

The Rebirth of Fertility:

The *Trotula* and her travelling companions

***c.* 1200-1450**

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*God, I am sure has given every creature the gift of love, and what
greater gift could he have given us.*

Judy Mathews

'A Letter to Phil' 13th June 1945

DEDICATION

IN LOVING MEMORY OF

JULIA BRIDGET WATTS (NÉE MATHEWS)

DUBLIN 1919 - LEICESTER 1961

Abstract

This thesis examines to what extent women were involved in their own healthcare and that of others, in the late medieval period. It starts from the observation that modern text editing practices often exclude from discussion other widely disseminated texts that formed the 'travelling companions' of a manuscript – in this case particularly the ensemble known as the *Trotula*. By focusing on one specific text within the manuscript compilations, the diverse and widespread dissemination of women's knowledge of healthcare and the use of vernacular texts have been marginalised. The thesis argues that the consideration of these 'travelling companions' can offer an alternative view of women's involvement in healthcare, despite the seeming female exclusion from the culture of book-learning and the development of professional licensing in the later Middle Ages. The corpus of manuscripts examined is taken from a range of vernacular compilations produced in England, Flanders and Italy, with some discussion of ownership and transmission of these into the Early Modern period. A number of transcriptions and close readings of the contents are used to identify the discrete characteristics of each copy and to track changes that took place during the transmission process. Detailed comparisons demonstrate that conscious, active choices were made in both the adaptation and interpretation of the material being copied. Analysis of these manipulations reveals that the production of vernacular texts enabled easier consultation and use. The manuscripts point to women's continuing engagement with both the texts and the practice of self-care and that, despite

the increase in the number of professional male practitioners over the period,
women continued to offer advice to others well into the sixteenth century.

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Manuscripts consulted

(† denotes microfilm or digital copies only)

Bethesda, The National Library of Medicine 9037 (Latin) † (MS NLM 9037)	Unpub.
Cambridge, St. John's College D.4. (Latin, French) (MS St. John's D4)	Pt. Pub.
Cambridge, Trinity College Library O.1.20 (French) (MS CTC O.1.20)	Pt pub.
Cambridge, Trinity College Library 0.2.5 (French) † (MS CTC O.2.5)	Pt pub.
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteo 73.51 (Italian) (MS Plut. 73.51)	Unpub.
Florence, Biblioteca Redi 172 (olim 73) (Italian) (MS Redi 172)	Unpub.
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2165 (Italian) (MS Riccardiana 2165)	Unpub.
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2175 (Italian) (MS Riccardiana 2175)	Unpub.
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2500 (Italian) (MS Riccardiana 2500)	Unpub.
MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek 4° med. 1 † (MS Kassel)	Unpub.
Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale 863 (French) † (MS Lille 863)	Unpub.
London, British Library Lansdowne 380 (French) (MS Lansdowne 380)	Pub.desc.
London, British Library Sloane 3525 (French) (MS Sloane 3525)	Pt. pub.
London, British Library Sloane 3550 (French) (MS Sloane 3550)	Unpub.
London, British Library Sloane 146 (Latin and French) (MS Sloane 146)	Pt pub.
London, British Library Additional 15236 (Latin and French) (MS BL Add. 15236)	Pt .pub.

London, National Archives E.163/22/2/1 † (MS NA E.163/22/2/1)	Unpub.
London, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine 546 (MS Wellcome 546)	Unpub.
London, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine 532 (Italian) (MS Wellcome 532)	Unpub.
London, The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine 32 (Latin) (MS Wellcome 32)	Unpub.
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 119 (Latin)† (MS Madrid 119)	Unpub.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f. 2021 (Ancien Fonds) (MS BN 2021)	Pub.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f. 2045 (Ancien Fonds) (MS BN 2045)	Unpub.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f. 2046 (Ancien Fonds) (MS BN 2046)	Unpub.
San Marino, Huntingdon Library 64 † (MS Huntingdon 64)	Unpub.
Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library 492 † (MS Beinecke 492)	Unpub.

Published Editions

Auch, Archives départementales du Gers I 4066 (MS Gers I 4066)	Pt. pub.
London, British Library Harley 978 (MS Harley 978)	Pt. pub.
Chantilly, Musée Condé 330 (MS Chantilly 330)	Pt. pub.
Princeton, University Library, Garrett 80 (Languedocien) (MS Garrett 80)	Pt. pub.
Cambridge, Trinity College Library R.14.30 (Part Provençal) (MS CTC R.14.30)	Pt. pub.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1470 (French) (MS Ashmole 1470)	Pub.
(Sion/Sitten, Médiathèque du Valais, S.103. (MS Sion/Sitten S103)	Pub.
Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. Lat. 1211 (Latin and French-Picard) (MS Vatican 1211)	Pt. pub.

Preface

A word about proper names, titles, translations, cited sources and bibliographies. For authors I have used the most well-known version of the name. For example Aldobrandino de Siena is used throughout and Peter of Fetcham. Titles are given as in language of the manuscript. For example the *Régime du corps* in French manuscripts and *La sanità del corpo* in Italian. I have used 'Italian' in the knowledge that there were hundreds of local dialects used throughout medieval Italy as, with only one exception, the manuscripts cited here are from the area around Florence. All translations are my own unless cited otherwise. I have not altered or changed inconsistencies nor have I modernized the orthography for the transcriptions given. I have, however, revised the use of 'u', 'v', and 'b' to conform to modern conventions. I have included in the list of manuscripts the shelf marks of all of the manuscripts that I have consulted during the preparation of this thesis. Where I have been unable to consult the original and have used microfilm or digital copies or editions, these are annotated in the list with a dagger (†). A number of the manuscripts I have consulted for comparative purposes may not be cited directly in this study but by examining a wide range of manuscripts I have gained an insight into the wide variation of written material available to the reader of vernacular medicine in the later Middle Ages.

Terminology: I have used the term *recipe* throughout this study in its broadest inclusive sense: the instructions to formulate something from a wide

range of *materia medica*, either using individual or compound substances that were believed to have an effect on the human body.

Notes to the Image Appendix

Because of the wide variation in the styles and qualities of the copies of the *Trotula* I have included an appendix which illustrates just how disparate the texts which contains recipe and remedy collections and copies of the *Trotula* prove to be. I give below a brief summary of a small number of the manuscripts which I have used in this research. Thirteenth-century MS London, The National Archives E163/22/21, (Illus. 3) consists of a fragment that was found among the records of the Chancery miscellanea by

when examining other manuscripts in the collection. Nearly all of this section of the collection were formerly covers, or perhaps formed parts of the binding of other documents. MS NA E163/22/21 is neatly written with the use of only a few abbreviations allowing it to be easily read. Although space has been left for a coloured initial letter this has not been completed. I have included a full transcript of this fragment Appendix I. Fourteenth-century MS London, Wellcome Library 546, is very different, consisting of a beautifully executed small manuscript which is written in a neat Gothic hand, representing a style emanating from the South of France, or perhaps southern Italy. It is carefully ruled throughout and the text laid out in two columns. There are numerous blue puzzle initials adorned with elaborate red filigree and it is in excellent condition. (Illus. 8). Fourteenth-century MS Yale University Library, Beinecke 492 is also a beautifully executed manuscript,

one that contains not only didactic religious texts, but also a collection of recipes, remedies and charms, some for women. This manuscript contains material which is related to a collection found in MS Wellcome 546, and a number of other medical manuscripts, hence its inclusion in this study of women's medicine (Illus. 12-15). In contrast the fifteenth-century, MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380 (Illus. 30,31). is a simply written manuscript again in a cursive hand but also with a number Gothic headings. The style of this manuscript bears a striking resemblance to that of the only witness to a culinary treatise, MS Sion/Sitten, Médiathèque du Valais S.103. This manuscript, although well known for its largely culinary contents, also deals with specific dietary instructions to be used during illness. This manuscript, written in Franco-Provençal, includes instructions for preparing a banquet, along with dietary requirements for those suffering from fevers, and was composed in the year 1420, by Maître Chiquart, chief cook of the Duke of Savoy, Amadeus VIII (1383-1451) (Illus. 32 and 33). The text is known to have been dictated to Jehan de Dudens, a scribe and notary from Annecy, and perhaps the obvious similarities between MS Sion/Sitten S103 and MS Lansdowne 380 suggest that they were both produced by a clerk or a notary. The illustrations given as examples of the fourteenth-century MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Plut. 73.5, are again, written in a cursive hand, here with puzzle initials and filigrees of leaves in the margins. In the lower margin of fol. 1^r is a slightly naive drawing of 'man' holding what appears to be a serpent, perhaps suggesting a link with the biblical Genesis story, as I suggest it is intended to represent Adam and which would agree

with the text on this folio. This is worn, and damaged to such an extent that it has been pasted down to another support, perhaps at the time it entered into the ownership of the Medicis and was bound for consultation in their chained library. The illustration of the fourteenth-century manuscript MS Lille, Bibliotheque Municipale 863 demonstrates, once again, the use of a simple cursive style with little attempt at decoration: this has all the signs of being a simple working manuscript (Illus. 20). and, as such, is similar to a number of sections in MS Kassel, Murdhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4^o med. 1. (Illus. 21 and 22). However, MS Kassel does show signs of more expert hands in sections with its use of gothic letters in margins and headings, while other recipes and remedies which have been added are in a different inexpert cursive hand. (Illus. 23). This manuscript also contains a re-used fragment, in this case a folio from a well known poet and composer Guillaume de Mauchault, (c.1300-1377) (Illus. 25). The image appendix is provided to highlight the variability of styles and qualities of manuscripts that provide the material for this study of medieval medicine.

The Naming of the *Trotula*

The history of the intricate research and reconstruction and transmission of what eventually became known as the *Trotula* began in 1981 with work carried out by John F. Benton. While writing a preface for a re-print of a Renaissance version of what had by then become the fabled *Trotula*, he discovered a manuscript in Madrid which he identified as containing a completely different Latin text, the *Practica Secundum Trotam* of Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 119 (Illus.1 and 2). Since then Monica Green's indefatigable work has resulted in a Latin Edition, with English translation of what she has designated the standardised version.¹ I am indebted to this work which has enabled me to compare the vernacular versions I have studied here. Green's research has demonstrated that by the late thirteenth-century *Trotula* three discrete texts had evolved into a compilation to which the name *Trotula*, in various guises became attached. These three discrete texts are discussed in detail in Green's edition but for the purposes of this study are referred to as: The *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* (LSM), (*Book of the Conditions of Women*). This represents the so-called learned text that includes a prologue which echoes the biblical creation story from *Genesis*, although it is often shortened in vernacular versions. The second text, the *De curis mulierum* (DCM), (*On Treatments for Women*) is essentially a *Practica* which Green believes was compiled by the twelfth-century female healer *Trota* which possibly formed part of a larger *Practica*. The third, the *Ornatus mulierum* (OM), (*On women's Cosmetics*) is an

¹ Monica H. Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

anonymous compilation of practical advice reminiscent of similar material found in the Greek *Metrodora* but which also contains material similar to that found in the Old English *Leechbooks* and the well known, anonymous Anglo-Norman *L'Ornement des Dames*.

Introduction

This is a study of the practice of medieval medicine. It particularly looks at the role that vernacular texts played in the availability of treatments for infertility, and enters into the debate of whether a simple picture of lay versus professional healthcare in the High Middle Ages is tenable. It questions whether the claim of the lack of evidence of a 'particularly feminine medical culture', in the French textual tradition,² is sufficient to conclude that female readers 'did not have the obligation to inform themselves thoroughly about the nature of disease or the vast fund of therapeutic knowledge'.³ It has been argued that, as women had been excluded from university learning, the major contest over the practice of medicine in the High Middle Ages was not one between men and women *per se*

But rather between empiricism and book learning and to the extent that this process was gendered, it was because book learning itself was a highly gendered practice...Women's vernacular literacy increased in this period, but it was not used for medical reading with any regularity until after the medieval period had passed.⁴

² See Monica Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 30.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Green, "Gendering the History of Women's Healthcare," *Gender and History* 20 (2008): 495.

The outcome was that 'Men (or rather literate men) 'took over' many aspects of women's medicine – especially fertility concerns',⁵ accordingly, texts seemingly written in the vernacular for women, by men, such as the regimen of health, were ultimately appropriated by them. Consequently, even this genre of writing in the vernacular, seems to have 'functioned less as exclusive guides for female readers than as guides for male readers'.⁶ This study sets out to analyse further the question of female access to the vast fund of medical knowledge, and doing so aims to provide a more nuanced picture of the health concerns of medieval men and women. It also examines evidence for the search for methods of treating infertility in the vernacular writings of the High Middle Ages. In widening the range of medical vernacular texts to include recipe and remedy collections, I believe it is possible to catch a glimpse of the combined efforts of both men and women in their aims to treat illness and to foster fertility, while also revealing evidence of contemporary concerns which had implications for those using methods to restrict it. I will argue that women did have access to knowledge that helped them to deal with their own fertility, and were able to share that knowledge with others.

Many of the texts studied here were written or copied by clerks, professional scribes or notaries, and perhaps even friars or chaplains, and to date there is little evidence, of women exchanging written advice among themselves.⁷

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 30.

⁷ For example those relating to one of the ladies-in-waiting to the Catalan-Aragonese queen Elionor of Sicily. See Montserrat Cabré, "Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia," *Bulletin of the History of*

Without the rich sources of female correspondence, such as those in the form of extant letters, available for the Iberian territories, we have to rely on the miscellaneous collections of medical knowledge contained in the manuscripts that have survived. Despite the lack of an equivalent corpus of evidence such as that, I suggest that many of the recipes and remedies found embedded in the texts studied here, provide a link between the oral and textual tradition of healing. These texts, therefore, provide evidence of a common fund of knowledge, which crosses gender boundaries, and which represents widely practised empirical medicine by a wide variety of lay practitioners. As Montserrat Cabré has also argued it is possible, and perhaps crucial, that we look at recipes themselves as women's texts.

My close reading of the contents of the manuscripts studied reveals changes that provide evidence of a world of knowledge and practice, and where the methods and preparation of medical treatments would have been incorporated into everyday practice. Once read or prescribed, many of these simple treatments, would have been simple to re-create without the need to read the texts in which they are recorded. It is this everyday practice of medicine which is often difficult to trace, outside of the written records of what is sometimes deceptively referred to as learned medicine.

'From the confection of perfumed waters, oils, and
incenses to change the smell of the surrounding air, to the

Medicine, 82, no. 1 (2008): 18-51. Studied and edited by Teresa Vinyoles i Vidal, "L'amor i la mort al segle XIV: Cartes de dones," *Miscellània de Textos Medievals* 8 (1996):111-98.

preservation and cooking of all kinds of foods, household recipes attest to the basic everyday management of the six non-naturals as well as close attention to the body and its well-being'.⁸

It has been argued that many of the women that practised medical care would 'never in their lives have either identified themselves in terms of their medical practice or had been so identified by their communities'.⁹ This study follows a similar line of argument, and aims to demonstrate that many of the instructions and methods for preparing internal medicines and external treatments recorded in vernacular medical texts would have been familiar to women in carrying out their daily tasks.¹⁰

The aim, to make medicine available for all, is reflected in many of the manuscripts that were studied during the course of this research. These texts were produced at a time when philosophical and theological thought was being debated and formulated with the outcome that the relationship envisioned between God, the creator, and mankind became embedded in the vernacular, in a wide range of medical texts.¹¹ The result was, that ability to treat man's suffering was widely seen as a gift from God who, it was

⁸ Cabré, "Women or Healers?" 36.

⁹ Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman: A Feminine Manual of Self-Help," *Dynamis: Acta Hispania ad Medicinæ Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000): 372.

¹⁰ See Terence Scully, "A Cook's Therapeutic Use of Garden Herbs", *Health and Healing From a Medieval Garden*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 60-71.

¹¹ Joel Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, "Charity and Aid in Medieval Christian Civilization", in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. Mirko D. Grmek, trans. Antony Shugaar, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 179.

believed, had created herbs with curative properties which in turn, it became the physician's task to study. This notion of availability of 'medicine for all' is recorded in the early compilations of remedies and recipes and was quickly incorporated into works such as the *Physique rimée* and the *Thesaurus pauperum*.

It is important to note at the outset, that vernacular medical texts are of a notoriously slippery character which, as such, defy any attempt to place them into neat, oppositional categories, of lay and professional. This applies to texts whether owned by university trained physicians, themselves a rare commodity in the fourteenth century, as were master surgeons,¹² or non-specialists gathering material together from a wide range of sources for their own use. Many of even the most learned texts contain remedies and treatments that are also found in lesser known texts. For example, in defining what constitutes a medical work specifically tailored for a professional, Owsei Temkin, whilst examining who may have been the audience for Soranus's *Gynaecology*, written c. 100 A.D., has drawn attention to the way in which we are today inclined to construct a barrier between medical works written for professionals, in this case midwives, and those for laymen.¹³ Temkin warns that we should not assume that the same attitude existed in antiquity and argues that the educated layman was much more likely to form 'his own judgement about medical matters, to criticise the expertness and skill

¹² Peter Murray Jones, "Herbs and the Medieval Surgeon," in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 164.

¹³ Owsei Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), xxxviii.

of the physician he employed, and to treat himself or his family'.¹⁴ Other research has confirmed this view arguing that the second-century medical writer, Celsus, aimed his medical writings at the heads of households to treat sick family members, household slaves and servants.¹⁵ The search to uncover female agency in the practice of medicine is a continuing strand in the field of medical history that has been the focus of study by Carmen Caballero-Navas, who among others, is interested in exploring the ways in which matters of healthcare may have crossed cultural boundaries through a shared use of the same vernacular language.¹⁶ As already mentioned, women's involvement in medicine and medical writing for women has also been investigated by Montserrat Cabré,¹⁷ who argues that it is crucial to look at the language that records women's actions, as the labels used to identify the practices of women, often differ from those of men. Cabré's approach seeks to demonstrate that women's health activities in thirteenth to sixteenth-century Iberia formed a continuum that runs from ordinary and everyday care to occupational healthcare and from gratuitous to paid acts.¹⁸ By the medieval period, some women are known to have been in charge of households, together with their families. Some also ran extensive estates, with the staff

¹⁴ Ibid. See also Gianna Pomata who found the most common way of finding a healer was through a 'horizontal network of king, friends and neighbours', *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994) 120.

¹⁵ Ann Hanson, "Roman Medicine," in *A Companion to the Roman Empire*, ed. D. S. Potter (Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 500.

¹⁶ Carmen Caballero-Navas, "The Care of Women's Health and Beauty: an Experience Shared by Medieval Jewish and Christian women," *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 2 (2008): 146-163.

¹⁷ Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman," 371-393.

¹⁸ Cabré, "Women or Healers?" 18-51.

and servants living there, and a knowledge of healthcare would have formed part of their daily lives. It is the part women played in healthcare, including their own fertility, and access to medical knowledge which forms the basis of this study.

Background to the research

The most influential study of gynaecological and obstetrical medical texts from antiquity through to the middle ages, remains that carried out by Green.¹⁹ By using a wide range of sources she has demonstrated that, despite sanctions that male physicians should not have access to women's bodies, on the whole, women continued to have had no hesitation in consulting physicians or priests in their search for treatments to counter infertility problems. The evidence for women's own needs and demands to be treated for infertility, or sterility, is also indisputable. For example In 1317 in Normandy, Thomassie the daughter of William Blancvillain, brought a case of impotence against her husband, Thomas known as Osmeul, before the court. 'Chance survival of the records of the court have preserved for us the longing for a baby felt by a girl in rural Normandy. "I want to be a mother"'.²⁰ The result of her plea was, that after due deliberation, the court annulled the marriage. This is not to say, however, that all women entered into marriage with the intention of having children. Green has also cited the case of a

¹⁹ Monica H. Green, "The Transmission of Ancient Theories of Female Physiology and Disease Through the Early Middle Ages" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1985).

²⁰ Peter Biller, *The Measure of Multitude, Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19.

couple in the south of France, who drew the court's attention because there had appeared to be no reason why there should not have been children of the union. In this case, however, the reason was divulged quietly to the physician, the couple had entered into a vow of chastity, and to ensure that they could continue in their pious endeavours the physician colluded with them to ensure they could continue 'in their chaste ways'.²¹ Green's magisterial work culminated in the exposition of a tug-of-war taking place between the literate and learned male, and the female and vernacular writings and over who had a right to knowledge of women's bodies contained in medical texts. Since antiquity women's matters had long been discussed in medical texts and included in medical writings. Nearly a fifth of the oldest corpus of western medical writings, those attributed to Hippocrates and written in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., is devoted to the female body. Copies of the gynaecological and obstetrical texts, both Hippocratic and Soranic, are found in various locations throughout early medieval Europe, as are other texts that contained sections on gynaecological matters and while most of them can be situated at monasteries, all of which are male, 'whether laymen or laywomen owned these texts is unknown'.²² Clare Pilsworth's research has, however, demonstrated that medical texts from early medieval northern Italy follow similar patterns to those of recipe collections and *practica* studied here, suggesting for one manuscript that it may have been used as a primer for the

²¹ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 87.

²² Green, *The Trotula*, 16.

art of treating patients.²³ As with medical practice in medieval England, the evidence of charters reveals the presence of physicians, and she also points out how 'other medical practitioners fade into the background in the early medieval source material'.²⁴

In her article that traced the changes taking place after the twelfth century Green had noted that Latin gynaecological literature from the Early Middle Ages appeared under a variety of titles: *Curae ad causa[s] mulierum*, *De passionibus mulierum*, *Liber de muliebria causa* or, most commonly, *Genecia*, a corruption of the Greek *gynaikeia*. The direction she traces, using the evidence of Latin manuscripts, vernacular translations and misogynistic annotations in margins, demonstrates that there is no doubt that a change did take place in the middle ages revealing a transition in attitudes to women's medical texts among male readers. Green has also argued for a gradual but inexorable increase in the access to women's bodies by male physicians suggesting that the 'taboos against male sight and touch of the female genitalia', although it did not disappear altogether, 'relaxed considerably' by the fifteenth century.²⁵

The research reported on in this study uses a number of vernacular manuscripts that were either omitted, or only lightly touched upon, in Green's

²³ Clare Pilsworth, *More to Life than Leeches: Medicine and Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy* (Brepols, 2010).

²⁴ Clare Pilsworth, "Could you just sign this for me John? Doctors, charters and occupational identity in early medieval northern and central Italy," *Early Medieval Europe* 17, no. 4 (2009): 363.

²⁵ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 250.

analysis that culminated in her 2008 monograph *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*. My approach takes a different line of investigation as my aim is to examine the vernacular version of the *Trotula* without reference to the Latin copies from which they may have derived. In doing so I examine more closely how the vernacular *Trotula* and her travelling companions may have interacted with each other in the compilations. The changes that occurred along the route of their transmission will be noted and examined to ascertain whether these changes can reveal how their cultural setting influenced their contents.

It is evident from cursory examination that the vernacular manuscripts which contain copies of the *Trotula* all have their own unique format. Their style, quality and presentation changes over the centuries to such an extent that they offer a view of how a text can be transformed as much by how it appears to its reader as its content. A fragment of an early manuscript of the thirteenth century (Illus. 3) is already showing the type of changes that will be found in later redactions. This fragmentary copy consists of a single folio, MS London, National Archives E/163/22/2/1 which, on the whole, is a faithful rendition of the prologue to the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*. The contents of this fragment demonstrates how the *Trotula* was, like many other recipe collections, prone to changes as each new copy was produced. This copy includes the widespread analogy that links a woman's flowers (menses) to that of a fruiting tree, without which no fruit can be borne. However, if we assume that this copy is the product of the writer he takes the

analogy further, emphasising the role of this necessary purgation by comparing it to the insoluble gum that runs from the bark of cherry or plum trees, *la glu ki iest del cerisiere del prunier* (fol. 1^v). Examples of the use of cherry trees, and its sap, in fertility treatments is discussed further below as it is found in a number of manuscripts including Middle English versions of the *Trotula*,²⁶ References to what were widespread traditional fertility practices, such as these, are also linked to the apocryphal story of Christ's birth, found in pseudo-Matthew, and in the later Middle English 'Cherry Tree Carol'.²⁷ The most striking example of the changes that occur during transmission is evident in the fifteenth-century version found in MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380 which is discussed in chapter 6. The medical text found in this manuscript, which has been described as a *Trotula*, has been adapted and changed to such an extent that its only claim to the *Trotula* family is the prologue and even this is embedded among extracts from other works. One of those is the well-known thirteenth-century *Livre de phisicke* or *Régimen du corps* as it later became known, which notably has accompanied the *Trotula* in both its French and Italian vernacular versions. Both of these texts also appear to have a close affinity with collections of remedies and recipes, including the widely disseminated and popular vernacular *Lettre d'Hippocrate* and the *Thesaurus pauperum* with its contents resembling the old *receptaria* and incorporating many random interpolations. The popularity

²⁶ Alexandra Barrett, *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing: A Middle English version of Material from the "Trotula" and Other Sources* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

²⁷ See Cherrell Guilfoyle, "The Riddle Song and the Shepherds' Gifts in 'Secunda Pastorum': With a Note on the 'Trecallyd Persidis'," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 8, (1978): 208-219.

of this is witnessed by over seventy extant manuscripts. (Illus. 4,5,6.) Although the popularity of these eclectic collections in tri-lingual manuscripts is well known, to date little work has been done to identify the context in which they were used,²⁸ nor have they been examined closely to find out what they can also tell us about the practice of medicine for women's conditions or women's agency in healthcare. An examination of the textual variations and changes to the manuscripts studied here will help us to understand why these texts were produced and why they became so popular and so widely disseminated. As evidence for ownership of early manuscripts is notoriously difficult to obtain my study also seeks to test a number of hypothetical routes that allowed the successful dissemination of manuscripts such as these.

²⁸ Tony Hunt, *An Old French Herbal (MS Princeton U.L. Garrett 131)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine: II. Shorter Treatises* (D.S. Brewer, 1997); Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1994); Tony Hunt, "The 'Novele chirurgie' in MS London, British Library Harley 2558," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 103 (1987): 271-299; Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine I: Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1994); "La Novele Chirurgie", ed. Constance B. Hieatt and Robin F. Jones, (London, Birkbeck College: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1990).

Chapter 1.

Sources of Knowledge

This chapter examines the sources available to compilers of vernacular texts on medicine and how the latter were altered, refined and recast by their authors. Understanding this extensive and widespread compositional activity is crucial to the proper contextualisation of medical knowledge and practice in the middle ages. Identifying the creative process by which compilations that included medical texts were made provides a much clearer picture of not only why these texts were produced, but also how they functioned within their specific area of circulation.

Background to vernacular medical manuscripts

The eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed an increase in the production of texts which reflected a mixture of ancient, Graeco-Roman, and increasingly Arabic medicine. Despite evidence for a widespread interest in theory, such as that of the four humours, a large number of the extant manuscripts demonstrate that practical works, *practica*, continued to be widely used and disseminated in both scholastic and lay circles. Faith Wallis has examined the difficulties encountered as medical historians have laboured to edit the texts available in the pre-Salernitan period.²⁹ Once again the problem of understanding these discrete texts has been shown to lie with the process of

²⁹ See Faith Wallis, "The Experience of the Book: Manuscripts, Texts, and the Role of Epistemology in Early Medieval Medicine," in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 111.

editing itself. Recension editing assumes that a text is stable, that its form and content are retained from manuscript to manuscript, and as a result the text assumes a canonised form. One of the notable similarities between the Latin texts of the pre-Salernitan period and those in the vernacular is the way in which texts were assembled into *florilegia*, some of which travelled as 'canonised' anthologies, whilst others were produced in a seemingly *ad hoc* manner at the whim of the compiler. The other similarity is the way in which early medieval compilers were prone to 'tamper' with texts, with the result that a marked interest in pharmacology, *materia medica* and recipe literature are by far the best represented subject areas in the manuscripts, and these also demonstrate an interest in healing over theoretical dogma.³⁰ From the thirteenth century a large number of medical works appear in the vernacular, many of which were produced in rhyme similar to those of religious texts such as the *Lumere as lais*, to be discussed in chapter 3, and many following the pattern noted by Wallis, where an emphasis on practical works and the aim to heal dominate. These vernacular medical texts were also intended for a wide audience: from a powerful figure such as Beatrix de Savoie, Countess of Provence, (m. 1220), whose name as dedicatee is included in a number of copies of the *Livre de phisicke*, but for which there is no evidence that she did commission the work,³¹ to perhaps those who were illiterate and whose health providers or barbers at this time may not have been any more literate than

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Françoise Fery-Hue, "Le Régime du Corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition, manuscrite et diffusion," *Santé, Médecine et Assistance au Moyen Âge. Actes du 110e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Montpellier, 1985. Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques vol. 1, 1987), 114

their patients or customers.³² Accusations of illiteracy, in this period, was often meant to support the claims of those wishing to limit the activities of male and female practitioners, considered to be on the fringes of authorised healthcare, and who argued that to practice medicine it was necessary to read Latin. It is, therefore, often found to designate those who did not belong to the male, Latin-educated milieu that included creators of religious and medical texts. Across the wide audience of vernacular readers many had access to, or at least would have been aware of, the type of literature which represents a blend of religious didactic texts and medicine knowledge to be found in manuscripts such as Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library 492 (MS Beinecke 492) and MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86 (MS Digby 86).

My close examination of MS Beinecke 492 which marries together two works, which on the surface appear to belong to totally different genres, has revealed a 'hidden' text. This shows how medical advice for fertility was transmitted outside of the *Trotula* corpus and how women would have had access to this knowledge or, indeed, have been the source of the knowledge itself. This text is catalogued under the heading *Ordonances medicale* in the early fourteenth-century manuscript MS Beinecke 492 but is, in fact, a copy of the widely disseminated *Lettre d'Hippocrate*, the contents of which resemble those in the well known thirteenth-century manuscript MS London,

³² See Claude de Tovar, "Contamination, interférences et tentatives de systématisation dans la tradition manuscrite des réceptaires médicaux français - le réceptaire de Jean Sauvage," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1973): 155-191.

British Library, Harley 978³³ and also MS London, Wellcome Library 546 a fairly luxurious fourteenth-century manuscript, that also contains a copy of the *Trotula*.³⁴ (Illus. 8). The *Lettre d'Hippocrate* appears to be one example where a vernacular text was subsequently translated into Latin. The study of vernacular manuscripts, in the period following the Conquest reveals that collections of remedies, recipes and regimens, point to continuity of a tradition of seeking out medical knowledge in the vernaculars of England.

Anglo-Saxon Background

Enthusiastic nineteenth and early-twentieth-century writers such as the eager folklorist Thomas Oswald Cockayne, relegate, denigrate or dismiss much of the contents of the substantial medical corpus of medicine in the earlier period of Anglo-Saxon England.³⁵ As a result Anglo-Saxon medicine was mostly categorised as superstitious and largely worthless: in essence a type only suitable for the 'Dark Ages'. More recently, defendants of the value of early English medicine such as Linda Voigts³⁶ have convincingly

³³ Musical, medical and literary miscellany, including 'Sumer is icumen in', Fables and Lays of Marie de France, poems by Walter Map, goliardic satires and songs and the 'Song of Lewes'. Origin England, Central (Oxford?). BL catalogue gives a date of between 1261-1265 although Hunt suggests 1240-50 for fols. 1-34 which contain the earliest vernacular copy of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate*. Language: Latin, French, English. See Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts*, 100-124.

³⁴ To date it appears that the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* was later translated into Latin. The text of MS Harley 978, thirteenth-century London, the Latin text of MS London, British Library Royal 12 B XII which includes many recipes from MS London, British Library Sloane 3550 are edited in Hunt *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 100-141.

³⁵ Thomas Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft in early England: being a collection of documents, for the most part never before printed, illustrating the history of science in this country before the Norman Conquest* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864).

³⁶ Linda E. Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," *Isis* 70, no. 2 (1979): 250-268.

demonstrated that much Anglo-Saxon knowledge draws on the writings of Greek medical authorities as transmitted through the re-writings of late-antique physicians. C. H. Talbot's discovery that a number of works, which had been attributed to Salernitan writers, were, in fact, already in use in England as early as they became available in Salerno. His findings were partially instrumental in re-evaluating the importance of Salerno.³⁷ It is now widely accepted that the physicians of Anglo-Saxon England had access to and were using many of the same texts and authorities that were also available elsewhere in contemporary Europe. However, more recent review of medical texts and ideas in England has further refined this view arguing that 'the tendency to over-estimate the sophistication of Anglo-Saxon medicine in the tenth century has obscured the changes that did take place'.³⁸ Although Monica Green has argued that in the field of medieval manuscript production of women's medicine, the early medieval corpus 'is rendered definitively obsolete by the thirteenth century'.³⁹ Perhaps, these differing opinions point to regional differences between England and southern Italy, as there is evidence that manuscripts in England, were still being consulted, and may help explain why England and northern France favoured the early transmission of medical texts on women's medicine.

³⁷ C. H. Talbot, "Some Notes on Anglo-Saxon Medicine," *Medical History* 9, no. 2 (1965): 156-169.

³⁸ D. Banham, "A Millennium in Medicine? New Medical Texts and Ideas in England in the Eleventh Century," in *Anglo-Saxon: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. S. Keynes and A. P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 231.

³⁹ Monica H. Green, "Rethinking the Manuscript Basis of Salvatore De Renzi's Collection Salernitana: The Corpus of Medical Writings in the Long Twelfth Century," in *La Collectio Salernitana di Salvatore de Renzi*, ed. D Jacquart and A Paravincini (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galuzzo, 2008), 15-60.

Evidence of the transmission of medical knowledge from the Graeco-Roman tradition is also found amongst the many works of Bede (673-735 A.D.), for example, a part of ch. 30 (*De Aequinoctiis et Solstitiis*) of his *De temporum ratione*.⁴⁰ In this work Bede demonstrates his own interest in one theoretical issue of health, namely how the relationship between the body and the physical and physiological fours – the affinity between the four winds, the four seasons and four elements of the physical world, the four ages and humours of man – affect health.⁴¹ He cites as his source the *Epistula Hippocratis ad Antiochum regem* (Hippocrates, Letter to the King of Antioch) and his text is close to those found in Helmreich's and Nierdermann's editions of Marcellus ('Empiricus') of Bordeaux's *De Medicamentis* (c.395-410 A.D.). In his work Marcellus displays a concern not only in the use of indigenous plants, but also in the use of synonyma, a concern which foreshadows medieval developments in textual compilations.⁴² Underpinning the *Epistula* is Greek medical theory in which dietetics played a major role in both sustaining health and treating illness. Bede's writings, therefore, provide evidence that he had access to at least one medical compendium: a collection of extracts from many of the writers of late antiquity.⁴³ The continued use of works such as these is exemplified in the

⁴⁰ Malcolm Laurence Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, New Ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28.

⁴¹ See Audrey Meaney, "The Practice of Medicine in England about the Year 1000," *Social History of Medicine* 13, no. 2 (2000): 221 -237.

⁴² Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 4.

⁴³ Malcolm Laurence Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, 29.

early tenth-century manuscript, widely referred to as *Bald's Leechbook*.⁴⁴ The text survives in only one manuscript: MS London, British Library, Royal 12, D xvii, which is described by Voigts as a 'living remedy book'.⁴⁵ Extracts from well known works of antiquity are included, for example the sixth-century *Therapeutica* of Alexander Trallianus, which itself is known to be a compilation of other works, and the seventh-century works of Paul of Aegina, a Galenist. Paul wrote on gynaecology and poisons, and his only extant work is his medical encyclopaedia, *Epitome medicae libri septem* (Seven Books of Medicine) which is arranged in life-cycle order. It opens with pregnancy, the diseases of childhood and of old age and then passes to diet and regimen. Illness is dealt with in Book II with maladies affecting specific parts treated next, in top to toe order.⁴⁶ This range of treatment and advice is found in vernacular texts from the thirteenth century.

The key point is, that in the thirteenth century medical manuscripts in English archives were still being consulted, as demonstrated by the addition of Middle English glosses. *Leechbook II* also borrows freely from Mediterranean sources, separating out external and internal diseases using sources of Greek, Roman, North African and Byzantine origins.⁴⁷ One chapter of the *Leechbooks II* that was intended to treat general 'disorders of

⁴⁴ Thomas Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft in Early England. Being a Collection of Documents, for the Most Part Never Before Printed, Illustrating the History of Science in This Country Before the Norman Conquest* (London, 1864).

⁴⁵ Voigts, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Remedies and the Anglo-Saxons," 258.

⁴⁶ Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A History of Humanity From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Fontana, 1999), 89.

⁴⁷ Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, 43.

the inwards' had evidently also dealt with a number of gynaecological conditions for which, as the extant index reveals, there were forty-one remedies. This index shows which treatments the compiler or commissioner of the manuscript had felt warranted inclusion. The missing section of *Leechbook II* that was intended to deal with gynaecological treatments, is followed by a number of remedies which clearly specify the use of non-native *materia medica*. Much of this section may have belonged to a pharmacological work (*Antidotarium*) that also became widely disseminated in the twelfth century.⁴⁸ In addition women's recipes and remedies are also found scattered throughout *Leechbook I*.⁴⁹ Among these few simple remedies, we find therapeutics to correct bad breath and to improve the complexion together with a simple treatment for sore lips that includes the use of pepper. The non-native ingredients referred to in *Leechbooks I* and *II* include references, not only to pepper but also mastich, galbanum (from Asia Minor), scammony (from Syria), gutta ammoniaca (from Armenia), cinnamon, vermilion, aloes, pumice, mercury, brimstone, myrrh, frankincense, petroleum (from Judaea) and ginger. The discovery Cairo Genizah archives in 1896-97 included a considerable number of records of everyday life in the Jewish communities in the eleventh and thirteenth-centuries. Amongst these were a number of medical prescriptions. These documents have enabled

⁴⁸ Henry Sigerist, "The Latin Medical Literature of the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* (1958): 127-146.

⁴⁹ A further point of note is that an examination of some of the remedies would seem to indicate that Cockayne's translation is misleading in that he has used 'man' in cases where the Old English would have given a non-gendered patient. This is particularly notable in cases of treatments of the wamb. A close examination and comparison might result in the inclusion of more women's remedies by the compiler coming to light.

valuable research to be carried out which identifies which botanical or pharmacological ingredients were more likely to have been used at this time.⁵⁰ The list of *materia medica* found in the Cairo Genizah medical documents includes many of the items which are specified in both the Old English and Anglo-Norman manuscripts suggesting not only knowledge of these ingredients but also widespread use of non-native ingredients in this period. The Durham Account Rolls for the years 1311-1312 also confirm the availability of a wide range of imported goods acquired for the kitchen, among which are found the staggering amount of twelve and a half pounds of saffron, along with large quantities of pepper and cloves, together with twenty three pounds of ginger, cumin and a substantial quantity of *sucre de Roche et Marrock*.⁵¹ Many of the remedies that incorporate these ingredients emerge once again in the medical collections of Anglo-Norman, French and Italian manuscripts.

One scholar describes the change that took place in the twelfth- to thirteenth century, as texts became available in the vernacular, as representing a 'shift from sacred literature to practical literacy':⁵² a shift that is exemplified by the didactic and practical texts examined in this study. Unlike some of the earlier texts on medicine these works contain information retrieval systems, such as indexes, allowing the readers to find the condition and treatment to

⁵⁰ Lev, Efraim and Zohar Amar, "Practical Versus Theory: Medieval Materia Medica according to the Cairo Genizah," *Medical History* 51 (2007): 507-526.

⁵¹ *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham From the Original MSS.*, ed. C. Fowler, Vol. 1 (Durham: Surtees Society 99, Andrews and Co., 1898), 9.

⁵² M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 333.

use, while others provide aids to identifying plants, both of which are valuable indicators that the texts were not merely reference books but were consulted and used. The practical content of Latin and vernacular texts often includes material that derives from empirical medicine, a most notable example being the oral medical traditions recorded in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, examples of which are also found in the *Trotula* and throughout other recipe and remedy collections. Increasingly, however, as translations from Arabic works became available, a wide range of costly compound drugs enters into the written record. The effect of this is evident in some of the earliest texts which point to a distinct awareness, on the part of the compiler, of his audience: one real (either himself, the commissioner of the text or the end-user) and the other fictive (the audience among whom may be found students or, as Green has suggested, women themselves). For the authors or compilers of the simplest texts on medicine, for example the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* or the Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia* their audience was in the first place, perhaps the readers themselves, and then those to whom the text was read. In this way the close relationship between traditional medicine and literate medicine is created, and as the former became increasingly embedded in medieval texts, it gains its own authority through the written word. The written word did not simply supersede the oral but produced a new work in which readers could recognise familiar concepts and methods of treatment. With the development of literacy there were occasions that led to the written word influencing what people thought or how they behaved, 'so that even

when the texts were not present, people responded as though they were'.⁵³ This development of the consciousness of the authority of the written word is also evident in the numerous occurrences in a wide range of vernacular works where references are given, sometimes erroneously, to authorities, for example Hippocrates, Galen, and Constantine; the same is occasionally true for Trota.

This study focuses on vernacular versions of medical texts and their audiences but here I want to look briefly at one early Latin text to establish to what extent its contents differ to those found in the related vernacular versions.⁵⁴ It is known that the earliest extant examples of the *Trotula* texts originated in either northern France or England and this pattern applies to both Latin⁵⁵ and vernacular⁵⁶ versions. A copy of a very early example of the discrete texts, which would later form part of the standardised *Trotula*, is found in the early thirteenth-century MS London, British Library Royal 12 E. XV. This manuscript was owned by Edward IV (born in Rouen in 1442), before his accession: *'Iste liber co[n]stat Edwardo comiti / marchie*

⁵³ Brian Stock, *Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 3.

⁵⁴ I have not examined this manuscript and all descriptions are from the British Library online catalogue and information taken from Monica H. Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part I: The Latin Texts," *Scriptorium* 50 (1996): 150.

⁵⁵ For details of the extent of most of the known manuscripts see Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part I: The Latin Texts," 137-75.

⁵⁶ Monica H. Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Translations and Latin Re-Writings," *Scriptorium* 51 (1997): 80-104.

p[rim]ogenit[us] fili[us] ducis / Eboraci' (f. 2^v),⁵⁷ thus by the time Edward owned this manuscript the first part was approximately two centuries old. The first foliation contains a copy of the *De Curis Mulierum* (On the Treatments of Women), believed to be *Trota's* own work. In this manuscript it is written in a small thirteenth-century hand with simple red initials. This first section includes tracts on phlebotomy and cautery, and a copy of the *Anatomia porci*, this is followed by the *DCM*,⁵⁸ and extracts from the *De ornatus mulierum* (On Women's Cosmetics). I have compared the cosmetic treatments with those of the standardised version. Of the fifteen remedies two are for falling hair, one each to make the hair blond, curly and thick, four to whiten the face, one to correct sunburn, one to whiten the hands, one to deal with sweat, one for a stinking mouth, and the final two are for making the hair long and black.⁵⁹ The medieval texts on *Ornatus* also provided advice not only for women but also men as fashions waxed and waned. Anthropologists recognise that treatment of hair is 'pre-eminently a socially visible act',⁶⁰ and, as such, an important signifier of both cultural social standing and biological life-cycle. In the late eleventh- and early-twelfth century a well documented craze for long hair among men 'swept the upper classes in northern France and England', resulting in scandal and prohibition

⁵⁷ The handlist gives 's. xii. ex.', Green, "Part I: The Latin Texts," 150.

⁵⁸ For the origins of the *DCM* and its English glosses see Monica H. Green, "The Development of the Trotula," in *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 136.

⁵⁹ Green lists the relevant paragraph numbers in Green, "Part I: The Latin Texts," 150.

⁶⁰ Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4, Sixth Series (1994): 43.

for the cult of 'luxuriant male hair', while later a number of Anglo-Norman courtiers in Amiens were 'turned away from the altar during mass by their bishop on account of their long hair'.⁶¹ The extracts from the *Ornatus* in Edward IV's manuscript reflect the styles of the period in which it was produced. The first foliation of this manuscript also includes two tracts which deal with diet: the *Tractatus de saporibus*,⁶² together with a tract on colours as they relate to food, both of these are found in a variety of forms and often included in vernacular regimen.⁶³ The second and later part of this manuscript contains a copy of the *Secretum Secretorum*⁶⁴ in an early-fourteenth century hand this time with gold letters and ornamentation and a later tract has been added consisting of a simple list of astrological aphorisms known as Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*.⁶⁵ In the second part of this manuscript there is a reference to Nicholas de Tingewick an esteemed physician of Edward I (d. 1307), who after the King's death appears to have entered the services of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and who also served the new king Edward II (1284-1327). Edward II, is known to have confiscated a number of books of

⁶¹ Ibid., 51.

⁶² A copy of a complete *Viandier* is found in MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek 4^o med. 1. For the importance of the works on *Saporibus* see Taillevent and Terence Scully, *The Viandier of Taillevent: an edition of all extant manuscripts* (University of Ottawa Press, 1988).

⁶³ Charles Burnett, "The Superiority of Taste," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 230-238.

⁶⁴ See below for an example of where an early fourteenth-century library inventory reveals a women reader borrowing a Latin copy of the *Secretum secretorum* along with a Saint's life in French. In a number of copies this widely disseminated text is preceded by a letter to a Queen of Spain, perhaps Tharasia who died in 1130. See Hunt *Anglo-Norman Treatises II*, 195. In the thirteenth-century this was translated into German by a nun who envisaged a male and female audience for her vernacular version. See Monica Green, 'Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages', *Dynamis, Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000): 351.

⁶⁵ The description is taken from the British Library's on-line catalogue.

surgery from Elizabeth de Burgh (1295-1360) Lady of Clare, his niece and a cousin of King Edward III, three of which he later returned to her.⁶⁶ Perhaps the manuscript owned by Edward IV was among those confiscated but as far as I am aware there is no way to confirm this.

Members of Edward II's medical entourage included Robert de Cisterna, and the apothecary Peter de Montpellier, mentioned above, who in 1323 also provided medicine for the Queen Isabella and Lady Eleanor Despenser on the orders of another the royal physician Pancius de Controne.⁶⁷ Nothing is known of Pancius' training and his appointment in the court was presumably made on his reputation and practice as a 'Leech'.⁶⁸ Another physician well placed to aid the dissemination and use of medical texts was Theobald of Troyes, also known as Thibaud Rotarii de Lanis who remained in the service of Queen Isabella throughout her reign.⁶⁹ Theobald's multiple positions included canonries of York and Troyes, chaplain of the King of France at Sainte-Etienne at Troyes, and at Saint-Fursy of Péronne. He also held the cure of Cottingham in the diocese of York, in 1331 and canonry at Arras.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth de Burgh is also known to have owned a copy of a Latin *Rosa Anglica* which she gave to her physician Simon Bredon. Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 50.

⁶⁷ The widespread incorporation into texts for signs of pregnancy are widespread one reason for their inclusion is perhaps the question of inheritance which when large estates were involved could result in long-standing disputes. For example on the death of Lady Eleanor Despenser's brother-in-law his wife, claimed to be pregnant held up the division of the de Clare lands until in May 1315, tired of waiting, Despenser seized Tonbridge Castle in Kent.

⁶⁸ G. E. Gask, "The Medical Staff of King Edward the Third," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 19, (1926): 3.

⁶⁹ J. S. Hamilton, "Some Notes on Royal Medicine in the Reign of Edward II" in *Fourteenth-century England*, ed. Nigel Saul and Chris Given-Wilson, Vol. II (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 34-35.

When in 1313 Isabella suffered serious burns, in addition to her own physician, Isabelle was treated by two French royal physicians, Master Jean Pitard (or Picard) and his associate Master Henri de Mondeville, who wrote on *Ornatus*, and was court physician and battlefield surgeon to Philip the Fair.⁷⁰ Jean Pitard's patron was also Gui de Chatillon who requested that a translation be made of the *Chirurgie de l'Abbé Poutrel* which, despite its name, contains a range of simple treatments and remedies for a wide range of conditions. The way in which physicians and surgeons continued to travel long distances is exemplified in the case of Henri de Mondeville who, in 1304 was in Montpellier giving anatomy lessons for which an Occitan account has survived.⁷¹ Mondeville's role in the Royal household from 1301-1312 was particularly concerned with the care of the king's children, and he was therefore probably already known to Isabella.⁷²

The transmission of newly translated medical knowledge and further problems of 'Scholarly Editions'.

Compilations which contain medical texts, in either the vernacular or Latin, are presented in modern editions which often give only a brief description of the manuscript's other contents. These editions themselves can therefore be misleading. Moreover, even with the addition of these brief details the medical texts still often appear to be isolated works, disconnected

⁷⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁷¹ Thomas F. Glick, Steven John Livesey, and Faith Wallis, *Medieval Science, Technology, and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 2005), 467.

⁷² Saul and Given-Wilson, *Fourteenth century England II*, 36.

from the other texts in the compilation, with the result that their importance can often be exaggerated. In short, the effect brought about by the use of a text, as simply part of a re-created 'ur-text', can mislead the modern reader into believing that the 'imperfect' text is of lesser value, while what is left out of a copy can be equally illuminating. This effect is further exaggerated when crucial information such as codicological or palaeographical detail is left out of the discussion. Graham D. Caie has described what he has called the 'manuscript experience' of medieval readers of manuscripts, noting how each *mise en page* informed the reader of the quality or content of the text, with the result that the medieval reader would be 'presented with many more stimuli and much more information on the page than that provided by the text in a modern edition'.⁷³ The written word, the quality of the membrane, the scribal hand, and the layout are all crucial clues for determining the social and cultural context for the manuscript as a whole, and just how it was intended to be used and by whom. The use of glosses, marginalia, both written and pictorial, the use of rubrics and manicules all point to what interested not only the author or compiler, but also subsequent readers both male and female. What texts were selected for translation during all periods are, therefore, a valuable indication of what one culture finds of interest in another and more importantly, in the context of this thesis, what some

⁷³ Graham D. Caie, 'The Manuscript Experience: What Medieval Vernacular Manuscripts Tell Us About Authors and Texts', in *Medieval Texts in Context*, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey, (London: Routledge, 2008) 11.

individuals and even groups in a given culture are looking for when they seek out texts to be copied and translated.⁷⁴

The renewed interest in, and re-introduction of, scientific texts, including medicine in the period c. 1100-1250 coincided with the Norman conquest of England and this conquest occurred in the same generation as the reconquests of Muslim-held territory: those of Sicily (1060s), Toledo (1085) and parts of the Middle East (1098). By the middle of the twelfth century, the reconquest of land in the Iberian peninsular offered further routes for the transmission of medical knowledge, aided of the movement south and settlement of families whose origins lay in northern France or England. These areas are, conspicuously, all places from which a wide range of scientific texts were already available, and in the case of Sicily and southern Italy, prior to the rise of Salernitan fame.⁷⁵ areas which were fully under what has been described as Norman control. Haskins has listed a number of men whose careers connected them with England, Sicily, Apulia and other areas of southern Italy. Notably, among these is the young Thomas Brown, who probably belonged to a family of Kings' clerks of this name, possibly the son or nephew of William Brown clerk of Henry I.⁷⁶ Henry is known to have been willing to help men with legal and administrative talent. It was from his reign that the financial system centred on the Exchequer was created and the legal

⁷⁴ Peter Burke, "Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe," *European Review* 15, no. 1 (2007): 83-94.

⁷⁵ Patricia Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

⁷⁶ C.H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *The English Historical Review* 26, no. 103 (1911): 439.

system strengthened through chancery.⁷⁷ As I noted above the fragment of MS London, National Archives, E. 163/22/2/1 (MS NA E.163/22/2/1) was discovered among the papers of the Chancery miscellanea, perhaps, suggesting another route by which these early medical texts may have been copied and disseminated, at the hands of chancery and exchequer clerks.

Thomas, one such clerk, is believed to have arrived back in England by 1158, when he is 'mentioned in the Pipe Roll as an uncle of a certain Ralph, who received a livery from a farm in Herefordshire'. He also held a house and lands in Winchester, as well as houses outside Hereford and lands across the Channel in the Grainville and the Pays De Caux.⁷⁸ While in southern Italy Thomas had been in Salerno he was, therefore, perfectly placed to have encountered the book trade of Salerno. The earliest books probably arrived, however, not as a direct result of conquest but out of a desire for new or newly translated works for the libraries of both existing and newly founded religious establishments. By the early thirteenth century translations or compositions in the vernacular were becoming available for an eager new readership with an interest in health and medicine.

Although medicine in this period was conceived as bi-partite: theory and practice the emphasis in the vernacular lies mainly on practical medical matters. Long thought of as essentially Salernitan, the emphasis of medicine

⁷⁷ M. T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers 1066-1307*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 47.

⁷⁸ C.H. Haskins, "England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century," *The English Historical Review*, (1911): 239.

lay on basing medical practice and medical instruction, on principles of natural philosophy and the basic components of the natural world. These included: the elements, humours, spirits, and the ways these forces interacted in living organisms to produce health or disease.⁷⁹ However, in spite of this almost mythical status of Salerno as a centre for the spread of new medicine into northern Europe, particularly England and northern France, there is evidence that as early as the beginning of the eleventh century Anselm (c.1033-1109), prior of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, which itself held lands in England, was demonstrating an interest in medicine by requesting copies of texts from Canterbury of not only Bede's *De temporis*, to correct a faulty exemplar but other texts including medicine.⁸⁰ Anselm shortly added other texts to his desiderata: a copy of the *Aphorisms*, (traditionally attributed to Hippocrates 460-380 B.C.), an extended commentary on this work, plus a short work on pulses, the *libellus de pulsibus*.⁸¹ Medical works such as these may be taken to infer an interest in skills that would now be considered as wholly medical, such as their value as a means to predicting imminent death, but as Gasper and Wallis have noted these skills may also have been required for liturgical reasons. Both the *Aphorisms* and the *de pulsibus* are amongst the corpus of Arabic medical texts that Constantine the African (d.1098/9) is said to have brought from Qayrawan and translated with colleagues in the

⁷⁹ *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*, p.11.

⁸⁰ See Stock, *Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries* and M. T.Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.

⁸¹ Giles E. M. Gasper and Faith Wallis, "Anselm and the 'Articella'," *Traditio* 59 (2004): 129-174.

Benedictine monastery of Montecassino at the end of the eleventh century. By around 1100 these texts had formed the torso of the *Ars medica* or *Articella*, a stable anthology which has traditionally been linked to the nascent academic study of medicine in southern Italy. As early as the middle of the twelfth-century another work, the *Cirurgia*, long thought of as a work by Constantine although recent re-appraisal of his translation activity has moderated this view,⁸² was available to Latin readers as far apart as Hereford, (MS Bethesda, The National Library of Medicine 9037), and Tortosa to the south of Barcelona (MS Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Santa Iglesia Catedral, 144: fols. 90^v-95^r), both notably areas with early Norman and later Anglo-Norman connections.⁸³ The latter, late twelfth-century codex, also includes a copy of the *Philosophia de Mundi* by William of Conches (c.1085-1154) which includes a discussion on generation and sexuality, and is known to have been influenced by the *Pantegni*.⁸⁴ As explained above William Brown, Clerk to Henry I, first mentioned in 1137 and his son who became Clerk to Henry II, were both connected to southern Italy and Hereford, perhaps suggesting one route that may have allowed the early transmission of practical medical works to arrive in northern France and England. In addition connections with Iberia through settlement and marriage provided further routes for transmission.

⁸² Raphaella Veit, "Al-Magusi's Kitāb Al-Malaki and Its Latin Translation Ascribed to Constantine the African: The Reconstruction of the Pantegni, Practica, Liber II," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 16 (2006): 133-168.

⁸³ Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, "Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian 'Reconquista' c. 1018 - c. 1248" (PhD diss., The University of Nottingham, 2007).

⁸⁴ For the Anglo-Norman translation see "Divisiones Mundi" in *Cambridge Anglo-Norman Texts* ed. O.H. Prior (Cambridge: University Press, 1924) 34-62.

Latin to Vernacular Medicine

By the twelfth century developments in manuscript production had led to changes which made study much easier. The techniques developed include running headlines, chapter titles in red, alternating blue and red initials and the gradation of size in initials, cross references, and citation of authors quoted, often spuriously. Accompanying these changes in vernacular copies are assurances that the reader will find what they are seeking: a remedy for their ills. Prologues proclaim that the work will be of great benefit or use to the reader, and that all men can profit from the work, and of course, all men in this context also encompasses women. I discuss further in chapter 5 the evidence which demonstrates how, in subsequent copies, remedies were simplified and instructions are set out in a readily accessible and simple format, with quantities and descriptions for making remedies following those of domestic medicine. Claims of brevity, and therefore utility, are often supported by the physical size of the treatises, for example a cursory glance at the overall size of many of the manuscript copies of Aldobrandino's *Régime du corps* reveals that many of these were also intended to convey the impression of utility, practicality and portability, while translations of some *regimina* also appeared in smaller formats. For example a Latin version of Arnau de Villanova's *Regiment de sanitat* consists of nine folios, while its Catalan counterpart, Johannes de Toletto's *Regiment de Sanitat* is reduced to a compact four.⁸⁵ The availability of short texts and reduction of the theory

⁸⁵ Michael Solomon, *Fictions of Well-Being: Sickly Readers and Vernacular Medical Writings in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of

resulted in the formation of works that were in opposition to the prevailing notion that professional medical competency was only acquired after long and dedicated study of an approved canon of medicine. At the same time the writers stressed their utility to such an extent that even the need to consult physicians could be avoided. Many of these innovations are also found, to varying degrees, in compilations some of which depend on the subject being treated, for example see the difference in the treatment of the religious and medical texts in MS Beinecke 492 examined in chapter 3. (Illus. 12 and 14). Everything from hawking, estate keeping, *maréchalerie* and astrology found its way into Anglo-Norman manuscripts, for readership by both men and women and by the 1400s books explaining Latin grammar in English were available for an eager audience.⁸⁶ Later translations of scientific and medical texts from Latin to Middle English are also used as a valuable indicator of how developments in readership affected the production of manuscripts. Surviving manuscripts clearly and effectively demonstrate the changing balance which took place between *doctrina* and the provision of useful information as it shifts 'decisively in favour of the latter'.⁸⁷ But nowhere was this growth more striking than in the field of medicine. With a change of emphasis from theory to practice, vernacular medical works became available to a wider audience, an idea that is pointed out to readers by numerous

Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 20.

⁸⁶ For a study of later manuscripts in middle English see, Claire Jones, 'Vernacular Literacy in Late-Medieval England: The Example of East Anglian Medical Manuscripts' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2000).

⁸⁷ Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1100-1400* Vol. II (Cambridge, 2008), 461.

authors, the elimination of much of the theory also allowed for the composition of shorter works.

One of the best known compendia, epitomising this encyclopaedic frenzy and search for knowledge of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is a widely transmitted thirteenth-century medical compilation, the *De proprietatibus rerum*.⁸⁸ by Gilbertus Anglicus, which was translated into English in 1398/9, by John Trevisa (c.1340-1402). Both its popularity and authority is illustrated by the extracts that a merchant of Venice decided to include in his commonplace book of the fourteenth century, MS Yale University Library 327. Following a charm to staunch blood this compiler writes '*Queste sì è molto preçioxe cosse de far secondo como disse que de soto per singollo e trovasse scritto in lo libro de proprietatibus*'. (fol. 53'.)⁸⁹ Following this is a number of recipes after which Zibaldone adds the Ten Commandments, and the widely disseminated treatise on the virtues of rosemary. This again demonstrates the theory of the power of *auctoritas*, for while vernacular authors and compilers unhesitatingly, embraced practical medicine in all of its forms, often making it their own with additions and subtractions, they also included named authorities as a means to add weight to their prescriptions. As a result Galen's value as an authority resisted change

⁸⁸ Both Bartholomew and his later translator Trevisa display the widespread Latinate, scholastic notion, also evident in the work of Albertus Magnus that the female of the species is a defective form of the male. For a study which suggests slippage in gender identification in the middle ages see Laura Jose, "Monstrous Conceptions: Sex, Madness and Gender in Medieval Medical Texts," *Comparative Critical Studies* 5, no. 2-3 (2008): 153-163.

⁸⁹ A. Stussi, *Zibaldone da Canal, manoscritto mercantile del sec XIV*, Fonti per la storia di Venezia 5 (Venice, 1967), 90.

only to finally die out in the nineteenth century while the name of *Ypocras* (Hippocrates) was sometimes added spuriously to texts, at times replacing that of Galen. The evidence suggests that earlier medical writers, Anglo-Saxon style, also merely 'paid lip service to humoral theory' and do not seem to have grasped its full implications as they, unlike their successors, did not practise blood letting as a 'cure all'.⁹⁰ Compilers of later vernacular works, however, did employ Galen's theory in their use of both medicine and diet to restore humoral balance with the result that references to hot and cold, dry and moist qualities, including their role in human health, are incorporated in varying degrees into vernacular works.

Patricia Skinner suggests that 'the desire of historians to see a deliberate intellectual centre being set up at Salerno derives in part from the wealth of medical texts emanating from southern Italy at an early date'.⁹¹ As I noted above, it is now widely accepted that two works from antiquity previously thought to have been products of translation activity in southern Italy, Salerno, were in fact already available in England and calls into question to what extent Salernitan writings were truly Salernitan. Talbot's comparison of the contents of the *Leechbooks* have been found to reflect the work of Garipontus and Petrocellus which led him to conclude that the inclusion that points to their employment in Anglo-Saxon England at least two centuries before the date which is usually given for their appearance in

⁹⁰ Cameron, *Anglo Saxon Medicine*, 161.

⁹¹ Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy*, 127.

England.⁹² The confusion of the origins of vernacular medicine is perhaps summed up by the one early fifteenth century writer's belief, revealed in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 2046,

*Ce present livre composa et ordonna maistre Jehan de milan
et l'approuva l'universite de salerne qui est en angleterre la
quele universite et le Roy dangleterre pour garder sa sante et
pour soy gouvernement...ou cas que ilz nauroit nulz phisiciens
(fol. 58^v).*

In her summing up of the nature of Anglo-Saxon medical texts Monica Green has suggested that those in 'Anglo-Saxon were a unique phenomenon,⁹³ while both Hunt and Green have also both commented on the 'precocious' nature of Anglo-Norman medicine. Indeed apart from a collection of Hebrew medical translations (all apparently the work of a single translator working in Southern France between 1197 and 1199) and an apparently isolated free translation of Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia* (Surgery) into Occitan in 1209, the Anglo-Norman works appear to be the earliest vernacular medical writings since the Anglo-Saxon translations revealing the need for the production of texts for an avid and developing readership.

⁹² Charles Talbot "Some Notes on Anglo-Saxon Medicine," *Medical History* 9 (1965):156-169.

⁹³ 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. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York: York Medieval Press in association with the Boydell Press, 2009), 220-231.

The continuation of medieval readers' enthusiasm for medical works is also reflected in compilations which include a wide range of writings of the Hippocratic tradition, and among these are the well-known *Aphorisms*, at least one of which, how to foretell whether the woman is carrying a male or female, is found throughout vernacular recipe collections. Part of the twelfth-century manuscript MS London, Wellcome Library 801A, written in a Beneventan script at Montecassino, contains this text and at its core are the further four treatises which around 1100 A.D. formed the *Articella* anthology. This anthology initially included the Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's *Isagoge* (a short introductory handbook to medical theory) together with works on prognostics, Philaretus's *On Pulses*, as mentioned in Anselm's request, and Theophilus's *On Urines*.⁹⁴ MS Wellcome 801A appears in the catalogue of the original library at the Cathedral of Bury St. Edmunds and although originally thought to have been brought to England by Anselm of Canterbury this has since been refuted.⁹⁵ A similar group of texts is also found in the twelfth-century Latin manuscript MS NLM 9037 referred to earlier. This manuscript also includes Constantinus Africanus' translations of a *Theorica* and *Practica* which formed part of the *Pantegni* along with a number of Byzantine authored works, notably the *de Pulsibus* and *de Urinis* and once again material derived from Alexander Trallianus (c. 525-605 A.D.), and a work by

⁹⁴ Francis Newton, "The Text of the Isagoge," in *Constantine the African and 'Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Magusi: The Pantegni and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1994). Gasper and Wallis have argued otherwise in 'Anselm and the "Articella"'.
⁹⁵ Giles Gasper, "A Doctor in the House? The Context for Anselm of Canterbury's Interest in Medicine with Reference to a Probable Case of Malaria," *Journal of Medieval History* 30, no. 3 (2004): 245-261.

Oribasius c.320-400. This manuscript also includes texts on prognosis, astrology, divination and dietary advice, all of which are later found in vernacular works. Although this is a Latin manuscript it contains close analogues of remedies and recipes that are also found in vernacular works. For example the short text which begins with the incipit *Liber alexandri*, introduces a number of popular remedies for headaches and purging the head (fol. 78), while among the numerous remedies dealing with the question of fertility is one for testing a suspected case of female infertility that relies on the method of fumigation.⁹⁶ This example of a Latin work is cited for two reasons. First it illustrates once again the difficulty that exists in drawing the line between where scholastic medicine ends and where popular and empirical medicine begins. This underlines the difficulty in determining what may have been read by educated physicians, or by those who later compiled or translated collections in the vernacular.⁹⁷ Second, the presence of Middle English glosses in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, bears witness to the continuity in the availability of medical knowledge in England and an interest the older texts. Texts on astrology, and divination, and others which dealt with diagnosis by urines and pulses, together with dietary advice all found their way into the vernacular writing of post conquest England.

⁹⁶ *Mulier si non acciperit in utero. velis autem scire si conceptura. coutege eam vestimentis et suffa.... gagate lapide deorsum et si supervenerit odor per corpus ados. et adnares* (fol. 66 modern numeration).

⁹⁷ See Chiara Cisciani, "History, Novelty and Progress in Scholastic Medicine," *Osiris*, 2nd Series, Vol. 6 Renaissance Medical Learning: Evolution of a Tradition (1990): 118-139.

By the twelfth century as the *Articella* became a standard work to which every student studying the Liberal Arts, would need to have access, the goals of education and the content of the curriculum in thirteenth-century universities changed dramatically. Aristotelian logic and natural science virtually extinguished interest in the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy) at university level. *Questiones disputate* based on the scholastic method of teaching and student examination became standard practice. Medicine as a discrete subject has been described as arriving late to university teaching in England and although a university had existed at Bologna since the eleventh century, there was no faculty of medicine in Oxford or Cambridge before the fourteenth century. Even then, numbers remained insignificant: in Italy Bologna granted 65 degrees in medicine and only one in surgery between 1419 and 1434 and Turin a mere 13 between 1426 and 1462.⁹⁸ At fifteenth-century Oxford one medical student graduated every two years, at Cambridge 'hardly two a decade'.⁹⁹ And yet survival of the image of scholastic style of teaching in texts filtered down into vernacular works. For example traces can be found in two of the fifteenth-century manuscripts examined here, MS Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale 863 and MS London, British Library, Lansdowne 380, which perhaps suggests an attempt by the compiler to acquire and attach a seal of approval to these vernacular works, the latter of which was intended for a female readership.

⁹⁸ Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity From Antiquity to the Present*, (London: Fontana Press, 1999), 114.

⁹⁹ Vivian Nutton, "Medicine in Medieval Western Europe, 1000-1500," in *The Western Medical Tradition 800BC to AD1800*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 156.

With the arrival of vernacular translations advice for women's conditions becomes increasingly available in the vernacular, as manuscripts began to appear in Anglo-Norman and French, together with the later fourteenth-century copies of a much abbreviated *Trotula* in Italian. To date there are no known copies of the *Trotula* in the vernaculars of the Iberian peninsular and similarly there are no known extant manuscripts from southern Italy or Sicily, once again confirming patterns of transmission centred on northern and later central Europe. Monica Green's survey of gynaecological and obstetrical texts remains the standard work for the history of the transmission of ancient theories of female physiology and disease.¹⁰⁰ Her work on the extant copies of manuscripts incorporating the text that became known as the *Trotula* revealed the wealth of information circulating throughout medieval Europe and that these point to the medical literati of ninth to eleventh centuries having had a pronounced interest in gynaecological matters.¹⁰¹ In her survey of medical manuscripts Green raised the question 'Why, if so much medical material was available in England from the twelfth century on, was so little of it rendered into Anglo-Norman?' She reached the conclusion that Latin continued to be the *lingua franca* of medical theory, and that it was because 'it had been the language in which the 'new medicine' (that of Salerno and the translations of Constantinus

¹⁰⁰ Green, "The Transmission of Ancient Theories of Female Physiology and Disease Through the Early Middle Ages."

¹⁰¹ Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts." Part I: The Latin Texts, 137-75.

Africanus) of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries arrived'.¹⁰² However, already shown, the texts which proved to be of equal interest to translators and compilers were those which provided practical and useful knowledge. Vivian Nutton's description confirms their appeal as 'with the exception of surgery, both the types of texts involved and their message rarely rise above the basic level of self-help'.¹⁰³ The newly established order of friars (Franciscans and Dominicans) some of whom are known to have practised medicine are also known to have stimulated the book trade beyond the monasteries as they had no scriptoria of their own.¹⁰⁴ They favoured small books that could be easily carried, a format which is also used by some of the earliest compilers of vernacular medical works which include texts such as Aldobrandino's *Livre de physique*, and the *Thesaurus pauperum*, and these compilations often contain a range of vernacular texts. One early fourteenth century didactic text specifically written for women, *Le Reggimento e costume di Donna* written in Italian, c. 1318-1320 by Francesco da Barberino (1264-1348), a contemporary of Dante, was partially composed in Padua. Francesco was writing at a time when both Aldrobrandino and Brunetto Latini were also writing in the vernacular of France. Francesco had spent four years in Provence, had travelled throughout France, spent time in Picardy and had frequented the court of Philippe le Bel, as he had the papal court of

¹⁰² Green, "Salerno on the Thames," 230.

¹⁰³ Vivian Nutton, "Medicine in Medieval Western Europe," 145.

¹⁰⁴ See Graham Pollard, "The University and the Book Trade in Medieval Oxford," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* III, no. 14 (1964): 336-46.

Clement V.¹⁰⁵ This moralistic treatise, sets out to instruct women of different ages, fortune and birth, to behave in a courteous and honourable manner in order to reflect the socio-political order of thirteenth-century Florence.¹⁰⁶ The thirteenth chapter which gives similar advice for the new-born, owes much to the corresponding chapter of Aldrobrandino's *Livre de physique*.¹⁰⁷ I refer to *Le Reggimento* in more detail below in chapter 4. The choices made by the compilers of the vernacular texts, therefore, reflect a conscious awareness of the utility of the material to be translated and copied rather than the mere mindless repetition of sources.

These newly available vernacular works offered an opportunity for a much wider audience to both read and recreate the texts which proved to be of interest to them. Moreover, the early interest and use of both Latin and vernacular medicine is evident from a number of additions and annotations which have been made to the manuscripts. These additions continue to include glosses, marginal notes, and evidence of particular interest by a reader, is shown by the use of manicules or annotations in the margins in the form of simple crosses, or for treatments for women's conditions, occasionally the word *femmes* or *mulier* written into the margin. A number of thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman or French manuscripts with English

¹⁰⁵ Antoine Thomas, "Francesco da Barberino et la littérature Provençal en Italie au moyen âge." Thèse présentée à La Faculté des Lettres de Paris. (Paris: Ernest Thorin ed., Librairie des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, du Collège de France et de L'École Normale Supérieure, 1883), 27.

¹⁰⁶ Cazalé Claude, "Le 'Regimento e costume di Donna' de Francesco de Barberino," *Médiévales* 6 (1984): 72.

¹⁰⁷ Françoise Fery-Hue, *Le Régime du Corps*, 131.

connections edited by Hunt contain texts written in verse including the well-known collection found in MS Cambridge Trinity College O.1.20, which is one of the earliest and most important collections of medical texts in the vernacular. This manuscript incorporates what is now regarded as a collection or repository of thirteenth-century vernacular medical lore. Although in this compilation there is little evidence of marginal notes or other signs of actual use, one of the texts included here is an early copy of Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia*. This is the same text which is also found in an early Hebrew version but the exemplar found in the Trinity manuscript is of particular interest as the outer leaves of the first quire are shiny and rubbed,¹⁰⁸ suggesting that texts such as these may have circulated as pamphlets before being incorporated into collections, a point also worth noting for Italian copies of the *Santa del corpo* discussed in chapter 4. The fact that some texts are known to have existed in medieval libraries without covers has been noted by Luc Fraisse who records how in order for some texts to be copied some manuscripts were unbound and then rebound at a later date. Other unbound copies are known to have been held in libraries without covers such as those recorded in the early fourteenth-century inventory of the library of La Ferté en Ponthieu. The discrete texts being merely covered with a leaf of parchment.¹⁰⁹ Simple texts such as these would have been a ready source of material for informal lending and copying leaving little trace in the written

¹⁰⁸ Not strictly Salernitan as Roger of Frugard (or Parma) is often misleadingly referred to as Roger of Salerno. Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine I: Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1994).

¹⁰⁹ Luc Fraisse, *Le manuscrit littéraire: son statut, son histoire, du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, XI, (Paris: Klincksieck 1998) 45.

records of book ownership of the newly emerging book owning families, and no even warranting recording in wills and testaments.

The compilation which now forms the Trinity manuscript incorporates a number of early texts that have been composed in rhyme which, again suggests a widespread dissemination of the material available, as the use of rhyme in Anglo-Norman translations, from as early as the twelfth century, has long been recognised as a method of teaching in this period. The inclusion of English glosses in a number of Salernitan texts, such as the *Trotula*, may also reflect the peripatetic lifestyle of students of medicine in the early years of translation activity. For example Cameron's investigation into a number of Irish words found in the Anglo-Saxon texts suggests that the peripatetic life of students of medicine could be the reason for the inclusion of these Irish words in manuscript copies.¹¹⁰ The origins of this manuscript as a teaching tool, suggested by its use of rhyme, is further reinforced by its size, as it is a small and therefore easily carried manuscript book. Its combined contents reflect Salernitan influence and teaching and, although from a linguistic point of view, it has been described as representing what can be considered as a mere repository of Anglo-Norman texts, its effectiveness as a teaching tool in a society where knowledge was imparted and remembered by rote-learning is evident.

¹¹⁰ See M. L. Cameron, "Bald's Leechbook and Cultural Interactions in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990): 5-12.

Vernacular manuscripts from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries survive in relatively large numbers and offer one obvious source of knowledge about medicine in the period. Extensive collections in Anglo-Norman date from the thirteenth century, but manuscripts in Anglo-Latin from the eleventh century already show signs of vernacularization. An example of this development is MS Cambridge St. John's College D4, the earliest part of which is written in an eleventh-century probably Italian hand, and contains both Latin and Anglo-Norman texts, including a copy of a collection of simple recipes and remedies in rhyme known as the *Physique rimée*.¹¹¹ Green has identified part of its Latin contents as a text which became incorporated into early versions of the *Trotula* which, at this stage in the transmission included advice on menstruation, uterine suffocation, prolapse, fertility, contraceptives, signs of a male foetus, choice of nurse and infantile pustules. The clear shift that took place in translated texts to providing advice for fertility in the vernacular versions results in the loss of some material including that for contraception. However, traces of empirical knowledge of contraception can still be found in other texts. For example the Herbal of Henry Daniel discusses the use of nettle as a contraceptive and also mentions a treatment to prevent conception that he had heard from a less reputable character at Eye.¹¹² He also acknowledges what he has learned from a Jew 'who has turned to the Christian faith, another who has widely travelled

¹¹¹ See Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 142-216.

¹¹² George R. Keiser, "Through a Fourteenth-Century Gardener's Eyes: Henry Daniel's Herbal", *The Chaucer Review* 31 no. 1 (1996): 71.

in Saracen lands, and he also had no hesitation in citing women from whom he had learned remedies: an unnamed woman, and the Lady Sowche whom he considered well known for her medical knowledge.¹¹³

Allocating readership for vernacular manuscripts is made less clear by the use of Latin and vernacular alongside each other and within many of the individual texts themselves. Thus, although as a general rule historians have divided medical texts into two groups, learned and empirical, such a dividing line can prove to be arbitrary or subjective. For example, the encyclopaedic nature of works such as those by Gilbertus Anglicus and John of Gaddesden represents a compulsive harvesting of information on diseases, signs and therapies which result in compendia, that comfortably cross the boundary between university medicine on the one hand, and the needs of a growing number of literate but non-academic practitioners and lay readership on the other. An indication of the heterogeneous borrowings from other cultures used by a number of compilers is also provided by a comment made in a manuscript which contains a compilation made by John of Greenborough, a Benedictine monk of Coventry in the early fourteenth century.

Brother John of Greenborough, infirmarer for more than thirty years, bought this book called 'Gilbertinus' for the use of the sick of the church of Coventry. And John compiled those materials written in the new quires drawn from the

¹¹³ Ibid.

books of practice of England, Ireland, the Jews, the Saracens, the Lombards and the Salernitans, and he paid much money to doctors for collecting their medicines. Many of the new quires written in the above have been tested in practice, but several doctors refuse to approve them because they do not know anything about medicine in practice, but waste time on spinning empty words.¹¹⁴

Apart from the reference to the origins of its contents, there are two notable points here. First, the suggestion that doctors may have studied the theory of medicine but had little practice, merely spending time on the 'spinning empty words'. This raises the question, to what extent were physicians, whose names are known from charters, witness lists, court rolls and other sources, were really involved in the actual practice of medicine. Second, if John of Greenborough's statement is correct in that he had been obliged to pay for the medicines he 'collected from doctors' to tend to his sick patients, it further calls attention to the underlying importance that other writers were placing on making medicine freely available to all. Assurances that medicine was available to all are found throughout vernacular medical writings including the *Physique rimée*, the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* and recipe collections.¹¹⁵ These two points, of course, reinforce the suggestion that a considerable number of unrecorded medical practitioners, both women and men were providing an

¹¹⁴ Burnett and Jones, "Scientific and Medical Writings," 459.

¹¹⁵ The *Physique Rimée* is edited by Hunt in *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 150-216 including extracts from copies in MS Cambridge, St. John's College D 4 and MS Cambridge Trinity College O.1.20.

alternative service for the sick who could not afford to visit or call upon physicians in time of illness or infertility.

Multiplicity of subject material within a compilation

One of the earliest commonplace books to exhibit the eclectic and diverse qualities of the contents of vernacular manuscripts is the well-known thirteenth-century manuscript MS Digby 86.¹¹⁶ Traditionally thought to have been compiled between 1271 and 1283 MS Digby 86 contains over eighty texts in three languages: English, Anglo-Norman and Latin, assembled by a layman associated with Redmarley d'Abitot in Gloucestershire. The texts range from practical medical treatises, charms, and prognostics to confessional and literary material, to party tricks. The contents of the medical sections of MS Digby 86 are similar to that found in Old English material and which is found once again in a similar compilation under the title of *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, in two copies, one of which is the well-known *Thornton Manuscript*.¹¹⁷ This household book was probably composed in the North Riding of Yorkshire around the first half of the fifteenth century. Defining a compilation which includes medicine, and locating its textual community, is further complicated by the varied activities of Anglo-Norman didactic composers of the thirteenth century. For example the Anglo-Norman version of the *Le secré de secrez*, a text which includes instructions on how to keep the body healthy, and the popular religious work known as *La lumere as lais*, which addressed the health of the soul, these are both didactic texts of the

¹¹⁶ Judith Tschann and M. B. Parkes, eds., *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86* (Oxford: Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1996).

¹¹⁷ Margaret Sinclair Ogden, ed., *The Liber de Diversis Medicinis in the Thornton Manuscript (MS. Lincoln Cathedral A.5.2.)* (London: Oxford University Press for the Early English Text Society, 1938).

same author. One particular text, a devotional allegory in which the progress of the soul's salvation is paralleled in the body's recovery from sickness to health is known in a work authored by Henry of Lancaster.¹¹⁸ The compilers of other manuscripts, for example MS Yale University Library Beinecke 492, intentionally set out to combine a didactic religious work with a text on medicine, in this case the *Lettre d'Hippocrate*. On close scrutiny the compiler of this manuscript displays an underlying tension, or sensitivity, when turning to the inclusion of remedies for women's conditions. These anomalies are examined in more detail in chapter 3.

Recent work which has focused on codices or compilations as a whole, rather than individual texts within the compilations, has raised important socio-historical questions concerning the audience of books when made up of texts that contain different subject matter. The use of vernacular languages alongside Latin was a common phenomenon seen in manuscripts soon after the beginning of the thirteenth-century and was still in use in the fifteenth. Some simple vernacular medical texts are also found among Latin medical classics, for example, as mentioned earlier, MS St. John's College D 4 (fols. 149-153) includes material ranging from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Among these the copy of the popular rhymed *Physique Rimée*, includes additional cosmetic advice,¹¹⁹ the pre-Salernitan text attributed to Muscio, together with a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-

¹¹⁸ Henry of Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, ed. E. J. Arnould, Anglo-Norman Texts II (Oxford: ANTS, 1940).

¹¹⁹ Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 142-215.

century Latin proto-ensemble of the *Trotula*, which retains its contraceptives.¹²⁰ Despite the existence of mixed language compilations such as these historians have still seized upon the difference in language to create the image of opposing forces. This created image presents a picture of Latin, universities, physicians and learned tradition on one side and vernacular, empiricism, surgeons and popular medicine on the other. However, a study of the extent of the European trade in books has shown that by the fifteenth century physicians of the highest class, for example John Argentine of King's College Cambridge, owned a range of medical books.¹²¹ Among these he possibly owned a copy of a Latin exemplar of an early thirteenth-century intermediate ensemble of the *Trotula*, together with more popular materials.¹²² While at the beginning of the fifteenth century Thomas Fayreford (1400-1450) practising medicine in the areas of Gloucestershire and Devon collated his own commonplace book and medical miscellany in which he included extracts, from an earlier *Practica*, although he, like others, never cites his source.¹²³ This text includes an extract from a treatise written by Roger Baron in the thirteenth century who is also referred to in *La chirurgie de l'Abbé*

¹²⁰ One thirteenth-century copy of the *Trotula* which contained Muscio's illustrations MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 7056 has been identified as one of the sources used by a Breton priest, Jean Lagadeuc, in 1464 when compiling the *Catholicon*: a dictionary containing Breton, French and Latin words, and which is considered to be the first trilingual dictionary created, in this case for the use of poor 'clerics' of the *pays*.

¹²¹ Elizabeth Armstrong, "English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1461-1526," *Article based on a paper contributed to the Colloquium on British Trade with Europe 1450-1600 held by the Society for Renaissance studies at the Warburg Institute, London* (November 9, 1975).
<http://ehr.oxfordjournals.org/content/XCIV/CCCLXXI/268.full.pdf>.

¹²² MS Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 84/166, c.1215-35 (England). See Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 330.

¹²³ Burnett and Jones, "Scientific and Medical Writings," 105.

Poutrel, originally produced in Latin but translated into Picard French by Jehan de Prouville between 1296 and 1371. This translation was carried out at the request of Gui de Châtillon whose daughter married Aymer de Valence eleventh Earl of Pembroke half brother of Henry III.¹²⁴ Thus, a treatise composed in Latin in the thirteenth-century in Picardy, was translated into the vernacular at the request of a lay reader who was ultimately related through marriage to Henry III, which notably by the fifteenth century appears again as extracts copied into the commonplace book of Thomas Fayreford, an unlicensed medical practitioner, who sold recipes and remedies to barber surgeons. Thomas Fayreford's records reveal that he also treated women included among them, Lady Poynings who also passed on to Thomas Fayreford her own *operacio* for *demigreyne*.¹²⁵ As this example demonstrates, the creation of categories of professional and lay becomes blurred as has been shown in a study of medical books which were owned by both physicians and lay people.¹²⁶

Treatises which give advice on blood letting for barber surgeons such as that found in MS Lansdowne 380, to be discussed in chapter 6, seems to suggest that these may also have been owned and read by women. For example the medical practice of one thirteenth-century woman is revealed as she appears

¹²⁴ Abbé Poutrel, *La chirurgie de l'Abbé Poutrel: texte picard de 1300 environ*, ed. Östen. Södergard (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1980).

¹²⁵ Jones, Peter Murray. "Thomas Fayreford: An English Fifteenth-Century Medical Practitioner." In *Medicine From the Black Death to the French Disease*, edited by Roger French, et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 156.

¹²⁶ See Irma Taavitsainen and Paivi Pahta, "Vernacularisation of Medical Writing in English: A Corpus-Based Study of Scholasticism," *Early Science and Medicine* 3, no. 2 (1998): 157-185.

paying her rent to the nuns of the Priory of Campsey Ash. This female practitioner appears in the accounts as *la femme le barbur*, using the masculine form of the word for the profession.¹²⁷ This raises the question of how many women could have been practising as barber-surgeons in this period but are now lost to view if we assume that all references using the masculine definite article for the trade of *le* were in fact male. The compiler of MS Lansdowne 380, appears to oddly include alongside, a not inconsiderable number of poetical and liturgical works together with a much reduced version of the *Trotula*, a treatise on blood letting which begins

*Ensuyvent les declaracions daucunes seigneess prouffitables
pour aucuns qui se vouldroient meslor du fait de chirugie. Et
aussi nul ne doit estre passe maistre. Jusques a tant quil
siache toutes ses seigness par cueur, et ou, et en qual lieu elles
sont le corps de la personne. (fol. 272^r.)*

The inclusion of this treatise in a compilation, which is believed to have been made for a young girl, who on marriage became Elizabeth de Kyngstone, is intriguing and the theme of audience for this manuscript is returned to in chapter 6.

Apart from medical texts many of the compilations examined in this thesis also contain works that, at first glance, appear to have nothing to do with the world of medicine, for instance the religious texts specifically

¹²⁷ Marilyn Oliva, "The French of England in Female Convents: The French Kitcheners' Accounts of Campsey Ash Priory," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, 93.

written for the laity found in MS Beinecke 492. Other compilations contain a variety of literary works, some of which may be called philosophical, or perhaps poems as in the Italian MS London, Wellcome Library 532 (c. 1465). Here, among a collection of medical works which includes a copy of the *Trotula*, are to be found works by Petrus d'Abano, a contemporary of Francesco da Barberino who is believed to have had a strong influence on Francesco's writing while studying in Padua,¹²⁸ and Gentile de Foligno. This manuscript, written in a single notarial hand, also includes an Italian version of Aesop's fable *La formiga e la cigada* (The Ant and the Grasshopper).¹²⁹ This poem, teaching a moral lesson on hard work and preparation, was also widely disseminated, and used as a set text in schools (fols.2-26).¹³⁰ MS Bibliothèque Municipale Lille 863, discussed below, also includes an eclectic range of material amongst which is found a summary of a widely transmitted philosophical work the *Traité de la Consolation de Boëce* (fols.72-74), whose message of equality among men has a long history and is known to have been translated by King Alfred of Wessex¹³¹ and by Anselm of Bec in Normandy.¹³² In 1308 the accounts of Mahaut, Countess of Artois, show that in 1308 she paid seven *livres* and ten sous for copies of the

¹²⁸ Antoine Thomas, "Francesco da Barberino et la littérature Provençal en Italie au moyen âge." 20.

¹²⁹ A text on 'Baths' by Gentile de Foligno is included but not his *Consilium ad conceptionem*.

¹³⁰ Part of this poem was adapted and incorporated into a Lament composed for Sir John Berkeley see Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'The Lament for Sir John Berkeley', *Speculum*, 572 (1982): 332-339.

¹³¹ David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300*, 1st ed. (Harlow: Pearson/Longman,, 2005), 226.

¹³² M. J. F. M. Hoenen and Lodi Nauta, *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and vernacular traditions of the Consolatio philosophiae* (Brill, 1997).

Histoire de Troyes and *Perceval*; and in 1313 she shows an interest in the *Consolations of Boethius* in paying eight *livres* for a copy in French.¹³³ In MS Lille Bibliothèque Municipale 863 merely the chapter headings of this text appear, and this is sandwiched between a simple 'master and a student' discussion in a question and answer format on generation. As I noted above, although the use of a master student dialogue, a method which dates back to antiquity has, on the surface, learned overtones and it often appears incorporated into inhabited initials and repeats classical conventions, throughout a wide range of didactic texts.¹³⁴ It is also found in the religious text in MS Beinecke 492 (Illus. 12). Alongside the didactic text in MS Lille 863, however, are simple domestic remedies, a collection of recipes attributed to *del église de Medame de Tornai* (fol. 32) and a Latin copy of Macer's *Herbarium* (fol. 34-68) discussed below in chapter 2. All of these texts would have been easily accessible to a female readership through the familiarity of the contents many having analogues in herbals and similar works known to have been owned by them.¹³⁵

In this chapter I have briefly examined whether the contents of manuscripts written in Old English varied greatly from those that arrived in England as the Conquest was under way, and demonstrated that there was

¹³³ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs*, Vol. 7, no. 4, (1982), 747.

¹³⁴ For a number of examples see Irma Taavitsainen, "Transferring Classical Discourse Conventions into the Vernacular," in *Medical and Scientific Writings in Late Medieval English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37-72.

¹³⁵ The earliest known copy (thirteenth century) has been edited by Hunt, *An Old French Herbal* (MS Princeton U.L. Garrett 131).

both continuity and change in the medical knowledge available in England before and after the Conquest. The arrival of practical works in medical translations from Arabic have been shown to have been easily absorbed into vernacular medical texts, and thus, texts on astrology, divination and dietary advice all continue to appear in the vernacular, with the result that the dividing line between scholastic and empirical medicine becomes blurred. I also briefly examined the question of composite texts, such as those which include didactic religious works, blood letting advice and literary works, and concluded that as a result the eclectic contents of these manuscripts raises the question of who had access to these vernacular works: men, women or both? In the next chapter 'What did women read: women, manuscripts and medicine in context', I examine further whether a simple bi-partite model which presents men as the sole readers of medical works and excludes women from their audience is tenable.

Chapter 2.

What did women read? Women, manuscripts and medical practice in context

It is now well established that women of the High Middle Ages were not only literate but were counted among those for whom vernacular texts were composed at their request, or were written for them. Through their patronage of vernacular literature, particularly religious works, they also became agents of cultural change.¹³⁶ Their close connection with the production of vernacular texts is, however, not limited merely to didactic and religious works. They, like men, were also the audience for not only spiritual writings but also a wide range of instructional and courtesy texts.¹³⁷ Manuscripts belonging to individual women and female communities in Anglo-Norman England, include all the possible permutations of language use, as manuscripts wholly in French, all in Latin, all in English, bi-lingual and tri-lingual are all found.¹³⁸ Although there is scant evidence for women writing texts as early as the twelfth century, one example is the author of the well known *Lais*, which are known to have been written around 1160. Their shadowy author is known as 'Marie de France' and although there is little

¹³⁶ For a number of essays on women's role in literature both as writers and patrons see for example *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*, ed. Carol N. Meale (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹³⁷ Alexandra Barrett, "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction," in the *Cambridge History of the Book 1100-1400*, ed. Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thompson, col. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 340-366.

¹³⁸ Wogan-Browne, *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, 15.

evidence to prove her exact identity, her works indicate that she was, like other women of her time, multi-lingual: literate in French, English and Latin and apparently also Breton and Welsh.¹³⁹ These twelve Lais together with their explanatory prologue, and a copy of *Aesop's Fables*, are preserved in a tri-lingual, mid thirteenth-century manuscript MS London, British Library, Harley 978. This compilation combines a range of genres, including the collection of recipes and treatments which travelled under the name the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* and other medical texts together with musical and literary works.

Other women are known to have had works created for them, providing further evidence not only of their ability to read but also their ability to exercise an important role in the running of their extensive estates. The wives of merchants could also act as letter writers in their own right. In 1376 Margherita Bandini, then twenty years old became the wife of forty-six year old Francesco di Marco Datini, an extremely successful Florentine merchant based in Avignon, who traded widely on an international scale in arms, silks, paintings, and spices among other goods. Margherita's efforts to cure her lifelong infertility are revealed in her correspondence¹⁴⁰ and it is worth noting that she undertook to learn to write both business and personal letters in her own hand, the skill of which is recorded by a friend and business associate.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Diane Watt, *Medieval Women's Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 39.

¹⁴⁰ Joseph P. Byrne and Eleanor A. Congdon, "Mothering in the Casa Datini," *Journal of Medieval History* 25 no.1 (March 1, 1999): 35-56.

¹⁴¹ Robert Brun, "Les Archives de Datini à Prato," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 40 no. 1 (1923): 103-113.

Margarherita's case is discussed in detail chapter 4. Over a century earlier Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) had written the *Reules Seynt Roberd*, for the Countess of Lincoln, where he warned of the danger women faced who were not able to control their affairs, advising that two rolls should be made of the records for her Estate's business dealings.

*Ke vostere seneschal sovereyn eyt une roule e vos un autre
enter e chescun baillif eyt coe qe pertient a sa baillie e si
pleyntifs vignent a vous pur tort qe lem lour face ou demaunde
vous meymes a gardez vos roules endreyt de cel maner dount
le pleyntif est e solom coe responez e festes tener dreiture'.¹⁴²*

The *Reules* differs from other similar didactic treatises advising on estate management as Robert de Grosseteste also addresses a side of life which other treatises leave untouched.¹⁴³ His *Reules* include not only instructions for managing the means of production for the estate but also references to household management and consumption, a format that appears once again in a fourteenth-century French treatise *Le Mesnagier*. Both of these works set out clear rules for the management of the household, often comprised of men, women and children and in which women played an important role. These examples illustrate how women exercised control over their own lives through literate means.

¹⁴² Elizabeth Lamond, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry together with An Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschauce and Robert Grossteste's Rules: The Transcripts, Translations and Glossary* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890), 122.

¹⁴³ Elizabeth Lamond, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*.

Multilingualism, however, was not restricted to members of high social status as has been shown in the administrative records of the Augustinian female house of Campsey Ash Priory. Investigation of their early fourteenth-century kitchen accounts has revealed that among the nuns, the kitcheners of the Priory, were perfectly capable of keeping their accounts in French.¹⁴⁴ The French speaking nuns of Campsey Ash Priory, however, are not considered to have been drawn from the families of the higher status as previously argued but, in fact, recruited from the local area, many of whom came from the middling group of society, and as such, they have been considered to be comparable to 'non-elite groups of French users' identified by other scholars as people 'from ordinary social backgrounds'.¹⁴⁵ This example suggests that women outside of the confines of convents were also able to read texts on medicine as well as the literature normally attributed to them. The Priory also owned a copy of a fourteenth-century manuscript in Anglo-Norman containing an unusual number of saints' lives.¹⁴⁶ One of the lives was written by Pierre de Fetcham, and was commissioned by Isabel of Arundel. As I discuss further in chapter 3, Pierre de Fetcham was also the compiler of the religious didactic text known as the *Lumere as lais* as well as the earliest Anglo-Norman version of the *Secret Secretorum* called the *Le Sécree de Secrez* which also deals with matters of health.

¹⁴⁴ Marilyn Oliva, "The French of England in Female Convents: The French Kitcheners' Accounts of Campsey Ash Priory," 90-102.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 101.

¹⁴⁶ See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Powers of Record. Powers of Example: Hagiography and Woman's History," in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, (New York: Cornell University Press, (2003), 71-94.

It is well documented that a wide range of vernacular works such as those which entertain and instruct, together with medical texts, circulated widely from the thirteenth century onwards. However, if we are to have a full picture of the changes that took place during the translation and copying process, and the use of vernacular medical texts such as these, that we need to review not only the extent of literacy but also who may have had access to the texts.

The Countess of Lincoln was married for the second time on the 6 January 1242 to Walter Marshal, 5th Earl of Pembroke, Earl Marshal of England, one of the ten children of William Marshal, 1st Earl of Pembroke and Isabel de Clare, 4th Countess of Pembroke. Walter's marriage like those of his four brothers, however, did not produce any children and the substantial inheritance was subsequently divided between the representatives of their five sisters and co-heiresses. Among the families which benefited, then or later, were those of Bigod, Clare, Ferrers, Mortimer, Bohun, Cantilupe, Valence, and Hastings. If anyone was sorely in need of a text which gave advice on fertility then the children of Earl Marshall and their legitimate wives were likely candidates, and of course the Countess and her circle were literate. Charlotte Goldy noted in her study of an Anglo-Jewish woman, Muriel of Oxford, divorced because of her infertility, that although there are no statistical analyses, 'many studies of medieval England note that many important families died out for lack of heirs', often without evidence of any

children being born.¹⁴⁷ Women did not always take a passive role in family relationships or marriage partners.¹⁴⁸ The aim to preserve and if possible expand landed inheritance acquired through marriage and ultimately assured by the birth of an heir would have been the concern of both marriage partners. The responsibility of providing such an heir would have also been the concern of women as well as men.

Current research into the history of women and the use of medical texts has resulted in the almost complete segregation of women from such texts, with the result that they appear to form a separate group in society and particularly so when the question arises of who read texts on women's medicine. The search for female ownership of medical manuscripts has produced very few results but the reliance on finding evidence of female ownership can be misleading as even details of ownership for large number extant manuscripts, regardless of their content, remains unknown. Moreover, the search for evidence of gendered ownership of medical texts, or simple regimens of health, has obscured any vision of a sense of sharing, or of mutual interest, by men and women in their health and fertility.

¹⁴⁷ Charlotte Newman Goldy, "A Thirteenth-century Anglo-Jewish Woman Crossing Boundaries: Visible and Invisible", *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008): 140.

¹⁴⁸ See for example see the unusual case of the seven Ferrers sisters who also lived in the mid thirteenth-century who were fertile, only one did not provide heirs, Linda E. Mitchell, *Portraits of Medieval Women: Family Marriage and Politics in England, 1225-1350* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2003), 27.

Theoretical access and constructed barriers to written knowledge

There is little doubt that the strategic function¹⁴⁹ of vernacular medieval texts of medicine was to collect together and record advice, that was assembled from a wide range of sources. One striking example of this activity is a fourteenth-century text compiled by Peter of Spain called the *Thesaurus pauperum* (Treasury of the Poor), a copy of which is found in the early fourteenth-century (c.1304) MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnam 1187 (Illus. 4-7), which also contains works by the physician Jean Pitard, whose patron was Gui de Chatillon for whom the Robert Baron's *Practica* was translated. This manuscript also contains the well-known plague tract composed by Jean de Bourgogne among other vernacular remedies and recipes that have been added in the margins. The original dark brown very fine leather binding now covered and hidden by a more recent one, is tooled with gold and the title on the spine, although now extremely faded, reads *Thesaurus pauperum*. The manuscript is a pocket-sized book with beautifully executed illuminated initials in gold, red and blue, it includes a number of grotesque figures and, at the bottom of the title page, the mythical *Caladrius* which was thought to refuse to look at any patient that was not going to make a full recovery. (Illus. 5). The message embedded in this decoration would not have passed unnoticed by a medieval reader, male

¹⁴⁹ Although relating to literary theory this applies equally to medicine see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al., ed. *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 316.

or female, seeking advice on preserving health. Images of the Caladrius also appear in medieval bestiaries, while the allegorical content is contained in works such as Honorius of Autun's the *Speculum ecclesiae* or the Rochester Bestiary in MS British Library MS Royal 12 F xiii. MS Ashburnham 1187 also contains a wide range of texts in French all of which were intended to maintain and preserve health, however, at some point it has suffered deliberate damage particularly on fols. 24^r and 25^r (Illus. 6 and 7). One of the sections affected was probably the well known *Sator Arepo* charm, intended to help a woman at the time of parturition, the rubric has however been left intact and reads '*Pour fame qui travaille*'. A cross in the margin would have acted as a simple signpost to draw the reader's attention to this remedy to help a woman in childbirth. Two recipes on fol. 25^r have suffered the same loss one of which followed the rubric '*A la seche pour avoir a fame ces fleurs enfermete que les dames on qui les...*'. These alterations, which are rarely commented upon or mentioned in catalogue descriptions, suggest an awareness of the sensitivity of some readers to vernacular writings when discussing women's conditions. Of course, it is simply not possible to know whether an owner was also responsible for the suppression of the material or whether they merely inscribed their names over the mutilated section. The section concerned includes the signs of the Cross, vestiges of which can still be seen to the left hand side of fol. 24^r (Illus.6). The sign of the Cross was traditionally included in the *Sator Arepo* charm for childbirth, as it was long thought of as having both healing and redemptive powers. Reformation zeal

which resulted in the destruction of images and religious symbols may have prompted the erasures and mutilations found in this manuscript.

Many of the compilations of recipe and remedy collections are found in Anglo-Norman and French manuscripts from the thirteenth century, with Italian vernacular versions appearing later in the fourteenth century. One of the treatises on women's conditions, that is often found with recipe collections, has been used by Monica Green in her work that traces the dissemination of a group of texts that developed into the work known as the *Trotula*. The research carried out by Green set out to identify 'how textual communities were formed around treatises on women's medicine', and in doing so she sought to identify 'how and by whom women's medical care was delivered'.¹⁵⁰ Green concluded that

The history of the *Trotula* was played out on a terrain somewhere between the high learned medicine of the universities and the wholly oral practice of illiterate empirics'.¹⁵¹

The overall argument used by Green suggests that many medical practitioners, who were no doubt illiterate, here in the sense of not knowing Latin, were eventually largely dominated, disenfranchised and superseded by a growing number of learned physicians. In the early thirteenth century, however, the writings of Guiot of Provins offer an alternative view, that of a

¹⁵⁰ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 12.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

court poet turned Cistercian monk, of how physicians were regarded in this early period. Guiot expressed his contempt not only for physicians but also their use of noxious treatments and restrictive dietary advice. In his satirical work the *Bible* he sets his attack on professional physicians, some of whom he considered to be charlatans, accusing them of underhand and dishonest practices.

There are a thousand who become doctors who know no more than I do. The truly skilled are mortified, for there is no profession in which there are so many charlatans [...] To trust yourself to the hands of a doctor is to enter loathsome bonds [...] And when they are in a good town they deceive each other, the best physicians praising those who know nothing.

The masters accommodate quacks.¹⁵²

As someone who had frequented the court, Guiot was well placed to criticise. He denounces the physicians for their 'lies and guesswork', or 'pronouncing on some condition using the foulest of words'. They are accused of 'finding a malady in everyone', or using diagnostic terminology, some of which derives from a knowledge of humoral theory: phthisical, dropsical, and melancholial. Among the many who were criticised, Guiot cites the 'old rascal with the gift of the gab, [who] as long as he is capable of reading; can take in dim-witted folk. They're all physicians and masters'.¹⁵³ He also offers a clue to where

¹⁵² Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, II, 15.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

these doctors preferred to practice 'in a good town', with the inference that this was an ideal location and made for rich pickings for the newly trained physicians. Guiot's condemnation has been used by Green to highlight the domination of the growing numbers of university-trained physicians over those who had only basic literacy skills in the vernacular. In this argument physicians used their learned background to eventually acquire a dominant role in the medical marketplace to the exclusion of the non-professional, whom she has identified with the 'old rascal', depicted above and, ultimately, women. To fulfil the qualifications that were needed to practice medicine the practitioner had to know considerably more than the 'rudimentary knowledge of herbs' as this knowledge alone would not have qualified 'one to comprehend the subtleties of medical theory',¹⁵⁴ a knowledge of which is shown in Guiot's condemnation of physicians and their diagnostic practices cited above. This essential medical theory included a whole range of disciplines: logic, grammar and rhetoric; and an ability to understand traditional medical practice and customs (praxis). These practices and customs served as examples for students to learn how medicine should be practised. Guiot is, however, willing to exempt some members of the trained body of men from his rant by concluding that

Reliable and learned physicians 'ought to be properly respected, esteemed and cherished [...] I certainly hold dear the good, reliable doctor when I need him [...] But, when my

¹⁵⁴ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 13.

sickness assails me, he is a great comfort. But when my sickness leaves me and I no longer suffer, then I am happy for a boat to transport him promptly to far away Salonika, him and his medicine'.¹⁵⁵

This perennial argument, long employed by physicians and surgeons, who were attempting to elevate their status and protect their position above other craftsmen, is exemplified by a quotation made in the preface to an early fourteenth-century surgical treatise by Guy de Chauliac (1300-1368). In this work the university-trained physician and surgeon cites his reasons, recalling Galen's own, as he warns the readers of his Latin surgical text that without the knowledge of 'geometry, astronomy, dialectics, nor any other liberal discipline, soon leather workers, carpenters, smiths, and others will quit their own crafts and become physicians'.¹⁵⁶ However, by 1403, this demarcation line had been breached, as John Bradmore, thought to be the author of a Latin work on surgery,¹⁵⁷ was able to ply his trade both as a royal surgeon to King Henry IV and *gemestre*, making surgical instruments for himself and for sale to others.¹⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the learned texts theoretically read only by physicians and educated males should not be treated as evidence of their use. As the vernacular translations of the knowledge they contained in some cases is 'so hopelessly corrupt' that ownership of them may have only been

¹⁵⁵ Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine* II, 16

¹⁵⁶ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 13.

¹⁵⁷ S. J. Lang, "John Bradmore and His Book *Philomena*," *Social History of Medicine* 5, no. 1 (1992): 121 -130.

¹⁵⁸ Getz, *Medicine in the Middle Ages*, 8.

symbolic, and perhaps points to their value lying more in the symbolic aura of learning they granted their possessors than any 'intrinsic knowledge they could effectively have conveyed'.¹⁵⁹ E. A. Hammond has drawn attention to the financial benefits that could also be accrued from techniques and treatments used by physicians that were either rare, or were matters of greatly guarded professional secrecy, and whose services 'seem to have been monopolised by prominent families'.¹⁶⁰ The production of medical literature that increasingly became known as 'Books of Secrets' can, therefore, also be seen as reflection of the awareness of the financial benefits to be gained from medical knowledge, which by the fifteenth century was well-known, and capitalised on by both men and women in Renaissance Florence. Despite the appearance of university-trained physicians in the fourteenth century and a call for physicians to be formally trained a wide range of medical practitioners continued to practice medicine, a large number of whom neither identified themselves as, nor conformed to, the model of well-known physicians, such as those noted by Kealey.¹⁶¹ Faye Getz has discovered a number of men, all of whom practised in medieval England, who were recognised in documents as medical practitioners of one type or another. These include a serf from the twelfth century, a bailiff collecting rents from a Benedictine nunnery in the mid-fifteenth century, and surgeons, like those of

¹⁵⁹ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 7.

¹⁶⁰ E. A. Hammond, "Incomes of Medieval English Doctors," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* XV, no. 2 (1960): 154.

¹⁶¹ Edward J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

another surgeon Thomas Bradmore, carried out metalwork, or a similar artisan who also plied his trade as apothecary.¹⁶² Although women were excluded from the 'higher level of the clergy, the university, and independent membership in most medical guilds', and these women were 'confined to the realm of the ordinary independent medical practitioner',¹⁶³ there is evidence that they continued to be known and consulted for their knowledge of women's matters such as *la femme le barbur* a tenant of Campsey Ash Priory and Margery Cobbe, a midwife (*obstetrix*) who was granted a pension in 1469 for her attendance on Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV. Getz has pointed out that in the middling levels of society a tradeswoman like Margery might 'hope to pursue her craft away from the interference of the church'.¹⁶⁴ The boundaries of practice also become blurred when the close relationship of medicine and diet are examined. The task of the physician Ralph de Neketon was to spice Henry III's wine at the table but in his absence Robert of Montpellier, the apothecary, carried out the task in his place.¹⁶⁵ *Ypocras*, a spiced red wine, named after Hippocrates was widely referred to in medical texts and *regimina* under some form of this name. It was used to treat a number of conditions believed to arise from a cold nature. As Chaucer has recorded, it was also prescribed, often for men, as an aphrodisiac. In the fifteenth century recipes for making substantial quantities of spiced red wine continue to be included in a wide range of manuscripts including MS Kassel,

¹⁶² Getz, *Medicine in the Middle Ages*, 8.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek 4° med. 1 and one owned successively by women, MS Lansdowne 380.

From the outset of this research project I have been struck by the constant emphasis that the medical manuscripts examined place on treatments to foster fertility and deal with associated problems, and although many treatments are aimed at women, there are constant reminders that the causes of infertility could also rest with the man. Furthermore, although many of the *Trotula* texts appear in codices that appear to rule out a female audience, closer examination has revealed that many of these also contain *receptaria*, simple herbals or collections of remedies that include instructions for making plasters, fumigations and ointments. A number of these simple texts that accompany the *Trotula* do not appear in the catalogue descriptions and I have, therefore, recorded them here. This pattern of texts that travel together continues into the Early Modern period and reflects that of the texts found with one of the earliest known copies of the *Practica Secundum Trotulam* in a Latin codex believed to date to c. 1200. This codex, MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense 119 (MS Madrid 119), contains similar texts to those found in later vernacular collections and has been identified as the earliest known surviving copy of what Green believes is *Trota's* own *Practica*, the Salernitan female practitioner's practical work on medicine.¹⁶⁶ (Illus. 2) The text is heavily abbreviated throughout, suggesting a

¹⁶⁶ Green, "Reconstructing the Oeuvre of Trota of Salerno."

professional reader, and as the illustration shows, the parchment from which it was made is not of a particularly good quality.

From this example it can be seen that the accumulated advice contained in these texts consistently covers dietary matters, physiognomy, and herbals all of which continue to be included in later vernacular codices. Other compilations also begin to accumulate additional collections of recipes and remedies either as whole treatises, for example the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* or similar texts such as those found in MSS Kassel, Lille 863 and Lansdowne 380, where recipes and treatments are added and sometimes written in spaces, in the margins or, as in the case of MS Lille, added on an additional folio. Carmen Caballero-Navas has noted how parallel recipes and treatments occur in practical Hebrew, Latin and vernacular texts that are on the whole 'generally anonymous, [and] devoted to women's health care'.¹⁶⁷ The gap that lies between what we know about women's medical practice and written evidence has also been examined by the Catalan scholar Montserrat Cabré. She has pointed out the paradox that while the historiography of medicine has not specifically denied that the medieval health system was largely maintained by the activity of women, as the household was the 'medieval primary locus of healthcare',¹⁶⁸ the discourse has largely ignored them, as did medieval discourse. Equally a contemporary discussion which centres on identifying women who saw themselves, or others, as professional medical

¹⁶⁷ Caballero-Navas, "The Care of Women's Health and Beauty," 147.

¹⁶⁸ Cabré, "Women or Healers?" 25.

practitioners continues to risk marginalising female practitioners, as a significant number of these women were either self-sufficient in their medical needs or shared medical practice with other women, I discuss this further in chapter 4.

It has been argued that the use of archival records is an inadequate way in which to bring to light the many medieval women who, despite the efforts of historians, stubbornly remain invisible. Ruth Karras has suggested that before setting out to use archival evidence it is equally important to be aware of the reasons the document was created as a means of understanding its potential use. However, by being conscious of why the document was created, we also run the risk of neglecting the very women who are being searched for, leading to relegating the women who practised medicine to the margins of the history. Karras recognised that in carrying out her initial search for women in quasi-marital relationships, of one form or another, she was continually hindered by the very fact that 'what distinguishes them is precisely the lack of legal standing (in the eyes of the church or the secular law)'. In other words, if their actions went unnoticed by law makers, and therefore they did not enter the written record, they would remain unseen and unheard.¹⁶⁹ The reality of this lack of written evidence is equally valid for female medical practitioners in either the town or countryside, or the combined practices of brothers and sisters or husband and wife teams,¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Ruth Mazo Karras, "Invisible Women," *Medieval Feminist Forum (MFF)*, 39 (2005): 16.

¹⁷⁰ Discussed in Monica Green, "Documenting Medieval Women's Medical Practice," in *Practical medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis García-Ballester et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 322-352.

many of the latter known to have functioned as one entity in the membership of guilds in the later medieval period.

One set of records, however, has revealed that women did live, sometimes for a number of years, in quasi-marital relationships with men, and are known to have had a number of children both inside and outside of these relationships. A number of cases of childbirth outside of marriage, have been recorded in the research carried out by A. J. Finch. This reveals a wide spectrum of quasi-marital relationships in surviving archives relating to fornication surviving from the period 1314 and 1414 from the largely rural area centred on Cerisy in Normandy.¹⁷¹ Of the twenty-six women who came before the ecclesiastical court during the period 1370 to 1414 a number were pregnant or already had children. According to these records, Marguerite, the daughter of Jean le Metier had engaged in a serial relationship with three men and that two of these relationships had produced offspring. Another woman was described as a concubine, and by the time that her case finally reached the attention of the court she had already had six children. Fourteen couples enjoyed long lasting relationships with 'a minima of between five years in two cases and fourteen years in another'.¹⁷² Finch found that whether a relationship had proved to be fertile was a 'useful indicator of its possible lifespan', suggesting that it was not the status of a legal marriage that kept these couples together but the children and perhaps a sense of shared responsibility for the outcome of what

¹⁷¹ A. J. Finch, "Sexual Relations and Marriage in Later Medieval Normandy," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 no. 2 (1996): 241.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 249.

was, when it came to the attention of the courts, their illicit union.¹⁷³ The number of women who were able to give birth and care for their families without recourse to learned medicine, as the Cerisy records show, were women who were able to conceive and produce offspring over successive years and over a relatively long period of time. It is difficult to envisage that these women, living in this largely rural area, sought help for infertility outside of the circles in which they moved. It is equally difficult to envisage that they would have sought assistance by consulting learned physicians of Cerisy or St. Lô. The evidence of Cerisy is in marked contrast to the Parisian records of court cases which I discuss below in chapter 5, where fear and shame led some women and their families to take drastic steps to abort unwanted pregnancies.

Most of the published evidence for women consulting male professional physicians is found in the records of Italy, southern France and northern Spain. For example Green has referred to this evidence to demonstrate how even monastic foundations, both male and female, employed professional practitioners outside of their community to care for the seriously ill.¹⁷⁴ Evidence from early Renaissance Florence gathered by Katherine Park, reflects the early formation of a documented body of physicians and similarly demonstrates how some patrician women sought out these learned practitioners for advice in cases of infertility, a point I return to

¹⁷³ Ibid., 251.

¹⁷⁴ See the discussion throughout in Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*,

below in chapter 4. Nevertheless the widespread availability of Italian versions of Aldobrandino's *Livre de phisicke* also suggests that at least some treatments could be and were self taught and shared. The quasi-global perspective that privileges the influence and power of learned physicians and surgeons, over other medical practitioners, runs the risk of ignoring the partnerships that are known to have been formed by men and women. These partnerships also offered their services to those who became part of the increasing numbers of merchants and lesser nobility seeking written advice for infertility.

Which medical texts could women have read?

As it is well known that differences occur as manuscripts are copied and re-copied with the result that errors creep in and mistakes are repeated. These differences are often relegated to the scholarly apparatus to be found in editions of important medieval works where their significance may be undervalued. Other discrepancies occurring may vary from subtle changes, for example, the substitution of one ingredient for another, to more substantial changes where whole recipes, or indeed chapters, are added to or removed from the text entirely. Errors can also be made by researchers relying on older editions that have either not taken into account recently discovered manuscripts or for which the editors have chosen what they have considered to be ideal exemplar. Other changes may reflect dialectical differences giving clues to where the manuscripts were either copied or

perhaps written from dictation. Examples of these differences are given in chapter 5, where I discuss two manuscripts from what is now north-eastern France and is evident in copies of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* from southern France.

As I have argued above the wide and early dissemination of texts in Anglo-Norman and northern French are a reflection of the cross-channel activities of many land-holding Norman families with their lands lying on either side of the channel. Their cross channel interests would have allowed for easy transmission of vernacular texts of medicine. Inter-marriage to secure these valuable lands, together with the constant 'comings and goings' between England and France. The linguistic evidence, showing unmistakable northern French traits, underlines the interest both men and women would have had in seeking knowledge in the vernacular. This knowledge deals with all aspects of health, including infertility, was vital in ensuring successful inheritance and lineage.¹⁷⁵ The early production of medical texts which focussed on fertility and which were also produced in this geographical area point to a desire to have this knowledge readily available in the vernacular. While the family names noted above in relation to the Marshall's dynasty and the increasing desire to record lineage continue to be evident throughout this period with many family names surviving into the early modern period and beyond.

¹⁷⁵ See for example Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Recent work by Monica Green has confirmed this particular circulation pattern for nearly all of the Salernitan works of *praxis*, which are found only in copies from the late twelfth-century regardless of their date of composition, these are also primarily copies which originate from England and northern France'.¹⁷⁶ The boundaries between what defined a professional or an empirical practitioner throughout the medieval period is strikingly fluid no more so when the question is raised of women's agency in medical matters. The medicine practised by both unlicensed and licensed practitioners was at its most fundamental level, that of herbal concoctions, adjustments to food intake and use of food as medicine. The style of medicine with its emphasis on preparations of plasters, pessaries and purgatives, together with methods of preparation, all have their equivalents in domestic practice. As such the division between what typifies the treatments available from the doctor's medical bag or apothecary's shop can often differ little from that offered by unlicensed male or female practitioners of whom the numbers were in excess of professionals. The demarcation line, therefore, between professional and lay practice, or between medical text or herbal and remedy and recipe collections becomes blurred.

¹⁷⁶ Green, "Salerno on Thames: The Genesis of Anglo-Norman Medical Literature," 222.

Regimens of Health

One well known vernacular medical text which women could have read, and are known to have owned, which has been shown to have distinct variations in its copies, is the *Livre de phisicke*, subsequently renamed in the fifteenth century the *Régime du corps*. This popular work was written before 1257, possibly in 1256, by Aldobrandino de Siena.¹⁷⁷ The popularity and envisioned audience of vernacular works is explained in the words of another Italian author, Brunetto Latini, who had also written his own popular text the *Trésor*, in the same year.

*Et se aucuns demandoit pour quoi cis livres est escriis en roumanç selonc le raison de France, puis ke nous somes italien, je diroie que c'est pout .ii. raisons: l'une ke nous somes en France, l'autre por çou que la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune à tous langages.*¹⁷⁸

The number of copies which survive for Aldobrandino's text, around sixty-four in French and a total of at least fifty in Italian, with copies in Catalan and Flamand, point to not only its widespread appeal but the means by which these works could cross geographical boundaries. Its popularity ensured that it had a wide readership as it is found in compilations with medical,

¹⁷⁷ For a detailed examination of *Regimen* literature see, Marilyn Nicoud, *Les Régimes De Santé Au Moyen Âge: Naissance Et Diffusion D'une Écriture Médicale (13e-15e Siècle)*, 333, 2 vols (Rome: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2007).

¹⁷⁸ For Bencivenni's sources and method see Rossella Baldini, "Zuccherò Bencivenni 'La santà del Corpo' Volgarizzamento del 'Régime du Corps' di Aldobrandino Da Siena (a. 1310) Nella Copia Coeva di Lap di Neri Corsini (Laur. Pl. LXXIII 47)," in *Studi di Lessicographia Italiana: A Cura Dell'Accademia Della Crusca*, vol. XV (Firenze: Firenze Le Lettere, 1998).

Salernitan or not, moral, mystical, historical, literary or encyclopaedic works. With the exception of a reworking of the fifteenth century, with specifically religious overtones, the *Régime* has been described by one scholar as above all, '*une somme de médecine domestique, destinée à un puissant personnage, mais dont beaucoup d'autres lecteurs, plus modestes dans la hiérarchie sociale, peuvent tirer profit.*'¹⁷⁹ By arguing that 'it would be a mistake to characterize the *Régime* universally as a woman's text',¹⁸⁰ the probability that this text, and others with which it travelled could have been read by women is obscured. By removing the parameters of a methodology that requires that a text must only have been read by women, or about which women formed a textual community, to warrant a female audience, we have a glimpse of how these texts were really used and valued by their medieval owners and readers. The chapters of the *Régime* offer advice on a wide range of subjects, usually referred to by scholars as the six non-naturals. These include identifying the correct healthy location in which to live, how to protect the face from the effects of the sun, how to take care of yourself when travelling overseas and how to avoid suffering from sea-sickness. All of these are equally relevant to women and well as men, and while little is included specifically for gynaecological problems, the *Trotula* with which it sometimes travelled or indeed the collections of medical recipes and remedies would have acted as a companion texts. A number of copies of the *Régime* have historiated initials

¹⁷⁹ Françoise Fery-Hue, "Le Régime du Corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition, manuscrite et diffusion," *Actes du Congrès National - Sociétés Savantes Section Histoire Médiévale et 110th Congress*, Vol. 1 1987, 129.

¹⁸⁰ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 29.

at the beginning of each chapter, these act as signposts for the reader to find their way around the contents. For example, an image of a woman sitting examining herself in a hand-mirror is provided for the chapter which deals with caring for the face in MS London, British Library Sloane 2401, while the chapter which deals with baking bread also depicts a woman. Although these may merely suggest depictions of gendered occupations, they would also have acted as valuable markers to draw a reader's attention, in this case a woman, to the subject of the chapter. The use of markers such as these in religious works, or historical and romance literature, is well documented.

Women are known to have owned fifteenth-century copies of the *Livre de phisicke* which by then had become known under its new title the *Régime du corps*.¹⁸¹ The possible routes of transmission of these texts as they pass through their owners' hands is examined in more detail below. A number of the earliest copies of the *Livre de phisicke* include a prologue which is conspicuously addressed to a woman. In one version this prologue claims that it was prepared for Béatrix de Savoie (d.1287), countess of Provence, by Aldobrandino who had served as a physician at the Court of Raimond Berengar IV and earlier for Louis IX,¹⁸² see also p. 92. It was requested by Béatrix, according to the writer, on the occasion of her visit to her four daughters who were all queens and perhaps notably all of whom were

¹⁸¹ For a discussion of women owning and commissioning Iberian texts see, Cabre, "From a Master to a Laywomen:" 371-393.

¹⁸² Ibid., 21.

fertile.¹⁸³ The use of this prologue implies that the writer was aware that a text which deals specifically with advice for both men, women and also children would be further enhanced by it having been dedicated to a woman of high status, thereby ultimately assuring its appeal. The necessary pre-requisites for successful conception and healthy offspring not only gave the work authority but also contributed to its popularity. By the fifteenth century the inclusion of the conjoined arms of Richard and Margaret Brydges in MS Sloane 2401, includes a *Lettre d'Hippocrate*, a tract on medicinal waters, herbal recipes, and recipes of 'domestic economy', and provides indisputable evidence of not only joint ownership but also the notion of sharing. As with many other collections of remedies and recipes for women's health a number of those found in copies of the *Livre de phisicke* have suffered deliberate damage. The base manuscript used by Landouzy and Pepin for their edition in 1911, MS Paris, Bibliothèque National fr. 2021, has at some point in its history, suffered substantial damage to the section of the chapter on *D'abiter avoec femme*. This has been excised, an action which has left only fifteen lines of the text of this chapter and caused a loss to the section on *Du Baignier*.¹⁸⁴ As with other manuscripts similarly damaged in some way, it is not always possible to trace when deliberate mutilation such as this occurred. What this loss does demonstrate, however, is a change in attitudes to written knowledge that deals with matters of sex and women's conditions, an issue I have found in

¹⁸³ Marguerite, wife of Louis IX of France; (eleven children) Eleanour, wife of Henry III of England; (five recorded children) Sanchia, wife of Richard of Cornwall; (three sons) and Béatrix, wife of Charles of Anjou, (seven children).

¹⁸⁴ Louis Landouzy and Roger Pépin, *Le Régime du corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienne: Text français du xiii^e siècle* (Paris, 1911).

other manuscripts. MS BNP fr. 2021 also contains a copy of another widely transmitted text, the *Image de Monde* by Gautier de Metz. In its first redaction this was addressed to the clergy but later redactions had been aimed at a much wider audience, including women.

*Les lecteurs de l'Image du monde. – Même si les commanditaires de la majorité des manuscrits restent inconnus, les données disponibles montrent que l'Image du monde fut particulièrement répandue dans les cours seigneuriales, c'est-à-dire dans le milieu auquel l'encyclopédie était en principe destinée. Une bonne circulation de l'encyclopédie est par ailleurs attestée dans les établissements religieux : monastères, églises et ordres mendiants. Parmi les commanditaires anciens, il faut aussi remarquer la présence d'un certain nombre de femmes, tandis qu'une diffusion en milieu bourgeois – bien que fortement probable – est faiblement attestée avant la fin du Moyen Age.*¹⁸⁵

By the middle of the fifteenth century this small, easily portable, pocket manuscript book (6"x4") was sold on the open market in Paris.¹⁸⁶ In another manuscript, fourteenth-century MS Firenze Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana

¹⁸⁵ Sarah Centili, "La tradition manuscrite de l' Image du monde fortune et diffusion d'une encyclopédie du xiii e siècle," text, 2005, <http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/document941.html>. (accessed 17 February 2011).

¹⁸⁶ Louis Landouzy and Roger Pépin, *Le Régime Du Corps De Maitre Aldebrandin De Sienne: Text Français Du Xiiié Siècle*, p. xxvi.

Plutei 73.5,¹⁸⁷ the copy of the *Livre de phisicke* is found at the beginning, f.1^r (Illus. 8-11). The contents of this *Livre de phisicke* follows the usual pattern although of note is the omission of chapters 6 and 7, the chapters that deal with the subjects of bathing and sexual relations, namely *de baignier* and *d'abiter avoec femme*. An attempt has been made to also expunge the first line of ch. 8, however, the word *bagniare* can still be read, albeit with difficulty. This suggests that the exemplar the copyist was using was still intact at this point and that the missing sections were a deliberate choice on the part of the copyist or commissioner. The copyist, did, however, retain both chapter 18 on the regime for a pregnant woman, and chapter 19 on neonatal care but here makes an error as he writes *uomo* in the opening line of Aldobrandino's advice for pregnant women and neonates but realising his mistake he then corrected it to read *la femena*.¹⁸⁸ The *Livre de phisicke* in this manuscript is followed by a version of the *Trotula* written in twenty chapters known here as the *Segrete cose* (f.52r).

*Incipit. Quiste mistiere per piue autenticha mente sequitare le
virtidiose cose di questo libro di dere? et di mostrare per
cagione le segrete cose delle donne come per junançi vedrai*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ This does not appear in Françoise Fery-Hue's article on the *Régime* (1987)

¹⁸⁸ Capitolo viii 'come uomo [sidec bagniare - expunged] changed to 'de vomichare' con in che temp' ...and Capitolo xviii 'come [uomo - expunged] la femena sidec guardare poi chelle in cinta et come sidec amascrare? di partorire agevolmente.

¹⁸⁹ Was this copyist perhaps following the pattern of the Aldebrandino's *Regime du Corps* as he has divided the information given in the *Trotula* into 20 chapters? This is continued in MS Riccardia MS 2165 where fol. 77 included the chapter on removing hair has been torn out.

The probable origins of the use of this text by both men and women is also reflected in the contents of another fourteenth-century copy found in MS Firenze Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnam 1076.¹⁹⁰ The first folio of the text is extremely faded, perhaps a sign that this copy was also left for some time without a cover, again suggesting circulation as a pamphlet, and the first initial an amateurish executed 'E', also appears to have been added at a later date. Once again a number of lines have been rubbed, for example in the section on *habuet a feme* (fol. 10^v) that has lost two lines together with a number of lines on fol. 28^r that contains the section '*Comment le femme se doit garder quant ele est ençainte*' which begins

*Pour bien entendre ce ke nous vous dirons, si déves savoir ke
li enfes ki est ou cors de le femme est ausi comme li fruis des
arbres, car vous veés premierement ke li flors où li fruits vient
qu'il se tient foiblement à l'arbre...*

This explanation of the frailty of the newly conceived infant is also found in the *Trotula* and other manuscripts. The text follows the usual pattern of advising that digestion is complete before embarking on sexual relations and that the optimum day for engendering children is the one just before the woman's *privee maladie* occurs. As with other copies these contents would have concerned both men and women. For example the contents of *habuet a feme* describes how men's fertility can be affected by their lifestyle and how their age and complexion can offer clues to which men have an increased

¹⁹⁰ For an example of the manuscript style see illustration 16 in the Image Appendix.

chance of engendering offspring and notably what benefits were to be gained from sexual relations.

Pour ce chascun regart quant il cuidera que sa viande soit cuite si le face. Car sachiez ce est bone oevre por engendrer enfans. Especiaument se la feme est de liuree dun jour deuan de sa priuee maladit. Et sachiez que hom yures et hom qui luse trop et uies hom de grant aage¹⁹¹ et qui se lieuent de grant maladie ne puent enfans engendrent. Mais cil qui font de bone complec/tion et deforce et ne sont trop cras no trop maigres et ont les vaines larges. Cil peut enfans engendrer et plus a tempreement faire si com nos avons deuise et fait le cors plus plain¹⁹² et lo/me lie et chaut toutes pensees et angoises et roage¹⁹³ d'samours dont maintes jens sont surpris et fait eschuiier maintes maladies qui prent avenir et cuer et a la cervelle par fumees qui sont traire et par ce sen prent il vuidier.[fol.10^r.]

This chapter is also found in MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380 discussed in more detail in chapter 6. MS Ashburnam 1076 (Illus. 16) also includes the instructions for a widely disseminated recipe for a depilatory, and adds the comment made in the copy found in the oldest manuscript 'Sachiez vraiment que ce ne laissa mie le poil revenir'. (fol. 33^v). While on fol.

¹⁹¹ MS 2021 includes *jovenes enfans* in this list.

¹⁹² MS 2021 gives *legier*

¹⁹³ MS 2021 omits *roage*

32^v instructions for caring for the hair read in the format of a herbal: the ingredients are given, the location of where the herbs grow and how to prepare them. The instructions are addressed directly to the user

*Se vous volés faire noir, Si vous les volés blanchir, and le soir,
quant vous irés couchier, oigniez les caviaus, et au matin
soiiés lavés de lessive (fol. 32^v).*

The direct address to women used by this author leaves no doubt that not only was this text written with women in mind, but also with the expectation of it being read and used by women.

Herbals

Although the *Live de phisicke* includes recipes and remedies which are to be found in medieval recipe collections the latter offer a much wider range of treatments. One of the most widely disseminated vernacular herbal texts became known as the *Macer Floridus* compiled c. 1070-1112 from classical sources. In the following section I address the question of exactly what could be learned from those simple basic texts that are known to have been owned by women.¹⁹⁴ What follows, therefore, is a brief exploration and sampling of what texts such as these could, in fact, reveal about a women's health to their readers and examines whether such texts also underwent change during the translation process into the vernacular.

¹⁹⁴ See Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 45.

Macer Floridus contains a description of plants and herbs giving particular attention to the curative properties or virtues of each, much of which is drawn from earlier compositions. The twelfth-century *Macer* composed by Odo de Meung, which essentially popularises Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*, and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, was translated widely into the vernacular, including French, with several versions being composed in Catalan and Castilian. One of the earliest Latin copies is found in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. iii and also contains Old English, Middle English and a number of annotations in Anglo-Norman. The origins of this eleventh to twelfth-century manuscript have been disputed but by the sixteenth century the library catalogue notes that MS Cotton Vitellius C. iii displays ownership marks showing that it had passed into the hands of 'Richerd Hollond thys boke' and 'elysabet colmore'. The British Library's catalogue entry suggests that Elizabeth Colmore may be a wealthy gentry woman from the well-known sixteenth-century Birmingham Colmore family.

An old French version of the *Macer* is found in MS Princeton, University Library, Garrett 131,¹⁹⁵ and the contents of this are compared below with a Middle English copy from the mid fourteenth-century manuscript in MS Stockholm, Royal Library X 91.¹⁹⁶ The Old French version is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, and is composed of a

¹⁹⁵ All references to this manuscript are to Hunt's edition, Hunt, *An Old French Herbal (MS Princeton U.L. Garrett 131)*.

¹⁹⁶ Middle English comparisons are taken from *Macer Floridus, A Middle English Translation of Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum*, ed. Gösta Frisk, vol. III, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature (Upsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1949).

series of medical texts, in French and Latin. The Latin texts are in the minority and simply represent a collection of prose recipes together with a commonly copied Latin text explaining the theory of the four humours. Other texts in French are a short treatise on the properties of herbs, (hot and cold, dry and moist), a list of weights and measures, and a treatise on weights relating to herbs and spices in the *Antidotarium*, together with an *Antibalomenon* dealing with the subject of enabling the user to substitute one herb or ingredient for another. There is also an incomplete text of the *Circa Instans* and a prose herbal attributed to Platearius. From these contents it is evident that this was a working manual and from the emphasis on the role the Christian faith, and the act of confession, played in the efficacy of the treatments, the practitioner believed that faith played a role in the healing process. This writer also displays an awareness of the role women played in both supplying the plants and herbs and their use. Hunt has suggested that the writer's intention was to re-assure the *povre gens*. On the other hand, however, this also points to physicians in this period relying on women for treating the sick, and who were also well accustomed to gathering plants for healing, to supply their needs.

That no physician should scorn the plants brought by the local
'wise woman' (*veille*) in good faith, for her faith and her
patient's hope are powerful factors in the healing process.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ Hunt, *An Old French Herbal (MS Princeton U.L. Garrett 131)*, 20.

The writer in his own prologue speaks in the first person as he explains that he writes in French at the request of his friends. What is of note here is the process of selection which produces a reworked text retaining a substantial number of treatments aimed at treating women's conditions that far outnumber those for men. Items listed under *fenne* total thirty-nine, with a further eight (*mammelles*) and with twenty five for (*matriz*). On the other hand a search of the index for specifically men's conditions results in a mere six: four (*membre*) and two (*coilz*) with a substantial number, totalling twenty nine remedies, for dealing with *luxure* or libidinous behaviour for both men and women. The entry for the use of the herb *Pulegium* (pennyroyal) which is traditionally known for its action as an emmenagogue has also been amended in the Old French text. The entries for onion and mint also show how the writer's choices change the content, and by removing the contraceptive advice alters the emphasis of the information provided.

Using the edition provided by Lynn Thorndyke and Francis A Benjamin a comparison between the Latin, found in the *Herbal of Rufinus*,¹⁹⁸ the old French and Middle English versions that demonstrate the compiler's method are given below. Page numbers for the editions are given in the relevant section.

Latin <i>Herbal of Rufinus</i> (13c) using <i>Macer</i> citations.	Old French <i>Macer</i> MS Garrett 131 (13c).	Middle English <i>Macer</i> MS Royal X 91(mid 14c).
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¹⁹⁸ *The Herbal of Rufinus* ed. Lynn Thorndyke and Francis S. Benjamin Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1946).

Cepa. <i>Manse vel pote tardantia menstrua purgant.</i> (p.87).	Li oignon. <i>e les fennes bien espurgier appetit donne e fet pissier</i> [334]. However ' <i>luxurē esmoveir pot'</i> is included. [337]	Oynones. <i>X. Oynones etyn and drunkyn purgip women flour[3] when þey tarien.</i> (p.114)
Menta romana. <i>Matricis sucus si subditur illius ante Quam fiat coytus, mulier non concipiat inde.</i> (p. 186)	Mente a warning not to use if pregnant: <i>:E icele a peinne conceit/Qui en sa matriz la receit.</i> This section is incomplete, and merely includes the household advice that mint juice prevents cheese from spoiling.	Mynte: <i>VI. Minte iuus drunken with sapa wole deliuere sone a woman and aleye here þrowes.</i> [...] <i>X. Mint iuus vnderput to þhe matrice a-fore þe cunte makeþ þat þe woman shal nat conceyue at þat tyme.</i> (p.128).
Pulegium. <i>Sepius hanc herbam si pregnans summit, abortit.</i> (p. 189)	Le poliol reiau: Incomplete: p.53. The text which deals with the herb's use in removing the <i>secundas</i> is missing in this version.	Pyliole: <i>Vis prima – If a woman þat is [with childe] drinke ofte þhis herbe she shal a-werpe her childe bu[t nathe]les þis herbe groundyn smale and drunkyn in mulsa w[il] put out the warpelyng of þhe wombe.</i> (p. 134).

Differences also occur in the section which deals with *Artemisia*, another well-known emmenagogue. The Old French translation in MS Garrett 131 explains that according to *Macer*, his authority, this is called the *mere as herbes* because it was known in the ancient world as the herb of Diana or *Artemisia* and because of this it is especially useful in treating women's ills. A number of lines in MS Garrett 131 stress the importance of ensuring that

successful generation rests on the balance of heat between the couple and when a man and woman transgress the rules of nature it is 'often medicine [that] is blamed'.¹⁹⁹ A similar emphasis on the importance of the compatibility between the man and woman's humours are also found in the *Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum (LSM)* of the Trotula, and Aldobrandino's *Livre de phisicke*, however, neither the Latin nor Middle English *Macer* in the editions consulted contain these lines.²⁰⁰

Manuscripts which contain herbals are known to have been owned by women while other medical texts were addressed directly to them.²⁰¹ It appeared, from Green's results, that some texts which were addressed to women which were sex- or gender-specific, and included gynaecology, obstetrics, and cosmetics, do not appear in the surviving evidence of book ownership by women. By looking at the evidence in a less restricted manner it is clear that even medical texts of the most basic nature, such as the herbals and *regimina*, also addressed important subjects, such as ensuring fertility or treating infertility, and these are widely found in compilations with other texts. In addition to searching for evidence of female ownership in wills and testaments it is also possible to find evidence of women's reading patterns and interests through other legal sources.

¹⁹⁹ Hunt, *An Old French Herbal (MS Princeton U.L. Garrett 131)*, 24.

²⁰⁰ *Por ce homme e fenme ensemble vaut/ Quand l'un et freit e l'autre est chaut./Vilment nature est afolee/Quant autrement est lor meslee.Quant dous chalors ensemble sunt/E dous freidors ensemble vont/La mort en est molt souvent nee/Du fisque est sovent blamee.*

²⁰¹ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 45.

The inventory made after the death of Jeanne de Chalon countess of Tonerre (d. 1360) records a book of chiromancy '*ung viez livre de cyromancie*', together with

*ung livre en françois de plus. medicinnes; un livre en françois des loys de Bertaingne; un viez romans d'Alixandre; ung autre romans en papier; ung roman de Vivien; ung petit romans du roy Artu.*²⁰²

Almost a century after this Jeanne de Chalon, another Jeanne de Chalon also countess of Tonerre (d. 1450) shows that she also owned a book of medicine *livre de medicine*, together with one entitled 'The Testament [of] Master Regnault of Villon on Medicine'.²⁰³ Evidence such as this suggests transmission of a number of medical manuscripts down the female line. The inventory made after Charlotte de Savoie's death in 1484 records a copy, on parchment, of a book of instructions written by Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry, for his daughters. The copy owned by Charlotte may have been left to her by one of her female ancestors and as such may have formed part of the family's 'dower property'. It also merits comment that when manuscripts do appear in inventory lists, often compiled after their owner's death, the primary reason for inclusion is to assess their financial value. Books classified as worthless in inventories may have been valued by their owners for less tangible

²⁰² Ernest Petit, *Inventaire et Testament de Jeanne de Chalon, Comtesse de Tonerre (1360)*, (Auxerre: A. Galot, 1913), 161.

²⁰³ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 52.

reasons, for example their practical use or they may have had personal value through the connections they had with family members and former owners. Apart from the books owned by Charlotte, her belongings were extensive and included other valuable items of silver, gold and finery: sixty-five rings set with diamonds and other precious stones. In addition to these obvious signs of wealth, simple, unostentatious *paternosters* made of wooden beads are listed and small wooden boxes are also included, however, these are consistently recorded as having been *non-estimée*. Similarly, additional books are also recorded but little is said about their specific contents or monetary value.

*Item, ung meschant (unseemly?) livre en pappier, tout derrompu, qui guères ne vault, painct d'ancre à plusieurs meschantes peintures et de plusieurs sortes, and ung meschant livre en papper painct a figures es d'ancre couvert de parchemin.*²⁰⁴

It is not known exactly who, out of the many men involved in compiling the inventory, made these derogatory comments, perhaps *Geoffrey eveque de Perigeux* who was among the group and his views were perhaps coloured by the contents, which from the description in the inventory, appears to have been a book of predictions (*plusieurs sortes*) and divination. The book may have been very old and falling apart (*tout derrompu*), or perhaps simply well

²⁰⁴ Alexandre Tuetey, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie (suite et fin).," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 26, no. 1 (1865): 425.

used. The description of other items *non-estimée* also point to Charlotte having owned objects which the King's Chamberlains claimed they could not identify but which may have been amulets. These were found wrapped in a small piece of paper inside a purse made of white leather which the officials appeared unable to identify

*Et y a en lad. bourse de petiz noez de pappier, où il y a des chosesqu'on ne sect si se sont reliques ou autres choses: Le tout remys en lad. bourse de cuir blanc. Item, plus y a oud. petit coffre carré, ung livre en pappier, où il y a des pappes figurez, aveques meschantes petites figures, et ne scet on se led. pappier s'appelle le livre pappal, ou non, le tout remys oud. coffre. Item, ung armenac en parchemin.*²⁰⁵

It is intriguing that a bishop, who would surely have recognised religious relics, is reticent about their provenance. Being placed in a purse of white leather would again point to a personal value and this may have been an item that a woman could have used or shared with other women such as fertility amulets. Among the books listed is also an almanac which was written on parchment, perhaps similar to the *meschant livre* painted with figures described above. Almanacs evolved from the medieval *kalendarium* and have been described as 'the scientific best-seller of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'²⁰⁶ From the widespread evidence for almanacs and texts on

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Peter Murray Jones, "Medicine and Science," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1400-1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, Vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 441.

divination it is clear that both men and women used these. The lunar prognostics contained in these texts were used to predict the outcome of actions to be undertaken at a given time, advise people on medical matters, and prophesy the fate of children, all of which point to joint use by both men and women. Other versions included rules for blood letting, and when to give medicines. One particular tailor-made version was known to have been commissioned by Sir Myles and Lady Stapleton of Norfolk members of a prominent family in the later middle ages. The Stapletons were heirs to the barony of Beaumont which could pass down the female line. Written by John Metham, in the fifteenth century these prose prognostications could include the subjects of birth, illness, hunting, hawking and merchandising, evidence of the eclectic range of knowledge that continued to be gathered into compilations, and all of which would have been available to the women of this family.²⁰⁷ The audience for written medical works, therefore becomes less clear when they are found in compilations with other texts that are known to have been read and owned by women. These compilations with advice on the welfare of hawks, horses, chiromancy, astrology and blood letting were read by both men and women.

Manuscript books such as these raise the question of the formation of textual communities. The basic notion of a textual community used by Brian Stock accepts that what was a particularly important was not the written version of the text, although that was sometimes present, but that an

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

individual having mastered it could then use it to reform the actions and thoughts of others.²⁰⁸ Using this definition the lack of evidence for a female textual community made up of solely professional female medical practitioners loses its importance as much of what is found in the re-written vernacular *Trotula* texts can also be found elsewhere among the herbals, regimes and recipe collections.²⁰⁹ Texts such as these are known to have been owned by women, and as women are known to have owned birds of prey and horses, early evidence of ownership supports their access and use of the texts relevant to these pastimes even though combined with other texts as are found in early copies. A small number of gifts to women, of both birds of prey and horses, are recorded as counter-gifts in the twelfth century suggesting that books such as these were read by women.²¹⁰ Margaret Courtenay, countess of Devon, (formerly de Bohun, grand-daughter of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile), left among one of her many books in '...latyn, englich and frensch': a book of medicines and horse-keeping *marchalsy* to one Anneys Chambernon.²¹¹ Anneys was a member of another well-known Devon and Exeter family with familial ties to the Courtenays. Advice on horse-keeping is also often found in encyclopaedias along with medicine, and in compilations which include other medical texts in the

²⁰⁸ Stock, *Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 3-4.

²⁰⁹ See also M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record 1066-1307*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 1993).

²¹⁰ Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, 122-123.

²¹¹ Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7, no. 4 (1982): 742-768.

vernacular while one female writer, Juliana Berners a prioress of Sopwell, a cell of St. Albans, is known to have composed books on a wide range of subjects, including hawking, hunting, fishing and heraldry.²¹² The commissioner(s) of the fourteenth-century manuscript that contains a copy of Aldobrandino's *Livre de phisicke* MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 2001, requested a *Cirurgie des chevaux* along with a selection of medical works including Aldobrandino's text (fols. 61-93), although here Aldobrandino's text is left untitled and a number of chapters are missing. This small manuscript book (6"x 4") would have been easily carried in a pocket as would a number of other manuscripts which contain the Aldobrandino: the perfect *Vade mecum* for a family involved in travelling. The fourteenth-century MS London, Wellcome 546 (Illus. 8) is also a small, pocket-sized, book which is a fairly luxurious copy and contains an abridged version of Rufus Jordanus's *Livre de maréchalerie* together with a copy of the *Trotula*, a *Livre de physicke*, a *Lettre d'hippocrate*, (untitled), and a treatises on urines and dietary rules. Susan Johns has noted that she found little evidence for women in England receiving horses as counter gifts, however, the editors of the treatise known as the *Cirurgie des Chevaux* found with Aldobrandino's *Régime* in MS BNP fr. 2001 argued that

'Dans un univers que le signe et le symbole marquent d'un
sceau profond, où la lecture s'apparente souvent au décodage

²¹² Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby*, New Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 15.

de valeurs qui se coulent dans les moules du motif [...] impliquant un appel quasi systématique à la reconnaissance, le couple (cavalier, monture)' s'organise comme support d'une sémiotique dont les composants sont aisément lisible'.²¹³

Among the semiotic list of couplets they found is that of the *dame/palfroi*. One late fourteenth-century French treatise, with a dedication to his newly married young wife of fifteen also contains instructions on how to choose a horse together with advice for hunting with greyhounds. Advice on how to manage a household, moral precepts including sexual advice,²¹⁴ historical events, the consumption of the king, princes and Parisian *bourgeois*, gardening and cookery are all included. Compilations such as these do not easily conform to a model which places male and female readership into tidy categories. Likewise, by the end of the fourteenth century, there is evidence that women were transporting manuscripts in their trousseaux, which were written in diverse languages²¹⁵ and dealt with a wide range of subjects.²¹⁶

Research that looked at the evidence of book ownership by women in a number of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century female libraries in France has

²¹³ See Brigitte Prévot and Bernard Ribémont, *Le cheval en France au Moyen Âge: sa place dans le monde médiéval et sa médecine: l'exemple d'un traité vétérinaire du XVe siècle, la Chirurgie des chevaux* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994).

²¹⁴ Christine M Rose, "What Every Goodwoman Wants: The Parameters of Desire in Le Menagier de Paris/The Goodman of Paris," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: an International Review of English Studies* 38 (2002): 393–410.

²¹⁵ Serge Lusignan, "French Language in Contact with English: Social Context and Linguistic Change (mid Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. Joelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York: York Medieval Press with The Boydell Press, 2009), 19–30.

²¹⁶ Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners."

shown how many of their libraries were neither catalogued nor benefited from the services of a *garde de la bibliothèque*.²¹⁷ Lack of evidence does not, of course, prove lack of access by women to a wide range of written works as there was no reason for a woman not to inherit her father's manuscripts, receive books as a dowry, or indeed borrow books regularly from the library of her husband. It was also found that books which would normally be categorised as feminine reading could also be found juxtaposed on shelves along with those of their husband's.

*Par ailleurs, pour des raisons qui nous échappent, des livres de ce dernier peuvent se retrouver sur les mêmes étagères, à côté des livres de grammaire latine destinés à l'éducation des filles (Gabrielle de La Tour, Gabrielle de Bourbon).*²¹⁸

Wills and inventories have been used as a means to define whether women had access to medical literature, with disappointing results. They can, however, provide other evidence that points to female medical practice. Found among Charlotte de Savoie's possessions, and notably among the items found in the kitchen, are seven *bacins a barbier*.²¹⁹ These would also be used for the distillation of *l'eau de rose* a particularly important ingredient

²¹⁷ Collette Beaune and Elodie Lequain, "Femmes et histoire en France au XVe siècle : Gabrielle de laTour et ses contemporaines," *Médiévales* 38 (2000): 111-136.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

²¹⁹ Nicolas Thomas, "L'Alambic Dans La Cuisine?," *La Cuisine et la table dans La France de la fin du Moyen Age*, (Caen: Publications du Centre de recherches archéologiques et historiques médiévales Université de Caen, 2009): 35-50.

found in a range of medical texts, including Aldobrandino's *Livre de phisicke*. This was used for a wide range of conditions for both men and women. Large quantities of saffron, cloves, and ginger are included in the inventory together with specialised equipment for the sick: *deux tuiaux d'argent blanc a boire malades pesans demi marc*. A small casket for keeping ointment *ung escrin a mettre oingumaunz* is also found itemised among the items in the kitchen.²²⁰

Inventories, therefore, can provide evidence which supports the use or consultation of medical books, rather than merely ownership. Charlotte de Savoie also owned a French translation of the *Secretum secretorum*, a book of 'herbs and trees', 'another' on diseases, and a large book of what may have been a collection of recipes in a *capite ad calcem* format: *ung grand livre [...] les Remèdes pour la maladie de la teste*.²²¹ The inventory also reveals that she owned a copy of what was probably Brunetto Latini's *Le Tresor en francoys* together with a book listed as *le Proprietaire*, this latter book is a French translation of a grand encyclopaedia, the *De Rerum Proprietatibus*, compiled by Bartholomaeus Anglicus c.1240 and this extensive work also included a herbal. In 1454 the queen of France, Marie d' Anjou, owned two alambics which were used during her illness: *deux alambics de voirre pour faire cuire et distiller eaues et medicines pour sa personne [la reine malade]*.²²²

²²⁰ Ernest Petit, *Bulletin De La Société Des Sciences Historiques Et Naturelles De l'Yonne* (Auxerre: Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1912), 653-77.

²²¹ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 53.

²²² Thomas, "L'Alambic Dans La Cuisine?" 44.

The evidence of the production of rosewater was widespread and by the fifteenth century one manuscript, MS Kassel, produced in the region of Liege, which is discussed in detail below in chapter 5, contains instructions not only for distilling rose water but also for making the necessary stills. (Illus. 24). Instructions for using an alambic to make rose water is found in the fourteenth-century *Livre de Seyntz Medicines* known to have been composed by Henry of Lancaster (1310-61). Although this treatise has been described as a devotional work it does also contain detailed medical instructions on how to nourish and give care for the sick. It includes a recipe for cooking a chicken to make a perfect broth, along with directions for different methods of obtaining the much-valued rosewater.

*Et ore dirrai de celle qe par fieu se fait: home prent les roses
toutz fresches et les mette homme en un chose de plomme que
homme appelle un heaument; et celuy heaument ou toutz les
roses, si mette homme sur le fieu; et ensi par la chalour de fieu
si court hors l'eawrose ausi en un vessel de veer, et en ceo veer
le gardons tantqe mestier en eit.*²²³

In 1394 Maria, Lady Roos and Oreby, bequeathed a copy of the *Livre de Seyntz Medicines* to Isabella Percy, Henry VII's step-niece.²²⁴ Further support for the preparation of medical treatments by women, or perhaps overseen by women, is provided by other inventories which demonstrate that alambic

²²³ Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, 151.

²²⁴ Barrett, "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction," 356.

ownership was indeed widespread. In the fifteenth century twenty-per cent of households in Aix en Provence owned one. These are mainly recorded in the inventories of bourgeois, notaires, a merchant, two *maitres-rationaux*, an Archbishop and a labourer who was also considered, by the compiler of the inventory, to be 'quite rich'. This widespread use is further confirmed by archaeological evidence taken from the mid fifteenth-century houses of a number of rich merchants in the Rouergue.²²⁵ The evidence therefore points to not only the widespread use of valuable medicinal items but also the in-house preparation and supply of least some of the essential items destined for both medicinal and culinary use, *l'eau de rose*, alcohol, or ointments and remedies, with some of these being attributed to women like 'the Ladi Beauchampe the Erllis Wiffe of Warwike'.²²⁶ This evidence points to women's access to, or ownership of, medical books and their close involvement in the practice of medicine. Further evidence of women's involvement in the preparation and use of remedies and treatments is given in chapter 5 in my discussion of the two manuscripts examined from northern France MSS Kassel and Lille.

Evidence for the ownership of vernacular medical books by men does not mean that women of the household were excluded either from the knowledge they contained or all medical matters, whether it concerned their own bodies, or those of family or household members. In the fifteenth

²²⁵ Thomas, "L'Alambic Dans La Cuisine?" 44.

²²⁶ Found among 65 prose recipes in English in the fifteenth-century compilation, MS San Marino, Huntingdon Library, MS 64 fols. 117^v.

century Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), the mother of Henry VII, described as a royal matriarch, was literate and well read. Lady Margaret's interest in literacy and books has been well established, and she is also known to have been an accomplished translator in her own right. According to a eulogy praising her learning, she was a great patron and appears to have owned a great number of books in English and French, as well as a copy of both a Latin and English plague tract which had been prepared especially for her.²²⁷

The widespread dissemination of the almanacs played an important role in medicine and health and importantly in the prevention of and treatment of the plague. In 1365 John of Burgundy prefaced his important own work on the prevention and cure of the plague with an explanation of astrology. His own practical experience had convinced him

that medicine, however well it has been compounded and chosen according to medical rules, does not work as the practitioner intends, and is of no benefit to the patient if it is given when the planets are contrary.²²⁸

Lady Margaret also owned two early printed copies of the *Kalender of Shepeherdes* (1505 and 1508), which has been described as 'a strange pot-

²²⁷ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 50.

²²⁸ Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 185.

pourri of pastoral, manual, astrological guide and medical handbook'.²²⁹ At the turn of the seventeenth century the evidence for women's involvement in the production of almanacs, such as those suggested by the contents of the *Kalender of Shepeherdes*, is incontestable.²³⁰ Thus, Lady Margaret's extensive literary achievements together with her two copies of the *Kalender of Shepeherdes* demonstrates that women were actively involved in healthcare and offer evidence for their interest in and use of astrology and allied subjects.

As discussed in my Introduction, Montserrat Cabré has argued that the care of children, their education, the care of the sick and the weak was considered part of a woman's gendered daily domestic tasks,²³¹ and activities such as these crossed cultural boundaries, as has been suggested by Carmen Caballero-Navas.²³² Women's involvement in medical practice is further supported by looking beyond the written record to trace additional evidence of women's involvement in the preparation of the medicines needed to carry out this care. I pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that one essential part of the training expected of professional physicians was the knowledge of praxis, a teaching method upon which apprenticeship is based and a method employed by many medical practitioners whether physicians, surgeons,

²²⁹ Green, "The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy," 50.

²³⁰ See A. S. Weber, "Women's Early Modern Medical Almanacs in Historical Context," *English Literary Renaissance* (2003): 358-401.

²³¹ Montserrat, "Women or Healers?" 18-51.

²³² Carmen Caballero-Navas, "Medicine and Pharmacy for Women. The Encounter of Jewish Thinking and Practices with the Arabic and Christian Medical Traditions," *European Review* 16, no. 2 (2008): 249-259.

apothecaries or blood-letters to train others, including as discussed below women. It is exactly this training that formed part of a woman's role that would have allowed an unseen and undocumented female textual community to be created around any vernacular text on medicine. The involvement in compiling or personally owning written collections of recipes, including household remedies, is not widely reflected in the evidence until the Early Modern period but by then manuscript collections of recipes and instructions for household management are known to have been created, owned and used by women.

In the next chapter, I examine another fourteenth-century vernacular manuscript, one which combines a number of religious didactic texts, with a medical work, and show what it can reveal about attitudes to women's medicine in the High Middle Ages.

Chapter 3

Health for Body and Soul

In the last chapter I examined the evidence for women's access to literacy and noted that scholars have agreed that, among the texts women were most likely to have commissioned and read, are those which focus on religious instruction. Intriguingly, for the argument of the range of women's literacy, such texts can sometimes be accompanied by others including those relating to healthcare. As discussed in chapter 1 MS Yale University Library, Beinecke 492 (Illus. 12-15) is one such manuscript, as it contains a copy of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* which is often found alongside the *Trotula* in vernacular compilations. Although MS Beinecke does not contain a *Trotula per se* it does contain a group of remedies for treating infertility which are also found in manuscripts such as MS Wellcome 546. The Beinecke manuscript does, therefore, offer the opportunity to examine a medical text, which also has connections with the *Trotula*, alongside religious works, and explore the intriguing question of why one aspect of women's healthcare caused problems for the copyist of this fourteenth-century manuscript. The overall structure of MS Beinecke 492 allows this chapter to be split into two major sections. The first examines the didactic content as it relates to the health of the soul while the second section looks at remedies and treatments for the body.

The first major religious text, the *Lumere as lais*, has been beautifully executed and although now incomplete it does contain one historiated initial (f. 16^v) portraying a master expounding to a pupil, a common stylistic feature which immediately informs the reader that this work is based teaching, with the use of decorative line-fillers indicative of a relatively luxurious manuscript. (Illus. 12). The *Lumere* is a well-known religious didactic work in the form of a catechetical poem its source text being a translation of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarius*, however, as with other vernacular texts it quickly became a patchwork of other authorities.²³³ The second major work in the Beinecke manuscript which is discussed is the copy of St. Edmund of Pontigny's *Speculum Amicie*: in Latin versions it is referred to as the *Speculum religiosum* or *Speculum Ecclesie*. The third work, which forms the second part of this chapter, is found under the simple rubric *medecines*. This at first sight appears to be a motley collection of recipes, charms and treatments but my analysis reveals that this is, in fact, a copy of the well-known recipe collection generally known as the *Lettre d'Hippocrate à César*. This, like many other recipe collections, includes treatments for a range of similar conditions for both men and women. Texts such as these were widely disseminated from the early thirteenth century and appear in an extensive range of manuscripts that are different in both style and quality. Such manuscripts include a southern French copy, found in MS Chantilly, Musée

²³³ *Honorius of Autun's Imago Mundi* included a scheme for the role of Guardian Angels and formed the basis of Gossuin de Metz's *Ymage du Monde*. This manuscript does not appear in, the list of extant copies of the *Lumere as lais* in Alexandra Barrett "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction."

Condé, which is one of three manuscripts that includes a text that deals with women's infirmities and menstrual disorders called *Des aides de la maire et de ses medicines*.²³⁴

The Manuscript

Léopold Delisle's description of MS Beinecke 492 notes that it was written in the thirteenth century on parchment by an English scribe in two columns on 110 leaves and measures twelve inches by eight and a quarter inches. He commented that it was '*Probablement copié dans l'abbaye de Pontigny par un moine anglais*',²³⁵ this is followed by an accurate description that records it is '*incomplet au commencement*'. However, the Yale University catalogue entry states that this is in fact a fourteenth-century manuscript 'produced in England'. Delisle's description is further undermined by the fact that three distinct scribal hands were involved in its production. The division of labour in this manuscript cannot be simply attributed to a natural change that took place when a new scribal hand took over. The first change occurs on fol. 71^v part way through the first religious text, the *Lumere as lais* (fols. 1^r-85^v); at this point the decorative element of line fillers is also reduced. It is impossible to assess exactly why this should have happened, unless speed was of the essence, or perhaps it was simply that a less experienced scribe took over, who then continued with Part II of the manuscript. This scribe was

²³⁴ For connections of this text to one known to have been written for women see Montserrat Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman," 385.

²³⁵ Léopold Delisle, "A Catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books collected by Thomas Brooke, F. S. A., and preserved at Armitage Bridge House, near Huddersfield." *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 53, no. 1 (1892): 182 - 186.

responsible for the entire text of the *Speculum Amicie* (fols. 86^r-99^v) - column 1. A third scribe then continues on fol. 99^v column 2, adding the medical text (fol. 105^v) which finishes on fol. 110^v. The additional works include a small religious tract on the love of God and hatred of sin, and two prayers in Middle English: 'Swete ihesu king of blisse', based on "Iesu dulcis memoria" and 'Cristene man thu lerne of loue/for the ich wolde on erthe come', an appeal of Christ to a sinner. The final item, fols. 105^v-110^v, is in the same hand as the Middle English prayers and consists of a collection of recipes and remedies in Anglo-Norman under the rubric *medicines*; it is examined in the second part of this chapter.

Religion, Nature and the *Lumere as lais*

A wide range of texts in the vernacular demonstrate that medieval people were fascinated with the relationship between the cosmos, the natural world and themselves. The earthly presence of angels, and the danger which resulted from the devil's work all appeared to form part of this natural world. Copies of illustrated bestiaries were seen as giving the 'unlettered a direct experience from learning, as it were, a text',²³⁶ while texts on astrology and divination were copied and the four elements once again played their role in explaining how the human body functioned.²³⁷ This understanding of the causes of illness and treatments is reflected to varying degrees in the

²³⁶ Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 51.

²³⁷ Widely discussed see for example Faye Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle*.

manuscripts of medicine in the medieval west. As pointed out elsewhere, some of these copies reproduce careful and faithful translations of learned Latin medical texts while others evolve to form composite texts which carry additions and omissions and are works in their own right. The texts found in MS Beinecke 492 offer an opportunity to explore the world where didactic religious works appear as companions to what is often seen and described as works of simple traditional medicine.

The *Lumere as lais*²³⁸ is known to have been written by the Austin canon Peter of Fetcham in 1267-68. Peter moved to Oxford and may have entered the Augustinian house of St. Frideswide's where he possibly acquired the title of Master. This Peter may have been the illegitimate son of Master Peter, rector of Fetcham.²³⁹ In the prologue to the Anglo-Norman *Secrés de Secrez*²⁴⁰ Peter writes *En un livre kefes ai jad/De ceste matire treitié i ad[...]/Le livre en verité saciez/La LUMERE AS LAIS si est nomez*.²⁴¹ Further information on the author is found in MS Welbeck 1.C.1.²⁴² *Mon patrun ke*

²³⁸ Glynn Hesketh, ed., *La lumere as lais*, vol. 1 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1996); Glynn Hesketh, ed., *La lumere as lais*, vol. 2 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1998); Glynn Hesketh, ed., *La lumere as lais*, Vol. 3 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2000).

²³⁹ Dominica Legge found several references to a certain Master Peter of Peckham among the Rolls of Edward I and Edward III see M. Dominica Legge, "Pierre de Peckham and His 'Lumière as Lais,'" *The Modern Language Review* 24, no. 1 (1929): 37-47.

²⁴⁰ This work derived from the well known *Secretum secretorum* a Latin manuscript of which one copy was borrowed from the library of the Château de la Ferté en Ponthieu by *midemisele de le Ferté* in 1302, which suggests its contents was of interest to female readers. See Charles de Beaurepaire, "Bibliothèque du château de La Ferté en Pontieu au XIVe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 13 (1852): 562.

²⁴¹ Pierre d'Abernon, *Le secré de secrez*, ed. Oliver Aveyard Beckerlegge (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, B. Blackwell, 1944).

²⁴² fol. 243^d. This manuscript contained a number of texts one of which was later owned by the nuns of Campsey Ash Priory.

Johan a nun a/De Abernun and [...] *ke Piere ad nun/K'estreit est de ces Abernun*²⁴³ where he appears at the conclusion of another work, a translation of Ralph de Bocking's *The Life of St. Richard* made at the request of Isabel, the Countess of Arundel, wife of Hugh d'Aubigny Earl of Sussex and Arundel.²⁴⁴ Isabel counted Richard Wych Bishop of Chichester, later to become St. Richard, as a personal friend, and as such provides further evidence of the early involvement of women in the production of religious works at the time in which texts such as these flourished.²⁴⁵

The versified *Lumere as lais* sets out in 14,000 verses the intellectual discussion which lay behind the practices and tenets of the church.²⁴⁶ It has its origins in the mid-thirteenth century, a period which has long been identified as one of centralisation and reform spearheaded by Innocent III and the Lateran Council of 1215. The development of new thinking on pastoral care, formulated in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, exerted an influence on the literature that was emanating from France in the twelfth century, and included both Latin *pastoralia* and vernacular literature.²⁴⁷ These latter works developed in response to the requirements of parish priests faced

²⁴³ "Le secré de secrez," II, lines 2378-9.

²⁴⁴ Isabel was the daughter of William de Warrene and his wife Maude who was the eldest daughter of William Marshall Earl of Pembroke whose sons produced no legitimate heirs.

²⁴⁵ A copy of the *Lumere as lais* (MS Dublin Trinity College B.5.1. (209) belonged to Dame Joanna Kyngseton, Cistercian Abbess of Tarant Keynston (Dorset) in the fourteenth century see Barrett, "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction," 352.

²⁴⁶ W. Rothwell, "Henry of Lancaster and Geoffrey Chaucer: Anglo-French and Middle English in Fourteenth-Century England," *The Modern Language Review* 99, no. 2 (2004): 313-327.

²⁴⁷ See Peter Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and Miri Rubin, *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

with newly formulated duties to carry out for the laity, and in particular the requirement to hear confessions, impose penance and teach their parishioners the basics of the faith.²⁴⁸ This period also witnessed a widespread debate in which the question of the nature of celibacy was high on the agenda and which, eventually, resulted in celibacy being used, as one scholar has suggested, as 'the coat of arms that distinguished the clergy from the mass of humanity'.²⁴⁹ As a result of these deliberations theological discussion inevitably turned to the problem of reconciling what had turned out to be two opposing streams of thought: marriage solely for the purpose of procreation and the practice of chastity. This urgent need to define marriage in both what it meant to the church and to the laity, focussed church writers' attention as they attempted to reconcile these two conflicting issues.²⁵⁰ Canonists and theologians alike turned to formulating what became known as 'the three goods' of marriage which would in turn be used to uphold the marriage contract: offspring, faith and indissolubility. These high level deliberations can also be seen clearly in the vernacular teaching of the *Lumere as lais*. This text, like many others, reflects another wave of influence, equally as important, transmitted by the vast corpus of Latin translations of Arabic medicine. These were the logical, natural philosophical and moral works of Aristotle and other Greek writers and their Arabic commentators, as Latin

²⁴⁸ Catherine Rider, "Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals," *Journal of Medieval History* 36, no. 4 (December 2010): 327-340.

²⁴⁹ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 132.

²⁵⁰ Discussed in depth in Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*; and David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

translations became available to the west. The Latin translations then entered into universities complete with commentaries. Translations such as these, reflected in the vernacular *Lumere as lais*, provoked discussion on the relationship between natural philosophy and medicine so that, by 1267, Thomas Aquinas was able to state that it was the natural philosophers task 'to govern health and illness' and the physician's to put the 'universal principles into action'. Thus, the physician's role became the 'maker of health'. To enable the physician to carry out his role effectively, he should do more than just dispense medicines, he should also 'reflect upon the causes of health and illness' and to do so 'the good physician begins his training [with the study] of natural philosophy'.²⁵¹

This insistence on the symbiotic relationship between natural philosophy and medicine is reflected in the texts found in MS Beinecke 492. Here there are elements of another popular early work, the new twelfth-century *Philosophia mundi*, in which the question of angels and their relationship to man, have been used.²⁵² Emphasis on the role of nature, such as that found in the mid-twelfth-century *Cosmographia*, is echoed by the role that nature is said to have played in populating the world immediately after creation had taken place. This emphasis on the role of nature is similarly found in early Anglo-Norman medical texts, as in these 'nature' appears in

²⁵¹ Luis García-Ballester, "Health and Medical Care in Medieval Galenism," in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 128.

²⁵² See Winthrop Wetherbee, *The Cosmographia of Bernardus Silvestris* (Columbia University Press, 1990).

various guises. Nature is consistently referred to as the source of medicine; advice is given to harness nature where infertility enters into the discussion and the word itself - *la nature* - is used for the generative organs of women and occasionally men. This medical aspect of nature is examined further below. The version of the *Lumere as lais* found in MS Beinecke 492 lacks the first book, and the opening part of book II. However, the inhabited initial in Book I of the *Lumiere as Lais* found in MS London, British Library Royal 15 D II, described by Dominica Legge as an *édition de luxe*,²⁵³ is remarkably similar to the remaining inhabited initial in the Beinecke manuscript. MS Beinecke 492 is one of the many witnesses to the abundant production of Anglo-Latin and vernacular religious and didactic literature which was produced in England and northern France. Paul Meyer suggested that much of this output was composed '*pour des seigneurs normands or plutôt leurs femmes*'.²⁵⁴ By the fourteenth century, the period in which MS Beinecke 492 was written, French had ceased to be the principal vernacular in England and became a more educated accomplishment.²⁵⁵ Written for the laity, therefore, these writings reflect the movement closely associated with clerical activity, especially that of the friars some of whom were known to have been active in the practice of medicine.²⁵⁶ For example Robert Grosseteste the Bishop of Lincoln is known to have had two friar preachers whom he liked to have live

²⁵³ M. Dominica Legge, "La Lumière as Lais": A Postscript," *The Modern Language Review* 46, no. 2 (1951): 191-195.

²⁵⁴ Paul Meyer, "Les manuscrits français du Cambridge," *Romania* (1879): 18-130.

²⁵⁵ See Wogan-Browne et al., *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*.

²⁵⁶ Vern L. Bullough, "Medical Study at Mediaeval Oxford," *Speculum* 36, no. 4 (1961): 600-612.

with him, one of whom was skilled in the art of medicine. Others friars are known to have written, among their many sermons composed for specific audiences, sermons on the subject of childhood and childrearing.²⁵⁷ Mendicant friars were also recruited to aid noblemen, such as Earl Henry Lacey of Lincoln who sought permission to appoint the friars, Michael of Merton and Reginald of Kington, to act as military chaplains.²⁵⁸ This extensive pastoral activity of the friars is also reflected in the texts composed to teach the laity the tenets of the faith. E. J. Arnould in 1939, described the *Lumere as lais*

as a real encyclopaedia, lengthy, dry, heavy, servilely copied from Latin authors, filled with such topics as could only interest the most decadent scholastics, and almost totally bare of concrete *exempla*.²⁵⁹

and Dominica Legge saw it as 'a unique attempt to vulgarise scholastic teaching in a systematic way'.²⁶⁰ Despite this twentieth-century negative view, at least one medieval reader found something of interest in the *Lumere as lais* to copy into the back of a thirteenth-century manuscript. This extract, here called a *Charte*, is found at the back of Latin manuscript National Library of Wales MS Brogyntyn 1.7, this also contains an early thirteenth-century copy

²⁵⁷ Jenny Swanson, "Childhood and Childrearing in ad status Sermons by Later Thirteenth-Century Friars," *Journal of Medieval History* 16, no. 4 (1990): 309-331.

²⁵⁸ David S. Bachrach, "The Friars go to War: Mendicant Military Chaplains, 1216 to c. 1300," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. XC 4 (2004): 631.

²⁵⁹ Discussed in A.J. Arnould, "On Two Anglo-Norman Prologues," *The Modern Language Review* 34, no. 2 (1939): 248-251.

²⁶⁰ Dominica Mary Legge, "La Lumière as Lais: A Postscript," *The Modern Language Review* 46, no. 2 (1951): 191.

of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. The *Charte*, as it appears after the Latin manuscript, is in a cursive hand of the fourteenth century, the style of which differs greatly from its well-known professionally executed companion in this manuscript. The extract appears under the title *La Charte au diable* and speaks acrimoniously of not only powerful members of society, but also launches an unusual attack on the rich.²⁶¹ Arnould's derogatory comment on the *Lumere as lais* may, therefore, simply arise from his knowledge of another well-known Anglo-Norman didactic text, the *Manuel de Pechiez*, which was filled with colourful *exempla* and which is often found in compilations with the *Lumere*.²⁶² Nevertheless, there are indications in the text in MS Beinecke 492 that it had been created to appeal to a wider audience than that of a monastic setting. Peter himself notes that his work is not for 'madmen or children', though later he envisages an audience which includes all members of the laity, '*Veuz e jufnes, femme [s] e enfanz*' (line 13,954).²⁶³ Its method of teaching, for example the incorporation of the marital sentiments into the Genesis story, surely lift it beyond that of a dull encyclopaedia. In this vernacular version of the creation story, Eve

²⁶¹ Philippe Ménard, "Un manuscrit anglo-norman inconnu à la bibliothèque d'Aberystwyth: La charte au diable," *Le Moyen Age. Revue d'histoire et de philosophie* 115, no. 3-4 (2009): 529-555.

²⁶² CUL, MS. Gg.1.1. (first half of the fourteenth century post 1308), has an unusual format, small but more than six inches thick (633 leaves) that suggests private study rather than public reading. It contains a large collection of French poetry, including the *Lumere as lais*, and the *Manuel des péchés*, Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise on learning French (addressed to a woman) interlined with English glosses, some Middle English verse, the *Proverbs of Hendyng* with an emphasis on child-rearing, a French *Apocalypse* with fifty-five illuminations and an illustrated *Image du Monde*. Its combination of prophecies, prognostications, history and popular science as well as devotional material suggests secular ownership. It possibly belonged to an upwardly mobile, bilingual gentry family.

²⁶³ Glynn Hesketh, ed., *La lumere as lais*, Vol. 2 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1998).

having tasted the apple, takes the exquisite, fragrant fruit to Adam and begs him to taste it. Adam immediately sees what she has done and that she is ashamed. Here an authorial intrusion occurs as, in Pierre of Fetcham's version of the Genesis story, the reader is informed that Adam is comforted by the fact that, despite God's warning, Eve has not died from the ill effects of eating the fruit. The story continues as Peter explains Adam's pity for her

*Nepurq(ua)nt un confort li prist/Qe pas morte ne la vit. E pite
le prist de sa mulier/Ne la voleit issi lesser E prist le frut si en
manga.*

Pierre de Peckham's elaboration of the Genesis story offers an excuse for Adam's actions and outlines the new teaching on marital fidelity. The claim that he ate the fruit out of pity for his wife displays his idealistic affection, while at the same time effectively incorporates the new teaching on the importance of marital fidelity.²⁶⁴ This vernacular text reflects both the contemporary debate on marriage and the resulting growth of the church's jurisdiction and legislation over marriage. A further example of the influence of imagery on the Genesis story, in this text, is found in the language used to describe the quintessential marital relationship that Peter of Fetcham envisages taking place in the Garden of Eden. When Eve takes the apple to Adam, after their betrothal in Paradise, Peter describes Adam as her '*baron*'. Inserted between the section that deals with Genesis 3:23-5 Pierre writes, *En iteu manere fu, sanz faile/en parais trové esposaille/[...]Est matrimonie*

²⁶⁴ See David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society*.

sacrement, and again the relatively recent stance on marriage by the church is made quite clear. The use of *baron* in Anglo-Norman texts is also widely attested and is included in a work of medicine where recipes are given to aid fertility: instructions read that after treatment has taken place the woman should 'lie with her *baron*'.²⁶⁵ The semantic range is wide and includes a hero, a worthy man, a wealthy man, a brave fighter, a lord, a master, or a husband, all of which would adequately express the desired qualities required of a spouse. In referring to Adam's reluctance to leave Eve, Peter uses the word *mulier*: woman or wife and, later in the story, it is this very reluctance to leave Eve that allows Peter to apportion the greater blame on Eve for their actions in paradise: *E plus parut k'aveit amur/Ver li ke vere nostre Seignur*. References to the importance of love and fidelity are found elsewhere in this manuscript for example in the section devoted to medicine discussed below. Peter also sets out clear rules for marriage. This includes not only the age of the girl, but also the words to be used in the marriage ceremony, notably *bel ami*. It also discusses whether the man has known the woman carnally, alongside rules for re-marriage, on death of one of the partners. Questions such as these were discussed in great depth in the twelfth century as theologians sought to clarify and shape attitudes to what had become the traditional view that chastity was the ideal and that achieving continence in marriage was an admirable thing, although one theologian was adamant that chastity as a clerical prerogative and that there was 'no room for amorphous

²⁶⁵ MS Exeter Cathedral Library, 3519 fol. 174^v where it appears with a group of remedies to aid conception.

relations among the laity.²⁶⁶ The result of such theological discussion was that consummation and the conjugal debt became inextricably tied together in canon law. Peter of Fetcham warns his reader to take care in setting out on on a life-long commitment in another of his works *Le Secré de Secrez*.²⁶⁷

*O Alisandre, en nule guise, E[n] ovre de femmes n'en lur
servise, Ne vus afiez; e ausi gardez k'a eles ne seez
abandonez; E si covient par necessité K'a femme seez
abandonné, A une lele, dunc, ke duné vus seit, Abundenez vus,
kar ceo ert dreit; Kar tant come femme te treite en braz,
Baillez li estes en ses laz. Gardez vus bien, e seez certains, Kar
vostre vie (en) est en ses mains.*²⁶⁸

Many of the theological discussions in the copy of the *Lumere as lais* found in MS Beinecke 492 are dealt with in the style of rhetorical questions. These explore a wide range of topics including the intriguing question on whether angels exist and if so how. Questions on this subject include: Where do angels come from and whether every angel has someone to protect and watch over?

*Si chescun angle un hom(m)e a garder/Ou un angle plusu/
[C]hescun eu un soul tens auer/Peu un soul hom(m)e p(our)
garder/Mes qu(an)t un moert un autre e(st) nee: Dunt ert il*

²⁶⁶ Elliott, *Spiritual marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*, 168.

²⁶⁷ The question of husbands leaving their wives to go on a crusade or provide military service is also relevant here.

²⁶⁸ Abernon, *Le Secré de Secrez*, 33.

*aut vif assigne/Dunt en duers tens a garder/Pount maus e bons
plusurs au(er). [fol. 5^{vb}].*

Further questions ask 'why devils walk the earth?' and 'why God created good and bad angels?' [fol. 6^r].²⁶⁹ The question 'If angels know what men are thinking', is also addressed perhaps to be read as a warning to readers. From this belief it naturally follows that if angels are indeed capable of knowing a man's, or woman's thoughts, they can effectively carry out their divinely ordained role as guardians or, indeed, act as intermediaries between heaven and earth during man's time in this world. This text reflects the determined scholastic endeavour described as one that 'set out to assimilate the new and much debated ideas, many of which were inherited from classical antiquity, with the current Christian world-view'.²⁷⁰ Peter of Fetcham's angels are presented as quasi-divine intelligences, and his descriptions follow those of Alan de Lille (d.1203) who also set out the chief characteristics of the celestial orders and the functions of angels in relation to human beings.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Other copies of this text reveal that in its complete form the work would have included six books:

Book I. God; II. The Creation of the World, including descriptions, and hierarchies of angels, both good and bad, and man; III. deals with Sin; IV. The Redemption, grace, virtues, the gifts of the spirit, the beatitudes, the Creed, and the Commandments; V. The Seven Sacraments; and finally Book VI which deals with The Day of Judgement, the pains of Hell and the Joys of Heaven. Another thirteenth-century manuscript recorded by Legge, British Museum, Royal 16.E. IX is also incomplete: it opens with a single chapter from Book II and many passages are omitted. A full list of the omissions and transpositions is given in the British Museum catalogue. See London, British Library, Royal 15.D.II for a fuller copy including the inhabited initial which begins the text (fol. 292) and which is very similar in style to MS Beinecke 492. This copy was owned by the Welles family.

²⁷⁰ Isabel Iribarren and Martin Lenz, *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry: Their Function and Significance* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers, 2008), 2.

²⁷¹ See David Luscombe, "The Hierarchies in the Writings of Alan of Lille, William of Auvergne and St. Bonaventure," in *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry: Their Function and Significance*, ed. Isabel Iribarren and Martin Lenz, (Aldershot: Ashgate

There is also evidence in this work of the important move, that by the late fourteenth century would become widespread, one that stressed that it was the merits of 'humans who led sinless lives [...] and who have received the divine gift of grace' that would ultimately lead humans closer to God.²⁷² This move is clearly evident in the *Lumere as lais*' accompanying text the *Speculum Amicie*.

The vernacular *Speculum Amicie*

The *Speculum Amicie* was written by Edmund of Abingdon (1174-1240). Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1233-40, came from a family rich not only in children but also property.²⁷³ After it was translated into Anglo-Norman the *Speculum* was widely read: its popularity is evidenced by more than seventeen extant manuscripts containing Anglo-Norman versions.²⁷⁴ The *Speculum* is both shorter and simpler than the *Lumere* and once again is perfectly designed for use in private devotion, reflecting both contemporary needs to educate the laity and the resulting demand for such works at the time of its production.²⁷⁵ The *Speculum* appears just after the Interdict imposed by Innocent III on King John at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a time that Edmund had lived through, developing his awareness of the pressing

Publishing Ltd., 2008), 17.

²⁷² Iribarren and Lenz, *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry*, 4.

²⁷³ J. C. Russell, "Notes on A Biography of Edmund of Abingdon," *The Harvard Theological Review* 54, no. 3 (1961): 147-158.

²⁷⁴ See Harry Wolcott Robbins, "An English Version of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, Ascribed to Richard Rolle," *PMLA* 40, no. 2 (1925): 240-251.

²⁷⁵ For the dissemination of this text and the *Speculum* see Alexandra Barrett, "Spiritual Writings and Religious Instruction," 340-366.

need for a supply of texts to enable private religious devotion. The Beinecke version has been identified as one which belongs to the original family of French manuscripts as it contains the text as translated for nuns, female audience, and not as modified for lay people. The fact that the compiler copied from such a text cannot necessarily be used as evidence that it was prepared for such a specific audience which, of course, raises the question of whether identification of the readership for one text can be used for identifying the audience of a particular manuscript when it is part of a compilation. The significance of this is discussed in my examination of MS Beinecke 492's collection of *medecines*.

The *Speculum* sets out to help the reader avoid sin and to bring his or her soul into a state of perfect health. The treatise deals with how 'to live perfectly' as a Christian, which is, according to Edmund, 'to live honourably, amiably and humbly' (*[p]erfecte vivere [...] est vivere honorabiliter, amicabiliter et humiliter*). Edmund gives specific instructions on how to achieve this by showing the reader a three-stage process of contemplation on God.²⁷⁶ In brief, it begins with the Words of the 'martyrs' [sic] and then gives a list of the remedies for the soul to treat the seven mortal sins, *c'est sunt les vii mortuus peches*. To accomplish Innocent III's mission, set out in the Articles of the IV Lateran Council, the seven mortal sins became the focus of sermons and preaching, and a major motif in literature and art, all of which

²⁷⁶ Atsushi Iguchi, "The Visibility of the Translator: The *Speculum Ecclesie* and the Mirror of Holy Church," *Neophilologus* 93 (2009): 537-552.

reflect the importance of the contemporary Christian's personal responsibility for their soul's health and ultimate salvation. The order in which the Seven Sins appear may vary according to the manuscript but in MS Beinecke 492, it follows that of St. Gregory the Great. It begins with pride and is followed by subsections, using *les filles* as an analogy. These daughters represent the multiple faces of pride intended to demonstrate how this particular mortal sin was able to disguise and manifest itself in many different ways. Imagery also brought this teaching to life as painters and illuminators depicted the hierarchy of sin. Preachers employed similar imagery in sermons and didactic works. An example of how these sins affected health is graphically described by Henry of Lancaster (1310-1361) in his litany of confessions, written in the form of a prayer and recorded in the *Livre de Seyntz Medicines*,²⁷⁷ the female ownership of a copy of this treatise is noted above in chapter 2. Recognised remedies for the soul in MS Beinecke 492 include: the seven virtues (repeated), the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; the ten Commandments; the Articles of the Faith; the four Cardinal Virtues; and the six works of Charity. Some of these fundamental texts for religious instruction are also found in the well-known thirteenth-century manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 86 (French, Latin and Middle English) that also contains medical advice and which forms the discussion in the following section.

²⁷⁷ Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*.

Medecines

At the beginning of this chapter I noted that the collection of medical prescriptions and remedies which appear at the end of this manuscript prove to be an unrecorded copy of the well-known *Lettre d'Hippocrate à César*. This unsophisticated work is found in numerous manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and was one of the most copied texts of the Middle Ages. Soon after its appearance it attracted additions and variations, sometimes from unidentified sources, to such an extent that each manuscript offers an opportunity to examine the choices made by the compiler and to analyse what it may tell us about its production and audience. My analysis demonstrates that the copy found in MS Beinecke 492 is closely related to the copies found in a number of early tri-lingual manuscripts, the most renowned of which are the thirteenth-century common place book known as MS Digby 86 and MS London, British Library Harley 978.²⁷⁸ The *Lettre's* recipes are usually found listed in the popular *capite ad calcem* format preceded by a short treatise on the four humours followed by a more extensive one on diagnosis by urines. The format of the *Lettre* found in MS Beinecke 492 differs however, as it lacks the usual accompanying treatise on urines and although the usual humoral treatise has been included it has been shortened and relocated to the end of the text after which three stray recipes have been added. Of course this may simply mean that the source copy it was

²⁷⁸ British Library, MS Harley 978 is a thirteenth-century manuscript that famously contains some of the earliest copies of Marie de France's *Lais* and *Fables*, the summer canon, the cuckoo song, and an array of Latin verse. This manuscript also contains a copy of the short Latin version of *Le Secré de Secrez*.

made from had already undergone revision. The stray remedies include treatments for epilepsy, gout and to rid the dwelling of mice.²⁷⁹ The latter is of note as it advises the use of a *vispilum* (*aspergillum* used for sprinkling holy water) which raises the question of whether the author would assume that each household had one – or perhaps knew that the manuscript was intended for use in a household that maintained its own private chapel or had obtained a licence to have a personal confessor. Hunt has suggested that the early Anglo-Norman French versions of the *Lettre* are of particular interest but suggests that the notion of establishing a critical text will probably always remain a chimaera.²⁸⁰ Texts such as these offered vernacular readers a range of treatments for a multitude of ills. As Claude de Tovar has shown in her examination of the textual transmission of *Le Réceptaire de Jean Sauvage*, (second half of the fourteenth century) choices were continually made during the process of compilation, thus Jean Sauvage omitted nine chapters, of his source text, the *Thesaurus pauperum*, notably those that dealt with genital conditions and conception.²⁸¹ In addition to this text Tovar's analysis reveals close textual affinities to the copy of the *Lettre* which forms the medical section of the Beinecke manuscript. Since the publication of her work little research has been carried out on the Anglo-Norman versions of the *Lettre*, although some work has been carried out on the Middle English versions.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ The remedy for getting rid of mice is found in other manuscripts for example MS London, British Library 146 and MS London, British Library Sloane 3564.

²⁸⁰ Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 100.

²⁸¹ de Tovar, "Contamination, interférences," 126-127.

²⁸² M. Teresa Tavormina, "The Middle English Letter of Ipcras," *English Studies* 88 (December 2007): 632-652.

The popularity of this text is evident from copies²⁸³ that have also been found in manuscripts in different dialectical areas for example a number originating in the south of France.²⁸⁴ The underlying aim of all of the copies of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* remains constant, to offer simple treatments or relieve the symptoms of the illness or condition from which the patient is suffering. Although MS Beinecke 492 does exhibit a number of unusual additions and omissions but, on the whole, remains faithful to its relation. A discussion of these additions and omissions forms the next section of this chapter.

The collection of recipes and remedies in MS Beinecke 492 is practical, and it is not surprising that perhaps the closest version of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* to the Beinecke copy is included in the well-known commonplace book, MS Digby 86. This manuscript also contains a number of religious texts. Unlike the Beinecke manuscript, MS Digby 86 also includes a wide range of medicine and treatments for both women and men alongside its non-gendered repertoire of treatments. On the other hand, Beinecke 492 omits much of the material which deals specifically with men and women's health. To varying degrees copies of the *Lettre* often include advice for infertility, for both men and women, together with gynaecological, breastfeeding, post partum, and

²⁸³ Maria Sofia Corradini Bozzi, *Ricettari medico-farmaceutici medievali nella Francia meridionale* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1997).

²⁸⁴ MS Auch, Archives départementales du Gers I 4066 and MS Princeton, Garrett, 80. The two 'Provençale' manuscripts are also related to the Picard version of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* found in MS Reg. Lat. 1211 (Fourteenth c.) in the Vatican library. (fols. 71^v-92^v). A copy of the '*Cirurgia de l'abbé Poutrel*' is one of the oldest French translations of a *cirurgerie* treatise made by Jean de Prouville (?-1317). As MS Reg. Lat. 1211 is also connected to the Beinecke manuscript through its unusual additions it may be that they had an ancestor in common.

veterinary advice. MS Beinecke 492's peculiarity is highlighted by the curious inclusion of a small number of recipes or treatments traditionally aimed at women, but for which the visual sign-posting, in the form of rubrics, has been omitted (Illus. 14). At this point in the text, fol. 109^r, there are four remedies intended for women. These recipes do not appear in either of the vernacular versions of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* in thirteenth-century MS Digby 86 nor in MS Harley 978, but they do appear in two manuscripts from the south of France from different dialectal areas.²⁸⁵ The copy of the *Lettre* in MS Vatican Library, Reg. lat 1211 probably produced in Picardy may help us to understand why the rubrics have been omitted in MS Beinecke 492 as on fol. 84^r we read

*As secrees enfermetes ke ont ces dames, es hances ne le
veulent dire. Se la feme e perdues ses fleurs, prendres une
herbe qui est apelee culrage [...].*²⁸⁶

The inclusion or exclusion of the shame topos has been used to demonstrate how male access to the female body remained an area of unease among

²⁸⁵ MS Auch, Archives départementales du Gers I 4066 'A femnas que an grancop de malautias secretas, aysson medessinas proadas. Si la femna a perdudas sas flors, prenetz un erba que a non culraga e cozet la fort am de vy; apres metetz la sus la natura quant sera en lieg, que la calor intre per la natura, e fay o soen, e guera del ventre./Ho prenetz lo sucz del serieys que es entre lo albre e la requa deforas: da li n a beure am de vy si trop perdria de sanc', and MS Princeton, Garrett, 80, Per femena que a perdudad las flors. Per femena que a perdudas las flors prin un'erba que a nom culragio, si la cozes ben en vin e metes sus la natura tota cauda la femna er colgada, si que la color intre dinz la natura. Et aiso fassa soven e garra. Per femena que a perdudas [las flors]. Per aquesta mezeissa malautia de flors prenses lo suc del serlire, aquell que es entre l'escorssa e l fust; si la li donas a beure per tres iornz ab vin, e si non garis beva ne cinc iorns.

²⁸⁶ Östen Södergård, *Une Lettre d'Hippocrate d'Après Un Manuscrit Inedit*, Acta Universitatis Lundensis Section 1 Theologica Iudirica Humaniora 35 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981), 19.

medieval commentators,²⁸⁷ thus, its omission here is not atypical. The lack of the rubrics in MS Beinecke 492, however, is more problematical. One reason for their omission may be that the copyist's source copy was already defective. Intriguingly another vital element, the exact location of where to use the pessary, has also been omitted in Beinecke. In a Latin copy of the *Lettre* (MS British Library Sloane 3550) we read *in vulvam* and as a rule other vernacular texts or *practica*, read *sus la nature*. The rubric for the second popular remedy, which is intended to deal with excessive menstruation, is also missing. The *Lettre* in Vatican 1211 gives *For a woman who has too many flowers* [*Pour feme a trop de fleurs*] this is the standard *incipit* for this condition found throughout many recipe collections. The simple treatment entails tying some of the woman's hair to a cherry tree, however, two of the Middle English versions of the text known as *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing*, are less prescriptive as they suggest to 'bynde it a-bowte a grene tree, what tree you will'.²⁸⁸ MS Beinecke 492 also includes the prose version of the widespread *Sator Arepo* charm for a painful childbirth,²⁸⁹ which as noted earlier was, at some point erased from MS Ashburnham 1187. This charm also occurs widely throughout recipe collections and is sometimes found written in the form of a square that can be read equally in any direction. Despite the multiplicity of forms, however, this

²⁸⁷ See for example chapters 1 and 2 in Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*.

²⁸⁸ Barrett, *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing*, 85.

²⁸⁹ Marianne Elsackers, "In Pain You Shall Bear Children (GEN 3:16): Medieval Prayers for A Safe Delivery," in *Women and Miracle Stories: A Multidisciplinary Exploration*, ed. Anne-Marie Korte (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 179-209.

widespread charm reflects the medieval church's accepted teaching, and belief, that pain in childbirth was inevitable: in pain you will bring forth children (Genesis 3:16). This particular charm appears throughout a wide range of medical texts and recipe collections, including the *Trotula*, and points to the difficulties encountered when attempting to make a tidy distinction between what was seen as a sacramental act, in the medical period and what was deemed to be in the realms of magical efficacy. With the exception of these specific remedies, for which the rubrics are missing, the Beinecke's *Lettre* is notable for its almost total disregard of every day matters relating to procreation, fertility and breastfeeding, this would, of course, suggest a community where these subjects would be of little interest to its readers, however its inclusion of charms produces a jarring note. The contents of the *Lettre* consistently evoke simplicity and lack of pretension, both of which are echoed in the additions that have been made to MS Beinecke 492. Claude de Tovar has described the contents of remedy collections such as these, as simple medicine, that complete with regional terms, is completely in keeping '*chez un petit peuple de civilisation toute campagnarde*'.²⁹⁰

This suggestion is supported by the method of weighing out the quantities as they are given in simple terms, for example, we read 'take a handful', 'the weight of five shillings' and simple kitchen ingredients are consistently specified. Everyday words (*bure de mai, cerweise*) are also used,

²⁹⁰ de Tovar, "Contamination, interférences," 118.

and an awareness of housekeeping is also in evidence as the reader or listener is advised to carefully set aside any remaining concoction for future use. This suggests once again the widespread practice of domestic medicine as evidenced by the equipment found in Charlotte de Savoie's inventory taken after her death, discussed above p. 101 and the later documented medical practice of Lady Grace Mildmay discussed further below in chapter 7.

It could be argued that the presence of the earlier text in this compilation, the *Speculum Amicie*, one version of which had been redacted specifically for nuns, may have had a bearing on the changes that were made to this particular copy of the *Lettre*. However, a number of scholars have consistently argued that the revival of works from antiquity had, by the High Middle Ages, led to the widespread belief that a lack of *flowers*, or menses, could be severely detrimental to a woman's health.²⁹¹ If, as it has been suggested, this notion was widely accepted in the popular imagination, the inclusion of a rubric for a recipe to provoke the menses or for excessive menstruation would have been equally relevant for a solely female community. Other items appearing in this copy, however, also point to a more general readership outside of monastic communities as, in line with other copies of the *Lettre*, instructions for divination are included, for instance how to discover if someone will live, or if someone is suspected of wrongdoing, together with a number of recipes or 'beauty treatments'. The advice on the

²⁹¹ For example see Etienne Van de Walle, "Flowers and Fruits: Two Thousand Years of Menstrual Regulation," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 183-203.

matter of love found here remind us of the theme of marital love which we encountered in the reworked Genesis story of the *Lumere as lais*. One of these remedies is also found in MS Vatican 1211 (fol. 84^r), and a totally unrelated Hebrew manuscript contains a similar one that appears among a litany of love formulae.²⁹² The remedy prescribes the use of the hearts of two wood pigeons with the aim of secretly achieving *fin amur et concorde* (harmony) *entre home et feme*.

*A fet fin amur et concorde entre home et femme*²⁹³ *P(re)nez*
deux columbrans en tur/m et traiez fors les quers p(er)
lur/bouchez si ardez sur un turele/eschaufez od buche de
freine e li/en fetez pudre e metez sur lur/uiande des ke il ne
sachent e tus/iours uinerunt en columbine/amur (fol. 108^{rb}).

The symbolism behind this remedy is obvious, namely the mating behaviour of doves. This link to procreation and the natural world echoes the teachings of the religious didactic texts in this manuscript. A further simple remedy in the form of a herbal drink is also given for the poor unfortunate who finds himself, or herself, the sufferer of *fol amur* (fol. 110^r). There is also further love charm in the form of instructions to write down a string of letters. Charms like these are found scattered throughout the manuscripts, and are

²⁹² Carmen Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love and Jewish Medieval Medical Literature on Women: Sefer Ahavat Nashim* (London: Kegan Paul, 2004). See also Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman," for connections between this text and the French text *Des aides de la maire*.

²⁹³ Underlined in red.

often used as a form of divination.²⁹⁴ Despite the simplicity of the contents of the medical text, the quality of the manuscript suggests that it was intended for a readership of a fairly high status.

The recipes and treatments found in MS Beinecke 492 follow the usual simple formulas of many of the early medieval recipe collections. Nevertheless a close reading has revealed tensions that are reflected in the missing rubrics and the reduction in the number of recipes and remedies for treating conditions specific to women. There are only two notable exceptions: the widespread Christianised form of the charm for painful childbirth and a recipe to aid lactation, both of which perhaps demonstrate an audience outside of a monastic community. The copyist's inclusion of recipes or charms to promote idealistic love and harmony between a man and woman and his use of language carries us back to the didactic religious texts with which I started this chapter. The ongoing question of how to translate the short phrase *fin amur* has long been the subject of discussion by scholars of romance literature, but I suggest that the remedy to promote *fin amur* given in this manuscript demonstrates a deliberate choice on the part of the compiler to offer advice to achieve marital harmony as the church sought to change marriage into an indissoluble sacramental act. The use of *fin amur* is also attested in religious texts, for example as in the *Lumere as lais* where its

²⁹⁴ Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*; and Lea Olsan, "Latin Charms of Medieval England: Verbal Healing in a Christian Oral Tradition," *Oral Tradition*, no. 7/1 (1992): 116-142; Lea Olsan, "Charms and Prayers in Medieval Medical Theory and Practice," *Social History of Medicine* 16 (2003): 342-66.

sense is recorded as 'sincere or true'.²⁹⁵ I have not included (or identified) the small treatise which follows the *Speculum* in this manuscript but this also appears to focus on 'Perfect Love'. This short text is perhaps based on the teaching in St Paul's *Letter to the Ephesians* 6:24. 'Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in incorruption' (that is, with a pure and perfect love). The production of manuscripts such as MS Beinecke 492 reflects the drive to reform, not only the clergy, but also the everyday lives of men and women. The development of personal devotion with its attendant remedies for the soul, evident in the proliferation of texts in the vernacular and related imagery, created a new focus that stressed the importance of the eternal soul above that of the corporeal body. In this early fourteenth-century manuscript the missing rubrics demonstrate a reluctance to draw attention to women's matters. Yet, by examining the major texts closely, the dynamics that lay behind the juxtaposition of the didactic religious texts and a widespread collection of medical recipes and remedies becomes clear. The overall aim of the compiler or commissioner of MS Beinecke 492 was to offer simple treatments that would assuage bodily ills and uphold the church's teaching aimed at salvation of the soul. As Faith Wallis has rightly pointed out, the early medieval avoidance of medical theory, deliberately sought by the compilers of *florilegia* and continued by the vernacular compilers, allowed the compilers of these vernacular manuscripts to de-canonise even collections

²⁹⁵ Examples are attested in the *AND* under *fin: Jesu Crist nostre douz amy [...] qe pur fyn amur e pitee qe il eust de nous [...]*. BOZ Cont 98; *Le Char d'Orgueil*, in *Deux Poèmes de N. Bozon*, (1305) ed. J. Vising, Göteborg, 1919, 3-60. [<http://www.anglo-norman.net/>]

of remedies and recipes to formulate texts which suited their needs. The extent to which this was carried out is demonstrated in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

'Women's Secret Things': A mid-fourteenth-century Italian perspective

In the previous chapter I looked at a mid fourteenth-century manuscript and demonstrated how its compiler combined a didactic religious text with a widely disseminated remedy collection to provide both a pious and practical work. I demonstrated how choices were made and how the resulting changes revealed a tension in the material treated in the manuscript. In this chapter I focus on two further vernacular manuscripts of the fourteenth century, both from northern Italy, containing copies of Aldobrandino's *Livre de Physicke* and *Il libro delle segrete cose delle donne* (henceforth *Segrete cose*).

The effects of a population in decline and fears of a breakdown in family stability are subjects dealt with in the advice literature and memoirs of thirteenth and fourteenth-century Florence. These fears prompted a growing concern with fertility, children and childhood, and is evident in the numerous charitable works carried out on their behalf.²⁹⁶ The extant diaries (*ricordanze*) of Florentine families record the lives of the merchant and banking class of fourteenth-century Florence. The diary of Guido dell'Antella a merchant banker, like many of the records of his class, contains the details of his main business dealings, and changes in business partnerships at home and abroad.

²⁹⁶ Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 145.

However, more personal details were also recorded such as those of his marriage, and the birth and death of his children, both legitimate²⁹⁷ and illegitimate.²⁹⁸ A number of these births were attended by servant women or slaves some of whom were purchased to provide 'fresh milk' for their newly parturient wives.²⁹⁹ The *Ricordanze* also reveal an ancient practice of forming contracts³⁰⁰ for putting an infant out to nurse and how the fathers alerted 'the entire network of his clients and friends to find the ideal nurse. It is thought to be possible that the model of burghers of Florence, who found it unthinkable that their wives should be allowed to breastfeed, filtered down to the *popolo minuto* as families arranged to send their own children out to the country to be nursed, while their wives then turned to providing the nursing milk the Florentine fathers sought for their children.³⁰¹ The demographic statistics for Tuscany, suggest that girls were probably getting married for the first time in their early to mid-teens, and 'allying themselves to much older men',³⁰² however other data suggests that for the population in Florence in 1427 as a whole, the average age at marriage is nearer eighteen for a woman and thirty for a man.³⁰³ One woman Margherita Bandini, was seventeen when

²⁹⁷ For an overview of what constituted legitimacy see Thomas Kuehn, *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence* (University of Michigan Press, 2002).

²⁹⁸ P. J. Jones, "Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries in the Fourteenth Century," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 24 (1956): 183.

²⁹⁹ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 175.

³⁰⁰ Sandra R. Joshel, "Nurturing the Master's Child: Slavery and the Roman Child-Nurse," *Signs* 12, no. 1 (October 1, 1986): 3-22 and Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 139.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 138.

³⁰² Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, 386.

³⁰³ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 170.

she married forty-one year old Francesco de Marco Datini in Avignon where they met after her family had moved there following her father's execution during the *Ciampi* uprising. Francesco and Margherita did not have children although Francesco was father to three: a child who died at a young age and two further children born in the 1390s.³⁰⁴ The cause of their sterility, therefore, lay with Margherita. The letters between 1381 and 1382 reveal the burdens of childlessness for those in Florentine society and the search for fertility. Monte Angiolini in one of his letters to Francesco suggests that it is 'the air of Prato', Datini's natal town, 'that favoured conception', and explains how his wife could have given lessons to help Margherita had they been residing in the same area. These 'lessons' perhaps suggest more than the treatments found in the *Segrete cose*, for if the use of fumigations and pessaries was widespread and well known, it can be assumed that Margherita had already encountered their use and that the wife of Monte Angiolini had her own alternative methods of treatment. In 1390 her sister Francesca suggested a remedy for infertility that she had heard spoken of in Florence.

Beaucoup de femmes ici sont enceintes...et d'autres voudraient l'être, et je me suis renseignée sur les remèdes qu'elles utilisent. J'ai appris que la femme de Nofri de messire Lapo Arnolfi leur fabrique un anneau qu'elles doivent placer à l'intérieur du corps; je suis donc allée la voir et lui ai

³⁰⁴ Ann Crabb, "Ne pas être mère: l'autodéfense d'une Florentine vers 1400," *CLIO* 21 (2005): 150.

*demandé d'en faire un; elle a répondu qu'elle le ferait volontiers...Elle a dit qu'aucune femme l'ayant utilisé n'a manqué d' être enceinte mais qu'il est d'une consistance très dure si bien que certain maris s'en sont débarrassés. Vois si Francesco veut bien que tu en aies un.*³⁰⁵

Francesca's writing to her sister reveals the close scrutiny of who was, and who was not pregnant among Florentine society at the time when Margherita and 'many others' wanted to be. It also reveals how information to treat infertility circulated among not only the women themselves but also was shared between men and women, revealing the cultural demand to be fertile. Thus, to be fertile was important for men and women, and as I show below, the written advice in the *Segrete cose*, like many other collections of remedies for infertility, also include something for men. The wife of Nofri was probably also providing a range of other advice, not limited to the rings she herself was making, and the success of which had led to personal recommendation for her services. The failure of the ring suggested by her sister was, however, followed up by further advice

Many women here are with child [she wrote] and among them the wife of Messer Tommaso Soderini and many others. I went to inquire and found out the remedy they have used: a poultice, which they put on their bellies. So I went to the woman and besought her to make me one, but it must be in winter... She

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

has never put it on any woman who did not conceive, but she says it stinks so much, that there have been husbands who have thrown it away.³⁰⁶

Again, Margherita's sister asked her to discover if Francesco 'wished her to get it'. Adding that 'the cost is not great'.³⁰⁷ Messer Tommaso Soderini, was a well known and well respected apothecary who is known to have worked in France. While there he had met a French woman and with her had had a child. This illegitimate son was later hanged for making a fraudulent claim against Messer Soderini's estate.³⁰⁸ Although there is no record of the exact ingredients for the poultice used to cure Messer Soderini's wife and other women's infertility, similar instructions for a poultice which was intended to act as an emmenagogue are found, alongside the familiar *culrage* and cherry bark remedies, in a range of recipe collections, including the collection which precede the *Trotula* in MS Wellcome 546, where it reads

*Prenez sanc de cheval et cuissiez n bon vin aigre si le metez a
la feme sus le nombril et le tienge si raura ses fleurs* [fol. 46^v].

and in MS Gers I 4066. The poultice cure, with its slight variation, which may be due to an error produced by the copyist, is also found in the Picard version of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* in MS Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1211 (c. 1300).

³⁰⁶ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco Di Marco Datini, 1335-1410* (Penguin Classics, 1963), 162.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ann Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* (University of Michigan Press, 2000), 75.

This group of remedies begins with a similar incipit to that of the *Trotula* '*As secrees enfermetés ke ont ces dames es hances et ne le veulent dire*'.³⁰⁹ In this version the remedy calls for *fiente de cheval* but the method of preparing it with vinegar and carrying out the treatment is identical. The similarities of the remedies, along with the obvious signs of usage, would suggest a widespread practice, or at least a tradition of one, carried out by women in France, England and Italy. As with remedies for fumigations, the symbolic tying of the sufferer's hair to a tree, or the wearing of poultices these were all visible signs of women undertaking cures and remedies to treat their infertility and, as such, were easily transmitted by women to other women searching for the means to become fertile. Indeed, the availability of this remedy, to women in the circle of Messer Thomasso Soderini, would also suggest the possibility that the remedy had in fact been transmitted from women to men themselves, either related to, or working within, families of apothecaries and physicians such as those who were attending to the Datini family.

Margherita was also part of the circle through which information was disseminated as, she herself, played a role in finding suitable women for their acquaintances who were seeking a wet nurse. Her criteria for a good nurse were simple: she should have the use of both eyes and milk which should have started within the last two months or less. Cultural beliefs demanded that a nurse must only breastfeed one child at a time, that the milk of a

³⁰⁹ Södergård, *Une Lettre d'Hippocrate d'Après Un Manuscrit Inédit*, 20.

pregnant woman was harmful to the child for whom the contract had been formed. The strength of these beliefs is revealed in Margherita's letter

Preferably, she will have lost her own baby, for "never shall I believe that when they have a one year old child of their own, they give not some [milk] to it".³¹⁰

It is against this broad background of families who sought offspring to ensure their lineage, and took control over how their infants were cared for to ensure their patrilineal lineage, that I examine the *Segrete cose* in MS Firenze Biblioteca Plut. 73.51 and MS Firenze Biblioteca 172.1.

The *Segrete cose* is a Florentine translation of many of the chapters of the gynaecological section based on the intermediate ensemble of the *Trotula*.³¹¹ The base text for the transcription, given in Appendix II, is taken from the fourteenth-century manuscript Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana, Florence, shelf mark MS. Redi. 172.1. I have also used another fourteenth-century manuscript MS Firenze Biblioteca Plut. 73.51 and noted any variant readings in the footnotes. A third copy, MS Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 2165, was also considered as this has been identified by Green as belonging to the same redaction. However, as this is a fifteenth-century manuscript (1433) and shows no significant variation it has not been used here. A second Italian vernacular translation is found in MS London, Wellcome 532 (1465), this differs as it contains selected gynaecological and obstetrical material from the

³¹⁰ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 140.

³¹¹ Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part II," 100.

LSM and *DCM*, that is here arranged in twenty-one chapters. The contents of this manuscript also include medical works, in Latin and Italian, a moral poem, and recipe collections, advice on the signs of pregnancy, and diagnosis by urines also in Latin. It is written in a neat rounded hand by the same scribe throughout. Its contents suggest it was compiled for a medical practitioner and the numerous abbreviations and contractions, together with the copious use of apothecary measurements confirm this, and as these factors would have made it extremely difficult to use by a lay reader, it is excluded from the discussion in this chapter. The *Segrete cose* is often found in manuscripts with translations of Aldobrandino's *Livre de physicke* that was also widely disseminated in the Italian vernacular under the title *La santà del corpo*. The translator was Zuccherio Bencivenni who translated a number of other medical works.³¹² The oldest manuscript containing *La santà del corpo* is dated to c. 1310. The copyist was Lapo di Neri Corsini, *popolo Sa. Folicie* who was not a professional scribe, but someone 'with interests and initiatives of his own' and is well known for his translations and adaptations of Latin and French texts into the vernacular.³¹³ His father was a founder of the Corsini fortunes, active in the silk trade and Florentine government 1277-1315, while Lapo himself was consul of the *Arte del Lana* in 1320. At least fifty copies of Aldobrandino's *La santà del corpo*, have been identified,

³¹² All references to the Italian Aldobrandino in this chapter are from Baldini, "Zuccherio Bencivenni 'La santà del Corpo' Volgarizzamento del 'Régime du Corps' di Aldobrandino Da Siena (a. 1310) Nella Copia Coeva di Lap di Neri Corsini (Laur. Pl. LXXIII 47)."

³¹³ Alison Cornish, *Vernacular Translation in Dante's Italy: Illiterate Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 59.

a number that suggests wide dissemination among the merchant and banking class of Florence who produced the *Ricordanze* discussed above. As with several other copies of the French *Trotula* and the *Livre de physicke*, a number of the *Segrete cose* have been found in compilations along with Aldobrandino's *La sanità del corpo*. Green has suggested that manuscripts containing the Italian vernacular Aldobrandino may include, as yet, unidentified copies of the *Segrete cose*.³¹⁴ This pattern of pairing these two texts, in the Anglo-Norman, French and Italian vernaculars, offering practical advice for men and women, suggests that, soon after their translation, the compilers of the manuscripts recognised the complementary nature of their contents. An example of this pairing, and the evidence of combining their contents is provided by MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Redi. 172.1.

The Manuscripts

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana Redi 172.1 s. xiv

(Illus. 17 and 18).

Physical description: Eighteenth-century wooden boards with two added folios of the same period. The first two folios of the original manuscript show significant wear and tear and are worn away to such an extent that they are now pasted down to supports. This probably took place at the time the manuscript was rebound. A number of squiggles, perhaps pen trials, have

³¹⁴ Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part II," 100.

been made on fol. 1^r and the words *Questo Libro giovanni* is followed by an illegible word on fol. 2^r again this suggests an earlier owner. The manuscript also contains a good index added in a later hand. The index gives both the start and finishing numbers for each section allowing for ease of use. For example *le segrete chose delle donne, nos 93 fino in 103, de ladornamento dello donne nos 103 fino in 107*. The original text of the *La Santà del Corpo* starts on f.3. In 1656 this manuscript was owned by the well-known collector of manuscripts and national treasures 'Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi' (1587-1670), the note referring to his ownership is found on f. 6^r.

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana Plutarch 73.51 s. xiv. (MS Plut. 73.51).

MS Plut. 73.51 is a beautifully written manuscript with a puzzle initial in blue and red on fol. 1^r with a decorated border in red and green. Incorporated into this border is a roughly drawn small drawing of a figure (centre-bottom) holding what appears to be a serpent, perhaps representing Adam, together with a further unidentified hidden figure in the top right hand corner (Illus. 9 & 10). The first folio is worn and is now pasted to a support, this also suggests long term use without a protective covering. There are few annotations in the margin and where these do occur they consist of a simple cross or manicule. For example a cross in the left-hand margin against *Capitolo .iiii. quando la femina non puote avere figliuoli* (fol. 53^r) and a

manicule in the left hand margin pointing to *Capitolo .viii. dello in pedimento della concipicione p(er) difetto de uomo* (fol. 55^r).

The Text and Its Readers

The Florentine translation of the *Il libro delle segrete de la cose de la donne* includes the usual common medieval ideas about the physical constitution of women and how they differ from men. This includes their anatomical differences, the type of problems from which the womb, that defines their difference, can suffer, and caring and nourishing of the newly born. The problems deriving from malfunction of the womb are divided into the usual categories; failure, lack of, or excessive menstruation, childbirth and its complications, and dealing with a womb that has a tendency to stray from its natural place in the body. This latter condition is usually referred to as suffocation, prolapse, or displacement. In addition the *Segrete de la cose* also gives treatments for men for infertility and stranguary. While some of the treatments differ for men and women the author does point out that some of these may be used for either. This text is vaguely addressed to women as it includes the address usually found in copies of the first treatise of the *Trotula*, the *Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum* (LSM)

*Dunque me consigne la loro uergongna et speçialmente la
graçia duna ma madre lanimo mio fece sollicito et attento
accio che le predette [in?] malathie di loro io proudessi di
riducer le asanidade* (fol. 74^v).

In keeping with other vernacular translations of the *Trotula* the author's intended audience for the *Segrete cose* may well have included men, and, although called the secrets 'of women' these notably also contain advice for men including treating male infertility. However, as I discussed earlier in respect of Margherita's search for treatment for her infertility, even if men were indeed commissioning and reading these manuscripts, women were also privy to the information they contained through the actual practice of the remedies themselves. For example, one of the remedies aimed at helping infertile women, which is given in one of the longest sections, describes in simple domestic terms the method for using the remedies prescribed. These instructions are given in detail and were perhaps carried out by a female servant, midwife or nurse. For example, in a prescription for a pessary, an analogy is used to explain the method of adding the olive oil to the ingredients, thus, it should be made *a modo di pasta* and it should be formed *a modo duna ghiandi* (i.e. acorns), and finally that 'one of these pessaries is to be placed firmly in the matrix'.

*Anche R. spica. gruogo. mastice. mirra. galla
moscada. castoro et chiaguolo queste cose sieno bene peste et
informate con oilo nardino a modo di pasta. et faccia sine
persari³¹⁵ a modo duna ghianda. et uno di questa pessari sia
forto³¹⁶ posta a la matrice.*

³¹⁵ + in RH margin

³¹⁶ + in RH margin

Other instructions describe how the remedies to hasten childbirth should be applied to the woman's body, these include a herbal bath together with a follow-up treatment that advises that on leaving the bath her stomach, sides, and vagina should be vigorously rubbed with oils. The treatment ends with instructions for a simple herbal drink.

E quando la femina non puote partorire sia fatto questo rimedio. R. malba. fieno greco. seme di lino et orzo e di queste cose sui fatto bangno nel quale stea la detta femina et sia-unta ne fianchi. el ventre ele coste e nelluogo vergognoso³¹⁷ con olio violato et sia fortemet fregata. et sia le data per bere questi polvere.³¹⁸

Now this suggests that the intended audience is a woman who has been called upon to assist the parturient woman. There is also evidence that the compiler, or copyist transferred information between the source texts. These signs of inter-textuality are demonstrated by the similarities that occur between the advice given for pregnant women in Aldobrandino's *La sanità del corpo* and that of the *Segrete cose*. The result is that much of the dietary advice in the *Segrete cose* is not only consistent with the *Trotula* but also twentieth-century practices in cultures across the Mediterranean region.³¹⁹ The specific advice found in the *Segrete cose* in both MS Redi 172.1 and Plut. 73.51 in

³¹⁷ + in RH margin

³¹⁸ Equivalent to ¶91

³¹⁹ Françoise Aubailé-Sallenave, "Les nourritures de l'accouchée dans le monde Arabo-Musulman méditerranéen," *Médiévales* 33, no. automne (1997): 103-124.

fact differs from other copies, as the changes that have been made to the *Segrete cose* now provide a unified source of information in line with the *La santà del corpo*. The well-known counsel that pregnant women should eat kid, poultry and small birds is widespread in texts in this period but these adapted texts contain additional advice.³²⁰ For example meat from castrated animals (*castrone*) is also considered to be beneficial.³²¹ The dietary advice is also more prescriptive in the type of fish recommended for the pregnant woman to eat, indeed going as far as to specify grey mullet (a sea or coastal fish) and *lasche*.³²² According to Aldobrandino's text goat meat is 'cold and dry' and, therefore, offers little in the way of nutrition for men's bodies which are, as readers will have seen from the prologue of the *Segrete cose*, 'cold and dry'. However, given that a woman's body is 'hot and moist', goat meat could provide ideal nourishment in line with humoral theory.³²³ The advice in Aldobrandino's *La santà del corpo* for men reflects this precept by adding the comment that if one does want to eat goat meat it is far better to eat it young: '*che charne di chapra vechia non fa prode nè utilidade neuna al*

³²⁰ For a discussion in the Byzantine origins or the genre of Pregnancy-Regimen see Melitta Weiss-Amer, "Medieval Women's Guides to Food During Pregnancy Origins, Texts, and Traditions," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*. (1993): 5-23.

³²¹ This advice is not found in the standard sources for diets, for women for example, Avicenna or Rhazes.

³²² I have been unable to trace the dialect word however it is recorded as 'A fische that somewhat resembles a little Shad caught and so called around Montpelier', see Randle Cotgrave, "Lasché," *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1611), <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cotgrave/> [accessed: 20 June 2011]

³²³ For a discussion of how the academic question of cold and heat pre-occupied a number of northern Italian physicians at around the end of the thirteenth century see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medicine and the Italian universities, 1250-1600* (Brill, 2001).

corpo del'uomo'.³²⁴ In addition, Aldobrandino's text also suggests that the meat from castrated animals and young sheep is deemed to be healthier than that of mutton and goat. A close comparison of the *Segrete cose* and *La santà del corpo* is outside the scope of this study, however these few examples exemplify how the copyist combined elements of both texts with the result that, in fact, in matters of conception, childbirth and infant care, these texts complemented each other.

This Italian vernacular version of the *Trotula* found in MS Redi 172/1 and MS Plut. 73.51 also includes six chapters that are sourced from the *De Ornatu Mulierum* this brings the total number of chapters in this text to twenty. It is probably significant that this corresponds with the number of chapters found in Aldobrandino's original French *Livre de phisicke*, or *Régime du corps* as it later became known. This raises the intriguing question of whether the compiler of the *Segrete cose* was himself aware of Aldobrandino's work and recognised that they were complementary. This hypothesis is supported by the use of Avicenna as *auctoritas*, throughout the *Segrete cose*, as parts of the *Canon*, including the chapter *d'Abiter avoec femme* has been identified as one of Aldobrandino's sources.³²⁵ The later chapters of the *Ornatus* do not appear to have been of equal interest to the redactor or perhaps reader of MS Redi 172.1 as, at the end of the fourteen chapters, the prolific use of annotations in the margin, manicules or

³²⁴ Baldini, "Zuccheo Bencivenni 'La santà del Corpo' Volgarizzamento del 'Régime du Corps' di Aldobrandino Da Siena (a. 1310) Nella Copia Coeva di Lap di Neri Corsini (Laur. Pl. LXXIII 47)," 144.

³²⁵ Landouzy and Pépin, *Le Régime du corps*, lxiii.

signposting marks ends, a trait which is also exhibited in MS Plut. 73.51 To demonstrate the extent to which these annotations appear in MS Redi 172.1 I have included these in the footnotes of my transcription given in Appendix II. Many of the simple cosmetics dealt with in these final six chapters, for example for treating the face, colouring and caring for the hair, together with depilatories are found in a wide range of other vernacular texts of medicine including recipe collections. However, it is rare, if ever, that remedies for 'restoring' virginity are found in French or Middle English versions of the *Trotula*, or indeed other romance vernacular collections of remedies and recipes. Intriguingly, gynaecological treatments were not commented upon in John of Greenborough's copy of Gilbertus Anglicus's *Compendium Medicinae*, although his clientele is known to have included women, but despite being a cleric, John of Mirfield did include gynaecological material, complete with advice for constrictives, in his early fourteenth-century *Breviarium Bartholomei*. A number of copies of the *Breviarium* demonstrate that subsequent redactors were equally hesitant in including knowledge of the use of constrictives witnessed by their use of cipher.³²⁶ The remedies in the *Breviarium* are not the same as those in the *Trotula* and so far the source for his constrictives remains unknown. In the manuscripts examined here the ingredients for four of the constrictive remedies also differ from the remedies for 'corrupted women' as found in the Latin version of the *Trotula* in the chapter on *Ornatus*.³²⁷ In the *Trotula* these remedies call for the use of

³²⁶ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 110.

³²⁷ Green, *The Trotula*, 189.

pharmaceutical ingredients, for example dragon's blood, bole, alum and mastic together with the often-used astringents: pomegranate rind and oak apples. It is striking that the remedies for restoring virginity found in the *Segrete cose* make use of a number of plants that belong to the much simpler tradition of herbal medicine: *fogle de cinque foglie*, *radice de consoude maggiore*, *consoude minore*, *foglie d'alloro*, *frutto di ramerino*, and *menta*. The *frutto di ramerino* is also found in *Capitolo 1* where it is prescribed to aid menstruation. Neither the constrictive, nor the emmenagogue are found in a widespread treatise listing the virtues and uses of rosemary.³²⁸ The unusual addition of *rasure di pargamente di vitello* may be an indication of empiric use as the high percentage of collagen it contains is still used today in preparations for restoring youthfulness to ageing skin. Its inclusion also suggests that this ingredient was easily available while two of the plant ingredients, *consoude maggiore* and *foglie d'alloro*, are found among the Byzantine remedies used for women in *The Metrodora*.³²⁹ The chapter which deals with *illuogo vergognoso de la femina* found in both MS Plut. 73.51 and MS Redi 172.1 is also transcribed in Appendix II.

Brief comparison of MSS Redi 172.1 and Plut 73.51

The close comparison of MS Redi 172.1 and MS Plut. 73.51 shows that they have an ancestor in common and their simplicity suggests that manuscripts

³²⁸ Fery Hue Francoise, "Le 'romarin': un traité manuscrit anonyme a travers l'Europe médiévale," in *Colloque "Voyages en Botanique"* (Besancon, 2005). <http://www.livre-franchecomte.com/pdf/colloque/Fery-Hue.pdf> (accessed: 20 June 2011).

³²⁹ Giorgio del Guerra, *Il Libro di Metrodora: Sulle malattie delle donne e il ricettario di cosmetica e terapica*, Santorini (Milano: Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1953), 118.

such as these probably reached a much wider audience including women. On the whole they impart the same information and although there are lapses where a word is missing here and there, for example *galbano* has been omitted from a treatment aimed to restore the appearance of virginity in MS Plut.73.51, these can sometimes be explained. For example, it may be that the writer was intelligent enough to realise that the medicinal use of *galbano* and *serapino* were similar and that one ingredient could be omitted without affecting the efficacy of the cure. One notable feature demonstrating that these manuscripts were perhaps not copied directly from a common source is the distinctive change in orthography that clearly reveals distinct traits of pronunciation.

The transcription given in Appendix II is based on *Il Libro delle segrete cose delle donne* found in the fourteenth-century MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana 172.1.³³⁰ Apart from definite and indefinite articles the spacing between the words is generally reproduced as it is found in the manuscript, but I have expanded the few standard abbreviations to aid reading. Variant readings as found in MS Plutarch 73.51, are noted in the footnotes of chapters 1-14 and I have also recorded any significant divergent readings from the standardised *Trotula*. To enable a comparison to be made with the Latin version of the *Trotula* I have annotated the transcription of the

³³⁰ This manuscript was used by Giuseppe Manuzzi in 1863, when the *Segrete cose* was studied for its linguistic content. Comparison with his pamphlet shows that he has altered punctuation, spelling, and format and has changed a small number of words. His work lacks any reference to folio numeration, expunction or annotations in the margin that are crucial to this study.

Segrete cose with the corresponding paragraph number as found in Green's edition. Where words are split across lines, and there is also an annotation in the margin, in most cases I have placed the footnote number to the end of the word to avoid too many split words. Where a paragraph mark appears in the manuscript this is noted as a paragraph mark, bold letters are given for rubrics and underlining has been copied. Although the complete transcription and commentary is given in Appendix II, I have included a summary of the contents in the table below, which includes a breakdown of the number of remedies prescribed for each condition in the fourteen chapters which make up the *Segrete cose*.

Condition	No. of remedies
<i>El primo capitolo ditterminarate del tempto de la femina quand non viene nouente.</i> [Capitolo Primo quando la femina non puote avere sua ragione]	7
<i>Lo secondo sie quando vient troppo</i> [Capitolo secondo. quando il tempo vient oltra modo]	10
<i>Lo terço sie del movimento del a matrice. per tutto il corpo</i> [Capitolo terço quando la matrice si muove per la corpo]	3
<i>Lo quarto sie quando la femina non puote ingenerare</i> [Capitulo quarto quando la femina non puote avere figliuolo]	8
<i>Le quinto sie di confermare la femina che preegna</i> [Capitolo quinto come la femina si dec confervare quande ella e prengna e quando dec partorie]	7

<p><i>Lo sexto sie come si de reggere la preña. ançi lo parto</i> [Capitolo vi come si dee reggiere la femina ançi parti e poi]</p>	<p>Diet, sneezing, 4 remedies include holding a magnet, swallow stone and Avicenna's 'best remedy' for bathing, this includes the ingredients but omits the advice for vigorous rubbing.</p>
<p><i>Le septimo sie de lo impedimento de la conceptione per cagione de la femina</i> [Capitolo vii de lo impedimento per cagione propria dela femina]</p>	<p>4</p>
<p><i>Loctano si de lo impedimento de la conceptione quando vient per cagione delluomo</i> [Capitolo octano dello impedimento de la conceptione per difetto delluomo]</p>	<p>3</p>
<p><i>Lonono sie de trovare la cagione per che la femina non puote ingenerare</i> [Capitolo nono la cagione per che la femina non puo generare]</p>	<p>4</p>
<p><i>Lo decimo sie quando le vedove ele caste are la cagione sie quande le vedove ele caste anno male per difetto delluomo.</i> [Capitolo .x. come le vedove ele caste femine sono da sovenire quando anno difetto duomo]</p>	<p>2</p>
<p><i>Lon decimo (f.75) sie del troppo sangue che viene ala femina quando ella ae partato</i> [Capitolo .xi. come la femina sia di sovenire del troppo sangue di pol parto]</p>	<p>2</p>
<p><i>Lo duodecima sie de la generatione de la pietra che nascie nele reni o e nella vescica de la femina</i> [Capitolo .xii. de la generatione de la pietra nelluomo e nela femina]</p>	<p>4</p>
<p><i>Lo tredesima sie del dolore che viene a la femina quando ella si scipa</i> [Capitolo xiii. del dolore che viene a la femina quando e scipata]</p>	<p>4</p>

<i>Lo quartodecimo sie quando la matrice e suffocata</i> [Capitolo .xiii. quando la matrice vae per lo corpo]	5
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It can be seen from the above that one of the most notable aspects of the choices made by the compiler of the *Segrete cose* is the omission of any treatments for what may properly be called medical conditions. For example there are no treatments for lesions, or treatments for complications that might arrive during and after childbirth, nor for the minor ailments that were included in all three discrete texts that made up the *Trotula* ensemble. Furthermore the five chapters that form the second section, of which only one is transcribed here, deal wholly with cosmetics aimed at improving appearance or offer advice for 'corrupted' women.

*La malatia ond'elli viene; e a insengniare la malatia
rimuovere nonn è niente di nostra intenzione, ma di fare bello
colore (e) rimuovere il malvagio che viene per altre
chagioni.*³³¹

The simple domestic instructions, together with the use of treatments suggest that women were involved in both making many of the preparations and carrying them out. The similarities to the format of *La sanità del corpo*, and the way in which it and the *Segrete cose* texts complement each other suggest a use outside of the professional remit of learned doctors and practitioners, and the lack of medical procedures and treatments supports this view. It is intriguing that the two manuscripts examined here both show signs of

³³¹ Baldini, "Zuccheo Bencivenni 'La sanità del Corpo,'" 129.

circulation without a protective cover and, as were many copies of the French Aldobrandino, these may well have been compiled to provide an easily portable *vade mecum*, giving advice on matters of fertility and personal appearance. The unsettled political situation in Florence in the fourteenth century resulted in some Florentine families living in exile, such as the Datinis, Bandini and the notary Lapo Mazzei. There is no reason why manuscripts such as these could not have been designed specifically for this reason, and for routine travelling such as that undertaken by merchants or bankers. For example Lapo de Neri Corsini, referred to on p. 135, created his own copy of the *La santà del corpo*. The economic migration, in the hope of making a fortune, of not only merchants, but also physicians, such as the Tuscan physician Naddino d'Aldobrandino Bovattieri, provides another reason for the popularity of texts such as these. Naddino's move to Florence to begin his career as a physician was aided by his marriage to the daughter of another physician Antonia, the daughter of Maestro Iacopo di maestro Bartolo Novellucci, who himself came from Prato.³³²

Naddino's correspondence, preserved in the Datini archives, reveals a close working relationship, and friendship, with not only his brother-in-law, Monte d'Andrea Angiolini, who was himself married to the daughter of another physician, but also reveals his dealings and friendship with the latter's employer, the well-known, successful merchant and husband of Margherita

³³² Jérôme Hayez, "'Veramente io spero farci bene...'", expérience de migrant et pratique de l'amitié dans la correspondance de maestro Naddino d'Aldobrandino Bovattieri, médecin toscan d'Avignon (1385-1407)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* Tome 159, no. 2 (2001): 422.

Datini.³³³ Family and business connections provided the opportunity for physicians and apothecaries to acquire wealth, to the extent that it was not only merchants and prelates that formed part of an appreciative clientele.³³⁴ Physicians also attended women, for example when noting the unfortunate absence of Naddio, in a season when fevers and perhaps the plague could have produced a profit, the lack of consensus to be found among a number of physicians, which included Christians and Jews, on a suitable course of treatment, proved to be both expensive and detrimental.

*E vorei già ci fosse [maestro Naddino]. Tutto di acade
délie cose. Pure in questi di si sconciô la donna di Tomaso
di Poggio e rimasole doglie grandissime e vi fu quanti
medici, e cristiani e giudei, e statovi de' di 15 e non
sapervi dare u- rimedio che utile le faciesse, e pure per
lungheza di tenpo e di medicinne asai è migliorata, e
costagli più di f. C.*³³⁵

Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that despite the presence of a number of male physicians among the circles in which the Datinis moved, who are also known to have been called on to treat women, that Margherita, and women like her, also sought the advice of other women when it came to problems of fertility.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid., 428.

³³⁵ Ibid., 431.

To sum up, the fourteen chapters of the *Segrete cose* offer a perspective of the concern with fertility, evident in the *Ricordanze* of the Florentine families of the fourteenth-century and I suggest their popularity was due to them being regarded as complementary texts to the *La santà del corpo*, which often accompanied them. The five chapters of the *Il libro dell'adornamente de le femine* draw attention to the importance of display and personal appearance in a culture where social networks governed, not only the life of the city, but also its inhabitants. Finally the specialist ingredients specified throughout the *Segre cose de la donne* were readily available in Florence through the activities of the many merchants who had widespread commercial interests, and Francesco Datini was in touch with many of the merchants and bankers who traded in goods such as these. The luxury goods traded by Datini's companies included: Lombard woad, dyes from the Black Sea and the Levant also among the list of dyes and mordants, gall-nuts from Roumania (also a source of slaves). Among the spices are to be found pepper, cinnamon, cloves, ginger (both green and 'ripe'), nutmeg, *galinga*, cassia, incense, aloes, zedoary, camphor, cardamon, spikenard, myrrh, and resins including Arabian gum, mastic, galbanus, and 'dragon's blood'.³³⁶ Many of these spices and gums are included in the prescriptions for infertility given in the *Segrete cose* suggesting their widespread availability and use.

³³⁶ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco Di Marco Datini, 1335-1410*, 97.

The next chapter looks at two manuscripts from fifteenth-century northern France which offer a different version of the *Trotula* and reveals a number of changes which re-formulate the text for a different milieu.

Chapter 5

Healers in Various Guises

In the last chapter, I have shown how minor changes that occur during the transmission process of texts in the vernacular can open a window on the owners and users of these manuscripts. Paying attention to these changes, however small, proves to give a more nuanced view of the way in which these manuscripts were compiled and used, or appreciated, by their owners. As discussed above, although the contents of MS Beinecke 492 are largely religious, one of its authors was not adverse to including traditional methods in his version of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* to achieve *fin amur*. The reasons why the copyist left the rubrics incomplete can only be guessed, but do point to some degree of sensitivity in handling the subject matter of the material being copied. The overall fortunes of the *LSM* and the *Quant Dex nostre seignor* have been discussed by Green in her analysis of the transmission of the *Trotula* and will not be re-analysed here.³³⁷ Therefore, the following chapter sets out to examine how the advice given in Redaction II of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum (LSM)* reflects the changes which took place in the knowledge transmitted, to show that the repeated re-writings resulted in a localised text, more in tune with the audience for which it was written, and the locality in which it was produced. It will also consider how these changes

³³⁷ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 160-173.

can inform our understanding of how these texts were used and who read them.

Only two copies of Redaction II of the (*LSM*) which forms part of the *Trotula* ensemble have been identified by Green and these are found in MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4° med. 1 (Illus. 21 and 22), and MS Lille Bibliothèque Municipale, 863,³³⁸ (Illus. 20). This redaction is a later version and rewriting of the *LSM*. Although described as a re-writing, many of the main topics which appeared in earlier versions are still present including those which offered advice on the causes of infertility and how to overcome it. There is no doubt that the material which is included in this redaction, as with other vernacular translations, does treat women's diseases only in so far as they affect fertility. Other copies of the vernacular translations of the *Trotula*, identified here by variations of the incipit, *Quant dieux nostre seigneur le monde estore* are represented in my following analysis, by the fourteenth-century MS London, Wellcome 546 (Redaction I), and the late fifteenth-century MS Lansdowne 380 (Redaction III). I have included a further manuscript the fifteenth-century MS London, British Library, Sloane 2401 as this contains not only a copy of the *Régime du corps* but also an extensive copy of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* which, as I noted earlier, is found in a number of the Anglo-Norman or French versions of *Trotula*, in copies from the south of France and in MS Beinecke 492.

³³⁸ For a detailed description of Redaction II see Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part II," 80-104.

As noted in the preface, my approach to these texts does not follow traditional scholarship, which has been largely concerned with the establishment of authoritative originals and has generally been less interested in what becomes of texts as they are transmitted. Instead I deliberately employ the differences found in these manuscripts, large and small, to demonstrate the changes which have taken place and to reveal to what extent manuscripts and their texts were constantly being tailored for particular audiences. The radical changes and additions that have taken place, in what Green has designated Redaction III represented by MS Landowne 380, is a prime example of this process. Details of the other texts which make up the contents of the codex are given in my analysis of the manuscripts below. I have also made a detailed comparison of Redaction II of the *LSM* in MS Kassel and MS Lille 863, and found that that they are so similar in their practical aspect that they are probably derived from a common source although dialectical differences may suggest an intermediary. In my discussion of the manuscripts, I have used my transcription of MS Kassel noting any variants in MS Lille 863. In doing this I have not made the assumption that changes which occurred were merely scribal errors but have used all of the changes, particularly where these point to regional differences in dialect. These can also demonstrate what the scribe may well have considered improvements on the original, and how he succeeded in tailoring the source copy to produce his own text. Although I have used 'he' throughout there have been a number of occasions where I suspect a female voice is

heard behind the written word, most notably in the added section, transcribed on p. 217, where the remedies differ from that of the standard *Trotula* text.

I begin by providing an analysis of the types of text that accompanied the *Trotula* in the three manuscripts using as a base text the most extensive manuscript MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4° med. 1. To this is added a further manuscript London, British Library Sloane 2401 which, although it does not contain a copy of the *Trotula*, does contain similar material. I continue with a translation of the prologue to the *Trotula* as found in MS Kassel together with a discussion of a possible source in relation to its origins in Liège or the immediate vicinity. A full transcription and commentary to the collection of remedies and recipes of the *Trotula* (*LSM*) as found in MSS Kassel and Lille 863 follows. I have, as noted earlier, found that the *LSM* in these manuscripts varies little in its content and have therefore based my comparison on MS Kassel. For MS Lille 863 I give a general description of the manuscript; a transcription of the prologue on generation, including a free translation of the text in the footnotes to the transcription and discussion of its possible source. Finally I examine the ways in which the additions in these manuscripts also provide advice on women's conditions and supplement that given by Redaction II of the *LSM* '*Quant dieux nostre seigneur...*' and their relevance to the audience of these manuscripts.

Analysis

Full details of the folio order of MS Kassel are found in the Archive's Catalogue which includes where these have been misbound. As this does not alter the contents themselves I have not repeated that information here. I have compared the contents, or travelling companions of the *Trotula* in MSS Kassel and Lille with the other manuscripts that also contain recipe and remedy collections, plague regimes, divinatory texts and regimen's of health to demonstrate the widespread popularity of texts such as these and their affinity with the type of material that women are known to have owned and read. The comparative analysis gives details of the principle items in each manuscript with the relevant folio numbers. I have checked these with a digital copy of the entire manuscript which now makes up the compilation of MS Kassel. To the extreme left of the analysis table the contents of MS Kassel have been assigned a number in the order that they appear in the manuscript. The numbers in the columns to the right of the contents refer to the order in which each discrete text appears in each of the manuscripts studied in this chapter. Thus, although the *Trotula* appears almost at the beginning of MS Kassel, (no. 2) in MS Lille it is in eighth place. It is important to note that although the *Quant dex nostre seignor* is referred to in the catalogue as the *Secreta mulierum*, in the manuscript itself it appears without a heading. However, in MS Lille 863 it has been given the title *Chi parole des fleres as dames*. The instability of format and appearance of the small tract on diagnosis by urines which often, but not always, precedes the

Lettre has been combined in MS Wellcome 546's version of the text. I have therefore recorded this as one item for the Wellcome manuscript rather than as items separated by another treatise as they appear in MS Kassel. The wide range of plague texts and their adaptations has not been examined here in detail as, with the proliferation of plague texts following the epidemic of 1347-8, the difficulty has been in ascertaining who the author is where this is not cited in the manuscript. I have, therefore, simply noted with a small 'x' under the manuscript in each column to denote where I have been unable to ascertain whether the item is a copy, another redaction or perhaps a different text entirely to that which appears in Kassel. I have, nevertheless, verified that the number of folios for each plague text is approximately of the same size to ensure that their importance is neither over- nor underestimated. Jon Arrizabalaga has noted how university medical practitioners were not the only healers to be involved caring for those inflicted by the plague. He argues, that those 'trained in the 'open system': ordinary men and women, Jews, Christians and Muslims – and [also] by many who would today be classified as quacks', were involved in the battle against the plague.³³⁹ The appearance of university medical practitioners' texts, in compilations such as those examined here, is evidence of the involvement of those outside university circles in attempting to prevent and also care for plague victims.

³³⁹ For the plague as seen by university practitioners see Jon Arrizabalaga, "Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners." In *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed., Louis García-Ballester et al, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 238.

Many of these remedies and recipes find their way into simple compilations of vernacular recipe literature.

I have treated the copies of herbals and similar collections, which were known to have been owned and read by women, as texts which provide information of equal value and usage so these appear under one column in the table. The presence of these in medical manuscripts confirms the universal appeal of both herbals and recipe collections, and underlines the role that each one played in medical knowledge. The importance of herbals for accessing knowledge for treating a wide range of illnesses in this period has been further confirmed in a recent study of a corpus of English herbals which emphasised the role of inter-textuality in texts such as these. This corpus analysis confirmed that over '...95 per cent of passages that share material with herbals are from the remedy-book tradition' with the most prominent genres being 'recipe collections and after that come the regimens of health'.³⁴⁰ Another study, which examined a fourteenth-century collection of medical and divinatory texts known to have been produced in the Benedictine Abbey of St. Jacques, Liège, has revealed a similar combination of texts as those found in MS Kassel, including herbals, recipe collections, regimen, lunaries and divinatory texts.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Martti Mäkinen, "Between Herbals 'et alia': Intertextuality in Medieval English Herbals." (PhD, University of Helsinki, 2006), 231.

³⁴¹ Geneviève Xhayet, *Médecine et arts divinatoires dans le monde bénédictin médiéval à travers les réceptaires de Saint-Jacques de Liège* (Paris: Éditions Classiques Garnier, 2010).

Connections: Manuscripts and Contents

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863 ³⁴²	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
1	<i>Les propriétés de poullieul</i> fols. 14'-15'					
2	[<i>Secreta Mulierum</i>] fols.16'-20' MS Kassel begins <i>Sains</i> <i>Iheromes dist que Adam fu fais</i> <i>de viij parties de choses...au</i> <i>fons de lesue est un filz.</i> ³⁴³ MS Lille 863 appears as ' <i>Chi</i> <i>parole des secrés des dames.</i> <i>Diex, nostres sires, quant il eut</i> <i>le monde crée</i> ³⁴⁴ MS Wellcome 546 rubric reads <i>'Or est bon asavoir por quoi</i> <i>fammes ont icelle maladie que</i> <i>len apelee fleurs et que les</i> <i>senefient'</i> followed by ' <i>Diex</i> <i>nostre sire quant il ot le secle</i> <i>estore et les autres creatures</i> <i>fist'</i> MS Lansdowne 380 after extensive prologue ' <i>Quant</i> <i>nostre seigneur dieu eust fait</i> <i>lomme en sa semblance'</i>	<i>Liber de</i> <i>sinthomatibus</i> <i>mulierum</i>	4	8	4 ³⁴⁵	x ³⁴⁶

³⁴² MS Lille 863 also contains a French version of an 'Anatomy' and short version of the Aphorisms, '*Chi commencent aucun aufformie extrait de latin en franchois...Cist aphorismes sont en quarte partie d'Aphorismes...*', which I have not examined.

³⁴³ Transcription of this prologue is given in Appendix III.

³⁴⁴ The additional prologue to the *LSM* although both loosely connected to generation added to MS Lille 863 bears no resemblance to that of MS Kassel.

³⁴⁵ The only connection to the *Trotula* text in this manuscript is the prologue.

³⁴⁶ MS Sloane 2401 does not contain a *Trotula* however, it does have the same group of remedies for women's conditions in its version of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* and which also appear twice in MS Wellcome 546, one group of which immediately precede the *Trotula*. These also appear in MS Beinecke 492's copy of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* where the *incipit* is missing.

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
3	Diagnosis by urines and blood letting fols. 21 ^r -25 ^r <i>Pour congnoistre a lorine et as aultres choses quant on a mestier de saignier vous debuez sauoir; (21^v) Pourquoi on se saine et a quoy il puelit pourfiter...; 24^r Pour ventouszer et espurgier le sang qui est es petites vaynes... 25^r ... pouroient souffrir etc.</i>	urines blood letting	2	1	x ³⁴⁷	2
4	<i>Lettre d'Hippocrate fols. 25^r-26^r Pour congnoistre ornie [sic] Chi commenche ung livre que ypocras envoya a cesar empereur de Rome</i>	recipe collection	2	1	x	2
5	<i>Receptaire 'Livre de Tresor' ³⁴⁸ fols. 26^r-37^r Chi apres pourre congnoistre les maulx estans en corps humains et comment hommes ont de diverses qualites et femmes pareillement et encontre chacun mal ya diverses manieres or commencons au chief et puis aus autres membres</i>	recipe collection		x?		?
6	<i>Traitiés deauwes (Distilled waters) fols. 37^v-69^r³⁴⁹</i>	medicinal waters		4 ³⁵⁰		4

³⁴⁷ There is a blood letting treatise in MS Lansdowne 380 however this is in the form of a 'teaching manual' for prospective barber-surgeons.

³⁴⁸ MS Paris Bibliotheque Nationale fr. 2001 also contains a collection of recipes known as *Recettes de Philippe le Bel* this also quotes the *Livre du Tresor* fol. 50^v. This latter work is probably a copy of the vernacular *Thesaurus Pauperum*. MS Sloane 2401 also quotes a *Livre de Tresor* fol. 104^r.

³⁴⁹ There are a small number of minor recipe collections here in a different hand in Latin which are interpolated in the text on waters. *Compositio olei benedictij*, *Aqua mirabilis ad visum* (Petrus Hispanus), *Alia preciosa aqua de radicibus ad visum confortandum*,

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
7	<i>Traitiés deauwes</i> fols. 77 ^{r-v} one Latin remedy plus others in French one for 'perfect rose water' here called <i>esue vermeille</i> .	medicinal waters		4		
8	Aldobrandino de Siena fols. 78 ^r - 153 ^v ³⁵¹	regimen				1
8a	Abregé		1	x ³⁵²		
8b	Remanié				3 ³⁵³	
9	Jacques Despars Plague Regimen					
9a	<i>Pour conforter lestomache</i>	recipe/diet				
9b	<i>Regime</i> for Michel Bernard	consilium		10		
9c	<i>Consilia</i> for Guillaume Bernard	consilium		11		
10	Guillaume Tirel dit Taillevent <i>Le Viandier</i> fols. 154 ^r -164 ^v	cookery book			x	
11	Jacques Despars Plague treatise fols. 165 ^r -166 ^v <i>Pour se garder contre pestilence du conseil Maistre Jacques Despars</i>	plague advice			1 ³⁵⁴	

Aqua perfectos ad oculos'.

³⁵⁰ In MS Lille 863 there is a reference to *li ancien médechîn Philippe fir et jadi*. Possibly a reference to Philippe le Bel whose name was attached to a collection of recipes and remedies whose complex dissemination and transmission is closely related to the *Thesaurus Pauperum*.

³⁵¹ 'Roger Male Branche' Arlima gives MS Kassel 4° Med. 1, fols. 21^r-25^r as the source in the chapter *Por coi on se doit sainier*. Edited version gives 'Avicenna' as the authority whereas Kassel gives 'hypocras'. Edited version gives 'besoigne'. Kassel gives 'deux coses' which agrees with *Paris, Arsenal 2510* which also gives 'deux choses'. Landouzy et Pepin, p. xxvi.

³⁵² There is no 'Aldobrandino' in MS Lille 863 nevertheless, there is a copy of the Salemitan *Flores medicine* fols. 153^r-158^v.

³⁵³ This is the chapter *D'abiter avec femme* from Aldobrandino's *Régime*. See transcription and discussion.

³⁵⁴ MS Lansdowne 380 contains a simple plague regime which although not the same as Jacques Despars' version is also set out in simple terms and gives advice for avoiding the plague through diet, moving away from the area and offering simple remedies.

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
12	<i>Receptaire</i> (disordered) fols. 166 ^v -176 ^v ³⁵⁵	recipe collection		3	2	
13	Plant Synonyma (incomplete) fols. 177 ^r -178 ^v	plant synonyma				
14	Distilled waters (unspecified) fols. 186 ^r -192 ^r [fol. 192 ^v blank]	medicinal waters				
15	Plague regime fols. 193 ^r -195 ^r ³⁵⁶ <i>Cest la preseruacion di ipidimie minucion et curacion. Collacion faite a paris entre les segneurs et maystres ...-...vin aigre et de moult de eaue.</i> ³⁵⁷	plague advice		9 ³⁵⁸		
16	<i>Receptaire</i> (unspecified) fols. 195 ^r -226 ^r <i>Pour arsure. Prenez les pepins de la pomme de ...</i> ³⁵⁹ Or <i>Recettes de Philippe le Bel</i>	recipe collection		x ³⁶⁰		
17	Plague regimen (unspecified) fols. 226 ^v -228 ^v	plague regimen		x?		

³⁵⁵ This continues without a break from Jacques Despars' text and includes a number of gynaecological recipes which are transcribed below.

³⁵⁶ The Kassel entry does not identify the author. The text includes *et ad ce cest necessaire a sauoir que en corps humain a .iii. membres principaulx. Cest assauoir le coer le faye (read foie?) et la cheruelle et que chascun de yceulx...*. This appears to be a translation of a widespread Latin text also found in Oxford, Bodley, Ashmole 1435 fols. 60-64. According to Claude de Tovar the version of the *Traité* is by Jean de Tournemire, chancellor of the University of Montpellier, physician to Gregory XI (1370-1371) and to Clement (1378-1394), written c. 1372-1382.

³⁵⁷ There also appears to be a copy of this in MS London, Wellcome Library 335 (1490) fols. 4-14, '*Collation faicte a paris entre les seigneurs et maistres et docteurs en medecine contre l'epidemie et aultres maladies et pestilences de boces*'. MS Kassel adds '*divignite et en medicine*' above the line'.

³⁵⁸ MS Lille 863 contains three plague tracts one of these taking up twenty folios, fols. 132-152. One on fols. 140^v -149^v, *Incipit compendium de preservatione epydemie* and *En pestilence on doit fuir les choses qui s'ensievent* fols. 159^v-160^v.

³⁵⁹ The next remedy is headed: *Pour tolir aux femme la fole amour* followed by *Pour oster dertres...*

³⁶⁰ A large unidentified collection of miscellaneous recipes on fols. 116-131.

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
18	Plague regimen (unspecified) fols. 227 ^r -228 ^r	plague regimen		x?		
19	recipes ' <i>ordonne pour le roy de France</i> ' fols. 228 ^{r-v}	recipe collection				
20	Herbal <i>Circa Instans</i> fols. 228 ^v - 245 ^v Here begins <i>Prenez une herbe qui a nom filago. Si le laues, puis le secces...</i> usually begins with <i>La Geneste</i> Or a translation of the treatise <i>De Viribus herbarum de pseudo-Macer</i>	herbal		2 ³⁶¹		6 ³⁶² x2
21	<i>Chirurgerie</i> Manual des Jean Pitard fols. 246 ^r -250 ^v ³⁶³ Roger Frugardi <i>Glossulae Quator Magistrorum</i>	recipe collections	3 ³⁶⁴			
	<i>Recéptaire de Jean Sauvage</i>		4			
22	<i>Des orines</i> fols. 251 ^r -257 ^r ' <i>Pour avoir congnoissances des orines...</i> ' (author not specified)	urines diagnosis				
23	<i>Des IIII compleccions</i> fols. 257 ^r - 267 ^r ' <i>Qui veult savoir les manieres e les natures des choses de gens...</i> '	physiognomy		5		

³⁶¹ MS Lille 863 appears to contain a different herbal fols. 96-102 '*Betoine est une herbe qui a moult de virtus...*'.

³⁶² This collection begins with *Artemisia mater herbarum* on fol. 125^v there are four remedies for women one of which states for '*enstancher sang a femme qui vient pour avoir trop compaignie a homme*'.

³⁶³ This begins with the section on plasters.

³⁶⁴ According to the catalogue entry this is an abridged copy of Roger Frugardi's *Chirurgia*.

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
24	Les IIII compleccions d'autre maniere fols. 267 ^r -288 ^v <i>'Les iiij compleccions terriennes qui en ce monde gouuernent...'</i> [Astrological]	physiognomy		6		
25	<i>Receptaire</i> fols. 289 ^r -296 ^v (unspecified) <i>Sensuient pluseurs curacions de maladies pardedens et dehors corps d'homme et de femme</i>	recipe collection		7 ³⁶⁵		
26	Alchemie fols. 297 ^r -328 ^r <i>'Nature qui par lordonnance de dieu des le commencement du monde fait et ordonne toue chose...'</i> Medicinal	alchemical recipes				
27	Astrological text fols. 329 ^r -336 ^r An annual forecast corresponding to the year after the moon had ruled for 28 years with one planned for each year: i.e. an <i>Almanach</i>	divination				
28	Astrological Table fol. 381 ^v Deals with the qualities of the zodiac and planets and their effect on both blood letting and the complexions ³⁶⁶	medical astrological				

³⁶⁵ A similar collection of recipes and remedies follows in MS Lille 863.

³⁶⁶ MS London, British Library Sloane 2806 (xiv^o) contains a copy of the Aldobrandino which also contains an astrological treatise that deals with blood letting. *Li sainnie dit estre faite la vespree. – Li lune .xxviii.*

	Comparison based on contents in MS Kassel 4° med 1 [Kassel folio references]	Generic type	Well 546	Lille 863	Lan 380	Sloane 2401
29	Treatise which details the influence of the moon and the effects at the start and during treatment with medicines fol. 382 ^r	medical astrological				
30	For 'stones and gravel disordered collection of miscellaneous remedies' fols. 383 ^r -384 ^v	recipe collection				
31	Receptaire fols. 385 ^r -387 ^v	recipe collection				
32	Plague régime fols. 387 ^v -396 ^r ³⁶⁷ <i>'Colation faite a Montpellier des maistres en medechine et en astronomie pour resister contre limpedemye et aultres maladies de peste...'</i>	plague advice		x ³⁶⁸		

Translation of and comments on the prologue to the *Trotula* in MS

Kassel fol. 16^r

'Saint Jerome said that Adam was made of eight parts of 'things'.³⁶⁹ The first of which he was made was that of the earth. The second of the sea, the third of the sun, the fourth of the clouds, the fifth the wind, the sixth of stones, the

³⁶⁷ This is also found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal 3174 with the incipit *Hoc est remedium contra aeris corrupcionem vel epidemiam per deacum medicorum. Montipessulam compilatum.* fol. 69.

³⁶⁸ An extensive Latin plague regimen *Incipit tractatus optimus contre epidimiam. Quonum omnia inferiora tam elementa quom elementa*, fols. 132^r-152^r. The first part of this follows the wording of John of Burgundy's plague regimen as translated by Rosemary Horrox, in *The Black Death*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1994), 184.

³⁶⁹ See J. H. Mozeley, 'The Vitae Adae', *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1929): 121-149.

seventh of the Holy Spirit and the eighth of the light of the world. The first part that was made was the soil of the earth which made the flesh;³⁷⁰ the second which was made was the sea which made the blood; the third that was of the sun which made the eyes; the fourth which was made of the clouds was the thoughts; the fifth which was the wind made the breath; the sixth which was the stones made the bones; the seventh which was the Holy Spirit made the knowledge which is put into each person; the eighth, which was the light of the world, was the beauty that God gave to every man in his image. If there is more of the soil of the earth in man than of the other eight parts he will be valued in all ways. If there is more of the sea he will be wise and expert in diverse knowledge. If there is more of the sun he will be handsome and pleasant. If there is more cloud he will be quiet and thoughtful. If there is more of the stones he will be hard, avaricious and 'loies' (?). If of the Holy Spirit he will be happy and full of various joys. If there is more of the light of the world he will be well loved and full of good things. When Our Lord had formed Adam, as you have heard told, he had no name at all, then [the Lord] called four angels and said to them, go and search out a name for this man. Saint Michael, the archangel, went out to the east where he saw a star which

³⁷⁰ Worth noting is the change which has taken place with the result that *luxoriosus* is omitted with the result that MS Kassel's version, of this phrase only includes *penses*. Latin Text. *Sciendum est quod de octo partibus plasmatum fuit corpus Ade. Una pars erat de limo terre unde facta est caro eius et inde piger erit. Alia pars erat de mari unde factus est sanguis eius et inde erat uagus et profugus. Tertia pars erat de lapidibus terre unde sunt ossa eius et inde erat durus et auarus. Quarta pars erat de nubibus, inde facte sunt cogitationes eius et inde factus est luxoriosus. Quina pars erat de ueno unde factus est anelitus et inde factus est leuis. Sexta pars erat, de sole unde facti sunt oculi eius et inde erat bellus et preclarus. Septima pars est de luce mundi unde factus est gratus et inde habet scienciam. Octaua pars est de spritiu sancto unde facta est anima et inde sunt episcopi et sacerdotes et omnes sancti et electi Dei.* 'The Vitae Adae', 146-147.

was called Anatholim, and [from this star] he brought back the first letter which was 'a'. Saint Gabriel went out to Occidens (the west) and brought back the first letter of the star which had the name Dilphis and this was 'd'. Saint Raphael went out to Aquilon, (the north) where he saw a star which had the name Achintus he brought back the first letter which was an 'a'. Saint Uriel went to the meridiene,³⁷¹ [where he] saw a star which had the name Mirsibrion from this star he brought the last letter back before Our Lord which was 'm'. Then [Our Lord] commanded Uriel to put the four letters together and he saw that it said 'Adam' thus was named the first man. [When God made the world].

A *Trotula* prologue of this group would usually begin with the *incipit* *Quant dieux nostre seigneur le monde estore*. MS Kassel, however, does not follow this pattern, but as a precursor to the normal *incipit* adds the above text, another creation story, and this runs into the beginning of the *Trotula* prologue (fol. 16^v line 18). Thus, although the compiler of this codex has included what today may appear to be a novel prologue, when read in conjunction with other texts in MS Kassel, it is seen as being both complementary and logical as the focus of the medical text is on fertility. In a recent study of the English versions of the *Vitae Adae* additions to the biblical creation story of *Genesis*, the author describes his theory that these popular stories found an audience in lay people, and perhaps clerics interested in

³⁷¹ Perhaps a reference to the 'celestial meridiene' that was believed to join the North and South poles together.

romance-like pseudo-biblical narratives, and that their particular interest for medieval audiences was because they effectively continued the biblical narrative as a realistic tale.³⁷² In addition, I believe the first part of Kassel's unique prologue can just as easily be read as a *physiognomy* as it can a simple account of creation. It is well documented that and enduring fascination in methods of divination crossed all sections of society as it 'had as its object the examination of all aspects of man in his social context', and this included the study of the human reproductive system.³⁷³ Astrology and its role in the formation of human relationships was discussed by writers such as Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), and Michael Scot (died in or after 1235) court astrologer to Frederick II. Scot, who as Piero Morpurgo points out

considers embryology and neonatology essential for an understanding of those human characteristics indicated by physiognomic features. This science, which Scot describes as the intelligent understanding of nature, by means of which the virtues and vices of all creatures may be known, is presented as being of extreme utility for the 'scientist-emperor' Frederick II, in helping him to know and judge the intentions of his associates.³⁷⁴

³⁷² See James M. Dean, "Domestic and Material Culture in the Middle English Adam Books," *Studies in Philology* 107, no. 1 (2009): 25-47.

³⁷³ Helen Rodnite Lemay, *Women's Secrets a Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De secretis mulierum with Commentaries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 127.

³⁷⁴ Piero Morpurgo, "Scot, Michael (d. in or after 1235)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24902> (accessed 26 July 2011).

Petro Abano (d. 1316) whose interests also encompassed astrology and alchemy, also wrote about their usefulness in medicine which 'only added to his heretical reputation in the eyes of the Christian Inquisition'.³⁷⁵

The continuing interest in astrology is also found later in MS Kassel where another text offers advice for those who want to know how someone is likely to behave, and their virtues or character. '*Qui veult savoir les manieres e les natures des choses de gens*'. While yet another text on complexions combines the art of divination and the more practical idea of physiognomy together, and points once again to the creation story which link man and his earthly world: item 24 '*Les iiij compleccions teriennes qui en ce monde gouuernent...*'. (fol. 267^r). These astrological texts are also linked to the efficacy of the medicines and other prophylactic treatments such as blood letting. Item 28, in the analysis which is an astrological table, deals with the qualities of the zodiac and the planets and the importance of their perceived action over blood letting and complexions. The inclusion of these texts enabled the reader to decide when blood letting should take place as, even if an individual had opted for blood letting as part of a normal healthy *régime*, as counselled in Aldobrandino's *Régime du corps*, it should be carried out in a temperate season, either spring or autumn and importantly during a phase of the moon which corresponds to the phase of life of the patient.³⁷⁶ The choice

³⁷⁵ Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture 1470-1760* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 72.

³⁷⁶ Linda E. Voigts and Michael R. McVaugh, "A Latin Technical Phlebotomy and Its Middle English Translation," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74, no. 2, New Series (1984): 5.

of the second part of this short text attributed to St. Jerome, unites many of the works in this codex with a common theme: creation and nature. The latter of which is emphasised in the language used to describe generation found not only in the *Quant dieux nostre seigneur* but also in other recipes and remedies which deal with fertility. MS Kassel's author reminds his readers that they will have already heard the earlier part of the story, '*Quant monseigneur eust adam fourme si come vous avez oy*' which strongly suggests this author consciously builds on his audience's existing knowledge of God's creation. As discussed in the chapter that examined MS Beinecke 492 many texts such as these were also widely disseminated.

The abridged prologue that follows immediately on from the creation story and the naming of Adam as it appears in MS Kassel's version of the *Quant dieux nostre seigneur* is given below.

*Quant dieu estore le siecle des autres creatures sy fist homme
e femme et lor donna la seignorie de toutes choses teryennes
et estably que diaulx et del corps du male qui plus est de
chaulde nature et secque isteroit la semenche et crosteroit li
enfes al corps a la femme. Et pour ce que les femmes ont les
corps plus foibles que ly male et plus quelles trauaulx ont des
enfans sy lor viennent pluseurs enfermetez aultres que [fol.
17^r] aux males es lieuz secres qui al enfante et apertienment et
pour ce fu fais chilz livres qui moult est necessaires et pourfit*

*ables si le fist constantinus galyens ypocras et helayne mere
constantin puent qui savoit les secres de nature et les forces et
vertus des herbes a ce apertenans.*

This version which can be read as a précis of the prologue omits God's order to multiply that is given in MS Lille 863. It does add, however, that it is because of the special role that a woman's body had been ordained to play in producing these children, that Constantine, Galen, Hippocrates and Helayne the mother of Constantine had written these books, and simply adds that they 'are very necessary and useful'. The additional authority of *Helayne li mere*, is fundamental here because she especially 'knew the forces and virtues of herbs' (fol.17'). Further the additional authority of, *helayne mere constantin*, which had been added to the more usual medical authorities in MS Kassel, may have derived from another popular work, *Le Myreur des Histors*, by Jean de Preis *dit* d'Outremeuse (1338-1400), which was written slightly earlier than the dating of this manuscript, and is also from the region of Liège. Jean's work also contains a vernacular version of the *Vitae Adae et Evae* which was later embedded in his chronicle of Liège.³⁷⁷ The juxtaposition of the extract in MS Kassel, of the naming of Adam taken from the *Vitae*, together with the references to *helayne mere constantin* in Redaction II, points to the author of MS Kassel having read or known Jean d'Outremeuse's work: *Le Myreur des*

³⁷⁷ For the widespread dissemination of this story see Brian Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe: Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Histors, in which he incorporates his earlier *Geste* which praises, in his own dialect, his native town of Liège.

The availability of source texts for the compiler of MS Kassel's codex would perhaps have been easy, as Liège was widely known as a city of clerics. In the fourteenth century Petrarch (1304-1374) records in his letter to the Cardinal Jan Colonna that he had seen '*les populations de la Flandre et du Brabant que vivent du travail de laine et du tissage; j'ai vu Liège la cité des clercs...*', and by the end of the fifteenth century a physician could also report that

*nulle part il n'y a plus du clergé, tant séculier que régulier. On
peut voir a Liège tous les degrés de la hiérarchie des couvents,
des ermitages, des abbayes, toute la vie collective du clergé*³⁷⁸

The chaplains and *clercs* attached to the various religious institutions in total counted for over one thousand of the inhabitants of Liège. An ordered mind and attention to detail is evident in MS Kassel, from the detailed index which allows for easy navigation throughout the entire length of its three hundred and ninety-six folios, to the method by which points of particular interest have been highlighted in the margin, in red, in a more formal Gothic *bastarda* hand. The impression gained is that this is a work intended to be consulted and used. This is particularly noticeable in the earlier sections of the *Quant dex nostre Seignor* where attention is repeatedly drawn to remedies

³⁷⁸ Pierre de Spiegelers, *Les hôpitaux et l'assistance à Liège (Xe-XVe siècles): aspects institutionnels et sociaux* (Liège: Société d'Édition, Les Belles Lettres, 1987), 56.

to promote the menses and also in the extensive collection of recipes and remedies which follows. Latin is used occasionally in headings while at other times simple glosses are given in vernacular which refer back to the Latin name of the herb or flower, for instance in an incomplete synonyma list (fols.177^r-178^v) alternative names for *Mater Herbarum* include *bibeuf*³⁷⁹ and *armoyse*. This important and well documented emmenagogue is one of only a few plants which have had additions made to them in Kassel's incomplete synonyma list. Other signs of scribal practice are evident in small slips of re-used manuscripts, which have been used as anchors, again in the section which has annotations in the margin. The short prologue to the treatise on medicinal waters also claims to provide remedies for everybody and stresses that they are useful for both personal and the more public illnesses of the body whether internal or more readily visible.

*Chi comenche un traitties dauwes qui sont extraites de
plusieurs herbes que li ancien filosofe firent jadis pour ce
que toutes jauwes qui sont extraites des herbes et des fleurs
par distillation sont plus soubtilles et plus vertueuses et
maintes convuantes a toutes gens du monde que autres
medicines nulles ... Car par les esues puelit on essouser ? et*

³⁷⁹ *bibeuf* and *conchenu* are attested in a number of early Anglo-Norman manuscripts including MS Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.20 and two other related manuscripts, both of which contain similar *réceptaires* to those of MS Kassel and Lille 863 including the vernacular *Thesaurus pauperum* and other similar texts. For these additional manuscripts see Claude de Tovar, "Contamination, interférences et tentatives de systématisation dans la tradition manuscrite des réceptaires médicaux français - le réceptaire de Jean Sauvage," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1973): 155-191.

*remedyer a pluseurs maladies secretez et plus publiques que
soient ou monde en corps humain ou dehors* [fol. 37^v].

The overall concern to treat everybody is also reflected in the addition which occurs between the text on urines and the recipe collection this appears to be another copy of the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* on fol 26^r: *Chi apres pourez congnoistre les maulx estans en corps humain et comment hommes sont de diverses qualities et femmes pareillement*. The minor Latin texts in this manuscript do not point to a learned audience or reader, as the overall content is in the vernacular, in particular the local dialect. Lack of theory, beyond a passing reference to the four humours, suggest that this was a practical codex intended to treat those suffering from a wide range of conditions. The inclusion of the *Régime du corps* and the collection of cookery recipes known as the *Vivendier*³⁸⁰ perhaps sets MS Kassel apart from other codex such as the Benedictine monastic manuscript mentioned above.³⁸¹

A transcription and commentary to the collection of remedies and recipes of the *Trotula* (LSM) as found in MSS Kassel and Lille 863

An explanation of the format: the figure in brackets corresponds to the number of the paragraph given in Monica Green's edition of the standardised *Trotula* ensemble as it is recorded in Latin in the beautifully written, Italian

³⁸⁰ For the latest edition using this manuscript, the only known copy, see Jean-François Kosta-Théfaine, *Le vivendier. Édition établie par Jean-François Kosta-Théfaine*, (Clermont-Ferrand: Paléo, 2009).

³⁸¹ Xhayet, *Médecine et arts divinatoires dans le monde bénédictin médiéval à travers les réceptaires de Saint-Jacques de Liège*.

thirteenth-century manuscript Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS D II 17. My comparison between this manuscript and the later vernacular versions is indebted to Green's work, as this has enabled me to identify the extent of the changes which were made to the versions of Redaction II of the *Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum* (*LSM*), and the *Quant dex nostre Seignor* as they appear in MS Kassel, MS Lille 863 and MS Lansdowne 380. Although it could be argued, that due to the vagaries of the translation and transmission process including the choices made by the compilers, that it is unlikely that vernacular copies would have transmitted the full range of treatments, as the Latin edition has already been used as a basis for comparison, albeit to a limited degree, its use here is justified.³⁸² I have, therefore, followed a similar method whereby the paragraph numbers allocated to the text in the edition are used to signal where the information, in the vernacular manuscripts discussed here, coincides or differs from the standardised version. The total number of paragraphs in the *LSM* is one hundred and thirty-one. From this it can quickly be seen that the vernacular versions found in MSS Kassel, Lille 863 and particularly MS Lansdowne 380 fall far short of this figure. Green's comparison is, however, useful in showing where the treatments for conditions continue to be given in the vernacular tradition. It does not claim and cannot reveal, however, to what extent omissions and alterations have taken place. These changes and amendments are shown in detail below.

³⁸² Green, "Part II: The Vernacular Translations and Latin Re-Writings."

Transcription note: abbreviation signs are not consistent in the manuscripts nevertheless I have expanded contractions to aid reading. I have also maintained the word order and orthography. All translations of MSS Kassel, Lille 863 and Lansdowne 380 are my own. The commentary to the comparison is embedded in the transcription, rather than as footnotes or endnotes which allows a quick comparison to be made by the reader. The commentary explains the changes which have occurred, where these differ from MS Lille 863, and changes which may have occurred through the influence of other texts in each of the vernacular manuscripts.

MS Kassel 4^o med. 1

*Or pour ce que les femmes nont mie tant chaleur en elles
quelles puissent seschiez les mauvaises humeurs qui sont en
elles sy leur a dieux donne et estably un espurgement que on
apelle les flours des dames dont elle ne poet portez fruit nient
plus que ungs arbres sans fleurs. [¶3] Chilz espurgemens vient
aux femmes naturellement quant elles ont .xiii. ans et a le fois
a .xii. A le maigre femme durs .l. ans et a le crasse .xxx. et a la
fois .xxxv. Se la femme a cest espurgement a droit terme et a
mesur sy ly est bon e sain se non sy ly en vient pluseurs
enfermetez et a le fois en pert le boire et le mengier. [¶4] La
perte des flours vient de ce qui ly matris est desnaturelez et
que les vaines del matris sont grelles si comme as grasses
femmes.*

The reference to *grasses femmes* may appear to be simply an addition here. However, in MS Kassel in the short treatise on *Poullieul* (*Mentha Pulegium*), the author warns in the first three lines of fol. 14^r, that according to the *philozophes* this herb should not be used by 'fat women' as, 'if they use it often their fruit will be aborted'.

*selonc que dictent les philozophes cheste herbe deffende as
femmes grasses. Car se elles usioient souvent ses fruyt seroit
avortin (fols 14r).*

*Se femme les pert longuement elle lui vient grant mal son
orine devient rouge et a le fois comme esue de char sortie*³⁸³

[¶7: fol. 17^v] *Se la femme est maigre il la fault sainier de la
vaine de pie desoubes la cheville un jour de lun et ung jour de
lautre sy quelle puist bien suffoir. [¶8 part]*

*La femme qui souvent continue compaigne dhomme doit
prendre puisons electuaires ou medicines et se doit baignier
en bonnes herbes et boire nepte vin et miel bouilly ensamble et
bien puriffye parmy un bel drapel le baingnier bien souvent ly
est moult pourfitable puis boire apres le baing du dyacesseron
fait de mire de baye de gentiane*³⁸⁴ *et de miel quit aegal*³⁸⁵[¶10]

Similar advice to the above is found in the *Trotula* under the section which deals with 'retention of the menses'. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 agree in that the concoction should be strained through a fine cloth, which is not specified in the *Trotula* and both also omit the *Trotula's* instructions, that the women should be bled from the saphenous vein. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 retain this advice but strikingly in both vernacular manuscripts its use is specified for women who 'often have sexual intercourse', whereas the

³⁸³ Read 'For sometimes women's urine turns red or into the colour of water in which fresh meat has been washed'.

³⁸⁴ There are many species of *Gentiana* and it is impossible to know which one is intended here, however a recent article using *Gentiana acaulis* notes that there is no toxicity the only warning given that this is a protected species. See A. P. Harrison and E. M. Bartels, "A Modern Appraisal of Ancient Etruscan Herbal Practices," *American Journal of Pharmacology and Toxicology* 1 no. 1 (2006): 22.

³⁸⁵ For the history of records suggesting that both *aristologia longa* and *gentiane* were abortifacients see John M. Riddle, *Contraception and abortion from the ancient world to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 39.

Trotula gives this for women who frequently suffer from 'constipation of the belly': *Et sepe et sepius constipatur uenter earem, et tunc acipe v. pillulas de quadam medicina competenti*'.³⁸⁶ The change which has been made from constipation of the *uenter* as found in the *Trotula*, to excessive sexual intercourse, in MSS Kassel and Lille 863 points to the author of Redaction II making the connection between this remedy for retention of the menses and the natural infertility of *les foles femmes*. As a result the emphasis in MSS Kassel and Lille 863 has changed from treating a woman who was simply suffering from menstrual retention to one who is suffering from too much sexual intercourse. The reasons why loose women rarely conceived was often discussed in learned circles and as in the *de Animalibus* it is usually argued that their lack of pleasure in the act results in little seed being emitted, information which is included in the *LSM* prologue in MS Lille 863. Instructions, to help women who have *trop compaignie a homme* are also found in MS Sloane 2401 however, there the advice is given to staunch bleeding, '*sang de femme*', which is seen as arising from the same cause. (fol. 125^v). As in the *Trotula* MS Kassel continues with a remedy to stimulate menstruation.

*pour comme galyen le commande la femme qui peu a de ses
flours dont de ce a dolour cuise en vin enrosue*³⁸⁷ *bethoine et
polioel egalment et tant cuise quil ne remanit que la tierche*

³⁸⁶ Green, *The Trotula*, 75.

³⁸⁷ This is probably intended to read 'ermoyse' (*Artemisia vulgaris*). This unusual spelling is also found in MS Lille 863.

*partie puis le coulez parmy ung drapel et boire aux³⁸⁸ termes
de ses flours.³⁸⁹[¶19]*

'As Galen ordered' is an addition. This remedy is the first of those for which annotations appear in the margins that draw attention to remedies for either provoking 'the flowers' or aiding fertility in one form or another. Here 'As *Flours*' is given in the margin.

*Autre medecine fist ypocras A la royne despaigne il prist
foelles de lys dolivier de savinier egalment sy les mis en un
noef pot sur le vif charbon puis le fist metre soubes une selle
perchie et la Royne dessus asseoir bien couverte tout entour
que la chaleur non puist issir aius puist montez amont per la
nature ou corps sy eust ses fleurs a son plaisir.[¶25]*

Fumigation is another traditional treatment for women that dates back to antiquity. It was thought to draw down both the menses and the afterbirth, to relieve pain and to deal with a wandering womb. Evidence of the use of fumigation stools and pessaries are found in a number of sources including a fifteenth-century Dutch translation of the *Trotula*.³⁹⁰ The ingredients specified in MSS Kassel and Lille 863 alter the remedy by omitting the ginger which is replaced with lily leaves. Similar instructions for a fumigation are found later in the manuscript on fol. 175' although there the only ingredient called for is

³⁸⁸ *ENCOR[E]* is written in the margin.

³⁸⁹ Centonica (sea wormwood) missing from list - possibly because it was seen to duplicate the action of wormwood if eurosue is wormwood (*artemisa vulgaris*). 'Give to her at the time of her flowers' is an addition. 'Strain through a cloth and let her drink it with the juice of fumitory', is omitted.

³⁹⁰ Green, *The Trotula*, 31-34.

encens and it is given to stop excessive menstruation. The comment that using this remedy results in the woman having 'enough menses to please her' is an addition which is found elsewhere in this manuscript. In the *Trotula* this remedy is followed by a warning that if a woman uses this remedy often she 'should anoint her vagina inside with cold unguents lest she become too overheated', advice which is missing in MSS Kassel and Lille 863.

*Et quant la femme a trop de ses fleurs sy avient de ce que la
femme a les vaines del matris trop ouvertes et ce est quant ly
sans est rouges [fol. 18r] et clers A le fois avient par ce que la
femme a trop cueillir de sang. [¶29 part]*

*le Remede prenez rachine de plaintaing et jumbarde broye et
desstempre de vin rouge e ce boire sy li sera les vaines reclore.
[¶36and ¶37]*

Attention is drawn to the above remedy as it is annotated in the margin with 'As Flours'. Important and radical changes have taken place here. The remedy as it appears in the *Trotula* states 'let the juice of plantain be inserted by means of a pessary'. However, here the use of the root is called for and conflated with the following recipe which simply suggested that the 'juice of houseleek is good drunk in white wine'. (MS Kassel gives *jumbarde* the local dialect word for *joubarbe* or houseleek whereas MS Lille 863 gives *rubarb*). The instructions then suggest that together these should be decocted in red wine and drunk 'until the veins close up again.' MS Lille 863 differs again at this point as it gives slightly different instructions: it retains the original

instructions for using plantain juice, rather than the root, and includes the quantity, a ladleful, which should be drunk in red wine: '*une louchie dudit jus avoecq .ii. louchies de vin vermeil*'.

A la femme avient aucune fois un maladie quant le matris va trop amont de cest mal pert la femme le mengier et le corps ly reffroide et ly pouls ly affoiblir de ce que le semenche habonde en lenfermete et si est corumpue et desnatures ce ly avient souvent pour ce quelle est longuement sans compagne d'homme et avient souvent aux femmes vaines? qui sont apruises?³⁹¹ deavou compangnie charnelle. A le fois avient as pucelles puis quelles sont venues en eage de ceste semenche quant elle est desnaturee mote fumez au coer et au poulmon sy en pert la parable et souvent en vient quelle en muert.

[¶45 and ¶47]

In essence this paragraph equates to a well known story usually attributed to Galen who, in some versions of the tale, recognised that the woman was not in fact dead but merely suffering from suffocation of the womb.³⁹² Here the condition has been stripped of most of the description that detail the signs that the woman would have exhibited when suffering from this condition. It does, however, retain the usual explanation that women who are used to

³⁹¹ This appears to correspond to the reading in the *DCM* which deals with treating celibate women and widows the remedy itself is, however, from the *LSM*.

³⁹² For a history of the transmission of this anecdote see Helen King, "Galen and the widow. Towards a history of therapeutic masturbation in ancient gynaecology," *EuGeStA: Journal on Gender Studies in Antiquity* 1, 2011, 205-235. <http://eugesta.recherche.univ-lille3.fr/revue/pdf/2011/King.pdf> (accessed 15 March 2012).

'carnal commerce' and young women who have reached the age when they start to produce seed are at risk. That this condition 'often leads to death' is an addition. This is followed in the standard *Trotula* by a further explanation of the effects of retention of the semen which is omitted here.

*Le Remede oindez ly les piez et les mains dolle de belisse si lui
meche on au nez choses de fortes flairours sy comme est laine
arse ou drapez et dessoubez la doit oindre de miel et
chuenquere et boire.[¶48]*

Further confirmation that this manuscript originated in Liège is shown here in the use of the word *flairours* which also appears in a list of the ancient customs and laws of Liège.³⁹³ This remedy has been reduced to such an extent that it now specifies the use of only the simplest, inexpensive, readily available ingredients: burnt wool or linen. It omits the option of burnt leather together with any of the more expensive seemingly foul smelling resins. For example galbanum, opoponax, castoreum, or pitch, are all given as options in the *Trotula*. The rubbing of the feet and hands with laurel oil, which appears as the first treatment in the *Trotula*, is now not only given second place but also the laurel oil has been replaced with honey mixed with the unidentified oil of *belisse*. The abridgement of this paragraph is particularly noticeable not only because of the advice to use inexpensive, readily available ingredients noted above, but also the lack of any reference to the anointing of the vagina

³⁹³ *Les Lettres des Venaulx et commun proffit*, Vol. 22, no. 2 (Bulletin de la Société Liégeoise, 1891), 39, 41.

with sweetly smelling oils and odours and hot ointments, 'such as iris oil, chamomile oil, musk oil, and nard oil'. The application of cupping glasses is also missing, as is the internal and external anointing with 'oils and ointments of a good smell'. The *Trotula* also advises the use of a compound medicine, with the juice of well-known emmenagogues, 'wild celery, syrup of calamint or catmint, or with the juice of henbane' again mixed with catmint. Further costly items such as castoreum or white pepper mixed with sweet white wine are also omitted.

A le fie chiet ly maturis a val sy quelle chiet du corps par la nature de le femme ce avient par ce quelle est trop mollye et reffroidie. Chilz amoliement de chouque li femme [fol. 18v] sy est trop en lieu ou elle refroide si comme en baing et sur froide piere par chou a molist ly matris et ist de son lieu et ale fie avient parefforcement denffant [¶52] Se ly nature soit cheus mais quil ne soit du corps issus sy ly mech on au nez espues de bonnes odours.[¶53]

An endeavour to minimize the cost of the ingredients is also evident in this paragraph as again no costly aromatic substances are specified, such as the balsam, musk, ambergris, spikenard, storax. The suggested fumigation from 'below' of fetid substances has also been omitted.

*Se il est du corps issus sy prenge on dyadragant destempre on
jus deforte rue et menthe cuite en vin tant qui ne remanit que
le tiers et ce boire.[¶54]*

If the above is an analogue it has changed considerably. The *dyadragant* has been added to the juice of strong rue and mint whereas originally the costly ingredient *castoreum* was included along with rue and mugwort. The instructions to reduce to a third remain the same. *Dyadragant* is a compound medicine made with a base of gum dragant. In 1385-1386 Etienne Paste, *épiciier et bourgeois de Paris*, provided a number of compounded medicines, including this one, to the Duke of Bourgogne, his son Jean, the Comte de Nevers and their servants, suggesting both its widespread use and availability.³⁹⁴

*Quant ly matris est ou corps. Remede si se baigne la femme en
esue ou roses aient este quittes fleur de lys escorche de
pummes de grenate et foelles de chenne.[¶56 part]*

There is no mention of restoring the womb manually that appears in the *Trotula*. Nevertheless, the follow-up treatment which suggests bathing in water in which cold, or constrictive ingredients have been cooked, is included. Instructions for preserving large quantities of the roses required in this remedy are found in MS Sloane 2401 which, along with the widespread dissemination of instructions for making rose water suggest that these were

³⁹⁴ Delaunay Paul, "Les parties d'Etienne Paste, épiciier et bourgeois de Paris, 1386: E. Wickersheimer, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 1927," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de la pharmacie* 16, no. 60 (1928): 145.

readily available. Here an addition is made of the *fleurs de lys*, and the rind of pomegranate and astringent easily available oak leaves is retained. However, once again the list of ingredients has been drastically reduced so that the oak apples, sumac, myrtle berries, the fruit and bark of the oak, juniper nuts and lentils which all appeared in the *Trotula* have been omitted. The next remedy in the *Trotula* [¶57] is for another fumigation or steambath there attributed to Dioscorides. It specifies the use of boxwood to be followed up by a styptic diet [¶58]. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 omit these instructions but include the next remedy but add *eurosue* (*Artemisia vulgaris*?), the well-known and readily available emmenagogue, to the list of ingredients.

*Ceste medecine esprouva ypocras al le royne despaigne. Il
ponist pourre de corne de cerf foelles dolivier mire et eurosue
destempre en vin et donner ly fist a boire sy remonta en son
lieu.[¶59 part][¶54 part]*

The comment that this remedy was tested by Hippocrates on the Queen of Spain is an addition, the instructions given here are a conflation of two paragraphs in the *Trotula*. The result of this is that, once again, a number of ingredients are omitted, including the reference to aromatic substances and *castoreum*.

*A la fie se remuet de son lieu sy monte amont de le femme a
quant dolour el flancq se nostre? et de la ly monde au*

*vounencq? qui si ly enfle quil ne laisse nulle rien engloutir
dont elle se refroide et ly tendent les vaynes.*[¶60]

All of the signs of diagnosis for a woman suffering from this condition are missing: the retention of the menses, the contorted limbs, difficulty of urinating, and twisting or rumbling of the belly. MSS Kassel and Lille 863 merely state there is pain in the side and the inflammation engulfs everything, with the result that she becomes cold and the veins are distended. The addition of '*et de la ly monde vouencq[ue]?*' appears to give a reading 'that anyone can see from the pain in the side that the woman is suffering from this condition'. *le Remede est boire semenches dape de fenoil carry?*³⁹⁵ *destempre de vin et de mel bien cuit et puriffye et le matris ruemra en son lieu.*[¶61]

Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 add honey to the list of ingredients and the re-assuring comment that 'the womb will return to its place'.

*Item. Prenez moulle de cherf oef dauwe viergene [fol. 19']
chire bure et fenouil tout cuit ensamble. et coule parmy un
drapel de ce oingniez la nature de la femme.*³⁹⁶[¶63]

This remedy is almost an analogue of that found in the *Trotula* with the exception of the virgin wax which is a substitution for red wax. The fenugreek and linseed are also missing. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 change the instructions to advise 'straining the resulting mixture' adding 'with this anoint the woman's vagina'. This results in the most notable alteration

³⁹⁵ Read *grec*?

³⁹⁶ Green notes that [¶62] is included which is in fact a herbal drink.

which is that once this concoction has been cooked its application was by way of a pessary whereas now it has been re-written and transformed into an ointment.

*Contre leschauffement du matris doint on prendre oille de
belisse miel et lait de femme et oindre le nature*[¶64]

Again this should be made into a pessary calling for opium poppy juice, one scruple of goose fat, four scruples each of wax and honey, an ounce of oil and the white of two eggs, and the milk of a woman. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 reduce the list of ingredients to three: oil of *belisse*, honey and the milk of a woman, and once again change the method of application from a pessary to that of a simple ointment with direct instructions to the reader that the vagina is to be anointed.

*ypocras enseigne une medicine aux duresches del matris et as
enflumptions quant il est chou moulle de cherf oint de taisson
de veel sain de geline myel et ysoppe tout ensamble destempre
de lait de femme et oindre la nature.*[¶68]

Paul is cited as the authority for the pessary in the *Trotula* which is used not only to treat hardness, swelling and inversion of the womb but also to expel any unhealthy wind from the body. MSS Kassel and Lille 863 give a drastically reduced list of ingredients, omitting the fat of a capon, a squirrel, buckhorn marrow, goose fat. They do, however, include the hyssop but omit the milk of a woman and rose oil. Once again the instructions to use the

mixture as a pessary is omitted as both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 re-write this into an ointment. The instruction to make a plaster using the same ingredients is also missing.

*Ou matris et en la nature de la femme aviennent ale fois
playes de medicines agues et a le fois de chou que ly femme a
eust enfant devant son droit terme. Le Remede est cou ly
donne a mengier viandes de froide nature sy le fachen
baignier en esue ou fenouil greche soit cuit mente et lentilles
et foelles de chesne.[¶70]*

The description of symptoms is omitted, as are the instructions for cleansing the womb and reducing the pain caused by the use of too harsh medicines or miscarriage, although the comment on the effects of drastic cleansers is retained. This raises the question of whether some cases of infertility were in fact caused by the over-enthusiastic use of corrosive treatments. Soranus, in his *Gynecology*, had warned of the dangers of using similar treatments, in the form of contraceptives, as he pointed out not only their ability to prevent conception, but also their tendency 'to destroy anything already existing'.³⁹⁷ Instructions in MSS Kassel and Lille 863 have been reduced to giving simple advice such as the use of a cold diet, to temper the unnatural heat, and bathing in water in which, once again, easily available items have been cooked. MSS Kassel and Lille 863 also omit the pessary or enema which was to be made from 'dragon's blood, or myrrh [Armenian] bole or frankincense

³⁹⁷ Temkin, *Soranus' Gynecology*, 66.

or birthwort which had been included for 'putrified veins' in this paragraph of the *Trotula*.

*Se la nature remagne a le femme pardedens sy pregne baye
aubun doefes et esue rose sy en fache emplastre et le meche
sur son nombril sy refroidera del porte.*

The prescription for simple plaster above is made of laurel, rose water and egg whites which are to be placed on the navel with the advice that 'this will cool the vagina'. This is an addition, once again calling for simple ingredients, and appears in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 Of note is the use of the phrase '*del porte*' a phrase which also occurs in the Middle English versions of the *Trotula*.

*Si comme nous dist ypocras maintes femmes ne porrent mie
pour ce que sont trop gresses et ont la bouche du nature trop
estroite que la semenche del homme ny puelt entrer maintes
ont le matris sy esconlaule? qu elles ne puellent retenir le
semenche et a le fois peust en lomme [fol. 19^v] que le
semenche a trop tenneue et pour ce ne le puelt ly matris
retenir maint homme ont le semenche de trop froide nature.*

[¶74]

This paragraph retains the phrasing that the woman's physical make-up can prevent the seed entering or, if it does succeed in entering, it cannot be retained, or that sometimes the fault lies in the man's seed. The comment that

'certain men are useless for generation' is omitted in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863.

*Qui veult savoir pour quoy [pour - expunction marks below]
ly femme ne porte se cest la coulpe delle ou le homme prengne
deux pochonnes neofs de terre et mecte en chacunune puignie
de cerfueil et de la semenche de homme en lun et de femme en
lautre sy les gardez en lieu secreit .vii. jours de long au quel yl
tendra vous trouverez semenche de vers au fons du pot et ou
case que vous nen trouverez Il est bien possible deux faire avoir
generation par medechines.[¶75]*

The instructions for this fertility test have become corrupted during its transmission as most versions suggest that it is urine not semen which is to be used for carrying out the test. This would suggest that either the author of Redaction II or a copyist did not understand the theory behind what he was writing, as on the one hand to replace the urine with semen would be possible for a man but less so for a woman, or if he was inexperienced in sexual matters perhaps he was aware of discussions that both men and women produced seed. On the whole this fertility test represents the usual bran test, which dates back to antiquity, for testing whether the man or woman is 'at fault' but with the alteration of the base ingredient to be used as here it states 'chervil'. Nevertheless, the prognosis remains the same: if there are no worms in either pot the cause of the infertility can be treated by medicines. The

instructions to put this in a 'secret place' is an addition appearing in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 which also reflects the prologue in MS Lille 863.

*La feme qui veult portez faut doit faire pourre de paille et de
choux diver deffait de fort aisil ce boire en la fin de ses fleurs.*

Attention is drawn in the margin to the above simple remedy which does not appear in the *Trotula* and calls for what would have been widely available: plantain and winter cabbage.

*Pareillement fache pourre del matris de lyevre sy en boire en
plaine lune.[¶77]*

An abridged version of ¶76. At first glance the addition of 'at full moon' perhaps suggests that the compiler saw this as a magical remedy but as other examples of lunar influences advising when women should take medicines for fertility are found in the *Metrodora* this in fact fits the pattern of the widespread use of lunaries and later almanacs. The treatise on the effects of the lunar cycle on medicines, which appears later in the manuscript (fol. 302^r) may have had an influence here, either way the use of astrological texts to aid treatment of the sick is inferred by this addition to both MSS Kassel and Lille 863.

*Item homme et femme qui voelles estre ensamble
charnellement pour engendre prenge en jun et au vespre al ale
couchier de la pourre faiche de premier pourcellet controeve*

*alaittant la tuye quant elle a pourcelle soit en boire ou en
mengier.[¶77]*

Attention is drawn to this remedy in the margin with the word '*Encore*'. This well known remedy which also appears in the *Trotula* as 'let a woman take the liver and testicles of a small pig dry them and powder them and then give them in a potion to the male or to the woman'. The changes that have taken place here result in a remedy which is to be used twice daily, once in the morning on rising and again in the evening before going to bed. The alterations suggest using the whole pig, 'the first piglet to suckle', which is to be made into a powder, this is eaten by both the man and the woman, the result is, of course, a complete change in emphasis. This change could be attributed to a lack of ingredients, however, the estate records of the Countess of Artois, for expenses incurred by the *l'hôpital d'Hesdin*, do reveal a payment for castrating small pigs,³⁹⁸ this practice could have provided a regular supply of this ingredient. The stipulation that this is 'for a man and woman wishing to be together carnally to engender' is also an addition which appears in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863.

*Constantinus conte en son livre que les filles qui ont petites
les natures et les matris estroites ne debueroient assamblar
aux hommes pour ce quelles no portassens car elles seroient
en grant peril de mour [fol. 20'] Mais pour ce que les pluseurs*

³⁹⁸ Jules-Marie Richard, "Thierry d'Hireçon, agriculteur artésien (12..-1328) (suite et fin)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 53, no. 1 (1892), 576.

*sont de tel nature que elles ne puellent estre sans compagne
d'homme sont ordonnez les physiciens pour les garder de
porter et engendrer par medechines pour evitez la mort des
creatures.[¶83]*

The notable differences here are: the authority is given as Constantinus not Galen as it is in the *Trotula*, and the addition 'to avoid the death of creatures'. This latter comment points to a widespread awareness of the threat not only to a young woman³⁹⁹ of becoming pregnant before she was physically capable⁴⁰⁰ but also a moral awareness that if it should occur, the result would be the threat to the life of one of God's created beings '*les creatures*'.

*Ou matris de la chievre que oncques not chevreel ou troeve
aucune fois une pierre femme que la porte sur son dextre
flancq ne puelit concepvoir tant quelle le porte.[¶84/¶85]*

The *Trotula* includes this contraceptive in the form of instructions to 'carry next to her nude flesh the womb of a goat that has never had offspring'. The next remedy would normally suggest as an alternative that the woman could carry 'gagates' (i.e. jet). However these contraceptives are given together in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 with a slightly confused reading.

³⁹⁹ A few royal wives and daughters, whose age at marriage is known, did marry later as it appears to have been Edward I's deliberate policy, encouraged by his wife and mother, both of whom were married near the minimum age, not to let his daughters go to their husbands until they were at least age fourteen and preferably older. For example see F.H. Stoertz, "Young Women in France and England 1030-1300," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (2001): 22-46.

⁴⁰⁰ Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy*, 40-54.

*La femme qui trop est grever de porter meche en lauriere fais
tant de grains dollive comme elle veult laissez le portez et
selle le veult laissez toujours sy en meche asses et ce
esprouva la royne Aelis. [¶87]*

Here there is not only the addition of 'la royne Aelis' but also a change in the ingredient specified from the usual caper spurge or barley to *dollive* [olives?].

*Se comme nous dist galyens ly enfes est a loyez a la mere
comme ly fruis a larbre ly fruis est a premiers termes si chiet
legerement et par un adjournement et par aultre et comme est
plus sur larbre plus est formes mais quant il est meurs sy chiet
sans a touchement ainsi est il del enfans. Quant ly matris
recheu la semenche a dont est elle chiet legierement del matris
et comme elle est plus dure plus est forme de chi a dont que le
enfes est parfourmes pour ce se doibt la femme garder de
querir et de grant travail avoir tant comme ly enfes est
nouveaux et ossy quant il est meurs Yprocras dist pour se
mestier despurgier a la femme qui porte enfant par saynie et
par puison [mais - expunction marks] on ne ly doit souffrir
faire jusques a tant que elle ait porte lenfant .iii. mois ne
depuis plus jusques a tant quelle ait porter .vii. mois. [¶88]
Quant la femme ne se peult delivrer de son enfant on la sache
baignier en esue⁴⁰¹ ou malves soiet cuittez semenche de lin et*

⁴⁰¹ read *eue* ?- water

*feneul greich. [¶91] Item ou prenge pourre de mens rue forte
tanesie et laye cuitte en oille dolive et cire virge sy ly soit liye
en manere demplastre sur les [r]aynes.*

Again a change of ingredients has taken place in both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 as the *Trotula* gives 'rue, mugwort, oppoponax, and wormwood mixed with oil and a little sugar to be placed on the pubic area or the navel'. [¶101] Here the recipe reads, mint, strong rue, tansy and milk cooked in olive oil with virgin wax with the resulting concoction made in the manner of a plaster, however, instead of placing it on the pubic area or the navel the preferred site of treatment is the kidney area.

*Quant ly arreseres⁴⁰² remani apres ce que ly enfes est nez fault
querir et aoir medecine parqoy enviengne. Ceste medicine
ensengne helaine la mere constantini qui lesprouvia. On doit
faire bien esternuer la femme et povre est estendre son nez et
se bouche sy que ly efforcement en voist enbas [¶104] et faire
on lessive de froide esue et de froide cendre sy mesle on
ensemble semence de mauves et ly donnon a boire.[¶105]*

The equivalent statement in the *Trotula* simply states 'If the afterbirth remains inside haste must be made to eject it'. Both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 attribute the remedies to Helen the mother of Constantine that have already been discussed above. The second remedy which uses a lye made of cold water and ashes varies slightly as both MSS Kassel and Lille 863 do not

⁴⁰² The *secundines* i.e. afterbirth.

specify which wood the ashes should be made from whereas the *Trotula* does, and adds 'it will make her vomit'. If used the effects would be immediately evident as lye is extremely caustic. The warning that this would provoke vomiting is missing from both MSS Kassel and Lille 863.

*Ypocras dit que la femme qui porte enfant malle rougist
souvent⁴⁰³ et a la dextre mamelle plus grosse que lautre. [¶114]
Autre tresche trois gouttes de lait en esue fresce sil flotte cest
une fille et sil va au fons de lesue cest un filz.⁴⁰⁴[¶113]*

MS Lille 863

General description of the manuscript; transcription of the prologue on generation including translation of the text given in the footnotes and discussion

This manuscript is a small, easily transportable, pocket-size manuscript book, written on paper, measuring 250mm x 140mm (10" x 5½") and dates to the first half of the fifteenth century. The language used in the folios I have examined, those that give the copy of Redaction II of the *LSM* and a number of supplemental folios that contain a collection of recipes and remedies, reveals that the copyist and compiler was literate in the vernacular of his dialectical region, Picardy, as well as Latin. Evidence of this is provided not only by the orthography, written in a current humanistic hand, but also in the

⁴⁰³ Std. *Trotula* gives 'well coloured' as opposed to reddens often i.e. blushes often.

⁴⁰⁴ Std. *Trotula* suggests blood or milk from the right side of the woman who is carrying the child.

plant names used. This suggests that the sources he used were from the same region, as in MS Kassel, and that he had either adapted his source texts or that he had an alternative, almost identical, source text. More specific references, for example the use of *saillee nostre*, for sage, that is found more than once in this manuscript, would suggest the Picard region.⁴⁰⁵ Additional recipes have been added in a second hand on fol. 126^r and although similar, the formation of the 'd's and 'r's do differ. The second hand corresponds to the hand in which the only reference to the owner, Bauduin Cauwet, is recorded (fol. 2^r). This is, of course, based on the assumption that Bauduin himself wrote the lines which offer wine to 'whomsoever returns the manuscript to him in the event of its loss', whereas, of course, someone else may have written these lines on his behalf and perhaps even a woman. The further collection of loose folios at the end of the manuscript, a miscellany of recipes and scraps of prescriptions, also suggests that this was owned by someone who made use of it. Latin texts are also included, among which the most extensive is a plague treatise on fols. 132-152, together with a shorter plague text and a *Flores Medicine*. This incipit suggests that this is a copy of the versed *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*. Other texts in Latin include pseudo-Macer's herbals, although these are either summaries or give chapter headings only. A number of common Latin marginal annotations have been used to draw attention to recipes for treatments in the vernacular texts for example *Notate* or *No[ta] B[e]n[e]*, on fol. 132^r against simple remedies for

⁴⁰⁵ Gabriel Antoine Joseph Hécart, *Dictionnaire rouchi-français*, 3rd ed. (Valenciennes, 1834), 142.

headache and inflammation. Decoration is limited with some attention given to underlining as in the treatise on Generation transcribed below.

[fol. 122v] *Dieu nostres sires quant il eut le monde cree de terre fist home. Et nustre en lui esprit de vie et le fist regnable creature. Puis li donna signorrie de toutes terrienes choses. Si li comanda croistre et monteplier.⁴⁰⁶*

Et quant del home qui est de plus caude nature. et de plus seche isteroit le semenche. la femme qui est de plus froide et de plus moiste. et de plus molle⁴⁰⁷ le deteneroit. Et au [fomenchement?] meisme mesle la femme de la soie semence. aver celi de home. Et par la temprement de caut et de froit. de seche et de moiste est li germes aleuez. Et croist li enfes et est soutiennes el ventre sa mere. Ices .iiii. choses faut sont necessaires as arbres. et as herbes et as bles.⁴⁰⁸ Li maistre dirent qu li semence del homme est dedens le cors de la femme samblables a lait. vi. iours. Et .ix. iours apres les .vi. devant dis est li germes samblables a sang. Et puis sa samble cis sans et transmiie Et par .xv. iours se forme. Et ensi a pris femme dedans le terme de .xlii. iours. et de ceste matere fait vus maistre .i. livre aussi que se vus clers li fare les

⁴⁰⁶ This important phrase is missing in MS Kassel.

⁴⁰⁷ Follows Aristotle's description.

⁴⁰⁸ Adds that heat, dryness, cold and moist is necessary for all seed including trees, herbs (plants) and wheat.

questions. Et il li die les solutions et ce fait il pour mieus entendre son livre.⁴⁰⁹ Chi commence li disciples et fait se demande en tele maniere.⁴¹⁰

Comme la femme soit naturellement froide et moiste comment est ce que elle est plus esboulans en le crere que li hom qui est naturellement caus.⁴¹¹ Et respont li maistres. Li feus est plus avoecq et plus tardius a alumer de verde legne que de seche. Et nepourquant⁴¹² quant on a tant laboure qu en la alume il ait plus longuement et rent plus grant cauire. que la seche legne.⁴¹³ Li cauire de nature quant ell est esprise en la femme ait plus fort et dure plus longement. que en lomme.⁴¹⁴ Car li marris [fol.123^r] qui rechoit la semence est froide. Et la semence del homme est caude et moiste. Si sefroist pour le cauire de la semence. Et par ce est doubles li deduis de la femme. Car elle a deduit en sa propre semence et deduit en la rechoire de la semence del homme. Et li homs si na deduit fors en la soie propre semence.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁹ The masters say that the seed of man which is a woman's body appears like milk for six days. And ten days after the six (sixteen days) the seed resembles blood. And then ? and in fifteen days forms itself. And thus a woman within a third of the forty-two days and of this matter a master made for you a book so that you clerks can ask the questions. And there he gives the solutions so that you can better understand his book.

⁴¹⁰ Here begins what the disciples had asked and wondered about in such a manner.

⁴¹¹ As the woman is naturally cold and moist how is it that she is quicker to [heat up] as one believes it? than a man who is naturally hot.

⁴¹² The formation of the word is unclear in the ms. I have used the modern French equivalent that fits the sense.

⁴¹³ And the masters replied. Fires are more [effective] with and slower to light with green wood than with dry. And nevertheless when one has laboured much that it does light it has longer to to give out heat and is hotter.

⁴¹⁴ The hot nature when it is taken in a woman is hotter and lasts longer than in a man.

⁴¹⁵ Because the womb which receives the seed is cold. And the seed of the man is hot and moist it (the womb?) cools itself for the heat of the seed. And because of this the woman's pleasure is doubled. Because she has pleasure in her own seed and pleasure in receiving that of the man's. And men only have pleasure from their own seed.

Li disciples demande Comme il come nie ? a ceste oeuvre calour et moistour
 Enfance est caude et si est moiste. pour quoi ne le font li enfant. Li maistre.
respont. Li cours de la semence ne li respas ne sont mie encore aouviert. Se
 les vaines a che formees naturellement ne sont mie asses engrossies. ne parfait
 volenters de nature nest mie encore formee en lor cauire.

Li disciples dist ensi Comment est che que les foles femmes qui souvent ceste
 oeuvre naturele conchoement se mult peit non. Li maistres respont. Il
 comment que li atempraure de lune et de lautre femme ce tant de lun come de
 lautre ne plus ne mains ne plus caut ne plus froit en un une heure meisme
 viengner ensamble. et sentre contrecient. Et sil nest eut conceveuiens ne puet
 estre. Les foles femmes⁴¹⁶ qui a ce se mettent ni ont nul deduit. dont ni
 mettre elles point de semence. Car la semence si vent deduit. Et ce est la
 raisons pour quoi elles ne concevoient point.⁴¹⁷

As in the version found in MS Kassel, the *LSM* in MS Lille 863 also begins with the simple description of how God, after he had made the world, made man and placed him lord over all earthly things. MS Lille 863 however retains the original prologue's addition that God then commanded man to 'increase and multiply'. The overall tone acknowledges the close connection

⁴¹⁶ See discussion for *les foles femmes*.

⁴¹⁷ The students questioned thus. How is it that *foles femmes* who often carry out this natural act conceive so little. The masters replied. They comment that the temperament of one and another woman is such that the one and the other is no less nor more hot nor more cold at one time even when coming together and?. And so thus have never conceived and can never. The *foles femmes* who undertake these acts have no pleasure, therefore they do not emit any seed. Because seed comes from pleasure. And that is the reason why they never conceive.

that man has with nature and the same temperaments which are needed for man to procreate are also needed for trees, herbs and wheat. The tone then changes and adopts a more learned style, however, despite the learned tone, the knowledge it imparts is extremely limited and as the copyist launches into what appears to be for him the difficult question on generation the text becomes less sure and confused. This confusion is confirmed as he finishes abruptly his exposition on the development of the embryo and resorts to using a book which he explains has been written specifically to teach '*vus clers*': a book which he says gives the answers to the questions that they have theoretically raised. The source of much of the writing on generation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is Avicenna's *de Animalibus* and although the version found in MS Lille 863 is close to that of the *de Animalibus* in pseudo-Albertus Magnus's work it is not identical.⁴¹⁸ In answer to one of the questions 'why if women are cold and moist their heat lasts longer', the author gives the well-known analogy of what happens when trying to light a fire with green wood in that although it takes longer to light it burns hotter and longer. Although this also appears in *pseudo-Albertus* the source of this *exemplum* may be another well disseminated work composed by Guillaume de Conches (d. c.1080.) the *Dragmaticon*. This work on natural philosophy was also devised as a dialogue between a philosopher and his pupil in this case

Guillaume de Conches' pupil was William Duke of Normandy.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Lemay, *Women's Secrets a Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's De secretis mulierum with Commentaries*, 23.

⁴¹⁹ For its genesis and circulation see Joan Cadden, "Science and Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: The Natural Philosophy of William of Conches," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, no. 1 (1995): 1-24.

The question of why loose women, who often carry out this natural act do not conceive, is also explained in simple terms. Loose women such as these are also referred to in early vernacular literature. For example, their presence among the crusading army was called into question, with the result that they became implicated in the reasons for the army's failure to take Constantinople, and to avoid a repetition of the debacle, the women were sent back to Acre.⁴²⁰ To help women such as these deal with their 'loose ways' vernacular remedies are found in recipe collections with the aim to help them deal with what was clearly seen in the vernacular as their natural desires. There is, notably, no suggestion of misogyny or criticism of their actions as these remedies simply focus on why the woman felt such desires and offer cooling remedies to reduce their imbalance. In his explanation of the necessity of a woman experiencing pleasure to produce her seed the author of MS Lille 863 uses the old French term *deduit*, a term associated with courtly discourse, found also in the Middle-English gynaecological and obstetrical that is partly based on the *Trotula*.⁴²¹

Additional remedies for women's conditions in MS Kassel

As shown in the analysis above the introductory passages to a number of the texts found in MS Kassel demonstrate that this collection was designed as a working *Practica* which aimed to treat both men and woman equally. The

⁴²⁰ Catherine Hanley, *War and Combat 1150-1270: the evidence from old French literature* (Oxford: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 88.

⁴²¹ Barrett, *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing*, 28.

contents of MSS Kassel and Lille 863 are designed to provide not only treatments but also offer other practical advice including how the medicinal compounds that could have been obtained from an apothecary, such as medicinal waters and potions can be made. This practical approach is also found in MS Sloane 2401 where among the remedies instructions are found to make a compound medicine, using apothecary ingredients, that again point to domestic practice: *Prenez chez lapoticaire ce qui ensuit...; Prenez chez les apoticaire fleur de romarin .iii. onces...* (fol. 93^r.) MS Kassel includes texts that were necessary to ensure the best outcome for the treatments, while detailed descriptions of how to make medicinal waters and even the manufacture of stills provide evidence of use of these texts. Throughout MS Kassel there are a number of recipes and remedies that also offer aid to deal with women's conditions, underlining the overall aim to help women overcome illness. It is evident that the *Trotula* in all of its versions proved to be a popular text which may have found its way into many manuscripts by its reputation and widespread renown. As I have demonstrated above, however, the transmission process that led to Redaction II of *LSM* did in fact reduce it to a collection of recipes and remedies that were ultimately very similar to those found in other recipe collections. More striking in these two copies of the *LSM* however, is that the re-writing process has led to a change in the original treatments so that intriguingly all reference to the use of pessaries has been lost. Nevertheless they are found in another recipe collection in MS

Kassel, which is transcribed below, a number of which are addressed directly to a female reader.

Other remedies for women's conditions are found scattered throughout MS Kassel and I now give below a transcription of part of the disordered *Receptaire* found on fols. 166^v-176^v. This recipe collection follows directly from Jacques Despars' *régime* for the plague on fols 165^r-166^v. Although the remedies do not follow the usual *capite ad calcem* order they have been neatly set out on the page and as each remedy is given its own separate line they are quite easily consulted. All of these are intended to treat excessive menstruation and include a fumigation using incense. They are written in a simple style and language which evokes the format of domestic remedies. Simple instructions include the use of beaten egg whites as a base for plasters, while measurements are often given in the quantity of handfuls. Herbs are to be boiled in good, clear water and include the instructions for blending a red compound powder to restrain excessive menstruation. Evidence that goat's milk was an easily available ingredient is suggested in a remedy which calls for warm goat's milk that has come directly from the animal.

¶fol. 174^v *Item. pour restraindre fleurs des femmes. Prenez .ii. ou .iii. aubuns doefs et les bates moult bien, se mesles de le pourre restraintsive qui estes faites de bol armeni et de sang de dragon e de pierre sanghuie et mesles tres bien tout en samble.*

*Et puis estendres sur ung drap lingne a manere demplastre et
ly mettre contre son ventre et o tant contre ses rains en bas et
soient la lessies on jour ou dues et puis encores renouvez.*

The above remedy suggests that there was a well-known powder with restraining properties for which the ingredients specified here are to be used as a plaster, and then in the following remedy as a decoction to be drunk.

*¶Item. prenez dues bonnes poingnies de plantain vert et
autant del herbe qui porte les bourses, et des consoudiez et
une poingnie descorsche [fol. 175^r] de quesnes [read chesne =
oak] et une poignie de ly hueil? et tout che estampes ung peu
et le bouilles en bielle yauwe, ¶ Et ung peu de la rouge pourre
de susdicte, et le bouilles tant que ung lot dyawe Il ny ait que
trois pintes et le lessiez refroidiez. Et puis chescun matin au
mydy et au viespre len donne a boire seulement de lyauwe le
quart ou le tierch dune coupette et ung peu cault.*

*¶oussy ly poes donner a boire ung peu de pourre denchons
(i.e. encens) avoecq de vin vermeil au viespre et au matin*

*¶Et faictes luy fume dudit enchens nus par de sous elle en
breses caudes, Et se ly donne aucun matin a boire du let du
chievre cault venant de le bieste.*

*¶Item. ly sont bonnes poree de blanches orties, de plantain, et
de consaudieres. Et ny mettres que cramime? donche au
cuyre, en ou lieu de cure sans nul aultre crasse.*

¶Item. prendes de le sauchinee et de lerbe qui porte les bourses et le loyon de sous le plante de pies et soient la nuyt et jour [fol. 175^v]

¶Pour mal de cuer [...]

¶Pour restraindre les fleurs blanches

¶Prenez des fleurs de margherites des plus vermeilles et les menjies au matin et au viespres. Et boire yauwe de plantain.⁴²²

¶Item. Prenge de ses cheneus [conchenu = fumitory?] che quelle en peut avoir et le foille avoecq du vin mermel et ung peu de pourre de sang de dragonet quant il est restraint a moitie donnes ont a boire une bone louchie chescun matin et au viespre au couchiez. Et lyes a la feme de ses cheveus autour dun vert arbre quel qui soit. Et oussy couvient passer le vin par my ung drapel quant il sera boullit.

The above group of remedies includes the widely disseminated instructions for a woman suffering from this condition to tie some of her hair to a green tree, discussed earlier, above and although some versions state that this should be a cherry tree here the choice is, once again, left open.

¶Et faites luy faire des porees de plantain de cerfueil de consaudiers.

¶Et oussy poes prendre de la surrielle verde et destemprez de vin vermeil et en boire souvent. Et en lye souvent sur ly ou

⁴²² Addressed directly to a woman. Take the flowers of daisies the reddest and eat them in the morning and evening. And drink water of plantain. cf. p. 212 for remedy repeated.

*nombril en manere demplastere et fache che souvent au
couchiez. [fol. 176']*

Item 16 on the analysis above is an extensive collection of recipes and remedies given under headings for the conditions that they are intended to treat, and these include a number for women. The collection does not have a prologue but begins with the simple heading *Pour arsure* (fol. 195^v). With the exception of the remedy for *blanches fleurs* that is almost identical to the one given earlier, these all deal with the condition of amenorrhoea and here does include a pessary.

Pour me[n]struis?

¶ *Pour elle qui ne poet avoyr ses fleurs prenes sauchinee, et
cacie? bibeuf et rachines de fenouil amer et tout ce broyes et
destempres de vin et lui donnes ad boyre ad ceci jeun. ¶ Ou
aultrement prenes fleur de neele et en fetes .i. petit tourtelet et
le mettes en.i. drapel si le boutes en sa nature. ¶ Ou aultre
prenguent une herbe qui a nom aristologie, et le mettez cuire
en blanc vin, et puis boyre la decoction. et cel herbe cuite lie
sur son ventre, si cauld comme elle le porra endurer, et tantost
en ara asses. ¶ Ou aultrement*⁴²³

⁴²³ Although it appears another recipe was to be added.

¶Pour garir femme de blanches fleurs. Prenes une fleur que on appelle marguerite, et [expunged] prenes des plus vermeilles sil lez menges au matin, et au vespres si garires.[fol. 211^v]⁴²⁴

Pour le mal des femmes

¶Pour tout les maladies que les femmes ont, que les homes nont point boyuent leaue ou la maue est cuite.

¶Quant elles ont trop fort lor maladies que on appelle menstruum, elles douvent boyre del oseille destempres, de vin, ou elle le lient sur le membre secret, en maniere de emplastres.

¶Aultre elles doyvent boyre del eaue de plantain ¶Aultre prenguent de la vine caulz et mettent sus del eaue froide, elle facent que le fumee entre dedens elle par bas. ¶Ou autrement prenguent poudre de blanc marbre z .i . 2 f .et le defacent de aubun de oef crus⁴²⁵ et entrent en un baing ou il ayent grand quantite de aisel.

¶Ou aultrement prenguent du piement et le cuiseten blanc vin, et boyuent ce vin cauls, et mengier celle herbe, et allez estancheient. ¶Et que cuiyent le dit piement en .i. raton⁴²⁶ de oeufs et le mengeieynt la widengue de menstruum cesseidyenteu boive auw de plantaigne

⁴²⁴ This remedy also appears in the earlier collection.

⁴²⁵ The instructions of what to do with the mixture of marble dust and raw egg whites is missing.

⁴²⁶ This appears in the *Rouchi-Francais* dictionary as a type of pancake or blini which would make sense as *piement* is probably intended for 'spice', 392. Or perhaps it is simply an omelette made with eggs.

¶Pour femme qui a perdent sa fleur eu le vel de lavoe prenes
maroue coctes en [illegible]⁴²⁷

¶Prenes la rue et le boulez en vin blanc, et co factes boyre ad
la femme et tantost en ara asses, ¶Ou aultres prenez yvoyie? et
le cuises en eaue, et li en donnes ad boyre bien po puis le
fettes? asseoyr nue sui-la fumeie si que la chaleur entre dedens
par la porte, et elle en ara tantost. ¶Une femme fu que ne pooyt
avoyr ses flers et en fu prenes de la mort, ypocras le fet
saigner de la [?] venie dessoubes le pie senestre, et elle en
eust tantost et fu garire. ¶Ou elle boyre eaue de betoyne avec
vin tieue.

There is nothing here that suggests a totally male audience. Instructions are given for a range of remedies that include instructions on how to form the pessary which the woman herself then uses, followed by instructions to take *aristologia*, another well known emmenagogue, and to make a simple decoction. Or, alternatively, again to take this cooked herb and *lie sur son ventre, si cauld comme elle le porra endurer*. This is followed by the author's re-assurance that the use of this herb will produce the desired results. Where instructions are given for excessive menstruation they are couched in terms to suggest either a male or female audience. However, the instructions following the suggestion that *oseille* should be used as either a decoction or plaster, makes it clear that it is the women themselves who are to carry out

⁴²⁷ This is an addition the last few words are clear but illegible.

the treatment: *ou elle le lient sur le membre secret, en maniere de emplastres.*

The instructions to take *piement*, which should be cooked in white wine and drunk hot, is followed by a suggestion that this 'this herb' should also be eaten for which a recipe to incorporate this into a simple local dish follows. The final group of recipes repeat a well known remedy that is also found in MS Lansdowne 380. This uses rue, a well-known emmenagogue, followed by a simple fumigation, and finishes with the usual blood letting remedy for amenorrhoea, however here this cure is attributed to *ypocras* not Galen.

This chapter has demonstrated the distinct changes that took place during the translation process in the transmission of the *LSM*. These resulted in a simplified text that follows the pattern of many of the collections of recipes and remedies often found accompanying vernacular versions. As I have already argued elsewhere it is widely accepted that these compilations, which often included herbals or miscellaneous collections of remedies and treatments, are known to have formed part of the canon of writing that women had access to and read. Their vested interest in knowing how to deal with problems of infertility has been underplayed by historians, as has their ability to act as healers and physicians in their own right. Women's practice is found across a wide range of vernacular medical texts and the fact that these texts also contain a wide range of remedies for conditions from which both men and women could suffer, for example gout, headaches, urinary problems and other complaints has been overlooked. A woman's role in healthcare is reflected in the manuscripts examined here. They could both read about their

conditions, and could have applied treatments to themselves, or other women, as the remedies in these manuscripts suggest. The re-writings of Redaction II of the *LSM* as evidenced by MSS Kassel and Lille 863 point to a conscious effort to adapt this text to the ingredients that were easily available and which complemented existing practice in the locality in which these manuscripts were written.

The next chapter turns to examine one author's unusual version of the *Trotula* found in a fifteenth-century manuscript, MS London, British Library MS Lansdowne 380.

Chapter 6

Counsel, caution and courts

The last chapter examined the two known copies of a modified version of the *Quant dex nostre Seignor*,⁴²⁸ found in MS Kassel and MS Lille 863 and I mapped the changes which had taken place as a result of the interaction between this version of the *Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum* and other vernacular texts. I demonstrated that a woman's role in healthcare is reflected in the manuscripts, as women were addressed and expected to apply and use the treatments themselves, as the remedies in these manuscripts suggest. Evidence for women practising medicine as a profession is scarce, but as noted elsewhere by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there is evidence that women owned manuscripts, or printed works, which also combined medicine with astrology, and divination, all of which point to women playing a role in healthcare. A number of historians, using statistical, archival, anthropological and sociological sources have identified a further one hundred women were undertaking some form of medical practice in this during 1550-1650,⁴²⁹ whether as midwives, gentlewomen practitioners, housewives, herbwomen, witches or empirics. A recent discovery may also indicate that another female medical practitioner, Catherine Tollemache, (née Cromwell) (1564-1621) was a book collector in her own right, while a search

⁴²⁸ Redaction II of French prose version of Conditions of Women (*Liber de Sinthomatibus Mulierum: LSM*).

⁴²⁹ Rebecca Laroche, *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650* (Ashgate, 2009).

for her ownership marks in other books may also show us the ways in which she was a consumer with particular interests, as two of three inscribed texts were 'Books of Secrets'.⁴³⁰ The fact remains, therefore, that a variety of healthcare options were available for medical treatment outside of the learned medical elite, who are so visible in the written record,⁴³¹ but who are known to have constituted a relatively minor number among the total of a wide range of health care options.

Other historians note that many of the compilers of the written sources of medicine recognise the debt owed to women for the knowledge these sources contain.

*Du XIIIe au XVe siècle, elle [La Vetula] personnifie les savoirs que les médecins universitaires marginalisent, celui des 'illitterati, simplices, rustici, stolidi'. La 'Vetula' possède un savoir véritable, notamment en obstétrique, en puériculture, en phytothérapie, mais ce savoir échappe au bipôle galénique ratio-experientia.*⁴³²

Many feminist writers have argued, that the exclusion of women from medical practice was the inevitable result of controls on medical education licensing laws, but this argument has relied on a universal history of male

⁴³⁰ Rebecca Laroche, "Catherine Tollemache's Library," *Notes and Queries* 53, no. 2 (June 1, 2006): 157-158.

⁴³¹ For an overview documenting the problems of identifying women in medical practice see Green, "Documenting Medieval Women's Medical Practice," 322-352.

⁴³² Robert Halleux and Carmélia Opsomer, "L'insaisissable médecine populaire," in *La transmission des savoirs au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: Du XIIe au XVe*, vol. 1 (Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2005), 347.

professionals culminating, in England, with the foundation of professional bodies in the first part of the sixteenth century.⁴³³ The most recent extensive study of the marginalisation of women from medical practice has similarly argued that women's texts, such as the vernacular *Trotula* were appropriated by men soon after its translation, and that this happened despite it being written in the vernacular, a 'language women understand'.⁴³⁴ However, Green has also suggested that by the later medieval period there are indications that the version of the text originally addressed to women, the *Quant Dex nostre Seignor*, does appear to 'render it once again available to women'. This drastically reduced copy is found in a fifteenth-century version in MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380⁴³⁵ (Illus. 30 and 31). A close examination of MS Lansdowne 380 reveals that although it does contain the first four paragraphs, essentially the prologue, the bulk of the material is, in fact, made up from the relevant chapter on sexual relations taken from Aldobrandino de Siena's *Livre de physicke*. A small collection of plague remedies and recipes for a number of miscellaneous conditions are included together with a simple treatise on the art of blood letting. It is notable that this manuscript does, again, contain a number of references that underline the importance of women's knowledge and agency in medicine for maintaining their own menstrual health.

⁴³³ In England: the foundation of the College of Physicians (1518), the merging of the Barber's Company with the relatively few elite practitioners of surgery in 1540, and the splitting off of the apothecaries from the Grocer's Company in 1617, all areas of research that have a long established history.

⁴³⁴ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 163-203.

⁴³⁵ Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 173.

It is exactly at the transition of the later medieval into the Early Modern period that an increase in the written evidence for women practising medicine occurs. This raises a number of important questions. Where were their counterparts, the women who had continued to practise medicine on a non-professional basis before this, and what were these earlier women reading that allowed them to pass on their own acquired knowledge to their daughters or other female members of their kin group? Finally it is questionable that historians should, on the evidence of ownership marks in early manuscripts, substantiate the claim that women did not themselves have access to these manuscripts written in the vernacular, a language which they have been shown to have certainly understood?

The continual problem of defining who used, or had access to these early manuscripts is one that I address in the final chapter 'Manuscript Owners social context and family connections'. For now I pick up again on the idea that the women of this earlier period, epitomised by the apocryphal *Helayn le mere constantin*, the documented *Vetula* and the women of Salerno, were widely known to be wise and also thought to be devious in the knowledge they held *of the virtues of herbs and plants*. Firstly I return to the physician Jacques Despars, whose plague tract is found in MS Kassel and who is known to have written the *consilia* included in MS Lille 863. The inclusion of this particular text in this manuscript offers clues to its ownership which is discussed in chapter 7. I briefly examine Despars' writings to discover whether they also reflect women's practice and

involvement in the practice of healthcare and fertility. I then turn to examining the late fifteenth-century manuscript, MS Lansdowne 380 where I describe the manuscript's overall contents and after that move on to analyse its medical texts in detail. These include the much reduced *LSM* in what Monica Green has designated the third redaction and has been described as a 'manual of sexual relations'.⁴³⁶ Finally I examine how the advice and warnings in MS Lansdowne 380 reveal how women were known to practise medicine. This evidence is then tested against further data contained in records of legal proceedings. For the latter evidence I am indebted to one of the most extensive surveys of legal proceedings carried out by Wolfgang Müller.⁴³⁷

Jacques Despars, plague and women

Jacques Despars' plague tract found in MS Kassel (fol.165'-166^v) begins with the heading *Contre pestilence* to which has been added *Pour se garder ... le conseil maistre Jacques des pars* (fol.165'). This simple regime offers a range of advice including a dietary regime which counsels strictly avoiding eating anything that would make the subject over-heat and sweat, among which the following is found:

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 173 n.22.

⁴³⁷ Wolfgang P. Müller, *Die Abtreibung Anfänge der Kriminalisierung 1140-1650* (Köln: Böhlau, 2000).

*Sal, salures fort, espices, fortes saulses aux oignons, pouriaus,
moustarde, fors vins, clare, ypocras,⁴³⁸ estuves, bains et toutes
travail du corps et courus (fol. 165^v).*

The advice continues with instructions that all raw fruit should be avoided, all milk products, and doves and fish which are 'not at all fresh'. Further advice is given that corroborates Boccaccio's testimony of people's response to the threat of plague as they chose either to shut themselves away from contact with others or behave as though no threat existed. The instructions not to bring anything into the house that had belonged to the sick for fear of contamination, given by Jacques Despars, also echoes Boccaccio's tale of the beggar's rags and the pigs.⁴³⁹

*Item on se doit garder de conversez avec malades et de
repaier en lieu ou il a eu des infects et de recevoir en son
hostel leur lis, les vestures ou couvretures (fol. 165^v).*

Despars also specifies what foods his patients should eat. He is keen to stress the importance of hygiene, a practice which he strongly believed was fundamental to preventing contagion. His advice also suggested washing not only hands, but also the mouth and nostrils with *bon vin aigre ou boer le double dyaue rose ou de fontaine* (fol. 166^v). The widespread value and use of rose water in medical practice has been discussed elsewhere. After listing the items which should be avoided and the precautions to take, he then turns

⁴³⁸ A detailed recipe for making a large quantity of the stimulant and aphrodisiac *ypocras* is found in MS Lansdowne 380.

⁴³⁹ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 27.

again to what should be eaten, what medicines to take, and at what time of the day. One of these he suggests should be taken in '*blanc vin or claret comme en prent poudre de duc*'. This latter item is perhaps a reference to the similar red powder which had been made up by the Parisian apothecary Pierre Paste for the Duc de Bourgogne and members of his household including the servants. There is no indication in this plague text that Jacques Despars' advice for men and women, although of different humoral qualities, should differ. He does warn, however, in his final instructions that not only pregnant women but also children under fourteen should not be bled at a time when the plague was a threat. Nor should they take the recommended purgative that he prescribes in the form of pills.

*Le regime dessous est bon contre pestilence pour toutes
personnes excepte que ne doit point saignier femmes grosses
ne enfans de soubz .xiiii. ne donner pillules communes...*
(fol. 167).

As discussed in the previous chapter, MS Kassel contains a number of plague treatises, including one which was drawn up in Paris in the middle of the fourteenth century. A number of contemporary chronicles, including the *Anonimale Chronicle*, record how the third pestilence of 1369 in England was particularly fatal to children and, when it occurred again in 1378 in York, it was again children who were thought to have been the most susceptible.⁴⁴⁰ A sermon preached in England against the backdrop of the third pestilence,

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., 88.

warns that the death of the innocent was designed by God 'to jolt their families and friends into good behaviour'. Rosemary Horrox has pointed out that this is suggestive of the distress caused by the deaths of children.⁴⁴¹ Despars' plague tract demonstrates this continuing concern for not only children but also pregnant women, to the extent that he warned that children were not to be exposed to the danger of the very treatments intended to cure. He also gives extensive advice for caring for children often citing the practices of midwives and wet-nurses.

The effect of the plague on the birth rate has been revealed by Barbara Hanawalt's study of lower status English families. This has confirmed statistics which suggest that following a plague epidemic the overall birth rate in fact increased, a contemporary witness, Jean de Venette a Carmelite friar (d. c. 1369), records the increase in the birth rate commenting that women were 'conceiving more readily than usual',⁴⁴² and these findings are in line with demographic studies that reveal similar patterns.⁴⁴³ This increase also coincides with the reduction in the number of cases of prosecutions for abortion recorded in England after 1348, although Müller has suggested that this reduction is partly attributable to the composition of jurors consisting of neighbours, families and friends, who were probably less inclined to punish

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 57.

⁴⁴³ Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Childrearing among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 1 (1977): 5.

other people in their own community.⁴⁴⁴ Müller has also noted that a different picture emerges for the continent, where, as is shown below, the fear of punishment for the crime of abortion was very real. Like many other physicians, Despars advocated moderation in all things, believing that too much good living was leading to a reduction in fecundity among the wealthy and his writing reveals tensions between him and the women of the region in which he was born. These tensions reveal one of the roles that women could play in day-to-day healthcare and in fertility and emphasises, once again, the connection between diet, healthcare and domestic duties.

*Verum in Galliis et his patriis bassis quorum incole sunt, ut plurimum, voraces non est consuetum dieta tam tenui uti. Et si dietam hanc injungerent medici, clamor mulierum ac garrulositas quarum studium est farcire ventres maritorum suorum abundanti cibo, forte ut foveant potentiam veneris, diffamarent eos.*⁴⁴⁵

Despars also cited the leisure activities that noblemen were accustomed to practise was also a factor in their *impuissance*, for example along with overeating, their liking for exerting themselves at tourneys and participation in violent games, was resulting in hernias and therefore a reduction in fertility.⁴⁴⁶ Danielle Jacquart has described how Despars made a particular

⁴⁴⁴ Wolfgang P. Müller, "Canon Law versus Common Law. The Case of Abortion in Late Medieval England," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. K. Pennington, et al, 9 vols., C (Vatican City: Monumenta Iuris Canonici, 2001), 929-941.

⁴⁴⁵ Jacquart, "Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps," 62.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

point to impart his personal experiences of medical care to his readers. One particular anecdote is revealing, in its seeming lack of personal knowledge of the use of fumigations for fertility. As I have shown elsewhere, these are widespread in texts which deal with the treatment of women's conditions, and yet Despars writes

*Il rapporte ainsi une habitude des femmes du royaume de Navarre qui se livrent à des fumigations aromatiques avant de s'unir à leurs maris, peut-être explique-t-il, pour favoriser la conception.*⁴⁴⁷

It is surprising that a physician concerned with the lack of fecundity of his patients would have been unaware of treatments widely recorded as being used for promoting menstruation and, therefore, conception.

One area of research has revealed that, apart from one widely recognised cause of infertility, malnutrition, another factor played a role in the drop in the birth rate in this period. This widespread additional factor has been pointed out by one historian as '*Jamais une civilisation n'avait accordé autant de poids – et de prix – à la culpabilité et à la honte que ne l'a fait l'occident des XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles*'.⁴⁴⁸ Despars also comments on this pervasive climate of fear and despair, which he believed was linked to cases of melancholia, and in some severe cases, resulted in suicide. His writings reveal that it was the pessimism of the time that led to this epidemic of

⁴⁴⁷ Danielle Jacquart, "Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps," 44.

⁴⁴⁸ J. Delumeau, *La peur en Occident XIV^e - XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1978), 10.

melancholia. Intriguingly, he also claims that, despite their university training, physicians were not, in his view, given the '*le place qu'ils méritent*' for if they were '*les esprits s'en trouveraient en meilleure santé*'.⁴⁴⁹ This remark hints at the existence of alternative sources of healthcare that were still being sought and made available, and suggests the existence of viable competition in the medical marketplace. Despars also considered that achieving pleasure, rather than procreation, was the aim of many couples to the point where he concluded that this activity was, indeed, as widespread as the *peste* and, was one from which no social level escaped.⁴⁵⁰

MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380

Description and contents

MS Lansdowne 380 dates to the second half of the fifteenth or early sixteenth-century. It was written by a professional scribe, perhaps a notary or clerk proficient in at least two scripts Gothic *bâtarde* bookhand and *cursiva currens*.⁴⁵¹ (Illus. 30 and 31) dating of this manuscript is unclear. In the most recent description for this manuscript, which I have used here, the criteria are given of this earlier dating which could have been as early as the second half of the fifteenth century (perhaps as early as 1460), which would agree with

⁴⁴⁹ Jacquart, "Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps," 60.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁵¹ Much of the general description is taken from Kathleen Sewright's excellent 'Introduction to MS Lansdowne 380'. I have added additional comments for clarification and used photocopies of the relevant folios of the manuscript's medical texts in my detailed analysis of its contents. All transcriptions and translations are my own. Kathleen Sewright, "An Introduction to British Library MS Lansdowne 380," *Notes* 65, no. 4 (2009): 633-736.

the style of MS Sion-Sitton S103 (Ilus. 32 and 33), or perhaps the first part of the sixteenth century even though the evidence of the appearance of other related texts suggests that it was completed c. 1485-90. Its country of origin is also unclear as while earlier commentators suggest London, another believes that it was written in France but for lay use in England. Until now the compilation has been particularly well known for its collection of poetry written by the Duc d'Orleans (1394-1465) during his twenty-five years of captivity in England following the battle of Agincourt. This codex is a mixture of Latin and French liturgical, moralistic and didactic texts, medical texts including a number of domestic recipes, courtesy texts, pseudo-historical poems, astrological texts linked to health and generation, and courtly poems. These include sixty well-known fifteenth-century French secular chanson texts. The chanson texts, most of which were set to music, are believed to reflect musical activity at the court of either Antoine or Jean de Croy, vassal of the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon also well known for his interest and patronage of medical practice.⁴⁵²

Sous son règne, la médecine, et avec elle son cortège de métiers apparentés, subit d'importantes modifications. En effet, le XVe siècle fut aussi dans le domaine médical un lien entre le moyen âge et les temps modernes, peut-être plus

⁴⁵² The Duke is also well known for his interest in medicine. A collection of remedies which derives from the prose version of the *Thesaurus pauperum* are found with the title *Recettes enseignies ay Roy Philippe le Bel*. See Claude de Tovar, "Contamination, interférences et tentatives de systématisation dans la tradition manuscrite des réceptaires médicaux français - le réceptaire de Jean Sauvage," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 3 (1973): 155-191.

*évidemment que dans n'importe quelle autre discipline. Le pivot de son évolution se situe en 1453, soit au milieu du règne de Philippe le Bon.*⁴⁵³

Apart from the substantial corpus of courtly poems and *chanson* texts in MS Lansdowne 380, a large number of texts are included, which are known to have been used to instruct children in French and Latin literacy and the Catholic faith. Its contents were designed to educate and entertain and would also have been of practical use to a young woman, Elizabeth de Kyngstone, when she became mistress of her own household. Given its close resemblance to the manuscript that contains the text known entitled '*Du fait de cuisine*', by Maître Chiquart, a manuscript discussed earlier in my note to the Image Appendix, perhaps MS Lansdowne 380 was also written and compiled by a native French speaker, while both manuscripts demonstrate the continuing close affinity which existed between medicine and dietary matters.

Beyond her name, E. Kyngstone, thought to be a former resident of Bristol or the surrounding area, nothing further is known of her or her family origins. She became the first, or second wife, of William Kyngstone, (1476-1540) courtier and body man to Henry VIII, he appears from 1509 in the account books of Henry VIII. He is believed to have been related to the barons of Berkeley of Berkeley Castle and had some connection to the third duke of

⁴⁵³ Ria Jansen-Sieben, "La médecine sous Philippe le Bon: La médecine et Philippe le Bon," *Sartorianiana* X (1997): 117.

Buckingham.⁴⁵⁴ William Kyngstone was a burgess of the Bristol staple and this position in Bristol may link him to Elizabeth's family. The manor of Painswick which he bought in 1540 had been previously under the control of members of the de Lisle, the Courtenay, the Grey, and the Plantagenet families, many of whom are descendants of the early Anglo-Norman families. Painswick was finally owned by Thomas Cromwell before he sold it to William Kyngstone.

The manuscript's style is simple, written in a single column well spaced on the page. The didactic content fits the pattern of typical reading material for women in this period. Despite its later date the moral and didactic religious texts are similar to those found in MS Beinecke 492. MS Lansdowne 380 also contains a manual of moral and courtly behaviour known as the *Doctrinal des filles*, that also points to this manuscript being compiled for use by a young woman. One of the striking differences with the *LSM* is not the fact that it has been reduced to merely the prologue, but that, although it follows the usual views of men, that women were naturally libidinous,⁴⁵⁵ the text's overall tone remains consistently courteous. It aims to re-assure the reader that sexual relations are in accordance with the rules of nature. The additional plague advice, physiognomy and blood letting treatise, point to an attempt to compile a manuscript which would have been useful

⁴⁵⁴ Little is known of E. de Kyngstone whose signature appears in the manuscript but is has been conjectured in view of the later ownership that she was the wife of Sir William,, see Kathleen Sewright, "An Introduction to British Library MS Lansdowne 380."

⁴⁵⁵ Lemay, *Women's Secrets a Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's 'De Secretis Mulierum' With Commentaries*, 42.

for any woman expected to deal with the day-to-day healthcare, of not only herself, but also her future husband and members of her household.

The medical texts

I have demonstrated in the previous chapter how the astrological and divinatory texts which travelled with the *LSM* in MS Kassel were an essential part of that codex, as they allowed the practitioner, or reader, to ensure that therapeutic treatments were carried out at the most advantageous time, while copies of physiognomies could also play a part in caring for the body. This type of text allowed practitioners to tailor their treatment to the needs of individual patients while, when it came to the question of plague, writers such as John of Burgundy believed that the two disciplines were inseparable. He strongly believed that no one should be put into the care of anyone 'who is ignorant of astrology'.⁴⁵⁶ Simple divinatory texts are also found in MS Lansdowne 380 together with a number of proverbs. One of these underlines the enduring viewpoint that diet played an essential role in the art of medicine as it offers simple dietary advice that cautions moderation: *Cena brevis vel cena levis/fit raro molesta magna nocet medicine docet*.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁶ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 185.

⁴⁵⁷ See also the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitum*. This probable, well-known *dictum* appears in at least two other fifteenth-century manuscripts MSS London, British Library, Add. 1210 and London, British Library Sloane 351. Virginia de Frutos González, Edición Crítica Regimen Sanitatis Salernitaum Transmitido Por Los Manuscritos Add. 12190 y Sloane 351 de la British Library de Londres, *Minerva*, 23 (2010): 143-195.

The first part of the medical section that begins with a heading *Nota bene medicinam contra epidimani*, on fol. 258^v gives a number of treatments and remedies for the plague, the first of these attributes the remedy to Peter of Spain.

Medicine contre lepidimie envoyee pas nostre saint pere le pape au Roy de france, laquelle est une maniere de buvraige. de quoy plusieurs gens sont mors pas deffaulte de medicine non prise a temps. Et premierement. La medicine est telle aussi tost que on sentira ceste malladie, on doit donner au pacient triacle magnagaliens, trempe avecques herbes nommees. Sapience ou avecques Bethoine, Ceste medicine destront le venin qui est dedens le corps. et garde que ledit venin ne frappe au cuer. [Catchword: La personne: fol.259'] Par se le venin frappe au cuer la personne est mort. Car lepidimie nest autre chose que venin.

This simple explanation of how the plague kills is followed by a small number of medicinal remedies. The final advice points to this writer making allowances for the young age of his reader, see p. 254, as he offers further guidance, in rhyme, for dealing with the devastation and fear that the plague is known to have evoked in this period.

Qui veult son corps en sante maintenir. Et resister contre lepidimie. doit joye avoir et tristesse fuis. Laisser le lieu ou

*est la maladie. Boyre bon vin. Nette viande user, et frequente
joyeuse compaignie. Et naler hors la maison sil ne fait beau
temps et cler pour escheuer de lair la punaisle. (fol. 259^r).*

A short *receptaire* follows, that includes treatments for jaundice, toothache and nosebleeds, followed by a recipe to make a perfect dish of jellied pork. Further recipes and treatments are given later on folios 278^v-279^v. Evidence that the reader was expected to prepare remedies from ingredients other than herbs is suggested by the detailed instructions given to treat jaundice, a well-known symptom of someone suffering from the long-term effects of malaria. The recipe in MS Lansdowne 380 starts with the *incipit* '*Pour Jaunisse*' and recommends among other ingredients the use of costly saffron together with grains of paradise. By the end of the fourteenth century, as the popularity of pepper had begun to wane, it was replaced with *meleguetta* pepper known as grains of paradise.⁴⁵⁸ Further corroboration that women were expected to provide many of the remedies and treatments written into the *receptaria* is found here as, after listing the ingredients, the reader is told that these should be made into a powder using a *mortier de lapoticaire*. Similar instructions for medicines using comparable *materia medica*, are found in MS Sloane 2401 (fol. 93^r). This manuscript owned by the Brydges family, not only a contain a copy of Aldobrandino's *Regime du corps*, but also a *receptaria* and a simple medical text attributed to Galen.

⁴⁵⁸ Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Boydell Press, 2005), 31.

The *Enseignement de Medicine* (fol. 263^r) that follows the miscellaneous recipes in MS Lansdowne 380 is easily identified as an extract from Aldobrandino's *Régime du corps*, although here it is attributed to Albert de Florence, as are a number of copies, including MS Ashburnham 1076 discussed earlier. The text follows the usual pattern of the *Régime's* chapter *D'abiter avoec femme*, albeit with minor differences. It is advice for the best time to conceive, when full digestion has taken place, it adds a reminder it should not be *pour delectacion charnelle. Mais pour esperance d'avoir enffans* (fol. 264^r). The copy of the *Régime* in MS Lansdowne 380 also omits the final *Et ki ne puet dou tout tenir ces ensegnemens*⁴⁵⁹ while retaining the simple advice that the most propitious time is when *quant on est chault que quant est froit* (fol. 264^v). An awareness of the task in hand is also demonstrated by his omission of the line of the *D'habiter* which suggests that a particularly good time is when *la feme est delivre un jour devant sa privee maladie*.⁴⁶⁰ This advice, that she is brought to bed the day before her purgation, is omitted in MS Lansdowne 380 but the writer has taken note of the sense, as immediately after the *Régime* he inserts important further advice on this theme.

*Mais ch(esc)un se garde bien qu'il ne habite et ait
Compaigne charnelle avecques sa femme, quans Il siet et
congnost que elle a sa malladie privee. Car sil engendre en*

⁴⁵⁹ Landouzy and Pépin, *Le Régime du corps*, 30.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 29.

tel temps ung enfant. Il po(ur)ra ester defforme et debilitie de ses membres, ou ester infect de lepre . ou au moins desrompu. ¶Et qua(n)t la femme a sa purgacion . elle se doit excuses doners son mary . et monstrez secretement sa deffaulte par parolles, Et sil ne sen vault deportes apres ce que sa femme lui aura dit et remonstre (f. 265r/5) sa dicte purgacion. Il fait et comect pechie mortel. et de villain reprouche si comme Il en est determine plusaplaisen la sainete esrupture. Et pour ce fais. Il bon estre atrempe et congnoistre le mal et grant inconveniens qui en peut advenir. Lequel on peut bien eviter quant on le siet et congnoist. SF (Sic Finis)

Here the advice is for both men and women: a man should not have sexual intercourse with his wife when he knows that she is menstruating as if he does the resulting child could be deformed or disabled in its members, or infected with leprosy or even worse the child could be 'pulled apart'. Green has examined the change that took place in the terminology of gynaecological literature suggesting that beginning in the 'thirteenth century [...] and gathering momentum in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a new usage emerged'.⁴⁶¹ At this point some gynaecological literature began to be called the 'Secrets of Women' which, she argues, provides evidence for a 'distinct natural-philosophical' tradition of the 'secrets of women', that became

⁴⁶¹ See "'From Diseases of Women' to 'Secrets of Women': The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000), 5-39. See also

represented in its most prominent, misogynistic, form by the thirteen-century work falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus.⁴⁶² From then on this change allowed works on generation to be seen

*as virtually interchangeable, sometimes being paired with one another, sometimes circulating in identical codicological contexts as if it didn't matter which particular text was included.*⁴⁶³

This persuasive argument leads to the conclusion that all gynaecological literature reflects the new thinking about the female body. Subsumed in this argument, the advice that the young woman reading MS Lansdowne 380 should 'show her defect to him secretly by means of words' becomes transformed into a warning addressed, directly to the man, with the sole purpose of protecting him from any contamination with a woman that could occur at the time of her menses.⁴⁶⁴ However, I want to suggest an alternative reading or approach to the text in MS Lansdowne 380 which I believe is more relevant to the overall tone of this codex, and one which is closer to one of the senses used in medieval Hebrew writings on women's medicine.⁴⁶⁵ Firstly, the use of an alternative value-free meaning for the word *secretment* sheds more light on the author's intention. This Middle-French word can also

⁴⁶² Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 205.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Green, "'Secrets of Women': The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages," 13.

⁴⁶⁵ Carmen Caballero Navas, "Secrets of Women: Naming Female Sexual Difference in Medieval Hebrew Medical Literature," *NASHIM: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* (2006): 39-56.

indicate a sense of acting 'discreetly, privately or hidden away' which I argue shifts this novel version of the *LSM* even further away from other Latinate texts such as pseudo-Albertus's misogynistic *De Secretis Mulierum* and reunites it with a genre used to teach models of appropriate behaviour suitable for young women.⁴⁶⁶ Similarly, rather than to be read as a 'be aware' warning, that any sexual relations with a woman who is menstruating are dangerous, I believe this author's aim was also to teach the future husband of this young woman a lesson in comportment and responsibility. In his use of language the author of MS Lansdowne 380 makes it quite clear that the matter of sex is to be treated in both a polite and courteous manner by both parties. Firstly, as we have seen, the woman is to advise him 'discreetly'. He in his turn, however, is then expected to keep his distance and to treat her 'honourably'. If he does not take heed, perhaps a sign that some men did not, he himself will be deemed to transgress the rules of courtesy. It is only then that this author warns the man about any threat to his health. In this reading consideration for the man's health takes a subsidiary role in the text, as what is more important here becomes the expectation that the man should take full responsibility for his actions. He is warned that if he ignores the woman's advice, he will be not only committing a mortal sin but that his actions would be seen by society as 'an unworthy and vile disgrace'. Perhaps the final comment that 'it is as if he wants to destroy health' does point to an awareness of the idea of the possible

⁴⁶⁶ As described in chapter 2, 'What did Women Read', women are known to have produced texts which were designed to teach 'rules for living and models of appropriate behaviour including offering assistance to women who are ill, see also for example Sharon L. Jansen, *Anne of France: Lessons for my Daughter* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 13.

noxious qualities of the menses, but in this text it is subsidiary to the aims of teaching a model of appropriate behaviour.

Having dealt with reasons why he has spoken of the menses and sexual relations, the author turns to the widespread reason why they occur 'masters say that women must have their purgation once in each month', to ensure the natural purgation of excess humour. He also notes, in passing, that there are a number of remedies that are designed to correct an imbalance of either too little or too much. This suggests knowledge of practice, or perhaps of a source text of which he was aware. However, if he did have a copy of the *LSM* to hand, he chose to omit the remedies as he dismisses these, giving as his reason *Toujours pour plus brièvement parler*. In their place, however, he advocates a simple medicine which in his opinion is 'as good as all other medicines for women of all complexions'. This turns out to be simply the juice of rue, the word 'Rue' is highlighted in the text, and he advises that it is useful to 'to bring forth the dead child' adding that it is also good for poison and venom (fol. 265^v). The use of this well-known emmenagogue also appears in the court cases for abortion cited further below. The author of MS Lansdowne 380 continues by ensuring that the reader understands why he has included the advice for provoking the menses

*Nous vous avons dit et declaire comme on fera venir aux
femmes leurs malladies que on appelle purgacion pour plus
honnestement parler.*

He then appears to turn to another common condition, excessive menstruation. This is a condition for which remedies and advice are often included in vernacular collections of recipe collections and, again, evidence of women helping other women is also found in the court cases cited further below.

¶*Or vous dirons, comment on peut aidier aux femmes quant
purgacion y habonde trop.*

The remedy which follows, using a wash with the water or juice of *morelle* (deadly nightshade), and a pessary

*Femme qui trop seuffre sa purgacion doit prendre le jus dune
herbe qui est appellee Morelle on en faire eaue ou du jus. Se
doit bien laver entour son nombril, et entour sa porte. Et
entour ses mamelles. et par tout son ventre. et en doit mectre
dedens sa porte pour secours la nature (fol. 265^v).*

There is some confusion here as this recipe is later repeated to treat retention of the menses.

The next section sets out the reasons why a woman experiences more pleasure than a man during sexual intercourse, and how in giving her the *meilleur de son sang* he does more for her than she does for him.⁴⁶⁷ He, nevertheless, concludes *La dame est aussi comme souffrant. Et l'homme aussi*

⁴⁶⁷ In keeping with the long history of misogynistic texts the strong themes and topoi of the female as a potential seducer and their tendency to feel 'shame' have long and well established and discussed histories and will therefore not be discussed here.

comme donnant ou faisant. This author's tolerant attitude and well meant advice is again evident in this text. For example, stressing that a desire for sexual relations is normal, he explains how a woman would feel if her husband withheld his conjugal debt and continues to associate these feelings with a woman's natural desires.

If a man is with a woman and does not give what is her right she will feel hatred for him and no longer want to be with him; and know that the reason why some young woman desire to be with a man is because of their bounty of their complexion and because they are well fed; '*femmes communes*' also have their '*maladies privees*' although in their case they do not suffer as much because by using men a lot it restrains their menstruation. [...]. There are many women who do not ask for the necessary medicine because they feel shame, but they are doing harm, because in so much as they suffer their purgation they must not feel any shame because it is God who ordained this purgation to ensure that all the bad humours were purged. And, it is without doubt, that a woman can have the desire to use a man both by the right of nature and by complexion just as a man has the desire to use a woman. And know for certain that it was never that a man sought out women but that woman sought out men. And this can be seen in all the creatures of the world as as soon as the female senses her carnal desire for the

male, the male seeks out the female even if he had no wish for this (fol. 266').

It could be argued here that the author is accusing women of desire and libidinous behaviour, 'and know for certain that it was never a man who sought out women', this author is following the persistent discourse of misogyny that 'ran as a rich vein through the breadth of medieval literature'.⁴⁶⁸ However, aside from this comment there is no whiff of criticism for a woman to want to satisfy her natural desires, in this text it merely becomes a statement of fact, and there are generally no references to what Charles T. Wood described as 'the hostile framework within which women were seen and understood throughout the Middle Ages'.⁴⁶⁹ The next phrase confirms the impression that this author is doing his utmost to set his writings in the context of 'doing what comes naturally' as the reader is informed that sexual pleasure and desire is normal and natural and not to be despised.

*Et pour ce sont les bestes plus saiges que les hommes, Car
elles engendrent, et out fruyt de leur, semence.*

The addition to this author's adaptation echoes that of a much earlier version of the *LSM* found in MS CTC O.1.20,⁴⁷⁰ discussed above on p. 41. This manuscript contains two versions of what would become the *LSM* of the *Trotula*. The first is an unedited short text that resembles a marriage

⁴⁶⁸ R. Howard Bloch, "Medieval Misogyny," *Representations*, 20 (1987): 1.

⁴⁶⁹ Charles T. Wood, "The Doctor's Dilemma: Sin, Salvation and The Menstrual Cycle in Medieval Thought", *Speculum*, 56, no. 4 (1981) 712.

⁴⁷⁰ Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England*, 141-144.

sermon⁴⁷¹ (fols. 21^{rb}-23^{rb}), the second a rhymed version, which has been identified as close to the original translation.⁴⁷² The recipes in this much shorter rhymed text for fertility also refers to how dumb animals satisfy their natural desires

*Ains voil parler de nature.avant/Ke home deit a femme part
dreitur/Et femme a home deit son dreit/Paer covient que
chescun deit/Ausi cum font les mues bestes/Ke font on lor
saison lor festes/Et par nature ensemble vivent/Et fruit font ke
le mund maintenant.[fol. 21^v].*

The author of MS Lansdowne 380's critique of men's and women's search for pleasure in lieu of generation is unequivocal. Nevertheless he also tempers his tone by adding that it is 'the force' of nature, that leads to successful union and that if the man and woman are 'of the same nature', they will 'by the force of that nature' love one another.

*Et plusieurs hommes et femmes pensent plus pour la
delectation de leur char, quilz ne font pour engendrer, ne pour
le fruyt. Et Sachiez que hommes et femmes dune compleccion
ayment lung lautre par force de nature.*

⁴⁷¹ Green discusses this text briefly in Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, 169.

⁴⁷² I have consulted this manuscript, including the shorter text, and any comparison with this manuscript and MS Lansdowne 380 are based on my own readings of the manuscript. For the edited version of the rhymed version see Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine: II. Shorter Treatises*, 76-115.

There is also clear evidence in MS Lansdowne 380 that women were expected to provide the herbs and handle treatments that were intended to ensure their own fertility.

*Dames qui moult doubtent la maladie priveroyvent ou moys
de may prendre grant quantite et fasse bonne provision des
herbes dessus dicte. Que on appelle morelle. et en doyvent
faire garnison pour toute lannee pour medicines leur
purgacion. ¶ Et Semblablement, est a entendre de herbe qui
est appelee Ruta pour faire venir leur [f. 267^v] purgacion
quant elle tarde trop longuement a venir.*

References to women and their knowledge of herbs appear later in this text, but here, the simple instruction that women should 'collect enough herbs in May', to manage their own menstruation throughout the year is a significant sign that this was, indeed, women's business. Moreover, as this manuscript was written as a teaching manual for a young woman, it offers evidence for women's actual practice. Its instructions to collect large quantities in May, implies that women were expected not only to provision themselves for the whole year but to aid other women of the household, confirmation of which appears below. Addressing himself to both men and women the author then gives a distinctly female orientated version for why, women of different humoral complexions, require sexual relations with a man. In this he sets out 'before all men and all women' why the four categories of women require men to correct their imbalance.

Je dy et afferme par subtile et raisonnable discrection que les quatre manieres especialles de ces divisions des dames dessudictes ont aucunes forz moult grant neccissite de homme et de le user. ¶ Je dy aussi devant tous et devant toutes que la femme sanguine a besoing de home pour sa chaleur Refroidir, et pour sa moistete espurger, ¶ La femme colorique. a [f. 268v] besoing de home pour sa chaleur Refriodir. et pour sa sercharesse esmostis ¶ La femme flemmatique a Besoing de home pour sa froideur es chauffer pour sa humeurs, degaster La femme melancolique, a besoing de homme pour sa froideur eschauffer et pour sa secheresse esmostir et pour sa melancolie Relaches.

On folio 268^v he follows up with a warning that a man should avoid trying to engender when his body is not suited to the effort, on the whole, this follows the advice given earlier in the *Régime*. His *explicit* assures his readers that what he has written should not lead them to reproach themselves for having read his work, *Saichent tous ceulx et celles. Qui se traicte liront, quil ny a riens a reprendre*. The inclusion of the authority of another apocryphal queen the 'very noble and wise *la royne Seville*', at this point in the manuscript, is an addition to the usual explicit of the *Régime du corps*.

Et le fist et composa maistre Albert de Florence pour la Royne Seville, qui en son temps fut tresnoble princesse prudent et saige (fol. 268^v).

This reference may be the result of this author's awareness of a popular literary work. *La Royne Sebille* plays a leading role in a story entitled *Les croniques et conquestes de Charlemain* which was presented to Philippe le Bon in a fifteenth-century manuscript.⁴⁷³ The story of how *la Royne Sebille*, was converted to the Christian faith after Charlemagne's conquest includes the description of Sebille's search for a herb to comfort her after the death of the king. This story includes a play on words, where Bauduin, her future husband, is referred to as the herb she needs which can be found growing in Charlemagne's garden. The description of one scene just after which she is told where the cure can be found is strikingly similar to the text found in both MS CTC O.1.20 and MS Lansdowne 380.

*Les dames estoient ioieusement assises sur l'erbe vert [...] es
estoit ou mois de may que les plus des chose requierent et
demandment ioieusete: les arbres se revestent de leurs feuilles,
la terre d'herbes de plusieurs et diverses couleurs, les oiseaux
de devisent et ont leur deduit enchantant et s'apairent les
masles avecques les femelles; et aussi font toutes bestes, car
Nature les admonneste ad ce.*⁴⁷⁴

I am not suggesting here that the author of MS Lansdowne 380 had access to Philippe le Bon's luxury version of this story but that the ideas he put forward in his own *Enseignement de medicine* suggest a more pragmatic approach

⁴⁷³ David Aubert, *Croniques et Conquestes de Charlemaine Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 9038*, edited by Robert Guiette, "Vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Palais des Academies, 1951), 143.

⁴⁷⁴ Aubert, *Croniques et Conquestes de Charlemaine*, 143.

that directly links sexual relations to nature, unlike that of pseudo-Albertus's *Secretum Mulierum*. It is at this point in his text that the author turns to the prologue and first few paragraphs of the introduction to the *LSM*.⁴⁷⁵ If, as I mentioned above, the assumption is made that this copyist did have a more complete copy of the *LSM* to hand he very soon sets it aside to add what may be his own novel explanation of the rules of generation for which I have found no comparable source.

¶ Or vous dirons des femmes pourquoy elles ne peuent
concepvoir. Quant lomme et la femme sont en habitacion selon
nature. avant que la femme concepue. Il convient que lung ou
lautre gecte semence. et la laisses alles. Sicome nature lui
donne. Mais il convient par force quil germe en lune des
semences. ou en deux. Eil advient que la semence soit ou
germe de lomme. Ils engenderont ung filz. Et sil advient que la
germe soit de la femme. Ilz engendreront une fille. Et sainsi
advient que le germe soit en lung et en lautre. Il convient quilz
engendrent ung filz. et une fille. Et sainsi est que lomme habite
en la femme par deux foiz. [f. 270r] non pas trois. un brief
terme. Et il y a germe en chascun habitant, la femme en aura
trois filz. Mais sil n y a germe en lung ne en lautre. La femme
ne peut concepvoir ne engendrer, Car se on engendroit a

⁴⁷⁵ This is fundamentally the standard prologue of the *Quant dex nostre Seigneur* and as MS Lansdowne 380 presents no major deviations to this it is not transcribed here.

toutes les foiz qui on laisse alles semence. Ils seront trop denffans, Aussi par ces raisons pouez veior pour quoy on ne peut concepvoir. ¶ Il advient quil y a aucun home qui est de froide nature qui ne peut avoir germe en sa semence. ne qui ne peut ronroides? de la semence des femmes. Icellui home est cause, et est gras sa faulte que la femme ne peut concepvoir et quilz nont nulz enffans. Car il convient que les semences et les germes soient comme concordables et nourroiz ensemble par chaleur.

After explaining the reasons for both gender and number of offspring, this author adds this striking and unusual reason of why some women do not conceive which he argues is a means of restricting the number of children born. Other reasons given are less innovative as they give the usual fault of their cold nature, or for anatomical reasons. The writer then turns to a number of other explanations which he also classifies as *deffaulte de femmes*.

¶ Encores une autre deffaulte de femmes. Ils sont aucunes femmes qui ont herbes qui ne seuffrent fructiffies le germe¶ Une autre maniere de femmes sont qui out bien herbes affin que ells nayent point denffa(n)s Et telles herbes leur perrent la nature et desront en telle maniere.que la semence ny peut arester, ¶ Une autre maniere de femmes est, qui ont bien les herbes bonnes. et ny peut on mectre conseil. Et en telles manieres font les femmes faulte de concepvoir.

The remedies and recipes which follow are not found in the *LSM*. One practical remedy suggests making a type of fortifying pâté from wild pigeons with added spices, pepper and ginger, perhaps a more pragmatic version of that found in MS Beinecke 492 that stipulates using only the hearts of the pigeons. The use of a blend of male and female mandrake in the strongest white wine *vous pouvez trouvez* is also counselled after which the woman is to have sexual intercourse with the man, then she should enter into a bath without delay and while in the bath she should eat the pâté which had been prepared earlier. The author then explains why he has prescribed each of the ingredients, the last of which is that the good wine will give her 'the courage and appetite to be with a man'. When she has been in the bath for a good while, she may leave as she wishes but here the man also receives explicit instructions as he must be waiting and dressed in the appropriate manner. Throughout these instructions it is the woman's wishes that take precedence over the man's, finally the author adds the warning that under no circumstances should the man use the prescribed female mandrake. The prognosis for a couple carrying out these instructions is a positive one as the treatments are certain to result in a child: *car prouue est* (fol. 271^v).

The next text to be included is a short text on blood letting.

*Ensuyuent les declaracions pour aucunes qui se voudroient
mesler de fait de chirurgie. Et aussi nul ne doit estre passes
maistre jusques a tant quil saiche toutes ses seignees par*

*cueur. et ou et en quel lieu elles sont sur le corps de la
personne* (fol. 272).

Following this statement, addressed to those who want 'to involve themselves in the practice of surgery', the compiler of MS Lansdowne 380 adds a short list of questions and answers on the subject of veins: *Questions et demandes, et Responces sur icelles, sur le traictie dessous* (fol. 275^r). The inclusion of this relatively basic teaching text, of course, raises the question of why should texts such as these be included in a manuscript destined for a young girl about to be married? One explanation may lie in the importance and utility that some physicians felt that blood letting had to play in treating the symptoms of the plague: veins were one method by which infected blood could be removed from the body,⁴⁷⁶ and as shown above the medical section in this manuscript draws attention to the advice relating to the plague. Blood letting was both a routine treatment for the plague and part of the routine maintenance of health in medieval households and as such this would require careful management. It was to be carried out according to the seasons and was used to correct a variety of illnesses, including seasonal fevers indicative of the various forms of malarial fever. This manuscript would, therefore, have provided the first female owner of MS Lansdowne 380, Elizabeth de Kyngstone, to understand why the practice of blood letting was undertaken, and also to perhaps help her safeguard those around her from charlatans. This latter point is hinted to in the reference to '*maistre*' in this blood letting text.

⁴⁷⁶ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 188.

Its contents would have also warned her of the dangers that could result from blood letting at the wrong time, particularly in early and late pregnancy when a pregnant woman was considered to be most at risk. (fol. 274^r).

The court records and women's medical knowledge

Evidence from the same period suggests that blood letting was known among the wider public to have abortifacient effects outside of the written tradition such as those I have examined above.⁴⁷⁷ Amongst the cases of accusations of using herbs to procure abortions there are also references to the use of the widespread practice of blood letting. In February 1468, to the north of Paris, a physician, an apothecary and a barber-surgeon were all approached in turn to treat a woman with the intent of procuring an abortion. The first, a physician, after examining the woman's urine explained that her condition was extremely serious and that the cause was a *malade de la mere*. However, the physician failed to procure an abortion which led to the male customer consulting an apothecary. This time he explained that his *bonne femme* was *afollee* and pleaded with him to sell him what was necessary. The apothecary, Pierre Delala, gave him an assortment of *sirops, beufraiges et plusieurs passaires* *cuident que ce feussent choses pour fere purger ladicte femme afollee*. In the same group of records, a *barbier* Maistre Etiennes de Linas

⁴⁷⁷ References taken from the excellent study in Müller, *Die Abtreibung: Anfänge der Kriminalisierung 1140-1650*.

was also offered a substantial payment to bring about an abortion by letting blood.

Icellui Collet supliant parla a ung barbier dudit lieu de Clermont nomme Maistre Etienne de Linas et lui demanda si vouloit seigner une saroichade des vuynes de la mere et qui'il paieroit bien d'argent; le barbier fut content; et vint ledit barbier peu apres en l'ostel dudit Collet suplians et seigna ladicte Katharine es quatre parties de son corps c'est assavoir en chacun pie et en chacun bras par divers jours et diverses foiz des veines de la mere...; apres lesquelles choses ledit suppliant demanda oudit barbier s'il savoit aucunes choses qu'ilz peussent donner pour fere avorter ladicte Katherine et qu'il lui baillast; lequel barbier bailla audit suppliant plusieurs beuvraiges et poudres que lesdits suplians firent boire a ladicte Katherine a diverses foiz tendant la fere avorter le fruit qu'elle avoit en son corps.⁴⁷⁸

Women readers, such as the young Elizabeth de Kyngstone probably the first owner of MS Lansdowne 380, would have been aware of the use of blood letting to correct what was regarded as unnatural patterns of menstruation as, in the explanatory section on veins, the author explains

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 279.

*Les pieds. A chascun trois veynes. dessoubes la cheville du
pied par dedens en a une laquelle on seigne pour despurger
les humeurs des Rains, et du nombril, et pour les apostumes
qui se prennent empres les aynes. Et vault aux femmes a faire
venir leurs fleurs en bas (fol. 274^r).*

The process of blood letting was such that it was open to scrutiny by anyone in the household, as it required not only the specialist equipment but also post-treatment care to avoid infection. Despars' final warning in his treatise on pestilence, that great care should be taken when drawing blood can, therefore, be read as a warning not only to the reader of MS Kassel, but to other students of medicine whom he is known to have taught, alongside the patients upon whom the treatment was carried out.

The evidence collected by Wolfgang Müller reveals a number of other cases where the use of herbs had been cited in proceedings which examined accusations of using means to provoke abortions. Two of the cases listed appear to have been considered to be successful in effecting early term abortions. In 1392 after taking a potion a woman was delivered of a child.

*Et la nuyt mesmes se feust delivree d'un enfant qui estoit si
petit qu'elle ne congnoissoit si il estoit male ou femelle.*

While in 1399 a case records that one Margot 'gave some herbs of which Jehanette only ate once' but two months later, either by illness or otherwise, put forth from her body a child which '*n'esoit points plus gros que une petite*

pomme'.⁴⁷⁹ A case from the Parisian records in February 1391 records that a girl who feared that she would be accused of taking such a potion absconded, while another in February 1405 lists the case of a mother who secretly gave her daughter *verjus* to avoid scandal and *du mal parler des gens*.⁴⁸⁰ A number of cases record how the fear of a pregnancy outside of marriage would lead to the girl either seeking, or being coerced or forced, to obtain an abortion as is recorded in one particular in Paris in 1469. This gives a vivid picture of both the shame that could be felt by the parents which could lead to them taking drastic steps as they attempted to avoid scandal and the fear the girl felt for their souls.

*Ilz firent du buvrage lequel ilz firent boire par force et contraincte a icelle Marion et pour ce qu'elle defferoit a ce vouloir faire iceluy son pere luy mist ung baston en la bouche pour luy fere ouvrir et ce contineroit par trois ou quatre hours et laquelle Marion en ce faisant disoit a icelluy son pere et sa mere qu'ilz se dampnoient et perdoient leurs ames en disant qu'il valloit mieulx que l'on le laissast en ce peine estat et que c'estoit gran peche d'ame.*⁴⁸¹

Other cases report the use of *rue*, together with *l'eau ardente* with the assurance that it was '*la chose ou monde qui plus tost la feroit affouler d'enfant*'. There is also evidence in these records of women using regularly

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 276.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 264.

⁴⁸¹ Müller, *Die Abtreibung: Anfänge der Kriminalisierung 1140-1650*, 255.

that would equate to the form of contraception recorded in the research carried out in East Anglia. In these it was shown that as recently as the 1950s pennyroyal (*Mentha pulegium*) was regularly taken in gin at the time of menstruation. In this way, assuming that it worked, the woman would not know whether she had been pregnant or not.⁴⁸² A case of 1455, recorded in Lille, similarly reports that a woman after she had lost her virginity perhaps also took care not to become pregnant

*non saichant qu'elle feust encainte pour eviter generacion
souventes fois elle avoit mangie du sednave*⁴⁸³

It is impossible to know whether these potions and herbs were taken in sufficient quantities to produce the abortions that are recorded in these narratives. Nevertheless, these accounts offer evidence for the widespread belief that herbal potions could and did have the desired effect and that women knew how to use them. This supports the evidence of the warnings given to the young owner of MS Lansdowne 380 and that women knew the value, virtues and force of herbs.

In this chapter I have shown how women had access to knowledge which enabled them to control their own fertility. MS Lansdowne 380 is an example of how two texts created in the thirteenth century after being included together in a number of codices eventually merged into one. The example of the extensively re-worked text to treat women's conditions

⁴⁸² Gabrielle Hatfield, *Memory, Wisdom and Healing: The History of Domestic Plant Medicine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999), 22

⁴⁸³ Müller, *Die Abtreibung: Anfänge der Kriminalisierung 1140-1650*, 282.

suggests that from the outset simple vernacular medicine in the form of the *LSM*, the *Regime du corps* along with collections of medical recipes and remedies such as the *Lettre d'Hippocrate* formed part of a widespread resource of medicine for all. The close analysis of this manuscript has shown how women played an important role in the healthcare and fertility of not only themselves and their husbands but also the household in their keeping. There is little direct evidence in the form of ownership marks that women owned these manuscripts in their own right in the earlier period. It is still not improbable, however, that they had access to a wide range of written material in which knowledge of women's medicine was recorded. By the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is evidence that supports the hypothesis, that in the High Middle Ages, women had been transmitting medical knowledge at the fringes of, and alongside that of the professional male world of the recorded physicians and surgeons, for which there is easily found evidence.

The sixteenth-century papers of Lady Grace Mildmay (1552-1620) reveal that she had self-consciously drawn together medical, maternal and devotional knowledge to pass on to her daughters and granddaughters.⁴⁸⁴ This knowledge she had learned from a gentlewoman, niece to her father, who had cared for her own mother and then Lady Grace herself and her sisters. Jennifer Wynne Hellwarth has described this network of female knowledge of medical matters

⁴⁸⁴ Jennifer Wynne Hellwarth, "'Be unto me as a precious ointment': Lady Grace Mildmay, Sixteenth-Century Female Practitioner," *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 19 (1999): 95-117.

As a matrix of female literacy and female textual community in which there exists a mother (Lady Anne Sharington), cousin (Mistress Hamblyn), sisters (Olive and Ursula), Grace, and the reader or audience of the text: Lady Grace Mildmay's daughter Mary and her three daughters.

This is clearly a matrilineal practice.⁴⁸⁵

Adding that 'in any case, readings in 'physic., herbals, and surgery was clearly common practice in her own household'.⁴⁸⁶ Lady Grace Mildmay moved in circles not unlike those of the owners of MS Sloane 2401 and MS Lansdowne 380 and the other manuscripts which have been discussed here and their paths and those of their families probably crossed more than once. The next chapter examines further the evidence for women's access to manuscripts through their contacts in the wider world. It considers whether a female textual community, based on the familiar talk and exchange of knowledge, that naturally passed between mothers and daughters, and to which Lady Grace Mildmay attributed some of her medical knowledge, can be established around the texts of these shared medieval manuscripts.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 7

Manuscript owners: social context and family connections.

Historians have provided evidence of how literary works and other documents can reveal just how important inheritance, lineage, and succession, was to families in the High Middle Ages. Marriage patterns and the evidence of the problems that the thorny question of consanguinity created, even for contracted marriages, reveal continuing efforts on the part of individuals to assure inter-generational transfer of family property and prosperity. I argue that placing the manuscripts, used in this study, into their social context has revealed that manuscripts such as the *Trotula*, and others, with their recipes for promoting fertility, are connected with the persistent aim of landed families to ensure offspring. This aim crosses all historical periods, and is implicit, in the use of strategies to consolidate land holdings, and promote marriages for both personal and political means. These strategies are also visible in the patterns of intermarriage between families that held certain trades, or professions, such as barbers, merchants and bankers.

The prolific production of advice literature, and didactic texts, in the vernacular provides evidence of the evolving society in which they began to circulate and which they played an important role. It is this textual

community that can also be viewed through the theory of 'habitus', a theory used effectively by David Crouch, to quantify the changes that took place in society before the arrival of the *chevalier* onto the courtly scene of the thirteenth century. It is precisely at this point that this type of vernacular text appears. This social change was developing and culminated at exactly the period in which teaching manuals appear on a wide range of subjects, and these include advice for healthcare. This 'uncodified code of the noble habitus', emerges out of Bourdieu's studies of the changes in culture of what he called 'the material expectations which all societies and classes generate', and as Crouch explains, members acquire their understanding of it through their upbringing and social contacts.⁴⁸⁷ As families moved between northern France, southern Italy and England I suggest that the unknown early owners of these manuscripts also acquired their understanding and were greatly influenced by the advice literature on a wide range of topics. Members of these societies, may or may not abide by the norms of the 'habitus', which may change or subtly shift. Thus 'although only easily perceived when it is affronted, the habitus is still there, and is used as a measure of each person's behaviour and aspirations'.⁴⁸⁸ Evidence of this is found in works such as Robert de Grosseteste's manual for the Countess of Lincoln, the writings of Christine de Pizan, and religious texts such as the *Lumere as lais*. For readers of Anglo-Norman and French texts, therefore, the arrival of vernacular translations coincided with the birth of notions of nobility and baronial status,

⁴⁸⁷ Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility Constructing Aristocracy in England and France*, 53.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

producing and fostering expectations of lineage which was felt by both men and women. Moreover, I suggest that the production of wide range of vernacular texts, does not merely reflect an interest in matters of generation by men, but is the result of the growth of literacy among the newly emerged nobility, along with notaries, merchants and their wives. Texts specifically tailored to offer advice on health, conception and neo-natal childcare all point to an audience in search of such advice. Thus, their popularity and wide dissemination is a reflection of both the conscious desire and need to produce offspring: a concern which involved both men and women. The early production of vernacular texts in healthcare and preventative medicine in medieval England and France, and that of similar texts produced in Florence, enabled the growing number of families, linked through paternal and maternal ancestors, to ensure the optimum conditions for successful lineage. The small and intimate noble society of England, the patrician society of Florence and the members of the commune of Tournai, were all communities where deliberate policies of inter-marriage created close connections. These developed to centre on their common meeting places of courts, dinners, church festivals and tournaments, with trade and commerce providing further opportunities for contact and preferment. I suggest that opportunities such as these not only fostered expectations of behaviour but that the acquisition of tangible objects, including manuscripts, also allowed their owners to proclaim their status. Moreover, as the image appendix demonstrates, the vernacular medical manuscripts used in this study appear in a wide range of

styles. This eager audience for vernacular texts was, therefore, also tutored by the availability of a range of courtesy and advice manuals, together with didactic instructions for religious observance, which were available to both men and women.

In the first half of the twelfth century, we can glimpse several instances of the way the court shaped the behaviour of its inhabitants in the Anglo-Norman realm, and as I pointed out above, on page 32, the court of Henry I of England (1100-1135) was the perfect locus where opportunities were plentiful for a talented layperson. The king himself had a reputation as a man willing to help the fortunes of men who had administrative and legal talent, whatever their lack of lineage including, of course, his own widely disseminated offspring. Henry I is well-known for siring a substantial number of illegitimate children for over a period of fifty years. His connection with Nest, who bore eleven or even twelve children by up to five different men over a span of nearly thirty years, increased the ties in the circle of men and women who frequented Henry's court. This use of illegitimate children to further political aims has been described as not particularly unusual among medieval kings.⁴⁸⁹ His choice of concubines demonstrates a strategic planned policy and many have been noted as belonging to the same social grouping that provided his new men.⁴⁹⁰ Contrasted to this fecundity, is the number of women who appear to be barren, as fertility levels fell among those for whom

⁴⁸⁹ Gwenn Meredith has examined the personal power that two of Henry's concubines exercised in "Henry I's Concubines," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19, no. 1 (2002): 14-28.

⁴⁹⁰ Kathleen Thompson, "Affairs of State: the illegitimate children of Henry I," *Journal of Medieval History* 29, no. 2 (June 2003): 129-151.

there are records, such as the families of William the Marshall, and the Lords of Berkeley.

The period that didactic texts and courtesy books begin to appear is also the period of settlement and land acquisition. These are books such as the *Urbanus Magnus*, written by Daniel Beccles in the thirteenth century. Others such as those by Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096-1141) and Petrus Alfonsi (1063-1110) also include advice on table manners in their instructional works. John of Salisbury included a section on how to be the perfect host, in his widely disseminated *Policraticus*.⁴⁹¹ Bishop Robert Grosseteste is well-known for his compilation of *Rules* for the Countess of Lincoln, (d. 1266) which covers everything from estate accounts to ensuring that her knights and servants wore clean livery at all times.⁴⁹² William Marshall (1146-1219), whose five sons, as noted above, died, without legitimate children, was in the court of King Stephen in the latter years of his reign, and one often cited vignette of courtly life, and the importance of children in this culture is given by William the Marshall's biographer

William, [the Marshall] when he was an adult, talking to his own sons, recalled with affectionate astonishment that the bearded, venerable king and he at one time sat on the floor of

⁴⁹¹ A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), 125-127.

⁴⁹² Elizabeth Lamond, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*.

the flower-strewn royal pavilion, playing knights with little men made of straw.⁴⁹³

Just over a century later Aldrobrandino's popular *Régime*, was instructing its readers on the care that a pregnant women should take and advise on the neonatal care desirable for the newborn. The author, in his chapter '*Commen on doit le garder en cascun aage*', explains that, although physicians consider there are 'four ages of man', he considers that seven should be taken into consideration, one of which is notably the period of *pueritia* that lasts from seven to fourteen. It is at this age that the young learn good habits of how to care for their body and soul.

*Ce doit on faire por ce que se nature soit bien complexionnee
et raemplie de boines costumes, car c'est li aages où li enfant
detiennent plus et aprendent les boines costumes sont garde de
le santé du cors et de l'ame.*⁴⁹⁴

Florentine records reveal the importance of offspring, whether legitimate or not, a pattern that differs little from that of Anglo-Norman England or France. In Florentine society vernacular medical manuscripts provided a similar key role, in imparting information to be used by men and women and amongst women, themselves.

The English tolerance for accepting mixed languages in a range of medical works has been described, and is widely known. The role of language can

⁴⁹³ Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility Constructing Aristocracy in England and France*, 44.

⁴⁹⁴ Landouzy and Pépin, *Le Régime du corps*, 80.

also be seen as a vector in transmitting vernacular texts in the works of physicians, such as Aldobrandino de Siena. Domiciled for a period in Avignon, he recognised the value of writing his own *Livre de physique* in French which, as I have discussed elsewhere, was quickly translated into Italian. Its discernible traces of French are also testimony to the political and commercial contacts that linked England, France, Florence and Flanders.

Patrons of translators of important works into the vernacular are known to have owned medical texts, for example the fourth Lord Berkeley who supported the Cornishman John Trevisa, the English translator of the scientific encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, completed in February 1399. The Berkeley family originate from Gloucestershire where they held lands which, for centuries, were prone to malarial infestation, it is here that English malaria is thought to have resulted in an epidemic in the years 1333-1334.⁴⁹⁵ Of those who survived, many would have suffered from the long term effects of parasite infection, which is known to result in severe anaemia and associated health problems, including infertility. The effects differ depending on an individual's sex, age and socioeconomic status. However women, due to life-cycle demands, are at a greater risk of developing anaemia than men and in one study of medieval York are seen to have been disproportionately affected.⁴⁹⁶ In 1374 Trevisa

⁴⁹⁵ P. Franklin, "Malaria in Medieval Gloucestershire: An Essay in Epidemiology," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 101 (1983): 111-122.

⁴⁹⁶ Amy Sullivan, "Prevalence and Etiology of Acquired Anemia in Medieval York, England," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128 (2005): 252-272.

became vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, and in 1379, he was appointed as the Berkeley family's chaplain following the granting of a Licence to Lord Thomas Berkeley and his wife, Margaret de Lisle, to choose a 'fit and discreet' priest as their confessor. The facts of Thomas Berkeley's life are fairly well known. He was born in 1352, the oldest of seven children (only one of his siblings appears to have had issue), and died in 1417. His father Maurice was an invalid, the results of a wound suffered at Poitiers and of subsequent confinement in France. Since Maurice died young, Thomas enjoyed an extremely long tenure as head of the family. He became lord of Berkeley, the family estates with their seat at Berkeley Castle (Gloucestershire), in 1368, and held the title for nearly half a century.⁴⁹⁷ The subsequent lack of male heirs resulted in the estate being dispersed and numerous legal battles together with and at least one full scale military battle, which took place in 1469/70. Sir Thomas Berkeley's father had arranged for Thomas to marry the only daughter of de Lisle to live into adulthood and, consequently, she brought as a marriage portion the entire de Lisle inheritance, centred on the family seat at Kingston Lisle in Berkshire but with extensive properties in six counties. Maurice hastened the marriage as it occurred in 1367, when the bride was only seven years old, probably to avoid an alien wardship and the resulting loss of control, in the event of his death.⁴⁹⁸ Early marriages such as these were a means to ensure that land and power

⁴⁹⁷ See Ralph Hanna III, "Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage," *Speculum* 64, no. 4 (October 1, 1989): 878-916.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 887.

were retained. The history of the Berkeley family is only one example of how important the vernacular medical texts could be to their owners. They offered readers advice in dealing with problems of ill-health, which may often have resulted in infertility. The valuable advice they contained would have encouraged the production and acquisition of vernacular medical writings. I have already set out the problems encountered when trying to ascertain who owned specific manuscripts and when. However, by the second half of the fifteenth century evidence for ownership becomes clearer and in this period female owners of manuscripts and book collections are in evidence. For example, Lady Beaufort (1443-1509), married at an early age, even by medieval standards, to Edmund Tudor, she later owned a series of medical tracts and remedies for the pestilence, decorated with her arms and badges, compiled specifically for her use. It has been suggested that Lady Beaufort's fear that the plague might also kill her unborn child led to her interest in owning manuscripts such as these, and to which she later added printed works. By the fifteenth century the picture of who owned manuscripts which survived in the fifteenth century become clearer.

As shown above, however, the difficulties and pitfalls that lie in attempting to identify individuals and relationships between members of the tightly woven dynasties and magnate families described by scholars such as David Crouch, Elizabeth Van Houts and K. S. B. Keats-Rohan,⁴⁹⁹ for the twelfth and

⁴⁹⁹ See for example David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France; The Normans in Europe*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth van Houts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, ed.

thirteenth century, continue to apply for this later period. Despite the numerous official county Visitation records that still exist, and the pedigrees drawn up in the fifteenth century by visiting heralds, who were charged with providing the evidence of pedigrees for the use of Coats of Arms, differences still occur in the records. With the result that there remain substantial gaps in the knowledge. However, among the many known members of the Tudor courts were a number of single women, whose families already had connections at court. They often married men holding positions on the king's side of the household and these couples frequently held lifelong positions with the royal family.⁵⁰⁰ Their children often intermarried with the offspring of similar families and maintained their parents' position in the next generation. A small group of interrelated families, many with long traditions of service to Henry VII and Henry VIII, continue to dominate the royal household and the circle of the king's favourite.⁵⁰¹ Although there is little evidence of ownership available for the earlier period there is evidence that a number of families in royal circles and members of the *bourgeois* can be connected to the manuscripts examined for this study and these are now discussed further.

K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer: 1997).

⁵⁰⁰ The literature on women and their writing in the Early Modern period, such as the Pastons, Stonors, and Lisles, (in which Mary Scrope a later owner of MS Lansdowne 380 is referenced), and their letter writing in this period is vast and cannot be reviewed here.

⁵⁰¹ For Lady Berkeley, and her connections with the court see Barbara J. Harris, "The View from My Lady's Chamber: New Perspectives in Early Tudor Monarchy," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (1997): 238.

MS Beinecke 492

By the sixteenth century this mid fourteenth-century fairly luxurious manuscript had passed into the hands of Thomas Lake who in 1591, married Mary Rider (1575–1642).⁵⁰² The Thomas Lake recorded in this manuscript was probably the same Thomas Lake (1567-1630) who was appointed in 1584, as personal secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham (1532-1590),⁵⁰³ and later served as Secretary to James the First (1566-1625). If we assume that these signatures are autograph (Illus. 15), they appear for the first time in 1584, the year he became Secretary to Sir Thomas Walsingham with the last one possibly reflecting that of an older man, in 1625. Other owners with the surname Lake, for whom I have found no records, are Hugo with a date of 1627 who is responsible for the Latin quotation⁵⁰⁴ and who also copied a line-filler from the *Lumere as lais*, together with a signature of a Robert Lake. The few lines of poetry are taken from the prologue to the dream satire of Aulus Persius Flaccus (Volterra, 34-62).

*I have never dallied to refresh my lips/In the fountain where
Apollo's packhorse sips/And have never dreamed (unless I
didn't know it)/Of descending from Parnassus as a poet.*

⁵⁰² For biographical details, unless cited otherwise, see Roger Lockyer, "Lake, Sir Thomas (bap. 1561, d. 1630)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15903> (accessed 1 July, 2009).

⁵⁰³ Sir Francis Walsingham's sister, Mary married Sir Anthony Mildmay (1520/21-1589) the father of Lade Grace Mildmay.

⁵⁰⁴ See Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 100.

This is probably a reflection of the influence of Italianate pastoral tragicomedy into England and court circles at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Walsingham had brought Sir Thomas Lake to the attention of Queen Elizabeth I and he was later appointed Clerk of the Signet in 1600. This was effectively the monarch's personal stamp, its use reserved for transactions of the royal household alone, for matters which have been described as 'falling within the conveniently ill-defined limits of the royal prerogative'.⁵⁰⁵ Along with the signatures mentioned above, the last two folios of the MS Beinecke 492 also contain a number of sketches, mottoes, and pen trials, together with some simple arithmetic and dates. A thin chain of evidence based on music and fashion, links the family of Sir Thomas Lake to MS Beinecke 492 as four of the drawings are well executed images of Elizabethan court costume with smaller sketches depicting headwear. One of the sketches is particularly notable as it depicts a man holding a bow for a musical instrument, while two others appear to represent court dress or livery. (fol 111' Illus. 15). From these drawings it may be implied that one of the Lake family was either a musician, or was involved in music or perhaps a patron. Sir Thomas was an educated courtier and, as one of the Queen's favourites, he travelled with her, reading Latin texts to her on her progresses around the country. Queen Elizabeth's accounts contain a number of references and payments to

⁵⁰⁵ Thurston Dart, "Two New Documents Relating to the Royal Music, 1584-1605," *Music & Letters* 45, no. 1 (1964): 17.

musicians. One records a generous annuity given in 1593 to 'John Bull, doctor of music and organist of her Majesty's chapel',⁵⁰⁶ together with many others granted by the Queen to her musicians. Sir Thomas Lake served under Elizabeth whose memorandum books are thought to be an indication of 'her very real love of music and of her endeavours to help the artists in her employment'.⁵⁰⁷ The pension paid to John Bull is recorded in the memorandum books of the transactions that took place under the auspices of the Privy Signet held by Sir Thomas Lake.⁵⁰⁸

Despite his role as secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, and his role in the Elizabethan court, there is little doubt that Sir Thomas Lake was a covert Catholic, which may explain his interest in acquiring and owning MS Beinecke 492. His younger brother, however, was Arthur Lake who became bishop of Bath and Wells in 1616. Sir Thomas Lake's London house was next door to that of the Venetian ambassador and it is recorded that he and his family accessed the embassy chapel to attend services through a gateway in the party wall.⁵⁰⁹ On the other hand, his father-in-law, William Rider, is known to have been a protestant and wealthy merchant who had formed a partnership with Sir Thomas in profiting from the taxes levied on the importation of sugar in 1611. William Rider started out as apprentice to

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 20

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁵⁰⁹ See Ian W. Archer, "Rider Sir William c. 1544-1611," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24405> (accessed 20 Aug 2011).

Thomas Burdet, a member of the Haberdashers' Company, of which William became free in 1569. He dealt in luxury fabrics, and kept a shop in the Pawn of the Royal Exchange, the stock of which was valued at the substantial figure of £3267 in 1592. Like many Londoners who prospered in this period his biographer notes that Rider was 'already among the top 5 per cent of citizens in terms of his wealth, by 1582 his business activities diversified'.⁵¹⁰ Sir Thomas's position at the court, and his business dealings in cloth, would have led him to have been in contact with the Kyngstones, the later owners of MS Lansdowne 380 which I discussed in detail in ch. 5.

MS Sloane 2401

This manuscript was owned by Margaret, wife of Richard Bridges of Ley, Weobley, Herefordshire. The claim to ownership and an indication of an awareness of their status appears on fol 1^v.

This armes here made are Richard Brydges of Leglo [sic] in Herefordshire and Margaret his wyfe; and tharmes with the leopardes hedde are the Brugys; and the croyse with the molettes and crasletes are is on th'olcotes side; and all thother are is wyves;- and firste the blake frete are the Irebys; the lyon mousturs are the Kelomes; the lyon rampant the Eyliottes; the cheffron and the sincfoyle with ermynes Thomas Gildons; the wegges of golde the Cowdreyes of Langton; the barre with

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

sincfoyle Sir Henry Gildons; thother croyse Holcotes as is
toforsayd; thother parte not sette out is for tharmes of
Goodyng of Writell⁵¹¹ in Essex.

A pedigree held in the Hereford Archives⁵¹² records the marriages and lineage of Sir John Brydges, Mayor of London (b. 1456 d. after 1530) and his first wife Agnes Ayolfe (or Aylett) b. 1483 of Essex. They had seven children among which was a daughter Winifred, who remained a devout Catholic all of her life. She first married Sir Richard Sackville, cousin of Anne Boleyn, (1500-1536) and second William Paulet as his third wife. Sir John Bridges descended from Sir John Bruges, a knight who distinguished himself at Agincourt. Sir John was the younger brother of Sir Thomas Bruges, ancestor to Lord Chandos, who was married to the heiress of Berkeley. According to an early nineteenth-century librarian of the Corporation of London, the corporation's documentation showed that the family of John Bruge was of Flemish origin and 'as old as the Conquest'.⁵¹³ Another source considers that 'it was very probable that they, like the Gaunts, were a male branch of the house of the Earls of Flanders'.⁵¹⁴ Richard Bridges, the joint owner of MS

⁵¹¹ In 1544 after the dissolution of the monasteries the manor of Groves was granted to Goodyng (or Goodwin) of Essex. British History Online and William Page (editor), "Parishes - Sawbridgeworth", June 22, 2003, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43625&strquery=gooding+writtle> (accessed 1 July 2011).

⁵¹² Herefordshire Record Office, B56/1 fol. 98.

⁵¹³ William Herbert, *The history of the twelve great livery companies of London: principally compiled from their grants and records: with an historical essay, and accounts of each company - including notices and illustrations of metropolitan trade and commerce as originally concentrated in these societies -with attested copies and translations of all the companies' charters*, vol. 1 (London: William Herbert, 1837), 706.

⁵¹⁴ Arthur Collins and Sir Egerton Brydges, *Collins' Peerage of England; Genealogical, Biographical, and Historical* (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, Otridge and son, 1812), 706.

Sloane 2401 was in some way a descendant of this family and related to Rowland Brugge (1473-1540) of the Ley, Weobley. Elizabeth Brydges (1510-1568) the daughter of Rowland Brydges and Margaret Kelom, perhaps cousin to Richard Brydges, was well educated, and a literary patron, who translated psalms and proverbs.⁵¹⁵ She was also 'a supporter of radical protestants' and is mentioned by the poet Robert Crowley and 'others of the radical protestant persuasion'. Elizabeth lost their home at Penshurst, Kent and the contents of their house in Westminster when her husband, the illegitimate Sir Ralph Fane (d. 1552) was executed after being charged with conspiracy to murder the Duke of Northumberland. Under Queen Mary, Elizabeth offered aid to co-religionists imprisoned by the queen and as a result she was herself eventually forced to go into hiding.

Evidence of the importance of pedigree for these families, and their relationships with other notable families, is found in the documents of the archives for the Mildmay family which possibly date from the time of King Stephen. Lady Grace Mildmay was a highly regarded medical practitioner who provided medicine on a par with registered physicians. Her papers are found among the substantial holdings that formed the personal papers of the Mildmay family, including the papers of Sir Walter Mildmay, her father-in-law, Under Treasurer of England (1520/21-1589). His biographer notes that 'despite the family's later claims to ancient lineage they appear to have been

⁵¹⁵ Cathy Shrank, "Elizabeth, Lady Fane (d. 1568)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68050> (accessed 20 May 2011)

immediate descendants of a yeoman farmer of Great Waltham, Essex, and Mildmay's father owned a stall in the market place at Chelmsford'.⁵¹⁶ I have not examined the considerable resources held for the Mildmay family in the Northamptonshire Record Office.⁵¹⁷ The catalogue records reveal, however, that they contain a paper pedigree on a wooden roller, detailing the descendants of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford (d. 1403), his mistress and third wife, The marriage caused dismay in court circles, where it was viewed as a spectacular *mésalliance*, but it had an unsentimentally practical end in view: the further advancement of John and Katherine's children. The Beauforts were legitimated by papal bull in September 1396 and by royal patent the following February.⁵¹⁸

Together with ownership of titles and properties pass through the Nevills to Francis Fane 1st Earl of Westmorland. As with many other other closely inter-related families, who married close relatives, one nineteenth-century biographer wrote of one of the Fanes (Vane), that 'they did not add lucidity to his pedigree by his marriage with the younger sister of his father's wife'.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ L. L. Ford, "Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21–1589)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18696> (accessed 28 Sept 2011).

⁵¹⁷ Description of contents available at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=154-wa&cid=0#0> (accessed 20 August 2011).

⁵¹⁸ Simon Walker, 'Katherine, duchess of Lancaster (1350?–1403)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26858> (accessed 23 March 2012)

⁵¹⁹ Oswald Barron, ed., *The Ancestor: A Quarterly Review of County and Family History, Heraldry and Antiquities*, Vol. XII (London: Archibald, Constable & Co. Ltd., 1905), 7.

It is difficult to untangle the web that relates the Fanes to the Mildmays but, for the purpose of this thesis and the transfer of manuscripts between women related by inter-marriage, with close relatives of their families it provides sufficient evidence for the unrecorded transfer of medical manuscripts. Mary Mildmay the daughter of Lady Grace inherited her medical papers. She married Francis Fane a descendant of Sir Ralph Fane the husband of Elizabeth Bridges, related to the Bruges of Flanders. Included among the archival material of Lady Grace Mildmay of Apethorpe is a pedigree of the Scrope family of Lincolnshire. The Scrope family moved in the same courtly circles and are known to have owned MS Lansdowne 380 after Elizabeth de Kyngstone's death.

MS Lansdowne 380

As discussed in ch. 6, the young Elizabeth de Kyngstone, wife of William Kyngstone, was the first recorded owner of this manuscript. On Elizabeth's death William Kyngstone married Mary Jerningham (or Jernegan) one of nine daughters of Sir Richard Scrope of Upsall. This manuscript later came into the possession of Mary Scrope, Kingstone's third wife who attended on Anne Boleyn before her execution. There are no heraldic devices, mottoes or ownership marks on MS Lansdowne 380 except that of E. de Kyngstone on fol. 3^r, and a note on the first flyleaf in a contemporary hand '*by the leysurles hand de nouster pover serviteur Thomas Kendall*'. This note suggests that, at some point, the writer of this phrase knew who had been responsible for its

composition and implies that Thomas Kendall had suffered a tragedy. I have found no evidence that places a Thomas Kendall in the retinue of either the Kyngstone, Scrope, or the Guise families, but to which they were related, as one of William Kyngstone's wives was also member of the Guise family which may provide a link. A Thomas Kendall, from Lincolnshire, the area in which the Scropes held land, was active in the movement to halt the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII and was ultimately executed.⁵²⁰

MS Lille 863

I mentioned briefly in ch. 5 that Bauduin Cauwet is recorded as an owner of this manuscript, where, in case of loss, a reward is offered for its return. The earliest record of a Bauduin Cauwet appears at the beginning of the fifteenth century when he is noted as being a chaplain of the '*l'hôpital de la comtesse d'Artois à Hesdin*'. Another Bauduin Cauwet is recorded as the chapelain of the Chapter of St. Quentin, and *curé de La Marquette*. Intriguingly, a small collection of medical recipes in French is included on fols. 32-34, which are attributed to '*Del église de Medame de Tornai a les médechines ensieuwans*', although I have not examined these. There is a further connection to a church in Tournai which consists of a footnote following Macer's herbal in Latin on fols. 34-68: '*Iste liber transcriptus fuit a Petro Buriel, XVIa die maii, hora*

⁵²⁰ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII Volume 12, Part 1: January-May 1537*, (1890).

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=103350&strquery=thomas+kendall> (accessed 20 January 2010).

vesperarum, in octavis dedicationis ecclesie Beate Marie Tornacensis, anno Domini 1423' As discussed earlier, the inclusion of recipes and remedies in this manuscript points to it being used on a context where it was expected that women would be treated by women, or that advice would be given to them.

By looking at the source of the manuscript's contents it is possible to reconstruct what may be a hypothetical background for the later owners of this manuscript. but which is, nonetheless, perfectly plausible. As shown in my analysis of the contents of MS Kassel and other manuscripts two of the texts included in MS Lille 863 are attributed to Jacques Despars, the son of a knight, himself a native of Tournai.⁵²¹ Despars had a very varied career, he trained in Paris and Montpellier, and was called to act as physician to the Duc of Bourgogne on a number of occasions,⁵²² he also wrote the two *Regimes* or *consilia*, giving advice to Miquiel Bernard and Guillaume Bernard. The connection between the families appears in the middle of the fourteenth century, when a Miquiel *cambgeur* appears in a document where it is noted that Henry the *prévôt* of Tournai, married Catherine Villain, the daughter of sire Mikiel *changeur* and Maigne Rikewart. The exact date is not recorded but on the death of Catherine, before 1369, Mikiel married again, this time

⁵²¹ Danielle Jacquart, *Supplément to Wickersheimer, Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* (Genève: Droz, 1979), 134-135; and Ernest Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* (Librairie Droz, 1936).

⁵²² Jacquart, "Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps."36.

the daughter of another minor noble and *conseilleur* Jehanne le Louchier.⁵²³ These details appear in the records of the church in the archives of St. Piat one of the oldest parishes in Tournai. In these records an index of wills provides further information for the establishment of the Cauwet family at Tournai and, bearing in mind the marriage of Mikiel *cambgeur* and Catherine Villain, provides evidence of the circles in which they moved.

*Sire Jaquèmes Cauwe, cappellains del église Saint-Piat de Tournay, donne 80 mailles d'or et 20 florins as agniel pour accater 100s. de tourn. de rente pour faire canter une messe de Nostre Dame cescune sepmaine perpétuelement cescun samedi [...] Cette messe devait être chantée par xij compaignons, premiers le curet de le ditte église et après xj compaignons compétons de le compangie de le mess Nostre-Dame.*⁵²⁴

A Miquiel *cambgeur* appears once again in the archives this time in a quit claim signed, sealed and dated 1403 relating to a loan for which Miquiel had earlier been the banker.⁵²⁵ By the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, around 1424, there is evidence that the Bernard family, involved in handling money, were now marrying into the ranks of the minor nobility and those who had bought their way into the bourgeois of Tournai. In 1424 Jehan

⁵²³ *Bulletins de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*, Vol. 23 (Tournai: H. & L. Casterman, 1890), 18.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 23:13.

⁵²⁵ M. Le comte P. A. du Chastel de la Howarderie, *Société d'études de la province de Cambrai*, Vol. 3 (Lille: Imprimerie Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1903), 27.

Dare, seigneur d'Ogimont *Bourgeois de Tournai par relief*, and a member of the *Magistrat* of Tournai married Agnès Bernard the daughter of Michel Bernard (d. 1448) *cambgeur*, for whom the *Régime* in MS Lille 863 was probably written, and Quinte Vilain.⁵²⁶ The previous year Jacques Despars, already *trésorier* of Notre-Dame, assured the Chapter that 'not one *marque* would be given to Hugues Lami, who at that time was in France, and 'that if he came to solicit him for the money he would inform the town.'⁵²⁷ Maître Hugues Lami was also a chaplain and *bourgeois* of Tournai. Jacques Despars was, thus, not only physician to the duc of Bourgogne but also served as an important negotiator between the crown and the town of Tournai during one of its most turbulent periods. In 1426 Jacques nominated the *juriste* Guillaume Bernard, son of Miquiel, to the post of *vicaire-trésorier*, of the Chapter of Tournai, as he left for Cambrai where he had obtained a prebend. During this time Jacques Despars, the author of the *Régimes* for the Bernards, held many other benefices the first being a foundation in 1448 of the perpetual bursaries for students of Tournai.⁵²⁸

The Cauwet name also appears in the middle of the sixteenth century in Lille and once again in connection with the *Magistrat*. Anthoine Cauwet, probably the son recorded as *filz de feu Bauduin*,⁵²⁹ held office during nine of

⁵²⁶ *Bulletins de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*, Vol. 23 (1890), 53.

⁵²⁷ *Mémoires de la Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*, Vol. 8 (Tournai: Malo et Levasseur, 1863), 65.

⁵²⁸ Jacquart, "Le regard d'un médecin sur son temps," 36.

⁵²⁹ I am grateful to Laure Delrue, Archivist at the Bibliothèque Municipale, Lille, for this information found in the *Registre aux bourgeois* n°3 fol. 9^r: Anthoine Cauwet, filz de feu Baudouin. Marié sans enfans: Par achat le Ve de janvier [1537] n.s."

the thirteen years between 1546 and 1559. In 1553 he began to be listed as 'seigneur of le Molinel' but before this was probably also a merchant. His first post was as an alderman after which he served as *huit-homme* in 1549 and also annually on a number of occasions as a councillor. The close inter-relationship of Lilleois families has been noted by Robert DuPlessis, who calculated that patterns of office holding in Lille in this period, to reveal an inner circle wherein, although representing only a quarter of the total number of officials, they succeeded in holding sixty per cent of all positions and four-fifths of council seats. Importantly for this study, however, at least half of the group's marriages listed in the official register linked men of the inner circle to women from other families represented therein.⁵³⁰ Pierre Cuvillon, the second branch of an important family in this area became a *bourgeois de Lille par achat* in 1527 and he was appointed *greffier de la gouvernance* and *procureur général de l'église de Tournai* by Pierre the head of the Chapter of Tournai: Pierre married Jacqueline Cauwet, the mother of Bauduin, or Baudechon perhaps the original seigneur de Molinel, father of Antoine.⁵³¹ The younger Bauduin in turn became the seigneur du Molinel by which time he was *licencié ès loi, bourgeois par relief* 1559, and five years later he was named as *premier lieutenant de la gouvernance* and in 1574 he was declared noble.

⁵³⁰ Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch Revolt: Urban Stability in an Era of Revolution 1500-1582* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 28-29.

⁵³¹ Paul Denis Du Péage, *Recueil de Généalogies Lilloises*, Vol. III (Lille: Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1908), 944.

The identification of family members who appear to have repeatedly held positions of note in the both Lille and Tournai is further complicated by the habit of changing names from patronyms to matronyms. One identifiable case is the additional surname of 'de le Vigne', to which the Cauwet family are in some way related and which has been passed down through the female line of the Fresnoy family, who were themselves related to the Cauwets. Nonetheless, even though there is no precise evidence to say which, among the fourteenth and fifteenth-century Bauduin Cauwets, who appear in the records, owned MS Lille 863, there are a number of clues which point to its ownership by a family of whom one at least was literate, to some extent, in both French and Latin. The inclusion of a fragment of a fourteenth-century account, used as an endpaper, which records the payment made to Piéron Lauwier for repairing a tower used in defence of the town, the references to the hospital of the Countess of d'Artois, together with the only known copies the *Régimes* or *consilia*, written specifically for a father and son by Jacques Despars in the fifteenth century, all point to this manuscript remaining close to its original owners and origins.

MS Kassel 4° med. 1

There is little evidence for the early owner of the extensive compilation found in MS Kassel. A simple ownership mark on fol. 1^r shows that in 1446 it was owned by *Jo. de Herzelles, cappellany* who, in gothic script above his name added a cryptic note *Exitus acta probat* (the ends

justify the means), but nothing further is known of this owner. The later owner, Jacob Mosanus (1564-1616), was a well-known physician and Paracelsian alchemist, born in Wees (Weeze) in the Duchy of Kleve. His father, also a physician, had settled in 1591 as a general practitioner in England. Mosanus studied at Oxford and the University of Cologne and initially planned to establish himself in London, but after his request was rejected he returned to Germany. From 1591 to 1599, the time of his first appearance at the court in Kassel, little is known. In 1600 the Landgrave of Hesse, Moritz the Learned, set up a laboratory in Marburg.⁵³² Jacob Mosanus was one of the Landgrave's personal physicians and he was appointed as the director of the new laboratory. This centre of alchemy attracted alchemists from France, Germany, the Netherlands and England.⁵³³ Jacob Mosanus was, like many others, searching for alchemical secrets including the philosopher's stone. Writing to the Landgrave he advised him

I must tell your Grace that my *vulcanus* is still smoking...for I have resolved to make from a mark of silver, its salt, and from the salt, the *spiritus* which...is the true philosophical water and mercury, the one principle of nature and art, and from it should and must be made the true medicine of human and metallic bodies.⁵³⁴

⁵³² Hugh Redwald Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: The Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (Yale University Press, 2006).

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵³⁴ B. T. Moran, "Privilege, Communication and Chémistry: The Hermetic Alchemical Circle of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel," *Ambix* (1985), 326.

In 1609 Moritz, with encouragement from Mosanus and a colleague, created a new academic chair within the Marburg faculty of medicine. 'The significance of the appointment in establishing a contiguity of medical was not unnoticed'.⁵³⁵ The potentates of Europe were now called upon to see the writings of men like Jacob Mosanus, and the *chymicos autores*, as important as the works of Aristotle and Galen so as not to 'remain at the shell of natural things but to arrive at the nucleus and core of nature'.⁵³⁶ While Mosanus owned and was probably consulting MS Kassel, with its texts on alchemy and medicine, he was supported by the patronage of Moritz he Learned. In the same period Lady Grace Mildmay was using her inherited wealth, manuscripts and family papers, in her endeavours to help the sick in mind and body, through her knowledge of internal medicine and surgery.⁵³⁷

The proliferation of printed works for the period between 1486 and 1604 produced 392 editions of printed works, excluding variants, giving advice on health and medical care. This gives an estimated figure of 400,000 books for this period although, of course, not all of them would be in circulation at any one time.⁵³⁸ It is striking that, as with the earlier period, many of these also claimed to provide medicine for the poor. In his *Mirror, or*

⁵³⁵ Bruce T. Moran, *The Alchemical World of the German Court: Occult Philosophy and Chemical medicine in the Circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572-1632)* Sudhoff's Archiv, Beiheft 29. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 336.

⁵³⁶ Moran, "Privilege, Communication and Chymiatri: The Hermetic Alchemical Circle of Moritz of Hessen-Kassel," 337.

⁵³⁷ Jennifer Wynne Hellwarth, "'Be unto me as a precious ointment': Lady Grace Mildmay, Sixteenth-Century Female Practitioner."

⁵³⁸ Paul Slack, "Mirrors of Health and Treasures of Poor Men: The Uses of the Vernacular Medical Literature of Tudor England," in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 239.

Glass of Health, Thomas Moulton, a Dominican Friar, echoes the sentiments of writers, or compilers, of the earlier period, and Lady Grace Mildmay, in words which echo those found in earlier manuscript copies of texts which give advice for treating the sick.

It was the compassion I have for the poor people so that any man, woman and child might be their own physician in time of need.⁵³⁹

Although many of these books would not have been read by the illiterate poor they addressed, many of the remedies and treatments would form the basis of empirical treatments, which were widely disseminated. This knowledge represents a continuing line of transmission of the practice of medicine as found in the wide range of manuscripts which have been the focus of this study.

⁵³⁹ Ibid., 237.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout the very varied chapters in this thesis I have sought to address a number of previously largely unexplored questions. For example why, by the middle of the thirteenth century, were medical texts becoming widely available to readers in the vernacular? Why was this lay readership eager to have at its fingertips such an eclectic range of medical knowledge: insight into medical treatments covering infertility, or how to beautify hair, turn it golden and achieve a white complexion, perfume the body or remove excess hair? Moreover, throughout I have addressed the question of the availability of evidence for women's agency in healthcare matters. To shed light on these questions I have stressed the importance of viewing vernacular manuscripts of medicine not as gendered texts, deliberately created and aimed at an audience of either men or women, but as texts that contain information on health. For this study I have examined a wide range of medical texts, some of which were known to have been owned by women, to demonstrate that, it was not only the *Trotula*, but also many of the simple collections of recipes and remedies, and herbals that included advice to women for fertility. This research has shown that written treatments for infertility were widely disseminated. In doing so, it has revealed not only the widespread concern to treat a lack of the menses seen as a treatment to ensure fertility, but also how these treatments were included *ad hoc* amongst other advice. It has also shown, that there was an unmistakable awareness of the possible use of similar treatments, this time to limit fecundity. The

transmission of such knowledge crosses what could now be considered to be linguistic and geographical boundaries but which, as I have shown, in the various manuscripts studied here would have proved to be of little hindrance to medieval readers. In chapter 5 I demonstrated how a close reading of the texts can reveal dialectical traits with changes in orthography. The simple style of writing, methods of preparation and use of local botanicals all point to a fund of knowledge that circulated both inside and outside of professional circles. I have argued throughout that by considering the contents of these texts as being of interest and vital use to both men and women, whether for fertility, self-help or as preventative medicine, it is possible to shed light on the impetus for their production.

My first chapter looked at Sources of Medicine and argued that the search for recipes and remedies, the means to self-help and provision of help for others, forms a continuum from the records of Anglo-Saxon medicine available before the conquest, to after the arrival of the Normans in England and beyond. Despite the widespread increase in medical knowledge afforded by new translations and the availability of medical theories, much of the material that found its way into the vernacular, represents a much simpler style of medicine, in which many of treatments lay in empirical knowledge. A teaching method that relies on praxis emulates that of the needs of medical treatment in everyday life. Remedies for poultices to treat external injuries or to draw out internal infections fall between the two nascent medical disciplines in the period under discussion. I have shown, for example, that a

simple plaster made of eggs, with spices or herbs added, could be copied and emulated without the need of written knowledge, while instructions to collect daisies, which are pinker than others, in both MSS Kassel and Lille suggest a regional practice and tradition.

I have suggested throughout, but particularly in chapters 2, 4 and 5, that despite the growth in controls over medical practice, there remained space for a wide range of alternative practitioners, of both medicine and surgery: a space in which women were present. Despite the lack of evidence of ownership by women I have shown that it is possible to reveal that women were reading about medicine, that instructions were addressed directly to them, and that crucially it is sometimes their own praxis that was finding its way into the written records. I have argued that the lack of *ex libris* marks in manuscripts, which has been used to identify audience, cannot by itself be used as proof of either an exclusive male or female readership. There is evidence to demonstrate that manuscript books were offered as gifts, lent, and transferred by legacies in ways that are not always recorded, for example the manuscript owned by Edward IV discussed in chapter 2. I have also argued that the evidence of manuscripts without covers or binding which were held in libraries constituted a readily available source of texts to be copied and re-copied, for example the fragment of the *LMS* found as a binding in the National Archives, and stressed that a wide range of texts, including the *Trotula*, and Aldobrandino's *Livre de phisicke* formed part of this resource. The interest in specific texts and the possibility of copying them, is further

underlined by the practice of dismantling and re-assembling gatherings and quires as choices were made of which texts to copy, sometimes leading to losses in extent manuscripts.

This study noted the importance of examining other ways in which women could have had access to medical knowledge in the vernacular, and whether the lack of evidence of women owning medical texts is sufficient to conclude that they were no longer in control of their own medical needs. I have argued and demonstrated that, despite the lack of a visible textual community of women centred on vernacular translations of the *Trotula*, women were actively engaged in healthcare for both themselves and others in the High Middle Ages.

Traditional scholarship which looks for the 'perfect copy' of well disseminated text has left vernacular medical writing largely consigned to a disciplinary backwater, although with the wide range of Anglo-Norman, French and Italian vernacular manuscripts have been studied for their linguistic content, both in the nineteenth century and more recently. The research reported on here has demonstrated that noting the changes that took place in both the translation and transmission process provides important clues to how theses manuscripts were used. Close reading has shown that many of these texts were being constantly manipulated and changed, to suit the needs of their owners or commissioners, as sections were added or omitted. These changes reveal not only the choices made by the compiler, but

also the knowledge that was being sought by their readers. By examining the texts with which both the *Trotula*, and other allied remedy and recipe collections travelled, I have also shown the importance of recognising the role of inter-textuality in text production, while my analysis of MS Beinecke 492, has revealed how echoes of even the teachings of a widely disseminated didactic religious work such as the *Lumere as lais* can be found in a text on medicine. Perhaps further research for the ownership of this manuscript may reveal ownership among a community of women, perhaps nuns, and if so will once again, point to an active role of women in medical matters.

As I have noted, early ownership of manuscripts is notoriously difficult to assess, and this applies to those whether they were compiled in Latin or in the vernacular. To overcome the lack of evidence my study has aimed to find a common denominator behind the production and possible ownership of manuscripts such as these. To help answer the question of ownership I have suggested that medical manuscripts, recipe and remedy collections, and herbals, together with simple preventative medicine such as régimes and plague remedies, form a corpus of material that was available to both men and women. From the fifteenth century evidence of ownership become easier to trace and, with this in mind, chapter 7 provides an overarching social context for the production of the vernacular texts together with details of the later ownership of a number of the manuscripts.

To sum up, this study has shown the significance and importance of the vernacular works which began to be produced in their numbers in the thirteenth century. Examining a wide range of vernacular texts, and carrying out a close reading of a number of them, has shown how the emphasis on healthcare, in the vernacular, was on practical medicine. The emphasis of teaching a nascent, professional body of male practitioners the importance of empirical knowledge, coincided with the production of medical texts in the vernacular. Consequently, these simple vernacular texts open a window onto what has widely been called 'popular medicine' by historians. They also suggest a conscious gathering together of medical knowledge which was used to inform a widening readership on the importance of self-help healthcare. Furthermore, despite the paucity of written evidence for female patronage of medical texts, their production, at the same time that a wide range of didactic manuals of advice was being produced, suggests that women were both aware of their contents, through practising medicine themselves and, through praxis, imparting that medical knowledge to others.

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Appendix I

MS London, National Archives, E163/22/2/1 c. 1200

Transcription

fol. 1^r

1.[D]⁵⁴⁰Eus nostre sire q[u]ant out le siecle estore des autres creat[ur]es. Si
fist

2. ho[m]me resnable;⁵⁴¹ Si li duna la seignurie de tutes

3. terrienes choses. Sil cumanda a crestre et a multiplier. Si

4. establi q(ue) de dues vendreit l[e]⁵⁴² tiers . E que del cors al malle ki pl(us)
est

5. de chaude nat[ur]e et de secche istreit la semence. E la femme ki plus est

6. de freide nature et demuillie recevreit la semence. Et par la tempre

7. ment del chaud et del freide et del sece e del muillie creistreit li emfes

8. Si cum n(us) veum⁵⁴³ des arbres des herbes et des blez. Ki ne cressent mie

9. bien senz la temprement de ces q(ua)tre · Mes p(ur) ceo que les femmes

10. unt pl(us) fiebles les cors que les masles e g(re)ignur t(ra)vail des enfanz:

⁵⁴⁰ incomplete initial letter

⁵⁴¹ *raisnable* = rational

⁵⁴² puncture hole in MS although there is a remnant of a stroke possibly indicating an 'e'?

⁵⁴³ *veer*, pr.ind.5 "as we see"

11. Si lur avient enfermetez plusurs q(ue) as masles navient · Et
12. meismement as membres ki a lengendrure apartient · E de co que
13. femmes sunt pl(us) huntuses⁵⁴⁴ de dire lur cuvinie⁵⁴⁵ a hum(m)es q(ue) a femmes
14. Si faz cest livrer el language quele(s) mieuz seyvent Et si auries en cest
15. livres co q(ue) io sai pl(us) besuigables des diz y'pocras et Galien et cleopatre
16. et costentin dunt les maus vienent et cument les cunuist hom et cument
17. enguarist. Pur co q(ue) femme n'a mie tant de chalur en sun cors ki pu-
18. isset a secchier les male(s) hum(ur)s ki en li habundent · E(t) p(our)ceo kele ne poet
19. si g(ra)nt t(ra)vail enduer ke par suur le iette cum fait li masles: si ad na
20. ture establit un esp(ur)gement q(ue) l'u(n) apele flur p(our) ceo q(ue)le ne poet enchar
21. gier sanz ceo ; plus que li arbres poet fructefier se il anc[eis]⁵⁴⁶ ne flurist
22. Icest esp(ur)gement avient a la femme autre si cum a malle polluciun par
23. habundance des humurs · E(t) tut autre si cu(m) la glu ki ist del ceresieré

⁵⁴⁴ *Mir. Eg. and St. Rich* (no headword in *AND*)

⁵⁴⁵ *AND* 'covine' meaning "secrets" although this is not attested *AND*

⁵⁴⁶ puncture hole in parchment - *anceis* meaning before, first etc.

24. del prunier et nat(ur)elment q(ua)nt el ad q(ua)torze anz et a la fie dusze a cele

25. ki est pl(us) chaud(e) Si dure a meg(re) femme desq(ue) a cinquiaunte anz; a la fie

26. a seisante a la meine a q(ua)rante a la mute grasse a xxxv Se fem

27. me les ad a dreit me e a mesure que t(ro)p n'en isse ne poi finissent lest(er)

28. males humurs del cors Se ceo nun si nissent plusur(s) enfermetez.

fol. 1^v

1. Si quala fie en pert femme le talent de mangier e de beivre . A la fie d(e)

2. en ad vuncheisuns. A la fie delire mangier terri v carbun v tiule⁵⁴⁷ v

3. autre malveise chose. et A la fie l'en avient dolur al col et a dos e el

4. chief . e es oilz . e al eschine et a la fie ague fievre. Ices maus avie-

5. nent q(ua)nt femme pert lungement ses flurs. E a la fie envient

6. querp(us) et a la fie ydrope. e a la fie desuerie. ¶ La p(er)te del tut u la

7. menusement . vient a la fie d(e) ceo q(ue) la mariz est desnat(ur)éé. e refrei

⁵⁴⁷ *tieule*, tile or brick. This is an addition .

8. die. e a la fie d(e) ceo q(ui) les veines de la mariz s(un)t grelles cu(m) unt
les g(ro)s⁵⁴⁸
9. ses femmes qui les humurs nunt ueie par que il pussent passer. E
10. a la fie par ceo q(ue) les humurs sunt espesses. e gluuses e ne poent
11. essir. E a la fie par co que la femme manie poi e mult t(ra)uaille.
12. e m(u)lt sue. Kar co dit Ruffus. q(ue) femme qui mult t(ra)vaille. e mult
13. se moer ne dert mie auer g(ra)nt plente de ses flurs. Meis cele ki
14. mult manie e poi t(ra)vailler. en ad mult par besoi(n)g se ele seine
15. deit estre. Et a la fie les pert femme par ceo q(ue) li sanes refreide en
16. sun cors et secche pl(us) q(ue) ne devreit. E a la fie par ceo q(ue) li sanes
ist del cors
17. en autre liu. c(um) cele ki ad le fi v ele ki le nes seigne suuent. v cele
18. ki san crache A la fie les pert femme par g(ra)nt ire u par g(ra)nt doel. V
19. par g(ra)nt pour. Vniv(er)salment⁵⁴⁹ si femme les pert lungement. a pa
20. reillie e fiz poet estre de g(ra)nt mal. Sa urine t(or)ne a neirur⁵⁵⁰ e a rugur.

⁵⁴⁸ this would normally read *grasses* but the contraction gives 'ro' ? Possibly changes the sense as elsewhere the meaning is 'fat'.

⁵⁴⁹ Inserted by Hunt to the version in *AN II* based on MS CTC O.1.20 from the copy in MS London, British Library Sloane 3525. This Anglo-Norman verse translation gives at this line '*Jo les fas sages totes communement*' perhaps this explains the '*universalment*' given here.

⁵⁵⁰ MS CTC O.1.20 gives '*vert ou torne a rougor/Ou de char fresche pent estrange color*

21. e a la fie d(e) c(um) lavaure de char fresche. Se la femme e(st) megre si la
bu

22. soigne seignier de la veine del pie sus la cheville. un iur del un

23. pie e lautre de lautre. sulunc ico q(ue) le purra suffrir. Ker en tut es

24. enfermetez dert lu(n) prendre garde. de la force al malade. e guar

25. der q(ue) nu(n) nel afeblisse trop. Galiers cuntere en un soen lievre.⁵⁵¹ de

26. une femme ki avert p(er)du ses flurs q(ua)tre meis. si devint mult megre.

Et

27. perdi tute la volente de mangier. e il la seigna par treis iurz. le p(re)mier

28. iur en t(re)ist une livre et demie. e lautre iur del autre pie une livre. Et

29. le tierz iur del p(re)mier pie vint unces. En en⁵⁵² un poi de t(er)me li
revi(n)t

⁵⁵¹ expunction mark under the first 'e'

⁵⁵² *un* expunged

Appendix II

Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana, Florence, MS. Redi. 172.1. Transcription
and Commentary

In questo libri che siegue sono diterminate le segrete cose dele donne
[fol. 74^r]

*Dio creatore di tutte le cose di questo monde ordinoe le nature
singular mente seconde la sua generatione. Lumana natura
affermo piu dengna di tutte laltre nature alaquale diede
libertade di ragione et intendimento sopra tutte laltre nature.
Evolle dare generatione a tutti animali con divisata
generatione. ordinando lo principio de la schiatta che dee
venire si dispensare la generatione che dee venire con grande
deliberamento. E creo maschio et femina accio che dalloro ne
surgesse frutto buono et utile e la loro complexione temperoe
con alcuna commixtione et ordinoe. che lanatura del maschio
fosse calda et humida e diede alluomo si come a piu dengna
persona pui forte natura. complessione che la femina. ebbe
uomo si come miglore maestro officio del seme commesso
diversarlo ne la detta femina. et a la femina si come servente
ricevere lo seme versato nel suo luogo naturalmente. ¶2 Et
impercio che le femine sono piu debole naturalmente. et
impercio sono spesse volte molestate dovemo sapere che in loro*

*abondano spesse volte infermitade in contro ale membra
diputato allo ficio de la natura. e delle non ardiscono di
manifestare ce lano la debolezça de la loro conditione per
vergongna et per rosseçça che par nela loro faccia e non
vogliono manifestare lo dolore che [fol. 74^v] pariscono di quelle
malathie. Dunque me constringe la loro vergongna et
speçialmente la graçia duna mia madre lamino mio fece
sollicito et attento accio che le predette [in] malathie di loro io
provedessi di riducerle asanitate. **E io cola graçia di dio
invocata trovero le cagioni.** ele cure di tutte queste malathie de
le femine secondo chessi dispone ne libri di ipocras e di
galieno. Et impercio che ne le femine >non< abonda calore
naturale tanto tanto [rpt] che possa diseccare la superfluitade
delgli humori che sono generati in loro. ne che la loro
fragilitade possa sofferire la fatica che per sudore la loro
natura li caccia a la extremitade del corpo. si come puote fare
negli uomini e pero accompagnare lo calore assengno la natura
uno purgatione speçialmente nele femine per lo temp loro. la
quale purgatione e appellata da le genti fiori. E galieno disse
che sicome lalbore che sança fiori. non mena frutto. cosi la
femina che sança la sua purgatione naturale non mena frutto.
cioe non ae figliuoli. E questa cotale purgatione aviene a le*

femine. si come aviene alluomo pullulare.⁵⁵³ Et somigliantemente la natura setondosi agravata da quelli humori. et si non e nel maschio come ne la femina si si isforça di lasciare la sua signoria e la sua faticha. E questa purgatione aviene a le femine in undici anni. o un pocho piu tosto. o un poco piu tardi. E questo e secondo che piu o meno habonda in loro caldeçça et humiditate. e questa purgatione general mente da .L. anni. insino .a. Lxxv. ¶4 Et sequenta purgatione verrea a debito tempo et ordinamento [fol. 75r] et expedita la natura di questi humori in convenevole modo. e sella viene o piu o meno chessi convengna. sopra vengono molte malatie a le femine. ¶5 cioe debileçça dapetito di mangiare e di bere. e voluntade di rigittare.⁵⁵⁴ e quando anno voluntade di mangiare terra e carboni et tutte altre cose che sono contra natura. Et spesse volte di quella cagione sentono dolore nel dosso. nel collo nel capo e negliocchi.⁵⁵⁵ et alcuna fiata anno febbre a guta. overo mordicamento di cuore o di ydropisi. o di solutione di uentre. E questa adviene quando lungo tempo viene meno questa purgatione overo al postatto quando uiene meno.

finito lo prologa ora e da vedere la sua intentione

⁵⁵³ *Trotula* gives *sicut uiris* such as men, whereas here we read young men.

⁵⁵⁴ + in RH margin

⁵⁵⁵ Addition

*La intentione mia e di dīterminare . di. xiiii. cose et cosie saranno
quattordici capitoli. ¶*

*El primo capitolo dīterminarāe del tempo de la femina quando
non viene nouente. ¶ Lo secondo sie quando viene troppo. ¶ Lo
terço sie del movimento dela matrice. per tutto il corpo. ¶ Lo
quarto sie quando la femina non puote ingenerare ¶ Le quinto
sie di confermare la femina che prengna. ¶ Lo sexto sie come si
dee reggere la preгна. ançi lo parto e do pol parto. ¶ Le septimo
sie de lo impedimento de la conceptione per cagione de la
femina ¶ Loctavo sie de lo impedimento de la conceptione
quando viene per cagione delluomo ¶ Lonono sie de trovare la
cagione per che la femina non puote ingenerare. ¶ Lo decimo
sie quando le vedove ele caste anno male per difetto delluomo. ¶
Londecimo [f.75] sie del troppo sangue che viene ala femina
quando ella ae partato ¶ Lo duodecima sie de la generatione
⁵⁵⁶de la pietra che nascie nele reni o e nella vescica de la
femina. ¶ Lo tredesima sie del dolore che uiene a la femina⁵⁵⁷
quando ella si scipa. ¶ Lo quartodecimo sie quando ⁵⁵⁸la matrice
e suffocata.*

Capitolo Primo quando la femina non puote avere sua ragione

⁵⁵⁶ + in LH margin

⁵⁵⁷ + in LH margin

⁵⁵⁸ + in LH margin

Se la femina non ae la sua ragione et sia disvenuta del corpo suo. dee fare questo rimedio. primieramente si dee >fare< torre sangue de la vena⁵⁵⁹ che sotto il nodo del tallone. e nel seguente die dellaltro piede di quella somiglante vena. e traggasi del sangue secondo che lanatura sua puote portare che questo e generale in tutte le malathie. che primieramente e da considerare lavertude. E questo affermano tutti filosofi di medicina.⁵⁶⁰ ¶8 E Galieno ne pone uno exemplo duna femina chera stata per spatio di .x. mesi⁵⁶¹ che non avea avuto sua ragione. edera tutta constretta dela carne et avea perduta la volgla del mangiare. Et galieno fece fare. quello supra detto rimedio. et in poco tempo la caldo naturale torno alla femina. el lo suo stato anticho.⁵⁶² ¶8 ¶Ancora. dee usare questo bangno fatto in questo modo di queste herbe. cioe mentastro. saluia. nepitella. matricale. folgle dalloro et ramertino. E quando ecse del bangno bea questa⁵⁶³ potione. R. Nepitella manipolo uno e facciasì bullire in libbra una dacqua e meçça libbra di mele et bolla tanto che torni ala metade e di questa pocione usi la mattina [f.76'] a digiuno nela quantitate duno beccchiere. E quest cose faccia spesse volte.¶10 E la medicina che sie dee

⁵⁵⁹ + in LH margin

⁵⁶⁰ Addition

⁵⁶¹ nine months is given in the Standardised Trotula

⁵⁶² This is a much less detailed version

⁵⁶³ + in LH margin

*dare sie gerapigre.⁵⁶⁴ e tutte cose calde fanno grande utiliade
cioe spico. finocchi. cimino. appio. pretosemolo et ameos. Et
tutte cose somiglanti aqueste et queste herbe siascuna per se o
tutte mescolate in vino fanno molto aquella ragione. ¶ Polvere
optimo afare venire tosto suo tempo. R[ecipe]. flamule. cicuta.
mirra castoro bretonica⁵⁶⁵ iqualmente dragme .i. savina dragme
.ii. faccia si di⁵⁶⁶ queste cose polvere. e pilgine dragme una per
fiata con aqua la doue sia cocti salvia. e ruta nel begno⁵⁶⁷
predetto. ¶ Uno fisico fece questo medicamento a duna Reina. R.
giengiove. folgle dalloro. e savina e fece bollire in una pentola.
e fece sedere la reina sopra una seggiola forata bene coperta e
ricevere quello fummo dalla parte di sotto e si ebbe suo tempo
tostamente⁵⁶⁸*

The above remedy is taken from the section on paucity ¶25 and, as in Plut. 73.51, it omits the advice that if a woman frequently uses this method she should anoint her vagina inside with cooling unguents to prevent overheating.

*¶Medicamento da vicenna aquesta medesima ragione. R. mirra.
nepitella. iguale parte. .iiii. dragme. savina dragme .iii. ruta*

⁵⁶⁴ + in LH margin - much shortened version of ¶11

⁵⁶⁵ + in LH margin - this is a much shortened/changed version of ¶16

⁵⁶⁶ + in LH margin

⁵⁶⁷ + in LH margin

⁵⁶⁸ + in RH margin

seccha. dragme x. uve passe dragme xx. Equeste cose sieno confecte insieme con fiele e facciasene pesare amodo duna cura. e sia sotto posto nela parte chessi intende di sotto.

¶ *Anche. R. lo sugo del rosalaccio e sugo⁵⁶⁹ daneto. iquale parte neli detti segni. sia in volta lana e bambagia. e sia sotto posto nela matrice fermamente ritornerae suo tempo. Et sono quelle medicine⁵⁷⁰ onde si riceve la fummo de la parte da sotto;[f.76^v] come la colloquintida e assa fetida. e serapino. lo fummo di queste cose fac tosto riavere suo tempo. secondo che dice Avicenna.*

Capitolo secondo. quando il tempo viene oltra modo.

Labonda tale fiata ala femina la sua ragione sança⁵⁷¹ modo e queste adviene percio che >le< viene del lamatrice sono troppo aperte. overo chelle sono rotte e quindi esce il sangue ingrande quantitate. Et quello che viene indi e molto chiaro. Et se tiene colore gialle si procede da collera e segli e rosso procede di sangue. e seglie biano precede da flegma. Et se questo corso di sangue durrasse molto tempo eade la detta femina in ydropica e in tysica.⁵⁷² Et se questa malathia impremiermente e da curare che se per sangue pecca. faciasi [tutte expunged] sangue de la

⁵⁶⁹ + in RH margin

⁵⁷⁰ + in RH margin

⁵⁷¹ + in RH margin

⁵⁷² Reduced theoretical content and description ¶30

*vena comune del braccio mancho.⁵⁷³ E que per coller pecca. dec
 prendere la mattina a digiuno trifera sarracenia⁵⁷⁴ con sugo di
 endivia oncia >et< overo rosata novella.⁵⁷⁵ Et se procede si da
 flegme overe di melancomia dee pigliare la fera quando vae
 adormir. once .i. ⁵⁷⁶ di gera pigra galieni. e vale a bere acqua
 con çuechero dove sono cotte queste cose.⁵⁷⁷ R[ecipe] Scorze di
 melo grano. balaustie.⁵⁷⁸ cioe le meluççe che caggiono del detto
 melo. galluçça. galle darcipresso. folglie di nespelo e di quercia
 e di petacciuola e tutte o⁵⁷⁹ parte di queste cose sono buone. E
 la radice de la petacciuola bollita in aceto temperato se la
 prende [fol.77] a modo di bere a digiuno stomaco. che folgle
 delomiomenta pesta co la sungna del porco fatte in modo
 dimpiastro posto sopra ilbellico et bene legato vale molto.⁵⁸⁰*

*Avicenna dice che le venisse troppo fluxo di sangue che sieno
 legate le mani ele coscie cominciando legate dal lomero. e
 discendendo di qui alamano ele coscie cominciando dalinguine
 elegando di qui apiedi.*

⁵⁷³ Blood letting less the cathartic ¶31

⁵⁷⁴ + in RH margin followed immediately by a + in LH margin

⁵⁷⁵ Additions made to ¶33 this is probably for black bile. He then gives the remedy for phlegm which does not appear in ¶33 but also includes detailed constrictives both internal and external. Followed by a special diet.

⁵⁷⁶ + in LH margin

⁵⁷⁷ The sugar is an addition and this recipe is in fact the same as the one above with the added 'galieni'.

⁵⁷⁸ Appears in *the Euperiston* p. 173 Hunt, *Shorter Treatises*. Here it would appear that it was an unusual ingredient hence the gloss. *Meluççe* is a diminutive of *mela*.

⁵⁷⁹ + in RH margin

⁵⁸⁰ Trotula gives *absinthio* (wormwood). ¶40

The advice given above with the authority of Avicenna is an addition.

¶ *Anche comanda che due ventose se si pongano sotto le mammelle senza scarificatione accio chel sangue ritorni suso.*⁵⁸¹

¶ *Polvere optimo R[ecipe] mastice incenso. sangue di dragone armenico pietra amatita coralli rossi e draganti queste cose o tutte o parte sieno peste. e sottilment e bene stacciate e la presa per uolta sia dragme. meçça con sugo di*⁵⁸² *porcellana o di lingua buona.*⁵⁸³ *Ela dieta secondo che dice Avicenna dee essere grossa et viscosa. cioe pane grosso e cruscolo. et vino grosso et buscoso. et non sottile. et pesci et formaggio et brevemente tutte quelle che tignano viscositate inse. Impero canno ad in grossare lo sangue et ritenere.*⁵⁸⁴

Capitolo terço quando la matrice si muove per la corpo⁵⁸⁵

Alquante fiate lamatrice si parte dal suo sito natorale et vae quando super la corpo. e quando queste aviene sente la femina grande dolore nello stomaco et acci difetto di sua ragione. e

⁵⁸¹ cupping glasses ¶35

⁵⁸² + in RH margin reduced ingredients for ¶33 which was to be drunk between meals¶

⁵⁸³ This is the powder referred to in ¶33 but with less ingredients including the omission of burnt elephant bones. It is also very similar to the recipe given for restoring virginity in *capitolo .xv.*

⁵⁸⁴ Although this appears to be from ¶33 it differs greatly in its theory and content. The standardised *Trotula* specifies a light diet of hens cooked in pastry and fresh fish cooked in vinegar with barley bread plus a decoction made from barley.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Book on Conditions of Women - On Movement of the Womb from its Place' ¶60

sente tortione et rugito per tutto il corpo.⁵⁸⁶ Questa e la⁵⁸⁷ sua
 medicine. R[ecipe] seme dappio. aneti. finocchio. et fieno greco
 - di catuno once .i. et sieno pesti e facci bollire in vino et questo
 vino usi abere.⁵⁸⁸ Lamattina adigiuno aquantitate de duno
 becchiere. Anche R[ecipe] agaricho. aspalto. seme di
 petaccuiola et san⁵⁸⁹ [f.77'] toreggia di catuno. once. ii. et siene
 bene peste e cotte in vino et mele. et usi questo la sera quando
 vae adormire ne la quantitate predetta.⁵⁹⁰ ¶ Accio chella matrice
 non si muova per alcuna ragione del suo sito naturale. e questo
 e utile rimedio. seconde il detto di tutti filosofi di medicina.
 R[ecipe]. sugna di cervio et sugna dasino e buturo. di catuno
 dragme. una. Et poi R[ecipe]. fieno greco et seme de lino. sieno
 fatto bollire in una libbra. acqua apiccolo fuoco. tutte queste
 cose. Et⁵⁹¹ da questa dicotione sia fatto uno pessario per la
 matrice.⁵⁹²

Capitolo quarto quando la femina non puote avere figliuolo⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁶ Shortened description

⁵⁸⁷ + in RH margin

⁵⁸⁸ Additional ingredients. ¶61 gives wild celery and fenugreek ground with wine and drunk

⁵⁸⁹ + in RH margin

⁵⁹⁰ Additional ingredients. ¶62 gives ground agaric, great plantain seed, savory seed cooked in wine or honey

⁵⁹¹ + in LH margin

⁵⁹² Omits the red wax as does Plut. 73.51 otherwise faithful rendition of ¶63.

⁵⁹³ 'The Book on the Conditions of Women - On Impediment to Conception' ¶74 with additions from 'On the Regimen of Pregnant Women' ¶79

Si come dice ypocras sono aliquante femine cho sono inutile ad inprengnare. Impercio chelle sono sottilo. o troppo magre. o troppo grasse. ela carne che intorno alaboccha dela matrice e non la sera entrare lo seme del luomo nela matrice. e sono di quelle canno la matrice si lieve e si >di< dotta che non puote ritenere. e sono di quelle canno il seme loro si sottile et humido che non vi puote stare nella matrice. e questo peccato di non potere generare puote auenire per vitio delluomo e della femina. e se questo si vuole sapere sia fatto questo experimento. tolgle due pentole nuove et in cacuna pone oncia una di crusca. et poni dellorina delluomo in una di quelle pentole, et nellaltra pentola di quella dela femina e sia lasciata stare per .viii. di o per .x. et selvitio sarae dala parte delluomo. troveranno sine la pentola molti vermini. ela crusca putarae molto. Et sel vitio sarae dalla parte dela femina sarae il somigliante ne ⁵⁹⁴ [f. 78^r] la sua. e segle vicio delluno edellaltro. truovasi quello che detto e nelluna e nellaltra. ¶ Et accio chella non sia sança frutto. tolgle la matrice della lievre e falle bene seccare e quando ella e bene secca falla bene polvericçare. et di questa polvere sia dato in quantitate duna dragma. con vino puro quando ae affare di suo marito et avranne figliuoli.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ the ubiquitous bran test ¶75

⁵⁹⁵ dried hare's womb remedy ¶75 This reading is confirmed by the fourteenth-century version of the *Trotula* in MS London, Wellcome Library 546 (f. 49^v) where the text finishes and in MS Firenze, Medici-Laurenzianon, Laurenziano Plut. XLII. 22. (1355) 'Nota che la matrice de la lepre, seccata et data a bere a la femina ne l'uscita del bagno,

¶Anche toglì lo fegato ele granella duno verro piccolo⁵⁹⁶ et
facciansi bene seccare. e siano facce polvere. et di questa
polvere sia data da cui procede il vitio.⁵⁹⁷ Ancora tolgle lacte
dasina. e bangui entro lana sucidi. elegale insu lo bellico
dellumo. e tanto uistea quanto ae affare con sua donna.

This prescription alters the gender of the user as the usual remedy for
ass's milk to be tied to stomach during intercourse usually applies to the
woman. The reading in MS Redi 172.1 is confirmed by MS Plut. 73.51. The
Trotula gives this for a women who wishes to conceive a male child.

*Et sappi che quando la femina ae generato non si debbono
ricordare cose dinançi dallei le quali sieno in possibili per
auere pero chesse nollavesse sarebbe cagione di perdersi del
corpo.*⁵⁹⁸ *Et se la femina avesse appetito di mangiare terra,
carboni. et altre cose contra natura. lo rimedio sie questo chella
prenda fave cotte con zucchero mescolate.*⁵⁹⁹ ¶*Et Avicenna dice
che sono oltre cagioni levali fanno impedimento al generare che
sono naturalmente nel uomo e nella femina cioe difetto delo
instrumento delluomo che brieve che non puo portare il seme al
collo de la matrice. Enella femina sia questa somiglante
cagione per difette del suo istrumento. e questa cagione*

con vino caldo et moscado, se userae co lo suo marito, sença dubbio impregnare.

⁵⁹⁶ + in RH margin

⁵⁹⁷ dried liver and testicles of a small pig ¶77 omits 'which is the only one a sow has borne'.

⁵⁹⁸ From 'On the Regimen of Pregnant Women'. ¶79

⁵⁹⁹ From ¶79

naturale non riceve alcuno medicamento. e cosi alcuno medicamento da vedere di tutte altre cagioni.

The last section that deals with physical shortcomings is also found in the Salernitan *Practica brevis* where it appears under the heading *De impendimento conceptionis* the conclusion given is *Mes les vices qui vient del vit qui est tort ou cort si est incurable*.⁶⁰⁰

Et in primieramente e da considerare lora laquale fa molto algenerare. e de questa. che quando la femina il desidera e dilecta sia toccata [f. 78^v] e dileticata nellogo che tralbellico ela cosera imprecio che molta dilette vole. Equande si vole sapere chella sia bene appresa accioe puote si sapere in questo modo che gliocchi suoi cominciano arossare. el fiato allevare e quasi non puote parlare ançi in commencia a sclinguare

The above instructions do not appear in the Trotula.

Rimedio afare ingenerare. R[ecipe] mirra. storace. lengno. aloes. garofani. orbache. arsenico⁶⁰¹ rosso. galle darcipresso. galbano. gittaione. ysopo tutte queste cose o parte seino tritate. et riceuasi le fummo dalla parte di sotto. ançi che la femina abbia affare di suo marito.⁶⁰² Anche R[ecipe] spica. gruogo. mastice. mirra. galla moscada. castoro et chiaguolo queste cose

⁶⁰⁰ Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine I: Roger Frugard's Chirurgia and the Practica Brevis of Platearius*, 245.

⁶⁰¹ + in LH margin

⁶⁰² + in LH margin

sieno bene peste et informate con olio nardino a modo di pasta. et facciasine persari⁶⁰³ a modo duna ghianda. et uno di questa pessari sia forto⁶⁰⁴ posta a la matrice. Ancora. R[ecipe]. aglio che sia seccho et humido cioe quando si colgono et sia pesto et fatto bolire in olio rosato tanto che sia consumata lumidita dellaglio et in questo olio sia incinta alquanto di lana o di bambagia. et sia sotto post nella parte di sotto. chessi intende appresso a la matrice. et questo e maraviglioso medicamento si come dice Avicenna.

The remedy suggesting the use of garlic is an addition.

Capitolo quinto come la femina si dec conferuare quande ella e prengna e quando dee partorie.⁶⁰⁵

Si come dice Avicenna. Galieno lo fancuillo ellegato a la matrice si come il frutto nellalbore ilquale quando procede dal fiore e molto tenero. e per ciascuna lieve cagione si cade a terra. e quando sara crebuto⁶⁰⁶ sarae fermo nellalbore. e quando sarae bene maturo. sançi [f. 79^r] alcuna cagione cadra a terra dellalbore et simigliante e del fanciuollo quandi e creato che ilegamenti sono le⁶⁰⁷ cagioni di fare scipare cioe quando la

⁶⁰³ + in RH margin

⁶⁰⁴ + in RH margin

⁶⁰⁵ The Book on the Conditions of Women - On preservation of the Fetus ¶88 and On Difficulty of Birth ¶90

⁶⁰⁶ read *cresciuto* ?

⁶⁰⁷ + in LH margin

*femina cade. et perira ira e per troppa fatica. e per farsi torre
 sangue. et molte altre cose sono che fanno disperdere il corpo. e
 quando a bisognasse alcuna purgatione dice ypocras che ançi Li
 quattro mesi fare non si conviene ma ne .iiii. et ne .v. et ne .vi. si
 puote fare temperatamente con quella medicina che la sua
 natura porta.⁶⁰⁸ ¶E quando la femina non puote partorire sia
 fatto questo rimedio. R[ecipe]. malba. fieno greco. seme di lino
 et orço e di queste cose sia fatto bangno nel quale stea la detta
 femina et sia-unta ne fianchi. el ventre ele coste e nelluogo
 vergognoso⁶⁰⁹ con olio violato et sia fortemente fregata. et sia le
 data per bere questi polvere.⁶¹⁰ R[ecipe] menta. assenço. di
 catuno once una con vino puro caldo. a quantitate duna dragma
 et sia promossa astarnutire con polvere dancenso posta nel
 naso. et sia menata la femina con lento passo.⁶¹¹ ¶E sol fanciullo
 fosse morto in corpo bea queste cose con vino. R[ecipe] ruta.
 assenço. et. pepe. et si lo ne fanno venire tostamente.⁶¹² ¶Ancora
 tolle santoreggia bene pesta et sia legata sopra il ventre. et
 incontanente sara liberata.*

⁶⁰⁸ This appears to read not four, nor five, nor six which differs from the *Trotula* which gives 'not before the fourth but in the fifth and sixth month'. ¶88

⁶⁰⁹ + in RH margin

⁶¹⁰ Equivalent to ¶91

⁶¹¹ Also 'On Difficulty of Birth' ¶91

⁶¹² + in LH margin

Anche sia scripta queste dizione e in⁶¹³ uno pome o in altra cosa che sia le⁶¹⁴ data amangiare cioe. Sator arepo tenet opera rotas. e chi queste farae sie tostamente liberata o morto o vive che sia.

The final remedy the *sator, arepo* charm for childbirth usually includes a string of letters but is omitted here. Remedies such as these that use words for 'binding' have a long history and instructions to write down and either ingest or wear are found throughout manuscripts regardless of language.

Medicamento dAvicenna a farae venire lo fanciullo morto togle lunghia dellasino. sia incisa minutamente [f. 79^v] e di questo sia fuero uno fumigio dalla parte di sotto⁶¹⁵ et veranne tosto fuori.⁶¹⁶ Ancora togli assa fetida meçça dragma. fogle de ruta secca. dragma .iii. mirra dragma .ii. et queste cose sieno bene polvericçate et dato bere con dicoccione di savina a quantita dune dragma. la mattina e la sera e sarae deliberi inmantemente.

To this point this is an approximation of ¶117, however, as in MS Plut. 73.51, it is now given as a recipe for a concoction to drink rather than being applied as a fumigation to the nose.

⁶¹³ *pome* expunged

⁶¹⁴ ? expunged

⁶¹⁵ + in LH margin

⁶¹⁶ Much reduced version of ¶108 agrees with Plut. 73.51

Capitolo vi come si dee reggiere la femina ançi parti e poi⁶¹⁷

Hora si conviene vedere come sia da sovenire alla femina et alla matrice ançi lo parto e de po il parto. Quando la femina ae difficultade di partorire per la fretteçça de la bocca de la matrice. impercio che questa e una cagione sille dato questo consiglo per li fisici. che primiermente che dea prendere la sua dieta neli due mesi ultime. du fare cibi che sieno lievi et agevoli ad ismaltire. si come sono polli, et uccelli minuti. et carne di cavreto et di castrone e pesci che sieno scagliosi si come sono lasche et mugini et asi buono condimento et il bangno che detto di sopra et quando non puote si tosto partorire sia fatta starnurire strignendo il naso e la bocca. accio che lo spirito vada a la matrice et sia le data una dragma. da triaca colla decoctione del fi>e<no greco et sopra tutte altre cose sia confervata dal freddo. Et usi questo fumigio dalla parte di sotto. R[ecipe] lengno aloes. garofani. ambra. moscado et tutte cose odorifere impercio che la matrice trae volonteri ale cose odorifere et fugge le fetide. Et sia manifesto che molti rimedii sono da fisica la vertude quali e a li fisica celata. che si so [f. 80']⁶¹⁸ no fatti. fanno grande utilidade. cioe che se la femina vuole tosto partorire tengna nela mano parte di calamita.⁶¹⁹ Si

⁶¹⁷ 'Book on the Conditions of Women' ¶

⁶¹⁸ catchword 'no fatti' at bottom of folio.

⁶¹⁹ As in MS Plut. 73.51 but gives lamita? f. 54v. Totula ¶ 118

puote essere et tostamente verrea a suo intendimento.⁶²⁰ ¶Anche si trouova una pietra nello stomaco dela rondine che primeramente nata. che sella e lavata e quella lavatura sia data a bere a la detta femina. faralla tostamente partorire.⁶²¹

Avicenna dice che il miglore rimedio che fare si puote sie usare il bangno aquesta ragione. cioe. di queste herbe. R[ecipe]. Malva. malvavischio. fieno greco. seme di lino et fiori camamilla et violato. nelle parti vergognose. per tutto il ventre et per le reni.⁶²²

This appears to be part of ¶91. The omission of the ingredient 'oil' and its replacment with *seme de lino* which would not produce a cooling unguent for the vagina.

Capitolo vii de lo impedimento per cagione propria dela femina⁶²³

La conceptione e impedita per molti modi o delli e per vitio delluomo solamente o dela femina solamente. El viçio de la femina sie per la troppa caldeçça de la matrice. et per lumiditade sua. Impercio chella matrice per la molta caldeçça et humilitade humiditade lo seme chelle mandato per ritenere affoga. Ele queste cose vegnono per caldeçça et siccitade di

⁶²⁰ large + in RH margin

⁶²¹ Ms Plut. 73.51 and ¶122.

⁶²² + in RH margin

⁶²³ 'Book on the Conditions of Women' ¶129

matrice sono manifesto in questo modo. Che primieramente li labbri sono ulcerati si come soffero rocchi⁶²⁴ dal vento borreale. ele mammelle sono rosse et continua⁶²⁵ sete ae.ecadimento di capelli dunque quando queste cose averanno. ela femina. xxx. anni et per lungo tempo sia stata amalata di queste sie giudicata di noi mai poterne di liberare di questa cagione. Et se questa malathia e giovane et non ecchia puotesi in questo modo curare. R[ecipe] malva. matricale. et sieno cotte in acque et con questa di [f. 80^v] coccione tre volte e quattro il di riceva questo vapore nelle⁶²⁶ parti di sotto. et intra questi vapore pessara et suppositori sono migliori posti nella matrice e con olio di mastice sia fatto accio chella matrice sia confortata et poi in .vii. di dopo questa >e< vaporatione. R[ecipe] triferia magna aquantitate duna castangna et sia involta in bambagia e fatta una sopposta⁶²⁷ e messa⁶²⁸ nela matrice e nel sequente die abbia affare di suo marito⁶²⁹ et questo sieno fatte di settimana in settimana. Et per questo modo potrae ingenerare se sarae piacere di dio.⁶³⁰ ¶E sel concipere non puote essere per lumiditate de la matrice in questo modo si puo sapere che

⁶²⁴ + in RH margin

⁶²⁵ ? expunged

⁶²⁶ + in LH margin

⁶²⁷ + with dots in each section above the word

⁶²⁸ + in RH margin

⁶²⁹ + in RH margin

⁶³⁰ 'If it pleases God' is an addition.

gliocchi suoi saranno continuamente lagrimosi impercio che la matrice ellegata col cerebro con duo⁶³¹ nervi. ¶ Et sia purgata spesse uolte con theoridon⁶³² cioe uno lattouario. Et questo sia fatto tante volte chella sia bene purgata. E as sapere quando sia bene purgata. R[ecipe] moscado grano .i. et garofani dragma .i. e fieno pesti insieme et messi in una peçça sottile fatto a modo duna cura et sia forto posta nelluogo⁶³³ vergognoso. e sella sarae bene purgata veranne grande odore per la bocca di moscado. e se non farae purgata none veraae odore neente.

Annotations in the margin show that this chapter of the *Segrete cose* contained items that were of particular interest to at least one reader. The contents closely follow that of the *Trotula* which give the signs of this condition as 'dry ulcerated lips as if from the north wind, red spots, unremitting thirst and hair loss'. MS Plut. 73.51 and MS Redi 172/1 offers a slightly different version reading '*Elle mammelle sono rosso.*' Other differences include omitting the optimal number of times that intercourse should take place and the psychological and physical reasons why humidity of the womb should cause the eyes to continually emit tears. This version also leaves out the detailed instructions of how to administer the *Theodoricon* and omit the ingredient *Paulinum*. It simplifies instructions by merely stating that the woman should be purged with '*theoridon*' but does add the gloss 'that

⁶³¹ 'two' is an addition

⁶³² Read *Theodoricon*: the gloss '*cioe uno lattouario*' is an addition.

⁶³³ + in LH margin

is an electuary'. MS Redi 172.1 and MS Plut. 73.51 then add a distinct variation of the musk test from ¶130. The *Trotula* gives 'musk' not 'nutmeg' and does not include cloves (*garofani*). In the *Trotula* musk is inserted into the vagina, a treatment based on the vague Hippocratic theory that there was a direct channel between the vagina and the mouth, the result being that anyone who should kiss her would 'think that she is holding musk in her mouth'.

Capitolo octano dello impedimento de la conceptione per difetto delluomo⁶³⁴

Se per vicio delluomo la conceptione e impedita o per difetto dispirito canno amandare le seme a la matrice o per difetto dumiditate del seme. o per difetto del calore naturale non desidera luso de la femina. E questi sono da sovenire in questo modo.⁶³⁵ [fol. 81'] R[ecipe] seme de rutha et euforbio di catuno once .i. et insieme sieno peste. e michiate con olio di mucellino et olio di pulegio et fattone unguento et di questo sia unte le reni bene et diligentemente. ¶ Et si per difetto dispiriti sia questa cagione et abbia desiderio de la femina et membro delluomo non puote fare sua operatione i quali son da sovenire in questo modo o sovenire con dieta di buon cibi et agevoli asmaltire. et affare generare molti spirit cioe polli e uova da soper bire e

⁶³⁴ 'Book on the Conditions of Women - On Sterility on the Part of the Man' ¶131

⁶³⁵ ++ in LH margin

buono vino rosso et carne di cavretto et di montone.⁶³⁶ ¶ Et per difetto di seme.⁶³⁷ viene debbono essere aitati in questo modo con quelle cole canno acresciere e generare le seme cioe cipolle et pastinache domestiche e tutte cose somiglianti.

Capitolo nono la cagione per che la femina non puo generare.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁹Secondo che di cagione et di cure dele femine e dato annoi grande conoscimento primieramente e davedere la cagione per che la femina non puo⁶⁴⁰ generare. et accio che questo sia manifesto sia fatto questo experimento.⁶⁴¹ sia fatto una sopposta di panno di lino sottile amodo di dito picciola. et sia in volto in olio mugellino⁶⁴² o pulegino o laurino et sia posto nelluogo vergognoso la notte quande vae adormire legata con filo a la gamba bene et fortemente et se sarae tratto da la parte dentro quanda non dormirae significa che questo e per cagione di fredeçça e se e tracta fuori [fol. 81^v] significa che per cagione di caldeçça. E da ciascuno cagione e da sovenire. accio che tutti i contrari sieno⁶⁴³ curari per contrario. E se questa e per cagione di caldeçça sia fatto questo fumigio di sotto. R[ecipe] malva,

⁶³⁶ MS Plut. 73.51 gives 'castrone'.

⁶³⁷ This phrase is repeated in MS Redi 172.1

⁶³⁸ 'On Treatments for Women' ¶132

⁶³⁹ ++ in LH margin

⁶⁴⁰ MS Plut. 73.51 gives *puote*

⁶⁴¹ ++ in LH margin

⁶⁴² +++ in LH margin: *mugellino* is an addition in place of 'any hot oil'.

⁶⁴³ expunged and repeated in RH margin

viole et rose et sieno cotte in acqua et fatto come detto di sopra. Ma selgli aviene per cagione di fredeçça sia fatto questo fomigio somiglantmente aquello modo sopra detto. R[ecipe] pulegio folgle dalloro persicaria et poi che fatto questo fumigio. sia fatto questo rimedio. che maravigliosamente vale a le femine che sono di freddi natura. R[ecipe] garofani. spica nardi. storace calamita. noci moscate et moscado puro et queste cose sieno tritate et messe a quantitate duna oncia in una tegghia piena di carboni accesi e la femina si sedrae sopra una sedia ferrata et dec ricevere lo fummo de la predette cose. accio che tutto il fumo vada a le membra interiore et faccia dimoranç.

Capitolo .x. come le uedoue ele caste femine sono da souenire quando anno difetto duomo⁶⁴⁴

Sono aliquante femine che non possono avere carnale disiderio con huomo e questo avient o per boto? chella abbia fatto. o per che sieno in alcuna religione rinchiuse in perchio none licito a molte femine di potere osservare la boto le quale anno desiderio di carnale congiugimento. et non possono patire. et sofferanne grave malatie. a lequali siano fatto questo rimedio. R[ecipe] bambagia et sia unta dolio di pulegio. o di mucellino. et sia sotto posto nelluogo predette.⁶⁴⁵ ¶ Anche. R[ecipe] trifera magna

⁶⁴⁴ 'On the Preservation of Celibate Women and Widows ¶141

⁶⁴⁵ + in LH margin

et sia distemperata in vino puro et in volta lana sucida o bambagia [fol. 82'] et sia posta nel detto luogo. E questo rimedio tolle luxuria.

Capitolo .xi. come la femina sia di souenire del troppo sangue di pol? parto.

⁶⁴⁶ *A laquante femine sono. channo grande effendimente di sangue da poi canno⁶⁴⁷ partorire a le quali e da sovenire in questo modo. R[ecipe] matricale. salvia. puleggio. crispule. paritaria. Et di⁶⁴⁸ queste herbe sia tracto il sugo. e fattone fritelle a la⁶⁴⁹ detta femina date mangiare la mattina a digiuno stomaco et spesse fiate entri nel bangno dele dette herbe et al modo sopra detto. ¶ Et ancora si puote sovenire in altro modo. R[ecipe] argilla et sia distemperata con forte aceto et posta sopra il fegato che nel destro lato. ¶ E somigliantemente vale a fluxo di sangue per naso ponendo il detto empiastre sopra a la fronte et atorno a le tempie.⁶⁵⁰ e sappichel fluxo del sangue non viene a la femina si non quando ella ae partorito.*

This recipe gives the same ingredients with the exception of 'crispule' this could be a mistake for *faciamus crispellus* given in both MS Redi 172.2

⁶⁴⁶ On Treatments for Women - On Excessive Flow of Blood After Birth' ¶147. Marginal annotation ?

⁶⁴⁷ + in RH margin

⁶⁴⁸ + in RH margin

⁶⁴⁹ + in RH margin

⁶⁵⁰ + in RH margin

and MS Plut. 73.51 as *fattone fritelle* with no mention of willow weed. This is followed by remedy at ¶148 which can also be used for flux of blood from the nose. The *Trotula* remarks that this flux only occurs if the woman has given birth to a son.

Capitolo .xii. de la generatione de la pietra nelluomo e nela femina⁶⁵¹

La generatione de la pietra patisce luomo si come la⁶⁵² femina. e la femina come luomo. elluomo dee avere queste rimedio. R[ecipe] nasturço che nasce in acqua et sia cotto⁶⁵³ in vino puro e fatto a modo dimpiastro et posto sopra al ventre. che tral membro elbellico. et in quella dicotione sia fatto il bangno alluomo. ¶Et a la femina sia fatto altro rimedio. R[ecipe] nepitella. pollicaria. e mentastre et⁶⁵⁴ di queste herbe sia fatto eva potatorio a a detta femina⁶⁵⁵ et vale si alluomo come a la femina.

The authors/copyists make an additional comment that the quoted remedy 'is good for men as well as for women', however in the *Trotula* this refers to the following recipe below for *benedicta*.

¶Ancora. R[ecipe]. giniperi. nepitella. pessicaria. mentastro. fogle dallo- [fol. 82^v] re puleggio et assenço et di tutte queste

⁶⁵¹ 'On Treatments of Women - On Stranguary' ¶157.

⁶⁵² + in RH margin

⁶⁵³ + in RH margin

⁶⁵⁴ + in RH margin

⁶⁵⁵ + in RH margin

herbe sia fatto una bangno. e queste vale si alluomo come alle femina communalmente et permanendo nel bangno sia dato loro albangno meçça oncia di benedetta⁶⁵⁶ distemperata con vino calda. e cosi saranno diliberi se la pietra none confermata impercio chessi purgheramo per urina mandandone fuori la rena grossa e minuta.⁶⁵⁷ ¶ Anche R[ecipe] sassifragia et sia cocto in aqua et questa sia data a bere. et se bevesse vino sie temperato con questo acque. e prendine .iii. fiate o quarto per die ce fie dilibero tostamente.

Green has translated the ounce of *benedicta* as 'uncompounded hemlock' which, while the woman was in the bath, was to be given as a drink, from the Latin reading '*balneo simplicem damus bendictam*'. This electuary compound was prescribed to treat stranguary, however its formulation does not include the plant hemlock. The extremely poisonous herb hemlock is a renowned narcotic and is also the well-known poison which was given to Socrates to enable him to commit suicide, it has been called *Herba benedicta*. Given this reputation, it seems more likely that the usual electuary for treating stranguary was the intended treatment. The final remedy is taken from ¶158, 'On the Stone'.

The text in MS Redi 172.1 now gives an incorrect Capitolo xiii. *Quando effimera viene per vino*, but realising the mistake he put a line

⁶⁵⁶ Accademia della Crusca and Cardinal Alamanno Salviati, *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (Appresso D. M. Manni, 1729), 415.

⁶⁵⁷ + in RH margin

through it and then replaced it with the correct heading, running into the margin, for the section that follows.

Capitolo xiii. del dolore che viene a la femina quando e scipata⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁹*Dolore di matrice si aviene a la femina quand ella e scipata ançi tempo. Et alcuna fiata viene per cagione di rimpimento del tempo suo. Et questo aviene spesse volte per fredeçça sengo e di dolore e puntura che sente nel lato sinistre. Alquale sia fatto queste⁶⁶⁰ herbe siano cotte in acqua et riceva questo sosorno⁶⁶¹ di sotto. Et poi toglgi garofani. spica nardi. noci moscade. galanga. E di queste cose siano fatto uno fumigio.⁶⁶² et sia riceuuto lo fummo per uno imbuto. Et poi. R[ecipe]. trifera magna a quantitate duna avillana. Et sia uolta in bambagia. e sotto posta nelluogo che spesse uolte e nominato. Et se dolore e per cagione di caldeçça e grande calura onde la matrice e di seccata et riscaldada⁶⁶³ [f. 83'] fortemet e che sia cosi sengno e grande ardore. E a questo⁶⁶⁴ intorne aquelle parti. sia fatto questo rimedio. R[ecipe] malva et viole. rose. radice. dililio. et sieno cotte fortemente in acqua. et sia ricevuto quello fomento*

⁶⁵⁸ 'On Treatments for Women - On Pain of the Womb ¶ 225

⁶⁵⁹ + in LH margin

⁶⁶⁰ *erbe* expunged replaced with *herbe*

⁶⁶¹ + in RH margin

⁶⁶² + in RH margin

⁶⁶³ + in RH margin

⁶⁶⁴ *E a questo* has been added in the margin as the *a* had been omitted in this phrase in the line which was then struck through.

disotto et forto posto quello che detto de la triferamagna in questo presente capitolo.

Capitolo .xiii. quando la matrice vae per lo corpo⁶⁶⁵

Ali quante fiate aviene a la matrice suffocamento⁶⁶⁶ cioe quando vae suso et giuso per lo corpo. Onde aviene a la femina de debolezça dappetito per freddeça di cuore et al quante volere ae sincopi cioe difectione di cuore.⁶⁶⁷ el polso viene meno. si che al postutto? non si truova per quello somigliante cagione. et al quante fiate la femina si contrai si che capo e piedi si giungono insieme e non vede lume et perde la favella et il naso cotto. e li labbri stretti. Galieno dice duna femina chavea questa malatia et perdeo il polso e la favella et era quasi distrutta. e non pareva cavesse della vita. ma appresso del cuore avea alquante caldeça. onde⁶⁶⁸ al quanti fisici la giudicavano morra. Et galieno fece questo experimento. e tolse lana minutissimamente⁶⁶⁹ carminata e puosela ale nari del naso e vide muovere questo lana per questo modo conobbe chella avea vita et questo aviene a le femina percio canno molto seme il quale si converte in natura di veleno. Et aviene al quante fiate spesse volte a le

⁶⁶⁵ 'Book on the Conditions of Women - On Suffocation of the Womb' ¶45 A tab has been added to this folio at this point suggesting that at least one reader was particularly interested in this condition.

⁶⁶⁶ + in LH margin

⁶⁶⁷ both manuscripts include this gloss

⁶⁶⁸ + in LH margin

⁶⁶⁹ + in RH margin

*femina che avere non possono carnale desiderio si come sono
castre et ⁶⁷⁰ [f. 83^v] vedove et pulcelle da maritare. ¶ Grande
rimedio a questa malatia. sie che le mani e piedi sieno tempera-
tamente⁶⁷¹ fragati con olio laurino. e sieno poste ale⁶⁷² nari del
naso cose che sieno di grave odore. cioe galbano.⁶⁷³ opponaco
et castoreo. e feltro et panno lino et suo la⁶⁷⁴ vecchie. et tutte
cose somiglianti a queste cose o daliquante. sia fatto fumigio⁶⁷⁵ a
torno de le nari del naso.⁶⁷⁶ Anche toglì diacimino fatto con mele
a quantitate duna oncia et sia le dato la sera quando vae a
dormire con sugo di nepitella a quantitate duna dragma. ¶
Laltro⁶⁷⁷ rimedio. R[ecipe] castoro. pepe bianco. costo. menta
secca. seme dappio iqualmente di catuno et sieno bene peste et
distemperate con vino dolce et beave a quantita de duna
dragma. ¶ Ancora. R[ecipe]. radice di livistico et sia⁶⁷⁸ cotto
con la sugna. et vale molto questo medicamento.*

¶ Qui finisce illibro dele secrete cose dele donne

⁶⁷⁰ + in RH margin

⁶⁷¹ + in LH margin

⁶⁷² + in LH margin

⁶⁷³ + in RH margin and *galbano* underlined

⁶⁷⁴ + in RH margin and *suo la* underlined

⁶⁷⁵ underlined in ms

⁶⁷⁶ + in RH margin and immediately in LH margin on following line

⁶⁷⁷ + in RH margin

⁶⁷⁸ + in RH margin

The following transcription is chapter five of *Illibro delladornamento de le femine* as it appears in MS Plut. 73.51. There are no substantial differences between this and the copy in MS Redi 172.1. It is included here as an example of the differences in orthography used in the two manuscripts. Other treatments include remedies for the mouth, removing hair, beautifying the hair, the face, the teeth, removing all marks from the face and instructions to make it white and rosy.

Capitolo quinto di fare constringnere illuogognoso⁶⁷⁹ [sic] de la femina

Sono alquante femine che per la grandeçça dello instrumento alloperazione della luxuria sono trovate molte roççe e sconte intal modo che luomo usandole alquante fiate da quella operatione sconda si ssono abandonate. ne da indi inançi non truovano lomo che vogla piu andare. alloro. Equesto vitio la fisicha in molti modi di studia rimouovere accio che quello che natura creoe distenperato⁶⁸⁰ sia recato per per fisicha atemperamento in questo modo.

R[ecipe] corteccie di melle grane. galle et le corteccie loro. foglie et di lentischio. fogle di cinque foglie et radice di consolida maggiore e foglie della minore. et foglie dalloro. et frutto di ramerino. et foglie di menta. Tutte queste cose sieano

⁶⁷⁹ The index gives 'Il quinto capitolo sie di fare constringnere illuogo vergognoso de la femina'.

⁶⁸⁰ MS Redi. 172.1 reads *distemperato*

messe in aqua nelle quali sieno bollire queste. R[ecipe]. mastice. incenso. gomarabicho. serapino. bolo armenicho. rasure di pergamena di vitello. et quando sono assai bollire. sia colato et in questa colatura sia messo folgle dalloro et cose accio che ne vengna alore?. E quando sia vole lavare di questa aqua lavisi prima con aqua chiara. E quando vuole avere afare con uomo abia lana intrita nella detta aqua. Essia intromessa nella parte dentro. Et di fuori sia lavata cola detta aqua. Et poi dilligente mente con panno dentro et di fuori sia disecato. et dee molto⁶⁸¹ bene stringnere legambe Accio che tutta lamiditade ne venguia fuori. Et poi sia entro messo uno panno dalla parte dentro e fortemet disecchato. ma debbiassi lavare quando vuole avere⁶⁸² con uomo.

There are no instructions given in the *Trotula* for washing away the remedy before 'wanting to lie with a man'.

Et queste polvere fregate nelluogho vergongnioso E intralle mamelle con aqua rosata. R[ecipe]. garfani noci moschade cardamone et foglie dalloro.

A similar recipe appears in the *Trotula* as powdered ingredients but there it is given as a discrete perfume for the hair or veil.

⁶⁸¹ MS Redi 172.1 lacks *bene*

⁶⁸² MS Plut.172.1 *quando vuole giacere...*

*Essono di quelle che vogliono parere vergine et non sono fae
questo rimedio. Recipe. sangue dragone. Bolo armenicho.
Cenamo. cortecce di melo grano. aliune. mastice. et galle di
catuno dragma .i. Esieno bene polueriçcate. E questa polvere sia
mischiata con un poco daqua calda. Ediquete confezione sia
posto nelluogo della matrice. ¶ Ancora. R[ecipe] pietra ematiti.
galla. bolo armenicho. E sangue dragone. esieno sottilmente
polvereçcate. Si chella polvere possa usare per uno panno lino.
E questa polvere sia temperata con sugo di peticcuola. Esieno
fatto a modo duna sopposta. E posta nelluogo della matrice.
E questa sono irimedi chessi fanno aquelli mistieri.*

Appendix III

MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und

Landesbibliothek, 4^o med. 1

Transcription of Kassel's own unique prologue to Redaction II of the

Trotula (fol. 16^v)

Sains Jheromes dist que Adam fu fais de .viii. parties de choses. la premiere ce fu fais de la terre . La secone de la mer la tierche du soleil. la quatre des nues. la quinte du vent. la sixte des pierres. la septieme du saint esperit et la viii^e de la clarte du monde. la premiere partie qui fu faicte dy lymon de la terre ae fu la char. la seconde qui fu de la mer fu li sans. la tierche qui fu du soleil furent ly oel. la quatre qui fu des nues furent les pensez. la quinte qui fu du vent fu la layne. la vi^e qui fu des pieres furent ly os. la vii^e qui fu du saint esperit fu la scienche qui est mise en chacune⁶⁸³ personne. la viii^e qui fu de la clarte du monde fu la beaute que dieu donna a lomme en sa samblanche. Se il ya plus en lomme dy lymon de terre que des autres parties il sera precheux en toutes manieres. Sil ya plus de la mer il sera saches et experts en diverses scienches. Se yl ia plus du soleil il sera beaux et plaisans. Sil ya plus des nues il sera quoyz et pensieux. Sil ya plus des pierres il sera durs avers⁶⁸⁴ et loies. Se du saint esperit il sera joyeux et plaines de diverses esraptures Sil ya plus de la clarte du monde il sera bien amez et plains de tous biens. Quant

⁶⁸³ This word is abbreviated with a generic abbreviation I have therefore assumed that 'chacune' was the intended reading.

⁶⁸⁴ the Latin gives *avarus*

*monseigneur eust adam fourme si come⁶⁸⁵ vous avez oy yl non point de nom.
lors appella .iiii. angles et lor dist alez querrir nom a cest home Saint
Miquiel larchangle a la en orient et vit une estoille qui estoit appelee
Anatholim de ce lui nom .a. porta [a poi - expunged] il la premiere lettre qui
est A. Saint Gabriel ala en occidens et aporta la premiere lettre dune estoille
qui avoit nom dilphis ce fu .d. Saint Raphael a la en aquilon et vit une
estaille qui avoit a nom achinctus sy aporta la premiere lettre ce fu .a. Saint
Uriel ala en meridiem et vit une estoille qui avoit a nom mursibrion sa porta
la premiere lettre devant nostre seignor ce fu .m. lors commanda a Uriel qui
mesist ces .iiii. lettres ensamble et qui les a dioustast et uriel dist Adam⁶⁸⁶
ainsi fu apellez le premier homme.*

⁶⁸⁵ *si come* repeated- expunction marks beneath

⁶⁸⁶ underlined in red

Appendix IV Manuscript Styles

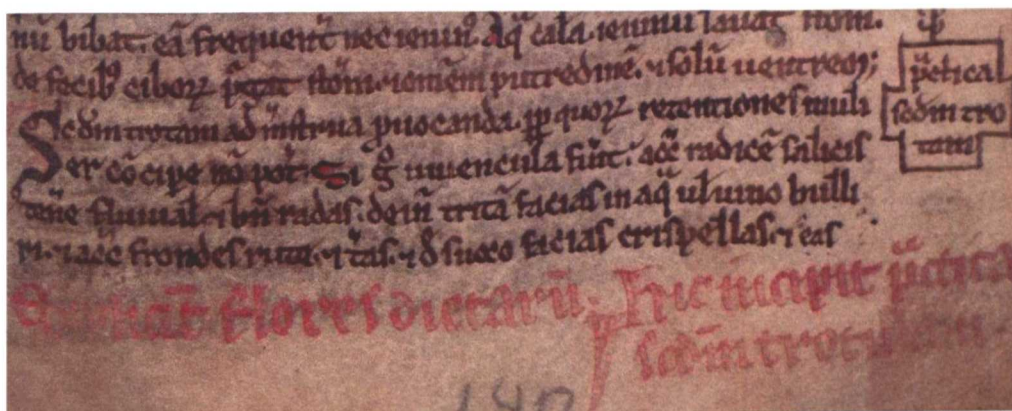


Illustration 1

fol. 104^r

MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 119 (olim 116-Z-31)

***c.* 1200**

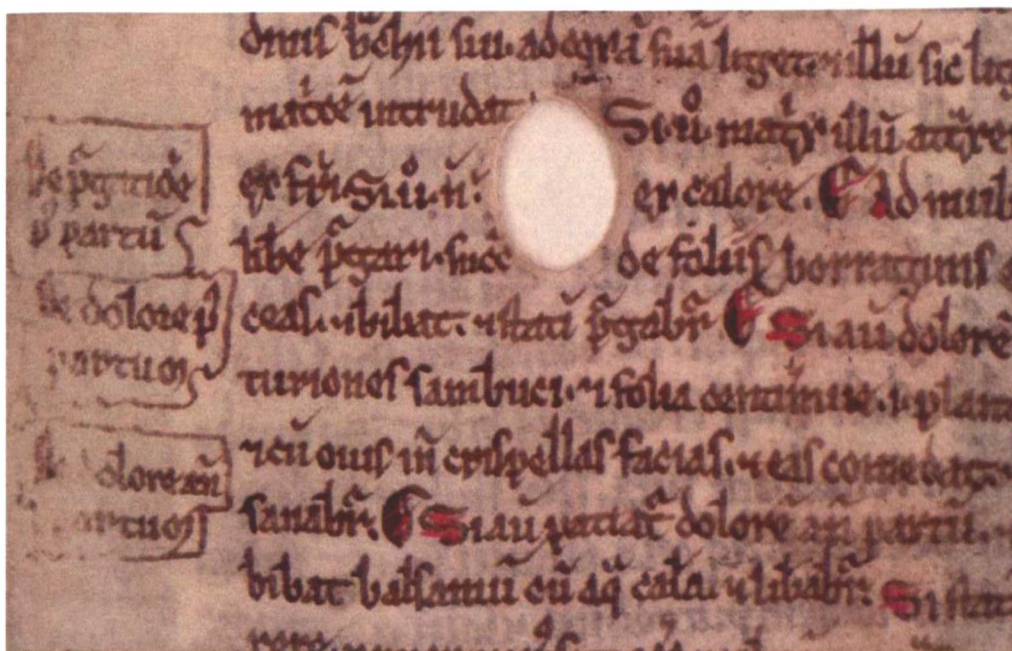


Illustration 2

fol. 147^v

MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense 119 (*olim* 116-Z-31)

c. 1200

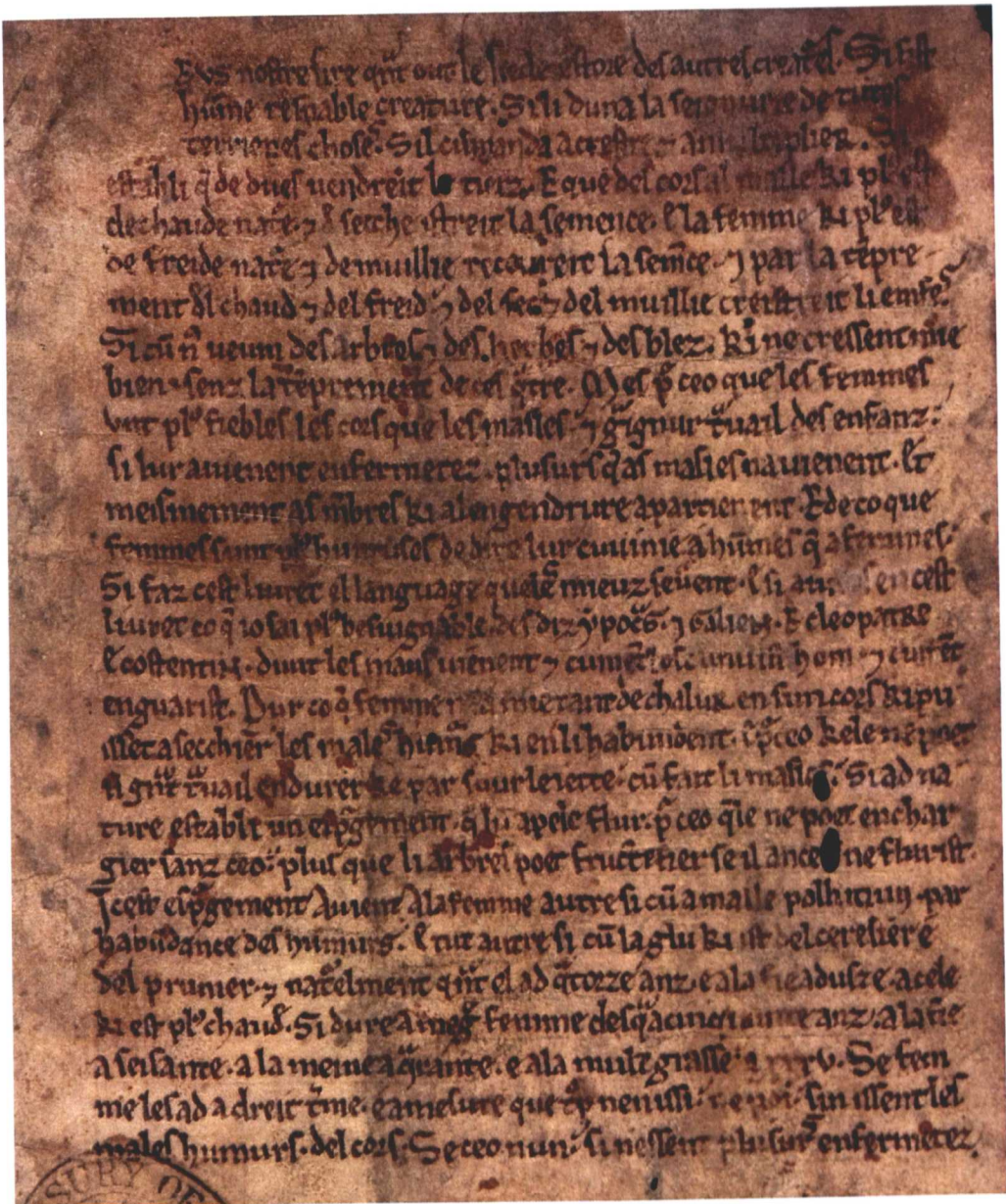


Illustration 3

fol.1^r

MS London, The National Archives E163/22/2/1

13th century

(Courtesy) The National Archives

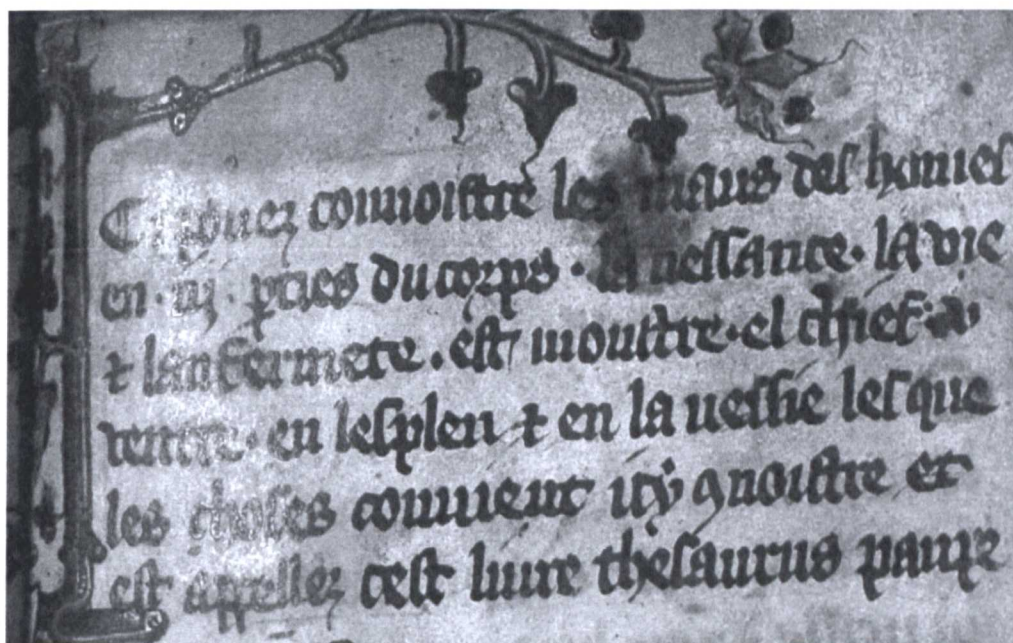


Illustration 4
fol. 9^r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnham 1187
c. 1304

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



Illustration 5
fol. 9^r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnham 1187
c. 1304

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

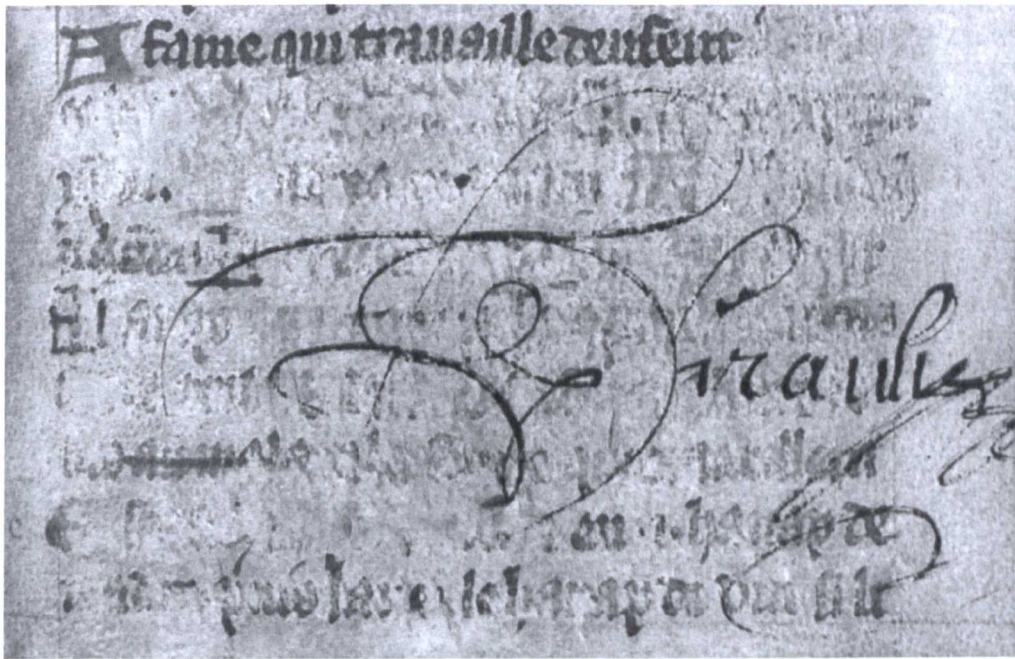


Illustration 6

fol. 24r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnham 1187

c. 1304

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

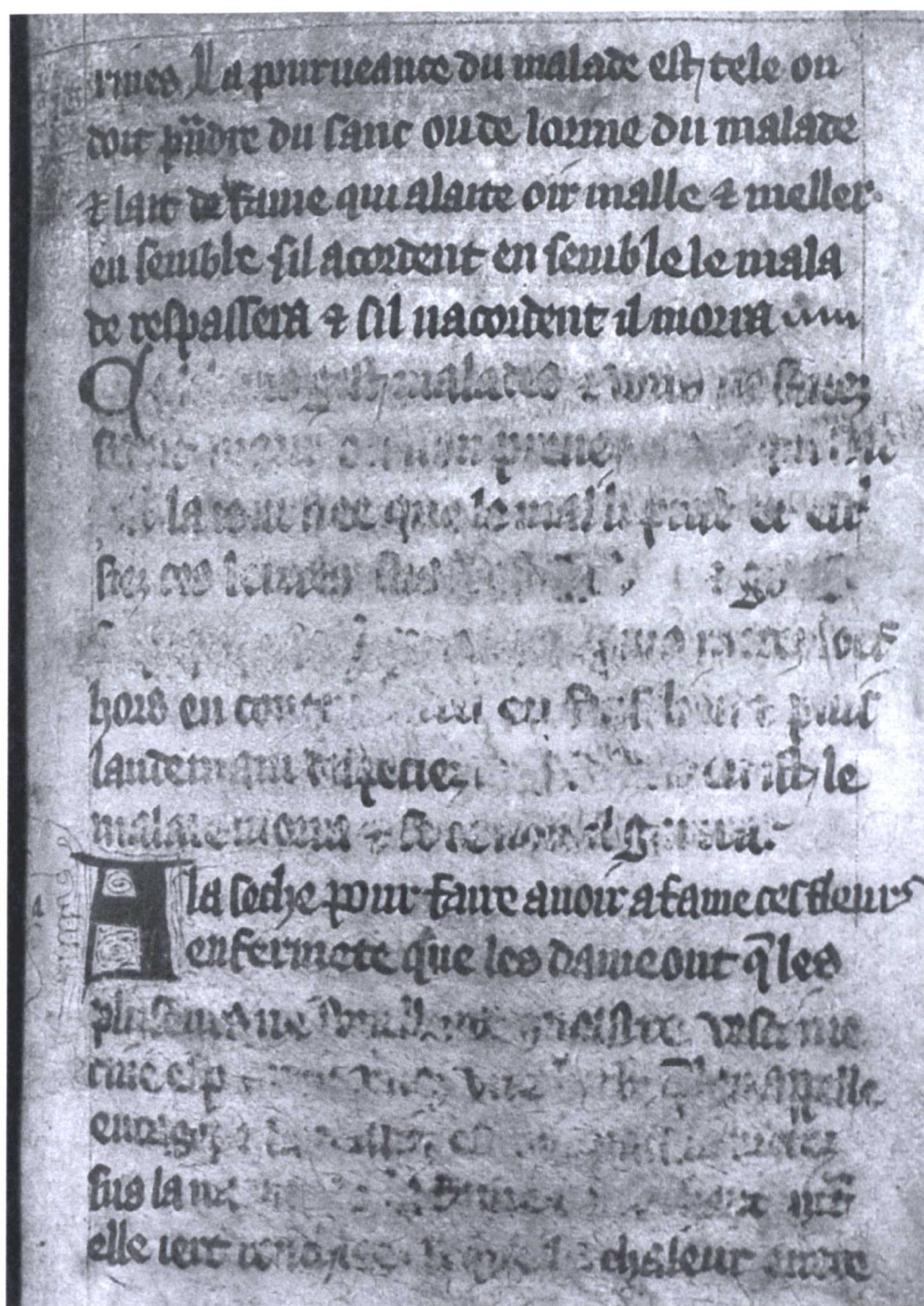


Illustration 7

fol. 25r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Ashburnham 1187

c. 1304

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

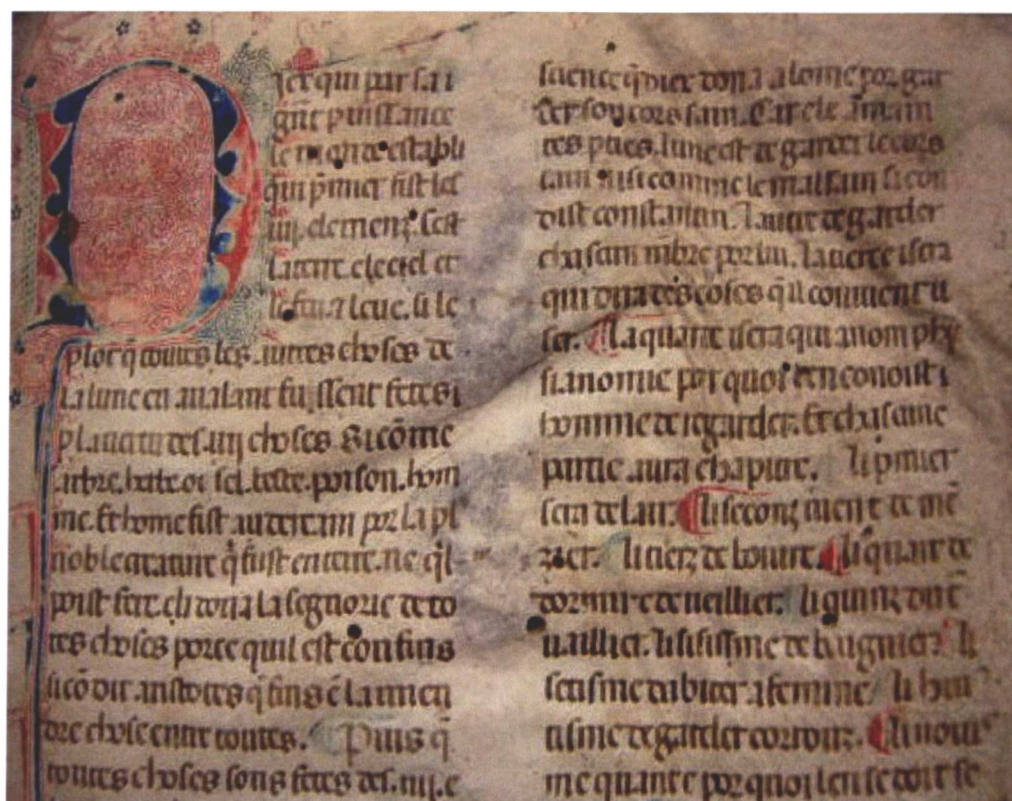


Illustration 8

fol. 1r

MS London, Wellcome Library 546

14th century

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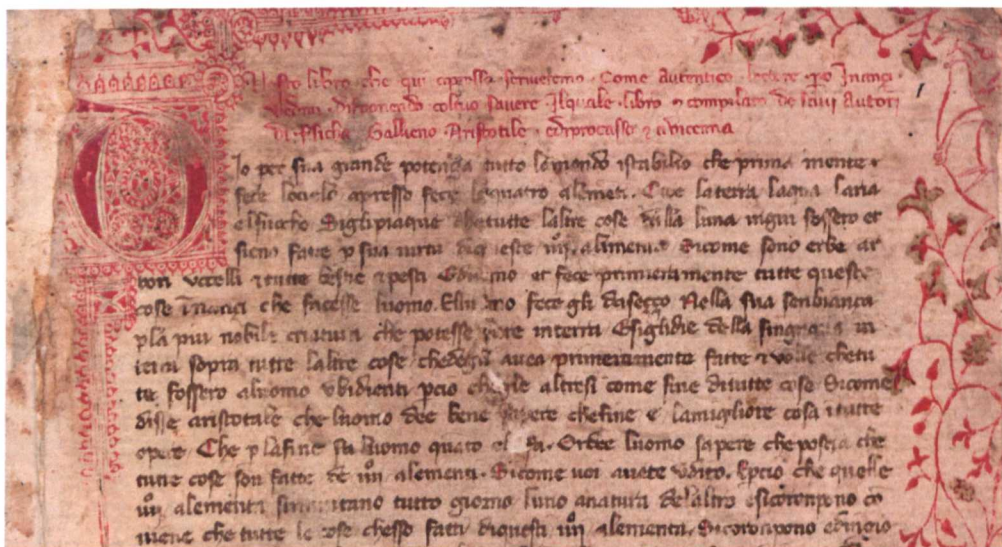


Illustration 9

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Plut. 73.51

fol. 1r.

14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

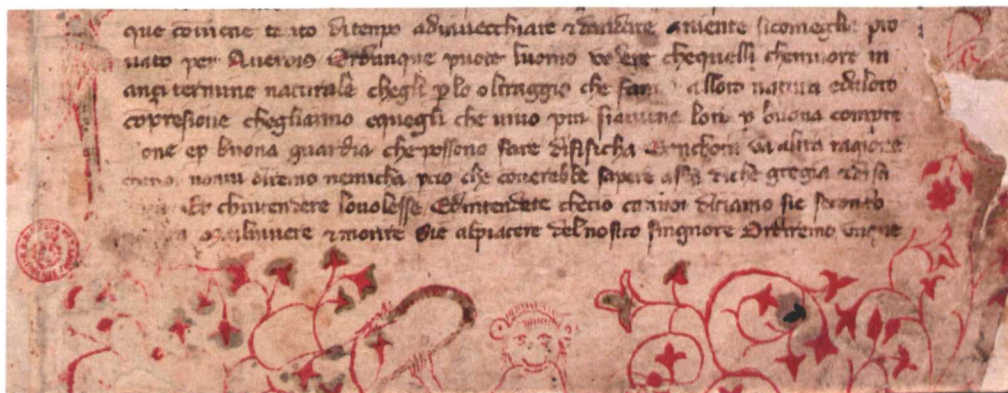


Illustration 10

fol. 1r

MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana Redi 171.1

14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

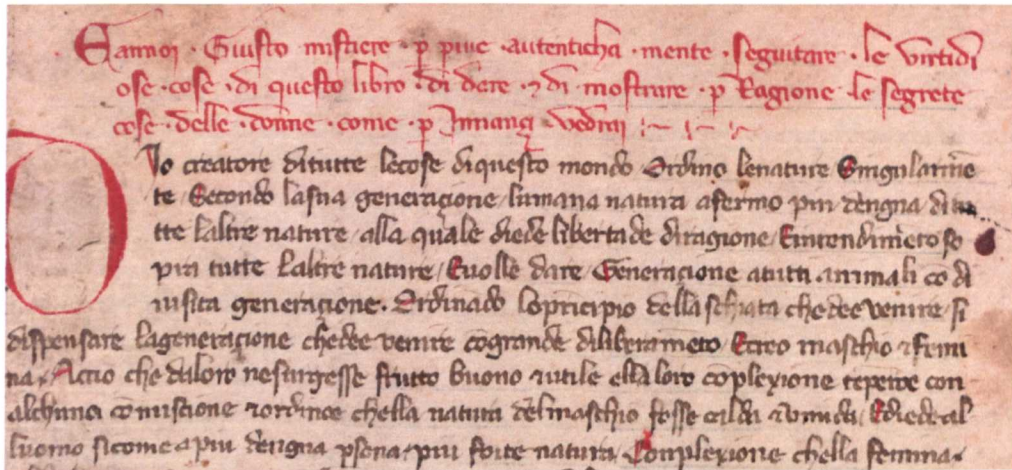


Illustration 11

MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medica-Laurenziana Pluteo 73.51
fol. 52r

14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali
E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.



Illustration 12

fol. 16v

MS New York, Yale University Library, Beinecke 492
 c. 1300-1325

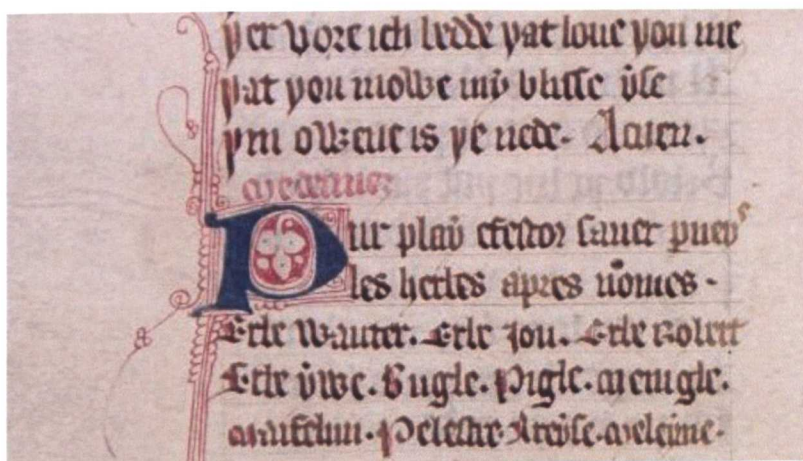


Illustration 13
fol. 105^v

MS New York, Yale University Library, Beinecke 492.
c. 1300-1325

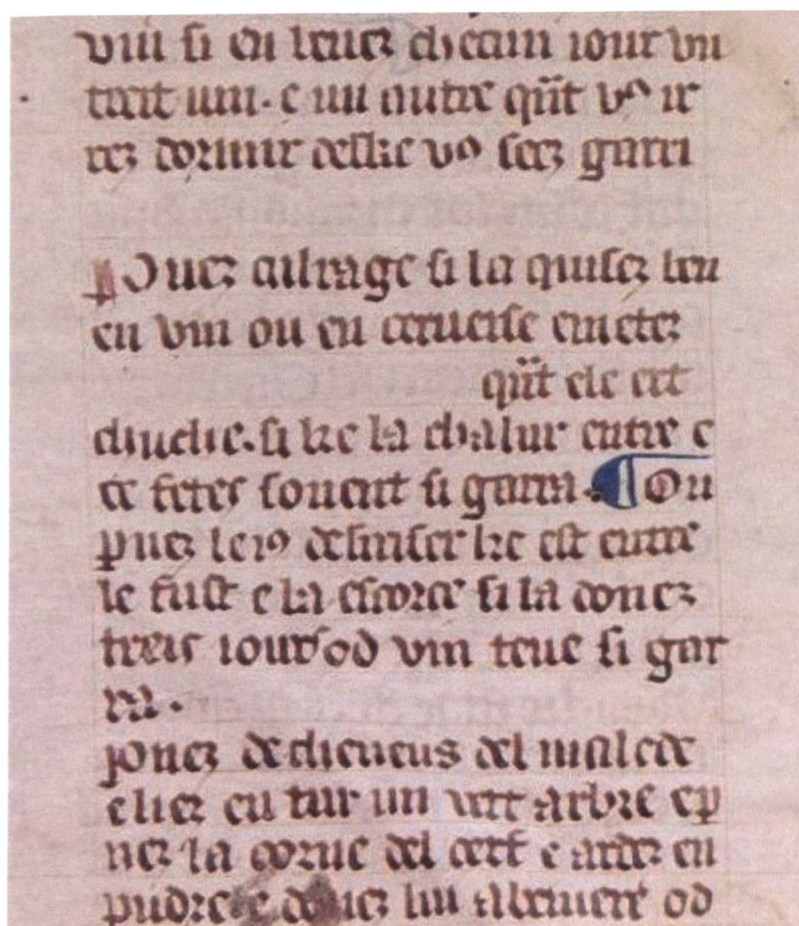


Illustration 14
fol. 109^r

MS New York, Yale University Library, Beinecke 492
c. 1300-1325

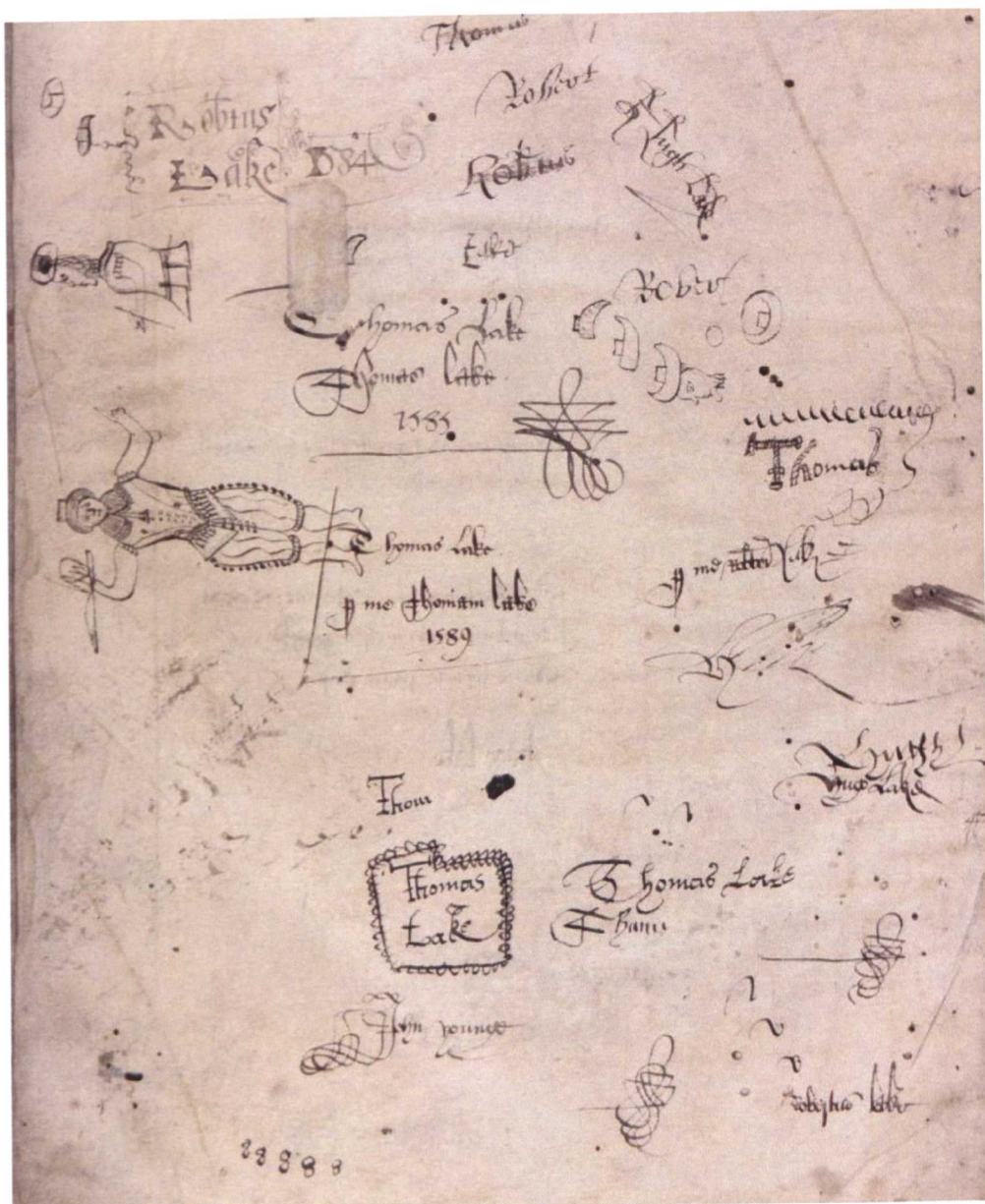


Illustration 15
fol. 111^v
MS New York, Yale University Library, Beinecke 492

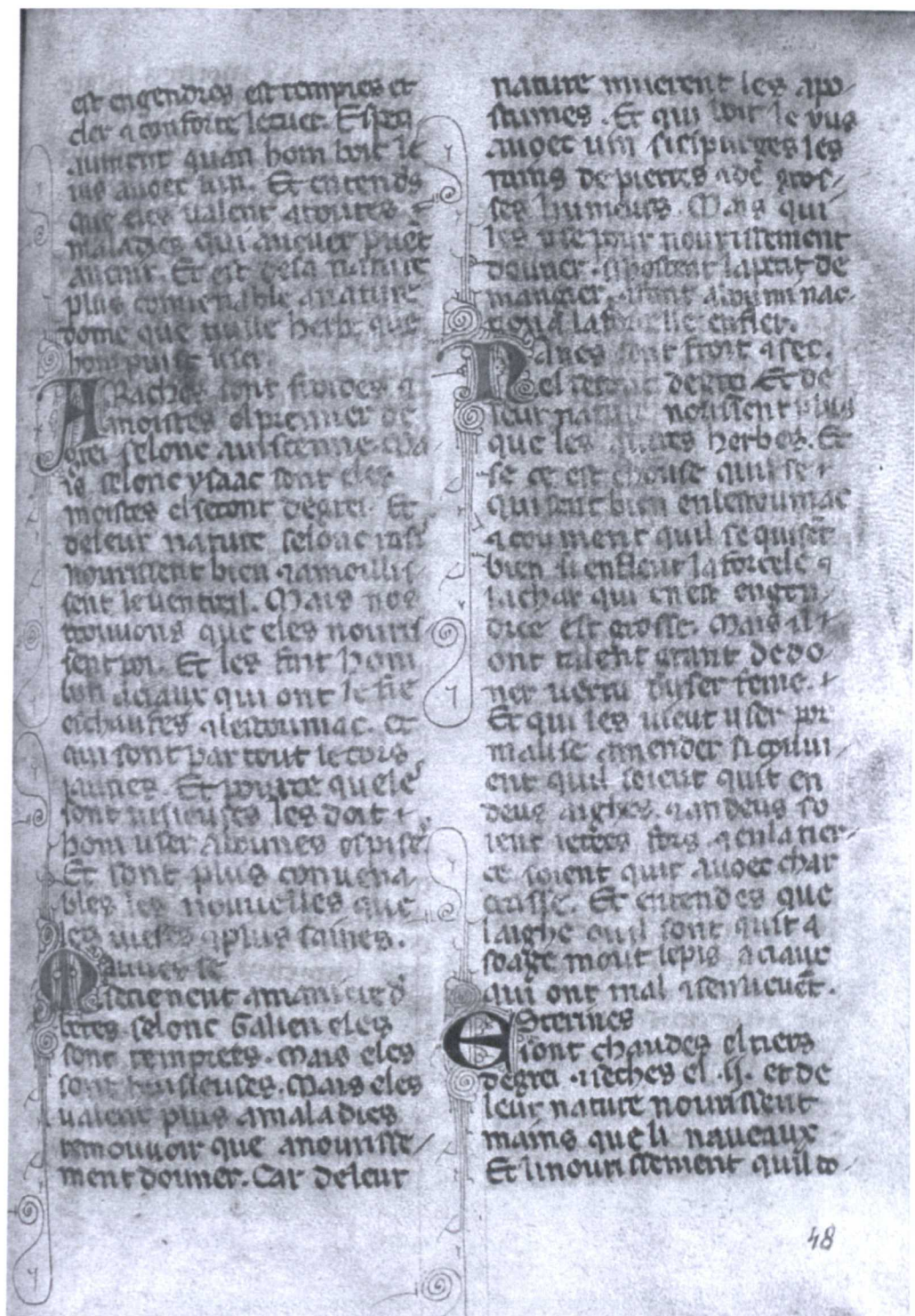


Illustration 16
fol. 48^r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana Ashburnam 1076
14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

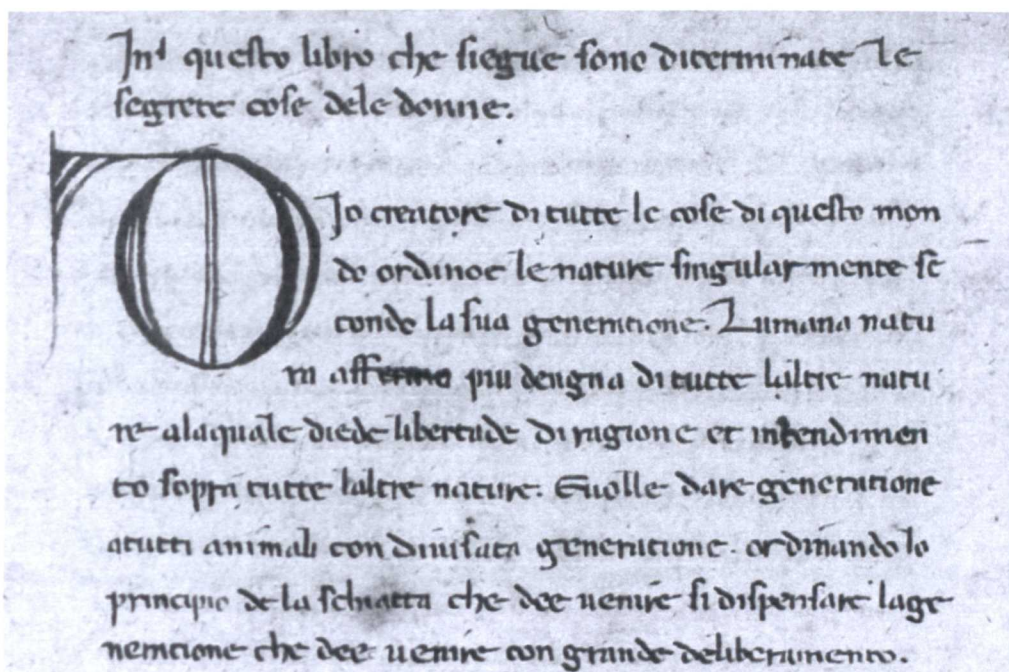


Illustration 17

fol. 77r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana Redi 172.1

14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

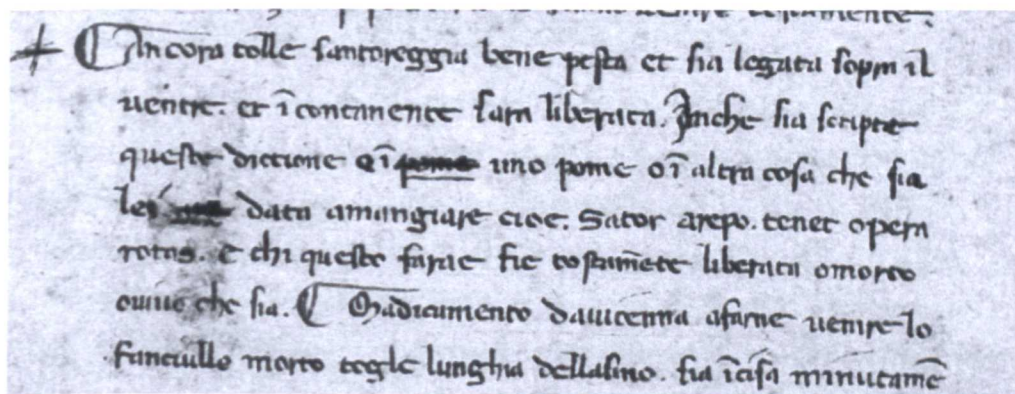


Illustration 18

fol. 79r

MS Florence, Biblioteca Medici-Laurenziana Redi 172.1

14th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

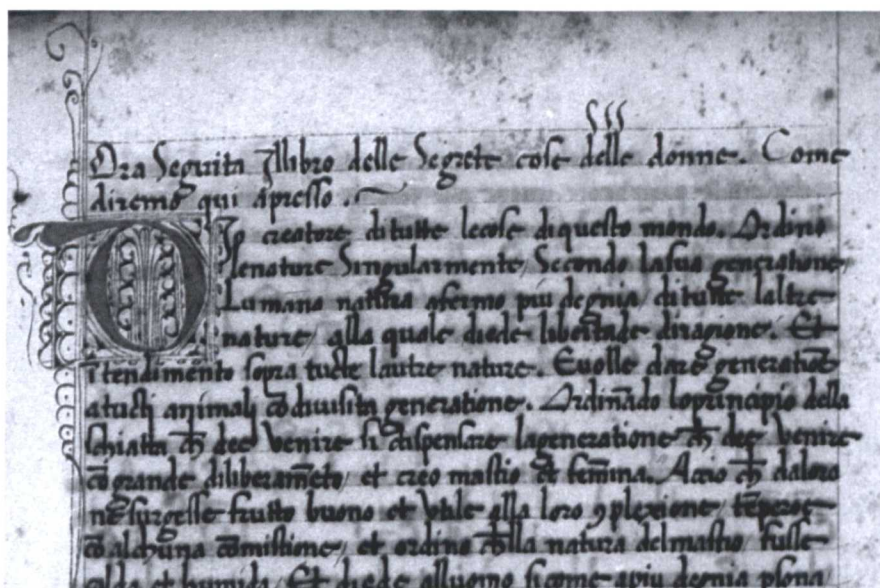


Illustration 19

fol. 71^r

MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2165

c. 1433

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

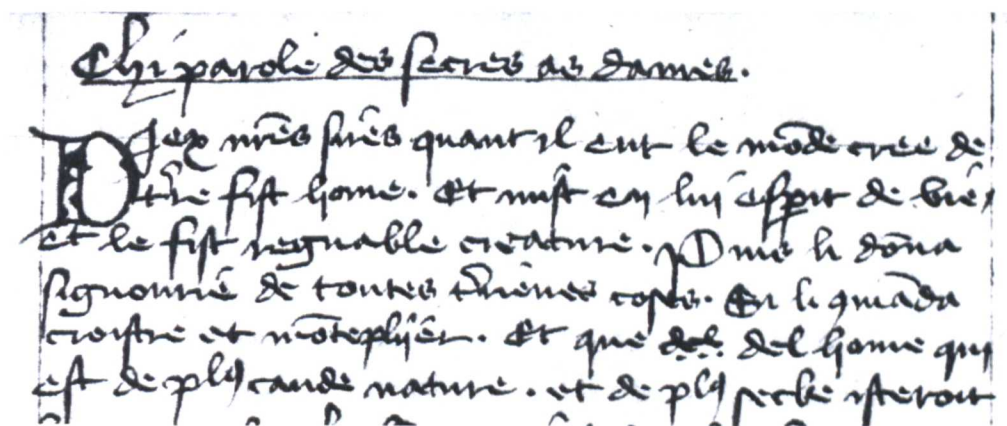


Illustration 20

fol. 122^v

MS Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale 863

c. 1430-1470

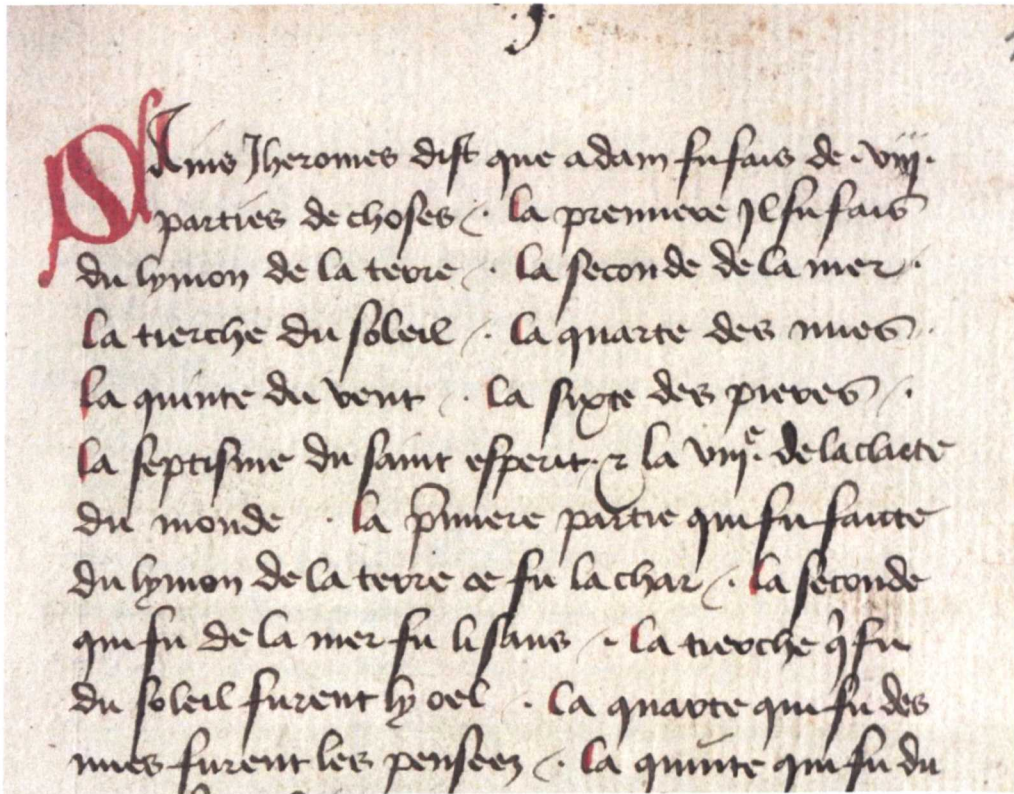


Illustration 21
fol. 16r

MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4° med. 1
c. 1430-1475

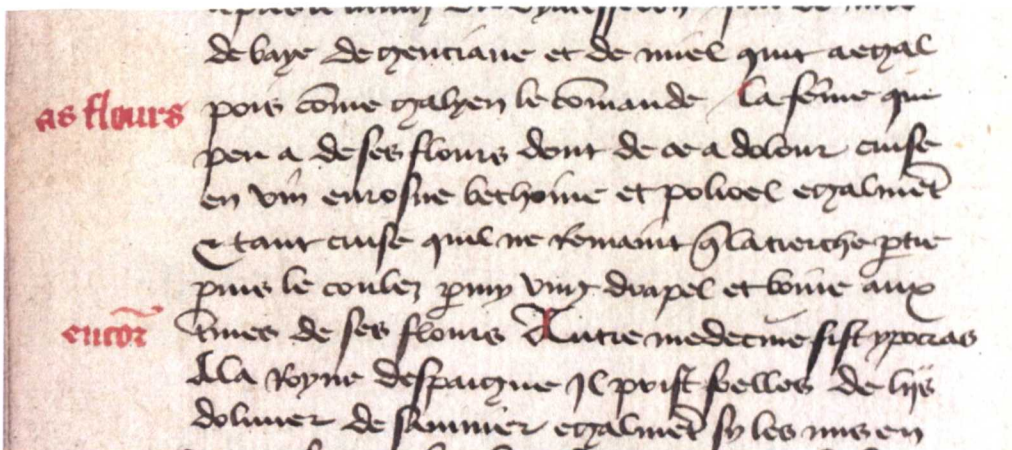


Illustration 22
fol. 17r

MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4° med. 1
c. 1430-1475

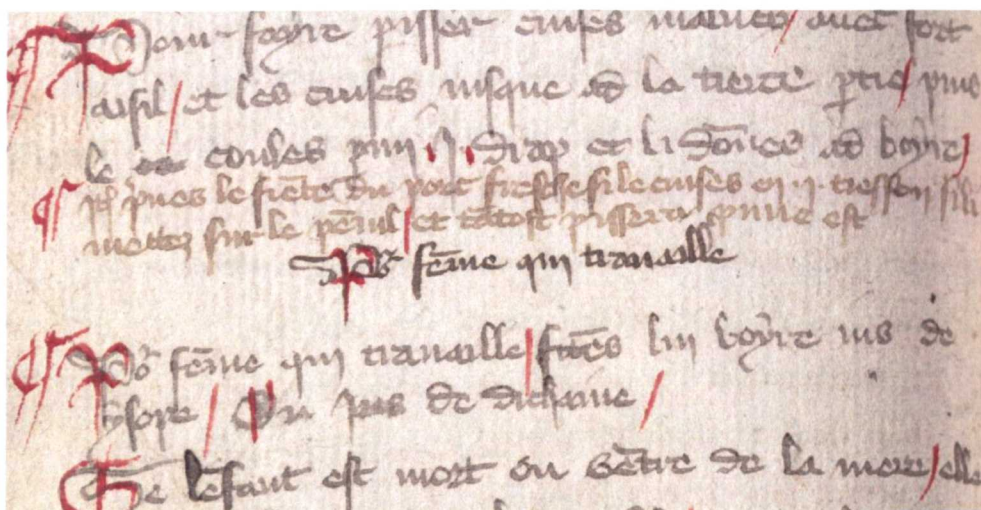


Illustration 23
 fol. 277^v

MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4^o med. 1.
 c. 1430-1475

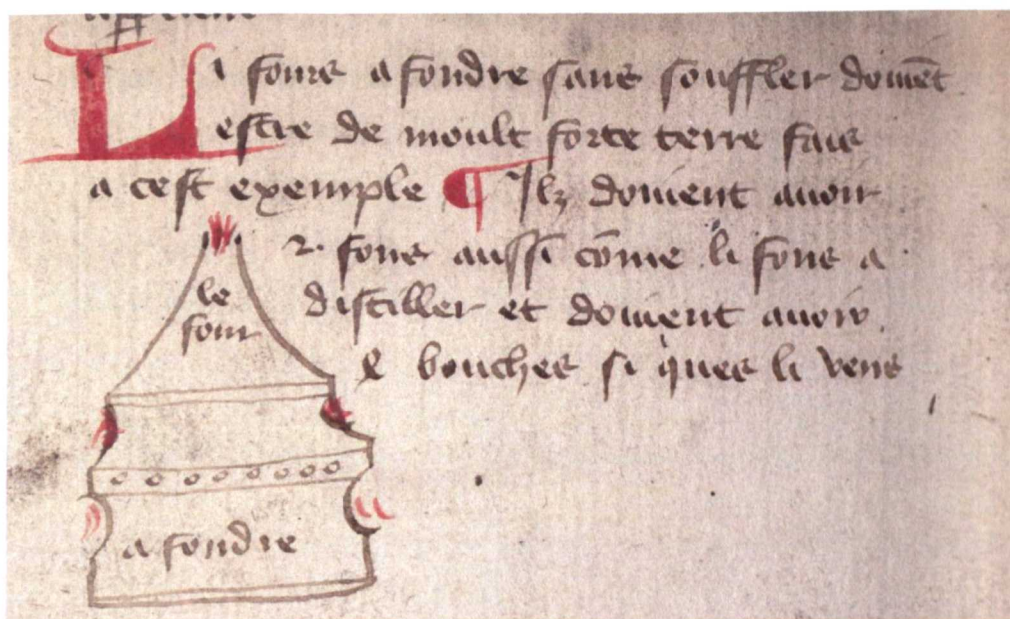


Illustration 24
 fol. 324^v

MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4^o med. 1.
 c. 1430-1475



Illustration 25
 Illustration end-paper
 MS Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek 4° Med. 1
 c. 1430-1475



Illustration 26

fol. 46^r

MS London, British Library Sloane 2401

15th century

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Illustration 27

fol. 46^r

MS London, British Library Sloane 2401

15th century

Reproduced by Permission of the British Library Board

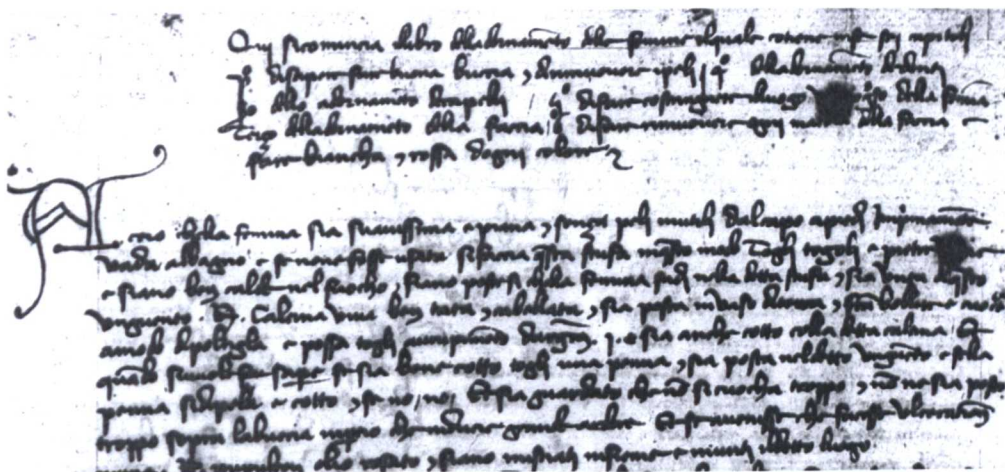


Illustration 28

fol. 44r

MS Florence Biblioteca Riccardiana 2175

15th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo

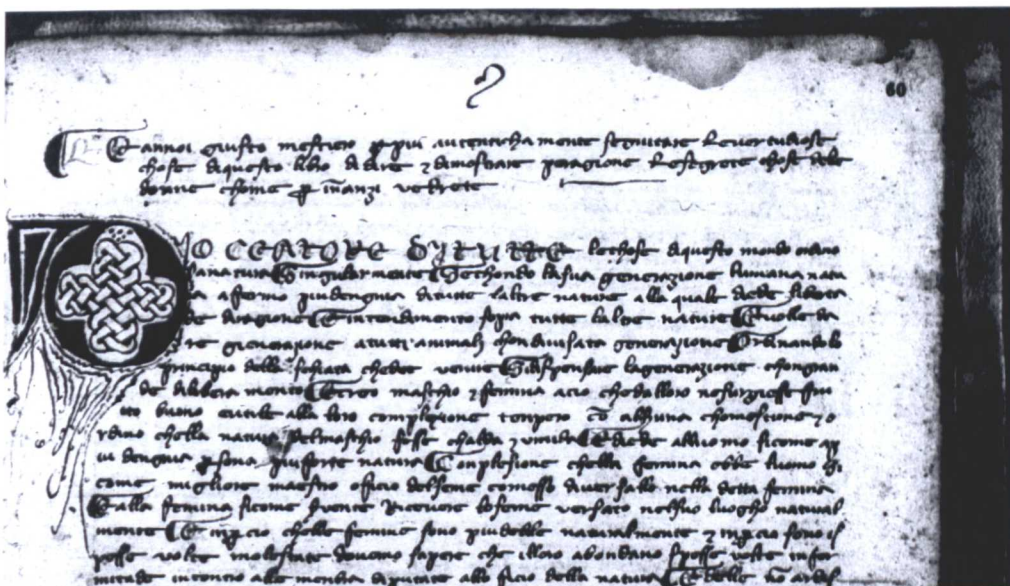


Illustration 29

fol. 60r

MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardia 2500

15th century

Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

E' vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo

Quant nostre seigneur,
 Dieu eust fait l'homme a sa
 semblance. Il lui donna sergemenie
 sur toutes choses terriennes. Et
 ordonna que du corps de lui. ystout
 une femme, pour ce quil estoit de
 une seule nature et serbe. Et
 la de la femme

Illustration 30
 fol. 269^r

MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380
 15th century
 Reproduced with the permission of the British Library

En supuent les declaracions
 d'aucunes seigneurs prouffitables
 pour aucuns qui se voudroient mestier
 du fait de chirurgie. Et aussi nul ne
 doit estre passe maistre. Jusques a ce
 quil sache toutes les seigneurs poutens.
 et ou. et en quel lieu elles sont sur
 le corps de la personne,

Illustration 31
 fol. 272^r

MS London, British Library Lansdowne 380
 15th century
 Reproduced with the permission of the British Library

Nota pro infirmis.

Et premierement vng
restaurateur vng resse vng
bonne damendree les estre
mises ferece. vne pme de
des mabe estre en dms qua
meyes. les hommes en paste
auste en dms maneres. vng
collece de popes ruytres
tourter bze ne vane vng
plumens de pomes vng
blanc mantre de chapons.
vng auste blanc mantre
de pomes de lumenat de
pomes. la se melle de corat

Et pour donner entedement

Illustration 32

fol. 93^r

MS. Sion/Sitten Médiathèque du Valais, S103
c. 1438-1444

Et les paste de popstone

La secide appse v premierement
le poisson de mer. de toutes
maneres une en grans plus
dor appar v poisson de e
une double. grand lue fen
de grosse ruytres fenestre
en auste plus. et des auste plus
vons de vne double pour
blen ruytres le plus et en
vne plus. le plus. et le plus
plus plus en lue de vons
Et auste v le vne de
lumpoppe.

Illustration 33

fol. 53^r

MS. Sion/Sitten Médiathèque du Valais, S103
c. 1438-1444