
- BOER, Lucas, RADZIUN, Anna B. and OOSTRA, Roelof-Jan (2017): «Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731): Historical Perspective and Contemporary Analysis of his Teratological Legacy», *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 173, 1, pp. 16-41. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajmg.a.37663>
- BOGORAS, Waldemar (ed.) (1918): *Tales of Yukaghir, Lamut, and Russanized Natives of Eastern Siberia*, New York, The Trustees.
- BONDARENKO, Grigory (2014): *Studies in Irish Mythology*, Berlin, Curach Bhán Publications.
- BONDESON, Jan (1997): *A Cabinet of Medical Curiosities*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501733451>
- BONET, Théophile (1686): *Medicina Septentrionalis Collatitia...*, Geneva, L. Chouët.
- BORGHINI, Alberto (1996): «Il tema del serpente in una favola di Straparola (*Le piacevoli notti* III 3): tipologia e contesto folklorico», *Storia, Antropologia e Scienze del Linguaggio*, 11, 1-2, pp. 97-150.
- BORNES-VAROL, Marie-Christine and ORTOLA, Marie-Sol (2015): «Puces et poux dans quelques proverbes de la péninsule ibérique et leurs postérités: miroir comparé des sociétés péninsulaires», in *Poux, puces, punaises, la vermine de l'homme: découverte, descriptions et traitements. Antiquité, Moyen Âge, époque moderne*, Franck Collard and Évelyn Samama (eds.), Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 85-94.
- BOTTIGHEIMER, Ruth B. (2014): *Magic Tales and Fairy Tale Magic: From Ancient Egypt to the Italian Renaissance*, Basingstoke, Palgrave. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137380883>
- BOUZA-BREY, Fermín (1949): «El lagarto en la tradición popular gallega», *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 5, 4, pp. 531-50.
- BRACCHI, Remo (2009): *Nomi e volti della paura nelle valli dell'Adda e della Mera*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783484971271>
- BRACCHI, Remo (2007): «Nuove etimologie dialettali (zoonimi, qualità fisiche e anatomia umana) per il LEI», *Quaderni di Semantica*, 1, pp. 137-168.
- BRAMBILLA, Elena (1984): «La medicina del Settecento: dal monopolio dogmatico alla professione scientifica», in *Storia d'Italia*, VII (*Malattia e Medicina*), Franco Della Peruta (ed.), Torino, Einaudi, pp. 5-147.
- BREWER, Keagan (2016): *Wonder and Skepticism in the Middle Ages*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315691510>
- BROCHARD, Marie-José (1990): «Une source du dictionnaire de Randle Cotgrave (1611): les *Erreurs populaires* de Laurent Joubert (1578)», *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 106, 3-4, pp. 225-288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/zrph.1990.106.3-4.225>
- BROOKS MCDANIEL, Walton (1947): «Undesirable Guests and Unwilling Hosts: Parasites in Ancient and Modern Italian Folkmedicine», *Transactions & Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, 15, 1, pp. 26-35.
- BROWN, Cecil H. (1984): *Language and Living Things. Uniformities in Folk Classification and Naming*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.
- BUCKLEY, Jenifer (2017): *Gender, Pregnancy, and Power in Eighteenth-Century Literature: The Maternal Imagination*, Houndmills / New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

- BULKELEY, Kelly (2016): *Big Dreams. The Science of Dreaming and the Origins of Religion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199351534.001.0001>
- BUTLER, Bill (1979): *The Myth of the Hero*, London: Rider & Co.
- BUTLER, Samuel (1744): *Hudibras, in Three Parts, Written in the Time of the Late Wars...*, II, Zachary Grey (ed.), London, J. Bentham.
- BUTTERWORTH, Harrison (1956): *Motif-Index and Analysis of the Early Irish Hero Tales*, PhD dissertation, Yale University.
- BUYS, Egbert (ed.) (1769): *A New and Complete Dictionary of Terms of Art...*, Amsterdam, Kornelis de Veer.
- BYL, Simon (1986): «Survivance de quelques préjugés hippocratiques et aristotéliens relatifs à la reproduction humaine dans les écrits médicaux et biologiques de l'âge baroque», *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 64, pp. 693-703. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.1986.3557>
- CABALLERO NAVAS, Carmen (2014): «She Will Give Birth Immediately. Pregnancy and Childbirth in Medieval Hebrew Medical Texts Produced in the Mediterranean West», *Dynamis*, 34, 2, pp. 377-401. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4321/S0211-95362014000200006>
- CABALLERO NAVAS, Carmen (2021): «The Genesis of Medieval Hebrew Gynaecology: A Preliminary Assessment», in *Defining Jewish Medicine. Transfer of Medical Knowledge in Premodern Jewish Cultures and Traditions*, Lennart Lehmann (ed.), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 349-374. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13173/9783447108263.349>
- CAESAR OF HEISTERBACH (1901): *Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, Aloys Meister (ed.), Rome, Herder.
- CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH (1929): *The Dialogue on Miracles*, Henry V. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (eds.), London, George Routledge & Sons.
- CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH (1937): *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, III (*Die beiden ersten Bücher der Libri VIII miraculorum*), Alfons HILKA (ed.), Bonn, Hanstein.
- CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH (2009): *Dialogus Miraculorum – Dialog über die Wunder*, III, Horst Schneider and Nikolaus Nösges (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols.
- CAGE, Claire 2016: «Review of *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France* by Cathy McClive», *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 90, 2, pp. 329-330. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.2016.0043>
- CAIRE, Michel (2019): *Soigner les fous. Histoire des traitements médicaux en psychiatrie*, Paris:
- CALDERONE, Belinda (2013): «The Monster Inside Me: Unnatural Births in Early Modern Italian and French Fairy Tales», in *Beyond the Monstrous: Reading from the Cultural Imaginary*, Janice Zehentbauer and Eva H. Gledhill (eds.), Oxford, Inter-Disciplinary Press.
- CALLAN, Maeve B. (2020): *Sacred Sisters: Gender, Sanctity, and Power in Medieval Ireland*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048542994>
- CAMPORESI, Piero (1988 [1983]): *The Incorruptible Flesh. Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- CANETTI, Luigi (2018): «The Frog, the Toad, and the Womb: Childbirth and Pregnancy Votives», in *Pregnancy and Childbirth. History, Medicine and Anthropology*,

- Costanza G. Dopfel (ed.), Longmont, Saint Mary's College of California / Steuben Press, pp. 95-106.
- CANETTI, Luigi (2019): «La rana, il rospo e l'utero. Gravidanza, isteria e devozioni tra Medioevo ed età moderna», in *Sapiens, ut loquatur, multa prius considerat. Studi di storia medievale offerti a Lorenzo Paolini*, Caterina Bruschi and Riccardo Parmeggiani (eds.), Spoleto, CISAM, pp. 563-576.
- CARDIGOS, Isabel (1996): *In and Out of Enchantment: Blood Symbolism and Gender in Portuguese Fairytales*, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- CAREY, Deborah D. (1963): *The Divine Providence: Its Nature and Tradition in Seventeenth Century New England*, MA thesis, Indiana University.
- CAREY, John (ed.) (1995): «Tochmarc Étaíne», in *The Celtic Heroic Age. Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland & Wales*, John T. Koch and John Carey (eds.), Maiden, MA, Celtic Studies Publications, pp. 135-154.
- CARNEY, Jo E. (2012): *Fairy Tale Queens: Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, Basingstoke, Palgrave. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137269690>
- CARR, Michael (1983): «Why Did 蟲 *D'iông Change from 'Animal' to 'Wug'?», *Computational Analyses of Asian and African Languages*, 21, pp. 7-14.
- CARUSO, Paola (2012): «I longobardi di Benevento e le ostilità con i Franchi: vendette e sortilegi nella testimonianza di Agobardo di Lione (IX sec.)», in *I Longobardi in Valcomino e nel Lazio Meridionale, S. Donato Val di Comino, 8 maggio 2011*, Domenico Cedrone (ed.), San Donato Val di Comino, Arbor Sapientiae, pp. 49-68.
- CASTRIGNANÒ, Vito L. (2019): «'Ceraldi' e 'sanpaolari'. Considerazioni sul lessico del tarantismo», *L'Italia Dialettale*, 80, pp. 421-431.
- CEARD, Jean (1983): «Aux origines de certains thèmes leibniziens: monstres et merveilles au XVIe siècle», in *Leibniz et la renaissance*, Albert Heinekamp (ed.), Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 90-102.
- CEARD, Jean (1996²): *La nature et les prodiges. L'insolite au XVIe siècle en France*, Genève, Droz.
- CHADWICK, Hector M. and CHADWICK, Nora K. (1932): *The Growth of Literature, I (The Ancient Literatures of Europe)*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- CHAUMARTIN, Henri (1955): «Quelques aperçus nouveaux sur le crapaud», *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie*, 146, pp. 145-152. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/pharm.1955.8479>
- CHEN, Hsiu-fen (2000): «“Dreaming Sex with Demons”: The Pathological Interpretations in Ancient Chinese Medicine», in *'Jibing de lishi' yantaohui lunwenji – Symposium on the History of Disease*, Shengming Yiliaoshi Yanjiushi (ed.), Taipei, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, pp. 321-341.
- CHEN, Hsiu-fen (2004): «Dreams, Sex, and the Monstrous Body: on The Cases of “Dreaming Sex with Demons”», in *The History Of Chinese Medicine. Depend on the Culture by Culture Symposium, Taipei: Culture Research Institute, Department Of Sociology, Soochow University, Jointly, 3-4 January 2004*, URL: http://www.scu.edu.tw/society/acade_act/cultural%20studies/papers/hfChen.pdf

- CHEN, Hsiu-fen (2011): «Between Passion and Repression: Medical Views of Demon Dreams, Demonic Fetuses, and Female Sexual Madness in Late Imperial China», *Late Imperial China*, 32, 1, pp. 51-82. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2011.0004>
- CHEN, Hsiu-fen (2014): «Emotional Therapy and Talking Cures in late Imperial China», in *Psychiatry and Chinese History*, Howard Chiang (ed.), London, Pickering and Chatto, pp. 37-54.
- CHENG, Hsiao-wen (2018): «Manless Women and the Sex-Desire-Procreation Link in Song Medicine», *Asian Medicine*, 13, pp. 1-26. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15734218-12341406>
- CHENG, Hsiao-wen (2021): *Divine, Demonic, and Disordered: Women without Men in Song Dynasty China*, Washington, University of Washington Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1dp0v0g>
- CHEUNG, Yu K. (2014): *When Classical Chinese Works Matter: A Critical Study of Pu Songling's Liaozhai Zhiyi and its English Translations*, PhD dissertation, University of Hong Kong.
- CHIANG, Lydia S. (2005): *Collecting the Self: Body and Identity in Strange Tale Collections of Late Imperial China*, Leiden, Brill.
- CHIDESTER, David (2003²): *Salvation and Suicide. Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- CHOUANT, Ludwig (1842): «Die Weiber von Salerno. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medicin im Mittelalter», *Archiv für die gesammte Medicin*, 2, pp. 301-311.
- CHRISTOPOULOS, John (2021): *Abortion in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- CILIONE M., Gazzaniga V. and Zampieri F. (2020): «Mythology and Rational Explanation in the History of Medicine. The Case of Molar Pregnancy», *Ceska Gynekologie*, 85, 6, pp. 436-439.
- CIRESE, Alberto M. (1978): «Zanetti e la medicina popolare: questioni di ieri e di oggi», in Z. Zanetti, *La medicina delle nostre donne*, Foligno, Ediclio, pp. 11-36.
- CITRONI MARCHETTI, Sandra (2008): «Tiberio Gracco, Cornelia e i due serpenti (Cic. div. 1, 36; 2, 62; Val. Max. 4, 6, 1; Plut. Ti. Gracch. 1, 4 s.; Plin. nat. 7, 122)», *Materiali e Discussioni per l'Analisi dei Testi Classici*, 60, pp. 39-68.
- CIXOUS, Georges (1948): «Paramyoclonus multiplex à localisation diaphragmatique et abdominale», *L'Algérie Médicale*, 51, pp. 416.
- CODY, Lisa F. (1992): «The Doctor's in Labour; or a New Whim Wham from Guildford», *Gender & History*, 4, 2, pp. 175-196. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0424.1992.tb00055.x>
- CODY, Lisa F. (2005): *Birthing the Nation. Sex, Science, and the Conception of Eighteenth-Century Britons*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- CONESE, Massimo (2018): *Nati con la camicia. La membrana amniotica nel folklore e nella medicina*, Roma, Edizioni Studio Tesi.
- CONFORTI, Maria (2009): «'Affirmare quid intus sit divinare est': mole, mostri e vermi in un caso di falsa gravidanza di fine Seicento», *Quaderni Storici*, 44, pp. 125-152.
- CONNORS, Michael. H. and HALLIGAN, Peter W. (2015): «A Cognitive Account of Belief: a Tentative Roadmap», *Frontiers in Psychology*, 5, pp. 1-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.01588>

- CONSIGLIERE, Stefania and ZAVARONI, Cristina (2018): «La molteplicità e la crisi», *Archivio Antropologico Mediterraneo*, 20, 1.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/aam.393>
- COOGAN, Michael. D. (2007³): *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha. Augmented Third Edition*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- CORMICK, Jean (1973): «Medical Advice in Seventeenth-Century Journalism», *JAMA*, 224, 1, pp. 83-86. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.224.1.83>
- COTTON, Evan (1907): *Calcutta, Old and New. A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City*, Calcutta, W. Newman.
- COUTO-FERREIRA, Erica M. (2014): «She Will Give Birth Easily: Therapeutic Approaches to Childbirth in 1st Millennium BCE Cuneiform Sources», *Dynamis*, 34, 2, pp. 377-401. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4321/S0211-95362014000200002>
- COZZI, Donatella (2021): «Zeno Zanetti e lo strabismo tra sguardo medico e sguardo etnografico», *AM. Rivista della Società italiana di Antropologia Medica*, 50, pp. 532-538.
- CREUTZ, Rudolf (1941): «Der Magister Copho und seine Stellung im Hochsalerno. Aus M. p. med. Q 2 (saec. XIII) fol. 85a-103a Würzburg», *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, 33, 5-6, pp. 249-338.
- CROSS, Tom P. (1952): *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature*, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press.
- CROWLEY, Melanie and CROWLEY, Melanie (2001): *Words to the Wise. Your Etymological Queries Answered*. 117, 2. URL: <http://www.takeourword.com/TOW117/page2.html>.
- CRUMP, Marty (2015): *Eye of Newt and Toe of Frog, Adder's Fork and Lizard's Leg: The Lore and Mythology of Amphibians and Reptiles*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226116143.001.0001>
- CULPEPER, Nicholas (1662³): *A Directory for Midwives, or, A Guide for Women, in Their Conception, Bearing and Suckling Their Children...*, London, Peter Cole.
- D'ARSY, Jan Louis (ed.) (1643): *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flamen...*, Rotterdam, Pierre de Waesbergve.
- D'ARSY, Jan Louis (ed.): *Le grand dictionnaire françois-flaman...*, Thomas la Gruë (ed.), Amsterdam, A. Wolfgang.
- DAL BO, Federico (2021): «A Foetus Shaped Like a Sandal: Birth Anomalies in Talmudic Tractate *Niddah*», in *Defining Jewish Medicine. Transfer of Medical Knowledge in Premodern Jewish Cultures and Traditions*, Lennart Lehmhaus (ed.), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 93-118. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.13173/9783447108263.093>
- DALBERG, Vibeke (2008): «So-Called Folk-Etymological Reshaping of Place-Names», in Ead., *Name and Place. Ten Essays on the Dynamics of Place-Names*, Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Peder Gammeltoft, Bent Jørgensen and Berit Sandnes (eds.), Copenhagen, Department of Scandinavian Research, Name Research Section, pp. 80-93.
- DALL'ACQUA, Marzio (1976): «Una benandante friulana in un processo di stregoneria a Parma nel 1611», *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi*, 28, pp. 353-381.
- DANDREY, Patrick (2004): «D'un théâtre d'ombres. L'imaginaire dramatique du délire et de sa cure dans la pensée médicale des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles», in *Un siècle*

- de deux cents ans? Les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: continués et discontinuités*, Jean Dagen and Philippe Roger (eds.), Paris, Desjonquères, pp. 181-197.
- DARRIULAT, Jacques (1995): *Jérôme Bosch et la fable populaire. Une légende médiévale aux sources de l'escamoteur de St-Germain-en-Laye*, Paris, Lagune.
- DASEN, Véronique (2005a): *Jumeaux, jumelles dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, Zurich, Akanthus.
- DASEN, Véronique (2005b): «Blessing or Portents? Multiple Births in Ancient Rome», in *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Katariina Mustakallio, Jussi Hanska, Hanna-Leena Sainio and Ville Vuolanto (eds.), Roma, Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, pp. 61-74.
- DASEN, Véronique (2015): *Le sourire d'Omphale. Maternité et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.92640>
- DAVIES, Sarah J. (2016): «Desperate Father or Murderous Fool? The Genesis of One Migratory Legend of Poverty, Fecundity and Multiple Birth», *Folk Life*, 54, 2, pp. 81-97. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/04308778.2016.1227663>
- DAVIES, Surekha (2012): «The Unlucky, the Bad and the Ugly. Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment», in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, Asa S. Mittman and Peter J. Dendle (eds.), London / New York, Routledge, pp. 49-76.
- DAVIS, Norman (ed.) (2004): *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, II, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- DAVIS, Norman (ed.) (2005): *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, III, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- DUNDES, Lauren (2003): «The Evolution of Maternal Birthing Position», in *The Manner Born. Birth Rites in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Ead. (ed.), New York, Altamira Press, pp. 53-64.
- DE BEAUVAIS, Vincent (1624): *Bibliotheca mundi Vincentii Burgundi, ex ordine Praedicatorum venerabilis episcopi Bellovacensis, Speculum quadruplex, naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*, Douai, Baltazaris Belleri.
- DE CANTIMPRÉ, Thomas (1973): *Liber de natura rerum*, I (Text), Helmut Boese, (ed.), Berlin / New-York, de Gruyter.
- DE CEGLIA, Francesco P. (2009): «Quegli strani cugini d'oltremare: racconti di uomini con la coda», in *L'arcipelago inquieto: una raccolta di saggi interdisciplinari sull'evoluzionismo visto dal mare*, Emanuele Coco (ed.), Milano, Mondadori, pp. 31-42.
- DE CORBEIL, Gilles (1826): *Carmina medica...*, Ludwig Choulant (ed.), Leipzig, Leopold Voss.
- DE CORBEIL, Gilles (2017): *De uirtutibus et laudibus compositorum medicaminum*, Mireille Ausécache (ed.), Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- DE FRANCHEVILLE, Joseph du Fresne (1776): «Recherches sur la question physiologique: si les accouchemens sont aussi féconds et les jumeaux aussi nombreux qu'ils l'étoient anciennement?», *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres*, 5, pp. 3-54.
- DE GROOT, Jan J. M. (1907): *The Religious System of China...*, V, 2 (*On the Soul and Ancestral Worship*), Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- DE GUBERNATIS, Angelo (1872): *Zoological Mithology or The Legends of Animals*, II, London, Trübner & Co.

- DE LANDTSHEER, Jeanine (2011): «Pius Lipsius or Lipsius Proteus?», in *Between Scylla and Charybdis. Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religious and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe*, Ead. and Henk J. N. Nellen (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 303-351. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004185739.i-540.61>
- DE RENZI, Salvatore (ed.) (1859): *Collectio salernitana...*, V, Napoli, Sebezio.
- DE ROCHER, Gregory D. (1982): «Agrippa d'Aubigné's Erinyes: The History of a Field of Poetic Imagery», in *Renaissance papers 1981*, Leigh A. Deneef and Thomas M. Hester (eds.), Raleigh, NC, Southeastern Renaissance Conference, pp. 45-54.
- DE TORQUEMADA, Antonio (1570): *Jardín de flores curiosas...*, Salamanca, Iuan Baptista de Terranova.
- DE WAARDT, Hans (2018): «The North Sea as a Crossroads of Witchcraft Beliefs. The Limited Importance of Political Boundaries», in *Cultures of Witchcraft in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Jonathan Barry, Owen Davies and Cornelia Osborne (eds.), London, Palgrave, pp. 121-135. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63784-6_6
- DE ZORZI, Nicola (ed.) (2014): *La serie teratomantica Šumma izbu: testo, tradizione, orizzonti culturali*, II voll., Padova, Sargon.
- DECOURT, Nadine (2003): «'Les Œufs du serpent' ou les circulations de la parole», in *Échanges et mutations des modèles littéraires entre Europe et Algérie. Actes du Colloque Paroles déplacées, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 10-13 mars 2003*, II, Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 221-236.
- DÉGH, Linda (2001): *Legend and Belief. Dialectics of a Folklore Genre*, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press.
- DEGRAAF, Robert M. (1991): *The Book of the Toad. A Natural and Magical History of Toad-Human Relations*, Rochester, VT, Park Street Press.
- DEL NERO, Valerio (2008): «A Philosophical Treatise on the Soul: *De anima et vita* in the Context of Vives's Opus», in *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives*, Charles Fantazzi (ed.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 277-314. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004168541.i-431.30>
- DELANEY, Janice, LUPTON, Mary J., TOTH, Emily (eds.) (1988): *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press.
- DELLA PORTA, Giovan Battista (1558): *Magiae naturalis, sive de miraculis rerum naturalium libri IIII*, Napoli, Mathiam Cancer.
- DELLA PORTA, Giovan Battista (1658 [1558]): *Natural Magick in XX Bookes*, London, T. Young and S. Speed. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5479/sil.82926.39088002126779>
- DELRIÓ, Martín (1600): *Disquisitionvm magicarvm libri sex...*, II, Lovanii, G. Rivius.
- DEMAITRE, Luke E. (1980): *Doctor Bernard de Gordon. Professor and Practitioner*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies.
- DEMAITRE, Luke E. (2007): *Leprosy in Premodern Medicine: A Malady of the Whole Body*, Baltimore, MD, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- DEMAITRE, Luke E. (2013): *Medieval Medicine. The Art of Healing from Head to Toe*, Santa Barbara, CA, ABC Clio.
- DENTI DI PIRAJNO, Alberto (1985 [1952]): *A Cure for Serpents: An Italian Doctor in North Africa*, London, Eland Books.
- DESPEUX, Catherine (2005): «Visual Representations of the Body in Chinese Medical and Daoist Texts From the Song to the Qing Period (Tenth to Nineteenth

- Century)», *Asian Medicine*, 1, 1, pp. 10-52. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157342105777996827>
- DIEPGEN, Paul (1924): «Der frater Salernensis und Lumbardorum», *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 16, 1-2, pp. 73-74.
- DIKÖTTER, Frank (1998): *Imperfect Conceptions: Medical Knowledge, Birth Defects and Eugenics in China*, London, Hurst & Co.
- DITTMAR, Pierre-Olivier and PÉREZ-SIMON, Maud (eds.) (2021): *Les monstres des hommes*, Paris, Champion Classiques.
- DODD, Sarah L. (2013): *Monsters and Monstrosity in Liaozhai zhiyi*, PhD dissertation, University of Leeds.
- DOLCE, Lucia (2015): «The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body: Ritual Embryology from Japanese Tantric Sources», in *Transforming the Void: Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religions*, Anna Andreeva and Dominic Steavu (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 253-310. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004306523_009
- DOUGLAS, James (1726): *The Sooterkin Dissected...*, London, A. Moore.
- DUCHESNEAU, François (2019): «La controverse entre Andry et Vallisneri au sujet des vers parasites de l'homme», in *Ex ovo omnia. Parassitologia e origine delle epidemie nelle ricerche e nell'opera di Antonio Vallisneri*, Dario Generali (ed.), Firenze, Olschki, pp. 135-163.
- DUDLEY, Edward J. (1997): *The Endless Text. Don Quixote and the Hermeneutics of Romance*, Albany, State University of New York Press.
- DUMAS, Geneviève (2015): *Santé et société à Montpellier à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Leiden, Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004282445>
- DUNN-LARDEAU, Brenda (1997): «Prodigious Births and Death in Childbirth in *Le Palais des Nobles Dames*, (Lyons, 1534)», *Renaissance and Reformation*, 21, 3, pp. 43-62. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33137/rr.v33i3.11360>
- DUTTON, Paul E. (ed.) (2004²): *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*, Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press.
- DUVAL, Amaury (1824): «Alexandre de L'Isle, moine de Corbie», in *Histoire littéraire de la France...*, XVI, Paris, Didot, Treuttel et Wurzt, pp. 515-516.
- EAMON, William (1998): «Cannibalism and Contagion. Framing Syphilis in Counter-Reformation Italy», *Early Science and Medicine*, 3, 1, pp. 1-31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338298X00013>
- EBERHARD, Wolfram (1931): «Einige Stammesagen nichtchinesischer Stämme in den Han-Annalen», *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 63, 1-4, pp. 46-53.
- EBERHARD, Wolfram (1968 [1943]): *The Local Cultures of South and East China*, Brill, Leiden.
- EDGARD, Frank and SKINNER, Neil (eds.) (1969): *Hausa Tales and Traditions...*, I, London, Frank Cass.
- EDIL (2019): *An Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*. URL: <http://dil.ie/20227>.
- EDMUNDS, Lowell (2015): *Stealing Helen. The Myth of the Abducted Wife in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton / Oxford, Princeton University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23943/princeton/9780691165127.001.0001>
- EGELER, Matthias (2013): *Celtic Influences in Germanic Religion. A Survey*, München, Herbert Utz Verlag.

- EKENVALL, Asta (1978): *Batrachians as Symbols of Life, Death and Woman*, Göteborg, Göteborg University Library.
- ELLIS DAVIDSON, Hilda R. (1988): *Myths and Symbols in Pagan Europe. Early Scandinavian and Celtic Religions*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- EL-SHAMY, Hasan M. (1999): *Tales Arab Women Tell and the Behavioral Patterns They Portray*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- EL-SHAMY, Hasan M. (2021): «Twins/Zwillinge: A Broader View. A Contribution to Stith Thompson's Incomplete Motif System – A Case of the Continuation of Pseudoscientific Fallacies», *Humanities*, 10, 8. URL: <<https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/10/1/8>>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/h10010008>
- ENIKELS, Jansen (1891): *Weltchronik*, Philipp Strauch (ed.), Hannover / Leipzig, Hahn.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2013-2014): «Sulla costruzione della “possessione europea” (I): il ragno. A proposito di un libro recente di Giovanni Pizza», *I Quaderni del Ramo d'Oro Online*, 6, pp. 161-194.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2015a): «Cooperation and Conflict Among Humans, Lizards and Bosom Serpents in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy», *Quaderni di Semantica*, 1, pp. 265-292.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2015b): «Pre-Modern Bosom Serpents and Hippocrates' *Epidemiae* 5, 86: A Comparative and Contextual Folklore Approach», *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics*, 9, 2, pp. 75-119.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2017a): «The Comparative Milk-Suckling Reptile», *Anthropozoologica*, 52, 1, pp. 59-81. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5252/az2017n1a6>
- ERMACORA, Davide (2017b): «*A Snake Called Argès Slithered Into his Mouth*», *The Bosom Serpent Story-Complex (Folklore, Religion, Medicine and Ethnology) from Hippocrates to Erasmus of Rotterdam*, PhD dissertation, University of Turin and University of Lyon 2.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2018): «Embedded Pins and Migratory Needles: A Historical Folklore Perspective. Part I», *Contemporary Legend*, 8, pp. 41-85.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2019): «Embedded Pins and Migratory Needles: A Historical Folklore Perspective. Part II», *Contemporary Legend*, 9, pp. 1-53.
- ERMACORA, Davide (2020): «The Ant and The Lion. Reassessing Philological-Folklore Approaches to *Reinhart Fuchs*», *Fabula*, 6, 3-4, pp. 335-377. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/fabula-2020-0018>
- ERMACORA, Davide, LABANTI, Roberto and MARCON, Andrea (2016): «Towards a Critical Anthology of Pre-Modern Bosom Serpent Folklore», *Folklore*, 128, 3, pp. 286-304. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2016.1175763>
- ESTEVEVES, Alexandra (2021): «Alguns olhares sobre a menstruação», *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate*, 23, 1, pp. 247-266.
- ETTINGHAUSEN, Henry (2015): *How the Press Began. The Pre-Periodical Printed News in Early Modern Europe*, A Coruña, SIELAE, Facultad de Filología, Universidade da Coruña.
- EVANS, Nancy G. (2003): «Everyday Things: From Rolling Pins to Trundle Bedsteads», *American Furniture*, pp. 27-93.
- FALCUCCI, Nicolò (1491): *Sermo sextus de membris generationis*, Venetiis, Bernardinus Stagninus, de Tridino.
- FALK, Seb (2020): *The Light Ages: A Medieval Journey of Discovery*, London, Allen Lane.

- FALTERI, Paola (2014): «Zeno Zanetti tra medicina e demoiatria», *AM. Rivista della Società italiana di Antropologia Medica*, 38, pp. 227-246.
- FANTAGUZZI, Giuliano (2012): *Caos*, II voll., Michele A. Pistocchi (ed.), Roma, Pliniana.
- FARAONE, Christopher. A. (2011): «Magical and Medical Approaches to the Wandering Womb in the Ancient Greek World», *Classical Antiquity*, 1, pp. 1-32. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/CA.2011.30.1.1>
- FAURE, Bernard (2003): *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.
- FAURE, Bernard (2018): *Les mille et une vies du Bouddha*, Paris, Seuil.
- FAUVEL, Jean-Baptiste and KOCH, André (2009): «Zoo-Ethnological Observations in Southwest Sulawesi, Indonesia: A Case Study of *Kembar Buaya* (“Monitor Twins”)», *Biawak*, 3, 3, pp. 77-80.
- FERRAGUD DOMINGO, Carmel (2015): «Barbers in the Process of Medicalization in the Crown of Aragon During the Late Middle Ages», in *Medieval Urban Identity: Health, Economy and Regulation*, Flocel Sabaté (ed.), Newcastle, Cambridge Scholars, pp. 143-165.
- FERRARI DA GRADO, Giovanni Matteo (1560): *Practica, seu commentaria in nonum Rasis ad Almansorem...*, Venetiae, L. A. Iunte.
- FERRARI, Fulvio (1997): «Il fuoco e i serpenti nella *Guta saga*», *Studi Nordici*, 4, pp. 9-20.
- FEVRE, Francine (1993): «Drôles de Bestioles: Qu'est-ce qu'un *Chong?*», *Anthropozoologica*, 18, pp. 57-65.
- FILIPPINI, Nadia M. (2020 [2017]): *Pregnancy, Delivery, Childbirth A Gender and Cultural History from Antiquity to the Test Tube in Europe*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429265457>
- FINDLEY, Palmer (1939): *Priests of Lucina: The Story of Obstetrics*, Boston, Little Brown and Company.
- FINUCCI, Valeria (2003): *The Manly Masquerade: Masculinity, Paternity, and Castration in the Italian Renaissance*, Durham, Duke University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822384472>
- FISCHER, Joseph (1921): «Der *frater Salernensis* und *Lumbardorum*», *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 13, 5-6, pp. 173-175.
- FISSEL, Mary E. (2004): *Vernacular Bodies. The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- FLECHNER, Roy (2019): *Saint Patrick Retold. The Legend and History of Ireland's Patron Saint*, Princeton, Princeton University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691190013>
- FLÜGEL, Ewald (ed.) (1895): *Neuenglisches Lesebuch zur Einführung in das Studium der Denkmäler selbst nach den handschriften und ältesten Drucken*, I (die Zeit *Heinrichs VIII*), Halle, Max Niemeyer.
- FORBES, Thomas R. (1953): «The Social History of the Caul», *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 25, pp. 495-508.
- FOSCATI, Alessandra (2019): «Il linguaggio della medicina fuori dalla medicina nel Medioevo. I *libri miraculorum* e i processi di canonizzazione come repertorio lessicografico dei nomi delle malattie», in *La medicina nel Basso Medioevo: tradizioni e conflitti. Atti del LV Convegno storico internazionale Todi, 14-16 ottobre 2018*, Spoleto, CISAM, pp. 441-466.

- FOSCATI, Alessandra (2021): «“An mola sine viri congressu concipi possit?” The Uterine Mole in Medical and Philosophical Texts between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period», *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate*, 23, 1, pp. 117-137.
- FREED, Ruth S. and FREED, Stanley A. (1980): *Rites of Passage in Shanti Nagar*, New York, American Museum of Natural History.
- FREEDMAN, Sally M. (ed.) (2017): *If A City Is Set On A Height: The Akkadian Omen Series Šumma Alu ina Mēlê Šakin, III (Tablets 41-63)*, Winona Lake, University of Pennsylvania Museum. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5325/j.ctv1bxh10r>
- FRIEDMAN, John B. (1981): *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- FRIEDMAN, John B. (2019): «The Marvelous Beasts of the Secrets of Natural History», *De Medio Aevo*, 13, pp. 13-44. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5209/dmae.66813>
- FRIEDMAN, John B. (ed.) (1974): «Thomas of Cantimpré, *De naturis rerum*. Prologue, Book III, Book XIX», in *La science de la nature: théories et pratiques*, Guy H. Allard and Jacques Ménard (eds.), Paris / Montréal, Bellarmin, pp. 107-154.
- FRIEDMAN, John B., FIGG, Kristen and GIOGOLI, Kathrin (eds.) (2018): *Book of Wonders of the World Secrets of Natural History fr. 22971. Original Held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Studies and Translation of the Facsimile Edition*, Burgos, Siloé.
- FURTH, Charlotte (1999): *A Flourishing Yin. Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- GARDENOUR, Brenda S. and TADD, Misha (eds.) (2012): *Parasites, Worms, and the Human Body in Religion and Culture*, New York, Peter Lang. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-1-4539-0263-9>
- GARFIELD, Patricia L. (1988): *Women's Bodies, Women's Dreams*, New York, Ballantine.
- GARRETT, Fances (2008): *Religion, Medicine and the Human Embryo in Tibet*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203927427>
- GARTH, Thomas R. (1953): *Atsugewi Ethnography*, Berkeley / Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- GARZONI, Tomaso (2004): *Il serraglio de gli stupori del mondo. Con le aggiunte del fratello Bartolomeo Garzoni*, Paolo Cherchi (ed.), Faenza, VACA edizioni.
- GASKILL, Malcolm (2005): *Witchfinders. A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- GEIL, Melissa H. (2019): «The Monstrous Womb of Early Modern Midwifery Manuals», in *Monstrosity, Disability, and the Posthuman in the Medieval and Early Modern World*, Richard H. Godden and Asa S. Mittman (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 249-266. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25458-2_12
- GÉLIS, Jacques (1991 [1984]): *History of Childbirth. Fertility, Pregnancy and Birth in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, Polity Press.
- GERALD OF WALES (1867): *Topographia Hibernica, et expugnatio Hibernica*, James F. Dimock (ed.), London, Longman, Green, Reader & Dyer.
- GERALD OF WALES (1982): *The History and Topography of Ireland*, John J. O'Meara (ed.), Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- GERALD OF WALES (2000): *The Topography of Ireland*, Thomas Forester and Thomas Wright (eds.), Cambridge, ON: In Parenthesis.

- GEVAERT, Bert and LAES, Christian (2013): «What's in a Monster? Pliny the Elder, Teratology and Bodily Disability», in *Disabilities in Roman Antiquity. Disparate Bodies A Capite ad Calcem*, Christian Laes, Chris Goodey and Lynn M. Rose (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 211-230. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004251250_010
- GIMMA, Giacinto (1999): *Sylva rerum notabilium...*, I, Maria Occhinegro and Giulia Belgioioso (eds.), Lecce, Milella.
- GINZBURG, Carlo (1991 [1989]): *Ecstasies. Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, London / New York, Pantheon Books.
- GLEISNER, Thomas (1996): *Anton Trutmans «Arzneibuch». Medizin- und sozialgeschichtlicher Kommentar*, PhD dissertation, University of Würzburg.
- GOSSUIN DE METZ (1913): *L' image du monde de Maître Gossouin. Rédaction en prose*, Oliver H. Prior (ed.), Paris, Payot.
- GOULD, George M. and LYTLE PYLE, Walter (1897): *Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, London, W. B. Saunders.
- GRABNER, Elfriede (1962): «Der 'Wurm' als Krankheitsvorstellung. Süddeutsche und südosteuropäische Beiträge zur allgemeinen Volksmedizin», *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 81, pp. 224-240.
- GRAF, Arturo (1923²): *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo: con un'appendice sulla leggenda di Gog e Magog*, Torino, Loescher.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2005): «Bodies, Gender, Health, Disease: Recent Work on Medieval Women's Medicine», *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 2, pp. 1-49.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2008a): *Making Women's Medicine Masculine. The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynecology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2008b): «Gendering the History of Women's Healthcare», *Gender and History*, 20, 3, pp. 487-518. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0424.2008.00534.x>
- GREEN, Monica H. (2011): «Making Motherhood in Medieval England: The Evidence from Medicine», in *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400. Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser*, Lesley M. Smith and Conrad Leyser (eds.), Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 173-203.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2013): «Caring for Gendered Bodies», in *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Women and Gender*, Judith Bennett and Ruth M. Karras (eds.), Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 345-361. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199582174.013.003>
- GREEN, Monica H. (2021): *Women's History Month 2021 – Texts on Women's Medicine – Calendar*. URL: https://www.academia.edu/45640483/Womens_History_Month_2021_Texts_on_womens_medicine_Calendar.
- GREENE, Eric M. (2012): *Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, PhD dissertation, University of California.
- GREENE, Eric M. (2021a): *The Secrets of Buddhist Meditation. Visionary Meditation Texts from Early Medieval China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16t66q7>
- GREENE, Eric M. (2021b): *Chan before chan: Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Chinese Buddhism*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16t66ts>

- GRIECO, Allen J. (1999): «Food and Social Classes in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy», in *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (eds.), New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 302-312.
- GRIMM, Jacob (1878): *Deutsche Mythologie*, III (*Nachträge und Anhang*), Berlin, Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung Harrwitz und Gossmann.
- GRMEK, Mirko D. (1998 [1993]): «The Concept of Disease», in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Id. (ed.), Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 241-258.
- GROSE, Francis (ed.) (1785): *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, London, S. Hooper.
- GUAINERI, Antonio (2013): Antonio Guaineri's *De matricibus, sive De propriis mulierum aegritudinibus*, II (*Aanzet tot een historischkritische teksteditie*), Peter Van den Hooff (ed.), MA thesis, University of Leiden.
- GULDER, Alois (1960-1962): *Die urnenfelderzeitliche „Frauenkröte“ von Maissau in Niederösterreich und ihr geistesgeschichtlicher Hintergrund*, Wien, Böhlau Nachfolger.
- GWYNN, Lucius and O'DUIGENAN, David (eds.) (1911): «The Life of St. Lasair», *Ériu*, 5, pp. 73-109.
- HAIN, Mathilde (1950): «Lebendige Volkssage im *Dialogus miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach», *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 2, pp. 130-140.
- HALPERT, Herbert (1958): «Legends of the Cursed Child», *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 14, 1, pp. 233-241.
- HALPERT, Herbert (1980): «Supernatural Sanctions and the Legend», in *Folklore Studies in the Twentieth Century*, Venetia J. Newall (ed.), Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, pp. 226-233.
- HAMMOND, William A. (1876): *Spiritualism and Allied Causes and Conditions of Nervous Derangement*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- HAND, Wayland D. (1980): *Magical Medicine: The Folkloric Component of Medicine in the Folk Belief, Custom, and Ritual of the Peoples of Europe and America*, Berkeley, University of California Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520311770>
- HARRIS-STOERTZ, Fiona (2014): «Midwives in the Middle Ages? Birth Attendants, 600-1300», *Medicine and the Law in the Middle Ages*, in Sara M. Butler and Wendy J. Turner (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 58-87. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004269118_004
- HARTLAND, Edwin S. (1909): *Primitive Paternity. The Myth of Supernatural Birth in Relation to the History of the Family*, London, David Nutt. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.52244>
- HASLAM, Fiona. 1996. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.
- HASSON, Or (2017): «Between Clinical Writing and Storytelling: Alfonso de Santa Cruz and the Peculiar Case of the Man Who Thought He Was Made of Glass», *Hispanic Review*, 85, 2, pp. 155-172. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/hir.2017.0011>
- HAUSSMAN, David (1875): *Parasites des organes sexuels femelles...*, Paris, J. G. Balliere.

- HENKE, James T. (1988): *Gutter Life and Language in the Early «Street» Literature of England. A Glossary of Terms and Topics, Chiefly of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, West Cornwall, CT, Locust Hill Press.
- HENNINGSSEN, Gustav (ed.) (2004): *The Salazar Documents: Inquisitor Alonso de Salazar Frías and Others on the Basque Witch Persecution*, Leiden, Brill.
- HENSLow, George (ed.) (1899): *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century Together with a List of Plants Recorded in Contemporary Writings with Their Identifications*, London, Chapman and Hall. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.107151>
- HERMAN OF BOLOGNA (1935): *Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters*, III (*Das Viaticum narrationum des Hermannus Bononiensis*), Alfons HILKA (ed.), Berlin, Weidmann.
- HERZIG, Tamar (2010): «Flies, Heretics and the Gendering of Witchcraft», *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, 5, 1, pp. 51-80. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/mrw.0.0162>
- HILKA, Alfons (ed.) (1933): *Eine altfranzösische moralisierende Bearbeitung des Liber de Monstruosis Hominibus Orientis aus Thomas von Cantimpré De Naturis Rerum*, Berlin, Weidmann.
- HILLERS, Barbara (2019): «Lizards, Snakes, and the Demon of Gluttony: Oral Lore and Literature in the *Vision of Mac Con Glinne*», *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 39, pp. 1-38.
- HOEPLI, Reinhard J. C. (1959): *Parasites and Parasitic Infections in Early Medicine and Science*, Singapore, University of Malaya Press.
- HOFFMANN, Friedrich (1726): *De ignorata uteri structura multorum...*, Halae Magdeburgicae, Typis Joannis Christiani Hilligeri.
- HOFFMANN, Kathryn A. (2005): «Of Monkey Girls and a Hog-Faced Gentlewoman. Marvel in Fairy Tales, Fairgrounds, and Cabinets of Curiosities», *Marvels & Tales*, 19, 1, pp. 67-85. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/mat.2005.0010>
- HOLMES, Oliver W. (1891): *The Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, V (*Elsie Venner: A Romance of Destiny*), Cambridge, Riverside Press.
- HOPE, Steffen (2017): *Excerpts From the Cultural History of the Toad*. URL: <http://my-albion.blogspot.com/2017/01/excerpts-from-cultural-history-of-toad.html>.
- HOPKIN, David M. (2004): «Storytelling, Fairytales and Autobiography. Some Observations on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Soldiers' and Sailors' Memoirs», *Social History*, 29, 2, pp. 186-198. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0307102042000207840>
- HOWELL, James (1688³): *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ: Familiar Letters, Domestic and Forren...*, London, Thomas Guy.
- HUGHES, Charles (ed.) (1903): *Shakespeare's Europe. Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, London, Sherratt & Hughes.
- HUGHES, Geoffrey (2000): *A History of English Words*, Oxford, Blackwell.
- HUI, Luo (2009): *The Ghost of Liaozhai: Pu Songling's Ghostlore and Its History of Reception*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto.
- HUMBLE, Geoff (ed.) (2019): *Giving Birth to a Dragon 產龍*. URL: <https://huhaxinwen.wordpress.com/2019/04/09/giving-birth-to-a-dragon-%E7%94%A2%E9%BE%8D/>.

- HÜNEMÖRDER, Christian (ed.) (2001): *Thomas de Cantimpré, Liber de natura rerum. Farbmikrofiche-Edition der Handschrift Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. ch. f. 150*, München, Helga Lengenfelder.
- HUNT, Tony (ed.) (1994): *Anglo-Norman Medicine, I (Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius)*, Cambridge, Boydell & Brewer.
- IDOATE, Florencio (ed.) (1972): *Un documento de la Inquisición Sobre Brujería en Navarra*, Pamplona, Editorial Aranzandi.
- IMELMANN, Rudolf (1903): «Zur Kenntnis der vor-shakespearischen Lyrik: I. Wynkyn de Wordes 'Song Booke', 1530, II John Dayes Sammlung der Lieder Thomas Whythornes, 1571», *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, 39, pp. 121-178.
- JACOBÆUS, Oliger (1674-1676): «Monstra cruribus intortis, et capreae figura», *Acta Medica et Philosophica Hafniensia*, 3-4, pp. 97-99.
- JACOBY, Adolf (1932): «Von verschluckten Schlangen und Eidechsen», *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 6, pp. 13-27.
- JACQUART, Danielle and THOMASSET, Claude T. (1985): *Sexualité et savoir médical au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- JACQUES DE VITRY (2005): *Histoire orientale de Jacques de Vitry*, Marie-Geneviève Grossel (ed.), Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur.
- JACQUES DE VITRY (2008): *Histoire orientale = Historia orientalis*, Jean Donnadieu (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols.
- JAMES, Maurice T. (1947): *The Flies that Cause Myiasis in Man*, Washington, DC, U.S. Department of Agriculture. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.65688>
- JEAN D'OUTREMEUSE (2007): *Myreur des histors*, Adolphe Borgnet, Anne-Marie Boxus and Jacques Poucet (eds.). URL: <http://bcs.fltr.ucl.ac.be/MYREUR/My001-586/My465b-475a.htm>.
- JESSALYNN, Lea B. (2003): «The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry. Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization», *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 20, pp. 56-74. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/ems.2004.0002>
- JOHN OF GADDESSEN (1923): *Rosa Anglica seu Rosa Medicinae Johannis Anglici*, Winifred Wulff (ed.), London, Simpkin, Marshall.
- JONES, Paul A. (2016a): *Word Drops. A Sprinkling of Linguistic Curiosities*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- JONES, Paul A. (2016b): *Sooterkin*. URL: <https://www.haggardhawks.com/post/sooterkin>.
- JÖRDENS, Johann H. (1802): *Entomologie und Helminthologie des menschlichen Körpers [...]*, Hof, Gottfried Adolph Grau.
- JOUBERT, Laurent (1578): *Erreurs populaires au fait de la médecine...*, Bordeaux, S. Millanges.
- JOUBERT, Laurent (1579): *Erreurs populaires et propos vulgaires...*, Bordeaux, S. Millanges.
- JOUBERT, Laurent (1980): *Treatise on Laughter*, Gregory D. de Rocher (ed.), Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press.
- JOUBERT, Laurent (1989): *Popular Errors*, Gregory D. de Rocher (ed.), Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press.
- KAUFMANN, Alex (ed.) (1891): *Wunderbare und denkwürdige Geschichten aus den Werken des Cäsarius von Heisterbach*, II, Köln, Boisseree.

- KELLER, Hildegard E. (ed.) (2008): *Jakob Ruf, Werke 1550-1558. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, III, Zürich, Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung.
- KERCKRING, Theodor (1670): *Spicilegium anatomicum ...*, Amsterdam, Andreas Frisius.
- KEW, Graham D. (ed.) (1995): *Shakespeare's Europe Revisited. The Unpublished Diary of Fynes Moryson (1566-1630)*, IV, PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham.
- KIHLBOM, Asta (1934): «Notes on Some Words in N.E.D», in *Studia Germanica, tillägnade Ernst Albin Kock*, Lund, Carl Blom, pp. 97-106.
- KILIAAN, Cornelis (ed.) (1599): *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae ...*, Antverpiae, Officina Plantiniana.
- KING, Helen (2007): *Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynaecology: The Uses of a Sixteenth-Century Compendium*, Aldershot, Ashgate.
- KING, Helen (2011): «Galen and the Widow. Towards a History of Therapeutic Masturbation in Ancient Gynaecology», *EuGeStA*, 1, pp. 205-235.
- KING, Helen (2013): *The One-Sex Body on Trial. The Classical and Early Modern Evidence*, Farnham, Ashgate.
- KING, Helen (2018): «'First Behead Your Viper'. Acquiring Knowledge in Galen's Poison Stories», in «*It All Depends on the Dose*», *Poisons and Medicines in European History*, Ole Peter Grell, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), London / New York, Routledge, pp. 25-42.
- KIRCHHOFF, Heinz (1983): «Die Geburt in senkrechter Körperhaltung-Kulturhistorische Anmerkungen und mögliche geburtshilfliche Vorteile», *Curare*, 1, 83, pp. 93-94.
- KIRTLEY, Bacil F. (1971): *A Motif-Index of Traditional Polynesian Narratives*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.
- KNIGHT, Gwendolyne (2019): *Broken Order. Shapeshifting as Social Metaphor in Early Medieval England and Ireland*, PhD dissertation, Stockholm University.
- KNOEFF, Rina (2009): «Animals Inside. Anatomy, Interiority and Virtue in the Early Modern Dutch Republic», in *The Body Within. Art, Medicine and Visualization*, Renée van de Vall and Robert Zwijnenberg (eds.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 31-50. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004176218.i-228.17>
- KNOWLES, David (1963): *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- KOCH, André, and ACCIAIOLI, Greg (2007): «The Monitor Twins. A Bugis and Makassarese Tradition from SW Sulawesi, Indonesia», *Biawak*, 1, 2, pp. 77-82.
- KOHN, Livia (2014): «Buddhist-Daoist Interactions in Medieval China», in *Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*, Mario Poceski (ed.), Malden, MA, Wiley Blackwell, pp. 340-359. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118610398.ch17>
- KOOIJMANS, Luuc (2011 [2004]): *Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch*, Leiden, Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004187849.i-470>
- KRÄMER, Fabian (2009): «The Persistent Image of an Unusual Centaur. A Biography of Aldrovandi's Two-Legged Centaur Woodcut», *Nuncius*, 24, 2, pp. 313-340. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/221058709X00592>
- KRITZER, Robert (2009): «Life in the Womb. Conception and Gestation in Buddhist Scripture and Classical Indian Medical Literature», in *Imagining the Fetus. The Unborn in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, Vanessa R. Sasson and Jane Marie Law

- (eds.), New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 73-90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195380040.003.0005>
- KRITZER, Robert (2014b): «Affliction and Infestation in an Indian Buddhist Embryological Sutra», in *Scripture: Canon: Text: Content. Essays Honoring Lewis R. Lancaster*, Richard K. Payne (ed.), Berkeley, Institute of Buddhist Studies, BDK America, Inc., pp. 181-202.
- KRITZER, Robert (ed.) (2014a): *Garbhāvākṛāntisūtra. The Sūtra on Entry into the Womb*, Tokyo, International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- KUNZE, Wolfgang P. F. (1977): *Krankheitsdämonen: Demons and Demonic Agents of Diseases in German Oral Literature, Custom, and Belief*, PhD dissertation, University of California.
- LAES, Christian (2018): *Disabilities and the Disabled in the Roman World. A Social and Cultural History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316678480>
- LAJOYE, Patrice (2019-2020): «La conception du héros par ingestion. Un essai de typologie des versions eurasiatiques», *Nouvelle Mythologie Comparée*, 5, pp. 5-22.
- LANFIERE, Thomas (1675): *The Wonder of Wonders, or, The Strange Birth in Hampshire...*, London, Printed for J. Hose and E. Oliver.
- LANGENBERG, Amy P. (2017): *Birth in Buddhism. The Suffering Fetus and Female Freedom*, London / New York, Routledge.
- LATINITATIS MEDII AEVI LEXICON BOHEMORUM (2020): *Latinitatis Medii Aevi lexicon Bohemorum*. URL: <<http://lb.ics.cas.cz/#cs>>.
- LAVAGETTO, Mario (ed.) (2008): *Racconti di orchii, di fate e di streghe. La fiaba letteraria in Italia*, Milano, Mondadori.
- LAWN, Brian (ed.) (1979): *The Prose Salernitan Questions. An Anonymous Collection Dealing with Science and Medicine Written by an Englishman c. 1200, with an Appendix of Ten Related Collections*, London, Oxford University Press.
- LE QUELLEC, Jean-Loïc (1997): «L'escamoteur et la grosseur de Néron, ou la grenouille latente», *La Mandragore*, 1, pp. 71-76.
- LE QUELLEC, Jean-Loïc (2012²): *Alcool de singe et liqueur de vipère. Légendes urbaines*, Arles, Editions Errance.
- LEACH, Maria (1961): *God Had a Dog. Folklore of the Dog*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press.
- LEAHY, Michael (2015): *'To speke of phisik': Medical Discourse in Late Medieval English Culture*, PhD dissertation, University of London.
- LEFEBVRE, Alfredo (1968): *Los españoles van a otro mundo*, Barcelona, Pomaire.
- LEHMAN, Edward (1947): «Feeding Problems of Psychogenic Origin. A Survey of the Literature», *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 3, 1, pp. 461-488. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00797308.1947.11823099>
- LEMNIUS, Levinus (1559): *Occulta naturae miracula ac varia rerum documenta...*, Antverpiæ, Guilielmum Simonem.
- LEY, Willy (ed.) «Introduction», in Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects*, I (*The History of Four-footed Beasts*), ID. (ed.), New York, Da Capo.
- LHOMME-RIGAUD, Colette (2002): *L'adolescent et ses monstres*. Toulouse: Érès. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3917/eres.lhomm.2002.01>

- LI CAUSI, Pietro (2008): *Generare in comune. Teorie e rappresentazioni dell'ibrido nel sapere zoologico dei Greci e dei Romani*, Palermo, Palumbo.
- LIEBAULT, Jean (1582): *Trois livres appartenant aux infirmités et maladies des femmes...*, Paris, Jacques du Puys.
- LIESKE, Pam (ed.) (2007): *Eighteenth-Century British Midwifery*, II (*The Mary Toft Affair*), London, Pickering and Chatto.
- LIESKE, Pam (ed.) (2008): *Eighteenth-Century British Midwifery*, V (*The State of Midwifery Considered, William Smellie and his Critics*), London, Pickering and Chatto.
- LIN, Hsin-Yi (2017): *Dealing with Childbirth in Medieval Chinese Buddhism: Discourses and Practices*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University.
- LINDEMANN, Mary (2010²): *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- LINDGREN, Agi (ed.) (1967): *Ein Stockholmer mittelniederdeutsches Arzneibuch aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell.
- LINDGREN, Amy (2005): *The Wandering Womb and the Peripheral Penis. Gender and the Fertile Body in Late Medieval Infertility Treatises*, PhD dissertation, University of California.
- LIPKIN, Gladys B. and COHEN, Roberta G. (1980): *Effective Approaches to Patients' Behavior*. New York, Springer.
- LIU AN (2010): *The Huainanzi. A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, John S. Major, Sarah A. Queen, Andrew Seth Meyer and Harold D. Roth (eds.), New York, Columbia University Press.
- LIU, Yan (2019): «Understanding Efficacy (yan) in Tang China». *Asian Medicine Zone*. URL: <<http://www.asianmedicinezone.com/chinese-east-asian/understanding-efficacy-yan-in-tang-china/>>.
- LIVET, Louis (1914): «Délire post-onirique de possession chez un Arabe», *L'Encéphale*, 1, pp. 32-45.
- LLEWELLYN, Evan C. (ed.) (1934): *The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- LLOYD, William J. (2020): «The West Country Adventures of Saint Augustine of Canterbury», *Folklore*, 131, 4, pp. 413-434. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2020.1721844>
- LOANE, George G. (1930): «A Thousand and Two Notes on 'A New English Dictionary'», *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 30, 1, pp. 38-199. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-968X.1930.tb00844.x>
- LÓPEZ GUTIÉRREZ, Luciano (2012): *Portentos y prodigios del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, Nowtilus.
- LUCCIONI-SAUVAGE, Carine (2015): «Le "roman" de la mélancolie aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles». *Arts et Savoirs*, 5, URL: <<https://journals.openedition.org/aes/343>>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/aes.343>
- LUSTIG PIACEZZI, Alessandro (1937): «Review of *Seuchen als Kriegsmittel in der Geschichte*, by Theophil Gros», *Giornale di Medicina Militare*, 15, 1, pp. 187-193.
- MAC AIRT, Seán and Ó FIAICH, Tomás (eds.) (1956): «A Thirteenth-Century Poem on Armagh Cathedral», *Seanchas Ard mhacha*, 2, 1, pp. 145-162. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/29740630>

- MAC EÓIN, Gearóid (1995): «Review of *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, edited by Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson», *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 48, 1, pp. 324-330.
- MACCULLOCH, John A. (1911): *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark.
- MACLEAN, Ian (2010): «Review of *Vulgariser la médecine: du style médical en France et en Italie*, edited by Andrea Carlino and Michel Jeanneret», *Medical History*, 54, 3, pp. 402-403. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300004701>
- MAGGI, Daniele (2015): «Sulla trasmigrazione delle anime in ambito indoeuropeo: paralleli irlandesi alla storia indiana di Urvaśī e Purūravas», *Rivista Italiana di Linguistica e di Dialettologia*, 7, pp. 9-32.
- MAGGI, Daniele (2016): «Perspectives sur la transmigration des âmes dans l'aire indo-européenne: L'histoire indienne d'Urvaśī et Purūravas et ses horizons comparatifs», in *La transmigration des âmes en Grèce et en Inde anciennes. Institut des sciences et des techniques de l'Antiquité (ISTA)*, Guillaume Ducoeur and Claire Muckensturm-Pouille (eds.), Besançon, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, pp. 27-43.
- MAGNANINI, Suzanne (2008): *Fairy-Tale Science: Monstrous Generation in the Takes of Straparola and Basile*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442688087>
- MAGNUS, Albertus (1955): *Opera omnia*, XII (*Questiones super De animalibus*), Ephrem Filthaut (ed.), Münster, Aschendorff.
- MAGNUS, Albertus (2008): *Questions concerning Aristotle's «On Animals»*, Irven M. Resnick and Kenneth F. Kitchell (eds.), Washington, DC, The Catholic University of America Press.
- MALDINA, Nicolò (2011): «La serpe in corpo. Per il bestiario di Giordano da Pisa», *Erebea*, 1, pp. 137-156. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33776/erebea.v1i1.1037>
- MANDIANES, Manuel (1997): «Saint Jacques, vainqueur du serpent et de la reine Louve», *Cahiers Internationaux de Symbolisme*, 86-88, pp. 373-381.
- MARCOS CASQUERO, Manuel-Antonio (2000): *Supersticiones, creencias y sortilegios en el mundo antiguo*, Madrid, Signifier Libros.
- MARTÍN FERREIRA, Ana Isabel (2010): «Del embrión al niño», in *Medicina y Filología. Estudios de léxico médico latino en la Edad Media*, Ead. (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 119-164. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.TEMA-EB.4.00393>
- MAUBRAY, John (1724): *The Female Physician...*, London, J. Holland.
- MCCLIVE, Cathy (2002): «The Hidden Truths of the Belly: The Uncertainties of Pregnancy in Early Modern Europe», *Social History of Medicine*, 15, 2, pp. 209-227. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/15.2.209>
- MCCLIVE, Cathy (2015): *Menstruation and Procreation in Early Modern France*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315594996>
- MCCLIVE, Cathy and KING, Helen (2007): «Diagnosing False Conceptions in Early Modern France», in *L'embryon humain à travers l'histoire. Images, savoirs et rites. Actes du colloque international de Fribourg, 27-29 octobre 2004*, Véronique Dasen (ed.), Paris, Infolio, pp. 223-238.
- MCCORMICK, Anne (1996): «Protected Sex: A New Look at the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*», *Romance Languages Annual*, 8, pp. 561-572.
- MCCRACKEN, Peggy (2003): *The Curse of Eve, The Wound of the Hero: Blood, Gender, and Medieval Literature*, Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812202755>

- MCGUIRE, Brian P. (2002): «Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*», in Id., *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women, and their Stories, 1100-1200*, I, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 227-282.
- MELLEMA, Elcie É. L. (ed.) (1592): *Dictionarie ou promptuaire françoys-flameng...*, Rotterdam, Waesbergue.
- MERCERON, Jacques E. (2019): «Sarcasmes, rancœur et regards croisés sur la médecine en milieu rural», *Histoire & Sociétés Rurales*, 1, 51, pp. 69-123. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3917/hsr.051.0069>
- MERIVALE, John H. (1807): «On Some Popular Superstitions, More Particularly on That Relating to Vampyres or Blood-Suckers», *The Athenæum*, 7, pp. 19-25.
- MERKE, Franz (1984 [1971]): *History and Iconography of Endemic Goitre and Cretinism*, Lancaster, MTP Press Limited.
- MEULDER, Marcel (2019-2020): «Des similitudes entre le mythe argien de Phorôneus et la Saga des Gotlandais», *Nouvelle Mythologie Comparée*, 5, pp. 5-62.
- MEURIER, Gabriel (ed.) (1562): *Vocabulaire françois-flameng mis en lumière...*, Anvers: Iean Waesberghe.
- MIKHAÏLOVA, Milena (1994): «Travestissements narratifs dans les vies de saint de la Légende dorée de Jacques de Voragine», in *Jeux de carnaval et Fastnachtspiele. Actes du colloque du Centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Picardie Jules Verne, 14 et 15 janvier 1994*, Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (eds.), Greifswald, Reineke-Verlag, pp. 77-86.
- MILLS, Kristen (2015): «An Irish Motif in *Guta saga*», *Folklore*, 126, 2, pp. 142-158. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2015.1047208>
- MINEN, Francesca (2018): «Discendenza, gravidanza e nascita nella Mesopotamia antica: i testi ostetrico-ginecologici», in *La medicina assiro-babilonese*, Frederick M. Fales (ed.), Roma, Scienze e Lettere, pp. 167-204.
- MIRELMAN, Sam (2015): «Birds, Balaḡs, and Snakes (K.4206+)», *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 67, pp. 169-186. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5615/jcunestud.67.2015.0169>
- MITARITONNA, Onofrio (1971): «Ostetricia e ginecologia salernitana», *Pagine di Storia della Medicina*, 15, 2, pp. 52-75.
- MITCHELL, Stephen (2019): «*Ormhäxan*, Dragons, Partuition [sic] and Tradition», in *Myth, Materiality, and Lived Religion in Merovingian and Viking Scandinavia*, Klas Wikström af Edholm, Andreas Nordberg, Olof Sundqvist, Peter Jackson and Torun Zachrisson (eds.), Stockholm, Stockholm University Press, pp. 115-139. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.16993/bay.f>
- MOLLE, José V. (1998): «Storie di rospi e d'avvocati lette *more daemonico* (Maistre Pathelin [Ms. La Vallière], vv. 831 e 835)», *L'immagine Riflessa*, 7, pp. 331-360.
- MOLLIER, Christine (2008): *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face. Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824861698>
- MONETTE, Connell R. (2008): *A Comparative Study of the Hero in Medieval Ireland, Persia, and England*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto.
- MONTANARI, Massimo (2000): «Immagine del contadino e codici di comportamento alimentare», in *Per Vito Fumagalli. Terra, uomini, istituzioni medievali*, Id. and Augusto Vasina (eds.), Bologna, CLUEB, pp. 199-213.

- MONTERO CARTELLE, Enrique and GONZÁLEZ MANJARRÉS, Miguel Á. (eds.) (2018): *Dictionarium Latinum andrologiae, gynecologiae et embryologiae. Ab Antiquitate usque ad XVI saeculum. Diccionario latino de andrología, ginecología y embriología desde la Antigüed*, Turnhout, Brepols.
- MONTSERRAT, Dominic (1996²): *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London, Kegan Paul.
- MORRIS, John (1895): «Harvey's Treatment. As Told by One of His Patients; a Letter from This Patient to Sir Kenelm Digby on the Formation of the Soul», *Maryland Medical Journal*, 33, 3, pp. 37-39.
- MURAT, A. L. (1819): «Mole», in *Dictionaire des sciences médicales*, XXXIV (*Mol-Musc*), Paris, Panckoucke, pp. 3-27.
- MURRAY, Daisy (2017a): «Feminine Value and Reproduction in Rowley's *The Birth of Merlin*», in *Perceptions of Pregnancy from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, Jennifer Evans and Ciara Meehan (eds.), Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 109-132. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-44168-9_6
- MURRAY, Daisy (2017b): *Twins in Early Modern English Drama and Shakespeare*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315563404>
- NAAS, Valérie (2011): «D'Aristote à Pline: les modèles d'Aldrovandi, collectionneur encyclopédique», *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 61, 166-167, pp. 259-276. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.ARIHS.5.101480>
- NAGY, Joseph F. (2014): «Death by Pillow», in *Rhetoric and Reality in Medieval Celtic Literature: Studies in Honor of Daniel F. Melia*, Georgia Henley, Paul Russell and Joseph F. Eska (eds.), Hamilton, NY, Colgate University Press, pp. 128-136.
- NAGY, Joseph F. (2015): «The 'Conquerer Worm' in Irish and Persian Literature», in *Erin and Iran*, Houchang E. Chehabi and Grace Neville (eds.), Boston – Washington, Ilex Foundation, pp. 3-13.
- NAGY, Joseph F. (2016): «Heroes and Their Snakes», *Classic@*, 14. URL: <https://chs.harvard.edu/classics14-j-f-nagy/>.
- NAGY, Joseph F. (2017): «Vermin Gone Bad in Medieval Scandinavian, Persian, and Irish Traditions», in *Old Norse Mythology – Comparative Perspectives*, Pernille Hermann, Stephen A. Mitchell, Jens P. Schjødt and Amber J. Rose (eds.), Cambridge, MA, The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Harvard University, pp. 323-340.
- NAGY, Joseph F. (2018): «The Celtic Dragon Myth Revisited», in *Celtic Myth in the 21st Century. The Gods and Their Stories in a Global Perspective*, Emily Lyle (ed.), Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 31-42.
- NARDO CIBELE, Angela (ed.) (1887): *Zoologia popolare veneta...*, Palermo, Luigi Pedone Lauriel.
- NATALE, Alberto (2008): *Gli specchi della paura. Il sensazionale e il prodigioso nella letteratura di consumo. Secoli XVII e XVIII*, Roma, Carocci.
- NATHAN, Tobie (1988): *Le sperme du Diable. Eléments d'ethnopsychothérapie*, Paris, PUF.
- NESTOROV, Marijana (2014): «A Traveler's Guide to Crocodiles in the Middle Ages», *Lucida Intervalla*, 43, pp. 137-163.
- NEWFIELD, Timothy (2012): «A Great Carolingian Panzootic: The Probable Extent, Diagnosis and Impact of an Early Ninth Century Cattle Pestilence», *Argos*, 46, pp. 200-210.

- NÍ SHÉAGHDHA, Nessa (ed.) (1967): *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne. The pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne*, Dublin, Irish Texts Society.
- NICCOLI, Ottavia (1990 [1980]): «*Menstruum Quasi Monstruum. Monstrous Births and Menstrual Taboo in the Sixteenth Century*», in *Sex & Gender in Historical Perspective*, Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-25.
- NICCOLI, Ottavia (2006): «Maternità critiche. Donne che partoriscono agli inizi dell'età moderna», *Studi Storici*, 47, 2, pp. 463-479.
- NIELSEN, Signe N. (2017): «The Significance of Monstrous Births in Thomas Bartholin's Natural Philosophy», in *Medicine, Natural Philosophy and Religion in Post-Reformation Scandinavia*, Ole P. Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), London / New York, Routledge, pp. 117-135.
- NOACH, Maggie I. and WILLIAMS, Alan (1986): *The Dictionary of Disgusting Facts*, London, Futura Publications.
- NYSTRÖM, Eva (2009): *Containing Multitudes: Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective*, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet.
- Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, Seán (1973-1974): «Nemesis Follows Wrong Acts», *Arv*, 29-30, pp. 36-49.
- Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN, Seán and CHRISTIANSEN, Reidar T. (eds.) (1963): *The Types of the Irish Folktale*, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- O'GRADY, Standish H. (ed.) (1857): *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne; or The Pursuit After Diarmuid o'Duibhne, and Grainne...*, Dublin, John O'Daly.
- O'GRADY, Standish H. (ed.) (1881): *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne. The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*, II, Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son.
- O'NEILL, Ynez V. (1974): «Michele Savonarola and the *Fera* or Blighted Twin Phenomenon», *Medical History*, 18, pp. 222-239. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002572730001958X>
- O'NEILL, Ynez V. (1975): «Giovanni Michele Savonarola: an Atypical Renaissance Practitioner», *Clio Medica*, 10, 2, pp. 77-93. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004418226_022
- OBERLI, Ursula (1982): *Talpa. Beitrag zur Deutung eines Krankheitsnamens*, Winterthur, Druckerei Winterthur AG.
- ONGARO, Giuseppe (1964-1965): «Le conoscenze elmintologiche di Alessandro di Tralle», *Acta Medicae Historiae Patavina*, 11, pp. 119-143.
- ORSANIC, Lucía (2014): «Partos monstruosos en el *Jardín de flores curiosas* de Antonio de Torquemada (Salamanca, 1570)», in *Lecturas críticas sobre el Siglo de Oro español: hacia Lope De Vega*, Marta Villarino, Graciela Fiadino and Mayra Ortiz Rodríguez (eds.), Mar Del Plata, Universidad Nacional de Mar Del Plata, pp. 351-360.
- OUDE NIJHUIS, Jan G. M. (1997): «Wat deu caesarius van Heisterbach in Oldenzel?», *Jaarboek Twente*, 36, pp. 57-69.
- OUDNEDERLANDS WOORDENBOEK (2020): *Oudnederlands Woordenboek Online*. URL: <http://gtb.inl.nl/>.
- OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY (1933): *The Oxford English Dictionary...*, X (Sole-Sz), James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, William Craigie and C. T. Onions (eds.), Oxford, Clarendon Press.

- PAGÉ, Anna (2014): *Birth Narratives in Indo-European Mythology*, PhD dissertation, University of California.
- PAGÉ, Anna (2015-2016): «Narrative Structure of the *Comperta* and Other Irish Birth Tales», *Keltische Forschungen*, 7, pp. 61-90.
- PAGÉ, Anna (2016): «“Failed Birth and Rebirth”. A Case Study in the Reconstruction of an Indo-European Myth», *Cosmos*, 32, pp. 1-20.
- PALMER, Richard (1981): «Physicians and the State in Post-Medieval Italy», in *The Town and State Physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Andrew W. Russell (ed.), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, pp. 47-62.
- PANDEY, Rajyashree (2005): «Desire and Disgust Meditations on the Impure Body in Medieval Japanese Narratives», *Monumenta Nipponica*, 60, 2, pp. 195-234. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/mni.2005.0026>
- PARÉ, Ambroise (1582): *Opera Ambrosii Parei ...*, Jacques Guillemeau (ed.), Paris, Du Puys.
- PARÉ, Ambroisé (1982): *On Monsters and Marvels*, Janis L. Pallister (ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226645612.001.0001>
- PARE, Ambroise. (1573): *Deux livres de chirurgie...*, Paris, André Wechel.
- PARONA, Corrado (1901): «Altro caso di pseudo-parassitismo di Gordio nell'uomo (Parachordodes pustulosus Baird)», *Clinica Medica Italiana*, 40, pp. 626-632.
- PASTORE STOCCHI, Manlio (1973): «La salvia avvelenata (Dec. IV, 7)», *Studi sul Boccaccio*, 7, pp. 192-196.
- PAULLINI, Christian Franz (ed.) (1686): «Breviarium rerum memorabilium ...», *Miscellanea Curiosa; sive, Ephemeridum Medico-Physicarum Germanicarum*, 4, pp. 177-216.
- PAULLINI, Christian Franz (ed.) (1765): «Zweyer Corveischen Muenche in Sachsen», *Der Römisch-Kaiserlichen Akademie der Naturforscher auserlesene medizinisch-chirurgisch-anatomisch-chymisch- und botanische Abhandlungen*, 14, pp. 313-354.
- PEARL, Frederic B. (2014): «The Water Dragon and the Snake Witch. Two Vendel Period Picture Stones from Gotland, Sweden», *Current Swedish Archaeology*, 22, pp. 137-156. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37718/CSA.2014.10>
- PEDERSEN, Niels (1695): *Cimbrorum et Gothorum origines...*, Lipsiae, Johann Melchior Lieben.
- PEEL, Christine (ed.) (1999): *Guta saga. The History of the Gotlanders*, London, Viking Society.
- PEEL, Christine (ed.) (2015): *Guta Lag and Guta Saga. The Law and History of the Gotlanders*, London / New York, Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315735863>
- PELRAS, Christian (2010), «Au pays des enfants-lézards et des crocodiles humains. La perméabilité entre monde humain et monde animal», in Id., *Explorations dans l'univers des Bugis. Un choix de trente-trois rencontres*, Paris, Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, pp. 307-314.
- PENDEREL-BRODHURST, James G. J., and LAYTON, Edwin J. (1925): *A Glossary of English Furniture of the Historic Periods*, London, John Murray.
- PEREZ-SIMON, Maud (2018): «Traduire pour contredire. *Les Monstres des hommes*», *Cahiers d'Études Hispaniques Médiévales*, 1, 41, pp. 51-67. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3917/cehm.041.0051>

- PERRIN, Yves (1992): «Le prince, le diable, le Bon Dieu et la grenouille: images médiévales de Néron», in *Maisons de Dieu et hommes d'église. Florilège en l'honneur de Pierre-Roger Gaussin*, Saint-Étienne, Université de Saint-Etienne, pp. 237-263.
- PETERNEL, Joan (2005): «The Double», in *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature: A Handbook*, Jane Garry and Hasan El-Shamy (eds.), Armonk, M. E. Sharpe, pp. 453-457.
- PETERSON, Kaara L. (2010): *Popular Medicine, Hysterical Disease, and Social Controversy in Shakespeare's England*, Farnham, Ashgate.
- PFISTER, Rodo (2016): «On the Meditative Use of the Body Maps Found in the Composite Text 'Songs of the Bodily Husk' (*Ti ke ge*)», *Curare*, 39, 1, pp. 56-74.
- PICKOVER, Clifford A. (2000): *The Girl Who Gave Birth to Rabbits. A True Medical Mystery*, New York, Prometheus Books.
- PIGORINI-BERI, Caterina (ed.) (1889): *Costumi e superstizioni dell'Appennino marchigiano*, Città di Castello, Lapi.
- PIZZA, Giovanni (1998a): «'Così siamo composte noi...' Figure della corporeità femminile in un'area appenninica della Campania», *Etnosistemi*, 5, pp. 73-93.
- PIZZA, Giovanni (1998b): «The Virgin and the Spider: Revisiting Spirit Possession in Southern Europe», in *Incontri di etnologia europea/European Ethnology Meetings*, Cristina Papa, Giovanni Pizza and Filippo M. Zerilli (eds.), Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, pp. 49-81.
- PIZZA, Giovanni (2003): «Il motivo del rospo-utero. Stregoneria, possessione e metafore del corpo femminile nelle opere dei folkloristi dall'Alsazia alle Alpi orientali», *SM. Annali di San Michele*, 16, pp. 75-84.
- PIZZA, Giovanni (2006): «Toads», in *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: the Western Tradition*, IV, Richard M. Golden (ed.), Santa Barbara, ABC-CLIO, pp. 1123-1125.
- PLANQUE, François (ed.) (1762): *Bibliothèque choisie de médecine...*, Paris, d'Houry.
- PLINY (1951): *Natural History, Volume VI: Books 20-23*, W. H. S. Jones (ed.), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- PLINY (1963): *Natural History, Volume VIII: Books 28-32*, W. H. S. Jones (ed.), Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- PLOMTEUX, Hugo (1965): «Le crapaud, magie et maléfice. À propos de quelques zoonymes italiens», *Revue de Linguistique Romane*, 29, pp. 132-140.
- PLOSS, Hermann Heinrich and BARTELS, Maximilian (1902): *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde. Anthropologische Studien*, I, Leipzig, Th. Grieben.
- POMATA, Gianna (2010): «Sharing Cases: The *Observationes* in Early Modern Medicine», *Early Science and Medicine*, 15, pp. 193-236. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338210X493932>
- PORTER, Roy (1993): «Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?», in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), London, Routledge, pp. 58-84.
- PRADA, Luigi (2015): «*Oneirocritica Aegyptiaca*. Artemidorus of Daldis, Egypt, and the Contemporary Oneirocritic Literature in Egyptian», in *Artemidor von Daldis und die antike Traumdeutung: Texte – Kontexte – Lektüren*, Gregor Weber (ed.), Berlin, de Gruyter, pp. 263-310.
- PRESTON-MATTO, Lahney (ed.) (2010): Aislinge Meic Conglinne. *The Vision of Mac Conglinne*, New York, NY, Syracuse University Press.

- PROFETA, Giuseppe (1995): *Lupari, incantatori di serpenti e santi guaritori*, L'Aquila-Roma, Japadre.
- PROSPERI, Laura (2015): *Nascere sotto il cavolo. Dietetica e procreazione in antico regime*, Milano, Franco Angeli.
- PSEUDO-BARTHOLOMAEUS MINI DE SENIS (2009): *Tractatus de herbis (Ms London, British Library, Egerton 747)*, Iolanda Ventura (ed.), Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- PU SONGLING, (2008): *Strange Tales from Liaozhai*, II, Sidney L. Sondergard (ed.), Fremont, CA, Jain Publishing Company.
- RASPAIL, François-Vincent (1844 [1843]): «On the Physiology of Health and Disease. As Applied to Vegetables and Animals, but More Especially to Man», *The Medical Times*, 13 January, pp. 210-212.
- RAUCH, Albrecht N. (1995): *Krankheitsnamen im Deutschen. Eine dialektologische und etymologische Untersuchung der Bezeichnungen für Diphtherie, Febris scarlatina, Morbilli, Parotitis epidemica und Varicellae*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner.
- RAY, Ujjayini (1999): 'Idealizing Motherhood'. *The Brahmanical Discourse on Women in Ancient India (circa 500 BCE-300 CE)*, PhD dissertation, SOAS University of London.
- READ, Sara (2013): *Menstruation and the Female Body in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137355034>
- RECIO MUÑOZ, Victoria (2011): «*Passiones mulierum*: mujer y enfermedad en la Escuela Médica de Salerno», in *Trabajo, creación y mentalidades de las mujeres a través de la historia. Una visión interdisciplinar*, Cristina de la Rosa Cubo, María J. Dueñas Cepeda, María I. del Val Valdivieso and Magdalena Santo Tomás Pérez (eds.), Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, pp. 27-143,
- RECIO MUÑOZ, Victoria (ed.) (2016): *La Practica de Plateario*, Firenze, SISMEL / Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- RECIO MUÑOZ, Victoria and MARTÍN FERREIRA, Ana I. (2019): «La transmisión de los “Secretos de mujeres”: de Salerno al siglo XIV», *Ágora*, 21, pp. 199-222.
- REES, Alwyn and REES, Brinley (1961): *Celtic Heritage. Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales*, New York, Thames & Hudson.
- REINACH, Salomon (1905): «Le serpent et la femme», *L'Anthropologie*, 16, 1, pp. 178-180.
- RESNICK, Irven M. (2000): «Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses», *Harvard Theological Review*, 93, 3, pp. 241-263. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0017816000025323>
- RHODES, Dennis E. (1979): «Nicolaus Falcutius and Nicolaus Nicoli», *The British Library Journal*, 5, 2, pp. 198-200.
- RHYS, John (1888): *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, London, Williams & Norgate.
- RICCI, James V. (1943): *The Genealogy of Gynaecology. History of the Development of Gynaecology throughout the Ages, 2000 B.C.-1800 A.D.*, Philadelphia, Blakiston.
- RICHTER, Hani (2015): *A Woman in Somalia Supposedly Gave Birth to a Live Snake*. URL: < <https://www.vice.com/sv/article/5gkvnz/woman-gives-birth-to-snake-203>>.
- RILEY, Edward C. (1962): *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel*, Newark, Juan de la Cuesta.

- RITSON, Joseph (ed.) (1829²): *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution*, I, London, Payne and Foss.
- ROCHBERG, Francesca (2016): *Before Nature: Cuneiform Knowledge and the History of Science*, Chicago / London, University of Chicago Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226406275.001.0001>
- RODNITE LEMAY, Helen (1985): «Anthonius Guainerius and Medieval Gynecology», in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honour of John H. Mundy*, Julius Kirshner and Suzanne Wemple (eds.), Oxford, B. Blackwell, pp. 317-336.
- RODNITE LEMAY, Helen (ed.) (1992): *Women's Secrets. A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De Secretis Mulierum with Commentaries*, Albany, State University of New York Press.
- RÓHEIM, Géza (1940): «The Dragon and the Hero (Part Two)», *American Imago*, 1, 3, pp. 61-94.
- RÓHEIM, Géza (1950): *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology: Culture, Personality and the Unconscious*, New York, International Universities Press.
- ROLING, Bernd (2010): *Drachen und Sirenen. Die Rationalisierung und Abwicklung der Mythologie an den europäischen Universitäten*, Leiden: Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004185203.i-818>
- RÖLLEKE, Heinz (2020): «'The Boy and the Snake'. Eine schottische Parallele zu Grimms Märchen von der Unke», *Fabula*, 61, 1-2, pp. 9-25. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/fabula-2020-0002>
- ROLLINS, Hyder E. (ed.) (1927): *The Pack of Autolycus or Strange and Terrible News...*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- ROMANI, Silvia (2004): *Nascite speciali: usi e abusi del modello biologico del parto e della gravidanza nel mondo antico*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso.
- RONZITTI, Rosa (2011): *Quattro etimologie indoeuropee: lat. būfō, it. gufo, ingl. smog e drug*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.
- ROSSETTI, W. M. (1868): «Toads and Lizards Born of Women», *Notes and Queries*, 33, 15 August, pp. 152-153.
- ROSSI, Diego (ed.) (2010): *Guta saga. La saga dei Gotlandesi*, Milano, Ariele.
- ROTH, Harold D. (2021): *The Contemplative Foundations of Classical Daoism*, Albany, State University of New York Press.
- ROULIN, Désiré F. (1835): «Les pluies de crapauds», *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 4, pp. 159-209.
- ROUSSELLE, Robert (1998): «Women's Dreams in Ancient Greece», *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 26, pp. 586-602.
- ROUSSET, François (1591): *Foetus vivi ex matre vna sine alterutrius vite periculo Caesura...*, Basileae, Conr. Waldkirch.
- ROUX, Olivier (2008): *Monstres. Un histoire générale de la tératologie des origines à nos jours*, Paris, CNRS Éditions. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editions-cnrs.6297>
- RUDOLPH, Ebermut (1976-1977): «Rematerialisation oder Psychogenese? Eine Anfrage an die Paraphysik zum Problem der 'verschluckten' oder 'eingehexten' Tiere», *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, pp. 190-217.
- RUDOLPH, Ebermut (1986): «Märchenhafte Motive in Erlebnisberichten aus einem schamanistisch geprägten Kulturbereich. Feldforschung auf den Philippinen», in *Schamanentum und Zaubermärchen*, Heino Gehrts and Gabriele Lademann-Priemer (eds.), Kassel, Eric Röth-Verlag, pp. 136-146.

- RUDOLPH, Ebermut (1988a): «The Snake-Twins of the Philippines: Observations on the Alter-Ego Complex», *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 16, 1, pp. 45-77.
- RUDOLPH, Ebermut (1988b): «The Snake-Twins of the Philippines: Observations on the Alter-Ego Complex. Second and Last Installment [sic]», *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 16, 3-4, pp. 250-280.
- RUF, Jacob. (1637): *The Expert Midwife...*, London, E. G[riffin] for S. B[urton].
- RUFINUS (1945): *The Herbal of Rufinus*, Lynn Thorndike (ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- RULU (ed.) (2012): *Bodhisattva Precepts*, Bloomington, Author House.
- RUYSCH, Frederik (1751): *The celebrated Dr. Frederic Ruysch's Practical Observations in Surgery and Midwifery...*, London, T. Osborne.
- RYCKEBOER, Hugo (2004): *Frans-Vlaams*, Tielt, Lannoo.
- SACHS, Philipp Jakob (1671): «Scholion. Mola volatilis», *Miscellanea Curiosa; sive, Ephemeridum Medico-Physicarum Germanicarum*, pp. 257-259.
- SALGUERO, Pierce C. (2018): «'This Fathom-Long Body'. Bodily Materiality and Ascetic Ideology in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Scriptures», *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 92, 2, pp. 237-260. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.2018.0026>
- SALMUTH, Philippus (1648): *Observationum medicarum centuriae tres posthumae...*, Brunsvigae, Gotfridi Mülleri.
- SANBORN, Vic (2009): *Ways to Keep Warm in the Regency Era, Part 2*. URL: <https://janeaustrworld.com/2009/02/03/ways-to-keep-warm-n-the-regency-era-part-2/>.
- SANGA, Glauco (2005): «The Wolf and the Fox: Which is the 'Real' Name of the Animals? With a Theory on Totemism», in *Animal names*, Alessandro Minelli, Gherardo Ortalli and Glauco Sanga (eds.), Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, pp. 307-318.
- SAVONAROLA, Michele (1559): *Practica maior*, Venetiis, Iuntas.
- SAVONAROLA, Michele (1952): *Il trattato ginecologico-pediatrico in volgare*, Luigi Belloni (ed.), Milano, Società Italiana di Ostetricia e Ginecologia.
- SAVONAROLA, Michele (2021): *Mother's Manual for the Women of Ferrara. A Fifteenth-Century Guide to Pregnancy and Pediatrics*, Gabriella Zuccolin (ed.), Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.
- SAVY, Pierre (2012): «Les attributs chimériques de peuples réels: queue des Anglais et queue des Juifs au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne», *Micrologus*, 20, pp. 239-256.
- SCANLAN, James (1996): «Zoology and Physiology», in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Frank A. C. Mantello and Arthur G. Rigg (eds.), Washington, Catholic University of America Press, pp. 395-400.
- SCANLON, Paul A. and ROSCOE, Adrian (eds.) (2017): *The Common Touch. Popular Literature from 1660 to the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, II, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- SCHACHENMAYR, Alkuin V. (2013): «Chrysostomus Hanthalers Lilienfelder Fälschungen als hermeneutische Grenzgänge», *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 124, pp. 261-287.
- SCHEID, Volker (2007): *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine: 1626-2006*, Seattle, Eastland Press.

- SCHENCK VON GRAFENBERG, Johannes (1596): *Observationes medicae, raras, novae, admirabiles, et monstrosae, liber quartus...*, Friburgi, Officina Martini Beckleri.
- SCHLAUCH, Margaret (1950): «On Conall Corc and the Relations of Old Ireland with the Orient», *Journal of Celtic Studies*, 1 (1950), 152-166.
- SCHMIDT, Paul G. (1968): «*De rebus obscuris*. Eine allegorische Dichtung um 1200», *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 5, pp. 181-198.
- SCHOEPFERLE, Gertrude (1913): *Tristan and Isolt. A Study of the Sources of the Romance*, II, London, David Nutt.
- SCHRADER, Catharina (1987 [1984]): «*Mother and Child Were Saved*»: the Memoirs (1693-1740) of the Frisian Midwife Catharina Schrader, Hilary Marland (ed.), Amsterdam, Rodopi.
- SCHURIG, Martin (1732): *Embryologia historico-medica...*, Dresden / Leipzig, Hekel.
- SECUNDA, Shai (2020): *The Talmud's Red Fence. Menstrual Impurity and Difference in Babylonian Judaism and its Sasanian Context*, Oxford, Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198856825.001.0001>
- SELF-SATISFIED (1794): «Ourselves», *Sporting Magazine or Monthly Calendar ...*, December, pp. 135-136.
- SENNERT, Daniel (1651): *Opera omnia in tres tomos distincta...*, Venezia, Iuntas et Hertz.
- SERVILIUS, Joannes (ed.) (1546): *Dictionarium triclotton* [sic]...., Antwerpen, Hillenius.
- SHAIL, Andrew and HOWIE, Gillian (eds.) (2005): *Menstruation: A Cultural History*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.
- SHARP, Jane (1999): *The Midwives Book: or the Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered*, Elaine Hobby (ed.), Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- SHATZMILLER, Joseph (1994): *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- SHAW, John (2006): «Indo-European Dragon-Slayers and Healers, and the Irish Account of Dian Cécht and Méiche», *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 34, pp. 153-181.
- SHEIK, S., et al. (2015): «Twin Pregnancy with a Complete Hydatidiform Mole and a Coexisting Live Fetus. Rare entity», *Sultan Qaboos University Medical Journal*, 15, 4, URL: <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4664104/>>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18295/squmj.2015.15.04.019>
- SHETTY, Jyothi B., KULKARNI, Dhanashri V. and PRABHU, VI (2012): «Eggs Containing Larvae of *Enterobius vermicularis* in Vaginal Smear», *Journal of Cytology*, 29, 1, pp. 94-96. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4103/0970-9371.93238>
- SHIMODA, Masahiro (2009): «The State of Research on *Mahāyāna* Buddhism: the *Mahāyāna* as Seen in the Development in the Study of *Mahāyāna Sūtras*», *Acta Asiatica*, 96, pp. 1-23.
- SIGURÐSSON, Jón Viðar and BOLTON, Timothy (eds.) (2013): *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800-1200*, Leiden, Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004255128>
- SIMMONS, William S. (1986): *Spirit of the New England Tribes. Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984*, Hanove, NH, University Press of New England.
- SŁUPSKI, Zbigniew (1999): «Glosses on the Reading of the Long-Motif texts in Pu Songling's *Liaozhai zhiyi*», *Archív Orientální*, 67, 2, pp. 249-256.
- SMIRNOVA, Victoria (2010): «'And Nothing Will be Wasted'. Actualization of the Past in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*», in *The Making of*

- Memory in the Middle Ages*, Lucie Doležalová (ed.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 253-265. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004179257.i-500.55>
- SPATARO, Stefano (2014): «‘Solo, ma come costante di molti’. Le ricerche di Antonio Vallisneri sul verme solitario e la disputa con Nicolas Andry», in *Nel nome di Lazzaro. Saggi di storia della scienza e delle istituzioni scientifiche tra il XVII e il XVIII secolo*, Bologna, Edizioni Pendragon, pp. 259-281.
- SPATARO, Stefano (2018): «Il corpo umano come luogo ‘ordinario’ dei vermi intestinali: storia e fortuna delle teorie parassitologiche di Antonio Vallisneri», in *Oeconomia corporis. The Body’s Normal and Pathological Constitution at the Intersection of Philosophy and Medicine*, Chiara Beneduce and Denise Vincenti (eds.), Pisa, ETS, pp. 81-89.
- SPINKS, Jennifer (2009): *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, London, Pickering and Chatto.
- STALPART VAN DER WIEL, Cornelius (1682): *Hondert seldzame aanmerkingen...*, I, Amsterdam, Johan ten Hoorn.
- STALPART VAN DER WIEL, Cornelius (1687): *Observationum rariorum medicorum anatomicorum chirurgicarum...*, I, Leiden, Petrum vander Aa.
- STALPART VAN DER WIEL, Cornelius (1758): *Observations rares de médecine...*, I, Paris, L.-C. d’Houry.
- STEINERT, Ulrike (2017): «Concepts of the Female Body in Mesopotamian Gynecological Texts», in *The Comparable Body. Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman Medicine*, John Z. Wee (ed.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 275-357. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004356771_011
- STEPHENS, Frederic G. and GEORGE, Dorothy M. (eds.) (1873): *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Division I. Political and Personal Satires (No. 1236 to No. 2015)*, II (*June 1689 to 1733*), London, Trustees of the British Museum.
- STERCKX, Claude (2010): *Mythes et dieux celtes. Essais et études*, Paris, L’Harmattan.
- STORCH, Johann (1749): *Von Weiber-Kranckheiten*, IV, 1 (*Darinnen vornemlich solche Casus, Welche Molas oder Mutter-Gewächse und falsche Früchte betreffen ...*), Gotha, Mevius.
- STRAPAROLA, Giovan Francesco (2012): *The Pleasant Nights*, I, Donald Beecher (ed.), Toronto / Buffalo / London, University of Toronto Press.
- STRAPAROLA, Giovan Francesco (2015): *The Pleasant Nights*, Suzanne Magnanini (ed.), Toronto, Iter Academic Press.
- STRAPAROLA, Giovanni Francesco (2000): *Le piacevoli notti*, Donato Pirovano (ed.), Roma, Salerno Editrice.
- STRUCK, Peter T. (2014): «Animals and Divination», in *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*, Gordon L. Campbell (ed.), Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 310-323. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589425.013.019>
- SUMMERS, Clara (2016): *Buaya Kembar*. URL: <https://indonesiaful.com/2016/04/26/buaya-kembar/>.
- SZÖNYI, György E. (2017): «Political Iconography and the Emblematic Way of Seeing», in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, Colum Hourihane (ed.), London, Routledge, pp. 295-309. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315298375-26>

- TARUFFI, Cesare (1881): *Storia della teratologia*, I, 1, Bologna, Regia Tipografia.
- TARUFFI, Cesare (1889): *Storia della teratologia*, I, 5, Bologna, Regia Tipografia.
- TAUSSIG, Fred J. (1907): «The History of Mole Pregnancy», *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, 5, 4, pp. 250-259.
- TERPSTRA, Nicholas (2010): *Lost Girls: Sex and Death in Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore, JHU Press.
- THANKAPPAN NAIR, Parameswaran (1987): *A History of Calcutta's Streets*, Calcutta, Firma KLM.
- THIERRY, Eric (2017): «Jean Bodin et la sorcière de Ribemont», *Mémoires. Fédération des Sociétés d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Aisne*, 62, pp. 13-29.
- THILENIUS, Georg (1905): «Kröte und Gebärmutter», *Globus*, 87, pp. 105-110.
- THOMPSON, Stith (ed.) (1955-1958): *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-books, and Local Legends*, VI voll., Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press.
- THOMSON, Rodney M. (1980): «Some Collections of Latin Verse from St. Albans Abbey and the Provenance of MSS Rawl. C. 562, 568-9», *The Bodleian Library Record*, 10, pp. 151-161.
- TODD, Dennis (1995): *Imagining Monsters. Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century*, Chicago / London, University of Chicago Press.
- TOLDO, Pietro (1907): «Dall'Alphabetum narrationum [II]», *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 61, 118, pp. 69-81, 329-351.
- TOPSELL, Edward (1608): *The Historie of Serpents; or the Second Booke of Living Creatures...*, London, William Jaggard.
- TOPSENT, Émile (1900): «Sur un cas de pseudoparasitisme chez l'homme de *Gordius violaceus* Baird», *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Naturelles de l'Ouest*, 9, pp. 86-91.
- TORQUEMADA, Antonio (1600): *The Spanish Mandeuile of Miracles...*, London, I[ames] R[oberts] for Edmund Matts.
- TRABALZA, Raffaella M. (1978): «La malattia: un valore sostitutivo. Una conferma dalla *Medicina delle nostre donne*», in Zeno Zanetti, *La medicina delle nostre donne*, Foligno, Ediclio, pp. 37-97.
- TRIPLETT, Katja (2014): «For Mothers and Sisters: Care of the Reproductive Female Body in the Medico-Ritual World of Early and Medieval Japan», *Dynamis*, 34, 2, pp. 337-356. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4321/S0211-95362014000200004>
- TRIPLETT, Katja (2019): *Buddhism and Medicine in Japan. A Topical Survey (500-1600 CE) of a Complex Relationship*, Berlin / Boston, de Gruyter. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110576214>
- TUBACH, Frederic C. (ed.) (1969): *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
- TURAZZA, Guido (1888): «I pregiudizi in medicina», *La Riforma Medica*, 1 (2 January), pp. 161-162.
- TWODAY (2015): *Sooterkin*. URL: <https://forums.somethingawful.com/showthread.php?threadid=3749916&pagenumber=3>.
- TYMOCZKO, Maria (1990): «The Semantic Fields of Early Irish Terms for Black Birds and Their Implications for Species Taxonomy», in *Celtic Language, Celtic*

- Culture: a Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, Ann T. E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (eds.), Van Nuys, CA, Ford & Bailie, pp. 151-171.
- UGLOW, Jennifer (1997): *William Hogarth: A Life and a World*, London, Faber and Faber.
- UNSCHULD, Paul U. (ed.) (2016²): Nan Jing. *The Classic of Difficult Issues. With Commentaries by Chinese and Japanese Authors from the Third through the Twentieth Century*, Oakland, CA, University of California Press.
- UTHER, Hans-Jörg (ed.) (2004): – see Abbreviations.
- VALDEPEÑA BOLATA, Emmanuel J. (2021): *Ang Lunas ng Taong Labas sa Kontemporaryong Panahon: Ang Tawak at Tandok ng Marinduque*. URL: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348977544_Ang_Lunas_ng-Taong_Labas_sa_Kontemporaryong_Panahon_Ang_Tawak_at_Tandok_ng_Marinduque>.
- VALLISNERI, Antonio (1710): *Considerazioni, ed esperienze intorno alla generazione de' vermi ordinari del corpo umano...*, Padova, Giovanni Manfrè.
- VAN BOETZELAER, Johan M. (ed.) (1971): *Sureśvara's Taittirīyopanisad-bhāsyavārtikam*, Leiden, Brill.
- VAN DE WALLE, Etienne (1997): «Flowers and Fruits: Two Thousand Years of Menstrual Regulation», *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 28, 2, pp. 183-203. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/206401>
- VAN DEN ABEELE, Baudouin (2008): «Diffusion et avatars d'une encyclopédie: Le *Liber de natura rerum* de Thomas de Cantimpré», in *Une lumière venue d'ailleurs: héritages et ouvertures dans les encyclopédies d'Orient et d'Occident du Moyen Age. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 19-21 mai 2005*, Godefroy de Callatay and Baudouin van den Abeele (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 141-176. DOI : <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.REM-EB.3.2746>
- VAN DER LUGT, Maaïke (2004): *Le ver, le démon et la vierge. Les théories médiévales de la génération extraordinaire. Une étude sur les rapports entre théologie, philosophie naturelle et médecine*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres.
- VAN DER MEIJ, Gerrit H. and TREUB, Hector (1900²): *Leerboek der Verloskunde*, Haarlem, De Erven F. Bohn.
- VAN LAMZWEERDE, Jan Baptist (1686): *Historia naturalis molarum uteri...*, Lugduni Batavorum, Petrum Vander Aa.
- VAN LIEBURG, M. J. (1987 [1984]): «Catharina Schrader (1656-1746) and Her Notebook», in Catharina Schrader, «*Mother and Child Were Saved*»: *the Memoirs (1693-1740) of the Frisian Midwife Catharina Schrader*, Hilary Marland (ed.), Amsterdam, Rodopi, pp. 6-22.
- VAN MOOLENBROEK, Jaap J. (1999): *Mirakels historisch. De exempels van Caesarius van Heisterbach over Nederland en Nederlanders*, Hilversum, Uitgeverij Verloren.
- VAN STRIEN, Cornelis D. (1993): *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period*, Leiden, Brill. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004246942>
- VANDERBILT, Gertrude L. (1909): *The Social History of Flatbush and Manners and Customs of the Dutch Settlers in Kings Country*, Brooklyn, Frederick Loeser. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/199211>
- VEMSANI, Levanya (2012): «Worms and the Corporal Body in India: An Examination of Hindy Literary Traditions», in *Parasites, Worms, and the Human Body in*

- Religion and Culture*, Brenda Gardenour and Misha Tadd (eds.), New York, Peter Lang, pp. 17-41.
- VENETTE, Nicolas (1687): *Tableau de l'amour considéré dans l'estat du mariage...*, Amsterdam, J. et G. Jansson.
- VERYARD, Ellis (1701): *An Account of Divers Choice Remarks [...]*, London, S. Smith and B. Walford.
- VIMERCATI, Antonella, et al. (2013): «Two Cases of Complete Hydatidiform Mole and Coexistent Live Fetus», *Journal of Prenatal Medicine*, 7, 1, pp. 1-4. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11138/jpm/2013.7.1.001>
- VIVES, Juan Luis (1959): *De anima et vita*, Mario Sancipriano (ed.), Torino, Bottega d'Erasmus.
- Von Oefele, Felix A. (1902): «Studien zur mittelniederdeutschen Parasitologie», *Archives de Parasitologie*, 5, 1, pp. 68-94.
- WAGNER, Darren N. (2009): *Windows to the Womb: Visualization, Metaphor and Reproduction in the Early Eighteenth Century and Today*, MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan.
- WALKER-MEIKLE, Kathleen (2012): *Medieval Pets*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press.
- WALLERICH, François (2017): «L'eucharistie, l'apostat et le crapaud. Sur un *exemplum* de Césaire de Heisterbach», *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, 21, 2, URL: < <https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14731>>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cem.14731>
- WALLNIG, Thomas and STOCKINGER, Thomas (eds.) (2010): *Die gelehrte Korrespondenz der Brüder Pez. Text, Regesten, Kommentare. 1709-1715*, I, Wien, Böhlau. DOI: https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_445402
- WANLEY, Nathaniel (1678): *The Wonders of the Little World: Or, a General History of Man ...*, London, T. Basset.
- WARDLE, Robert A., MCLEOD, James A., and RADINOVSKY, Sydney (1975): *Advances in the Zoology of Tapeworms, 1950-1970*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- WAUGH, Butler (1959): *The Child and the Snake: Aarne-Thompson 285, 672C, and Related Forms in Europe and America: A Comparative Folktale Study*, PhD dissertation, University of Indiana.
- WAUTERS, Wendy (2018): «Extracting the Stone of Madness in Perspective. The Cultural and Historical Development of an Enigmatic Visual Motif from Hieronymus Bosch: A Critical *status quaestionis*». *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 2015-2016, pp. 9-36.
- WEEKLEY, Ernest (ed.) (1967): *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, II (L-Z), New York, Dover Publications.
- WEIGHTMAN, Frances (2008): *The Quest for the Childlike in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Fiction: Fantasy, Naivety, and Folly*, Lewiston, NY, Edwin Mellen.
- WEIJNEN, Antonius A. and FICQ-WEIJNEN, Mira A. P. G. A. (1995): *Ziektenamen in de Nederlandse dialecten*, Den Haag, Sdu.
- WEINRYB, Ittai (2016): «Procreative Giving: Votive Wombs and the Study of *Ex Votos*», In *Ex Voto. Votive Images Across Cultures*, Id. (ed.), New York, Bard Graduate Center, pp. 276-298. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12fw8bd.15>
- WELSFORD, Enid (1920): «Serpent Worship (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic)», in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, XI, James Hastings (ed.), New York, T. & T. Clark, pp. 419-423.

- WESTERMANN, Mariët (ed.) (2001): *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, Zwolle, Waanders Publishers.
- WEYER, Johann (1563): *De praestigiis daemonum...*, Basel, Oporinus.
- WEYER, Johann (1991): *Witches, Devils, and Doctors in the Renaissance*, George Mora, Benjamin Kohl and John Shea (eds.), Binghamton, NY, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies.
- WICKERSHEIMER, Ernest (1906): *La médecine et les médecins en France à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, A. Maloine.
- WILBY, Emma (2019): *Invoking the Akelarre. Voices of the Accused in the Basque Witch-Craze, 1609-1614*, Sussex, Sussex Academic Press.
- WILKE, Georg (1913): *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europa*, Würzburg, C. Kabitzsch.
- WILLIAMS, Gordon (ed.) (1994): *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, I (A-F), London / Atlantic Highlands, NJ, The Atholone Press.
- WILLIAMS, Mark (2016): *Ireland's Immortals. A History of the Gods of Irish Myth*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvc775gk>
- WILLIAMS, Nicholas J. A. (ed.) (1980): *The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe*, Dublin, Irish Texts Society.
- WILSON, Anika (2013): *Folklore, Gender, and AIDS in Malawi. No Secret Under the Sun*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137322456>
- WITTMANN, Anneliese (1967): *Cosmas und Damian. Kulturausbreitung und Volksdevotion*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- WOLFFHART, Conrad (1557): *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon...*, Basel, Henricum Petri.
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2015): «Exchanges Between Medical and Literary Discourses in the French Renaissance. Comparing the Fascination with “des amas et pieces de chair informes” in Montaigne’s *Essais* and Joubert’s *Erreurs populaires*», *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 52, 3, pp. 290-305. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3828/ajfs.2015.24>
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2017a): «Birthing Tales and Collective Memory in Recent French Fiction», in *Motherhood in Literature and Culture. Interdisciplinary Perspectives from Europe*, Gill Rye, Victoria Browne, Adalgisa Giorgio, Emily Jeremiah and Abigail L. Six (eds.), London / New York, Routledge, pp. 58-69. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315626581-5>
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2017b): «Qui assistait à un accouchement en France entre 1530 et 1630?», in *Enfanter dans la France d’Ancien Régime*, Adeline Gargam, Nathalie Grande, Marie-Élisabeth Montulet-Henneau and Laetitia Dion (eds.), Arras, Artois Presses Université, pp. 33-50. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.apu.10906>
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2019a): *Birthing Tales. Laurent Joubert. The Chancellor of the Faculty of Medicine at Montpellier Gives his Opinion on Popular Errors about Conception, Pregnancy and Childbirth (1578)*, URL: <http://www.birthingtales.org/text.php?id=10>.
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2019b): *Birthing Tales. Topics: Moles*, URL: <http://www.birthingtales.org/topics.php?topic=2&subtopic=12>.

- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2019c): *Birth Tales. Levin Lemne. Three Strange Stories Translated from the Works of a Dutch Physician (1566)*, URL: <<http://www.birthtales.org/text.php?id=12>>.
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (2019d): *Birth Tales. Jean Liebault. The Author of Several Medical Compilations Records a Number of Remarkable Births (1582)*, URL: <<http://birthtales.org/text.php?id=13>>.
- WORTH-STYLIANOU, Valérie (ed.) (2013): *Pregnancy and Childbirth in Early Modern France. Treatises by Caring Physicians and Surgeons (1581-1625)*, Toronto, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies.
- WU, Yi-Li (2019): «Reproduction», in *The Making of the Human Sciences in China: Historical and Conceptual Foundations*, Howard Chiang (ed.), Leiden, Brill, pp. 101-123. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004397620_007
- WU, Yi-Li. (2002): «Ghost Fetuses, False Pregnancies, and the Parameters of Medical Uncertainty in Classical Chinese Gynecology», *Nan Nü*, 4, 2, pp. 170-206. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685260260460810>
- WU, Yi-Li. (2010): *Reproducing Women: Medicine, Metaphor, and Childbirth in Late Imperial China*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520947610>
- YUK, Wong (1993): «The Philosophy and Religion of Sung Mou-ch'eng, a Late Ming Poet-Essayist», *Chinese Culture*, 34, 3, pp. 93-98.
- ZACUTH, Abraham (1634): *De praxi medica ad miranda...*, Amsterdam, Cornelii Breugeli.
- ZALUAR, Alba (1980): «Milagre e Castigo Divino», *Religião e Sociedade*, 5, pp. 161-189.
- ZAMBELLI, Paola (1983): «Topi o "topoi"?», in *Cultura popolare e cultura dotta nel Seicento. Atti del Convegno di studio di Genova (23-25 novembre 1982)*, Paolo Rossi, Lucilla Borselli, Chiaretta Poli and Giancarlo Carabelli (eds.), Milano, Franco Angeli, pp. 137-143.
- ZANCA, Attilio (1986): «Collezioni di mostri: Ulisse Aldrovandi», *Kos*, 3, 21, pp. 23-46.
- ZANETTI, Zeno (1892): *La medicina delle nostre donne, studio del dottor Zeno Zanetti, con una lettera del senatore Paolo Mantegazza*, Città di Castello, S. Lapi.
- ZAPPERI, Roberto (1983 [1979]): *L'homme enceint. L'homme, la femme et le pouvoir*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- ZEITLIN, Judith T. (2007): *The Phantom Heroine. Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Literature*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824864934>
- ZHANG, Zhibin and UNSCHULD, Paul U. (eds.) (2015): *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu. I (Chinese Historical Illness Terminology)*, Oakland, CA, University of California Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520959651>
- ZORNETTA, Giulia (2020): *Italia meridionale longobarda. Competizione, conflitto e potere politico a Benevento (secoli VIII-IX)*, Roma, Viella.
- ZUCCOLIN, Gabriella (2011): «Nascere in latino e in volgare. Tra la *Practica maior* e il *De regimine pregnantium*», in *Michele Savonarola. Medicina e cultura di corte*, Ead. and Chiara Crisciani (eds.), Firenze, SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 137-209
- ZUCCOLIN, Gabriella (2017): «*E cussì se fanno homicidiale di proprii fioli: i parti gemellari tra teorie mediche e implicazioni morali dall'antichità al tardo Medioevo*», in *Nascere. Il parto dalla tarda antichità all'età moderna*,

- Alessandra Foscati, Costanza G. Dopfel and Antonella Parmeggiani (eds.), Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 77-94.
- ZUCCOLIN, Gabriella (2018): «Ancient and Medieval Twins. Medical Theory and Moral Implications», in *Pregnancy and Childbirth. History, Medicine and Anthropology*, Costanza G. Dopfel (ed.), Longmont, Steuben Press, pp. 122-130.
- ZUCCOLIN, Gabriella (2019): *I gemelli nel medioevo. Questioni filosofiche, mediche e teologiche*, Pavia, Ibis.
- ZYSK, Kenneth G. (1996²): *Medicine in the Veda. Religious Healing in the Veda*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.



