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## 1

# The Differentiated Werewolf: An Introduction to Cluster Methodology

*Willem de Blécourt*

There is no werewolf history. At the most there are histories of werewolves, but these are fragmented and discontinuous. The werewolf is not a biological species, nor an afflicted human (although it is often mistaken for one),<sup>1</sup> and one of the problems lies in translation; not all the ‘werewolves’ in different languages can translate into one and the same ‘werewolf’. Werewolves are cultural concepts, and thus not absolute but relative entities that are defined by their contexts. Language is one of these contexts and it cannot be assumed that, for instance, the English *werewolf* is similar to the French *loup-garou*, the German *Werwolf*, the Danish *varulf*, or the Latvian *vilkatis*. Nor can it be assumed that werewolves are associated with *lycanthropy*, a Greek term that by the second century had already become the medical term for a particular affliction. There may be some overlap between different terms, depending on the cluster of expressions of which the individual terms are part; an early cluster does not necessarily represent the ancestry of a later one. I will not attempt here to juxtapose the werewolf with male and female witches, which is only viable in the context of witch trials.<sup>2</sup> Instead, I will restrict my analysis to werewolves and concentrate mainly on groups of texts in which the subject performs.

These clusters, or culturally specific werewolf genres, are not necessarily the same, even for speakers of the same language. On the other hand, clusters can sometimes transcend language boundaries. If those who speak different languages share the image of a human being who, during a full moon, changes into a wolf or something resembling a wolf, and who often acquires his characteristics after having been bitten by a another werewolf, then they may refer to a similar kind of werewolf concept. In that case they are all influenced by the same American and, to a lesser extent, British films.<sup>3</sup> Today’s werewolves are mainly known from visual media aimed at an adolescent public: films such as the *Harry Potter* and the *Twilight* series; television shows like *Being Human*, *True Blood*, *Teen Wolf*, or *Wolfblood*.<sup>4</sup> One of the consequences of this visibility is that, especially in the United States of America, the subject of present-day werewolf narratives is above all to do

with their sightings rather than physical attacks.<sup>5</sup> But cinematic werewolves have their own history, which is quite different from the werewolf histories in learned tracts or oral traditions, which are the subject of this book.

In the following I will identify several clusters in which werewolves occur and can be understood.<sup>6</sup> I approach them through the local terms, rather than in an etymological sense, as I am more interested in the use of language than their (sometimes speculative) origin. Moreover, 'werewolf' is usually explained as a combination of 'wolf' and 'wer', the latter meaning man (from the Latin *vir*).<sup>7</sup> On closer inspection this is unsatisfactory, because historically 'wer' was only prefixed to wolf, but never to other animals whose shape man was known to change into; and the combination of two words from different language groups appears fabricated. 'Wer' is better understood as deriving from the Anglo-Saxon 'warg' (Old Norse *vargr*), which led to the French *garou*. If 'wer' was related to *vir*, then one would expect it to exist in a romanic language like French. Italians use *lupu mannaro*, the last word deriving ostensibly from the German 'man'. Literarily meaning 'strangler', 'warg' indicated someone outside the 'world', a socially deviant outsider; more specifically, a criminal and an outcast.<sup>8</sup> In this way the werewolf is opposed to socially integrated wolves, men with names like Beowulf, Rudolf, Ulf, or Wolfgang.<sup>9</sup> In Christian thought and early Bible translations, the werewolf (*werewolf*) was associated with or synonymous with the devil.

There is no academic history of werewolves. The corpus of reliable studies containing either a general overview or specific details of the werewolf's history is still very small and not always available in English.<sup>10</sup> Earlier books that have been reprinted are often badly out-dated.<sup>11</sup> Other books are squarely within the popular realm and only of limited use for informing present-day opinion.<sup>12</sup> In recent decades monster studies have emerged and witchcraft history has proliferated. Both contain references to werewolves, albeit profoundly different werewolves. In the recent *Research Companion to Monsters*, for instance, werewolves figure mostly in enumerations; they are merely analysed in a discussion of hyper-masculinity, in which modern films are irresponsibly linked to medieval literature.<sup>13</sup> The *Handbook of Witchcraft* only mentions the prosecution of werewolves in passing: one in early-modern France and some in the Netherlands and Hungary.<sup>14</sup> Werewolves on their own have not yet become a genuine subject of academic historical study; this is a first attempt to do so. While considering the werewolves of Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, two specific fields are targeted in this book: werewolf trials and werewolf legends. These are particularly rich in material and share slightly more characteristics than, for instance, twentieth-century traditional werewolf legends and films.

This volume marks the transition from popular werewolf publications to academic historical studies. But at the same time this requires some level of engagement with the arguments of popular writers. For instance, it needs to be explained why the motif of the full moon is a modern invention,

since historical sources do not mention it as an instigator of metamorphosis.<sup>15</sup> In the material considered in this book the werewolf is mostly a nocturnal creature, and there is only a very rare story in which the moon enables somebody to observe a werewolf.<sup>16</sup> The full ‘werewolf moon’ has entered twentieth-century consciousness primarily through werewolf films, although even the history of werewolf films is sometimes ambiguous: there is, for instance, no full moon in the influential *The Wolf Man* of 1941, but only in its 1943 sequel *Frankenstein meets the Wolf Man*. Nevertheless the full moon, together with the other cinematic motif of the contagious bite, was already featured in *The Werewolf of London* of 1935 and before that in werewolf fiction such as Gerald Biss’s, *The Door of the Unreal* (1919). Because of its intertextuality, moon lore can be considered a special modern werewolf cluster. Another cluster relates to the exaggerated amount of werewolf trials, which is discussed below.

In addition to fictional werewolves in novels, films and television series, several other potential werewolf clusters are excluded from this book. Issues of mutual coherence, or the absence of it, are already complex enough with regard to the current presentations, which are organised around ‘genuine’, albeit largely ascribed, werewolves, in contrast to the imaginary ones of literature. When (especially early) literary texts do figure in this volume, it is to penetrate the historical concepts underneath. Werewolves in early-modern trials had some counter-presence in everyday life, although the precise degree is certainly open to discussion. Some of the later legends about werewolves were first and foremost narratives rather than related to experiences, such as the Werewolf Husband (or Lover), which was meant to be an admonition against improper liaisons.<sup>17</sup> This tale was about a woman who was attacked by a werewolf when her male companion was away; she later recognised him as her attacker by the threads of her clothing stuck between his teeth. These stories were, however, embedded in oral exchanges about experiences with werewolves and advice on how to deal with them. Above all, the werewolves of everyday life were part of the outlook of many people; they were the subject of many similar yet subtly varied texts, as opposed to the unique and singular texts of literature. Admittedly, while this may serve as an argument to largely ignore the medieval werewolves of the romances and lays,<sup>18</sup> it is less convincing when it comes to the lycanthropes of medical history.<sup>19</sup> These, however, are not only very diverse, but they have nothing more in common with the early-modern werewolves than that they were thought to be men who became (and sometimes stayed) wolves. They certainly constitute separate clusters.

In the remainder of this introduction, I will contextualise estimates of the number of werewolf trials and set them against the main overview of historical publications of werewolf trials from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. I will then discuss nineteenth- and twentieth-century legend texts, illustrating them with the results of fieldwork in Belgium. This leaves the

eighteenth century as a historiographical gap, yet to be filled. A very brief discussion of the following chapters in this book can be found at the end.

## Mythic numbers

Amateur werewolf history has evolved around a small number of mostly French cases. In 1865 the folklorist Sabine Baring-Gould included in his *The Book of Were-Wolves* 'A Chapter of Horrors', in which he described the 1521 trial of Bourgot and Verdung, the 1573 trial of Garnier, and those trials which took place in late sixteenth-century Franche-Comté, as reported in Boguet's *Discours de Sorciers*. Baring-Gould closed his chapter with reports of the tailor of Châlons and the 1598 Angers case of Roulet.<sup>20</sup> This survey was based on printed sources rather than on trial records; in 1933 Montague Summers provided a more extensive description on the basis of similar source material, mainly by adding details to these cases.<sup>21</sup> The next chapter in Baring-Gould's book, dedicated to Jean Grenier, was based on the work of Pierre de Lancre.<sup>22</sup> Apart from the six trials mentioned above, French werewolf prosecutions were reported in Orléans (1583), Rennes (1598) and Grenoble (1603);<sup>23</sup> but they have not found much resonance in werewolf publications.

In the 1970s, when a previously unparalleled spate of popular werewolf publications hit the market, new trial figures began to circulate. The sociologists Bill and Claire Russell found 21 cases in Summers' book detailed enough for them to analyse.<sup>24</sup> They also suggested that 'some 200 human werewolves' were supposedly burned 'at Labour'. This last figure is copied from a 1950s witchcraft publication.<sup>25</sup> Psychiatric papers of the 1980s alleged the even higher number of 600. 'Collective psychoses', as their authors put it, resulted 'in the execution of 600 people suffering lycanthropic syndromes in France during the Middle Ages'. This was said to have been accomplished by one man: 'Boguet (...) is reported to have condemned 600 sufferers to death'.<sup>26</sup>

At about the same time the exorbitant figure of 30,000 werewolves entered the public domain. According to several authors 'some 30,000 cases' were recorded in France between 1520 and 1630. Although not a single new case was published in support of it, this sensational figure appears to have stuck in the popular imagination. In Patricia Cornwell's crime novel *The Last Precinct*, a chief medical examiner discusses a werewolf murderer with a public prosecutor. The latter asks: 'Was he influenced by the French serial killer Gilles Garnier, who killed little boys and ate them and bayed at the moon? There were a lot of so-called werewolves in France during the Middle Ages. Some thirty thousand people charged with it, can you imagine?'<sup>27</sup> Novelists do not have to reveal their sources; but in this case that would have made little difference, for these are highly dubious. It may be deduced from the use of the word 'charged', that Cornwell probably found her information in Brad

Steiger's *Werewolf Book*; the moon and the Middle Ages are part of modern American werewolf lore. The figure of 30,000 also pops up in Rosalyn Greene's *The Magic of Shapeshifting* (1990), a New Age book that teaches its readers how to use their so-called 'animal medicine' to embark on a spiritual journey. 'We know', she writes, 'that "30,000 cases of lycanthropy were reported to secular and church officials between 1520 and 1630" in Europe. Thirty thousand in just about a century!' She refers to a book about the moon.<sup>28</sup> The medical anthropologist Cecil Helman also accepted the figure uncritically and likewise gave the locality as 'Europe', English shorthand for France.<sup>29</sup> The sources used by both Cornwell and Greene are based on newspaper articles and Helman quotes a popular medical weekly. Historical research is eclipsed here by (sloppy) journalism.<sup>30</sup> The modification to the word 'charged' was relatively new, as in earlier encyclopaedic publications the verb 'recorded' was used.<sup>31</sup> In his entry on 'Explanations for werewolves' Steiger even goes beyond 'charged' to 'condemned', a hasty conclusion that can also be encountered in the preface of an anthology of werewolf short stories.<sup>32</sup> Thus, in an encyclopaedia it is stated that 'In France *more* than 30,000 people were *executed* between 1520 and 1630 as suspected werewolves'.<sup>33</sup> The earliest appearance of this figure dates from the early 1970s; it is not mentioned in any previous publication on werewolves or witch trials. Since there was no project in France around 1970 to draw up a register of all the werewolf trials, the figure is as fantastic as that of the 9,000,000 witches supposedly burnt in Europe;<sup>34</sup> which is actually a logistical impossibility.

Boguet's figure of 600 alluded to witches rather than werewolves. As with the earlier 200, the figure of 30,000 can be traced back to the work of Pierre de Lancre and it may indeed have been considered a correction of it. It can be found in de Lancre's *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* from 1611. However, the figure 30,000 does not directly refer to werewolves (and is in that sense not entered in the pre-1970 witchcraft historiography), but to the estimated number of 'souls' (inhabitants) of the Pays de Labourd. De Lancre followed this with: 'among these people there is hardly a family which does not have anything to do with witchcraft'.<sup>35</sup> For him every Labourdin may have been a witch and every witch may have been capable of shape-shifting. But, that is no reason to grossly inflate an official report that was accepted by the church and the state from the opinion of one man; or, for that matter, to magically magnify the small Labourd into the whole of France. Neither is there any reason to conclude that the shape-shifting witches were considered to be werewolves. The witches were primarily women (since most of the time men were fishing at sea) who could change into dogs and cats, into pigs and horses, or into a raven or a hare.<sup>36</sup> Their crime, as de Lancre perceived it, was being in league with the devil and holding witches' sabbats, rather than devouring children whose remains were found scattered over the countryside. Reconstructing the rationale behind the designated period 1520–1630 is slightly tricky. The first year was

probably chosen because it preceded the first known French trial of 1521. But 1630 seems puzzling: if derived from de Lancre's book, it should have been 1610. As there was no major werewolf trial in 1630 (at least that was known in 1970), nor a new French werewolf treatise, it is possible that the author, as yet anonymous, based the date on 1631, the year de Lancre died. The number of werewolf trials in France (Burgundy included) has never been properly counted, but based on the current state of research, 50 would not be an unreasonable estimate.

The numbers displayed by demonologists such as Boguet and de Lancre should not be taken at face value, but be understood within their own contexts. They were part of the political argument in defence of prosecutions as well as the position of the author. Boguet, who was the 'grand judge' of St Claude in Franche Comté from 1596 to 1611, sentenced to death 28 (not 600) of the 35 people he had tried for witchcraft, of whom four more subsequently died in prison.<sup>37</sup> In 1612 the *Parlement* of Dole, which had previously upheld Boguet's judgements, changed its policy and overruled him. Because he aspired to become a member of the *Parlement* himself, in which aim he only succeeded in 1618, he withdrew his book *Discours exécrationnelle* from the printer when it was due for another reprint. This was a clear indication that he was willing to adapt his publicly voiced opinion on witches and werewolves to the then dominant judicial climate in France. De Lancre was less flexible. As far as can be ascertained the number of his convictions for witchcraft was neither 600 nor 200, but just over 80. In 1609 he was commissioned by the king to investigate the threat of witchcraft to the state in the south-western Basque part of France, but the chairman of the *Parlement* was also appointed, apparently to rein him in.<sup>38</sup> As Gerhild Williams points out, de Lancre went into the Labourd as a devout Catholic and a representative of the state, but also as an obvious party in a political conflict ('local jealousies and battles for border control') and as a traveller fascinated by the strange and repugnant customs of people whose language he could not understand. That he denounced as a witch nearly everyone in the region he investigated was a gross overreaction. Thus, his advice was ignored instead of drawing attention to the witchcraft problem that had become of central importance in de Lancre's life. The futility of his efforts became clear the following year when new judges were appointed to deal with the dozens of witches, who, thanks to de Lancre, were overcrowding the prison in Bordeaux. Most of these women were sent home when new rules of evidence were applied.<sup>39</sup>

The book de Lancre wrote about his Labourd episode was a rearguard action, and as Alfred Soman concludes: its 'bickering style (...) shows him to have been hopelessly out of touch with dominant judicial attitudes'.<sup>40</sup> It is perhaps apt to suggest that de Lancre knew the prevailing opinions very well. In the case of werewolves, he published what turned out to be the two paradigmatic verdicts. In 1599 the *Parlement* of Paris, to which Roulet had



appealed, ruled that the appellant should be sent to a madhouse. De Lancre himself was a member of the Bordeaux *Parlement* it was decided in 1603 that Jean Grenier should spend the rest of his life in a monastery.<sup>41</sup>

## The Lorey list

The most complete list of European criminal trials of werewolves to date has been compiled by the German journalist and writer Elmar Lorey.<sup>42</sup> He based it mainly on disparate publications and ordered it chronologically; the last version contains about 280 names of accused. While his enumeration also lists related though not similar concepts – such as, wolf-riding and wolf-banning – Lorey drew a line at slander cases, formal complaints by people who were called ‘werewolf’ by others, and the registers of fines levied at slanderers.<sup>43</sup> The list far exceeds the number of previously known cases, especially for the seventeenth century. The peak year is 1630, with 15 cases, mostly from Nassau and Sauerland. But in the second half of the seventeenth century more than 60 people, men as well as women, were still prosecuted as werewolves in northern and mid-Germany, and some in Flanders, the Franche Comté, Switzerland and Austria. Lorey’s list also unearths the occasional oddity, such as the story about the man who was given a bean by the devil with the advice to plant it in the head of a murdered person. The new bean made the man invisible. His devil had also equipped him with a belt which made him change into a wolf, in which shape he did much harm to people and cattle. The subsequent trial in Paderborn dates from 1598; both the reference to invisibility and the criminal’s roasted head displayed above a wooden wolf,<sup>44</sup> fit into the reception of the Stump trial of 1589.

A list compiled from published material is likely to contain some debatable entries as the choice will always be in favour of inclusion. For 1532, for instance, two unnamed men in Besançon are mentioned, who were found in Joseph Hansen’s survey of the witch trials of 1900 rather than in his source collection.<sup>45</sup> In all likelihood this is a mistake and the year should be 1521, since nobody else refers to the case; in 1901 Hansen included the trial of 1521 rather than that of 1533.<sup>46</sup> In 1581 a shepherd called Petronius from a place called ‘Dalheim’ was prosecuted, a case which is traced back to the Guazzo compilation *Compendium Maleficarum* but not to its source, Nicolas Rémy; which would have made it clear that a place in Lotharingen (Lorraine) was intended rather than Dalheim in Germany.<sup>47</sup> The entry for the year 1588 figures a case concerning a woman from Apchon in the Auvergne which is elsewhere dated at 1558; this is not so much a trial than a story about a cut-off paw which ends up on the pyre. According to the second edition of Boguet’s *Discours* the year is indeed 1588.<sup>48</sup> In 1591 a rather imaginative pamphlet appeared that told about the prosecution of 300 witches as werewolves in Jülich (Germany); it features in the list between square brackets, as no independent sources have been located, but it can be better

comprehended as a part of the media hype after the Stump trial. These minor adjustments are partly due to mistakes made by Summers.

In an extensive discussion of the available historical werewolf treatises, though not of the present-day scholarship, Lorey has attempted to explain how the werewolf became demonised and liable to prosecution.<sup>49</sup> The debatable entries in his list do not play a role here. This essay provides both the counterpoint to Lorey's trial list and the frame in which he wants the judicial procedures understood. Early occurrences during the Swiss trials led Lorey to conclude that a werewolf (*warou*) was taken as a matter of fact in everyday life, without much concern about the influence of the devil. Theorists needed a change of mindset to accept the reality of animal metamorphosis, and thereby the culpability of the perpetrators, where they had previously considered it as despicable 'superstition'. This development can be traced through the French demonologists Nicolaus Jacquier and Petrus Mamoris, before it was taken up by Heinrich Kramer (aka Institoris) in his *Malleus Malificarum* of the late fifteenth-century. It culminated a century later in Jean Bodin's argument about the responsible mind, to which the now physically deemed possible metamorphosis was subject. More importantly, however, Lorey fails to discuss why around 1600 French authors, such as Claude Prieur, Jean Beauvois de Chauvincourt and Jean de Nynauld, reverted to the medical approach of lycanthropy, while Bodin continued to be relevant in Germany.<sup>50</sup>

In order to be workable the list needs to be rearranged into geographical clusters. When transposed onto a map (and corrected), it becomes obvious how particular trials, such as the one concerning Grenier in 1573–1574 or the 1589 one of Peter Stump, spread the notion that werewolves could be prosecuted (Figure 7.2). Afterwards, other men were accused of cannibalism as well as grave sexual misconduct; while their metamorphosis seems not to have been a crime in itself it facilitated their other actions. (Or, conversely one could argue that the prosecution of a devil-induced change was less complex than a charge of sexual crimes.) Already in mid fifteenth-century Switzerland cannibalism was understood as the *lupo moro*. From the Alps these trials had spread to Burgundy.<sup>51</sup> In the late sixteenth century they crossed over into the Rhineland, from where they spread further into Germany.<sup>52</sup> They gained in number as part of the ideological rift between Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Werewolf accusations only partly followed the paradigm of the Stump case of late 1589: sometimes it was adapted; on other occasions the concept was reinvented. In the course of the seventeenth century the accusations often became incorporated into larger witch trials. It can be concluded that the trial of Stump, usually the only German werewolf known to an English public,<sup>53</sup> was pivotal yet far from typical. In combination with the intellectual arguments, it could also be said that the work of Bodin contributed to this development. Sources for slander, if available, will document

the geographical distribution much better than criminal trials, as insults show the occurrence of ‘werewolves’ in daily speech, rather than in the rarer judicial cases.

The list also figures ten trials from Lorraine, mostly from the first two decades of the seventeenth century; these are excerpted from the work of Robin Briggs.<sup>54</sup> In comparison to Grenier or Stump, they show the other end of the range of trials. In early seventeenth-century Lorraine the werewolf concept was vague and featured among witnesses rather than judges. As Briggs observed: ‘The werewolf theme is merely hinted at in most of the Lorraine trials where attacks by wolves on animals are mentioned’. While witnesses testified they had seen, or thought they had seen, the accused in the form of a wolf, several of the latter simply denied it or replied that it had been their ‘master’, meaning a personal devil. Around 1600, herdsmen in the east of Lorraine were also familiar with the motif.<sup>55</sup> Whether the ‘master’s’ habit of providing ointment to affect the change had also filtered down to the popular level remains open to discussion.

Lorey’s list makes it clear that previous authors, proceeding from what they found in the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century theoretical

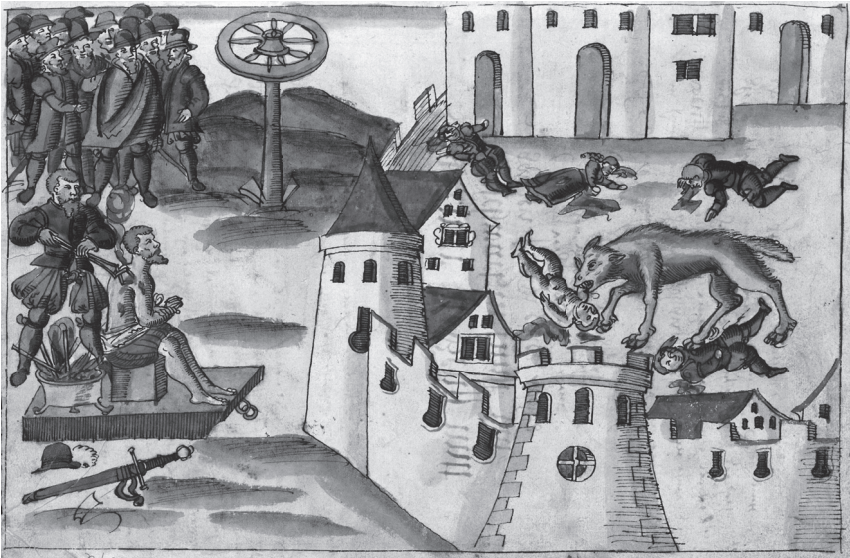


Figure 1.1 In Geneva a man killed 16 children when he had changed himself into a wolf; he was executed on 15 October 1580. Coloured pen drawing, Johann Jakob Wick, *Sammlung von Nachrichten zur Zeitgeschichte aus den Jahren 1560–1587*, ms. F 29, fol. 167v. With permission from the Zentral Bibliothek Zürich. The right hand side of the image is reminiscent of the earlier lycanthrope in the woodcut by Lucas Cranach; the execution on the left side anticipates the Stump pamphlet (see Figure 7.2)

works, only caught the edge of the werewolf trials and confined themselves primarily to France. They largely missed the fifteenth-century Alpine origin and its seventeenth-century German continuation. Research into the French trial reports of the regional courts, or *parlements*, reveals not only more trials, but also different levels of intensity of persecution; Normandy, with its excess of shepherd male witches, did not have a werewolf ‘problem’; something that is difficult to incorporate into a list.<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere, for example in central Germany, a particular group among the werewolves consisted of shepherds, as when their attempts to magically ban wolves backfired.<sup>57</sup> The total number of prosecuted werewolves in Europe probably did not exceed several hundred.

### Werewolf legends

A number of modern stories and films depict Eastern Europe as the werewolf’s cradle. This image is more the result of a specific kind of American folklore, which conflates werewolves and vampires, than of a specific regional tradition. The folklorist Harry Senn indeed starts his Romanian field-work report with the remark that ‘in the contemporary American mind’ werewolves and vampires are placed in ‘the Transylvania mountains and forests of Romania’ but he does little to rectify this misconception.<sup>58</sup> The presence in his material of the wolf leader (*‘strigoi de lup’*), who mostly predates the werewolf tradition and only rarely became part of it, nevertheless points to the relatively recent arrival of werewolf tales. What is more, a yield of almost 50 percent rather uniform Werewolf Husband versions within the total corpus of ‘werewolf’ texts either indicates superficial field work or, as in the Belgium province of Antwerp, a marginal werewolf tradition.<sup>59</sup> Other Romanian werewolf motifs are weak, mixed up with witchcraft themes, such as sucking milk from animals. Another witch theme is that *‘Tricoli’* (men changed into pigs rather than wolves) had to be wounded with a pitchfork for the wound to be visible once they were back in human form. These findings, carefully gleaned from Senn’s material but not explicitly stated by him, are supported by the research of Germanist Inge Sommer in the same area. According to her, the Romanian *‘Prikulitsch’* (shape-changer) legends only multiplied in the twentieth century.<sup>60</sup> This Romanian equivalent of the werewolf is hardly aggressive and the transformation is a result of fate rather than volition; belts or skins do not figure.<sup>61</sup>

There is thus every reason to accept the Werewolf Husband, or indeed most of the Romanian werewolf tradition, as a weak import from Germany. Germans had after all settled in Transylvania, or ‘Siebenbürgen’, since the Middle Ages and at one point the legend must have reached them.<sup>62</sup> A similar process occurred in neighbouring countries. Hungarians ‘adapted’ the werewolf ‘from the folk beliefs of their neighbors’: that is, again, primarily

from Germans.<sup>63</sup> Among the Serbs and Croats '*vukodlak*' may literally mean 'wolf's hair'; but the creature behaves more like a vampire than a werewolf, or else it is a vampire transformed into a wolf; there is no evidence that the word 'has ever meant werewolf in the English sense'.<sup>64</sup> At least this calls for a thorough re-examination of eastern European 'werewolf' texts as they seem to be on the periphery, rather than in the centre, of werewolf lore. More to the north, the folklorist Oskar Loorits found that werewolf motifs in Baltic Estonia took a subordinate position within the legend material. Under German influence they had become fashionable and indeed popular but never affected the indigenous belief system. Popular legends, such as the Gift to the Werewolf and the Wedding Guests on the other hand, were in Loorits' opinion taken from the Russians.<sup>65</sup>

In western Europe werewolf legends seem more indigenous. Traces of werewolf trials also turn up occasionally in nineteenth- and twentieth-century oral traditions. As told in the German Westeifel, a rare werewolf priest who had been attacking cattle was finally caught. 'They made a pyre, put the priest on it and burned him. That happened in Auw near Manderfeld. That really happened. The ancestors said so'.<sup>66</sup> In a story from Mecklenburg a werewolf is injured by an axe and that same evening a woodcutter's brother, who is found to be wounded, is handed over to the authorities and burned. The same narrator told a version of the legend of the Werewolf Husband, which ends in a trial after the werewolf is finally given away by the threads between his teeth: 'She denounced him to the judge and he made him burn'.<sup>67</sup> In another version from Luxembourg, involving a werewolf father revealed to his children by the fibres in his mouth, it is related: 'The shepherd was burned and his ashes were thrown to the wind'.<sup>68</sup> It is necessary, however, to be cautious about details of this kind, as convictions were unlikely on the basis of only a warning narrative. Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that stories were handed down unchanged over the centuries. Some indeed had disappeared altogether; of the sixteenth-century stories that were so eagerly quoted in learned publications, no trace remained after 250 years.<sup>69</sup> The story from Luxembourg is derived from a manuscript source and the author might well have added the reference to the trial. Nineteenth-century legend texts in particular were usually augmented and polished by collectors and editors. The prototype text of the werewolf legend, published by the brothers Grimm, concerns a man who devours a foal, already incorporates a reference to a werewolf trial, and is taken from a demonological source.<sup>70</sup> Early modern texts sometimes even ended up published in their entirety in legend collections. The seventeenth-century pamphlet about the 'werewolf' of Ansbach (who, strictly speaking, was not a werewolf) has been incorporated into twentieth-century legend collections, without any indication that the tale ever circulated orally.<sup>71</sup> If the other examples above represent the genuine reminiscences of people interviewed by folklorists, trials were only remembered by remarkably

few. In the legends from Hesse, where trials occurred earlier, they are not mentioned. Only the devil appears there ‘sporadically’ as provider of the werewolf’s skin or belt.<sup>72</sup>

In most cases werewolf legends can only be traced back one or two generations. In a tale from Waldeck the narrator’s grandfather had met a werewolf. The grandfather was at a loss what to do and hurled his spade at the beast. He missed and the spade flew over the werewolf. By chance this was fortunate, for after the implement had passed over him, the werewolf was stripped naked and turned out to be a neighbour, who begged not to be revealed.<sup>73</sup> A story from Lower Saxony about a werewolf belt begins with the statement: ‘Grandfather told me this when I was still a boy’. In another tale from the same region are the words: ‘I remember the stories old people told me, when I was still a boy, about fifty years ago, that in their youth the werewolf still roamed about’.<sup>74</sup> An informant from the Eifel area said: ‘I did not experience this myself, I’ve got it from the stories of my father’.<sup>75</sup> Earlier generations could, of course, have in their turn heard the tale from their parents or grandparents; indeed, in the first example from Lower Saxony about the werewolf’s belt, the narrator says exactly that. Most of the time this is unlikely, though, since the reference is not to something a father or a grandfather heard, but to something they had experienced. Such glimpses into a continuing tradition are no proof of unchanged content. If these examples suggest anything, it is that tales were transmitted primarily from men to men. The problem is that folklorists did not always ask about the origin of a tale and if informants mentioned it of their own accord, it could have been a rhetorical device. This may well have been the case with the Lower Saxony story, that was set four generations in the past. It is more elaborate than most legends, and thus in all probability it was told by an experienced storyteller. Its content, about a king who puts on a werewolf belt and has to be freed from it, is more anecdotal than legendary and there are no known parallels.

The notion of obtaining a werewolf’s belt or skin from a pact with the devil illustrates several of the issues in contention. In seventeenth-century trials the devil always plays a role, yet in the legends he hardly appears. In the 1960s, in the Dutch hamlet of Gendt, south-east of Arnhem, the collector Dinnissen found only one informant, who mentioned that a werewolf had ‘made a promise to the devil’ and then was thrown a werewolf’s skin down the chimney, even though Dinnissen had interviewed everyone appropriate.<sup>76</sup> Engelbert Heupers, whose research covered the whole Dutch province of Utrecht and parts of neighbouring Guelders, found only a few people who said that werewolfing was ‘something of the devil, worse than witching’.<sup>77</sup> The Flemish folklorist Roeck considered this a typical Catholic motif, since it was also prevalent in French-speaking areas.<sup>78</sup> As it turns out, the most detailed Dutch werewolf stories featuring a devil stem from a small



area around Catholic Maastricht. Dutch museologist Coen Eggen heard the following from a schoolmaster:

If one wanted to become werewolf, one had to go at night to a certain cross-road, with a black chicken that had to be slaughtered there. Then a black coach would appear, drawn by black horses, and out would step a man, again in black: the devil. The applicant obtained a belt, or sometimes a shirt.<sup>79</sup>

Other versions gave different instructions. The would-be werewolf had to perform the ritual at midnight, draw a circle, or lie on the road. Although a werewolf was convicted in Maastricht in the early seventeenth century, the story hardly points to continuity or a stable tradition in a much wider area. It is both too local and its motifs are too tinged with romantic detail; the black chicken and the crossroads do not appear in the trial accounts. The only point suggesting continuity is that the story provides another Dutch instance of fusing werewolves with male witches (who sometimes enter a pact with the devil in this way). The story may have been translated from the French and printed in a local almanac, or it may have been told in schools before it was retold to inquisitive folklorists.

### **Local legends: the example of Maasmechelen (Belgium)**

In 1967 the Flemish folklorist Alfons Roeck based his (unpublished) dissertation on 1,170 short Flemish and Dutch werewolf texts. He was not able to include the then ongoing Dutch research and he could only take into account the first 27 Master theses from the University of Leuven and three from the University of Ghent. Since then the amount of material has at least doubled. As of now, the Flemish Folk Tale Bank contains 1,845 werewolf legends, more than half of them (977) from the province of Limburg.<sup>80</sup> Its Dutch equivalent yields some 290 legends when the keyword 'weerwolf' is typed in;<sup>81</sup> this last bank still does not contain a number of the 1960s collections, such as those by Heupers, Krosenbrink, Linssen and Eggen.<sup>82</sup> This enormous amount of material has only partly been analysed.<sup>83</sup> Here I shall give some examples from one Flemish collection from the province of Limburg just to provide a sense of the kind of material available.

In 1970 one of the Leuven students, Piet Knabben, in the course of his research into 'folk beliefs', interviewed 37 informants in the municipality of Maasmechelen about local werewolf concepts, which resulted in 67 legend texts.<sup>84</sup> I have chosen this collection for two reasons. First, it is from an area stretching from Belgian Limburg, through the Dutch province of Limburg into Germany, that has a rich werewolf tradition; and second, Knabben's texts are transcripts of recorded interviews, which is not always

the case with the other Leuven material. These texts draw one straight into the local werewolf lore. According to a 73-year old woman, a certain boy (name and family relation supplied) had been a werewolf for a while. When his father realised this he almost strangled him; but the boy 'could not help it, though he was an asshole' (or pervert) (4).<sup>85</sup> Another informant, now talking about a victim, did not want to reveal names: 'there was a boy', he said, 'who had to carry the werewolf several times. When he passed a certain place he was jumped upon' (16). The same man also knew about someone else who had been less intimidated. He drew his knife and cut the werewolf (*weerewouf*), perching on his back (17). One could meet a werewolf anywhere, another man said, 'but some places had a special reputation, where the road narrowed, or where there was a corner with many brambles and willows, then it could happen that, when you passed there at night, you had to carry him till you arrived home'. He continued: 'It did not do anything else to you, it could happen to anyone. The old people were not afraid' (54).

An 86-year-old man told how men had been joking about the werewolf, pretending that he was sitting on them and calling for help, but when someone would come to the rescue, the werewolf was gone and they all laughed (69). 'What did he look like?' asked Knabben. 'Oh, an ordinary human, a human who was tormented, he had to harass people. He covered himself with something so that nobody could recognise him'. But someone had a knife and the werewolf's disguise dropped off: 'Take care not to betray me, otherwise it's your life', the werewolf threatened. 'Those were people, just like us. But they were tormented', the man repeated, 'and they had to go out to torment other people, for instance when someone had to fetch the midwife or the doctor' (at night) (70). 'He wrapped it around himself?' 'Yes, he had a hide hanging around him, I have never seen it'. Someone managed to burn a werewolf's hide and then he was saved. 'And then they knew who tormented the people' (71). A woman had often heard from her father that he had to carry the werewolf; when he passed a certain vegetable garden the werewolf flew out of a big bush and he couldn't do anything to stop it (85). According to another informant, however, a man who did not want to carry the werewolf hit him with his fist on his head. Then the werewolf stood naked before him and he knew who it was, 'because it were ordinary people. I also know who it was, but can't tell you' (122). A further informant, also a man, of 72, confirmed this: 'The werewolf was a normal human being who draped himself in a sheet, like a ghost, and then jumped on your back and then you had to carry him'. He had not seen it himself, but his grandparents talked a lot about it (124). This informant also knew a story about a farm maid who was not afraid of anyone. The farmer wanted to disprove this and put a hide over his head to frighten her, but he was hit with a wooden hammer and died (133).<sup>86</sup> The last was a



warning tale, also told about people who pretended to be ghosts. Knabben's informants did not relate their own experiences and their stories took place one or two generations in the past. They had not seen the werewolf, only heard others talking about it. Some had been afraid, others not; some passively underwent the assault, while others fought it. Other interviews convey the same message. An 86-year-old man, for instance, said: 'when you went somewhere then he used to jump on your neck, stayed there for a while and jumped off' (171).<sup>87</sup> No mention is made of specific activities of the back-riding werewolf, such as peeing or licking, as occurs in legends from neighbouring communities.<sup>88</sup> Only a minority of the legends from Maasmechelen relate to stories, as opposed to narrated (second- or third-hand) experiences: the Werewolf Lover is referred to three times: once only briefly but with all the elements present (5); once truncated and containing a red handkerchief to ward off a dog, without any woman but with the recognition motif (169); and once as a story the narrator acquired from his father-in-law, which also contained mainly the handkerchief and the recognition of the werewolf afterwards (638).<sup>89</sup> The Werewolf Lover was hardly current anymore. A second tale was a little better known. In it a farm hand goes out regularly as a werewolf but is relieved of his urge by burning his wolf skin in an oven. Here there was variation, too; one labourer was said to have exclaimed after his belt was burned: 'what have you done now? Now I am cursed forever' (32). In the two next versions, he was saved (51), and his identity discovered (71): 'afterwards, he thanked them and went to visit the friars and he confessed it all and then he was saved' (115). In the last version, the werewolf had simply gone away: 'Yes, a werewolf, that was more a human being, but they had a skin, they wore it'. 'Where did they get that from?', the interviewer asked. 'I don't know where they got that from. One inherited it from another' (165).<sup>90</sup>

The Limburg werewolf is characterised as a back-rider (*Huckauf, Aufhocker*), a feature which pervades most of the neighbouring werewolf traditions. The back-riding werewolf must also have surfaced in mid-nineteenth-century France, since it was drawn by the artist Maurice Sand (Figure 1.2), but there needs to be more research into nineteenth-century French werewolf traditions.<sup>91</sup> Until a better explanation arises, my guess is that the trials in Limburg and neighbouring jurisdictions have resulted in a substitution of local back-rider figures by the werewolf. Back-riders are much more widespread and are named after all kinds of men; only in the German-Dutch regions which experienced werewolf trials are they called 'werewolves'. In this I differ from Roeck, who interpreted the back-riding werewolf as a sign that the werewolf was disappearing;<sup>92</sup> I suggest that it shows the strength of the concept instead. But it also means that conclusions about the Limburg werewolf cannot be projected on werewolves elsewhere, or vice versa.

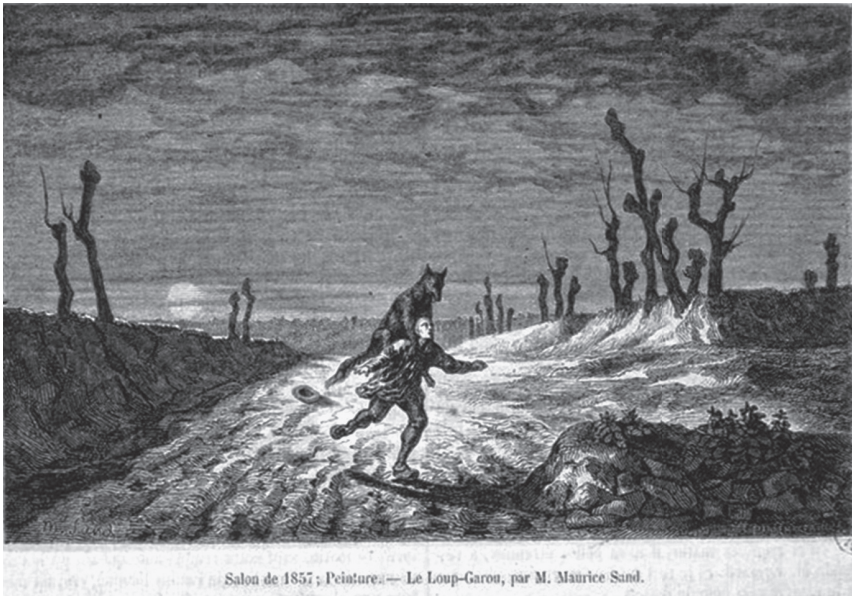


Figure 1.2 *Loup-Garou* by Maurice Sand. *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (1857), 373

## Geographical and temporal clusters

Some medieval and sixteenth-century reports mention multitudes of werewolves; but it is debatable whether or not they can be considered one and the same cluster. A possible wolf cult in antique Arcadia should be first and foremost understood within the ancient Greek context.<sup>93</sup> As Richard Gordon illustrates in the next chapter of this book, the ‘cult’ is also very much a construct of historiography, and undermined when one starts looking at multiple texts and archaeological evidence. The Lycaon myth is nevertheless important for its effect on the later imagery of man-wolf hybrids (the Arcadian king did not change back), even on early-nineteenth-century French ‘folklore’. Metamorphosing Neuroi, as reported by Herodotus, comply more to the notion of a temporary change, as well as to packs; but they cannot be placed in the same category as later Nordic warriors or Estonian brigands.<sup>94</sup> Early modern trials feature predominantly single individuals, or sometimes up to two or three people suspected of being werewolves; these did not form packs and operated in a profoundly Christian context.

The diversity of werewolf concepts is therefore also apparent in the, not necessarily mutually exclusive, approaches of the contributors to this volume. Whereas, for instance, Aleksander Pluskowski looks for (sometimes

elusive) traces of the beast in medieval mummings and archaeological artefacts, and considers it foremost as a disguise, Christa Tuczay focuses on the Nordic ideas of the soul. Johannes Dillinger discusses the curious logic of a number of demonologists, who left the soul out of consideration and concentrated on the power of the devil to deceive people, while Rolf Schulte establishes different degrees of the werewolf's presence on a popular level, using the difficult but unfairly neglected source of slander trials. Rita Voltmer's contribution, with its focus on the Jesuits' role in the Counter-Reformation, bridges these two approaches and is more context-oriented; by contrast, Dillinger's is an exercise in text comparison. Other trials and treatises are still waiting to be analysed.

As far as the trial distribution is concerned, the rare Italian case discussed by Matteo Duni can be understood as another off-shoot of the Alpine epicentre. But the main Italian werewolf under observation can hardly be seen as the result of over-zealous werewolf hunters, as later transpired in Germany. This raises the question whether the werewolf trials in the eastern Baltic lands, which featured many female werewolves, had their own dynamics or whether they were primarily influenced by German examples.<sup>95</sup> Or whether a Livonian werewolf healer in the late seventeenth-century shared any conceptual similarities with the French and German werewolves of a century earlier.<sup>96</sup> At this stage of the research, answers to these questions must necessarily remain tentative. Matters of translation, communication and adaptation, as well as local contexts, must be taken into consideration. Werewolves in sixteenth-century demonological thinking, for instance, seem to have changed from those in medieval romances; but, if the latter are of little relevance to demonologists, this change is probably only a function of a present-day perspective.<sup>97</sup>

On the other hand, there may be some connection between the trials and legends within a particular area. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century werewolf legends have a different centre of gravity in different areas of Europe. In some places – such as, the British Isles, Ireland, the Iberian peninsula, Bavaria, the Swiss and Austrian Alps, and Greece – werewolf references are practically absent, or only have a cursory presence in the odd saying in coastal areas: such as, Frisia and Portugal, where a seventh son was considered a werewolf without much further elaboration.<sup>98</sup> In Northern Scandinavia there is some overlap with Sami notions about soul journeys. In Southern Sweden, however, werewolves are rampant.<sup>99</sup> In various regions of France werewolves are also a regular feature in folklore collections, but the French folklore research into werewolves is as yet too fragmentary to provide a coherent representation;<sup>100</sup> the exception being the Dauphiné.<sup>101</sup> Apart from Sweden, a strong presence in the legends coincides geographically with earlier trials, although the precise nature of the connection between a trial and a legend cluster may vary. Switzerland presents an intriguing case in this respect, as the sporadic trials from the fifteenth to

the seventeenth centuries do not seem to have had much impact on the later narration of legends.<sup>102</sup>

In areas with a full set of werewolf concepts, the beast is depicted in narratives as well as in first-hand reports as a figure of its victims' experience and of advanced warnings, in stories or directly, while its characteristics and actions are described, and advice is given about counter-measures. Separating the various werewolf clusters is vital to see at what points they may be combined again and to arrive at a reliable history. Only then may it become possible to answer questions about meanings which will not be the same for every cluster. The variety of werewolf clusters is certainly apparent in the last chapters of this book, which concern nineteenth- and twentieth-century legends from Estonia, Denmark and Croatia, written by respectively Merili Metsvahi, Michèle Simonsen and Maja Pasarić. In general, legends are characterised by their multitude. How, then, to assess matters of quantity? The late nineteenth-century Danish ethnographer Evald Tang Kristensen is said to have collected 'twenty-five thousand legends',<sup>103</sup> but in his major collection *Danske sagn*, published in the last decade of the nineteenth century, he only presented the relatively small amount of 42 werewolf legends.<sup>104</sup> As he also collected about half of them himself, the first question to ask is, whether these can genuinely represent Danish werewolf lore? One of the answers could be that Danish werewolf concepts were in decline, another that Tang Kristensen and his correspondents only touched the surface of this sexually loaded concept. Whatever the answer, it should evoke more caution when dealing with earlier texts. In the chapter on Danish legends several stories are discussed to arrive at an integrated semantic cluster, ranging from the cause of a werewolf's curse to his redemption. Yet contributing parts of this cluster are also found elsewhere and the question thus remains whether or not it is only possible to attribute a special meaning on the basis of a full cluster. This becomes the more urgent as it appears that the Danish werewolf is more the subject of artistic expression than of everyday concern, an issue that also emerges in the discussion of the Estonian werewolf legends. Although the latter are substantially different, the distinction between the werewolf as an everyday experience and as the subject of a good story can be discerned in both areas.

Apart from difference in substance, the following contributions also champion difference in approach. Werewolves cannot be comprehended on their own, but need to be seen as part of the ever-changing relations between humans and animals, and indeed gods or devils. Werewolves are to be compared with other human-animal disguises and transformations. They can be seen from the position of the learned and the mighty (or at least those who strove to be) as well as within the tensions of everyday life. Werewolves provide unique perspectives on the soul. They can enliven the history of the body, just as this is enhanced by considering shape-shifters. There is no werewolf history; there are only histories of werewolves.

## Notes

1. Willem de Blécourt, 'Mounstrous Theories. Werewolves and the Abuse of History', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 2 (2013), 188–212.
2. Willem de Blécourt, 'The Werewolf, the Witch, and the Warlock: Aspects of Gender in the Early Modern Period', in: Alison Rowlands (ed.), *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2009), 191–213.
3. In as far as psychiatric patients enact werewolf movies, I categorise them within the cinematic cluster. Cf. Jan Dirk Blom, 'When Doctors Cry Wolf: A Systematic Review of the Literature on Clinical Lycanthropy', *History of Psychiatry* 25 (2014), 87–102.
4. Kimberley McMahon-Coleman and Roslyn Weaver, *Werewolves and Other Shapeshifters in Popular Culture. A Thematic Analysis of Recent Depictions* (London, 2012).
5. Linda S. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf: Beast Men in Wisconsin and Beyond* (Madison, 2006); idem, *Real Wolfmen: True Encounters in Modern America* (New York, 2012). To prevent misunderstanding: I consider these books as source material rather than academic studies.
6. I have incorporated parts of the English version of my entry 'Wolfsmenschen', *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 14 (2013), col. 975–986.
7. Cf. Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture* (Syracuse, 1986), 5–8.
8. Michael Jacoby, *Wargus, vargr. 'Verbrecher' 'Wolf'. Eine sprach- und rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Uppsala, 1974), 77–93; Klaus von See, *Europa und der Norden im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1999), 117–122; cf. Mary R. Gerstein, 'Germanic Warg: The Outlaw as Werewolf', in: Gerald James Larson (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1974), 131–156.
9. This line of reasoning may be confusing since *varg* the is the current Swedish term for wolf. It is, however, of relatively young date as since 'the 10th century, the Germanic word *vargr* designated the outlawed criminal, has been transferred to the wolf', Martin Rheinheimer, 'The Belief in Werewolves and the Extermination of Real Wolves in Schleswig-Holstein', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 20 (1995), 281–294, cit. 284.
10. For example: Gaël Milin, *Les chiens de Dieu: la représentation du loup-garou en Occident, xie-xxe siècles* (Brest 1993); Elmar M. Lorey, *Henrich der Werewolf: eine Geschichte aus der Zeit der Hexenprozesse; mit Dokumenten und Analysen* (Frankfurt a.M., 1998).
11. Wilhelm Hertz, *Der Werwolf. Beitrag zur Sagengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1862); Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-Wolves* (London, 1865); Montague Summers, *The Werewolf* (London, 1933).
12. Ranging from titles such as: Adam Douglas, *The Beast Within* (London, 1992), to: Nathan Robert Brown, *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Werewolves* (Pittsburg, PA, 2009), and Barb Karg, *The Girl's Guide to Werewolves* (Avon, MA, 2009).
13. Asa Simon and Peter J. Dendle (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Farnham, 2012); Stephen T. Asma, *On Monsters. An Unnatural History of Our Worst Fears* (Oxford, 2009), 347–350.
14. Brian Levack (ed.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America* (Oxford, 2013), 230, 240, 351.
15. Keith Roberts, 'Eine Werwolf-Formel: eine kleine Kulturgeschichte des Werwolfs', in: Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich (eds), *Dämonen, Monster, Fabelwesen* (St Gallen, 1999), 565–581, 577; cf. Adam Douglas, *The Beast Within*, 38–40.

16. Cf. Paul Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, II (Paris, 1905), 205.
17. Reidar Th. Christiansen, *The Migratory Legends* (Helsinki, 1958), ML 4005.
18. Leslie A. Sconduto, *Metamorphoses of the Werewolf. A Literary Study from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Jefferson and London, 2008). See also the review of Karin E. Olsen in *The Medieval Review* 2 (2010) and Sconduto's reply in the following issue of the same journal.
19. Nadine Metzger, *Wolfsmenschen und nächtliche Heimsuchungen. Zur kulturhistorischen Verortung vormoderner Konzepte von Lykanthropie und Ephialtes* (Remscheid, 2011); see also: Nadine Metzger, 'Batling Demons with Medical Authority: Werewolves, Physicians and Rationalization', *History of Psychiatry* 24 (2013), 341–355.
20. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-Wolves*, 69–84.
21. Summers, *The Werewolf*, 223–234.
22. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-Wolves*, 85–99.
23. Caroline Oates, 'Metamorphosis and Lycanthropy in Franche-Comté, 1521–1643', in: M. Feher (ed.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, I (New York, 1989), 304–363, esp. 361.
24. W.M.S. Russel and Claire Russel, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', in: J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds), *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 143–182, 260–269, 153.
25. Pennethorn Hughes, *Witchcraft* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 184. The figure is repeated in H. Sidky, *Witchcraft, Lycanthropy, Drugs, and Disease: An Anthropological Study of the European Witch-Hunts* (New York, 1997), 122.
26. Paul E. Keck, Harrison G. Pope, James I. Hudson, Susan L. McElroy and Aaron R. Kulick, 'Lycanthropy: Alive and Well in the Twentieth Century', *Psychological Medicine* 18 (1988), 113–120, 114; T.A. Fahy, 'Lycanthropy: A Review', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 82 (1989), 37; Peter M. Yellowlees, 'Werewolves Down Under – Where Are They Now?', *The Medical Journal of Australia* 151 (1989), 663–665, 664.
27. Patricia Cornwell, *The Last Precinct* (New York, 2001), 312.
28. Rosalyn Greene, *The Magic of Shapeshifting* (York Beach, 2000), 3; Paul Katzev, *Moon Madness* (London, 1990), 58.
29. Cecil Helman, 'The Premenstrual Werewolf', in: *Body Myths* (London, 1991), 58–80, 75.
30. The papers quoted are: *National Examiner*, 6 April 1997; *Milwaukee Journal*, 18 March 1978; *World Medicine*, 30 May 1973.
31. Stephen Jones, *The Illustrated Werewolf Movie Guide* (London, 1996), 10; Colin Wilson, 'Werewolves', in: Jack Sullivan (ed.), *The Penguin Encyclopedia of Horror and the Supernatural* (New York, 1986), 453; Ian Woodward, *The Werewolf Delusion* (New York and London, 1979), 19.
32. Brad Steiger, *The Werewolf Book: The Encyclopedia of Shape-Shifting Beings* (Detroit and London, 1999), 105; Peter Haining, *Werewolf: Horror Stories of the Man-Beast* (London, 1987), 3.
33. Carol Rose (ed.), *Giants, Monsters, and Dragons: An Encyclopedia of Folklore, Legend, and Myth* (Santa Barbara, 2000), 391, my italics.
34. Wolfgang Behringer, 'Neun Millionen Hexen. Entstehung, Tradition und Kritik eines populären Mythos', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 49 (1998), 664–685. The more accurate estimate is ca. 40,000 convictions; also: Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts. A Global History* (Cambridge, 2004), 157.



35. Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons, où il es amplement traité des sorciers et de la sorcellerie*, Jacques-Chaquin (ed.) (Paris, 1982), 80; English translation: *On the Inconstancy of Witches: Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (1612), Gerhild Scholz-Williams (transl.) (Tempe, 2006).
36. Cf. Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition (1609–1614)* (Reno, 1980), 66, 111, 159, 250.
37. Oates, 'Metamorphosis and Lycanthropy', 326; E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands During the Reformation* (Ithaca and London, 1976), 71.
38. Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate*, 23–24, 130–131, 317, 497, n. 52.
39. Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Defining Dominion: The Discourses of Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern France and Germany* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 89–119. See also: Jonathan L. Pearl, *The Crime of Crimes: Demonology and Politics in France 1560–1620* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1999), 127–147.
40. Alfred Soman, 'Decriminalizing Witchcraft: Does the French Experience Furnish a European Model?', in: Gábor Klaniczay and Éva Pocs (eds), *Witch Beliefs and Witch-Hunting in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest, 1992), 379–400, 398.
41. About the last case: Caroline Oates, 'The Trial of a Teenage Werewolf', *Criminal Justice History* 9 (1988), 1–29, see p. 24, note 9 about Roulet and p. 29, note 52 about the decision of the Parlement de Paris.
42. [www.elmar-lorey.de/Prozesse.htm](http://www.elmar-lorey.de/Prozesse.htm).
43. Karl-S. Kramer, 'Hohnsprake, Wrakworte, Nachschnack und Ungebühr. Ehrenhändel in holsteinische Quellen', *Kieler Blätter zur Volkskunde* 16 (1984), 49–85; Alfred Höck, 'Bemerkungen zum "Werwolf" nach hessischen Archivalien', *Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung* 18 (1985), 71–75; Willem de Blécourt, *Termen van toverij* (Nijmegen, 1990), 113. See also the chapter by Rolf Schulte in this volume.
44. Wilhelm Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Paderborn*, II (Paderborn, 1903), 159–160.
45. Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenverfolgung* (Munich, 1900), 504: 1533 instead of 1532, referring to Jules Baissac, *Les grands jours de la sorcellerie* (Paris, 1890), 316.
46. Joseph Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901), 513; he called the later case an 'Inquisitionsprozess', thus it should have been mentioned on p. 515.
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