

De *M*onstris:
An Exhibition of Monsters and the
Wonders of Human Imagination

Exhibition and catalogue by David A. Fernández

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

17 September – 21 December 2018

Catalogue and exhibition by David A. Fernández
Editors Pearce Carefoote, Marie Korey & Liz Ridolfo
Exhibition designed and installed by Linda Joy
Digital Photography by Paul Armstrong
Catalogue designed by Stan Bevington
Catalogue printed by Coach House Press
Image on cover 'Lectito' by Wesley Bates

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, issuing body, host institution

De monstis : an exhibition of monsters and the wonders of human
imagination / exhibition and catalogue by David A. Fernández.

Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
from September 17, 2018 to December 21, 2018.
Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-7727-6125-5 (softcover)

1. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library--Exhibitions.
2. Monsters in literature--Bibliography--Exhibitions.
3. Abnormalities, Human, in literature--Bibliography--Exhibitions.
4. Grotesque in literature Bibliography--Exhibitions.
5. Difference (Psychology) in literature Bibliography--Exhibitions.
6. Exhibition catalogs.

I. Fernández, David A., 1984-, author, organizer

II. Title.

PN56.M55T56 2018

809'.93353

C2018-904621-X

FOREWORD

Creatures with giant feet, wondrous griffins, and figures from gothic horror, such as Frankenstein and Dracula, can all be found in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. In his exhibition, *De monstis*, David Fernández explores the Library's vast collections in search of these fantastical creatures. Using medieval encyclopedias, wonder books, travel guides, natural history volumes, medical texts, and popular books, the exhibition reveals the complex history of monsters in the West from the Middle Ages to the Victorian era. As David reveals, while the medieval basilisk and the modern gothic monster may seem unrelated, both served as important social tools. How monsters were created over the centuries is more indicative of the moral and existential challenges faced by societies than the realities that they encountered. The chimerical beasts and grotesque creatures inhabiting the pages of the Fisher collections reflect the boundaries, norms, and beliefs of their times. Today, monsters continue to fascinate, enchant, and inspire awe. They also reflect our fears and anxieties.

I wish to acknowledge the wonderful support of Janet Dewan and Barbara Tangney for this catalogue and the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library for this exhibition. We are also grateful to Debbie Dearlove, David Mason, and Eric Robertson for lending us their materials for display. Above all, I wish to thank David for this remarkable exhibition and for daring us to join him on a monstrous journey through the Fisher collections and the dark corners of our imagination.

Loryl MacDonald

Interim Director of the Fisher Rare Book Library

PREFACE

A question that might occur to a visitor to a rare books and manuscripts library might be: why monsters? All of us, at one time or another, have come into contact with monsters in popular culture. They jump out at us from movie screens, newspapers, folklore, internet reports and rumours, children's stories, television and theatre. They live in the shadowy spaces of our houses and our communities. They lurk at the edges of light and the bounds of certainty, just outside the reach of the law. They terrify us and force us to clutch at what we hold most dear. Given the proliferation of monsters in popular cultures around the world and their sometimes trivial or superficial nature, it may come as a surprise that, historically speaking, monsters are a serious business. *De monstris*, superbly conceived and curated by David Fernández, provides a fascinating perspective onto the learned traditions of thinking about monsters and recognizes that monsters have been around for a long, long time.

The books in this exhibition all share one assumption in common: in whatever form they may take, and whenever and wherever they appear, monsters lie at the basis of serious inquiry and investigation. We find some of western culture's most noted and consequential thinkers among these tomes, some of its most intrepid adventurers, and some of its most renowned storytellers whose work spans a rich array of scholarly disciplines: geography, theology, history, cosmography, astronomy, anthropology, cartography, zoology, medicine, and natural history. Monsters regularly – we could even say *necessarily* – appear at moments when knowledge takes new turns and received traditions are questioned; they represent certain values held by societies at the times when those values are threatened, questioned, or put into crisis. Such moments encourage sustained reflection on the nature and symbolic dimensions of monsters, on how monsters both emerge from the fantastic dimensions of the imagination and are also the objects of disciplined and sober scholarly scrutiny. Reacting to monsters with dread and fear is a relatively recent phenomenon, exemplified by the famous novels of Mary Shelley and Bram Stoker. Prior to this time, however, the more common emotional posture toward monsters was wonder and amazement, if emotion was involved at all. For, at least since the time of the Roman scholar Pliny the Elder, many thinkers regularly approached monsters dispassionately and with presence of mind. This commitment to thoughtful reflection in addition to the wondrous and extraordinary dimensions of monsters, is

exceptionally evident in *De monstis*. These books and ephemera are jewels of the Fisher Library collection. As repositories of the real and the imagined, they collectively issue an appealing invitation: here be monsters.

Josiah Blackmore
Harvard University

INTRODUCTION

Monsters exist at the boundaries of human imagination. Wherever history takes us, stories of monsters, prodigies, wondrous beasts, and natural wonders endure to this today as integral elements of our shared cultural heritage. Their origins have long been associated with our subconscious fear of the unknown and relentless fascination with unexplained phenomena. The word monster is in itself indicative of the intricate etymological and historical meaning of their place and role in our culture. *Monster* is a derivative of the Latin word *monstrum*, which simultaneously traces its roots to the words *monere* (to warn) and *monstro* (to show). In the same category, the word *prodigy* derives from the Latin *prodigium* (portent), which also denotes something extraordinary which is considered an omen or sign of future events. Solely by their definition monsters (and their cognates) have the potential to reveal, perhaps more than any other human creation, the most complex sides of our culture and history. Modern ideas of race and racism are grounded in historical traditions surrounding the supposed monstrous peoples of the medieval and early modern periods. Contemporary concepts of gender and sexuality are evocative of the culture of monstrosity in the medical and scientific theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even our attraction to popular fantastic creatures is deeply rooted in the ancient lore of wonders and marvels of nature. Every historical period has ultimately conceived its own monsters as expressions of precise cultural, social, religious, and political realities. Monsters are thereby symbolic ‘cultural bodies’ that not only show us who we are as humans but also demonstrate particular ideas, feelings, places, and moments in our culture and history.¹ Today, monsters fundamentally survive as stories that continue to evoke the most basic of our emotions—horror, pleasure, or repugnance—and to inspire the imagination of readers across the world.

De monstris is an exhibition about the European culture of writing on monsters and monstrosity from the Middle Ages to the end of the Victorian era. The exhibition explores the textual and visual sources at the heart of the stories of monsters recounted in the pages of medieval encyclopedias, wonder books, cosmographies, compilations of travels, natural history volumes, medical texts, and other popular books. Beyond showcasing the remarkable collections of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in the areas of history, medicine, science, and literature, the exhibition follows the main traditions in

the history of monsters in the West. The manuscripts, printed books, maps, and ephemeral material on display reflect the historical interpretations of monsters as natural errors, as warnings of future events, or as wonders of nature. Finally, the exhibition questions our knowledge of and possible assumptions concerning the subjects of monsters and monstrosity by presenting a selection of textual and visual narratives that made notable contributions to the history of monsters in Europe over the course of eight centuries.

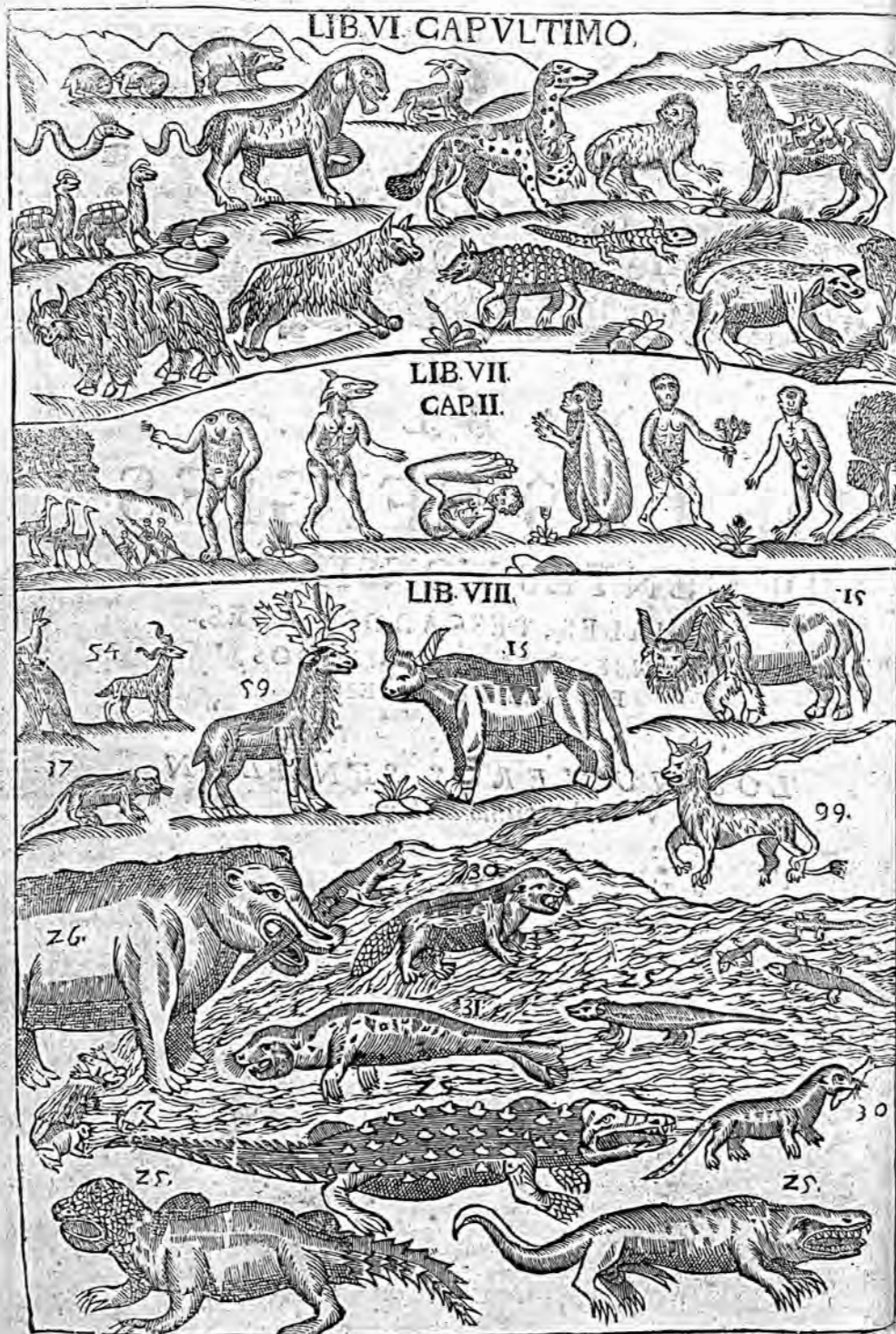


9 Monster from *Aggiunta alla quarta parte dell'Indie* (1623).

Part I:

On Monstrous Peoples

Secular authors and early Christian writers of the Middle Ages imagined a world awash with monsters. Natural history encyclopedias, compendia of knowledge, and theological treatises were among the most prominent sources of theories on the origins, characters, and manners of monstrous peoples. These monsters were principally reported to inhabit the continents of Africa and India. Individual accounts of dog-headed peoples, nations of headless humans, and a legion of human-animal hybrids were commonly explained within the tradition of natural wonders or, concurrently, as moral and religious prodigies. As a result, the vision of the cultures, religions, and societies found at the periphery of Christianity was tied to certain notions of monstrosity reproduced in a limited number of very influential medieval treatises. The arrival of new printing technologies effectively narrowed the distance between the medieval monstrous peoples of faraway lands and the monsters and prodigies reported in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. What once was unique to medieval manuscripts was then widely disseminated in new printed formats which were rapidly adapted to serve the cultural, social, political, and religious contexts of the early modern period.





1 'Table of effigies, monstrous peoples, animals, fish, birds, and insects' from
Historia natural de Cayo Plinio Segundo (1624-1629).

I Pliny, the Elder (ca. 23–79 A.D.). *Historia natural de Cayo Plinio Segundo*; traducida por Gerónimo Huerta. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624–1629.

In a letter to his friend Baebius Macer, Pliny the Younger (61–ca. 113 A.D.) remembers his adopted father and maternal uncle as an indiscriminate reader for whom ‘no book was so bad that it was not useful at some point.’² The maxim aptly describes this active Roman commander who spent most of his spare time surrounded by books, papers, readers, and scribes while compiling material for the monumental thirty-seven books of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History*, his only extant work and one of the most popular sourcebooks on natural history ever published. *Natural History* is an impressive library of ancient knowledge with an emphasis on human interaction with the natural world.³ In the preliminary text to the first volume, Pliny indicates that his objective is to collate the ‘world of nature, or in other words life’ into an all-encompassing work with the mission to ‘give novelty to what is old, authority to what is new’ and to ‘render what is slighted acceptable, and what is doubtful worthy of our confidence.’⁴ Ranging from astronomy to zoology, Pliny’s encyclopedia comprises over 35,000 facts taken from sources on the natural world written by more than four hundred Greek and Roman authors, many of which only survive in his writings.⁵ *Natural History* is, as the author’s nephew declares, a collection of ancient and contemporary writings ‘no less varied than nature herself.’⁶ Pliny remarks on the qualities of minerals in the context of pigments as he discusses the authority of ancient authors on magic, describes the process of making papyrus, and records with credulity the appearance and customs of monstrous peoples found in distant lands.

Pliny’s writings on monstrous peoples in the seventh volume of *Natural History* established the tradition of wonders of nature in the medieval period.⁷ Plinian monsters such as the cynocephali or ‘tribes of human beings with dog’s heads’ and ‘men called the monoculi who have only one leg’ survive not only in some of the two hundred extant manuscripts of *Historia naturalis*,⁸ but these humanoid beings also exist in most medieval encyclopedias dealing with monsters, including the *Ethimologiae* of Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) and the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Caius Julius Solinus (3rd century).⁹ The *editio princeps* of 1469 printed in Venice was followed by another thirty-eight incunable editions, and by the year 1599 there were eighty-nine editions of *Natural History* altogether.¹⁰ From treatises on natural philosophy to geographical surveys and medical texts, European authors and readers contin-

ually incorporated Pliny's works in numerous ways, granting him the status of the 'most cited authority' on monsters and marvels in the early modern period.¹¹

In a sonnet included in the preliminary text to the first volume of this Spanish edition of *Historia natural de Cayo Plinio Segundo*, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (1584–1647) compares Pliny to Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in his quest to 'investigate the secrets of the natural world'.¹² First published in Madrid in 1599, this later edition of Huerta's translation contains all thirty-seven volumes, a 'table of effigies, monstrous peoples, animals, fish, birds, and insects' in the form of woodcut illustrations, along with one additional 'anotación' at the end of the sixth book describing the natural history of the Americas as a land of 'bestial peoples.' Following Pliny's uncritical and factual reports of the customs and appearance of peoples residing at the edges of the *ecumene*, this additional chapter takes an imperial stand by classifying entire indigenous populations as 'bestial and barbaric' peoples, some of which are simply known for their peculiar looks such as the mythical giants of the Patagonia or the peoples of very short stature found near Greenland, while others come to embody the infamous 'flesh eaters or Cannibals' of the Caribbean and South America.¹³

2 Caius Iulius Solinus (3rd century). *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. Ca. 1100. Solinus's *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, or *Polyhistor*, is a 'vast storehouse' of knowledge of monsters, marvels, and other curiosities of nature largely based on Pliny's *Natural History*.¹⁴ Rome opens this grand tour of geographical knowledge of the ancient world that captured the imagination of generations of readers with the wonders found in the geography of Western Europe, the Mediterranean, Northern Africa, the Near East, and India. Solinus's compendium stands as one of the most consulted sources on geography and wonders by authors from late antiquity to the Renaissance.¹⁵ The popularity of the *Polyhistor* rests not in its original content but in its ability to provide access to hundreds of references from Pliny's *Natural History* and the *De situ orbis* of Pomponius Mela (ca. 15–45 A.D.) into one condensed work of tremendous value for readers, scribes, and authors.¹⁶ Catalogues of numerous medieval libraries in Europe listed Solinus in their holdings before the end of the thirteenth century,¹⁷ while readers of the same period also experienced the wonders of the *Polyhistor* in medieval world maps, bestiaries, and even in the writings of Christian authors like Saint Augustine (354–430) and Isidore of Seville.¹⁸

gignit. odoratis radicib; unguitio herbedo magis q̃ arbutio. cui e
^{Jo horticulino exudat estatis tēpore pingue rosodū. idq; pascentiū hircorū}
^{supra q̃ de}
^{de lūen}
 inheret barbulis. Vbi cū arefactū moleunt guttis et iracis legit.
 ad usū mensariū t̃ medele magis. Dictū ē p̃mū lac s̃rpicū. qm̃ ma
 nat in modū lacteū. Deīn usu duruante laser nominatur.
 q̃ germina inuicio barbarice ipsi non uastatis ags̃ postea ob in
 tolerandā uectigalis inmetatē. ferme penni ipsi accole eru
 erit. **Cirenis** ab leua affrica ē. y ad ext̃ egipti. A fronte seuū
 y importuosū mare. atq; barbarorū uarie nationes. y solui
 do in accessū. q̃ basiliscū creat. malū in tr̃is singulare. Serpēs
 ē ad semipedē pene longitudinis. alba q̃si mitra lineat caput.
 nec hominis t̃m t̃ aliorū animantiū ext̃is dat. s; t̃re q; ipsi q̃ pol
 luit y exurit. y ubicūq; ferale sortit̃ receptaculū. Deniq; exan
 guit herbas. necat arborea. ipsas y corrūpit aurās. ita ut in
 aere nulla alitū ip̃une t̃nsuol̃ infecto sp̃u pestilentia. Cū mo
 uet̃. media corporis parte serpit. media arduus ē y excel
 sus. Sibilū ei ē alii serpentes phorrescunt. Et cū acceperit.
 fuga q̃q; q̃q; poss̃ ppant. q̃qd̃ mor su ei occidit. n̄ depascitur
 fera. n̄ attrahat ales. Oustelis t̃m uincit. q̃s̃ illic homines
 infer̃ cauius. inq̃b; delitescit. Vis t̃m nec defuncto q̃dē
 deē. Deniq; basilisci reliquias āplione selt̃cio pgameni cō
 parauer̃. ut edē apollinis manu insignē. nec araneae inter
 erent. nec alites inuolarēt. **Circa** extimū sirtū cornu.
 berenicā ciuitatē alluit leton ānis. inferna ut putat
 exundatione pr̃ipens. y ap̃ p̃stino uates latice memorat
 obliuionis. hanc berenicen muniunt q̃ p̃tolomeo t̃cio.
 fuit nupta. y in maiori sirtū locauit. **Omne** autē la
 tifundū q̃d̃ in egiptū. ethiopiā. libiāq; diffunditur.

Solinus's descriptions of monstrous peoples in parts of Asia, Africa, and India travelled across the leaves of medieval manuscripts for over a millennium and into the pages of books in European collections after the advent of printing. The first incunable edition of the *Polyhistor* comes out of the Venetian press of Nicholas Jenson (ca. 1420–1480) in 1473, followed by ten fifteenth-century editions and early vernacular versions published by the end of the sixteenth century in Spanish (1524), Italian (1557), English (1587), and German (1600).¹⁹ The Renaissance naturalist and collector Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), who cites Solinus's description of the one-eyed monoculi or sciapods in his *Monstrorum historia*,²⁰ owned a copy of a commentary on the compendium published in Basel in 1557.²¹ Aside from printed editions, complete copies, excerpts, and fragmentary versions of the *Polyhistor* exist in more than 250 manuscripts today.²² This single leaf belonged to a manuscript copied about the year 1100, perhaps in Germany, containing a description of the emblematic creature known as the basilisk: 'a serpent almost half a foot long,' reads the entry, 'given to the utter destruction not only of man and beast, or whatsoever has life, but also even of the earth itself.'²³

3 Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430). *De civitate Dei*. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus, 1486–1487.

The prolific Christian theologian and philosopher Saint Augustine of Hippo began composing his influential apologetic treatise in vindication of Christianity following the events of the Sack of Rome in 410.²⁴ Published between 413 and 426, the *City of God against the Pagans* provided Christian readers and others at the periphery of Christianity with an extensive collection of themes brought together in twenty-two books and explained via the metaphor of the two cities: the holy city of God and the earthly city of humanity.²⁵ In his treatise, Augustine compiles a variety of sources from secular writers in Latin and Greek to advance his ideas on political theory, philosophy of history, cosmology, theology, biblical interpretation, and writings on eschatology.²⁶

In chapter eight of book sixteen, Augustine confronts one of the most profound questions in the history of monsters in the West. 'Another moot question is whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men,' Augustine inquires, 'were descended from the sons of Noah, or rather from that one man from whom they themselves sprang.'²⁷ Augustine reproduces in his answer the monstrous peoples of the seventh book of Pliny's *Natural History*, and then offers his own accounts of monsters in books fifteen to eighteen

Sextusdecimus

mati fuerint facere. Sed si ita dicatur: non ex-
primi dominantem. Uerum propter tardiuscu-
los addidimus particulas id ē ne: vt diceremus
nōne quoniam voces pronūciātis scribere non
possumus pro ne non: et pro nisi scribere sole-
mus: Exulis igitur tribus hoibus noc filijs: se-
ptuaginta tres vel potius yratio declaratura ē
septuaginta due gētes: totidēq; ligue per terras
esse ceperūt: que crescēdo et insulas impleuerūt.
Ructus est autē numerus gētū multo amplius
q; liguar. Nā et iāfrica barbaras gētes i vna li-
gua plurimas nouimus. Et hoies quidē multi-
plicato genere humano ad insulas inhabitandas
nauigio transire potuisse quis ambigat?
¶ An oē bestiarū genus etiā remotissime a ter-
ris insule ex eo numero acceperūt: qui i arca vi-
luuij inundatōe seruatus est. Capitulum. vij.

Sed questio de omni genere bestiarū ē:
q; sub cura hoīū nō sūt: vel sicuti rane
nō nascātur ex terra: sed sola cōmixtio-
ne maris et femine. ppagātur: sicut lupi et canes
modi cetera: quō post diluuiū quōdā qm arca
nō erāt cūcta deleta sūt: etiā i insulis eē potuerit
si reparata nō sūt nisi ex his quoz genera i vtro-
q; sexu arca seruauit. possūt qdē credidit i su-
las natādo trāsisse: s; pyimas. Sūt autē quedā
tā lōge posite a cōtinentibus terris: vt ad eas nul-
la videat natare potuisse bestiarū. Qd si hoies
eas captas secū aduererūt: et eo modo vbi ha-
bitabāt earū genera insituerūt: venādī studio fie-
ri potuisse incredibile nō est. Quāuis iussu deī si-
ue pmissu: etiā opere angeloz negādū nō sit po-
tuisse trāsferri. Si vero ex terra exorte sūt: le-
cūdū originē pma qm dixit dō. pducit fra aiām
vniū multo clarius apparere: nō tā reparādozū
aiālū causa: q; significāda: variarū gētū. ppt
ecclesie sacramētū i arca fuisse oīa genera: si i su-
lis quo trāsire nō possēt mīta aiā fra. pduxit.
¶ An ex propagine adā vel filioz noe quedā
genera hoīū monstruosa prodierint. Cap. viij.

Querit ēt vtrū ex filijs noe: v; potius ex
illo vno hoīe vni etiā ipsi exiterūt. ppa-
gata eē credēdū sit qdā monstruosa ho-
minū genera q; gētū narrat hīstoria: sicut phibē-
tur qdā vniū bēre oculū i frōte media: qbusdā
plātas xlas eē post crura: qbusdā vtriusq; sex⁹
eē nā: et dextera māmā virilē sinistra muliebē
vicibusq; alternis coeūdo et gignere et parere:
alii ora nō eē: colq; p nares tācūmō suscepto et
emissio balitu viuere. Alios natura eē cubitales

quos pygmeos a cubitu greci vocāt alibi quin-
quēnos accipere feminas: et octauū a nativitate
annū nō excedere. Itē ferūt eē gētē vbi singu-
la crura i pedibus hnt: nec poplite flectūt: et sūt
mirabilis celeritatis: quos sciopodas vocāt: q;
per cū i terra iacētēs resupini vmbra se pedū
pregāt: quosdā sine ceruice oculos bēre i hūme-
ris et cetera hoīū vel quasi hoīū genera q; i ma-
ritima platea cartaginīs musio picta sūt ex li-
bris de pīōpta velut curiosioris hīstorie. Quid
dicā de cynocephalis: quoz canina capita atq;
ipē latratus magis bestias q; hoies cōfitef? S;
qm genera hoīū q; dicūtur esse: esse credere nō
est necesse. Uerū quisquis vspiciā nascitur homo
id est aiā ratōale et mortale: quālibet nostris iussu-
tātā sensibus gerat corporis formā seu colorē:
sive moriū: sive sōnū sive quālibet vīs: quālibet
parte: quālibet qualitate nature: ex illo proto-
plasto vno originē ducere nullus fidelīū du-
bitauerit. Apparet tñ qd i plūbus natura obtinu-
erit: et qd sit ipsa raritate mirabile: Qualis autē
ratio redditur de monstruosis apud nos hoīū
partibus: talis de monstruosis quibuscūq; gētib⁹
reddi potest. Deus eīz creator et oīūz vbi et qm
creari qd oporteat vel oportuerit ipse nouit: sci-
ens vniuersitatis pulchritudinem: quarum par-
tium vel similitudine vel diuersitate conserat.
Sed qui totum inspicere non potest: tanq; de-
formitate partis offenditur quoniam cui cōgruat
et quo referatur ignorat. Pluribus q; quinīs vi-
gitis in manibus et pedibus nasci homines noui-
mus: et hec leuior est q; illa distantia: sed tamen
absit vt quis ita desipiat: vt existimet in nume-
ro humanoꝝ digitorū errasse creatorem:
Quis nesciens cur hoc fecerit. Ita et si maior di-
uersitas oriatur: scit ille quid egerit cuius ope-
ra iuste nemo comprehendit. Apud bipponem
natus est homo quasi lunatas habens plantas
et in eis binos tantummodo digitos similes et
manus. Si aliqua gens talis esset: illi curiose
atque mirabili adderetur hīstorie. Num igitur
istum propter hec negabimus ex vno illo qui
primus creatus est esse propagatum? Andro-
gyni quos etiam hermaphroditos nuncupant:
quamuis admodū rari sint: difficile est tamen
vt temporibus desint: in quibus vterque sex⁹
apparet: vt ex quo potius debeant accipe-
re nomen incertum sit. A meliore tamen hoc
est a masculino vt appellarentur loquendi con-
suetudo preualuit. Nam nemo vnquam

of the *City of God*.²⁸ But his most notable contribution to the history of monsters is to bring the exotic beings from the realm of pagan authors into the foundation of Christian doctrines on the origins of humanity.²⁹ Although Augustine denies the existence of monstrous peoples, he also ensures that his readers understand their dubious presence in the world within Christian teachings. 'What if God willed to create some races of this sort,' Augustine asks, 'expressly to prevent us from thinking that the wisdom by which he moulds the forms of men was at fault in the case of such monsters as are duly born among us of human parents?'³⁰ Augustine conceives monsters as indications of God's wisdom and, simultaneously, as prodigies brought to this world by divine power as sources of divination.³¹ His theories on the lineage of monsters and views on monsters as prodigies cast enduring influence over the writings of medieval thinkers, most notably in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*.³² As the book went through at least eighteen incunabular editions in Latin, Italian, and French, the *City of God* also left a visible imprint on the wonder books of Protestant and Catholic authors circulating at the time of the Reformation.³³

4 Saint Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636). *Isidorus ethimologiarum idem*

de summo bono. Venice: Bonetus Locatellus for Octavianus Scotus, 1493.

Isidore of Seville reflects on the origins of monsters, portents, omens, and prodigies in book eleven of his *Etymologies*, a large codex integrating palimpsests of readings and writings collected in the seventh century by one of the most prolific thinkers of the medieval world.³⁴ Isidore extracts most of his catalogue of monstrous peoples and races from Solinus's *Polyhistor*: he locates the cynocephali and the one-eyed cyclopes in India, finds the headless blemmyes in Libya, and reports the long-eared panotians in Scythia.³⁵ Aside from descriptions of monsters and marvels, he also explains the origins of portents as divine signs of future events. Isidore recollects the particular birth of a composite monster whose animal limbs outlived the human ones, an event which he reports as a sign of the imminent death of the king because the 'worse parts had outlived the better ones.'³⁶

Echoing the writings of Augustine, the *Etymologies* conceives monsters, portents, and other strange phenomena as part of the divine natural order. 'Portents are not contrary to nature,' Isidore writes, 'because they are created by divine will, since the nature of everything is the will of the Creator.'³⁷ From the *Nature of Things* of Thomas of Cantimpré (1201–1272) to the *Nuremberg Chronicles* of Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), Isidore presented medieval writers of encyclopedias, cosmographies, and natural histories with

XII

43

Quæ illectos nauigantes sub cantu in naufragia trahébāt. Scdm veritatē aut meretrices fuerūt: quæ trāseuntes qñ ad egestatē deducebāt: bis fite sūt iſſerre naufragia. Alia aut habuisse t vngulas: q: amoi t volat t vulnerat. Quæ in de in fluctibus cōmorasse dicunt: q: fluct venerē creauerunt. Scyllā quoq: ferūt sgmā capinbus succinctā canis: cū latratib' magnis ppter fetū sicili maris in quo nauigātes verticibus in se cōcurrētū vndarū exterriti: latrare exultimēt vndas q: foribētes elius voazgo collidit. Sīgūt et mōstra qdā irrōnabiliū aiantū: vt cerberus iſſerōz canes tria capita habet: significātes p cū tres crates: p q: moris boies deuorat. i. iſſanti: iunētntē: t senectutē. Quæ qdā mō dicit cerberū putat qñ crebros: i. carnē vorans. Dicit t bydrā eē serpentes cū nouē capitib' q: latine scedera dñ: qñ vno cōio tria capita exercebāt. S:z illat bydrā lo: euz fuisse euomētē aq: valātē vicinā ciuitatē: in quo vno clauso meatu multi erōpebant. Qd berules videns: loca ipsa exulit: sic aq: clausit meatus. Tā bydra ab aq: dca est. Dui' mēione facit Ambrosi' in sītudine berelis dicens: Deressio. n. velut qdā bydra fabularū vlncrib' suis creuit: dūz sēpe recidit pullulauit ignis debito icēdio pīrura. Sīgūt t cymētrā triformē bestia: ore leo. postremis partib' draco. media caprea. Quā qdā pīfologus: nō aial' s:z alit' mōtē eē aīit: q: būdā locis leōes t capreas nutritē: q: būdā ardētē: q: būdā plenā serpētib'. Dūc bellerephon tes habitabilē fecit. vñ cymērā dē offēdit. Centauris. i. boibus equo mixtis spēs vocatū dedit: quos qdā fuisse egētes thesalop: dicit: s:z p eo q: discurretes in bello: velut vñū corpus equoz: t boiū viderent: ide cētauros fictos asseruerūt. Postz minoraurū nomē sumpisse ex tauro et boie: qñ bestia dicit fabulose in labyrinth incluz fuisse de q: Quidi'. Semibouēq: virū: semitaurūq: bouē. Onocē taurū at vocari eo q: media boia spēs: media aīnē eē dica tur: sic t hypocētauri: q: equoz boiūq: i eis nā zūcta su ille putat.

De transformatis. Cap. IIII.

Scribunt autē t quedā mōstruosē boiū trās formatōes t cōmutatiōes in bestias: sic de illa maga famosissima circe q: socios quoq: vñis inuitatē fert in bestias: t de archadi bus q: forte ducti trāsnatabant quoddā ita ignatq: ibi cōuertebant i lupos. Tā t vno medio socios in volucres fuisse conuersos: n fabuloso mēdacio: s:z historica affirmatiōe s:z firmat. S:z t qdā asserūt strigas ex boibus fieri. Ad multa. n. latrocinia figurē sceleratoz mutant: t siue magicis cantib' siue barbarū veneficio totis corporib' in feras trāseūt. Sigdē t p naturā pīcras mutationē recipiūt: t corrupta in diuersas spēs trāsmant. sicut de vitulop: carib' putridis apes: si aut de equis scarabei: de mulis locustę de cāris scorpides: Quidius. Longqua litroci si venas brachia cācri: Scopi us exibat: caudagz minabitur vñca.

Incipit liber. I. De pecorib' t iumentis. Cap. I.

De pecorib' t iumentis.



Anibus aialibus Adaz pīmus vocabulā ididit: appellās vñicuiq: nomen ex pīenti institutio ne: iuxta cōditionē naturę cui seruiet. Gentes autem vñicuiq: aialis ex propria lingua dederūt vocabula. Non aut fm latinā linguā atq: grecas aut quarūlibet gentiū barbararū noia illa iposuit Adam: s:z illa lingua quę ante diluuiū oīz vna

fuit quę hebreā nuncupat. Latine autē aialia siue animāria dicta: q: animentū vita t moueant spū. Quadrupedia vocata: q: qñuo: pedib' gradiant. q: dum sunt sīla pecorib': tñ sub cura humana nō sunt: vt cerui: dāme onagri tē: s:z neq: bestię sunt: vt leones: neq: iumenta: vt vñs boiū iuuare possunt. Pecus dicim' omne qd humana lingua t effigie caret. Pēopie aut pecoz nomē bis aialib' accommodari solet q: sunt aut ad vscēdū apta: vt oues t fies: aut vñs boiū cōmoda: vt equi t boues. Differt autem iter pecozā t pecu dea. nā veteres cōiter in significatiōe oīum animātiū pecora dixerūt: pecudes aut tñ illa aialia quę edunt: qñ pecu dea. Generaliter aut omne aial pecus a pascendo vocatū. Iumēta noia ide traxerūt: q: nostrū laborē vel on' suo adiutorio subuectādo vt arādo iunēt. Tā bos carpēta trab. t taurisimas terre glebas vomere vertit. Equus t asinus postāt onera: t boiū in gradiedo laborē tēperant. Unde t iumēta appellant: ab eo q: iument boies sunt: enī magnap: virtus aialia. Eadē quoq: armēta: vel q: sint apta armis. i. bello: vel q: bis in armis vltimur. Alij armēta tñ boues in telligūt ab arādo: qñ armenta: vel q: sint conib' armata. Discretio est aut iter armēta t grege. Tā armēta equozā t bouū sunt: grege vero caprarū t ouū. Quis molle pecus lanis: corpe ferre: aio placidū: ab oblatiōe dictū eo q: apō veteres in initio nō tauri: sed oues iſſacrificiō mactarent. Ex bis qdā bidētes vocat: eo q: iter octo pētes duos alios res habet: quas maxime gēnes i sacrificiū offerrebāt. Uer uex vel a vñb' dicitur q: ceteris ouib' sit fortior: vel q: sit vir. i. masculus: vel q: vernē in capite habeat: quoz excita ti pūritu iuuicē se cōcutiūt: pugnantes cū magno impetu feriunt. Aries vel apo tu areos. i. a mare vocat'. vñ apud nos in gregeb' masculi mares dicunt: siue q: hoc pecus a gētib' bus pīmū aris eī i molatū. Arica q: aris i poneret. Alii est illud: Arica mactat ad arā. Sīgū q: q: greci vocēt apo tu agno: qñ pīū: latini tñ ideo hoc nomē habere putāt eo q: p ceteris aiantibus matrē agnoscat: adeo vt etiā si in magno grege errauerit: statū balat recognoscat vocē patrē. Eadē edēdo vocat'. parui enī pīnguisimi sunt t saposis locū dēvñ t edere inde t edulū vocat'. Dircus lasciuus aial et perulcū t feruēs sēp ad cōitū cui' oculi ad libidinē i trās uerūz aspiciūt. vñde t nomē traxit. Tā birci sunt oculoz angulū fm Suetoniū: cuius nā adeo calidissima est vt adamantē lapidē quē nec ignis nec ferri domare valet mā: for lus hui' cruoz dissoluat. Maiorez birci cūm dicunt a flu uio cūm se in libya vbi grādes nascūtur. Capros t capras a carpēdis virgultis qdā dixerūt. Alij q: caprē aspera. Nō nulla crepitu erūtū: vñde eas creas vocitatas: quę sunt caprę agrestes: q: greci p eo q: acutissime videant. ANOTOU Διπρίγονα. bozbas appellauerūt. Morant enī in excel sis mōtib': t qñ de lōgūquo: vidēt tñ oēs qui veniūt. Eē dem aut t caprę: eē dē ibices: qñ anices: eo q: inſtar auiūz ardua t excelsa teneāt: t in sublimibus ibabit: ita vt de sublimitate vir humanis obtutib' pateāt: vñ t meridiana pars ibices aīes vocat qui nili flueris inhabitāt. Dec itaq: aialia vt dicimus in petris altissimis cōmorant: vt si quan do ferarū vel boiū aduersitatē pēnscent de altissimis fa roz: cacuminib' sese pēpitates: in suis se conib' illeſas sci piūt. Cerui dicti apo ton ceraton. i. a conib'. Cerata enī grece cornua dicuntur: bi serpentium inimici: euz se grana tos inſirmitate perſenferint: ipū narium eos extrahunt de cauernis t superata permitte veneni eoz pabulo reparan tur. Dictamū herbā ipsi pdiderunt. Tāz ea passi excutiūt acceptas sagittas. Morant autēz sibiū fistularū: erectio auribus acute audiūt: sūmīssis nihil: si quādo immēsa flu mina vel maria trāsnat: capita clunibus pēcedētūz sup ponunt: sibi q: in uicē succēdēt: nullū laborez pōderio sen tiunt. Tragelaphi a grecis nominati: qui dūz eadem spēc

bb

a framework to explore the origins and nature of monsters within the doctrines of Christianity.³⁸ Almost a thousand complete or partial manuscript copies of the *Etymologies* survive in the present, many of which circulated for centuries amongst most centres of learning in medieval Europe.³⁹ The German printer Johann Zainer (d. 1478) produced the first edition at Augsburg in 1472, notable for containing the earliest known printed world map.⁴⁰ Among the eleven incunable editions, this Venetian imprint from 1497 displays the same printer's device of Octavianus Scotus (d. 1498) found in the 1486-1487 edition of the *De civitate Dei*, which is the first known printing by this book merchant who, in association with the Franciscan friar Bonetus Locatellus (1486-1510), found success printing music, as well as philosophy and classical works in Latin translation.⁴¹

5 Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514). *Liber chronicarum*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 12 July 1493.

In the tradition of the '*imago mundi*' genre of chronicles, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* arranges the history of the world into the six established biblical ages, adding significant contributions to the history of cities and nations until the year 1493.⁴² When the Nuremberg city physician and humanist scholar Hartmann Schedel joined this ambitious project in 1490, he had access to a personal library of 370 manuscripts and more than six hundred printed books.⁴³ Schedel offers almost no original content as an author and many of his sources can be traced to just a few Italian writers.⁴⁴ He transcribes most of his source material from the *Supplementum chronicarum* by Giacomo Filippo Foresti (1434–1520), while also citing from the *Historia Bohemica* by Enea Silvio Piccolomini or Pius II (1405–1464).⁴⁵ What makes the *Nuremberg Chronicle* a truly innovative book is the vision of its financiers, artists, and printers who sought to create an image of the world through the use of graphic and printing standards unparalleled in books of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶

The first Latin edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* was published in July of 1493 after several years of production.⁴⁷ The printer Anton Koberger (ca. 1440–1513), along with the artists Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (ca. 1450–1494) and Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519), are responsible for crafting one of the masterpieces of graphic and printing arts from the early era of European printing.⁴⁸ The *Nuremberg Chronicle* profusely illustrates the history of the world into six hundred pages of text accompanied by more than eighteen hundred woodcuts, many of which provide early views of



Secunda etas mundi

Folium XII



De hominib⁹ diuersar⁹ formar⁹ dicit^r Plⁱ. li. viij. ca. ij. Et Aug⁹. li. xvi. de ci. dei. ca. viij. Et Istidorus E^{thi}. li. xi. ca. iij. oia q³ sequitur in india. Et enocephali homines sunt canina capita habentes cu^m latratu loquuntur. aucupio viuunt. vt dicit Plⁱ. qui omnes vescuntur pellibus animaliu.

Et copies in India vnu oculum hnt in fronte sup^{er} na sum hij solas ferar⁹ carnes comedunt. Ideo agriofagite vocatur supra nasomonas confinesq³ illoz homines esse: vnuq³ nature inter se vicibus cocutes. Calliphanes tradit Arestonles adicit^r dextram mamam⁹ h⁹ virilem leuam multibrem esse quo hemiofroditas appellamus.

ferunt certi ab o^{mn}ib⁹ pre intima esse homines sine naribus: facie plana eq³ totus corp⁹ planicie. Alios sup^{er}iore labio orbas. alios sine linguis et alijs c^ocreta ora esse modico foramine calamis auenaz potu^m haurientes.

Item homines habentes labiu^m inferius. ita magnu^m vt totam faciem contegant labio tormentes. Item alij sine linguis nutu loq^untes siue motu vt moⁿachi.

Paranorhi in scythia aures tam magnas hnt. vt contegant totum corpus.

Artabrite in ethiopia. p^{ri}mi ambulat vt pecora. et alij qui viuunt p^{er} annos. xl. que^m nullus sup^{er}greditur. Sanni homunciones sunt aduncis naribus cornua i frontibus hnt et capraz pedibus similes quale in solitudine sanctus Antonius abbas vidit.

In ethiopia occidentali sunt vni pedes vno pede latissimo tam veloces vt bestias insequantur.

In scythia hypopodes sunt humana formas eq³nos pedes habentes.

In affrica familias quasda^m effasmanu^m Ifigonius et amphodorus tradit quaz laudatone intereat p^{ri}bata. arefcit arbores: emoritur infantes. esse eiusdem generis in tribalis et illirij adicit Ifigon⁹ q³ visu quoq³ effasment iratis p^{ri}pue oculis: quod coru^m malu^m facilius sentire puberes notabil⁹ esse q³ puillas binas in oculis singulis habeant.

Item boies. y. cubitoz nuq³ infirmi vsq³ ad moites hnt oia scribit Plⁱ. Aug⁹. Ist. Preterea legit^r i gessi Alexadri q³ i india sunt alij boies sex man⁹ hntes.

Item boies nudi et pilosi in flumine morantes.

Item boies manib⁹ et pedib⁹ sex digitos habentes.

Item apothami i aqs morantes medij boies et medij caballi.

Item mulieres cu^m barbis vsq³ ad p^{er}ca^m s⁹ capite plano sine crinibus.

In ethiopia occidentali sunt ethiopes. iij. oculos hntes In Eriopia sunt boies formosi et collo gruno cu^m rostris alium boim⁹ effigies monstriferas circa extremitates gigni m^une miru^m. Artificia ad formanda corpora effigiesq³ celandas mobilitate ignea.

Amnypodes. at. i. boies a tria pte terre vbi sol orit^r q³ occidit nob⁹ aduersa pedib⁹ nris calcare vestigia nulla r^oc crededu^m est vt ait Aug⁹. 16. de ci. dei. c. 9. In gesa n⁹ h⁹ pug⁹ l⁹az p^{ri}traz vulgi opioes circūfundi terre boies vndiq³ couersiq³ iter se pedib⁹ stare et cūc⁹ silem ee celi v^uice. Sic sili moⁿ ex q³uq³ pte media^m calcari. Cur at n⁹ decider⁹ mirer⁹ et illi nos n⁹ decidere: nā em repugnate: et quo cadat negateot possunt cadere. Nā sic ignis sedes nō est nisi i ignib⁹: aqua nisi i aqs. spūs nisi in spū. Ita terre arecentibus cunctis nisi in se locus non est.



historical and biblical events in print as well as images of medieval towns and portraits of important historical figures.⁴⁹

In the age of the Great Flood, Schedel's taxonomy of 'men of diverse forms' is illustrated by arguably the most iconographic pages in the history of monsters in early printed books. Excerpted from Aristotle, Pliny, Augustine, and Isidore, Schedel brings his brief accounts of monstrous peoples to life on paper by way of three sets of marginal woodcuts located in both the original Latin and the German edition of 1493. Although earlier depictions of the cynocephali, blemmyae, sciapods, and other monstrous peoples had appeared in the scarce printed versions of the *Book of Nature* (1475) of Conrad of Megenberg (1309-1374) and the *Travels* (1482) of Sir John Mandeville, the representations of monsters in both text and image in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* had significant influence in the sixteenth century, most notably in the *Chronica* (1531) of Sebastian Franck (1499-ca. 1543) and the *Cosmographia universalis* (1544) of Sebastian Münster (1489-1552).⁵⁰ The *Nuremberg Chronicle* continues to inform modern investigations on the topic of monsters partly because a considerable number of the original 2,500 printed volumes of the Latin and German editions survive to this day.

6 Gregor Reisch (1467-1525). *Margarita philosophica*. Basel: Johann Schott, 1508. Gregor Reisch, a German Carthusian humanist author, invested more than ten years in the preparation of this book intended for young students as an 'epitome of the whole of philosophy.'⁵¹ First published by Johann Schott (1477-1548) in 1503, *Margarita philosophica* quickly became a popular illustrated compendium of all the branches of knowledge that students in the sixteenth century were expected to acquire as part of their education.⁵² Schott and several printers issued at least twelve editions between 1503 and 1600 to meet the high demand for this readable epitome which introduces philosophical ideas as dialogues between masters and students through the course of twelve books, each one lecturing readers on grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, psychology, logic, and ethics.⁵³

In chapters nineteen and twenty of the eighth book, 'On the principles of natural things,' Reisch explores the notions of monstrous peoples according to Augustinian principles. 'What about the various monsters which histories record as existing in diverse parts of the world, but especially in India?' asks the student, to which the master responds, 'these and other monstrous kinds of men Augustine listed in book 16 of *On the City of*

De principijs rerū naturalū

vnū oculū hēre i frōte mediā: q̄busdā plātas verlas esse p^o crura:
q̄sdā sine ceruice oculos hēre in humeris: q̄sdā cynocephalos. i. ca-
nina capita habētes ⁊ similia innumera describūt: hoīes ne sūt/ ⁊ ab
adā ouiginē traxerūt: **Ma.** Hec ⁊ alia mōstruosa hoīm gēna/ Au-
gustī. de ciui. dei li. 16. c. 8. enumerat. ⁊ creatorē oīm taliū effecisse



pp̄ter decorē vnīuersi/ nec errasse dici posse ostendit. ⁊ in fine p̄clu-
dendo ait: Aut illa/ aut alia q̄ de q̄busdam gētibz scripta sunt/ oīno
nulla sūt: aut si sūt/ hoīes nō sūt: aut ex adā sunt si hoīes sunt.

De Miraculis. Capitulum. XX. **Ma.**

Agustinus **b** Ec eadē q̄ monstri noīe censent/ miracula dici solēt. qm̄ q̄
raro sūt ipsa sūt mira. inqt Aug^o. li. 21. de ci. c. 4. et. 8. de tri-
ni. li. 3. c. 2. 8. et. 10. S; assiduitas experīēdi paulatim sub-
trahit admiratiōis icitāmētū. ⁊ ibidē. c. 8. dicit: Un ⁊ ipsa q̄ i reruz
natura oībz nota sūt/ nō min^o mira sūt: eēntq; stupēda p̄siderātibz
cūct; si solerēt hoīes mirari nisi rara. Prop̄ie at̄ miracula sūt quoz **Miraculū**
silia a natura p̄duci p̄nt: modo tñ oīno alio. vt natura in gēnatiōe
vitā tribuit: ⁊ ē naturale. de^o iā ē mortuo corpe subito vitā refūdīt:
⁊ ē miraculū. Et quidē magis pp̄ie miracula sūt hēc ⁊ signa si ad
aliq̄d diuinū^o annūciandū nris sensibus admouent. Si hō aliq̄d
fit cui^o simile natura facere nō pōt: nec ordinē ad hoc habet/ mira-
bile dici debet. vt ē humanā naturā diuine in vnitate suppositi vni-
ri. corpus aiāle patrefactū in terra gl̄iosū resurgere. **Dif.** Nū mī-
racula a p̄ma cā fiūt: **Mag.** a sola. dicēte p̄pheta: Qui facis mira-
bilia magna sol^o. i. potestatiue ⁊ p̄ncipalr. nā p̄missiue ē magici^o
Exodi. artibus fiūt. Nam ⁊ **Exod.** > Magi p̄baronis ranas serpētēsq;
⁊ iūq

God, and showed that the Creator had made all such things according to the beauty of the world and that He cannot be said to have erred.⁵⁴ The dialogue, illustrated by a woodcut depicting five monstrous creatures, deals with the origins of monsters, miracles, and the meaning of monstrosity in light of natural philosophy. As *Margarita philosophica* reinforces Augustine's ideas on monsters as messengers and evidence of God's wisdom, generations of students in Germany and other parts of Europe made this book one of the earliest and most popular examples of a textbook that follows the curriculum of universities in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵

7 Sebastian Münster (1489–1552). *Cosmographia universalis*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1559.

The German geographer and polymath Sebastian Münster devoted eighteen years of his life towards the publication of the first edition of his *Cosmographia* in 1544, an illustrated encyclopedia of universal knowledge and a source of enduring influence for readers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵⁶ The *Cosmographia* stands as a massive collection of world chronicles presented in the form of a historical and geographical peregrination through the German lands and the rest of the world across time.⁵⁷ As more information became available, Münster and his editors added new content to the *Cosmographia* in response to the demands of eager readers who encountered a volume that gradually increased in size from 670 to about 1780 pages in a period of eighty-four years.⁵⁸ Encompassing everything from travel information about European cities to the nature of fantastical beasts, Münster incorporates an impressive range of topics assembled from cartographic information, empirical evidence, regional descriptions, and general content for a book that became the most popular of its kind.⁵⁹

Münster takes a critical stance on the existence of marvels and monstrous peoples.⁶⁰ He cites Pliny, Solinus, and Mela for his accounts of '*monstra humana*' in India and Africa, authors whom he questions for fabricating monsters only found in the pages of books. 'The ancients have devised,' he writes, 'peculiar monsters which are supposed to exist in India but there is nobody here who has ever seen these marvels.'⁶¹ Despite his incredulous views and peripheral coverage on the subject, generations of readers and authors have been drawn to the woodcuts of monstrous peoples and prodigies portrayed in the *Cosmographia*.⁶² The version of the monsters in the *Heydenweldt* (1554) of Johann Herold (1514–1567) is the same as Münster's, while the *Liber de prodigiis* (1552) of Conrad

1080

De terris Asiæ maioris



tur, & Alexāder ibi edoctus fuit, se unum orbis terrarum dominum futurum, sed uiuum in patriā non rediturū, quod & factū est. Nam dum repetit Macedoniā, Babylonīæ mortuus est, ueneno extinctus.

De India ultra Gangem

gem fluvium sita.

Quamuis ista India sit supra modū fertilis & bene culta, inueniuntur tamē in ea sicut & in prioribus, multe solitudines, multi & uarij syluestres homines atq; animalia, idēq; ob immēsum quem habet calorem. Nā subijciit tropico cancri, declinatq; ferē ad æquatorē usq;.

Vnde Plinius scribit, incolae huius terræ colorari sole & contrahere nigredinem instar æthiopum, non quod ab extra tantum nigri fiant ex solis adustione, sed ex ipso sanguine ingenta est eis nigredo, quam duplicat superueniens ardor solis. Confinxerunt ueteres multa monstra quæ in hac terra asserunt inueniri, præsertim Solinus & Megasthenes scribunt, per diuersos Indię montes esse naturas capitibus caninis, armatas unguibus, amictas uestitu tergorum, ad sermonem humanū nulla uoce, sed latratibus tantum sonantes asperis rictibus. Ganges fontē qui accolunt, nullius ad escam opis indigent, odore uiuunt pomorum syluestrium, longiusq; pergētes, eadem illo in præsidio gerunt, ut olfactu alātur. Quod si tetriorem forte spiritum traxerint, exanimari eos certū est, & illorum aliquos



Monstra humana.

in Alexandri castris fuisse memoriæ traditum est. Legimus monoculos quoq; in Indię esse. Quosdam etiam tam insigniter auritos, ut aures ad pedes defluant, atq; in alterutram earum decubent, quarū duricie arbores cōuellant. Quosdam item singulis pedibus & adeo latis quidem, ut ubi se defendēdi à calore uelut resupinati, his totaliter inumbrentur. Legitur etiam gentem quandam esse, quæ in iuuentute est cana, in senectute uerò nigrescit. Et

se etiam perhibet alteram sceminarum gentem, quæ quinquennes concipiunt, sed ultro octauum annum uisendi spacio non protrahunt. Sunt qui ceruicibus carent, & in humeris habent oculos. Sunt præter eos iam enumeratos, syluestres quidam homines caninis capitibus, hirsuto & aspero corpore stridore terrifico. Sed hæc & alia id genus quæ de Indię & gente eius memorantur, quoniam magna opus est fide ut pro ueris recipiantur, quam uel in ijs quidem quæ sunt pene oculis admota, nisi grauate adhibent qui aliena legunt scripta, parcius sunt referenda. Memorantur quoq; Pygmæi esse in Indię, qui nunquam in pace sunt nisi quando grues, quibus cum perpetua lis est, ad nos uolant. Sunt autem Pygmæi breues homines, habitantes in extrema parte montium Indię, salubri cœlo semperq; uernante,



Pygmi.

Lycosthenes (1518–1561) borrows some of its illustrations from the *Cosmographia* and the *Nuremberg Chronicle* as well.⁶³ Prior to the author's death in 1552, eight editions of the *Cosmographia* had been printed, followed by a total of thirty-five editions by 1628. This edition of 1559 contains the same gathering of monstrous peoples as the woodcuts present in the definitive Latin edition of 1550, the last to be edited by Münster.⁶⁴

8 Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri (1525–1601). *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni con le dechiarationi a ciascheduno fine al presente anno 1585*. Rome: By the author, 1585.

The Italian engraver and publisher Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri produced one of the most remarkable and rarest illustrated books on monsters of the early modern period. Cavalieri began his career in Rome in the 1560s where he published prints and several works on Roman antiquities and religious subjects, including his *Romanorum imperatorum effigies* (1583) and *Ecclesiae anglicanae trophæa* (1584).⁶⁵ His *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo* was published in 1585 as a suite of engravings containing twenty plates of monstrous peoples, animals, and two contemporary reports of monstrous births. Each plate is accompanied by brief information on the location, behaviour, and main physical features of the monsters. The book portrays, for example, the dog-headed peoples as 'killers' who eat animals and humans, the 'bestial' one-eyed creatures with no neck and short legs, as well as the peculiar 'bird' peoples with long necks like storks.⁶⁶ Even though the album only survives today in five complete copies, some of the engravings would eventually reach wider audiences as part of the illustrated supplement to *Delle relationi universali* (1617) by Giovanni Botero (1544–1617).⁶⁷

9 Giovanni Botero (1544–1617). *Aggiunta alla quarta parte dell'Indie*. Venice: Alessandro de' Vecchi, 1623.

The *Relationi universali* by the Italian geographer Giovanni Botero compiles descriptions of Europe, Africa, Asia, and parts of the New World taken from early encyclopedias, first-hand sources of travel literature, as well as contemporary accounts of travellers and missionaries.⁶⁸ This popular 'political cosmography' starts with a geographical exploration of the continents and islands of the globe; it then covers the histories of the most important rulers and states; it follows with descriptions of the peoples of the world, their beliefs and habits; and it culminates with commentaries on the New World and the intro-



- 8 Cynocephali from *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni* (1585).



- 8 One-eyed monster from *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni* (1585).



9 Cynocephali from *Aggionta alla quarta parte dell'Indie* (1623).

duction of Christianity in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.⁶⁹ Botero presented readers of the period of the Italian Counter-Reformation with a vision of the world based in traditional theological doctrines and interspersed with pages of new cosmological information, updates on the state of religion, along with accounts of the diversity of peoples throughout the world.⁷⁰ For the European ruling classes, the *Relationi universali* also served as a manual of political geography with valuable information on the resources, governments, and religions of the world.⁷¹

Originally published in three parts in Rome between 1591 and 1595, with a second expanded edition printed in Venice in 1596, the *Relationi universali* saw over sixty editions and translations published by the end of the seventeenth century.⁷² In 1618 and 1623, the *Aggiovnta alla quarta parte dell'Indie*, or supplement, was published together with the *Relationi universali* as well as a separate illustrated companion to Botero's reports of 'monsters and the customs of the Indies.' The *Aggiovnta* contains sixteen woodcut illustrations of monstrous peoples accompanied by explanations of their habitats, customs, and physical nature. Besides containing the same illustrations of monsters in Cavalieri's book of prints (1585), the supplement also reproduces Hans Burgkmair's earlier depictions of natives of Africa and the Americas, some of which first illustrated the important broadside *De Novo Mondo* (1508) by Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512).⁷³ The monstrous peoples of the past give way to exotic peoples of the world in the pages of the *Aggiovnta*. Next to the illustration of the cynocephali, Botero supplies an account of a monster with the head of a dog, with human arms and legs like horses, all covered in animal fur, capable of barking, and surviving on hunting human flesh like 'those in Brazil.'⁷⁴ Botero contextualizes the narratives of medieval monstrous peoples in the contemporary realities of European imperial expansion in Africa and the Americas.⁷⁵ In this ideological framework, the union of the old narratives of the cynocephali and the recent tales of cannibalism in the New World into one discourse illustrates a process of 'Othering' in motion. In essence, Botero creates the figure of the 'Other' by viewing the cultures, religions, habits, and bodies of non-European peoples through the lens of monstrosity.⁷⁶

IO Julius Obsequens (4th century A.D.). *Prodigiorum liber*.

Basel: Johannes Operinus, 1552.

In 1508, the Venetian humanist scholar and printer Aldus Manutius (1449–1515) published the first printed collection of *Prodigiorum liber*, a chronicle on Roman

36

Iul. Obsequens

populatus est, & lex post longas contentionē de reficiendis Consulibus lata est.

Q. FABIO MAXIMO VERRUCOSO
V. Q. Fulvio Flacco IIII. Cos. 38.

*
DXLV.
207.

IN Albano monte tacta de cœlo sunt, signum Iouis, arborq; templo propinqua, Hostiæ lacus, Capuæ murus, Fortunæ ædes, et Sinuessæ murus cum porta. Albana aqua cruore fluxit. Romæ intra cellam ædis Fortis Fortunæ de capite signū, quod in corona erat, in manus sponte sua prolapsum. Priuerni bos locutus, uultus frequentiori foro in tabernā deuolauit. Sinuessæ natus infans, ambiguo inter marem ac foeminam sexu. Lacte pluit. puer cū elephāti capite natus. Marcellus cum Hannibale congressus, primò infortunatè, dehinc secunda pugna dimicauit, hostemq; in fugā uertit. Fabius Tarrentum



monsters and prodigies assembled from Livy's *History of Rome* (written between 27 and 9 B.C.) by the fourth-century author Julius Obsequens. First published with the *Epistolae* of Pliny the Younger, Manutius's edition of this wonder book circulated among Renaissance readers keen to decipher the meanings of prodigies, omens, and other secrets of the supernatural world.⁷⁷ Often illustrated, wonder books inspired the imagination of subsequent generations of readers by transporting monstrous beasts and peoples from the finite leaves of medieval manuscripts into the copious pages printed in books of the early modern period.⁷⁸

Religious debates on the significance of supernatural phenomena and monsters during the course of the Reformation ultimately shaped the publication of *Prodigiorum liber* and other books of the same genre, including works such as *Histoires prodigieuses* (1560) and *Tractatus de monstis* (1570).⁷⁹ Books, pamphlets, broadsheets, and printed material of all sorts exposed readers of the period to an array of views on teratology—understood as the study of monsters and human deformities—while also providing theologians and secular authors with the means to disseminate religious propaganda and popular works devoted to monsters. In interpretations of the Lutheran and humanist scholar Conrad Lycosthenes, God's rejection of religious errors such as blasphemy, heresy, conspiracy, and sedition found a medium of expression in the bodies of exotic monsters as well as abnormal births, strange meteorological events, natural disasters, and plagues.⁸⁰ *Prodigiorum liber* had at least twelve printings prior to the most important edition brought forth by Lycosthenes in 1552, a volume which also contained the works *De prodigiis* and *Norica, sive De ostentis*.⁸¹ In his edition of Obsequens, Lycosthenes chronicles Roman prodigies and monsters from the years 190–12 B.C., explains the consequences of each event, and illustrates a number of them with eighty-three woodcuts printed within the text. Such preoccupations with deciphering the meanings of prodigies and monsters found expression in the pages of wonder books, a distinctive genre which advanced considerably with the publication of Lycosthenes's own richly illustrated compendia of wonders in 1557.⁸²

II Pierre Boaistuau (ca. 1517–1566). *Histoires prodigieuses*.

Paris: Jean de Bordeaux, 1568.

Prior to the publication of the first edition of 1560, the French Renaissance writer Pierre Boaistuau made a journey to the royal court of England to present Queen Elizabeth I with

PRODIGIEUSES. 22
PRODIGES D'VN HORRI-
ble Monstre de nostre temps, sur le discours
duquel la question est dicidée, si les diables
peuvent engendrer & exercer les œuvres de
nature.

CHAPITRE. VII.



E mōstre hideux (duquel
 tu voys le pourtraict cy
 dessus) nasquit en la bas-
 se Polongne, en la noble
 cité de Cracouie, aumoys
 de Feburier, l'an de grace
 mil cinq cens quarante trois, ou (selon
 aucuns) mil cinq cēs quarāte sept, le iour
 de la Conuersion. S. Paul, Lequel com-

11 'Hideous monster' from *Histoires prodigieuses* (1568).

his *Histoires prodigieuses*, a precious dedication manuscript profusely illustrated with forty-two illuminations of the most remarkable subjects.⁸³ Boaistuau's *Histoires prodigieuses* was printed within months as a quarto volume covering a selection of thematic chapters, each introduced with woodcut vignettes of prodigies, supernatural phenomena, and monsters of different natures.⁸⁴ In the tradition of wonder books, *Histoires prodigieuses* interprets the exotic peoples of medieval encyclopaedias, chronicles, and bestiaries as signs of the religious and political struggles tied to the Reformation.⁸⁵ As reports of births of strange creatures from all over Europe were published, monstrous peoples ceased to exist in the popular imagination only at the world's fringes. In this instance, Boaistuau recounts the presence of two monsters found in towns in Poland and Germany, one bearing an elephant's trunk and the other resembling a centaur, both of which were taken to explain the prophetic significance of 'monsters with human figures' in the political and religious context of the time.⁸⁶

The complex publication history of *Histoires prodigieuses* is intertwined with the prodigy tradition at the centre of religious polemics in sixteenth-century France. In the first chapter of the 1560 edition, Boaistuau introduces a Protestant and anti-papal undertone when he describes the existence of a devil worshiped in India who wears 'a crown made like the papal tiara.'⁸⁷ Subsequent editions of the work would omit this claim and other fragments offensive to Catholic sensibilities.⁸⁸ In fact, François de Belleforest (1530–1583) and Arnauld Sorbin (1532–1606) recast the Protestant stance of *Histoires prodigieuses* to represent their Catholic views in their own editions published before 1598.⁸⁹ Both authors went beyond editing the book in the process of defending their faith by reappropriating emblematic monsters like the Papal Ass and the Monk Calf for Catholic propaganda against reformers.⁹⁰ Of all the wonder books published in the sixteenth century, *Histoires prodigieuses* became the most important in France with thirty-seven editions printed before 1598, along with the 1,282 pages of content added to the original text by Boaistuau and by other authors after his death.

12 Arnaud Sorbin (1532–1606). *Tractatus de monstribus*. Paris: Jerome de Marnef and Guillaume Cavellat, 1570.

Arnaud Sorbin, Bishop of Nevers and preacher to the king, was one of the many writers in the sixteenth century who turned to publishers to meet the high demand from readers of every class and region in Europe for literature on prodigies. These books took the form

TRACTATUS



Q Væ tam humana natio, & tam docta, aut quæ tã immanis, tã-que barbara (vt cū Cicerone loquar) esse potuit, quæ nescierit quibusdam mediis futura prædici, & à quibusdam intelligi? Cælum contemplantur & eius cursus Assyrij, eandem artem Aegyptij longinquitate temporis innumerabilibus penè seculis cōsecuti putantur: alij superstitiosè diuini luminis fulgore destituti auium volat⁹ vanè comtemplantur. Oracula quærebant alij: denique nemo nō

of wonder books, theological pamphlets, propaganda broadsides, and printed news pertaining to the tradition of divination via monsters and monstrous births.⁹¹ First published in Latin in 1570, *Tractatus de monstribus* is the source for the fifth volume of Boaistuau's *Histoires prodigieuses*. In 1582, François de Belleforest's translation of the original Latin was added to this popular six-volume French series on prodigies taken from ancient sources, the Bible, and contemporary reports.⁹² Jerome de Marnef (1515?–1595), a member of an active family of publishers and printers in Paris, prepared both editions of Sorbin's *Tractatus de monstribus* following the scheme set by Boaistuau in 1560.⁹³ Sorbin repurposes the pages of the *Histoires prodigieuses* with their original controversial Protestant subtexts, in order to target the writings of Calvinists and Lutheran authors on monsters directly.⁹⁴ The birth in 914 of a 'strange and monstrous figure,' resembling the dog-headed beings of classical and medieval sources, is recorded in one of the early episodes of the book to symbolize a curse upon humanity as a consequence of its endless struggles to unite under one faith.⁹⁵ In general terms, Sorbin regards the occurrences of monstrous births as the religious transgression of entire groups instead of representing the sins of an individual, particularly the mother.⁹⁶

Every monster in this wonder book is presented as a sign of divine displeasure over religious and political conflicts from the period of the Roman Empire to the early years of the sixteenth century.⁹⁷ Sorbin relates the polemic accounts of two monstrous births known as the Papal Ass (1496) and the Monk Calf (1523) in an effort to voice his harsh anti-Protestant views. Both prodigies circulated in a number of broadsides around the time of the publication in 1523 of an influential propaganda pamphlet in which these monsters were explained as indicative of the vices of the papacy and monastic institutions.⁹⁸ In turn, Sorbin reinterprets the Papal Ass and the Monk Calf as symptoms of the negative effects of Calvinism during his time and, simultaneously, as expressions of the heresy of key figures of the Reformation, especially Martin Luther (1483–1546) and his supporters.⁹⁹

13 *Abbildung des Bapstum*. [Wittenberg, 1545].

The message of Evangelical authors found a quick, affordable, and effective medium in the pamphlets and the broadsides printed and disseminated across the cities and towns of Europe during the Reformation. In the same vein, Protestant and Catholic authors exploring the divine implications of prodigies in accordance with their respective tradi-

MONSTRVM ROMAE INVENTVM MORTVVM
IN TIBERI. ANNO 1496.



13 'Monster of Rome' from *Image of the Papacy* (1545).

tions also took to these ephemeral publications to spread stories of monstrous births and monsters in general. In the hands of literate individuals such as preachers, visual and textual representations of monsters like the Papal Ass rapidly left the printed pages to be transformed into oral tales heard and then retold by peoples from all walks of life in the late fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰

As with countless other tales of monsters and prodigies, the story of the Papal Ass begins with rumours. In December of 1495, Rome's thriving street life was interrupted by a great devastation caused by four days of heavy rains.¹⁰¹ Amid the destruction, rumours surfaced about the sighting of a hideous monster. One possible source for these rumours was the street itself, speaking through the voices of anonymous city dwellers, street criers, or possibly peddlers. The first person to commit the story to paper was a Venetian diplomat who wrote about it in a letter to government officials in January of 1496 and, from that moment on, accounts of the monster multiplied in the pages of broadsides, pamphlets, and books for several decades.¹⁰² The earliest known printed illustration of the Papal Ass is a 1498 engraving signed by the Moravian printmaker Wenzel von Olmütz (active 1481–1497), which was eventually used by the reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) for his popular propaganda pamphlet first published in 1523, with woodcuts by Lucas Cranach (ca. 1472–1553).¹⁰³ In *The Pope-Ass of Rome*, Melanchthon conceives the monster as the embodiment of the papal Antichrist.¹⁰⁴ The image of this portent circulated between 1523 and 1549 in at least fourteen editions in various formats, translations, and versions for an estimated total of more than twenty thousand copies.¹⁰⁵

'What God himself thinks of the papacy is shown here by this horrible picture, which should horrify all who would take it to heart.'¹⁰⁶ Luther wrote these words of warning to accompany Cranach's depiction of the 'Monster of Rome' of 1523, which was reprinted twenty-two years later as part of a series of nine woodcut illustrations under the title *Image of the Papacy*.¹⁰⁷ The monster stands in the centre of this broadside, showing all its distinct body parts in one frame in order to be seen, taken in, and above all, to be deciphered for what it is: the product of an extensive process of appropriation. Each of the monster's elements, from its equine body and head to its mixed animal limbs, were initially taken from medieval iconography understood by readers and witnesses in the last decade of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸ In the following decades, the Papal Ass grew intricate layers of new meaning when writers like Luther and Sorbin appropriated it as a propaganda instrument in their polemic works. The story of this emblematic monster has remained alive in the pages of wonder books, Reformation pamphlets and broadsides, natural history volumes, and teratology treatises published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the case of the Fisher copy of the *Image of the Papacy*, the Papal Ass survived into the present (along with six of the nine other original illustrations) as a paste-down in the binding of a Saxon imprint from 1569.

8.

De prodigiis

nostris grādiore, duos etiā habēs reliqs eminētiore putantēq̃ eis
sic labra putrefieri, ob ardorē torridę plagg, et ideo sale sibi medēt.



IN *Aethiopia* occidentali *Aethiopes* quatuor oculis: in *Eriopia*
uerò homines formosi, collo ac ore gruino, cum rostris anima-
lium, atq̃ alij mōstrofi diuersi generis homines inueniri dicūtur.
Ipopodes. **I**N *Asie* regione *Scythia* *Ipopodes*, humanam quidem formā,
sed pedes equinos habentes.



A *Rimaspi* unum tantum in frontibus habetes oculum, unde *Arimaspi*,
& nomen traxerūt: Nam *arima* *Scytharum* lingua unum,
spu uerò oculum designat, nos communiore nomine *Cyclopes*
uocamus. Hi solas ferarum carnes comedunt: unde ab alijs *A-*
griophagitæ appellantur, *Gell. lib. 9. cap. 4.*

Neuri

& ostentis.

9

NEuri, qui Scithicis utuntur moribus, qui sibi ipsis persuasent, deierantes se quotannis ad dies aliquot lupos fieri, & rursus in pristinum habitum & formam redire.



Anthropophagi.

Anthropophagi humanæ carnis comestores, qui reliquos omnes moribus agrestioribus superantes, nec iudicijs nec legibus utuntur, sed pro arbitrio ac nature ductu uiuunt.



Arimphæi sub excelsorum montium radicibus habitantes, qui ab ipso natali calui sunt, mares pariter & foeminae, simis quoque naribus, et ingenti mæto, proprio quodam oris sono. Scythicam gestantes uellem, atque ex arboribus tantum uisitantes. Quorum meminit & Ammianus Marcellinus, à iusticia ac morum placiditate eos commendans.



IN Scythia qui sub ipsis septentrionibus atate agunt, populi singulares uelocitatis, uestigia pedum habentes retrò porrecta, non ut cæterorum hominum prospectantia. Gell. lib. 9. cap. 4.

Item quidam homines sine capitibus, oculos, nares, atque ora in pectore ac uentre quasi habentes.

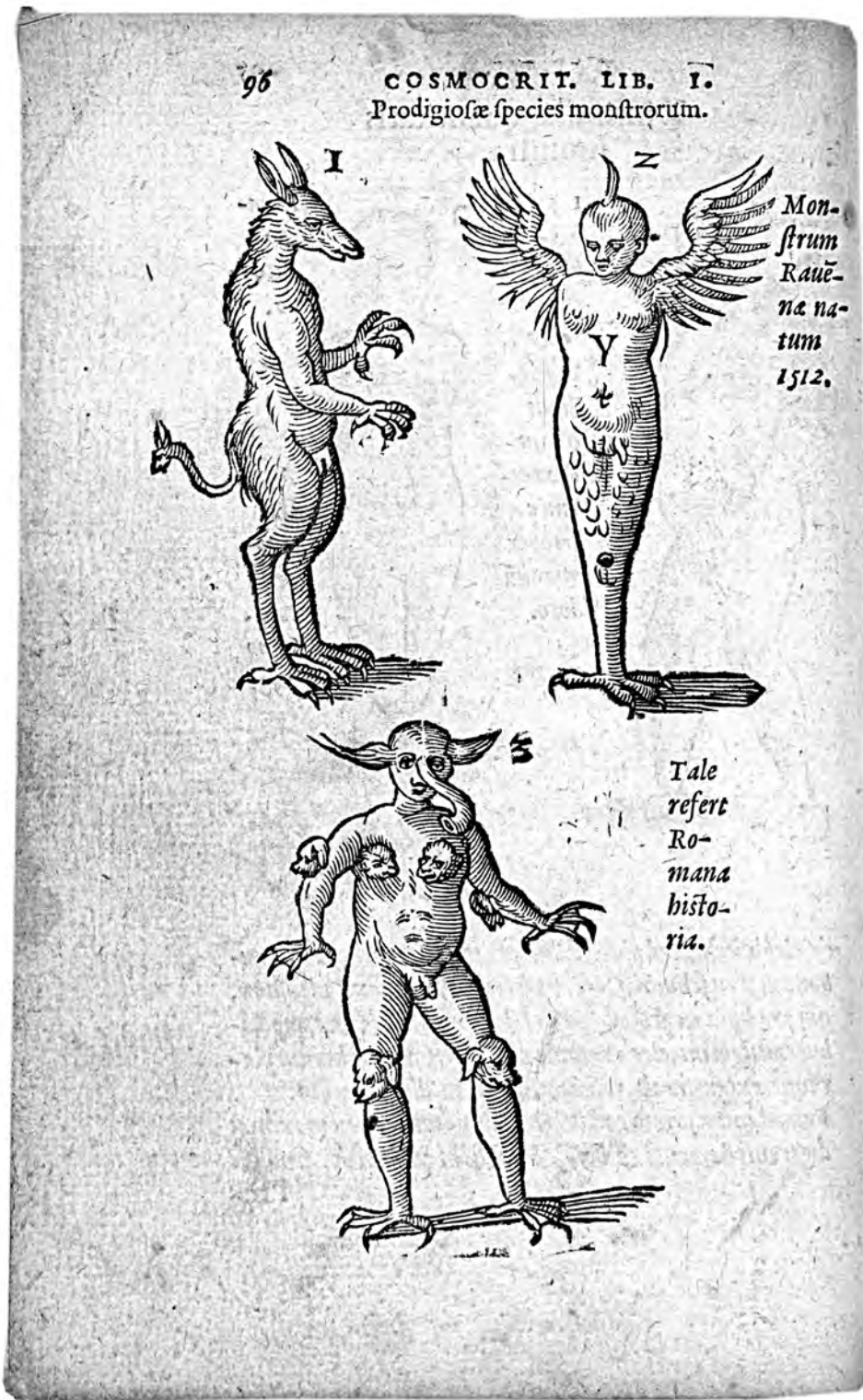
Scipodes

14 Conrad Lycosthenes (1518–1561). *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon*.

Basel: Henrich Petri, 1557.

In the years of the early Restoration period when the Anglican cleric and scholar John Spencer (1630–1693) published his *Discourse concerning Prodigies* in 1663, the influence of prodigies in religious propaganda was still very much alive. ‘The superstition of prodigies commits no small waste upon religion,’ Spencer argues, ‘as the fears it creates abuse the minds of men.’¹⁰⁹ Spencer not only rejected the interpretation of prodigies as divine signs altogether, but he also criticized their use in the religious and political campaigns carried out against the Restoration in publications such as *Mirabilis annus* (1661–1662).¹¹⁰ In addition to newspaper reports, printed ballads, and other popular genres, such wonder books published in English cite, at great length, a variety of continental authorities on prodigies and monsters.¹¹¹ In the preface to first *Mirabilis annus*, its anonymous compiler quotes a century-old reference in what is arguably the most significant wonder book published in the sixteenth century.¹¹²

Lycosthenes’s *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* came out in concurrent German and Latin folio tomes from the press of Heinrich Petri (1508–1579), an important Reformation printer who had previously produced various editions of Münster’s *Cosmographia*.¹¹³ From Creation to the year 1557, this wonder book presents a wide range of episodes in chronological order with descriptions directing the reader to receive God’s message through prodigies, portents, and omens revealing stories of the end of days.¹¹⁴ Each page contains several illustrations amounting to some fifteen hundred woodcuts mainly derived from the Basel editions of the *Cosmographia* and Schedel’s *Nuremberg Chronicle*.¹¹⁵ What constitutes a prodigy in Lycosthenes’s approach is almost anything supernatural or foreign to the natural order, including monstrous peoples, deformed births, earthquakes and floods, strange celestial events, and other supernatural phenomena that might appeal to his readers.¹¹⁶ *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* favours classical sources such as Pliny but it also embraces the writings of contemporaries like Job Finckel (d. 1582) in his *Wunderzeichen* (1556), a collection offering a Protestant outlook on portents and prodigies that supplied much of the material for the last seven years of the chronicle.¹¹⁷ Lycosthenes’s wonder book became a model for printers looking to venture into this profitable genre and desiring to create similar reference books on prodigies and monsters for readers beyond the Renaissance period.¹¹⁸



15 Cornelius Gemma (1535–1578). *De naturae divinis characterismis*.

Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575.

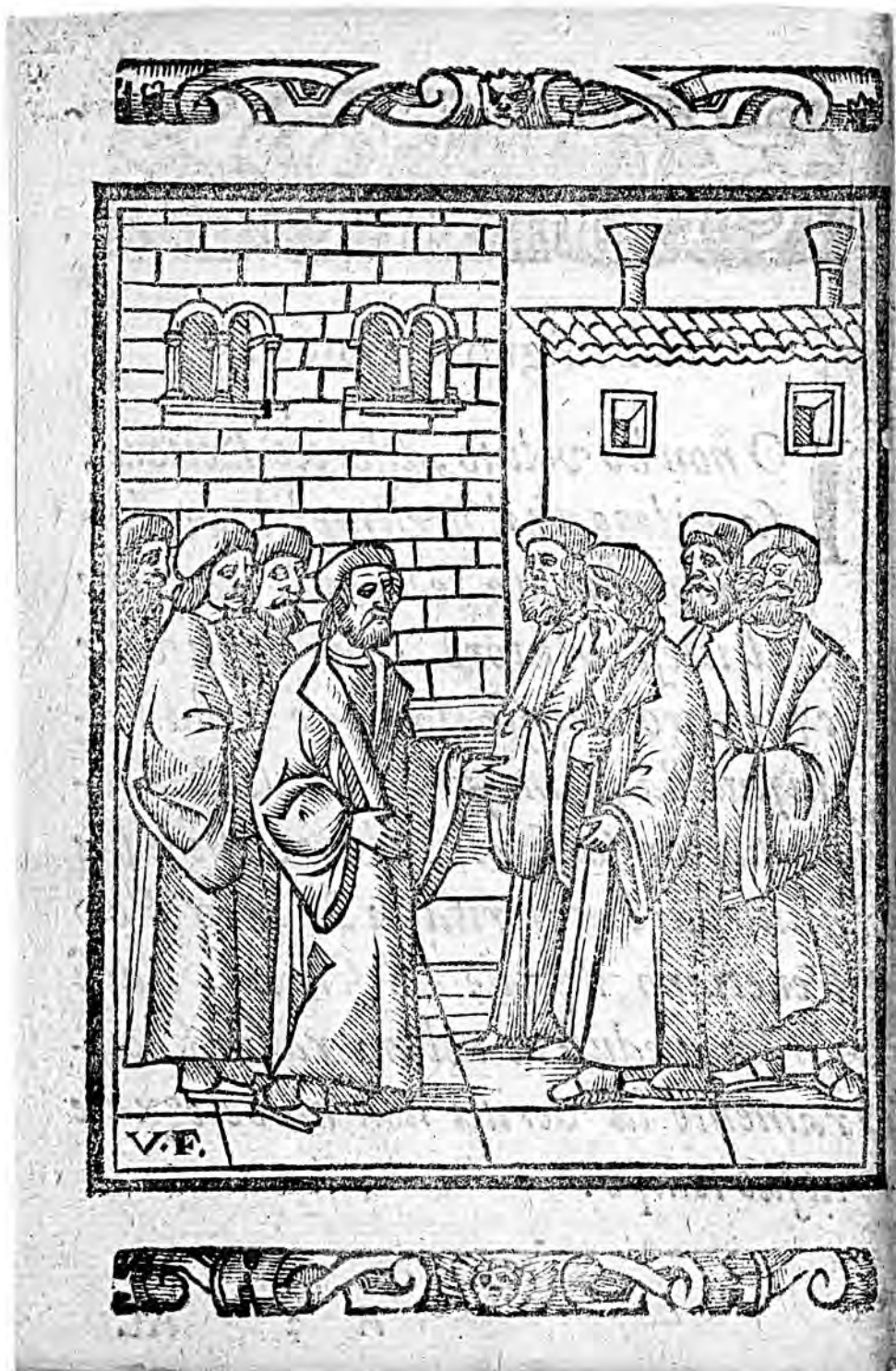
The Belgian physician Cornelius Gemma (1535–1578) holds a significant place in the history of cosmology for his role in the intellectual debates over two significant celestial events of the sixteenth century: the appearance of a new star in 1572 and the observation of a comet in 1577.¹¹⁹ In his *De naturae divinis characterismis*, Gemma looks beyond the stars to advance his ‘cosmological art’ in order to convert the divine code of prodigies into a language understood by his contemporary readers.¹²⁰ The range of methods Gemma applies to decipher the signs of prodigies are all supported by his broad interests in astronomy and astrology, in addition to theories relating to natural philosophy, medicine, divination, teratology, eschatology, encyclopedism, and mnemonic principles.¹²¹ Gemma turned a page in the history of monsters as a result of his *ars cosmocritica*, an approach which analyzes the ‘critical signs’ of prodigies in order to interpret their physical nature, predict the future in their signs, and unravel other hidden messages.¹²²

In *De naturae divinis characterismis*, Gemma produces an extensive list of monstrous peoples or ‘wild humans in appearance and way of life’ as he explains a number of causes for their physical qualities and describes some of the ways that monsters are produced in nature. Gemma takes the same route as Botero in his *Relationi universali* in locating monstrous peoples in the lands described by classical authors, in the most recent printed accounts of the Americas, and in the polemical reports and medical treatises of monsters born in Europe during the sixteenth century.¹²³ He also defines monsters as prodigies delivered to humans as divine warnings, manifested in both terrestrial forms and as celestial events.¹²⁴ Lycosthenes and Boaistuau are represented in his writings on prodigies but he also branches outside the field of monsters to include authorities involved in the development of sixteenth-century science.¹²⁵ In the process of defining his cosmological approach, Gemma manages to introduce a ‘new teratology’ that assigns medical and other meanings to monsters and prodigies.¹²⁶ In the end, he releases his subjects from the conventional categories of monsters found in wonder books, encyclopaedias, cosmographies, theological pamphlets and broadsides, as well as other genres.

Part II:

On Monstrous Encounters

The history of every civilization is the history of encounters.¹²⁷ In the Age of Exploration, the initial wave of European travellers reported the first narratives of encounters in travel accounts, journals, letters, cartographic material, and dispatches that were immensely popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In these narratives, European explorers let their imagination run wild when describing encounters with the peoples and lands of the New World and other continents. European readers eventually learned from these narratives how to define their own identities as 'normal' in response to the 'Otherness' of the peoples who soon became colonial subjects. In this view, every aspect of European culture and society was located at the centre of a colonial discourse that often preconceived non-European peoples through the lenses of primitivism, cannibalism, and monstrosity. As a result, the medieval writings on monsters and monstrosity were revived once again to fuel the machinery of European colonial expansion into the rest of the world.



16 Frontispiece from *Delle meraviglie del mondo* (1626).

16 Marco Polo (1254–1323?) *Delle meraviglie del mondo*.

Venice: Ghirardo & Iseppo Imberti, 1626.

The Venetian merchant Marco Polo and the romance writer Rustichello of Pisa (ca. 1250–ca. 1300) met as prisoners in Genoa in the aftermath of the Battle of Meloria in 1284. Under these circumstances, Polo and Pisa brought together their stories and talents as they began the journey of composing one of the most influential books of the medieval period. Both Marco Polo and his multifaceted book have become historical icons over the course of centuries.¹²⁸ Marco Polo is regarded as the first European to leave a written record of his extensive travels to China and other regions of the East prior to the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁹ The book, known under the titles *Le Devisement du Monde* and *Il Milione*, was the first of its kind to provide readers with ‘eye-witness’ accounts of the peoples, cultures, religions, and commerce of another world as yet unwritten in European sources about the East.¹³⁰ Although the figure of Marco Polo and the veracity of his book are often met with disbelief, together they stand as one the most compelling narratives of encounters between the East and the West. Marco Polo covers geographical and political knowledge, myths, marvels, natural history, historical accounts, as well as sources about commodities of the East in a book that details each topic as a ‘steady narrative.’¹³¹ *The Travels of Marco Polo*, as it is commonly known today, presented European readers with a new world of information about the East encompassing the fields of geography to travel narratives, merchant handbooks, and missionary chronicles.¹³² As a result, the book introduced a new genre of western literature and, more precisely, a vision of the East of enduring influence over the writings of encounter during the Age of Exploration.¹³³

In his description of the Andaman Islands near India, Marco Polo refers to its inhabitants as ‘wild beasts’, and proceeds to write that ‘all the men of this island have heads like dogs, and teeth and eyes likewise’ and even argues that ‘they are a cruel generation, and eat everybody that they can catch, if not of their own race.’¹³⁴ If Marco Polo’s allusion to the classical dog-headed monsters is not fully evident in this passage, the artists producing the miniatures found in the leaves of a number of manuscript versions of the book clearly identify them as the cynocephali.¹³⁵ Contrary to common conceptions, Marco Polo reveals few details of the cynocephali and other medieval monsters in his descriptions of the peoples and lands of the East Indies and China.¹³⁶ However, he frequently writes on idolatry and the practice of cannibalism, pointing directly to the traditional figure of the ‘monster-cannibal’ of the classical and medieval monstrous peoples of the East.¹³⁷

LIBRO TERZO.

53

A *Dell'Isola di Angaman.*

Cap. 18.

Angaman è vna Isola grandissima, che non ha Re, le cui genti adorano gl'Idoli, & sono come bestie saluatiche, conciosia cosa, che mi fu detto, che hanno il capo simile a quello de Cani, & gli occhi, & denti. Sono genti crudeli, & tutti quegli huomini, che possono prendere, gli ammazzano, & mangiano, pur che non siano della sua gente. hanno abbondanza di tutte le sorti di specie. Le sue vettouaglie sono risi, & latte, & carne d'ogni maniera. hanno noci d'India, pomi paradisi, & molti altri frutti, diuersi dalli nostri.

*possono esser Canibali**Dell'Isola di Zeilan.*

Cap. 19.

Poi, che partendosi dall'Isola di Angaman s'è navigato da mille miglia per Ponente, & alquanto meno, verso Garbin, si troua l'Isola di Zeilan, la qual al presente è la miglior Isola, che si troua al mondo della sua qualità, perche gira di circuito da duomila & quattrocento miglia. & anticamente era maggiore, perche giraua à torno à torno ben tremila & seicento miglia, secondo, che si troua ne Mapamondi di marinari di quelli Mari. ma il vento di Tramontana vi soffia con tanto empito, che ha corroso parte di quei monti, quali sono calcati, & sommersi in Mare, & così è perso molto del suo territorio. & questa è la causa, perche non è così grande al presente, come fu già per il passato. Questa Isola ha vn Re, che si chiama Sernernaz. Le genti adorano gl'Idoli, & non danno tributo ad alcuno. gli huomini, & le donne sempre vanno nudi, eccetto, che coprono la loro natura con vn drappo. non hanno biade se non risi, & susimani, de quali fanno olio. Viuono di latte, risi, & carne, & vino de gli arbori sopradetti. hanno abbondanza del miglior verzino, che trouar si possa al mondo.

B In questa Isola nascono buoni, & bellissimi rubini, che non nascono in alcuno altro luogo del mondo, & similmente zafiri, topazii, amethisti, granate, & molte altre pietre preziose, & buone. & il Re di questa Isola vien detto hauere il piu bel rubino, che giamai sia stato veduto al mondo, lungo vn palmo, & grosso come è il braccio d'vn huomo. splendente oltra modo, & non ha pur vna macchia, che pare, che sia vn fuoco, che arda, & è di tanta valuta, che non se potrà comprare con danari. Cublai gran Can, mandò ambasciadori à questo Re, pregandolo, che se ei volesse concederli quel rubino li daria la valuta d'vna città. egli rispose, che non glielo daria per thesoro del mondo. nè lo lascierebbe andar fuori delle sue mani, per essere stato de suoi predecessori. & per questa causa il gran Can non lo potè hauere. Gli huomini di questa Isola non sono atti all'arme, per essere vili, & codardi. & se hanno di bisogno di huomini combattitori, trouano gente d'altri luoghi vicini à Sarraceni. & non essendoui altre cose memorabili, procedendo piu oltra narreremo di Malabar.

*Rubini.
Zafiri.
Topazii.
Amethisti.
Sperato**Della prouincia di Malabar.*

Cap. 20.

Partendosi dall'Isola di Zeilan, & navigando verso Ponente miglia sessanta, si troua la gran prouincia di Malabar, la qual non è Isola, ma terra ferma, & si chiama India maggior, per essere, & la piu nobile, & la piu ricca prouincia, che sia al mondo. Sono in quella quattro Re. ma il principale, che è capo della prouincia, si chiama Senderbandi. Nel suo regno si pescano le perle, cioè, che fra Malabar, & l'Isola di Zeilan vi è vn colfo, o vero seno di Mare, doue l'acqua non è piu alta di dieci in dodici passa, & in alcuni luoghi duoi passa, & pescansi in questo modo, che molti mercatanti fanno diuerse compagnie, & hanno molte naui, & barche grandi, & piccole, con ancore, per potere forger. & menano seco huomini salariati, che fanno andare nel fondo à pigliar le ostriche, nelle quali sono appiccate le perle, & le portano di sopra in vn sacchetto di rete, legato al corpo, & poi ritornano di nuouo, & quando non possono sostenere piu il fiato vengono sufo, & itati vn poco se ne discendono, & così fanno tutto il giorno, & pigliansi in grandissima quantità, delle quali si fornisce quali tutto il mondo, per essere la maggior parte di quelle, che si pigliano in questo colfo tonde, & lustrate. Il luogo, doue si trouano in maggior quantità dette ostriche, si chiama Betala, che è sopra la terra ferma, & de li vanno al dritto per sessanta miglia, per mezzo giorno. Et essendoui in questo colfo pesci grandi, che uccideriano i pescatori, però i mercatanti cōducono alcuni Incantatori di vna sorte di Bramini, quali per arte diabolica fanno constringere, & stupefare i pesci, che non li fanno male, & perche pescano il giorno, però la sera desfanno l'incanto temendo, che alcuno nascosamente senza licenza di mercatanti, non discenda la notte à pigliar le ostriche. I ladri, che temono detti pesci non osano andarui di notte. questi Incantatori sono gran Maestri di sapere incantare tutti gli animali, & ancho gli ucelli. Questa pescagione comincia

Malabar India maggiore

The fourteenth-century account of Sir John Mandeville references Marco Polo on this matter, while editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and even Mercator's world map (1569) convert his depiction of cannibals in the Andaman Islands into new geographical information.¹³⁸ Moreover, European explorers writing letters and chronicles also make references to Marco Polo and other medieval accounts of flesh-eating monsters as they encounter new and strange peoples across the world in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the end, *The Travels of Marco Polo* is neither a travel narrative nor a compendium of marvels or monsters. What the book offers to readers across time and regions, in all its manuscript versions and printed editions, is a foundational text on the discourse of Otherness in western literature.¹³⁹

17 Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557). *Delle navigationi et viaggi*. Venice: Giunti, 1559–1565.

Written during the last two years of the thirteenth century, the now lost original manuscript of the Polo and Piso collaboration was the common source for a family tree of 150 extant manuscript versions of *The Travels of Marco Polo* composed in a variety of European languages, including several translations completed during Polo's lifetime.¹⁴⁰ The book was extremely popular from the initial years of its circulation in the medieval manuscript tradition to the abundant printed editions published in the following centuries.¹⁴¹ The first incunable edition appeared in 1477 in German, quickly followed by the Latin translation of 1485, in addition to numerous editions issued in multiple European languages before the Italian geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio shifted the course of the book in his best-selling collection of travels published between 1550 and 1559.¹⁴²

In the second volume of the *Navigazioni e viaggi* (1559), Ramusio hails Marco Polo as a hero of the Venetian Republic at a crucial time in the process of European expansion to the Americas.¹⁴³ Ramusio not only presents the first biographical sketch of Marco Polo, but he also assigns the book to the genre of travel narratives in the context of his monumental collections of modern voyages around the world.¹⁴⁴ Although readers of this period had access to some twenty-five editions of the book circulating in the sixteenth century, Ramusio's version of *I viaggi di Messer Marco Polo* offers another approach to the text as a result of his editorial ambitions.¹⁴⁵ Instead of writing a new cosmography in the way of Münster, Ramusio aims to advance geographical knowledge by collecting first-hand accounts of explorers into a sourcebook available to contemporary readers in the

of Sir John Mandevile, Knight.

95

such noise as Beasts do one to another: And they make no force of Riches, but of a Stone that is of forty colours, and is called Tar-kouet, and in that Ile they know not the Vertue thereof, but they covet it for the fairness.

CHAP. LXI.

Of the Ile named Macumeran, Where the People have heads like Hounds.



From this Ile men go to another that is called Macumeran, which is a great Ile and a fair; and the men and Women of that Country have Heads like Hounds; they are reasonable, and worship an Ar for their God; they go all naked but a little Cloth before their Privy Members; they are good men to fight, and they bear a great Target, with which they cover all their Body and a Spear in their hand. And if they take any man in Battel, they send him to their King, which is a great Lord and devout in his Faith: For he hath about his neck on a Chain, three hundred great Pearls, and as the Papists say their Pater noster, and other Prayers, so their King saith every day three hundred Prayers to his God, before he either eat or drink; and he beareth also about his Neck a Ruby Orient fine and good, that is near a foot and five fingers long. For when they chuse their King, they give to him that Ruby to bear in his hand, and then they lead him riding about the City, and then ever after they are

sub.

vernacular.¹⁴⁶ The medieval voyages of Marco Polo are edited with the most recent travels of pioneer explorers such as Niccolò de' Conti (1395–1469), Sebastian Cabot (ca. 1474–1557), and Christopher Columbus (1451–1506).¹⁴⁷ In this light, Marco Polo's vision of the East would become a surface, much like a palimpsest, onto which humanist writers and European explorers would impose their own views on the encounters with the 'Other'—understood as the non-European colonized subject—as expressed in travel narratives, maps, and chronicles of the Americas and the rest of the world.¹⁴⁸ One instance of such textual encounter appears in this copy of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi* where a reader has marked with three words his impressions on the passage on the Andaman Islands: 'possono esser(e) canibali' or 'they could be cannibals.'¹⁴⁹ Written on the margin, this definition of the peoples of these islands reflects the reader's own interpretations of the text just as it highlights one of the key elements of the notion of monstrosity in the process of European imperial expansion to the New World: anthropography.

18 Sir John Mandeville. *The voyages & travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

London: R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswel, 1684.

Similar to *The Travels of Marco Polo*, the stories of *The Book of John Mandeville* have appealed to the imagination of readers across generations. One such reader is Christopher Columbus, who consulted and annotated the 1485 Latin edition of Marco Polo and probably read the popular story of Mandeville in one of the thirty-seven editions available in the late fifteenth century.¹⁵⁰ In general terms, *The Book of John Mandeville* is a fictional travel journey to the Holy Land, India, and Cathay, and was compiled around 1356 by an English knight whose real identity eludes any kind of factual reference.¹⁵¹ The book was evidently very popular in the late medieval period, for almost three hundred manuscript versions survive in at least twelve European languages to this day.¹⁵² Mandeville's textual journey to the Holy Land and the Far East brings together numerous medieval sources that are still known today, mainly the *Relatio* (1330) or missionary travels of the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone (1286–1331) and the pilgrimage of the Dominican William of Boldensele (ca. 1285–1338?) in his *Itinerarius* (1336).¹⁵³ As a compiler, Mandeville prefers fantasy to reality in crafting a travel narrative that takes readers to 'many divers kingdoms and countries and isles towards the east part of the world' where they will find the sciapods, cynocephali, epiphagi, cyclopes, among other Plinian monsters.¹⁵⁴ Even more popular than *The Book of Marco Polo*, this fictional account was not so much

favoured in the writings of humanist scholars or geographers as it was inspiring to readers who discovered the marvels and monsters of the East beyond the boundaries of this region.¹⁵⁵ *The Book of John Mandeville* exhibits an exotic vision of the East in its diverse displays of marvels and monsters, as well as in its observations on Eastern religious practices from a Christian frame of reference.¹⁵⁶

The travel narratives of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries extended the life of the medieval monsters of the East by becoming the new authorities on such things.¹⁵⁷ In the journal of the First Voyage of 1492 and in the *Letter to Luis de Santángel* of April of 1493, Columbus becomes the first European to write about monsters in the New World.¹⁵⁸ On 4 November 1492, he records in his journal second-hand stories of ‘one-eyed peoples’ somewhere far in Hispaniola in addition to recounting tales of ‘peoples with dog’s snouts who eat men and drink their blood.’¹⁵⁹ Monstrous peoples like the monoculi and the cynocephali, both described and illustrated in this early-modern edition of *The Voyages & Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, reside among the natives of the Americas according to Columbus’s writings. Whether Columbus actually read or found inspiration in Marco Polo or Mandeville in preparation for his journeys to the ‘East’ is not as significant as the fact that he was the guiding light that transported the medieval monsters to the shores and lands of the New World. As a result, subsequent European explorers and writers imagined a similar exotic world of marvels and monsters as they encountered the striking realities of the Americas in their journeys.

19 Johann Ludwig Gottfried (ca. 1584–1633). *Neue Welt und Americanische Historien*. Frankfurt: Merianische Erben, 1655.

The Flemish engraver and publisher Theodor de Bry (1528–1598) journeyed across vast territories of the world without ever leaving his workshop in Frankfurt where he published his instrumental collection of travel narratives between 1590 and 1634.¹⁶⁰ *India Occidentalis* and *India Orientalis* comprise nearly fifty first-hand accounts of European explorers in the Americas and Asia compiled in twenty-seven volumes, all of which are illustrated with engravings of the encounters between Europeans and the diverse inhabitants and natural beauty of these regions during the Age of Exploration.¹⁶¹ In these compilations, European readers, comprised largely of educated and mercantile classes, experienced the notion of the noble savage for the first time. They also witnessed the

Von Natur vnd Eigenschafft der Newen Welt.

145



mit den Händen vnd mit dem ganzen Leib so wunderbarlich/ daß darauß genugsam ist abzunehmen/
wie begierig er auff den Gefangenen/ als auff einen Raub/ seye/ vnder dessen aber so wird der Gefan-
gene an seinem gedachten Det mit Seyle durch viel hart gehalten vnd muß also auffwarten/ kan er
aber etwas mit der Hand erhaschen/ so wirfft er es dem Hencker entgegen: Es geben auch bißweilen
die vmbstehende ihm Stein vnd andere ding an die Hände zu dem ende: Vnd damit probieren sie ih-
ren Hencker/ ob er auch geschickt genug darzu seye: Es weiß aber solcher Hencker sich so geschwind mit
seinem Leib bald hie/ bald dorthin zu wenden / daß er alle würffe leichtlich von sich kan abwenden:
Bald hierauff kommet der hochgeehrte Hencker/ vnd trägt sein Schwerdt in den Händen / stellet sich
auch dem Gefangenen zur linken Seiten/ damit er ihn desto besser vberwinden könne. Der jenige
nun/ so hingerichtet soll werden/ wünschet ihm also Glück zu seinem Tode: Nun wol an/ spricht er zu
sich selbst/ ich wil sterben/ dann es seyn auch schon viel vor mir also gestorben: Ich hinterlaß meine
Freunde vnd nächste Brüder/ welche diesen meinen Tode rechen werden. Wann er dieses gesagt/
fange der Hencker mit sonderlicher Geschwindigkeit vnd Geschicklichkeit auff ihn zuzuschlagen / der
arme Mensch aber wendet sich bald hie / bald dorthin die Streich von sich abzuwenden: Dann er
weiß sich mit neygung vnd beugung des Kopffs vnd gangen Leibs so geschwind zuschicken/ daß viel
streich ihn nicht treffen/ wiewol er auff beyden Seiten mit Seyle wird gehalten: Wann er das
Schwerdt vber sich herfichet fahren/ weiß er sich so artig zu lencken/ daß er manchemals den jenigen/ so
ihn mit dem Seyle helte/ gar zu sich zeucht/ ja erwischt auch manchemals das Schwerdt/ vnd zeucht es
dem Hencker wol gar auß den Händen: Dann von solchen Gebärden des armen Menschen nemen
sie Besach/ allerley Ding zu propheeteyen: Endlich aber/ wann der Hencker ihm zu schwach ist/ wird
er mit den Seyle von den jenigen/ so ihn halten/ auff die Erden nider gezogen/ da dann der Hencker
ihn auff den Hals schläget vnd zu Boden nider wirfft / zerschmeißt ihm so lang den Kopff mit dem
Schwerdt/ biß daß er darüber den Geist auffgibt: Vleier anderer Propheeteyung vnd Wahrsagun-
gen/ so sie auß hincrichtung eines solchen armen Menschen nehmen/ ist auch diese nicht zu vergessen:
Nemlich/ wann der hingerichtete auff den Rücken felle/ so ist es kein gut Zeichen vor den Hencker/
vnd bedeutet/ daß er bald sterben werde: Was aber ferners den hingerichteten anlangt/ ziehen vnd
legen sie ihn für ein großes Feuer/ da sie dann/ nach dem sie ihn mit der Hand berührt/ ihm die dün-
ne Haut

Wie der
Gefangene
hingerich-
tet wird.

cruelty of the conquistadores towards the inhabitants of the New World, learned about the exotic nature of these newly ‘discovered’ lands, and faced the gruesome yet improbable accounts of cannibalism among the natives.¹⁶² If the goal of the publishers was to further the interest of readers in the realities and myths of the New World, de Bry’s firm clearly understood the value of presenting sensational images alongside recent travel reports, set within the framework of the publishing practices of the sixteenth century.¹⁶³

In a sort of semantic encounter, the word ‘cannibal’ derives from the Arawak *caniba* or *cariba*, a term used to identify the enemy tribes of the Arawaks, and purposely relates to the Latin word *canis* (dogs) as well.¹⁶⁴ For navigators like Columbus or Vespucci, the meaning of this word rapidly became tangled in a net of stories and expectations of monstrous peoples within the boundaries of European civilization.¹⁶⁵ So to unravel this complex semantic association, the origin of the cannibal-monster of the New World conveniently traced its roots to familiar stories of the dog-headed peoples in Asia and Africa with a long lineage in the classical and medieval traditions.¹⁶⁶ The consequence for the textual and visual representations of the Other in these narratives was profound: the Other was often portrayed as an imaginary subject, existing only in stories with neither agency nor voice. In this sense, it is necessary to note that the Other present in these narratives of encounters is not a real human subject but a concept forged by some Europeans in the business of empire.¹⁶⁷ In the end, the figure of the cannibal was transformed into a strategic discourse in numerous travel narratives to limit the Other—Indigenous Peoples and their religions, cultures, and identities—within the confines of monstrosity.

In the same way Columbus promoted the perception of cannibalism within the discourse of monstrosity in the New World, de Bry’s engravings accompanying the travel journeys of Columbus and other explorers also played a key role in this matter.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, readers across Europe saw in these collections the most iconic representations of cannibalism in the New World.¹⁶⁹ De Bry based most of these depictions on a popular account, published with woodcuts from the 1550s, of German explorer Hans Staden (ca. 1525–ca. 1576) in which he describes his voyages and captivity among the Tupinambá people of Brazil.¹⁷⁰ Not only did Europeans use these engravings to distinguish themselves from the colonized subjects, but the images and the stories also supported the religious and moral justifications for the European imperial expansion into the Americas.¹⁷¹

Three decades after the death of Theodor de Bry, the engraver Matthaeus Merian the Elder (1593–1650) entered into a partnership with editor-scholar Johann Ludwig

Gottfried (ca. 1584–1633) to publish an abridged folio edition of the fourteenth volume of de Bry's *India Occidentalis*.¹⁷² Merian and Gottfried had access to the published texts and to many of the original six hundred engravings that had appeared in earlier editions, including the notorious depictions of controversial scenes of human sacrifice, idolatry, marvels, exotic creatures, and, as one might expect, cannibalism.¹⁷³ First published in 1631 under the title *Antipodum oder Neue Welt* and later available in this second edition of 1655, both volumes followed the editorial vision of the original collection by showing readers the fantastic nature of the New World and illustrating with precision the Otherness of its inhabitants.¹⁷⁴ One engraving in particular demonstrates the publisher's taste for the sensational interpretations of the traveller's journeys in the Americas.¹⁷⁵ This new engraving, published as part of the third volume of the *Americas* series between 1592 and 1593, appears in the abridged editions as a single visual narrative, taken from several scenes initially printed as individual plates in the account of Hans Staden.¹⁷⁶ In it, a monstrous creature replaces the original depiction of the Tupinambá capturing a member of an enemy tribe. This new scene takes place against the backdrop of a feast of human flesh, drawing upon an earlier engraving as a source.¹⁷⁷ This example demonstrates a preference for the exotic and, in some cases, the monstrous as a method to captivate readers by means of the visual stories told in these popular engravings. Although neither Theodor de Bry nor his pupils ever set foot in the Americas, their engravings illustrated almost every region of the continent and left visible impressions on the European conception of the New World.¹⁷⁸

20 Honorius Philoponus (1556–1627). *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis*. Linz, 1621.

A strong commitment to the Christian faith encouraged European missionaries to deliver their message to populations around the world during the Age of Exploration. At the time of Columbus's Second Voyage to the Americas (1493–1496), the Benedictine Bernardo Boyl (ca. 1440–ca. 1507) arrived at Hispaniola, in the company of other monks, with a mission from the Spanish crown to improve the treatment of Indigenous Peoples.¹⁷⁹ Aside from celebrating the first recorded Mass in the Americas on 6 January 1494, Boyl's overall contribution to the religious life of the island was minimal given his early departure for Spain that same year.¹⁸⁰ However, the compiler of this apologia for the conversion of Indigenous Peoples to Christianity refers to the Benedictine as the 'first American apostle'.¹⁸¹



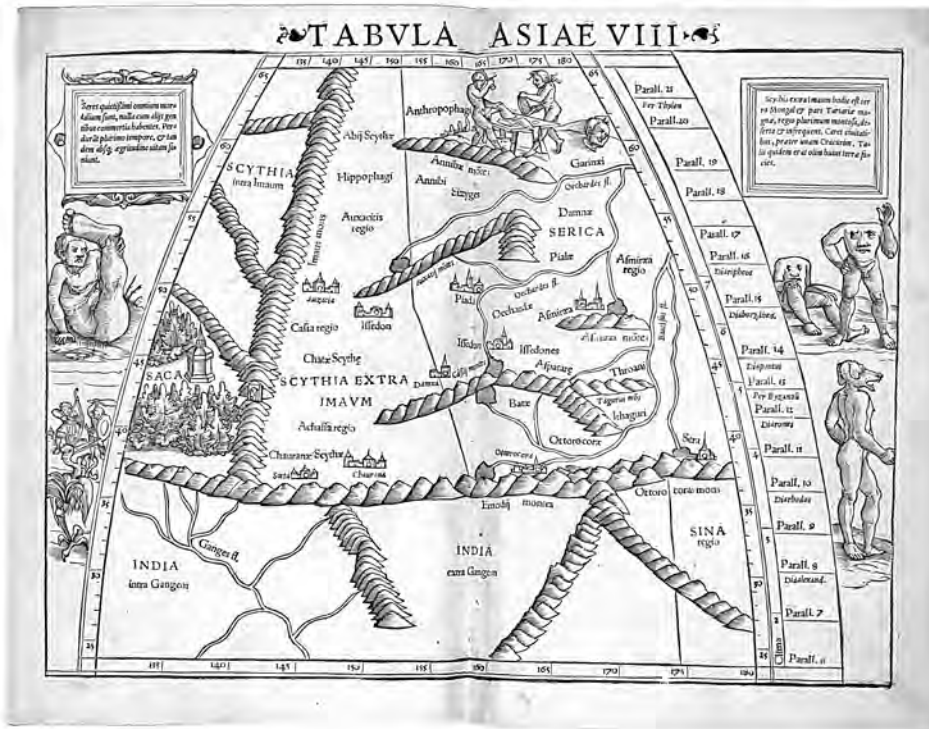
20 Arawak people riding a manatee from *Nova typis transacta* (1621).

The author of this relation is another Benedictine monk, Caspar Plautus, who wrote under the pseudonym Honorius Philoponus.¹⁸² The *Nova typis transacta navigatio novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis* is a partial history of the Benedictine missions and a compilation of other travel accounts, principally those of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457–1526) and Francisco López de Gómara (ca. 1511–1566).¹⁸³ The relation contains several woodcuts of nautical diagrams and nineteen engravings, most of which are modeled after the aesthetic of Theodor de Bry's illustrations to the *Americas* collection.¹⁸⁴ Each engraving illustrates a series of stories about encounters between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples amid the introduction of Christianity to the New World. One of the first engravings harkens back to the legendary medieval journey of St Brendan to the Isle of the Blessed, illustrated with the episode of the Mass celebrated on the fantastic 'Whale Island.'¹⁸⁵ What follows is a sequence of representations accentuating the differences between Europeans and the culture of the inhabitants as well as the nature of the Caribbean. Several engravings depict cannibalism and idolatry as a trope for the urgency of religious conversion of indigenous populations while others illustrate the natural world as monstrous. In the case of the manatee, the compiler cites López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1552) to relate the story of the domestication of the marine mammal by the Arawak people, depicted in an engraving as a creature of monumental proportions surrounded by other sea monsters and exotic creatures.¹⁸⁶

2I Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 100–ca. 170 A.D.). *Geographia universalis*.

Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1545.

Renaissance geographers turned to extant works of ancient authors in search of cartographic methods to represent the known world and the geographical encounters of the late fifteenth century.¹⁸⁷ At the end of the fourteenth century, Ptolemy's second-century *Geographia* (or *Cosmographia*) reached a new generation of readers after centuries of neglect in most medieval treatises on geography.¹⁸⁸ By the time the Renaissance polymath Sebastian Münster issued his edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia universalis* in 1540, humanist scholars had been commissioning manuscript copies of the work for decades and cartographers had already applied Ptolemy's mathematical geography to mapmaking during the first half of the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁹ After the invention of printing with movable type in the 1450s, some seventeen incunable editions of the *Geographia* contained a considerable percentage of the early printed maps available to readers before the turn of the century.¹⁹⁰ Münster's edition of the *Geographia* established this ancient work as a primary source on geography in the sixteenth century with five editions published between 1541 and 1552.¹⁹¹



21 Map of Asia from *Geographia universalis* (1545).



21 Map of Africa from *Geographia universalis* (1545).

Münster not only consulted the original Greek text but also collated several printed editions of the *Geographia* in preparation for his edition.¹⁹² For all the investigations and first-hand data on the geography and ethnography of every part of the world, Münster belongs to a group of proficient scholars of the Renaissance who still chose to reference classical and medieval ideas of monstrosity in their works.¹⁹³ In the same tradition of the early extant manuscript versions of Ptolemy's maps that embraced the monstrous peoples of Pliny in their coordinates, printed editions of Ptolemaic maps also included the medieval marvels within their geographical boundaries.¹⁹⁴ Arguably the most recognizable example of this is Schedel's version of Ptolemy's world map in *The Nuremberg Chronicles*.¹⁹⁵ Münster and other Renaissance authors exploited monsters as commodities that made their writings even more appealing to readers who would have expected to find them in the books, maps, broadsides, and other manuscript and printed materials available for acquisition.¹⁹⁶ This edition of the *Geographia* incorporates fifty-four double-page maps equally divided into ancient and modern, many of which will show up again in Münster's *Cosmographia*.¹⁹⁷ The monoculi in Africa, the remaining Plinian monsters in Asia, sea monsters, as well as the symbolic cannibals of Brazil would all emerge as woodcut illustrations contained within the maps of this ancient compilation of geographical knowledge revived for readers during the period of the Renaissance.

2.2 Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). *Theatrum orbis terrarum*.

Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1595.

Narratives of encounter generated a wealth of geographical sources that fuelled the most significant cartographic representations of the world in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the case of the publication of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* in 1570, the renowned Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius acquired maps and additional sources from a network of travellers and other collectors leading to the publication of this large volume regarded as the first modern atlas.¹⁹⁸ Ortelius's masterpiece was in high demand from the start. Indeed, the influential publishing firm of Christophe Plantin (ca. 1520–1589) printed four issues of the atlas in 1570 alone, succeeded by a total of thirty-one editions published until 1612.¹⁹⁹ The first edition contained fifty maps while the last edition brought the total to 121, each one produced in the same format along with descriptions of the maps assembled by author from a variety of sources.²⁰⁰ Recognized during his lifetime as a great collector of books, maps, art, and antiquities, Ortelius had access to



22 Map of Islandia from *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1595).

4,971 maps (including 3,221 of his own production), nearly three thousand books, and one hundred manuscripts.²⁰¹ In the posthumous edition of the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of 1601, he cites the works of 182 authorities on cartography,²⁰² whereas on the subject of sea monsters, he draws inspiration from the *Carta marina* of 1539 by the Swedish scholar Olaus Magnus (1490–1557) and a didactic Old Norse tale from the mid-thirteenth century.²⁰³

The first accurate map of Iceland for the standards of the period contains a selection of sea monsters emerging from the pages of the works of Olaus and Münster.²⁰⁴ The shark (I) and the ziphius (E) are taken from the *Carta marina*; the description of the sea hog (D) derives from Olaus's *Historia*; and the roider (B) and the 'kraken' (H) are inspired by the Old Norse tale *The King's Mirror*.²⁰⁵ Unlike Olaus and Münster, the visual representations of the monsters in this map are in some ways more realistic and Ortelius identifies most creatures by name and even provides brief descriptions for each one.²⁰⁶

Opened to this specific map, contemporary owners of the Ortelius atlas would have encountered the latest advances in cartography engraved on its pages, along with the perennial myths about sea monsters collected from all sorts of authoritative sources within Renaissance scholarship.

23 Olaus Magnus (1490–1557). *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*.

Rome: Giovanni Maria Viotti, 1555.

The majority of depictions of sea monsters in medieval and renaissance maps frequently make reference to stories which originate in sources outside the maps they actually illustrate.²⁰⁷ Besides the Ortelius map of Iceland, two examples that demonstrate this fact are the world maps of Schedel and Münster in their *Liber chronicorum* and *Geographia*, respectively. The work of the cartographer and historian Olaus Magnus is one exception because he introduces original textual and visual material to supplement his influential writings on sea monsters in northern Europe.²⁰⁸ Olaus learned many of the stories on sea monsters from sailors and fishermen in the course of his journeys through Northern Europe, during which he also took note of the illustrations found in the natural history encyclopedia *Hortus sanitatis* (1491), and the *Carta marina* (1516) of Martin Waldseemüller (1470–1520).²⁰⁹ Together, the *Carta marina* of 1539—extant in just two copies—and the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* of 1555 are the most prominent sources on sea monsters of the sixteenth century.²¹⁰

First published in Rome in 1555 and edited by Christophe Plantin in 1558 and 1562, the book was significantly popular, with several abridged editions and translations appearing until the mid-seventeenth century. This first edition of Olaus's most important work recounts the history of the northern peoples in twenty-two books and 778 chapters accompanied by more than 480 woodcut illustrations. The book embraces a variety of topics that include the systems of politics and religions of the peoples of the north as well as their folklore, customs, medicine, inventions, and prodigies.²¹¹ Olaus wrote this book while in exile in Rome and even set up a printing press with the purpose of educating readers of the period on the history of northern Europe as part of his endless campaign to bring his native Sweden back to Catholicism.²¹²

Olaus devotes two books and several sections of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* to sea monsters, which he defines as wonders of nature in the same tradition of earlier and contemporary authors on this subject.²¹³ 'The vast ocean,' he writes, 'offers a

LIBER XXI.

737



De Phiseter, & eius in nautas crudelitate.

CAP. VI.



In genere cetorum phiseter, siue pristes, ducenū cubitorum, seueram admodum consecutus est naturam: in perniciem enim nauigantium plerūq; vltra nauium antennas se extollit, haustofq; fistulis fluctus supra caput collectos i taeructat, vt nimbofa alluie plerūq; naues fortissimas deprimat, aut maximo periculo nauigantes exponat. Nec mirum: pristes enim (teste Vincentio) est belua tantæ altitudinis, vt attollens se super fluctus, ingentis columnæ similitudinem referat: aliusq; veluti diluuium quoddam eructans, nautas pauescit fluctuantes: cuius calamitosæ rei testimonium Strabo lib. X V. de illo magno Nearchus bellicæ classis Alexandri Magni præfecto, assert, dicitq;: Phiseterum magnitudines fluctum maximū, & accumulatum, & caliginem tantam refationibus excitauit, vt quæ ante pedes erant, conspici non possent. Sed cum nauigationis duces illis timentibus, & causam ignorantibus indicassent beluas esse, quæ faciliè tubarum sonitu, & plausu exaudito discederent: (in quo Plinius concordat lib. I X. cap. I I I.) Nearchus naues in fluctum egit, quā maximè arcebat, ac tubis beluas exterruit. Illæ vndas subeuntes, nauale certamen à puppi minabantur, verū subito cessauere. Quod & nunc in Indiam nauigantes asserunt, beluarum scilicet magnitudines, quæ nec gregatim, nec sæpius se offerant, sed discedant clamore, ac tubis repulsæ. Hæc Strabo. Meminit etiam Petrus Martyr lib. I. Credi conti nentis, monstri, seu immanis cuiusdam piscis, qui circuiuit biremem, caudæq; ictu gubernaculum in frustra confregit. Idem asserit, monstrum marinum intergrum virum in littore dormientem ad mare rapuisse. Hircus, siue aries (teste Volaterano lib. X X V.) rapacissima bestia est, quia homines & nauigia inuoluit, spiritu graui, & vehemēti, quo sanè instrumento ad prædas vtitur. Item aries marinus in mari (teste Plin. lib. I X. cap. X L I I I.) grassatur vt latro. Et nunc grandium nauium in falo stantium occultatus vmbra, si quem nandi voluptas inuitet, expectat: nunc elato extra aquam capite, piscantium cymbas speculatur, occultusq; adnans mergit.

Phiseter crudelis.

Naues fortissimæ à beluis obruuntur. Pristes.

Strabo. Nearchus præfectus Alexandri per beluas turbatus.

Tubarum clangor terret beluas.

Monstrum rapuit in littore virum integrum.

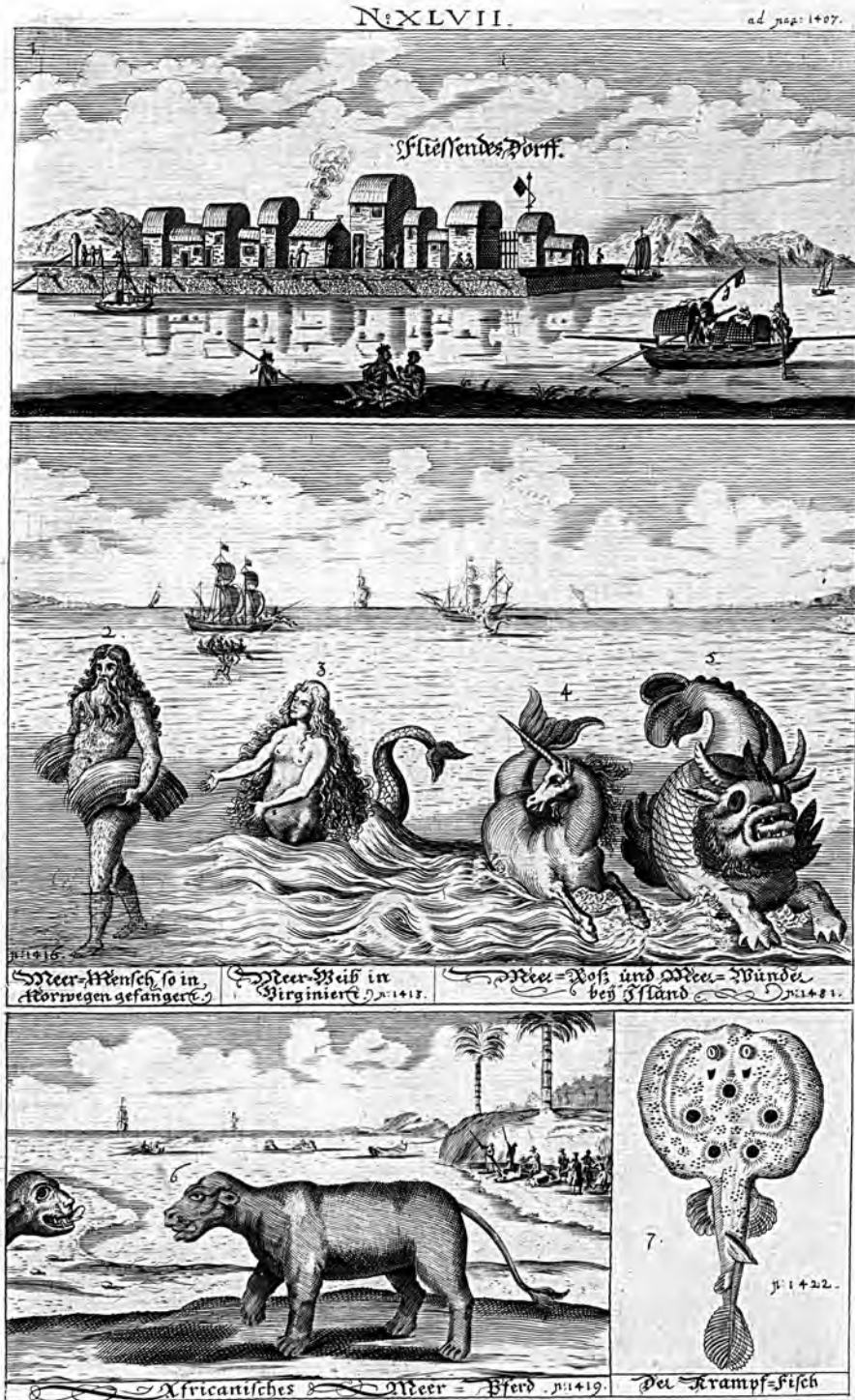
Hircus seu aries belua rapax. Cymbæ piscatorum ab ariete merguntur.

wonderful spectacle to every nation in its waters.’ Such spectacle includes sea monsters dangerous to sailors and fishermen; it also covers creatures whose monstrous appearance differs from their benign nature, and deals with the traditional notion of monsters as prodigies.²¹⁴ The ‘prister,’ known to represent actual whales or sharks, is an example of a composite horse-reptile creature of the sea with great power and capable of destruction.²¹⁵ With a long tradition in European imagination, the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* conceived and illustrated the Norwegian and Northern Seas as places of monstrous encounters. Olaus’s specific descriptions of creatures like sea unicorn and sea serpent, the polypus, and other monsters of the deep ultimately went on to influence the writings of numerous Renaissance scholars and, more importantly, inform the popular readings on the sea as a bottomless source of monstrosity.

2.4 Erasmus Francisci (1627–1694). *Ost und West Indischer wie auch Sinesischer Lust- und Stats Garten*. Nürnberg: Johann Andreae, 1668.

The first scholarly journal to circulate in Germany, the *Miscellanea curiosa*, began publication in 1670 as a venue for physicians and natural philosophers to explore curiosities in the nature of monsters, marvels, medical cases, natural specimens, antiquities, and more.²¹⁶ This periodical was published in the midst of a rise in popularity of newspapers, miscellanies, compendia of natural history and occult sciences, and other books delving into the culture of collecting curiosities in seventeenth-century Germany.²¹⁷ Erasmus Finx, known also as Erasmus Francisci, was a German polymath and author of several popular compilations of historical, scientific, and fictional curiosities and wonders reported around the world.²¹⁸ His main contribution to this field of knowledge was to distill the vast amount and variety of information into equally large volumes that were very useful to scholars and that appealed to amateur readers at the same time.²¹⁹

An unlimited desire for knowledge combined with a culture of collecting curiosities laid the foundation for the development of institutional and personal museums, libraries, and cabinets of curiosities during the early modern period.²²⁰ Francisci projected a vision of the world inspired by this culture and by the very ‘exotic’ objects and ‘curious’ stories that he collected for his popular compendia of curiosities. In the preface to his second compilation on the East and West Indies and Asia, he lists an impressive collection of more than 250 sources of natural history, travel accounts, geographies, and general histories. Divided into three parts, the first two cover the natural history of the Indies

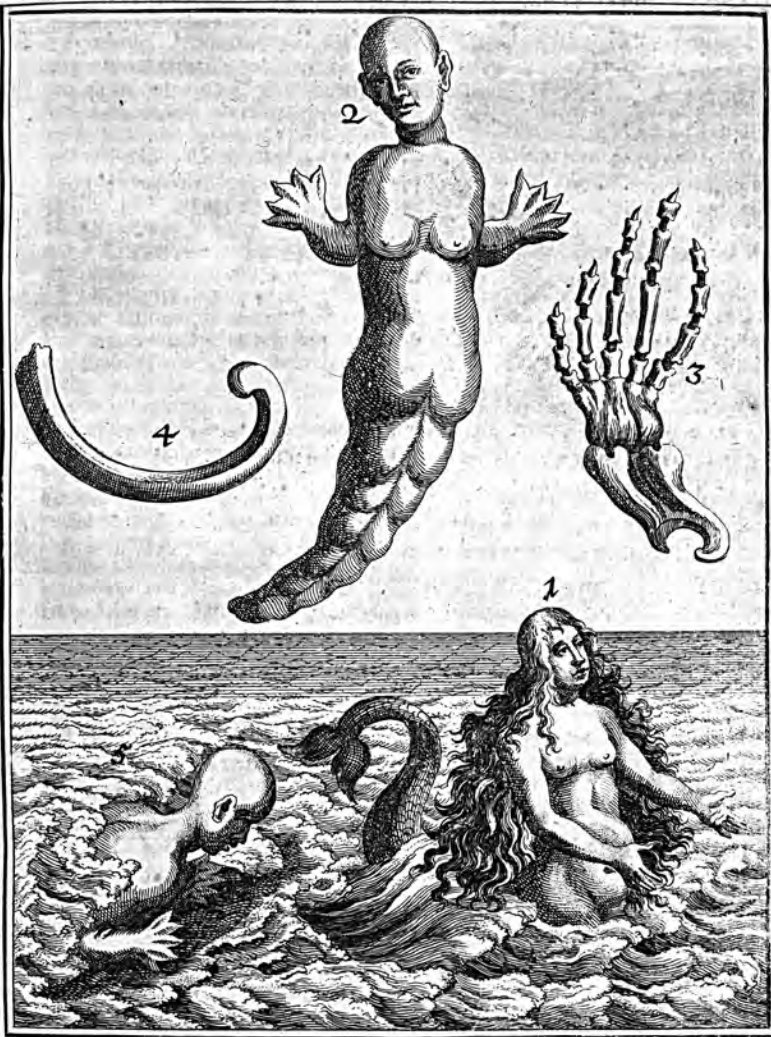


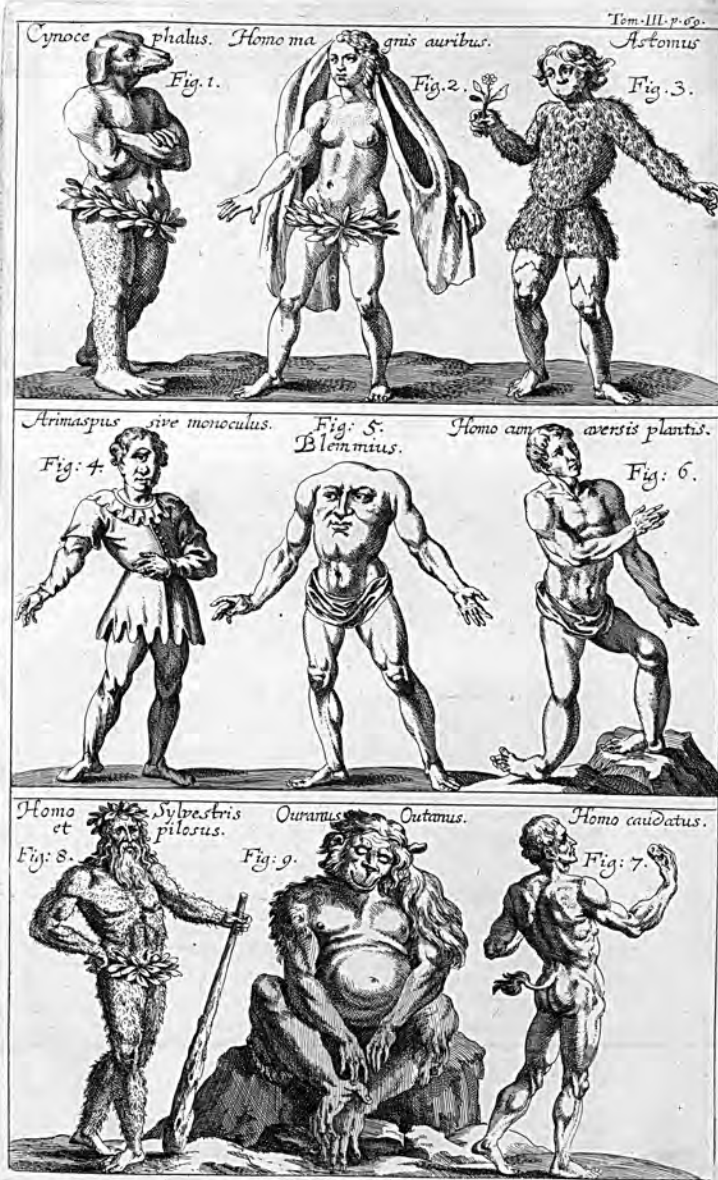
with a focus on the exotic creatures and monsters of these regions. The third deals with the Indigenous Peoples of America and the East Indies, their cultures, religions, forms of government, as well as their 'exotic' nature.²²¹ When readers encounter Francisci's outstanding collection of sources, they are in the presence of a cabinet of curiosities, or *Wunderkammer*, manifested in print. Almost every subject of Renaissance collecting—from specimens of natural history to monsters and wonders of every kind—is displayed over 1762 pages of text with sixty-five engraved plates arranged by an author who is described as a 'prolific popularizer of the world lore of infinite varieties.'²²² His formula for instructing and amusing readers within the confines of his compendia was so successful that Francisci managed to live solely off the profits generated from his writings on curiosities and wonders published in the seventeenth century.²²³

25 Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690). *Gröste Denckwürdigkeiten der Welt oder sogennante Relationes Curiosae*. Hamburg: Thomas von Wiering, 1683–1691.

Erasmus Francisci and Eberhard Werner Happel were the most prolific German authors on the subject of curiosities and wonders in the seventeenth century.²²⁴ Like Francisci, Happel was a polymath and an advocate of the exotic as a profitable method to explain and display the Otherness of peoples, cultures, and societies which was the focus of his writings.²²⁵ Happel published a corpus of twenty 'polymathic' novels and five books of wonders, including the *Thesaurus exoticorum* (1688) and the *Relationes curiosae* (1683–1691).²²⁶ His endless novels and lengthy historical compendia transported readers to almost every corner of the globe with descriptions that combined fact and fiction, along with the author's own interpretations.²²⁷ Like Francisci in Nuremberg, Happel was able to gain access to great collections of books in public and private collections and, even more, he exploited the rich print culture of news publishing in Hamburg to write the historical content of his novels and to gather material for his news compilations.²²⁸

In *Relationes curiosae*, Happel favours a worldview drawn from news of all types of events occurring over the course of the European expansion into America, Africa, and Asia in search of lands, commodities, and peoples to be introduced (and subdued) into the domains of the emerging Colonial infrastructures.²²⁹ This is the historical context for the print version of Happel's collection of curiosities within which he writes about sea monsters with the same pen that he uses to sketch descriptions of monstrous peoples, strange natural phenomena, and exotic products from faraway lands. Published in five





volumes in a period of eight years, the *Relationes curiosae* contains 196 illustrations, both engravings and woodcuts, accompanied by descriptions tailored for middle-class readers' fascination with the lives and cultures of a world beyond their boundaries.²³⁰ Happel's most popular work of non-fiction is, in effect, written evidence of the influence of news reports and their role in the construction of the early modern world for European audiences.²³¹

26 Johann Zahn (1641–1707). *Specula physico-mathematico-historica notabilium ac mirabilium sciendorum*. Nuremberg: Johann Christoph Lochner, 1696.

In 1696, the German cleric Johann Zahn published a comprehensive encyclopedia of natural knowledge founded on the hermetic and occult principles of the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602–1628).²³² His *Specula physico-mathematico-historica* is arranged into three parts. The first consists of the history of Creation followed by extensive writings on astrology as well as cosmography and cosmology; the second deals with geography, geology, mineralogy, botany, and zoology; and the third covers the diversity of humans and their inventions.²³³ In the eighth chapter of the second volume, Zahn refers to the 'rarity' and 'spirit of wonder' in the displays arranged by the kingdoms of the sea.²³⁴ He cites Pliny and Albertus Magnus (ca. 1193–1280) for descriptions of classical and medieval sea creatures like tritons and nymphs; he uses Olaus for reports on the famous monkfish and other monsters of the northern seas; and he compiles numerous works to document examples of early-modern encounters with sea monsters. This chapter lists forty-three entries in total, six of which illustrate a selection of sea monsters from the sources.

In the ninth chapter of the third volume, Zahn explores the 'forms of the human body' and relates 'wonderful exotic things' acquired from different regions.²³⁵ He quotes the natural history of Peru by José de Acosta (1539–1600) as one of the thirty-nine accounts of giants and 'exotic humans of great magnitude' (including fossils) before relating the encounter between the explorer Juan Álvarez Maldonado (d. 1608) and two 'Andean pygmies' in Cuzco in 1561. This section continues with twenty-one chronicles of 'famous' monstrous peoples of the medieval tradition next to descriptions of men with tails, women with horns, and young boys with green-coloured skin. The illustration accompanying this section shows nine figures representing medieval and early modern ideas of monstrosities, all of which can be traced back to particular sources such as the

collection of Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi* in addition to the accounts of the explorers Antonio Pigafetta (ca. 1491–1531), and Gregorio García (1556–1627), among others.

The approach to wonders in this encyclopedia corresponds to the methods applied by Francisci, Happel, and natural philosophers that situate wonders as the focus of their scientific inquiries.²³⁶ Zahn's views in this regard are also similar to Gemma's *Ars cosmocritica* in that both authors rigorously explore astrological and cosmological theories without losing sight of other forms of knowledge in the act of evaluating the vast body of evidence provided by the natural world. As a result, this rich cabinet of scientific and historical wonders and curiosities surveys contemporary notions of natural philosophy and science while also examining wonders such as earthquakes, volcanoes, comets, celestial events as well as prodigies, monstrous peoples and animals as rational objects of contemplation.²³⁷

27 John Bulwer (1606–1656). *Anthropometamorphosis: Man transform'd, or, The Artificial Changeling*. London: W. Hunt, 1653.

The concept of monstrosity in John Bulwer's last book relies on the existence of 'foreign' and 'exotic' bodies. Bulwer was an English physician who wrote five books on non-verbal communication prior to turning his attention to this manual on reading the manners, customs, and fashions of 'foreigners' as signs of monstrosity.²³⁸ The book is arranged into twenty-four chapters with the parts of the human body as the central focus for each 'scene,' as he labels them. Bulwer cross-examines the artificial transformations performed on the human body—tattooing, piercing, binding, and scarring— as acts of 'high-treason' against nature. From Pliny to Augustine, Theodor de Bry, Münster, Olaus Magnus, Gemma, and Lycosthenes, Bulwer's observations on the bodies of peoples of different nationalities are supported by a collection of 288 sources listed at the beginning of the book. After the first edition of 1650, *Anthropometamorphosis* saw four editions under several titles within a decade, including this enlarged and illustrated edition of 1653.²³⁹

The editors of the English periodical on antiquarianism, *The Retrospective Review, and Historical and Antiquarian Magazine*, draw a parallel between Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis* and 'modern discoveries in phrenology' in their review of the book published in 1828.²⁴⁰ Such comparison is accurate as Bulwer interprets the anatomical features of the head as a way to advance his ideological views against artificial modifica-

Headlesse
Nations

20 *Man Transform'd: OR,*

Tailes at their Rumps like to Dogs ; but that they are greater and thicker of haire, that they engender with Women *more Canino*, accounting any other way of Copulation shamefull; all which Additaments are more advantageously read then believed.

By what meanes these Natives might come to be thus monstrously deformed, and the shape of their Heads to degenerate into the similitude of a Dogs-Head, shall be sufficiently declared in our succeeding Face-moulders Scene, where wee shall present the Cynoprosopi or Men having a Dogs Face. The Artifice us'd being as I probably conjecture, the same in both.

Ancient Writers have spoken of *Acephali*, or a headlesse Nation. *Mela* writes that the *Blemii* are Headlesse, and have all the parts of their countenance in their Breast. *Solinus* delivers the same thing: there are saith he who want their Necks, and have their Eyes in the



Mela. lib. 5. cap.
4.

Solinus. cap.
153.

Aul. Gell. Att.
lib. 9. cap. 4.
Plin. lib. 5.
cap. 8.
Plin. lib. 7. cap.
2.

Shoulders. And before these Authors, many have written the very same thing ; whom *Aulus Gellius* reckons up. *Pliny* in open words doth frequently assert the same, for he delivers that their Heads are wanting, their Mouth and their Eyes affixed in their Breasts, and not far from the *Troglodytes* there

tion of the human body. Among all the traditional monsters, Bulwer particularly focuses on the 'headless nation' in this chapter. 'But let us hear Sr. Walter Raleigh's relation of this kind of transformed nation,' Bulwer writes, 'which though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for my own part I am resolved it is true.' He begins the description of the acephali with his own reviews of the early writings of Pliny, Solinus, Augustine, and Mandeville, among other authors, then lists contemporary accounts of sighting and births of these peoples from 1525 to 1562, and explains the nature of this deformity within the scheme of artificial modification.

Besides illustrating another early-modern method to perceive and even analyze ethnicity through the lens of monstrosity, *Anthropometamorphosis* offers a historical view into collective concerns of Europeans in response to the racial encounters with peoples from every corner of the globe after the geographical 'discoveries' of the fifteenth century.²⁴¹ Bulwer's treatment of foreign bodies eventually inspired notions of monstrosity in scientific and medical approaches of the nineteenth century.²⁴² This fact is summed up in the pages of *The Retrospective Review* in which the editors portray Bulwer as a scholar who wrote in an 'age of great learning and little judgement, when fact and fiction were indiscriminately gorged and devoured by all who sought for the reputation of learning.'²⁴³

28 Joseph-François Lafitau (1681–1746). *Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*. Paris: Charles Estienne Hochereau, 1724.

The coming into maturity of the discipline of anthropology was partially facilitated by a discourse of monstrosity published during the Age of Exploration and expressed in some of the works on the customs, manners, and fashions of the peoples of the world. When the Jesuit scholar and missionary Joseph-François Lafitau published his comprehensive two-volume treatise *Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* in 1724, readers of the period held in their hands the first manifestation in the field of comparative anthropology.²⁴⁴ Lafitau depends on analogies to describe his encounters with the rituals, customs, commodities, and different aspects of Iroquois societies and cultures as part of his mission in New France between 1711 and 1717. One of the key efforts of this treatise is to trace the origins of Native Americans to classical and medieval sources as a method of establishing a common historical ground upon which to illustrate their cultures for European readers.²⁴⁵



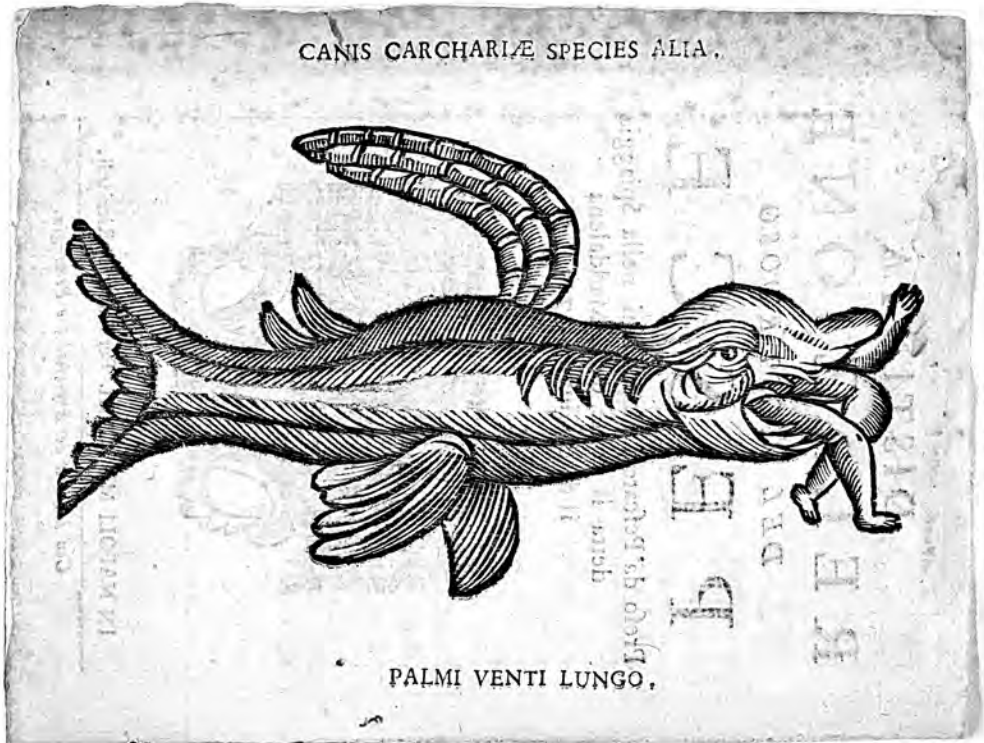
28 The acephali among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas from *Moeurs des sauvages américains, compares aux mœurs des premiers temps* (1724).

In the second chapter of the book, Lafitau questions the existence of ‘various monstrous peoples’ in the context of an overall discussion of the origins of Native Americans. He disputes the veracity of Pliny, Solinus, and other classical sources in the same way he rebuffs contemporary accounts of Walter Raleigh (ca. 1554–1618) and Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) on monstrous peoples in Guiana and Canada, respectively.²⁴⁶ Lafitau then reconsiders, just for a moment, the presence of the acephali in North America when he recounts the ‘rumours’ of the capture of one of these headless creatures by Iroquois hunters in the fall of 1721.²⁴⁷ For reasons that are embedded in his theory that the origins of all humans and their religions date back to the story of Genesis, the monster functions as a metaphor for encounters between the peoples of the East and the West.²⁴⁸ ‘Acephales were formerly inhabitants of Africa near the Nile of the Red Sea,’ Lafitau writes, ‘today, according to these accounts, there should be at least two nations of them [...] on the Amazon River and in the centre of Guiana.’²⁴⁹ Now located among the Iroquois of North America, Lafitau argues that the monster stands as evidence that ‘confirms the idea that America and Asia are connected.’²⁵⁰ In the engraving that accompanies this passage, an effort is made to exploit this idea by illustrating the acephali standing next to the Indigenous Peoples of the West Indies, Brazil, Florida, and Virginia. At the end of this story, Lafitau echoes the writings of Bulwer by warning readers that the ancient and modern headless peoples are not actual monsters but the result of ‘artifice’ or bodily modification, birth defects, or the product of the mother’s imagination at the time of gestation.²⁵¹

29 *Distinta relazione del monstuoso pesce preso da’ pescatori napoletani nella spiaggia detta il Ponte della Maddelena il di 6 giugno 1721.*
 Naples: Francesco Ricciardi, 1721.

30 Daniel George (1757–1804). *An Almanac for the Year of our Lord Christ 1784.*
 Boston: Daniel George, 1784.

For European readers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a range of options were available to know more about the lives of peoples and the wonders of nature on the fringes of their world. Encyclopedias of natural history, anthologies of travel narratives, cosmographies, cartographic materials, and historical volumes were not the only messengers of wonders uncovered during the age of European colonial expansion. Rather, it was amateur writers who were mainly responsible for making these popular stories available to readers across every social status, religion, language, and region of the world. Such



29 Shark from *Distinta relazione del monstuoso pesce* (1721).



30 Shark from *An Almanac* (1784).



31 Monster from *Monstruo prodigioso* (1751).

writers effectively transcribed the oral stories of wonders and monsters for the pages of newspapers, broadsides, almanacs, journals, and other ephemera. Without these popular genres intended for the general public, the history of monsters in the West would simply be a catalogue of untold stories of monstrous encounters.

The *Canis charcharias* or shark is the protagonist of these two reports. On 6 June 1721, a group of fishermen captured and killed a female shark that had devoured a citizen of the town of Borgo a Mozzano, Italy. Once dissected, the insides of the 'monstrous fish' bore witness to the unfortunate event. In the year 1784, another story involving a 'sea monster' attacking a man was printed as part of an almanac published in Boston, Massachusetts. In both stories, the long tradition of representing sharks as vile, monstrous creatures is made even more evident as a result of crude woodcuts illustrating the attacks. In the end, sharks encapsulate all of the features common to sea monsters, provoking fear and awaking a sense of wonder in readers even to this day.

31 *Monstruo prodigioso, que appareceu no Reino de Chile.*

Coimbra: No Real Colegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1751.

32 *Relaçam verdadeira de hum formidavel monstruo, que no mez de janeiro de ste anno apareceu em hums matos da Turquia, e da fôrma, com que foy morto, tirada de cartas fidedignas vindas do mesmo imperio.*

Lisbon: Joze da Sylva, 1750.

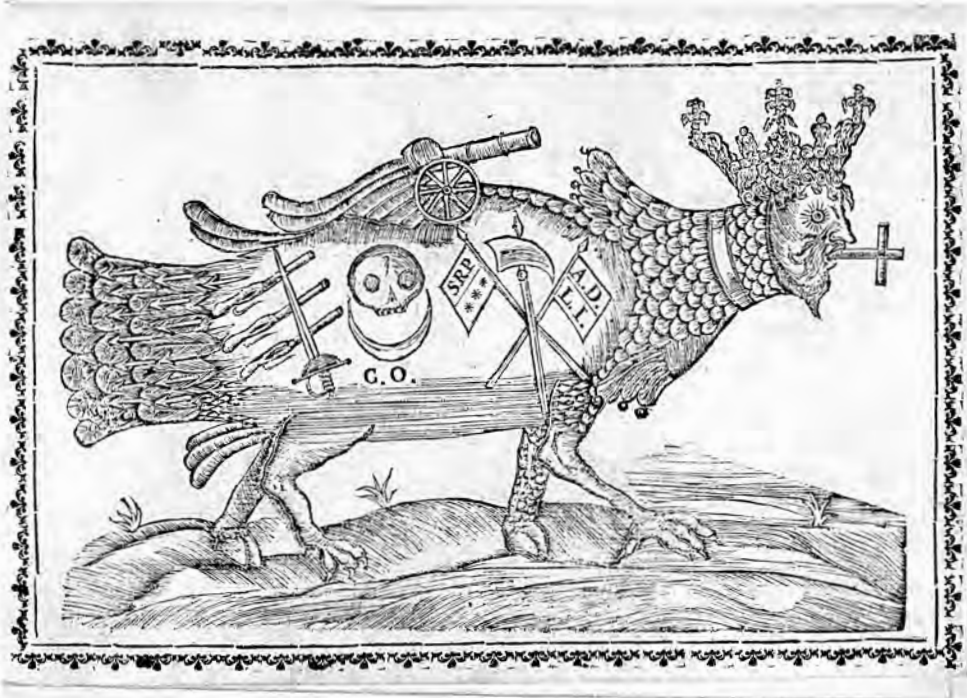
33 *Bicho asiatico, monstruosa apariçam das montanhas da Persia, e juizo que se fez sobre a materia na Corte de Turquia.* Lisbon: Rita Cassiana, 1736.

Between 1727 and 1751, at least eight anonymous stories of monsters were published as pamphlets of the kind frequently sold in bookstalls located in the streets of Portugal.²⁵² The accounts of monsters in these popular pamphlets are formulaic narratives devised to attract readers to entertaining yet religious and moralizing notions of the wonderful nature of remote and exotic lands.²⁵³ Most often illustrated with woodcut vignettes on the upper covers, readers of the period were drawn to these images as part of the vibrant print culture known as *literatura de cordel* or 'string literature'.²⁵⁴ Famous shipwreck narratives deeply associated with the Portuguese colonial expansion populated this particular reading market with explorers' and sailors' encounters with the ruthless nature of the sea. In the same spirit, stories of prodigious monsters and natural wonders were regularly featured in *cordel* pamphlets published in the first half of the eighteenth century.²⁵⁵



32 Equine-monster from *Relaçam verdadeira* (1750).

The three stories retold in these pamphlets transport readers to inhospitable regions in the interior of Chile, Turkey, and Persia. In each account, ‘armies’ of men eventually decimate the monsters after fearful battles resulting in considerable human casualty. The two-headed creature reported in Chile is a horrible sight that simultaneously aroused terror and admiration; the dead body of the equine-monster in Turkey is exhibited in the town square so that all might witness its strength and magnitude; and the beast found in Persia is killed in a cave and then presented by the narrator as a symbol of church-state relations. In these *cordel* pamphlets, the prose of travel narratives merges with the tradition of books of wonders as observations on the geography, flora, and fauna of the regions set the stage for interpretations of the nature of the monsters in each story.²⁵⁶ After the second half of the eighteenth century, the *Real Mesa Censória* denied the publication of such stories which they claimed took advantage of the credulity of readers.²⁵⁷ Today, these accounts survive as examples in print of the long-lasting impressions of monsters and wonders left by real and imaginary encounters between Europeans and the rest of the world.



33 Prodigy from *Bicho asiatico* (1736).



'Manticore' from *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni* (1585).

Part III:

On Monstrous Nature

The wonders of the natural world have always captivated the human imagination. The annals of Renaissance natural history abound with references to monstrous animals, mythical creatures, strange phenomena, and every kind of natural curiosity. Zoological encyclopedias, compendia of natural philosophy, and travel narratives hold many stories of monstrosity which expose our obsession with explaining the secrets of nature. Mythical creatures like the unicorn and phoenix, for example, stand as timeless figures that capture our desire to decipher nature's healing powers and ability to achieve eternal life. Newly 'discovered' species of New World animals, like the opossum and the manatee, were associated with hybrid creatures found in earlier European sources. As Europeans travelled the world during the Age of Exploration, reports about and specimens of exotic and curious natural objects were sent back to join renowned cabinets of curiosities, as well as museums, and libraries of natural history across Europe. The rise of modern 'scientific' writing during the Renaissance, however, essentially reproduced the ancient and medieval lore of wonders and marvels of nature—confined to the leaves of medieval manuscript tradition—in the new printed formats available to wider audiences. As a result, monsters 'existed' as part of the historical narrative concerning natural wonders and the development of new ideas and methods to interpret the natural world.

Das Erst Buch

Mulusein Maulesel oder Maulthier/ ein gemein bekant Thier / zu der arbeit bequemer vnd milder denn der Mülleesel. Der Maulesel sindt zweierlei art odder geschlecht / der so von der Eselin vnnnd Pferdt gezeugt wirdt/ vnnnd der ander / so von einem Esel vnnnd Pferdes mutter geboren wirdt/ sollicher vnnnderschied wirdt auch am geschrei odder der stimmen gemerckt/ aber beide art wirdt von sehr vngleichem samen gezeugt. Da rumb solchs thier ganz vnfruchtbar / doch der geburt Maulesel inn vast hitzigen landen/ vnderweilen da auch die eusserliche hitz die innerliche Kette temperiert/ wirdt dieses Thiers. So man ein hauss odder wonung bereichet mit dem hoin des huffs von einem Maulthier / so stehend alle Meuss darauf. So auch einer von dem marck eines Maulesels auff dreier guldin schwer einnemen/ so wirdt er ganz dum vnnnd doll. So man die gemercke eins Maulthiers in die haut darvon bindet/ vnnnd solliches ein Weib bei je treget/ die mag nicht empfaben odder schwanger werden/ so lang sie das bei ihr treget.

Das Thier Monoceros.



Monoceros soll ein Thier sein / von vilen Thieren zusamen gesetzt / mit greulichem / vast erschrockenlichem geschrei / von leibes gestalt wie ein Pferdt / aber die fuß vnnnd schenckel wie der Hellsfant/ ein schwartz wie ein schwein/ kopff als ein Hirtz / an mitte der stirnen soll es ein langes horn haben / schön vnnnd sehr gleissende / auff iijß schulnng / also scharpff vnnnd spitzig / das es darmit alles so ime entgegen stehet vast leichtlichen durchsticht. Dieses thier mag nimmer odder fast schwerlich gezemer werden/ denn es gar selten lebendig gefangen werden mag / denn so es vermerckt/ das es vberwunden ist / bringet es sich selbst in seinem eignen grimm vnnnd wildigkeit vmb das leben.

Molosus soll ein sehr groß Thier sein an vielen enden wonende / hat ein sehr weit gespalten maul vnnnd schlunde / mit grossen starcken zenen/ so ihme für das maul herauß gebend. Derhalben es gar bertiglichen kampffet mit seinem feindt. Dieses Thier wiewol es allem gethier sehr grausam vnnnd erschrocklich / söcht es sich doch vor den streichen der jungen kinder/ vnnnd söcht die.

Maritimonion

von den Thieren.

Das Thier Maritomorion.



Maritomorion soll ein Thier sein / wonende in der gegen vnd Landt / schafft gegen Orient gelegen / wirdt aber selten gesehen / ist innder größe eines Lewens / rothfarbig / hat drei zeilen oder reihen der zen im mund / sein füß findt den Lewen füßen ganz gleich / aber das angesicht sampt den augen vnd ohren dem menschen / hat ein schwanz wie ein Scorpion / vnnnd laute stim wie ein schalmei / vnnnderstehet die menschen stim zu dichten / ist sehr schnell / so es die menschen mit listigkeit zu sich locken mag / so zerreiße es sie vnnnd frisset sie.

Manticora ist ein Thier / mancherlei Thier gestalt / denn sein angesicht vergleicht sich menschlichem angesicht / hatt gelbe brinnende augen / am leib blut farb / ein schwanz wie ein Lew / vnd schwanz als ein Scorpion scharpff stechend / pffisset laut als ob es pfeiffen wolt / ist menschliches fleisch ganz begierlich / hat auch drei zeilen oder reihen der zen / im maul wie Pinius daruon schreibt / vnd ist dem obgesetzten thier fast ähnlich.

Das Thier Musquelibet.



Musquelibet ist auch ein thier in dem landt gegen auffgang wonend / in der größe eines Gempffen. Platearius schreibt / das diesem thier vmb den nabel herumb ein geschwer wachß von versamleten feuchten / so dasselbig zeitig / fließt ein ayter drauß / so der selbig verheilet / wirdt er Bysam genant / darumb man dieses Thier ein Bysam Thier nennet / denn so es empfindet / das solchs Apostem oder geschwer zeitig / so reibt es sich hart darmit an die baum oder felsens / darmit es auff breche / daselbst verharret solcher ayter / vnd wirdt von den inwonern derselbigen landschafft auffgesamlet. Denn wiewol auch sein haut vnd fleisch auch sehr guten geruch / auch sein fadt / ist doch diser ayter der fürrestlichst / vnnnd gut Bysam / So derselbig sein guten geruch verlorin bat / soll mā in ein heimlich gemach oder stinckend ort hengen / so bekompt er seinen recht geruch wider
f v umb

34 Albertus Magnus (ca. 1193–1280). *Thierbuch Alberti Magni*.

Frankfort: Cyriaco Jacobi zum Bart, 1545.

Well before he was canonized in 1931, and even named ‘patron of those who cultivate the sciences of nature’ in 1941, Albertus Magnus was firmly established in the canon of the natural sciences.²⁵⁸ The English natural philosopher Roger Bacon (ca. 1219–1292) called him ‘the most noted of Christian scholars’ of his time and later Renaissance naturalists appraised his zoological works as indispensable sources for their own descriptions of animals.²⁵⁹ Known as *Doctor universalis* at the peak of his career, Albertus took advantage of his positions as Master of Theology, provincial of the Dominican Order, and Bishop of Regensburg to further his philosophical interests by visiting libraries and cultivating relations with other scholars of his generation.²⁶⁰ Albertus not only had the tremendous privilege of working alongside Roger Bacon as well as with students of the calibre of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Thomas of Cantimbré (1201–1272) but his career trajectory was also guided by having access to the recently translated texts of Aristotle.²⁶¹ Amongst a vast corpus of 470 titles attributed to his name,²⁶² Albertus’s major contribution to the natural sciences was to recover Aristotle’s zoological works and make them available as compendia and commentaries for medieval readers, together with his original observations of the natural world.²⁶³

Albertus’s *De animalibus*, composed between 1256 and 1260 and extant in over forty manuscript copies, is one of his seventy works on philosophy, science, and theology.²⁶⁴ In the first nineteen books of this compendium about animals, Albertus introduces to medieval scholarship one of the first and most influential commentaries of Aristotle’s zoological writings after centuries of obscurity.²⁶⁵ For the next two books (20–21), he discusses his original observations on animals, followed by the last five books (22–26) consisting of a bestiary mainly based on Thomas of Cantimbré’s *De natura rerum*.²⁶⁶ Albertus catalogues 476 entries of animals, most of which derive from Cantimbré with additional references to Pliny, Solinus, Isidore of Seville, and other sources.²⁶⁷

Like lapidaries and herbals, bestiaries provide readers with quick points of reference organized as alphabetical entries with concise descriptions of the name, features, and behaviour of the natural subjects, and occasionally entwined with moral and religious meanings.²⁶⁸ ‘The *basiliscus* is a serpent called *regulus* in Latin translation,’ reads one entry, ‘for the word means the same as the Greek *basiliscus*.’²⁶⁹ The rest of the entry for the basilisk captures the folklore of this powerful creature able to kill with its hiss and glare,

De Monocero. G. H. Lib. I.

689

per melionum, caninum, felinum, &c. inter taurinum & suillum constituit: nimirum quod suillo crassiores, taurino tenuiores sint: mihi quidem omnes hi adipēs suillo & taurino magis coalescere, & digerere videtur. Nec sperandum adops dederit quem bestia melis, Serenus contra febres & calores nimios corporis. Adipe taxi inuncti febrientēs sanantur, Aesculap. Axungia eius valet ad renū dolores, Albert. Quidam hepaticis & calculosis inungunt: & alijs etiam membris dolentibus, Obscur. Inuncta melium pinguitudo vel cum alijs infusa (per elyptem nimirum,) renū dolores sedat, Ge. Agricola. Adipes taxi, vulpis, felis sylvestris & alijs, à medicis quibusdā (Leonello & alijs) miscentur ad compositiones arthriticas. Taxi & canis pinguis equarj medici miscet ad nervos contractos remolliendos. Cerebrum cum oleo coctū omnes dolores curat, Aesculap. Iecur melis ex aqua coram grauitatem emendat, Plin. Testiculi taxi cum melle cocti libidinem accendunt, Aesculap. Fertur quod lotes ex pelle taxi paratæ in calcamentis sit scitum remedium contra dolorem podagricum, Incertus. Morfus taxi aliquando venenosus est, sed non semper, Albert. Morfus eius plerunq; grauissimus est, & exitialis: nimirum quia reficitur crabronibus & animalibus venenatis quæ in terra repunt, vnde dentes eius inficiuntur, Liber de nat. rerum. Taxus, lynx, catus, &c. vulnere magis morsus sui quàm veneno lardunt, Arnoldus.

H.

Melis lucifuga, Grat. Licet etiam obelam, opimam, vel pinguem cognominare. Melis hasta è ligno mali dicta, Feli. v. Gra. ex originis sit, qui melan malum arborum vocat, prima longa: melon, fructum eius, & per excellentiam cotoneum: vnde melinum penultima breui, ex malis cotoneis paratū, vt oleum melinum: à mele autem quadrupede melinum, penultima longa formari poterit. *Ubi* etiam in Lexico Græcolatino arbor malus exponitur, sed sine auctore, *Melale* fraxinus est, cuius lignum hastis conficiendis idoneum habetur: quare eodē nomine hastam quoq; nominant Graeci. Mali certe arboris lignum hastis ineptum est. Leucocera ferè caput est melium, Plin. camel num, Solin. A taxo Ferrarig nobilissima Taxonorum familia nomen sortita est, *Brafulolus*. Fiente id est simus Gallica lingua, non de quibuslibet feris, sed propriè ferentibus dicitur, vt vulpe, mele.

DE MONOCEROTE.

Figura hæc talis est, qualis à pictoribus ferè hodie pingitur, de qua certi nihil habeo.



A.

MONOCEROS, hoc est vnicornis fera ab alijs aliter describitur: siue quoniam diuersæ sunt vnicornes animantes vt constat: siue quod aliqui notas diuersarum tanquam vnus confuderunt. Minus autem mirum de fera tam peregrina & toto à nobis orbe diuisa, nec vnquā in Europam adducta, diuersa ab Europæis scriptoribus auritis ferè omnibus nō oculatis, in moria prodita esse. Hoc magis mirum, recentiores etiam, vt Ludouicum Romanum & Paulum Venetum, qui regiones illas in quibus reperiuntur lustrant diuersas tamen monocerotes describere. Ego singulorum verba adnumerabo, vt doctioribus diligentioribusq; olim certius aliquid his deferis statuendi occasionem præbeam. O. sei Indi videntur asperissimam feram monocerotem reliquo corpore equo similem, capite ceruo pedibus elephanto cauda apro, mugitu graui, vno cornu nigro medio fronte cubito: um duum eminente. hanc feram vidam negant capi. Plinius. Physiologus quidam author obscurus, & alij cum secuti, monocerotem animal paruum esse scribunt, hædo similem acerrimum, vno in capite cornu. Sed illi ex Plinio acerrimum pro asperissimum legerūt: & hædo pro equo, vnde necessarius ferè alter error secutus est vt animal paruum esse putarent.

Montes (inquit Aelianus) esse dicuntur in intemis regionibus Indiæ, ad quos difficulter estur, vbi præter alias bestias feræ reperiatur monoceros, quem (Indi) vocant cartazon: eumq; magnitudine ad confirmatæ ætatis equum accedere dicunt, iubaq; & pulis fuluum esse: pedum bonitate & totius corporis celeritate excellere: atque similiter vt elephan- os pedum digitis indiu: sis esse: apri eandem habere, inter supercilia cornu vno, eodemq; nigro, non laui quidem, sed versuras quasdam naturales habente, atq; in acutissimum mucronem desinente ornatum exillere, hæc Aelianus. Mihi omnino Plinius & Aelianus vnā eandemq; bestiam descripsisse videntur.

M m m 3 sed nec

and include interjections by Albertus who explains the plausible causes for its behaviour and existence. Although Albertus was methodical in explaining the role of monstrosity in the natural world, he reports several composite creatures with a certain level of credulity.²⁷⁰ One example is the manticore, a human-eating animal which he describes as having ‘the face of a human, gray eyes, the body of a lion blood-red in color, the tail of a scorpion that is spiked with a strong stinger, and a voice that is so sibilant that it imitates the sound of pipes and trumpets.’²⁷¹ In this German translation of 1545 of the last five books of *De animalibus*, some of its 218 woodcut illustrations depict a number of ‘hybrid’ creatures of the land and sea. All kinds of real and imaginary animals are scattered across the pages of what would become the first comprehensive treatise of natural philosophy to embrace Aristotelean principles of zoology for the Middle Ages.²⁷²

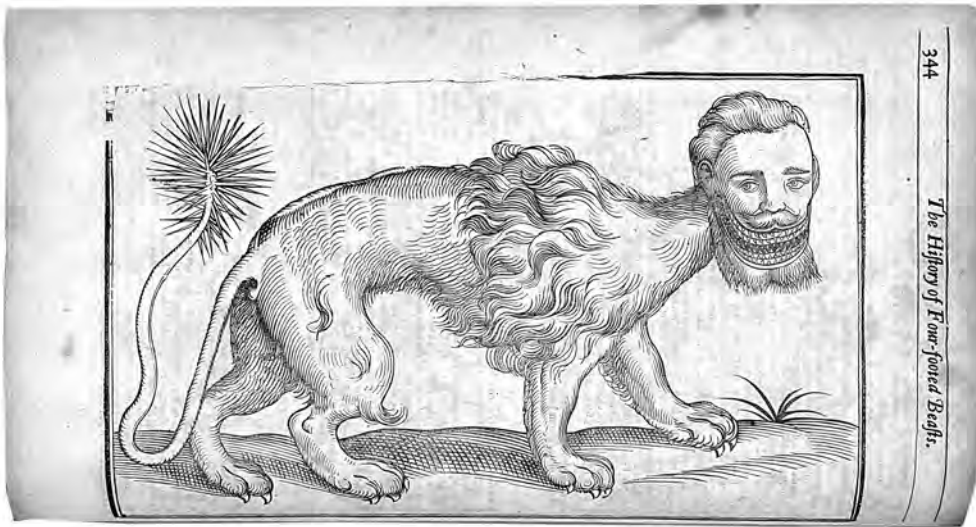
35 Conrad Gessner (1516–1565). *Historiae animalium*.

Frankfurt: Robert Campier, 1602–1604.

Natural history publications furnished almost one fifth of the private library of Conrad Gessner, a Swiss physician and scholar whose monumental encyclopedia, *Historia animalium*, was published between 1551–1558 and 1587.²⁷³ In his studio, Gessner collected drawings of animals, derived information from his correspondence with other scholars, and transcribed passages from ancient and contemporary treatises on natural subjects into his commonplace books.²⁷⁴ All of these efforts brought him closer to his goal of compiling into one collection every available source ever written on the natural history of animals.²⁷⁵ *Historia animalium* is the most comprehensive and ground-breaking zoological study of its kind, one that continues the legacy of Aristotle and his medieval promoter Albertus Magnus into the sixteenth century.²⁷⁶

Historia animalium is arranged into five volumes (the last one published posthumously in 1587) with the division of the animal kingdom into five main groups (quadrupeds, amphibians, birds, fish, and reptiles), each one organized in alphabetical order with the nomenclature of all the species supplied in Latin, Hebrew and several vernacular languages known to Gessner. The encyclopedia comprises over 4,500 pages of descriptions with more than twelve hundred woodcut illustrations, some of which were commissioned for this work.²⁷⁷ Obtained from modern travel accounts, and natural histories, Gessner’s visual and textual descriptions of animals from the New World—like the opossum, armadillo, sloth, and llama—appear beside legendary monsters of classical

and medieval texts.²⁷⁸ Regarding the dragon, for example, Gessner compiles information from popular and natural history sources for his novel interpretations of this mythical creature that would become the model for later treatments by Aldrovandi and Kircher.²⁷⁹ The sea monsters of Olaus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* also make their way into this encyclopedia which accurately describes real fish as well. In contrast with his predecessors, Gessner uses rational arguments to explain the exotic and strange creatures found in earlier sources.²⁸⁰ In the case of the manticore, Gessner analyzes various references on the composite nature of the creature and even compares its multiple names to assert, in the end, that the manticore is a close relative of the hyena.²⁸¹ For Gessner and other natural philosophers of the period, the monsters of classical and medieval sources remain present in their works simply as reminders of a long tradition but not as evidence of their belief in the existence of monstrous animals.²⁸²



36 Edward Topsell (1572–1625?). *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents*. London: Printed by E. Cotes, for G. Sawbridge, 1658.

In *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents*, the cleric Edward Topsell offered readers of the English language the first substantial book on animals to be published in Great Britain.²⁸³ His translation from the Latin of the first volume of Gessner's pioneering encyclopedia of zoology was first published in 1607 and enlarged in 1658 to include new

editions of *The History of Serpents* (1608) and *The Theatre of Insects* (1634). While the zoological works of Gessner and Aldrovandi circulated in the rest of Europe, English readers had access to Topsell's books which were organized in the convention of bestiaries and illustrated with hundreds of woodcuts based on Gessner's and other sources.²⁸⁴ Unlike Gessner and Aldrovandi, Topsell was not a naturalist for his aim was not to create new zoological knowledge based on first-hand observation. Instead, by using existing sources, he derived moral lessons from their descriptions of the habits, physical qualities and habitats of the animals, as well as their medicinal and nutritional properties.

The traditional animal lore found in earlier sources is an intrinsic part of this book. Topsell replicates the monstrous and mythical beasts of the past while also adding identifiable traits from the behaviour of real and imaginary animals. 'There is no creature among all the beasts in the world,' Topsell writes, 'which is so ample demonstration of the power and wisdom of Almighty God as the elephant.' The fox, for instance, is a 'deceitful' creature, the hyena or manticore is known to be a 'voice-counterfeiter,' and the mythical lamia is described as a 'monster compounded of a beast and a fish' that lures men with her beauty into deadly traps. Even though at times Topsell attempts to warn readers of the veracity of his sources, in his own arguments he reproduces and even augments the tradition of monstrous and mythical creatures of the past.

37 Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566). *Libri de piscibus marinis*. Lyon: Matthiam Bonhomme, 1554.

38 Pierre Belon (1517?–1564). *La nature & diversité des poissons*. Paris: Charles Estienne, 1555.

Ichthyology emerged as a single discipline within the field of zoology in the works of the French naturalists Pierre Belon and Guillaume Rondelet.²⁸⁵ Initially published in the 1550s, their investigations set subsequent works on fish on the path towards scientific classification prior to the rise of the Linnaean taxonomy in 1750.²⁸⁶ Belon, who also wrote a popular book of travels filled with scientific observations (1553), published his *Histoire naturelle des estranges poissons* in 1551 as a small quarto volume considered today as the first printed book solely devoted to fish, a category which included, at the time, water-dwelling animals like dolphins and hippopotamuses.²⁸⁷ Similarly, Rondelet toured the Mediterranean Sea in order to observe and describe native fish as the basis for the publication of his *Libri de piscibus marinus* (1554) and *Universae aquatiliū historiae* (1555),

DE PISCIBVS

De pisce Episcopi habitu.



CAPUT XXI.



ONSTRVM Aliud multo superiore mirabilius subiungo, quod accepi à Gisleberto Germano medico, cuius antè aliquoties memini, qđ ipse ab Amsterodamo cum literis acceperat, quibus ille affirmabat anno 1531. in Polonia visum id monstrum marinū Episcopi habitu, & ad Poloniae Regem delatum, cui signis quibusdam significare videbatur vehementer se cupere ad mare reuerti, quo deductus statim in id se coniecit. Sciens omitto plura, quæ de hoc monstro mihi narrata sunt, quia fabulosa esse arbitror. Ea est enim hominum vanitas, vt rei per se satis mirabili præter verum plura etiam affingant, ego qualem monstri iconem accepi, talem omnino exhibeo. Vera ea sit an non, nec affirmo, nec refello.

De Nereide.

CAPUT XXII.



OETÆ Nereides esse finxerunt Nerei & Doridos filias, quarum pars nare videtur, inquit Ouidius,
*Pars in mole sedens virides siccare capillos,
 Pisce vehi quadam: facies non omnibus una:
 Non diuersa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.*

Id

DES POISSONS LI. I.

33

Sans plus que trois iours, & onc ne parla, ne ietta aultre uoyx, sinon grands soupirs & pluinifs: dont ie
 e'en plus bien assseurer, par le recit & escripture de gens dignes de foy: & ne trouue riens en cela que na-
 ture ne puisse faire par esbat, ainsi que plusieurs aultres choses, dont tous les iours nous uoyos l'expériē.

Le monstre marin ayant facon d'un moine.



c.i.

two significant treatises in which he improved upon the scientific descriptions of fish by his predecessor.²⁸⁸ Belon and Rondelet are often regarded as the founders of modern ichthyology as a result of their compilation of sources on the subject and for their approach to produce descriptions that, in a number of cases, originated from direct and comparative observations of the anatomy of fish (including marine mammals, reptiles, and shellfish).²⁸⁹

Both Belon and Rondelet admitted into their innovative works on fish one of the most significant monsters of the sixteenth century. Albertus and Cantimbré list the giant creature known as the sea monk or monk fish in their medieval bestiaries and it also appears in the early-modern books of Lycosthenes (1557), Gessner (1558), and Sluperius (1572).²⁹⁰ In *De animalibus*, for example, Albertus Magnus claims that the *monachus marinus* has the ‘head of a monk who has been recently tonsured’ and explains that the creature ‘entices those travelling on the sea until it lures them in’ before it takes its victims to the bottom of the ocean to devour their flesh.²⁹¹ Aside from referencing earlier sources, Belon and Rondelet’s information on the creature also derive from recent sightings of the monster in the Øresund, the strait between Denmark and Sweden, between the years 1545 and 1550.²⁹² In the French translation of *La nature & diversité des poissons* (1555), Belon describes a ‘fish with the habit of a monk’, along with a woodcut illustration that returns in later depictions of the monster. Likewise, various editions of Rondelet’s *Libri de piscibus marinis* contain a replica of the monk fish in addition to reports of hybrid creatures like the sea bishop or the sea lion. The monk fish continued to exist in the works of Aldrovandi (1642) and Schott (1662) and other naturalists who invoked popular reports of the monster and reproduced earlier descriptions of the sea monk in their volumes of natural histories published in the seventeenth century.

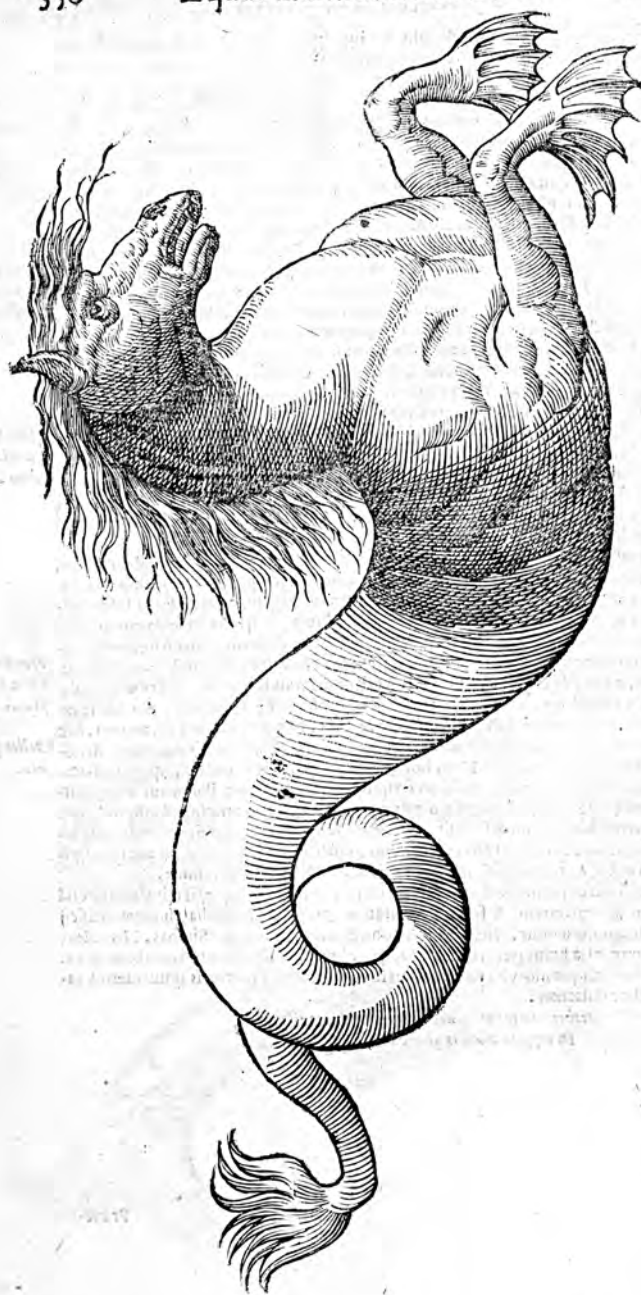
39 Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605). *Serpentarum et draconum historiae*.

Bologna: Clementem Ferronium, 1640.

40 Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605). *Monstrorum historia cum Paralipomenis historiae omnium animalium*. Bologna: Nicolai Tebaldini, 1642.

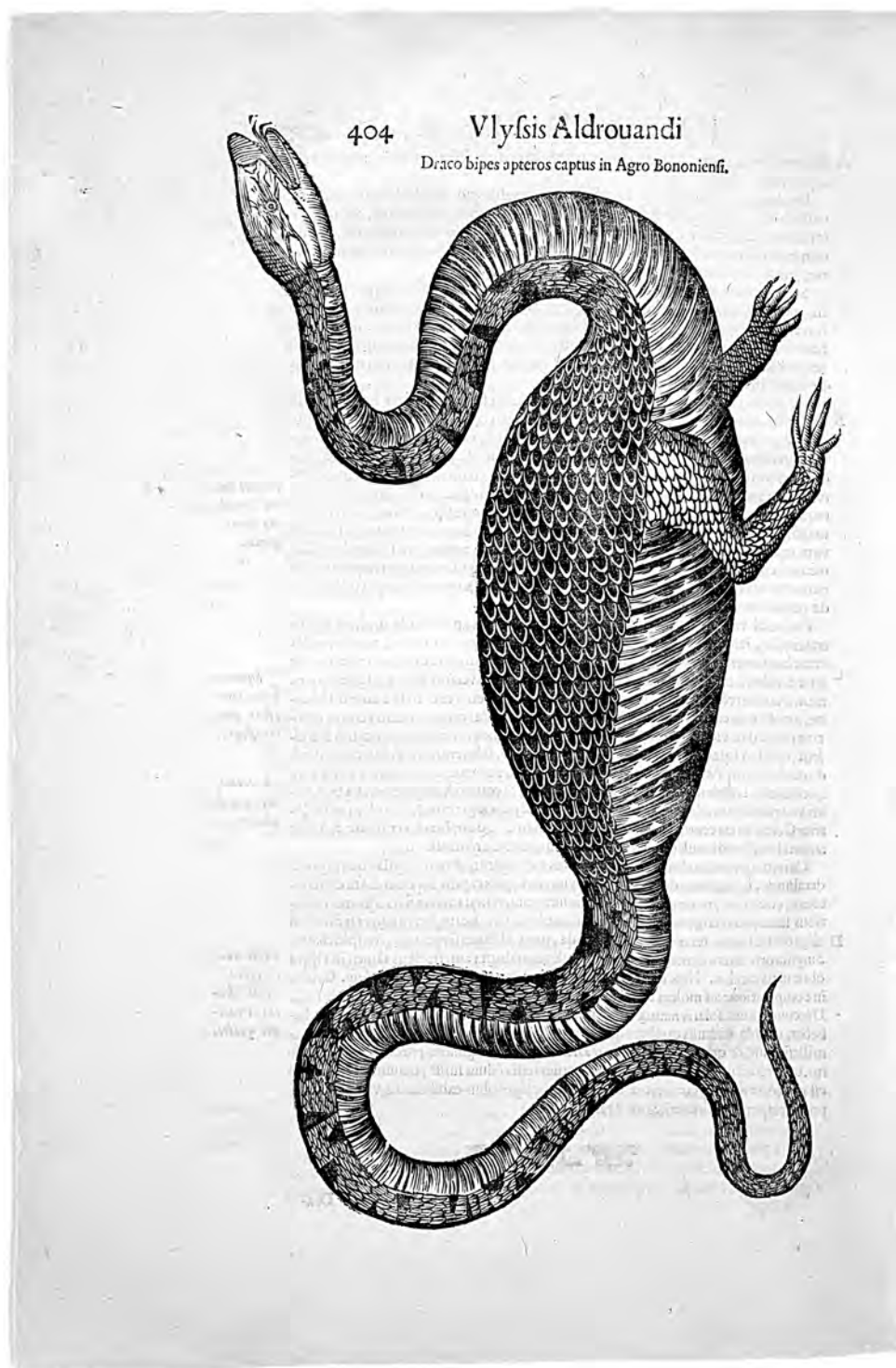
The celebrated Bolognese naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi frequently signed his books with the inscription ‘Ulisse Aldrovandi and friends.’²⁹³ Such a peculiar mark of ownership encapsulates in one brief statement the ethos of Aldrovandi and his ‘friends’—an international community of patrons, naturalists, collectors, artists, merchants, students,

356

Equus marinus monstrosus.

Monstrum marinum Daemoniforme. 357





amanuenses, and citizens of the 'Republic of Letters' whose joint efforts helped transform natural history into a formal discipline over the course of the sixteenth century.²⁹⁴ Indeed, collaboration is at the heart of Aldrovandi's body of writings. To examine the complex production of the thirteen volumes of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia of natural history is to witness the manifestation of a print culture which, during the Renaissance, relied upon the widespread practices of collecting natural specimens and sharing scientific information via letters among naturalists.²⁹⁵

In the same spirit of Gessner's zoological works, Aldrovandi spent almost three decades collecting sources to identify and describe every component of the natural world and, in doing so, produced the most ambitious publishing enterprise of the seventeenth century on natural history. When the naturalist died in 1605, the *Studio Aldrovandi* was established to preserve a library of 3,598 printed books and over three hundred manuscripts.²⁹⁶ The *Studio* also contained Aldrovandi's renowned museum which housed at the time some eighteen thousand 'natural things,' seven thousand dried specimens of plants, eight thousand paintings of 'naturalia,' and hundreds of woodcut printing blocks.²⁹⁷ Even though Aldrovandi only had direct involvement in the publication of the initial volumes for *Ornithologia* (1599, 1600, 1603) and *De animalibus insectis* (1602), his literary successors carried out his legacy by publishing the unfinished nine volumes from 1606 to 1667.²⁹⁸ With a vast range of primary sources at their disposal, the custodians of the *Studio Aldrovandi* were ultimately responsible for overseeing the publication of the encyclopedia by making available in print the results of decades of labour and collaboration so deeply ingrained in the rich textual, visual, and material legacy of Aldrovandi's library and museum.²⁹⁹

Bartolomeo Ambrosini (1588–1657), custodian of the *Studio Aldrovandi* from 1632 until 1657, edited the volumes of *Serpentium et draconum historia libri duo* (1640) and *Historia monstrorum* (1642) on the basis of Aldrovandi's wealth of research material on these topics.³⁰⁰ For Aldrovandi, a complete encyclopedia of natural history should also consider the place of monsters in the natural world.³⁰¹ For this purpose, he accumulated centuries of classical, medieval, and modern sources in various formats such as manuscripts, printed books, and even specimens.³⁰² One highlight of these sources is the alleged discovery of a 'dragon' on the outskirts of Bologna on the same day as the investiture of Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) in 1572.³⁰³ Aldrovandi welcomed the mysterious specimen into his museum where naturalists, scholars, and patrons sent missives to

inquire into the nature and meaning of the portent.³⁰⁴ As news of the creature travelled across Italy and other parts of Europe, Aldrovandi quickly became the expert on the dragon.³⁰⁵ But it took thirty-five long years for his interpretations to reach wider audiences with the publication of the print version of his treatise in 1640.³⁰⁶ In *Serpentum et draconum historiae*, Aldrovandi describes the dragon in the span of sixteen pages where he defines it as a natural phenomenon instead of a portent charged with religious connotations.³⁰⁷ He also analyzes the anatomy of the creature amid a broader history that covers the folklore, mythology, iconography, and even the medical uses of snakes and dragons. In the end, the dragon of Bologna was nothing more than a hoax, a composite of different animals fabricated by a Renaissance taxidermist.³⁰⁸

Aldrovandi's *Historia monstorum* is one of the most significant contributions of the Renaissance to the history of monsters. First published in 1642 and reprinted in 1658, the book presents an extensive illustrated catalogue of monsters without making a clear distinction between myths and realities or commonly accepted notions of monstrosity.³⁰⁹ The structure of the book was innovative since it was the first treatise to study monsters based on their form.³¹⁰ Traditional monstrous peoples populate the first chapters of the book, followed by numerous accounts of animal and botanical monstrosities, celestial prodigies, fossils, monsters in antiquarian objects, as well as human deformities. Like the rest of the volumes of Aldrovandi's encyclopedia, *Monstorum historia* is a visually stunning folio illustrated with 477 woodcuts.

Aldrovandi archived over twenty years of readings and observations into the eighty three volumes of his *Pandechion epistemonicon*.³¹¹ On the subject of monsters, the naturalist and his amanuenses filled numerous pages with research notes written on paper and pasted onto the pages in alphabetical order.³¹² Ambrosini built upon these existing sources and the contents of the library to edit this tome of almost 800 pages.³¹³ As a result, *Monstorum historia* contains every major classical, medieval, and modern source on the subject of monsters. Aldrovandi references Aristotle, Pliny, St Augustine, and other medieval sources in addition to books by Schedel, Gessner, Lycosthenes, Rueff, and numerous contemporary authors, some of whom were eventually included on the *Index of Prohibited Books*.³¹⁴ Ambrosini updates the work, supplementing the original sources to cover monsters and events reported after the death of Aldrovandi in 1605.³¹⁵ What makes *Monstorum historia* a pioneer work in the field of Renaissance teratology is the book's extensive coverage of sources, comprehensive categories of monsters, and



41 Manticore and tiger from *Nova raccolta* (1650).



42 Sea monster from *Figure di mostri marini* (1608).

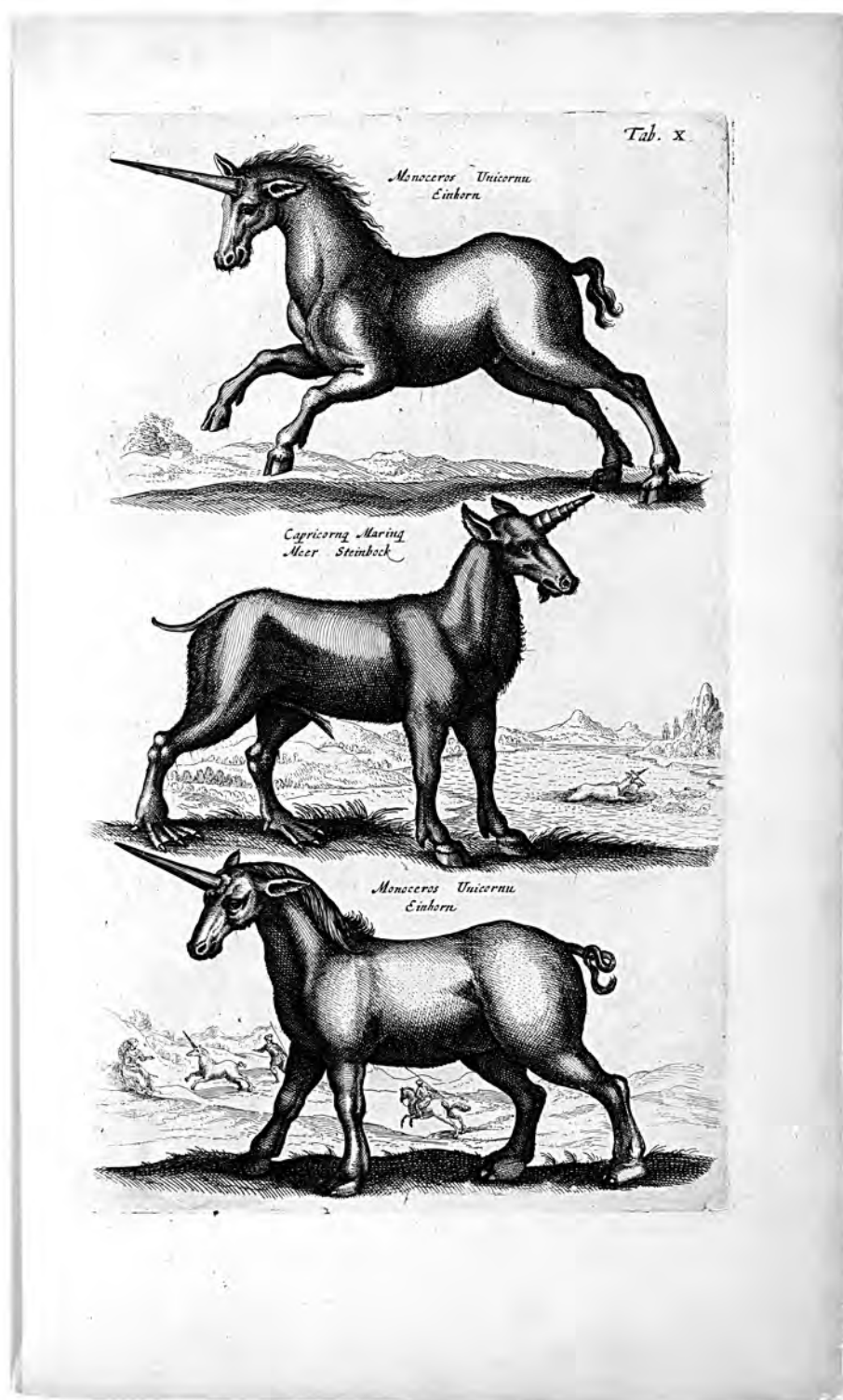
hundreds of woodcut illustrations. For over three hundred years, readers have constantly turned to these resources to learn about monsters in the context of one of the key encyclopedic studies of Renaissance natural history.

41 Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). *Nova raccolta de li animali piu curiosi del mondo*. Rome: Giovanni Iacomo Rossi, 1650.

42 Giovanni Andrea Maglioli (fl. 1580–1610). *Figure di mostri marini e putti*. Rome: Lorenzo Vaccari, 1608.

Book illustration was a central feature of the print culture of Renaissance natural history. In the context of printed volumes of natural history, woodcuts and engravings provided many of the visual representations of natural specimens as part of the process of generating knowledge about nature during this period.³¹⁶ In the album *Nova raccolta de li animali piu curiosi del mondo*, the Florentine artist and printmaker Antonio Tempesta presents 193 etchings of mammals, reptiles, insects, birds, and some fantastic creatures designed to ‘provoke wonder.’³¹⁷ He illustrates the manticore, the griffin, the unicorn, and other mythical creatures of antiquity. Tempesta was one of the most prolific engravers of the early-modern period with 1,461 prints attributed to him on a variety of religious and historical themes as well as mythological subjects, battle and hunting scenes, processions and ceremonies, and images of animals.³¹⁸ He also published an earlier undated set of natural history illustrations titled *La curiosa raccolta di diversi animali quadrupedi*. Giovanni Andrea Maglioli, an Italian artist and designer of ornamental prints, produced a series of sixteen engravings depicting cherubs and sea monsters which were printed in Rome by Lorenzo Vaccari in 1608. The engravings combine the lore of the sea monsters with the aesthetic of the grotesque popularized in all forms of art in sixteenth-century Italy. Renaissance collectors held these books of prints as prized possessions in their museums and libraries because they were able to display artistic renditions of unobtainable specimens of exotic animals of distant lands, monstrous creatures, and curiosities of the natural world.³¹⁹





43 John Jonston (1603–1675). *Historiae naturalis de avibus*.

Frankfurt: Matthäus Merian, 1650.

44 John Jonston (1603–1675). *Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus libri*.

Amsterdam: Johann Schipper, 1657.

Following the footsteps of Gessner and Aldrovandi, the Polish physician and natural historian John Jonston aspired to revive the study of natural history with the publication of the six volumes of his zoological encyclopedia between 1650 and 1653.³²⁰ Jonston was strongly influenced by theories on the transformative power of education expressed by a number of seventeenth-century naturalists, particularly Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654).³²¹ In addition, he also found inspiration in the realistic approach introduced in the natural history treatises of the New World, namely the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (1648) of Georg Marcgrave (1610–1644) and Willem Piso (1611–1678).³²² Jonston made a significant contribution to pre-modern natural history by focusing on the ‘world of things’ as a way to draw concise, accurate, and independent descriptions of natural history subjects.³²³ This means that Jonston saw nature differently from the ‘emblematic worldview’ of his forerunners whose descriptions of animals, for example, rested on demonstrating the similarities among species or groups of animals instead of outlining their qualities as individual entities.³²⁴

Jonston’s *Historia naturalis* is still dependent on the textual legacy of his predecessors.³²⁵ Despite conducting first-hand observations, he mostly relies upon the books of Aristotle and Pliny on animals while also referencing the works of Gessner, Aldrovandi, and other zoological treatises of the period.³²⁶ This is why his works remain true to the traditional elements of earlier natural histories in their treatment of monsters and mythological creatures.³²⁷ Similar to Topsell’s views on monsters, Jonston is critical of his sources yet he leaves it to the readers to determine what to make of the accounts of monstrous creatures in his books.³²⁸ In the appendix to his *Historiae naturalis de avibus* (1650), Jonston describes the qualities of the three mythical birds—the griffin, the phoenix, and the harpyca—which he draws from classical, medieval, and modern sources, while in *Historiae naturalis de quadrupedibus libri* (1657), he includes numerous accounts of unicorns and monstrous animals like the manticore and the griffin, now classified as a quadruped. Jonston introduces these monstrous animals in order to delight his readers as they learn about the wonders of nature from the pages of his encyclopedia of natural history.³²⁹

DE MONSTRIS
ET MONSTROSIS,
QVAM MIRABILIS. BONVS, ET
IVSTVS, IN MVNDO ADMI-
NISTRANDO, SIT DEVS,
MONSTRANTIBVS.

Authore

GEORGIO STENGELIO
Soc. Iesv Theologo.



Permissu Superiorum.

Et cum Privilegio Sacrae Casareae Maiestatis.
Ingolstadij, Apud GREGORIUM HÆNLIN.
Sumtu IOANNIS WAGNERI. Anno 1647.

45 Georg Stengel (1584–1651). *De monstribus et monstrositate*. Ingolstadt: Gregor Haenlin, 1647.

The Jesuit philosopher and theologian Georg Stengel wrote his treatise on monsters at a crucial moment in the study of natural philosophy in Jesuit institutions in Germany.³³⁰ The Scholastic tradition, founded on Aristotelian logic and the writings of the early Church Fathers, was gradually superseded by new methods and modern authorities in natural philosophy.³³¹ In the course of their education, Jesuits learned the main principles of the ‘speculative sciences’ of metaphysics, physics, and mathematics.³³² Published in 1647, *De monstribus et monstrositate* responds, to some extent, to the requirement of physics to understand natural bodies, their matter, form, and causes for their changes.³³³ In this book, Stengel not only investigates the natural causes of monsters as ‘physical bodies’ but he also considers their theological implications in the framework of seventeenth-century natural philosophy.³³⁴

Stengel suggests at the outset of the book that monsters are natural phenomena which originate in deviations from the normal dispositions of their kind. The more a monster departs from the normal form, the more its body becomes monstrous. In the course of seventeen chapters, Stengel asks a series of didactic questions to explore the nature of monstrosity in humans, animals, vegetables, and minerals. His work encompasses monstrous births, as well as human deformities and abnormalities, monstrous animals according to their habitats, and even delves into notions of demonology and witchcraft. Stengel cites a range of authorities on natural history such as Pliny, Solinus, Isidore of Seville, Albertus Magnus, along with the more recent writings of Münster and Lycosthenes. The only illustration in the book appears on the title-page and it depicts a wild creature also found in Lycosthenes, Aldrovandi, and Schott. Stengel is consistent with contemporary authorities on the subject of monsters since he poses intriguing questions, not to corroborate the existence of monsters but as a way to elaborate on the principles of natural philosophy.³³⁵

46 Caspar Schott (1608–1666). *Physica curiosa, sive Mirabilia naturae et artis*. Würzburg: Johann Andreas Endteri, 1667.

On 19 May 1664, the German Jesuit mathematician and natural philosopher Caspar Schott sent a letter to one of his correspondents requesting sources for the second edition of his popular compendium of monsters and wonders of nature. ‘Fr. Caspar Schott asks



46 The 'Su' from *Physica curiosa* (1667).

the most illustrious Baron,' reads the brief letter, 'if he should have any book of curiosities, from which something might be taken for the *Physica curiosa* which was published last year and is now to be reissued.'³³⁶ In less than a decade (1657–1666), Schott compiled sources from books and his own correspondence into twelve manuscripts volumes covering various elements of natural philosophy, ten of which were published under his guidance prior to his death.³³⁷ *Physica curiosa* originally appeared in 1662, and the second

edition of 1667 contained over six hundred pages of new material added to what was already an eclectic taxonomical treatise on monsters and natural wonders.³³⁸ *Physica curiosa*, like Schott's *Magia naturalis* (1657–1659) and *Technica curiosa* (1664), were conceived with the purpose of renewing the study of mathematics, physics, and natural magic among seventeenth-century readers in Germany and other parts of Europe.

Schott discusses the wonders and secrets of nature in the twelve chapters of his *Physica curiosa*.³³⁹ The book begins with supernatural wonders such as demons, angels, ghosts, and apparitions before it turns its attention to monstrous peoples and births, portents, as well as monstrous animals, and natural wonders. Besides engaging the narrative of demonology with the field of teratology, Schott offers little original material or new interpretations on these subjects and most of the engravings in the book are drawn directly from earlier sources, especially from Aldrovandi.³⁴⁰ *Physica curiosa* is, above all, an encyclopedia that brings under the umbrella of 'natural magic' every monster that has existed in the pages of medieval encyclopedias, world histories, wonder books, cosmographies, travel narratives, natural histories, and medical treatises.

Part IV:

On Monstrous Bodies

Teratology—originally defined as the study of fantastic creatures and monsters—has a long history dating back to Antiquity when ‘monstrous births’ were closely tied to the traditions of monsters as errors of nature and religious omens. Reports of conjoined twins, extreme forms of congenital deformities, and human-animal hybrids circulated in nearly every book dealing with monsters published before the end of the eighteenth century. The monsters in these accounts generally challenged the limits of humanity and posed a threat to the laws of nature as evidence of the divine power. The monsters of medieval encyclopedias and Renaissance wonder books remained credible until the emergence of modern theories based on empirical scientific and medical methods in the nineteenth century. The proponents of the new discipline of teratology—defined today as the scientific study of congenital abnormalities and abnormal formations— for decades exploited the tired language and beliefs of earlier sources despite advances in embryology and pathology. For this reason, the concept of material impression and other long-discredited medical theories informed popular ideas on reproduction until the end of the Victorian period. Today, the output of nineteenth-century teratology evinces the long and complex history of labeling real human bodies as monsters. These books also intersect with contemporary revisions of ideas of race, gender, sexuality, and class by feminist scholars and academics in disability studies and medical humanities.

47 Aristotle (384–322 B.C.). *De generatione animalium*.

Venice: Bartolomeo Zanni for Octaviano Scotto, 1498.

Aristotle was possibly the most prominent ancient philosopher studied during the Renaissance. His corpus circulated in more than 150 editions in the fifteenth century and over fourteen hundred editions were published before the end of the sixteenth century.³⁴¹ Renaissance natural historians adhered to the Aristotelian principles of studying the natural world in terms of its causes, classifications, and purposes.³⁴² His zoological works in particular have long remained fundamental to the formulation of theories on the origins of monsters. Gessner and Aldrovandi's encyclopedias of natural history, for example, reaffirmed Aristotle's assessment that monstrous animals are random errors of nature, as much as they advanced the more credulous views of Pliny and his supporters. But, in his writings, Aristotle devoted more attention to understanding the causes of human and animal congenital abnormalities as opposed to exploring the lore of mythical monstrous creatures.³⁴³ For this reason Aristotle's theories on the natural causes of monsters, especially monstrous births, dominated the field of teratology from the Renaissance until the nineteenth century.³⁴⁴

In the fourth book of his *Generation of Animals*, Aristotle proposes one of the foundational theories on the origins of monsters. Aristotle argues that 'anyone who does not take after his parents is really in a way a monstrosity.'³⁴⁵ In this view, monsters are the product of errors which originate at the time of the conception and gestation of humans and animals. According to Aristotle, the first sign of monstrosity occurs when a female is conceived rather than a male, while most errors materialize the moment the female contribution overpowers its counterpart during conception.³⁴⁶ Aristotle's conception theory inaugurates a scientific tradition in the study of monsters, one that justifies male dominance and conceives the female body as a prime cause of monstrosity.³⁴⁷ However, Aristotle and other ancient writers also believed there was another powerful cause for monsters and monstrous births: the female imagination.³⁴⁸

Early-modern accounts of monstrous births relied on the idea of the power of the female imagination to generate monsters. The mother's most hidden desires, feelings, or fears were thought to manifest themselves in their progeny through the power of imagination.³⁴⁹ Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615), for example, argues in his *Magiae naturalis* (1558) that the 'conceit of the mind, and the force of imagination is great' and that the mother's fixation with things or images may 'so imprint the likeness of the thing

DE GENERATIONE ANIMALIVM

Alii e diuerfo: fœminæ patri: mares matri: deniq; alii maioribus suis similes: alii suorum nemini simili
 existentes: idq; tum corpore toto: tum partibus singulis de iis inquam omnibus dictum iam est. Sen-
 tentia autem aliorum etiam naturæ interpretum sunt de his rebus: scilicet: quâobrem parentibus ge-
 nerentur: afferunt illi duplicem modum rationis: nonnulli enim ita cœsentur: ab utrovis plus seminis ue-
 nerit: ei similis magis generetur: æque toti totum: & parti pars: quasi ex unaquaq; parte semen decebat
 sed si par de utroq; uenerit: similis neutri procreetur: quod falsum est nec oī ex parte decedit: cōstat nec
 similitudinis & dissimilitudinis causam id esse quod referunt. Tum etiam quædam modum simul & fœ-
 mina sit & patri similis: aut mas: & similis matri non facile explanare possunt. Quod enim ut impedo-
 des aut Democritus causam de mare & fœmina reddunt impossibilia modo alio dicunt: sed qui quod
 plus minusue a mare aut a fœmina secesserit: alterum marem alterum fœminam gigni causant: si ne-
 queant explicare quædam modum fœmina patri similis mas similis matri reddant: simul. n. plus de utroq;
 uenire impossibile est. At hæc cur similes maioribus suis magna ex parte remotisq; generetur: cum ni-
 hil feminis ab illis secesserit: nihil profecto isti quod bene tueantur habent: sed qui reliquum similitu-
 dinis modum afferunt si tum cætera: tum uero hoc melius dicunt. Sunt. n. qui semen genitale dicant quâ-
 uis unū tamen ueluti omnifariā quandā esse multoq; seminū mixtionē. Itaq; ut siquis multa saporum
 genera in eodē humore miscuerit: moxq; inde sumat possitq; sumere semp non tantū de ex unoquoq;
 sed modo huiusmodi illius plus alias etiā ex hoc sumat: ex illo nihil sumat: sic in semine genitale esse: cū
 ex multis ac uariis mixtū sit: a quoq; n. gignētē accesserit plurimū: ei similē forma generari: sed hæc
 ratio nec plana ē: & passim fictitia est: uult hæc nō actu sed potētia inesse: quā oīfariā feminis cōmixtio
 nē appellat: & quidē ita dici melius ē: illo. n. m. o. ipossibile ē hoc possibile ē. Verū q ita cām reddūt nullo
 mō rationē afferre de oībus facile poterūt: cur fœmina cur mas gignatur. Quâobrem sæpenumero fœ-
 mina patri similis mas matri proueniat. Atq; etiā de maiorū similitudine: ad hæc qua de causa interdū
 homo quidē sed nulli suog; similis generetur: alias usq; adeo procedēdo degeneret: ut demū ne homo
 quidē sed animal tantū aliquid exillat. Quæ monstra dicuntur: proximum enim ab iis quæ iam expli-
 cauimus est: ut causas de monstris reddamus: ad extremum enim cum motus soluant & materia non
 superetur: remanet quod maxime est uniuersale: id est animal. Iam puerum ortum capite arietis aut bo-
 uis referunt. Idemq; in cæteris membrum nominant animalis diuersi: utulum capite pueri & ouem
 capite bouis natam asseuerant. Quæ omnia accidunt quidem causis supradictis: sed nihil ex iis quæ no-
 minant est: quāuis similitudo quædam generatur: quod cūenit etiam non in monstrū peruersis: quā-
 obrem sæpenumero per conuictum nonnulli deformes assimilantur: aut capræ ignem efflāt: aut arie-
 ti peculco: phisio gnomon quidam. organes ad duorum aut trium animalium formas redigebat: & di-
 cendo perūque persuadebat. Sed enim impossibile esse: ut tale monstrum gigneretur: id est alterum in al-
 tero animal: tempora ipsa griuiditatis declarant: quæ plurimum discrepant in homine & cane: & i oue
 & boue: nasci autem nullum nisi suo tempore potest: partim igitur hoc modo dicuntur monstra: par-
 tim q forma prodeant multimembri scilicet multis pedibus: aut aut multis capitibus sed profecto ra-
 tiones monstruorum & oblaforum animalium propinquæ & similes inter se quodāmodo sunt: mon-
 strum enim oblatio quædam est.

Quas ob causas monstrosa alia generentur & quare aliis uniferis: aliis paucifer aliis mul-
 tiplex sit partus.

CAP. IIII.

Democritus uero monstra fieri ea causa scribit: q duo subeunt femina: alterum ante: altege
 postea: quæ cum in utero confundantur: euenit: ut membra coalescant atq; difficiant. Aui-
 bus uero quoniam coitus agit crebro: idcirco semper & oua & colorem euariare autumat.
 Sed si ita sit: ut ex uno semine eodēq; coitu plura generentur: quod patet præstat non circū-
 ire uia omnia breui & facili: iis enim tum maxime id accidere necesse est: cum semina non distinguun-
 tur: sed simul subeunt: quod si semini maris causa tribuenda est: hoc modo dicendum sit. Sed enim ex
 toto potius causam in materia: constituendisq; conceptibus esse censendum est: quâobrem monstra
 eiusmodi raro admodum fiunt in iis quæ singulos pariunt: sed crebrius in iis quorum partus est nu-
 merosus: & præcipue in auium genere: earumq; potissimum i gallinis: iis enim partus numerosus: nō
 modo q; sepe pariant: ut columba: uerum etiam q; multos simul conceptus intra se continent: & tem-
 poribus omnibus coeunt: hinc gemina etiam pariunt plura: coherent enim conceptus: quoniam i
 pinguo aiter alteri est: quomodo interdum fructus arborum complures: quod si uitella distinguuntur
 membrana gemini pulli discreti sine ulla superuacua parte generantur: sed si uitella continuantur: nec
 ulla interiecta mēbrana determinantur: pulli ex iis monstrifici prodeunt corpore & capite uno: cruri-
 bus quaternis: alis totidem: quoniam superiora ex albumine generentur: & prius (uitellum enim cibo
 iis est) pars autem inferior postea instipitur: q̄q; cibis idem indistretusq; suppeditatur: iam serpens etiā
 biceps uisus est: uidelicet eadem de causa: nam id quoq; genus oua parit & multa numero: sed rarius in
 eo monstri institutio euenit: propter uteri formam: portēcta enī in uersum copiam ouorum contin-
 netur pro uteri longitudine nec uero in genere apum aut uestparum tale quid accidit. Cellulis enim di-
 cretis partus earum continetur. At in gallinis e contrario fit. Vnde apertum est causam eutorum hu-
 iusmodi in materia esse putare oportere: ut enim in iis quæ plura pariunt magis: & in iis quæ paucio-
 ra minus id accidit. Quo circa homini minus: singulare enim perfectūq; parit: nā & homini locis qbus
 mulieres p̄fectiōdē sunt magis id euenit ut i terra ægypto: capris uero & ouibus magis ut p̄fectiōri

mused upon, in the tender substance of the child.³⁵⁰ Reports of conjoined twins, hermaphrodites, hybrid creatures, newborns with severe congenital disorders, missing or additional limbs, and strange birthmarks circulated widely across Europe in the pages of books, pamphlets, and broadsides. Some of these accounts identified the power of the maternal imagination or impression as the main cause for monstrous births whereas others simply upheld the opinion that the limited role of the female in procreation could not produce any extreme variation at all.³⁵¹ But most early modern reports still alluded in some way to the tradition of interpreting monstrous births as portents or divine prodigies.³⁵² Altogether, Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* remained an essential authority for these teratological accounts because his writings provided the means to comprehend the workings of nature in the conception of monstrous bodies.³⁵³

48 Jakob Rueff (1500–1558). *De conceptu et generatione hominis*.

Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1554.

49 Jakob Rueff (1500–1558). *De conceptu et generatione hominis*.

Frankfurt: Georg Rab, 1580.

In 1554, Swiss physician Jakob Rueff published a treatise on the generation and births of humans. Though Rueff's *De conceptu et generatione hominis* became a popular textbook for midwives and surgeons, the book would reach an even wider audience since concurrent German and Latin editions were strategically published in the heyday of treatises of teratology in Europe.³⁵⁴ Modelled after the *Der Rosengarten* (1513) of Eucharius Rösslin (ca. 1470–1526), the book appeared in at least five editions before the publication of the popular English translation in 1637 under the title *The Expert Midwife, or an Excellent and Most Necessary Treatise of the Generation and Birth of Man*. The edition of 1580 contains a set of woodcuts by the prolific artist Jost Amman (1539–1591), whose illustrations were later reproduced in the works of Paré (1573), Aldrovandi (1642), Liceti (1665), and others.

De conceptu et generatione hominis was an innovative text in the field of teratology because its focal point was to study the natural causes of monstrous births instead of just interpreting them from within the scope of religious portents.³⁵⁵ Aristotle's theory of sexual generation plays a key role in the descriptions of the natural causes of certain monstrous births present in the book.³⁵⁶ But Rueff strikes a balance in his interpretations. He reassures his readers that, regardless of the natural causes, the ultimate origin of

48 Monstrous births from *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (1554).49 Monstrous births from *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (1580).

monstrosity is the intervention of the will of God.³⁵⁷ In the third chapter of the fifth book, Rueff describes thirty-two cases of monstrous births with corresponding woodcut illustrations intended to show a range of examples of both congenital defects and mythical creatures.³⁵⁸ The book takes a number of cases and illustrations from *Obsequens* (1552) and contemporary accounts of monstrous births.³⁵⁹ It depicts and describes classical monsters like the ‘elephant-headed boy’ in the same place as widespread early-modern reports of monstrous births like the Monk Calf and the monsters of Krakow and Ravenna.³⁶⁰ For its contemporary midwife readers, this early work on obstetrics combines practical lessons on every aspect of the pregnancy with moral instruction pertaining to the intricate meanings of monstrous births at that time.³⁶¹ In the history of teratology, *De conceptu et generatione hominis* is the first book to present a comprehensive coverage of monstrous births and their natural causes from the classical to the early modern period.³⁶²

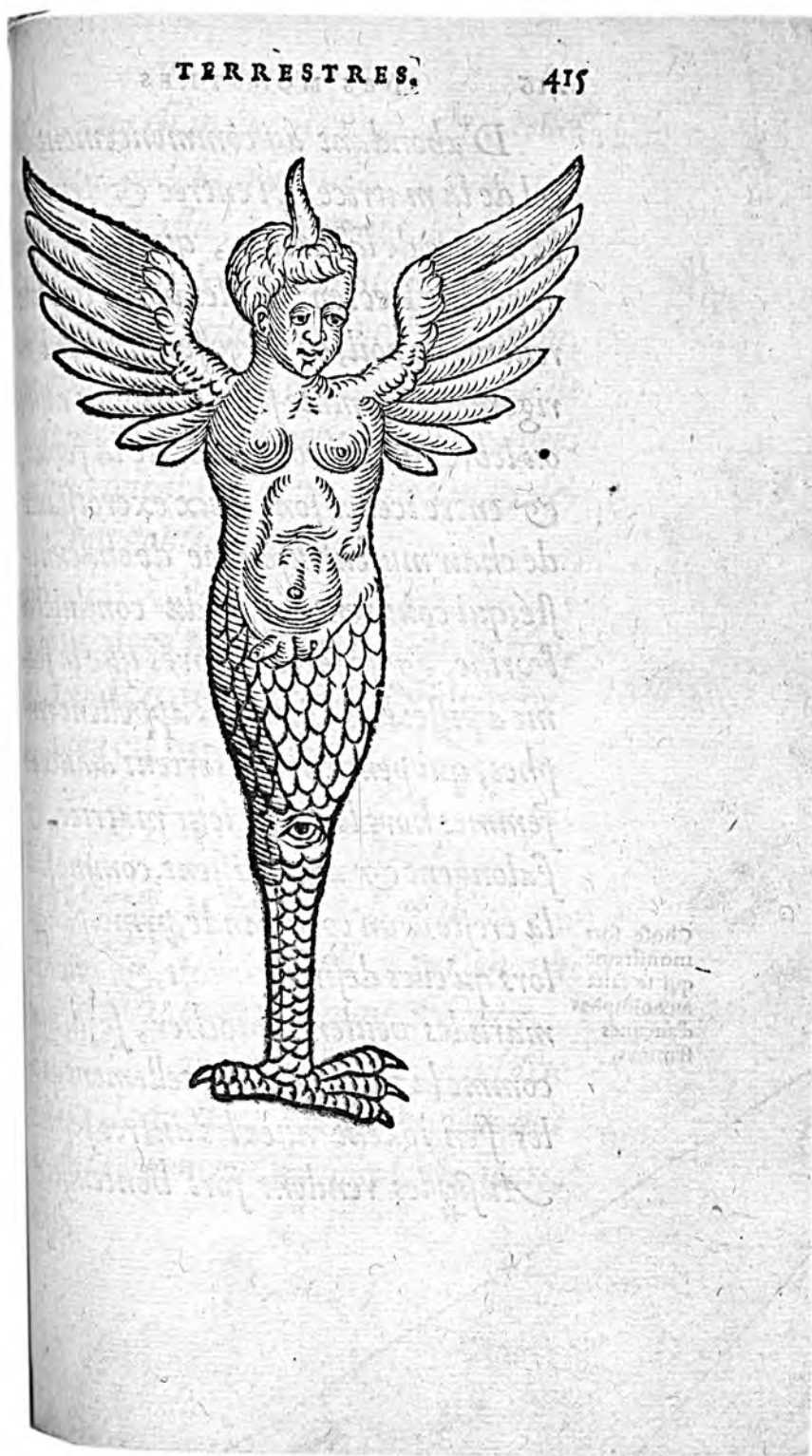
50 Ambroise Paré (ca. 1510–1590). *Deux livres de chirurgie*.

Paris: Andreas Wechel, 1573.

51 Ambroise Paré (ca. 1510–1590). *Opera*. Paris: Jacques Dupuys, 1582.

The French surgeon Ambroise Paré appealed to the ‘power of imagination’ to explain the appearance of a report in 1517 that a child in France had been born with the face of a frog.³⁶³ The child in question became a monster because the mother, as Paré tells us, was holding a frog at the moment of conception.³⁶⁴ This strange story is one of forty cases of monstrous births included in Paré’s *Des monstres et prodiges*, a practical treatise on teratology which was originally published in 1573 as the second part of *Deux livres de chirurgie*.³⁶⁵ The text was incorporated in Paré’s *Oeuvres* in 1575 and later reprinted in several editions and translations of his collected works into Latin (1582), German (1601), and English (1634). Paré is often considered the founder of modern teratology because his investigations into the natural causes of monstrous births provided future medical scholars with a historical background to study severe congenital disorders.³⁶⁶

In general terms, Paré defines monsters as ‘things that appear outside the course of nature.’³⁶⁷ He lists thirteen causes connected to the origins of monsters in the first chapter of the book. Paré argues that some monsters have divine or evil origins while others are the result of discrepancies in the balance of the ‘seeds’ during conception.³⁶⁸ The mother’s imagination, her physical well-being, and illnesses or other issues affecting the womb may also produce monsters during the pregnancy.³⁶⁹ The list is indicative of the contents of



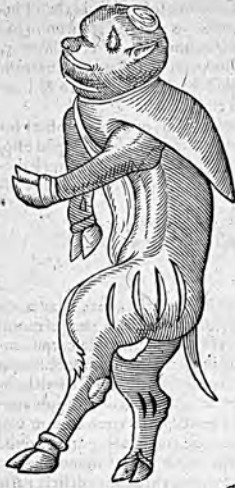
50 Ravenna monster from *Deux livres de chirurgie* (1573).

748

DE MONSTRIS ET PRODIGIIS.

*Monstri pedibus manibusque bubulis
& aliis membris valde horrendi,
effigies.*

*Imaginatio
in con-
clusum ute-
ro facta post
typum nul-
lam vim ef-
ficat.*



Sunt qui putent infante in utero forma-
to, quod ad summum intra duos & quadra-
ginta à conceptu dies fit, nihil iam periculi
ipsi à materna imaginatione, ut nec à pater-
na effuso in uterum semine imminere: quod
cum typum perfectam adeptus sit, nullis
iam rerum extrinsecus appellentium formis
conturbari possit, quod verum sit necne nō
est huius loci disquirere. Certè fatius esse ar-
bitror ab rerum eiusmodi omnium spectris
& imaginibus grauidam toto gestationis tē-
pore quantum fieri potest abstinere. In Stec-
quer Saxoniae pago, proditum monstrū me-
morant, quaternis pedibus bubulis, oculis,
ore & naribus vitulinis, carneo rubro & ro-
tundo in vertice tuberculo, carnea præterea
ex collo in dorsum velut cuculla pendente,
lacerisque & discissis femoribus deforme.

Infantis vanula facie effigies.





52 Monstrous births from *Monstrorum historia memorabilis* (1609).

rest of the book because Paré pays more attention to the natural origins of monsters rather than focusing on their meanings as prodigies.³⁷⁰ His descriptions of monstrous births in humans and animals, for instance, have a clear medical approach, whereas writings on monstrous animals in nature, celestial events, and exotic creatures follow the convention of wonder books.³⁷¹ The main sources for the book are, consequently, both medical and historical. Lycosthenes's *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (1557) and Boastuau's *Histoires prodigieuses* (1560) supply several of the historical accounts of monstrous births and mythical monsters. As for the medical sources, Paré uses Rueff's *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (1554) and Weyer's *Medicarum observationum rararum liber* (1567). Surgeons and students of medicine also found in this book an accessible, entertaining yet informative collection of monstrous stories.³⁷² Because of these qualities, *Des monstres et prodiges* is one of the most significant books on monsters ever published.³⁷³ Its repertoire of monstrous births and varied interpretations allowed Renaissance readers to experience a transitional moment in history when monsters were the subject of wonder books, popular literature, travel accounts and, simultaneously, a matter of inquiry in books of science and medicine.³⁷⁴

52 Johann Georg Schenck (1503–1620). *Monstrorum historia memorabilis*.

Frankfurt: Matthias Becker, 1609.

Monstrorum historia memorabilis is one of the first contributions to the history of teratology in Europe.³⁷⁵ The German physician Johann Georg Schenck collaborated with the successful engraver and publisher Theodor de Bry to issue a treatise solely devoted to monstrous births with all the elements of a ‘best-seller.’ Divided into two parts, the first deals with cases of birth defects in humans and the second covers deformities in animals including hybrid creatures. The two most notable qualities of the book are the brevity of the descriptions and, of course, the use of engravings by de Bry. In the span of 135 pages, the treatise reports the date and place of occurrence of close to one hundred examples of physical abnormalities along with fifty-five engravings, most of which have two figures per plate. Schenck excludes the legendary monsters and prodigies of wonder books to concentrate on monstrous births from the sixteenth century.³⁷⁶ The popular accounts of the monsters of Krakow and Ravenna complement the selection of malformations, stories of conjoined twins, hermaphrodites, and physical disabilities. Lycosthenes is the central source but Schenck also references cases from contemporary authorities like Rueff (1554), Fincel (1556), Paré (1573), among others. Schenck’s editorial choices suggest that he knew well that the popularity of this publication depended on reaching different audiences such as medical scholars, students, and amateur readers.³⁷⁷

53 Fortunio Liceti (1577–1657). *De monstribus*. Amsterdam: Andreas Frisius, 1665.

54 Fortunio Liceti (1577–1657). *De monstribus*. Padua: Paolo Frambotti, 1668.

The Italian physician and philosopher Fortunio Liceti initially conceived *De monstrorum causis natura et differentiis* as a reference source for medical scholars and not as a practical manual for physicians.³⁷⁸ The first edition was therefore published in 1616 with no illustrations. But the growing market for studies on monsters during the seventeenth century finally steered the publication towards the popular genre of books on teratology aimed at wider audiences. Not surprisingly, the second edition of 1634 came out as a richly illustrated volume with fifty-eight engravings containing more than one hundred individual depictions of monsters. The third and fourth illustrated editions were published in 1665 and 1668 comprising additional content.³⁷⁹ Most of the illustrations derived from contemporary broadsides on news of monstrous births and from the works of Lycos-

Natura, & Differentijs. Lib. II. 133

quæ cum serie facti, tunc Romæ transmissa, ad
 Eminētissimum ac Reverendissimum Sacræ Roma-
 nę Ecclesię Cardinalem *Franciscum Barberinum* San-
 ctissimi Domini nostri *Urbani Octavi* nepotem,
 nunc demum ex *Urbe Roma Patavium* missa fuit
 ab eximio Equite *Cassiano à Puteo* ejusdem Cardi-
 nalis pincerna ad Clarissimum Virum *Laurentium*
Pignorium; qui mihi nostro volumine dedit infe-
 rendam, cum historia nuper fide relata ex autogra-
 pho *Riparoliano*. Monstri verò ejusdem, ut pictor
 ille, sic & nos triplicem damus figuram, ut possint



R 3

perspici

thenes (1557) and Paré (1573).³⁸⁰ The inclusion of illustrations not only made the book more attractive to potential readers but it also elevated the alledged authenticity of the reports.³⁸¹

Liceti's approach coincides with the methods of natural philosophers and medical scholars like Aldrovandi and Paré. In *De monstrorum*, Liceti offers a systematic classification of monstrosity grounded upon classical, medieval, and early-modern sources which he interprets according to the recent scientific and medical discoveries of the period.³⁸² The book analyzes in two sections the causes, origins, and individual qualities of cases of general and human monstrosities.³⁸³ Liceti deviates from the genre of wonder books inasmuch as he discards the tradition of monsters as prodigies or as 'errors' of nature.³⁸⁴ On the monster of Ravenna, for example, Liceti prefaces his descriptions by arguing that such monsters are not messengers of future events nor signs of divine wrath.³⁸⁵ Instead, he defines them as natural creations that incite wonder and horror when in the presence of their hideous bodies.³⁸⁶ Liceti also considers monsters to be 'jokes of nature' or physical expressions of nature's ingenious creations from imperfect or incomplete matter.³⁸⁷ The book also incorporates some recent monstrous births reported after the first edition. Liceti recounts in detail the case of Octavia Riparolia, a young girl born in 1624 with one eye and a deformed head, which the book depicts in two engravings based on an original painting of the girl in the collection of the Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679).³⁸⁸ Every monster in this treatise, regardless of their nature, is studied, classified, and explained through logic and science.³⁸⁹ Liceti's *De monstrorum* was a turning point in the history of the teratology because the author looked beyond the conventional theories and knowledge of the time to methodically analyze the nature of monsters.³⁹⁰

55 Jan Palfyn (1650–1730). *Description anatomique des parties de la femme, qui servent à la generation: avec un traité des monstres.*

Leiden: Bastiaan Schouten, 1708.

Accounts of the monster of Ravenna circulated for almost two centuries by the time the Flemish anatomist and surgeon Jan Palfyn published a French translation of Liceti's *De monstrorum*. First reported in Bologna in 1512, the monster earned its name from its association with the outcome of the Battle of Ravenna in the same year.³⁹¹ News of the monster quickly travelled through Europe in broadsides, pamphlets, letters, and diaries, as well as in most books of wonders and works of teratology of the period.³⁹² The monster was



55 Monstrous births from *Un traité des monstres* (1708).

frequently featured as a prodigy, even in books that disagreed with this interpretation, and the incongruent elements of its body were often seen, one by one, as signs of religious and moral weakness.³⁹³ From the horned head to the birthmarks on the chest with the letters YXV, wings of a bat or bird, and bird or reptile legs with eyes, the complex iconography of the monster drew the attention of authors and readers alike to the point of becoming the most documented and notorious monstrous birth of the early modern period.³⁹⁴ But by the time the story resurfaced in Palfyn's treatise of 1708, the monster of Ravenna was no more than a legend with little consequence to the realities of the eighteenth century.³⁹⁵

Liceti's *Traité des monstres* was published together with Palfyn's treatise on the anatomy of the female reproductive organs and a text on monstrous births. The new edition reused the original engravings of earlier volumes but the text had been 'enriched' by the translator.³⁹⁶ Palfyn's *Description anatomique* accepts teratological ideas of the female role in the generation of monsters inasmuch as his book pathologizes the female reproductive system as a source of monstrosity.³⁹⁷ Palfyn indicates, for example, that

‘these organs are the cause of most of our ills’ and also claims that ‘almost all of the world’s disorders, past and present, can be traced to them.’³⁹⁸ The third portion of the text deals with Palfyn’s own reports on the anatomy of two cases of conjoined twins which he had previously dissected and described in 1703.³⁹⁹ Palfyn associated the latest developments on anatomy and obstetrics with the discourse of teratology to advance, once again, corrosive notions of female sexuality that would persist even through the Enlightenment.⁴⁰⁰

56 *Aristoteles Master-Piece, or The Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts.*

London: Printed for J. How, 1684.

57 *Aristotle’s Compleat and Experience’d Midwife.* London: Printed and sold by the booksellers, ca. 1750.

Far from the Aristotelian theories on reproduction, *Aristoteles Master-Piece* was first published in London in 1684.⁴⁰¹ The publication dominated the market of popular sex and midwifery manuals in the eighteenth century with nearly one hundred editions



56 Frontispiece from *Aristoteles Master-Piece* (1684).

issued before 1800.⁴⁰² In the introduction to the first edition, the book offers to ‘unravel the mysteries of generation’ in the course of thirty-seven chapters. While the promise of revealing secret knowledge captured the imagination of readers, printers and publishers in England and America also profited from the lasting popularity of this manual devoted to the subjects of sex, reproduction, and childbirth.⁴⁰³ *Aristoteles Master-Piece* remained in circulation as a separate title, or published with other pseudo-Aristotelian works until the twentieth century, when it essentially became a source for medical historians concerned with the sexual lore of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰⁴

Aristoteles Master-Piece survives in at least three distinct versions published in the editions of 1684, 1697, and 1702.⁴⁰⁵ Each version uncovers the most common causes of monstrous births tied to ideas of sex and reproduction in the fifth chapter. ‘Now a monstrous habit or shape of body is contracted divers ways,’ the text explains, ‘as from fear, sudden frights, extraordinary passion, the influence of the stars, too much or too little seed, the mother’s strange imagination, and divers phantasms.’⁴⁰⁶ What follows are reports of monstrous births along with advice on how and when to avoid producing ‘preposterous forms’ at the time of conception. The well-known accounts of the monster of Ravenna and the Monk Calf are present, as are the cases of a hairy woman and a black baby born as ‘monsters’ owing to the imagination of their parents. Most of the content of the book derives from earlier midwifery manuals, mainly Lemnius’s *The Secret Miracles of Nature* (1658) and Rueff’s *The Expert Midwife* (1637).⁴⁰⁷ The English edition of Paré’s *Works* (1634) is the source for the illustrations that appear at the end of the treatise with brief captions in the earlier versions, while the latest contains the same set of illustrations within the text.⁴⁰⁸ The enduring popularity of *Aristoteles Master-Piece* is evident in the various versions and abundance of editions available to readers eager to learn the ‘secrets of generation.’ The coherent approach to the subject and the presence of illustrations of monstrous births also contributed to making the book the most popular guide on sex, reproduction, and monstrosity in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁹

58 Georg Christian Werther. *Disputatio medica de monstro Hungarico*.

Leipzig: Christian Goez, 1707.

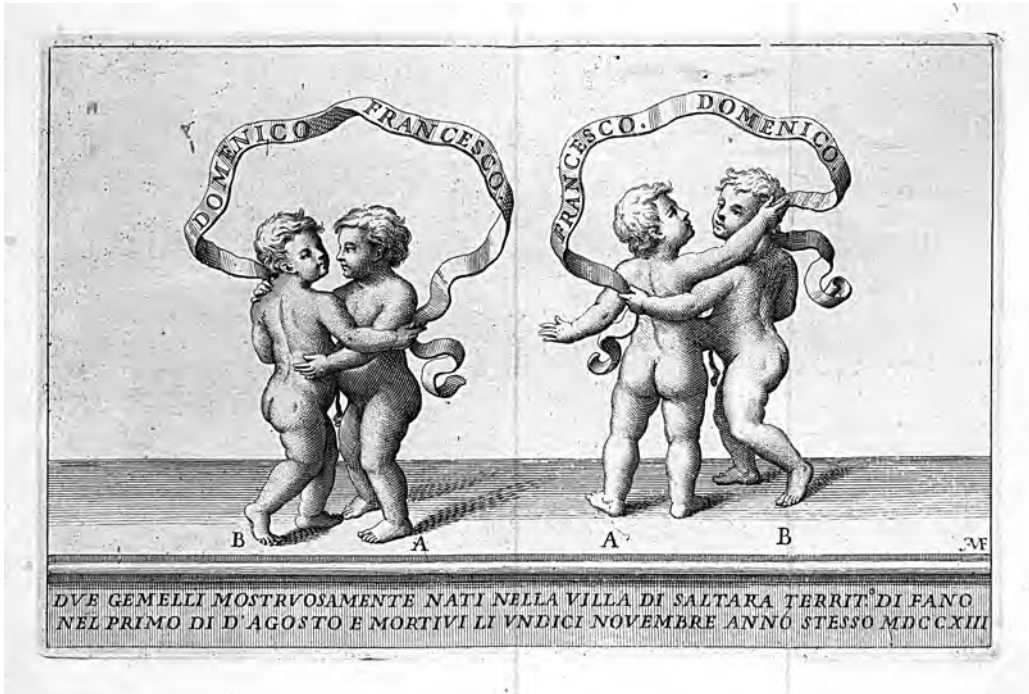
59 Jacopo Pellegrino Nuvoletti. *Lettera scritta all'illustrissimo Monsignore Ridolfo de' Contidi Monteverchio, sopra d' un parto monstruoso*.

Fano: Benardino Vigolini, 1714.

Reports of children physically joined at birth were featured in every substantial book on monsters issued before the end of the eighteenth century. In books of teratology, more specifically, the most predominant cases of monstrous births were the 'double monsters' or conjoined twins.⁴¹⁰ Physicians often described and classified cases according to their anatomy.⁴¹¹ Two pamphlets issued in the early years of the eighteenth century expose two cases of monstrous births in Hungary and Italy as popular stories and medical reports at the same time. The first tells the story of the twin sisters Ilona and Judith Gófitz who were born at Szöny on 19 October 1701 and who lived without being separated until 1723. The second refers to the case of the twin boys Francesco and Domenico, who were born on 1 August 1713 in the Marche region in Italy and who died within four months of their birth. The physicians Georg Christian Werther and Jacopo Pellegrino Nuvoletti wrote the corresponding accounts in two illustrated pamphlets that identify the births as monstrous, provide anatomical descriptions for each case, and comment on the health and the possibility of surgery to separate the twins. Werther's account of the Hungarian Sisters, as they came to be known, relates a life of health complications until their death at the age of twenty-two. In the case of the Italian boys, Nuvoletti recounts the observations of a local physician who had delivered the twins and later examined them at the time of their death. Like other early-modern reports on conjoined twins, the two stories resort to sensational elements by relating the unfortunate experiences of the conjoined twins participating in shows or displays of curiosities. But the reports also discuss the medical causes and moral implications of monstrosity for individuals and society at large. In this sense, the approach to the medical aspects of the cases foresees some of the concerns of modern teratology in the nineteenth century.⁴¹²



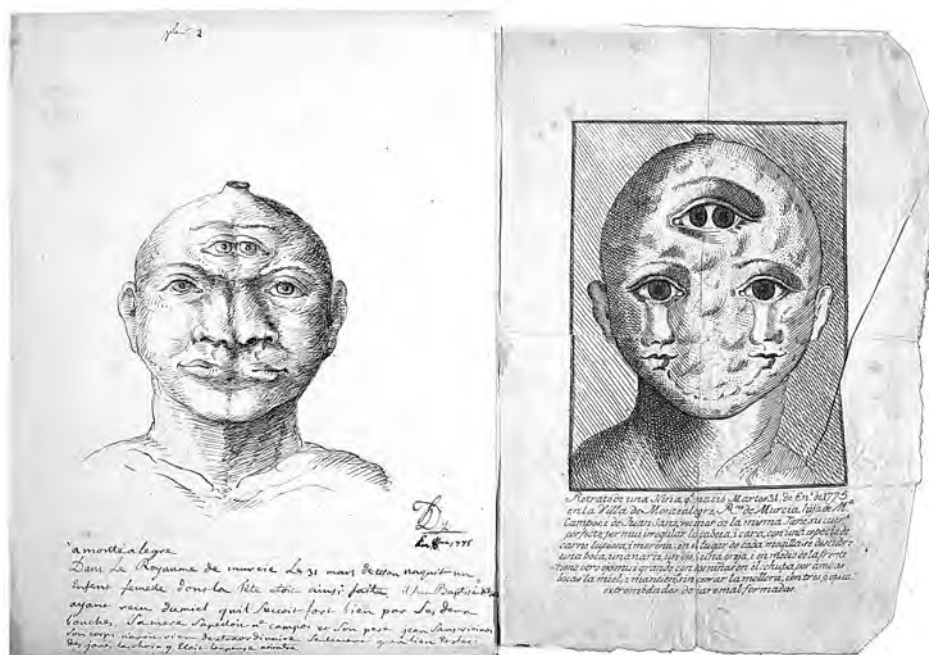
58 Ilona and Judith Gófitz from *Disputatio medica de monstro Hungarico* (1707).



59 Francesco and Domenico from *Lettera scritta all'illustrissimo Monsignore Ridolfo* (1714).

60 Jean-Hippolyte Danyzy (b. 1748). Notebook of Observations on Cases of Teratology. Montpellier & Privas, 1780–1827.

French physicians and medical practitioners submitted more than forty manuscript reports of congenital anomalies to the *Société Royale de Médecine* and other medical institutions between the years of 1780 and 1815.⁴¹³ The surviving records of these reports contain anatomical descriptions, illustrations, notarized statements, and general information on cases of malformations which trace their provenance back to all sorts of private and public institutions or individuals throughout France.⁴¹⁴ The astronomer, mathematician, and natural philosopher Jean-Hippolyte Danyzy kept a similar record of his personal observations on malformations in plants, animals, and humans during the same period. The manuscript journal comprises over forty years of notes, illustrations, anatomical descriptions, and general comments on a variety of cases taken from correspondence with peers and from first-hand accounts. One particular entry dates from Danyzy's travels to Aragon where he saw an engraving depicting a girl born in the region of Murcia on 31 January 1775.⁴¹⁵ A local surgeon who had studied the girl's severe facial deformities



60 Ink drawings of monstrous birth from *Notebook of Observations on Cases of Teratology* (1780-1827).

provided him with enough information to create a new and more accurate illustration. Two ink drawings appear next to each other in the journal: one with description of the case in Spanish and the other with the French translation underneath the new image based on the surgeon's report. Danyzy's account is characteristic of the period since he is not only interested in describing the girl in medical terms but he also asks questions that indicate moral and religious concerns within the context of the study of birth defects.⁴¹⁶ He asks, for example, whether the girl has one or two souls given that her face shows two sets of eyes, noses, and mouths. Even though this journal was possibly kept for private study, its contents make references to collaboration, first-hand observations, and even a mention of a lecture delivered on the subject of monsters. Apart from presenting evidence on the 'naturalization' and 'medicalization' of monsters within the framework of teratology,⁴¹⁷ these reports also speak to some of the scientific and ethical concerns at the heart of the physical investigations of monsters by physicians, public officials, and natural philosophers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴¹⁸

61 Adolph Wilhelm Otto (1786–1845). *Monstrorum sexcentorum descriptio anatomica*. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1841.

The field of teratology owes a great deal to the scientific investigations of nineteenth-century physicians and natural philosophers into the nature of human birth defects and malformations. The German anatomist Johann Friedrich Meckel (1781–1833) is recognized as the first medical scholar to unify the science of teratology and embryology in his *Handbuch der pathologischen Anatomie* (1812–1818), a book that laid the foundation for modern scientific teratology.⁴¹⁹ The French zoologist Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1805–1861) also advanced the systematic study of teratology in his *Traité de tératologie* (1832–1836) in which he introduced the term ‘teratology’ to define the new science along with other terms for particular abnormalities.⁴²⁰ Together, Meckel and Saint-Hilaire envisioned the profound transformations in the study of monstrous births from esoteric theories like the maternal imagination to new principles and practices of embryology and anatomy within the science of teratology.⁴²¹



61 Engravings from *Monstrorum sexcentorum descriptio anatomica* (1841).

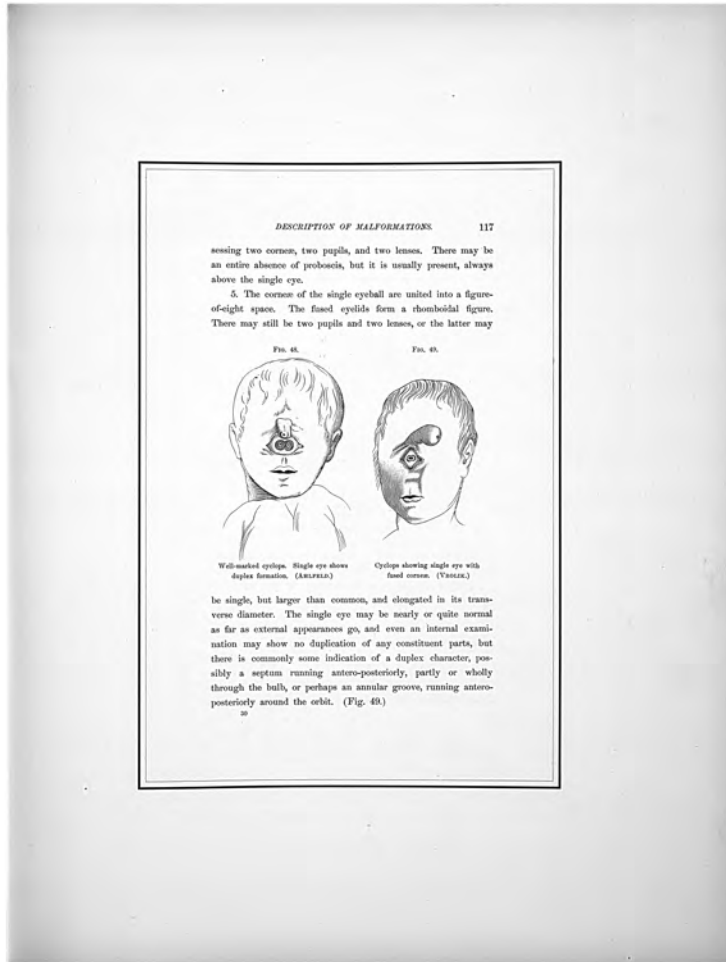
Adolph Wilhelm Otto was the first to conduct comprehensive pathological studies on the causes, development, description, and classification of congenital malformations.⁴²² *Monstrorum sexcentorum descriptio anatomica*, published in 1841, is one of the earliest examples of pathological anatomy of humans and animals, some of which are based on actual dissection of specimens.⁴²³ The large volume describes six hundred specimens from the anatomical museum at Breslau and contains thirty plates of engravings with 146 individual illustrations of the external and internal anatomy of the cases.⁴²⁴ The illustrations and the brief descriptions in Latin provided medical scholars, scientists, and natural historians with useful references to particular cases of malformations. In a letter dated 31 December 1864, for instance, Charles Darwin (1809–1882) refers to Otto's treatise as a 'great work on monsters' and even mentions five cases of malformations in the context of his own studies on variation.⁴²⁵ Over the course of the nineteenth century, the book became a valuable source for the study of pathological anatomy and one of the greatest contributions to the rising science of teratology.⁴²⁶

62 Barton Cooke Hirst (1861–1935) and George A. Piersol (1881–1966).

Human Monstrosities. Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1891–1893.

Human Monstrosities is the first book of teratology to contain photographic illustrations as well as the most extensive book on the subject to be published in the nineteenth century. The book is organized as a reference source to assist obstetricians and general practitioners in the identification, classification, and possible treatment of cases of malformations in humans. Based on the classification of Saint-Hilaire, the four volumes make available—for the first time in English—a medical classification of 'human monsters' and provide references to the works of earlier French and German anatomists and embryologists.⁴²⁷ The physicians and professors Barton Cooke Hirst and George A. Pierson introduce an extensive classification, production, and description of malformations, in addition to examples of 'monstrosities' which they define as the 'most radical departures from normal development by the offspring of man.'⁴²⁸ The authors make no reference in the book to maternal imagination or similar obscure causes of monstrosity while focusing their attention on the classification of fetal malformations.⁴²⁹

The editor of the journal *The Medical News* published a favourable review of the book in 1891 in which he praises it as a 'beautiful example of the art of printing.'⁴³⁰ He also thought, however, that the book has failed to address the theory of maternal imagination as a source



62 Illustration from *Human Monstrosities* (1891-1893).

of monstrosity, specifically when he argues that ‘there is a vast body of evidence that strongly goes to prove the operation of this factor.’⁴³¹ The book review reflects the complexities associated the study of monsters and monstrosity as it came face-to-face with nineteenth-century science. Even though this period saw the development of teratology as a separate science, the medical concepts of the monster and monstrous in humans and animals changed constantly in the midst of debates among anatomists, embryologists, pathologists, and medical experts undertaking methodical studies of monstrous bodies.⁴³² Despite all the ongoing changes, new forms of scientific knowledge did not entirely replace the traditional emblematic meanings of monsters and their bodies. Instead, human monstrosity became a subject of scientific inquiry while it also existed as a commodity to be exploited by the popular culture of freak shows and literary stories of the nineteenth century.

Part V: On Monstrous Stories

Mary Shelley (1797–1851) and Bram Stoker (1847–1912) are united by their writings on the subjects of monsters. Each of these authors crafted distinct visions of monstrosity in their own novels, inspiring the imagination of readers over the course of two centuries. Together, their novels also hold the answers to which writers, artists, filmmakers, and other creators have turned in their quests to the lands of monsters. Both stories have been transformed into new representations of monstrosity which are deeply ingrained in our cultural memory even to this day.



63 Frontispiece from *Frankenstein* (1831).

63 Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus*. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1831.

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley gave life to one of the two most famous monsters of the last two centuries in her renowned novel *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus*. Since the conception of the nameless monster in the first edition of 1818, Shelley's Gothic and Romantic narrative has been taken apart and put together again in countless new stories told through every imaginable form of art, literature, and popular culture. Between the appearance of the first edition and the publication of Shelley's revised edition in 1831, the story saw adaptation as a popular play in 1823 and was reissued in two separate editions in 1823 and 1826. It was also during this period that the initial reception of the book—the lack of sales of the 500 copies of the first edition and early unfavourable reviews—failed to reflect the immense success of a novel that would go on to transform representations of monstrosity in the literature and culture of the West.⁴³³

The first revised edition of *Frankenstein* was published on 31 October 1831 as part of the 'Standard Novels' series in a run of just over four thousand copies.⁴³⁴ In the introduction to the volume, Shelley reveals some aspects of the origin of the story for the first time. She mentions, for example, the theory of 'galvanism' as one of the inspirations behind the science of reviving the composite body of the monster through electricity.⁴³⁵ She also refers to the novel as her 'hideous progeny,' a statement which has led readers to pay attention to the text's autobiographical references along with its literary and scientific sources.⁴³⁶ In light of Shelley's statements, the novel may be read as much as a reflection of the personal woes and anxieties of the author caused by her experience of motherhood, as a tale of the meaning of life and death, and, among other interpretations, as a warning against the dangers of science and technology.⁴³⁷ The 1831 edition holds a prominent place in the publishing history of *Frankenstein* because the introduction and extensive revisions expose the complex relationship between the author and her the famous book.⁴³⁸ This edition also serves as a testament to Shelley's own views of the legacy of her novel amid the literary and cultural realities of the nineteenth century.⁴³⁹

The revised edition is also significant because it is the first to depict the figure of the monster within the framework of the novel.⁴⁴⁰ The frontispiece, illustrated by Theodor Von Holst (1810–1844) and engraved by William Chevalier (1804–1866), shows the moment when the creature comes to life as Victor Frankenstein exits the room in horror at the sight of his creation. In Holst's frontispiece, together with the cover for



63 Yellowback edition of *Frankenstein* (1882).

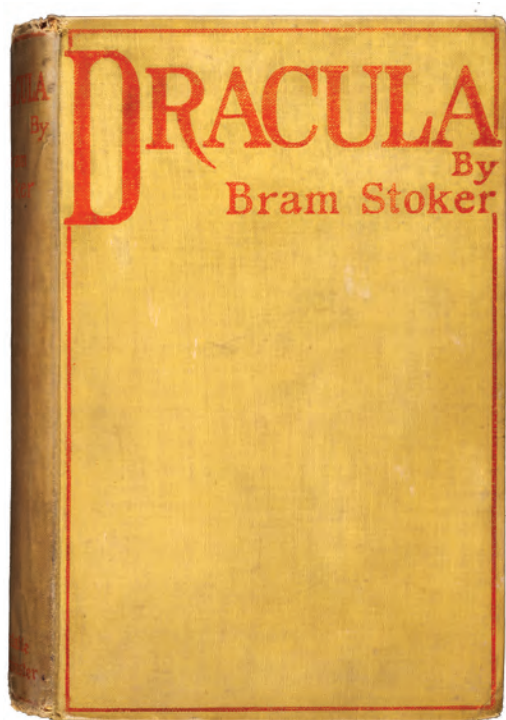
G. Routledge and Sons yellowback edition of 1882 and the wood-engravings by Lynd Ward (1905–1985) published in 1936, the monster retains the human qualities bestowed by Shelley's original story. While in the book the monster speaks with eloquence after having learned English by reading Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the first film and subsequent visual and textual adaptations of the novel eventually confined the monster to the silence of ignorance and brutality. As a reflection the creature's inner monstrosity, over time its physical appearance gradually turns more bestial than human. The modern monster has thus become a faint echo of the complex yet insightful creature that Shelley once conceived two hundred years ago. Frankenstein's monster has irreversibly left the boundaries of Shelley's 'hideous progeny' to be constantly reproduced and reinterpreted as the most popular literary embodiment of monstrosity.

64 Bram Stoker (1847–1912). *Dracula*.

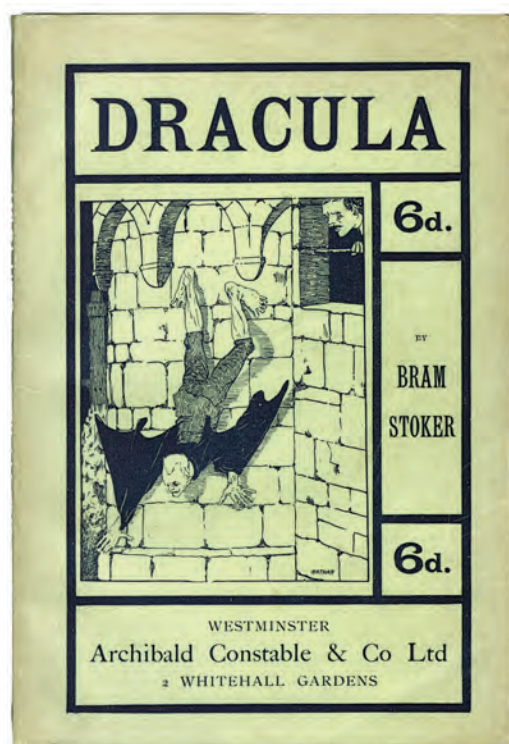
London: Archibald Constable and Company, 1897.

The novels of *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* are landmarks in the history of literature largely because the stories and their monsters have become modern myths.⁴⁴¹ Like Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* is no longer bound to his original novel given that it has inspired a myriad of adaptations and interpretations in the last hundred and twenty years. *Dracula* was first published in London on 16 May 1897 to reviews that quickly pointed out the 'horrid' and 'gruesome' elements of a story aligned with the vampire fiction and Gothic literary tradition of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴² *Dracula* transported the ancient lore of vampires and blood-sucking creatures to a modern narrative that effectively took hold of the fears that haunted the imagination of readers of the Victorian *fin-de-siècle*.⁴⁴³

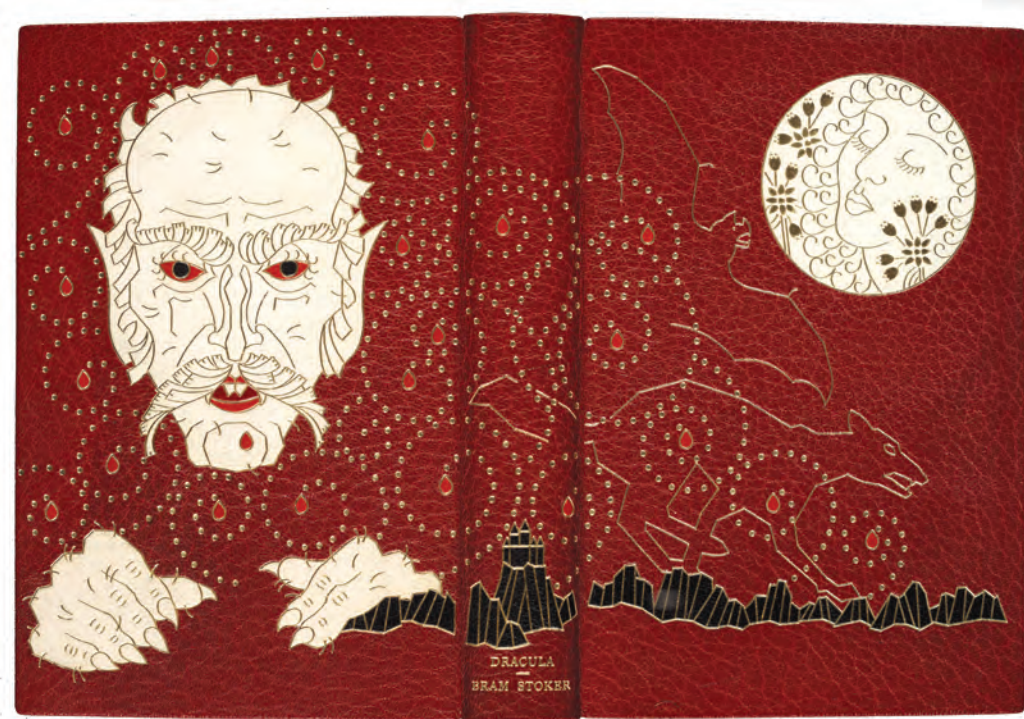
Stoker unearthed the story of *Dracula* from a rich tradition of popular, literary, and political depictions of the vampire as a metaphor for evil and corruption.⁴⁴⁴ The vampire always defies the principles of death and life because its corpse is neither fully dead nor fully alive; its form challenges the laws of nature as its body is both human and animal; and its seductive bite is dangerous since it not only consumes the essence of life but it also has the power to eradicate humanity altogether.⁴⁴⁵ Stoker assigned such qualities to his monster through reading contemporary vampire stories like *The Vampyre* (1819), *Varney the Vampyre* (1847), *Carmilla* (1872), and *Le Capitaine Vampire* (1879), as well as old folk tales and passages of historical books on the regions and peoples associated with the



64 Cover of *Dracula* (1897).



Cover of abridged edition of *Dracula* (1901).



Michael Wilcox's designer bookbinding, *Dracula* (1897).

heritage of his monster.⁴⁴⁶ Altogether, the novel gathers numerous sources into one fragmentary narrative that contains extracts from journals, letters, news reports, and other documents uncovering the terrifying nature of the main character.⁴⁴⁷

The publishers of the first edition of the novel strategically chose red and yellow for the cover in order to place the novel within the genre of illicit French books and other publications known for their transgressive and decadent content.⁴⁴⁸ *Dracula* had several editions until the 1950s when it went out of print before the story was revived by the film industry in the 1990s. The same publishers of the first edition, Archibald Constable and Company, issued in 1901 the first abridged edition of the novel. This popular edition is significant since it contains the first illustration of the Count, who appears on the cover climbing down the walls of his castle in Transylvania. The photoplay editions by Grosset and Dunlap were published to coincide with the release of the film that initiated the American boom of horror films in the 1930s.⁴⁴⁹ These editions often contained still

images from the film along with vivid dust-jacket designs which illustrated the iconography of the story. Another interpretation of the novel survives in the unique designer binding completed for a copy of the first edition in 1995 by master bookbinder Michael Wilcox (1939–). Wilcox's binding speaks directly to the story because the designs are inspired by the voices of the characters.⁴⁵⁰ When fully open, the binding brings to life the most recognizable elements of the story: Dracula and his castle, the mountains, the animal figures of the bat and the wolf, droplets of blood and, in the distance, the female character protected by the garlic plants. Artists, writers, publishers, filmmakers, playwrights, and creators of all sorts have captured for more than a century the essence of the novel in their own interpretations of the most famous vampire of all time.⁴⁵¹

NOTES

- 1 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 4.
- 2 Patrick G. Walsh, *Pliny the Younger: Complete Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 61.
- 3 Mary Beagon, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal, Natural History Book 7* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), p. 21.
- 4 John Bostock and H.T. Riley, *The Natural History of Pliny* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855-1857), v. 1, p. 5-9.
- 5 E. W. Gudger, 'Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. The Most Popular Natural History Ever Published', *Isis*, 6:3 (1924), p. 269-281.
- 6 Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- 7 Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), p. 166.
- 8 Gudger, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
- 9 Harris Rackham, *Natural history of Pliny* (London: W. Heinemann, 1938-1963), v. 2, 519-520.
- 10 Gudger, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 11 Surekha Davies, 'The Unlucky, the Bad and the Ugly: Categories of Monstrosity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment', in Asa Simon Mittman with Peter J. Dendle, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2012), p. 63.
- 12 The poem reads: 'Plinio ha sido el Colon, investigando del orbe los secretos naturales, para que le acredite en su memoria: y vos huerta, el Cortes, que (dilatando en plantas, aves, pezes, y animales, sus propiedades) mereceys la gloria.'
- 13 'Anotación', *Historia natural de Cayo Plinio Segundo; traducida por Gerónimo Huerta...* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624-1629), p. 226-248.
- 14 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
- 15 Kai Brodersen, 'Mapping Pliny's World: The Achievement of Solinus', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 54:1 (2011), p. 65.
- 16 Dover, *op. cit.*, p. 418.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 420.
- 18 Brodersen, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 19 Theodor Mommsen, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (Berolinum: Weidmann, 1895), p. lvi-lviii.
- 20 Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum historia* (Bononiae: Typis Nicolai Tebaldini, 1642), p. 12.
- 21 See BVEE014179 in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, Collezioni speciali.
- 22 Mary Ella Milham, 'A Handlist of the Manuscripts of C. Julius Solinus', *Scriptorium*, 37:1, (1983), p. 126-129.
- 23 Elizabeth Anne Jocz, *As the Centuries Turn: Manuscripts and Books from 1000 to 2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 2000), p. 10.
- 24 Gerald O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 31.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 27 Augustine, *City of God, translated by George E. McCracken* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), vol. 5, p. 41-43.
- 28 O'Daly, *op. cit.*, p. 162, 252.
- 29 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
- 30 Augustine, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 31 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- 32 *Ibid.* 169.
- 33 Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1973), p. 66-67.
- 34 Andy Merrills, 'Isidore's Etymologies', in Jason König and Greg Woolf, eds., *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 303.
- 35 Stephen A. Barney et al., *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 244-245.
- 36 Barney, p. 244.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 243.
- 38 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
- 39 Barney, *op. cit.*, 24.
- 40 Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1985), p. 91.
- 41 Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 117.
- 42 Christoph Reske, *The Production of Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), p. 151-152.
- 43 Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1976), p. 26.
- 44 Reske, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 45 Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 47 Reske, *op. cit.*, p. 187-188.

- 48 Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 28.
- 49 Jonathan Green, 'Text, Culture, and Print-Media in Early Modern Translation: Notes on the "Nuremberg Chronicle" (1493)', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2008), p. 115.
- 50 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 183-184.
- 51 John J. Bateman, 'The Art of Rhetoric in Gregor Reisch's "Margarita Philosophica" and Conrad Celtis' "Epitome of the Two Rhetorics of Cicero"', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 8:1 (1983), p. 139.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
- 54 Andrew Cunningham and Sachiko Kusukaa, *Natural Philosophy Epitomised: A Translation of Books 8-11 of Gregor Reisch's Philosophical Pearl (1503)* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 49.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. xi.
- 56 Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007), p. 147.
- 57 MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
- 58 Gerald Strauss, 'A sixteenth-century Encyclopedia: Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* and its editions', in Charles H. Carter, ed. *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingly* (London: John Cape, 1966), p. 146-148
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- 60 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- 62 MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
- 63 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
- 64 MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 65 Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 132.
- 66 Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri, *Opera nelaquale vie molti mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni con le dechiarationi a ciascheduno fine al presente anno 1585* (Rome: by the author, 1585), p. [3-4], [7].
- 67 All known copies are held in institutions, including the British Library, Wellcome Library, Oxford University, Dolnośląska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, and University of Toronto.
- 68 Giovanni Botero, *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities, 1588*, translated by Geoffrey Symcox (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. xvi.
- 69 John M. Headley, 'Geography and empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process', in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53: 4 (2000), p. 1124.
- 70 Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'New Worlds and Renaissance Ethnology', in *History and Anthropology*, 6:2-3 (1993), p. 179.
- 71 Headley, *op. cit.*, p. 1123.
- 72 *Ibid.*, see note 41.
- 73 Sandra Young, 'Envisioning the Peoples of "New" Worlds: Early Modern Woodcut Images and the Inscription of Human Difference', in *English Studies in Africa*, 57:1 (2014), p. 42.
- 74 Giovanni Botero, *Aggiunta alla quarta parte dell'Indie* (Venice: Alessandro de' Vecchi, 1623), p. [5].
- 75 Rubiés, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
- 76 Young, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 77 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 78 MacLean, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 79 Jennifer Spinks, 'Print and polemic in sixteenth-century France: The *Histoires prodigieuses*, confessional identity, and the Wars of Religion', in *Renaissance Studies*, 27:1 (2011), p. 73
- 80 Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), p. 183.
- 81 *Ibid.*, see note 7, p. 186.
- 82 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- 83 Stephen Bamforth, "Introduction", *Histoires prodigieuses: MS. 136 Wellcome Library* (Milano: Franco Maria Ricci, 2000), p. 9.
- 84 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- 85 Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- 86 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 82, 96.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 77.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 91 Daston and Park (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 180.
- 92 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 93 Robert A. Tibbetts, 'The cover design', in *Library Quarterly*, 48:2 (1978), p. 208.
- 94 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- 95 Arnaud Sorbin, *Traité des monstres* (Paris: Jerome de Marnef and Guillaume Cavellat, 1582), p. 50-51.
- 96 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.*, p. 90
- 97 Daston and Park (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 98 Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
- 99 Spinks (2011), *op. cit.* p. 93.

- 100 Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 37.
- 101 Lawrence P. Buck, *The Roman Monster: An Icon of the Papal Antichrist in Reformation Polemics* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2014), p. 1.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 107 *Ibid.*
- 108 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 109 John Spencer, *A Discourse Concerning Prodigies* (London: Printed by F. Field for William Graves, 1665), p. [7].
- 110 William E. Burns, "Our Lot Is Fallen into an Age of Wonders": John Spencer and the Controversy over Prodigies in the Early Restoration, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27:2 (1995), p. 239.
- 111 *Ibid.*
- 112 *Eniautos terastios, Mirabilis annus, or The Year of Prodigies and Wonders* (London? 1661), p. [2].
- 113 Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 79.
- 114 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- 115 Alan W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), p. 67.
- 116 Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 117 Soergel, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 119 Dario Tessicini, 'Cornelius Gemma and the New Star of 1572', in Patrick J. Boner, ed., *Change and Continuity in Early Modern Cosmology*, (Dordrecht : Springer Netherlands, 2011), p. 51.
- 120 Fernand Hallyn, 'A Poem of the Copernican System: Cornelius Gemma and his Cosmological Art', in Hiro Hirai, ed., *Cornelius Gemma: Cosmology, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Louvain*, (Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2008), p. 16.
- 121 Hiro Hirai, 'Preface', *op. cit.*, p. [8].
- 122 Hiro Hirai, "Prisca theologia" and Neoplatonic Reading of Hippocrates in Fernel, Cardano and Gemma, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 123 Daston and Park (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 175.
- 124 Hallyn, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 126 *Ibid.* p. 16
- 127 Arturo Uslar Pietri, *En Búsqueda del Nuevo Mundo* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), p. 10.
- 128 John Larner, *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 47.
- 129 *Ibid.* p. 1.
- 130 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Introduction*, in Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, eds., *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 8.
- 131 Larner, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 132 *Ibid.*, p. 97, 74.
- 133 John Larner, 'Plucking Hairs from the Great Cham's Beard', Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci, eds., *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 137.
- 134 *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, translated and edited, with notes, by Henry Yule (London: John Murray, 1903), vol. 2, p. 309.
- 135 Debra Higgs Strickland, 'Text, Image, and Contradiction in the *Devisement du monde*', *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 136 Larner (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- 137 Cătălin Avramescu, *An Intellectual History of Cannibalism*, translated by Alistair Ian Byth (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 86-87.
- 138 Chet Van Duzer, 'Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, *op. cit.*, 410-411.
- 139 Syed Manzurul Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 166-167.
- 140 Larner (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 184-185.
- 141 Meera Juncu, *India in the Italian Renaissance: Visions of a Contemporary Pagan World 1300-1600* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 40
- 142 Shinobu Iwamura, *Manuscripts and Printed Editions of Marco Polos Travels* (Tokyo: National Diet Library, 1949), p. 18.
- 143 Larner (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 160-161.

- 144 Juncu, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
- 145 Larner (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 146 Juncu, *op. cit.*, p. 191-192.
- 147 Larner (1999), *op. cit.*, p. 153-154.
- 148 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 149 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi, raccolto et con molti et vaghi discorsi, da lui in molti luoghi dichiarato et illustrato* (Venice: Giunti, 1559), vol. 2, p. 53.
- 150 Miles H. Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), p. 88.
- 151 Iain MacLeod Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 8.
- 152 *Ibid.*, p. 8, 21-23.
- 153 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 154 Larner (2008), *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 155 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- 156 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 157 Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
- 158 Persephone Braham, 'The Monstrous Caribbean', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 159 *Relaciones y cartas de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid: Librería de la viuda de Hernando, 1892), p. 55.
- 160 Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. xiii.
- 161 Molly Tun, 'Colonial Cruelty: The Expression and Perpetuation of Violence in Theodor de Bry's *America*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 95:2 (2018), p. 146-147.
- 162 Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, *Re-reading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 225.
- 163 Sandra Young, 'The "Secrets of Nature" and Early Modern Constructions of a Global South', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15:3 (2015), p. 32.
- 164 Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne*, translated by Rosemary Morris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 15-19.
- 165 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 166 *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.
- 167 Avramescu, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 168 *Ibid.*, p. 86.
- 169 Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages* (1590-1634) (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 182.
- 170 *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- 171 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 172 Michiel van Groesen, 'America Abridged: Matthaeus Merian, Johann Ludwig Gottfried, and the Apotheosis of the De Bry Collection of Voyages', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 41:1 (2011), p. 69.
- 173 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 174 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 175 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 176 Michiel van Groesen, personal correspondence, 8 May 2018.
- 177 *Ibid.*
- 178 Groesen, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 179 John F. Moffitt and Santiago Sebastián, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), p. 240.
- 180 Johannes Meier, 'Boyl, Bernardo', *Religion Past & Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2007-2013). consulted online on 08 May 2018: <http://dx.doi.org/myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_02303>
- 181 Moffitt, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
- 182 *Ibid.*, p. 236-238.
- 183 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 184 *Ibid.*
- 185 *Ibid.*, p. 241-242.
- 186 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 187 McLean, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
- 188 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 189 Margriet Hoogvliet, 'The Medieval Texts of the 1486 Ptolemy Edition by Johann Reger of Ulm', *Imago Mundi*, 54 (2002), p. 8.
- 190 Leo Bagrow, *History of cartography* (London: C.A. Watts, 1966), p. 91-93.
- 191 McLean, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- 192 *Ibid.*
- 193 Young, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 194 Chet van Duzer, 'Bring on the Monsters and Marvels: Non-Ptolemaic Legends on Manuscript Maps of Ptolemy's *Geographia*', *Victor*, 45:2 (2014), p. 327.
- 195 Hoogvliet, *op. cit.*, p. 9-11.
- 196 McLean, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
- 197 Harold L. Ruland, 'A Survey of the Double-page Maps in thirty-five Editions of the

- "Cosmographia Universalis" 1544-1628 and his Editions of Ptolemy's "Geographia" 1540-1628', *Imago Mundi*, 16 (1962), p. 89.
- 198 Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 2.
- 199 Bagrow, *op. cit.*, p. 179-180.
- 200 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 201 Marcel van den Broecke, 'Abraham Ortelius's Library Reconstructed', *Imago Mundi*, 66:1 (2014), p. 31, 40-41.
- 202 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 203 Duzer, *op. cit.*, p. 95, 108.
- 204 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 205 *Ibid.*, p. 108-110.
- 206 Joseph Nigg, *Sea Monsters: A Voyage around the World's most Beguiling Map* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 16.
- 207 Duzer, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 208 Lindsay J. Starkey, 'Why Sea Monsters Surround the Northern Lands: Olaus Magnus's Conception of Water', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural*, 6:1 (2017), p. 42.
- 209 *Ibid.*, p. 34, 42.
- 210 Duzer, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 211 Olao Magno, *Historia de las gentes septentrionales*, edited by J. Daniel Terán Fierro (Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1989), p. 31-37.
- 212 Starkey, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 213 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 214 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 215 Nigg, *op. cit.*, p. 66-70.
- 216 Neil Kenny, 'The Metaphorical Collecting of Curiosities in Early Modern France and Germany', in R.J.W. Evans and Alexander Marr, eds., *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 53.
- 217 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 218 Frederick Herbert Wagman, *Magic and Natural Science in German Baroque Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 7.
- 219 C. Grant Loomis, 'Erasmus Francisci, A Seventeenth Century Contribution to the History of Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 17: 5 (1945), p. 514.
- 220 Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 43-45.
- 221 Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana: a Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1961-1962), v. 5, p. 71.
- 222 Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 514.
- 223 Wagman, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 224 *Ibid.*
- 225 Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Mediating Culture in the Seventeenth-Century German Novel: Eberhard Werner Happel, 1647-1690* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014), p. 221.
- 226 *Ibid.*, p. 5-6, n. 107.
- 227 Giles R Hoyt, 'Eberhard Werner Happel', in James N. Hardin, ed., *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Gale, 1996), vol. 168.
- 228 Williams, *op. cit.*, p. xi, 4-5.
- 229 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 230 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
- 231 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 232 Robert Collis, *The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689-1725* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 83.
- 233 *Ibid.*, p. 328.
- 234 Johann Zahn, *Specula physico-mathematico-historica notabilium ac mirabilium sciendorum* (Nuremberg: Johann Christoph Lochner, 1696), vol. 2, p. 405.
- 235 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 64.
- 236 Daston and Park (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 13-14.
- 237 Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
- 238 Mary Baine Campbell, 'Anthropometamorphosis: John Bulwer's Monsters of Cosmology and the Science of Culture', in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 206.
- 239 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 240 *The Retrospective Review, and Historical and Antiquarian Magazine*, edited by Henry Southern and Nicholas Harris Nicolas. (London: Balwind and Cradock, 1828), vol. 2, p. 208.
- 241 Mary Baine Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 232.
- 242 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
- 243 Southern and Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
- 244 Campbell (1996), *op. cit.* p. 214.
- 245 David Allen Harvey, 'Living Antiquity: Lafitau's *Moeurs des sauvages américains* and the Religious Roots of the Enlightenment Science of Man', *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, 36 (2008), p. 76-77.

- 246 Joseph François Lafitau. *Customs of the American Indians compared with the customs of primitive times*, edited and translated by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 2013), p. 62-67.
- 247 *Ibid.*, p. 66-67.
- 248 Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 249 Lafitau, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 250 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 251 *Ibid.*
- 252 P. Fontes da Costa, 'Between Fact and Fiction: Narratives of Monsters in Eighteenth-Century Portugal', *Portuguese Studies*, 20 (2004), p. 64-65.
- 253 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 254 Manuela D. Domingos. *Livreiros de setecentos* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2000), p. 65.
- 255 Fontes da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 256 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 257 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 258 Edward A. Synan, 'Introduction: Albertus Magnus and the Sciences' in James A. Weisipl, ed., *Albertus Magnus and the Sciences: Commemorative Essays 1980* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), p. 3.
- 259 Kenneth F. Kitchell Jr. and Irven Michael Resnick, *Albertus Magnus on Animals* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 1.
- 260 *Ibid.*, p. 10, 14.
- 261 *Ibid.* p. 10-12.
- 262 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 263 Michael W. Tkacz, 'Albert the Great and the Revival of Aristotle's Zoological Research Program', *Vivarium*, 45 (2007), p. 31-32.
- 264 Kitchell and Resnick, *op. cit.*, p. 18, 34.
- 265 Tkacz, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 266 Kitchell and Resnick, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 267 Pauline Aiken, 'The Animal History of Albertus Magnus and Thomas of Cantimbré', *Speculum*, 22: 2 (1947), p. 225.
- 268 Karen Meier Reeds and Tomomi Kinukawa, 'Medieval Natural History', in David C. Lindberg, ed., *The Cambridge History of Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), v. 2, p. 577.
- 269 Kitchell and Resnick, *op. cit.*, p. 1720.
- 270 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 171.
- 271 Kitchell and Resnick, *op. cit.*, p. 1522.
- 272 Karl A.E. Enenkel, 'The Species and Beyond: Classification and the Place of Hybrids in Early Modern Zoology', Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, ed., *Zoology in Early Modern Culture: Intersections of Science, Theology, Philology, and Political and Religious Education* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 111-112.
- 273 Urs B. Leu, Raffael Keller, and Sandra Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner's Private Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 21.
- 274 Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 180.
- 275 Enenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 276 Paula Findlen, 'Natural History', in Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, eds., *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), v. 3, p. 455.
- 277 *Ibid.*, p. 457.
- 278 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 279 Phil Senter, Uta Mattox, and Eid E. Haddad, 'Snake to Monster: Conrad Gessner's *Schlangenbuch* and the Evolution of the Dragon in the Literature of Natural History', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 53:1 (2016), p. 68, 82-84.
- 280 Enenkel, *op. cit.*, 85.
- 281 *Ibid.*, p. 87-89.
- 282 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
- 283 Willy Ley, 'Introduction', *The History of Four-footed Beasts: Taken Principally from the Historia Animalium of Conrad Gesner* (London: Routledge, 1967), p. viii.
- 284 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 285 E.W. Gudger, 'The Five Great Naturalists of the Sixteenth Century: Belon, Rondelet, Salviani, Gesner and Aldrovandi: a Chapter in the History of Ichthyology', *Isis*, 22:1 (1934), p. 24.
- 286 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 287 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 288 *Ibid.*
- 289 *Ibid.*, p. 26-30.
- 290 Charles G.M. Paxton and R. Holland, 'Was Steenstrup Right? A New Interpretation of the 16th Century Sea Monk of Øresund', *Steenstrupia*, 29:1 (2005), p. 40-43.
- 291 Kitchell and Resnick, *op. cit.*, p. 1693.
- 292 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 293 Findlen, *op. cit.*, p. 455.
- 294 Paula Findlen, 'The Formation of a Scientific Community: Natural History in Six-

- teenth-Century Italy', in Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi, eds., *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 373.
- 295 *Ibid.*
- 296 Duroselle-Melish and Lines, *op. cit.*, p. 144-145.
- 297 Giuseppe Olmi, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi: Observation at First Hand', in Robert Huxley, ed., *The Great Naturalists* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p. 60.
- 298 Fabrian Kraemer, 'Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Pandechion Epistemonicon* and the Use of Paper Technology in Renaissance Natural History', *Early Science and Medicine*, 19 (2014), p. 402.
- 299 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 25.
- 300 Findlen (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- 301 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 302 Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
- 303 Findlen (1994), *op. cit.*, p. 17-18.
- 304 *Ibid.*
- 305 *Ibid.*
- 306 *Ibid.*
- 307 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 308 Phil Senter, LaRhonda C. Hill, and Brandon J. Moton, 'Solution to a 440-year-old Zoological Mystery: The Case of Aldrovandi's Dragon', *Annals of Science*, 70:4 (2013), p. 531-532.
- 309 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 310 Bates, 'Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classifications of Monstrous Births', *Social History of Medicine*, 18:2 (2005), p. 149.
- 311 *Ibid.*, p. 413.
- 312 *Ibid.*, 414.
- 313 Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
- 314 Caroline Duroselle-Melish, personal correspondence, 28 January 2018; Duroselle-Melish and Lines, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 315 Kraemer, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
- 316 Sachiko Kurukawa, 'The Role of Images in the Development of Renaissance Natural History', *Archives of Natural History*, 38:2 (2011), p. 190.
- 317 *Ibid.*
- 318 *The Illustrated Bartsch: Antonio Tempesta, Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Sebastian Buffa (New York: Abaris Books, 1984), v. 35, p. 2.
- 319 Kurukawa, *op. cit.* p. 195-196.
- 320 Gordon L. Miller, 'Beasts of the New Jerusalem: John Jonston's Natural History and the Launching of Millenarian Pedagogy in the Seventeenth Century', *History of Science*, 46:2 (2008), p. 207.
- 321 *Ibid.*, p. 233-235.
- 322 *Ibid.*, 207.
- 323 *Ibid.*, 204-205.
- 324 *Ibid.*
- 325 *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 326 *Ibid.*, p. 221.
- 327 *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 328 *Ibid.*, p. 207-208.
- 329 *Ibid.*
- 330 Marcus Hellyer, 'Jesuit Physics in Eighteenth-Century Germany', in John W. O'Malley, S.J., ed., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 540-542.
- 331 Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2005), p. 88.
- 332 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 333 *Ibid.*, p. 79-81.
- 334 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 335 Hans Peter Broedel, "'Now I Will Believe that there are Unicorns': The Existence of Fabulous Beasts in Renaissance *Historiae Naturales*", in Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *Renaissance Medievalisms* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), p. 288.
- 336 'From Caspar Schott to Johann Christain von Boyneburg, 19 May 1664', *Schott Correspondence*, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Schoönborn Archiv, Korrespondenz Archiv, Johann Philip, 2970a, consulted online on 19 June 2018: emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/946047
- 337 Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, *op. cit.* p. 140.
- 338 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- 339 Mark A. Waddell, *Jesuit Science and the End of Nature's Secrets* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), p. 81-82.
- 340 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 341 Jill Kraye, 'The Printing History of Aristotle in the Fifteenth Century: A Bibliographical Approach to Renaissance Philosophy', *Renaissance Studies*, 9:2 (1995), p. 193.

- 342 Findlen (2016), *op. cit.*, p. 439.
- 343 Asma, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 344 Marie-Hélène Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 13-14.
- 345 Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, translated by A. L. Peck (Cambridge: Leob Classical Library, 1942), p. 401.
- 346 *Ibid.*
- 347 Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 348 Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 13-14.
- 349 Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 16-17.
- 350 Giambattista della Porta, *Natural Magick* (London: Printed for Thomas Young, and Samuel Speed, 1658), p. 51.
- 351 Marie-Hélène Huet, 'Monstrous Imagination: Progeny as Art in French Classicism,' *Critical Inquiry*, 17:4 (1991), p. 720.
- 352 Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Danston, 'Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century France and England,' *Past & Present*, 92:1 (1981), p. 23.
- 353 Huet (1993), *op. cit.*, p. 13-14.
- 354 Jennifer Spinks, 'Jakob Rueff's 1554 *Trostbüchle*: A Zurich Physician Explains and Interprets Monstrous Births,' *Intellectual History Review*, 18:1 (2008), p. 43.
- 355 *Ibid.*, p. 42-44.
- 356 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 357 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 358 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 359 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 360 *Ibid.*, p. 50-53.
- 361 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 362 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 363 Ambroise Paré, *On Marvels and Monsters*, translated with and introduction and notes by Janis L. Pallister (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 41-42.
- 364 *Ibid.*
- 365 *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.
- 366 Asma, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 367 Paré, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 368 *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.
- 369 *Ibid.*
- 370 Pallister, *op. cit.* p. xxvi.
- 371 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 74-76.
- 372 Pallister, *op. cit.* p. xix.
- 373 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 374 Asma, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 375 Lawrence D. Longo and Lawrence P. Reynolds, *Wombs with a View: Illustrations of the Gravid Uterus from the Renaissance through the Nineteenth Century* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2016), p. 340.
- 376 Longo and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
- 377 Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), p. 136.
- 378 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 379 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 380 Longo and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 381 Park and Danston (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 182.
- 382 Wittkower, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
- 383 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81.
- 384 *Ibid.*
- 385 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81.
- 386 *Ibid.*
- 387 Sandra Cheng, 'The Cult of the Monstrous: Caricature, Physiognomy, and Monsters in Early Modern Italy,' *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural*, 1:2 (2012), p. 211.
- 388 Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 212-213.
- 389 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81.
- 390 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 391 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 392 *Ibid.*
- 393 Danston and Park (1998), *op. cit.*, p. 181-182.
- 394 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 395 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- 396 Huet (1993), *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 397 *Ibid.*, p. 58-59.
- 398 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 399 Longo and Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 356.
- 400 Huet (1993), *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 401 Mary E. Fissell, 'Hairy Women and Naked Truths: Gender and the Politics of Knowledge in "Aristotle's Masterpiece"', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 60:1 (2003), p. 47.
- 402 *Ibid.*, p. 43, 51.
- 403 *Ibid.*, p. 43, 66.
- 404 Bullough, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- 405 Fissell, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- 406 *Aristoteles Master-piece, or The Secrets of Generation Displayed in all the Parts* (London: Printed for J. How, 1684), p. 47-48.
- 407 Vern L. Bullough, 'An Early American Sex Manual, or, Aristotle Who?', *Early American Literature*, 7:3 (1973), p. 240.
- 408 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 409 Fissell, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- 410 Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
- 411 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

- 412 Abigail Lee and Hannah Thompson, 'From Hideous to Hedonist: The Changing Face of the Nineteenth-century Monster', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
- 413 Sean M. Quinlan, 'Monstrous Births and Medical Networks: Debates over Forensic Evidence, Generation Theory, and Obstetrical Authority in France, ca. 1780-1815', *Early Science and Medicine*, 14 (2009), p. 601-603.
- 414 *Ibid.*, p. 601.
- 415 Junius Castelnau, *Mémoire historique et biographique sur l'ancienne Société Royale des Sciences de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Boehm, 1858), p. 178-179.
- 416 Quinlan, *op. cit.*, p. 628-629.
- 417 Danston and Park (1981), *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 418 *Ibid.*, p. 608.
- 419 J. Bruce Beckwith, 'Congenital Malformations: From Superstition to Understanding', *Virchows Archiv*, 461:6 (2012), p. 613.
- 420 *Ibid.*, p. 614.
- 421 Alan W.H. Bates, 'Retrogressive Development: Transcendental Anatomy and Teratology in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Medicina nei secoli*, 26:1 (2014), p. 197-198.
- 422 Beckwith, *op. cit.*, p. 616.
- 423 *Ibid.*
- 424 *Ibid.*
- 425 Charles Darwin, *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, volume 12, 1864* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), *dar* 177:267, p. 479.
- 426 Beckwith, *op. cit.*, p. 616.
- 427 Katherine Angell, 'Joseph Merrick and the Concept of Monstrosity in Nineteenth Century Medical Thought', in Holly Lynn Baumgartner and Roger Davis, eds., *Hosting the Monster* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), p. 137.
- 428 Barton Cooke Hirst and George A. Piersol. *Human Monstrosities* (Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1891-1893), p. 11.
- 429 Angell, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
- 430 George M. Gould, *The Medical News: A Weekly Medical Journal* (Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1891), vol. 59, p. 743-744.
- 431 *Ibid.*
- 432 Angell, *op. cit.*, p. 146-147.
- 433 Abigail Lee and Hannah Thompson, 'From Hideous to Hedonist: The Changing Face of the Nineteenth-century Monster', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
- 434 Charles E. Robinson, 'Text in Search of an Editor: Reflections on *The Frankenstein Notebooks* and on Editorial Authority', in J. Paul Hunter, ed., *Frankenstein: the 1818 Text, Contexts, Criticism* (New York: Norton & Company, 2012), p. 203-204.
- 435 Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, *Frankenstein, or, the Modern Prometheus* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831), p. x.
- 436 Chris Baldwick, *In Frankenstein's Shadows: Myth, Monstrosity, and Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 31-32.
- 437 *Ibid.*
- 438 James O'Rourke, 'The 1831 Introduction and revisions to *Frankenstein*: Mary Shelley Dictates her Legacy', *Studies in Romanticism*, 38:3 (1999), p. 366-367.
- 439 *Ibid.*, p. 366.
- 440 The earliest known published depiction of the 'monster' appeared in the play by Richard Brinsley Peake, *Presumption; or, the Fate of Frankenstein*, printed in London by John Duncombe in 1826.
- 441 Roger Luckhurst, 'Introduction', in Roger Luckhurst, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Dracula* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 2.
- 442 Alexandra Warwick, 'Dracula and the Late Victorian Gothic Revival', in Roger Luckhurst, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Dracula*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 39-40.
- 443 Warwick, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- 444 *Ibid.*, p. 2-3
- 445 Patricia MacCormack, 'Posthuman Teratology', in *The Ashgate Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- 446 Matei Cazacu, *Dracula*, edited, with an introduction, by Stephen W. Reinert (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 260-262.
- 447 *Ibid.*, p. 252.
- 448 Greg Buzwell, 'Dracula: vampires, perversity and Victorian anxieties', consulted online on 14 July 2018: <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/dracula>
- 449 Alison Peirse, 'Dracula on Film 1931-1959', Roger Luckhurst, ed., *op. cit.* p. 180.
- 450 Michael Wilcox and Richard Landon, *In Retrospect: Designer Bookbinding by Michael Wilcox* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, 1998), p. 66.
- 451 Luckhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

