

Advanced Subject Part II - Paper 13 [2022-23]

Title of Course:

Man, Nature and the Supernatural c.1000 to c.1600

Name / Email of Convenor:

Prof. C.S. Watkins <csw14@cam.ac.uk>

Dr J. Munns <jmm89@cam.ac.uk>

Course Description:

'Man, Nature and the Supernatural' is a specified subject that traces how men and women made sense of the visible and invisible world from c.1000 to c.1600. Taking account of both 'learned' and 'unlearned' perspectives, the paper responds to recent research that has been concerned with ideas of the natural and supernatural, relationships between material and immaterial worlds, and the means by which medieval men and women acquired and organized knowledge about these things. A range of themes, each of which has generated substantial historiographies, provides a scaffold for the paper. Thus the paper will examine the chain of being and how human beings fitted into a cosmos populated also by animals, angels, demons and ambiguous beings. It will be concerned with the boundaries of 'the human' and what might constitute 'ordinary' experience, and how these were conceptualized and negotiated by medieval writers and artists. It will also consider how time was understood, in terms of time stretching in linear fashion from the creation of the world to its end, and in terms of the rhythms of ordinary life, liturgical and calendrical time and 'agricultural' time, marked by the seasons and the labours of the months. It will be concerned too with both the geography and topography of this world and that of the next – heaven, hell and purgatory – and discourses about 'parallel' worlds such as the fairy realm, as portrayed in chronicles and romance literature. The paper will concentrate on the British Isles, but there will be comparative reflections too, reaching out beyond Britain, and engagement with religious and intellectual dynamics of significance throughout the Christian West.

Issues spanning the paper's themes include the relationships between the bible, reason and experience in forming medieval interpretations, and the implications of 'new' knowledge – the New Platonisms and Aristotelian thought of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the 'new humanism' of the fifteenth century— for established understandings of the visible and invisible worlds. The themes of the paper also intersect with a series of ecclesiastical transformations. The central and later middle ages witnessed a dramatic centralization of the church's power which had major implications for conceptions of the holy, sainthood, sacraments, extraordinary 'spiritual' experiences (such as miracles, dreams, visions and prophecies) and the afterlife as these were subjected to closer definition. Intellectual activity also had consequences for magic as some forms were anathematized while others were partially rehabilitated as 'natural'. Utilitarian and ideological uses to which knowledge was put will be avenues of inquiry too, and there will be a place in studying the paper for exploration of 'practical rationalities', represented by

treatises dealing with subjects such as the properties of natural things, medicine, astrology, weather lore, agricultural management and animal husbandry. The paper ends beyond the limits of the middle ages, allowing a consideration of those changes in religion and geographical knowledge traditionally thought to mark the beginning of the end of the medieval understandings of the visible and invisible worlds. Here questions arise about how far existing medieval belief structures were, initially at least, able to adapt and absorb this new knowledge prior to their fuller transformation by it, and about when, and if, forces giving rise to the world's 'disenchantment' become perceptible.

Mode of Teaching:

The paper will be taught by way of sixteen lectures in Michaelmas term. These will be followed in Lent by a series of eight classes that will permit closer engagement with primary sources, a significant fraction of which will be visual sources. Some classes will take place in Cambridge museums and libraries to permit examination of artefacts and manuscripts and there will also be one or more optional local field trips to examine ecclesiastical sites. Each student will receive six one-hour supervisions, each lecture topic being a possible supervision essay. Students will be supervised by a team of supervisors currently including Professor Watkins, Dr Munns, Dr Laure Miolo and doctoral students.

Maximum number of students:

20 students.

Reading and Additional Resources:

Images

C. Bynum, *Christian Materiality* (2011).

M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (1992).

A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe, ed. C. Rudolph (2009)

J.F. Hamburger and A.-M. Bouche, *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (2005)

J. Hartnell, *Medieval Bodies: Life, Death and Art in the Middle Ages* (2018)

H. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (2004) or *Experiencing Medieval Art* (revised and expanded version; 2019)

Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams and Insights in Medieval Art and History, ed. C. Hourihane (2011)

The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography, ed. C. Hourihane (2016)

V. Sekules, *Medieval Art* (2001)

B. Williamson, 'Material Culture and Medieval Christianity', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. Arnold (2017)

Frameworks

- J. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (2005).
- M. Barber, *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050-1320*, second edition (2004), esp. Part IV.
- R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (2008).
- R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (1994).
- C. Bynum, *Christian Materiality* (2011).
- The Cambridge History of Christianity: volume IV*, ed. M. Rubin and S. Simons (2009).
- B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West* (1986/2003).
- R. Jones, *The Medieval Natural World* (2013).
- J. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (1988).

God and Salvation

- P. Binski, 'The Crucifixion and Censorship of Art around 1300' in *The Medieval World*, eds P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (2001)
- C. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: studies in the spirituality of the high middle ages* (1982).
- C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian era: theology and art of Christ's passion* (2001).
- R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion* (2002), esp. Part 1.
- E. Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (2001).
- M. McGinn, 'Seeing God in Medieval Theology and Mysticism', in *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig and A. Putter (2007).
- J. Munns, *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Norman England: theology, imagery, devotion* (2016).
- B.C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (2000).
- E.M. Ross, *The Grief of God: images of the suffering Jesus in late medieval England* (1997).
- R. Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (2008).

Mary and the Saints

- M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (2003).
- R. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion* (2002), Part 2.
- K. Ihnat, *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England* (2016).
- M. Rubin, *Mother of God: a history of the Virgin Mary* (2009).
- D. Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages* (2008)
- M. Bagnoli et al (eds), *Treasures of Heaven: saints, relics and devotion in medieval Europe* (2011).
- R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* (2013).
- P. Binski, *Becket's Crown* (2004).

- H. Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness* (2010).
- J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (2011).
- The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c.1170-c.1220*, eds P. Webster and M.-P. Gelin (2016).
- R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims* (1977).
- P. Geary, 'Humiliation of Saints' in Stephen Wilson (ed), *Saints and their Cults* (1983).
- P. Geary, *Furta Sacra* (revised edn 1990).
- J. Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (2015).
- M. Goodich, *Violence and Miracle in the fourteenth century* (1995).
- C. Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust* (2011).
- J.F. Hamburger, *St John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Art and Theology* (2002).
- A.M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their own country: living saints and the making of sainthood in the later Middle Ages* (1992).
- R. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls* (1984).
- R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: miracle stories and miracle collecting in medieval England* (2011).
- B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (1998).
- R. Pinner, *The Cult of St Edmund in Medieval East Anglia* (2015).
- St Edmund, King and Martyr: Changing images of a medieval saint*, ed. A. Bale (2009).
- J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion* (1975).
- A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages* (1997).
- B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (revised edn 1987).
- D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (2001).
- A. Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603* (2002).
- A. Walsham (ed), *Relics and Remains* (2010).

Sacraments

- The Cambridge History of Christianity: volume IV*, ed. M. Rubin and S. Simons (2009), ch. 15.
- A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, eds I. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (2011)
- E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (1993).
- G. Macy, *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (1999)
- The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. Arnold (2017), chapters 14 and 15.
- A.E. Nichols, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350-1544* (1997)
- M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the eucharist in late medieval culture* (1991).
- E. Saxon, *The Eucharist in Romanesque France: Iconography and Theology* (2006)

Heaven, Hell, Purgatory

- The Cambridge History of Christianity: volume IV*, ed. M. Rubin and S. Simons (2009), ch 14.

- Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig and A. Putter (2007).
- H. Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: theology and society in an age of faith* (2013).
- B. McDannell and C.M. Lang, *Heaven: a history* (1988).
- J. B. Russell, *Heaven: a history* (1998).
- A.E. Bernstein, 'Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory', *Speculum* 57 (1982).
- A. Bernstein, 'Theology between Heresy and Folklore: William of Auvergne on Punishment after Death', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1982).
- C. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (1995; rev. ed. 2019).
- G.R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: birth or evolution?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985).
- J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. A Goldhammer (1984).
- B.P. McGuire, 'Purgatory and the Communion of Saints: a medieval change', *Viator* 20 (1989).
- I. Moreira, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (2010).
- Peter of Cornwall, *Book of Revelations*, ed. & transl. R. Sharpe & R. Easting (2013).
- R.W. Southern, 'Between Heaven and Hell', *Times Literary Supplement* (1982), p. 651 (June 18th).
- C. Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: accounts of near- death experience in medieval and modern times* (1987).

Angels, Demons and the Devil

- Angels in the Early Modern World*, ed. P. Marshall and A. Walsham (2006).
- D. Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages* (1998).
- H. Mayr-Harting, *Perceptions of Angels in History* (1998).
- R. Sowerby, *Angels in Early Medieval England* (2016).
- A. Walsham, 'Invisible helpers: Angelic intervention in post-Reformation England', *Past and Present*, 208 (2010).
- The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: essays in honour of Jeffrey Burton Russell*, ed. A. Ferreiro (1998).
- The Devil in Society in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. R. Raiswell (2012).
- N. Johnstone, 'The Protestant Devil', *Journal of British Studies*, 43 (2004).
- L. Link, *The Devil: a mask without a face* (1995).
- H.A. Kelly, *Satan: a biography* (2006).
- D. Oldridge, *The Devil: a very short introduction* (2012).
- J.B. Russell, *Lucifer: the Devil in the Middle Ages* (1986).
- The Medieval Devil: a reader*, ed. R. Raiswell and D. Winter (2022).
- P. C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in early modern England* (2004).
- W. Anderson, *The Discernment of Spirits: assessing visions and visionaries in the late middle ages* (2011).

- A. Boureau, *Satan Heretic: the birth of demonology in the medieval west*, trans. T.L. Fagan (2006).
- N. Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: divine and demonic possession in the middle ages* (2004).
- The Cambridge History of Christianity: volume IV*, ed. M. Rubin and S. Simons (2009), ch 27.
- Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*, ed. N. Vos and W. Otten (2011).
- Demons also feature largely in the literature of witchcraft, which has its own section below.*

The Dead

- P. Binski, *Medieval Death: ritual and representation* (1996).
- T.S.R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: mortality, judgment and remembrance* (1972).
- Death in England: an illustrated history*, ed. P. Jupp and C. Gittings (1999).
- R. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family, 1480-1750* (1994).
- A. Kinch, *Imago Mortis: Mediating Images of Death in Late Medieval Culture* (2000)
- N. Orme, *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter* (2003).
- The Place of the Dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. B. Gordon and P. Marshall (2000).
- A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (2014).
- J. Rollo-Koster, *Death in Medieval Europe: death scripted and death choreographed* (2016)
- S. Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (2011).
- J. Blair, 'The Dangerous Dead in Early Medieval England' in *Early Medieval Studies in memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter, C. Karkov, J.L. Nelson, D. Pelteret (2009).
- N. Caciola, 'Wraiths, Revenants and Ritual in Medieval Culture', *Past and Present*, 152 (1996).
- N. Caciola, *Afterlives: the return of the dead in the middle ages* (2016)
- R.C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: a cultural history of ghosts* (1982).
- J.C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, transl. T.L. Fagan (1998).
- R.N. Swanson, 'Ghosts and Ghost-busters in the Middle Ages', in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, ed. P.D. Clarke (2009).
- S. Clark, 'The Reformation of the Eyes: apparitions and optics in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe', *Journal of Religious History* (2003)
- P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (2002), ch 6.
- P. Marshall, *Mother Leakey and the Bishop* (2007).
- P. Marshall, 'Deceptive Appearances: ghosts and reformers in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', in Parish, Helen, Naphy, William G. (ed.), *Religion and Superstition in Renaissance Europe*.
- K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), ch 19.

Time

- M. Champion, *The Fullness of Time: temporalities of the fifteenth-century Low Countries* (2017).
- G. Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: clocks and modern temporal orders*, transl. T. Dunlap (1996).
- P. Glennie and N. Thrift, *Shaping the Day: a history of time-keeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800* (2009).
- J. Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, transl. A. Goldhammer (1980).
- Time in the Medieval World*, ed. C. Hourihane (2007).
- Time in the Medieval World*, ed. C. Humphrey and W. Ormrod (2001)..
- D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (1989).
- D. Cressy, 'God's Time and Rome's Time: the calendar of the English Protestant regime', *Viator*, 34 (2003).
- E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, ch 1.
- E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English people and their prayers, 1240-1570* (2011).
- R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year 1400-1700* (1994).
- R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: a history of the ritual year in Britain* (1996), esp conclusions.
- J. Le Goff, *In Search of Sacred Time* (2014).

The Past

- J. Bedell, 'Memory and Proof of Age in England, 1272-1327', *Past and Present*, 162 (1999).
- M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (1992).
- M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a study of memory in medieval culture* (1990).
- R. Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: archaeology and the life course* (2012), esp. ch.1.
- The Medieval Craft of Memory: an anthology of texts and pictures*, ed. M. Carruthers and M. Ziolkowski (2003).
- Medieval Memories: men, women and the past, 700-1300*, ed. E. Van Houts (2001).
- Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, ed. E. Brenner et al (2013).
- P. J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (1994).
- C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: the writing of history in medieval England* (2004).
- P. Magdalino, *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (1992).
- Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, memory, historiography* (2002), ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried, P.J. Geary (2002).
- M. Reeves, 'Pattern and Purpose in History in the Later Medieval and Renaissance Periods' in *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. M. Bull (1995). Repr. in M. Reeves, *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (1999).
- R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing II: Hugh of St Victor and the idea of historical development', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 21 (1971).

R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing IV: the sense of the past', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 23 (1973).

A. Grafton, *What was History? The art of history in early modern Europe* (2007).

The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, rhetoric and fiction, 1500–1800, ed. D. R. Kelley & D. Harris Sacks (1997).

A. Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *Historical Journal*, 55 (2012).

A. Wood, *The Memory of the People: custom and senses of the past in early modern England* (2013).

D. Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English historical culture, 1500-1730* (2003).

The Future

R. Bartlett, 'Political Prophecy in Gerald of Wales', in *Culture Politique des Plantagenêt*, ed. M. Aurell (2003).

L. Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England* (2000).

J. Crick, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth, Prophecy and History', *Journal of Medieval History*, 18 (1992).

J. Crick, 'The British Past and the Welsh Future: Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales and Arthur of Britain', *Celtica* 23 (1999).

M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Middle Ages* (1969).

R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing III: history as prophecy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 22 (1972).

A. Ryrie, 'Hearing God's Voice in the English and Scottish Reformations', *Reformation*, 17 (2012).

K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, ch 13.

T. Thornton, *Prophecy, Politics and the People in Early Modern England* (2006).

A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999).

J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (1987).

J.C. Eade, *The Forgotten Sky: a guide to astrology in English literature* (1984).

S. Page, *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts* (2002).

S. Page, 'Richard Trewythian and the uses of astrology in medieval England', *Jnl of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, 64 (2001).

H. M. Carey, *Courting Disaster* (1992).

P. Curry (ed), *Astrology, Science and Society* (1987).

C. Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in later medieval England* (1995) ch 4.

J.R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France* (1998).

L. Akerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars* (1994).

P. Zambelli, *The Speculum Astronomiae and its enigma: astrology, theology and science in Albertus Magnus and his contemporaries* (1992).

M. Williams, *Fiery Shapes, Celestial Portents and Astrology in Ireland and Wales, 700-1700* (2010).

- E. Garin (transl. Jackson & Allen), *Astrology in the Renaissance* (1983).
 L. Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London* (2005).
 B. Capp, *English Almanacs 1500-1800: astrology and the popular press* (1979).

The End of Time

- R.K. Emmerson, *Apocalypse Illuminated: The Visual Exegesis of Revelation in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (2018)
 R. Landes, 'The Fear of the Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Hagiography, medieval and modern', *Speculum*, 75 (2000).
Last Things: death and the apocalypse in the Middle Ages, ed. C. Bynum, P. Freedman (2000).
 R. Lerner, 'The Black Death in Western European Eschatological Mentalities', *American Historical Review*, 86 (1981).
 R. Lerner, 'The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath' in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Emmerson, B. McGinn.
 B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: apocalyptic traditions in the middle ages* (1979).
 B. McGinn, 'The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom' in *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. M. Bull (1995).
 N. Morgan, *Illuminating the End of Time: The Getty Apocalypse Manuscript* (2012)
 N. Morgan, *The Douce Apocalypse: Picturing the End of the World in the Middle Ages* (2006)
 J.T. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages* (2014).
 M. Reeves, 'The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval attitudes', in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, ed. C.A. Patrides, J. Wittreich, 1984. Repr. in M. Reeves, *The Prophetic Sense of History in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (1999).
 B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (2009).

The World and its Peoples

- D.K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval journeys through space, time and liturgy* (2009). K. D. Lilley (ed), *Mapping Medieval Geographies* (2013).
 E. Edson, *Mapping Space and Time: how medieval mapmakers viewed their world* (1997).
 J.B. Harley & D. Woodward, *The History of Cartography I* (1987).
 P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps* (1991).
 P.D.A. Harvey, *Mappa Mundi: the Hereford World Map* (1996).
 P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (1993).
 A. Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (2008).
 A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise* (2006).
 P. Whitfield, *New Found Lands: maps in the history of exploration* (1998); revised in 2000 as *Mapping the World*.
 [John Speed] *The Counties of Britain: a Tudor atlas* (1988).
 S. D. Westrem (ed), *The Hereford Map: a transcription and translation*
 D. Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind* (2008).

- S. Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: the wonder of the New World* (1991).
- V.I.J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (1992).
- A. Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: the power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (1992).
- A. Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (1993).
- J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (2nd edn, 1998).
- J.R.S. Phillips, 'The outer world of the European Middle Ages' in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed),
- J.R.S. Phillips, *Implicit Understandings* (1994).
- Medieval Travel and Travellers: a reader*, ed. J.F. Romano (2020).
- R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (2008), chap 3.
- R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (1952).
- S.G. Bruce, 'Hagiography as Monstrous Ethnography' in G. Wieland et al (eds), *Insignis Sophiae Arcator* (2006).
- C. Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (2001).
- B. Clarke, *Mental Disorder in earlier Britain* (1975).
- K. Daston and L. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*
- P. Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children* (1974).
- J. B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*
- D. Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews* (2003).
- T. Husband (ed), *The Wild Man* (1980).
- S. Lipton, 'Christianity and Its Others: Jews, Muslims and Pagans', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. Arnold (2017).
- R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: signs of otherness in European art of the later middle ages* (2 vols, 1993).
- J. E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: animals in the middle ages* (1994).
- D.A. Sprunger, 'Wild folk and lunatics in medieval romance', in J.E. Salisbury (ed), *The Medieval World of Nature* (1993).
- P. Sobol, "'The Shadow of Reason": explanations of intelligent animal behaviour in the thirteenth century', in Salisbury, *The Medieval World of Nature*.
- K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: changing attitudes 1500-1800* (1983).
- R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East: a study in the history of monsters' in *idem*, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (1977).

Ambiguous Beings

- L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and the Orders of Nature 1150-1750*.
- A. Hall, *Elves in Anglo Saxon England* (2007).
- H.R. Patch, *The Other World: according to descriptions in medieval literature* (1950).
- K. Jolly, *Popular Religion in late Saxon England: elf charms in context* (1996).
- A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Merlin the Magician* (2012).
- C. Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance* (2010).
- J. Wade, *Fairies in Medieval Romance* (2011).
- A. Scafi, *Mapping Paradise* (2006).
- C.S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (2007).
- C.S. Watkins, in Sophie Page (ed), *The Unorthodox Imagination in late medieval Britain* (2010).

R. Hutton, 'The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition', *Historical Jnl*, 57 (2014).

P. Marshall, 'Protestants and fairies in early modern England', in S. Scott Dixon (ed.), *Living with religious diversity in early modern Europe* (Farnham, 2009).

K. Briggs, *The Anatomy of Puck* (1959).

K. Briggs, *The Vanishing People* (1978).

R. Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth* in Michael Hunter (ed), *The Occult Laboratory Magic, Science and Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (2001)

Magic and Witchcraft

B. Ankarloo & S. Clark (eds), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: the Middle Ages* (2001).

M.D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Magic and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (2003)

C. Fanger (ed), *Conjuring Spirits*.

V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (1991)

V. Flint, 'A magic universe' in R. Horrox & W.M. Ormrod (eds), *A Social History of England 1200-1500* (2006).

L. Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Medieval London* (2005)

R. Kieckhefer (ed), *Forbidden Rites*.

R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*.

R. Kieckhefer, 'The Holy and the Unholy: sainthood, witchcraft and magic', *Jnl of Medieval & Renaissance Studies* 23 (1994)

R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *AmHR* 44 (1994)

F. Klassen, *The Transformation of Magic: illicit learned magic*.

E. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch and the Law*.

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