Child Substitution: A New Approach to the Changeling Motif in Medieval European Culture

Rose Alice Sawyer

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

Institute for Medieval Studies

September 2018

Intellectual Property and Publication Statements

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, my supervisors, Alaric Hall and Iona McCleery, have been an inexhaustible source of knowledge, wisdom, and guidance over the past four years. Their advice has been invaluable and any errors within are entirely my own.

This work was made possible by funding from the University of Leeds School of History and Institute for Medieval Studies, for which I am very grateful.

I arrived at university with no intention of becoming a medievalist, so I would like to thank Mary Swan, for setting me on the right path in my second year, and Emilia Jamroziack, who introduced me to medieval changelings.

To the denizens of the Le Patourel Room, those long gone but not forgotten, my own compatriots, and all the marvellous folks that appear every year, while I might theoretically have been able to finish this thesis without ever participating in one of the many bizarre tangential conversations that spring up within our very own ivory tower, it just wouldn't have been the same. Thank you for the support, thank you for the laughter, and thank you for the many, many cups of tea. Particular thanks are due to Geoffrey Humble, James Titterton, Florence Scott, Charles Roe, and Joanna Phillips, for their eagle-eyed proofreading services. Writing this thesis hasn't been the only adventure I've embarked on over the past four years, so I must also mention Rachael Gillibrand, Sunny Harrison, Vanessa Wright, Victoria Baker, and Lucy Guest. I couldn't have wished for a finer band of misfits with which to share the road.

I am immeasurably grateful to my family, whose care, encouragement, and love has always been a constant in my life.

Finally, to my partner and best friend, Paul, who has been with me every step of the way.

Abstract

This inter-disciplinary project studies the child substitution motif — that is, in my own terms, the idea that a human child is/has been removed and another being, the changeling, substituted in its place — as it manifests in texts and images during the medieval period. Through detailed comparison of a wide variety of sources from across Europe, I address key questions about the significance of the motif. In particular, I engage with the figure of the changeling as a cultural construct, an element of the medieval imaginative landscape that is invested with meaning through its cultural context and that can therefore be used as a lens through which to examine and reveal societal tensions; particularly regarding infants and children: their health, their care, and their position within the familial unit. Chapter One provides an overview of the etymology and semantics of words that appear to have been used in north-west Europe during the Middle Ages to denote a changeling. Chapters Two through to Four work as a group to investigate how the examination of medieval changeling sources can contribute to our understanding of the medieval discourse surrounding the health and care of infants and children. Chapter Five discusses how the child substitution motif could function as a means to articulate other anxieties, such as those stemming from familial, theological, or socio-political tension.

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Introduction

(I.1) Introduction

This inter-disciplinary project studies the child substitution motif — that is, in my own terms, the idea that a human child is/has been removed and another being, the changeling, substituted in its place — as it manifests in texts and images during the medieval period. Through detailed comparison of a wide variety of sources from across Europe, I address key questions about the significance of the motif. In particular, I engage with the figure of the changeling as a cultural construct, an element of the medieval imaginative landscape that is invested with meaning through its cultural context and that can therefore be used as a lens through which to examine and reveal societal tensions, particularly regarding infants and children: their health, their care, and their position within the familial unit.

Jean-Claude Schmitt, whose book *The Holy Greyhound* contains, to date, the best-known examination of medieval changelings, states that 'belief in changelings [...] presupposes substitution'.[1] This assumption forms the basis for most modern scholarship on changelings, whether the focus is their appearance in nineteenth-century folkloric sources or in medieval texts and images.[2] However, it is not necessarily completely supported in some medieval sources. For instance, in his *On Witches and Pythonesses* (1489), Ulrich Molitoris states that many people believe that sex between demons and humans produces children that are called changelings.[3] He goes on to cite a number of examples, including the children born to the

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[1] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Martin Thom, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 6 (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Maisondes Sciences de l'Homme, 1983), pp. 74–75.

[2] A historiographical survey of scholarship on changelings forms the basis for most of this introduction. A definition of changelings as supernatural beings substituted for human children can be found at the start of most of these scholarly works. For further scholarship specific to the medieval period, see: Jenni Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons? Children's Impairments and the Belief in Changelings in Medieval Europe (c. 1150–1450)', in *The Dark Side of Childhood in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Unwanted, Disabled and Lost*, ed. by Katariina Mustakallio and Christian Laes, Childhood in the Past Monograph Series, 2 (Oxford; Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books, 2011), pp. 71–93 (p. 79); C. F. Goodey and Tim Stainton, 'Intellectual Disability and the Myth of the Changeling Myth', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 37.3 (2001), 223–40 (p. 223); Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), p. 111.

[3] Johann Hartlieb and Ulrich Molitor, *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic: Johannes Hartlieb's Book of All Forbidden Arts (1456) and Ulrich Molitoris's On Witches and Pythonesses (1489)*, trans. by Richard Kieckhefer, Magic in History Sourcebooks Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 120.

succubus Melusine and the legends where Merlin is conceived by the Devil raping a woman.[4] Molitoris later argues that, contrary to this belief, children cannot be born from intercourse between an incubus and a human. Thus, he states that Melusine's children and Merlin are either phantasms or the result of child substitution.[5] Although this does tie Molitoris' examples to the child substitution motif, the source also indicates that, for some medieval people, a changeling was not just a substituted child; it could also be a child conceived through sex with a devil.[6]

This suggests that the medieval understanding of the figure of the changeling was more complex and diverse than has previously been appreciated by modern scholars. While this could be a fruitful area for further scholarship, for the purposes of this thesis, I focus on changelings as they appear in the child substitution motif. That is, I study the changelings that were imagined as being substituted for human infants, rather than any other type of strange or uncanny child who, while they might have been termed a changeling during the Middle Ages, was not involved in substitution. However, my definition of the child substitution motif does not otherwise restrict how the changeling appears or behaves; nor does it necessarily imply that the substitution or the changeling itself is supernatural. Thus, when I use the word changeling, I am only using it to describe a being or a child substituted for a child in infancy.[7] In doing this I aim to refrain from projecting any expectations of appearance or behaviour onto the medieval changeling.

This introduction surveys the existing historiography of changeling studies with a view to identifying approaches or sources that have previously been neglected, as well as any unsupported assumptions that have been made about the medieval child substitution motif. I then outline the ways in which this study addresses these gaps in previous scholarship. Although this is a topic of passing interest to many that receives detailed attention from very few, there

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[4] Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 120–24.

[5] Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 145–49.

[6] Some literary scholars, such as Corinne Saunders, have already made this connection, see: Corinne J. Saunders, *Magic and the Supernatural in Medieval English Romance*, Studies in Medieval Romance, 13 (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2010), p. 207.

[7] As noted below, I discuss vernacular and Latin terminology for these beings at greater length in Chapter One.

have been surges in interest in changelings from particular groups of scholars at certain points in the previous two centuries: the nineteenth-century period of National Romanticism, cultural historians in the sixties and seventies, and among scholars of disability and childhood studies in the new millennium.

Until recently the study of medieval changelings was confined to a restricted corpus of mainly Latin texts. William of Auvergne's (d. 1249) and Jacques de Vitry's (d. 1240) brief descriptions of changelings and Stephen of Bourbon's (d. c. 1260) account of the rites designed to reverse the substitution of changelings at the shrine of Saint Guinefort have received the most attention.[8] Texts from the late Middle Ages, such as the *Malleus maleficarum* and Martin Luther's comments on changelings, are also cited.[9] This thesis builds on recent attempts by Jenni Kuuliala and Richard Firth Green to expand this corpus. Green in particular has done valuable work in bringing to light the ways in which the child substitution motif is referenced in Middle English texts. Although it is impossible to be comprehensive within the bounds of this thesis, this study dramatically broadens the range of medieval sources brought to bear on this topic compared with past historiography.[10] My work emphasises the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to building up a diverse corpus of child substitution sources in a range of languages and media. Thus, I include literary and artistic sources, as well as other types of writings, from chronicle accounts to medical treatises. To an extent, the geographical and temporal scope of this thesis has been guided by the sources that I have incorporated into my corpus.[11] As I indicated above, the child substitution motif is particularly prevalent in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century folklore, but we can find references to it in sources from as far back as 1000 C.E. It is these earlier, medieval, sources on which I focus and, consequently,

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[8] See for instance, Schmitt, pp. 68–82; Goodey and Stainton, pp. 227–28; Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 81–83.

[9] Heinrich Institoris and Jakob Sprenger, *The Malleus maleficarum*, trans. by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 135, 200–201; Martin Luther, *Tischreden aus den Jahren 1538–1540*, ed. by Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake, D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden, 6 vols (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1916), IV, pp. 358, No. 4513.

[10] Prior to Green, little to no work had been done on the vernacular sources, and even his work is somewhat restricted, focusing mostly on Middle English sources.

[11] See the Appendices for the corpus of child substitution sources that I have gathered together.

the chronological scope of my thesis extends from the turn of the first millennium to the mid-sixteenth century. Geographically speaking, I draw my corpus from across Western Europe, with sources from England, France, Germany, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, Denmark, and Norway.

Through this project, I address a couple of key research questions: first, how is the child substitution motif utilised in medieval sources? How pervasive is the child substitution motif, and does this have an impact on our understanding of its relevance? And following on from that: what societal tensions does this use of the motif reveal; particularly regarding infants and children: their health, their care, and their position within the familial unit?

Chapter One provides an overview of the etymology and semantics of words that appear to have been used in north-west Europe during the Middle Ages to denote a changeling. This survey incorporates both Latin and vernacular terms and, in doing so, offers some preliminary suggestions for the ways in which terms for changeling spread across Western Europe and were borrowed from language to language. In doing so, I also begin to draw out some of the concepts with which the changeling was synonymous in order to begin to establish the way in which the figure of the changeling was conceptualised during the medieval period.

Chapters Two through to Four work as a group to investigate the ways in which the examination of medieval changeling sources can contribute to our understanding of the medieval discourse surrounding the health and care of infants and children. The second chapter establishes the ways in which connections can be made between the child substitution motif and ill-health, particularly when this manifests in infancy or early childhood. My methodological approach is based on a comparative analysis of child substitution sources with medieval depictions or descriptions of normative or non-normative physical and mental health and development. I also examine ways in which medieval people with backgrounds in learned medical theory explain the conditions of suspected changelings through medieval scholastic medical theory. This discussion is presented with a view to establishing if and how the figure of the changeling might be used as an analogue for infants or children that are extremly unhealthy.

Having established this, in Chapter Three I focus on the ways in which child substitution sources depict the care of changelings and supposedly-changeling children. I explore the costs that could be incurred, emotionally, socially, and physically, by those who cared for a changeling, focusing in particular on the figures of the parents and the wet-nurses. I then move on to examining sources that depict, or could be argued to reflect, the non-violent and violent practices that were incorporated into the rituals designed to reverse the substitution or instigate the banishment of a changeling.

Chapter Four concentrates on the hagiographic section of the medieval child substitution corpus — sources that attach the child substitution motif to the early lives of three saints — with a view to understanding the ways in which warnings against the improper care of infants could be incorporated into these sources. The visual elements of this corpus are particularly valuable for identifying and discussing medieval concerns about the vulnerability of infants, particularly during the post-partum period. Through the close analysis of these works, I discuss the medieval discourse surrounding overlaying, the employment of wet-nurses, and exposure/abandonment.

In the fifth and final chapter, I offer three case studies that aim to indicate some of the ways in which the child substitution motif could function as a means to articulate other anxieties, such as those stemming from familial, theological, or socio-political tension.

(I.2) Historiography

(I.2.a) The nineteenth- and twentieth-century folkloric approach

My research focuses upon the child substitution motif as it manifests in medieval sources. The vast majority of scholarship on changelings has so far had a narrower focus. Child substitution and changelings frequently appear in collections of folklore.[12] Such tales are generally concerned with the supernatural substitution of changelings for young children, the failure of these

[12] See Linda-May Ballard who lists the changeling motifs identified by Stith Thompson and D. L. Ashliman: Linda-May Ballard, 'A Singular Changeling?', *Folk Life*, 52.2 (2014), 137–51 (p. 148); D. J. Ashliman, 'Changelings.', 1997 <http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/changeling.html> [accessed 27 February 2015]; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature: A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folk-Tales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest-Books, and Local Legends*, FF Communications, no. 106–109, 116–117, 6 vols (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1932).

changelings to thrive; and the parents' ritualistic attempts to regain their child through revealing the changeling's true nature. Although details vary, analysis has focused on these narrative types without much change.

In the early nineteenth century, inspired by Johann Gottfried Herder's call to gather 'traditionally preserved tales, songs and beliefs' from the peasantry and a desire to promote a nationalistic pride in a Germanic heritage, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm published their first collection of folklore: *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*.[13] During the same century there was an 'increasing concern with using systematic means to document a truer, hence more authentic past'.[14] Collections of folklore from all over Europe were published and national folkloric societies were founded.[15] The editors of *Medieval Folklore* describe the driving concept behind these collections and societies as the idea that 'folklore, like a fossil, preserves a frozen image of the ancient past'.[16] They go on to state that there is now a greater understanding that oral culture changes and develops very rapidly; however, this is not yet a universally accepted attitude amongst folklorists, who have tended to see only continuities in changeling stories.

In addition to their pre-conceived notions about finding an 'authentic past' in the oral culture of their contemporary peasantry, some nineteenth-century folklorists used methodologies that are no longer acceptable.[17] The stories found in these anthologies and collections of folklore might be based upon oral tales told by the nineteenth-century peasantry, but they are generally translated, interpreted and transmitted by upper-class folklorists who, as Shippey notes, were often working with multiple agendas of their own.[18] In many cases, we

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[13] Bīrendranātha Datta, *Affinities Between Folkloristics and Historiography: Some Theoretical Implications in the Context of Medieval and Modern History of North-East India* (Chennai: National Folklore Support Centre, 2002), pp. 15–16; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, ed. by Heinz Rölleke, Die Märchen der Weltliteratur, Rev. Ed., 2 vols (Köln: Diederichs, 1982).

[14] Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p. 50.

[15] Datta, p. 15.

[16] *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, ed. by Carl Lindahl, John Lindow, and John McNamara (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2000), p. xxiv.

[17] Bendix, p. 50.

[18] T. A. Shippey, 'A Revolution Reconsidered: Mythography and Mythology in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Shadow-Walkers: Jacob Grimm's Mythology of the Monstrous*, ed. by T. A. Shippey, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies/ Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 291/14

cannot be certain that nineteenth-century peasants originally told the stories. The term 'fakelore', describing 'a synthetic product claiming to be authentic oral tradition but actually tailored for mass edification', is now somewhat controversial for its emphasis upon determining authenticity through origin rather than ongoing practice. However, there is no doubt that 'folkloric sources were manipulated for artistic effect' and in some cases made up altogether.[19] Anne Markey describes how Thomas Keightley later admitted to making up an Irish folktale called 'The Soul Cages' based upon a story he had read in one of the Grimms' anthologies.[20] Similarly, C. F. Goodey and Tim Stainton describe how substitution stories found in works by the Grimms were 'a simple paraphrase of Nicolaus of Jauer and Luther/Aurifaber; the source was directly literary, the Grimms merely adding a few folkloric trappings'.[21]

There are also epistemological issues at play in these collections. Post-Enlightenment scholars, such as the Grimms, defined themselves as scholars by not believing in folk beliefs such as changelings, yet a criterion for the authenticity of their source material was that it came from people who did believe in changelings. This binary approach to the child substitution motif can also be found in the medieval sources; much of our evidence for ideas about child substitution comes from people, such as Stephen of Bourbon, who actively ridiculed those who believed in changelings. Nineteenth-century folklorists and many later scholars analysed sources about child substitution as a way of discovering the rituals associated with a belief in changelings. Rather than focusing upon this aspect, I examine discourses about changelings rather than beliefs in them. I posit that oral stories, written versions of those, literary responses to them, and scholarly work about them, are all part of a (probably) contiguous discourse.

That nineteenth-century folklorists, such as the Grimms and Thomas Keightley, had a nationalistic agenda based upon misguided assumptions about the nature of oral culture does not prevent their work from being useful; their work is after all itself part of the historical

(Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in collaboration with Brepols, 2005), pp. 1–28 (pp. 13–14).

[19] Anne Markey, 'The Discovery of Irish Folklore', *New Hibernia Review*, 10.4 (2006), 21–43 (p. 26).

[20] Markey, pp. 25–27.

[21] Goodey and Stainton, p. 232.

discourse on changelings. However, while I do on occasion reference some of the material that they gathered for comparative purposes, this thesis focuses firmly on the deep, contextualised analyses of sources from the Middle Ages. In this way, it is possible to draw conclusions about the cultural meaning and long-term history of the child substitution motif with a new degree of reliability. Furthermore, in doing so, I distinguish my work from that of later scholars of changelings, such as Carl Haffter, Susan Schoon Eberly, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, who either focus on changelings in later folkloric sources, or view medieval sources through the lens of that later material. It is to these scholars, and others like them, that I turn to in the following two sections.

(I.2.b) The psychoanalytical perspective in the mid to late twentieth century

There was another increase in interest in changelings in the mid-to-late twentieth century. As the previous section noted, most scholars in this period, such as Eberly, Munro and Haffter, drew mainly on the nineteenth-century folkloric sources that mention child substitution and when they did mention medieval sources they assumed a continuity of belief and practice for which I have found little evidence.[22] What is notable about all of these papers is their foundation in psychoanalysis and a clinical medical understanding of disability, both intellectual and physical. Haffter and Eberly explained the belief in changelings through the model of parental bereavement proposed by psychoanalysts such as Freud, Bibring and Ross. Haffter states that 'mentally retarded children were […] clearly taken for changelings, particularly those with hydrocephalus and cretinism' and thus parents believed their child to be a changeling as doing so 'allowed them to focus their aggression directly on the child since, of course, it was not their own'.[23] Eberly echoes this analysis, stating that changelings were 'folk explanations' for 'identifiable congenital disorders'.[24] Meanwhile, Munro takes a slightly different tack, but still

[22] Carl Haffter, 'The Changeling: History and Psychodynamics of Attitudes to Handicapped Children in European Folklore', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 4.1 (1968), 55–61; Susan Schoon Eberly, 'Fairies and the Folklore of Disability: Changelings, Hybrids and the Solitary Fairy', *Folklore*, 99.1 (1988), 58–77; Joyce Underwood Munro, 'The Invisible Made Visible: The Fairy Changeling as a Folk Articulation of Failure to Thrive in Infants and Children", in *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 251–83.

[23] Haffter, pp. 56, 58.

[24] Eberly, p. 227.

focuses on the changeling as a folk explanation for a medical condition by comparing accounts of changelings with modern accounts of psychosocial dwarfs. These scholars were united by a desire to understand the cultural processes that drove parents to believe that their child was a changeling and explained this through the retrospective diagnosis of the changeling children as being disabled. The academic debate about the validity of retrospective diagnosis continues to this day, but, particularly since in the medieval sources the actual descriptions of changeling behaviour are, for the most part, very roughly sketched, this is not a method that I am interested in following. I am more interested in understanding the changeling motif and its discursive use in a medieval context, rather than borrowing explanations from modern psychoanalysis.[25]

(I.2.c) Jean-Claude Schmitt's *The Holy Greyhound*: The Gap Between Reception and Remembrance

Jean-Claude Schmitt's book *The Holy Greyhound* was first published in 1979 then translated into English in 1983.[26] It is considered by many to be Schmitt's *magnum opus* and became an 'instant classic in interdisciplinary research'.[27] It was, until Richard Firth-Green's chapter 'Christ the Changeling' in his monograph of 2016 *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church*, the main study of medieval changelings. In this section, I discuss Schmitt, his legacy, and criticisms of his approach, as well as suggesting potential avenues for new research into the child substitution motif.

Schmitt closely analysed an *exemplum* found in Stephen of Bourbon's *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Predicabilibus* (Treatise on Various Materials for Preaching) that describes the cult of the Holy Greyhound Saint Guinefort in an area of rural France. Stephen was a Dominican friar who died around 1261 and had been active as a preacher since 1230. At some point in the early thirteenth-century he was preaching in the area of Dombes, about twenty-five miles north of

[25] For a full historiography of the debate on retrospective analysis see: Piers D. Mitchell, 'Retrospective Diagnosis and the Use of Historical Texts for Investigating Disease in the Past', *International Journal of Paleopathology*, 1.2 (2011), 81–88.
[26] Schmitt.
[27] Bruce A. Rosenberg, 'Review', *Western Folklore*, 44.1 (1985), 73–74 (p. 73).

Lyon. Through taking the confessions of local women, Stephen learned about the cult that had sprung up around Saint Guinefort —a faithful greyhound killed by its master — and the rites that took place at its shrine. Stephen describes a rite, performed by mothers with the assistance of an old woman, designed to reverse the substitution of a sick or frail child believed to be a changeling. The ritual involved passing the child through tree branches, nailing its swaddling clothes to the trees, leaving the child alone for the time it took for a candle to burn down to allow the fauns to reclaim their child and finally immersing the child in the river nine times. The belief was that if the child died soon afterwards, the fauns had not reclaimed their child, but if the child survived, they had, replacing it with the woman's own child. Stephen condemned the rite as infanticidal and destroyed the shrine; however, Schmitt found evidence of cultic practice in the area right up until the twentieth century. Stephen describes the practices of the women of Dombes as a *superstitio contumeliosus*, offensive to God because, like idolatry, the superstition 'honours demons or other creatures as if they were divine'. Later, Stephen drew upon this experience when writing his *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Predicabilibus*; the book was intended to benefit preachers like himself and therefore he included exempla from older writers, who had no doubt influenced him, as well as from his own direct experience.[28]

The Holy Greyhound is a key work of the *histoire des mentalités*, the Annales School, and historical anthropology in general. In *The Holy Greyhound* Schmitt weaves together archaeology, anthropology, textual analysis, art history, and archival research, to create a minutely detailed picture of the legend of Saint Guinefort. Reviewers did not make much of its discussion of changelings: out of a sample of nine reviews, Dickman, Goodich, and Kerewsky-Halpern do not mention changelings at all and only Barley and Geary do anything more than briefly mention the belief in changelings while describing the rite that the women performed.[29] Instead,

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[28] A. Lecoy de la Marche printed extracts from this manuscript in 1877, but this was not a complete or critical edition. A critical edition is in the process of being published, and at the time of writing, three volumes have been released: Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Praedicabilibus*, ed. by Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis, 124–124B, 3 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

[29] Nigel Barley, 'Review', *Man*, New Series, 19.2 (1984), 348–49; Theo Brown, 'Review', *Folklore*, 96.1 (1985), 132–33; Susan Dickman, 'Review', *Speculum*, 59.3 (1984), 699–700; Patrick Geary, 'Review', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 36.2 (1981), 236–37; Michael Goodich, 'Review', *The American Historical Review*, 89.4 (1984), 1063–64; Peregrine Horden, 'Review', *The English Historical Review*, 101.398 (1986),

these reviews tended to focus upon Schmitt's methodological approach and its contribution to the analysis of folk culture. However, despite this lack of focus upon the child substitution aspect at the time, Schmitt's text is routinely cited under any casual reference to changelings in other academic texts.[30] Contrasting the reviews that *The Holy Greyhound* attracted upon its publication with the ways in which later scholars have cited the texts is a valuable demonstration of the gap between how the book was received and how it came to be remembered.

Needless to say, 'not only medieval writers but all historians are affected by the mentalities, assumptions and ideologies of their own day'.[31] As Peter Biller succinctly puts it: 'what Schmitt brought to bear upon the Dominican Stephen of Bourbon's exemplum about a dog was himself, his brilliance and his own and *annaliste* baggage of the 1970s'.[32] Biller paints a complex picture of Schmitt's influences, citing Friedrich Engels and Antonio Gramsci as foundation blocks for Schmitt's portrayal of 'folkloric culture' as a form of 'socio-political opposition' to the 'ruling ideology' of the Church.[33] More overtly, Schmitt was Jacques Le Goff's star pupil and, like his teacher, he is a champion of interdisciplinary scholarship with strong links to the Annales School.[34] In his review of *The Holy Greyhound*, Horden accuses Schmitt of stubborn loyalty to his mentor's 'sharp distinction between "clerical" and "popular" culture'.[35] This critique also appears in Dickman's review and Schmitt's dedication to this approach sparked something of a long-running academic feud with John Van Engen, who, in a

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216; Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern, 'Review', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 86.2 (1984), 492–93; Joyce F. Riegelhaupt, 'Review', *American Ethnologist*, 12.1 (1985), 153–54; Rosenberg.

[30] E.g. Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*, Anglo-Saxon Studies, 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 117; Irina Metzler, 'Responses to Physical Impairment in Medieval Europe: Between Magic and Medicine', *Medizin, Gesellschaft Und Geschichte*, 18 (1999), 9–35 (n. 57).

[31] Julia M. H. Smith, 'Introduction: Regarding Medievalists: Contexts and Approaches', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 98–109 (p. 103).

[32] Peter Biller, 'Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 221–46 (p. 232).

[33] Biller, pp. 229–230.

[34] For more on the theoretical underpinnings of the *Annales* School and its wide reaching influence, see: Biller, pp. 212–13; George Huppert, 'The Annales Experiment', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by Michael Bentley (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 853–67; Olivia Harris, 'Braudel: Historical Time and the Horror of Discontinuity', *History Workshop Journal*, 57.1 (2004), 161–74; Allan Megill, 'Coherence and Incoherence in Historical Studies: From the Annales School to the New Cultural History', *New Literary History*, 35.2 (2004), 207–31.

[35] Horden, 'Review', p. 216.

monograph from 2004, accused Schmitt of turning a 'perception of difference [between norms of prescriptive texts and lived reality of faith] into a vision of duality'.[36] Engen also notes that 'extreme dualist positions have given way in recent years' in recognition of what Carl Watkins describes as a spectrum, along which varying pieties existed, rather than separate boxes containing distinct cultures of belief and practice.[37] Considering that Dickman ends her review by noting that Schmitt's 'presentation of the facts' will allow readers to consider questions of 'transmission and influence' between 'monastic, learned and folk' for themselves, it seems surprising that the response to Schmitt's text, while impressive, has mostly steered away from the topic of child substitution and Stephen's exemplum.[38] It is clear from these responses to *The Holy Greyhound* that a new approach to Stephen of Bourbon's text would not only be a valuable addition to this field of scholarship, but is also long overdue.

Scholars like Schmitt and the Grimms were interested in medieval sources in so far as they provide insight into the beliefs and ritual practices of a particular sub-section of medieval society, namely the peasantry. Thus, Stephen of Bourbon's exempla is often privileged above other medieval sources because it is the earliest text to describe 'the rite designed to achieve the reverse exchange [of the changeling] and to allow the women to recover their own children'.[39] It is the medieval text that most closely conforms to the motifs found in nineteenth-century folklore where mothers also resort to magical rites in order to remove supernatural changelings and retrieve their own children. The continuity of belief implied by this close reflection is an intriguing possibility, but it is only by looking at Stephen of Bourbon's exemplum in context with a wide variety of other medieval sources that theories about continuity or development of belief can be articulated. This thesis, then, affords the first detailed contextualisation of Stephen of Bourbon's oft-cited exemplum. It shares with *The Holy Greyhound* a commitment to interdisciplinarity, the sustained use of close source analysis, and a focus on the use of those

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[36] John H. Van Engen, *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), p. 151.
[37] Engen, p. 152; C. S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 66 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 104.
[38] Dickman, p. 700.
[39] Schmitt, p. 80.

sources to explore the medieval imaginative landscape, yet rereads medieval sources for changelings in terms of the wider discourse surrounding child substitution, rather than on the beliefs and rituals focused on the figure of the changeling.

(I.2.d) Schmitt's Legacy and Changelings in the New Millennium

The Holy Greyhound has influenced a wide range of academic work. Horden describes it as 'microhistory with a vengeance' and later early-modernist scholars in microhistory and 'history from below' often cite Schmitt, along with his Annales colleague, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie.[40] *The Holy Greyhound* also contributed to the surge in research into superstition and the supernatural in the Middle Ages and helped to make it acceptable to talk about animals in academic circles; however, it did not inspire much further research into the phenomenon of child substitution during the Middle Ages until the new millennium.

This newer scholarship is still mostly based upon folklore collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, even when an article or monograph does touch upon changelings in the Middle Ages, the interpretation of these sources is 'strongly influenced by the folkloric material collected later'.[41] Diane Purkiss' book *Troublesome Things* epitomises this approach, as she makes little distinction between practices evidenced in medieval sources and those found in nineteenth-century folkloric texts.[42] For instance, in a chapter titled 'Medieval Dreams' Purkiss mentions a ritual whereby sick children were given water from Cyriac's Well, near Neuhausen, and then left there for nine days in the belief that they would either die or recover.[43] There are certainly parallels between this ritual and practices evidenced in medieval sources; however, Purkiss does not provide a footnote for this practice and, therefore, the way in which she presents the folklore surrounding Cyriac's Well does not make it clear that there is no evidence for this practice earlier than Thomas Keightley's 1850 revised edition of *The Fairy*

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[40] Horden, 'Review', p. 216; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 1.
[41] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 73.
[42] Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Tales* (London: Allen Lane, 2000).
[43] Purkiss, p. 56.

Mythology.[44] In the same chapter, Purkiss describes a Gaelic song, which is first recorded by John Gregorson Campbell in 1895, as being possibly 'older than Guinefort'.[45] Purkiss conveys a continuity of practice from the pre-Christian era through the Middle Ages up until the nineteenth century for which we simply do not have evidence. In this respect her outlook is similar to the nineteenth-century folklorists, such as Jacob Grimm, from whom she draws much of her material. Grimm states, after discussing practices found in Breton folk songs and the records of other folklorists, that 'such traditions must have been widely spread in Europe from the earliest of times'.[46] Tom Shippey calls this approach the 'thesis of continuity' in his paper on the mythography of the nineteenth century.[47]

There have been only three scholarly works post-Schmitt that touch more than lightly on the medieval child substitution motif: C. F. Goodey and Tim Stainton's 'Intellectual disability and the myth of the changeling myth', Jenni Kuuliala's 'Sons of Demons? Children's Impairments and the Belief in Changelings in Medieval Europe (c. 1150–1450)' and Richard Firth Green's chapter on 'Christ the Changeling' from his monograph *Elf Queens and Holy Friars: Fairy Beliefs and the Medieval Church*.[48]

Kuuliala and Goodey and Stainton challenge some of the theories that have become *de rigueur* in changeling studies, particularly the notion, championed by scholars such as Munro and Eberly, that descriptions of changelings 'seem to be folk explanations' of children with

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[44] Thomas Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology: Illustrative of the Romance and Superstition of Various Countries*, Rev. edn. (London: George Bell, 1892).
[45] Purkiss, p. 58; *Clan Traditions and Popular Tales of the Western Highlandsand Islands*, ed. by John Gregorson Campbell and others, Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, no. 5 (London: David Nutt, 1895), p. 146.
[46] Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. by Peter Stallybrass, 4 vols (London: George Bell, 1883), II, p. 469.
[47] Shippey, p. 24.
[48] Goodey and Stainton; Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?'; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, chap. 4. There are a couple of articles that deal directly with Stephen of Bourbon's text, but they are very dependent upon Schmitt. I have included the citations here to highlight the way in which the interdisciplinary and polyvalent nature of this source appeals to a wide variety of people, even those who specialise in organisational environmentalism and the ethico-politics of organization or psychology. Mary Phillips, 'A Tale Of a Dog: Medieval Women Organizing through Myth and Ritual', *Management & Organizational History*, 5.3–4 (2010), 296–313; Regine Schweizer-Vuellers, 'The Holy Dog: Rite and Legend of a Pagan Cult in the Middle Ages—a Psychological Approach', *Psychological Perspectives*, 51.2 (2008), 223–49.

'identifiable congenital disorders'.[49] Kuuliala focuses on physical impairment, while Goodey and Stainton argue that changelings were not associated with intellectual disability until after the medieval period. Of the two works, Kuuliala makes the more valuable contribution to the field, offering both a refreshing perspective and incorporating a new source into the medieval child substitution canon: a miracle attributed to Thomas Becket, recorded in 1172 by William of Canterbury, titled *De puero syntectino* (Concerning a boy suffering from a wasting disease). In his account, William relates how a priest called Radulfus, despite his vows of celibacy, had a child 'ex consorte thori' (with a consort of the bed).[50] By the time he was six months old, the child, a boy called Augustine, was suffering so badly from an ulcer of the lung that he had become emaciated and hardly appeared to be human. Augustine was then promised to Thomas Becket by his parents and was healed that very night. While describing the causes of the boy's illness, William notes that:

> Corpoream namque substantiam gravis passio consumpserat, ex ulcere pulmonis proveniens, aut ex clamore vagientis vel aliis causis quas physicus assignat; nemo enim sanae mentis vulgi fabulosa deliramenta credit, quod pueros supponi putat aut transformari.
>
> And in fact, the serious suffering, coming out of the ulcer of the lung, had worn away the fleshy substance, medicine imputes this either from the noise of wailing or from other causes; for no-one of sound mind credits the fabulous nonsense of the common people, who believe children to be substituted or transformed.[51]

William's reference to the idea of child substitution is brief, but nonetheless useful. This source is the earliest evidence for the presence of the child substitution motif in England and the first learned medical diagnosis of a supposed changeling. I discuss this source, as well as Kuuliala's approach to the medieval child substitution motif, in greater detail in Chapter Two. Although there are superficial similarities to Kuuliala in the conclusions that Goodey and Stainton make,

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[49] Joyce Underwood Munro, 'The Invisible Made Visible: The Fairy Changeling as a Folk Articulation of Failure to Thrive in Infants and Children', in *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 253–284; Eberly, p. 58.

[50] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (Canonized by Pope Alexander III, A.D. 1173)*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 67, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1875), I, pp. 203–4.

[51] Latin: Robertson, I, p. 204. English: My own translation. I recently edited a translation and discussion of this source, see the forthcoming: 'A Miracle of Thomas Becket: De puero syntectino (Concerning a boy suffering from a wasting disease) (1172–77)', in *Medieval Disability Sourcebook*, ed. by Cameron Hunt McNabb (New York: punctum, 2019).

their scholarship, particularly as regards the medieval texts they cite, does not stand up to sustained scrutiny. In addition to numerous factual errors, argumental inconsistencies, and the failure to reference any sources that contradict their line of reasoning, their presentation of the medieval understanding of disability or impairment is not supported by more recent scholarship.[52] Again, I go into this in more detail in Chapters One and Two. But to give just one example of their restricted use of sources, they assert that William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry's early to mid-thirteenth-century texts are 'the earliest extant texts to mention the actual substitution story', when Schmitt, with whom they are clearly familiar, discusses in detail a twelfth-century *vita fabulosa* of St. Stephen in which the saint is stolen away by the devil, leaving a changeling in his place.[53]

Richard Firth Green provides the most recent addition to the academic discourse on the child substitution motif in the Middle Ages. In the fourth chapter of his 2016 book *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, Green expands upon his 2003 article 'Changing Chaucer' by examining Middle English and some Old French sources for evidence of belief in changelings during the later Middle Ages.[54] His work provides proof, if proof were needed, that vernacular sources can provide researchers with ample evidence for attitudes towards and ideas about child substitution during this period. In his examination of the mystery plays, Green notes the frequent use of supernatural pejoratives to describe Christ and, rejecting pedagogical arguments for their inclusion, suggests that, as the Church was increasingly discouraging beliefs and practices associated with the supernatural, a fifteenth-century audience may have subversively identified with a Christ branded as a changeling or warlock and therefore persecuted by officious clerics.[55]

Just as there were surges in the study of changelings during the nineteenth century and mid- to late-twentieth century, it appears that we are now in the middle of another peak of

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[52] For critiques of Goodey and Stainton's article, see: Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 100–101 n. 334; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 110 n. 2; M. Miles, 'Martin Luther and Childhood Disability in 16th Century Germany: What Did He Write? What Did He Say?', *Journal of Religion, Disability & Health*, 5.4 (2001), 5–36 (n. 19).

[53] Goodey and Stainton, p. 227; Schmitt, p. 77.

[54] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*; Richard Firth Green, 'Changing Chaucer', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 25 (2003), 27–52.

[55] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 133–44.

interest in the subject. I would suggest that changeling studies tend to experience a boom when attitudes to children are generally being examined and reassessed. The nineteenth-century saw concern about child welfare on an unprecedented scale across Western Europe and the United States, with the formation of large charitable organisations, such as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in the United Kingdom, as well as greater protections for the child being defined in law, alongside the beginnings of state-sponsored welfare support for children.[56] In the mid-twentieth-century child psychology was on the rise while concern about modern child rearing practices was reflected in the beginnings of studies on the history of medieval childhood. Phillippe Ariès, whom Schmitt cites, sparked a virulent debate in the sixties when he stated that there was no concept of childhood during the Middle Ages.[57] His argument has been often misconstrued and is now undergoing something of a reassessment, when, again, the history of children is on the agenda along with debates about children's education. Changelings are a nexus point between childhood and disability studies, both of which are currently having a moment in the sun, in terms of academic studies of the medieval period and current anxieties about modern children.[58] These modern anxieties about children are partly related to worries about overpopulation globally, but also relate to declining birth-rates in many countries around the world. Additionally, child labour and child mortality are acute concerns as a result of an aging population, the post-industrial economy and the consequences of AIDS, and the resurgences of diseases like TB and malaria in the light of the declining efficacy of antibiotics and insect controls. While we don't have changeling stories in the present day, tales

[56] Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, 'Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920', *The American Historical Review*, 95.4 (1990), 1076–1108; Rachel G. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: SUNY Press, 1984); John Eekelaar, 'The Emergence of Children's Rights', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 6 (1986), 161–82.

[57] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

[58] For medieval childhood studies, see: Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Medievalists and the Study of Childhood', *Speculum*, 77.2 (2002), 440–60; William F. MacLehose, *'A Tender Age': Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

of alien abductions or zombies have arguably similar functions: that is the use of supernatural or otherworldly creatures as a lens through which to examine and express cultural anxieties.[59]

As this historiographical survey has shown, the present study is timely and necessary. Unlike the works of many pre-twenty-first-century scholars, it does not project nineteenth-century folklore back into a homogenised Middle Ages, instead it makes space for histories of variation and change. It avoids retrospective diagnosis, because an emic approach allows for a culturally specific understanding of the connection between changelings and health, and steers away from unsubtle questions about belief in changelings.[60] Rather, it examines the child substitution motif as a product of the medieval imaginative landscape and thus potentially reflective of the concerns and anxieties of the society that produced it. This thesis posits that, through the close analysis of a wider and more diverse range of sources than have previously been studied, conclusions can be drawn regarding the cultural salience of the motif, as well as a deeper understanding of medieval ideas about children and infant health, their care, and their place within the familial unit. As a first stage of exploring the significance of the motif, it is important to closely examine the changeling vocabulary used in medieval texts and languages in order to establish an evidence-based understanding of medieval categorisations of the phenomenon.

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[59] Peter Dendle, 'The Zombie as Barometer of Cultural Anxiety', in *Monsters and the Monstrous: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*, ed. by Niall Scott (Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 45–57.

[60] The concept of emic and etic perspectives was first established by linguists and then developed by ethnological theorists. An emic perspective is from within the social group, that is from the perspective of the subject, while an etic perspective is that of an outside observer. For the use of these perspectives in relation to the Middle Ages, see: Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment in the High Middle Ages, C.1100–c.1400* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 10–11.

Chapter 1: Trading words: Child substitution etymology and semantics during the Middle Ages

(1.1) Introduction

As highlighted in the introduction, the intention of this thesis is to explore medieval discourses about the child substitution motif rather than to concentrate solely on the figure of the changeling. With that said, this figure is constituted by discourse and therefore by language. As such, examining the linguistic signs used to signify the concept of the changeling, that is — with reference to my definition of the child substitution motif — the being that is substituted in place of the original human child, is a fruitful avenue into a deeper understanding of the cultural salience of the child substitution motif. This chapter focuses on the etymology and semantics of words that appear to have been used in north-west Europe during the Middle Ages to denote a changeling.

The methods of this chapter immediately imposes some restrictions on my survey. While the concept of child substitution was clearly part of the discourse in medieval Italy, Spain and Portugal, the languages of these countries do not appear to have a dedicated word to denote changelings.[1] Scots Gaelic uses *tacharán* to denote changelings; however, there is a lack of evidence for its usage prior to the early-modern period.[2] Instead, I focus particularly on the following languages: Latin, Old Norse, Middle English, Anglo-Norman, Old French and several varieties of German as these are the north-western European medieval languages that seem to

[1] Although it is difficult to prove a negative, a word denoting changeling does not appear in *Collins Spanish Dictionary*, 9th ed (London: Collins, 2009); *The Oxford Spanish Dictionary: Spanish-English, English-Spanish*, ed. by Beatriz Galimberti Jarman and others, 4th ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Maria Fernanda Allen, *The Routledge Portuguese bilingual dictionary: Portuguese-English and English-Portuguese* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2011); John Whitlam, Vitoria Davies, and Mike Harland, *Collins English-Portuguese, Português-Inglês Dictionary*, 2nd ed (Glasgow ; New York: Collins, 2001); *Collins Italian Dictionary & Grammar* (London: Collins, 2008). It may be that this was not always the case; however, the apparent lack of a modern term for a changeling does make it difficult to identify a medieval word, if indeed there was one.

[2] The word is not found in *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, which draws on material from before 1700. It does appear in Edward Dwelly's *Faclair Gàidhlig gu Beurla le Dealbhan/The Illustrated [Scottish] Gaelic-English Dictionary*, which was compiled during his lifetime (1864–1939), while other Scots words for a changeling can be found in *The Scottish National Dictionary*, which covers the period 1700–2005. For the online version of Dwelly, see: Michael Bauer and William Robertson, 'Dwelly-d - Dwelly's Classic Scottish Gaelic Dictionary', *Dwelly-D* <http://www.dwelly.info/index.aspx> [accessed 4 September 2018]. Both *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and *The Scottish National Dictionary* have been brought online though: Scottish Language Dictionaries, 'Dictionary of the Scots Language' <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/> [accessed 4 September 2018].

have lexicalised the concept of the changeling. The word *changeling* is not attested in modern English until 1534, and not in the sense of a child substituted by supernatural agency until 1600. Thus the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) definition is based largely on the use of changeling in early-modern and modern texts and the extent to which it reflects medieval discourse, particularly prior to the sixteenth century, is uncertain.[3] I therefore use the phrase 'changeling-words', not to invoke the definition as given in the *OED*, but as an umbrella term for all words that appear to have denoted a changeling (the being that is substituted in place of the original human child) at some point in their development.

By examining these changeling-words, I develop a new understanding of where these words, and the related concept of the child substitution motif, originated and how they/it travelled across western Europe. I am interested in both the linguistic and geographical origin for changeling-words, even though no firm account of their early history will ever be possible. Despite this, these are important avenues to explore, partially because even slight hints can help to build a sense of the development of the child substitution motif, but also in order to offer an alternative to those scholars that postulate certainties for which there is little evidence. [4] Furthermore, I also examine the connotations of changeling-words and what these connotations reflect about the medieval conceptualisation of the changeling.

(1.2) Methodological Approach: Linguistic Semantics

As Alaric Hall has demonstrated, the 'integration of linguistic semantics into wider cultural research', particularly in regard to the construction of supernatural beings or particular types of beings through language, is an illuminating avenue of study.[5] It is true that people do not necessarily require words to conceive of things or concepts; many of the texts that I cite in this thesis refer to the child substitution motif without utilising a specific word for a changeling and,

[3] It is potentially relevant that, since it was first attested, changeling has been used in a variety of contexts and thus there is no reason not to assume that the same was true during the medieval period. While I have included a citation here for reference, I do not directly address the *OED* definition in the body of this chapter: 'Changeling, n. and Adj.', *OED Third Edition* (Oxford University Press) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/30479> [accessed 17 November 2015].

[4] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

[5] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 13.

as I noted above, many medieval languages do not appear to have ever lexicalised the concept of a changeling. However, as language is integral to culture, it is reasonable to assume that the relative cultural salience of a concept within a particular cultural group will be reflected, at least somewhat, by its lexical footprint.[6]

When approaching the changeling-words discussed in this chapter, I draw on Roland Barthes' three orders of signification, which are summarised by Daniel Chandler thus:

> The first (denotative) order (or level) of signification is seen as primarily representational and relatively self-contained. The second (connotative) order of signification reflects 'expressive' values which are attached to a sign. In the third (mythological or ideological) order of signification the sign reflects major culturally-variable concepts underpinning a particular worldview — such as masculinity, femininity, freedom, individualism, objectivism, Englishness and so on.[7]

This methodology has been criticised by some semioticians for implying that denotation acts as the underlying and primary meaning of the sign in question. As Paul Willemen argues, what a sign, or a word in a linguistic context, signifies depends hugely on the level on which the sign is analysed or read.[8] The connotations of a word can ensure that it is loaded with multiple meanings and thus differentiating between the orders of signification is not necessarily unambiguous. Indeed, in the context of the child substitution motif, I am particularly interested in the connotations that words for changelings hold as they may well reflect aspects of the way in which the changeling as an entity, as well as the child substitution motif itself, was understood and conceptualised.

(1.3) Previous Scholarship

(1.3.a) The Stages of Semantic Development

The semantic development of changeling-words, particularly those from the regions of England and France, has been studied before. When discussing the Middle English word *congeon/conjon* as it appeared in *Hali Meidhad*, A. F. Colburn argued in 1940 that there must have been a

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[6] John Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), I, pp. 246–50; Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 13–14.
[7] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957); Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics for Beginners* (s.l: s.n, 2005) <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/semiotic.html> [accessed 2 August 2018].
[8] Paul Willemen, *Looks and Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Filmtheory* (Bloomington; London: Indiana University Press; British Film Institute, 1994), p. 105.

'development in folklore' running from '(1) changeling […] (2) ugly person, (3) fool'.[9] Bernhard Diensberg, in his discussion of the different etymological origins for *cang* and *cangun/conjoun*, agrees that this 'transition […] is not difficult to demonstrate', but notes that 'relevant evidence is lacking'. Diensberg also revises Colburn's three separate stages to allow for the possibility of *congeon/conjon* having multiple denotations simultaneously. As such, Diensburg characterises the stages of semantic development as a 'transition from *changeling* or *both mentally and physically retarded child* to *fool* or *idiot*'.[10] The studies that trace the semantic shift whereby words denoting *changeling* came to be used as a term of abuse are based on the presumption that the characteristics that a changeling was believed to possess would result in the word being used to refer to those who were intellectually or physically disabled. This connection would result in the word's semantic field widening to overlap with terms such as *idiot* and *fool*. Thus, the word that had been used to denote a changeling would come to be used synonymously with words such as *idiot* or *fool*, both in the context of describing a mentally or physically disabled person and as a term of abuse focusing on the purported lack of mental capacity of the insulted party.[11] In its final iteration, shorn of any connotations related to its etymology, the word could finally be used simply as a generic term of abuse.

Colburn's description is a useful starting point, but I concur with Diensburg: the process of semantic change should not be seen as a straightforward progression from denotation to denotation, with the previous meaning rendered obsolete at each new stage. Richard Firth Green, who analyses the usage of *congeon/conjon* across a wider survey of Middle English texts than either Colburn or Diensburg, argues that 'when medieval English people used the word, they were well aware of its root denotation "changeling" and were sometimes

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[9] *Hali Meidhad*, ed. by A. F. Colborn (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 117.

[10] Bernhard Diensberg, 'Three Etymological Cruxes: Early Middle English Cang "fool(Ish)" and (Early) Middle English Cangun/Conjoun "Fool", Middle English Crois versus Cross and Early Modern English Clown', in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, ed. by Raymond Hickey and Stanislaw Puppel, 2 vols (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), I, 457–65 (p. 459).

[11] Considering the consistency with which changeling-words have come to be used in place of *idiot* or *fool*, this assumption is reasonable. Further discussion of the ways in which philological, semiotic, semantic and etymological analysis can aid our understanding of the connection between the child substitution motif and disability is reserved for a later chapter.

quite consciously exploiting this sense.'[12] Green's approach relies on contextualising the changeling-words not just within one specific text, but also through trends in the words' usage across the Middle English corpus. Green's results and conclusions will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter. By drawing on these scholars' portrayal of the semantic development of changeling-words and considering the implications that this has for the discourse around the child substitution motif, I build up a more complete picture of the medieval landscape of changeling-words.

(1.3.b) Origins

Goodey and Stainton have summarised the development of a scholarly consensus on the origins of the child substitution motif in their article, as well as offering their own contradictory thesis. Here I summarise the historiography while offering my own critique of their conclusions. As changeling-words appear in multiple medieval European languages one would suppose that the motif would have been widespread throughout Europe during the Middle Ages; however, during the later-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, writers citing Martin Luther and the *Malleus maleficarum* pinpoint Germany as the nexus point of the child substitution motif.[13] According to Goodey and Stainton, this was a 'mythologization' and misinterpretation of the sources. They argue that authors associated the child substitution motif with Germany because this area was imagined to be less sophisticated and more credulous than their own.[14] Thus Bodin states: 'les Alemans (qui ont plus d'experience des sorciers, pour y en auoir eu de toute ancienneté, & en plus grand monbre qu'es autres pays) tiennent que de telle copulation il en vient quelquesdois des enfans, qu'ils appellent Wechsel-Kind' (the Germans, who have more experience of sorcerers because there it is quite ancient and there are more of them than in other countries, maintain that from such [demonic] copulation infants sometimes spring whom they call *Wechselkind*).[15] Heinrich Kramer and Jakob Sprenger, when writing their *Malleus*

[12] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 127.
[13] In particular see Jean Bodin, *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers* (Antwerp: chez Arnould Coninx, 1586), p. 182. Goodey and Stainton, p. 231 give a full bibliography.
[14] Goodey and Stainton, p. 231.
[15] French: Bodin, p. 182. English translation: Goodey and Stainton, p. 231.

maleficarum in 1486, use the word *wechselkind* to gloss the Latin word *cambiones* for their intended audience of German speakers.[16] They do not situate the motif in any particular geographical location, but their use of the vernacular was evidently taken to do so by later writers. In a similar vein, in his second commentary on Galatians, composed in 1535, Martin Luther (d. 1546) cites the German state of Saxony as the location of a tale depicting the child substitution motif.[17] Goodey and Stainton argue that, although the Saxony location sounds 'convincingly specific', 'Saxony for Germans has always denoted remote ignorance in general, not a mere place on the map' and by situating the motif in 'a mythological site' Luther was attempting to universalise rather than localise the story.[18] While this is possible, a more likely explanation would be that Luther spent most of his life in Saxony-Anhalt and had many links with Saxony proper. Thus he simply drew on a local story rather than localising the motif. With that said, Goodey and Stainton argue that, although neither Luther nor Kramer and Sprenger seem to have wanted to intentionally identify the child substitution motif as a specifically German concept, their works were taken to have done so. This set the stage for nineteenth-century folklorists, such as Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Adolf Wuttke, Adalbert Kuhn, and Wilhelm Schwarz, to use stories about child substitution to further the agenda of German Nationalism and unification through a shared Germanic folkloric culture.[19] On this basis, Goodey and Stainton argue that twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship has tended to take the Germanic roots of the child substitution motif for granted.[20]

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[16] Institoris and Sprenger, p. 200.

[17] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Lectures on Galatians 1535 Chapters 1–4*, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan and Walter A Hansen, 55 vols (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), XXVI, p. 190.

[18] Goodey and Stainton, p. 231.

[19] Grimm, II, p. 469; Adolf Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1860), p. 195; *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg, Pommern, der Mark, Sachsen, Thüringen, Braunschweig, Hannover, Oldenburg und Westfalen, aus dem Munde des Volkes gesammelt und herausg. von A. Kuhn und W. Schwartz*, ed. by Adalbert von Kuhn and Wilhelm Schwarz (Leipzig: F. A. Brodhaus, 1848); Jack Zipes, *The Irresistible Fairy Tale: The Cultural and Social History of a Genre* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 114; Goodey and Stainton, p. 233.

[20] Carl Haffter does mention the Celto-Germanic origins of the belief, but I am not convinced that this understanding of the origins of the child-substitution motif are quite as prevalent as Goodey and Stainton suppose: Haffter, p. 55.

In contrast, Goodey and Stainton argue that the origins of the child substitution motif, which they present as previously presumed to be from 'the rude folkloric periphery of Europe', can be found not on the 'periphery of the North German Volk but in Europe's intellectual centers [sic.]'.[21] They contend that the child substitution motif was transmitted and perpetuated by elite writers that drew on the works of other elite writers at the same time as falsely attributing these tales to the 'folk'. Goodey and Stainton identify William of Auvergne's and Jacques de Vitry's early- to mid-thirteenth-century work as both 'the earliest extant texts to mention the actual substitution story' and the origin point of this scholarly tradition.[22] Goodey and Stainton lay out how later writers, such as Nicolaus von Jauer, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, cite William of Auvergne directly and seem to be strongly influenced by Jacques de Vitry.[23] This presentation of the child substitution motif was then incorporated into the work of Luther, the Grimms and finally twentieth-century scholars such as Ashliman.[24] Although I agree that later medieval writers were influenced by the works of William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry, Goodey and Stainton's contention that they are our earliest sources for the child substitution motif is surprisingly easy to disprove. They address, but then dismiss, Labeo Notker's commentary on Psalm 17, verse 46 from circa 1000, in which Notker translates *filii alieni* (the sons of strangers/strange children) as *frémediû chint* (strange/foreign children) and then uses the phrase *wíhselinga judei* (Jewish changelings) to clarify his translation.[25] I discuss this text in more detail at a later point in this chapter, but suffice to say for now that, while I accept that the passage does not provide a clear foundation for the, rather rigidly defined, motif that Goodey and Stainton are concerned with, nor does the passage explicitly 'mention exchange or substitution', nevertheless, the first usage of a word that is so clearly etymologically related to

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[21] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

[22] Goodey and Stainton, p. 227.

[23] Goodey and Stainton, p. 228.

[24] Goodey and Stainton, pp. 229–32.

[25] The earliest manuscript of Notker's text has been digitised: 'Cod. Sang. 21: Translatio Barbarica Psalterii Notkeri Tertii (Old High German Psalter by Notker the German)' (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 12th century), p. 55 <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0021>. The text has also been published with the formatting preserved: Labeo Notker, *Die schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, ed. by Paul Piper, Germanischer Bücherschatz, 8–10, 3 vols (Leipzig: Mohr, 1895), II, pp. 55–56. In most modern bibles, this is Psalm 18.

both the later German and one of the Old Norse words used to denote changeling deserves further consideration.[26] For Goodey and Stainton the child substitution motif is a 'highly specific individual legend' that has been subject to 'the systematic activity both of past theologians and of modern scientific experts [to] endow [the motif] with popular roots'.[27] As stated above, this theory can be applied to the work on changelings of medieval and some modern scholars writing after Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne. Goodey and Stainton do useful work tracing the textual origins of the motif as it appears in later works; however, their assertion that William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry also drew solely on elite theological sources deserves further analysis.[28] This claim locates the origin of the child substitution motif both geographically and demographically; in their reading it was created in Paris and perpetuated by elite clerics. In this chapter, I draw on etymological evidence as well as sources where the child substitution motif is described but not named, in order to assess the strength of these claims.

(1.4) Identifying Words Used to Denote a Changeling

As discussed in the introduction, the medieval child substitution corpus is generally perceived as being very narrow due to the previous historiographical focus on a small number of Latin texts and, while Green's 2016 monograph expands this corpus through his focus on English and French vernacular sources, the full extent of the medieval child substitution corpus has not yet been realised. Considering that changeling is a word of late-medieval to early-modern origin, it is not possible to identify medieval child substitution sources by searching for incidences of this word in medieval English texts. As such, etymological and lexicographical analysis must be employed to find the terms used to denote a changeling in a variety of vernacular languages, including Middle English, Anglo-Norman, Old French, Old Norse and several varieties of German.

[26] Goodey and Stainton, pp. 233 & 266.
[27] Goodey and Stainton, pp. 232–33.
[28] Goodey and Stainton, pp. 227–28.

A survey of dictionaries of these medieval vernacular languages reveals words that are formed, much as the word 'changeling' is, through the combination of a verb for exchange or change and a suffix.[29]

Table 1: Dictionary Survey for Changeling-Words

Language	Word	Root Verb	Compound noun/suffix	Dictionary	Definition
Old High German	*wehsaling** *wehsalkind**	*wehsal**[30]	*-ing* *-kind*[31]	*Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*[32]	Wechselbalg; changeling
Middle High German	*wëhsel-balc* *wëhsel-kint*	*wëhsel*[33]	*-balc* *-kint*[34]	*Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*[35]	Wechselbalg (changeling)
Old Norse	*skiptingr* *víxlingr*	*skipta* *víxla*[36]	*-ing*, *-ingr*[37]	*Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic*, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*[38]	changeling, idiot

[29] For a discussion of the formation of the word changeling and its component parts, see: 'Changeling, n. and Adj.'; '-Ling, Suffix1', *OED Second Edition* (Oxford University Press) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/108656> [accessed 14 December 2015].

[30] 'Wehsal*', ed. by Köbler Gerhard, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2014 <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html> [accessed 14 July 2017].

[31] 'Kind', ed. by Köbler Gerhard, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2014 <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html> [accessed 14 July 2017].

[32] 'Wehsaling*', ed. by Köbler Gerhard, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2014 <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html> [accessed 14 July 2017]; 'Wehsalkind*', ed. by Köbler Gerhard, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2014 <http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html> [accessed 14 July 2017].

[33] 'Wëhsel Stm.', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878), 731 <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wehselbalc>.

[34] 'Balc', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1872), 114 <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wehselbalc>; 'Kint', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1872), 1575 <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wehselbalc>.

[35] 'Wëhsel-Balc', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878), 732 <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wehselbalc>; 'Wëhsel-Kint', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878), 733 <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wehselkint>.

[36] Geir T. Zoëga, 'skipta (-pta, -ptr)', *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1910) <http://norse.ulver.com/dct/zoega/s.html>; Richard Cleasby, 'Víxla', *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 718.

[37] '-Ling, Suffix1'.

[38] 'Skiftingr Sb. M.', *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2010) <http://onp.ku.dk/> [accessed 12 June 2015]; 'Víxlingr Sb. M.', *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2010) <http://onp.ku.dk/> [accessed 12 June 2015]; Geir T. Zoëga, 'skiptingr, m.', *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1910) <http://norse.ulver.com/dct/zoega/s.html>; Geir T. Zoëga, 'víxlingr, m.', *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1910) <http://norse.ulver.com/dct/zoega/v.html>;

Middle English	*cangun conjoun*	*changer*	N/A	*Middle English Dictionary*[39]	1. A fool, a nincompoop; a worthless person, a rascal. 2. A person possessed by a devil, a lunatic. 3. A dwarf or very small person, a brat.
				Oxford English Dictionary[40]	OED: 1. A dwarf, or congenitally deformed man. 2. A simpleton; = changeling *n.* 3. 3. A derisive or contemptuous term applied to a child. (Cf. German *wechselbalg*; Sc. *croot*, *cruit*, a puny, pigmy, decrepit child, applied in contempt or anger to any little child.) 4. An offensive term of abuse or dislike.
Anglo-Norman	*cangon*	*changer*	N/A	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*[41]	fool
Old French	*chanjon*	*changier*	N/A	*Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*[42]	Enfant substitute
Middle French	*changon*	*changier*	N/A	*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)*[43]	Personne instable Term d'injure

These dictionaries and the definitions that they associate with these words reveals a number of things. First, there appears to be a split between the German and Old Norse dictionaries, which do indicate that these words can be used to denote a changeling, and the English and French dictionaries, where the changeling denotation is either not as prominent or entirely absent.[44] Second, apart from in the German dictionaries, where the changeling

Richard Cleasby, 'Skiptingr, M.', *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 550; Richard Cleasby, 'Víxlingr, M.', *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 718.

[39] 'Conjǒun (N.)', *Middle English Dictionary* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED9306> [accessed 12 June 2015].

[40] '† ˈcongeon | ˈconjon, N.', *OED Second Edition* (Oxford University Press) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/39074> [accessed 5 December 2015].

[41] 'Cangon', *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online Second Edition* (Anglo-Norman On-Line Hub) <ttp://www.anglo-norman.net/D/cangon> [accessed 12 May 2015].

[42] Walther von Wartburg, 'Cambiare (Spec. Chanjon)', Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: Eine Darstellung Des Galloromanischen Sprachschatzes (Bonn: Schröder, 1940), 120.

[43] 'CHANGEON, Subst. Masc. (Changeon)', *DMF: Dictionnaire Du Moyen Français (1330–1500)* (ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, 2015), 390–91 <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf>.

[44] That the Old Norse and German dictionaries are less hesitant to ascribe the denotation of changeling to these words may be due to the fact that, in the post-medieval period, *wechselbalg* and *skiptingr* are used primarily to denote changelings.

definition is presented with no variant, the words are framed primarily as terms of abuse, particularly focused on the purported lack of mental capacity of the insulted.

Further analysis of the medieval sources that these dictionaries cite reveals that this collection of vernacular words is very rarely integrated into clear descriptions of the child substitution motif or used to make unambiguous references to a changeling; that is a person that is either depicted in the text as a changeling or believed/accused by those in the text to be one. For example, *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* cites twenty-two separate attestations of the word *skiftingr* and, of these, only the two used in *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* are cited against the definition *changeling*. Thus, in the twenty other attestations, the word is considered by the dictionary's compilers to be used to denote *idiot* rather than *changeling*. Of course, some scholars have disputed the choices of interpretation which dictionaries make as to the denotation that words for *changeling* were intended to carry in a particular context. For instance, in *Artour and Merlin* the poem describes how 'A forseyd deuel li3t adoun/ And of þat wiif made a conioun/ To don alle his volunte' (the aforesaid devil came down and made a *conjoun* of the woman to do all his will).[45] The *Middle English Dictionary* cites these lines under the definition 'A person possessed by a devil, a lunatic'; however, Green argues that the text depicts the substitution of a changeling for the woman and thus provides proof of the exchange of adults as well as infants.[46] Green encourages his readers to question the *Middle English Dictionary*'s interpretation of *conjoun* and its use in Middle English texts and I would agree that the absence of a Middle English text that describes a *congeon* being substituted for a child should not induce us to follow the *Middle English Dictionary* in rejecting this possibility completely. Rather, I would argue that a clear pattern has emerged whereby certain terms of abuse focused on mental incapacity are etymologically tied to verbs for exchanging or changing across all the languages under analysis. A pattern as consistent as this one demands an explanation and the explanation that seems to

[45] *Of Arthour and of Merlin*, ed. by O. D. Macrae-Gibson, Early English Text Society. Original Series, 268, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), I, ll. 679–81. English translation from Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 124.
[46] 'Conjǒun (N.)'; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 123.

be available is that the root or primary denotation of these terms of abuse, including the English and French ones, was the changeling.

(1.5) Denotation and Connotation Table

The extent to which it is possible to specify the particular kind of sematic association that changeling-words hold is hugely dependent on our understanding of the textual and cultural context in which they appear. To draw on one example, I contrast the use of *cangun* in two texts directed at anchorites from the late-twelfth to early-thirteenth centuries: *Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meiðhad*. In the version of the *Ancrene Wisse* found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, the writer exhorts the anchorite reader thus:

> *Filia fatua in deminoratione erit*. þis is Salomones sahe; þet hit limpe to ei of ow, Godd ne leue neauer. "Cang dohter i-wurð as mone I wonunge"; þriueð as þe cangun, se lengre se wurse
>
> Soloman says that "a foolish daughter shall be to his [her father's] loss" [Ecclus, 22:3]. God grant that it never happen to any of you. "A foolish daughter is like the moon in its waning", she thrives like the *cangun*: the longer, the worse.[47]

Cangun in this text has been translated as 'fool'; however, if the reader is cognisant of the characteristic lack of growth attributed to changelings in other texts from approximately the same period and geographical context, it becomes clear that the primary denotation in this context is intended to be *changeling*.[48] On the other hand, *Hali Meiðhad*, which has a similar background to *Ancrene Wisse* in terms of date of composition and intended audience, advises its female reader that once married a wife must be faithful to her husband 'beo he cangun oðer

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[47] *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 402, with Variants Fromother Manuscripts*, ed. by Bella Millett and E. J. Dobson, Early English Text Society. Original Series, 325, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), I, p. 43. Translation from Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 123.

[48] For further discussion of the changeling's lack of growth, see: (2.4.b) What are the characteristics of changelings in Latin and hagiographic sources? In particular, since 'attentive study has repeatedly confirmed the intellectual milieu of twelfth-century Paris chiefly shaped the thinking of the author of Ancrene Wisse', we can look to Jacque de Vitry and William of Auvergne's descriptions of changelings for a better understanding of the author's use of *cangun*, Roger Dahood, 'Ancrene Wisse and the Identities of Mary Salome', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer (Boydell & Brewer), 2003), pp. 227–43 (p. 241). Green and Macrae-Gibson also note this connection. Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 123; Macrae-Gibson, I. For the translation of *cangun* as 'fool', see *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, ed. by Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), p. 88.

crupel'.[49] In this context, it is not possible for 'cangun' to primarily denote changeling. After all, if the man was believed to be a changeling, she would have legitimate grounds to dissolve the marriage. Rather, the alliterative pairing of 'cangun' with 'crupel' indicates quite clearly the intention behind the author's use of 'cangun'. As I have already established, scholars have argued that changeling-words came to be used to denote someone who was mentally or physically disabled and since *crupel*, a word that is often used to denote a physical disability or bodily impairment, is juxtaposed with 'cangun', we can infer that the two words were paired in order to describe two different types of disability. Thus, the proper translation for this phrase would be: 'even if he is an idiot or a cripple'. Despite being composed in almost exactly the same cultural context, *Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meiðhad* demonstrate that changeling-words could be and were used to denote different things depending on textual context.

As the semantic development of changeling-words was not a smooth progression, the following table, which draws on Diensburg and Colburn's characterisation of the semantic development of one group of changeling-words as well as the denotations attested in the dictionaries cited above, cannot be an exhaustive list of all the ways in which changeling-words were understood during the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, in providing it I hope to illustrate something of the multiplicity of meanings that these words could carry. In order to facilitate this I have distinguished between the first and second orders of signification, denotation and connotation, although I am cognisant of the way in which the two may blur together. For ease of reading the table does display something like progression; however, I want to stress that even in incidents where a word appears to be used solely as a term of abuse, the absence of overt reference to the child substitution motif does not necessarily preclude the writer having knowledge of this as a primary denotation. This table is best understood as a tool for exploring the usage of changeling-words on an incident-by-incident basis. As such, for the purposes of

[49] *Hali Meiðhad*, ed. by Bella Millett, Early English Text Society (Series), Original series, no. 284 (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 16, line 12. For a more recent summary of the possible date range in which the initial composition of the text could have taken place see: Savage and Watson, pp. 223–24. Also, more evidence for a later date of composition can be found here: Alan J. Fletcher, 'Black, White and Grey in "Hali Meiðhad" and "Ancrene Wisse"', *Medium Aevum*, 62 (1993), 69–78 (pp. 70–71).

this table, the assumption has been made that a word is used to denote one concept at a time, but can contain multiple connotations; however, the concept that the word denotes is not included in the connotations. Thus, referring to this table, the two uses of *cangun* discussed above may be roughly categorised, with *Ancrene Wisse* falling into either Signification A or B while *Hali Meiðhad* is either Signification J or K.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to the etymology of the changeling-words in both Latin and the vernacular languages.

Table 2: Signification of Changeling-Words

Letters		Denotation				Connotation			
		Changeling	Intellectual/Physical Disability	Term of Abuse		Changeling	Intellectual/Physical Disability	Term of Abuse	
				Disability	Generic			Disability	Generic
Signification	A	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N	N	N
	B	Y	N	N	N	N/A	Y	N	N
	C	Y	N	N	N	N/A	Y	Y	N
	D	Y	N	N	N	N/A	Y	Y	Y
	E	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N	Y	Y
	F	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N	N	Y
	G	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N	N
	H	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/A	N	N
	I	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/A	Y	N
	J	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/A	Y	Y
	K	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A	Y	Y
	L	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N	Y
	M	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A	N
	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N/A	N
	O	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N/A	N
	P	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N/A	Y
	Q	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/A	Y
	R	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A	Y
	S	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N/A
	T	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N/A
	U	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N/A
	V	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/A
	W	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N/A
	X	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N/A

(1.6) The etymology and dissemination of words used to denote a changeling across medieval Europe

As noted previously in this chapter, the words that appear to have been used at some point to denote a changeling are generally formed from a word for (ex)change plus a suffix. This consistent construction indicates that when the word for a changeling was borrowed by one language from another or was otherwise incorporated into a new language, a calque, or word-to-word translation, was used. This implies that when borrowing the concept of child substitution or at least incorporating a word into a different language in order to fill a lexical gap, it was most important that the action of exchange was understood. Although this is fascinating in and of itself, from an etymological standpoint, this practice does make it much more difficult to trace the direction of borrowing, the origins of the word, and thus the origin of the child substitution motif, particularly since it is rare to find a primary source that appears to provide evidence of the translation process.[50] That said, there are still some conclusions that we can draw from the evidence to hand and, in this section, I use etymological analysis in order to narrow down the geographical origins of the child substitution motif.

(1.7) Mind the Gap: Evidence for a Latin Lexical Gap Prior to William of Auvergne

Goodey and Stainton assert that the child substitution motif, as described by Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne, is based on or influenced by the work of previous theologians and not influenced at all by what Goodey and Stainton describe as 'folkloric sources'.[51] Green devotes a chapter to disputing their idea that the concept of changelings was foreign to the vernacular Middle Ages; however, in this section I want to focus on a more etymological approach to addressing these claims.[52] Therefore, I highlight Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne's respective translations of the Old French vernacular word for 'changeling' and suggest that the variation between their two approaches indicates the lack of a Latin word for 'changeling' prior to their writings.

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[50] Although, a number of the texts that I discuss in the following sections, particularly *Þiðreks saga*, do provide some insight into this process.

[51] Goodey and Stainton, p. 227.

[52] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars.*

Diensberg argues that the Old French *changon* 'has to be postulated as a continuation of Gallo-Latin *cambiāre*'.[53] While I agree that this Gallo-Latin word meaning 'exchange, barter' is the likely source of the Old French word for 'change', I do not agree that the 'Latin **cambiōnem* will yield OF *changon*'.[54] On the contrary, based on close textual analysis of William of Auvergne and Jacque de Vitry's discussion of changelings, I suggest that the way in which William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry approach the subject of child substitution indicates that there was no term for this phenomenon in Latin, but that there was no such lexical gap in the Old French vernacular. An understanding of the context in which words are presented is a vital aid to etymological analysis and should not be discounted. In this section I first discuss the way in which Latin writers prior to William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry describe child substitution, then analyse the different ways in which William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry approach the subject, with a particular focus on what I argue is their choice to translate a vernacular word for changeling into Latin.

It is notable that, prior to William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry, even when clearly describing the child substitution motif, Latin writers do not use a particular word for a changeling. William of Canterbury, who wrote about seventy years before Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne, refers obliquely to the child substitution motif in his description of a miracle attributed to Thomas Becket, but he does not name the thing that is substituted in place of the children:

> Corpoream namque substantiam gravis passio consumpserat, ex ulcere pulmonis proveniens, aut ex clamore vagientis vel aliis causis quas physicus assignat; nemo enim sanae mentis vulgi fabulosa deliramenta credit, quod pueros supponi putat aut transformari.
>
> For in fact, a serious disease, produced by an ulcer in his lungs, or else by the noise of his wailing or from other causes which a physician specifies, had consumed his bodily substance; for no-one of sound mind credits the fabulous nonsense of the people, who believe children to be substituted or transformed. [55]

[53] Diensberg, I, p. 458.
[54] Diensberg, I, p. 457.
[55] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.

Equally, the twelfth-century *vita fabulosa* of St. Stephen describes the devil that takes the infant saint's place in a variety of ways, but the writer does not use a word that is specific to the creature's status as a changeling:

> Et venit in presepio, ubi requiescebat, et detulit puerum stephanum in brachio suo substento. Et posuit **idolum** in eius lectulo permanere, in persona patris familia domus. [...]
>
> And [the devil] arrived at the cradle, where [Stephen] was sleeping, and, supported in his arms, he carried the boy Stephen away. And he placed an **idol** to remain in [Stephen's] bed, (made) in the image of his father, to remain among the family of the household.
>
> Vade in civitate que dicitur galilee, ubi est domus patris tui, et pone in ea gaudium propter tristitiam, qui ibi est **figura sathane**, et posuit in lecto et tibi attulit. [...]
>
> 'Go to the city that is called Galilee, where the house of you father is, and put there joy through misery, which is there an **image of Satan**, placed in bed and carried to yourself.
>
> Cepit sathanas stridere ante cum, et mugitus tauri, et omnes voces bestiarum facere, et dixit beatus stephanus ad patrem suum: 'Ego sum vester filius quia in nocte te tulit michi sathanas de presepio, et posuit **suum genitum**.
>
> Afterward, Satan, bellowing like a bull, first began to shriek and to make the voices of the beasts, and Blessed Stephen said to his father: 'I am your son because Satan bore me away from you and my crib in the night and placed **his own progeny** [in my place].' [56]

The absence of a word used specifically to mean changeling in two sources is, of course, not sufficient evidence for a lexical gap in Latin written prior to the works of the two Parisian theologians under consideration. After all, Stephen of Bourbon was writing his *Treatise on Various Materials for Preaching*, which included his account of the child substitution beliefs in the Dombes area, when he died in 1261, yet he too does not use a specific word for a changeling.

> Above all though, women who had weak or sickly children [*pueros*] [...] would find an old woman who might teach them how to perform the rite and make offerings to the demons and invoke them [...] After a demonic invocation, they called upon the fauns in the forest of Rimite to take the sick and feeble boy [*puerum*], which, they said, was theirs and to bring back to them their own (whom the fauns were detaining), fat and well, safe and sound. [57]

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[56] Monte Cassino, Bibliotheca Casinensis, Codex Casinesis CXVII, fols 126–127. A description of the manuscript and the *vita* can be found in 'Fabulosa vita S. Stephani Protomartyris', in *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu codicum manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Casinensi asservantur series*, 5 vols (Monte Cassino: Montecassino Abbey, 1877), III, 36–38 (pp. 59 & 62). A full copy of the texts can be found in the same book in the section at the end called *Florilegium Casinense* pp. 36–8.

[57] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Martin Thom, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 6 (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Maisondes Sciences de l'Homme, 1983), p. 6.

However, this absence certainly lends credence that there was, at the least, not a commonly used Latin word for a changeling by the early thirteenth century.

Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne are marked out by their choice to use a specific term to denote a changeling in their description of the child substitution motif. William of Auvergne describes the changeling thus:

> Nec prætereundum est tibi de parvulos, quos vulgus cambiones nominant de quibus vulgarissimi sunt sermones aniles, videlicet, quod filii dæmonum incuborum sunt, a dæmonibus mulieribus suppositi, u tab eis tanquam proprii silii nutriantur propter quod & combiones dicuntur, idest, cambici, quasi commutati, & a mulieribus parentibus pro filiis propriis suppositi.
>
> Nor should you disregard [what is said] about the small children [*parvulos*] whom the ignorant people [*vulgus*] call *cambiones*, of whom the most ignorant old-wives' tales [*vulgarissimi sermones aniles*] report that they are the sons of *incubi demons* substituted by the demons with women so that they may be brought up by them as if they were their own sons, for which reason they are called *cambiones*, from *cambiti*, that is "having been exchanged", and substituted with human mothers in place of their own sons. [58]

Meanwhile, Jacque de Vitry states:

> Quidam enim similes puero quem Gallici chamium vocant qui multas nutrices laetendo exhaurit et tamen non proficit nee ad incrementum pervenit sed ventrum durum habet et inflatum. Corpus autem ejus non perducitur ad incrementum.
>
> In fact, they are similar to a child that the French call *chamium*, who exhausts the milk of several wet nurses, but to no avail, for it does not grow, and its stomach remains hard and distended. Its body is said not to grow.[59]

In context, it is clear that both men Latinise a vernacular term: William of Auvergne indicates this by saying that he is going to discuss infants 'quos vulgus cambiones nominant' (whom the masses/the people call *cambiones*), while Jacques de Vitry mentions 'puero quem Gallici chamium vocant' (a child which the French call *chamium*).[60] It is generally accepted that Jacques de Vitry is referring to the Old French word *chanjon* in his text; indeed the *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* cites his text as evidence of *chanjon*'s meaning in Old French, and it is

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[58] William of Auvergne, 'De Universo', in *Guillielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis ... Opera Omnia*, facsimile ed. of 1674, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1963), I, 593–1074 (pp. 1072–73); Richard Firth Green, 'Changing Chaucer', p. 114. I have made some slight alterations to Green's translation, substituting 'human mothers' for 'female parents'.

[59] Latin from Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Crane, Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, 26 (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1890), p. 129.

[60] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Jacques de Vitry, p. 129. The use of *vulgus* as opposed to *vulgi* is grammatically incorrect in the context of the sentence since *nominant* is third person plural, not singular.

plausible to assume that William of Auvergne is doing the same; however, their approach to conveying this concept/word to a Latinate audience differs.[61] William uses the rare verb *cambio, cambire* plus the suffix *-ion* to form *cambiones*, forming a calque on Old French *chanjon*. Jacques also uses a Latin nominal suffix, but, in contrast to William, he tries to preserve some of the vernacular character of the Old French word in his translation, creating the word *chamium*. The diagraph 'ch' is primarily used in Latin to transcribe the Greek letter 'chi'; as such its use here may indicate an attempt to signal to the reader that the word was transcribed in part from the vernacular and had meaning in a vernacular language. William of Auvergne's choice to use a calque when translating the word for a changeling seems to have been the more popular choice, if one can call it a choice. As I mentioned earlier, in most of the languages under study, the word for a substituted child is a transparent derivative from a verb for change or exchange, with the implication that, when borrowing the concept of child substitution, calques were used in order to ensure that the action of exchange was understood.

Further evidence that William of Auvergne himself came up with the Latin word *cambiones* as a translation for the vernacular word *chanjon* can be found by analysing the language he uses to introduce the word. After describing the substitution of the changeling, William states: 'cambiones dicuntur, idest, cambici, quasi commutati, & a mulieribus parentibus pro filiis propriis suppositi' ([they] are henceforth called *cambiones*, that is, *cambici*, as if swapped and substituted to mothers for their own children).[62] Based in the internationally-facing Parisian university context, William of Auvergne was writing for an international audience through their shared language of Latin and would therefore not expect his audience to have an intimate knowledge of the less-prestigious forms of French. Thus, in this sentence, William of Auvergne demonstrates an understanding that his audience would not be familiar with the word *cambiones* and that he would have to fully explain his usage of the word.[63] He does not simply use the

[61] Wartburg, p. 120.

[62] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73.

[63] This is not the only vernacular term that William translates into Latin for his readers; for one example see: Arpad Steiner, 'An Unnoticed Evidence of French Argot in the Early Thirteenth Century', *Modern Language Notes*, 58.2 (1943), 121–25.

word once; instead, after his initial use of the word, he repeats it again in a slightly different form. The rhetorical device of doubling up pertinent words continues in the next section of the sentence, *mulieribus* and *parentibus*, *suppositi* and *commutati*. The use of the word *cambiones* is not something to be simply glossed over with the assumption that he will be understood; instead William of Auvergne must explain the means by which he arrived at his Latin translation of a vernacular word. As mentioned above, Jacques de Vitry also refers to the word in question as one used in the vernacular to denote a substituted child and, if anything, the fact that he chooses a different translation implies that, unlike in the French vernacular, there was not a generally accepted Latin word for a changeling at this point in time.

As demonstrated above, there is evidence that both Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne were drawing on vernacular sources in their discussions of the child substitution motif.[64] Considering this, it is highly unlikely that their main sources were theologians who wrote in Latin and it seems much more probable that they were both transmitting the child substitution motif as it was understood in the vernacular at the time. It is difficult to be more specific. William of Auvergne does state that the motif was transmitted through 'vulgarissimi sunt sermones aniles' (the most ignorant old wives' tales), which could allow us to identify the motif with a particular group within the Old French vernacular community, that is old women.[65] Green notes that elite writers had a tendency to attribute a belief in phenomena such as the child substitution motif to a poor, female population.[66] However, even if we accept 'old wives' tale' at face value, rather than interpreting it as term through which William dismissed the accuracy of the information he recorded, this statement does not give us any indication of the social background of these old wives. It is equally possible that the stories were current in both elite and/or wider discourse. The term 'old wives' tale' being used to denote 'an unlikely story; a

[64] For more on the preaching context in which Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne were working, see: Jeannine Horowitz, 'Popular Preaching in the Thirteenth Century: Rhetoric in the Fight against Heresy', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 60.1 (2016), 62–76; *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig, A New History of the Sermon, 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole. La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998).

[65] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73.

[66] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 48–49.

widely held or traditional belief now thought to be incorrect or erroneous' can be found in *The Wycliffite Bible (later version)* which was composed c. 1395: 'Eschewe thou vncouenable fablis and elde wymmenus fablis'.[67] It may be that William of Auvergne means something similar in his use of *sermones aniles*.

(1.8) Crossing the Channel: Changeling-words in Old French, Anglo-Norman and Middle English

This section is devoted to the cluster of interconnected changeling-words that appear in Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Old French. These terms are some of the few changeling-words that do not appear to have been transmitted by calque and their origins are thus much easier to trace. I examine how this particular subset of changeling-words developed based on both their etymology and the attestations available to us. In particular, I investigate the extent to which it can be determined which sections of society transmitted the child substitution motif. I also address in more detail the, I believe mistaken, theory that this changeling-word had lost its primary denotation, as well as any connotations of changeling, prior to appearing in Middle English.

The first attestation of the Middle English *cangun* is found in *Hali Meiðhad*. Bella Millett states that 'all that can be safely said is that *Hali Meiðhad* was written between roughly 1190 and 1220, probably later rather than earlier in this period'.[68] While Alan Fletcher allows that *Hali Meiðhad* may have begun life as a set of working notes during this period, he also suggests that it was 'formally copied up […] shortly after 1224, the year in which the Franciscan order arrived in England' to allow the addition of a reference to their 'grei' habits.[69] Conversely, as mentioned above, the first attestation of the Old French form of the word, *chanjon*, is found in Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones Vulgares*, which was probably compiled between 1229 and 1240.[70] Therefore, although *Hali Meiðhad* provides us with evidence of *cangun*'s existence before the first direct

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[67] 'Old Wife, N.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/130998> [accessed 3 August 2018]; 'Old Woman, N.', *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.oed.com/view/Entry/130999> [accessed 3 August 2018].
[68] Millett, p. xvi.
[69] Fletcher, p. 73.
[70] Latin from Jacques de Vitry, p. 129. Wartburg, p. 120.

attestation in Old French, etymologists are generally agreed that the Middle English word is 'obviously of French origin'.[71] The one possible voice of dissent is the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, which states that the word *cangon*, as found in the late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman version of the *Ancrene Wisse* from MS BL Cotton Vitellius F.VII, is derived from Middle English.[72]

Although the exact genesis of the *Ancrene Wisse* remains an unresolved problem, the current theory that has received the most scholarly support is that the original text was composed in the first half of the thirteenth century, probably following the Fourth Lateran Council and possibly, if one accepts that the composer was a learned Dominican, after the Dominicans arrived in England. It was written for three daughters from a wealthy family who were based in the West Midlands, near the border with Wales. The text proved to be extremely popular and copies survive in Middle English, Latin and Anglo-Norman. It is generally accepted that the text was originally composed in Middle English, although within a bilingual society; thus the Latin and Anglo-Norman versions have been translated from the original Middle English.[73] Therefore, when the editors of the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* state that *cangon* is derived from Middle English, this may simply be a mistake based on the fact that the Anglo-Norman word only appears in a text translated from Middle English. In actual fact, the Middle English word is generally agreed to be derived from the Anglo-Norman word which in turn stems from the Old French. Thus, I will first discuss the denotations and connotations of the word for changeling in Old French, before moving on to look in more detail at the Middle English sources.

After Jacques de Vitry's reference to it, the word does not appear again in French until the fifteenth century, when it is used, according to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, as a 'terme d'injure' (term of insult) or to mean a 'personne instable' (unstable person).[74] The word clearly has a fairly strong negative connotation in these later attestations; in François Villon's *Bequests*

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[71] Diensberg, I, p. 457.
[72] 'Cangon'.
[73] Yoko Wada, 'What Is Ancrene Wisse?', in *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, ed. by Yoko Wada (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer (Boydell & Brewer), 2003), pp. 1–28.
[74] 'CHANGEON, Subst. Masc. (Changeon)'.

(1456), possibly written as the poet was preparing to flee Paris after a robbery, Villon states that a man that he would like to have whipped and shackled is a 'malostru changon'.[75] David Georgi translates this as 'malicious changeling', indicating that he feels that 'changon' denotes or at least has a strong connotation of a changeling, even if it is meant as an insult.[76] Green suggests that, since the verse is targeted at a known alias of the poet and that Villon, who was possibly illegitimate, mentioned that he was 'suis de fee' (the son of a fairy) in another verse, the poet could be referring to himself in this line.[77] Green thus backs the reading of 'changon' as denoting changeling. In this reading the insult would fall somewhere between Significations C and F and I think that Villon's choice to use 'malostru' in conjunction with 'changon' may support this. 'Malostru' invokes a sense of misery from infanthood; the *DMF* describes it as meaning 'Littér. né sous une mauvaise étoile; malheureux, infortuné, misérable' (Literary Usage: born under a bad star; wretched, unfortunate, miserable).[78] Based on this and considering the stress, poverty and multiple incarcerations that Villon suffered during his life, a translation such as 'cursed changeling' could be justified, placing this use of *changon* in Stage F. Although more tenuous, considering the use of other changeling-words as insults relating to perceived disability, setting 'malostru' (born cursed) in conjunction with 'changon' does allow for the possibility that some form of congenital disability is implied in Villon's use of 'changon', thus shifting the word from Significations F to C. However, since there is an equal possibility that Villon intended or his audience would have received the word as a more generic insult, that would make it Significations S or X. This use of 'changon' is proof more of the word's potential multiplicity of meanings than of a clear denotation at this time.

The word 'changon' is also recorded as being used as an insult in a letter of remission from 1427.[79] This source vividly demonstrates just how severe an insult 'changon' was

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[75] François Villon, *Poems*, trans. by David Georgi (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012), l. 141.
[76] Villon, p. 141.
[77] Villon, l. 1897.
[78] 'Malostru, Adj. et Subst. Masc.', *DMF: Dictionnaire Du Moyen Français* (ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine, 2012).
[79] 'CXVIII. 1427. 25 février. Paris.', in *Paris pendant la domination anglaise (1420–1436): documents extraits des registres de la Chancellerie de France*, ed. by Auguste Longnon (Paris: C.H. Champion, 1878), pp. 245–47.

considered to be in Paris in the early fifteenth-century. As the letter of remission describes, after being called a 'changon' by his friend Guillaume Tirant during an argument over the payment of a wager, Jean Rossignol took his revenge by breaking into his neighbour's house and stealing a number of items which he then sold. The exact connotations of this insult are difficult to determine, but it is significant that Jean chooses to highlight 'changon' in his letter. Out of all the 'autres dures parolles' (other harsh words) thrown at him, this is the insult that he feels will most excuse his subsequent action when read and thus, give his petition the best chance of success. Therefore, as a term of abuse 'changon' was both well understood and severe. Based on these assumptions, as well as the relatively few occurrences of the word in our surviving textual sources, Green argues that 'changon', much like 'bastard' was a taboo word in late medieval, patrilineal French society, where 'doubts as to paternity […] offered a serious threat to one's social standing'.[80] It is even possible, that, in light of the discussion above regarding the ambiguities inherent in Villon's usage of the same word, some implication of congenital disability could have been associated with the word. This allusion might have been just as damaging, but beside the general trends we have seen in changeling-words, there is little evidence to support this analysis. Whatever the connotation, Jean clearly understood the word as a term of abuse thus placing the word's usage somewhere between Significations N and X. Both of these sources will be considered in greater detail later in this thesis; suffice to say for the moment that, while the word 'changon' did not always explicitly denote changeling in fifteenth-century French sources, this denotation was likely still current in France at that time.

I have already established that, despite the lack of acknowledgement for this usage in the *Middle English Dictionary*, *cangoun/conjoun* was used in Middle English to denote changeling. Historiographically, this has been disputed. Ronald Hutton does not see the evidence for *cangoun/conjoun* being used to denote changeling in Middle English texts and therefore argues

[80] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 119. I discuss the way in which accusations of child substitution could articulate socio-political anxieties in
(5.4) Socio-political Anxieties: Substitutions with human agents.

that the belief in child substitution 'was imported to England [from France] around 1500'.[81] William of Canterbury's reference to a belief in child substitution among the 'vulgi', in a miracle account dated 1172, would suggest that this is not the case.[82] Based on this source, we can infer that there was a discourse of child substitution in England from at least the twelfth century onward. As mentioned earlier, Diensburg posits that the Old French word went through a major semantic development prior to its transition into Middle English, such that the Middle English form was not used to mean 'changeling' at all. Instead, in Diensburg's hypothesis, the Old French use as a term of abuse was the seed for the development in Anglo-Norman of the denotation 'fool, rascal'.[83] Diensburg states that this denotation was 'not found in the French source language'; however, the uses of the word by Villon and in the letter of remission do not necessarily support this.[84] As I argued above, while the changeling connection was likely still understood, the word was also used in contexts where the denotation 'fool, rascal' would also make sense. Diensburg's later assertion, in support of the Middle English term not being used to denote changelings, that Middle English '*cangoun/conjoun* never refers to children but to adults', is also incorrect.[85] As Green points out, 'there are enough places where [conjoun] is used of children, particularly in contexts where there might be a question about their parentage, to suggest that its original sense still clung to it'.[86] In particular, Green points to Herod's description of the infant Christ as 'that elfe and vile [congion]' in *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, as well as the word's use to describe the young Merlin in *Of Arthour and Merlin*.[87] This evidence, in conjunction with the previous discussion of *Ancrene Wisse*, in which a *cangun* is characterised in such a way as to mirror Jacque de Vitry's description of a changeling, should prove definitively

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[81] Ronald Hutton, 'The Making of the Early Modern British Fairy Tradition', *The Historical Journal*, 57.04 (2014), 1135–1156 (n. 48).
[82] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?'; Robertson, I, p. 204.
[83] Diensberg, I, p. 459.
[84] Diensberg, I, p. 459.
[85] Diensberg, I, p. 459.
[86] Richard Firth Green, 'Changing Chaucer', p. 43.
[87] Lumiansky & Mills, who edited *The Cester Mystery Cycle* use square brackets to indicate where they have used a manuscript source other than Huntington 2. Richard Firth Green, 'Changing Chaucer', p. 43; *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. by R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, EETS SS, 3, 9, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1974), l. 1.158; Macrae-Gibson, I, l. 1071.

that, not only was there a discourse about child substitution in post-twelfth-century England, *cangoun/conjoun* was used to denote changeling as part of this discourse.

With that established, we can move on to a discussion as to what the implication of this etymological background means for our understanding of which sections of society transmitted the child substitution motif. As Hall has outlined, our extant Old English corpus does not provide any evidence for a discourse about the child substitution motif or an understanding of changeling. There is, for example, no known changeling-word in Old English.[88] It is only in the Middle English word for a changeling, which is borrowed from Anglo-Norman, that linguistic evidence for the presence of the child substitution motif in England during the Middle Ages can be found. This raises the possibility that the child substitution motif and the related changeling-word were established in England due to French influence. Of course, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and *cangoun/conjoun* could have either filled a lexical gap in Old English or replaced an Old English word that is no longer attested in our surviving sources. Regardless, by the early thirteenth century it appears to be the Anglo-Norman derived *cangoun/conjoun* that is in usage. Thus it is worth considering what this implies about the sections of society in which child substitution discourse took place. On a basic level, post-Conquest, Anglo-Norman was the spoken language of the higher echelons of society. That the attested Middle English term for changeling was an Anglo-Norman/French loan-word indicates that a discourse about child substitution and changelings took place between those of relatively high-status, and that their terminology spread and came to dominate the wider English discourse.

An examination of the etymology of the Middle English changeling-word is particularly valuable because, as I have already touched on, writers such as William of Auvergne, Jacques de Vitry and William of Canterbury tend to attribute the discourse around and particularly the belief in child substitution to those of a lower social status; however, the etymological evidence indicates that the picture was more complex than this. Certainly, the previously discussed example from the *Ancrene Wisse* proves that some clerical writers were happy to reference the child substitution motif in order to support their broader thesis. Furthermore, the relative

[88] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 117–18.

frequency with which *cangoun/conjoun* was used in Middle English texts indicates that, while the motif was not necessarily believed by everyone, the discourse surrounding the child substitution motif was active in England at many levels of society throughout the later Middle Ages. While Goodey and Stainton may be correct that Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne influenced some aspects of this discourse, the motif appears to have been established in England prior to their writings.

(1.9) Notker's Psalms: A German origin for changeling-words?

Moving away from the group of changeling-words in France and England, at this point I return to Notker's commentary on the Psalms and his use of the word *wíhselinga*. As noted previously, Goodey and Stainton are dismissive of the previous scholarship that identified this text as the oldest extent reference to changelings and the child substitution motif.[89] The following text is the relevant passage; punctuation has been normalised and where words appeared as superscript above another word they are shown in parenthesis after that word. For ease of distinction, the Latin from the Psalm itself has been italicised and the Latin used in the commentary has been underlined. Psalm 17 details David's celebration of God and the favour that God has shown to him by putting him in possession of the kingdom. I have included the Douay-Rheims translation of the immediate context. The psalm refers to gentiles (i.e. non-Jews); however, in his commentary, Notker reads it allegorically as being about Jews (who do not have the New Testament, and are to Christians as Gentiles are to Jews).

> 17:41 And thou hast made my enemies turn their back on me, and hast destroyed them that hated me.
> 17:42 They cried, but there was none to save them, to the Lord: but he heard them not.
> 17:43 And I shall beat them as small as the dust before the wind; I shall bring them to nought, like the dirt in the streets.
> 17:44 Thou wilt deliver me from the contradictions of the people: thou wilt make me head of the Gentiles.
> 17:45 A people, which I knew not, hath served me: at the hearing of the ear they have obeyed me.
> 17:46 The children that are strangers have lied to me, strange children have faded away, and have halted from their paths.
> 17:47 The Lord liveth, and blessed be my God, and let the God of my salvation be exalted:

[89] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

> 17:48 O God, who avengest me, and subduest the people under me, my deliverer from my enemies.
>
> Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi. Frémediû chint, wíhselinga judei, irlúgen mir diâ triûua. Filii alieni inveterati sunt. Frémediû chint sint irfírnet, diê ih mit nova gratia (níuuuen genâdon) niûuon uuólta. Siê chlébent in uteri testamento novi (in déro altun êo dero niûuun) neruôchent sie. Et claudicaverunt. Unde sô hinchent siê uuenda siê in êinemo fuôze gânt veteris testamenti. A semitis suis. Daz ist ín geschêhen fóne íro wêgen, fóne íro ad inventionibus (urdâhtin), so diê sint de non manibus lotis de calcibus (fóne hánttuâlon fone fáswéscon). [90]
>
> *The children that are strangers have lied to me.* Strange/foreign children, Jewish changelings, gained my trust/loyalty by lying/deceit. *Strange children have faded away.*[91] Strange/foreign children have become infirm, who I wanted to renew with new grace (new grace). They remain in the testament of the new womb in the Old Testament (lit. "the old law") and do not direct their thoughts to the new *And have halted.* And so they limp as if they are walking on one foot of the old testament. *From their paths.* That has happened to them because of their ways?, because of their invention (invention) [92], as they are from their hands and feet not having been washed (from the washing of their hands, from the washing of vessels)

Since the passage refers to the Jewish people as a whole, rather than discussing actual children, Goodey and Stainton argue that those that have suggested that this text represents the first known reference to the child substitution motif are simply 'projecting their knowledge of the child substitution myth on to Notker's text' as Notker 'certainly did not mention exchange or substitution'. [93] Instead they assert, as 'the German *Wechsel* can have overtones of a change for the worse, of degeneracy', that Notker's use of the phrase 'wíhselinga judei' would be better translated as 'the degenerate Jews', although this would make *wíhselinga* into an adjective (or specifically a past participle), as opposed to a noun. [94] The word 'wíhselinga' was altered to 'wehselkint' in a manuscript created between 1210 and 1225.[95] Goodey and Stainton argue that 'since Notker was a fountainhead of German vernacular theology […] this was the source for

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[90] The earliest complete manuscript of Notker's text is from the twelfth-century and has been digitised: 'Cod. Sang. 21: Translatio Barbarica Psalterii Notkeri Tertii (Old High German Psalter by Notker the German)', p. 55. The text has also been published with the formatting preserved: Labeo Notker, *Die Schriften Notkers Und Seiner Schule*, ed. by Paul Piper, Germanischer Bücherschatz, 8–10, 3 vols (Freiburg I.B., Leipzig: Mohr, 1895), II, pp. 55–6.

[91] This is how the Douay Rheims interprets it, but Notker understands *inveterare* here as 'make old': 'strange children have grown old'.

[92] Can have negative connotations

[93] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

[94] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

[95] St. Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 905/0; Notker, II, p. vi; Karin Schneider, *Gotische Schriften in Deutscher Sprache*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1987), I, pp. 105–7.

ensuing uses of the latter word, which came to be used for the substitute child'.[96] If this were the case it would indicate that, unlike our other 'verb for change plus suffix' words, the word 'wíhselinga' was used to denote something else prior to being used to denote a changeling.

While I agree that 'wíhselinga' is used to refer to the Jews, Goodey and Stainton are too quick to dismiss the significance of this passage to the debate around the child substitution motif. For one thing, I think that it is unlikely that Notker was responsible for coining the word *wíhselinga*.[97] If the purpose of his text was to make the meaning behind this Psalm clear for a vernacular audience, it would make more sense for him to use a word that they would immediately understand; that is, a term that was already in general use.[98] Particularly since 'wíhselinga judei' is used to expand on his translation of 'filii alieni' as 'frémediû chint', it seems counterproductive to clarify through inventing a whole new word, even if it is based on an existing word. Furthermore, although Goodey and Stainton are correct that there is no reference in the text to substitution, because of their rejection of the New Testament, the Jews are characterised as infirm children limping because they are missing a foot, as opposed to the Christians, who, if they were mentioned explicitly, would presumably be characterised as God's true, healthy children. Theologically speaking there is an element of substitution going on here: the substitution of one chosen people for another. Notker's usage of *wíhselinga* seems to refer to an understanding of a changeling as a child that failed to thrive or was in some way disabled, in other words Signification B or C, depending on the level of vitriol the reader feels Notker directs at the Jews in his commentary. I suggest that Notker is making a comparison to the child substitution belief because his audience would be aware of it and respond to these thematic resonances.

Although the etymology of the Old Norse changeling-words is discussed more fully in the next sections, it is worth noting at this point that *wechseling* is cognate with *víxlingr*. This may be due to them having a common Germanic ancestor, or by common innovation using the

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[96] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.
[97] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.
[98] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226.

same roots and suffixes, or by borrowing. Considered with the likelihood that *víxlingr* may be a loan word from Low German and that *Þiðrekssaga af Bern*, where the most unambiguous evidence of the child substitution discourse in Old Norse is found, was largely translated from lost Low German poetry, it seems probable that there was a discourse around child substitution in the German speaking area prior to the thirteenth century. It seems, therefore, that Notker's use of the word 'wechselinga', while not a reference to child substitution itself, was made in order to clarify his commentary to an audience that was familiar with the child substitution motif and its subsequent connotations. Furthermore, this also provides us with our oldest evidence for the presence of the child substitution motif, in Germany at the turn of the first millennium.

(1.10) *Skiptingr* and *víxlingr*: Changeling-words in the Scandinavian periphery

In this section, I focus on tracing the origin of the Old Norse changeling-words: *skiptingr* and *víxlingr*.[99] *Skiptingr* is the most frequently used term; it, and the related words *tví-skiptingr* and *um-skipting,* are cited twenty-nine times by *A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* between c. 1230 and c. 1550. In the case of the word *víxlingr*, the exchange component, *víxl*, is a cognate with Old Frisian *wixle* and Old Saxon/Old High German *wehsal*.[100] Herrn Pfeifer suggests that both the Old Norse and the West Germanic forms are from the Indo-European root **u̯eig-* 'change, exchange; turn, spiral', formed with the Indo-European suffix *-slo-* (which is not to say, however, that the word was actually coined in Indo-European).[101] Whether *víxlingr* is a loan from Low German or independently inherited from Common Germanic is unclear, although its relative rarity may lead one to suspect that it is a loan into Norse. *Víxlingr* is cited twice between c. 1230 and c. 1325. The exchange component of *skiptingr* is the more usual Old Norse word for 'exchange', *skipta*, formed from the Common Germanic **skiftjana*. Here, the calque construction

[99] Geir T. Zoëga, *A concise dictionary of Old Icelandic* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 1910); Richard Cleasby, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957); Johan Fritzner, Carl Rikard Unger, and Sophus Bugge, *Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog*, 2nd edn (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972).
[100] Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), p. 671.
[101] 'Wechsel', *Digitales Wörterbuch Der Deutschen Sprache* (Berlin: Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) <http://www.dwds.de/?kompakt=1&sh=1&qu=Wechselbalg> [accessed 12 May 2015].

fits with trends found in other Low German loan words into Old Norse. *Skiptingr* and *víxlingr* are found mainly in *riddarasögur* — literally sagas of knights, but more often referred to in English as romance or chivalric sagas — and very infrequently in *Íslendingasögur*, sagas of Icelanders, and *fornaldarsögur*, legendary sagas. While *íslendingasögur* and *fornaldarsögur* are thought 'to preserve some narrative traditions from the Viking period', *riddarasögur* could be described as an imported genre.[102] The genre began when, as part of a concerted campaign 'to change the status of Norway among the nations of Europe', King Hákon IV (1217–63), made an 'effort to import foreign culture to Norway'.[103] Throughout his reign, King Hákon commissioned many translations of romances into Old Norse.[104] The vast majority of these were French chivalric narratives; however, Hall argues with regards to *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* that it is a:

> massive compilation of heroic narratives apparently largely translated from lost Low German poetry, [which] probably attests to an enthusiasm in the court of Hákon IV [...] not only for France but also for the German-speaking world as a model for Norway's Europeanisation.[105]

Notably, *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* is one of the earliest sagas to contain the words *skiptingr* and *víxlingr*; this gives strong support to the possibility that the child substitution motif travelled to the Nordic countries, if not from, then via Germany. As with England, the motif may, of course, have simply displaced or indeed renamed a concept that was already present in Nordic culture. Prior to, and for at least some time after, the conversion, the exposure of children was legal in Iceland.[106] Some previous scholars have linked this practice to the medieval child substitution

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[102] Lars Lönnroth, 'The Icelandic Sagas', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink and Neil Price (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 304–10 (p. 304).
[103] *The Saga of Thidrek of Bern*, trans. by Edward R. Haymes, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, B (New York: Garland, 1988), LVI, pp. xx–xxi.
[104] Marianne E. Kalinke, 'Scribe, Redactor, Author: The Emergence and Evolution of Icelandic Romance', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*, 8.1 (2012), 171–198 (p. 127).
[105] 'Jón the Fleming: Low German in Thirteenth-Century Norway and Fourteenth-Century Iceland', *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 18 (2013), 1–33 (p. 4).
[106] Ari Þorgilsson, 'Íslendingabók', in *Íslendingabók =: The Book of the Icelanders. Kristni Saga= The Story of the Conversion*, trans. by Siân Grønlie, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, v. 18 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2006), p. 9; 'Kristni Saga', in *Íslendingabók =: The Book of the Icelanders. Kristni Saga= The Story of the Conversion*, trans. by Siân Grønlie, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, v. 18 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2006), p. 50.

motif, particularly as evidenced in Stephen of Bourbon's *exemplum*.[107] While there is evidence that practices of abandonment were linked to the child substitution motif in medieval discourse, particularly in the case of the saints who are abandoned by demons after having been replaced by a demon changeling, the majority of these sources are found in a Southern European context.[108] Belief in changelings could result in ritual practices that involved the temporary abandonment of children in dangerous locations; however, the pre-Christian Norse practice of exposure appears from the references that we have to have been intended to result in the death of the child. Thus, it is possible that, far from being a relic of pre-Christian Nordic beliefs, the child-substitution motif only arrived in the Nordic countries at the beginning of the thirteenth century along with closer ties to the rest of Europe.

That the Old Norse words for changeling appear in sagas translated from Low German poetry and have Low German roots does not necessarily contradict Goodey and Stainton's contention that 'the textual origins of the [child substitution motif] […] lay not […] on the periphery of the North German *Volk* but in Europe's intellectual centers'.[109] *Jómsvíkinga saga* and *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* are translated or composed at a time approximately concurrent with the intellectual debate referencing changelings taking place in Paris.[110] As previously discussed, while mid-thirteenth-century Norway was not exactly at the intellectual centre of Europe, King Hákon IV was certainly attempting to change that. As Hall has argued, the influence of the rest of Europe, particularly Low German, on the Nordic countries was not just through 'trade with the Hanseatic League and its precursors'; there were other, more elite vectors, such as 'aristocratic and courtly connections' and, most importantly, 'the Church, medieval Europe's pre-eminent transnational organisation'.[111] Theological debates coming out of Paris and transmitted through Germany could well have informed the Old Norse understanding of the

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[107] John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 285.
[108] This is discussed further in (4.3) Exposure/Abandonment in Child Substitution Sources.
[109] Goodey and Stainton, p. 226..
[110] *The Saga of the Jomsvikings*, trans. by Norman Francis Blake, Icelandic Texts (London: T. Nelson, 1962), p. xvi; Haymes, LVI, p. xix.
[111] Hall, 'Jón the Fleming', p. 4.

child substitution motif as presented in their sagas. However, the characteristics associated with changelings in the sagas are so unlike the descriptions of changelings in the texts written by the Paris theologians, that it is difficult to posit a direct connection. Indeed, this divergence in the discourse surrounding the child substitution motif in the early thirteenth-century not only suggests that discussion, awareness and use of the child substitution motif was in no way confined to Paris during this period, it also implies that this had been the case for a while.

(1.11) Conclusions

An etymological analysis of the words used to denote changelings in Europe during the High Middle Ages has brought to light a number of things that are suggestive of the way in which the discourse on child substitution spread through Europe. The Middle English word for changeling was borrowed from Old French through Anglo-Norman and Old Norse changeling-words may have been similarly acquired from Low German. While it is possible that there were indigenous beliefs relating to child substitution in these countries before the words were borrowed from abroad, the lack of evidence raises the possibility that the child substitution motif itself was also introduced into these new territories at the same time as the word. Based on the reference to the motif in Notker's Psalms, it is conceivable that, since the concept of the changeling was generally understood in Germany at the turn of the millennium, more than a hundred years before any other references to the motif appear, the regions of Europe where German was spoken could have been the origin point of the child substitution motif. Due to the lack of evidence this is impossible to state with certainty. However, it is clear that prior to the early thirteenth century there was a lexical gap in Latin when it came to a word to denote changelings. This could indicate that, on the whole, prior to this period discourse about child substitution took place in the vernacular; however, if there is anything that this initial foray into child substitution has proved, it is that use of the child substitution motif was not restricted to a particular demographic. I would not like to suggest that the origin point of the motif lay with any particular element of society. Finally, the semantic development of changeling-words and their use to denote disability or as terms of abuse focused on perceived mental impairment may reflect something of the medieval conceptualisation of the nature or attributes of a changeling.

This potential association between the changeling and the unhealthy, impaired or non-normatively developed is explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: The child substitution motif and its connection to medieval ideas about health

(2.1) Introduction

> 'Frémediû chint, wíhselinga judei […] Frémediû chint sint irfírnet […] Unde sô hinchent siê uuenda siê in êinemo fuôze gânt veteris testamenti.
>
> (Strange/foreign children, Jewish changelings […] Strange/foreign children have become infirm […] And so they limp as if they are walking on one foot of the old testament.)[1]

The child substitution motif has been used to discuss ideas about health, sickness and impairment since our earliest extant sources, as evidenced by the above extracts from Notker's commentary on what we now refer to as Psalm 18.[2] Notker is, of course, thinking allegorically when he characterises the 'wíhselinga judei' (Jewish changelings) as 'irfírnet' (old/weak) and describes them as physically impaired; the images of physical infirmity he conjures up serve to illustrate the spiritual ill-health of the Jews, due to their refusal to accept the New Testament. However, Notker's commentary also relies on an assumed understanding of the nature of changelings and their characteristics. Thus, we can draw on his text as evidence for an early understanding of changelings as unhealthy or impaired children.[3] Notker uses the child substitution motif to discuss ideas about spiritual, rather than physical or mental, health and this is a theme that runs through many of the medieval sources on child substitution. Although the concept of changelings is often assumed to have a pre-Christian origin, our corpus suggests that the child substitution motif, when it appeared, was well-integrated into medieval Christian culture.[4] Even marginal rites, such as those at St Guinefort's shrine, actually drew extensively on mainstream Christian practices, such as baptism.[5] There is also a small but significant corpus of

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[1] The earliest complete manuscript of Notker's text is from the twelfth-century: 'Cod. Sang. 21: Translatio Barbarica Psalterii Notkeri Tertii', p. 55. The text has also been published with the formatting preserved: Notker, II, pp. 55–6.

[2] For discussion of the context and content of this source, as well as its position as the oldest source of the child substitution motif in medieval Western Europe, see (1.9) Notker's Psalms: A German origin for changeling-words?.

[3] We might even suggest that the link between 'wíhselinga' and 'frémediû chint' (strange/foreign children) hints towards the notion of changelings as alien interlopers, intruding into the family space from another (fairy?) land.

[4] For previous scholarship linking changelings to pre-Christian beliefs, see: Haffter, p. 55.

[5] Schmitt, pp. 81–82. I discuss this further in (3.3.d) Baptism as possible prevention or cure.

hagiographic texts and images in which the child substitution motif is attached to the early life of the saints Stephen, Bartholomew, and Lawrence. In these legends, the saint is abducted by demons and a demonic changeling put in his place. Jenni Kuuliala argues that these hagiographies, and the descriptions of changelings by William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry were used by theologians in order to discuss the impact of sin upon the human soul.[6] In particular, she notes that the trope of demons exhausting the milk of wet-nurses was originally a literary metaphor that then became a characteristic of the changeling.[7] In foregrounding the way in which spiritual concerns were discussed through the child substitution motif, Kuuliala provides a welcome addition to child substitution scholarship. However, while the flexibility of the child substitution motif is fundamental to this thesis, this chapter focuses primarily on investigating the connection between the child substitution motif and physical and mental health during the medieval period. After all, even when medieval writers were concerned about spiritual health, the effectiveness of this tactic appears to have relied on an underlying understanding of the connection between changelings and physical and mental ill-health.[8] Thus, I argue that by studying medieval child substitution sources it is possible to increase our own understanding of the way in which concepts of health were connected with changelings in the medieval imaginative landscape, as well as what this implied for the medieval perception of those who were extremely, particularly chronically or visibly, sick.

In order to establish a framework for my approach to the child substitution corpus, I first present a historiographical summary of the connection between the figure of the changeling and health. The assumption has often been made that the child substitution motif was primarily employed, in opposition to learned or scholastic medical understandings, as an

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[6] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 84–85.

[7] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 90.

[8] Scholars arguing for the symbiotic connection between religion and medicine include: Joseph Ziegler, *Medicine and Religion, c. 1300: The Case of Arnau de Vilanova* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology, 3 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001); John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2006); Angela Montford, *Health, Sickness, Medicine and the Friars in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, The History of Medicine in Context (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Peregrine Horden, *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS881 (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008).

explanation for a child's ill-health or a failure to thrive. This construction has been recently challenged by scholars such as Kuuliala, and Goodey and Stainton.[9] Then, in the next section, I outline the ways in which modern models of health and disability have been usefully applied to the medieval period and discuss the way in which my own work both builds on and diverges from the recent scholarship in the field of medieval disability and the social history of medicine. I devote the bulk of this chapter to determining if medieval sources do display a connection between the child substitution motif and physical/mental health, and if so, how does this connection manifest? In order to do this, I take a comparative approach, drawing on medieval depictions or descriptions of normative or non-normative physical and mental health and development. For my final section, I examine three texts in which medieval people with backgrounds in learned medical theory explain the conditions of suspected changelings through medieval scholastic medical theory. As I have already established in the previous chapter, this study incorporates an examination of changelings (those beings that are depicted as being substituted for a human infant), and supposed changelings (children that are thought to be changelings by some of those around them). As a whole, this chapter establishes the extent to which the medieval child substitution corpus engaged with notions of health and ill-health, and what forms this took.

(2.2) Historiography

Notker's commentary indicates that changelings have long been associated with ill-health, or impairment. As I demonstrate in this chapter, a belief in changelings has been presented as an alternative explanation for a lack of health, as defined by scholastic medicine, as far back as the twelfth century. William of Canterbury's exasperated rejection of the notion of child substitution in favour of diagnosing young Augustine with a condition that is the result of 'causis quas physicus assignat' (causes which a physician specifies) is our first example, but it is not our last.[10] I discuss Augustine and William of Canterbury in greater detail later in this chapter, but mention William's diagnosis of the boy now to demonstrate that to identify

[9] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?'; Goodey and Stainton.
[10] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204.

changelings as victims of disease (as later historians and folklorists have done) is not a new phenomenon in the history of the child substitution motif.[11] In this section of the chapter I trace the development of ideas about the diagnosis of changelings from the nineteenth to twenty-first century. In particular, I examine the extent to which scholars feel that changelings, in general or individual cases, can or should be given a specific diagnosis based on learned medical theory. Although many of the scholars mentioned here also discuss the impact that a belief in changelings has on the treatment of sick, impaired or non-normatively developing children, I explore their attitudes towards that question in greater depth in the next chapter.

As Carole G. Silver notes, the vast majority of British Victorian folklorists were concerned, not only with the mythic origins of the child substitution motif, but also with the 'reality of "changelingism" as the product of disease or heredity, as the result of abnormal physical or mental development'.[12] For the Victorians, changelings were a contemporary phenomenon: accounts of children and adults believed to be changelings appeared not only in collections of folklore but also in the press.[13] When Robert Hunt stated that children believed to be changelings were actually suffering from a disease of the intestinal membrane, he did so based on his personal examination of several alleged changelings.[14] The ability to examine supposed changelings does not mean that all scholars who proposed a diagnosis had made such an examination, nor does it mean that there was a consensus; rather each commentator appears to have had their own theory.[15] Some, such as William Wilde and Walter Scott, thought changelings to be suffering from various forms of consumption or other wasting diseases.[16]

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[11] See (2.5) The association of changelings with non-normative mental development.

[12] Carole G. Silver, *Strange and Secret Peoples: Fairies and Victorian Consciousness* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 74–75.

[13] Silver, pp. 62–66.

[14] *Popular Romances of the West of England; or, The Drolls, Traditions, and Superstitions of Old Cornwall*, ed. by Robert Hunt, 3rd edn (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908), p. 85.

[15] Silver, p. 77.

[16] William Wilde, *Census of Ireland for the Year 1851: Part V: Tables of Deaths, Containing the Report, Tables of Pestilences, and Analysis of the Tables of Deaths* (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons for HMSO, 1856), I, p. 455; Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border; Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads*, 2 vols (Kelso; London: J. Ballantyne, for T. Cadell, jun. and W. Davies, 1802), II, p. 218.

Others thought it was rickets or 'atrophy'.[17] Intellectual disability was also suggested as a root cause, with C. F. Gordon-Cumming identifying Scottish changelings as 'idiots'.[18] Whatever the condition of the supposed changeling, it was, in a latter-day echo of William of Canterbury, claimed to be known to medical science. Much of this discussion was rooted in an 'enlightened' mind-set, where the misidentification of unhealthy children with conditions defined within scholastic medicine as changelings by their parents or communities was held up by the 'sceptical, educated, middle-class' as an example of the credulity and superstition of those communities, who were often some combination of rural, working class and Roman Catholic. By diagnosing changelings, scholars merely confirmed their own superiority over the backward, primitive people who believed in the reality of child substitution.[19]

One of the most famous Victorian changeling cases, which was covered extensively by the press at the time, was the death of Bridget Cleary in 1895 at the hands of her husband, and in the presence of her family, because he believed her to be a fairy changeling. Bridget had been ill before her death, diagnosed by her doctor as suffering from nothing more serious than 'nervous excitement and slight bronchitis'; however, the doctor, who was reputed to be a drunk, had been tardy in attending to Bridget and, in light of this, Bridget's husband and family had little faith in his opinion or proposed treatment.[20] In a petition written in prison, Bridget's husband insisted that the local priest was also of the opinion that the doctor was not to be trusted and had told him not to give Bridget the medicine prescribed by the doctor. Angela Bourke notes that, while the priest's own testimony at the trial contradicts this statement, this may have been due to 'middle class solidarity' and a desire to protect the doctor's reputation.[21] Bridget's case occurred at a time when the question of Irish Home Rule was being vigorously debated and English and Unionist commenters made much of how the defendants' actions

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[17] Carl Von Sydow was a proponent of the rickets diagnosis and is cited as an authority on the subject by W. B. Yeats: Peter Alderson Smith, *W.B. Yeats and the Tribes of Danu: Three Views of Ireland's Fairies*, Irish Literary Studies, 27 (Gerards Cross: Smythe, 1987), p. 142.
[18] Constance Frederica Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1883), p. 175.
[19] Silver, p. 67.
[20] Angela Bourke, *The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story* (London: Random House, 2010), pp. 65, 116.
[21] Bourke, p. 89.

proved the ignorance and savagery of the Irish Catholic race.[22] When commenting on Bridget's death and the subsequent court case, writers often drew comparisons between the 'savagery' of the Irish Catholics and that of African tribes.[23] Bridget Cleary's case is thus a clear example of the aforementioned attitude of social superiority to those considered ignorant, although, as Bourke makes clear in her investigation, while Bridget's bout of ill health was the trigger for the accusation of being a changeling, social rather than medical issues lay at the heart of the subsequent abuse she suffered.[24]

Moving into the twentieth century, while the understanding of changelings as congenitally impaired or sick children solidified, the desire to identify the precise cause initially appears to diminish. Lewis Spence notes that each 'individual case [of a supposed changeling] was made to fit the superstition'; since any 'cretinous or diseased child' might be taken for a changeling, there is 'no standardized data respecting the precise appearance of a changeling'.[25] Similarly, Katherine Briggs in her *An Encycolopedia of Fairies*, states that 'infantile paralysis or any other unfamiliar disease […] would be accounted for by supposing that the child had been changed'.[26] Jean-Claude Schmitt is also wary of identifying any particular malady; however, since Stephen of Bourbon is similarly vague in the source text, that is not surprising.[27] Some scholars are more specific: Carl Haffter focuses on intellectual, rather than physical, disability, suggesting that 'cases with hydrocephalus and cretinism' were particularly likely to be understood as changelings.[28] The move away from specific diagnosis to an acceptance that almost any form of illness, impairment or non-normative development might lead to the suspicion of substitution may reflect a reconciliation of the diverse diagnoses in the nineteenth-century literature, or it

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[22] Bourke, p. 125.
[23] Bourke, p. 118.
[24] Bourke, pp. 135–36.
[25] Lewis Spence, *The Fairy Tradition in Britain* (London: Rider, 1948), p. 233. Spence often takes a demythologising approach to the traditions he studies. For instance, he understands beliefs to elves to reflect memories of earlier races in the British Isles. Spence, pp. 53–64, 115–31.
[26] Katharine M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of Fairies: Hobgoblins, Brownies, Bogies, and Other Supernatural Creatures* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 71.
[27] Schmitt, pp. 70–71.
[28] Haffter, p. 56.

could also correspond to the drop off in reports of existing changelings as the twentieth century progressed.

In some ways, Susan Schoon Eberly, in her 1988 article 'Fairies and the Folklore of Disability: Changelings, Hybrids and the Solitary Fairy', conforms to this trend. She argues, not that all changelings were symptomatic of a particular disease, but that the correlation between commonly cited changeling characteristics and the shared symptoms of a substantial proportion of congenital conditions is significant enough to indicate that 'congenital disorders lie at the root of many of the changeling tales which have come down to us'. The idea that changelings might be identified in a wide range of situations but that there were some meaningful trends is a potentially useful approach.[29] However, Eberly further argues that, in some cases, it is possible to identify the exact congenital condition of the changelings from the description given in the folkloric account. As noted previously, when nineteenth-century scholars diagnosed changelings, the changelings were contemporary to the scholars, some scholars examined the changelings personally and they were diagnosed based on the medical understanding current to that time. Eberly, on the other hand, uses 1980s medical theory to diagnose changelings from accounts recorded in the previous century.[30]

It is worth pausing here to interrogate this practice of retrospective diagnosis in more depth. Scientific advancements in the fields of palaeopathology and archaeology mean that those working directly with material culture and physical remains can produce intriguing and reliable insights into the occurrence of disease in historical populations. With that said, while this can provide a useful etic perspective, texts and images produced by a historical society give us an emic perspective and their use in the process of retrospective diagnosis has been heavily criticised.[31] Piers Mitchell has outlined a set of criteria that a text must meet before it can be

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[29] Eberly, p. 68.

[30] Eberly, pp. 63–68.

[31] Andrew Cunningham, 'Identifying Disease in the Past: Cutting the Gordian Knot', *Asclepio*, 54.1 (2002), 13–34; Jon Arrizabalaga, 'Problematizing Retrospective Diagnosis in the History of Disease', *Asclepio*, 54.1 (2002), 51–70; Adrian Wilson, 'On the History of Disease-Concepts: The Case of Pleurisy', *History of Science*, 38.3 (2000), 271–319; David Harley, 'Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Sickness and Healing', *Social History of Medicine*, 12.3 (1999), 407–435; Ludmilla Jordanova, 'The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge', *Social History of Medicine*, 8.3 (1995), 361–381.

used for the purpose of retrospective diagnosis; however, when strictly adhered to, this approach restricts the viable corpus to virtually nothing. To take just one example from Mitchell's criteria, he states that the text should include 'minimal evidence for modifying [the] description to match medical views of period'; however, conceptions of health are constructed within a cultural and periodic context and to attempt to untangle a description of a particular condition from this framework is both futile and, ultimately, undesirable.[32] In my own study of changelings the way in which medieval people used and understood the child substitution motif is key. Therefore, when I look at descriptions of changelings, or of supposed changelings, I analyse these source in order to gain a greater understanding of how these figures and their conditions were understood within the medieval imagination landscape, that is, as much as is possible, from an emic perspective. This is, of course, not Eberly's intention; however, particularly considering Mitchell's criteria, the sources that she uses are fundamentally unsuited for the type of diagnostic analysis Eberly attempts, as they are influenced by contemporary medical theory and changeling tradition.[33] Despite this, Eberly's article is frequently cited by scholars making only a brief reference to changelings and the causes of belief in them.

Recent scholarship of the medieval child substitution motif has not only dismissed the idea that Eberly's brand of retrospective diagnosis could be usefully applied to medieval accounts of changelings, but has as also questioned the extent to which unhealthy children were identified as changelings during this period. Goodey and Stainton argue that the idea of the substitute child as an explanation for disability, specifically intellectual disability, was based in an elite theological discourse, as exemplified by Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne's texts, rather than being a popular or "folkloric" concept. They state that very few changeling sources, folkloric or medieval, portray changelings as physically different or failing to thrive and, furthermore, argue that references to supposedly changed children as 'idiots' only occur in

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[32] Mitchell, p. 86. The rise in narrative medicine has made it clear that this is as relevant to modern descriptions of ill-health as it is to historical ones, see: Rita Charon, *Narrative Medicine: Honoring the Stories of Illness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[33] Joyce Underwood Munro uses a similar methodology when she argues that the 'congruence of the symptoms' between failure to thrive and characteristics described in changeling narratives indicate that they share a common origin: Munro, 'The Invisible Made Visible', p. 251.

sources from the early modern period. Goodey and Stainton's methodology and conclusions have not been widely accepted by subsequent scholars and in this chapter I build on the critiques of their article that I began to develop in the previous chapter of this thesis.[34]

For Kuuliala, although the connection between the child substitution motif and unhealthy children is obvious, the significance of this link is not very high and should not be used to suggest that disabled or sick children were routinely cast out of their communities during the medieval period. She argues that 'an impaired child was not an extraordinary or alien thing which required a supernatural explanation'; therefore, on the whole, these children were accepted by and integrated into their communities.[35] While I broadly agree with many of Kuuliala's conclusions, as she acknowledges, there are bound to be exceptions to any rule and levels of acceptance, integration and care undoubtedly varied from family to family, community to community. As shown in the introduction to this chapter, Notker demonstrates that impairment and changelings were linked in some medieval minds, so it is worth questioning what impact, if any, this had on the way in which medieval people conceptualised those who were chronically sick, impaired, or non-normatively developed. Furthermore, I would argue that, even if the changeling hypothesis and the resultant exclusion or abuse of these children was not common, it is still an aspect of the medieval dialogue on children's ill health and care that should be explored in more depth.[36]

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[34] Kuuliala points out that their study fails to incorporate either Stephen of Bourbon's text or the Becket miracle, while Green notes some 'egregious errors' in their handling of the William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry sources, and Miles outlines the ways in which their interpretation of Luther's writings are 'odd': Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 100–101 n. 334; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 110 n. 2; Miles, n. 19.

[35] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 90; Jenni Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages: Constructions of Impairments in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Canonization Processes* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2016), pp. 99–102.

[36] Although far from comprehensive, the following references give some idea of the extent of scholarly interest in the child specific aspect of medieval health:. Recently, see Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*; Anne E. Bailey, 'Miracle Children: Medieval Hagiography and Childhood Imperfection', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 47.3 (2016), 267–85; Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, 'Diabolical Rage? Children, Violence, and Demonic Possession in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Family History*, 41.3 (2016), 236–54. Earlier works include: Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Eleanora C. Gordon, 'Child Health in the Middle Ages as Seen in the Miracles of Five English Saints, A.D. 1150–1220', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine; Baltimore, Md.*, 60.4 (1986), 502–522; Luke Demaitre, 'The Idea of Childhood and Child Care in Medical Writings of the Middle Ages', *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 4.4 (1977), 461–90.

(2.3) Medieval Disability Studies and the Social History of Medicine: Applications and Terminology

As this chapter focuses on the connection between child substitution and ideas of health, my discussion falls within the broad field of the social history of medicine. Although subject to the occasional identity crisis, this area of historical study has flourished over the past twenty-five years.[37] As I indicated in the previous section, the term "disability" has occasionally been used to discuss the child substitution motif.[38] I therefore introduce this section with a brief overview of the emerging field of medieval disability studies and the models of disability that have been used within it.

Although previous studies of medieval social history had referred to disability, Irina Metzler's 2006 monograph *Disability in Medieval Europe* was the first to concentrate exclusively on the topic. This book laid the foundations for medieval disability studies as a separate branch of historical studies; one that draws on the social history of medicine, the history of marginality and minorities, the history of mentalities, and the history of everyday life. Scholars in this area are working towards the establishment of dis/ability as an analytic category in its own right and numerous contributions to the subject have been made over the past decade. All of these studies have necessarily grappled with the issue of applying modern terminology, theories, and models of disability to the medieval past.

Disability (as defined by the World Health Organisation) is:

> an umbrella term, covering impairments, activity limitations, and participation restrictions. An impairment is a problem in body function or structure; an activity limitation is a difficulty encountered by an individual in executing a task or action; while a participation restriction is a problem experienced by an individual in involvement in life situations. Disability is thus not just a health problem. It is a complex phenomenon, reflecting the

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[37] For the discussion of the social history of medicine falling between medical sociology, medical humanities, and social history, see: Roger Cooter, 'After Death/After-'life': The Social History of Medicine in Post-Postmodernity', *Social History of Medicine*, 20.3 (2007), 441–464; Jonathan Toms, 'So What? A Reply to Roger Cooter's 'After Death/After-"Life": The Social History of Medicine in Post-Postmodernity", *Social History of Medicine*, 22.3 (2009), 609–615; Brian Dolan, 'History, Medical Humanities and Medical Education', *Social History of Medicine*, 23.2 (2010), 393–405. For a sample of specifically medieval research, see the special issue on the Middle Ages in *Social History of Medicine*, 24 (2011); *Between Text and Patient: The Medical Enterprise in Medieval & Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Florence Eliza Glaze, Brian K. Nance, and M. R. McVaugh, Micrologus' Library, 39 (Firenze: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011).

[38] In some of the cases cited here the term used by the modern editor or scholar is not disability but rather a word such as 'handicapped' that, while roughly synonymous with 'disability' at the time that the piece was written, is no longer acceptable terminology. Ashliman; Eberly, p. 58; Haffter, p. 55.

> interaction between features of a person's body and features of the society in which he or she lives.[39]

The WHO's definition of disability is based on the social model of disability. In this model, impairment and disability are separated, with disability being imposed on individuals with impairments by society. By contrast, in the medical model, disability is understood as an individual or medical phenomenon that results from impairments in body functions or structures.[40] The social model is often preferred in academic discourse because it centres on the experiences of the disabled person, the limitations and restrictions that they encounter rather than the limitations and restrictions others might assume they would need to overcome or that are delineated by their bodily impairments or differences.[41] However, the social model has also been the subject of a number of critiques, particularly as regards its strict separation of impairment and disability that fails to fully account for the lived experiences of those with disabilities.[42] Medieval disability historians have also questioned the extent to which such models can be usefully used to investigate the past. For instance, Joshua Eyler has proposed using the cultural model of disability in order to allow us to study both bodily difference and social perception simultaneously.[43] Wendy Turner has suggested that we concentrate on examining which aspects in a given social sphere disable a person, rather than attempting to define what 'impairment' or 'disability' mean in a medieval context.[44] Edward Wheatley has proposed a religious model that, he argues, reflects 'the church's control of the discursive terrain

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[39] 'World Health Organisation | Disabilities', *World Health Organisation* <http://www.who.int/topics/disabilities/en/> [accessed 9 August 2018].

[40] Critiques of the medical model are frequent. See Simi Linton, *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity*, Cultural Front (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p. 11; Justin Anthony Haegele and Samuel Hodge, 'Disability Discourse: Overview and Critiques of the Medical and Social Models', *Quest*, 68.2 (2016), 193–206 (pp. 194–96).

[41] See Linton, pp. 11–12. For the use of the terminology deriving from the social model in medieval studies, see Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, p. 2; Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages: Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*, Routledge Studies in Cultural History, 20, 1st Edition (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 4–5.

[42] Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs Revisited* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 11–47; Haegele and Hodge, pp. 197–98. A number of scholars have suggested a cultural model of disability as a solution to these critiques, see: Shakespeare, chap. 3.

[43] Joshua R. Eyler, 'Introduction', in *Disability in the Middle Ages: Reconsiderations and Reverberations*, ed. by Joshua R. Eyler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1–9 (p. 8).

[44] Turner first made this suggestion in a workshop, see: Wendy Turner, 'Dis/ability and Law in Pre-Modern Societies. Schnittfelder von Rechtsgeschichte und Dis/ability' (Bremen, 31st January 2014).

of illness and disability'; just as the medical model privileges the modern institution of medicine, so too does the religious model reflect a medieval construction of disability defined by religious authority.[45] As a consensus on the best approach is unlikely to be reached at any point in the near future, it falls to the individual scholar to decide which model, or models, are most constructive when applied to the materials they have under consideration. For instance, the nature of her work means that Kuuliala finds it useful to separate the concepts 'physical impairment' and 'disability' in her study of canonisation records.[46]

While the child substitution motif has been described as a story that explained the birth of disabled children, the term 'disabled' has often been used uncritically. In fact, as the previous section demonstrated, most of the secondary scholarship sees the potential for the idea of the changeling to be applied to a variety of conditions, many of which speak to the concept of illness or sickness more than that of disability.[47] Furthermore, when specifically considering the medieval sources, a number of obstacles to an understanding of changelings as analogous to disabled children emerge. To offer one example, William of Auvergne's account of the infant Augustine's condition is vivid and detailed, but it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to access Augustine's lived experience through William's words.[48] William records a description of Augustine's condition that is based on the narrative given by the boy's parents months, perhaps years, after their son was cured. Furthermore, William's version of events is filtered through his own perspective; his knowledge of scholastic medical theory and his advocacy of monastic celibacy. We might understand William to be applying both a medical and theological model of disability to Augustine, while the parent's decision to hide Augustine could arguably be understood within the social model; however, determining if Augustine saw himself as disabled by the condition is virtually impossible. Not only is our account of his suffering filtered through multiple other perspectives, but his age, around six months old at the time of the

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[45] Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of a Disability* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), pp. 8–19.
[46] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, p. 7.
[47] The WHO defines 'sickness' as synonymous with morbidity and illness as 'any departure, subjective or objective, from a state of physiological or psychological well-being'.
[48] Robertson, I, pp. 203–4.

miracle, also makes characterising him as disabled a difficult proposition. As a rule, children and infants expect, and are expected to, experience more activity limitations and participation restrictions than adults. So a given condition might not be as disabling to an infant or child as the same condition experienced by an adult. While there are methodological difficulties involved in accessing the lived experiences of sufferers through a corpus like my own, these difficulties are encountered by other scholars too, and are not necessarily insurmountable. However, it is worth noting at this juncture that my own study focuses on the discourse surrounding the child substitution motif; therefore, while I do not reject the possibility of accessing the lived experiences of those labelled as changelings, I give priority to an investigation of the way in which the figure of the changeling is used, characterised, and constructed. I am, in short, primarily interested in the perception of the changeling, and changelings are not necessarily portrayed as being disabled by their status; indeed, in some particular cases being substituted could enhance one's status.

While an understanding of the models of disabilities that have been used by scholars to study the past is useful, none of them form my primary framework for approaching the medieval child substitution sources. When considering the child substitution motif and its connections to health, it is necessary to establish a terminological framework that avoids the pitfalls of retrospective diagnosis and is sensitive to the nuances of the terms used.[49] Kuuliala and Goodey and Stainton concentrated respectively on the physical and mental aspects of health; however, although there was a distinction between these aspects of health during the Middle Ages, for the purposes of this chapter I take a more holistic approach and examine both.[50] I hope that by analysing health generally, rather than specific aspects of it, I am able to

[49] See, notes 31 and 32 above for the scholarship on retrospective diagnosis.

[50] For the distinction between mental and physical health in the Middle Ages, see: Irina Metzler, 'Afterword', in *Madness in Medieval Law and Custom*, ed. by Wendy J. Turner, Later Medieval Europe, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 197–218; Irina Metzler, *Fools and Idiots?: Intellectual Disability in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Wendy J. Turner, 'Town and Country: A Comparision of the Treatment of the Mentally Disabled in Late Medieval English Common Law and Chartered Boroughs', in *Madness in Medieval Law and Custom*, ed. by Wendy J. Turner, Later Medieval Europe, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 17–38; Wendy J. Turner, 'A History of Intelligence and "Intellectual Disability": The Shaping of Psychology in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 68.2 (2013), 302–5.

account for the lack of differentiation in the terminology used in medieval sources. Hans Werner-Goetz's investigation of the use of *debilis* demonstrates no terminological distinction between a modern understanding of "disability" as opposed to "illness".[51] Similarly, Kuuliala's extensive study of canonisation testimonies indicates 'no differences in the terminology used for children's long- or short-term conditions' nor any indication that a distinction was made between "illness" and "impairment".[52] As a general rule, I approach individual cases with a view to exploring and analysing the terminology used by the medieval source. In the medieval corpus related to the child substitution motif there is evidence of a wide variety of illnesses and behaviours that can be discussed in medieval terms. For instance, the infant Augustine is described by William of Canterbury as *syntecticus*, so in my examination of this account, I explore William's use of this term within the context of both his further descriptions of the infant's condition and medieval medical theory more broadly, rather than trying to diagnose what his condition might have been according to modern clinical standards. While this approach works when considering individual cases, in order to engage in comparative analysis or to discuss my corpus as a whole it is necessary to work with terminology that is more broadly applicable. Although, I generally refrain from discussing changelings or depictions of changelings in terms of disability, I do use terms like "impairment", "sickness", and "non-normative development" as part of my exploration of the connections that medieval people made between the child substitution motif and ideas about health. It is worth discussing their current definitions as well as briefly touching on the ways in which their use has been critiqued.

The WHO defines "sickness" as synonymous with morbidity and illness as 'any departure, subjective or objective, from a state of physiological or psychological well-being'. We have already seen, through the case of Augustine, that children who are ill or sick may be supposed to be changelings. Since the changeling is often imagined as staying with a family for

[51] Hans-Werner Goetz, "'Debilis": Vorstellungen von menschlicher Gebrechlichkeit im frühen Mittelalter', in *Homo debilis. Behinderte-Kranke-Versehrte in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. by Cordula Nolte (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2009), pp. 21–55.
[52] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, p. 45.

an extended period of time, it may be appropriate for us to consider these sicknesses or illnesses as chronic conditions.

"Impairment" is, according to WHO, the factual state of being impaired, physically or mentally.[53] In health, it involves any loss or abnormality of physiological, psychological, or anatomical structure or function, whether permanent or temporary. The use of impairment as a neutral descriptor has been critiqued, particularly by members of the Deaf community, for carrying negative connotations. For instance, it has been argued that the term "hearing-impaired" establishes "hearing" as the norm and, in doing so, implies that those who are "hearing-impaired" are falling below that normative standard and that this damage should be repaired if possible. While this is likely not the intention, the argument is that using the term "impairment" puts the focus on what people lack or are unable to do. While I am sensitive to this critique of the term, in the case of some of my sources, the use of "impairment" may be the most appropriate or value-neutral term to use, particularly in cases where to be more specific would be to lean too close to retrospective diagnosis or when the term "sickness" is inappropriate, as in, for example, Notker's description of the Jews who are like changelings and who limp on one leg.[54] However, as I mentioned above, the lack of a clear medieval distinction between illness and impairment may lead to my use of this term alongside the term sickness or illness.

Similar critiques can and have been made about the concept of 'non-normative development'. The term "normative" can be understood as either evaluative or descriptive. Thus, in the first instance, the term is understood to be prescriptive; thus, to say that something diverges from that norm is to imply a degree of censure. However, it can also be used to mean relating to a descriptive standard: doing what is normally done or what most others are expected to do in practice. Therefore, while potentially problematic, when contextualised within the

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[53] For a recent example of the term being used in an examination of medieval sources, see: Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*.
[54] Notker, II, pp. 55–6.

framework of medieval normative models, the term "non-normative development" can be used productively to unpack the medieval discourse around health and the child substitution motif.

As Iona McCleery has summarised, there is still no consensus among scholars of the social history of medicine as to the exact nature of health and illness during the Middle Ages.[55] It is therefore important to approach the intersection of the child substitution motif and concepts of health and illness with caution and an open mind. For instance, although it can be easy to make assumptions as to what constituted 'medicine', even today, 'medicine is an untidy "umbrella" concept, not a neat category'.[56] When dealing, as this chapter does, with notions of health, sickness, impairment, and non-normative development in Western European medieval society, it is important that the term 'medical' does not become synonymous with 'highbrow, scholarly, literate medicine'. Healing practices outside of the scholarly tradition should also be understood as part of a holistic approach to medical intervention that could incorporate a variety of beliefs, practices, structures, and techniques. I therefore take care to refer to scholarly or learned medicine as such, in doing so I hope to distinguish the way in which those with a learned medical background approached the child substitution motif.

(2.4) Medieval Changeling Symptoms

The hagiographic accounts of three saints, Stephen, Lawrence and Bartholomew, where the infant saint is stolen away by devils and a demonic changeling put in his place, are our most geographically diverse corpus of child substitution sources.[57] This corpus provides us with our most detailed written descriptions of changelings as well as our only artistic representations. Furthermore, they are the only medieval sources where the full narrative of child substitution — that is, the abduction of the child, the substitution of the changeling and the child's return — is

[55] Iona McCleery, '"Christ More Powerful Than Galen"?: The Relationship Between Medicine and Miracles', in *Contextualizing Miracles in the Christian West, 1100–1500: New Approaches*, ed. by Matthew Mesley and Lousie Wilson, Monograph Series, 32 (Oxford: Medium Aevum, 2014), pp. 127–54 (pp. 128–32).
[56] McCleery, '"Christ More Powerful Than Galen"?', p. 130. See also: Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner, *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
[57] A full bibliography of these hagiographical works, including shortened references, can be found in Appendix 2.

depicted or described. Although there are some hints that adults were occasionally the subject of the substitution motif, in the vast majority of cases the substitution was understood to have taken place in infancy.[58] As I have noted previously, the descriptions of changelings given by Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne have been well studied. Their writings lead us to expect the changeling to manifest certain characteristics: ceaseless crying, insatiable hunger, and lack of growth.[59] Jenni Kuuliala has argued that these descriptions, particularly the insatiable hunger, originally acted as literary metaphors for the effect of demonic actions on human souls before being adopted as changeling characteristics. She concludes that these superficial portrayals of changeling symptoms are not a suitable basis for any form of diagnosis, being more metaphorical than proof of a specific disease. [60] While I would agree that the hagiographical material is primarily concerned with depicting the struggle with and ultimate triumph over demonic influence, I would also argue that these hagiographical stories of child substitution could be used by medieval people to reflect on concepts connected to the health and care of children. The examination of written and etymological evidence can only go so far, and the hagiographies are the only element of the child substitution corpus that includes a visual element. As such, I see examining these sources as a way to potentially access medieval ideas about childcare, infant development and living with unhealthy children.

It is, of course, important to keep the genre of these sources in mind when examining them. Later in the chapter I examine a paediatric text that engages explicitly and purposefully with the issues outlined above, whereas the hagiographic and theological sources do so more incidentally. They were, after all, created to serve a different and distinct purpose; however, as has already been demonstrated by my earlier examinations of William of Canterbury's work, writing to glorify the miraculous work of a saint does not preclude an author or creator from engaging with other contemporary issues, for instance current scholastic medical theory, or then being used by scholars to illuminate other facets of the medieval imaginative landscape. All of

[58] Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 123–24.
[59] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Jacques de Vitry, p. 129.
[60] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 84–85, 90.

these sources depict unhealthy children, or children who may be understood to represent unhealthy children. As I discussed earlier, the children in these sources cannot and should not be retrospectively diagnosed. Nor should their appearance or 'symptoms' be understood as mapping directly onto the bodies of medieval sick or impaired children. However, these hagiographical stories and the changelings depicted in them are our largest extant corpus of full child substitution narratives; furthermore, we know that both lay and clerical people commissioned and interacted with these hagiographic accounts of changelings.[61] Therefore, it would be useful to know how these demonic changelings were depicted and whether or not that depiction mapped in some symbolic way onto the medieval understanding of child development. By depicting the development of the saint from infant to an idealised figure of youth alongside the changeling's comparative lack of growth, these saints' lives clearly had the potential to be understood by their audience in multiple ways, including as a story that allowed them to express concern about infants that fail to meet certain developmental milestones. Thus, in order to illuminate the way in which the characteristics of the demonic changelings appear to reflect impaired development in children, I first discuss the 'ages of man' scheme as an example of the way in which medieval people understood the normative life course, before using this to examine the characteristics of changelings as depicted in hagiography. As well as this, I also want to discuss how the medium of expression changed the way in which these demonic changelings were depicted? How much are the changeling's appearance and characteristics a function of the medium in which the changeling is shown and how much are they reflective of a general understanding of what a changeling is? How much can be explained by the changeling's

[61] While most of the textual versions are written in Latin, some versions of the hagiographic legends did circulate in the vernacular. BrB, MS 1116 is a Flemish text, while 'Cobles Fetes En Laor Del Glorios Sent Berthomeu' is also written in the vernacular for a Valencian audience. It might be presumed that the visual images would have had a wider audience that the textual sources. Of the seventeen images that I have identified, eight are from some form of altarpiece, six are frescos, two are stone carvings, and one is a stained glass window. Many, although not all, of the images were positioned so that the laity could see them: S IX is carved on the central portal of the west façade of the parish church at Beauvais, L I is painted on the south arch of the western vault of the nave of Undløse Church, and S III is from a cycle that would, prior to damage, have covered practically the whole tiny church. Access to some images was more restricted, but even when access was restricted this did not mean that the image was not influenced by the wider community. For instance, S VI was painted in the choir of what was the Prato's *pieve*; however, as Borsook notes, the whole town was involved in its commissioning. For more information on each of the hagiographic images, see Appendix 2.

demonic nature and how much is relevant to our discussion of impairment and sickness? Finally, if we accept that medieval people made some symbolic connection between the demonic changelings depicted in the hagiography they experienced and children who did not meet expected developmental milestones, what does that mean for their attitude towards those children?

(2.4.a) 'Ages of Man' schemes and conceptions of the human life course

Many of the medieval conceptions of the human life course were inherited in multiple versions from classical writers.[62] As such, although all 'ages of man' schemes divided the life of a person into separate stages, each with its own distinctive attributes, the number of stages portrayed or described varied from as few as three to as many as twelve. It is only in the schemes where six or more stages are depicted that infants and children start to appear as separate categories, and then only in schemes depicting the lifecycle of a man.[63] In these schemes, infancy is generally understood to last until the age of seven, at which point the infant becomes a child. As might be expected, the characteristics associated with the period of infancy are not entirely uniform; however, some themes do emerge in both art and literary works. For instance, writers throughout the Middle Ages described infancy as a period characterised by lack of speech. This is particularly evident in encyclopaedic works. For Thomas of Cantimpré, a Dominican writer, infancy only ended when the child could speak.[64] Alternatively, according to *On the Properties of Things*, the transition from infant to child occurs 'when [the child] is wayned from milke, and departed from the breast, and knoweth good and euill and therefore he is able to receiue

[62] 'Ages of man' has been the focus of a number of studies and continues to be the subject of current research, see: Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, N.J.; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1986); J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986); Mary Dove, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2003); *Medieval Life Cycles: Continuity and Change*, ed. by Isabelle Cochelin and Karen Elaine Smyth (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

[63] There were schemes that depicted the lifecycle of women, but in these schemes the stages were based on different criteria: M. H. Porck, 'Young Dancers, Old Spinsters: The Ages of Man and the Ages of Woman in Early Medieval England' (presented at the International Medival Congress, Leeds, 2017).

[64] Sears, pp. 56, 61, 97, 129, 130. For Thomas of Cantimpré see Sears, p. 125.

chastising and learning'.[65] The infant's reliance on breastmilk is also referenced in the poem attached to the *Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man* from the De Lisle Psalter, c. 1310–c. 1320, (British Library MS Arundel 83 II, folio 126v). There, in a roundel surrounding a tableau of an infant seated on a woman's lap in front of a pot being heated on a fire, the words 'Mitis sum et humilis, lacte vivo puro' (Meek am I and humble, I live on pure milk) appear.[66] Another common theme in art is the infant being unable to walk, or in the process of learning to do so; infants are shown swaddled, in cradles, sitting, crawling or supported by a baby walker.[67] Conversely, the child in the *Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man* is firm on his feet, stating: 'Numquam ero labilis, etatem mensuro' (Never shall I stumble, I measure my age).[68]

Sears warns that the 'ages of man' tradition was a 'bookish one', a 'learned meditation […] on the nature and meaning of human existence' rather than a 'mirror [to] medieval life'.[69] While infancy as a life stage was, as demonstrated above, characterised by a reliance on milk, there is ample evidence that babies were weaned prior to the age of seven.[70] In addition it is possible to tell from the molecular analysis of the teeth in medieval skeletal remains when a person was weaned; this appears to have generally occurred around the ages of two and three.[71] Thus, when *On the Properties of Things* describes the transition between infancy and childhood, it can be assumed that this description combines several elements of development that were expected to have been completed by, rather than at, the age of seven. The notion that people undertook a new stage of life at the age of seven can also be found in law and custom.[72] For

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[65] Bartholomaeus Anglicus (d. 1272) was a Franciscan who completed his compendium *De proprietatibus rerum (On the Properties of Things)* in around 1240. This text was very popular and John Trevisa produced an English translation in 1397. Bartholomaeus Anglicus and John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Critical Text*, ed. by Maurice Charles Seymour, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 73.

[66] Sears, p. 147.

[67] Sears, figs 14–15, 65, 78, 84–5, 91–93, 95.

[68] Sears, p. 147.

[69] Sears, p. 6.

[70] Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 23, n. 9, p. 77, nn. 11–13.

[71] M.P. Richards, S. Mays, and B.T. Fuller, 'Stable Carbon and Nitrogen Isotope Values of Bone and Teeth Reflect Weaning Age at the Medieval Wharram Percy Site, Yorkshire, UK', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 119.3 (2002), 205–10.

[72] Sears, p. 6.

instance, by the thirteenth century, penitentials confirmed that children should not be betrothed before seven. Similarly clerical training began at seven and the baptismal rite included the warning to parents and godparents that they should keep the child away from all dangers until they were seven.[73] Although it is not clear whether the learned schemes were drawing on already established customs, or if the customs were shaped by this learned tradition, there is ample evidence to suggest that this normative conception of infancy and childhood had some impact on the way in which people understood the developmental milestones of infancy and childhood. As such, understanding what was ideally supposed to happen from this normative scheme can help us to identify what indications of growth in understanding and ability medieval parents might have been looking for in their own infants and children. It also might allow us to understand what ideas learned writers about child substitution were working with and against when they described changeling characteristics and behaviour.

(2.4.b) What are the characteristics of changelings in Latin and hagiographic sources?

In the following section, I examine the ways in which changelings were represented at the moment of substitution and when the saint returns to banish them. In addition, I compare the representations of the demonic changelings with that of the saint; that is the representation of the normative child, in order to compare their relative rates of growth and development at these points. This is done with reference to the representation of development in the normative human lifecycle as exemplified in the 'ages of man'.

On the whole, at the moment of substitution, the changeling and the saint are portrayed as almost identical. The visual evidence, in particular, almost always depicts the changeling as virtually indistinguishable in size and facial features from the infant saint. The changeling is even wrapped in a perfect copy of the saint's swaddling bands, pure white in S II, red and gold in S VIII and white with a patch of red in S IV & S VI. The texts, while not as explicit or detailed, do occasionally refer to the appearance of the changeling at the moment of substitution. The demon that takes Lawrence's place does so 'in specie pueri' (in the appearence

[73] Orme, pp. 29, 68.

of a boy), while Antoniolo F. describes 'alium diabolum in specie et in forma pueri' (another devil, in the appearance and form of a boy) taking the place of the infant Stephen and Peter Calo states that the changeling was 'corpusculum ei simile in quo demon intraverat' (a little body similar to [Stephen], in which a demon had entered).[74] In some sources from the Julian and the Doe tradition, the changeling is described as an 'idolum', and thus inanimate at the moment of substitution.[75] However, there is some indication that despite being inanimate, the idol was also envisaged as resembling the saint. Thus Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, the oldest of the hagiographical manuscript sources, describes the substitution thus 'Posuit idolum in eius lectulo permanere in persona patris familia domus' ([The devil] placed an idol in his bed, (made) in the image of his father, to remain among the family of the household.[76] In the majority of sources, at the moment of substitution, the demonic changeling is essentially a duplicate of the saint and is at the same developmental stage: swaddled and cradle-bound.

There are exceptions to this rule, although some are more pertinent to this discussion than others. When comparing descriptions of the changeling in hagiographic texts and depictions of it in art, it is immediately apparent that there are some elements that are unique to the visual representations. As a general rule, the art is more explicit in the depiction of appearance than the texts. This stems directly from a difference in medium; while the texts may say that the demonic changeling is substituted in the saint's place, the artists must visually distinguish the infant saint from the demonic substitute in order that the audience can instantly understand that a substitution is occurring or has occurred. Thus, unlike the changeling, the saint is depicted with a halo at the moment of substitution in all but two images. However, many of the artists appear to have wanted to distinguish more clearly between the saint and the changeling. Of the ten images that both include the demonic changeling and are un-obscured by major damage, six clearly depict the changeling as identical to the infant saint, apart from the

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[74] Hermann Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, 2 vols (Berlin: Weidmann, 1872), I, pp. 614–16. BA, H 82 suss, BNM, MS Lat IX 16.

[75] The reference to the changeling as an idol is found in the Julian and the Doe tradition, see in particular: Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII; BNM, MS Lat Z 158; BML, MS Ashburnham 870; DKB, Inc. haun. 2179.

[76] Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII.

tiny horns sprouting from his head. These horns serve as a topos signifying a demonic presence in a visual medium; like the saintly halo, they are signifiers that speak to the audience of the image rather than to the other figures depicted in the scene. Thus, horns are a method by which changelings may be identified in a visual medium and, outside of this specific context, they do not appear to be a changeling characteristic.

An element of the changeling's appearance that appears to be unique to the Bartholomew tradition is the colour of the changeling's skin. The only extant text describes the changeling as being 'swaert als een peck' (black as pitch) at the point of substitution.[77] While B III depicts Bartholomew's return to confront a changeling that has black skin, this characteristic is not (now at least) in evidence in any of the other images of Bartholomew's tradition. B II is a, now unpainted, stone carving, and B I depicts a very black demon holding the infant saint, but there is no changeling in the empty crib. The black changeling does not appear in either the Stephen or the Lawrence traditions, nor is the colour of the changeling's skin mentioned in any other medieval changeling source of which I am aware. Skin colour and observable changes in skin colour were linked to health particularly through complexion theory.[78] *Complexio* did not describe a person's skin colour, rather it was used to refer to the humoral balance of a person, which was in turn manifested both in the person's temperament and outer appearance.[79] Thus, observable changes in skin colour or tone could well be an indication of ill health, with an excess of black bile thought to be linked to melancholia and a dark skin tone.[80] Despite this, I think that occurrences of black changelings should be linked more to medieval imaginings of demons than ideas about health. The trope of the black boy-devil was very much part of the medieval Christian mental landscape. Gregory the Great describes how a little black boy tugged

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[77] BrB, MS 1116, Baudouin De Gaiffier and Guy de Tervarent, 'Le diable voleur d'enfants', *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*, 12 (1936), 33–58 (p. 18).
[78] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 103–4.
[79] Virginia Langum, 'Discerning Skin: Complexion, Surgery, and Language in Medieval Confession', in *Reading Skin in Medieval Literature and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 141–60.
[80] D. Tomíček, 'Diagnostics in Late Medieval Sources', *Prague Medical Report*, 110.2 (2009), 120–127 (p. 124); Mechthild Fend, 'Marie-Guillemine Benoist's "Portrait d'Une Négresse" and the Visibility of Skin Colour', in *Probing the Skin: Cultural Representations of Our Contact Zone*, ed. by Caroline Rosenthal and Dirk Vanderbeke (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 192–210 (p. 199).

at a monk's robes to distract him from prayer while Peter the Venerable mentions a Cluniac monk's vision of devils as small black boys.[81] Strickland illustrates the 'interchangeability of demons and Ethiopians' in medieval art and thought.[82] As Jean Devisse states, there was an 'extraordinarily crude equivalence imagined by Christians between a colour and the most disturbing aspects of the Christian world'.[83] It is possible that this particular depiction of the changeling tapped in to prejudices surrounding the racialised other and fears regarding this imagined othered being becoming an interloper within the family. Thus, as with the horns, the colour of the changeling's skin serves as a signifier of its demonic nature. However, unlike the horns, at least within the textual life of Bartholomew, the intention appears to be that the changeling was actually black, in much the same way as he was actually crying consistently.

If B III included a panel depicting the moment of substitution, it has not survived, thus, apart from the description of the black changeling in BrB, MS 1116 the only visual evidence where the saint and changeling are not virtually identical at substitution is B II. Here, while both changeling and saint are roughly the same size and wrapped in swaddling, the saint's face is that of a sleeping baby, while the changeling's face is demonic with a thick-knotted brow, tiny deep-set eyes, a wide nose and a grimace. The contrast between the smooth serenity of the saint and the twisted expression of the changeling clearly differentiates them; this is necessary, because this image is one of only two where no halo or horns are present to identify the infants as either saint or changeling.

Thus, with minor exceptions, the changeling appears to have been portrayed as virtually indistinguishable from the saint at the moment when the switch occurs. The hagiographical sources where the time scale is made explicit place the moment of substitution on the 'nocte quoque' (the very night) of the saint's birth or at least prior to circumcision.[84] The visual sources

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[81] Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 80.
[82] Strickland, pp. 80–81.
[83] Jean Devisse, 'Christians and Black', in *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Volume II: From the Early Christian Era to the 'Age of Discovery', Part 1: From the Demonic Threat to the Incarnation of Sainthood*, ed. by David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, New ed. (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), II, p. 72.
[84] Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII; Milan, BA, H 82 suss.

are, in their own way, equally specific. All of the substitutions are made when the saint and changeling are still swaddled. An account of Catherine of Bologna's vision of the infant Jesus describes how he was 'ita fasciis involutum ut infantes recenter nati solent' (thus wrapped in bands, as is customary for new born infants).[85] According to Shulamith Shahar, the length of time infants were kept in swaddling was not specified by medical scholars, thus the length of time and the extent to which an infant was swaddled likely varied according to location, season and the infant's own development.[86] Ambrose of Siena, who was understood to have a congenital physical impairment, was still fully swaddled when he was miraculously cured at the age of one and a few months.[87] However, as Shahar notes, other infants who were not understood to be impaired may have been swaddled for a shorter period of time.[88] The miraculous cure is signalled by the infant Ambrose freeing his arms from the swaddling bands, at which point the rest of his body is unwrapped. It may have been that, as the infant became more mobile, the swaddling bands were replaced by looser clothes. As the infant saints and changelings are fully swaddled, we can presume that they are intended to be relatively young infants. Furthermore, the majority of the images situate the switch in what appears to be the birthing chamber. The saint's mother is still in bed, often washing her hands and attended exclusively by other women. The connection to other 'birth' scenes is most evident in S VI, where the image of Stephen's abduction faces across the choir to the complementary scene of the 'Birth of St John the Baptist'. Therefore, as was indicated in William of Canterbury, Hartlieb, and Metlinger's texts, child substitution appears to have been understood to occur to infants who are apparently healthy at birth, at some point in the post-partum period. Furthermore, immediately post-switch, there is generally no discernible difference between the outward appearance of the changeling and the saint.

However, the saint and the changeling do not continue to appear the same. The saint continues to grow and, at least according to our scholarly writers, the changeling should not.

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[85] *Acta Sanctorum: March, part 2*, 68 vols (Paris; Rome: Palmé, 1865), VIII, p. 57.
[86] Shahar, pp. 86–87.
[87] *Acta Sanctorum: March, part 3*, 68 vols (Paris; Rome: Palmé, 1865), IX, p. 182.
[88] Shahar, p. 86.

William of Auvergne states that, despite the amount it eats, the changeling remains 'macilentos' (thin), while Jacques de Vitry twice mentions that the changeling 'ne ad incrementum pervenit' (does not grow).[89] In all of the extant texts, the saint eventually returns or is returned to his family; however, only six of the image cycles depict this event. This may be due to damage over time or the artist may never have included the return. Of these six, only four depict both the substitution and the return and thus make it possible to determine how or if the changeling has developed over time. S II does not depict the changeling as having grown at all. Stephen easily holds the changeling in his arms showing the stark difference between Stephen who, while not quite as tall as his father, is clearly a young man and the changeling, who remains a swaddled infant. However, this is the only visual evidence in which the changeling infant remains swaddled when the saint returns. By contrast, the changelings depicted in B II and S IV are smaller than the returning saint and confined to the cradle, but they are no longer swaddled. The changeling in S IV is dressed in what appears to be a blue gown with sleeves that allow him to prop himself up with an elbow on the side of his crib. He also has a full head of hair and his face is larger and more expressive than in the previous panel. The damage to B II makes it more difficult to distinguish details and everyone in the scene apart from a tall man at the back has lost their heads. Nevertheless, the changeling in the cradle is clearly sitting up, un-swaddled, with a hand thrust out in a gesture, perhaps of warding or supplication. This depiction of Bartholomew conforms to the written account in that the saint does not return on his own but with the holy man who raised him. Bartholomew stands in the centre of the panel mirroring the stance of the man behind him who is carrying a crozier. He is clearly still a child as he is significantly shorter than the adults surrounding him, but he is larger than the changeling in the crib. All of these images, to a greater or lesser extent, depict a disparity in the growth rate of the changeling compared to the saint.

Some strands of the written tradition have more to say on the subject of the changeling's growth or lack of growth than others. Texts from the Julian and the Doe version of the Stephen tradition are silent on the matter of the changeling's growth. On the other hand,

[89] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Jacques de Vitry, p. 129.

the two Holy Men versions of Stephen's legend and the Bartholomew manuscript are explicit about the fact that the changeling 'nunquam crescebat, sed semper unius stature et condicionis erat' (never grew up, but was always of one state and condition).[90] Indeed BA, H 82 suss repeats this information in four separate places in order to emphasise that even nineteen years later the changeling 'ita erat paruus sicut in principio quoniam ibi fuerat positus' (was just as small as when he was placed there in the first place).

Here, I return to the depiction of infants and children in the 'ages of man' schemes. When compared to these, it is clear that the changeling breaks the normative developmental progression from infant to child and then to adult. Despite the passage of time, the changeling remains confined to the cradle or in swaddling bands, accoutrements that are both used in visual depictions of the 'ages of man' scheme in order to indicate the stage of infancy and also, I would argue, imply a lack of mobility. This implication is reinforced when the saint returns to stand tall in front of his parents and banish the changeling, who was once, but now no longer is, his physical double. In some accounts, when Stephen reveals his identify, the whole house rejoices in his beauty (*pulchritudo*) and wisdom (*sapientia*); the implication being that his changeling was deficient in these traits.[91] Wisdom is, of course, more associated with middle age than youth in medieval writings; that it is mentioned here reflects not only the saint's superlative intellectual virtues but also suggests the changeling's perceived lack of reason. Increased understanding and ability to learn are as much part of the transition to childhood and adulthood as the physical developments: weaning, walking and teething.[92] As for the comments on the saint's physical appearance, the connection between beauty/ugliness, morality and medieval ideas about health is a complex and intertwined one.[93] As Irina Metzler notes, the notion that moral turpitude could manifest on the body meant that medieval attitudes towards the impaired

[90] BNM, MS Lat IX 16. See also: BA, H 82 suss and BrB, MS 1116.

[91] Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII; BNM, MS Lat Z 158.

[92] The wise child-saint is a common hagiographical motif, see: I.P. Bejczy, 'The *sacra infantia* in medieval hagiography', in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. by D. Wood, Studies in Church History 31 (Oxford, 1994), 143–51

[93] Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c.1100–c.1400* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 48–55.

were often ambivalent, torn between pious sympathy for those in need of charity and condemnation for the supposedly sinful.[94] On a very basic level, the saint's perfect morals are reflected in his physical perfection, while, conversely, the physical imperfection of the changeling can be connected to its demonic and evil nature. However, I would argue that the distinction being made here is not solely a moral one. As we discussed above, external appearance was intrinsically connected to one's interior humoral balance; Stephen's beauty is therefore also an external manifestation of his perfect health and normative development. That the changeling represents an unhealthy child, one that has not undergone normative development, is made explicit in Peter Calo's account, where Stephen reveals himself to his parents, saying 'Filius tuus sanus est' (I am your healthy son).[95]

The textual tradition of the substitution of the infant St Lawrence is more ambiguous as there is no explicit description of the changeling's appearance and the reader must instead draw on the depiction of the changeling's behaviour in order to infer the extent of its growth. The changeling's behaviour seems, in some senses, contradictory. The changeling tells the other devils that 'delectabiliter nutrior' (I suckle delightedly), thus implying that it still appears as an infant to the Spanish court. However, the text also describes the actions of the changeling as follows: 'ipsum regem cum familia sua in multis offendit et se in omnibus importunum reddidit nec regine nec aliis obedivit' (he himself offended the king and his court in many ways and he rendered himself a nuisance in all things; he obeyed neither the king nor anyone else').[96] Unlike the texts where the changeling is said to cry continuously, this account of the changeling's behaviour implies a level of perceived accountability not normally attributed to infants. To return to *On the Properties of Things*, a child should 'knoweth good and euill' and be able to 'receiue chastising and learning'.[97] The changeling in the St Lawrence tale is not yet weaned, but appears to be expected to receive and learn from chastisement. The changeling is described as possessing characteristics of both infant and child and therefore, much like the images of the

[94] Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, p. 55.
[95] BNM, MS Lat IX 16.
[96] Oesterley, I, pp. 614–16.
[97] Bartholomaeus Anglicus and Trevisa, p. 73.

un-swaddled and yet crib-bound changelings, appears as a transgressive body, stuck at the threshold between infancy and childhood. Perhaps this is reflective of those medieval children who did not develop in the normative fashion set out by the 'ages of man' schemes, with mental development outpacing physical independence from the mother or nursemaids.

Before I move on, there is one further depiction of the return of Stephen and the changeling that he encounters there that I wish to discuss in conjunction with the growth or development of changeling and its perceived health. S VI is part of the Julian and the Doe tradition. In the middle panel Stephen is shown taking leave of Julian; in the next section he warmly embraces a black-clad man at a doorway; and inside the man's house Stephen makes the sign of the cross over a white form chained to a pillar in order to banish a black demon from the figure while the man and a woman look on in amazement. Borsook notes the warmth with which Stephen greets the man and the fact that in many accounts, Stephen returns to his parents after leaving Julian; nevertheless, she states categorically that this scene is not intended to represent Stephen's return to his family. She argues that the black-clad man does not look old enough to be Stephen's father and that 'the chained figure of the possessed man from whom a demon is expelled is not a changeling'.[98] As to the age of the black-clad man, it is true that all other images of containing the saint's father depict him with at least a wispy beard; however, in Anovelo da Imbonate' *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)* in the Oratorio di S. Stefano, which is the only image cycle to show the father both prior to the saint's birth and after his return, the twenty year gap between appearances has not changed the way in which the artist depicts him at all; there is, for instance, no white in his red beard. In addition, returning to Lippi's cycle, the black-clad man is presumably intended to be seen as having responsibility for the chained figure in conjunction with the woman who is also present in the scene. The assumption of the viewer is that they are a family unit and, in that case, since the chained figure is not dramatically smaller or younger than Stephen, I do not think that we can say with any certainty that the black-clad figure is not old enough to be Stephen's father. As for Borsook's second statement, this is an

[98] Eve Borsook, 'Fra Filippo Lippi and the Murals for Prato Cathedral', *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 19.1 (1975), 1–XXXII (p. 16).

interpretation that assumes that we know for certain the full scope of the medieval understanding of the characteristics of the changeling. Thus, while I understand her reasoning, a number of points lead me to question Borsook's rejection of the possibility that this is a depiction of a changeling. First, while Stephen's relics famously exorcise the demon possessing Princess Eudoxia, as depicted in S VIII, I do not know of any exorcism that Stephen was commonly depicted as carrying out during his lifetime. Second, as I have just demonstrated, the amount that changelings grow does seem to vary depending on the image. The figure depicted here is larger than those that we have discussed previously and there is no crib or bed included; however, the figure is not depicted standing, unlike Princess Eudoxia, so we might still consider there to have been a lack of development in comparison to the saint. The placement of the scene in the sequence of the saint's life and the warmth of the saint's greeting with the black-clad man is not quite enough to suggest that the white figure is meant to represent a changeling. None of the other changelings are chained or as large.[99] However, as Nancy Caciola notes: 'binding and chaining are treatments for those who, like animals or demoniacs, are bereft of human reason or sense.'[100] I have already touched on the notion that changelings could be conceived of as mentally impaired or non-normatively developed and I develop this idea further in the next section, but it is not inconceivable that a supposed changeling would be chained in a fashion similar to a possessed person.[101]

That said there is further evidence from the written sources that can be brought to bear at this point. While many of the written accounts describe the demonic changeling as taking the form of the saint, thus implying some manner of transformation, Peter Calo states that at the moment of substitution the devil 'corpusculum ei simile in quo demon intraverat in cunabulis

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[99] The two panels after Bartholomew's initial confrontation with the changeling in B II do depict a chained figure kneeling before another adult character, but this is a depiction of Saint Bartholomew freeing the daughter of King Polymy of Armenia from the devil, see: Ana Cristina Sousa and Lúcia Rosas, 'La iconografía de San Bartolomé en el sepulcro de D. Pedro I (Monasterio de Alcobaça, Portugal)', *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval*, 6.12 (2014), 81–104 (figs 7, 8).

[100] Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 70.

[101] Accounts of demonic possession occasionally mention that it was necessary to put the possessed person in chains in order to prevent them from harming anyone else. For examples and discussion of this practice, see: Caciola, pp. 36, 46, 69–70. This practice can also be reflected in images, such as that of Princess Eudoxia in S VIII.

colocavit' (placed a little body similar to [the saint], in which a demon had entered, in the cradle).[102] This description clearly differentiates the demon from the 'corpusculum' (little body) of which he takes possession. BNM, MS Lat Z 158 also implies a similar arrangement when it states that: 'ecce fremitus demonis mirabilis excitatur de ydolo' (behold he incited a demon's wonderful roaring from the idol). Texts within the Julian and the Doe tradition, in addition to calling the changeling a demon, often describe it variously as 'idolum' (an idol), 'figura sathane' (an image of Satan) and 'statua' (a statue).[103] This again hints towards the conception of a changeling as some combination of inanimate object and demon. Accounts of inanimate changelings do appear in other, somewhat later, sources. The Toldot Adam, a collection of charms taken from earlier manuscripts and published by Zolkiew in 1720, contains details of R. Eliyahu Baal Shem's (b. 1550 d. 1636) encounter with a changeling made out of straw and grist that appears to be a baby until the rabbi utters the Holy Name.[104] There was also a widely circulated version of the martyrdom of Saint George that included the saint confronting and banishing a demon from the statue of Apollo.[105] Based on this evidence, it is possible that a conception of changelings as objects possessed or inhabited by demons existed during this period. As such, to depict a changeling using a visual shorthand linked to possession would make sense and be understood by the intended audience.

Considering the weight that both Jacques and William give to the number of wet-nurses needed to keep up with the changeling's voracious hunger, it is surprising that this element of the changeling's behaviour is almost entirely absent from both the visual and textual accounts of the demonic changelings.[106] Indeed, most of the texts and images are more concerned with depicting the saint being suckled and then weaned, than they are with noting the continual

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[102] BNM, MS Lat IX 16.
[103] Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, BNM, MS Lat Z 158, BML, MS Ashburnham 870, DKB, Inc. haun. 2179.
[104] This account is translated in I. Etkes, *The Besht: Magician, Mystic, and Leader* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005), pp. 10–11.
[105] John E. Matzke, 'Contributions to the History of the Legend of Saint George, with Special Reference to the Sources of the French, German and Anglo-Saxon Metrical Versions', *PMLA*, 18.1 (1903), 99–171 (pp. 101–2).
[106] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Jacques de Vitry, p. 129.

hunger of the changeling. The Lawrence demon's throwaway line that 'delectabiliter nutrior' (I suckle delightedly) is the only textual reference to this aspect of the changeling's behaviour; even the otherwise descriptive 'Holy Men' texts of Stephen refrain from discussing the changeling's hunger.[107]

One might assume that, as with crying, the depiction of constant hunger would pose a problem for an artist. It is true that, with one exception, none of the images of demonic changelings even gesture towards hunger as a characteristic of a changeling; however, B III does so in an ingenious and startling way. In the panel depicting Bartholomew's return, the changeling sits in a cradle, underneath which four women lie, all have their eyes closed in an attitude of either death or exhaustion and the breasts of the women nearest to the front are visibly exposed. Another woman with her breasts exposed kneels to the right of the cradle in an attitude of prayer. This tableau is clearly a vivid visual representation of the exhaustion of multiple wet-nurses described by Jacques and William. The text on the cradle confirms this interpretation of the images by stating that: 'aquest diable he(n) / forma de infant jage he(n) lo breç xxix Anys he(n) forma de Sant bertom/eu aucis iiii didas' (This devil, in the shape of an infant, was lying in the cradle twenty-four years. In the shape of St. Bartholomew, he caused the death of four wet-nurses).[108] The pile of exposed corpses under the cradle provides the viewer with a visual record of the impact of the changeling's behaviour over time, while the fifth and latest wet-nurse's obvious relief at the arrival of the saint gives the scene the catharsis of a last-minute rescue. John Lindow, in his analysis of the child substitution motif as it manifested in later Scandinavian folklore, argues 'that changelings were first and foremost an economic problem'.[109] That is, while Lindow accepts that the child substitution motif served as an explanation for illness, the societal pressure that underlies the tales is centred on the changeling

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[107] Oesterley, I, pp. 614–16.

[108] Transcription from: Sofia Mata de la Cruz, *Museu Diocesà de Tarragona* (Barcelona: Escua, 2012), p. 34. English translation is my own.

[109] John Lindow, 'Changelings, Changing, Re-Exchanges: Thoughts on the Relationship between Folk-Belief and Legend', in *Legends and Landscape: Articles Based on Plenary Papers Presented at the 5th Celtic-Nordic-Baltic Folklore Symposium, Reykjavík, 2005*, ed. by Terry Gunnell (Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2008), pp. 215–34 (p. 230).

as a non-productive and yet constantly consuming body: a drain on the resources of the household.[110] I discuss the changeling and the strain caused by the attempt to provide it with sufficient nourishment at greater length in the next chapter, but suffice to say for now that the reliance on milk is also a feature of infancy. Thus, B III, like the other hagiographical images uses the image of the nursemaids to demonstrate the changeling's non-normative development.

In the hagiographic sources that depict the child substitution motif, medieval ideas about the health and development of children are intrinsically linked to didactic narratives which foreground saintly and human resistance to the negative influence of demons. In this sense, they reflect the culture in which they were produced. In the medieval imaginative landscape, physical and spiritual health were intertwined and to attempt to fully disentangle their presentation in these sources would be a futile and pointless endeavour. The contrast between the fully developed, handsome, wise saintly youth and the cradle-bound changeling, apparently unable to walk and still fully dependent on milk, is one that is firmly rooted in medieval ideas about normative childhood development. The changeling is conceptualised and presented, in both text and image, through motifs found in the 'ages of man' schemes. Motifs that exemplify infancy become indicators of ill health and non-normative development when attached to changelings apparently at the start of their second decade of life.

It is difficult to assess how these references to the health and development of infants and children in the hagiographic child substitution sources would have influenced the way in which people interacted with these stories. S VI is situated in the choir of what was then the *pieve*, that is the baptismal church, of Prato. Borsook suggests that the church's status as *pieve* was the prime motivator for the inclusion of murals and stained glass devoted to John the Baptist in the church. Stephen was, of course, the saint to whom the church was dedicated, and no further reason need be given for the choice to present his life in the murals. However, as Borsook suggests, the baptismal function of the church may have led to the choice to emphasise the childhoods of both John the Baptist and Stephen in the choir's murals.[111] From

[110] Lindow, p. 230.
[111] Borsook, p. 11.

the beginning of the 'ages of man' to the end, B II was designed for Pedro while he was alive, presumably with reference to his own preference for St Bartholomew. Pedro was known to have a stutter or speech impediment and his choice of patron saint may have been influenced by the perceived connect between the saint and children with non-normative development.[112] There is evidence that St. Bartholomew was associated with healing miracles and children. In parts of northern Portugal, children with speech impediements and epilepsy were (and still are) dedicated to St Bartholomew.[113] Moreover, when the London hospital St. Bartholomew's was founded in 1123 it 'rescued babies from Newgate prison', took care of unmarried mothers after they gave birth and, should they die, raised their orphaned children.[114] This tradition might explain why King Pedro of Portugal (d. 1367) had his tomb in the Cistercian abbey of Alcobaça carved with scenes from St. Bartholomew's life, including the story of child substitution.[115] Of course, a saint did not need to be associated with the child substitution motif in order to be associated with the cure or protection of children. However, the inclusion of the child substitution motif and the related ideas about health and development may have influenced the subsequent development of their cults, if only in a minor and mostly inaccessible fashion. The subsequent chapter will discuss in more detail the ways in which these sources can be used to discuss the care of children who are unhealthy or do not develop in a normative fashion. There, while Kuuliala is right to point out that these texts and images drew on a demonic topos and were intended to comment didactically on spiritual matters, I would argue that, this being the case, these sources are still relevant to a discussion about health. After all, spiritual health was envisaged as being closely connected to physical health and the creators of these sources likely drew on ideas about both in the genesis of these texts and images.[116] I would argue that the

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[112] F. Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, ed. by Giuliano Macchi, 2nd edn (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2004), p. 85.

[113] Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, 'A Romaria de S. Bartolomeu do Mar', in *Idem, Festividades Cíclicas em Portugal*, 2nd edn (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1995), pp. 239–50; Franquelim Neiva Soares, *A Romaria de S. Bartolomeu do Mar* (Eposende: Centro Social da Juventude de Mar, 1988); Colette Callier-Boisvert, 'Survivances d'un "bain sacré" au Portugal: São Bartolomeu do Mar', *Bulletin des Études Portugaises*, 30 (1969), 347–67.

[114] Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28.01 (1984), 1–21 (p. 2).

[115] Cristina Pimenta, *Pedro I* (Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 2005).

[116] See note 8 above.

medieval understanding of proper growth and development underpins the way in which the changeling is portrayed in this hagiography, and in the other sources. Furthermore, the fact that these sources were relatively widespread, both temporally and geographically, indicates that thinking about changelings and the health of children together was not confined to Germany and England.

(2.5) The association of changelings with non-normative mental development

In 2001, Goodey and Stainton questioned the easy association between changelings and people with an intellectual disability made by previous writers.[117] For Goodey and Stainton, this connection was only made in the mid- to late-seventeenth century, when the changeling became 'a creature differing in species from its parents purely on intellectual grounds in spite of resembling them physically'.[118] This development was, they argue, primarily influenced by John Locke's 1690 *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in which Locke used the term 'changeling' to refer to a non-rational child born of rational parents and suggested that, despite its parentage, the 'drivelling, unintelligent, intractable changeling' might be an interstitial species, in the space between human and animal.[119] Goodey and Stainton further hypothesise that this new definition was established 'by a conscious discussion of some kind, perhaps in the Royal Society of the 1660s'. [120] Prior to this, according to them, the 'disability of the changeling' was not an 'unacceptable, essential difference defined by intellectual criteria'.[121] Furthermore, it should also be noted that Goodey and Stainton do not see this idea of the changeling in the nineteenth-century folklore either. Rather, they argue that the connection between child substitution, changelings, and intellectual disability was solely manifested in intellectual culture and writings from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.

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[117] Goodey and Stainton, p. 223; R. C. Scheerenberger, *A History of Mental Retardation* (P.H. Brookes Pub. Co., 1983), p. 32; Joanna Ryan, *The Politics of Mental Handicap*, Rev. ed (London: Free Association, 1987), p. 88.

[118] Goodey and Stainton, p. 238.

[119] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* ed. by P. H Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 570. (Originally published in 1690)

[120] Goodey and Stainton, p. 237.

[121] Goodey and Stainton, p. 239.

Goodey and Stainton justify their objections to the connection between made between changelings and intellectual disability, in anything other than post early modern intellectual culture, in a number of ways. Their argument that mental and physical disability were not distinguished in any meaningful way during the medieval era has been ably dealt with by Irina Metzler and Wendy Turner, among others.[122] So for the purposes of this section, I focus primarily on the rest of their argument. Goodey and Stainton state that medieval and folkloric descriptions of changelings do not characterise them as unintelligent. Indeed, rather the opposite, with the changeling attempting to conceal adult and supernatural levels of intelligence or understanding from its supposed parents. They suggest that, since it would be apparent at birth, congenital physical impairment would be more likely to be associated with child substitution than intellectual disability, which would manifest later. However, they go on to state that if a condition was recognised at birth, the infant could not be understood as a changeling. Inconsistencies aside, Goodey and Stainton see physical difference as more visible in the written accounts of child substitution and more likely to prompt a changeling diagnosis. Furthermore, they note that prior to Locke's early modern classification of the changeling, supposed substitute children were not referred to as 'idiots'.

As I have already noted, Goodey and Stainton's medieval corpus is severely restricted. For their discussion of 'child substitution in medieval texts' they focus on Notker, whose inclusion in the canon of changeling sources they dispute, William of Auvergne, and Jacques de Vitry. In a subsequent section, they briefly mention the work of Nicholaus von Jauer (1405), Dietrich of Munster (1415), and Johannes Nider (1438), who all cite William of Auvergne in their own brief discussions of changelings. Goodey and Stainton then focus on the discussion of changelings in the *Malleus maleficarum* and in Martin Luther's *Table Talk*. No vernacular texts are included, and even Latin sources discussed by Schmitt, such as Stephen of Bourbon's account or the hagiographic sources, are disregarded. In this section, I explore the ways in which ideas about mental health and development can be found in the descriptions of

[122] Metzler, 'Afterword'; Metzler, *Fools and Idiots?*; Wendy J. Turner, 'Town and Country: A Comparision of the Treatment of the Mentally Disabled in Late Medieval English Common Law and Chartered Boroughs'; Wendy J. Turner, 'A History of Intelligence and "Intellectual Disability"'.

changelings in my own, expanded, corpus. I also discuss the etymological argument for this connection in more depth than my previous chapter allowed.

(2.5.a) Latin and hagiographic sources

Goodey and Stainton are correct that many changelings possess 'adult intellect' or even supernatural/demonic knowledge; however, I disagree that this fact precludes child substitution sources from being relevant to a discussion of medieval ideas about mental health and development. Many, although not all, changeling sources depict the attempt by the changeling to conceal their true nature. The question is not are the changelings themselves examples of non-normative mental development, but rather, does their deception involve the performance of traits associated with non-normative mental development in the medieval period? Or are their actions simply indicative of the normative mental development of a child of a similar presumed age? Goodey and Stainton acknowledge that the changelings in folkloric material attempt to conceal their level of intellect, but their presumption appears to be that this is manifest as a child or infant's normative level of intellectual development. This is, I would argue, difficult to reconcile with at least some of the medieval texts. With the exception of the Bartholomew tradition, where the saint sometimes returns to his family while still an infant or child, changelings in hagiographic sources are in the saint's household until an age where they would have been expected to have reached an adult level of intellectual development. Goodey and Stainton briefly reference the idea that 'causative inferences could reasonably be drawn from physical disabilities to mental ones', but they do not discuss this idea in relation to the medieval sources.[123] I have already discussed the ways in which Latin and hagiographic sources depict non-normative physical development; as I will demonstrate, these sources also contain hints that the changeling is presenting itself as an infant with non-normative mental, as well as physical, development. After all, mimicry implies that there is some kind of consensus about the state that is being mimicked; therefore, it is possible for us to examine the behaviours of changelings in the light of medieval ideas about non-normative mental development.

[123] Goodey and Stainton, p. 225.

As part of his longer description of the changeling, William of Auvergne notes that they are 'semper ejulantes' (always wailing). Crying in moderation was thought by medical writers to help develop an infant's lungs, but excessive crying could cause hernias or damage the eyes and various remedies to sooth a crying child were suggested.[124] Avicenna recommends sending the infant to sleep with a mixture of 'white poppy, yellow poppy, fennel seed, aniseed' to which opium could be added if there was a need for a stronger mixture.[125] This behaviour is highlighted in a number of the saints lives under discussion. Peter Calo and the Bartholomew legend portray the changeling as crying continually.[126] In addition to mentioning the way that the changeling 'non cessabat flere et sic clamare' (did not cease to cry and scream) three times, Antoniolo F. also describes how the saint's presence in the city immediately silences the changeling causing his parents to believe that 'appropinquet morti quia non potest plus clamare' (he approaches death because he is not able to cry [any]more).[127] In this text then, crying is associated with vitality and it is when the cries cease that the parents anticipate the imminent death of their supposed child.[128] Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII is unusual among the Julian and the Doe accounts in that noise is associated with the changeling. In this manuscript, the writer depicts the demonic changeling as reacting to the actions of the saint, thus: Stephen 'cepit orationem facere et diabolus tacitus factus est' (began to make a prayer and the devil became silent). This statement implies that prior to Stephen's prayer, the changeling had been making a noise and that the noise ceasing was unusual enough to be noted. Thus, while this is not an explicit reference to crying, as in the examples above, by referring to the other sources we might presume that crying was inferred.

The Julian and the Doe tradition is, like with the appearance, mostly silent on the behaviour of the changeling. MS Ashburnham 870 only notes that the changeling caused his

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[124] Shahar, p. 90.

[125] Of course, opium is also a poppy, but it could be that this was a stronger form or a different type of poppy. Avicenna, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna: Incorporating a Translation of the First Book*, trans. by C. Gruner (London: The Classics of Medicine Library, 1930), sec. 717.

[126] BNM, MS Lat IX 16, BrB, MS 1116.

[127] BA, H 82 suss.

[128] There is a possible parallel here with William of Canterbury's account of Augustine's crying being the only thing that hinted that the boy was human: Robertson, I, p. 204.

parents *tribulatio* (distress), and does not expand on the reasons behind this. It should be noted that, while William of Auvergne includes crying in his description of changeling characteristics, Jacque de Vitry does not. One might therefore question the extent to which crying was considered to be an integral characteristic of the changeling. Of course, the 'Julian and the Doe' tradition is in general less descriptive than the other versions of these saints' lives; however, Venice, MS Lat Z 158 (= 1779) includes the statement that 'cumque in foribus patris sui stetisset, ecce fremitus demonis mirabilis excitatur de ydolo' (when [Stephen] stood in his father's doorway, behold he incited a demon's wonderful roaring from the idol). This implies that the demon was not making noise, or at least not as much, prior to the arrival of the saint. The Lawrence tradition also omits crying from its detailed and relatively lengthy description of the changeling's behaviour. To an extent, the same can be said for the images of changelings, as in a static medium that lacks an auditory component the facility to convey the crying of the changeling is limited. The only image that one might contend attempts to do this is the tomb of King Pedro I of Portugal. As I have argued, the twisted face of the changeling in the substitution panel evokes the demonic, but the open mouth might also be intended to convey a scream or a cry to the viewer.[129] The versions of the saints' lives in which crying is either implied not to have been continuous or not mentioned at all might suggest that crying was not as central to the changeling's characteristics as we might presume based solely on William of Auvergne. However, it might also be the case that the audience would have a prior understanding of these behaviours and would be able to project these on the bare bones of the account.

Avicenna links excessive crying to a child's discomfort due to incorrect heat control, biting insects or constipation.[130] However, some of the child substitution sources link crying with vitality and humanity. In addition to Antoniolo F.'s legend, discussed above, William of Canterbury notes, of Augustine, that 'vagitus et erecta facies aliquod hominis innuebant' (his

[129] *Haro! Noël! Oyé! pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Didier Lett and Nicolas Offenstadt, Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 75 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003).
[130] Avicenna, sec. 717.

wailing and alert expression suggested something of the human).[131] It is worth noting that incessant crying was, on occasion, attributed to the malicious influence of the devil on the child.[132] While crying is not as clearly connected to ideas and health as some of the other characteristics of the demonic changeling we have discussed, when considered in light of the age at which the changeling is still portrayed as constantly crying, with no respite, we can still understand this depiction in terms of in terms of ideas about normative development. Crying is the infant's way of expressing hunger, discomfort, or disease, because it cannot use language to communicate as children or adults do. Thus, when the demonic changelings cry despite having been with the saint's family for over twenty years in some cases, that would appear to be indicative of a lack of mental and physical development.

In all textual versions of the legend, apart from BA, H 82 suss and BNM, MS Lat IX 16, the demonic changeling is exhorted to reveal its identity in the name of God. The wording is often subtly different, in Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII Stephen invokes 'deum vivum' (the living God), while in BML, MS Ashburnham 870 he refers to 'dominum yesum christum' (the Lord Jesus Christ). Lawrence, in his legend, calls upon 'virtutem sancte trinitatis' (the virtue of the Holy Trinity). [133] In all of the texts, the intention is to compel the demonic changeling to speak and reveal the truth about his nature. I discuss the connections that can be made between this semi-ritualised confrontation between the saint and the demonic changeling and the rites of exorcism in the next chapter. Suffice to say for the moment that, while a key part of the exorcism ritual is compelling the demon to tell the truth, in the case of the demonic changeling the saint does not require a truthful answer; after all, the demon often responds with a plea for mercy rather than a direct answer. Instead, he needs the demon to reveal its true nature by talking. Echoes of this can be seen in the later folkloric sources, where tricking the changeling into speaking is the focus of some of the non-violent rituals designed to reveal the nature of the changeling.[134]

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[131] Robertson, I, p. 204.
[132] Shahar, pp. 91–92.
[133] Oesterley, I, pp. 614–16.
[134] Ashliman.

Learning to talk and reason was an integral part of the development from infancy to childhood. This is reflected in the advice given to parents for encouraging their children to speak and the number of non-verbal children who were taken to shrines in the hope of a miraculous cure.[135] Thus, by examining the banishment rituals portrayed in the hagiographic sources, we can see that, with the possible exception of Lawrence's demonic substitute, when acting as a changeling the demon appears to be non-verbal and in doing so can be imagined as or connected to a child with non-normative mental development.[136] Thus, contrary to Goodey and Stainton's assertion, we do see some evidence of non-normative mental development or intellectual disability in some medieval child substitution sources.

(2.5.b) Vernacular sources

Goodey and Stainton's assertion that 'stray references to substitute children as "idiots" […] invariably postdate the early modern point at which the word "changeling" had become a term for intellectual disability' can be challenged by referring to the vernacular literature.[137] As I have touched on before, medieval sources that depict the act of child substitution or focus on supposed changelings are rarer than sources where the child substitution motif is merely referenced. It is also true that the vast majority of this first group of sources, which includes the child substitution hagiography and the Latin scholarship on changelings, do not explicitly refer to these changelings as idiots or use words that denote idiot to describe them. However, this does not preclude them from engaging with ideas about non-normative mental development. Looking for true substitute children in the vernacular sources is something of a futile endeavour and I would question the premise of Goodey and Stainton's statement. Our medieval sources may not provide a clear-cut example of a changeling, who has been substituted for a human child "on-screen", being called an idiot, but they do provide ample evidence that the medieval understanding of the child substitution motif overlapped with a conception of mental incapacity/impairment or non-normative mental development. In this section, I discuss the

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[135] Shahar, p. 93; Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 58–59.
[136] At least up to the point at which their true demonic nature is revealed.
[137] Goodey and Stainton, p. 225.

ways in which this intersection is manifest in both medieval vernacular sources and etymological evidence.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is abundant, sound, etymological evidence that words with the primary denotation of changeling were subsequently/also used as a term of abuse, focused on the purported lack of mental capacity of the insulted party. I drew from this the obvious inference that medieval changelings were understood to have a diminished mental capacity, or at least that this was one of the characteristics associated with changelings, such that a changeling-word might be used to refer to a person that we would describe today as being intellectually disabled, possessing some form of mental impairment or displaying non-normative mental development. Furthermore, words for changeling are often used in concert with other terms of abuse that focus on insulting a perceived lack of mental capacity. In Old Norse, changeling-words appear to be synonymous with words like *fol* (m. fool) and *afglapi* (m. fool, simpleton).

For instance, in *Þiðrekssaga af Bern*, Þetleifr is called *fól* m. (fool) three times and *ættleri* m. (a degenerate person, a discredit to a family) once. He is also called a *skiftingr* twice and a *vixlingr* once.[138] As established in the previous chapter, these two Old Norse words are used to denote both fool/idiot and changeling. Þetleifr is not a changeling, but he is also not the child that his parents, Biturulfr, the best fighter in Denmark, and Oda, daughter of the earl of Saxland, either expected or hoped for. He is depicted as a *kolbítur* (hearthdweller): lazing around by the kitchen fire, having unsuitable friends, being slovenly and refusing to practice fighting.[139] This leads to Biturulfr finally voicing his suspicion that Þetleifr is not his child and, when

[138] For a normalised edition of the Old Norse, see: *Þiðreks saga af Bern*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson, 2 vols (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1954), I, secs 111–114, pp. 164–168. For the English translation of the whole saga, see: Haymes, LVI, secs 111–114, pp. 76–78. I dispute Haymes' translation of the crucial confrontation between Þetleifr and Biturulfr. Haymes translates 'En þat segi ek, at þú ert skiptingr einn, en hvárskis okkars barn' as 'I tell you that you are an idiot, but no one else's child'. This translation obscures the true meaning of Biturulfr's statement and its connection to the child substitution motif. *Okkarr* is a possessive pronoun used to denote 'our' in the dual sense, while *hvárrgi* denoted 'neither of us two'. Biturulfr is denying that Þetleifr is his or his wife's child, thus, I have translated this phrase as: 'I tell you that you are a changeling and a child of neither of us.'

[139] The figure of the hearthdweller or "male Cinderella" is a frequent motif in Old Norse literature, see Inger M. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana, v. 27 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), p. 189 (Motif L 114.1).

Þetleifr points out that his mother's powerful relations would not be pleased to hear Oda slandered as an adulteress, Biturulfr calls Þetleifr a changeling.[140] After this confrontation, Þetleifr undergoes an almost comically fast transformation into a 'vasclegra mann' (most valiant man), gaining the respect and love of both his parents.[141] This text is clearly engaging with the child substitution motif primarily as a way to discuss parent-child relationships, particularly in regard to male fears about cuckoldry and their blood legacy.[142] Þetleifr is experiencing adolescent angst rather than a permanent mental impairment.

With that said, it is worth examining in more detail the terms that are used to refer to Þetleifr most often: *fól* and *skiftingr*. *Skiftingr* is attested in Old Norse prose in twenty separate incidents.[143] Out of these twenty uses, *skiftingr* is directly paired with *fól* four times, that is *fól* and *skiftingr* appear in the same sentence and refer to the same person; for instance, everyone thinks of Þetleifr as a 'fol oc sciptingr'.[144] *Fól* is also used to refer to characters that have been called *skiftingr* elsewhere in the text, as when Biturulfr informs Þetleifr that he would disgrace his parents if he came to the feast with them, 'slict fol sem þu ert' (such a fool as you are).[145] According to Cleasby and Vigfusson, *fól* can carry 'the notion of rage and foul language' and, depending on context, can be used to refer to a madman.[146] Þetleifr, of course, displays neither of these qualities, in his case the word is used simply to mean 'fool'. In Carol Clover's paper 'Regardless of Sex', she makes the case that Old Norse society was 'based to an extraordinary extent on winnable and losable attributes': to be born a high-status male 'did not confer automatic superiority […] distinction had to be acquired.[147] For Þetleifr, *fól*, *skiftingr*, *vixlingr* and *ættleri* are used to express his parent's disappointment and anger that their son has not

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[140] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113.
[141] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 114; Haymes, LVI, sec. 114, p. 78.
[142] These issues are the main subject of Chapter 5 and *Þiðrekssaga af Bern*, Þetleifr, and his parents are discussed further there.
[143] 'Skiftingr Sb. M.'
[144] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 111.
[145] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 77.
[146] Richard Cleasby, 'Fól, N.', *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), p. 550.
[147] Carol Clover, 'Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe', *Speculum*, 68.2 (1993), 363–87 (pp. 379–80).

developed and shows no signs of trying to develop into the 'vasclegra mann' (most valiant man) they would have expected their son to be. Returning to the semantic development chart I introduced in the previous chapter, *skiftingr* is used at Signification E or F and at Signification T at different points in the story. That is, it is used to denote a term of abuse and a changeling. However, the fact that *skiftingr* is used synonymously with *fól* at least suggests that, even if the context indicates that no connotation of changeling can be inferred in this specific circumstance, changelings and fools were linked in Old Norse culture.

It appears that *skiftingr* and *vixlingr* are part of a semantic field that focuses on perceived or actual lack of mental capacity or non-normative mental/intellectual development. Some of the other words in this semantic field include: *glópr* (a fool (Z), an idiot, baboon(C/V)), which is paired with *skiftingr* twice and *afglapi* (an oaf, fool, simpleton), which is directly paired with *skiftingr* twice as well as being used to describe characters who are also referred to elsewhere as a *skiftingr*. *Afglapi* is particularly interesting because it is also one of the terms used to describe a character called Helgi in *Gísla saga*, a *íslendingasögur* from the thirteenth century. Helgi is not a changeling, nor are changeling-words used to describe him; however, as the description below demonstrates, he does appear to have what we might describe today as a severe intellectual disability:

> Með Ingjaldi var þræll og ambátt. Þrællinn hét Svartur en ambáttin hét Bóthildur. Helgi hét sonur Ingjalds og var afglapi sem mestur mátti vera og fífl. Honum var sú umbúð veitt að raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn og beit hann gras úti sem fénaður og er kallaður Ingjaldsfífl. Hann var mikill vexti, nær sem tröll.
>
> There were both a male slave and a female slave at Ingjald's house. The man was named was Swart, and woman Bothild. Ingjald had a son named Helgi, as great and simple-minded an oaf as ever there was. He was tethered by the neck to a heavy stone with a hole in it and left outside to graze like an animal. He was known as Ingjald's Fool and was a very large man, almost a troll.[148]

[148] 'Gísla saga Súrssonar (styttri gerð)', in *Íslendinga sögur og þættir*, ed. by Bragi Halldórsson and others, New Edition, 2 vols (Reykjavík: Svart á Hvítu, 1987), I, 852–98 (sec. 25, p. 880); 'Gisli Sursson's Saga', in *The Sagas of Icelanders*, trans. by Martin S. Regal (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 496–557 (sec. 25, p. 536). Translations first published in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, I–V (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson, 1997).

In Helgi's case the use of *afglapi* is intensified: 'var afglapi sem mestur mátti vera og fífl' (as great and simple-minded an oaf as ever there was).[149] However, this intensification also happens when the word is used as a term of abuse directed at someone who displays normative mental development, as when King Haraldr wants to really insult his illegitimate son Sveinn and calls him 'mesti skipting oc afglapi' (the greatest *skipting* and *afglapi*).[150] Alternatively, when the younger brother in one of the Marian miracles says that his elder brother sounds like an 'afglapa ok skiptingi' the lack of an intensifier softens the insult.[151] The fact that *afglapi* is used to describe someone who displays clear signs of non-normative development, to the extent that he is treated like an animal rather than a person, gives us an indication as to what characteristics *afglapi* projected onto the insulted when used as a term of abuse. Furthermore, the relatively frequent use of *afglapi* in conjunction with *skiftingr* suggests that a *skiftingr* or *vixlingr* might be understood to share this perceived lack of mental capacity or non-normative mental development.

Before moving on to our other vernacular sources, it is worth pointing out that *skiftingr* and *vixlingr*, while clearly part of the same semantic group as *fól* and *afglapi*, are often used in a distinctive way. I noted above that changelings, while they may exhibit or portray the characteristics of non-normative development, are engaged in a deceit designed to conceal their true physical form and level of intelligence from their supposed parents. Although this is not always the case, some Old Norse writers seem to delight in exploiting the deceptive connotations of *skiftingr* and *vixlingr* to comment on their characters. This can be seen with Þetleifr, where his abrupt transformation into a 'vasclegra mann' (most valiant man) indicates that, like a changeling, he had previously concealed his true level of ability from those around him.[152] There is also a minor trend of *skiftingr* being used by pagan kings to insult Christian

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[149] Blake, p. 47; 'Gísla Saga Súrssonar', chap. 21 <http://www.snerpa.is/net/isl/gisl.htm> [accessed 26 January 2015]; The Icelandic Saga Database, 'The Saga of Gisli the Outlaw', 2007, chap. 21 <http://www.sagadb.org/gisla_saga_surssonar.en> [accessed 26 January 2015].
[150] Blake, p. 47.
[151] *Mariu saga: Legender om jomfru Maria og hendes jertegn*, ed. by Carl Rikard Unger, Norske oldskriftselskabs samlinger, 14, 2 vols (Christiania: Tryckt hos Brögger & Christie, 1871), II, p. 611.
[152] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 114; Haymes, LVI, sec. 114, p. 78.

heroes after their religious bent is revealed, as in *Beverssaga* and *Rémundar saga keisarasonar*.[153] In these two instances the insult is paired with the word *fol* and contrasted with *vitr maðr* (wise man). The kings' use of *skiftingr* indicates, not only that they consider the heroes' choice of religion to be foolish, but also that they consider the heroes to have been acting like changelings and concealing their true identity. Another nice example of this connection between *skiftingr* and deception is Án, from *Áns saga bogsveigis* (*The Saga of Án the Bowbender*), who is described as someone who 'var snemma mikill vexti ok ekki vaenn ok heldr seinligr' (grew early to be large in size, not handsome and somewhat backward). (*seinligr* = a. slow, dull, reluctant). Early in the saga, Án takes a place in a king's hall but is the subject of constant mockery because 'þótti hann heimsligr' (he seemed foolish).[154] Throughout this section of the text it is clear that, while 'var hann afglapi kallaðr af sumum mönnum' (he was called a simpleton by some people), Án is in fact very smart and uses his reputation as an *afglapi* for his own advantage; for instance, he pretends to have lost a ring in an outhouse, causing his tormentors to search through the excrement for the ring, which he then reveals to have been on his arm the whole time.[155] This reaches a head when Án's main tormentor, Ketill, impersonates Án in order to gain entry to a farmer's house and states his intention to rape the farmer's daughter. Án confronts Ketill, saying that ever since they met, Ketill had 'leitaðir þú eptir nokkurum hlutum um atgervi mína, ok þóttist þú ekki af því sjá, heldr hitt, at ek væra skiptingr, en ek em þó atgervismaðr' (inquired into certain aspects of my ability and you seemed to think nothing in it, but rather that I was a *skiftingr*, and I'm nevertheless a man of great accomplishments'.[156] Subsequently, Án tars and feathers Ketill, puts out one eye, castrates him and, giving him two sticks as witness to his new physical disability, sends him back to the king, who promptly kicks Ketill out of the warband

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[153] *Bevers saga*, ed. by Christopher Sanders, Rit / Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Islandi, 51 (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2001), p. 29; 'Rémundar saga keisarasonar', in *Riddarasögur*, ed. by Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, 6 vols (Reykjavík: Islendingasagnaútgáfan, 1954), V, 161–339 (p. 294).

[154] 'Áns saga bogsveigis', in *Fornaldar sögur Nordrlanda*, ed. by Carl Christian Rafn, 3 vols (Reykjavík: Hardvig Fridrek Popp, 1829), II, 323–62 (p. 326); 'Áns Saga Bogsveigis. The Saga of Án Bow-Bender', in *Medieval Outlaws: Twelve Tales in Modern English Translation*, ed. by Thomas H. Ohlgren, trans. by Shaun F. D. Huges, Rev. ed. (West Lafayette: Parlor Press LLC, 2005), pp. 290–337 (p. 308).

[155] Rafn, II, pp. 327 & 332–33; Ohlgren, pp. 308 & 311–12.

[156] Rafn, II, p. 341; Ohlgren, p. 319.

because he is 'afhendr' (unfit).[157] Án's use of the word *skiftingr*, rather than any of the words (*seinligr*, *heimsligr*, *afglapi* etc.) that had been directed at him previously, underlines this as a moment of revelation: e.g. you thought I was a *skiftingr* (idiot) but actually that was a deception like that of a changeling.

Án is not the only person in Old Norse prose depicted as concealing his intelligence and associated with the term *skiftingr*. The following is an extract from 1 Samuel 21, roughly corresponding to verses 11–16 [10–15], found in *Stjórn III*, which is an Old Norse retelling of the Old Testament books Joshua through to 2 Kings.[158] According to Ian J. Kirby, it was likely produced around the middle of the thirteenth century by Brandr Jónsson and it draws on both the Vulgate and the *Historia scholastica*, a twelfth-century Biblical paraphrase written by the first chancellor of the chapter of Notre Dame de Paris, a man known as Petrus Comestor (Peter the Devourer of knowledge).[159] To give context, this incident occurs after David has fled from Saul to the Philistine city of Gath, which is ruled by Achish. David is at the gates of the city when he is recognised by the guards:

> Ottaz hann nu miog er hann var kendr af konungs monnum. tekr nu þat rað at hann brætytir sem mest ma hann sinni asiono oc torkennir sik. sva at hann kastar molldo i avgv ser oc andlit enn þ̨nr upp hvarmana oc glikir sik gðmlom karli. hann hostar miog oc hrækir i skegg ser. hyrr hann hvrðir oc hvetvitna þat er fyrir honum verðr oc lætr ner sem vitstoli. Nu sem Achis konungr sa hann. mælti hann sva til manna sinna. Hvart hafi þer tynt vitino. er þær sðgðut þenna enn gamalæra glop vera David af Bethleem. til hvers læiddv þær þetta fol fyrir mik. ę̨ða skortir oss aðr skynlavsa skiptinga. þo at þessi vfarnaðr æriz æigi inni her fyrir augum mer. hæilir sva skyndit til oc rekið ut vvin þenna. sva at hann komi æigi siðan imin herbergi. David for nu þaðan hvlðv hðfði til hę̨llis þess ę̨r het Odolla.
>
> He now grows very afraid when he was recognised by the king's men. He now takes this course of action, that he changes his appearance as much as he can and disguises himself, such that he throws earth into his eyes and his face and stretches up his eyelids and makes himself like an old man. He coughs a lot and spits into his beard. He knocks at doors and anything that comes before him and behaves almost as if wit-stolen. Now, when King Achis saw him, he spoke thus to his men: 'What have you [pl.] lost your wits [standardised ON *vitinu*, from *vit*], when you said this man, the old-aged fool [standardised ON: *glópr*], to be David of Bethlehem? Why have you led this fool [fól] before me? Or do we previously lack senseless changelings? [*skynlavsa skiptinga*] Although this misfortunate man does

[157] Rafn, II, p. 342; Ohlgren, p. 319.

[158] *Stjorn: Gammelnorsk bibelhistorie fra verdens skabelse til det babyloniske fangenskab*, ed. by Carl Rikard Unger (Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark, 1862), pp. 474–75.

[159] Ian J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, Publications de La Faculté Des Lettres / Université de Lausanne, 27 (Genève: Droz, 1986), p. 67.

> not run mad [*ærist*, from *æra*] here within before my eyes, sane people thus hurry and drive out this enemy, so that he may never come again into my room.' David now went thence with his head covered to that cave which is called Odolla. [160]

Like Án's saga, this extract contains no actual act of child substitution, so it may be more indicative of the way in which *skiftingr*'s semantic range has extended *beyond* simply denoting changelings at this point; however, despite this semantic drift some echoes of the changeling remain. Similarly, to the demonic changelings of the child substitution hagiography, David uses disguise and deception to conceal his true nature and thus King Achis' inference that he is a 'skiptinga' is both untrue, David is not mad, and true, David *is* concealing his true nature behind a disguise.[161] This disguise and the behaviour that David puts on is described in relative detail and is worth examining in order to determine what type of behaviour could inspire the use of the descriptor 'skynlavsa skiptinga' (senseless changelings) in Norway at this time. It should be noted that this descriptor is unique to the Old Norse text and appears to be used to translate the Latin term 'furiosi' (mad men). This is particularly notable because the term *furiosi* seems to be fairly consistently understood during the Middle Ages and, as I will discuss, the fact that the translator uses the term 'skynlavsa skiptinga' (senseless changelings) to translate the term *furiosi* for his audience adds a new element to our understanding of the way in which changeling-words were used at this time.

Both Irina Metzler and Saul M. Olyan have discussed this incident as a Biblical depiction of feigned mental incapacity or disability. Olyan, in his discussion of the Hebrew text, devotes particular attention to the behaviours that David feigns, i.e. that he 'drummed/made marks on the doors of the gate, and caused his spittle to run down his beard'.[162] These behaviours are also present in the Latin Vulgate text from which the Old Norse translation derives: 'Et immutavit os suum coram eis, et collabebatur inter manus eorum: et impingebat in ostia portæ, defluebantque salivæ ejus in barbam' (And he changed his countenance before

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[160] Carl Rikard Unger, pp. 474–75. English translation by Alaric Hall.

[161] It should be noted that early- to mid-fifteenth-century wall paintings in the Undløse Church parish church in Denmark depict the moment of St Lawrence's substitution, so demonic changelings and the hagiographic child substitution motif were not completely foreign to some parts of late-medieval Scandinavia.

[162] Saul M. Olyan, *Disability in the Hebrew Bible: Interpreting Mental and Physical Differences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 66.

them and slipped down between their hands, and he stumbled against the doors of the gate, and his spittle ran down on his beard'.[163] Olyan suggests that drooling might be symptomatic of the loss of facial muscle control associated with a stroke, which can 'cause the functional equivalent of […] mental retardation'. Equally, drumming is 'a repetitive and frequently attention-seeking behavior often associated with severe mental retardation and autism'.[164] Although Metzler injects a note of caution, observing that modern retrospective diagnosis is often 'suspect', she does note that: 'if David is indeed drumming while drooling, he is portrayed as acting in a way indicative of severe mental retardation'.[165] Certainly, in whichever language the story is told, it is clear that David's actions should be understood as the mimicry of traits that were associated with or understood to be indicative of some form of mental incapacity. By further examining the language used in this text, I highlight the ways in which this text depicts and discusses mental incapacity in order to further understand the ways in which a medieval audience would have conceptualised the mental incapacity that David imitates. In addition, I focus on the process of translation as a means to locate the text in a specific culture. Thus, does the translation from Latin to Old Norse change anything about this portrayal? Does the translator tailor his translation to chime with a uniquely Nordic understanding of mental incapacity?

In the Latin Vulgate, King Achish describes David as a 'hominem insanum' (an insane man), he compares him to 'furiosi' (mad men) and asks if he has been brought 'ut fureret' (in order that he might rave/rage). Focusing on *furiosus* adj., *furere* vb. is particularly pertinent, as many scholars have argued that *furor* was understood as a 'discrete psychiatric disorder'. Ivan Bankhead, in his summary of the general agreement on Aquinas's use of the term *furiosi*, states that it is best understood as a term used to refer to 'adults with a deranged and violent form of severe mental illness'.[166] Thomas Aquinas uses the term *furiosi* in conjunction with the term *amentes*. According to Bankhead, *amentes* is more difficult to pin down, but in using it Aquinas

[163] 1 Samuel 21, verses 11–16 [10–15]
[164] Olyan, p. 68.
[165] Metzler, *Fools and Idiots?*, p. 70; Olyan, p. 68.
[166] Ivan Bankhead, 'Thomas Aquinas on Mental Disorder and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist: Summa Theologica 3.68.12 and 3.80.9 Revisited', *Journal of Disability & Religion*, 20.4 (2016), 239–64 (p. 243).

seems to refer to 'adults with a profound […] congenital intellectual disability', thus he certainly considers *amentes* to be distinct from *furiosi*. Metlzer's argues that, at least by the thirteenth century, a distinction was drawn, certainly in the area of legislative matters and often elsewhere, between 'insanity (postnatally acquired and often temporary)' and 'idiocy (congenital and insuperable).[167] While I am personally reluctant to state categorically that *furiosi* or *amentes* were only ever used to refer to distinct and defined conditions, I do think that the language used in the Vulgate, in conjunction with the suddenness of David's transformation, would have encouraged the reader to understand David to be acting as a temporarily insane mad man.

While the Old Norse is not a word for word translation of the Vulgate text, the translator does appear to be attempting to choose Old Norse words that have roughly similar connotations to their Latin counterparts. In particular, I would argue that the threat of violent madness is as integral to Old Norse as it is to the Latin. See, for instance, the translator's use of the word 'œra' (*ærist*): 'to run mad, run wild' to translate 'fureret'. As I noted above, Cleasby/Vigfusson state the word 'fól', which Achish uses to describe David, in addition to meaning 'fool', often has 'the notion of rage and foul language' attached to it.[168] The text states that David 'lætr ner sem vitstoli' (behaves almost as if wit-stolen) and according to Cleasby/Vigfusson the word *vitstola* means 'insane' and thus a direct comparison can be drawn to the Vulgate description 'hominem insanum' (insane man).[169] Thus, we seem to be dealing with the same type of mental affliction as was described in the Latin text and it is this that makes the decision to translate 'furiosi' as 'skynlavsa skiptinga' a particularly fascinating one. While other elements of David's disguise may be indicative of some of the aspects of mental health that I have already discussed, particularly non-normative mental development, madness is not otherwise associated with *skiftingr*. While this connotation may have been attached to *skiftingr* at a point when its original denotation had been, if not forgotten, then diminished in

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[167] Metzler, *Fools and Idiots?*, p. 148.

[168] Cleasby, 'Fól, N.'

[169] Jon Ger Høyersten has suggested that 'mental disease or psychosis was often called *vitvirring* [lit. wit-estrangement]' and that 'eventually the person was *vitlauss*, *vitstolinn* or *hamstollinn*.' Jon Geir Høyersten, 'Madness in the Old Norse Society. Narratives and Ideas', *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 61.5 (2007), 324–31 (p. 326).

importance, the close association that we see between Old Norse changeling-words and non-normative mental health and development only makes sense if Nordic changelings were characterised by similar traits.

Furthermore, the Middle English corpus supports the fact that this understanding of changelings was not restricted to the Nordic countries. A connection between mental health and changelings is clearly demonstrated in the Middle English sources. While, unlike in Old Norse, the Middle English changeling-word *congeon/conjon* does not tend to be directly paired with other words in the semantic field of idiocy/foolishness, the advice in *Hali Meiðhad* that a wife must be faithful to her husband 'beo he cangun oðer crupel' (even if he is an idiot or a cripple) juxtaposes 'cangun' and 'crupel'.[170] The grammar of the sentence indicates that, while both conditions are impairments, one is physical and the other, through clear juxtaposition, is implied to be mental. Other Middle English sources, such as *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, speak to the idea that a *congeon/conjon* was imagined in terms of non-normative mental development. A 'conioun', like a child, sees glass beads as jewels: 'Þet byeþ þe small stones of gles ssynynde, and þe conioun [Fr. *musard*] his bayþ [= buys them] uor rubys, uor safyrs, oþer uor emeroydes. þet byeþ as iueles to childeren'.[171] The use of *congeon/conjon* in these two texts falls somewhere in the Signification G–L range, as the term is used to denote a mental disability.

The term *congeon/conjon* is also used to point out intellectual inferiority due to lack of learning. This variation is used in a couple of Middle English texts. When Saint Catherine offers to dispute with a panel of learned men, in the earliest South English Legendary, one of them responds: 'Seie, dame conIoun, ȝwat art þou? [...] Þenchestþou speke a-ȝein ore clergie?: turne þi þouȝt, ich rede!' (Tell us who you are Dame Conjoun [...] Do you intend to quarrel with our

[170] Millett, p. 16, line 12.

[171] *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. by Richard Morris, Original Series / Early English Text Society, 23, rev. by Pamela Gradon 1965 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1866), p. 76, line 34.

learning? I advise you to think again.)[172] Dame Study also calls the dreamer of Piers Plowman 'a conyon' for aspiring to knowledge that it is improper for him to possess.[173]

It should be noted that many if not most of the Middle English sources contain no clear implication of a mental impairment when they use *congeon/conjon*. For instance, when the writer of the early thirteenth-century Middle English *Ancrene Wisse* describes a 'cang dohter' (foolish daughter) who 'þriueð as the cangun, se lengre se wurse' (thrives like the *cangun*, the longer, the worse), the preceding description of the foolish daughter makes it clear that she is unsuitable for the life of an anchoress because of her motivations (wanting 'more mastery' over her life) and attitude (laughing, being frivolous, speaking carelessly and foully or being bitter and chiding), rather than because of a mental impairment. This idea of unsuitability for a particular position crops up in association with some other uses of *cangun*. A king in *Of Arthour and Merlin* is described as being 'bot a conjoun; þo he sei3e swerdes drawe, To fle sone he was wel fawe' (but a *conjoun*; when he sees swords drawn, he is very happy to flee soon'.[174] This cowardice is obviously unsuitable in a leader of men on the battlefield, but again, this is clearly a failure of character and not a mental impairment.

Thus, while Goodey and Stainton are correct that no substitute child, whether a supposed or actual changeling, is explicitly called an 'idiot' in our medieval sources; this rigid approach does not allow for the exploration of the other ways in which the medieval corpus expresses the connection between changelings and ideas about non-normative mental health and development. It is clear from the Middle English and Old Norse sources that vernacular words for changeling were part of a semantic group of terms used to express a number of concepts related to ideas about idiocy or foolishness. Furthermore, the corpus includes depictions of a complex spectrum of behaviours through from lack of development in children, to mental instability, adolescent bolshiness, lack of education, character failings, and dementia.

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[172] *The Early South-English Legendary, or, Lives of Saints*, ed. by Carl Horstmann, Early English Text Society. Original Series, 87 (London: Trübner, 1887), ll. 95–6.
[173] William Langland, *Piers Plowman: The A Version*, ed. by George Kane (London: Althone Press, 1960), p. 62, ll. 87–88.
[174] Macrae-Gibson, I, p. 17.

In some texts these behaviours are feigned; however, this only serves to indicate that a particular combination of mannerisms or traits could be assumed in order to mimic recognisable conditions. In some cases, this may indicate that a changeling connotation was still being played with when changeling-words were used, but it could also simply be indicative of the way in which the original denotation of changeling influenced, or flavoured, the way in which the usage of the word developed. Furthermore, even if the vernacular sources are excluded, there is enough evidence in the Latin and hagiographic sources to suggest that the child substitution motif was used to discuss non-normative development in infants and children, both physical and mental. However, this is only one facet of the discourse. As I indicated above, while changelings could be understood to be mimicking some form of non-normative mental health or development, they could also be associated with a range of other behaviours, depending on time, place, language and medium/genre.

(2.6) Medieval medical diagnosis of suspected changelings

As noted above, the use of scholastic medical knowledge to diagnose supposed changelings was not unique to post-eighteenth-century scholarship. In this section, I focus on three sources where the writers draw on their medical knowledge to explain a condition that has led some to dub the sufferer a changeling. The first is William of Canterbury's account of a miracle performed by Thomas Becket around 1172, 'De puero syntectino' (Concerning a boy suffering from a wasting disease).[175] The second is Johannes Hartlieb's description of 'was der götz vil fräß und wächselkind sey' (what imps, cormorants, and changelings are) from his 1456 *Das puch aller verpoten kunst, ungelaubens und der zaubrey* (Book of All Forbidden Arts, Superstition, and Sorcery).[176] The third is the discussion 'Von der unnaturlichen grossy des haupts' (Concerning the unnatural enlargement of the head of the child) in Bartholomeus Metlinger's paediatric

[175] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.

[176] For an English translation of this text, see: Hartlieb and Molitor. The text is edited in: Johann Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, ed. by Dora Ulm (Halle: Niemeyer, 1914). The original text, as well as a modern German translation can be found in: Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, trans. by Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989).

manual published in 1473.[177] While the latter two texts are separated from the first by around three hundred years and all were composed for different purposes, the authors do share a background in the scholastic medical theory and practice of their respective times and were willing to bring this knowledge to bear on children who were either called changelings or supposed to have been substituted. A close, comparative reading of these texts allows us to examine the ways in which the authors approach the attribution of changeling status to children and to discuss the relationship between a scholastic medical diagnosis and the child substitution motif as an alternative diagnosis. With a close focus on only three sources, the intention of this section is not to develop a compete and cohesive picture of the intersection between the child substitution motif and impairment. Rather, it allows us to examine the way in which those with a scholastic medical background might interact with and understand the child substitution discourse.

William of Canterbury was a monk based in Christ Church Priory when Thomas Becket was martyred and in mid-1172 he began to compile Becket's miracles into what was to become England's longest miracle collection. It was not simply length that separated William's collection from the compilation of Becket's miracles written by his brother monk Benedict; while Benedict gave priority to the accounts of religious men or miracles that had occurred in the cathedral, William drew extensively on the tales told by the 'people coming to prayer'.[178] One of these stories was recounted at Becket's shrine by an English priest named Ralph and his unnamed partner, described by William as *consors thori* (a consort of his bed).[179] They had

[177] The original print of the text has been digitised but there is no edited edition of it, Unger provides a High German translation of the original West Swabian dialect and Ruhräh translates Unger's text into English; however, I should note that Ruhräh's translation is 'somewhat freely rendered' and relies on Karl Sudhoff for some of the medical terminology. Notwithstanding this, in the absence of an edited edition of the original text, I have used Unger and Ruhräh's translations, returning to the incunabula to confirm their sense of the original at pertinent points. The title as given here is in the West Swabian dialect and is drawn from Scheibenreiter's transcription. The English translation is my own modification of Ruhräh's translation. Bartholomaeus Metlinger, *Ein Regiment Der Jungen Kinder* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1473), pp. 21–23; *Das Kinderbuch des Bartholomäus Metlinger 1457–1476: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kinderheilkunde im Mittelalter*, ed. by Ludwig Unger (Leipzig; Vienna: Deuticke, 1904), pp. 21–22; John Ruhräh, *Pediatrics of the Past* (New York: PB Hoeber, 1925), pp. 84–85.

[178] Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA; Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 182.

[179] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.

travelled on pilgrimage from the Derbyshire village of Somershall in order to give thanks for the miraculous cure of their infant son, Augustine. According to William's account of their story, when Augustine was only six months old, he was so weak and thin that he was more like a pile of bones than a boy. Only his crying and facial expression made him seem at all human. His parents had kept him hidden, but on the very night that they dedicated him to Thomas Becket, Augustine was restored to health, as if he had been born again. Thus far, this tale reads very much like the accounts of other sick or impaired children who were cured by Thomas Becket; however, something about the case induced William of Canterbury to state in his narrative of Augustine's illness and cure, that:

> Corpoream namque substantiam gravis passio consumpserat, ex ulcere pulmonis proveniens, aut ex clamore vagientis vel aliis causis quas physicus assignat; nemo enim sanae mentis vulgi fabulosa deliramenta credit, quod pueros supponi putat aut transformari.
>
> For in fact, a serious disease, produced by an ulcer in his lungs, or else by the noise of his wailing or from other causes which the physician specifies, had consumed his bodily substance; for no-one of sound mind credits the fabulous nonsense of the people, who believe children to be substituted or transformed.[180]

This is the only known reference to the child substitution motif in a medieval miracle narrative; furthermore, due to William's learned medicalised approach to the miracles he recorded, this source also provides us with the earliest scholastic medical diagnosis of a supposed changeling. William's clear grasp of medieval scholastic medical theory allowed him to utilise precise learned medical terminology in his graphic description of Augustine's state as well as to suggest a number of causes for the boy's former condition that are based in learned medieval medical theory.

From a distinguished medical family, Bartholomeus Metlinger (d. c. 1491) gained a medical degree from the University of Bologna in 1468 before returning to practise medicine in the Swabian region of Germany where he had grown up. In 1473, he published a paediatric text written in the West Swabian dialect. In his brief introduction, he explains that the book is intended to help every father and mother care for their child in health and sickness from birth to the age of seven. Metlinger divides his text into four sections. The first deals with caring for a

[180] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.

new-born, the second focuses on nursing, the third details children's diseases, and the book concludes with a discussion of the proper education, diet, and care for children between the ages of two and seven. Susanne Scheibenreiter has suggested that Metlinger was inspired by Paulus Bagellardus' book on paediatric diseases, which was published in Italy the year before his own.[181] Metlinger spent a lot of time in Italy and, although he makes a number of additions including the condition that is connected to the child substitution motif, on the whole his book covers the same diseases as Bagellardus' earlier text. In this chapter on diseases, Metlinger includes a part entitled: 'Von der unnaturlichen grossy des haupts der kind darum man si wechsselkind heist' (Concerning the unnatural enlargement of the head of the child which is the reason why it is known as a changeling). In his discussion of this condition, its causes and treatment Metlinger draws almost word for word on the account of this disease found in Al-Rāzī's *De curis puerorum* (*On the Treatment of Small Children*), but, the description of such children as changelings is unique to the German text.[182]

Metlinger's paediatric text was the subject of two theses in 2008; however, neither Scheibenreiter nor Manzke makes much of the changeling reference.[183] M. Miles mentions Metlinger's casual use of the term changeling to describe a medical condition in his discussion of Martin Luther's views on childhood disability; however, neither Miles nor Metzler, from whom he quotes, appear to have had direct access to Metlinger's text as Metzler refers, in turn to Luke Demaitre's 1977 article.[184] Demaitre on the other hand is clearly familiar with Metlinger's text. In his discussion of this case, he notes that Metlinger's apparent personal observation of a child's death due to this condition is in fact a word for word translation of the Latin Al-Rāzī.[185] Demaitre also observes in passing that the care prescribed for the child belies

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[181] Susanne Scheibenreiter, 'Krankheiten Des Kindes Im Mittelalter' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 2008), p. 74.

[182] *Al-Rāẓī, On the Treatment of Small Children (De Curis Puerorum): The Latin and Hebrew Translations*, trans. by Gerrit Bos and Michael McVaugh, Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 21–22, 49–50.

[183] Scheibenreiter, pp. 32–33; Walter Martin Manzke, 'Remedia pro Infantibus: Arzneiliche Kindertherapie Im 15. Und 16. Jahrhundert, Dargestellt Anhand Ausgewählter Krankheiten' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Marburg, 2008), p. 32.

[184] Miles; Metzler, 'Responses to Physical Impairment in Medieval Europe', pp. 25–26; Demaitre, p. 478.

[185] Demaitre, p. 478; Bos and McVaugh, pp. 49–50.

the presumption that a child called a 'wechsselkind' would be abandoned or exposed by its parents. Until this point, no substantial work has been done on Metlinger's text in relation to the child substitution motif.

Like Metlinger, Johannes Hartlieb (d. c. 1468) studied in Italy, gaining a medical doctorate from the University of Padua in 1349, before spending most of his adult life serving the dukes of Austria and Bavaria-Munich, sometimes in the capacity of a physician.[186] He wrote *The Book of All Forbidden Art* in 1456 in order to warn Margrave Johann "the Alchemist" of Brandenburh-Kulmbach to resist the temptation to dabble in the occult. The book provides a somewhat haphazard survey of the seven occult arts; although the categorisation of these arts is not very rigorous, for instance, changelings are discussed as an aside under the banner of spatulamancy, the art of divination through the inspection of bones. In his description of changelings, which he groups with imps and cormorants, Hartlieb states that:

> Das wissen die natürlichen ärtzt wol und sprechen, das ain krankhait sev. die haißt bolismus oder apetitus canunus. Die selb krankhait mag man mit kainem essen oder trincken dann allain mit ertzney erfüllen, wann alle speis gät ungedäwt durch den leibe, also verschwindt das flaisch und die pain beleiben jn jr größe. Das macht das chind so ungestalt, umb das haißt man die chind, wächselkind.
>
> The natural physicians know well about these things, and say there is a sickness called *bolismus* or *appetitus caninus*. This illness cannot be cured by any eating or drinking alone, because all food goes undigested through the body, and so the flesh wastes away while the bones retain their size. This causes children to become deformed, and they are called changelings.[187]

Bolismus or *appetitus caninus* was understood as an insatiable hunger.[188] As such, the combination of insatiable hunger with a physical wasting means there are clear parallels between Hartlieb's description of what 'das wissen die natürlichen ärtzt' understand changelings to be suffering from and the way in which changelings are described by William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry.[189] On the other hand, neither Metlinger's nor William of Canterbury's

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[186] Hartlieb and Molitor, p. 4.

[187] Original text from: Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, p. 73. English translation from: Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 90–91.

[188] Juhani Norri, *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English, 1375–1550: Body Parts, Sicknesses, Instruments, and Medicinal Preparations* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 60 & 114–15; Juhani Norri, *Names of Sicknesses in English, 1400–1550: An Exploration of the Lexical Field*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, 63 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1992), pp. 133–34, 148–49, 181, 305 & 309.

[189] Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, pp. 73–74; Hartlieb and Molitor, p. 90.

descriptions of the supposed changelings correspond exactly with the characteristics set out by William of Auvergne or Jacques de Vitry.[190] Metlinger's changelings' only symptom is the growth of their heads to an unnaturally large size, which is a trait not mentioned by either William or Jacques. It is easier to see Augustine as a changeling in the tradition of William of Auvergne or Jacques de Vitry.[191] William of Canterbury devotes a number of paragraphs to describing Augustine's extremely weak and thin body. He also twice draws attention to Augustine's wretched expression and wailing. These symptoms are clearly similar to those described in less detail by William of Auvergne, as well as the wasting away of flesh described by Hartlieb; but, notably, the wailing that is so much a characteristic of the demonic changeling in both William of Auvergne and some of the later hagiographic texts is, in William of Canterbury's account, one of the few proofs that there is a human soul trapped in the dessicated husk of Augustine's body.

There are some similarities in the physical appearance of Augustine and the changelings described by Hartlieb, but there is little to connect these two texts with Metlinger's description of changelings. However, one aspect of the conditions described strongly links all three texts, not just to each other, but also to the fundamentals of the child substitution motif. Metlinger states quite clearly that: 'Sie tritt meistens über den 7. Tag nach der Geburt auf und wegen der grossen Veränderung, die da geschieht, nennt man die Kinder Wechselkinder.' ([The growth of the child's head] begins generally after the seventh day [of the child's life] and, on account of the great changes in the appearance, these children are called exchanged children.')[192] Thus, the sudden change in appearance of what appeared at birth to be a healthy child is the reason, in Metlinger's estimation, behind the term applied to these children. Furthermore, while in this case the term 'wechsselkind' is attached to a specific condition, the reasoning behind the term

[190] It should also be pointed out at this juncture that Jacques and William's descriptions do not exactly align either. Both highlight the insatiable hunger of the changeling and its lack of growth; on the later point Jacques is explicit while William merely implies it by stating that the changelings stay with their wet nurses for many years. William mentions the changelings' constant wailing, but Jacques does not. In addition, Jacques notes the changelings' hard and distended stomachs, but William notes only that the changelings are thin.

[191] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Jacques de Vitry, p. 129.

[192] Metlinger, p. 21; Ludwig Unger, p. 21; Ruhräh, p. 84.

does not preclude the name being attached to other conditions where a similarly rapid change of appearance occurs. When the child substitution motif occurs in hagiography, the saint is depicted as being exchanged either on the night of his birth or, in one case, at least prior to circumcision.[193] William of Canterbury, on the other hand, does not say exactly when Augustine's condition deteriorated, but his focus on Augustine's state six months after birth as well as his statement that when the miraculous cure took place Augustine 'sementivam natalemque reciperet speciem' (could acquire again the appearance of his conception and birth), implies that the Augustine too was born apparently healthy.[194] This chimes with the ritualised pleas of the mothers in the Holy Greyhound rite for the fauns to take away their 'sick and infirm' children and return their own 'fat and healthy' human children.[195] Hartlieb too noted that the *bolismus* 'causes the children to become deformed', again, this implies that the child initially appeared to be healthy before a dramatic change in appearance.[196] Furthermore, the fact that he reports that they disappear around the age of three again suggests that this change happens relatively early in infancy.[197] Based on this evidence, it seems that as changelings were understood to be substituted for healthy human babies, it was more likely that a child who appeared healthy at birth and then became sick or otherwise impaired, such that there was a dramatic change to their appearance, would be more likely to be associated with the child substitution motif.

Much like the Victorian doctors who examined supposed changelings, neither William of Canterbury nor Metlinger and Hartlieb gave credence to the notion that the children they described were true changelings; however, their accounts do give us some clues as to the identities of the people who did. As noted above, while Metlinger does acknowledge the possibility that a person with medical experience might read the book, he envisaged his book primarily being used as a practical guide by parents, potentially first-time ones, with little

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[193] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 82 suss, fols. 84r–85r.
[194] Latin from Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.
[195] Schmitt, p. 6; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 117.
[196] Hartlieb and Molitor, p. 90.
[197] Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 90–91.

experience of caring for infants. While I have not yet been able to determine how much the book would have cost when it was first published, the woodcut on the title page of the 1497 edition presumably either reflects the book's target audience or presents an image to which the target audience could aspire. This woodcut depicts a well-to-do household: the windows are glazed, and the room lit by a small chandelier, the father is engaged in counting money, the son reads, while his sister assists their mother with spinning and the baby is rocked in its cradle. If this was not exactly the audience that Metlinger envisaged his text having, it is at least the audience that his publishers were targeting twenty-four years later. As the local doctor, Metlinger would have known his patients and their families and would have heard the names that they gave to the illnesses that they suffered. Thus, although he draws his discussion of the causes and treatment of enlarged heads in infants almost word for word from Al-Rāzī's *De curis puerorum* (On the Treatment of Small Children), the fact that he calls the children who suffer from this condition 'wechsselkind' indicates that this is the term used and understood by his intended audience. Now Metlinger does not say that his audience *believed* that their children have been the subject of child substitution, just that dramatic changes in the appearance of the children led them to be called 'wechsselkind'. It could be that belief in the reality of changelings was thriving in later fifteenth-century Augsburg, but, equally, the name could be a relic of an older, now defunct, understanding of these children's condition. Although certainly possible, I think it less likely that Metlinger uses the term to simply mean 'idiot', with no connotation of changeling, as he understands the term to be used due to a sudden change in appearance.[198]

William of Canterbury is, as discussed in the previous chapter, much more dismissive of those who connect the child substitution motif to sick or impaired children than Metlinger. In William's eyes the 'vulgi' who believe in this 'fabulous nonsense' are not of 'sound mind' and he invites his audience, likely intended to be Latinate clergy or courtly elites with access to Latinate translators, to share in this view.[199] It is not clear from the text what exactly inspires

[198] Or both, depending on who used the term. Parallels for this kind of development in English include *stroke* and *lunacy*.

[199] Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation. For a discussion of William of Canterbury's intended audience see: Koopmans, pp. 128–29 & 154–55.

William to mention child substitution in this context. It is possible that Augustine's symptoms were similar to those of other children that William had either encountered or heard of that were supposed to be changelings and that William simply chose this account as the one in which to address this general belief. However, it seems to me more probable that William's interjection was inspired by something said by Augustine's parents. A village priest such as Ralph would not necessarily have the same level of education as William and may well have shared the beliefs of his congregation. Whether Ralph and his partner indicated their own belief in child substitution or mentioned this as a theory they had heard from others is impossible to know. However, William certainly positions the theories of a 'physicus', that is an academically-trained medical practitioner, against those of the 'vulgi', leading us to assume that, like Metlinger, William percieves those who see sick or impaired children as changelings as people who lack medical training or, at least, those who do not look to a 'physicus' for an explanation for sickness or impairment. Since in the twelfth century few people had access to a 'physicus', William's people of 'sound mind' could well be vastly outnumbered.

Hartlieb, while not as forcefully dismissive as William, introduces the concept of changelings with a note of scepticism. Not only does he explain that there is a scholastic medical explanation for their appearance, he also states that he has not read about changelings disappearing after three years from any 'reliable writings', only 'heard it said by women more than men'.[200] In doing this he contrasts spoken testimony with 'reliable writings', which seems initially to imply that these oral sources are not to be trusted to the same extent as written records, perhaps especially because women are the main vector for this discourse. It should be noted at this juncture that, while Hartlieb says he could not find any 'reliable writings', his description of changelings vanishing after a few years cleaves closely to William of Auvergne's account. William states that: ' Hi cum nutricibus annis multis morari visi sunt, et postmodum evolasse, vel potius evanuisse' ([changelings] appeared to have remained with their nurses for many years, and afterwards to have flown away, or rather vanished).[201] This is perhaps an

[200] Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 90–91.
[201] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73; Richard Firth Green, 'Changing Chaucer', p. 114.

indication that William's construction of the child substitution motif had become divorced from his authorship, orphaned and amalgamated into the wider discourse about changelings, although other writers, such as Nicholas of Jawer (d. 1435) who was working a generation or so earlier than Hartlieb in roughly similar geographical locations, did cite William of Auvergne. Either way, Hartlieb's statement that the changelings are said to vanish from 'honourable' parents goes some way towards softening his position vis-à-vis those who believe in the reality of this occurrence, at least compared to William of Canterbury. Richard Keickhefer notes that, despite Hartlieb's 'condemnatory bluster [...] he was fascinated by the occult'.[202] Certainly, Hartlieb seems more open to the possibility that changelings do disappear and goes on to outline the reasons why God might allow or even direct this to happen.

Notwithstanding the wider discourse surrounding the child substitution motif and the fact that they are writing in three different genres, these three writers are all clearly drawing on medieval medical theories in order to describe and diagnose their subjects. William of Canterbury's description of Augustine's condition shares many elements with Roger Frugardi's description of *ptisys* (the consumption of the body's "essential humidity" by an ulcer in the lungs). Based in Parma, Roger was a contemporary of William's. Their shared understanding of humoral theory is evident in both their language and construction of the illness.[203] William's description of Augustine continually focuses on the fact that he is, humorally speaking, unnaturally dry. This is particularly shocking and dangerous in an infant as infancy was the stage of life characterised by an abundance of humoral blood, which led to them being warmer and moister than at any other life stage. For Augustine, however, 'consumptio substantialis humiditatis et ossea congeries ariditasque deformis hominem negabant substantialis humiditatis' (the consumption of his essential moisture and [his body like] a bone heap and his inappropriate

[202] Hartlieb and Molitor, p. 6.

[203] For Roger Frugardi's description of the condition as translated into Anglo-Norman French, see: *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, ed. by Tony Hunt, 2 vols (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994), I, pp. 266–67. For the availability of medical texts in England, see: Monica H. Green, 'Salerno on the Thames: The Genesis of Anglo-Norman Medical Literature', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Brown and others (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 220–31.

dryness denied [that he was] human).[204] William suggests, in a diagnosis that reflects Roger Frugardi's explanation of *ptisys*, that Augustine's essential moisture is being consumed by an ulcer in his lung. Perhaps because he is relying on the testimony of Augustine's parents, he does not settle on this as firm diagnosis. Instead he additionally suggests that Augustine's 'gravis passio' (serious disease) could also have come from 'clamore vagientis vel aliis causis quas physicus assignat' (the noise of his wailing or from other causes which a physician specifies).[205] Whatever the medical cause might be, William is absolutely certain that there were no changelings involved.

Metlinger does not seem to be as irritated by the notion of changelings as William of Canterbury, but he does clearly set out that, in an interesting contrast to Augustine, the swelling is caused by an overabundance of the moisture of the head, combined with a thick skull and vapour changing to water in the head. Furthermore, he notes that the reason why the head only begins to enlarge seven days after birth is that while in the womb the mother's heat destroyed the vapour.[206] Metlinger's diagnosis is thus purely medical; however, William of Canterbury, despite his medical rigor, does hint towards a potential accessory factor in Augustine's illness. The twelfth century saw the rise of a reform movement focusing on the imposition of clerical celibacy.[207] Augustine is the product of the relationship between Ralph, who seems to be a parish priest, and a woman, whom William describes as the 'consort of his bed', although Ralph may well have considered her to be his wife. William has already noted that Ralph and his partner had disregarded the laws on clerical marriage when they conceived Augustine and he goes on to state: 'Hinc confusi parentes nemini videndum portentuosum animal exhibuerunt, peccato suo et pudori tenebras quaerentes, qui contempto jure matrimonii genium colebant.' (Hence, the troubled parents showed to no one the animal portentous to see, desiring darkness for their sin and shame, the parents who were maintaining their natural instinct, despite having

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[204] Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.
[205] Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.
[206] Metlinger, p. 21; Ludwig Unger, p. 21; Ruhräh, p. 84.
[207] Jennifer D. Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity, and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066–1300*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 1066–1300.

disregarded the law of matrimony.) [208] In this passage, William figures Augustine's withered body as the symbolic fruit of his parent's shameful coupling and implies that it was the shame of their relationship that caused them to conceal Augustine.[209] Jenni Kuuliala has suggested that this indicates that Augustine's parents believed that God was punishing them for their sins by making their child ill.[210] However, William's interpretation of Ralph and his partner's attitude to their son's condition is not necessarily correct. While William, a high-status monk based in the foremost cathedrals in the land, is a proponent of clerical celibacy, a rural parish priest such as Ralph would not necessarily have felt the same compunction regarding his relationship with Augustine's mother. Personally, I am inclined to attribute their reticence to other concerns; there is evidence in BA, H 82 suss to suggest that a child with extreme physical differences might provoke disgust in those that saw them. Augustine's parents may have hidden him from their neighbours for fear of provoking such a reaction. Their decision to conceal their child may even have been related to the child substitution theory that William so furiously refutes. William's suggestion of sin as the ultimate cause of Augustine's condition prefigures his miraculous cure as God disregards the parents' sins in order to rescues Augustine with 'levi medicina' (swift medicine). By contrast, Metlinger's suggested remedies involve a degree of trial and error: if one suggested remedy does not work, he recommends a further treatment. One treatment plan involves making a nasal suppository of wolf's gall and myrrh to be placed in the child's nose for half an hour every eight days until two months have passed. This is certainly not 'levi medicina'.

In conclusion, although the comparison of these very different sources should not result in definite statements as to the attitude towards the child substitution motif of all medically learned medieval people, these sources do enable me to make some suggestions as to the overlap between sick or impaired children and the child substitution motif. First, and

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[208] Robertson, I, p. 204. English is my own translation.
[209] This is not the only miracle in which William does this, for more cases, see: Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 86–87.
[210] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 79; Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, p. 86.

perhaps unsurprisingly, it appears that people who supposed that sick children were in fact changelings or who referenced the child substation motif in their naming of childhood disease were not believed by medically knowledgeable people to have a good, medically sound, understanding of disease or illness.[211] Second, the conditions that appear to prompt the suspicion of child substitution often involve a sudden and dramatic change in what appeared at birth to be a healthy child. Finally, these sources are predicated on a general awareness of the child substitution motif and its connection to unhealthy children. Of course, both sources are geographically and temporally specific. They are also unique among miracle healing narratives and paediatric texts in referring to the child substitution motif at all. Thus, while I would feel confident in stating that there was a notable connection between unhealthy children and changelings in the imaginative landscape of parts of twelfth-century English and fifteenth-century German society, there is no evidence in these texts to support this being a widespread phenomenon. However, the sources that I have discussed previously indicate that the wider changeling discourse did intersect with ideas about health and illness.

(2.7) Conclusion

When examined as a whole, the corpus of sources that contribute to the medieval discourse surrounding the child substitution motif demonstrate that during the latter half of the Middle Ages there was certainly a link between the concept of the changeling and health and illness, particularly when this manifest in infancy or early childhood. By expanding this corpus to include the full range of hagiographic material, as well as vernacular texts, it is clear that this connection was being made beyond the confines of England and France. However, what we do not find in these sources is a consensus as to the type of conditions that might encourage a connection to the child substitution motif to be made. The portrayal of the demonic changelings in the hagiographic sources invokes medieval ideas about the non-normative development of infants; these changelings are ambiguous figures, trapped in the liminal space

[211] The use of changeling references in the mystery plays might also fit into this schema, in that references to the child substitution motif are put into the mouths of people who represent corrupt knowledge, ignorance, or even evil. We are not, then, invited to subscribe to changeling discourses there either. I discuss the appearance of the child substitution discourse in the mystery plays in both Chapter 3 and Chapter 5.

between infancy and childhood. Notker's 'wíhselinga judei' (Jewish changelings) are imagined as possessing a physical impairment (lacking a leg), one that corresponds to a spiritual one (rejecting the New Testament). However, the presumably young children taken to the shrine of Saint Guinefort are described as 'morbidum et languidum' (sick and feeble), thus they appear to be more ill then impaired or non-normatively developed. Although the etymological development of words that denoted a changeling implies that, at one stage, the changeling was envisaged as non-normatively mentally developed, the sources in which this is directly manifest are few and far between. It is occasionally possible to draw these disparate strands together. For instance, there is some indication, particularly in those texts composed by people with a learned medical background, that infants who were born with no apparent differences, but who then acquired conditions that instigated a sudden change in appearance, may have been more likely to have been thought of in terms of the child substitution motif. Time, space, and genre of source may have influenced how this connection manifest, but what is clear is that the child substitution motif was used to discuss the health of infants and children, and that this discussion touched on many aspects of health and illness.

Although an association can be established, the impact that this had on people's perceptions of unhealthy children is less clear cut. Certainly, it should not be assumed that rituals such as the ones conducted at the shrine of Saint Guinefort were commonplace. While the motif does appear to have been more widespread than scholars such as Kuuliala have posited, it is equally not as all-pervasive during this time period than many have assumed. Not every sick child is presumed to be a changeling. However, where this connection was made or where the discourse on unhealthy children did intersect with the child substitution motif, it is worth asking what impact this might have had on the provision of care or the treatment of unhealthy children. Kuuliala assumes that this connection would have led to a marginalisation or othering of those sick children; however, this is not necessarily demonstrated in our corpus of sources. As such, it is a discussion of childcare and the child substitution motif that forms the basis of the next two chapters.

Chapter 3: The Child Substitution Motif: Care of Changelings

(3.1) Introduction

In the section, I focus on the ways in which child substitution sources depict the care of changelings, supposedly changeling children and children associated in some way with the child substitution motif. The medieval child-substitution corpus shows the sustained nurturing of children even in the face of extreme challenges, whether that is non-normative development, ill-health or refusal to conform to social expectations; however, they also depict acts of, sometimes extreme, violence committed against the 'revealed' changeling. By examining the various ways that changelings are treated in my corpus, I hope to demonstrate the continuities, as well as the contradictions in the care of changelings. Furthermore, I discuss the way that the harsh treatment that changelings sometimes received could be constructed as necessary and curative care, as well as examining this violent care as part of a spectrum of responses that included non-violent approaches. As part of a wider examination of care, I also examine the impact that caring for a changeling could have on a household, with a particular focus on the figures of the parents and the wet-nurse. Throughout this chapter, I consider the various ways in which this care was viewed and consider the extent to which care practices associated with child substitution had a material impact on the lived experiences of those children who were chronically unhealthy.

(3.2) Sustained Care of Changelings

Many medieval child substitution sources, particularly the hagiographic ones, assume or depict an extended period in which the changeling, while pretending to be a human child, is cared for by the unsuspecting parents and the household as a whole. Rituals intended to reverse a substitution are rarely found in medieval sources and, even in sources that do incorporate the banishment of a changeling, this is often preceded by a period during which the changeling receives sustained and consistent care. In the majority of the hagiographic sources, the abducted saint has grown into a young man before he returns to his parent's house in order to banish the changeling. Writers in the Holy Man tradition are the most precise, with Peter Calo specifying

that Stephen was twenty-five on his homecoming, while Antoniolo F. states that the saint was nineteen.[1] It is only in the Bartholomew legends that the saint returns while still an infant or child; the only extant written account explains that the saint lived with a holy man until he was three, while, as I noted in the previous chapter, B II depicts the saint as substantially shorter than the other figures in the scene.[2] William of Auvergne offers a similar timescale when he states that the demonic changelings stay with their carers for 'annis multis' (many years) before finally disappearing.[3] Generally, it appears that the length of time spent caring for the changeling could often be envisaged as considerable, which in turn compounds the emotional, social, and human cost of ensuring the continued care of the changeling.

In this section, I examine the ways in which this period of sustained care is shown to impact the members of the household. Drawing on pertinent sections of Kuuliala's study, I discuss the social and emotional cost of caring for a changeling, particularly in terms of the effect on the parent's spiritual health and their relationship with their wider community. As presented in these sources, the changeling characteristics that were discussed in the previous chapter makes delivering and maintaining a basic level of care a daunting, even dangerous, prospect. Despite this, the caregivers in these sources seem willing to do 'quicquid sciebant' (everything they knew [how to do]) for the changeling, often regardless of the human cost this might incur.[4] Thus, I also consider whether or not the care given to the changeling by its supposed parents is ever portrayed as excessive. These medieval child substitution sources provide a lens through which to explore medieval anxieties about the impact that the long-term care of non-normatively developing, chronically ill or otherwise impaired children might have on those around them.

(3.2.a) Emotional and social cost of care

Most written sources in the child substitution hagiography emphasise, if only briefly, the emotional and social cost which is incurred on the saint's parents and their household as a result

[1] BNM, MS Lat IX 16, BA, H 82 suss.
[2] BrB, MS 1116. Of course, B III describes Bartholomew as being 24.
[3] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–73.
[4] BA, H 82 suss.

of caring for the changeling. That the household should suffer is not, of course, an unintended consequence of the substitution. I touch upon this point in more detail at a later point in this chapter, but suffice it to say for the moment that many of the demonic changelings replace the saint 'ut sic familiam contristaret' (in order that [the changeling] might distress the household').[5] The oldest source, Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, and its textual relative, BNM, MS Lat Z 158, describe the household's 'tristitia' (sadness/sorrow) as a result of the changeling living in their midst. Poignantly, in both texts, Stephen's father explains to the saint that the joy of having been granted a son has been tainted with sadness or distress.

Other sources discuss the changeling's impact on the people around it in more detail. In these texts, as well as the household's sadness and distress, we also get hints at the way in which the wider community viewed the changeling in their midst. In BML, MS Ashburnham 870, Stephen's parents describe the changeling as 'filium tribulationis et scandalis' (a scandalous and distressing son).[6] The noun *scandalum*, can be used to denote 'a source of disgrace or loss of good name', but it might also be used to describe a spiritual snare, that is an inducement to sin.[7] Both denotations appear suitable when applied to these demonic changelings. Lawrence is replaced by a changeling in order to turn his newly converted parents away from the Christian faith while Stephen's parents, in Peter Calo's version of the Holy Man legend, retain their goodness despite the Devil's intentions in placing a changeling with them. Thus, the demonic changeling can be placed in the household as a *scandalum* (inducement to sin) intended to turn the saint's parents away from their goodness or faith, but other texts, such as BrB, MS 1116 or the Stephen Holy Man legends (BNM, MS Lat IX 16 and BA, H 82 suss), clearly present the changeling as a source of shame for the saint's parents.

Both Peter Calo and Antoniolo F. focus on the theme of thwarted hospitality.[8] Both fathers in the Holy Man legends state that the changeling is an impediment to them providing

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[5] BNM, MS Lat Z 158.

[6] Literally, 'a son of distress and scandal', as *scandalis* appears to be a third-declension variant of the better attested, second-declension *scandalum*.

[7] 'Scandălum, i, N.', *Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[8] BNM, MS Lat IX 16 and BA, H 82 suss.

hospitality to travellers or, implicitly, inviting anyone into their house. The reason given for this varies depending on the version. In Peter Calo's text, when Stephen arrives on his parents' doorstep asking for shelter for the night, Stephen's father explains to the saint that: 'Libenter darem hospicium, sed in domo habeo fillium die noctuque plorantem et ululantem, qui onmes de domo affligit et nullum permittit quiescere.' (I willingly give hospitality, but in my house I have a son crying and wailing day and night, who afflicts all from the house and permits no one to rest.)[9] Although Stephen immediately says that he does not care about the wailing, the implication is that most visitors or guests would avoid staying with Stephen's family because of the noise. Since 'omnes gentes hospicio suscipientes' (receiving all peoples with hospitality) was cited at the beginning of the story as evidence of their exemplary Christian goodness, the changeling is clearly acting as an impediment to their good works.[10] While most members of the laity were not obliged to offer hospitality in the same way that the clergy were, providing shelter to those who needed it was one of the seven works of mercy and, particularly in the later part of the Middle Ages, performing charitable works was an integral part of lay religiosity.[11] However, providing hospitality is not an exclusively spiritual act and it was envisaged as having other, more social, benefits. As Ayanna Sheree Brown notes 'hospitality materially benefited the community while also spiritually enriching the individual'.[12] The reciprocal hospitality engaged in by Stephen's parents was an essential component of good neighbourliness and, thus, the changeling's presence does have a social, if not a spiritual, consequence.

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[9] BNM, MS Lat IX 16.

[10] BNM, MS Lat IX 16.

[11] Adam J. Davis, 'The Social and Religious Meanings of Charity in Medieval Europe', *History Compass*, 12.12 (2014), 935–50 (p. 942); James Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, D. C.: CUA Press, 2009), pp. 178–221; Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, 'Charity and Aid in Medieval Christian Civilization', in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. by Mirko D. Grmek and Bernardino Fantini, trans. by Antony Shugaar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 170–96.

[12] Ayanna Sheree Brown, 'That Peace Shall Always Dwell among Them and True Love Be Upheld': Charity, the Seven Works of Mercy, and Lay Fellowship in Late Medieval and Early Reformation England.' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2014), p. 61.

This consequence is articulated in much more emotive terms in Antoniolo F.'s version of the Holy Man legend. Here, in response to the same request for shelter from his son, Stephen's father answers:

> Non possum vos hospitare cum habeam virum filium ita paruus? sicut quomodo natus fuit qua sunt 19 anni et inique crevit neque decrevit. Sic quod horribible est videre eum quia en valde deformis natura siue creatura vobis generaret fastidium.
>
> I am not able to offer you [or anyone] hospitality while I have a male child thus just as small as he when he was born, that was nineteen years ago and unjustly he has neither increased nor decreased. On account of this it is horrible to see him because behold, [whether] deformed by nature or nurture, he intensely produces disgust in you all.[13]

Kuuliala notes that, while on the whole communities tended to accept or at least tolerate children with impairments as they were not uncommon, there were some conditions that could be a source of disgust or shame. For instance, some conditions were actively anti-social; she cites the case of Guillot *dit* le Potencier, a cloth-fuller's apprentice, whose leg became impaired when he was thirteen. Initially, Guillot continued to work, possibly even reaching the status of journeyman; however, eventually his condition became a social as well as a physical impairment, as the discharge from his leg stank so badly that no one could stand to be near him. He was eventually cured through the merits of Louis IX.[14] Peter Calo's description of the changeling's crying seems to fit into this paradigm. While the changeling child itself is not necessarily the subject of disgust or a source of shame, the noise that it produces is so anti-social as to result in its, and the saint's family's, effective exclusion from certain aspects of their community's social life. By contrast, Antoniolo's focus on the changeling's appearance reminds us that, 'conditions that made [people] look anomalous' were more likely to lead to some form of ostracization. It should be noted that Stephen's father is quite precise in his description of the reaction that his supposed son provokes. 'Horribile est videre eum' (it is horrible to see him) is stated as a fact, but when he says that the sight of the changeling 'generaret fastidium' (produces disgust), he appends the ablative form of the second person plural pronoun 'vobis' (in you all). In doing

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[13] BA, H 82 suss.

[14] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 64–66 & 70. For other accounts where people are recorded as excluding the impaired due to the smell of putrefaction, see Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 182–83.

this, Stephen's father excludes himself and possibly the rest of the household from this reaction to the changeling. This may simply be due to continued exposure to the sight of the changeling; however, it also implies that, whatever emotions Stephen's father and mother feel towards the changeling, its presence has resulted in some form of division between those within and those outside the household.

These hagiographical sources that utilise the child substitution motif give us some insight into the social stigma that children with visible, health related, differences might have in some communities. Antoniolo makes it clear that 'horribile est videre' (it is horrible to see) the changeling *because* he has not developed at all in the nineteen years that have passed since the substitution. The changeling is an extreme case, but these texts do indicate that it was not out of the range of possibility that a child 'deformis natura siue creatura' (deformed by nature or nurture) could provoke a profoundly negative reaction in those that saw them and that this led their parents to keep them out of the sight of others. These particular hagiographical texts are not the only ones to hint towards this type of reaction, or at least parental fear of such a reaction. In an account in a miracle collection, Augustine's parents also hide their profoundly and visibly sick child away from the sight of others:

> Hinc confusi parentes nemini videndum portentuosum animal exhibuerunt, peccato suo et pudori tenebras quaerentes, qui contempto jure matrimonii genium colebant.
>
> Hence, the troubled parents showed to no one the animal portentous to see, desiring darkness for their sin and shame, the parents who were maintaining their natural instinct, despite having disregarded the law of matrimony.[15]

In the above passage, William of Canterbury constructs Augustine's condition as a signifier of his parents' improper sexual conduct, that is a portent or sign of their shame, thereby implying that it was a belief that their sin caused his condition that caused them to conceal Augustine. However, William's interpretation is not necessarily correct. While William is undoubtedly a proponent of the twelfth-century drive to enforce clerical celibacy, a rural parish priest such as Ralph would not necessarily have felt the same compunction regarding his relationship with Augustine's mother. With that said, we are told that Augustine's parents hid him from the sight

[15] Robertson, I, p. 204.

of others. This, combined with the detailed description of Augustine's almost inhuman appearance and William's brief reference to the child substitution motif, leads me to suggest a parallel between this miracle and Antoniolo's portrayal of Stephen's parent's treatment of the demonic changeling. This is, of course, speculative, but it seems unlikely that William would have felt the need to refute the child substitution motif as an explanation for Augustine's condition unless Augustine's parents had brought it up as a theory or their description of Augustine's condition matched closely with other accounts of supposed changelings that William knew about. Either way, Antoniolo's legend and Augustine's case provide us with some evidence to suggest that, in extreme cases, parents could decide to conceal an impaired, ill or non-normatively developed child from the rest of their community.

However, despite this evidence that caring for a changeling was a difficult and draining endeavour that could lead to the household's social isolation, there is no indication in the hagiographical sources that the saint's parents ever consider abandoning or exposing their supposed child. Indeed, Antoniolo, while giving perhaps the most vivid description of the changeling as a 'curse' to the parents, also chooses to emphasise the good care that the parents take of their supposed child. They notice when the changeling stops crying and, believing him to be close to death, members of the household keep a vigil over the changeling. In BNM, MS Lat Z 158, the saint's presence causes the changeling to roar like a demon, which in turn makes the household break out into 'lamentum et fletum' (weeping and wailing). That the saint's family demonstrate concern for their supposed child and continue to care for it, despite the difficulties that this causes them, does not mean that child substitution hagiography does not deal with the exposure or abandonment of children. In fact, the abandonment or exposure of an infant is a central motif in all of these legends; it is just that it is the infant saints who are exposed or abandoned by demons, rather than the changelings by the saint's parents.[16]

[16] See (4.3) Exposure/Abandonment in Child Substitution Sources.

(3.2.b) Human Cost of Care

In this section, I foreground the often-ignored figure of the changeling's wet-nurse by examining the physical impact that caring for a changeling has on her body and the way in which this is depicted and discussed in the medieval child-substitution corpus. In doing so I evaluate the relative value placed on a wet-nurse's life, as opposed to the life of the changeling, by those that she served and assess the way in which this is presented by the sources. I focus in particular on the depiction of wet-nurses in B III, which was painted in the fourteenth century around 1360, by the Master of Santa Coloma de Queralt, for the Metropolitan Cathedral-Basilica of Saint Mary in Tarragona. I also draw on the way in which learned writers utilized the figure of the wet-nurse as a way of quantifying the hunger of the changeling.

I described in the previous chapter the way in which B III's tableau of Bartholomew's return to confront his changeling is composed, but it is worth briefly recapping at this juncture. Bartholomew is positioned on the left-hand side of the scene, hand extended to form the sign of the cross. His parents, who are described in BrB, MS 1116 as Sicilian royalty, are enthroned on a raised dais towards the back. The changeling sits in a cradle underneath which four women lie. All the women have their eyes closed in an attitude of death and the breasts of the women nearest to the front are clearly exposed. Another woman with her breasts exposed kneels to the right of the cradle in an attitude of prayer. On the crib is written: 'aquest diable he(n) / forma de infant jage he(n) lo brec, xxix Anys he(n) forma de Sant bertom/eu aucis iiii didas' (This devil, in the shape of an infant, was lying in the cradle twenty-four years, in the shape of St. Bartholomew, he caused the death of four wet-nurses). Even within the child substitution hagiographical corpus, this image stands out. There are six other images that depict the return of the saint, but this is the only image to include the changeling's wet-nurses.

The creator of this image was clearly drawing on a tradition related to the child substitution motif that is first expressed by Jacques de Vitry and William of Auvergne.
In their descriptions, the changeling's ravenous hunger is described through its impact on the bodies of the women nursing it. Jacques tells us that the changeling 'multas nutrices laetendo exhaurit' (exhausts the milk of several wet-nurses), while William says that they are 'quatuor

nutrices nulla ubertate lactis unum lactare, & pascere lacte sufficiant' (such milk-drinkers that four nurses do not supply a sufficient quantity of milk to feed one' and as a result they '[drain] the breasts of nurses).[17] This theme is picked up by later writers as well. For instance, Heinrich Kramer in the *Malleus maleficarum*, after referencing William directly, says that: 'quatuos aut quinces matres vix sufficerent ad lactandum' (four or five mothers would scarcely be enough to feed them with milk).[18] He repeats this sentiment at a later point as well, stating: 'quatuos mulieres nulla ubertate lactis unum lactare sufficerent' (the flow of milk from four women is not enough to feed one [changeling]).[19] While Kramer does not specifically reference wet-nurses, the notion of multiple women being required to feed one child means that the mother's milk alone was not envisaged as being enough; therefore, wet-nurses would be required.

The four dead wet-nurses B III are clearly drawing on this trope whereby multiple wet-nurses are required to sustain the changeling. But, there are some crucial differences, while the language used by William, Jacques and Kramer does give some indication of physical strain or at least impact (drain, exhaust), none of these texts mention the wet-nurses dying. Indeed, William says that the changelings stay with the wet-nurses for several years. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Jenni Kuuliala encourages us to see this focus on the changeling's insatiable hunger as a literary metaphor for the impact of demonic misdeeds on people's souls.[20] While, this is no doubt one aspect of the trope, I would argue that these descriptions and this image also draw on a discourse surrounding the feeding of infants that is characterised by a tension between parent and wet-nurse.

For the Catalan lay moralist Ramon Llull, human milk straddled the metaphoric divide between moral education and physical nourishment. Llull maintained that human milk possessed morally formative properties and, since elite women were not expected to breastfeed

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[17] Jacques de Vitry, p. 129; William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–1073.
[18] Henricus Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum*, Original Latin edition (Speyer: Drach, 1490), p. 81 <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/151-quod-2f-1/start.htm?image=00081> [accessed 11 August 2018]; Institoris and Sprenger, p. 135.
[19] Henricus Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum*, Original Latin edition (Speyer: Drach, 1490), p. 114 <http://diglib.hab.de/inkunabeln/151-quod-2f-1/start.htm?image=00144> [accessed 11 August 2018]; Institoris and Sprenger, p. 200.
[20] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', pp. 84–85.

their children themselves, choosing a wet-nurse of upstanding moral character was extremely important.[21] Multiple wet-nurses, as described by Jacques and William, were not recommended. Indeed, the late fifteenth-century chronicler and moralist, Fray Antonio de Guevara, claimed that noble infants died more frequently than those of peasant women because they had to change wet-nurses.[22] In addition to discussing the diseases that children might suffer from, Metlinger also goes into detail about the importance of picking the right wet-nurse. Character was important, but so was her physicality: face, breasts, body shape, milk, diet all must be exactly right.[23] As Bartholomaeus Anglicus put it concerning a wet nurse: 'Ex bona autem dispositione lactis nutrimentalis, bona fit consistentia prolis, et converso, et ex corruptione sanguinis nutricis necessario laeditur corpusculum pueri vel infantis' (From the good disposition of nourishing milk, a good consistency of the offspring occurs, and the reverse, from the corruption of the blood of the wet nurse inevitably the little body of the child or infant is damaged.)[24] As Rebecca Winer explains, the wet-nurse's body was treated as a commodity that needed to be tightly controlled and this extended even to her sex life. In medieval Iberia it was a commonly held belief that a wet nurse who engaged in sexual intercourse before weaning was liable to sour her breast milk and even to render it poisonous, killing the child she was feeding. Wet-nurses who were found to be pregnant were persecuted and fined relatively large sums of money.[25]

Being created in around 1360 for the Metropolitan Cathedral-Basilica of Saint Mary in Tarragona, B III's genesis was within Catalonia about a hundred miles down the coast from Barcelona and also under the jurisdiction of the Crown of Aragon. Winer's work details the transition after the Black Death (1348–1400) in Barcelona and the Crown of Aragon from a

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[21] Ramon Llull, *Doctrina Pueril*, ed. by Gret Schib (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1972), p. 218. This practice does seem to have varied across Europe and across time.
[22] Antonio de Guevara, *Relox de Príncipes*, ed. by Emilio Blanco (Madrid: ABL Editor, Conferencia de Ministros Provinciales de España, 1994), p. 527.
[23] Metlinger; Ludwig Unger, pp. 12–13; Ruhräh, p. 80.
[24] Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. by W. Richter, Reprint of 1601 edition (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964), chaps 6, subsec. 4, p. 238; Rebecca Lynn Winer, 'Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250–1300', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34.2 (2008), 164–84 (p. 175).
[25] Winer, 'Conscripting the Breast', p. 176.

preference among elite parents for hiring free wet nurses to purchasing enslaved women. These enslaved wet-nurses were unable to negotiate their conditions of service and this allowed their master and mistress a much greater level of control over their bodies; enslaved wet-nurses had to breastfeed and look after their charges as long as their masters mandated.[26] I would argue that the fact that B III was created during this transition period should influence our reading of the image.

Returning to our examination of the image in question, on one level the pile of corpses under the changeling's cradle is merely a vivid, visual representation of the exhaustion of multiple wet-nurses described by Jacques and William. The artist uses their bodies as a device to illustrate a characteristic of the changeling: its insatiable hunger, which would otherwise be difficult to portray in a visual medium. The pile of exposed corpses under the cradle provides the viewer with a clear visual record of the impact of the changeling's behaviour over time, while the fifth and latest wet-nurse's obvious relief at the arrival of the saint gives the scene the catharsis of a last-minute rescue.

However, the fact that the bodies form a sort of temporal strata does not necessarily alter the tragi-comic impact that their cumulative presence has on the viewer. Their presence forces us to consider them and the place that they have in the narrative of the changeling, the saint, and his parents. I would argue that the artist's construction of the scene supports a more moralistic reading. Bartholomew's parents, richly dressed, are positioned on thrones on a dais so they are both prominent and yet somewhat removed from the action of the scene. By contrast, the wet-nurses' positions, either flat on the floor or on her knees, demonstrate an undeniable status imbalance. They are not only below their employers (owners?), they also lie behind the cradle. The child that they have died to sustain takes precedent over them. A noble baby is effectively worth more than the five nursemaids combined. Of course, the viewer is not expected to imagine that the royal couple has allowed dead wet-nurses to accumulate in their

[26] Winer, 'Conscripting the Breast'; Rebecca Lynn Winer, 'The Mother and the Dida [Nanny]: Female Employers and Wet Nurses in Fourteenth-Century Barcelona', in *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*, ed. by Jutta Gisela Sperling (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 55–78; Rebecca Lynn Winer, 'The Enslaved Wet Nurse as Nanny: The Transition from Free to Slave Labor in Childcare in Barcelona after the Black Death (1348)', *Slavery & Abolition*, 38.2 (2017), 303–19.

throne room and their presence clearly serves as a reminder of the evil of the demonic changeling, which the saint will banish. But, the presence of their bodies also provides a note of censure against the royal parents.

The living nursemaid demonstrates that Bartholomew's parents had every intention of continuing to effectively feed wet-nurses to their supposed son. The final wet-nurse is saved from the fate of her predecessors only through the timely intervention of the saint as Bartholomew's parents concern for the health of their supposed son trumped any concern for the lives of others. At this point it is worth exploring the fact that some medieval writers saw demonic changelings as something that God allowed to happen as a punishment for parents who doted on their children too much, loving them more than him.[27] As Hartlieb explains:

> wär dem also, so ist endtlich der hailigen geschrifft mainung, das der erkenner aller hertzen wol waiß, was etlich lewt lieb oder trost haben zu jren chinden und das sy daby vergessen gottes und auch aller genaden, die jn vor geschehen ist. Nun will gott nit, das sy verlorn werden, er entzuicht jn die fräd, das sy wider a jn gedencken, und umb die sünd, die dann vater und müter getän haben anjn, will gott sy sträffen und legt jn sölich gespöt an.
>
> in the end it is the opinion of holy Scripture that the One who knows all hearts knows well how certain people find such love and comfort in their children that they forget God and the grace he has formerly given them. Now God does not wish them to be lost. He withdraws their joy from them, so they will think on him again, and for the sake of the sin that the father and mother have committed against him God will punish them, laying such shame on them.[28]

Kramer provides a few explanations for God allowing the substitution of children with changelings and one of these is along the same lines as Hartlieb's; that is, the changeling is a punishment for parents who dote on their children too much. Of course, both *The Book of All Forbidden Arts* and the *Malleus maleficarum* were produced in a different context to B III: Germany as opposed to Catalonia, and in the fifteenth rather than the fourteenth centuries. B III is probably reflecting social issues, such as the increasing trend for enslaved wet-nurses, that are specific to the time and place of its creation. However, it may also be part of a broader discussion, in which the child substitution motif is utilised to comment on the parent-child

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[27] Possibly related, Kuuliala notes that 'it is parental misdeeds, if anything, which caused the saint to make the child infirm', see, Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, p. 94.
[28] Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, p. 74; Hartlieb and Molitor, p. 91.

relationship. There is perhaps no better demonstration of excessive love for a child than a willingness to allow it to kill four people.

Hugh Cunningham and others have argued that, in reaction to the trials of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, medieval people increasingly found solace in tight-knit, nuclear, familial bonds and, as a result, family life became more child-centric in this period.[29] In his own *Summa Theologica*, printed in 1477, Antonius of Florence condemned parents for their excessive attachment to their children, stating:

> O quot sunt parentes, qui propter inordinatum amorem and filios, damnationem incurrent! O quot sunt, qui eis quasi idolis inserviunt! Et nota, quod idoloatria habuit initium ab inordinato amore parentum in filios, & e converso.
>
> Oh, how many parents exist who earn damnation due to an irregular love for their children! Oh, how many of the serve [their children] like idols! And notice that idol worship has had its beginning in the disordered love of parents for their children, and conversely.[30]

I would argue that this understanding of the dangers of 'irregular love' for one's child also underpins Kramer's writing a decade later. While the connection is not explicitly made, I would suggest that the reader is encouraged to see that excess love for one's child can be just as damaging as superstitious belief to one's relationship with God. In Kramer's construction of the child substitution motif, God permits the offending parents to be punished 'for their own good' in a manner befitting their crime. The changeling seems to be envisaged as both chastisement and corrective. Parents who are excessively focused on their child end up with a child that demands constant care and attention. Although it should be noted that Kramer's unspoken assumption: that such behaviour in a child would inevitably result in the parents' affection for their supposed child diminishing, is not as apparent in our child substitution sources as one might suppose, with B III being a prime example.

Of course, when we think of the child substitution motif as part of the discourse surrounding the care of non-normatively developed, chronically ill, or otherwise impaired children, this moral against excessive love takes on a darker tone. The viewer of B III cannot

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[29] Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (Pearson Education, 2005), pp. 33–34; David Herlihy, 'Family', *The American Historical Review*, 96.1 (1991), 1–16.
[30] Quotation taken from Herlihy, p. 12.

ignore the human cost of caring for a changeling, I would suggest that this indicates a concern, at least in some sections of medieval society, about the consistent and sustained level of care that some children required due to serious illness.

(3.3) The Changeling Exposed: Non-Violent Care

(3.3.a) Advantages to non-violent care

In this section I explore the non-violent ways in which changelings, supposed changelings and those associated with the child substitution motif were cared for and treated either after their true nature is exposed or when some connection between them and the child substitution motif is made.[31] Medieval examples of this type of care are, it must be admitted, relatively limited, but not so much more so than violent ones that their significance should be discounted. Furthermore, at least in some cultures, there may have been advantages to treating a changeling well. In *Þiðrikssaga af Bern*, Þetleifr concludes the argument with his father by saying: 'Nær sem faðir minn eða móðir kemr eftir mér, þá eigu þau litla fóstrlaun yðr upp at lúka, fyrir því at litla rækt hafið þér á mik lagt ok lítinn kostnað allt til þessa dags' (When my mother or my father comes after me, then they will give you little payment for fostering me, because you have given me little love and I have cost you little until now.)[32] Neither Þetleifr nor his father Biterulfr believes Þetleifr to be a changeling, but, in portraying their argument, the writer plays with contemporary ideas about the child substitution motif. Thus, Biterulfr calls Þetleifr a changeling in order to insult his son without impugning his wife's honour and quick-witted Þetleifr turns the insult to his own advantage. The exchange between Þetleifr and Biterulfr from *Þiðrikssaga af Bern* introduces the suggestion that, at least in some cultures, being named a changeling might enhance a person's status. It also articulates the idea that poor treatment of the changelings could have consequences.

As in other folkloric source, Scandinavian changelings are often treated poorly by those they are left with in an attempt by the parents to reverse the substitution and affect the return of

[31] Although some of the changelings I examine are beings that have been substituted, not all of them are. Some, like Þetleifr are simply associated with teh child substitution motif.
[32] *Þiðriks Saga Af Bern*, ed. by Henrik Bertelsen, Samfund Til Udgivelse Af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur, XXXIV, 2 vols (København: S.L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri, 1905), I, p. 168; Haymes, LVI, p. 78.

their human baby; however, unlike most other folkloric traditions, Scandinavian tales often highlight the elf-woman's anger at the treatment of her child or husband. For instance, in one Swedish folktale recorded by Herman Hofberg, the mother of the stolen human child threatens to throw the changeling child in the oven on three successive Thursdays. The third time she does this 'a little deformed, evil-eyed woman' appeared to reverse the substitution, saying: 'I have never treated your child so badly and I have never thought to do it such harm as you now propose doing mine'.[33] A threat to burn the changeling achieves a similar result in a story from Denmark recorded by Thomas Keightley, while, in one Icelandic folktale, the changeling is retrieved by his wife after being brutally beaten with a bundle of firewood.[34] In a similar vein, Selma Lagerlöf adapts a Swedish folktale where the stolen human child receives the same treatment as the changeling. In this legend, it is the mother's refusal to follow the advice of others to beat, burn or otherwise abuse the changeling in order to affect the reversal of the substitution, which results in the safe return of the human child.[35]

Now, such tales may have developed as a response to the ill-treatment of supposed changelings during the modern period, but, in *Þiðrikssaga af Bern*, we can see the seeds of similar ideas regarding reciprocity of care. It is also worth noting here that, even in a dangerous ritual such as those done at the shrine of Saint Guinefort, the overt, though not perhaps the covert, intention is that both changeling and human child are returned safely to their respective kin. Within the logic of the ritual, the ideal outcome is that the fauns retrieve their child and the human child is proved to be a human by surviving immersion in the river. With that said, obviously this is a dangerous ritual that according to Stephen of Bourbon resulted in the deaths of many of the children that were subjected to it; therefore, I discuss it more fully in the section on violent care below. However, what I hope to demonstrate in this section is that, even when a child was supposed to be a changeling, non-violent care, particularly learned and miraculous

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[33] Herman Hofberg, *Swedish Fairy Tales*, trans. by W. H. Myers (Chicago: W. B. Conkey, 1893), pp. 176–78.
[34] Keightley, pp. 125–26; Jón Arnason, *Icelandic Legends*, trans. by George E. J. Powell and Eiríkur Magnússon, Rev. trans. (London: R. Bentley, 1864), pp. 41–44.
[35] Selma Lagerlöf, 'Bortbytingen', in *Troll Och Människor* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1915), pp. 12–25.

medical care, was an option. Consider, for instance, Antoniolo F.'s description of Stephen's parents' initial anxiety over their supposed child. He describes how they: 'faciebant ei quicquid sciebant' (did to him everything they knew). It is not too much of a presumption that this might have been imagined by the legend's audience to have involved some sort of medical care, whether secular or miraculous. Whatever Stephen's parents did, it was not successful; however, Antoniolo mentioning that they tried to help their supposed child, in a phrase that implies that a variety of methods were tried, supports the notion that many forms of care, including practical medical care if it could be afforded or a miraculous cure, might be attempted when a child was seriously ill.

(3.3.b) Learned medical care

First, I would like to examine whether or not changelings, or supposed changelings received scholastic medical care. There is, not surprisingly, little evidence for this. After all, the attention of a learned physician would be beyond the financial reach of many people. However, as we discussed in the previous chapter, some writers did diagnose suspected changelings with ailments recognised by scholastic medicine. Also, the individual symptoms associated with the child substitution motif, such as crying or excessive hunger could also be treated through remedies recommended in medical treatises. For instance, Avicenna recommends a series of remedies for excessive crying, starting with the application of poppy oil to the infant's temples; then, if that is unsuccessful, a medicament made up of seeds (including poppy) should be given, to which opium, also made from poppy seeds, can be added if necessary.[36]

Metlinger also lays out a treatment plan, drawn from al-Razi's writings, for children that are called 'wechsselkind' because of the extreme changes in their appearances, particularly the engorgement of their heads.[37] This text is our strongest indication that supposed changelings received learned medical attention and care. We can certainly see some of the themes discussed in the first section of this chapter coming to the fore here. The remedy described implies that consistent care and attention was paid to the child. In addition to various ointments, salves and

[36] This would likely have been a dangerous sedative. Avicenna, sec. 717.
[37] Metlinger, pp. 21–23; Ludwig Unger, pp. 21–22; Ruhräh, pp. 84–85.

suppositories, to be administered at specific times, the carers must keep the child's head warm, provide daily baths and ensured that it is fed appropriately. We can also see concern about the wet-nurse and her milk supply. The parent is advised to make sure the nurse is healthy by dosing her with medicine and monitoring her diet closely to make sure that she avoids particular foods. At the very least, this text supports the idea that infants with serious and visible health problems were cared for at some expense. It is possible that the term 'wechsselkind', as applied to these infants when Metlinger was writing, no longer carried any connotation of child substitution. I touched on this in my previous chapter, but, considering the relatively high number of texts discussing child substitution and changelings produced in and around this area in the fifty years either side of the publication of Metlinger's book, it does seem unlikely that those using the term were not at least aware of its child substitution connotations.[38]

(3.3.c) Miraculous medical care

Another importance element of medieval healthcare was requesting saintly aid and seeking a miraculous cure. Again, direct evidence for this in relation to changelings is somewhat lacking, particularly considering the sheer number of miracle tales and canonisation records still extant today. Kuuliala, in her extensive survey of the canonisation material, notes only a few cases in which the cause of childhood impairment and ill-health was implied to be caused by demonic intervention.[39] The case of Augustine, as recorded by William of Canterbury, is the only known account where an infant connected with the child substitution motif was miraculously restored to health.[40] It is not possible to know definitively whether or not Augustine's parents thought that he was a changeling when they sought the aid of Thomas Becket. We are told by William that Augustine's parents showed their child to no one. We also know that, while describing the boy's condition, William decided to take the opportunity to dismiss the idea that these symptoms were the result of being substituted or transformed. This leaves us with two likely

[38] Hartlieb and Molitor, pp. 90–91, 120; Joseph Hansen and Johannes Franck, *Quellen und untersuchungen zur geschichte des hexenwahns und der hexenverfolgung im mittelalter. Mit einer untersuchung der geschichte des wortes hexe* (Bonn: C. Georgi, 1901), pp. 69, 86.
[39] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 94–102.
[40] Robertson, I, p. 204.

options, either William recognised the symptoms as being similar to those ascribed to changelings generally, or Augustine's parents mentioned this as a theory or implied that they considered the idea that Augustine was a changeling to be a possibility.[41] Either way, we have an infant that the *vulgi* might suspect of being a changeling who was dedicated to a saint in the hope of a miracle. It is more than likely that Augustine's parents simply asked for their son's health to be restored; however, it is possible that Thomas Becket was asked to assist in reversing the substitution of the child. Furthermore, the language William uses in his description of Augustine's recovery harks back to the theory he earlier dismissed so vehemently; Augustine is transformed from an animalistic, monstrous creature into a 'novum […] hominem' (new human).[42] William may not credit any other explanation for Augustine's condition than his own, but even in recording Augustine's parents account of the miracle through his own sceptical lens, there is the suggestion that Becket's miracle replaced an almost inhuman child with a human infant.

As discussed above and in the previous chapter, the saints Lawrence, Stephen and Bartholomew were themselves victims of child substitution in certain hagiographic legends. We know that these legends were disseminated across Western Europe both by the clergy and by the laity, through the creation of manuscripts, the writing of poems, and the commissioning and painting of images. There is also some evidence to suggest that these saints were seen as being particularly effective or sympathetic to children. For instance, in the very first set of miracle accounts in existence, Stephen is cited by Augustine of Hippo as a saint who is known for resurrecting still-born children, while Bartholomew, as I noted in the previous chapter, seems to have held special significance for children with speech defects and epilepsy.[43] It is theoretically possible that in areas where hagiography depicting the substitution and subsequent return of these saints was common, for instance Tuscany and Catalonia, the help of these saints was sought in cases of suspected child substitution; however, we have no evidence to support this

[41] Augustine's isolation from everyone but his parents prior to his cure reduces the likelihood that a changeling diagnosis was given by another member of the village community.
[42] Robertson, I, p. 204.
[43] Patrologia Latina, 38, 1443–7; Callier-Boisvert; de Oliveira; Soares.

supposition. It is more likely that, as I will expand on at greater length later in this chapter, a function of these hagiographies was to promote the saint's efficacy in cases of very ill children and encourage parents to access miraculous care for their children through the prescribed orthodox route.

In terms of the hagiographic sources themselves, it is worth investigating the way in which the saint banishes the changeling and whether or not there are elements of this process that might be seen in terms of non-violent care. As I discussed in the previous chapter, the ritualised confrontation between the saint and the demonic changeling opens in a non-violent fashion with the saint invoking the power of the Trinity and calling on the changeling to reveal its true nature. The wording is often subtly different: in Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII Stephen invokes 'deum vivum' (the living God), while in BML, MS Ashburnham 870 he refers to 'dominum yesum christum' (the Lord Jesus Christ); Lawrence, in his legend, calls upon 'virtutem sancte trinitatis' (the virtue of the Holy Trinity). In all of the texts, the intention is to compel the demonic changeling to speak and reveal the truth about his nature. The structure and motives of this have clear parallels with the process of exorcism.[44] See, for example, Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII: 'Dixit beatus stephanus: 'Adiuro te per deum vivum ut dicas michi cuius filius es tu?' (Blessed Stephan said: 'I abjure you by the living God in order that you may say to me, whose son are you?'). According to Brian P. Levack, 'the way that most exorcisms began was for the exorcist to command the demon in the name of God to speak truthfully'.[45] The Latin word *adjuro* is incorporated into a number of the hagiographical banishments of the demonic changelings. In BML, MS Ashburnham 870, Stephen says: 'Adiuro te per dominum jesum christum ut dicas cuius filius es' (I abjure you by the Lord Jesus Christ in order that you may say whose son you are?). Levack states that *adjuro* is equivalent to the Greek word *exorkizein* and was often used to initiate exorcism rituals. Levack traces this practice back to the early days

[44] For discussion of exorcism through the ages see: Graham H. Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007); Marek Tamm, 'Saints and the Demoniacs: Exorcistic Rites in Medieval Europe (11th–13th Century)', *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 2003, 7–24; Caciola; Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession & Exorcism in the Christian West* (New Haven, CT ; London: Yale University Press, 2013).
[45] Levack, p. 100.

of Christianity and suggests that it reflected the Roman judicial process, whereby defendants were required to swear to be truthful at the start of proceedings.[46] Levack also notes that after the abjuration, the exorcist often proceeded to interrogate the demon in order to establish its identity or its name.[47] Thus hagiographic texts draw on the language of exorcism in their depiction of the banishment of demonic changelings; this trend can also be seen in the visual hagiographic corpus.

The images obviously cannot convey the language or content of the saints' abjuration of the changeling; however, in three out of the six images where the saint returns to his parents, the saint is clearly represented as making the sign of the cross on or over the body of the demon changeling. Like the language outlined above, the sign of the cross was regularly used in exorcism rituals, as well as healing miracles more generally, as part of the process of expelling the demon from the body it was possessing.[48] This practice is often reflected in images of exorcism.[49] However, it should be noted that visual depictions of saints frequently include the saint making the sign of the cross as either a blessing or as a signification of their miracle working. As John Moreland states: 'The late medieval ritual and physical landscapes were suffused with the sign of the cross'.[50] We can see the way in which the medium of expression influences the presentation of these legends; as the textual saint invokes the power of the Trinity with words, so too does the visual saint draw upon holy might through gesture. The efficacy of the gesture to expose the true nature of the changeling is most clearly visualized in the stained-glass *Life of Saint Stephen* by Engrand le Prince in Église Saint-Étienne, where the changeling is depicted leaping out of his cradle in demon form. That the banishment of a changeling, as depicted in these legends, has such demonstrable links to the rites of exorcism leads me to suggest that there was a certain degree of crossover in the way in which demoniacs and suggested changelings were treated. If the changeling was also envisaged as a demon

[46] Levack, p. 100.
[47] Levack, pp. 101–2.
[48] Caciola, pp. 47, 227, 250, 261.
[49] Tamm, p. 226; Caciola, p. 226.
[50] John Moreland, 'The World(s) of the Cross', *World Archaeology*, 31.2 (1999), 194–213 (p. 199).

tormenting a family, this similarity of approach makes sense. The saint, by modelling this method of changeling banishment, may have influenced the way in which the laity thought about changelings and encouraged them to turn to the saints and the clergy in situations where a child was suspected of being a changeling.

We can see some indication that parents of suspected changelings who sought the advice of their community could be directed to the shrines of more conventional saints than Saint Guinefort. In one of Martin Luther's 'Table Talks', recorded on 20th April 1539, the discussion about changelings includes a story where: 'Diesem Manne haben die Leute den Rath geben, er sollte ihn zur Wallfahrt gen hodelstadt zur Jungfrau Maria geloben und daselbst wiegen laffen.' (The people have given this man then advice that he should take the child on a pilgrimage to Hockelstadt to praise the Virgin Mary and to have him weighed there.)[51] The word *wiegen* can mean 'to weigh' but it can also be used to denote 'to cradle/rock/lull'.[52] As the man and the changeling do not reach the shrine, we do not know the form that this weighing would have taken. However, it seems likely that it is related to the practice of donating *massae cerae* equal to the supplicant's own weight.[53] This type of votive offering, known as *contrepoids* (counterweight) in France, is described in three miracles from the shrine of Our Lady of Rocamadour.[54] One of the miracles (Book II, no. 31) involves the cure of Guillaume Ulrich's son. Guillaume's son must have still been an infant because his father places him on a scale and piles wax onto the other end of the scale until the scale balances out, at which the boy smiles with joy. It is possible that a similar rite in envisaged in the tale from 'Table Talks' and thus we have another possible indication that children with symptoms suggestive of being a changeling (exhausting the milk of multiple nurses, not growing and behaving strangely) could have been

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[51] Luther, IV, pp. 358, No. 4513.

[52] 'Wige, Wiege Swstf.', ed. by Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1878) <http://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/Lexer?lemma=wige>.

[53] Georges Didi-Huberman and Gerald Moore, 'Ex-Voto: Image, Organ, Time', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 47.3 (2007), 7–16 (p. 12); Giordana Charuty, 'Le vœu de vivre. Corps morcelés, corps sans âme dans les pèlerinages portugais', *Terrain. Anthropologie & sciences humaines*, 1992, 46–60 (pp. 56–57); Anne-Marie Bautier, 'Tipologie des ex-voto mentionnés dans les textes antérieurs à 1200', *Actes du 99 Çongrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, 1 (1975), 237–82 (pp. 254–56).

[54] *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation*, trans. by Marcus Graham Bull (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999). See miracles Book I, no.7, Book 2, no. II.31, and Book II, no. 32.

cared for by being brought to the shrines, just as other unhealthy children were, in the hope that they 'möge gedeigen' (may grow). However, it should also be noted that in this tale the changeling is not cured by a Marian miracle. Instead he is prompted to speak for the first time by a demon in a river as the man crossed a bridge. Hearing the changeling speak, the man angrily throws the changeling into the river, where it plays with the other demon before disappearing. So, this tale details a non-violent method of dealing with an unhealthy child but concludes with a violent action in response to proof of the changeling's true nature. This more violent solution chimes with some of the other responses to changelings which I discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

(3.3.d) Baptism as possible prevention or cure

In the folklore gathered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, baptism was often understood to be a form of preventative protection, with the infant becoming much less vulnerable to substitution after the ritual.[55] However, there is only circumstantial evidence for this practice in the medieval period. It is true that sources in which baptism was closely connected to the restoration of health to an infant or child can be found throughout the medieval period. For instance, Augustine, in a letter to Boniface written in 408, notes that some parents might bring their child to be baptised not out of concern for its immortal soul, 'but because they think that by this as a remedy the children may recover or retain bodily health'.[56] The tenth-century *Life* of Saint Odilia of Alsace, in which her blindness is cured through baptism at the age of twelve, may indicate that ideas about the healing power of baptism were still present at the turn of the millennium.[57] Later still, between 1294 and 1324, a number of beliefs about the practical benefits of baptism are found in the inquisitorial records of Jacques Fournier regarding the village of Montaillou, including that baptism ensured that a child would

[55] I discuss the extent to which period prior to baptism was conceptualised as a particularly dangerous time for an infant, when they might be more susceptible to the threat of demonic or supernatural abduction, in the next chapter.

[56] In this early period, adult baptism was still common as well. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Philip Schaff, trans. by J. G. Cunningham, First Series (New York: Christian Literature Publishing, 1887), I, sec. Letter 98.5.

[57] Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 220–21.

grow up well-developed and good-looking.[58] These particular beliefs may be specific to the Montaillou area, but are perhaps indicative of the theories that could accumulate around a significant sacrament such as baptism. Infant baptism is also debated in the context of 'heresy' or other belief based on the Gospels as a guide to practice. Many heretics rejected baptism, especially of infants.

Schmitt argues that all the 'symbolic elements' of the rite of baptism can be found in the recovery ritual at Saint Guinefort's shrine, most notably the nine immersions of the child in the river at the conclusion, but also the fire and the gifts of salt.[59] Green describes the ritual as 'suspiciously elaborate' and suggests that Stephen of Bourbon, writing in the early thirteenth century, may well have constructed a formalised proceeding from a number of disparate accounts of the customs relating to the shrine.[60] Regardless of this, although the Saint Guinefort rites do appear to be indicative of a desire to confirm the child's humanity through a symbolic second baptism, it is difficult to say whether or not baptism was commonly believed to aid in dealing with a changeling.[61] In 1539, Martin Luther is recorded to have advised the baptism of suspected changelings, as it was difficult to tell whether or not an infant was a changeling in the first year of its life.[62] There is no indication in this statement that the baptism would assist in the recovery of the human child or effect the banishment of the changeling, rather Luther deems it safer to baptise the child in case it is not a changeling and thus ensure that its soul has the potential to enter heaven.

Baptism was certainly a powerful deterrent against demonic intervention. In the tales where Merlin was conceived by demonic rape, the Devil's plan that his son would become the Antichrist is thwarted by the swift baptism of the new-born Merlin.[63] However, while there are scattered instances where baptism was seen to have curative properties, this does not seem to

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[58] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 578–79.
[59] Schmitt, pp. 81–82.
[60] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 117–18.
[61] Schmitt, pp. 81–82.
[62] Luther, IV, pp. 358, No. 4513.
[63] Macrae-Gibson, I.

have been a generally accepted position. As recent scholarship has shown, the direct link between sin and illness in the medieval mind was more ambiguous than was previously thought.[64] Chapter 22 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 begins by asserting that sin could sometimes cause bodily infirmity and that doctors should ensure that their patients make a confession before their treatment commences.[65] Although this has been taken as evidence of a strong link between sin and illness, Metzler queries this causal connection, noting that the canon envisages this as a possibility, rather than a certainty. Furthermore, the primary reasons for the recommendation that confession become a standard prelude to medical treatment are first a recognition that medical interventions could be in themselves dangerous and a desire to prevent patients from succumbing to hopelessness if the doctor does recommend confession.[66] Kuuliala supports this reading, noting further that there was also no consensus on the role that illicit marital sex played in the causation of ailments in the children begat by such couplings.[67] If the connection between sin, particularly parental sin, and illnesses in children did not have much cultural currency, it would follow that baptism, the cleansing of sin, would not be often associated with healing. Particularly since baptism was primarily understood as cleansing the original sin of Eve, not parental sin. The rites at the shrine of Saint Guinefort are our only, and very slight, indication that baptism or the elements associated with baptism, were ever invoked in the cure or care of suspected changelings.

(3.3.e) Conclusions

In summary, there are some indications that a suspected changeling would not be treated violently, perhaps due to ideas about the reciprocity of care between the human and non-human child or perhaps due to the appeal of other approaches to care for unhealthy people, such as

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[64] Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, pp. 8–9, 38–47, 67–68, 88–94; Sharon A. Farmer, 'Manual Labor, Begging, and Conflicting Gender Expectations in Thirteenth-Century Paris', in *Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carol Braun Pasternack and Sharon A. Farmer, Medieval Cultures, 32 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), pp. 261–86 (pp. 272–73); Bianca Frohne, *Leben mit 'kranckhait': Der gebrechliche Körper in der häuslichen Überlieferung des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Überlegungen zu einer Disability History der Vormoderne* (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2014), pp. 114–16.

[65] *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Giovan Domenico Mansi, 53 vols (Venice: Antonium Zatta, 1778), XXII, col. 1010.

[66] Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe*, p. 67.

[67] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 89–94.

practical medical care or appealing to the saints for miraculous aid. With that said, even tales that foreground non-violent approaches often include mention of more violent care practices, so it is to those practices that we now turn.

(3.4) The Changeling Exposed: Violent Care Practices

While there is more evidence for changelings or suspected changelings being cared for over sustained periods of time or cured in non-violent ways than might be expected, it would be wrong to suggest that our medieval sources do not depict or suggest that the reaction to an exposed or suspected changeling could involve violence. In this section I discuss the violent aspects of rituals intended either to reverse a substitution or to banish the changeling, particularly considering the use of fire, water, and physical force. I then examine the way in which this may have led to the bodies of changelings being understood as suitable sites on which to do violence, such that the use of a changeling-word as an insult or an accusation that a person was a changeling would lay the ground work for a violent action towards their person. I then consider the implications that this has for the violent treatment of children who are visibly or extremely ill. As always, the hagiographies are a valuable source; however, I also draw examples from across the medieval child substitution corpus and, where relevant, make note of similar elements in the later folkloric rites of reversal.

In this discussion it is worth remembering that violence, that is the use of power to inflict harm on the bodies, health, or even life of another, could be understood both positively and negatively depending on the context. This is perhaps particularly true as regards to children. The relationship between parents and children was hierarchical and parents had a Biblical mandate to ensure the respect of their children through physical force.[68] Barbara Hanawalt has argued that the term 'violence' should not be applied to the use of corporal punishment in parental discipline as this was understood as a legitimate tool of education.[69] Even unusually

[68] 'He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes'; King James Version Proverbs 13:24; 'Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying', Proverbs 19:18; 'The rod and reproof give wisdom: but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame', Proverbs 29:15.

[69] Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Violence in the Domestic Milieu of Late Medieval England', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. by Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 197–214 (p. 199).

severe discipline could be deemed necessary in some situations, such as cases of possession. As Sari Katajala-Peltomaa states in her discussion of the harsh treatment of child demoniacs, 'whipping the victim, tying the demoniac up, or forcing her on a pilgrimage were important attempts to solve the case' and would be conceptualised as part and parcel of caring for the child.[70] In regard to violence directed towards the physically impaired, Kuuliala notes that charity and violence intermingled in many of the canonisation records. Due to concern about fraud, it was common practice to test the veracity of a speech impediment by beating the impaired person to see if they would reveal a previously hidden ability to speak; however, through submitting to these beatings a mute could prove their right to alms and some received charity from those that had administered the beating.[71] It is worth remembering this connection between violence and care when examining the child substitution sources. Furthermore, if any understanding of medieval rites of reversal can be drawn from these sources, there is very little indication that such rites were a common occurrence, so these practices are not likely to have been inflicted on more than a small minority of people.

(3.4.a) Rites of Reversal: Physical Force

Many of the rites of reversal depicted in the latter folkloric sources involve some measure of violence done to the suspected changeling. In the logic of this approach, violence done to the changeling either forces it to leave or encourages its supernatural family to retrieve it and return the human child. For example, the Grimms record a tale told in and around Breslau, about a woman whose child is switched for a changeling while she is busy making hay. She is advised to return to the field and to beat the changeling with a switch until it screams. After she does this, the Devil appears and reverses the substitution.[72] This method appears in a number of other German folktales collected by Ashliman.[73] Beatings are not incorporated into the Saint Guinefort ritual; however, in BNM, MS Lat IX 16, Saint Stephen binds the changeling to a

[70] Katajala-Peltomaa, p. 244.
[71] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*, pp. 153–61.
[72] Jacob Grimm, Wilhelm Grimm, and Herman Friedrich Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 2 vols (Berlin: In der Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1816), I, p. 144, no. 85; Ashliman.
[73] Ashliman.

column of his parent's house and flogs it prior to banishing it. Peter Calo describes his version of St Stephen's substitution as 'hystoriam apocrifam' (an apocryphal story), implying that he has heard or seen the tale recorded elsewhere. It is difficult to tell if the flogging was simply intended to be a suitable punishment for the demon, or whether Peter Calo, or the sources from which he learned the story, drew on a generally understood method of encouraging the reversal of a substitution. None of the other hagiographic sources include the beating of the demonic changeling. François Villon does leave 'troys coups d'un escourgon' (three lashes of the whip) on a man he describes as 'malostru changon' (a cursed changeling) in his poem *Bequests*. However, as I discussed in Chapter 1, it is far from certain exactly which Signification Villon intended by his use of 'changon'. While there is some circumstantial evidence to support Signification C or F, it is also possible that Significations S or X was intended. Either way, the whipping is being meted out as punishment and, even if 'changon' is taken to denote 'changeling', there is not necessarily any connection to the rites of recovery associated with changelings. There is very little evidence to indicate that supposed changelings were beaten in an attempt to reverse a substitution during this period; however, other types of violence are more strongly associated with this rite.

(3.4.b) Rites of Reversal: Water

I have already touched on the function that submersion in water played in the Saint Guinefort rite earlier in this chapter. The multiple duckings served as the final proof as to whether or not the ritual had been a success. If the child died after being submerged in the water, then the fauns had not replaced the true human child, but if the child survived, then they were proved to be human.[74] Stephen of Bourbon perceived this element of the rite as particularly dangerous, stating that: 'qui valde dura viscera habebat si evadebat nec tunc vel cito post moreretur' (if it came through without dying on the spot, or shortly afterwards, it had a very strong constitution).[75]

[74] Schmitt, pp. 81–82.
[75] Schmitt, pp. 4 & 6.

Immersion in water is also a common motif in a number of the tales recorded after a conversation with Martin Luther on the 20th April 1539. According to these accounts, changelings are conceived when the Devil drags women into the water and impregnates them. The women are kept in the water by the Devil and once they have given birth, their babies are used by the Devil as substitutes for other human babies.[76] This origin story may go some way to explain why, in subsequent tales, the changelings are revealed when they are called back into the water by other demons. This is the case in the story I previously discussed about the man who lived near Halberstadt. In this account, while the changeling is being taken to be weighed at a shrine to the Virgin Mary, the travellers cross a river over a bridge and a devil in the water calls out to the changeling. When the changeling responds, despite never having talked before, the man becomes angry and throws the changeling into the river. However, the changeling does not drown, instead it plays with the other demon for a while before they both disappear.[77] Again, it is difficult to say for certain that immersion in water was understood as a suitable way to deal with changelings during this period. According to John Mathesius, Martin Luther suggested that a twelve-year-old boy at Dessau, who did nothing but eat and excrete, should be suffocated 'Because I think he's simply a mass of flesh without a soul.' This account was retold by John Aurifaber, known more for his enthusiastic editing rather than his strict adherence to the records, in an account published in 1566. In Aurifaber's version, the boy is more clearly characterised as a changeling and Luther advises that the boy be drowned. Additionally, the context of Luther's remarks is changed from musings at the dinner table to advice given directly to a ruler after having examined the child in question. While Aurifaber's version should not be taken to reflect Luther's own musings on the topic, that Aurifaber changed the recommended method of euthanasia to drowning may be indicative beliefs about changelings in Germany at the time.

[76] Luther, IV, pp. 357, No. 4513.
[77] Luther, IV, pp. 357–58, no. 4513.

(3.4.c) Rites of Reversal: Fire

Burning or threatening to burn a suspected changeling frequently features in both Scandinavian and British folklore collected in the nineteenth century.[78] Many British tales describe how fire is used as a method of banishing the changeling, after the changeling's true nature has been proven by some other means, as in this tale from the West Highlands:

> 'You must light a very large and bright fire before the bed on which this stranger is lying. He will ask you, "What is the use of such a fire as that?" Answer him at once, "You will see that presently!" and then seize him and throw him into the middle of it. If it is your own son you have got, he will call out to save him; but if not, this thing will fly through the roof.'
>
> The smith again followed the old man's advice; kindled a large fire, answered the question put to him as he had been directed to do, and seizing the child flung him in without hesitation. The "Sibhreach" gave an awful yell, and sprang through the roof, where a hole was left to let the smoke out.[79]

It is also tragically apparent that such practices were not just confined to stories. Bridget Cleary, whom I discussed in the previous chapter, was burnt to death by her husband, who had become convinced that his wife was a changeling. Michael Cleary, after knocking Bridget down and stripping her of her outer clothes, first threatened her with a burning brand from the nearby hearth and then, when her chemise had caught on fire, began to throw lamp oil on to his wife, in order to keep the blaze going. While Bridget burned, Michael is said to have expressed the belief that the assembled company would 'soon see her go up the chimney.'[80] While fire does appear as an important element in a number of medieval child substitution sources, evidence for the belief that burning a changeling would banish it and result in the return the original human child is more circumstantial. In this section, I discuss the use of fire in the medieval child substitution corpus, particularly in the rite of Saint Guinefort and in the hagiographic sources. I also examine other rituals in which fire was incorporated in order to heal or to cleanse the influence of devils. Based on this combination of evidence, I attempt to determine the extent to which fire was generally

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[78] Although not, it should be noted, in German folklore.

[79] Ashliman. Taken from: J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands,* as published in George Douglas, *Scottish Fairy and Folk Tales* (London: Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1901), pp. 125–128.

[80] Bourke, p. 109.

understood as a method for dealing with suspected changelings, why fire was included in the more didactic hagiographic sources, and what affect this might have had on the audience of these hagiographies.

The rites at the shrine of Saint Guinefort are our main medieval example of practices designed to reverse the substitution of a changeling. As recorded by Stephen of Bourbon, this ritual includes an element of fire and apparently resulted in infants being burned and killed:

> Et, hoc facto, accipiebant matricide puerum, et ad pedem arboris super stramina cunabuli nudum puerum ponebant, et duas candelas ad mensuram pollicis in utroque capite, ab igne quem ibi detulerant, succendebant et in trunco superposito infigebant, tamdiu inde recedentes quod essent consumpte et quod nec vagientem puerum possent audire nec videre; et sic candele candentes plurimos pueros concremabant et occidebant, sicut ibidem de aliquibus reperimus.
>
> Having done this, the infanticidal mothers took their children and laid them naked at the foot of the tree on straw from the cradle; then, using the light they had brought with them, they lit two candles, each an inch long, one on each side of the child's head and fixed them in the trunk above it. Then they withdrew until the candles had burnt out, so as not to see the child or hear him crying. Several people have told us that while the candles were burning like this they burnt and killed several babies.[81]

Schmitt argues that the burning of the supposed changelings was an 'integral part of the rite', as, despite being presented as unintentional, witnesses attest to it occurring on a number of occasions. Schmitt characterises the fire as a threat, one of the 'terrifying demonic forces' that test both the bodily integrity of the child and the resolve of the mother to complete the rite.[82] Furthermore, the threat to the child could be intended, like in some of the latter folklore, to encourage the fauns to retrieve their child. In this sense, the use of fire, while certainly dangerous, would likely have been understood by the women who took part in these rites as a necessary part of the curative process, not as a violent act against either the changeling or their own child. Stephen of Bourbon, as an outsider and Dominican inquisitor, does see the potential for the children to be burned as violent. It also appears that not all of the women were convinced by this logic and some, on hearing the infant crying, returned to retrieve the child before the candles burned down. Katajala-Peltomaa notes that, even though the harsh treatment of child demoniacs was within the limits of parental rights, in the sources she examines parents

[81] Schmitt, pp. 4 & 6.
[82] Schmitt, p. 72.

felt the need to justify their actions, both at the canonisation hearings and to their children.[83] This perhaps indicates that, even when harsh treatment was sanctioned as a care practice, parents could feel conflicted about the administration of this care.

Although it is tempting to see the use of fire in the rite of Saint Guinefort as a direct precursor to the later folklore or an indication that fire was commonly used to banish changelings during the medieval period, both are difficult theories to support. The inclusion of fire in one ritual in rural France cannot be used as evidence that communities across Europe had similar rituals. There is some, admittedly scanty, evidence from elsewhere in Western Europe that fire could be involved in some healing rituals involving children. Ranulph Higden describes a custom that involved 'the passing of children through fire for the sake of insuring good health' in his *Speculum Curatorum*.[84] Similarly, both Green and Kuuliala note the prohibition in several early penitential books against the practice of putting a child on the roof or in an oven in order to cure fever or restore the health of the child.[85] However, although it is possible that this custom was practised on children suspected of being changelings, the lack of reference to child substitution either in the penitentials or in any other Anglo-Saxon source, leads me to argue that these references are not relevant to a discussion about child substitution discourse.[86] Fire is also incorporated into the banishment of demonic changelings in hagiographic sources from both Italy and Germany. Fire is not mentioned in the St Stephen Holy Man tradition or in the Bartholomew corpus. Nor is it part of Stephen's confrontation with his demonic changeling

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[83] Katajala-Peltomaa, p. 245.

[84] Ranulph Higden, *Speculum Curatorum - A Mirror for Curates, Book I: The Commandments*, ed. by Margaret Jennings and Eugene Crook, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations, 13:1, 3 vols (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), I, pp. 116–17.

[85] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 88; Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 118. For references to this practice in the penitentials see: *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal 'Libri Poenitentiales' and Selections from Related Documents*, ed. by John Thomas McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, Records of Western Civilization (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 198, 229, 246, 318, 350.

[86] Furthermore, I also find the connection that is sometimes made between these practices and abandonment/exposure rather tenuous, particularly in the cases where the child is placed in an oven. The Latin word translated as oven is generally *fornax* (furnace, oven, kiln). As most medieval homes in Western Europe did not contain an oven, this might suggest that parents were placing their child in a communal oven. This is, of course, complete speculation, but, depending on the state of the oven, such an action need not have involved a high heat or any type of flame. The oven may instead have acted as a place to keep a sick infant warm, with minimal risk. In addition, if a child had a fever, placing it outside on the roof could have served to lower the child's temperature.

in Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII; however, all of the other manuscripts in the Julian and the Doe tradition reference fire in the banishment sequence. The origin of BNM, MS Lat Z 158 and BML, MS Ashburnham cannot be determined; however, DKB, Inc. haun. 2179 is German in origin. Of the corpus of hagiographic images, only S IV, which was probably made for the altar of the Brunacci family in the church of Sant'Agostino in Siena, shows the changeling being burnt. Although less explicit than some of the Stephen manuscripts, the Lawrence tradition, which appears to be primarily found in German manuscripts, also incorporates language related to fire in the demon's banishment. This could indicate that the use of fire against suspected changelings was not confined to rural France, but it is also possible that the writers and artists were drawing on traditions more related to the banishment of demons than changelings specifically.

Of the three manuscripts in the Julian and the Doe tradition that incorporate fire into the banishment sequence, BML, MS Ashburnham 870 is the most explicit, stating that: 'Tunc sanctus stefanus iuxit igniem deferri, […] et continuo sanctus stefanus pro(i)ecit inn ignie eu(m) et ilium combuxit.' (Then Saint Stephen ordered a fire to be brought […] Saint Stephen immediately threw him into the fire and he combusted.) DKB, Inc. haun. 2179 also describes a 'copiosum ignem' (well-supplied fire) being used to burn the changeling to dust. BNM, MS Lat Z 158 describes Stephen ordering 'ignem adduci coram se' (a fire to be brought before [the changeling's] eyes) and, while it is not explicitly stated, the implication is that Stephen 'statuam ex toto contrivit' (destroyed the statue completely) using the fire. It is likely that Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII is the common ancestor of the rest of the manuscripts in the Julian and the Doe tradition. I argue this based on their shared use of language; for instance the reference to the changeling as an idol, as well as the motif of Julian finding Stephen being suckled by a doe on his doorstep. However, the use of fire to banish the changeling is the one element that, while shared by all of the younger manuscripts, is not found in the twelfth-century Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII. This indicates that the burning of the changeling was introduced by a copyist at some point during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. I can of course only speculate as to the motives behind the incorporation of fire in the manuscript tradition's rite of removal. A copyist

may have been influenced by an understanding of the way in which changelings were meant to be tested or banished in their cultural community. Certainly, it is not just in the Julian and the Doe version of Saint Stephen's legend that we find fire used in rites of removal. The St Lawrence tradition also refers to fire at the point at which the changeling is banished, stating: 'Et cum magno ululatu recessit et pallacium regis ex parte combussit et evanuit.' (And he retreated with a great shrieking and burnt up and vanished from the region of the king's palace.) Unlike the later Julian and the Doe manuscripts, there is no mention of the saint ordering a fire to be made and the changeling thrown on to it, but the use of the word 'combussit' does invoke flame at the same moment that the other texts do.

While the association between fire and the banishment of changelings outside of the Julian and the Doe tradition does lend support to the notion that this was a generally, even internationally, understood method for dealing with a changeling; it is also possible that the inclusion of the fire as an agent of banishment in the saints' legends was influenced by clerical literature rather than, or in addition to, oral tradition. For instance, a number of exorcism rituals call on the one who is coming 'to judge the quick and the dead and the world through fire', so the visualization of this as the burning of the changeling is not too implausible.[87] We might also note the practice of burning revenants, which were believed by some church men to be the result of demons possessing corpses.[88] As Stephen Gordon notes, cremation was 'often the ultimate apotropaic response to revenant encounters' and, in situations where the revenants were thought to have caused a pestilence, fire could be the only truly effective way of destroying the revenant and purifying the surrounding area.[89]

As I discussed in my introduction, it is difficult to identify the intended audience for the written hagiographies; however, Rudolf Hiller Von Gaertringen has suggested convincingly

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[87] Caciola, pp. 257, 261. 266.

[88] Stephen R. Gordon, 'The Walking Dead in Medieval England: Literary and Archaeological Perspectives' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2013); Stephen R. Gordon, 'Dealing with the Undead in the Later Middle Ages', in *Dealing with the Dead: Mortality and Community in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Thea Tomaini (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 97–128.

[89] Stephen R. Gordon, 'The Walking Dead in Medieval England', pp. 31 & 140.

that S IV was commissioned for a family altar.[90] As I noted above, in a detail specific to S IV, the changeling is depicted as being bound and thrown into a bonfire under the direction of the saint. None of the other banishment images show the changeling being burnt. Schmitt, who discusses the aforementioned image, states that '[the burning of the changeling] is not mentioned in either of the two known manuscripts of the *Vita Fabulosa*'.[91] However, as I demonstrated above, while fire is not mentioned in Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, all of the other manuscripts in the Julian and the Doe tradition reference fire in the banishment sequence. Schmitt, being unaware of the inclusion of the fire motif in the later manuscript tradition, suggests that the 'variant […] may stem from an oral tradition'. This is certainly a possibility. Martino di Bartolomeo, the artist responsible for S IV, may well have drawn on local customs or beliefs in order to create the altarpiece. None of the other images created in or for places in the vicinity of Sienna include a scene depicting the return of the saint, so it is impossible to compare Bartolomeo's version with others. Equally, he may have drawn on the manuscript tradition, which Schmitt does not acknowledge. However, we do not have a place of origin for either BML, MS Ashburnham 870 or BNM, MS Lat Z 158 and the dating for both manuscripts has not been narrowed down further than fourteenth to fifteenth century.[92] We cannot therefore know if Bartolomeo had access to these or other similar versions of the legend he was depicting.

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[90] Rudolf Hiller Von Gaertringen, 'Seven Scenes of the Life of Saint Stephen by Martino Di Bartolomeo in Frankfurt: A Proposal for Their Provenance, Function, and Relationship to Simone Martini's Beato Agostino Novello Monument', in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, ed. by Victor M. Schmidt, Studies in the History of Art (Washington, D.C.), 61 (Washington; New Haven; London: National Gallery of Art; Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 315–40.

[91] Schmitt, p. 79. It is difficult to determine exactly which manuscript, besides Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, Schmitt is referring to in this quotation. In footnote 31, when discussing Marcella Bianchi, 'Proposte Iconografiche per Il Ciclo Pittorico Di Santo Stefano Nell'oratorio Di Leniate Sul Seveso', *Arte Lombarda*, 17 (1972), 27–70, he refers to Milan, H 82 suss and states that it 'hardly differs at all' from Codex CXVII. Since H 82 suss is from the Holy Man tradition, it seems likely that Schmitt is referring instead to Venice, MS Lat Z 158 (= 1779) which is transcribed by de Gaiffier in 'Le diable voleur d'enfants', pp. 45–8, a text that Schmitt cites in footnote 29. Or perhaps, Florence, MS Ashburnham 870, which is a manuscript that M. Bianchi also cites in addition to H 82. That Schmitt should have been aware of four separate manuscripts and yet state in the body of his text that there are only 'two known manuscripts' is worth noting.

[92] Copenhagen, Inc. haun. 2179 is a Germanic text from the fifteenth century and, as Martino di Bartolomeo was active in Italy rather than Germany, it is less likely that he has contact with this manuscript or a version like it.

On whatever sources the manuscript copyists or Martino di Bartolomeo based their depictions of the saint banishing the demonic changeling, their portrayal offered up to the reader or viewer a violent and fiery solution to the problem of a changeling. Whether influenced by exorcism rites or by local customs for dealing with changelings, the appearance of fire as the solution to a suspected changeling in a hagiography is somewhat surprising. Stephen of Bourbon identified the recovery rites performed at the shrine of Saint Guinefort as having often fatal consequences for the child on which the rite was focused. The danger it posed to the children appears to have been one of the reasons why he was at great pains to stamp out the superstition. Although those that participated in the rites at Saint Guinefort's shrine no doubt saw their actions as a necessary, if harsh, form of care, akin to the beating or binding of a demoniac, Stephen of Bourbon characterises the practices as infanticidal. If anything, this makes it more likely that the inclusion of fire in the inevitably didactic hagiographic narratives stemmed from an understanding of how to deal with demons, rather than a reflection of either local or international understandings of the rites of reversal associated with child substitution. While Schmitt sees the inclusion of fire in a hagiographic image as an indication that rites involving fire in the banishment of changelings were not just confined to the area of Saint Guinefort's shrine, if rites such as those discovered by Stephen of Bourbon in France were commonplace, it does not seem likely that the creators of hagiography would make it seem like a permissible approach by including it as a motif.

(3.4.d) The Body of the Changeling as a Site of Violence

As I have demonstrated, methods for banishing a changeling or initiating the return of the true human child often contained elements that, depending on the viewers' perspective, could be characterised as a harsh but necessary care, or violent, possibly fatal, abuse. In the next section, I step back from examining the rite specifically in order to consider if invoking the concept of a changeling could act as a precursor to violent actions by dehumanising the recipient of the violent act. I have already mentioned Villon's use of 'malostru changon' to describe a man whom he wishes to be whipped. A similar sequence of events, calling a person a changeling prior to a violent attack, is recorded by Anonimo Romano in his *Cronica: Vita di Cola di Rienzo.*

Romano explains that, when Francesco Ordelaffii's son encouraged his father make peace with the Church and, more specifically, the papal legate currently besieging their castle in the late 1350s, Ordelaffii turned on his son, exclaiming: 'You are a bastard [*biscione*], or else you were changed on me at the font [*mi fusti scagnato alli fonti*]'. He then killed his son by stabbing the young man in the back.[93] However, these are not the only sources in which the child substitution motif is invoked as a precursor to the supposed changeling being violently assaulted.

This can be seen in the *Chester Mystery Cycle* where Herod and his soldiers call Jesus and the Innocents 'conjouns' as part of their use of language to reconstruct the bodies of their victims not as fragile, human infants but rather as a host of supernatural invaders, whose bodies are suitable sites on which to do violence.[94] In 'Magi, The Vinters Playe' and 'Innocents, The Gouldsmythes Playe', Herod learns of the infant Jesus and subsequently orders the slaughter of all the baby boys in Bethlehem as a pre-emptive strike against what he perceives as a rival for his throne. The nature of the plays' Biblical source means that many of the adult characters construct young children in a negative light. Derogatory language is one of the main tactics used by Herod and his soldiers to establish the bodies of infants as appropriate objects of violence. *The Oxford English Dictionary* cites the *Chester Mystery Cycle* as a source where *cangun/conjeoun* is used as 'a derisive or contemptuous term applied to a child'.[95] While Herod is both 'derisive' and 'contemptuous' towards the infant Jesus, I would argue that in this context the child substitution connotations of the term come to the fore. I discuss the way in which these plays utilise the child substitution motif as part of the discourse surrounding cuckoldry and usurpation in Chapter 5, but in this section I focus on the particular impact that this insult has when used against the figure of a child.

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[93] Anonimo Romano, *Cronica: Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. by Ettore Mazzali (Milan: Rizzoli, 1991), pp. 256–57.

[94] All references to these plays are taken from R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, EETS SS, 3, 9, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1974). A discussion of the manuscript tradition is in Lumiansky and Mills' edition and in their companion text: R. M. Lumiansky, David Mills, and Richard Rastall, *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill, NC; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

[95] '† ˈcongeon | ˈconjon, N.'

Martin Stevens expects that the *Chester Cycle* began to be performed around 1375.[96] However, during the fifteenth century, the *Cycle* appears to have been largely a Passion play which was then expanded between 1505 and 1532 to include Old Testament and Nativity scenes.[97] 'Magi' and 'Innocents' may have existed before 1505 in a shorter version; whether this earlier version contained language referring to the child substitution motif is unclear. While Stevens suggests that the *Chester Cycle* is 'a medieval play in content and style', more recent publications have emphasised the way in which it reflects the concerns of sixteenth-century Chester.[98] It is possible that even if the references to child substitution were added during the sixteenth-century revisions, they reflected beliefs that had been established in the Chester area during the preceding centuries, but we should also be open to considering them in the light of later attitudes toward children and child substitution.

Herod and his soldiers direct a wide variety of insults at the infant Christ. Discounting 'boy' and 'swayne', which, although presumably intended to be delivered in a dismissive fashion, are more descriptive than rude, the most commonly used insult directed at Christ is 'shrewe', with seven attestations. The *Middle English Dictionary* ascribes a large number of denotations and connotations to this word, the most obvious in this context being 'an unruly or ill-disciplined child'. However, it was also used to mean 'devil' or 'evil or injurious creature'. Thus, when the evil-aligned Herod, his soldiers and, later in the cycle, the Antichrist use the insult against Jesus, a divine source of goodness, the word has an ironic edge. The second commonest insult is 'conioun', with Herod railing against 'that elfe and vile [congion]' (Magi 328) and that 'vyle [congion]' (Innocents 145).[99] The king's language is echoed by both soldiers, with Secundus Miles referring to Jesus as 'a conjoyne' (Innocents 166) and Primus Miles using the plural form of the noun twice to describe the infants he intends to slaughter (Innocents 196 and 209).

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[96] Martin Stevens, *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 262.
[97] Lawrence M. Clopper, 'The History and Development of the Chester Cycle', *Modern Philology*, 75.3 (1978), 219–46 (p. 231).
[98] Stevens, p. 260; *The Chester Cycle in Context, 1555–1575: Religion, Drama, and the Impact of Change*, ed. by Jessica Dell, David N. Klausner, and Helen Ostovich (London: Routledge, 2016).
[99] Lumiansky & Mills use square brackets to indicate where they have used a manuscript source other than Huntington 2.

In one speech, Herod emphasises that Jesus is 'yonge and tender of age' (Innocents 26). Since Herod's insults generally serve to dehumanise Jesus, focusing on his opponent's status as an infant might seem at first glance to be a self-defeating tactic. This and other references to Jesus and the Innocents as babies who are unable to control their own bodily functions — 'swedlinge sweyne' (Magi 400), 'dyrtie-arses' (Innocents 143) — simply reinforce the vulnerability of the children to the violence of both swords and words. As MacLehose explains, according to the new medical literature of the twelfth century, the infant's body was 'weak and not yet solid'. That meant that it was physically vulnerable to sickness, or in this case, the violence of men.[100] MacLehose also notes the 'larger medieval concept of childhood as a metaphor for incompletion', as the child cannot fend for itself: it must rely on positive adult influence to ensure its physical and moral safety.[101] By employing the language of infant vulnerability, Herod is able to set up the bodies of Christ and the Innocents as fundamentally malleable. In doing so, Herod opens their bodies up as a site on which he can exert his influence as an adult and re-construct them through the force of his insults.

While Herod's initial tactic is to attack Jesus on the grounds of low birth, once he realises that his own status as a foreign king with no ancestral right to the throne leaves him vulnerable to stronger claims, Herod describes Jesus as a 'yonge godlinge', 'elvish godlinge', 'elfe and vile [congion]' in an attempt to construct his infant rival as a supernatural, inhuman creature and the ultimate outsider. Elves are strongly connected with changelings in nineteenth-century folklore, but this association is only expressed in very late medieval sources such as the mystery plays.[102] However, as I have already shown, other supernatural creatures, such as demons and fauns, are attested in connection with the child substitution motif from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries respectively in a similar capacity to the later manifestation of elves. Thus, although the mystery plays are some of our earliest evidence for the link to elves, this may be more a variation in terminology than a functional difference. In addition to the *Chester* plays, the

[100] MacLehose, p. 214.
[101] MacLehose, p. 212.
[102] Hall, Elves in Anglo-Saxon England, p. 117.

'Second Shepherds' Play' in the *Towneley Cycle* (also known as the *Wakefield Cycle*) contains the assertion that a stolen sheep disguised as a baby is not the shepherds' lost lamb but rather a child who 'was taken with an elf […] When the clock struck twelf / Was he forshapen'.[103] As the compilation of the drama as it comes down to us has been placed in the last third of the fifteenth century (and probably closer to the turn of the sixteenth), the mystery plays either provide evidence of a new development in the child substitution motif at the end of the fifteenth century or allow us to access a traditional stratum of English culture for the first time and bring to light aspects of child substitution that had not previously been expressed in writing.

Alaric Hall argues that within 'Anglo-Saxon ideologies', elves were perceived as being aligned with the human in-group, powerful 'but dangerous only to members who transgress certain social norms'.[104] Unlike monsters, they were not perceived as a threat to the whole of society.[105] According to Ronald Hutton's analysis, between the Anglo-Saxon period and the fifteenth century, 'an ill-defined or undefined parallel world of magical beings' developed into a fully-formed 'literary construct of [a] fairy kingdom', the reality of which was beginning to be incorporated into theological thought.[106] By labelling Jesus as an 'elfe', Herod is depicted as constructing the infant as an invader from another world. To an extent this strategy could be said to tap into the Chester plays' 'focus on Jesus's divinity rather than his humanity'.[107] As Kathleen Ashley notes 'the Chester dramatist had little inclination to portray Jesus' human vulnerability'.[108] Thus, Herod is presented as craftily neutralising the sympathy that a human infant might engender by constructing his enemy not as a human child but as a type of supernatural outsider that, having taken the form of a child, should be dealt with violently.

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[103] 'The Second Shepherds' Play', in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. by James Simpson and Alfred David, 9th edn, 2 vols (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), I, 450–77 (pp. 890–892).
[104] Hall, Elves in Anglo-Saxon England, p. 174.
[105] Hall, Elves in Anglo-Saxon England, p. 174.
[106] Hutton, pp. 1142–1144.
[107] Stevens, p. 272.
[108] Kathleen M. Ashley, 'Divine Power in Chester Cycle and Late Medieval Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 39.3 (1978), 387–404 (p. 391).

The effectiveness of Herod's strategy is demonstrated in the way in which the language Herod uses infects the speech of his soldiers. While both soldiers are initially hesitant to follow his orders, preferring to slay a 'knight or champion' (Innocents 163), the language used by the king to describe Christ and the other infants is mirrored in the response of the soldiers. Thus, Primus Miles echoes Herod's 'dyrtie-arses' (Innocents 143) with his own 'shitten-arsed shrowe' (Innocents 157), while Secundus Miles picks up on 'that vyle [congeon]' (Innocents 145) and repeats the word in his own monologue (Innocents 166). They are already constructing the infants in the negative terms laid down by Herod; their reluctance appears to stem not from a moral objection to the killing of children, but from a concern for their knightly dignity: one 'conjoyne' is after all not much of a challenge for 'knights of such great degree' (Innocents 160). But the sheer numbers involved mitigate their concerns. Inspired by their king, they are able to see the babies that they kill as 'many a smale congeon […] blake-lypped boyes' (Innocents 196–197). Their graphically violent language and actions are figured from their perspective as an appropriate response to an overwhelming, otherworldly threat.

It is also notable that, while the mothers of the infants are fulsome in their abuse of the soldiers attacking their children, they make little to no attempt to challenge the soldiers' dark imagining of their infants. The mothers refer to their babies as 'childe' or 'sonne', but only once is a descriptive term of endearment used, when Secundus Mulier refers to her 'sonne that is so sweet' (Innocents 302). In an exchange, one of the women responds to the soldier's threat to impale her charge by recreating the body of the boy as a girl: 'Hit hath two holes under the tayle' (Innocents 367). Thus, perversely, both soldier and woman figure the body of the child as a site fit for penetration. Furthermore, Jane Tolmie notes that, rather than engender sympathy, this instead serves to highlight the fact that the infant is a stage prop doll that can be re-gendered at will.[109] In performance, the absence of a true child could only have enhanced the malleability of the infant's body; therefore, since the soldiers and Herod spend two plays

[109] Jane Tolmie, 'Spinning Women and Manly Soldiers: Grief and Game in the English Massacre Plays', in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010), pp. 283–98 (p. 290).

constructing the infant bodies as supernatural, beastly and fit for slaughter, the mothers are unable to offer a compelling contrast and save their charges.

While I argued in the first half of this chapter that violence was not an inevitable response to the figure of the changeling, the way in which Herod uses the child substitution motif hints that the harsh treatment of suspected changelings was a common enough trope that the audience of these plays might recognise and understand what Herod was attempting to do. This might encourage us to see violence done towards the figure of the changeling as being at least somewhat acceptable or at least a recognised response; however, it is worth remembering that these words were placed in the mouth of an evil and untrustworthy character. It is likely that audience was being encouraged to question, critique, and reject Herod's construction of the world.

(3.5) Conclusion

In this section, I have discussed the way in which violence is sometimes used in medieval sources to facilitate the exposure and banishment of the changeling. Compelling the changeling to speak by making the sign of the cross or invoking the power of God is a feature of almost all of the hagiographies that describe or depict this moment. This may have some connection to rites of exorcism. After the initial confrontation, five of the thirteen hagiographical sources that include the return of the saint describe or depict the changeling being burnt and in one source the changeling is tied up and beaten before being banished. There is some additional evidence, particularly but not exclusively literary, to support the idea that an association with the child substitution motif could facilitate or in some way enable violent, perhaps fatal, actions done towards the supposed changeling. We can see some of this logic in the rites at Saint Guinefort's shrine, where if the child comes to any harm that results in its death, it was not the human child, but the changeling that died. However, even here it must be noted that this logic did not convince all of the mothers that ventured to the shrine, with one rushing back to snatch the child from the jaws of a wolf rather than let the infant die. There is some question as to why the banishment of the changeling in hagiographic texts would be, at least on occasion, depicted in such violent terms, particularly considering that the Church as an institution was interested in

ensuring that its youngest members were taken care of and not subjected to suspiciously superstitious and violent practices. Obviously the Church was not monolithic; individual authors and churches were highly influenced by local beliefs. However, it also important to note that the banishment of the changeling in hagiographic sources is performed by the saint or a holy man, with no input from the parents, thus removing the parent's agency and positioning the saint as the one with the power to effect change. Furthermore, the extent to which the violence done to the body of the changeling could be said to reflect beliefs or practices associated with the removal of changelings and the reversal of the initial substitution is uncertain. The clear use of fire is restricted to the later Julian and the Doe tradition of St Stephen. The origins of those manuscripts are mostly unknown, although one is thought to be German, and the single image is thought to be from the altar of the Brunacci family in the church of Sant'Agostino, Siena.[110] That the, primarily German, St Lawrence textual tradition also references fire at the crucial moment of banishment is some indication that this connection between fire and banishing changelings was more widespread. As I mentioned earlier, the link between changelings and demons that is made in these texts and images could have had a key impact on the way in which the changelings were banished. It is also possible that the inclusion of these violent banishments in the saints' lives reflected a tacit and widespread knowledge of effective ways in which to cope with a suspected or proven changeling. However, either way, by framing these violent practices as occurring only under the direction of a saint, the saints' lives may have been designed to encourage parents caring for a suspected changeling to pray to the saint for aid rather than to utilise their knowledge of violent rituals designed to reverse the substitution and potentially harm their child. The connection to demons might imply that such advice was also envisaged as being applicable to those who understood their child to be tormented by demons in other ways. This is not to suggest that the parents of disabled or sick children would automatically or immediately turn to violent rituals if they believed, suspected or were informed by other members of their community that their child was a changeling. In fact, there is a strong theme in many of these sources which portrays the parental response to a child

[110] Hiller Von Gaertringen.

that does not thrive or meet the expected milestones of growth as engaging in sustained and long-term care for that child. Evidence from other sources not directly related to child substitution also suggests that this was the primary response; however, what our child substitution sources also indicate is that the construction of a child as a changeling could be dangerous for said child. While most non-normatively developed, unhealthy, impaired or simply disappointing children were likely cared for non-violently, the child substitution motif was one avenue which could open up the possibility of violence being constructed as a form of care necessary to effect a cure or improvement in the child's condition.

Chapter 4: Neglecting the Baby: Depictions and descriptions of the moment of substitution as a warning against inadequate childcare

(4.1) Introduction

In this chapter I examine how hagiographic sources that include the child substitution motif are used to comment on, or warn against, inadequate or neglectful childcare practices. The first half focuses on depictions of the moment of substitution, that is the point in the legend when the devil is able to steal the infant saint and put a changeling in his place. Often these images portray the saint's carers as being inattentive, particularly compared to more normative post-partum images, or engaging in childcare practices that were thought to be dangerous to the health of the infant, such as co-sleeping. I suggest that these images were constructed in such a way as to warn viewers, particularly those with child caring responsibilities, against these practices. In the second section, I discuss a later moment in the hagiographical legends of child substitution, the point at which the saint is either abandoned or exposed by the demons. After summarising the historiographical debate that has centred on the question of the levels of infant abandonment or exposure during the Middle Ages, I concentrate on the way in which the exposure or abandonment of the infant saint could be understood as a warning against these practices. These legends emphasise the danger that the infant saint faces and show that they are only saved through divine intervention. Although these cautions were not directed at all viewers or readers of these hagiographic legends, drawing on Elizabeth L'Estrange's conception of the situational eye, I argue that these specific warnings against dangerous childcare practices could resonate for certain viewers.

(4.2) The Moment of Substitution: Warnings about the care of new-born infants

(4.2.a) Introduction

The point at which the human child is taken away and replaced with the substitute child is a moment of high drama: a villainous intruder, the innocent victim, and a household who, either through momentary distraction, inadequate protection or sustained neglect fail to prevent the substitution from occurring. In a chapter focused on the use of hagiography to warn against

inadequate childcare practices, this event is worthy of attention because the successful substitution is proof that, for whatever reason, the human child's carers have failed to adequately protect their charge and thus any depiction or description of the moment of substitution must grapple with the question of what constitutes inadequate childcare. Thus, this section focuses on the way in which hagiographic images depict and comment on the care (and neglect) of new-born infants in illustrations of the moment of substitution.

The two murals in the choir of Prato Cathedral, which were painted between May 1452 and January 1466 by Fra Filippo Lippi, depict the stories of Saint Stephen (S. VI) and John the Baptist facing each other on the north and south walls of the choir.[1] Eve Borsook argues that Lippi went to some trouble to 'draw out the correspondences between the two stories'.[2] The two cycles are clearly constructed in order to parallel each other; both lunettes show the infancy of the two saints, the middle tiers depict the saints leaving their parental figures and preaching, while the bottom tiers show their martyrdom. As an introduction to this section, I focus on examining and comparing the two post-partum confinement scenes that dominate the lunettes. They are a strikingly clear example of the ways in which, in order to depict the moment of substitution, artists disrupt or alter the conventional post-partum scene and in doing so transmit a warning about proper and improper care of new-born infants.

As the subject matter is similar, it is not surprising that there are a number of parallels between the two images. Both scenes contain the saint's mother lying in a large bed that dominates the room, female attendant and the infant saint. However, when viewed as a pair it is immediately clear that, despite being superficially similar, the figures in the two scenes are positioned very differently. In the *Birth of St John the Baptist*, all of the other figures in the scene are focused upon the infant saint. Two female attendants support the saint above a washing basin in the shape of a baptismal font. The other attendant kneels, facing the baby, with one hand covering the far side of her face and the other reaching out towards John. Her reaching hand connects with the back of one of the women holding the saint and, together, their arms

[1] Borsook, pp. 1 & 12.
[2] Borsook, p. 30.

form an unbroken arc directing the viewer's eyes towards the saint. In turn, the saint, as yet un-swaddled, looks and reaches an arm towards the two kneeling figures, mirroring the position of the standing attendant. These four figures form a cohesive, connected unit. Being up on the bed, Saint Elizabeth is somewhat disconnected from this tableau. Nevertheless, despite being physically separate, she is still focused on her son. To indicate this, she sits upright in bed, her hands almost appear to be in the act of pushing off the covers that sit around her navel, and she is clearly looking directly down at her son. All of the figures in the scene are connected to the saint, either by supporting him physically, through another figure, or by looking directly at him. St John is obviously their sole focus and thus the focal point of the scene.

The spatial composition of the figures in Lippi's *Birth of St John* conforms to the conventional portrayal of post-partum nativity scenes. Drawing on the collections of these scenes made by Jacqueline Musacchio and Elizabeth L'Estrange, it is clear that in the vast majority of depictions the baby is being held, if not by its mother then by another woman. This can take many forms, sometimes the baby is in the process of being washed, swaddled or even nursed, but, importantly, it is in physical contact with a carer and, in the event that it is not, it is rare that one of the adults is not looking directly at it. [3] Conventional postpartum images are, Musacchio argues, meant to be idealised and comforting for the expected mother: 'The celebratory and convivial aspects of childbirth are emphasised […] There is no danger, pain or suffering'.[4] While it is certainly true that images of saintly birth were schematic rather than

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[3] Musacchio's collection is mostly made up of Italian birthing trays; however, she also includes examples from Italian paintings, frescos and murals all produced in Italy during the late-fourteen to early-sixteenth centuries. Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999). L'Estrange's collection focuses on devotional-liturgical books such as Books of Hours and breviaries, as well as manuscripts of historical or religious narratives such as the Golden Legend. The majority of her material dates from the late-fourteenth to early-sixteenth centuries and was produced in French and Flemish workshops for French, Flemish, or English owners. Elizabeth L'Estrange, 'En/Gendering Representations of Childbirth in Fifteenth-Century Franco-Flemish Devotional Manuscripts' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2003) <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/290/> [accessed 14 August 2018]. While these cannot be considered to be a representative sample of all medieval art depicting postpartum scenes, they do seem to be representative of a wider trend. Further examples of images depicting the birth or post-partum confinement of saints can be found across Europe from at least the eleventh–twelfth century. Image searches include: British Library Illuminated manuscript collections (search terms: baby, infant, birth); also the collection of images listed under the terms 'cradles' at Larsdatter.com (http://www.larsdatter.com/cradles.htm)

[4] Musacchio, pp. 27–28.

realistic, her assumption of a primarily female viewership, while more likely in the case of Italian birthing trays, does not necessarily hold true when the full spectrum of postpartum images is considered.[5] As L'Estrange notes, these images were multivalent and could resonate for people regardless of position, status, or gender.[6] Building on Baxandall's period eye and Randolph's feminine or gendered period eye, L'Estrange suggests a situational eye, that is a lens 'informed (to varying degrees) by gender, social class, and personal circumstances, through which images of childbirth were brought into meaning by their original viewers'.[7] Through her study, L'Estrange explores the way in which postpartum image, in addition to their other functions, might hold particular resonance for those with concerns about childbearing. However, Alison Stones has questioned the extent to which these generic images of a positive, saintly birth and postpartum experience could be a useful locus for the fears and concerns associated with childbearing.[8]

Of course, images of the moment of substitution do not conform to the conventions of saintly postpartum scenes. This can be seen if we turn away from Lippi's *Birth of St John* to the other side of the choir. When comparing the *Birth of St John* with S VI, the differences quickly begin to stack up. To start with, there are more figures in S VI, nine as opposed to five, and the additional bodies make the scene seem more crowded and less intimate. In contrast to the closely connected and tightknit group of women in *St John*, the figures in S VI are dispersed and disconnected from each other and, more importantly, from the saint. There are five women present, Stephen's mother and four attendants, but none of them are in direct physical contact

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[5] As L'Estrange summaries and contests, there is a strong historiographical tradition of taking postpartum images as true representations of a historical space where women acted for themselves and other women, away from men. In additon, these images were presumed to have a female viewership and to resonate most strongly with female viewers. See: L'Estrange, pp. 6–20.

[6] L'Estrange, p. 59.

[7] For Baxandall's period eye, see: Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, Oxford Paperbacks, 2nd ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 29–103. For L'Estrange's summary of the concept, see: L'Estrange, pp. 50–51. For Randolph's gendered period eye, see: Adrian W. B. Randolph, 'Renaissance Household Goddesses', in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, ed. by Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnaciön (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2002), pp. 163–89. For L'Estrange's summary and critique, see: L'Estrange, pp. 52–58. For L'Estrange's situational eye, see: L'Estrange, pp. 58–59.

[8] Alison Stones, 'Nipples, Entrails, Severed Heads, and Skin: Devotional Images for Madame Marie', in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 47–64.

with the saint, neither are they looking directly at him or the demon that holds him. His mother is positioned more languorously than Saint Elizabeth's relatively dynamic posing. Stephen's mother is not sitting up, instead she lies down on her side, head propped up on an elbow, covers tucked just under her breasts. She looks across her shoulder and her eye line rests just above the black demon in the process of depositing a changeling in her son's cradle. In fact, all of the women are looking in slightly different directions that just skim past the demon and fail to even meet each other's eyes. Unlike in *St John*, the women are all engaged in separate purposes. Some of these purposes are clear, a woman carries a covered basket into the room on her head, while others are not, the woman in the far-right hand corner appears to be just standing looking into space. Very little of this activity appears to relate directly and obviously to the infant saint or his care. Even the woman next to Stephen's cradle, who might be expected to have noticed the switch, appears to have her eyes closed. She holds up a cloth at the head of the cradle, an action which might even be interpreted as, knowingly or unknowingly, facilitating the switch. As Marilyn Aronberg Lavin notes, 'the bemused air of most of the ancillary figures shows their ignorance of the proceedings'.[9] There is one exception to this rule, despite the five adults present who might be more capable of protecting the saint or impeding the demon, ironically, 'only the cringing baby in the foreground is aware of the act [of substitution]'.[10] Lavin describes 'the agitated infant' as 'scrambling away', but, with his arms reaching back in the direction of the orange robed attendant, it is also possible that he is trying to attract the attention of the adults in the room.[11]

There are other details in the two paintings that provide more subtle contrasts and combine to give the two rooms a very different feeling: one secure and contained, the other vulnerable and porous. St John and his carers are contained in a 'windowless room' with a clear box-like structure and walls of clean, unbroken lines. St Stephen's room on the other hand is porous, with multiple doors and windows allowing easy access to the room from all sides.

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[9] Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431–1600* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 158.
[10] Borsook, p. 12.
[11] Lavin, p. 158.

Similarly, while the floor in *St John* is a solid block of a single colour, in *St Stephen* the floor is painted with white, red and black to indicate a crosshatch pattern of titles: even the floor is broken up, not as solid as in John's birth room. The dividing lines between the outside and inside are broken up in multiple places: by the dark curtains that are carelessly draped across the boundary of the walls, while at the front of the scene, the outside landscape, the red rocks of the desert and the crennelations of the city street that Stephen will be abandoned upon, penetrates the domestic space. Borsook sees this contrast as well, stating that 'the individual tiers in the Baptist cycle have a more self-contained character [than the Stephen cycle]' where 'the rocky terrain […] seems to wind between many episodes'.[12] In the context of the post-partum confinement scene the penetrating quality of the landscape enhances the vulnerability of the infant left in a porous space without a watchful eye upon him.

These scenes speak to each other across the choir and are intended to be viewed in conjunction with one another. The composition of the images is emblematic of the rest of their respective canons and the contrast between them is deliberate. While certainly some of the differences stem from the practicalities of making the undetected substitution somewhat plausible to the viewer, I would argue that Lippi deliberately composed these scenes in order to emphasise the dangers that the infant Stephen was exposed to through his environment and the actions of his carers. In this, S VI is reflective of the rest of the corpus of child substitution images. I have found twelve pieces of visual culture in which saints are depicted as being stolen from their cradles and a changeling substituted in their place. In almost all of these substitution scenes, none of the adult figures in the scene are looking directly at the cradle and the child within it.[13] This fundamental variance between how the conventional and substitution post-partum scenes are composed indicates that these images functioned in different ways. If *St John* and other conventional postpartum scenes present the hoped for ideal, then S VI and other substitution images serve as a warning.

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[12] Borsook, p. 28.

[13] One exception is S I. Here, one panel in the cycle depicts the saint's mother sleeping and thus unaware of the substitution, but the two female attendants both touch and look directly at the cradle where a demonic changeling has just been substituted for the saint. I discuss the implications of this image in more detail later in this section.

The nature of the warning would no doubt vary depending on the situational lens through which the image was viewed. For instance, although the entire town was involved in the murals at Prato being commissioned, the position of S VI in the choir meant that it had a mainly clerical audience, whereas S IV was likely intended for the Brunacci family's altar and S II was part of a cycle covering the walls of an oratory built for Count Stefano Porro and his family. As an illustration of one scene from the life of a saint, the substitution image is part of the saint's struggle with and ultimate triumph over the forces of evil. Thus the message that a viewer might draw from the image could well be exclusively spiritual; as Kuuliala notes, a demonic changeling is a useful metaphor for the malignant impact of evil on the human soul and, as such, has a universal resonance.[14] However, I would suggest that when looked at through the situational eye of a parent or caregiver, these postpartum substitution scenes also caution the viewer, warning against neglect and the improper care of new-born infants, with particular figures or practices being presented in such a way as to invite censure or to present a cautionary tale. In the following sections, I pay particular attention to the portrayal of the saint's mother and nurse, as well as the specific issues of overlaying and leaving infants alone.

It is worth noting at this point that, while I do see warnings about improper childcare in these images, this does not mean that that these images are an entirely accurate depiction of medieval post-partum childcare practices, whether incorrect or not. While scholars like Musacchio have seen veracity as integral to the function of postpartum images, I would argue that the creators of these images took liberties with the placement of figures and the construction of the space in order to fulfil their purpose.[15] I do not think that these images must be realistic or accurate in order to convey a sense of 'encouragement' or, conversely, a sense of vulnerability.[16] Elements of these scenes may well be taken from life, but they reflect concerns about childcare rather than exactly replicate the practices of the time. It is perhaps inevitable that some sort of neglect would need to be depicted in order for the saint to be snatched from

[14] Kuuliala, 'Sons of Demons?', p. 85.
[15] Musacchio, p. 35.
[16] Musacchio, p. 35.

his cradle in a remotely plausible way; that said, the variations in composition that are found within this corpus demonstrate that artists and patrons drew on different strands within the childcare discourse and by examining these adaptions a more complete picture of later medieval concern about the physical and spiritual care of infants can be established.

(4.2.b) The Mother

Most of the substitutions in these hagiographical sources explicitly or implicitly occur in the immediate post-partum period: BML, MS Ashburnham 870 and BNM, MS Lat Z 158 explain that the Devil entered the house during the night while Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII states that it happened 'nocte quoque tempore' (that very night). Even the written texts that do not specify a time imply that this action is the Devil's immediate reaction to the saint's birth. While the visual source cannot be as explicit as the written, the scenes of substitution share compositional motifs with images depicting the birth, or rather, the period immediately after the birth, of saints and other infants. This similarity allows us to assume a similar time frame for the visual as for the written substitutions.

As they often are, later folkloric sources are more explicit as to the dangers of child substitution and the methods that parents and carers should follow in order to prevent it happening to their child or to an infant under their care. As Schmitt explains, synthesising material complied from Piaschewsky, Van Gennep, P. Sébillot and Hoffmann-Kreyer and Bächtold-Stäubli: 'a child is most likely to be taken in the hours and days immediately following its birth, when the child is unbaptised and still does not have a name'.[17] How far this belief about the special dangers associated with the period between birth and baptism can be said to hold true for the medieval period is uncertain, as it was mainly perceived as a vital rite for ensuring the spiritual safety of a child. The fear that a baby would die prior to baptism and thus be barred both from heaven and burial in sanctified ground is well attested.[18] The laity were even allowed to administer the rite of baptism if there was a risk that the baby would die during

[17] Schmitt, p. 74.

[18] Peter Abelard, *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, trans. by D. E. Luscombe, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 62–63.

the birth or before a priest could baptise it.[19] As I discussed in the previous chapter, there is very little in the medieval sources to indicated that baptism conferred a special protection against substitution. Indeed, Richard Forth Green has argued that, in *Arthour and Merlin*, Merlin's grandmother is replaced by a changeling when she is an adult and, presumably already baptised. It should be noted here that none of the saints' *Lives* mention the saint being baptised before he is stolen; indeed, in the *Life* of St Lawrence Pope Sixtus baptises him after he is found hanging from a laurel tree. Since it is against doctrine to baptise someone twice, this would seem to imply that the baby had not been baptised when his mother, father and the rest of the court were baptized. Regardless of the specific timeframe, in many medieval European cultures, there was an understanding that infancy was a particularly vulnerable period in a person's life and that extra care should be taken by those who had charge of an infant to ensure their physical and spiritual safety.[20] Being created in this context, it seems clear that, at the very least, these images engage with concerns about the care of very young or new-born infants.

While the Prato *St John* and S VI post-partum scenes are clearly intended to be comparable, it should be noted that they do not depict the exact same moment in time or rather, the moments that Lippi chose to portray are at separate points in the post-partum sequence of events. Sequentially, the *St John* scene takes place prior to the *St Stephen*: John is in the process of being washed before being swaddled, whereas Stephen has already been swaddled and has been laid down to sleep. It is not that the saints who are stolen away by demons have not been cared for at all, as in every image they are swaddled, which was considered a vital part of post-partum infant care. In some images, their swaddling is clearly intended to be rich and high status, with brightly coloured cloths or bands. That the saints have experienced care can be seen most clearly in SV, a fresco decorating the chapel of San Lucchese in the Franciscan friary in Poggibonsi by Cennino d'Andrea Cennini.[21] It is only some indeterminate time after the washing and swaddling of the infant saint that the act of

[19] Orme, p. 25.
[20] MacLehose, chap. 1.
[21] Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, 1388, Poggibonsi, San Lucchese

substitution occurs. The S V is unique in illustrating both the initial attention that the saint receives immediately post-partum and the later inattention that allows the substitution to take place. Thus, in this life of St Stephen, the first panel includes Stephen's parents being informed by an angel of the impending birth and a, more dominant, scene comparable to the Prato *St John*. Here, a swaddled Stephen is held by two female attendants, one coifed and one with loose hair, while next to them a third female attendant pours water into a washing basin. However, unlike in the Prato *St John*, Stephen's mother is disconnected from this contained tableau. She lies on the bed, gazing, not at Stephen, but out of the frame. A fourth female attendant, positioned on the side of the bed furthest from the audience, looks at Stephen's mother and holds a bowl out towards her; however, Stephen's mother's head is turned away from this offering as well as from her child. Thus, while Stephen is in close contact with a number of caregivers, the detachment of his mother prefigures his own isolation in the next panel, where he is placed in an exterior porch structure and left alone. I shall discuss this panel in greater depth during my analysis of the substitution scenes. S V explicitly portrays the care and attention that all of the infant saints in this corpus must be presumed to have experienced in the initial period after their birth. However, unlike other pictures of the birth of saints, the hagiographical images depicting the moment of substitution shift the audiences gaze along the post-partum sequence of events to a moment when the adults' focus has shifted away from the new born infant and on to other matters: changing bed linens, greeting friends, washing, eating, sleeping. In this sense, this corpus reflects a reality, that an infant is not and cannot be the sole focus of every adults' attention at all times. With that said, in many of the images of substitution, reference is made to contemporary concerns regarding the care of new-born infants and, in some cases, the pictures appear to condemn the actions of one or more of the saint's carers. I would suggest that, in the case of S V the mother's disconnection in the scene prior to the substitution leads the viewer to imagine her as the culpable party; however, many of the conventional post-partum scenes also depict the mother as physically separate from the infant, the substitution images are unusual in that none of the figures are actively involved with

caring for the infant. Thus, we can turn to the other figures in the scene and examine how they are portrayed.

(4.2.c) The Nurse

In S VIII, there are six female figures represented. The space is divided into two levels by the bed that bisects the room, four of the female figures are positioned either behind or on the bed in such a way that their heads are on the same sight line. One, the mother, sits up in bed while one attendant assists her in washing her hands. Two other attendants converse with one another while handing over some gold crockery. The lower half of the painting contains two other female attendants sat on stools in front of the bed, alongside St Stephen's cradle. The attendant to the left sits with her back to the audience, looking up towards the other figures behind the bed. The changeling in the crib and the devil flying away with St Stephen in the top right-hand corner indicate that the act of substitution has already taken place. While the switch has not been noticed by any of the women in the scene, I would argue it is the final female figure upon which the audience is invited to cast a censorious gaze. This woman is sat next to the cradle, her body is directed outwards and at her belt a set of keys is clearly visible. Keys are symbolically suggestive of duty, responsibility and guardianship.[22] In many medieval European cultures they were specifically associated with female responsibility within the domestic sphere.[23] A bunch of keys were the most common attribute of Saint Martha, a model of virtuous domesticity, while Margery Kempe signals her return to her household duties by reclaiming the buttery keys from her husband.[24] The keys at this woman's belt, combined with her position next to Stephen's cradle, indicates to the viewer that she has a duty of care towards the infant saint, perhaps his nurse; however, despite this, the woman is asleep, head propped up

[22] Peter L. Donhauser, 'A Key to Vermeer?', *Artibus et Historiae*, 14.27 (1993), 85–101 (p. 89).
[23] Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 11.
[24] Marygrace Peters, 'Speculum Vitae et Fidei: The Exempla as an Historical Source in Medieval Preaching for Understanding Its Context and Audience, with Emphasis on Jacques de Vitry's Sermones Valgares' (unpublished PhD thesis, Boston University, 1993); Natalie M. Van Deusen, "'Inn Besti Hlutr"? Martha of Bethany and Women's Roles in Medieval Iceland', *Arkiv För Nordisk Filologi*, 126 (2011), 73–91 (pp. 79–80); Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Authority and the Female Body in the Writings of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 39.

in her hand, elbow resting on a wooden box. Like Stephen's mother and two of the other attendants, this woman is wearing a white head cover. This may be a visual indication that she is married: veiling the woman's hair was part of the marriage rite in Spain and married women always wore a coif called a *toca*. Lucy Pick notes that 'knocking off [a woman's] *toca* and disarranging her hair was a way of attacking [her] honor'.[25] Unlike the other women, the sleeping figure's *toca* is not fastened under her chin and a section of her hair can be seen. This disarray reflects her disgraceful dereliction of duty; her careless sleep has allowed the substitution to take place.

I have already touched on some of the medieval anxieties surrounding the figure of the wet-nurse in my discussion of the human cost of caring for a changeling in the previous chapter. As I mentioned then, B III is the only image in the child substitution corpus in which any figures are explicitly framed as wet-nurses; however, in S VIII and a number of other substitution images one or more of the female figures in the scene are implied to have been tasked with caring for the infant saint. Since their duties are not specified, at least not as explicitly as in B III, I shall refer to these figures as nurses.

As I noted in the previous chapter, the ideal wet-nurse was a woman of good moral character, as it was thought that this could affect both the quality of her milk and the infant's adult nature. However, medieval writers also articulate concerns about nurses who were simply negligent. The Italian politician Francesco of Barbaro wrote a manual of advice for women at the beginning of the fourteenth century that contains numerous warnings directed at nurses. While many of his warnings are sensible, such as that children should not be allowed to put small objects that they might swallow in their mouths, when taken as a whole they reflect a real anxiety that the nurse might be extremely negligent. For instance, his caution to guard against any beggars that might steal the child implies a concern that the nurse would leave the child alone long enough for this to happen. Similarly, the German scholar Konrad of Megenberg, advises that nurses should not drink to excess for fear of smothering, dropping, or allowing the

[25] Lucy K. Pick, 'Sacred Queens and Warrior Kings in the Royal Portraits of the Liber Testamentorum of Oviedo', *Viator*, 42.2 (2011), 49–81 (p. 60).

infant to be savaged by household beasts.[26] I would argue that a similar warning can be seen in S VIII.

There are only three other images of the moment of substitution when an adult figure is positioned touching or directly adjacent to the saint's cradle; however, while I would argue that these images still reflect concerns about nurses, their poses are more ambiguous than S VIII. The nurse in S VIII is obviously asleep; however, the nurses in S I have their eyes wide open and are looking towards the cradle, while the nurses in SVI and B IV are probably intended to be looking down as if to check on the infant, although to the viewer their eyes appear closed. Certainly, their bodies do not appear to be in a slumbering position. As the changeling has been successfully substituted for the saint while under their care, they have all been at least somewhat negligent, but perhaps not to the degree that is shown in S VIII.

S I is something of the odd one out in this little group of four. With only three adult figures visible, the scene is smaller and more intimate. Again, the mother is positioned in a bed that dominates the room, but, unlike the other two mothers, she is lying down fully, head resting on the pillow and eyes closed. While the mother sleeps, the two other figures, both female, sit at either end of the saint's large cradle. The one on the right holds the end of the cradle with two hands, while the other touches the top of the cradle with one finger on the hand closest to the viewer. They appear to be rocking the cradle. Both have their eyes open and are looking directly at the changeling who has just been deposited in the cradle by a demon, who can be seen flying away clutching the saint in the upper right-hand corner of the image. This is the only scene of substitution where any of the human adult figures are looking directly at the cradle with their eyes wide open. This may be less of a message about the dangers of inadequate childcare provision, than it is reflective of parental anxieties about the vulnerability of the infants. Even if all provisions are made for their safety, it is almost impossible to prepare for every eventuality.

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[26] Konrad von Megenberg, *Die Werke Des Konrad von Megenberg. 5, Buch 1: Ökonomik*, ed. by Sabine Krüger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 3. Bd., 5, i Stück (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1973), bk. 1/2 ch. 9, p. 81; chap. 14, p. 90.

(4.2.d) Co-Sleeping and Overlaying

L I, the fresco in the south arch of the western vault of the nave of Undløse Church shows the *Childhood of St Lawrence*. In one section of the arch, a female figure, presumably the saint's mother, sleeps in bed with the small outline of a changeling drawn beside her, sharing her covers. Meanwhile, Saint Lawrence, who was presumably in the bed moments before, is handed by a demon with large horn to another smaller demon in a nearby tree. This is the only child substitution image in which an infant is depicted sleeping in a bed rather than in a cradle. Despite widespread and frequent exhortations against the practice from the Church, co-sleeping appears to have been common across medieval Europe, with Sara Butler suggesting that, particularly in colder climes, keeping the infant warm through shared body heat may have been the predominant concern.[27] Unfortunately that meant that, in medieval Scandinavia, occurrences of overlaying, that is the accidental suffocation of an infant while sleeping with an adult, was 'not uncommon'.[28] While some infant deaths by overlaying were tried in the secular courts, these cases appear more frequently in records of ecclesiastical courts.[29] Richard H. Helmholz argued that the Church considered overlaying to be a crime of parental negligence rather than deliberate infanticide; however, subsequent studies have shown that neither ecclesiastical nor secular authorities dismissed the possibility of alleged overlaying being used to conceal a murder.[30] During the Middle Ages Danish law was predominantly a were geld system; however, when the death penalty was introduced in 1606 it specifically targeted repeated accidental suffocation, or overlaying, because it was thought that this indicated infanticide.[31] Of course, this occurred in an early modern rather than medieval context, but it may be indicative

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[27] Sara M. Butler, 'A Case of Indifference?: Child Murder in Later Medieval England', *Journal of Women's History*, 19.4 (2007), 59–82 (p. 67). For summaries of the practice of co-sleeping, attitudes to it and punishments for overlaying, see: Shahar, pp. 129–30; Orme, pp. 78–79; E C Gordon, 'Accidents among Medieval Children as Seen from the Miracles of Six English Saints and Martyrs.', *Medical History*, 35.2 (1991), 145–63 (p. 154); Butler, pp. 67–68.

[28] Grethe Jacobsen, 'Pregnancy and Childbirth in the Medieval North: A Topology of Sources and a Preliminary Study', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 9 (1984), 91–111 (p. 99).

[29] Butler, p. 67; Shahar, pp. 129–30.

[30] Richard H. Helmholz, 'Infanticide in the Province of Canterbury during the Fifteenth Century', *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 2.3 (1975), 379–90; Shahar, pp. 129–30; Butler, p. 67.

[31] Netterstrøm, p. 465.

of earlier concerns about the connection between overlaying and infant mortality. In most regions, canon law held that both parents were equally responsible for the death of a child by overlaying, but in Denmark a thirteenth century synod placed the responsibility and subsequent penance solely on the mother, unless she had not yet recovered from the delivery, in which case the father was to blame.[32] It is in this context that we should examine the Undløse Church frescoes.

I would argue that the fresco depicting St Lawrence's substitution was part, if only a small part, of the Church's general campaign against co-sleeping and parental negligence. Like in Prato, the scene depicting the moment of substitution is mirrored by another post-partum scene, in this case the Nativity based on the vision of Bridget of Sweden, which occupies the north arch of the western vault. In this Nativity, Bridget observes Mary kneeling before the Christ Child, who lies on the ground next to some swaddling bands, radiant beams emitting from his naked body.[33] The position of these two scenes, on opposing sides of the western vault, invite the laity occupying the nave to compare the behaviour of the two mothers: one attentive and focused on her new-born, the other asleep and thus unable to prevent harm befalling her child. While St Lawrence does not die as a result of co-sleeping, by portraying the moment of substitution as taking place in a co-sleeping context, the scene conveys the caution that infants sleeping in bed next to adults are in a vulnerable position and thus, adult caregivers, perhaps particularly mothers, should refrain from this practice.

(4.2.e) Left alone and vulnerable

In this section I discuss three images in which the substitution occurs while the changeling is depicted as being left alone outside. S III, S V, and B I show the saint's cradle being left alone on a porch. While it is possible that this sort of thing actually happened, particularly in warm Mediterranean climates, it could equally well be an artistic exaggeration; however, I would argue that it is exaggeration with a purpose. It is clear from both coroners records and miracle

[32] Shahar, p. 130; N. Skyum-Nielsen, *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 4.7 vols (Cophenhagen: DSL, 1958), I part. 4, pp. 143–44.
[33] Pavlína Rychterová, 'The Iconographic Motif of the Nativity of the Adoration Type and the Visions of Bridget of Sweden in Medieval Bohemia', *Annali Di Scienze Religiose*, 2 (2009), 199–217.

accounts that infants were particularly vulnerable to harm when left unattended or improperly supervised.[34] Those who recorded the tragedies or miraculous rescues either explicitly comment on the improper nature of the carers' behaviour or imply a degree of censure in the way in which they record the case, while many commentators warn against leaving infants unattended in cradles.[35] Taken together this certainly implies that there was a level of awareness that poor supervision of infants could lead to disaster. While, as I have shown, all of the substitution images engage with these issues to some extent, I would suggest that these three images are some of the most explicit.

There are three images where the infant saint is alone when the substitution takes place. In the S III and B I scenes an architectural structure separates the saint from the other human adults, who are still visible, while in the S V panel no human adult figures can be seen. B I depicts a more conventional scene than the other two images: again, we see a large bed containing the Bartholomew's mother and surrounded by female attendants. The mother sits straight up in bed, her back to the right-hand wall, facing toward and grasping the hands of a women, who has evidently come to visit her. This woman, and two other women carrying a cup and jug respectively, face towards the mother, away from the door on the left-hand wall. A fifth woman sits on the floor and looks up at the women with the cup, gesturing with her hand as if talking to her. Beyond the door, at the left-hand side of the painting is a thin porch-like structure in which Bartholomew's cradle has been placed, this structure has a roof held up at the corners by posts, but the only wall is the one containing the door back into the bedchamber. Behind the cradle stands a black demon with the infant saint its arms. The women in the adjourning room do not see this as they are engaged with each other and not one of them is mindful of the baby, who appears to have been left outside unattended. This design sharply contrasts solicitousness over the mother with lack of care and attention for the child.

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[34] Shahar, pp. 137–44; Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Childrearing among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8.1 (1977), 1–22 (pp. 15–21).

[35] Thomas Chobham, *Summa Confessorum*, ed. by F. Broomfield, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia, 25 (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1963), p. 215; *Councils & Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church. II: A.D.1205–1265*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, pt. 1, pp. 70, 183, 214; Francesco of Barbaro, *Reggimento e costume di Donne*, ed. by G. E. Sansone (Turin: Loescher-Chiantore, 1957), chap. 13.

The closest analogy for the S III frescos can be found in the textual, rather than visual, legends. The act of substitution is generally glossed over in the written legends; however, Venice, BNM, MS Lat Z 158 states that:

> Cumque de prole nata tota domus gaudio repleretur nocturno tempore venit Sathan in figura hominis ceterisque escentibus et domum silenter introiens, ubi Stephenus erat, ad locum ubi iacebat impudenter accessit et tollens Stephenum in brachiis suis, loco eius, ut sic familiam contristaret, ydolum in eius lectulo colocavit.
>
> When the child was born, the whole house was being filled with joy, Satan arrived at night-time in the figure of a man and in the middle of all the rest and silently entering the house, where Stephen was, he shamelessly approached the place where he was sleeping and taking Stephen in his arms, in his place, in such a way that he might afflict the household, he put an idol in Stephen's bed.

Although it is difficult to be certain, it is possible that what is described here is Satan entering the house among the other guests that have come to pay their respects to the parents and celebrate the arrival of the new baby. Some individual figures in the other images we have discussed might be interpreted as visitors, the woman grasping Bartholomew's mother's hands in B I for instance, and the practice of visitors bringing gifts to the mother's bedside after birth is well documented.[36] While most of the scenes we have discussed thus far are relatively staid affairs, S III depicts a celebratory party, more in keeping with the joy that BNM, MS Lat Z 158 describes as filling the house. In this painting, the saint's cradle is again positioned outside, at what appears to be the back of the house, while, at the front, figures with wine and food greet visitors, who have presumably come to celebrate the birth of the baby. While damage to the fresco prevents a definite identification, the suggestion of wings can be made out behind one of the visitors, as Satan 'in figura hominis ceterisque escentibus' (in the figure of a man and in the middle of all the rest) uses the celebration as cover to access the young saint.[37] Scanning from left to right, the viewer follows the demonic figure as it appears again around the corner of the house to pluck Stephen out of his cradle. The way that the two sides of the scene are juxtaposed with one another invites the viewers to identify the party as the means by which the demon

[36] L'Estrange, p. 140; Musacchio, p. 46.
[37] BNM, MS Lat Z 158.

gained access to the saint. The family are so focused on celebrating the arrival of a child that they forget to ensure that child's safety, thus Satan is able to 'impudenter' (shamelessly) approach Stephen's cradle and switch the saint for changeling.[38]

S V, unlike B I and S III, does not depict the actions of Stephen's household while the infant is left alone; however, as we discussed previously, the panel prior to the one where the substitution is depicted does show the infant saint being cared for and focused on. In this fresco, Stephen has been moved from the contained, secure space of the maternal bedroom, to a much more isolated and exposed structure. As in the San Gimignano altarpiece, a doorway leads from the main house in to a porch-like structure, where the saint's cradle now lies; however, while the viewer can look back through this doorway, nothing but a glimpse of white curtain can be seen. There is no sign of the human inhabitants. This substitution scene is the most fantastical of the whole corpus and the impression it gives the viewer is striking. The scene operates on dream logic, with the solitary cradle in a structure directly abutting the sea where the right-hand side of the frame is dominated by a ship crewed by a variety of demonic creatures: some with flared out bat-like wings, others with pointy horns, and a number of skeletons, one with snakes coming out of its eye sockets and another who stares, grinning, out at the viewer. A winged creature at the stern grasps the swaddled saint in its claws as they sail away from the land. While a number of the written sources mention the saint being taken away across the sea — in the Lawrence legends the saint is brought from Spain to a forest near Rome — in most sources the demon is said or implied to fly; S V is the only source in the corpus in which the saint it stolen away on a ship. The fanciful and grotesque imagery in this particular substitution scene serves to remind us that, while prosaic and cautious messages regarding the proper care of infants are definitely incorporated into this corpus, when taken as a whole these images articulate a more generalised concern for the soul and an awareness of the threat posed to one's spiritual health from the machinations of demons; one should guard ones immortal soul just as one should guard an infant, as both are vulnerable.

[38] BNM, MS Lat Z 158.

(4.2.f) Conclusion

To conclude, after comparing the images depicting the substitution of changeling saints with other post-partum confinement scenes, there is a clear distinction between the ways in which the images are constructed. In the standard iconography for post-partum confinement scenes, the baby is held, washed or swaddled; whereas, in the substitution scenes, the saint is not even watched over by an adult when left in his cradle. To a certain extent this is necessary in order to make it seem plausible that the saint could be stolen; as such the substitution scenes seem to take place after the post-partum rituals of bathing and swaddling the infant have been completed and the attention of the adults has switched to caring for the mother or celebrating the birth. Nevertheless, by constructing the scenes as they do, the various artists are able to convey the culpability, not just of the demon stealing the saint, but also of the neglectful carers, in doing so they portray a stern message regarding the importance of adequate childcare for new-borns.

(4.3) Exposure/Abandonment in Child Substitution Sources

(4.3.a) Introduction

In most of the child substitution hagiographies, once the moment of substitution has passed, the demon steals away with the infant saint and leaves him either hanging from a tree, on a mountain top, or on a doorstep. Rates of infant abandonment or exposure concerned medieval people, but they have also been a major focus of debate in the historiography of medieval childhood studies. In this section, I argue that, although none of the saints' human parents abandon or expose the demonic changeling, these texts and images still warn against this practice. In part, this is accomplished through using demonic rather than human actors as the ones who carry out these acts, thus powerfully associating the practice of infant abandonment or exposure with evil. Furthermore, although all of the saints are rescued and taken in to be raised by holy men, many of the hagiographies emphasise that the saints survive only through the grace of God. Thus, I particularly focus on the potential for these texts and images to have been used as tools to discuss the danger associated with the spaces in which infants might be abandoned. For instance, the saints are often protected or nourished by animals, but their

presence also serves to remind the viewer of the dangers that the natural world might pose to a solitary infant, at least one who is not a saint. I argue that, by foregrounding the result of the saint's demonic abduction, hagiographies explore the motives, dangers and consequences of abandonment/exposure.

(4.3.b) Exposure or Abandonment: Historiography

In the past fifty years, scholars have focussed on determining the prevalence and the reasons behind the practice of infant abandonment/exposure during the Middle Ages. Earlier works, particularly from Lloyd DeMause's school of psychohistory, drew on archaeological and census data demonstrating an unbalanced sex ratio to argue that infanticide was common practice during the period and often used to get rid of unwanted female or illegitimate children.[39] DeMause himself paints a bleak, and largely unsubstantiated, picture of a landscape where infants lay screaming in cesspits on almost every street corner.[40] At the other end of the spectrum, John Boswell argues that the exposure of infants should not be conflated with infanticide; the term 'exposure' conveys a sense of danger that is not present in the Latin term *expositio* (to place beyond/outside) and, invariably, those parents that abandoned their children did so, not with the intention of causing the baby's death, but in the belief that the infant would be found and raised by another family.[41] For Boswell, while the abandonment of infants was commonplace, infanticide, even as an unintended consequence of abandonment, was not. Boswell was part of a wider backlash against the extremely negative portrayal of children's treatment in the Middle Ages advocated by DeMause, Stone and others. Shulamith Shahar argues that instances of abandonment or infanticide during the Middle Ages 'represent deviations from the norm which were unacceptable to society' at the time; however, she does

[39] This is part of what has been called 'The Black Legend' of medieval childhood studies. This historiographical tradition is sometimes understood as being inspired by Philippe Aries's theories on the medieval understanding of childhood; however, DeMause understands his own arguments to be diametrically opposed to Aries's. See, Lloyd DeMause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', in *The History of Childhood*, ed. by Lloyd DeMause, 1st Rowman and Littlefield ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006); Lawrence Stone, 'Children and the Family', in *The Past and the Present Revisited*, ed. by Lawrence Stone, Rev. ed (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 311–26; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977).

[40] DeMause.

[41] Boswell.

not go as far as Boswell and instead acknowledges that abandonment and infanticide were 'phenomena which were marginal but none the less real'.[42] Even Barbara Hanawalt, another critic of DeMause, describes Boswell's view as 'remarkably optimistic' and, on the whole, this assessment is shared by the majority of both classical and medieval scholars.[43] With all that said, Boswell's enduring legacy is to have highlighted that exposure could be done with the intention or hope that the baby would survive. It is safe to say that, historiographically speaking, no resolution has yet been reached on this aspect of the medieval childhood debate. While most scholars agree that both abandonment and exposure occurred during the Middle Ages, both Hanawalt and Cormack point out that fragmented, contradictory, and often methodologically unsound data precludes us from drawing any firm conclusions as to the relative levels of abandonment or exposure of infants and children.[44]

(4.3.c) Exposure or Abandonment: Medieval Sources

We are thus left with two models of exposure, one, which for the sake of clarity I term abandonment, where the abandoner means for the baby to survive, and another, that I term exposure, where the abandoner means for the infant to perish. I would suggest that both of these models influence the way in which the demons in the child substitution hagiography dispose of the infant saints that they have stolen. There are after all some indications that such a distinction in anticipated outcome on the part of the perpetrator was also considered in medieval sentencing. One Portuguese woman buried her still living child and, when she was caught, claimed to have been returning to retrieve her child. The extreme nature of the situation in which she left her child implies that her original intent was that it would die; however, it seems that she understood that arguing that she had attempted to retrieve the child would mitigate the court's judgement of her actions. That is, she hoped that they would understand

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[42] Shahar, p. 7.

[43] Hanawalt, 'Medievalists and the Study of Childhood', p. 453; W. V. Harris, 'Child-Exposure in the Roman Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 84 (1994), 1–22; Colin Heywood, 'The Child and the Home', *Home Cultures*, 10.3 (2013), 227–44 (p. 232).

[44] Margaret Cormack, 'Introduction: Approaches to Childbirth in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 21.2 (2012), 201–7 (pp. 202–5); Hanawalt, 'Medievalists and the Study of Childhood', p. 453.

that she abandoned rather than exposed her child.[45] Butler notes that, of the three cases she found where mothers had abandoned still living infants, two of them were dealt with by the ecclesiastical, rather than royal, courts. She suggests that the choice of venue may hint 'that medieval Englishmen interpreted exposing a child as a less deliberate method of infanticide than the more usual means of drowning or breaking a child's neck'.[46] Furthermore, Harries argues that 'the intention [behind the act of exposure] will have determined the kind of place where the infant would be left'. Although Harris focuses on the classical period, it can be seen from a variety of medieval sources that the place and state in which an infant was left was understood as indicative of the intended outcome. The Talmud, for example, distinguishes between infants who were exposed and those who were abandoned. Abandoned infants, like exposed infants, were expected to have been cared for after birth (e.g. circumcised, swaddled or given a token) and left in a safe, often frequented space (in a tree out of the reach of animals or on the steps of a synagogue) in order that they could be found and taken in by other people.[47] This understanding of certain spaces as being suitable places in which to abandon a child can also be seen in medieval literature. Boswell has gathered together many of these accounts, including: retellings of classical, mythic abandonments, such as that of Romulus and Remus being suckled by a wolf or Oedipus being hung in a tree; accounts of Biblical abandonments, such as Moses being sent down the river in a basket; stories from lais and romances, like Marie de France's *Le Fresne* (The Ash Tree); and other tales, such as that of the infant Henry, from the *Gesta Romanorum*.[48] While Boswell's conclusion that the safe recovery of these literary infants was

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[45] Iona McCleery, 'Medicine and Disease: The Female "patient" in Medieval Europe', ed. by Kim M. Phillips (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 85–104.

[46] Butler, p. 70.

[47] Talmud, Kiddushin, Daf 73b:1 https://www.sefaria.org/Kiddushin.73b.1?lang=bi. Baumgarten argues that medieval Jews rarely abandoned their babies because of the risk that they might be found and raised by a Christian. She notes that most references to the categories of foundling in medieval Jewish writings simply replicated what was said in the Talmud. For instance, R. Jacob Hazan of London simply replicated the section on foundlings from Mainonides's twelfth-century resume of the Talmud in his thirteenth-century discussion of foundlings. Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 173.

[48] For medieval depictions of Romulus and Remus, see: Timothy Peter Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 150–68. For Oedipus, see: Lowell Edmunds, 'Oedipus in the Middle Ages', *Antike Und Abendland*, 22.2 (1976), 140–155. Also, *Oedipus*, manuscript illumination, fourteenth century, Munich, Germany, Staatsbibliothek (Cod. gall. 6 fol. 21). *The Ash Tree*: Marie, *The Lais of Marie de France*, ed. by Glyn S. Burgess and Keith Busby, 2nd ed. with two further lais in

reflected in reality are dubious, his monograph does collate a large number of accounts relating to the abandonment of infants and, by looking at them in conjunction with one another, we can see that infants left on doorsteps, in trees, or in churches were at least imagined to have been abandoned in hope of rescue, rather than exposed to ensure death.[49] Considering these examples, it is pertinent for us to examine the type of place where the saints are left, in order to determine whether or not the intention of their demon abductors was homicidal or more benign.[50]

(4.3.d) Place of Abandonment/Exposure in Hagiographic Sources

Most of the hagiographic traditions depict the infant saints being left in a specific place by the demon that stole them: Stephen is placed on Julian's doorstep, Lawrence is suspended in his basket from a bay tree in a forest, and Bartholomew is left in the snow on a mountaintop. The exception is the Stephen 'Holy Man' tradition, which, rather than showing where the demon intends to take the saint, neatly sidesteps the entire issue by interrupting the demon mid-flight. As the demon is forced through the power of prayer to leave the baby Stephen with the group of holy men before his journey is complete, the text is able to stay silent as to the intended destination, while retaining the threat posed to the saint by the demon's abduction. Apart from this tradition, each saint is deliberately abandoned or exposed by the demon in a particular location.

Before discussing these places of abandonment/exposure further, it is worth noting that discussing the fate of the stolen infant is relatively rare in the medieval child substitution corpus. For instance, in William of Auvergne's description of changelings, he does not mention or describe what happens to the stolen human children, nor how they could be retrieved.[51] For Richard Firth Green, this is symptomatic of the problems inherent in the co-option of folk beliefs into a distinctly theological system. When demons are substituted for the supernatural

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the original Old French (London: Penguin, 1999). *Gesta Romanorum: A New Translation*, ed. by Christopher Stace and Nigel Harris, Manchester Medieval Literature and Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), chap. XX.

[49] Boswell, pp. 364–94.

[50] W. V. Harris, p. 9.

[51] William of Auvergne, I, pp. 1072–1073.

liminal creatures that Green terms fairies, there are some elements that cannot be easily assimilated into a conventional Christian framework. In the case of changelings, Green points to the concept of fairyland, a place that, while accessible, is nevertheless one step removed from our own, as a location without an equivalent in the Christian model of the cosmos. Thus, when the human babies are stolen away, William of Auvergne has no place to send them and instead allows them to simply fade out of the narrative.[52] By contrast, most of the hagiographies are very specific as to where the infant saint is left. Unlike in the scholarly writings of William of Auvergne, the focus upon the saints that are being stolen means that the narrative must explore where the human child is taken after the substitution has been made. Green, being unaware of the 'Holy Men' tradition of Saint Stephen, sees the abandonment of the saints by the demons, rather than the saints undergoing a 'period of exile' in fairyland or an equivalent site, as evidence of the frustration of 'clerical attempts to provide [...] a simple and politically correct topographical correlative'.[53] While I broadly agree with Green's argument that the position of the stolen human child was a vexing one for clerical writers, as I noted in my introduction to this section, I posit that, in the case of the saint's lives, the abandonment or exposure of the saint is depicted with the intent to caution against such practices. By foregrounding the result of the saint's demonic abduction, hagiographies are able to explore the motives, dangers and consequences of abandonment/exposure without the involvement or instigation of human actors. Considering the didactic or exemplary force of many hagiographical narratives, the message that only the agents of evil carry out the abandonment/exposure of the infants is a potentially powerful one.

Notably, the hagiographies do not only equate those who expose infants with demons, they also target those who abandon their infants. While we might presume that the intention of all of the demons is to expose the saint that they abduct, the Bartholomew manuscript, BrB, MS 1116, is the only text to explicitly detail the motivation behind the choice of place. During their conference a devil states that: 'Ghi sult mi nemen ende veeschen mi met veeschen ende legghen

[52] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 115.
[53] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 115.

mi in der wyeghen, dairt tkint in leet. Ende dat ionghe kint suldi dragen in hoghe sneeu berghen ende worpent in die diepe hoevelen, soe saelt sterven van groten rouwe ende versmachten in den sneeu.' (Roughly: We must fly the child in the cradle, take it to the top of a mountain and throw it in the snow, where he will die of cold). Thus, the choice of location is implicitly made in order to ensure the death of the saint from exposure to cold.

Of the six visual sources depicting Bartholomew in association with the child substitution motif, five include an image of the infant saint after the demon has left him; however, only one of these images, B V, portrays the saint resting in a snow-covered landscape.[54] B V is something of an odd one out in this canon of Bartholomew images. For instance, the inclusion of a deer to suckle Bartholomew means that it shares a motif with Stephen's tradition of Julian and the Doe. The only other figures in B V are a bear and a dog. I further discuss the implications of these animals at a latter point in this chapter, but suffice to say for the moment that, just as the presence of the doe signals the risk that hunger would pose to the infant saint and inclusion of the snow implies the danger of death from cold, so too does the addition of two extra animals demonstrate the saint's need for protection. Although it is not as explicit as in BrB, MS 1116, the combination of these pictorial elements serves to indicate that Bartholomew was exposed rather than abandoned. The other images of Bartholomew (B II, B III, B IV and B VI) do not include the element of snow; however, the saint is still placed in a clearly precarious and dangerous position, albeit one from which he is shortly to be rescued by the human figures that have just discovered him. Instead, in these images, the infant saint is placed at the apex of the image on a tiered mound of rock, presumably intended to imply a mountain or mountainous landscape. Thus, the precariousness of the saint's placement substitutes for the cold in ensuring that the audience understands the danger that the saint has been placed in by the demon. The height at which the infant has been exposed is emphasised by the actions of the other figures in the scene. Even the men on horseback look and gesture upwards to the baby, while often another figure must dismount in order to climb to the summit

[54] B I, which is also the only Bartholomew image from Italy, does not include an image depicting Bartholomew's abandonment/exposure, only the moment of substitution.

and rescue the infant. With that said, the images of the Bartholomew legend do not entirely reflect the story as described in the manuscript version and it is possible that the images are intended to depict abandonment rather than exposure.

Lawrence is also left in a precariously high place in his legend. The text describes the demon: 'portans eam romam in silvam et eum in sporta suspendit and laurum et sic eum pendere dimisit' (carrying [Bartholomew] to the Roman forest and suspended him in a basket on a bay-tree and thus he abandoned him to hang). Of course, based on the literary evidence, suspension from a tree seems to be indicative of a desire to both make the infant more noticeable to passers-by and to prevent wild animals from eating the infant.[55] There is some support for this notion within the text itself: when travelling through a forest as an adult Lawrence wants to get some sleep and 'arborem […] magnam ascendit propter metum ferarum' (climbed a tree for fear of wild animals). On the other hand, Pope Sixtus hears the infant Lawrence crying before he sees the suspended basket, perhaps indicating that the enhanced prominence of the basket was not the primary factor in infants abandoned in trees being found. L I, the only image of Lawrence in our corpus, also depicts Lawrence being deposited in a tree. Although he does not appear to have been suspended in a basket, the fact that a servant must climb up into the tree in order to hand the infant saint down to Pope Sixtus does indicate that he was placed quite high up in the branches. Again, this is not necessarily the depiction of exposure, but even if the depiction of abandonment is intended, the necessity for the protection of height hints towards the threat that wild animals might pose to the abandoned infant.

For Green, the placement of Stephen in Julian's porch has 'an irony apparently lost on the hagiographer'. Green presumes, first, that the demons intend to kill the saint and, second, that the porch of a bishop is a secure place to leave an infant.[56] I would suggest that both assumptions may be inaccurate. In the Bartholomew text, the demons express a clear intention to abduct and expose Bartholomew in order to kill the saint; however, in other texts, such as

[55] See for instance, *Gesta Romanorum* XX, where the squires tasked with killing the infant Henry instead 'placed it upon the branch of a tree, to secure it from the wild beasts'. Stace and Harris, chap. XX.
[56] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 115.

Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII, the motivations of the demons are not articulated at all and in some, particularly the Lawrence legend and BNM, MS Lat IX 16, the focus is on affecting the parents rather than the saint. Thus, Peter Calo describes how the Devil sees the godly and hospitable way that Stephen's parents conduct themselves and, 'tot bonis eorum invidens et eos in desperationem volens inducere' (being jealous of their many advantages and wanting to induce them into despair), therefore replaces their child with a changeling.[57] Similarly, and more successfully, the demon in the Lawrence legend takes the saint's place in order to turn the Spanish king and queen away from Christianity with his bad behaviour.[58] Even BNM, MS Lat Z 158, which, as part of the 'Julian and the Doe' tradition, gives a fairly barebones narration of the substitution, states that the changeling was placed 'ut sic familiam contristaret' (in order that he might thus sadden the household). The only text, apart from the Bartholomew legend, that might hint that the infant and his destined saintliness is the reason for the substitution is BML, MS Ashburnham 870. This text describes the angel announcing Stephen's name and the resultant joy and honour of his family. The next line describes the devil as 'videns' (seeing); the question then is whether he 'sees' and reacts to the angelic announcement or to the family's joy? Either way, it seems clear that the devil is often depicted as short-sightedly focused upon using the changeling to disrupt the behaviour of the parents, perhaps with the intention of gaining more souls for hell. In this interpretation, the death of the infant saint is not the final goal of the diabolical plan but merely a possible side effect of his abandonment. Thus, when we consider that the purpose of the demon may have been to abandon rather than expose the infant saint, Stephen's placement looks less like irony and more like a deliberate reflection of the practice of abandonment as understood by the hagiographer or the artist. From early sixth century canons through to the foundling hospitals of the later Middle Ages, it seems that medieval people actively sought or at least were encouraged to abandon their children in places where they might come under ecclesiastical protection.[59]

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[57] BNM, MS Lat IX 16.

[58] Oesterley, I, pp. 614–16.

[59] For the early Middle Ages, see: Boswell, pp. 276–78. For the later Middle Ages, see: Richard C. Trexler, 'The Foundlings of Florence, 1395–1455', *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 1.2 (1973), 259–84 (p. 272). See also:

(4.3.e) The Necessity for Animal Guardians

With that said, I would argue that, even in the legends where the demons appear to abandon rather than expose the infant saint, the act of abandonment is presented as a potentially lethal act. While the placement of the infant, at height, suspended from a tree or in a porch, may be intended to confer some protection, in doing so it also acknowledges the need for that protection and thus the dangers associated with abandonment. A further indication of the risks that the infant saint faces can be found in the extra protection that the saint receives from God in the form of one or more animal protectors. The porch of a bishop may seem relatively safe, but babies left on doorsteps overnight could, and did, die.[60] The infant Stephen being suckled by a doe, often described or depicted as white, is probably the most well-known and widespread motif: appearing in seven images and four manuscripts.[61] Indeed, the image of Stephen with the doe is sometimes the only reference to the child substitution motif in an artwork; for instance, in S VII. In the Julien and the Doe tradition, Julian initially ignores the cries of the abandoned infant, being convinced by his brothers that they are a trick of the Devil. The doe is then provided by God to fulfil two functions: 'puero materno more lac ubere suo dedit' (she gave milk from her udder to the boy in the manner of a mother) and to 'latentem eum et custodientem' (hiding and protecting him) during the night.[62] The milk and protection provided by the doe is necessary for the saint to survive.[63] The motif is also influential enough to have

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Claudine Billot, 'Les enfants abandonnés a chartres a la fin du moyen age', *Annales de démographie historique*, 1975, 167–86.

[60] Butler, p. 66.

[61] Abandoned infants being suckled by wild animals is, of course, a common motif. For instances in classical mythology, see: Giulia Pedrucci, 'Breastfeeding Animals and Other Wild "Nurses" in Greek and Roman Mythology/Animales Amamantando y Otras "Nodrizas" Salvajes En La Mitología Griega y Romana', *Gerión*, 34 (2016), 307–23. For the trope in medieval literature, see: Peggy McCracken, 'Nursing Animals and Cross-Species Intimacy', in *From Beasts to Souls: Gender and Embodiment in Medieval Europe.*, ed. by E. Jane Burns and Peggy McCracken (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), pp. 39–64; Peggy McCracken, 'The Wild Man and His Kin in Tristan de Nanteuil', in *L'Humain et l'Animal Dans La France Médiévale (XIIe–XVe s.): Human and Animal in Medieval France (12th–15th C.)*, ed. by Irène Fabry-Tehranchi and Anna Russakoff (Amsterdam; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 23–42; Peggy McCracken, 'Fantastic Lactations: Fiction and Kinship in the French Middle Ages', *Anthropozoologica*, 52.1 (2017), 53–58.

[62] BNM, MS Lat Z 158 and BML, MS Ashburnham 870.

[63] That the doe should provide physical protection as well as food is not entirely without precedent, the fourteenth-century epic narrative *Tristan de Nanteuil* includes a hind that grows massive after drinking a bowl of siren's milk and thenceforth acts as a 'fierce protector' to Tristan. See: McCracken, 'Fantastic Lactations', p. 56; McCracken, 'The Wild Man and His Kin in Tristan de Nanteuil'.

been adopted and then adapted by the artist of B V, which shows a swaddled Bartholomew suckling on a brown doe and flanked by a dog and a bear. In the Stephen legend, the doe performed a dual function, sustenance and security; however, in this image, two other animals have been called upon to defend the infant saint from possible predators.

Protection from predators by another predator may feature in other versions of the Bartholomew legend: according to António de Vasconcelos, B II features an eagle hovering over the infant Bartholomew with its wings outstretched. When writing about this scene on the tomb in 1928, de Vasconcelos describes how the infant Bartholomew was placed on the summit of a mountain, but, when a flock of birds of prey gathered to devour the infant, an eagle sheltered the saint with open wings, warding off the attacks of the other birds.[64] However, as Ana Cristina Sousa and Lúcia Maria Rosas note, de Vasconcelos does not provide any indication as to the source of his interpretation of the scene; whether he had access to another Bartholomew legend or was simply interpreting the image on the tomb is unknown.[65] The winged figure above the infant saint was, like the rest of the tomb, deliberately damaged in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, which makes identifying its exact nature rather problematic. B III includes, in the same scene, the demon flying away from where he has abandoned the infant saint; however, while the demon stealing the infant Bartholomew on the previous section of B II does have wings, the face of that demon does not seem to match the winged creature in the second panel. The demon has a wide snouted face with large pointed ears, while the winged creature has no ears, a rounded head with a beaklike protuberance. The carving on its wings and chest is also reminiscent of feathers and I am therefore inclined to accept that the creature is designed to invoke a large bird of some kind, perhaps an eagle. Of course, without a corroborating source, de Vasconcelos' interpretation of the eagle's function in the scene remains a possibility rather than a certainty. Despite this, the idea that the eagle is protecting the infant is not to be dismissed: on the tomb the outstretched wings do appear to shelter the infant

[64] António de Vasconcelos, *Inês de Castro: Estudo Para Uma Série de Lições No Curso de História de Portugal* (Barcelona: Sòlivros de Portugal, 1933), p. 76.
[65] Sousa and Rosas, p. 89.

saint and the head is raised to look outwards, instead of down at the infant, perhaps indicating a protective eye out for threats, rather than a desire to feast.

The Eagle and Child motif is perhaps best-known today as the name of J. R. R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis and the other Inklings' watering hole; however, the pairing does have medieval origins. The eagle and child was a feature of the Lathom family crest 'from the very earliest usage of crests by knightly families', with the earliest clear attribution of the crest to the family being found in the early fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II.[66] The Stanleys also assumed the crest at some point before 1423, presumably due to the marriage between Isabelle Lathom and Sir John Stanley in 1385.[67] Family legends regarding a Lathom lord adopting a boy that he found in an eagle's nest have circulated since at least the late fifteenth/early sixteenth century. James Stanley (c. 1465–1515), Bishop of Ely, included the incident in his *Historicall Poem touching ye Family of Stanley* and he also commissioned a carving depicting the discovery of the child for his stall in Manchester Cathedral.[68] The motif of the eagle and child also has older antecedents, with Goscelin of Saint-Bertin including the tale of Alfred the Great discovering a richly dressed baby boy in an eagle's nest in his *Vita Sancte Edithae*, written in the later eleventh century.[69]

Whether, eagle, doe, dog or bear, the appearance of an animal protector is presented as a miraculous event that saves the saint from death by starvation or predator. Within the context of a hagiography such divine intervention serves to highlight the saint's special status, but it also plays on the reader or viewer's understanding of the risks to which an abandoned or exposed infant might be exposed. Peggy McCracken argues that animal nurses display behaviour that is

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[66] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ed. by Frederic Madden, Bulkeley Bandinel, and John Gough Nichols, 8 vols (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1841), VII, p. 7; George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester: Compiled from Original Evidences in Public Offices, the Harleian and Cottonian Mss., Parochial Registers, Private Muniments, Unpublished Ms. Collections of Successive Cheshire Antiquaries, and a Personal Survey of Every Township in the County; Incorporated with a Republication of King's Vale Royal, and Leycester's Cheshire Antiquities*, 3 vols (London: Lackington, Hughes. Harding, Mavor, and Jones, 1819), III, pp. 14 & 20.

[67] *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ed. by British Museum and Walter de Gray Birch, 6 vols (London: Printed by order of the trustees, 1894), III, pp. 543–44.

[68] Madden, Bandinel, and Nichols, VII, pp. 4 & 5.

[69] Wiesje Emons-Nijenhuis, 'The Embedded Saint, the Wilton Chronicle's Life of St Wulfthryth', *Revue Bénédictine*, 119.1 (2009), 86–120 (p. 92); Marvin L. Colker, 'Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury Which Relate to the History of Barking Abbey', *Studia Monastica*, 1965, 383–460 (pp. 419–20).

both miraculous and natural. The act of rescue itself, often prompted by God, is a 'marvel or a miracle', but the animal's maternal instinct, that trans-species response to an infant's need for food, is 'somehow natural'.[70] However, I would suggest that this is not the case for the dog, bear and eagles that act as sentinel guardians for the infant saints. Butler cites a case where an abandoned new-born baby was mauled to death by a dog, while Stephen of Bourbon's account of the rites at Saint Guinefort's shrine includes mention of an incident where a wolf is foiled in its attempt to snatch away one child. Both wild and domesticated animals were a danger to abandoned or exposed infants, thus these animals go against their nature, and possibly their own kind, in order to protect the saint.[71]

(4.3.f) Conclusion

As I have shown, these hagiographies clearly warn against practices of infant abandonment or exposure; however, as it is the saint and not the changeling that is depicted being abandoned/exposed, it is difficult to determine the extent to which these cautions might relate to the child substitution motif and thus the specific abandonment or exposure of children that were chronically unhealthy, impaired, or non-normatively developed. A ritual involving the temporary abandonment of the supposed changeling is one of the better-known methods of recovering the original human child.[72] The practice of leaving a child alone outside for a set period of time is one among a number of recovery rituals found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century folklore.[73] Examples of this custom can also be found in some early-modern sources. For instance, in late sixteenth-century Hertfordshire, a woman named Mary Pennyfather was advised by a local wise man named Thomas Harden that her four-year-old child, who could 'nether goe nor speke', was a changeling. After his first proposed treatment failed to improve

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[70] McCracken, 'Fantastic Lactations', p. 54.

[71] Again, this is not uncommon. Medieval literature often played with the biblical concept of man having dominion over the beasts, see: Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008).

[72] I used 'abandonment' here as, although such practices might lead to the harm or death of the infant, that is not the intention of those performing the ritual. For instance, as I have commented before, the ideal outcome of the Saint Guinefort rites was for the changeling the be retrieved by the fauns and for the human child to be returned to its family and survive.

[73] Other methods used include throwing the changeling onto a fire or into a river. See Chapter 2 and Ashliman.

the child, Thomas told Mary that she should 'sett the child upon a chare upon a dungell by the space of an houer upon a sonney day'.[74] However, when we turn to the medieval sources there is, as I have noted previously, relatively little material on the methods by which child substitution could be reversed.

Stephen of Bourbon deals directly with the rites of recovery as practised by some women in a rural French community near Lyon in the early thirteenth-century. Due to Jean-Claude Schmitt's monograph *The Holy Greyhound*, these ritual practices are the most well-known medieval solution to the problem of a suspected changelings.[75] Green suggests that this rite, with its multi-stage structure, may be have been composited and formalised by Stephen from multiple accounts in order to conform to Dominican expectations.[76] While there are a number of component parts to the ritual of recovery that Stephen of Bourbon describes, the ceremony reaches its apex with the symbolic and temporary, but still dangerous, abandonment of the suspected changeling.

As I have previously noted, the rites at Saint Guinefort's shrine are something of an anomaly. They incorporate the ritualised abandonment of an unhealthy child; however, there is little clarity as to the main motivations behind abandonment or exposure in the medieval period. Court cases of infanticide are generally brought against single women – implying that shame rather than economic necessity or the impairment of the child was the paramount reason for this practice.[77] But this may depend on cultural and geographical context. Scandinavian law codes specifically legislate against the killing of children with impairments, so there is some implication that this did happen.[78] Scholars have used archaeological evidence to argue for the practice of female infanticide.[79] However, their methodological approach to the gendering of

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[74] W. J. Hardy, Hertford County Records: Notes and Extracts from the Session Rolls, 1581–1698, 10 vols (Hertford: Longmore, 1905), I, p. 3.
[75] Schmitt, pp. 68–82.
[76] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 117.
[77] Butler, p. 76.
[78] Robin Waugh, 'Language, Landscape, and Maternal Space: Child Exposure in Some Sagas of Icelanders', *Exemplaria*, 29.3 (2017), 234–53; Sean B. Lawing, 'The Place of the Evil: Infant Abandonment in Old Norse Society', *Scandinavian Studies*, 85.2 (2013), 133–50.
[79] Carol J. Clover, 'The Politics of Scarcity: Notes on the Sex Ratio in Early Scandinavia', *Scandinavian Studies*, 60.2 (1988), 147–88; Nancy L. Wicker, 'Selective Female Infanticide as Partial Explanation for the

gravesites has been called into question by later scholars.[80] It does seem, from studies of the medieval approach to childhood impairment, that the routine exposure of children or infants that were chronically unhealthy, impaired, or non-normatively developed did not occur.[81] However, these hagiographies could have served to warn against practices of ritualised abandonment.

It is clear that these hagiographical sources drew on contemporary ideas about abandonment/exposure in order to depict this period in the life of the saint. Whether the saint is deliberately exposed or simply abandoned, the risks of this are made clear, either explicitly (the cold/height with Bartholomew) or implicitly, as the divine provision of food and protection makes it clear that starvation or physical assault were a danger to the infant. Furthermore, this is not an action performed by the parents, but by the Devil or demons: it is an evil act. The Holy Greyhound rites are the only medieval accounts we have of parents "abandoning" supposed changelings. But the contrast between the saint's parents caring for the changeling despite all the challenges and the devils abandoning or exposing the infant saint in a dangerous place, where were it not for divine intervention they would have died, is clearly set out in these hagiographic sources. I would suggest that these legends may have served to discourage the practices of even temporary abandonment or exposure.

Dearth of Women in Viking Age Scandinavia', in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Guy Halsall (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 205–21.

[80] Cormack.

[81] Kuuliala, *Childhood Disability and Social Integration in the Middle Ages*.

Chapter 5: Beyond Health and Care: The child-substitution motif as a tool for the expression of broader anxieties

(5.1) Introduction

As I have already discussed, the recent trend in changeling studies has been to question the significance of the connection between the child substitution motif and the medieval discourse surrounding the health and care of children.[1] I have argued in the past three chapters that, while our extant evidence suggests that the changeling motif was not as prevalent in Western Europe during the Middle Ages as has previously been assumed, when it was used it could comment on a variety of issues relating to the health and care of children. However, the child substitution motif also allows a wider range of familial, religious, and socio-political tensions to be embodied in the figure of the changeling. While the full breadth of the ways in which the child substitution motif was utilised during the Middle Ages is beyond the scope of this thesis, this chapter serves to highlight a number of relevant case studies.

First, I return to the case of Þetleifr from *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* in order to examine how the child substitution motif functions within the context of interfamilial and intergenerational conflict. In the second section, I discuss how Middle English literary sources draw on the child substitution motif to comment on the theological anxieties inherent in the figure of the Christ Child. Finally, I investigate a group of sources in which allegations of child substitution by human agents are recorded. Although there are exceptions, in this corpus, the accusations of changeling status are usually made against a background of socio-political unrest and targeted against powerful players on the political stage in order to undermine their authority.

This chapter considers a diverse range of sources, from a range of languages, and narrative genres; however, by discussing them in context with one another, we can begin to see how the child substitution motif was utilised in a variety of circumstances and spoke to an array of anxieties. The changeling is often characterised as a disruptive interloper into a previously regular family unit and all of these sources centre around families: Þetleifr and his parents, the

[1] See the introductory section (I.2.d) Schmitt's Legacy and Changelings in the New Millennium, as well as (2.2) Historiography.

ruling families of Western Europe, or the Holy Family. If the family is a potent symbol through which to imaginatively conceptualise societal and religious structures, then the changeling can potentially be a useful tool for expressing or addressing socio-political or theological anxieties without challenging the underlying status-quo.

(5.2) Familial Anxieties: Þetleifr

As I have previously discussed, *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* incorporates a reference to the child substitution motif into its depiction of the childhood and early life of Þetleifr the Dane, a young man who later becomes one of King Þiðrek's warriors.[2] While this text was useful for my discussions of the etymological development of changeling-words and the possible connections between changelings and intellectual disability, it is primarily a source that uses the child substitution motif in the context of familial tension.[3] Medieval Norway, more so than medieval Iceland, was a patrilineal society; although matrilineal and cognatic relationships were also important for the formation of bonds between different kinship groups.[4] It is within this cultural context that we should consider Biturulfr's anxieties about Þetleifr and his use of the child substitution motif as a rhetorical solution, one that allows him to absolve his wife while denying the blood connection between himself and his son.

To briefly recap the story, Þetleifr grows up in Scania, the only child of Biterulfr, the best fighter in Denmark, and Oda, daughter of the earl of Saxland. The young Þetleifr and his parents have a troubled and unloving relationship, due mainly to Þetleifr's failure to live up to his parents' expectations of his behaviour. One day, when his parents are invited to a feast, Þetleifr decides to go with them. After asking his mother and then his father if he can attend and being rejected by both, Þetleifr borrows weapons from a nearby farmer. Seeing that resisting further would be futile, Biterulfr equips Þetleifr with superior arms and, after Þetleifr

[2] For previous discussion, see (2.5.b) Vernacular sources. For the text see: Guðni Jónsson, I, secs 111–114, pp. 164–168; Haymes, LVI, secs 111–114, pp. 76–78.
[3] See Chapters 1 and 2 respectively.
[4] Elisabeth Vestergaard, 'Kinship and Marriage: The Family, Its Relationships and Renewal', in *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by Judith Jesch, Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell Press, Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, 2002), pp. 60–63.

has had a bath and dressed in the new armour, everyone proclaims that Þetleifr is an excellent man. Þetleifr further proves himself by acting well at the feast and defeating a gang of bandits with his father on their return journey, before striking out on his own.

As I have detailed before, my interest in the tale of Þetleifr centres around his confrontation with his father and Biturulfr's characterisation of Þetleifr as a changeling. It should be noted that, although Biterulfr says 'þú ert skiptingr einn, en hvárskis okkars barn' (you [Þetleifr] are a changeling and a child of neither of us [i.e. Biterulfr and Oda]), the audience is given no indication that Þetleifr is not the blood child of both Biterulfr and Oda; indeed, Þetleifr's later martial prowess and assumption of a heraldic symbol proclaiming his mother's royal lineage serve to confirm his blood connection with both Biterulfr and Oda.[5] Furthermore, while Biterulfr does seem to have real doubts about his blood connection with Þetleifr, his resort to the child substitution motif appears to stem, not from genuine belief that Þetleifr is a true changeling, but from a frustrated desire to both deny his son and protect his wife's virtue. With that said, the use of the motif in this saga allows us to examine the (potentially culturally specific) way in which the motif is constructed by both Biterulfr and Þetleifr as well as understood by the audience of the tale. For instance, when Biterulfr rejects Þetleifr as a changeling, Þetleifr's response seems to exploit a shared understanding of the child substitution motif, one that may even include a supernatural element. In a way that is characteristic of Þetleifr's approach to confrontation, rather than simply rejecting his father's assertion, he instead puts on the appearance of accepting his father's statement at face value before developing it further in order to turn the insult back on its originator. Thus he retaliates with the idea of his birth parents returning for him and reacting badly to their son's treatment at the hands of his "foster parents":

> Nær sem faðir minn eða móðir kemr eftir mér, þá eigu þau litla fóstrlaun yðr upp at lúka, fyrir því at litla rækt hafið þér á mik lagt ok lítinn kostnað allt til þessa dags
>
> When my mother or my father comes after me, then they will give you little payment for fostering me, because you have given me little love and I have cost you little until now.[6]

[5] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 168; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 78.
[6] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 168; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 78.

This construction of the child substitution motif reflects contemporary fosterage practices and, potentially, can be seen in later Scandinavian folklore about changelings. Larry Caldwell notes that there are four different types of fostering portrayed in Old Norse sources.[7] From the mention of payment for fostering, it seems clear that Þetleifr is casting Biterulfr and Oda as lower-status fosterers who will be paid by his higher-status parents. This could reference the proverb quoted in *Laxdæla saga*: 'er sá kallaður æ minni maður er öðrum fóstrar barn' (he who fosters another's son is always said to be the lesser man).[8] So it is certainly possible that what Þetleifr envisions is a mundane fosterage scenario. However, I would argue that the possibility of an otherworldly or supernatural element is not precluded by any of Þetleifr's statements. Alaric Hall has suggested that, within the medieval Scandinavian worldview, otherworldly beings such as *álfar* often served 'to punish transgressions of acceptable behaviour, and to warn those who hear of them against similar transgressions'.[9] Þetleifr certainly feels that he had been poorly treated by his parents: this is the third time he mentions their lack of regard for him, and earlier he responds to his mother's complaint that he never leaves the kitchen by saying: 'Hvat skylda ek til yðar koma, fyrir því at þer kunnuð mín litla aufúsu hvert sinn, er ek kom, ok oftar hötuðuð þér mik en þér huggaðið.' ('Why should I come to you? You have shown me little pleasure whenever I have come, and you have shown me hate more often than consolation'.)[10] Þetleifr's use of the child substitution motif is rooted in a deeply troubled and un-loving relationship with his own parents. Thus, it is not impossible that Þetleifr and the saga's audience might envisage an interaction in which the changeling's otherworldly parents punished the changeling's human carers for withholding love from their child. Whether or not the imagined true family is mundane or otherworldly, it is clear that Þetleifr, as an underachieving son who has grown up being browbeaten for not living up to his parents' great

[7] Larry W. Caldwell, 'The Burning of Njal as a Failure of Fosterage', *Edda*, 102.02 (2002), p. 150.
[8] *Laxdaela Saga*, ed. by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, The Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), chap. 27.
[9] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 52.
[10] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 112, p. 166; Haymes, LVI, sec. 112, p. 77.

status, finds it satisfying to imagine them, even for a moment, as inferior to his mythical true family.

For Þetleifr, the child substitution motif allows him the opportunity to express his frustration with his parents' treatment of him, but it is Biterulfr who provides him with the opportunity to do so. What then motivates Biturulfr's utilisation of the motif? Again, we need to look at the way in which Þetleifr's behaviour and his parent's reactions to it are described. In particular it is worth highlighting the company that he keeps or chooses not to keep. Þetleifr, we are told, prefers to 'hlaupa með matsveinum úti eða stafkörlum nökviðr' (run around with the kitchen help or with naked beggars), that is, with very low status individuals.[11] Conversely, Oda says that he won't leave the kitchen to be with 'frjálsra manna' (nobler/free men). I have already introduced the notion that Old Norse gender was 'based to an extraordinary extent on winnable and losable attributes' and that to be born a high status male 'did not confer automatic superiority […] distinction had to be acquired'.[12] Þetleifr's actions have brought him down to the status of the scullions and beggars with whom he associates. Furthermore, it is clear that Biterulfr and Oda fear that their close relationship with Þetleifr will, in turn, have a negative impact on their own status. Biterulfr in particular states that, if Þetleifr were to come to the feast, the comparison between him and the valiant and well-mannered sons of other 'ríkra manna' (more powerful people) would be a 'skömm, en eigi vegr' (shame and no honour).[13] As a member of a kinship group, Þetleifr's actions do not just lower his own status; they also have the potential to destabilise his parents' place in society.

However, Biterulfr is clearly concerned about more than just people thinking that his son is an ill-mannered idiot. Þetleifr's actions do not simply lower his status: they also call into question his blood relationship to Biterulfr. Despite the idea that in medieval Scandinavia, 'distinction had to be acquired', many Norse genealogical stories also incorporate notions of inherited qualities.[14] This idea can be seen in the way in which Þetleifr is first introduced, 'hann

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[11] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 111, p. 165; Haymes, LVI, sec. 111, p. 76.
[12] Clover, 'Regardless of Sex', p. 380.
[13] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 166; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 77.
[14] Clover, 'Regardless of Sex', p. 380.

er ok eigi orðinn í ætt sína um atferð né um aðra kurteisi' (he also did not follow his heritage in behaviour or in other courtesy).[15] That Þetleifr appears to be completely unlike his father or kinsmen leads Biterulfr, at least, to question whether or not Þetleifr is truly his son:

> enda ertu allólíkr orðinn várum ættmönnum, ok þat ætla ek sannast vera, hvat sem engi segir þá ætla ek þik aldrigi minn son vera, því at aðra hafða ek iðn í æsku minni en þú hefir í þinni.
>
> you have become completely unlike our kinsmen, and I deem what no one dares to say to be most true. I do not consider you my son, because I had a different occupation in my youth than you have in yours.[16]

Furthermore, while Þetleifr protests that most people know that Biterulfr is his father, even he acknowledges that his behaviour has provided a fertile ground for such suspicions to flourish: 'Væra ek svá vel mannaðr sem nú em ek illa, þa mundu eigi þessar sakargiftir uppi vera' (If I were as good in manly accomplishments as I am ill, these suspicions would not be going around).[17] Þetleifr's behaviour, that is his total failure to accumulate manly accomplishments, brings into question both his connection to his father and, inevitably, his mother's virtue. After all, if Þetleifr is not his father's son, then the next logical step is to assume that his mother made a cuckold of Biterulfr with a lower-status man, whose inferior virtues Þetleifr has manifested.

It is notable in this regard that, while Oda calls Þetleifr a *vixlingr* and thinks that Þetleifr is a just as worthless a son as Biterulfr does, unlike her husband she emphasises Þetleifr's own agency in his behaviour, telling him: 'ekki villtu vera líkr várum frændum' (you do not want to be like our kinsmen)[18]. It is possible that, by framing her son's behaviour as a choice, Oda hopes to stave off any suspicions about Þetleifr's parentage. Certainly, we can see from Þetleifr's response to his father's initial rejection of him that, even though Oda is a virtuous woman, her reputation is dependent on the opinion of the men around her, Þetleifr twice refers to 'menn' (people) who have told him that he is his father's son, and the power of her male relatives. Þetleifr is aware that the truth of Oda's fidelity would not necessarily withstand the suspicions of her husband; however, he goes on to imply that such an insult to her reputation would result

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[15] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 111, p. 164; Haymes, LVI, sec. 111, p. 76.
[16] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 167; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 77.
[17] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 167; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 78.
[18] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 112, p. 166; Haymes, LVI, sec. 112, p. 77.

in a violent reprisal from her noble family. Although Biturulfr responds angrily that 'aldrigi skaltu þat heyra né engi annarra, at ek draga annan grun til húsfreyju minnar en þann einn, er góðr er, fyrir því at þess eins er hún af mér verð, er nýtt er' (never will you nor anyone else hear that I draw any suspicion upon my lady wife — only that which is good, because she is worthy, from me, of only that which is honourable), it does appear that, if Oda were a lady with a less than completely virtuous reputation and a less powerful family, he would have been tempted to disown both Þetleifr and his wife.[19]

Oda's virtuous reputation and powerful kinsmen prevent Biterulfr from articulating his concerns about his son's behaviour through an accusation, however flippant, of adultery. To imply that Þetleifr was not his son would be to implicitly slander his wife and invite retaliation from her powerful relatives. Thus, when Þetleifr responds as much, Biterulfr draws on the child substitution motif to retaliate. Þetleifr is, in this construction, the child of neither his mother or father, but a changeling placed with the couple by his true parents. One might assume that, as this spin is meant to absolve Oda, she is not envisaged as being involved in the substitution, thus giving more weight to my theorising this substitution as a supernatural one. As discussed in previous chapters, the moment of substitution can be envisaged as a supernatural entity seizing on an opportunity presented by inadequate oversight or neglect of the infant. However, it seems that, while to be accused of adultery is grounds for familial retaliation, to have a child stolen and a changeling substituted is not automatically assumed to slander the mother. Of course, this conversation is not meant to constitute a serious charge; rather it is a frustrated expression of Biturulfr's shame at his son's behaviour. However, the ways in which Biterulfr attempts to negotiate and explain his son's apparent inadequacies gives us an insight into the circumstances in which the child substitution motif might be utilised in the context of a fraught familial relationship and how this reflected on the mother's character.

[19] Guðni Jónsson, I, sec. 113, p. 168; Haymes, LVI, sec. 113, p. 78. With thanks to Alaric Hall for completing Haymes' truncated translation. Haymes' translation reads: 'neither you nor any other shall ever hear me say anything but good of my wife, because she is worthy of it'.

(5.3) Theological Anxieties: The Christ Child, the Anti-Christ, and the Holy Family

Like Þetleifr, the person that I focus on in this section is not strictly a changeling; however, he arguably has more claim to that name than Þetleifr. 'Jesus, the supernatural child insinuated into a human family, is not unreasonably called a *conjoun'* in a number of mystery plays.[20] These incidents might be written off as simple insults; however, the *Wakefield/Towneley Cycle* also parallels Christ's nativity with the child substitution motif. Furthermore, the figure of the Anti-Christ was sometimes imagined as a changeling that the Devil would attempt to substitute in the place of Jesus. In this section, I suggest that the association between Jesus and the child substitution motif in Middle English texts was likely to be reflective of an anxiety over the figure of the Christ Child. While it is difficult to determine how this presentation of the changeling Christ was received by a contemporary audience, I argue that the framing of the concepts, as insults or a parodic parallel, makes it likely that these sources were at least intended to encourage an audience away from an uncomplicated association between changelings and the Christ Child. However, it seems that, for some writers, the child substitution motif could be used to highlight other instances of thematic substitution in order to make a wider theological point about the nature and tactics of evil.

The connection between Christ and the child substitution motif appears in a number of the mystery plays. As I outlined when discussing violence directed against changelings in an earlier chapter, both Herod and his two soldiers refer to Christ and the Innocents using the word *cangun/conjeoun* as part of a strategy designed to reconfigure their bodies as appropriate sites on which to do violence. Herod in particular calls Jesus 'that elfe and vile [congion]' (Magi 328) and that 'vyle [congion]' (Innocents 145).[21] Secundus Miles also refers to Jesus as 'a conjoyne' (Innocents 166), as does the Antichrist when he appears later in the cycle. Outside of

[20] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 136. See also my forthcoming publication: Rose A. Sawyer, "'That Elfe and Vile Congion": Constructing the Body of the Child as a Site of Violence through the Child Substitution Motif", in *Literary Cultures and Medieval/Early Modern Childhoods*, ed. by Naomi J. Miller and Diane Perkiss (London: Palgrave, 2019).

[21] Lumiansky & Mills use square brackets to indicate where they have used a manuscript source other than Huntington 2. See also Green's discussion of this: Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, p. 237, n. 67.

the *Chester Mystery Cycle*, the term is also used against Jesus by the high priest Anna in the 'Remorse of Judus' play from the *York Mystery Cycle*: 'That faitoure so false. He dois many derffe dedis on oure Sabotte day, / That unconnand conjeon, he castis hym to quelle us'.[22] These previous examples are relatively straightforward identification of Christ as a changeling; however, the connection is also present in a slightly subtler fashion in the 'Second Shepherds' Play' from the *Wakefield/Towneley Cycle*. This is a play of two halves and has been described as the one play 'in the entire corpus of cycle plays [with] something like a formal plot'.[23] The first half of the play is devoted to the comic exploits of Mac and his wife Gill as they attempt to conceal a stolen sheep from the shepherds, while the second half follows the shepherds as they encounter the traditional Nativity scene. As Stevens notes 'there is an obvious situational and even verbal coherence between the parodic and the serious nativities'. [24] In the first half of the play, Gill falsely asserts that a stolen sheep disguised as a baby is not the shepherds' lost lamb but rather a child who 'was taken with an elf […] When the clock struck twelf / Was he forshapen'.[25] The stolen sheep and Jesus are clearly connected as they are both referred to by the Shepherds by the affectionate term 'lytyll day-starne' and the presumed audience would be expected to relate this to Christ as the Lamb of God.

The connection between the figure of Christ and the child substitution motif has been explored recently by Richard Firth Green and, although more tangentially, by Mary Dzon.[26] In his examination of the mystery plays, Green notes the frequent use of supernatural pejoratives to describe Christ and, rejecting didactic or pedagogical explanations for their inclusion, suggests that, as the Church was increasingly discouraging beliefs and practices associated with the supernatural, a fifteenth-century audience may have subversively identified with a Christ

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[22] *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290*, ed. by Richard Beadle, Early English Text Society. [Supplementary Series], 23, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), I, chap. 32, line 47–49, p. 170.

[23] Arnold Williams, 'The Comic in the Cycles', in *Medieval Drama*, ed. by Neville Denny, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 16 (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 109–24 (p. 112).

[24] Stevens, p. 175.

[25] Simpson & David (2012), ll. 890–892.

[26] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, chap. 4; Mary Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child in the Later Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pp. 147–53.

branded as a changeling or warlock and therefore persecuted by officious clerics.[27] While this argument may hold true for the York cycle, the Chester cycle is still generally agreed to be both the most didactic and orthodox of the mystery cycles.[28] For instance, Green cites James Simpson's recent re-valuation of the nature of the mystery plays, particularly Simpson's statement that: 'the cycles are not "instructional" at all. Instead they offered a space in which the members of many institutions could reflect on their own practice in the active life'.[29] However, Simpson goes on to identify the Chester cycle and N-town cycles as being 'much more clearly aligned with an academic and clerical posture of lay instruction'.[30] Green's underlying assumption is that the primary division in medieval culture was between the learned clergy and the laity; however, this rift is not particularly apparent in the Chester cycle as we have it.[31] It is possible that, as Green suggests, the performance was more anarchic than the text that has survived.[32] Moreover, by conflating the persecution of the adult Jesus through mock trials with Herod's use of the child substitution motif against the perceived threat of the Christ Child, Green overlooks the specific resonances that accusing a child of being a changeling could evoke.

By contrast, Dzon situates Christ the Changeling in context with the medieval debate about the portrayal of the young Jesus's boyhood in apocryphal narratives.[33] She notes that some scholars, such as Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), doubted the veracity of these legends due to

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[27] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 133–44.

[28] James Simpson, *Oxford Literary History. Vol. 2, 1350–1547, Reform and Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 509 and 534; David Mills, *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and Its Whitsunplays*, Studies in Early English Drama, 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 155; Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The York Cycle and the Chester Cycle: What Do the Records Tell Us?', in *Editing Early English Drama: Special Problems and New Directions: Papers given at the Nineteenth Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 4–5 November 1983*, ed. by Alexandra F. Johnston (New York: AMS Press, 1987).

[29] Simpson, p. 509.

[30] Simpson, p. 534.

[31] This 'two cultures' approach has been heavily critiqued, see: Engen, p. 152; Watkins, p. 104. I have addressed a similar issue in Schmitt's work, see: (I.2.c) Jean-Claude Schmitt's *The Holy Greyhound*: The Gap Between Reception and Remembrance.

[32] Richard Firth Green, *Elf Queens and Holy Friars*, pp. 137–38.

[33] Mary Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), chap. 2.

their portrayal of the boy Jesus as an already perfectly wise miracle worker.[34] Aquinus argues that this would have led to the Christ Child being seen, by his contemporaries and implicitly by later Christians, as a "phantasm" (*phantasma*), "fantasy" (*phantasia*), "fantastic" or "phantastical" (*phantasticus*).[35] Dzon suggests that Aquinus was likely to have been particularly concerned by the rise of heresies that doubted Christ's humanity and physical reality; however, she also suggests that Aquinus was worried that a *phantasticus* Christ might have been regarded as 'a magician or some kind of supernatural being with demonic affiliations'.[36] There was clearly a tradition of anxiety about the way in which Christ, as a young, wise, and miracle worker, would be understood, or mis-understood, by either heretical or superstitious minds. Dzon argues that those who wrote and disseminated these apocryphal narratives were also concerned about this and many rejected such ideas by placing them in the mouths of Jesus' Jewish neighbours.[37] I would argue that a similar tactic is employed in *Chester*'s 'Magi' and 'Innocents', Herod characterises the infant Jesus as a changeling and, in doing so, solidifies his identity as a blasphemous, evil character.

However, I would suggest that the child substitution motif's function within the cycle is more than a simple signifier of Herod's evilness; instead Herod's reference to child substitution sets up a thematic strand in which the evil doers are identified as changelings attempting to substitute themselves into the positions of power rightfully held by God and Jesus. Within the text of 'Magi' and 'Innocents', in addition to inciting violence, Herod's invocation of the concept of child substitution ties into his attempts to delegitimise Jesus and his claim to majesty. As Heather Mitchell-Buck notes, the Chester Herod's reaction to the news of the birth of Jesus distinguishes him from his 'counterparts in Townley and York'; unlike them 'he does not simply

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[34] As Dzon notes, the theory, developed by Aquinus and other theological writers, that the young Christ might have performed the slow acquisition of knowledge and wisdom, has some interesting implications. Certainly, when considering the connections between Christ and the child substitution motif, it should be remembered that many of the changelings we have studied are also deceitful about the true nature of their identity and intellect. See Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child*, p. 145.

[35] Thomas Aquinas, *Compendium of Theology By Thomas Aquinas* (New York: Oxford University Press USA, 2009), p. 174; Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 144–45.

[36] Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child*, pp. 110, 160–61.

[37] Dzon, *The Quest for the Christ Child*, pp. 158–59.

react in rage or become petrified with fear'.[38] While no less concerned at the prospect of being usurped than his counterparts, Chester's Herod is more cunning and, after his initial incredulous disbelief at a challenge to the 'kinge of all mankynde' (Magi 177), makes deliberate linguistic choices that frame Jesus as a pretender to his throne. For instance, in addition to the insults relating to the child substitution motif, Herod also identifies Jesus variously as 'a boye, a growme of low degree' (Magi 202), emphasising his rival's lowly born status, and a 'mysbegotten maremasett' (illegitimate monkey) (Innocents 15).[39] Herod's invocation of the child substitution motif should be seen in a similar vein. As evidenced by the 'Second Shepherds Play' from the *Wakefield/Towneley Cycle*, the association between changelings and elves, so common in later folklore, had been established in England by this point in time.[40] The mystery plays are some of our earliest evidence for the link between changelings and elves.[41] They either provide evidence of a new development in the child substitution motif at the end of the fifteenth century or, perhaps more probably, allow us to access a traditional stratum of English culture for the first time and thus bring to light aspects of child substitution that had not previously been expressed in writing. It is perhaps the replacement of a human child by an elf that Herod invokes when he calls Jesus an 'elfe and vile [congion]'. Through this use of language, Herod positions himself as both the true king and a member of the human in-group, while the Christ Child is an otherworldly outsider poised to substitute himself onto the throne, just as an elven changeling takes the human baby's place in the cradle.

However, while Herod's characterisation of Christ as a changeling is effective in stirring up his soldiers to do violence, it is a double-edged sword. Despite taking pains to frame himself as being concerned with securing the line of legitimate succession, stating: 'I maynteane my

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[38] Heather Mitchell-Buck, 'Maintaining the Realm: City, Commonwealth, and Crown in Chester's Midsummer Plays', in *The Chester Cycle in Context, 1555–1575: Religion, Drama, and the Impact of Change*, ed. by Jessica Dell, David N. Klausner, and Helen Ostovich (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 179–92 (p. 188).
[39] The audience of the play would likely have been familiar with the use of apes in marginal imagery, church sculpture, and windows as representative of the 'debased elements of the human nature or […] the diabolical. Paul Hardwick, *English Medieval Misericords: The Margins of Meaning* (Boydell Press, 2011), p. 117.
[40] The compilation of the drama as it comes down to us has been placed in the last third of the fifteenth century and probably closer to the turn of the century. See: Stevens, p. 117.
[41] Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 117–18.

realme amysse,/ to lett a boye inherite my blys/ that never was of my blood' (Magi 387–390), in fact, Herod holds no blood-right to the throne or the rulership over the Jewish people. This is made clear by the Doctor, who states that Herod 'is noe Jewe borne nor of that progenye, but a stranger by the Romans made there kinge' (Magi 278–279). It is after this statement that Herod becomes more violent and threatens to decapitate anyone seeking his throne (Magi 288–289). With his own status as a foreign king with no ancestral right to the throne exposed, Herod describes Jesus as a 'yonge godlinge', 'elvish godlinge', 'elfe and vile [congion]' in an attempt to construct his infant rival as a supernatural, inhuman creature and the ultimate outsider.[42] However, ultimately, it is Herod's own son that, along with the other boys in Bethlehem, takes the place of Jesus and receives the violent death intended for him. Use of the child substitution motif is, of course, more than just Herod's strategy. By invoking the child substitution motif, the play is able to open the audience's eyes to the elements of substitution at work in the Herod plays and in the rest of the cycle. This can also be found elsewhere; Merlin is fathered by the Devil on a human virgin in direct response to Jesus and the miracle of the incarnation.

Consider, for instance, the figure of the Antichrist, who appears later in the cycle as something of a demonic changeling. He is 'insynne ingendered' (Antichrist 633) on a woman of 'cleane whooredome' (Antichrist 668) by the Devil in order to take Christ's place and to undo all of his good works. He is, as Stevens notes, 'foremost, a parodist' with 'the power to imitate the human form of Christ'.[43] Within his own play, he is the 'ultimate false imitation of God'; taking the high throne and giving his own rendition of God's opening lines 'I am the very God of might' (Antichrist 221).[44] This throne is also occupied at one point or another by both Herod and the Devil. These three form 'a ludicrous triangle of bombast and deceit within the play', each a new spin on or aspect of the evil that would see itself in the high seat of power that is

[42] The *OED* has *godling* as 'A little god; an inferior god; a god imagined as possessing little power or of diminutive size'; however, as Lumiansky and Mills note in their commentary, the 1607 manuscript Harley 2124 uses 'geldinge' where Huntington 2 (1591) has 'godlinge', except I. 237 where 'false geldinge' is used. According to *OED*, 'gelding' is a form of 'gadling', the second sense of which is 'A base, low-born person'. Either way the term is clearly intended as an insult and even if 'gadling' was the original term, it is impossible to tell if the change was made deliberately or by accident.

[43] Stevens, p. 300.

[44] Stevens, p. 307.

rightfully and always God's.[45] The Chester playwright has an excellent grasp of dramatic irony and relies on it throughout the plays, most obviously in 'Antichrist', but the Herod plays prefigure the audience's ironic perspective on the action on stage.[46] While Herod's construction of the infant Jesus as a changeling attempting to take his rightful place on the throne is effective on stage, the audience are aware that if anyone can be considered to be a changeling it is Herod, who was placed on the throne by a foreign power—and if Herod is a changeling then so is the Antichrist.

In conclusion, although we cannot know exactly how a later medieval audience would have responded to the *Chester Mystery Cycle*'s use of the child substitution motif, it seems likely that Herod naming Jesus as a changeling was intended to reflect poorly on his own character and to set up a thematic strand in which the evil characters in the cycle act as demonic changelings. However it is interpreted, the connection between the Christ Child and the child substitution motif is evidence of an anxiety regarding the nature of the divine incarnation, one that is perhaps particularly concerning when embodied in the already ambiguous form of a human child. Writers relied upon their audience's understanding of the multiple connotations of words such as 'conioun' and particularly exploited its association with supernatural changelings to explore complex issues. I have focused on the theological anxieties inherent in the figure of the Christ child and how the child substitution motif, often either deployed by an enemy or embodied in a parodic figure, could allow writers to either shut down or acknowledge these anxieties.

(5.4) Socio-political Anxieties: Substitutions with human agents

As Heather Mitchell-Buck has shown, the mystery plays were not only concerned with theological anxieties, they also commented on or responded to the socio-political climate in which they were performed. Thus, Herod's musings on usurpation and changelings had contemporary political, as well as theological resonances.[47] Herod's attempt to frame Jesus as a

[45] Leslie Howard Martin, 'Comic Eschatology in the Chester "Coming of Antichrist"', *Comparative Drama*, 5.3 (1971), 163–76 (p. 169).
[46] Stevens, p. 313.
[47] Mitchell-Buck, p. 192.

changeling interloper in unsuccessful, but it is far from the only use of the child substitution motif as a politically motivated slur. For my final case study, I turn away from references to changelings in literary sources and towards a small corpus of texts that record the use of the child substitution motif as an accusation made for political or financial gain. This construction of the child substitution motif is not a supernatural one. The one accused of being a changeling is understood to be a human, although often of lower status than the original infant, who was substituted for another human child in infancy by a human agent, usually the original child's mother or nurse. Unlike Oda, these women are often represented as guilty agents, who deliberately deceive their husbands or employers in substituting the changeling child. Much like a charge of bastardy, the allegation that a person was a changeling could, at least in theory, be used to de-legitimise them and void their claim to power or an inheritance. In most of the examples that I have gathered, the accusation is made against a background of socio-political tension and insecurity. It was not routine to question, say, a king's right to his throne, by drawing on the child substitution motif so this is therefore a relatively small corpus of sources. In total, the sources that I have gathered detail accusations against seven separate figures. I have summarised this group of texts in Table 3.

Many of these accusations are recorded in chronicle accounts. Although I mentioned in my introduction to this section that I was moving away from 'literary' sources, it is important to acknowledge that 'historical' texts, like chronicles, are just as constructed and layered as 'literary' texts.[48] Therefore, when I analyse these sources, I think of them, not as impartial records of events, but as works constructed using literary motifs and biblical tropes, written by writers with

[48] The theoretical work of Gabrielle M. Spiegel has been influential in historians' reconsideration of their approach to 'historical' texts, see: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 65.1 (1990), 59–86. Subsequent works in this field include: Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Monika Otter, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Education, 2005), pp. 109–130; Robert M. Stein, 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by Nancy Partner (London: Hodder Education, 2005), pp. 67–87; Justin Lake, 'Authorial Intention in Medieval Historiography', *History Compass*, 12.4 (2014), 344–60; Alan V. Murray, 'Biblical Quotations and Formulaic Language in the Chronicle of William of Tyre', in *Deeds Done beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*, ed. by Susan Edgington, Helen J. Nicholson, and P. W. Edbury, Crusades. Subsidia, 6 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 25–42.

their own perspectives and partialities from within a particular social and political climate. Thus the discussion of the child substitution motif found in the form of a charter, or the records of a council deliberation, is often presented in a different form to that in the chronicles because their writers are working under the constraints of different genres. With that said, common motifs echo across the different accounts. To give just one example, when a human agent is specified, it is invariably either the mother or the nurse who carries out the substitution. The father is never a party to this deception; indeed, it is often the father whom the switch is intended to fool. The woman doing the switching often colludes with other women to facilitate the substitution. For instance, Philippa of Hainault searched Ghent for a substitute for her dead child along with her female attendants because they were afraid of Edward III's reaction. Also a higher status woman might pay a lower status woman for her baby. In the case of Walter of Vladslo, his wife and the shoemakers wife collude to fool both of their husbands. So not only does Walter believe that the shoemaker's child is his; the shoemaker also believes that his child has died. This positioning of women as the agents of substitution who conceal this switch from the child in question's father implies a certain level of anxiety over the potential duplicitousness of women, particularly in relation to the legitimacy of children.

The confines of this thesis prevent an in-depth, comparative discussion of the whole corpus, so, for the purposes of this section, I focus on the allegations directed at John of Gaunt. Not only does this case follow on from Northern European texts that I have already studied in this chapter, the accusation of child substitution is levelled at Gaunt in two separate chronicles. Therefore, unlike the case of Edward II and John Powderham, the number of sources is limited enough to enable an in-depth, yet comparative analysis within a limited space.

Both the *Anonimalle Chronicle* and Thomas Walsingham in his *Chronicon Angliae* record that John of Gaunt was the subject of rumours that used the child substitution motif to question his parentage.[49] These accusations took place in the autumn and winter following the

[49] The *Anonimalle Chronicle*, probably copied at St Mary's Abbey in York during the late fourteenth century, is formed from a compilation of texts. The accusation against John of Gaunt is found in a final added section that details the period 1369–82, with particularly vivid accounts of the "Good Parliament" of 1376 and the Great Revolt of 1381, which may have been based on chronicles or newsletters written in London at the time. See: *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381: From a MS. Written at St Mary's Abbey,*

dissolution of the Good Parliament on the 10th July 1376, which had passed measures intended to reform the government, particularly the corrupt Royal Council. In this period, with King Edward III ill and the Black Prince having died on the 8th June 1376, John of Gaunt's influence was, at least perceived, to be 'so powerful as to be sinister'.[50] Conventionally, Gaunt was understood to have spearheaded the reversal of the Parliament's work during the autumn. Scholars such as Anthony Goodman have argued that, contrary to established belief, other forces in the royal court had a strong hand in the autumn's developments. However, Gaunt did direct the move against William Wykeham, who was Bishop of Winchester and one of the new councillors installed by the Good Parliament. Gaunt presided over the great council, which met in the October of 1376, which charged Wykeham with maladministration, banished him and seized his income. During the Good Parliament, Wykeham had conspicuously abetted the prosecution of a previous councillor, William Latimer, who had been Chamberlain of the Household until he was impeached by the Parliament, seconding Peter de la Mere's attempt to get Latimer imprisoned without a trial. These actions gave Gaunt ample reason to move against Wykeham, but, according to Thomas Walsingham, the particular cause of the royal spite was Wykeham's role in spreading the rumour that Gaunt was a changeling:

> Occasio vero totius mali fuit, ut fertur, quod idem episcopus dixisset eum non fuisse filium regis aut reginæ; sed tempore quo regina praegnabat apud Gaeunt, edidisse non filium sed filiam, quam et eadem oppressit; et metuens iram regiam, cujusdam Flandrensis feminæ filium, natum eodem tempore, sibi supponi jussisset; et ita fovisse quem non peperit, videlicet hominem, ducem Lancastriæ memoratum. Et hæc omnia reginam, cum in extremis ageret, eidem episcopo sub sigillo confessionis retulisse; orasseque obnixius, ut si aliquando contingeret ipsum vel affectare regnum, vel idem regnum devolvi ad ipsum quovismodo, ut idem episcopus palam faceret genus suum, ne hereditaret regnum Angliæ falsus heres.
>
> In truth, the reason for all the punishment was, so it is said, that the said bishop had said him not to be the son of the king or the queen; but at the time that the queen was pregnant in Ghent, she did not give birth to a son but a daughter, who also was overlaid/smothered; and fearing the anger of the king, she had ordered

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York, ed. by V. H. Galbraith, 1st ed. reprinted with minor corrections. (Manchester; New York: Manchester U.P; Barnes & Noble, 1970), pp. 104–5. Thomas Walsingham (died *c.* 1422) was a chronicler and Benedictine monk based at the abbey at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. His *Chronicon Angliae* is intensely critical of John of Gaunt. Walsingham became precentor at St Albans in 1380, so his work on the political crisis of 1376–1377 is written somewhat retrospectively. See: *Chronicon Angliae, Ab Anno Domini 1328 Usque Ad Annum 1388, Auctore Monacho Quodam Sancti Albani*, ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson, Rolls Series, 64 (London: Longman & Co, 1874), pp. 106–7.

[50] Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth Century Europe* (Harlow: Longman, 1992), p. 59.

> the son of a certain Flemish woman, born at the same time, to be substituted for her; and thus to cherish the one whom she had not given birth to, evidently this man, the aforementioned Duke of Lancaster. And all these things the queen, when she was in her last moments, [was said] to have told to that same bishop under the seal of confession, and to have begged with all her strength, that if at any time he seized or claimed the kingdom, or if the kingdom should be passed down to him in whatever fashion, then the same bishop should make plain his origin, lest a false heir should inherit the kingdom of England.[51]

It appears that such gossip was rife around this time as the *Anonimalle Chronicle* also records a similar slur being spread around by Gaunt's detractors on a separate occasion.[52] In the February of 1377, Gaunt became involved in a dispute with the Londoners that culminated in a riot on the 20th of the month. The Londoners were angered by the presentation to parliament of bills intended to curb the city's liberties, as well as an ill-advised confrontation between Gaunt and the Bishop of London and the illegal imprisonment by one of the Duke's compatriots of a Londoner who had slandered Gaunt. To express their displeasure with Gaunt, during the riot:

> les comunes de Loundres reverserent les armes del duc de Loncastre, le poynet del escu amount et le test avale et mistrent une escu sour les huses del esglise cathedralle de seint Poule et une autre sur le huse de la sale de Wymoustre et fincherent sur mesmes les huses escrowes en quels fuerount escriptez qe le dit duc de Loncastre ne fuist my Engleis mes Flemyng et ne my fitz al roy ne al roigne mes fitz a une bowcher de Gaunt, et ceo aparust bien qare il amast plus les Flemynges qe les Engleis par cent double; et quaunt le roy et le roigne furount en Flaundres en la cite de Gaunte la dite roigne fuist enceynt et delivere de une enfaunte male; le quel enfaunt fuist oppresse par une nurysce et pur doute qu la roigne et les autres entour luy avoient del roy ils firent ensercher ou ascune enfaunt de tiel age purroit estre trove, et fuit trove en la cite une fitz del dit bowcher moult semblable al mort fitz del age de deux ou de trios iours et fuit porte et mys en lieu del dit morte enfaunte. Et de cest fait fuit graunt noys et graunte clamour par tute la cite de Loundres et par tute Engleterre; et purceo le duc fuit moult irrous et pensaunt coment il purroit estre venge de les Loundreis; et deinz brief tenps apres, il fist les ditz Loundreis somonder devaunt le roy a Schene.
>
> the commons of London reversed the arms of the Duke of Lancaster, the point of the point of the shield up and the head down, and put one shield on the doors of the cathedral church of St Paul and another on the door of Westminster Hall, and fixed on the same doors scrolls, in which it was written that the said Duke of

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[51] English is my own translation. Latin from: Edward Maunde Thompson, pp. 106–7.

[52] While chronicle writers were enthused by the early reign and military successes of Edward III, by the end of his reign most had ceased to record the events as they unfolded. Froissart's chronicle does recount the deaths of the Black Prince and Edward III, but is more concerned with these deaths and the abortive peace negotiations between England and France than John of Gaunt. As I noted above, the *Anonimalle Chronicle* does appear to contain material that was first recorded during the political crisis of 1376–1377 in newsletters or perhaps a London based chronicle, but was compiled into the *Anonimalle Chronicle* at a later date. See: Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: C.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1982), chaps 3, 4, 5, pp. 60, 101, 111, 118.

> Lancaster was not English, but a Fleming, and not son of the King or the Queen, but son of a butcher of Ghent, and that was well shown, for he loved the Flemings more than the English by twice a hundred; and when the King and the Queen were in Flanders, in the city of Ghent, the said Queen was pregnant and delivered of a male child; that child was stifled/crushed [by overlaying?] by a nurse and, for doubt that the Queen and others around her had regarding the King, they instigated a search for where any child of such an age could be found, and in the city was found a child of the said butcher who closely resembled the dead child, of the age of two or three days, and he was fetched and put in place of the said dead child. And from this great noise and great clamour were made through all the City of London and through all England; and for that the Duke was very wrathful and attentive as to how he might be avenged on the Londoners; and within a short time after, he had the said Londoners summoned before the King at Sheen. [53]

Thus, although the details vary in important ways, both accounts assert that John of Gaunt was in fact the son of a Fleming, substituted for the true royal infant at birth by the queen.

The political crisis of 1376–1377 forms the backdrop to these allegations. With King Edward III ill, the Black Prince dead, and the heir to the throne no more than a boy, John of Gaunt was required to respond to the country's increasing frustration with high taxation, court corruption, and lack of military success. To say that the course that Gaunt plotted was unpopular is to put it mildly. Even historians that are sympathetic towards Gaunt, such as Goodman, acknowledge that the duke's approach displayed an 'intransigent crassness' that united his opponents against him.[54] Michael Hanrahan notes that 'Gaunt's actions had earned the combined animosity of the Commons, the ecclesiastical establishment, and the city of London'.[55] That Gaunt was the object of slander is therefore not surprising; however, I suggest that the use of the child substitution motif, rather than another type of defamation, is due at least in part to the particular nature of the socio-political anxieties surrounding the duke at this time.[56]

First, there was a widespread concern that John of Gaunt would attempt to usurp the throne from his nephew Richard on the death of Edward III. The Black Prince was reported to

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[53] Galbraith, pp. 104–5.

[54] Goodman, p. 60.

[55] Michael Hanrahan, 'Defamation as Political Contest During the Reign of Richard II', *Medium Ævum*, 72.2 (2003), 259–76 (p. 261).

[56] Mark Ormrod has recently gone into some detail regarding this case, see: W. Mark Ormrod, 'The DNA of Richard III: False Paternity and the Royal Succession in Later Medieval England', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 60 (2016), 187–226 (pp. 191–99).

have made both John of Gaunt and Edward III swear to him on his deathbed that they would uphold his son's inheritance rights.[57] In December 1376, the king of France speculated that Gaunt's 'rigour' in reversing the decisions made by the Good Parliament was indicative of squashing potential opposition to his designs on the throne.[58] Furthermore, although Gaunt was the natural choice to act as regent or to head a protectorate government for the young king on his ascension to the throne, suspicions regarding Gaunt's motives instead led to the instigation of the fiction that Richard ruled as an adult, with continual councils responsible for the day-to-day government of the kingdom.[59] Thomas Walsingham had his own reasons for disliking Gaunt, but he presents the rumours that Gaunt was a Flemish changeling as a response or reaction to concerns about the duke grasping for the throne.[60] Walsingham emphasises that, in her confession to Wykeham, Phillipa of Hainault had stressed that Gaunt's true nature was not to be revealed unless Gaunt took the throne of England, whether through force or by inheritance. Through including this detail, Walsingham implies to his audience that Wykeham had thought that there was a danger of this happening and so had decided to let Phillipa's confession be generally known in order to delegitimise the duke.

Of course, an accusation of child substitution is far from being the most common tactic used to question a person's parentage; allegations of bastardy are much more common. However, to suggest that Gaunt was conceived through adultery would mean bringing Philippa's virtue into question. A charge of promiscuity was particularly damaging for a woman and the rumour mongers may have shied away from accusing the dead queen of adultery, particularly since she was well-loved during her lifetime, at least by the chroniclers that mention

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[57] *Life of the Black Prince by the herald of Sir John Chandos*, ed. by Eleanor C. Lodge and Mildred K. Pope (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), pp. 129, 170. See also, Michael Bennett, 'Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1376–1471', *The English Historical Review*, 113.452 (1998), 580–609 (p. 585); Ian Mortimer, 'Richard II and the Succession to the Crown', *History*, 91.303 (2006), 320–36 (p. 321, n. 3).

[58] Goodman, p. 59, n. 91.

[59] Gwilym Dodd, 'Richard II and the Fiction of Majority Rule', in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Charles Beem (New York: Springer, 2008), pp. 103–159 (pp. 107, 109–10).

[60] The duke had upset the abbot of St Albans by commandeering oak trees from the abbot's estate for works on his castle at Hereford and Walsingham's friend John Philpot opposed Gaunt in the duke's dealings with the city of London, see: Gransden, pp. 138–39.

her.[61] Furthermore, casting doubt on the queen's chastity would also have led to uncertainty over the parentage of her other children, including the Black Prince, which would in turn have implied that the claim of the young heir Richard was invalid. By contrast, the allegation of child substitution allows for a much more targeted delegitimization. As Ormrod notes, in Walsingham's hands, the scurrilous rumour is invested with authority by being attributed to a senior member of the Church and then targeted precisely at Gaunt himself for a particular political purpose.[62]

Gaunt may have been particularly vulnerable to questions about his parentage because he was born outside of England. Furthermore, when Philippa gave birth to Gaunt in Ghent, Edward III was in England and the royal couple were not reunited for several months.[63] Chris Given-Wilson has suggested that a foreign birth could allow rumours about a king or prince's parentage to gain traction.[64] Furthermore, Gaunt's connection to Flanders was particularly controversial in a period of increasing anti-Flemish sentiment. Early in Edward III's reign, the king had granted a number of concessions to Flemish weavers that had proved deeply unpopular with their English counterparts. In addition to his blood connection to the house of Hainault through his mother, John of Gaunt also cultivated close links with the princes of the

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[61] For the use of personal slander to discredit queens, see: Helen Maurer, 'Delegitimizing Lancaster: The Yorkist Use of Gendered Propaganda during the Wars of the Roses', in *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves, The Northern World, 8 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 169–86 (p. 180, n. 62). For Philippa's reputation, see: W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 127, 470–71, 595, 599. Another relevant comparison is Richard III's decision not to use rumours of his mother's infidelity to attempt to delegitimise Edward IV, opting instead to utilize accusations of witchcraft against Elizabeth Woodville and her mother in order to delegitimise the Princes. In addition to being his mother, Cecily Neville was a very formidable lady whom he could not afford to offend. See: W. Mark Ormrod, pp. 216–19.

[62] W. Mark Ormrod, p. 197.

[63] While not necessarily unusual in the grand scheme of royal relationships, Ormrod notes that Edward III had been particularly solicitous toward Philippa during her previous pregnancies and that the contrast may have invited some gossip. See, W. Mark Ormrod, n. 22; W. M. Ormrod, pp. 88, 126–31 & 225. Obviously, while it may have resulted in rumours, Edward's earlier concern and subsequent disinterest could have resulted from any number of situations or feelings. For instance, early in his rule, Edward was particularly concerned about his own political legitimacy in the context of the usurpation of his own father's throne. Or he was very young, as was she, whereas by the time Philippa had John she had given birth 5 previous times so was much more experienced and didn't need the same level of attentiveness.

[64] Chris Given-Wilson, 'Sorcerers, Bastards, Changelings: Political Smears in Late Medieval England' (presented at the Institute for Medieval Studies Open Lecture Series, University of Leeds: unpublished paper, 2016).

Low Countries. We also know that in either 1377 or 1378 the Flemish weavers appealed to John of Gaunt to block a petition made by the English weavers in London that asked for the Flemish weaver's right to practise their craft in the city to be revoked. As Lambert and Pajic note, however, we cannot be sure if this appeal to Gaunt had become widely known and triggered additional anger toward the Duke or whether the Flemish weavers had been reminded of Gaunt's ties to their native land by the rumours and subsequently petitioned him.[65] The *Anonimalle Chronicle*'s account of John of Gaunt's substitution is clearly rooted in anti-Flemish bias. That the royal family, and particularly Gaunt, were perceived as being pro-Flemish is evidenced in the rioters' accusation that Gaunt 'loved the Flemings more than the English by twice a hundred'. Thus, the child substitution motif was used to articulate a growing anxiety about the presence and success of the Flemish in England.[66]

The allegations that John of Gaunt was a Flemish changeling were, then, rooted in the particular socio-political anxieties of the crisis of 1376–1377. Both accounts of the use of this accusation that I have examined are designed to delegitimise and slander Gaunt at a time when he was perceived as being dangerously powerful. They are specific to their context, but also speak to underlying anxieties; such as, the English cloth workers' concerns about the royal's pro-Flemish agenda or the general unease about the authenticity of the king's bloodline. Furthermore, this case, like the other ones summarised in Table 3 and the tale of Þetleifr that I discussed in the first section of this chapter, speaks to a male mistrust of women and an uncertainly about the blood-connection between them and their sons.

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[65] Bart Lambert and Milan Pajic, 'Immigration and the Common Profit: Native Cloth Workers, Flemish Exiles, and Royal Policy in Fourteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies*, 55.4 (2016), 633–57 (p. 650).

[66] This suspicion would be expressed through the violent targeting of London's Flemish population during the Peasant's Revolt of 1381. For this and the English anxiety about the Flemish population more generally, see: Len Scales, 'Bread, Cheese and Genocide: Imagining the Destruction of Peoples in Medieval Western Europe', *History*, 92.307 (2007), 284–300 (pp. 284–300); Erik Spindler, 'Flemings in the Peasants' Revolt, 1381', in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, ed. by Hannah Skoda and Patrick Lantschner (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 59–78 (pp. 59–78); Milan Pajic, 'Flemish Rebels in Exile: Their Perception in 14th Century London and the Creation of New Identities', in *Peuples Conquérants: Peuples Conquis, Perceptions Identitaires Au Moyen-Âge En Europe (IXe–XVe Siècle)*, ed. by Tatjana Silec-Plessis and Alessandra Stazzone (Paris: Association des Médiévistes Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, 2015), pp. 187–206 (pp. 187–206).

(5.5) Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used three case studies to introduce some ways in which the child substitution motif might be used to express or grapple with (often overlapping) familial, theological, or socio-political anxieties. These sources all grapple with family dynamics, whether in the depiction of a contentious father-son relationship, the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Holy Family, or the family as state in the case of the English royals. In these particular contexts, the idea of the changeling can be a versatile tool that serves to express the particular anxieties of the moment as well as longer term concerns. While I have, of necessity, focused on only a few examples, I have indicated areas in which there is scope for further study; for instance, the corpus of sources where changeling is used as a political slur, or the tales of Merlin, where he is called a changeling and intended as an Anti-Christ. Further analysis of these sources should prove to be a fruitful area for future changeling study in order to develop a clearer idea of the position that the child substitution motif had in medieval society.

Conclusion

In the second half of the twentieth century, medievalists working within the field of cultural history opened up new vistas in the historiography of the Middle Ages by examining concepts of childhood, later gender and the body, and more recently again disability. Past work has shown that the investigation of changelings and the child substitution motif is potentially rewarding, but my work has both broadened and deepened our understanding of this discourse. This study of the medieval child substitution motif has made several contributions to the fields of childhood, family, and disability studies. The main focus of this thesis has been the use of the child substitution motif to analyse medieval concerns about the health and care of infants and children; however, I have also incorporated discussions of the etymological development of changeling-words and some suggestions of other anxieties that the child substitution motif could be used to express. Throughout this thesis I have embraced an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on art-historical and literary sources, as well as a variety of types of written evidence, from medical treatises to chronicle accounts. In doing so, I have amassed a more comprehensive corpus of medieval changeling sources than has been studied up to this point. Although this has demonstrated that the evidence for the changeling discourse during the Middle Ages is more extensive than was previously thought, I have been cautious in ascribing a dominant cultural status to the child substitution motif, instead arguing that it is better understood as a minority report, one voice within a choir of many voices.

In my introduction I advanced three related research questions: first, how is the child substitution motif utilised in medieval sources? How pervasive is the child substitution motif, and does this have an impact on our understanding of its relevance? And following on from that: what societal tensions does this use of the motif reveal, particularly regarding infants and children: their health, their care, and their position within the familial unit?

Even though I have been unable to incorporate all of the medieval material on changelings into this thesis, it is apparent that the child substitution motif was utilised in a wide variety of ways, through a diverse range of media, and for an array of purposes. Although the focus of previous scholarship has been on the utilisation of the child substitution motif as an

alternative explanation for sickness or ill health in children and infants, this is just one among many ways that the motif is utilised in medieval sources.

In order to establish how pervasive the child substitution motif was in medieval Western Europe, I have expanded the corpus of medieval child substitution sources, giving a better sense of the spread of the concept. Overall, an interdisciplinary approach has been vital to my work. This study has examined images and texts side by side in order to see how these different types of media build on and speak to each other. In particular, I have curated a more complete corpus of medieval hagiography that includes child substitution than has been done previously. In addition to putting together this collection, I have suggested a number of ways that these sources can be read and argued for the importance of their contribution to a dialogue on the health and care of children. In doing so I have shifted the focus away from thinking of changelings as an ancient pagan superstition to being an integral part of medieval Christian culture. I have also advocated for the incorporation of vernacular sources into this corpus. While many of these sources do not depict the act of substitution, their use of terms that are etymologically linked to notions of substitution means that, depending on the context, they may still contribute to the child substitution discourse.

Although the corpus of material relating to the medieval discourse on changelings has been expanded as a result of my research, there is still not enough evidence to suggest that the child substitution motif was as prevalent and pertinent as has been previously supposed. It is therefore worth assessing the relative importance of the motif during the Middle Ages, and considering why there is not more evidence for changeling discourse in this time period. Although a definite conclusion cannot be reached, there are a couple of possibilities to explore. Potentially, the motif was only relevant in specific locales. Although the geographical spread of sources in my corpus would suggest otherwise, we do have evidence of site specific traditions, such as the Saint Guinefort rites; furthermore, it does appear that the concept of the changeling had different resonances depending on space, place, and time. It could be that the child substitution motif was primarily an oral tradition and thus the full extent of its medieval utilisation simply does not appear in the sources to which we still have access. The concept of

the changeling does seem to have been lexicalised in the vernacular languages prior to appearing in Latin and this direction of etymological development could be seen to support a rich oral, vernacular discourse, separate to, for instance, the Latin texts that discuss child substitution primarily in relationship to the reproductive capacity of demons. Alternatively, the motif was widespread but was not part of the dominant discourse, and therefore discussed or utilised relatively infrequently compared to more prominent narratives. Of course, as I noted at the beginning of this thesis, it is also possible that by focusing on child substitution we restrict the corpus to considering only one type of changeling and fail to incorporate the other strange childlike figures that may have been understood under the same banner. Methodologically speaking, my approach has been to first define a category, the child substitution motif, and then investigate its occurrence in historical evidence. A complementary approach might explore medieval sources that focus on children and the supernatural in order to try to reconstruct cultural categories from the bottom up. While I think it likely that the corpus of sources I have gathered does not reflect the full extent of the discourse constituting changelings during the Middle Ages, whether because those sources are no longer extant or because my focus on child substitution has excluded them, it is still true that the corpus is relatively small. Thus, I think it is most sensible to consider it, not as a dominant narrative, but as a more marginal or alternative thread within medieval culture. This does not mean that medieval changelings are not worthy of sustained academic attention; in fact, I would argue that their marginality is inherent to their value as a topic of study.

It is also worth noting that there are more reports about changelings after the Middle Ages. It is possible that this is simply the result of how medicine was professionalised at that time or increases in literacy and communication meant that more cases of injuries caused to suspected changelings were reported in, for instance, newspapers. Furthermore, by the nineteenth century, an interest in actively seeking out, recording, and de-bunking such beliefs began to gain traction. My studies have focused on the medieval motif; however, there is definitely scope for a more nuanced exploration of the medievalism of nineteenth-century

accounts of changelings.[1] To return to the apparent upsurge in the child substitution motif after the medieval period, it could also be the case that, in countries where the effects of the Reformation were felt most strongly, the rise of the changeling reflected a narrowing of other options. For instance, the English Reformation resulted in the temporary closure of most foundling hospitals run by the Church in England and it took some time before alternative options emerged. Ideas about child substitution may have risen up in response to this gap in welfare support. Of course, this is a geographically specific issue and further study would be needed to assess whether or not the post-medieval development of the child substitution motif was different in areas where the Reformation did not take hold.

As the study of a more minor strand of medieval discourse, an examination of the medieval changeling has much to contribute to the history of the body, the child, the family, and health. Scholars such as Kuuliala have done excellent work indicating that negative communal reactions to disability were rare and that sufferers were not often marginalised or othered by their communities. Furthermore, demonic or supernatural explanations for impairment are not frequently recorded in canonisation or shrine records. People had access to a full range of methods for dealing with, for example, children's health: such as miracles or the practice of medicine. The child substitution motif was one part of this wider array of approaches.

I would suggest that as an, often supernatural, interloper medieval people could use the idea of the changeling to discuss aspects of the health and care of children that were difficult or disturbing, perhaps in a way that they would not do when considering a truly human child. For instance, a story about child substitution might express concern about the negative social consequences of caring for a changeling in a way that would not occur in a story involving caring for a truly human child. Therefore, narratives about changelings can expose anxieties that are normally difficult for scholars to access. In this sense, stories about child substitution could

[1] The work of Eva Þórdís Ebenezersdóttir is an example of the potential of this field to develop further, her BA thesis re-examines the Icelandic changeling legends, see: Eva Þórdís Ebenezersdóttir, 'Umskiptingur eður ei: Umskiptingasagnir í nýju ljósi [Changeling or not: The changeling legends in a new light]' (unpublished BA thesis, University of Iceland, 2010) <https://skemman.is/handle/1946/6813> [accessed 25 July 2017].

be a potent lens through which to interrogate or warn against certain caring practices, whether it be excessive or inadequate focus on the figure of the infant. Furthermore, the family unit was a common metaphor for the discussion of systems and structures during this period. When both the political and religious landscapes have families at their pinnacles, the changeling as a disruptive outsider can be imaginatively inserted into these familial units in a way that can express concerns, frustrations, or anxieties without questioning the fundamentals of the system itself.

This study has contributed a great deal to changeling scholarship as it stands, but it has also demonstrated that there is much still left to do. For instance, although I highlighted a number of case studies in the final chapter, there is much more work to be done on the child substitution motif and its power as an expression of anxiety, particularly as regards systems where the family acts as the controlling metaphor. To take just one example, while I explored one use of the child substitution motif as a political slur, this could be usefully contextualised and compared to other examples of its use in this way. In doing so a better understanding of the way in which the child substitution motif might be used to express socio-political anxieties across cultures could be established. In addition, further questions can be asked, such as: to what extent was the conceptualisation of the changeling culturally/regionally specific? While I have noted in passing that the character of Þetleifr has little in common with other figures connected with the child substitution motif, I have not been able, within the confines of this thesis, to fully investigate the connotations that words used to denote changeling like *skiftingr* and *vixlingr* had when used in Old Norse prose. Doing so could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the understanding of the changeling specific to medieval Scandinavia.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, there is evidence to suggest the need to expand our understanding of the medieval conception of the changeling beyond the child substitution motif. That is, the changeling was not just a substituted being, rather the term could also be used to refer to the children begotten by demons. This notion is supported by Molitoris' writings, as well as by some literary accounts of the children of demons. See, for instance, the frequent use of the Middle English word for changeling in conjunction with the child Merlin in

Arthour and Merlin and the use of the familiar trope of excessive hunger exhausting the milk of multiple wet-nurses being applied to Sir Gowther. Finally, the study of changelings might also be contextualised within a wider study of the depiction of strange or uncanny children during the Middle Ages. Scholars have already considered figures such as the Green Children and Malekin in connection with changelings, but this could be expanded to include figures such as the young half-trolls in Old Norse sagas. This has the potential to add further complexity to our understanding of the conception of childhood during the Middle Ages, and thus would be a valuable contribution to the history of the medieval child.

Appendix 1

Corpus of the Main Medieval Child Substitution Sources Referenced in this Thesis

This table displays the main medieval child substitution sources that I reference in this thesis. It excludes the hagiographic sources and the sources relating to socio-political accusations of child substitution; please see Appedencies 2 and 3 for these sub-corpuses. This table does not reflect the full extent of this corpus as it does not include sources that I only reference briefly, nor does it incorperate all of the medieval sources that refer, however obliquely, to changelings or the child substitution motif.

Table 3: Corpus of the Main Medieval Child Substitution Sources

Source	Author	Date	Country of Origin	Language
'Commentary on Psalm 17, verse 46'[1]	Notker Labeo	c. 1000	Germany	Latin/Old High German
'De puero syntectino (Concerning a boy suffering from a wasting disease)'[2]	William of Canterbury	1172	England	Latin
The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry[3]	Jacques de Vitry	First half of thirteenth century	Italy/France	Latin
De Universo[4]	William of Auvergne	First half of thirteenth century	France	Latin
Treatise on Various Materials for Preaching[5]	Stephen of Bourbon	First half of thirteenth century	France	Latin

[1] The earliest manuscript of Notker's text has been digitised: 'Cod. Sang. 21: Translatio Barbarica Psalterii Notkeri Tertii (Old High German Psalter by Notker the German)' (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 12th century), p. 55 <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0021>. The text has also been published with the formatting preserved: Labeo Notker, *Die schriften Notkers und seiner Schule*, ed. by Paul Piper, Germanischer Bücherschatz, 8–10, 3 vols (Leipzig: Mohr, 1895), II, pp. 55–56. In most modern bibles, this is Psalm 18.

[2] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury (Canonized by Pope Alexander III, A.D. 1173)*, ed. by James Craigie Robertson, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, 67, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1875), I, pp. 203–4. For a new translated edition, with commentary, see: Rose A. Sawyer trans & ed., 'A Miracle of Thomas Becket: De Puero Syntectino (Concerning a Boy Suffering from a Wasting Disease) (1172-77)', in *Medieval Disability Sourcebook*, ed. by Cameron Hunt Mc Nabb, (New York: punctum, 2019).

[3] Jacques de Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. by Thomas Frederick Crane, Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, 26 (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1890), p. 129.

[4] William of Auvergne, 'De Universo', in *Guillielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis ... Opera Omnia*, facsimile ed. of 1674, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1963), I, 593–1074 (pp. 1072–73).

[5] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Holy Greyhound: Guinefort, Healer of Children since the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Martin Thom, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 6 (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Maisondes Sciences de l'Homme, 1983), pp. 3-7.

Ancrene Wisse[6]	Unknown	First half of thirteenth century	England	Middle English
Þiðrekssaga af Bern[7]	Unknown	At some point betwee 1217 and 1263	Norway	Old Norse
The Book of All Forbidden Art[8]	Johannes Hartlieb	1456	Germany	Middle High German
Kinderbüchlein[9]	Bartholomeus Metlinger	1473	Germany	West Swabian dialect of German
The Malleus maleficarum[10]	Henricus Instoris	1486	Germany	Latin
On Witches and Pythonesses[11]	Ulrich Molitoris	1489	Germany	Middle High German
'Second Shepherd's Play'[12]	Unknown	Last third of fifteenth century	England	Middle English
'Magi, The Vinters Playe' and 'Innocents, The Gouldsmythes Playe'[13]	Unknown	Between 1505 and 1532	England	Middle English
Lectures on Galations/Table Talk[14]	Martin Luther	1535/20th April 1539	Germany	German/Latin

[6] *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 402, with Variants From other Manuscripts*, ed. by Bella Millett and E. J. Dobson, Early English Text Society. Original Series, 325, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), I, p. 43.

[7] For a normalised edition of the Old Norse, see: *Þiðreks saga af Bern*, ed. by Guðni Jónsson, 2 vols (Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, 1954), I, secs 111–114, pp. 164–168. For the English translation of the whole saga, see: Haymes, LVI, secs 111–114, pp. 76–78.

[8] For an English translation of this text, see: Johann Hartlieb and Ulrich Molitor, *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic: Johannes Hartlieb's Book of All Forbidden Arts (1456) and Ulrich Molitoris's On Witches and Pythonesses (1489)*, trans. by Richard Kieckhefer, Magic in History Sourcebooks Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017), p. 120. The text is edited in: Johann Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Kunst*, ed. by Dora Ulm (Halle: Niemeyer, 1914). The original text, as well as a modern German translation can be found in: Johann Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, trans. by Falk Eisermann and Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt: Param, 1989).

[9] Bartholomaeus Metlinger, *Ein Regiment Der Jungen Kinder* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1473), pp. 21–23; *Das Kinderbuch des Bartholomäus Metlinger 1457–1476: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kinderheilkunde im Mittelalter*, ed. by Ludwig Unger (Leipzig; Vienna: Deuticke, 1904), pp. 21–22; John Ruhräh, *Pediatrics of the Past* (New York: PB Hoeber, 1925), pp. 84–85.

[10] Henricus Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum*, Original Latin edition (Speyer: Drach, 1490), pp. 81 & 114. Heinrich Institoris and Jakob Sprenger, *The Malleus maleficarum*, trans. by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 135, 200–201

[11] Johann Hartlieb and Ulrich Molitor, *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic: Johannes Hartlieb's Book of All Forbidden Arts (1456) and Ulrich Molitoris's On Witches and Pythonesses (1489)*, trans. by Richard Kieckhefer, Magic in History Sourcebooks Series (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

[12] James Simpson and Alfred David, eds., 'The Second Shepherds' Play', in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 9th edn, 2 vols (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), I, 450–77.

[13] R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, eds., *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, EETS SS, 3, 9, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1974).

[14] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Lectures on Galatians 1535 Chapters 1–4*, ed. by Jaroslav Pelikan and Walter A Hansen, 55 vols (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), XXVI, p. 190; Martin Luther, *Tischreden aus den Jahren 1538–1540*, ed. by Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake, D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden, 6 vols (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1916), IV, pp. 358, No. 4513.

Appendix 2

Corpus of Child Substitution Hagiographic Sources

Saint Stephen

Manuscripts

Julian and the Doe

Monte Cassino, Abbazia di Montecassino, Codex CXVII, pp. 126–28 (Latin text, c. twelfth century, originally from the region of Spoleto-Norcia, with Garrison and Berg suggesting the Abbey of St. Eutizio in Val Castoriana)[1] (Monte Cassino, Codex CXVII)

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat Z 158 (= 1779), fols. 327–28v (Latin text, fourteenth to fifteenth century)[2] (BNM, MS Lat Z 158)

Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 870 (Latin text, fourteenth to fifteenth century)[3] (BML, MS Ashburnham 870)

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Inc. haun. 2179, fols. 7–8 (Latin text, fifteenth century, German)[4] (DKB, Inc. haun. 2179)

Holy Man

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat IX 16 (=2943), fols. 332–36 (Latin text, originally written by Peter Calo of Chioggia, who was based in the convent of Ferrara from 1307 until his death on 11 December 1348. Text written 1323x40, MS from fourteenth century, by 1494 this copy was held at the Bolognese convent of San Eustorgio)[5] (BNM, MS Lat IX 16)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 82 suss, fols. 84r–85r (Latin text, c. 1389–93, this manuscript was copied in an orchard in Como, Province of Como, Italy and the scribe described himself as Antoniolum F.. A certain monk, from the Augustine monastery attached to the Basilica di San Carpoforo also in the province of Como, lent the text that he was copying from to him.)[6] (BA, H 82 suss)

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[1] 'Fabulosa vita S. Stephani Protomartyris', III; Edward B. Garrison, *Studies in The History of Medieval Italian Painting*, 2nd edn, 4 vols (London: Pindar Press, 1993), IV, pp. 116, 218–29; Knut Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1968), pp. 216–17.

[2] Manuscript description: *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Ad S. Marci: Digessit et Commentarium Addidit Joseph Valentinelli Praefectus*, ed. by Joseph Valentinelli, Codices Mss. Latini., 6 vols (Venice: Ex Typographia Commercii, 1869), II, p. 176. Text edited in: De Gaiffier and Tervarent, pp. 45–48.

[3] George Kaftal, 'The Fabulous Life of a Saint', *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 17.2/3 (1973), 295–300 (pp. 299–300).

[4] This manuscript is recorded as Inc. Hafn. 2510 in *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Ævi Bibliothecæ Regiæ Hafniensis*, ed. by Ellen Jørgensen (Copenhagen: Gyldendals Publishing, 1926), pp. 202–3. The manuscript is bound up with a 1482 printed text of *The Golden Legend* from Strasbourg, a description of this can be found under 2179 in Victor Madsen, *Katalog over det Kongelige Biblioteks inkunabler*, 3 vols (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935), I, p. 394. A transcription and translation of this text will be provided in the Appendix.

[5] Manuscript description: *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Ad S. Marci: Digessit et Commentarium Addidit Joseph Valentinelli Praefectus*, ed. by Joseph Valentinelli, Codices Mss. Latini., 6 vols (Venice: Ex Typographia Commercii, 1872), V, p. 297. Text transcribed in: Baudouin De Gaiffier, 'La nativité de Saint Étienne. A propos des fresques de Tivoli', *Atti e memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte*, 41 (1968), 105–112 (pp. 111–12).

[6] Mirella Ferrari, 'Libri "moderni" e libri "antiqui" nella biblioteca di S. Francesco Grande di Milano', in *Medioevo e latinità in memoria di Ezio Franceschini*, ed. by Annamaria Ambrosioni and others (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1993), pp. 187–241 (p. 235). Ferrari's description of the manuscript includes quotations from

Images

S I. School of Lazio, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, late fourteenth century, Tivoli, Oratorio di S. Stefano[7]

the manuscript that very precisely identify the time, place and scribe. A transcription and translation of this text will be provided in the Appendix of this thesis.

[7] Images from this cycle have been published in a number of places over the years. Although damaged and with the saint erroneously identified as St. Pachomius, the largest images with the most details visible can be found in: Vincenzo Pacifici, 'Gli Affreschi Giotteschi di Tivoli', *Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte*, 17 (1937), 250 (figs II–IV). The images of the cycle in their current context can be found in: De Gaiffier, pp. 108–9.

S II. Anovelo da Imbonate, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, 1371–75, Lentate sul Séveso, Oratorio di S. Stefano[8]

[8] The full cycle can be found in George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy*, Saints in Italian Art, 4 vols (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1985), IV, pp. 599–621. The images of the cycle in their current context can be found in: Lavinia Maddalena Galli, 'Santo Stefano a Lentate sul Seveso: notizie intorno ad un oratorio gentilizio del XIV secolo', *Arte Lombarda*, 104 (1993), 6–15 (pp. 8–9).

S III. Local school influenced by Vitale da Bologna, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, fourteenth century, Martignacco (near Udine), San Nicoló, parish church[9]

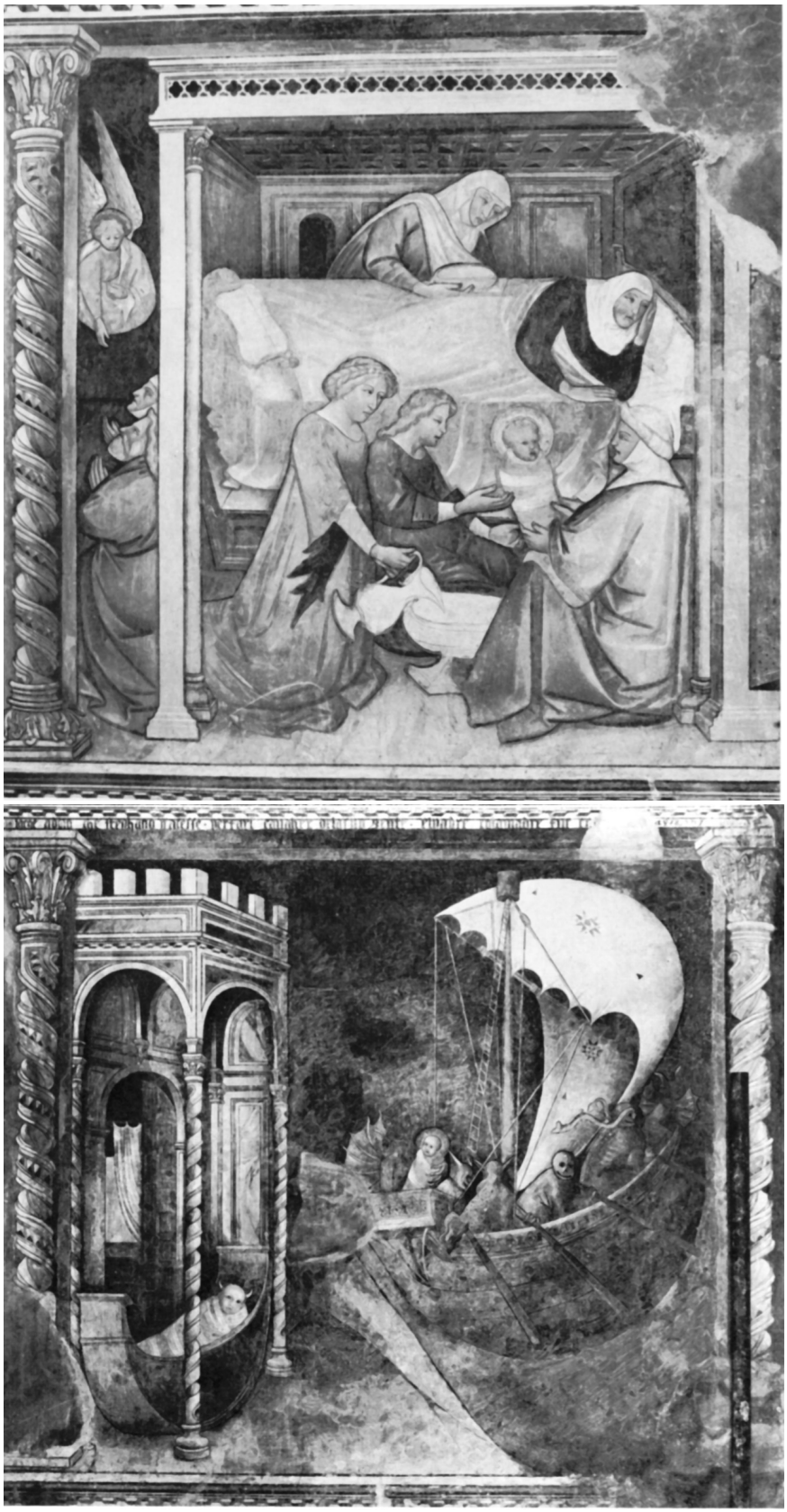
[9] Images from the cycle published in: Kaftal, 'The Fabulous Life of a Saint', figs 1–3. The images of the cycle in their current context can be found in: Carlo Someda De Marco, 'La chiesetta di S. Nicolò di Martignacco', Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Udine, 6 (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulanf, 1957), XIV, 139–49.

S IV. Martino di Bartolomeo, *Seven Scenes of the Life of Saint Stephen*, c. 1415, Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut[10] (place of origin: Altar of the Brunacci family in the church of Sant'Agostino, Siena, run by the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine)[11]

[10] All the panels from the altarpiece are published in: Hiller Von Gaertringen.

[11] Hiller Von Gaertringen.

S V. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, 1388, Poggibonsi, San Lucchese[12]



[12] Images published here: Miklós Boskovits, 'Cennino Cennini - pittore nonconformista', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 17.2/3 (1973), 201–22 (figs 4–6).

S VI. Fra Fillipo Lippi, *Life of St Stephen (Cycle)*, May 1452 to January 1466, Prato, choir of Duomo di Prato, Cattedrale di Santo Stefano, was then a pieve.[13]

[13] Sections of the frescoes are published in: Borsook. However, the cycle is also available in full colour online: 'Fresco Cycle in the Prato Cathedral (1452–66)' <https://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/l/lippi/filippo/1450pr/index.html> [accessed 5 November 2016].

S VII. Giovanni di Paolo, *Predella of Andrea Vanni's Santo Stefano Alla Lizza Polyptych*, c 1450, Siena, baptistery of Sienna Cathedral[14] (Place of origin: San Stefano alla Lizza, Siena, parish church)

[14] This predella contains three panels relating the life of St Stephen, the one panel that references the child substitution motif is reproduced in: Hiller Von Gaertringen, fig. 8. The image is also available in colour at: 'St Stephen Suckled by a Doe'
<http://www.wga.hu/html_m/g/giovanni/paolo/1/stephen.html> [accessed 5 November 2016].

S VIII. Vergós Group, *Altarpiece of Sant Esteve de Granollers*, 1495–1500, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (Place of Origin: Sant Esteve de Granollers, Granollers, parish church)[15]

[15] Images from the altarpiece as well as a reconstruction of the design of the altarpiece can be found in: Joaquim Garriga, 'L'antic retaule major de sant Esteve de Granollers, dels Vergós', *Lauro*, 15 (1998), 15–35. Full colour images can be found on the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya's website.

S IX. *Nativity of St Stephen*, c 1220, Beauvais, Église Saint-Étienne, parish church, central portal of the west façade[16]

S X. Engrand le Prince, *Life of Saint Stephen*, 1524, Beauvais, Église Saint-Étienne, parish church, bay no. 12, the chapel of Saint-Nicolas and Saint-Étienne

[16] This sculpture has been heavily damaged and it is not possible to clearly make out the details that would completely confirm that it included the child substitution motif, i.e. the baby in the cradle has horns, or there is a devil in attendance, in the process of stealing the infant saint. However, there are a number of factors that incline me to believe that a reference was intended: a Nativity of St Stephen that does not refer to child substitution is otherwise unique; the composition of the scene, with isolated child and sleeping mother reflect the other substitution images; and finally, the church also contains a stained glass window from 1524 that references St. Stephen's connection to demonic substitution, indicating either a reference to the portal sculpture or at least an indication that the story was known in the area at a later date.

Saint Bartholomew

Manuscripts

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 1116, fols. 166–68 (Flemish text, fifteenth century)[17] (BrB, MS 1116)

Texts

Ortigues, Miquel, 'Cobles Fetes En Laor Del Glorios Sent Berthomeu', in *Cançoner Sagrat de Vides de Sants*, ed. by Jaume Massó and Raymond Fouclhé-Delbosc (Barcelona: Societat Catalana de Bibliòfils, 1912)[18] (Place of Origin: Valencia, between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries)

Images

B I. Lorenzo di Niccolò, *Panel Representing St Bartholomew and Stories from His Life*, 1401, San Gimignano, Civic Picture Gallery of San Gimignano[19]

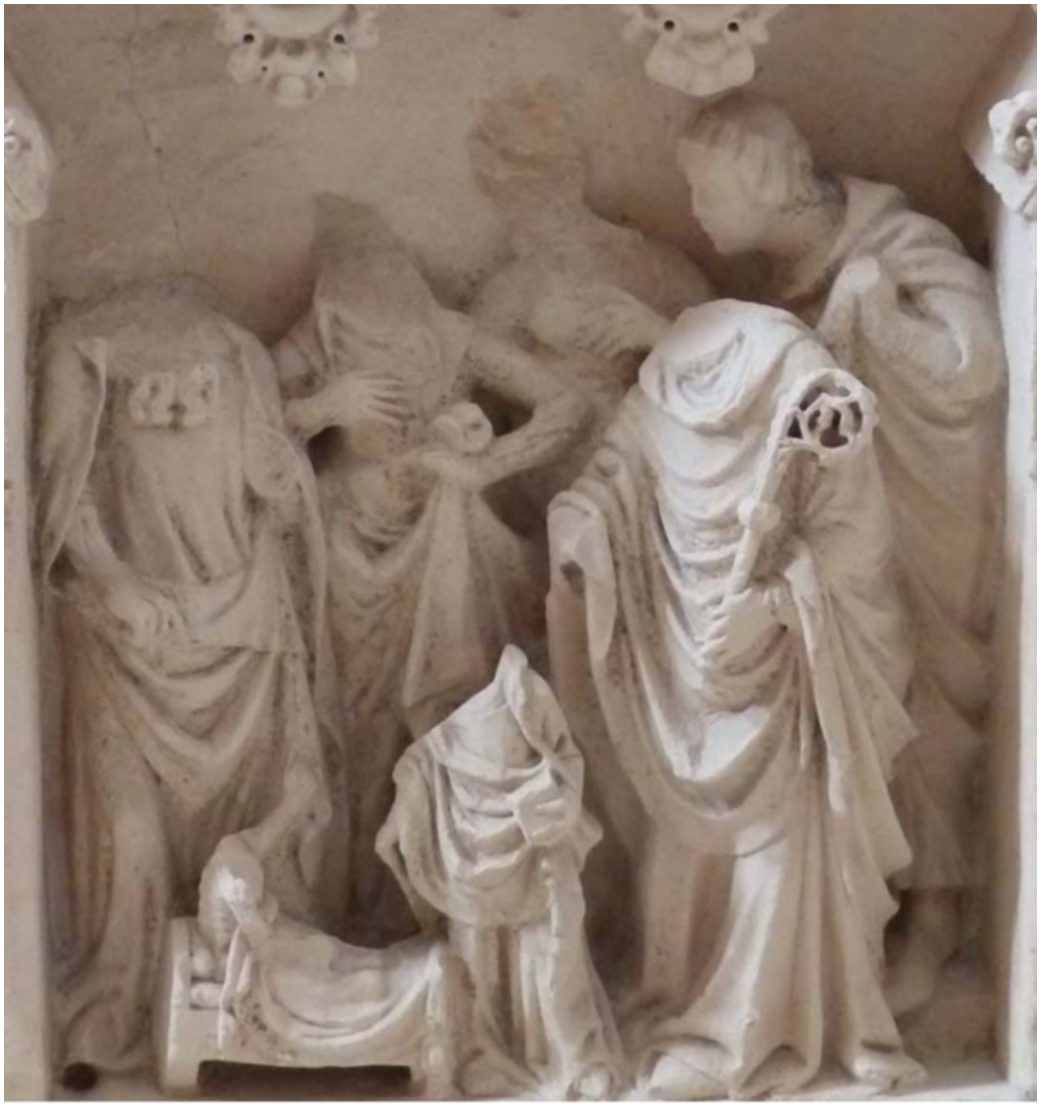
[17] De Gaiffier and Tervarent, pp. 17–20; *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique: Histoire — hagiographie*, ed. by Joseph van den Gheyn, 13 vols (Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1905), V, pp. 398–400.

[18] Until recently the *Cançoner Sagrat de Vides de Sants* had not received much scholarly attention. For the *Cançoner* in general, see: Sergi Barceló Trigueros, 'L'estil i La Llengua de Miquel Ortigues Al Cançoner Sagrat de Vides de Sants', *Scripta*, 2 (2013), 61–83; Martínez Romero, Tomàs, 'Creación y devoción en cancioneros catalanes: El Cançoner sagrat de vides de sants', *Revista de poética medieval*, 28 (2014), 77–92; Sergi Barceló Trigueros, 'L'estil i La Llengua de Miquel Ortigues Al Cançoner Sagrat de Vides de Sants', *Scripta*, 2 (2013), 61–83. For an edition and discussion of 'Cobles Fetes En Laor Del Glorios Sent Berthomeu' specifically, see: Beresford, Andrew, 'Composición Poética y Las Fuentes Del «Cançoner Sagrat de Vides de Sants»: Sobre La Construcción de La Santidad En Las «Cobles Fetes En Laor Del Gloriós Sent Berthomeu»', *Studia Aurea*, 11 (2017), 179–203.

[19] Images from the cycle can be found in: George Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Saints in Italian Art, vol. 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1952), p. 139. An image of the panel depicting the saint's birth and substitution as well as an image of the whole altarpiece can be found in the Alinari Archives, Image ID ACA-F-066445-0000 and ACA-F-037221-0000 respectively.

B II. *Tomb of King Pedro I of Portugal (d. 1367)*, c. 1360, Alcobaça, transept of Alcobaça (Cistercian Abbey)[20]

[20] Sousa and Rosas.



B III. Master of Santa Coloma de Queralt, *Retable of Saint Bartholomew*, fourteenth century (c. 1360), Tarragona, Museu Diocesà de Tarragona[21] (place of origin: Metropolitan Cathedral-Basilica of Saint Mary, while under Augustine rule)

[21] De Gaiffier and Tervarent, figs 11 & 12. Now in the Museu Diocesà de Tarragona.

B IV. Felipe Bigarny, *Altarpiece of the devotion to Saint Bartholomew*, 1514, Burgos, Church of San Lesmes (place of origin: Commissioned for the altar of the confraternity of Saint Bartholomew, in the Church of Saint Stephen in Burgos)

B V. [Unknown artist], *El Retaule de Sant Bartomeu*, c. 1400, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (place of origin: unknown, but from the tradition of late Romanesque and proto-Gothic)

B VI. [Unknown artist], *Panel depicting the discovery of Saint Bartholomew*, late medieval, Durham, Bishop Auckland (place of origin: originally from Burgos Cathedral)

Saint Lawrence

Manuscripts[22]
Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.ch.q. 89 (Gesta Romanorum), fols. 113r–15v (Latin text, fifteenth century)
Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Mscr.Dresd.M.55 (Latin text, 1470)
Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, Cod. Pomersfeld. 2793 (Latin text, fifteenth century)

Images

[22] Hermann Oesterly incorporates the following manuscripts into his edition of the early life of Saint Lawrence, due to the manuscripts being either unavailable or unreadable, I have translated and used Oesterly's edition for my research: Oesterley, I, pp. 614–16. My translation can be found in the Appendix.

L I. Union Master, *Childhood of Saint Lawrence*, 1425–50, Undløse, Undløse Church, parish church dedicated to St Lawrence of Rome[23]

[23] Images of these frescoes and the restoration process are held in the National Museum of Denmark's online digital collection. The images are extensive but as an example, the ID of the restored fresco of Saint Lawrence's childhood is: 170198.

Appendix 3

Table 4: Socio-political Accusations of Child Substitution

Supposed Changeling	Accuser	Date	Location	Source	Context	Story
Son of Stephen of Bayeux	Ulberga of Martragny	late 1060s	Bayeux, Normandy	Charter from Jumièges[1]	William the Conqueror rules Normandy and England. A man called Stephen inherits a substantial amount of land and property from his uncle, he makes his supposed son heir to his allodial property [land free of obligations to a lord]	When Stephen's original heir dies, his wife Oringa rents the son of a woman named Ulberga of Martragny to be substituted in place of the original boy. After both Stephen and Oringa die, Ulberga claims her child and is vindicated in court after undergoing trial by hot iron.
Walter of Vladslo's son	Walter of Vladslo's wife	Shortly after, September 17th–October 8th 1127	Flanders	Galbert of Bruges' *The Murder, Betrayal and Assassination of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders* [2]	On the 2nd of March, 1127, Count Charles the Good of Flanders was hacked to death by a group of knights while praying in the church of St. Donatian in Bruges. Galbert states that Walter of Vladslo was aware of the plot and had married his supposed son into the family who masterminded the assassination.	When her original son died in childbirth, Walter's wife paid a shoemakers wife to exchange her infant with the dead baby.[3]

[1] Latin original: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I, 1066–1087*, ed. by David Bates (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 530–33, no. 162. English translation: '9. A Substituted Child, Normandy, Eleventh Century', in *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, ed. by Patricia Skinner and Elisabeth van Houts (London: Penguin Classics, 2011).

[2] Latin original: Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione Gloriosi Karoli comitis flandriarum*, ed. by Jeff Rider, Corpus Christianorum, 131 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1994). English translations: '8. Faked Pregnancies and Substituted Children: Galbert of Bruges on Walter of Vladsloo, Flanders, Early Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, ed. by Elisabeth van Houts and Patricia Skinner (London: Penguin Classics, 2011); Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder, Betrayal, and Slaughter of the Glorious Charles, Count of Flanders*, trans. by Jeff Rider (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 144.

[3] Further discussion of the case can be found, here: Jeff Rider and Alan V. Murray, *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), pp. 134–35.

Edward II	John Powderham	11th or 24th June 1318	King's Hall in Oxford	Multiple chronicle sources[4]	England on the brink of civil war. Negotiations between the king and his cousin Thomas, Earl of Lancaster taking place.[5]	Chronicle accounts vary in details. Many state that Powderham claimed to be the true Edward II. Some further detailed his claim that, as an infant, he had been injured in his cradle by a sow or fire and his nurses had substituted another infant, often the son of an *auriga*.
Pedro I, King of Castille and Leon	Enrique Trastámara	1350–1369	Castille and Leon, Portugal, and France	*Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, The Crónica of Pere III [Pedro IV] [6]	Pedro I ruled the kingdom of Castile and Leon from 1350 to 1369. He was the only legitimate, surviving son of Alfonso XI and his wife Maria of Portugal; however, his rule was challenged by his illegitimate half-brother, Enrique Trastámara. Enrique's campaign for the throne took place during the Hundred Years War. Enrique was supported by France and Portugal, and Pedro by England.[7]	The king having warned the queen that if she had another daughter there would be no more children, when Queen Maria had a daughter, she substituted the son of a Jew named Zil.
Jean I (The Posthumous)	Giannino di Guccio	9th October 1356–October 1362	Across Europe, particularly Siena	The deliberation of the Council of Siena of October 22, 1359, the so-	Jean I, who was born after the death of his father Louis X, ruled for five days until his death. Later, during the Hundred years war, Jean II was captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers and this, along	Accounts vary as to the motives and timing of the substitution, but Giannino di Guccio claimed to be the true Jean I, while the baby who died had been the child of Jean I's wet-nurse.[9]

[4] For a comprehensive analysis of this event incorporating both contemporary and later sources, see: Wendy R. Childs, '"Welcome, My Brother": Edward II, John of Powderham and the Chronicles, 1318', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. by Ian Wood and G. A. Loud (London; Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 149–163. See in particular note 2 for a comprehensive citation of the chronicles that mention the incident. Two chronicles that explicitly incorporate the child substitution motif into their telling are: 'Annales Monasterii de Oseneia', in *Annales monastici*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series, xxxvi, 5 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1869), IV, pp. 344–45; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. by E. A. Bond, Rolls Series, xliii, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866), II, pp. 335–36.

[5] Their dispute was rooted in a long and acrimonious history. Edward II had never forgiven Lancaster's involvement in his favourite Gaveston's death and, for his part, in addition to his frustrations with Edward's disregard for the Ordinances of 1311, Lancaster feared a reprisal in kind. In 1317, Lancaster had prevented supplies from reaching the King while he was in York and, in turn, the Kings had been only narrowly dissuaded from attacking Lancaster in Pontefract Castle. For more about the events surrounding Powderham's appearance on the political scene, see:J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 208–29; J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1307–1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 125–77.

[6] Andrew Villalon and Donald Kagay, *To Win and Lose a Medieval Battle: Nájera (April 3, 1367), a Pyrrhic Victory for the Black Prince* (Leiden: BRILL, 2017), pp. 518–19; Pedro IV (King of Aragón), *Chronicle*, ed. by J. N. Hillgarth, trans. by Mary Hillgarth, 2 vols (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), II, p. 492.

[7] For discussions of Pedro' s reign, see among others: Julio Valdeón Baruque, *Pedro I, el Cruel y Enrique de Trastámara: la primera guerra civil española?* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2002); Paulino García Toraño, *El Rey Don Pedro El Cruel y Su Mundo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales, S.A., 1996); Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile: 1350-1369*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1995). Estow provides a survey of the historiography up until the mid-nineties, Estow, pp. xiii–xxxviii. Andrew Villalon and Donald Kagay have produced one of the most recent books to discuss Pedro and the challenges his faced in depth. While the Battle of Nájera is their focus point, their appendices are particularly useful as they contain critical analyses and translations of many of the chronicle sources for Pedro's reign: Villalon and Kagay.

[9] Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, *The Man Who Believed He Was King of France: A True Medieval Tale*, trans. by William McCuaig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

				called Sansedoni Parchment, and the *Istoria Del Re Giannino Di Francia* [8]	with the death of much of the French nobility, threw the kingdom into chaos.	
John of Gaunt	William Wykeham, Bishop of Westminster	Autumn of 1376	London	Thomas Walsingham in his *Chronicon Angliae* [10]	The political crisis of 1376–1377. With both King Edward III and the Black Prince either ill or dying, John of Gaunt was required to respond to the country's increasing frustration with high taxation, court corruption, lack of military success.	Queen Phillipa had confessed to William Wykeham on her death bed that John of Gaunt was in fact the son of a Flemish women substituted for the original royal daughter after the infant's death. Furthermore, she charged Wykeham not to reveal the truth of the matter unless there was a danger of Gaunt ascending to the throne.
	The commons of London	20th February 1377	London	Anonimalle Chronicle [11]		Gaunt accused of being the son of a Flemish butcher, substituted at birth by Queen Philippa for her own dead infant.
Edward of Westminster	John Helton	Shortly prior to 23rd February 1456	London	John Benet's Chronicle [12]	Edward of Westminster was born when his father, Edward VI, was incapacitated. After his birth, tensions between the Duke of York (the previous heir presumptive) and Margeret of Anjou grew, with	'Edwardus princeps non fuit filius regine' (Prince Edward was not the son of the queen).

[8] For the deliberation of the Council of Siena, see: Gusztav Wenzel, '398: I. Lajos magyar király Gianni de Guccio franczia trónpraetendensnek részén. 1359.', in *Magyar diplomaczjiai emlékek az Anjou-Korbol*, Monumenta Hungariae Historica IV. Acta Extera-Diplomáciai emlékek, 2, 3 vols (Budepest: Tud. Akad. Könyvkiado-Hivatalaban, 1875), II, 528–31 (pp. 528–31). The so-called Sansedoni Parchment, already known to Sigismondo Tizio in the sixteenth century, was originally in the possession of the Tolomei. This charter still existed at the end of the nineteenth century, when Maccari was able to examine it in palazzo Sansedoni (see his introduction to the Istoria, pp. xi ff .). Today its whereabouts is unknown. It is published in Cola di Rienzo, *Briefwechsel Des Cola Di Rienzo: Im Auftrage Der Königl. Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften*, ed. by Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur, Vom Mittelalter Zur Reformation: Forschungen Zur Geschichte Der Deutschen Bildung, 2. Bd, 4 vols (Berlin: Wiedmann, 1912), IV, pp. 188 – 94, no. 72; *Istoria del re Giannino di Francia*, ed. by Latino Maccari (Siena: Tip. C. Nava, 1893), pp. 158 – 66. For the *Istoria Del Re Giannino Di Francia*, see: Maccari. For the *Istoria*'s manuscript tradition, see: Maccari, pp. LVIII–LX. The principal manuscript is the fifteenth-century Barberiniani latini 3958 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, a codex donated to cardinal Barberini by Giulio Piccolomini; other late redactions are present in BAV (Chig. G. I. 32 , Chig. Q. I. 27, Chig. Q. I. 28), in Siena (Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, MS A. III. 27 ; MS B. III. 7 ; MS C. IV. 16), in Florence (Biblioteca nazionale, cod. Capponiano 289) and in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Italien 393).

[10] Edward Maunde Thompson, pp. 106–7;

[11] Galbraith, pp. 104–5.

[12] 'John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400 to 1462', in *Camden miscellany*, ed. by G. L. Harriss and M. A. Harriss, Camden fourth series, v. 9 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1972), XXIV, 151–233 (p. 216).

	General Slander	1459–60	Not specified	An English Chronicle [14]	the Duke engaging in a campaign to delegitimise Edward of Westminster. [13]	The queen was defamed and desclaundered that he that was called prince was nat hir sone but a bastard goten in avoutry.'

[14] An English Chronicle, 1377–1461: Edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34, ed. by C. W. Marx, Medieval Chronicles, 3, New ed (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), p. 78.

[13] For details of the campaign to delegitimise Edward of Westminster, see: Maurer; Kristen Geaman, 'A Bastard and a Changeling? England's Edward of Westminster and Delayed Childbirth', in *Unexpected Heirs in Early Modern Europe: Potential Kings and Queens*, ed. by Valerie Schutte, Queenship and Power, 1 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 11–33.

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