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Bibliography on Medieval Women, Gender, and Medicine 1980-2009

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This bibliography comprises all the entries that appeared in the bibliography on “Women and Medicine” that I published periodically in the *Medieval Feminist Forum* (formerly, *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*) from 1990 to 2004.¹ The previously published entries have been merged into a single alphabetical list by author, and some editorial commentary has been updated or modified. I have added items that were previously overlooked or that date before the original dates covered,² and I have added new material published up through 2009, including a few items that cross over into the early modern period since they carry forward issues that began in the late Middle Ages.³ Multiple entries for a single author are listed chronologically by date of publication. For cross-referencing, I have used the author’s last name

¹Monica H. Green, “Women and Medicine,” *Medieval Feminist Forum* (formerly, *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*): no. 10 (Fall 1990), pp. 23-24; no. 11 (Spring 1991), pp. 25-26; no. 13 (Spring 1992), pp. 32-34; no. 15 (Spring 1993), pp. 42-43; no. 19 (Spring 1995), pp. 39-42; no. 21 (Spring 1996), pp. 39-41; and no. 26 (Fall 1998), pp. 8-11; no. 30 (Fall 2000), pp. 44-49; no. 32 (Fall 2001), pp. 50-53; no. 34 (Fall 2002); no. 37 (Spring 2004), pp. 35-39. All back issues of *Medieval Feminist Forum* are now available gratis online at <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/mff/>>.

²Highlights of particularly important work in this category include Aguirre de Cárcer 1991 and Müller 2000 and 2002. Obviously, there exists scholarship that predates 1980 that remains important. I have not included that, however, since references can readily be found in the more modern works cited here.

³Highlights here include such now essential studies as Elsackers’ multiple studies on abortion, van der Lugt’s work on generation, and Zuccolin’s studies of northern Italian medicine.

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and date, with multiple entries for a single year being distinguished by added alphabetical sigla (e.g., 2007a, 2007b). At the end, I have added a summary listing of all those works that include edited primary sources (noting English translations where they are included); these will be especially useful for teaching purposes. This bibliography is intended for free use, but please note that the editorial commentary should be properly credited if cited elsewhere.

Note: For a general overview of the field of medieval medical history, see Green 2009c below. (For undergraduates wanting to do a research project, they might do better starting off with Green 2005c.) In addition to the specialized literature cited in the present list, brief entries on various topics related to medicine and health can be found in the following general encyclopedias. Many of these are substantive but succinct enough for classroom use.

Women in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia, ed. Nadia Margolis and Katharina Wilson, 2 vols. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2004), includes “Medicine and Medieval Women” (pp. 646-653) and “Trota and ‘Trotula,’” pp. 905-7.

Dictionary of the Middle Ages. Supplement I, William C. Jordan, editor-in-chief (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2004), includes “Childbirth and Infancy,” pp. 108-13, and “Gynecology,” pp. 249-53.

Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia, ed. Thomas F. Glick, Steven J. Livesey, and Faith Wallis (New York & London: Routledge, 2005), includes articles on “Gynecology and Midwifery,” “Salerno,” and “Trotula.”

Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Routledge, 2006), includes articles on “Abortion,” “Breastfeeding and Wet-Nursing,” “Contraception,” “Cosmetics,” “Gynecology,” “Hermaphrodites,” “Impotence,” “Infertility,” “Lovesickness,” “Lying-In,” “Medicine,” “Menstruation,” “Midwives,” “Mikveh,” “Pregnancy and Childbirth,” “Secrets of Women,” and “Trota of Salerno.”⁴

Oxford Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. Robert Bjork (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2010), includes essays on “Abortion,” “Gynecology,” “Midwives,” “Salerno,” “Soranus,” and “Trotula.”

⁴The entries on contraception and midwives are available for free download at the publisher’s website <<http://www.routledge-ny.com/ref/middleages/women/samples.html>> (accessed 16.i.2010).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agrimi 2000. Jole Agrimi, “Autorità di una autrice e delegittimazione del suo sapere: Trotula,” in Silvana Borutti, ed., *Scrittura e memoria della filosofia: Studi offerti a Fulvio Papi per il suo settantesimo compleanno* (Milan: Mimesis, 2000), pp. 147-56. Summarizing the findings of Benton and Green that have revised our understandings of the female healer Trota (or Trocta) and the composite work, the *Trotula*, Agrimi raises questions about the significance of these findings for a feminist history of women’s healthcare and medical practice. (Note: This paper was presented at a conference in 1997 and was not, apparently, revised in light of more recent studies published prior to Agrimi’s death in 1999.)

Agrimi and Crisciani 1993. Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, “Savoir médical et anthropologie religieuse: Les représentations et les fonctions de la *vetula* (XIIIe-XVe siècle),” *Annales: E.S.C.* 48 (1993), 1281-1308. Originally appeared in Italian as “Immagini e ruoli della ‘vetula’ tra sapere medico e antropologia religiosa (secoli XIII-XV),” in *Poteri carismatici e informali: chiesa e società medioevali*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and André Vauchez (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1992), pp. 224-61. A brilliant analysis of how the image of the *vetula* (“old woman”) functioned as a cipher for ignorance, rusticity and simplicity in medical and religious writings.

Aguirre de Cárcer 1991. Luisa F. Aguirre de Cárcer, “Sobre el ejercicio de la medicina en al-Andalus: una fetua de Ibn Sahl,” *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* 2 (1991), 147-162.⁵ At its core, this is a study of a *fatwa* (Islamic legal pronouncement) by a Spanish jurist, Ibn Sahl (d. 1093 CE). The issue concerns a female doctor (*tabiba*) and whether fees should be paid since the patients (the two daughters of another woman who is apparently bringing a complaint against her) have not been cured. However, Aguirre de Cárcer does much more and offers a very learned analysis that includes discussion of the general questions of medical education, ethics, doctors’ fees, and a broad range of evidence for female practitioners in Islamic Spain. (Although not mentioned by Aguirre de Cárcer, another reference to female doctors can be found in the *Surgery* by al-Zahrawi [fl. ca. 1000], where he mentions that *tabiba* learned in surgical techniques are rare.⁶) Includes a modern Spanish translation of the *fatwa*.

Aikin 2003. Judith P. Aikin, “Gendered Theologies of Childbirth in Early Modern Germany and the Devotional Handbook for Pregnant Women by Aemilie Juliane, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (1683).” *Journal of Women’s History* 15.2 (2003), 40–67.

Aikin 2004. Judith P. Aikin, “The Welfare of Pregnant and Birthing Women as a Concern for Male and Female Rulers: A Case Study.” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35.1 (2004), 9–41.

⁵My thanks to Cristina Alvarez Millán of Madrid for bringing this important study to my attention.

⁶See *Albucasis on Surgery and Instruments. A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary*, ed. & trans. M. S. Spink & G. L. Lewis (London: The Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1973), p. 420, Chap. 61: On the extraction of a stone from the female.

- Alexandre-Bidon and Closson 1985. Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Monique Closson, *L'Enfant à l'ombre des cathédrales* (Lyons & Paris: Presses Universitaires de Lyon & Éditions du CNRS, 1985). A rather general study, but still useful to consult for its pictures and references to primary sources.
- Alonso-Almeida 1997. Francisco Alonso Almeida, ed., "Edition and Study of a Middle English Gynaecological Treatise: Yale Medical Library, MS 47, ff. 67r–71v." M.A. thesis, Facultad de Filología, University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Yale Medical Library MS 47 contains an English rendering of the gynecological and obstetrical chapters of Gilbertus Anglicus's *Compendium medicine*. It was previously edited in M.-R. Hallaert, *The 'Sekenesse of wymmen': A Middle English Treatise on Diseases in Women* (Yale Medical Library, Ms. 47 fols. 60r–71v). *Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 8. (Brussels, 1982). Corrected source analysis and a complete list of known copies were provided in Green 1992 (who refers to it under the rubric *Sekenesse of Wymmen I*). (For an edition of a later expanded revision of this text and updated bibliography, see Green and Mooney 2006.)
- Alonso-Almeida 2003. Francisco Alonso-Almeida, "An Assessment of Punctuation in some Middle English Gilbertus Anglicus's Versions of 'The Sekenesse of Wymmen'," *Philologica Canariensis* 8-9 (2002-2003), 13-42. **Not yet seen.**
- Alonso-Almeida 2005-6. Francisco Alonso-Almeida, "Structure-Signalling Devices in Middle English Manuscripts on the Diseases of Women," *Boletín Millares Carlo* 24-25 (2005-2006), 327-342, ISSN 0211-2140. **Not yet seen.**
- Alonso Guardo 2003. Alberto Alonso Guardo, "Trótula y un poema médico de la *Collectio Salernitana*. Parte I: *De secretis mulierum*," *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 23 (2003), 381-402. An analysis of a 13th-century versified Latin version of the so-called *Trotula* ensemble, first published in the mid-19th century. Cf. Green 1997 for a general description of this text and its relation to the Latin *Trotula* tradition. (On the use of the term "secrets of women" as a generic heading for gynecological texts, see Green 2000a and Caballero Navas 2006a.)
- Atkinson 1991. Clarissa W. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991). Chapter 2, "Physiological Motherhood," provides a lucid summary of medical and scientific theories of maternity that may be useful for undergraduate teaching. One error merits correction: in discussing a Middle English gynecological text (p. 54), Atkinson follows the translator, Beryl Rowland, into error in reading "moder" as mother, when it clearly means the womb itself. Hence, the passage in question is about physical uterine pain, not emotional grieving. (On Rowland's translation of this mid-15th century English gynecological text, which is marred by frequent errors of transcription and translation, see entry under her name below; for a corrected new edition of this text, see the entry for Green and Mooney 2006.)

Aubaile-Sallenave 1997. FrançoiseAubaile-Sallenave, “Les nourritures de l’accouchée dans le monde arabo-musulman méditerranéen,” *Médiévales: Langue, Textes, Histoire* 33 (1997), 103-124. Surveys evidence for the special diet of women just before and during birth, and during the forty-day lying-in period after birth. Troubling is the fact that the author relies primarily on modern anthropological accounts of food practices, without problematizing how these may have been different in the past.

Ausécache 2007. Mireille Ausécache, “Une naissance monstrueuse au Moyen Age: le ‘frère de Salerne’ [A Monstrous Birth in the Middle Ages: The ‘Salernitan brother’],” *Gesnerus* 64 No 1/2 (2007) 5-23. Discusses the phenomenon of the “Salernitan brother” (called variously *frater salernitanus*, *arpa*, *pecus*, *bufo* or *crapullus*) which is mentioned by several Salernitan writers of the 12th century (even though it appears nowhere in the Salernitan gynecological compendium called the *Trotula*.) The belief is that if the *frater* is allowed to touch the ground after birth, the mother will die; a later text instead says that the living sibling of the *frater* will die of leprosy. Ausécache explores the moral connotations that were attached to this condition, some writers suggesting that it was due to immoral behaviors. Most medical writers, however, stuck to naturalistic explanations (e.g., excessive sperm or menstrual blood). Later writers associated it with the uterine mole, a phenomenon recognized in Antiquity and now understood (under the term “hydatidiform mole”) to result when a fertilized egg undergoes abnormal genetic growth.

Baldwin 1994. John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). One of the five “voices” discussing sexuality is medical.

Barkaï 1989. Ron Barkaï, “A Medieval Hebrew Treatise on Obstetrics,” *Medical History* 33 (1989), 96-119. Presents a study and edition of *Miquosi ha-Leda* (“On difficulties of Birth”), a chapter on difficult birth apparently extracted from a Hebrew medical compendium in the 14th century. It is accompanied in the later of the two extant mss (s. xiv/xv) by the 16 fetus-in-utero figures from Muscio’s *Gynaecia*. With photographic reproductions of the Hebrew text and accompanying illustrations from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS héb. 1120, ff. 66v-67r and 68v-70r.

Barkaï 1991. Ron Barkaï, *Les Infortunes de Dinah: le livre de la génération. La gynécologie juive au Moyen-Age* (Paris: Cerf, 1991), ISBN 2-204-04392-3. The first half of this excellent book surveys the theories of medieval Jewish scholars on female anatomy, physiology, and sexuality. The second half offers a critical edition and French translation of a thirteenth-century text, the *Sefer ha-Toledet* (“The Book of Generation”), a Hebrew translation of the Latin *Gynecology* of Muscio which is set in the form of a dialogue between the Biblical tragic heroine Dina and her father.

Barkaï 1998. Ron Barkaï, *A History of Jewish Gynaecological Texts in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). Barkaï continues his ground-breaking work on the history of medieval Jewish gynecology with this book. After an extended general introduction in which he surveys Hebrew medical literature in general and gynecology in particular, Barkaï presents critical

editions and English translations of six of the most important Hebrew and Judaeo-Arabic texts. The product of enormous scholarly labor, this collection will be valuable to scholars not only of medieval Jewish traditions but to others as well since several of these Hebrew texts derive from as-yet-unpublished Latin texts. [Note that this book has been criticized for philological errors; see the lengthy review by Gerrit Bos, “On Editing and Translating Medieval Hebrew Medical Texts,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 89, no. 1/2 (Jul. - Oct., 1998), 101-122.]

Barratt 1992. Alexandra Barratt, ed., *Women’s Writing in Middle English*, Longman Annotated Texts (London and New York: Longman, 1992). Includes excerpts from three Middle English translations of the so-called *Trotula* texts. (In the categorization schema made by Green 1997, the three versions that Barratt publishes here are identified as *Trotula* Eng1, Eng2, and Eng5, respectively. See Green’s essay for further details on these translations.) A revised edition of this valuable collection has just appeared (2010); the identification of the *Trotula* excerpts is still misleading and readers should refer to Green 1997 and, for further information on the author Trota of Salerno, Green 2007 and 2008a, chapter 1.

Barratt 1998a. Alexandra Barratt, “‘In the Lowest Part of Our Need’: Julian and Medieval Gynecological Writing,” in Sandra J. McEntire, ed., *Julian of Norwich: A Book of Essays*, Garland Medieval Casebooks, 21 (New York: Garland, 1998), pp. 239-56. Barratt juxtaposes Julian’s views on physical pain and sickness with those found in a Middle English gynecological treatise, *Knowing of Woman’s Kind*. She notes that Julian’s “detached and even admiring interest in the workings of the body [suggest] she might have been the kind of intelligent and informed laywoman for whom *The Knowing of Woman’s Kind* was translated” (p. 254).

Barratt 1998b. Alexandra Barratt, “Translation and Censorship in a Middle English Gynaecological Treatise,” in *The Medieval Translator / Traduire au Moyen Âge*, = *Proceedings of the International Conference of Göttingen (22-25 July 1996) = Actes du Colloque International de Göttingen (22-25 juillet 1996)*, ed. Roger Ellis, René Tixier and Bernd Weitemeier (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 306-320. Because the first Middle English translation of the *Trotula*—called *The Knowing of Woman’s Kind in Childing* (Eng1 in the schema of Green 1997)—is a composite text made from French and Latin originals, it is possible to see precisely where the translator/compiler was editing and omitting from his sources. (Barratt was still unsure of some of the source texts at the time she went to press with this essay; definitive identification of the sources, with ample quotations from the originals, can be found in 2001 edition.) This essay would work well in a graduate seminar to illustrate the decisions and speculations of a modern editor trying to work through a critical edition, especially one with such varying witnesses as this text.

Barratt 2001. Alexandra Barratt, ed., *The Knowing of Woman’s Kind in Childing: A Middle English Version of Material Derived from the ‘Trotula’ and Other Sources*, Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). This very welcome critical edition of the earliest English translation of one of the so-called *Trotula* texts presents, in facing-page format, the two major versions of the text. *Knowing*, which dates, according to

Barratt, from the early fifteenth century (Green 1992 and Green 1997 had suggested it might be as early as the late fourteenth century), is a much modified and adapted translation of an Anglo-Norman version of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* (“Book on the Conditions of Women”), together with material selected from two Latin texts, *Non omnes quidem* and the so-called *Gynaecia Cleopatre*. *Knowing* is extant in five copies, making it the most widely-circulated of the five known Middle English translations of the *Trotula*. Of particular importance for both the history of medicine and women’s history is the fact that the text is explicitly addressed to a female audience; at least two of the five manuscripts, moreover, are likely to have been prepared for particular women readers.

Bauer 1999. Elizabeth Jensen Bauer, “Medieval Women and the Care of the Sick: Some Evidence from Hagiography,” *Magistra: A Journal of Women's Spirituality in History* 5, 1 (Summer 1999): 79- 96. Summary from *Feminae* entry: “the author argues that some qualities that women saints display in the care of the sick according to their ‘vitae’ are different from those in men's lives, namely humility, strength (not only physical strength but an absence of revulsion and nausea before the physical conditions of lepers and other sick people), and penance by identifying with the suffering of others.”

Baumgarten 2000. Elisheva Baumgarten, “‘Thus Sayeth the Wise Midwives’: Midwives and Midwifery in Thirteenth-Century Ashkenaz,” *Zion* 65 (2000), 45-74. In Hebrew. Baumgarten plans to bring out an English version in the near future; in the meantime, I quote in full the English summary: “Modern scholars’ efforts to seek out everyday aspects of the lives of medieval women are constantly frustrated by the male character of the extant sources. Yet, when we are able to reach the voices of these women, we find that the effort pays off, not only by bringing us closer to medieval Jewish women, but by casting a wider light on medieval society as a whole. This article focuses on one aspect of medieval life that has been defined until lately in modern research as uniquely female and beyond the bounds of patriarchy—birth. One of the difficulties faced by scholars when examining birth has been the fact that all the texts studied to date portrayed the way men understood birth and did not allow a closer glimpse of the way women—the midwives and other women—dealt with birth. Recent scholarship has suggested that birth was part of the patriarchal system and was not as insular as previously thought, but that it embodies a rare opportunity to learn more about the everyday lives of medieval women and of gender relations in medieval society. A careful comparison of manuscripts shows that, in fact, we have a text through which these issues can be addressed. A Hebrew medical text from thirteenth-century Germany, found in a manuscript of *Sefer Asufot*, enables an examination of the work of midwives at that time. The text originates in Worms or Mainz and is an as-yet-unknown chapter of R. Gershom the Circumcisor’s compendium ‘*klalei haMilah*’. The text describes the ways in which midwives helped women during birth and cured other gynaecological and medical problems.

The first part of the article situates the text in the general European and the specific German medical context, and suggests that this text is the earliest one known from Germany which describes the actual practice of medieval midwives. The second part of the article describes the place of this text in the context of medieval Jewish writing. After situating the manual in its textual contexts, the cures and remedies suggested in the manual are examined and compared with contemporary medical sources, chiefly with the medical writings of the

Abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) who lived in proximity to Worms and Mainz, the region in which the text was composed.

The article outlines Jewish midwifery practices and their social implications, describing the status of midwives in Jewish society, their relationships with their clients on the one hand and with circumcisors as medical colleagues on the other hand. The cultural exchange that existed between Jewish and Christian medical practitioners in medieval society is also discussed.”

Baumgarten 2004. Elisheva Baumgarten, *Mothers and Children: Jewish Family Life in Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). An innovative study of the lives of women and their children, focusing mostly on the Ashkenazi communities of Germany. Includes valuable information on attitudes toward and practices of childbirth and infant care.

Becela-Deller 1998. Christine Becela-Deller, “Die Wirkung von *Ruta graveolens* L. auf die Fertilität: Eine Gegenüberstellung von medizinhistorischen Quellen und naturwissenschaftlichen Studienergebnissen,” *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 17 (1998), 187-95. A survey of the fertility control uses of *Ruta graveolens* L. (rue) in the Middle Ages together with the results of modern scientific studies of its efficacy.

Ben Mohamed 2006. Alfonso Ali Ben Mohamed, “Su Umm al-Hasan, poetessa andalusa,” *Quaderni di studi arabi* n.s.1, (2006), 81-86, ISSN/ISBN: 1121-2306. **Not yet seen.** According to the summary in the *International Medieval Bibliography*, this discusses Umm al-Hasan, a 14th-century Andalusian poet and an expert in medicine, who was probably the daughter of the *qadi* Abu Ja‘far al-Tanjali.

Berriot-Salvadore 1993. Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, *Un corps, un destin: La femme dans la médecine de la Renaissance*, Confluences, 5 (Paris: Champion, 1993). A very useful survey, based primarily on French sources.

Biller 1997. Peter Biller, “Applying Number to Men and Women in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: An Enquiry into the Origins of the Idea of ‘Sex Ratio’,” in Miri Rubin, ed., *The Work of Jacques le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 27-52. In this fascinating analysis, Biller surveys the development of a concept of “sex ratio,” i.e., the number of male children born in relation to the number of females. Biller ranges widely across a variety of sources to show the impact of the newly-available Aristotelian *Generation of Animals*, with its notion of woman as defective male, in the mid-13th century. See also his splendid new book, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Biller 2001a. Peter Biller, “A ‘Scientific’ View of Jews from Paris around 1300,” *Micrologus* 9 (2001), 137-168. Carrying forward observations he had already made in 1992,⁷ Biller

⁷Peter Biller, “Views of Jews from Paris around 1300: Christian or ‘Scientific’?,” in *Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and the 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Society*, ed. Diana Wood, Studies in Church History, 29 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 187-207.

explores the genesis of the belief that Jewish males menstruate. In a compelling analysis, he notices the coincidence of the growing influence of Aristotle's natural philosophical writings in various quodlibetal (random topic) questions debated among Parisian theologians with the series of expulsions of Jews from Gascony, England and France in the late 13th and early 14th century. He identifies three separate strands of thought, all deriving from the Arabic world: medical texts (that melancholy was associated with a flux of blood), astrological texts (that Jews were associated with melancholy and Saturn), and two texts coming out of the Crusader states (that Jews suffered a flux of blood). The three strands came together ca. 1300, later to be diffused through such texts as one of the commentary traditions on the pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*. Biller includes in an appendix all the relevant texts. See also Johnson 1998, Pomata 2001, and Resnick 1998.

Biller 2001b. Peter Biller, "Medicine and Heresy," in Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, York Studies in Medieval Theology, 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 155-74. Biller finds that in heretical communities (both Cathar and Waldensian) women made up a higher percentage of all practitioners (up to one-fourth) than other sources that have been used by medical prosopographers. (Compare this with Green 1994a, which finds figures of 1% to 2% in the standard prosopographies.) Biller argues that medical practice seems to have been a more characteristic feature of Waldensian spirituality than of Cathar, in large part, apparently, because of differing attitudes towards the body.

Biller 2005. Peter Biller, "Black Women in Medieval Scientific Thought," *Micrologus: Natura, scienze e società medievali. Nature, Sciences and Medieval Societies* 13 (2005), 477-492. Biller identifies a peculiar train of thought in discourses in Paris around the year 1300, when scholars were momentarily fixated on speculating about the physiology of Black women, particularly their sexual physiology and the quality of the breast milk that they produced. Some of these questions originated in Antiquity, when in his *History of Animals*, Aristotle stated that the milk of darker women is healthier for the child than that of lighter-skinned women. In the medieval Latin translation, this was rendered as 'The milk of black women is better and more plentiful food than that of white women'. This statement was then provided with a rationalization in accordance with medieval theories of the temperaments and the role of heat in physiology: whereas as white women produced milk that remained very watery, Black women, because of their extra heat, could concoct their milk to a greater degree, producing milk of higher quality. The premise that Black women were naturally hotter than white women also underlay ideas about Black women's sexuality. Albert the Great, the Dominican theologian, was the most explicit in describing how Black women's hotness made them good sexual partners.

Blondiaux 1990. Joël Blondiaux, "La Femme et son corps au haut moyen-âge vus par l'anthropologue et le paleopathologiste," in Michel Rouche and Jean Heuclin, eds., *La Femme au moyen âge* (Maubeuge: Publication de la Ville de Maubeuge, Diffusion Jean Touzot, 1990), pp. 115-37. An intriguing interpretation of women's longevity and morbidity based on grave evidence from the early Middle Ages.

- Broomhall 2004. Susan Broomhall, *Women's Medical Work in Early Modern France* (Manchester, U.K.: University of Manchester Press, 2004). Although weak in its conceptual framework, this study draws on solid empirical work to give a broad picture of the types of women's engagements with medical work in the 15th and 16th centuries.
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski 1990. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990). Beyond a chapter devoted to images of Caesarean section as the gateway for the Antichrist into the world, Blumenfeld-Kosinski's study revolves around the illustrations of Caesarean birth coming from historical chronicles of the Caesars. The story that Julius Caesar was "ripped untimely from his mother's womb" occupies only a few lines in the French chronicles *Les Faits des Romains* and the *Commentaires de César*; nevertheless, the birth scene became a common element in the illumination sequences that accompanied the texts. Blumenfeld-Kosinski observes that there was a gradual transition from depictions that showed only women performing the operation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to those that portrayed only male actors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Although there is no denying the gender transition in the few select images that B-K reproduces, the lack of more comprehensive analysis of the changing artistic conventions and poor coverage of the history of obstetrical practices limit the reliability of this work. (For more on Caesarean section, see Park 2006 and Park 2008. For more on the masculinization of both gynecology and aspects of obstetrics, see Green 2008.)
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2006. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Gautier de Coinci and Medieval Childbirth Miracles," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts*, ed. Kathy M Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 197-214. B-K begins by offering a useful categorization of childbirth miracles in general: "those that respond to prayers of infertile parents; those that provide a lessening of the pain in protracted births; and those that revive dead infants long enough for them to be baptized" (p. 200). She also suggests that such miracles are rare in documentary sources, forming not even as much as 5% in the various miracle collections that have been studied by other scholars. She then turns to what she calls narrative sources, and argues that here childbirth miracles have a more varying character. She then analyzes in detail de Coinci's story of a pregnant abbess who is miraculously "saved" from the consequences of her pregnancy, a motif found in many different stories.
- Bodarwé 2002. Katrinette Bodarwé, "Pflege und Medizin in mittelalterlichen Frauenkonventen," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 37 (2002), 231-263. Despite their cloistering, nuns purchased healthcare in the same public "medical marketplace" as many other individuals, especially from the thirteenth century on when urbanization created heavy enough concentrations of population to support medical specialists. For serious conditions, nuns seem as likely as any other propertied group to employ professional (and usually male) medical practitioners. Thus, despite the injunction in the Benedictine *Rule* and certain other monastic traditions that there be some in-house provision of medical care, the monastic context did not necessarily produce medical self-sufficiency. In particular, Bodarwe surveys evidence for the presence of medical books in nunneries and finds virtually none. (See also Green 2000b, 2000c and 2008a.)

- Bologne 1988. J.-C. Bologne, *La naissance interdite: Stérilité, avortement, contraception au moyen âge* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1988). Already dated at the time it was published in its coverage of the scholarly literature, this somewhat random collection of materials has now been superseded by other work on the history of medicine and the development of canon and secular law on abortion. (See, for example, Green 1990, Müller 2000 and Müller 2002.) This still may be worth consulting for citations to primary source materials, and there is still need for better work on the history of contraception. (See Green 2008d).
- Bos 1993. Gerrit Bos, "Ibn al-Jazzār on Women's Diseases and Their Treatment," *Medical History* 37 (1993), 296-312. A summary of the gynecological chapters from Ibn al-Jazzār's Arabic *Zad al-musafir*. This work was translated into Latin as the *Viaticum*, a widely disseminated text by the Cassinese monk Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99). Moreover (a fact not noted here), these same chapters were the primary source for much of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, the first of the three texts that made up the so-called *Trotula* ensemble (cf. Green 2001). As such, therefore, this material from Ibn al-Jazzār was probably the single most important source for ideas on basic female physiology and pathology in western Europe well into the fourteenth century.
- Bos 1997. Gerrit Bos, ed. and trans., *Ibn al-Jazzar on Sexual Diseases and Their Treatment*, The Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series (London: Kegan Paul, 1997). An edition (of the Arabic original) and English translation of Book VI of Ibn al-Jazzar's *Zad al-musafir wa-qut al-hadir* (Provision for the Traveller and Sustenance for the Settled). This tenth-century Arabic work was translated into Latin in the late eleventh century as the *Viaticum*, where it became one of the most widely circulating medical encyclopedias in the West. The gynecological section from Book VI also served as the basis for the Salernitan *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, one of the so-called *Trotula* treatises (see Green 1996a and 2001).
- Bosselmann-Cyran 1985. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, ed., '*Secreta mulierum*' mit Glosse in der deutschen Bearbeitung von Johann Hartlieb, Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen, 36 (Pattensen/Hannover: Horst Wellm, 1985). A critical edition of the German translation of the pseudo-Albertus *Secrets of Women* made by the Nuremberg physician, Johannes Hartlieb, in the 1460s.
- Bosselmann-Cyran 1995. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, "Ein weiterer Textzeuge von Johann Hartliebs 'Secreta mulierum'- und 'Buch Trotula'-Bearbeitung: Der Mailänder Kodex AE.IX.34 aus der Privatbibliothek des Arztes und Literaten Albrecht von Haller," *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 13 (1995), 209-15. Describes a recently discovered Milan manuscript of Johannes Hartlieb's German translations of the *Secreta mulierum* (which was edited by Bosselmann-Cyran in 1985) and the *Trotula*. The author then offers a new stemma for the manuscript tradition of the *Secreta*.
- Bosselmann-Cyran 1997. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, "Gynäkologische und sexualkundliche Fachterminologie im 15. Jahrhundert. Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache in einer Tabuzone," in *Mittelalter und Moderne. Kongreßakten des 6. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes vom*

März 1995 in Bayreuth, ed. Peter Segl (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 149-160. Compares the terminology used for the reproductive organs, the sexual act, and menstruation in two later 15th-century German translations of the pseudo-Albertus Magnus *Secreta mulierum*, a treatise on reproduction and women's natural history that circulated widely, especially in northern Europe.

Braekman 1987. Willy Braekman, "Johannes Conincks Instructies voor Vroedvrouwen uit de zestiende eeuw," in *Volkskunde* 88 (1987), 120–30. Regarding instructions for midwives by a 16th-century Dutch surgeon, found uniquely in a manuscript now in Hattem. A full transcription of the text is included. (For information on a later owner of the Hattem manuscript, see Erwin Huizenga, "Cutting and Writing. Medieval Dutch Surgeons and Their Books." in A.M.W. As-Vijvers, Jos. M.M. Hermans en G.C. Huisman, ed., *Manuscript Studies in the Low Countries. Proceedings of the 'Groninger Codicologendagen' in Friesland, 2002* (Groningen, 2008), pp. 81-102.)

Brodman 2006. James W. Brodman, "Unequal in Charity? Women and Hospitals in Medieval Catalonia," *Women in Medieval Catalonia*, a Special Issue of *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 12, no. 1 (2006), 26-36. **Not yet seen.**

Brunetti 2005. Lucia Brunetti, *Agnese e il suo ospedale. Siena, XIII-XV secolo*, Ospedali medievali tra carità e servizio, 2 (Ospedaletto: Pacini Editore, 2005). The Ospedale di Monna Agnese was a charitable institution founded in Siena in the 13th century that was managed by women and devoted to care of pregnant women, the poor, and pilgrims. Records show that medical care was provided, at least in the 15th century, by professional practitioners (both men and women) coming in to treat individual cases. Brunetti finds quite detailed evidence for the medicines used in the hospital as well as foods served. Unfortunately, no detailed information is given on the obstetrical care provided, the author simply making undocumented references to *ostetriche* and *levatrici*. Brunetti's other work on this hospital is "L'ospedale di monna Agnese di Siena e la sua filiazione romana," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 126, 2003, 37-67.

Buck 2000. R. A. Buck, "Women and Language in the Anglo-Saxon Leechbooks," *Women and Language* 23, 2 (Fall 2000): 41-50. Provides an intriguing analysis of the grammatical and semantic features of references to women in two 10th-century medical texts. Particularly useful is her analysis of the "voice" of the writer and how his address to the reader gives evidence of who he expected his readers to be. Buck finds that the patient is mostly spoken about rather than spoken to.

Butler 2005. Sara M. Butler, "Abortion by Assault: Violence against Pregnant Women in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 4 (2005), 9-31. Butler surveys legal proceedings which claim that a woman has suffered a miscarriage due to a violent attack. According to English law, what would normally have been a simple assault becomes a homicide, by definition a felony and therefore punishable by death. She finds an extremely low rate of conviction, whether the accusation is made by the woman

herself or together with her husband. With no regularized use of expert testimony and a general lack of confidence among jurors that they could accurately assess the medical issues involved, she argues, the cases often boiled down to “she said/he said.” The result, Butler finds, is that all-male juries seem to have been reluctant to forfeit a man’s life (the penalty for all felonies) on the basis of such uncertain evidence. Of 44 cases she examines, Butler found only two convictions and only one execution; ironically, the latter was a woman. See, however, Müller 2002 below, for a more nuanced understanding of the legal processes involved, which leads to a significantly different interpretation of the “non-convictions.”

Caballero-Navas 1999. Carmen Caballero-Navas, “Las mujeres en la medicina hebrea medieval. El *Libro de amor de mujeres* o *Libro del régimen de las mujeres*,” Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Semitical Studies, University of Granada, 1999. **Not seen.** Describes a late medieval Hebrew compendium of magic and women’s medicine that includes material also found in Catalan and French sources. See Caballero-Navas 2004 for published edition.

Caballero-Navas 2003. Carmen Caballero-Navas, “The Hebrew Production on Women’s Healthcare in the Mediterranean West at the End of the Middle Ages,” *Wellcome History* 22 (February 2003): 5-6. A work-in-progress report. Available gratis on-line at <<http://www.wellcome.ac.uk/About-us/Publications/Wellcome-History/Previous/WTD003143.htm>> (accessed 31.i.2010).

Caballero-Navas 2004. Carmen Caballero-Navas, *The ‘Book of Women’s Love’ and Medieval Medical Hebrew Literature on Women*, Kegan Paul Library of Jewish Studies (London: Kegan Paul, 2004). Edition, translation, and commentary on a Hebrew treatise on love magic, aphrodisiacs, cosmetics, gynecology, and obstetrics. The work is known to exist in only one late fifteenth-century copy, made probably in the area of Catalonia or Provence. Essentially a remedy book, this essentially empiricist text will disappoint those looking for theoretical statements about sexuality or magic. Caballero-Navas concedes that the author is male, but then offers a rather strained argument for a female audience despite evidence within the text that it was directed toward male readers. Other Hebrew texts on women’s medicine beyond those described by Barkai 1998 (see above) are mentioned.

Caballero-Navas 2006a. Carmen Caballero-Navas, “Secrets of Women: Naming Female Sexual Difference in Medieval Hebrew Medical Literature,” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender* 12 (2006), 39-56. In this very intriguing essay, Caballero-Navas shows that in contrast to its usage in Latin and various other vernaculars (cf. Green 2000a below), the term “secrets of women” in Hebrew usage had a more neutral connotation of simply referring to gynecological matters.

Caballero-Navas 2006b. Carmen Caballero Navas, “Algunos “secretos de mujeres” revelados: El *Še’ar yašub* y la recepción y transmisión del *Trotula* en hebreo [Some “secrets of women” revealed. The *She’ar yašub* and the reception and transmission of the *Trotula* in Hebrew],” *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, sección Hebreo* 55 (2006), 381-425. Caballero Navas presents an edition and Spanish translation of a new manuscript of the Hebrew *Trotula*, which previously had been known only in a fragmentary copy formerly held by the Jews’

College in London (and now owned by the Wellcome Library). This new copy (at the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg) also includes a modified translation of the Salernitan treatise *Women's Cosmetics*. Both circulated in Hebrew under the authorial name of “Jacob” and were known to other Hebrew medical writers.

Caballero-Navas 2008a. 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 (June 2008), 146-63, part of a special issue on “Conversing with the Minority: Relations Among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Women in the High Middle Ages.” The author argues that on matters of basic healthcare and cosmetics, Jewish and Christian women may have had many shared concerns. Exchanges may have been facilitated by their shared use of the same vernacular language. Her evidence for possible contacts between women across religious lines includes her study of medical recipes of various types. As with other essays in this special issue, Caballero-Navas is interested to explore how we might further develop methodologies for uncovering women’s medical agency.

Caballero-Navas 2008b. 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 (May 2008), 249-259, doi:10.1017/S1062798708000197. This essay offers a précis of the arguments Caballero-Navas has been developing in her work on women’s medicine in Hebrew for the past several years.

Cabré 1993a.⁸ Montserrat Cabré i Pairet, “Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead (1867-1941) and the Medical Women’s Struggle for History,” *Collections. The Newsletter of the Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine. The Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA*, issue 26 (February 1993), pp. 1-4, 8. A careful and moving study of the late 19th- and early 20th-century American obstetrician who wrote what is still the largest history of women physicians available.

Cabré 1993b. Montserrat Cabré, “La Ciencia de las mujeres en la edad media. Reflexiones sobre la autoría femenina,” in Cristina Segura Graiño, ed., *La Voz del silencio. II. Historia de las mujeres: Compromiso y método* (Madrid: Asociación Cultural al-Mudayna, 1993), pp. 41-74. A novel and persuasive reading of women’s involvement in the sciences.

Cabré 2000a. Montserrat Cabré, “From a Master to a Laywoman: A Feminine Manual of Self-Help,” *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinam Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000), 371-393; available gratis online at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/7337/showToc>> (accessed 10.i.2009). Cabré discusses a unique Catalan text on women’s health and cosmetics written probably in the late 14th century by certain master Joan. Although entitled *Trotula*, the text is largely a

⁸Montserrat Cabré sometimes publishes with both patronymic and matronymic, to wit, Cabré i Pairet. I cite her name as it appears in each essay.

translation (from the Latin) of a text on women's cosmetics attributed to an earlier Catalan physician, Arnau of Villanova, and other sources. Cabré argues that the text was probably composed for a woman at the Catalan-Aragonese court. This is a wonderful "sampler" of Cabré's forthcoming edition.

Cabré 2000. Montserrat Cabré i Pairet, "Nacer en relation," in *De dos en dos: Las practicas de creacion y recreacion de la vida y de la convivencia*, ed. Marta Beltran i Tarres (Madrid: Hora y Hora, 2000), pp. 15-32. Argues that the terminological fluidity of the many, seemingly interchangeable terms for "mother," "wetnurse," "godmother," "midwife," etc., reflects the fact that most of women's medical practices came out of their daily activities *as women*. "Midwife" is not simply a medical function but a social role, being both birth attendant and godmother at the baptism (which the mother herself would not attend since she was still lying-in after the birth). See also Cabré 2008.

Cabré n.d. (ca. 2003). Montserrat Cabré, trans., "Public Record of the Labour of Isabel de la Cavalleria. January 10, 1490, Zaragoza," *The Online Reference Book for Medieval Studies* <<http://www.the-orb.net/birthrecord.html>> (link confirmed 13.i.2009). Cabré presents an English translation of an actual birth scene as it was recorded by a male notary. Isabel, recently become a widow, wished to have a public record made of the birth so that the posthumous child's inheritance would not be questioned. This is a rare and invaluable document for showing us both how a birth was conducted and what was at stake in insuring the legitimacy of children.

Cabré 2005. Montserrat Cabré, "Como una madre, como una hija: Las mujeres y los cuidados de salud en la Baja Edad Media," in *Historia de las mujeres en España y América latina*, 4 vols., ed. Isabel Morant, vol. 1: *De la Prehistoria a la Edad Media* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005), pp. 637–57. A preliminary survey of the types of women's medical practices surveyed in more depth in Cabré's 2008 article (see below).

Cabré 2008. Montserrat Cabré, "Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categories of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (2008), 18-51. From p. 23: "During a period of lively development of new health occupations, of a rich proliferation of a diversity of authorized and unauthorized practitioners, it is crucial to look at the language that records women's health-maintenance actions in the sources, since the labels identifying women's practices differ from those for men. While male categories of health care relate to occupational markers, the words describing female practices, as I hope to demonstrate, are connected to the semantic domain of 'woman' and 'mother,' as well as to other categories that designate women at certain life stages. ... [W]omen's health actions form a continuum that runs from the ordinary to the occupational, from gratuitous therapeutic attention to paid acts of health care." Cabré offers a wonderful survey of a variety of evidence (linguistic, textual, epistolary, etc.) to document the kinds of healthcare women engaged in in Spain from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

Cabré and Ortiz 2001. Montserrat Cabré i Pairet and Teresa Ortiz, eds., *Sanadoras, matronas y médicas en Europa, siglos XII-XX* (Barcelona: Icaria, 2001). This volume presents in

Spanish essays that had originally appeared in English and Spanish in a special issue of *Dynamis* 19 (1999).⁹ Essays on the medieval period include those by Montserrat Cabré i Pairet and Fernando Salmón Muñiz on the trial of Jacoba Felicie, and Monica Green on the medical writers Trota of Salerno and Hildegard of Bingen.

Cabré and Salmón Muñiz 1999. Montserrat Cabré i Pairet and Fernando Salmón Muñiz, “Poder académico *versus* autoridad femenina: La Facultad de Medicina de París contra Jacoba Félicie (1322).” *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinæ Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 19 (1999), 55-78; available gratis online at

<<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/8660/showToc>> (accessed 16.i.2010).

In this important essay, Cabré and Salmón revisit the well-known 1322 trial of the Parisian empirical healer, Jacoba Felicie, to argue that even though she had no claim to the authority conferred upon university masters by virtue of their association with that institution, Jacoba had clearly developed considerably *public* authority because of the trust she had earned from a faithful clientele.

Cadden 1993. Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). The text of reference for all matters having to do with scientific or medical aspects of sexuality or sex difference.

Cadden 1996. Joan Cadden, “Western Medicine and Natural Philosophy,” in Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, eds., *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York and London: Garland, 1996), pp. 51-80. Written as a general introduction to research for graduate students, this essay surveys sources in which medieval attitudes towards sexuality can be found and offers hints about obtaining access to them. While Cadden notes that there is no single “medieval” view of sexuality nor even regular textual *loci* in which the multiple views on sexuality were commonly found, she summarizes a variety of viewpoints on such topics as sexual pleasure, the role of sexual activity in health, masturbation, birth control, and homosexuality.

Cadden 2001. Joan Cadden, “‘Nothing Natural Is Shameful’: Vestiges of a Debate about Sex and Science in a Group of Late-Medieval Manuscripts,” *Speculum* 76, no. 1 (January 2001), 66-89. Examines the commentaries of Pietro d’Abano (1257-c. 1315) and (probably) Walter Burley on the section of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* dealing with sexual intercourse.

Camille 1998. Michael Camille, “Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation,” in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken and James A. Schultz, *Medieval Cultures*, 11 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998, 58-90, ISSN/ISBN: 0-8166-2829-7. Wishing “to explore the category of the ‘natural’ as it is represented in words and pictures,” Camille examines the depictions of (hetero)sexual intercourse in manuscripts of the 13th-century French treatise, *Régime du corps* (“Regime of

⁹These are all online now, in their original form, at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/8660/showToc>>.

the Body”) by Aldobrandino of Siena. Then, to further his argument that images display exactly the same intent of rendering the woman inferior, he moves on to other depictions of intercourse in 14th- and 15th-century texts, including the disciplines of law, literature, and even grammar. Oddly, Camille claims that the ca. 1285 British Library manuscript of the *Régime* on which he focuses most attention is unique in changing the original attribution to a female recipient, Beatrix of Savoy, to a male’s name. On the contrary, only six of some 75 manuscripts bear that original attribution. (See Green 2000c on evidence for female ownership of the text and, for the latest list of *Régime* manuscripts, including those of the widely-circulating Italian translation, Françoise Féry-Hue, “Le Régime du corps d’Aldebrandin de Sienne: complément à la tradition manuscrite (suite),” *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies* 58:1, (2004), 99-108, and the literature cited therein.) As a historian of medicine, I found the iconographic interpretations here strained, not least the assumption that the illustrator would have known anything about the several Latin medical treatises Camille cites for his background views of coitus. Still, the *Régime* is a text begging for serious feminist analysis and this learned interdisciplinary essay should help get that process started.

Cannon 1993. Sue Spencer Cannon, “The Medicine of Hildegard of Bingen: Her Twelfth-century Theories and Their Twentieth-century Appeal,” Ph.D. dissertation, Germanic Languages, University of California at Los Angeles, 1993. An overview of Hildegard’s theories of humoral medicine and an analysis of modern attempts to reclaim Hildegard as a representative of “God’s medicine.” (All claims here drawn from the *Cause et cure* must now be modified in light of Moulinier’s 2003 edition of that text and her arguments about its authenticity. See also Hildegard of Bingen 2008 for an edition of the *Physica*.)

Carolus-Barré 1979. Louis Carolus-Barré, “Un nouveau parchemin amulette et la légende de sainte Marguerite-patronne des femmes en couches,” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 123, no. 2 (1979), 256-75, now available gratis at <<http://www.persee.fr>> (accessed 13.i.2010). After describing a *sachet* first published in 1925 that contains several items, including a folded parchment amulet of the late 13th century with a life of St Margaret, and another from the same period or slightly later, Carolus-Barré then describes a similar amulet from the mid-15th century acquired by the Musée national des Arts et Traditions populaires in 1977. The author provides a full physical description of the object, partial transcriptions and analysis of its contents (which includes another life of St Margaret), and a full-page photo of the recto side and a detail of the verso.

Carrillo Linares 2006. Maria José Carrillo Linares, “*De Humana Natura*,” in *Sex, Aging and Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge R.14.52, Its Texts, Language and Scribe* ed. M. Teresa Tavormina, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 292, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 249-275. Presents an edition of a unique Middle English translation of the *De humana natura* of Constantine the African, a treatise on generation. See also Green and Mooney 2006, Matheson 2006, and Pahta and Carrillo Linares 2006.

- Carusi 2001. Paola Carusi, “Contracezione maschile e terapie dolci nel medioevo islamico,” *Medicina nei secoli* 13, no. 3 (2001), 523-548. **Not yet seen.**
- Cassell 2006. Anthony K. Cassell, “Pilgrim Wombs, Physicke, and Bed-Tricks: Intellectual Brilliance, Attenuation, and Elision in *Decameron* III:9,” *MLN: Modern Language Notes* 121:1 (2006) 53-101. ISSN/ISBN: 0026-7910. From the Abstract: “ This article investigates the reception of Boccaccio’s novella of Giletta di Narbona, *Decameron* III:9. The novella, which inspired many plays, including Shakespeare’s *All’s Well That Ends Well*, has received controversial judgments from the critics, based on its allegedly sketch-like plot design. The author proposes a reassessment of the novella, showing the connections with other novelle, such as that of Griselda (*Dec.*, X:10). The author’s contention is that Boccaccio deliberately muffles the verve and genius of III:9 to cause the surrounding tales to shine brighter.” Giletta di Narbona is, according to the story, the daughter of a learned physician and her use of her healing skills plays an important part in the narrative. Cassell argues that “critics ... have failed to see that a medical theme strongly unites the two parts of the tale, just as medical considerations govern the whole framework and action of the Hundred Tales’ narrators” (p. 90). However, the discussion about the “wandering womb” is both dated in its references and strained in its arguments, though presentation of the “wandering womb” pilgrim badge is a welcome addition.
- Calabritto 2006. Monica Calabritto, “*Medicina pratica, consilia* and the Illnesses of the Head in Girolamo Mercuriale and Giulio Cesare Claudini: Similarities and Differences of the Sexes,” *Medicina e storia* 6 (2006), 63-83. **Not yet seen.** (The writers in question are 16th century.)
- Cavallar 2005. Osvaldo Cavallar, “*Septimo mense. Periti medici* e partorienti in Baldo degli Ubaldi,” *VI centenario della morte di Baldo degli Ubaldi, 1400-2000*, ed. Carla Frova; M Grazia Nico Ottaviani; Stefania Zucchini (Perugia : Università degli studi, 2005), pp. 365-460. This essay concerns primarily the legal *consilia* written by the Italian jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi (1327-1400), a professor of law at Bologna, Perugia, Pisa, Firenze, Padova and Pavia, in the later 14th century. Cavallar uses several *consilia* of Baldo to revisit the history of the expanding role of medical expertise in legal proceedings. These concerned several situations in which legal rulings were needed on matters of pregnancy and birth, including *Septimo mense* (*Digest* 1.5.12) which assessed the legitimacy of “premature” babies. The essay has little to contribute to the history of midwives beyond quoting references to them in legal commentaries, but it is an extremely useful and competent assessment of several technical questions in the history of law.
- Chardonens 2000. László Sándor Chardonens, “A New Edition of the Old English *Formation of the Foetus*,” *Notes and Queries* 47, no.1, (2000), 10-11. First edited in 1864-66, the brief Old English *Formation of the Foetus* examines the physical and mental growth of the unborn child and is found uniquely in London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius A.III, from the mid-11th century. Chardonens, noting errors in the standard edition, provides a new, corrected one here, but alas no modern English translation. (For analysis of this text, see Elsackers 2008, pp. 402-5.)

- Chiaramonte and Tozzi 1992. Enrica Chiaramonte and Silvia Tozzi, “Tra *practici e doctores*: Le donne nella medicina del medioevo,” *Annali di Facoltà di Lettere Filologiche di Università di Siena* 13 (1992), 35-51. A general overview of evidence for medieval women’s medical practices. There is very little material here that has not already been cited multiple times elsewhere.
- Cilliers 2005. Louise Cilliers, “Vindicianus’ *Gynaecia*: Text and Translation of the Codex Monacensis (Cm 4622),” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 15 (2005), 153-236. Despite the title by which it is known in modern scholarship, the *Gynaecia* (often translated as ‘Gynecology,’ though it could be interpreted more simply as ‘Women’s Matters’) of Vindicianus (late 4th cent. CE) is in fact a treatise on anatomy and embryology. Cilliers provides a useful summary here of prior scholarship of the text and includes a text and translation of the work from a 12th-century manuscript copy now in Munich.
- Clin 1996. Marie-Véronique Clin, “Joan of Arc and her Doctors,” in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 295-302. A brief, useful account of the medical care Joan received while in captivity. Not up-to-date, however, for general medical background.
- Cohen-Hanegbi 2009. Naama Cohen-Hanegbi, “The Emotional Body of Women: Medical Practice between the 13th and 15th Centuries,” in *Le Sujet des émotions au moyen âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy and Damien Boquet (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009), pp. 465-82. Cohen-Hanegbi examines twenty collections of medical *consilia* (individual yet formalized case histories) written by Italian physicians from the 13th to 15th centuries. Collectively, they provide evidence for a total of 875 individual cases, of which 141 are female patients. Cohen-Hanegbi then from this database several cases to examine in detail the practical treatments for melancholy in both female and male patients. Despite widespread assumptions of systemic differences between the male and female bodies, the belief that emotions were tied to the state of the physical body, and the general cultural assumptions that women were more emotionally volatile than men, she finds that among physicians emotions were understood to differ neither in kind nor intensity according to gender, nor did the patient’s gender influence the physician’s choice of treatment or behavioral advice. A particularly intriguing is her conclusion that physicians didn’t see melancholy in the postpartum period as being a distinct disorder; it was just generic melancholy. (On the contrary, she presents a case of a woman who succumbed to madness when she was *not* pregnant.) It remains to be seen, however, how much we can extrapolate from these limited data: she found only three cases of women being diagnosed with melancholy.
- Conde Parrado *et al.* 1999. Pedro Conde Parrado, Enrique Montero Cartelle, and M. Cruz Herrero Ingelmo, eds., *Tractatus de conceptu; Tractatus de sterilitate mulierum*, *Lingüística y filología*, 37 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1999). Two Latin texts on sterility deriving from the medical school of Montpellier are edited here. Both date from the 14th century, and both focus primarily on sterility in women. The editors offer critical editions of the Latin texts, facing-page translations into Spanish, lexical indices, a glossary of *materia*

medica, and a bibliography. For other texts on infertility, see Montero Cartelle 1993 and Montero Cartelle and Herrero Ingelmo 2003.

- Congourdeau 1993. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, “‘Métrodôra’ et son oeuvre,” in Evelyne Patlagean, ed., *Maladie et société à Byzance* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1993), pp. 57-96. A study of a Greek text on women’s medicine, probably written in the early Byzantine period. The one extant copy comes from 12th-century southern Italy. Includes a French translation of the text. (On the several versions of a medieval Latin translation of the text, probably made in the eleventh century, see Green 2000d, s. v., *De passionibus mulierum*.)
- Congourdeau 1999. Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, “Sang féminin et génération chez les auteurs byzantins,” *Cahiers du CRISIMA* 4 (1999), 19-23. **Not yet seen.**
- Cormack 2000. Margaret Cormack, “‘Fyr kne maio’: Notes on Childbirth in Medieval Iceland,” *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* 25, no. 3 (2000), 314-15. A late twelfth-century Icelandic saga provides evidence of the position of the laboring woman would normally take during birth. This would be a sitting or lying position, but definitely not a hands-and-knees position as had previously been assumed.
- Cormack 2008. Margaret Cormack, “Better Off Dead: Approaches to Medieval Miracles,” *Sanctity in the North: Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. Thomas A. DuBois, Toronto Old Norse-Icelandic Series, 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 334-52, ISSN/ISBN: 978-0-8020-9410-0, with cumulative bibliography at pp. 353-373. Examines Old Norse sagas of the Virgin Mary and other elements of Icelandic hagiography, looking for evidence of difficult pregnancies. Includes an English translation of selections from *Maríu saga*.
- Courtemanche 2002. Andrée Courtemanche, “The Judge, the Doctor, and the Poisoner: Medical Expertise in Manosquin Judicial Rituals at the End of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan*, ed. Joëlle Rollo-Koster, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples, 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp.105-123. Examines the trial of a woman accused of poisoning her husband in 1394, with special emphasis on the role of the medical testimony which sought to establish whether the husband had actually died of poison.
- Courtenay 2007. Lynn T. Courtenay, “The Hospital of Notre-Dame des Fontenilles at Tonnerre: Medicine as Misericordia,” in Bowers, B. S. (ed.), *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, 3 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Courtenay examines the foundation of a hospital by Marguerite of Burgundy and Nevers (1249-1308), Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem, and hereditary Countess of Tonnerre, using the foundation charter of the hospital as her main evidence. Marguerite founded the hospital in 1293, eight years after she had retired to Tonnerre (in northern Burgundy) after her husband’s death in 1285. Courtenay does not find any particular evidence that Marguerite’s experience as the queen at the Angevin court at Naples (which had

an advanced system of medical licensing) influenced her plans for the hospital at Tonnerre. Rather, Courtenay suggests that the hospital provided specifically devotional care for its inmates, an objective reinforced by the hospital's physical design; the bulk of the essay is devoted to examining the institution's layout and architecture. The only evidence Courtenay finds for women's healthcare specifically is that the hospital allowed for the reception of pregnant women and the provision for their burial in the hospital's cemetery if they died in childbirth; she presumes that the lay sisters who staffed the hospital were housed separately from the male clerical staff.

Crabb 2005. Ann Crabb, "Ne pas être mère: l'autodéfense d'une Florentine vers 1400," *Clio: Histoire, femmes, et sociétés*, no. 21(2005), special issue on *Maternités*, online edition posted 1 June 2007, <http://clio.revues.org/document1457.html>, accessed 22 July 2008. This essay examines the reactions of Margherita Datini, wife of Francesco Datini (the well-known "Merchant of Prato"), to her own infertility. More than 420 letters were exchanged between her and her husband between 1384 and 1410, and Crabb explores them to argue that in addition to her defensiveness, Margherita also crafted for herself an identity as a consummate household manager and writer.

Crowther-Heyck 2002. Kathleen Crowther-Heyck, "'Be Fruitful and Multiply': Genesis and Generation in Reformation Germany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55, No. 3 (Autumn 2002), 904-935.

Dangler 2001. Jean Dangler, *Mediating Fictions: Literature, Women Healers, and the Go-Between in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2001). A study of the figure of the woman healer and/or go-between (*medianera*) in Jaume Roig's *Spill o Llibre de les dones* (1460); Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina* (1499); and Francisco Delicado's *La Lozana andaluza* (1528). Dangler finds a shift in the 15th century away from the positive representation of women who functioned as intercessors to an increasingly derogatory representation, that saw such women as promoters of disease. She suggests that this shift, abetted by the three writers she studies (who either were or were closely associated with physicians), was prompted by efforts to raise the stature of professionalized male medical practitioners.

Deegan 1989. Marilyn Deegan, "Pregnancy and Childbirth in the Anglo-Saxon Medical Texts: A Preliminary Survey," in *Medicine in Early Medieval England*, ed. Marilyn Deegan and D. G. Scragg (Manchester: Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, 1989), pp. 17-26. An advance report of work described as "ongoing." (Deegan subsequently turned to other work and has not published further on this topic.)

Delva 1983. Anna Delva, *Vrouwengeneeskunde in Vlaanderen tijdens de late middeleeuwen* (Brugge: Vlaamse Historische Studies, 1983). A badly flawed edition of a Dutch translation of the *Trotula* compendium (*Trotula* Dut3a in the schema of Green 1997), probably made in the earlier 15th century and here edited from Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 593. The text has now been re-edited in Hulsker 2009.

Demaitre 2001. Luke Demaitre, “Domesticity in Middle Dutch ‘Secrets of Men and Women’,” *Social History of Medicine* 14 (2001), 1-25. From the abstract: “This is an introductory analysis of a group of Middle Dutch texts about the ‘Secrets’ of female health and procreation. Although at first sight little more than translations and adaptations of two Latin treatises widely known as *Trotula* and *Secreta mulierum*, the texts afford glimpses of their cultural context. ... They addressed women and men, not only readers but also illiterate listeners, and they seemed particularly attuned to the household both in the practicality of gynaecological guidelines and in the earthiness of sexological information.” Note that all the references to the *Trotula* text that are cited as page numbers here are in fact the *paragraph* numbers of Green’s edited text.

Dettelbacher 1998. Werner Dettelbacher, “Die jüdische Ärztin Sara und ihre Tätigkeit in Würzburg (1419),” *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 17 (1998), 101-103. Presents the limited evidence for the medical activities of Jewish practitioner in Würzburg.

Dickson and Gauld 1987. J. H. Dickson and W. W. Gauld, “Mark Jameson’s Physic Plants: A Sixteenth Century Garden for Gynaecology in Glasgow?,” *Scottish Medical Journal* 32 (1987), 60–2. A valuable little study showing that a medicinal garden plotted out (at least on paper) by Mark Jameson (d. 1592), a clergyman and sometime medical practitioner in Glasgow, contained a surprisingly high percentage of herbs with gynecological and obstetrical properties. The authors also study Jameson’s annotations in his copy of Michele Savonarola’s *Practica* (a mid-15th century medical work; cf. Green 2009a and Zuccolin 2008 and 2010) to confirm his interest in menstrual difficulties.

Dimitrova and Angusheva-Tihanov 2005. Margaret Dimitrova and Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov, “Medieval Slavonic Childbirth Prayers: Sources, Context and Functionality,” *Scripta & e-Scripta: The Journal of Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies* [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Literature] 2, (2005), 273-290. Once you get past the painfully difficult English, this article has some interesting materials about prayers for childbirth found in 14th- to 17th-century South Slavonic manuscripts.

Dixon 1995. Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). This book approaches the history of women’s medicine from the perspective of art-historical materials. It makes many stretched interpretations and cannot be recommended as a reliable source for medical history.

Domínguez-Rodríguez 2004. María Victoria Domínguez-Rodríguez, “Glosas Numéricas en el MS Sloane 3486, ff. 140v-147v: formas y funciones,” *Boletín Millares Carlo*, 23 (2004), 197-220. **Not yet seen.** London, British Library, MS Sloane 3486, contains a copy of the Middle English *Sickness of Women I* (a translation of the gynecological sections of the Latin *Compendium medicine* of Gilbertus Anglicus) along with various technical medical texts. Cf. Green 1992, Green and Mooney 2006, and Rodríguez-Álvarez and Domínguez-Rodríguez 2005.

Dumas 1996. Geneviève Dumas, “Les femmes et les pratiques de la santé dans le ‘Registre des plaidoiries du Parlement de Paris, 1364-1427’,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History/Bulletin canadien d’histoire de la médecine* 13 (1996), 3-27. Dumas finds eight cases concerning women and medicine in the register of pleas of late 14th- and early 15th-century Paris. Dumas examines in particular the cases of Jeanne Pouquelin, who was tried for illicit practice of barbering, and Perette la Pétone, who was tried for illegal surgical practice. The essay includes transcripts of the original French documents. An original and important contribution to the history of women in medieval medicine.

Edgington 2007. Susan B. Edgington, “A Female Physician on the Fourth Crusade? Laurette de Saint-Valéry,” in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 77-85, ISBN: 978-0-7546-5527-5. A learned deconstruction of historiographical claims about a bearded female physician who allegedly served on the Third Crusade and stayed on in Constantinople where she is said to have died in 1205. Using documents associated with the foundation of a religious house with connections to Laurette’s husband, Edgington argues that while Laurette can be shown to be both bearded (“just as she was no less worthy in the manly strength of her mind, so she had the appearance of a man, with a bearded face,” p. 80) and devoted to the care of the sick, there is no evidence that she ever went on crusade. On the contrary, Edgington suggests, that bit of legendary fluff may have been created by the first person to articulate it, the early 20th-century medical historian Ernest Wickersheimer, who misread his own earlier account of Laurette (published in 1936) when he returned to the subject in 1951.

Eichhorn-Mulligan 2006. Amy Eichhorn-Mulligan, “The Anatomy of Power and the Miracle of Kingship: The Female Body of Sovereignty in a Medieval Irish Kingship Tale,” *Speculum* 81:4 (October 2006), 1014-54. Examining the fictional body of the Irish “loathly lady” of Sovereignty, Eichhorn-Mulligan identifies Sovereignty’s highly detailed body as leprous, showing that pre-Christian kingship legends were encoded in the 12th century with biblical and hagiographical references to leprosy in order to relate to a new kind of divinely-ordained Christian kingship. There are very few gendered analyses of disease in the Middle Ages, and it is hoped that this learned and richly interdisciplinary study starts a new trend.

Eichhorn-Mulligan 2009. Amy Eichhorn-Mulligan, “‘The satire of the poet is a pregnancy’: Pregnant Poets, Body Metaphors and Cultural Production in Medieval Ireland,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 108, no. 4 (October 2009), 481-505. **Not yet seen.** From the abstract: “there is an extensive collection of texts attending to the bodies, births, and transforming rebirths of legendary poets who, as Patrick Ford has aptly put it, are ‘blind, dumb and ugly.’ All of these examples stress the felt corporeality of poets and poetic composition.”

Elsackers 2001a. 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, Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 179-209. In this wonderfully thoughtful and sophisticated essay, Elsackers suggests how

the ubiquitous *peperit* charm (a Christian charm to aid childbirth) may have been used by both illiterate and semi-literate women within an oral tradition of birth practices.

- Elsakkers 2001b. Marianne Elsakkers, “Genre hopping: Aristotelian criteria for abortion in Germania,” in *Germanic texts and Latin models. Medieval reconstructions*, ed. K. E. Olsen, A. Harbus, T. Hofstra, Medievaleia Groningana, vol. 2 (Louvain, etc.: Peeters, VA, 2001), pp. 73-92. **Not yet seen.**
- Elsakkers 2003. Marianne Elsakkers, “Abortion, Poisoning, Magic, and Contraception in Eckhardt’s *Pactus Legis Salicae*.” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 57 (2003), 233-267.
- Elsakkers 2004a. Marianne Elsakkers, “Her anda neylar: An Intriguing Criterion for Abortion in Old Frisian Law,” *Scientiarum Historia: Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van de wetenschappen en de geneeskunde/Revue pour l’histoire des sciences et de la médecine* 30 (2004), pp. 107-154. Elsakkers surveys Old Frisian laws that stipulate the penalty for assault on a pregnant woman that results in loss of the fetus. She demonstrates that, around the 13th century, Frisian laws began to distinguish between unformed and formed fetuses by inquiring whether the aborted fetus had yet developed hair and nails. Later criteria incorporated the views on fetal development from a late antique text on anatomy and embryology attributed to Vindicianus, adding the particularly Christian concept of “ensoulment.” Particularly important is Elsakker’s finding that women played an important role in examining the aborted fetus and determining its stage of growth.
- Elsakkers 2004b. Marianne Elsakkers, “Middeleeuwse embryologie in vogelvlucht: met een paar volkstalige voorbeelden uit de Lage Landen,” *W-Mail* 5 (2004), 12-19; available gratis online at <<http://wemal.let.uu.nl/w-mail.html>> (accessed 31.i.2010). [The title translates as “Medieval Embryology in a Nutshell: With a Few Vernacular Examples from the Low Countries.”] A brief overview of various embryological texts from the High Middle Ages.
- Elsakkers 2008. Marianne Elsakkers, “The Early Medieval Latin and Vernacular Vocabulary of Abortion and Embryology,” in: *Science Translated; Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michele Goyens, Pieter De Leemans & An Smets (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 377-413. Argues that the terminology used to describe an early abortion (before “formation” and therefore not deemed homicide) came from classical Latin texts of medicine, philosophy, and biology. She then compares this terminology to that used in both Latin and vernacular legal texts from the early Middle Ages (especially the penitential literature). This essay is especially valuable for its carefully nuanced explanations of the different terminology used not only in the Middle Ages but also by modern scholars (e.g., “formed/unformed,” “animated” or “ensouled,” etc.).
- Encarnación 2002. Karen Rosoff Encarnación, “The Proper Uses of Desire: Sex and Procreation in Reformation Anatomical Fugitive Sheets’, in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, ed. Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 221–49. A very intriguing study of

representations of sex in anatomical fugitive sheets: single-sheet woodcuts recycling the new anatomical knowledge of the period for popular audiences.

- Farmer 2002. Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002). Using the accounts of miracles worked at Saint Louis's tomb outside Paris as her major source (compiled ca. 1303 from miracles said to have taken place between 1271 and 1282), Farmer reconstructs a picture of how life was lived by some of the poorest people in Europe's largest city. Most of the miracles are healing miracles, a fact which Farmer does not examine in detail: neither is there any background given on the amply-documented systems of medical care available in late thirteenth-century Paris nor is there any engagement with medical history or the field of disability studies. Nevertheless, Farmer's book provides important evidence for women's strategies in surviving poverty, including their mechanisms of mutual support.
- Ferragud Domingo 2007. Carmel Ferragud Domingo, "La atención médica doméstica practicada por mujeres en la Valencia bajomedieval," *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 27 (2007), 133-55; available gratis online at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/9199/showToc>>. A superb analysis of the domestic medical care that women in Valencia in the first half of the 14th-century provided not simply to their families, but to friends, neighbors and associates. This contributes importantly to on-going efforts to redefine medicine beyond the professional labels usually used only for men, and look at the provision of healthcare comprehensively. (Cf., for example, Cabré 2008.)
- Fery-Hue 1990. Françoise Fery-Hue, "Une expertise pour viol au XVI^e siècle: Pratique médico-légal et vocabulaire gynécologique," in *Actes du 114^e congrès national des Sociétés Savantes, Paris, Histoire médiévale et de philologique, violence et contestation au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1990), 321-43. Studies a legal case from the 16th century to assess the medical language being used in assessing a case of rape.
- Finucane 1997. Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). Using saints' lives, miracle stories, and canonization proceedings as his main sources (his sample includes materials from both northern and southern Europe), Finucane pieces together a narrative about the lives of children that probably could never otherwise be reconstructed from historical or documentary sources. Finucane devotes Chapter 2 to "The Dangers of Birth and Early Infancy," which presents much valuable information on infertility, pregnancy, and labor.
- Fischer 2002. Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, "Die pseudohippokratische *Epistula de virginibus*: Bemerkungen zu ihrer Textüberlieferung und zu ihrem Vokabular," *Les Études Classiques* 70 (2002), 101-22. Fischer describes here a late antique text, now extant in five copies dating from the 9th through 13th centuries, that prognosticates the future health of a woman (how many children she will bear, whether the labors will be difficult, how long she will live thereafter) depending on the age she begins to menstruate. The text is corrupt or lacunous in all five witnesses, but together they allow us to gather a sense of the unique perspectives of

this text. Fischer includes as an appendix a critical edition of one version of the text. For the Latin text of the other versions, as well as English translations of each, see the next item.

Fischer 2004. Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, “An Edition and Translation of the Pseudo-Hippocratic *Epistula de virginibus*,” in *Testi medici latini antichi: Le parole della medicina. Lessico e storia*, ed. Sergio Sconocchia and Fabio Cavalli (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2004), pp. 211-26. For description of this text, see previous item. Included here are editions and translations based on all five known copies of the text.

Flemming 2007. Rebecca Flemming, “Women, Writing and Medicine in the Classical World,” *Classical Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2007), 257-79. Flemming does a close analysis of a variety of types of evidence to assess the possibility that women might have been medical writers in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. First, she reassesses the well-known evidence (epigraphic, etc.) that women practiced both as midwives (*maiai/obstetrices*) and as general practitioners (*iatrinai/medicae*). With this, she raises the possibility that women might be found writing not only on topics relating to women’s medicine, but on general topics, too. Then, surveying a variety of textual sources to show that women were indeed credited from time to time for individual remedies. However, she also suggests that several “women” (esp. “Cleopatra”) may be pseudonymous creations whose names are invoked for rhetorical effect. Nevertheless, she concludes by suggesting that the still incompletely studied late antique or early medieval gynecological texts of “Cleopatra” and “Metrodora” may hold some potential for enriching the corpus of materials that can be associated with female authorship. Flemming’s suggestion that individual recipes may be the most likely area to find female authorship is borne out by Green’s conclusions from later medieval evidence (see Green 2008a).

Flügge 2000. Flügge, Sibylla. *Hebammen und heilkundige Frauen: Recht und Rechtswirklichkeit im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Stroenfeld, 2000). This may well be the most important book ever written on pre-modern midwives. Flügge surveys a variety of evidence for the development of regulation of midwives in 15th- and 16th-century Germany. Her coverage is exhaustive and the scholarship impeccable.

Fontaine 1994. Resianne Fontaine, “The Facts of Life: The Nature of the Female Contribution to Generation According to Judah ha-Cohen’s *Midrash ha-Hokma* and Contemporary Texts,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 29 (1994), 333-362. After summarizing the views of Aristotle and Galen on the existence of the female seed, the author recounts the reception of those views by Judah ben Salomo ha-Cohen Ibn Matqa (ca. 1245) and two other 13th-century Hebrew encyclopedists.

Gertsman 2008. Elina Gertsman, “The Holy Womb: The Medieval Shrine Madonna and the Structure of Devotion,” in *Männerwelten-Frauenbilder. Recht und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Beatrice Weifenbach (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2008). A study of a madonna sculpture to “open its womb” to reveal the Christ child inside.

- Gibson 1996. Gail McMurray, "Blessing from Sun and Moon: Churching as Women's Theater," in Barbara A. Hanawalt and David Wallace, eds., *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 139-54. Traces the transformation of the ritual of churching (the ceremony that reintegrates a woman back into the Christian community after childbirth) from a preoccupation with pollution of the female body into a ritual experience of regeneration.
- Gibson 1999. Gail McMurray, "Scene and Obscene: Seeing and Performing Late Medieval Childbirth," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 29 (1999), 7-24. Gibson analyzes several late medieval English dramas (particularly the N-Town cycle) to explore the thesis that "neither the private parts of the female childbearing body nor the domestic space in which an intimate community of women presided at the labor of childbirth and the ritual postpartum confinement or lying-in was fit object for the male gaze" (pp. 8-9). Gibson argues that although males were excluded from the birthing room itself, patriarchal concerns made men deeply interested in childbirth, producing what she sees as "late medieval drama's obsessive interest in performing the childbearing of Mary" (p. 16).
- Giladi 1999. Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents, and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and Their Social Implications* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). Giladi surveys religious, legal, and medical sources for their views on "mercenary wet nursing" in the medieval Islamic world. Given the nature of the documents available, his focus is limited to prescriptive views. Particularly fascinating is the evidence he gives that women created "milk kinships" with men so that they could have unrestricted social access to them.
- Glas 2008. Bineke Glas, "Vrouwengeheimen ontrafeld? Een nader onderzoek naar de Middelnederlandse gynaecologische tekst in codex medicus 798 (SUB Hamburg)," Doctoraalscriptie Universiteit Utrecht, 2008, available gratis online at <<http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2008-0911-200842/UUindex.html>> (accessed 31.i.2010). Concerns a unique version of the Dutch *Trotula* (Hamburg, Stadts- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. med. 798, *Trotula* Dut3c in the schema of Green 1997), which fuses the *Trotula* text with the pseudo-Albertus Magnus *De secretis mulierum*, excerpts from the *Surgery* of Albucasis, and other material.¹⁰ (Cf. Hulsker 2009 for a different version of this same Dutch translation.) A summary of Glas's dissertation can be found in Bineke Glas, "Vrouwen geheimen ontrafeld? Verslag van een doctoraalscriptie," *W-Mail* 10, no. 2 (2009), 18-25, available gratis online at <<http://wemal.let.uu.nl/w-mail.html>> (accessed 31.i.2010).
- Glaze 1998. Florence Eliza Glaze, "Medical Writer: 'Behold the Human Creature'," in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley:

¹⁰This Hamburg codex was the focal point of a seminar held at Utrecht University in the Spring term of 2007, which culminated in a one-day symposium, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Women: Women's Medicine in the Middle Ages and Its Influence on Modern Sexuality," Utrecht University Library, 27 June 2007, co-curated by Orlanda Lie and Monica H. Green, a display of books, images, and artefacts on women's medicine in Latin and Dutch from ca. 1300 to ca. 1600.

University of California Press, 1998), pp. 125-48, with notes at 232-41. This is simply the best study in English on Hildegard's medicine. It clearly lays out the disputed questions about the genesis of Hildegard's medical writings, the manuscript transmission, and the basic elements of her medical theories. See also Hildegard of Bingen 2008 and Moulinier 2003 for critical editions (at last!) of the medical works that derive from Hildegard.

Goehl and Mayer 2000. Konrad Goehl and Johannes Gottfried Mayer, "Signa mortui foetus — Das tote Kind im mütterleib. Ein neuer Text zur mittelalterlichen Gynäkologie," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 84 (2000), 232-35. Goehl and Mayer present an excerpt from a manuscript now in Kempen, Germany, concerning the signs of the dead fetus in utero. In another essay (co-authored with Gundolf Keil), "Ein gynäkologisch-kosmetisches Fragment aus der Mitte der 13. Jahrhunderts im Propsteiarchiv Kempen als Gegenstand der medizinhistorischen Forschung," in Hanns Peter Neuheuser, ed., *Die Handschriften des Propsteiarchivs Kempen: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999), pp. 59-76, the authors provide a more detailed description and full transcription of this manuscript fragment, which includes some gynecological as well as cosmetic material. In neither article is the text correctly identified. It is, in fact, not a "new" text at all but a fragment of the intermediate *Trotula* ensemble, ¶¶292-299a. See Green 1996a; most of this same material can also be found in Green 2001.)

Goldberg 2006. P. Jeremy P. Goldberg, "Life and Death: The Ages of Man," *A Social History of England 1200-1500*. Ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 413-434, 501-502. **Not yet seen.** According to the summary in the *International Medieval Bibliography*, this "Surveys the life courses of men and women in later medieval England."

Goldberg 2008. Jeremy Goldberg, *Communal Discord, Child Abduction, and Rape in the Later Middle Ages*, The New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). **Not yet seen.**

Goldy 2008. Charlotte Newman Goldy, "A Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Woman Crossing Boundaries: Visible and Invisible," *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 2 (June 2008), 130-45, in a special issue on "Conversing with the Minority: Relations Among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Women in the High Middle Ages." Goldy examines the case of Muriel of Oxford, a Jewish woman who was divorced by her banker husband in 1242 because of her infertility. Few documents relate specifically to Muriel, but Goldy uses other information about mid-12th-century life in England (including information on medical understandings of and treatments for infertility) to map out the contours of what Muriel's life might have been like and what contacts she may have had with Christian women and men.

Grauer 1991. Anne L. Grauer, "Life Patterns of Women from Medieval York," in *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows (Calgary, 1991), 407-13. The paleopathologist Anne Grauer offers a model of how some sense of women's physical existence can be retrieved. She examined burial remains from a parish in York, England, and, after typing the adult skeletons by sex, proceeded to

examine them for signs of trauma and cause of death. She finds that women's lives were indeed characterized by trauma and disease. See also the more general analytical issues raised in Anne Grauer and P. Stuart-Macadam, eds., *Sex and Gender in Paleopathological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Grauer 2002. A. L. Grauer, "Where were the Women?", in A. Herring and A. Swedlund, eds., *Human Biologists in the Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 266-287. This piece focuses primarily on the paleopathology of medieval English women. It is a wonderful synthesis of the basic questions of how traditional historical methods (based on documents) and archeological methods (in this case, primarily paleopathological ones) can work together to increase understanding of medieval women's lives. This would work exceptionally well in teaching.

Green 1985. Monica H. Green, "The Transmission of Ancient Theories of Female Physiology and Disease Through the Early Middle Ages", PhD dissertation (Princeton University, 1985), available through Dissertation Abstracts International. Surveys how key theoretical views from the Hippocratic writers, Soranus, and Galen were transmitted through the early medieval Islamic world and the Latin west. The analysis concludes with a preliminary analysis of the so-called *Trotula* texts. Green's later work superseded many of the specific details about the *Trotula* and other early medieval Latin texts, but some readers may still find this valuable for the overview of ancient and medieval gynecology that it provides.

Green 1987. Monica H. Green, "The *De genecia* Attributed to Constantine the African," *Speculum* 62 (1987), 299-323; repr. with addenda in Green, *Women's Healthcare* (Green 2000e), as Essay III. Argues that the Latin gynecological treatise printed in Constantine the African's *Opera omnia* in 1536 is falsely attributed. In its stead, Green identifies a text on anatomy of the reproductive organs (actually, an excerpt from one of Constantine's longer works that circulated independently) as the work "on women's matters" (*de genecia*, from the Greek *gynaikeia*) listed by Constantine's 12th-century biographer. Includes an edition of the latter text, *De genitalibus membris*.

Green 1989. Monica H. Green, "Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14 (1988-1989), 434-73; repr. in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Bennett, E. Clark, J. O'Barr, B. Vilen, and S. Westphal-Wihl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 39-78; repr. with important addenda in Green, *Women's Healthcare* (Green 2000e), as Essay I. A general review of the state of research on medieval women's health care. Argues how little is actually known about this topic, and how studies done in isolation from their historical contexts have given us a distorted understanding. A wider approach shows that, contrary to common opinion, women's health was not strictly women's business: men were involved in women's healthcare in a variety of roles.

Green 1990a. Monica H. Green, "Female Sexuality in the Medieval West," *Trends in History* 4, no. 4 (1990), 127-58. A review of trends in the field up through 1988, particularly assessing the intersections between medicine, religion and law.

Green 1990b. Monica H. Green, “Constantinus Africanus and the Conflict Between Religion and Science,” in *The Human Embryo: Aristotle and the Arabic and European Traditions*, ed. G. R. Dunstan (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1990), pp. 47–69. Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99)¹¹ was a Benedictine monk at the abbey of Monte Cassino in Italy who translated some two dozen Arabic medical texts into Latin. Green raises the question whether there was any censoring or other alteration of discussions of sexuality, contraceptives or abortifacients (the latter two being tolerated morally in the Islamic world) when rendered into Latin. She finds that the chapter on abortifacients in one work (Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Viaticum*; see now Bos 1993 and Bos 1997) does not seem to have been translated at all, or if it was translated it was very quickly suppressed since it is not found in any of the early manuscript copies of the text. However, she finds no evidence for any other consistent suppression of abortifacients in earlier medieval texts, nor even in Constantine’s other writings do views that sexual activity is necessary to good health (for both men and women) or of that contraceptives are sometimes necessary meet with opposition.¹²

Green 1991a. Monica H. Green, “Gynäkologische und geburtshilfliche Illustrationen in mittelalterlichen Manuskripten: Sprechende Bilder halfen den Frauen,” *Die Waage* 30, no. 4 (1991), 161-67. A brief analysis (with full-color photos) of medieval ob/gyn illustrations, with special emphasis on the series of fetus-in-utero diagrams from Muscio’s *Gynaecia*. (For further information on the fetal images, see Green 2010.)

Green 1991b. Monica H. Green, “History, Literature, and Medieval Women’s Medicine,” *Medieval Feminist Newsletter* no. 11 (Spring 1991), pp. 5-6; now available gratis at <http://ir.uiowa.edu/mff/vol11/iss1/4/>. A brief note arguing why medical texts, as literary productions, should elicit the interest of literary scholars, not just historians. This short piece might work particularly well in an undergraduate setting, since it lays out the question of whether the historian can really take the audience statements of medical texts (in this case, gynecological texts claiming female audiences) seriously. (For editions of such texts, see now Green and Mooney 2006, Hulsker 2009, and Hunt 1994-97.)

Green 1992. Monica H. Green, “Obstetrical and Gynecological Texts in Middle English,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 14 (1992), 53-88; repr. with addenda in Green, *Women’s Healthcare* (Green 2000e), as Essay IV. Describes 30 manuscripts containing Middle English texts on women’s medicine, including a general assessment of the gender of the audiences. An appendix provides a transcription of a short text on women’s physiology and childbirth called *The Nature of Wommen*. Note that all the English translations of the *Trotula* were assigned new sigla in Green 1997; the updated descriptions there supersede those found here in Green 1992. For updated information on the text *Sickness of Women* described here (a

¹¹Readers may notice in some studies that Constantine is given a death date of 1087. That date reflects an older scholarly understanding and should now be rejected.

¹²Green has since recognized that the chapter on contraceptives in Book VIII, chap. 3 of the *Practica* of the *Pantegni* that she cites (pp. 55-56) come from a late antique Latin medical text attributed to Sextus Placitus. See Green 1994b.

translation of Gilbertus Anglicus's Latin *Compendium medicine*), see Green and Mooney 2006.

- Green 1993. Monica H. Green, "Recent Work on Women's Medicine in Medieval Europe," *Society for Ancient Medicine Newsletter*, no. 21 (1993), pp. 132-41. Surveys bibliography up through the early '90s, including a list of all editions of post-11th century gynecological texts published as of that date. (See the more comprehensive listings of medieval gynecological texts in Green 2000e, with additional texts mentioned in Green 2008a.)
- Green 1994a. Monica H. Green, "Documenting Medieval Women's Medical Practice," in *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. Luis García-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Andrew Cunningham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 322-52; repr. in Green, *Women's Healthcare* (2000), as Essay II. Surveying data from across Europe, the essay addresses methodological problems in identifying women who practiced medicine. Particular notice is made of the difficulty of identifying midwives.
- Green 1994b. Monica H. Green, "The Re-Creation of *Pantegni, Practica*, Book VIII," in *Constantine the African and 'Ali ibn al-'Abbas al-Magusi: The 'Pantegni' and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), pp. 121-60. A very technical piece though with an important conclusion: Book VIII of the *Practica* (on clinical medicine) of Constantine's major medical encyclopedia the *Pantegni*, was for the most part not translated from the Arabic original of al-Majusi (the source of the rest of the *Pantegni*) but was instead "re-created" from bits and pieces of other Latin texts, perhaps because the Arabic original was damaged when Constantine crossed over from Africa. Book VII addresses diseases of the reproductive organs in men and women. Green also notes that this portion of the *Pantegni* is nowhere documented in 12th-century manuscripts. Whenever it may have been written, it did not become available until the 13th century. (See Green 1990 for more on the inclusion of information on contraceptives in this reconstructed text, which may be the work of a student of Constantine rather than Constantine himself.)
- Green 1995. Monica H. Green, "Estraendo Trota dal *Trotula*: Ricerche su testi medievali di medicina salernitana" (trans. Valeria Gibertoni & Pina Boggi Cavallo), *Rassegna Storica Salernitana* 24 (1995), 31-53. Argues that the central text of the so-called *Trotula* ensemble, the *De curis mulierum* ("On Treatments for Women"), does in fact derive from the historic Salernitan woman healer, Trota. This article is a summary of more fully-documented studies that appeared later on the nature of the *Trotula* and its relationship to Trota (see Green, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2007, and 2008a).
- Green 1996a. Monica H. Green, "The Development of the *Trotula*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 26 (1996), 119-203; repr. in Green, *Women's Healthcare* (2000), as Essay V. Based on a survey of 122 extant manuscripts of the so-called *Trotula* texts, this article analyzes the 15 different versions of the three most important medieval Latin works on women's medicine as

they circulated from the 12th through the 15th centuries.¹³ It is argued that the three works—*Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, *De curis mulierum*, and *De ornatu mulierum*—first circulated independently of one another. Around the end of the twelfth century, however, they were fused into a single ensemble, which took on the title *Trotula*. Only the central text, *De curis mulierum*, derives from the work of the historic Salernitan female healer, Trota. The other two texts are anonymous and probably of male authorship. (Further analysis of these authorship questions can be found in Green 2008a, Chapter 1.)

Green 1996b. Monica H. Green, “A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part I: The Latin Manuscripts,” *Scriptorium* 50, no. 1 (1996), 137-175. This article provides detailed descriptions of 122 Latin manuscripts of the three texts that came to circulate under the generic title *Trotula*. Other contents of the manuscripts are briefly listed, and pertinent citations to catalogs and other secondary literature are included.

Green 1997. Monica H. Green, “A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Texts and Latin Re-Writings,” *Scriptorium* 51, no. 1 (1997), 80-104. This article offers detailed descriptions of all 21 known medieval vernacular translations or Latin re-writings of the three *Trotula* texts as they are found in sixty different manuscripts. Included are translations into Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Irish and Italian, plus a rendering into Latin verse and another into Latin prose (with English intermixed). An appendix lists erroneous citations and attributions of other Latin and vernacular manuscripts that have been claimed to contain versions of the *Trotula*.

Green 1998. Monica H. Green, “‘Traittié tout de mençonges’: The *Secrés des dames*, ‘Trotula,’ and Attitudes Towards Women’s Medicine in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century France,” in Marilyn Desmond, ed., *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 146-78; repr. in Green, *Women’s Healthcare* (2000), as Essay VI. Argues that de Pizan’s silence about “Trotula” (to whom one of the most well-known texts on women’s medicine was ascribed) may be due to a negative attitude toward scientific and medical discourses on the female body. It is argued that a French translation of the pseudo-Albertan *Secreta mulierum* was available to de Pizan when she wrote the *Cité des dames* in 1405. Includes information on Dutch and Italian translations of the *Secreta* as well.

Green 1999. Monica H. Green, “In Search of an ‘Authentic’ Women’s Medicine: The Strange Fates of Trota of Salerno and Hildegard of Bingen,” *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinæ Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 19 (1999), 25-54; available gratis online at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/8660/showToc>> (accessed 16.i.2009). Argues that the alternate dismissal or romanticization of Trota and Hildegard as medical practitioners is not due to a simple contest between feminist and anti-feminist tendencies. Rather, issues of gender have intersected in varying ways with other agendas (e.g., intellectual

¹³Several additional manuscripts have since been discovered of the Latin text, plus more of several of the vernacular translations. An update will eventually be published. On the newly discovered copy of the Hebrew translation, see Caballero-Navas 2006b.

and nationalist). Recent philological researches help clarify how these earlier interpretations were generated.

Green 2000a. Monica H. Green, “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. Using a variety of unpublished gynecological texts in Latin and various vernaculars, this essay locates a shift toward the use of the title “Secrets of Women” beginning in the early or mid-thirteenth century. It is argued that this shift reflects new uses of gynecological material to inform male readers about the “secrets” of generation.

Green 2000b. Monica H. Green, “Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages,” *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinam Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000), 331-69; available gratis online at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/7337/showToc>> (accessed 10.i.2010). A companion piece to Green’s essay “Possibilities of Literacy” (Green 2000c), this article surveys evidence from throughout western Europe for the ownership and use of medical books by professional female practitioners and by female religious institutions. Green argues that evidence for both is slim, reflecting the same limited engagement with medical literature documented for laywomen.

Green 2000c. Monica H. Green, “The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy,” in *Women’s Healthcare in the Medieval West* (see below), essay VII. A broad-ranging survey of evidence for women’s ownership of medical books from the 12th through the early 16th centuries. Argues that despite women’s increasing literacy in the later Middle Ages, medicine remained one of the areas where women rarely became involved as readers or book owners. Includes tables listing women who owned medical books as well as medical texts commissioned by or addressed to women.

Green 2000d. Monica H. Green, “Medieval Gynecological Texts: A Handlist,” in *Women’s Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (2000), Appendix, pp. 1-36. Lists close to 175 different medieval texts on women’s medicine (4th through 15th centuries) in all languages. Editions are noted where they exist as are citations to scholarly studies; complete lists of known manuscripts are provided for unstudied texts.

Green 2000e. Monica H. Green, *Women’s Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). Reprints six of Green’s earlier essays; readers who have used these essays previously will wish to consult the *Corrigenda et Addenda* for updated information. In addition, two new pieces are offered: “The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy” (see Green 2000c above), and a comprehensive listing of all currently known medieval gynecological texts (approx. 175 different texts, Green 2000d). An index of manuscripts cited and a general index for the whole volume are included.

Green 2001. Monica H. Green, ed. and trans., *The ‘Trotula’: A Medieval Compendium of Women’s Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Presents the first

critical edition of the Latin *Trotula* standardized ensemble, together with a facing-page English translation. Green demonstrates that the *Trotula* (originally a title, not an author's name) is an assembly of three different texts that originated in 12th-century Salerno. Only the second of these texts can be attributed to a female author (a Salernitan woman named Trota), though all three texts show distinctive views on the nature of the female body and therapeutic objectives in treating and manipulating it. (For more on the identity and *oeuvre* of Trota, see Green 2007.)

Green 2002. Monica H. Green, *The 'Trotula': An English Translation of the Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). This is a slightly revised reprinting in paperback of Green's English translation of the standardized *Trotula* ensemble (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), here omitting the Latin edition and adding an English index of *materia medica*. **Note that the pagination of the hardback and paperback editions is different and cannot be cited interchangeably. Proper citation of the text of the *Trotula* should include the paragraph numbers to allow scholars to consult different editions.**

Green 2003. Monica H. Green, "Masses in Remembrance of 'Seynt Susanne': A Fifteenth-Century Spiritual Regimen," *Notes and Queries* n. s. 50, no. 4 (December 2003), 380-84. Analysis and edition of a brief Middle English set of instructions for having Masses said each day of the week in order to avoid various sorts of unfortunate events. The Middle English text (which Green shows is derived from earlier Anglo-Norman forms) is situated in its one known copy (London, British Library, MS Sloane 249, s. xv med.) alongside a gynecological text, suggesting that this religious "regimen" was used with particular concern to avoid difficulties in childbirth. Green briefly surveys evidence for Saint Susanne associations with relief from distress. (For more on this manuscript, see Rodríguez-Álvarez and Domínguez-Rodríguez 2005, and Green and Mooney 2006.)

Green 2005a. Monica H. Green, "Bodies, Gender, Health, Disease: Recent Work on Medieval Women's Medicine," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3rd series, vol. 2 (2005), pp. 1-46. An essay review covering work done in the 1990s and early 21st century on various aspects of text editing, "technologies of the body," sex differences, women as medical agents, the question of whether childbirth is an exclusively female space, and future directions of the field. It is suggested that so-called histories of the body could benefit from greater engagement with medical history, while medical history in turn could benefit from greater engagement with medical anthropology.

Green 2005b. Monica H. Green, "Flowers, Poisons, and Men: Menstruation in Medieval Western Europe," in *Menstruation: A Cultural History*, ed. Andrew Shail and Gillian Howie (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 51-64. A broad overview of attitudes towards menstruation. It is noted that there was little reticence among medical writers in talking about menstruation, which was viewed as a necessary purgation of the whole female body. Negative attitudes could be found to some extent in scientific texts, and more notably in religious texts. Other areas of discourse (e.g., literature) simply treated the topic with silence.

Green 2005c. Monica H. Green, “Medicine in the Archives: Resources for Researching Medical History Topics,” *Medieval Feminist Forum*, no. 40 (Winter 2005-2006), 60-67, 83-86; now available gratis online at <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/mff/vol40/iss1/11/>> (accessed 16.i.2010). Explains methods for researching the history of medical ideas, which usually involves examination of medical texts; and (2) the history of medical practices and practitioners, which can be researched both through medical texts and a variety of other sources. The bibliography presented here is heavy on sources for England and focuses on how to research topics on women and gender. (For an updated assessment of the general field of medieval medical history research, see Green 2009c.)

Green 2006. Monica H. Green, “Getting to the Source: The Case of Jacoba Felicie and the Impact of the *Portable Medieval Reader* on the Canon of Medieval Women’s History,” *Medieval Feminist Forum*, no. 42 (Winter 2006 [appeared Summer 2007]), 50-63; now available online gratis at <<http://ir.uiowa.edu/mff/vol42/iss1/10/>> (accessed 14.i.2009). This brief essay examines how the story of Jacoba, who was tried for illicit medical practice in Paris in 1322, has worked its way into feminist historiography. Particular attention is called to the efforts of Mary Martin McLaughlin and her collaborator, James Bruce Ross, to make materials on women available to general audiences beginning in the 1940s.

Green 2007. Monica H. Green, “Reconstructing the *Oeuvre* of Trota of Salerno,” in *La Scuola medica Salernitana: Gli autori e i testi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Edizione Nazionale ‘La Scuola medica Salernitana’, 1 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 183-233. This study examines the overlaps between the principal witnesses for Trota’s written *oeuvre*, including her *Practica secundum Trotam*, the gynecological and cosmetic text *De curis mulierum*, excerpts from her work in a late 12th-century compendium of Salernitan writings, the *De egritudinum curatione*, and an Anglo-Norman text that many times reports the practices of “ma dame Trote.” Circumstantial evidence is provided to suggest that Trota may have lived in the early 12th century. This is an important supplement to the biographical information on Trota given in Green’s 2001 edition of the *Trotula* (see above).

Green 2008a. *Making Women’s Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ISBN-13: 978-0-19-921149-4. This 400-page monograph addresses the shifts in women’s participation in medical practice from the 12th to the 16th century, with questions of the post-medieval effects of these transformations addressed in the Conclusion. Beginning with an assessment of women’s medicine in 12th-century Salerno (including an analysis of the authentic work of Trota of Salerno), Green then moves on to assess the involvement of both men and women in the provision of women’s medical care throughout medieval western Europe. Her central argument is that while medicine was generally on an upward professionalizing path—a critical component of which was literacy as the *sine qua non* of professional identity—women consistently lagged behind men in their engagement with medical texts. The window for literate engagement with medicine that was briefly open for Trota (and her contemporary, Hildegard of Bingen) in the 12th century quickly closed, with no women thereafter composing medical texts until the end of the medieval period. Even medical texts addressed

to women as readers were few, and these were often reappropriated by men. Green's book thus offers a panoramic view not simply of medicine for women, but also of women's engagement with medicine as readers. The book will be of interest not only to historians of medicine, but also to those interested in women's literacy, book culture, misogynous discourse, and the history of professions. The entire body of gynecological literature in Latin and the many vernaculars is surveyed. The Conclusion to this book is available for FREE download at the Oxford University Press U.K. website <<http://www.oup.com/uk/catalogue/?ci=9780199211494>>.

Green 2008b. Monica H. Green, "Conversing with the Minority: Relations among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Women in the High Middle Ages," Editor's Preface to a special issue of *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 2 (June 2008), 105-118. This essay introduces a special issue devoted to exploring the possible interactions and dialogues between medieval women across sectarian lines. Medical issues form the core of several of these essays, exploring infertility, wet-nursing practices, the exchange of recipes for health and cosmetics, and midwifery. Indeed, Green argues that medicine and other concerns about the body may have been a key avenue for communication among women across faiths. See entries in this bibliography for Caballero Navas 2008, Goldy 2008, Green and Smail 2008, and Winer 2008.

Green 2008c. Monica H. Green, "Midwives and Obstetric Catastrophe: Retrieving the Past," *The Lancet* Vol 372, issue 9644 (September 27, 2008), 1142-43, doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(08)61467-1. This is a short *précis* of the story of the Jewish midwife Floreta, which is recounted in full in Green and Smail 2008.

Green 2008d. Monica H. Green, "Gendering the History of Women's Healthcare," *Gender and History*, Twentieth Anniversary Special Issue, 20, no. 3 (November 2008), 487-518; reprinted in *Gender and Change: Agency, Chronology and Periodisation*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Garthine Walker (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 43-82. Author's abstract: "This essay examines the genesis and continuing influence of certain core narratives in the history of western women's healthcare. Some derive from first-wave feminism's search for models of female medical practice, an agenda that paid little attention to historical context. Second-wave feminism, identifying a rift between pre-modern and modern times in terms of women's medical practices, saw the pre-modern European female healer as an exceptionally knowledgeable empiricist, uniquely responsible for women's healthcare and (particularly because of her knowledge of mechanisms to limit fertility) a victim of male persecution. Aspects of this second narrative continue subtly to effect scholarly discourse and research agendas on the history of healthcare both by and for women. This essay argues that, by seeing medical knowledge as a cultural product—something that is not static but continually re-created and sometimes contested—we can create an epistemology of how such knowledge is gendered in its genesis, dissemination and implementation. Non-western narratives drawn from history and medical anthropology are employed to show both the larger impact of the western feminist narratives and ways to reframe them." Important sections for the history of medieval women's medicine are those discussing midwives and knowledge of contraceptives and abortifacients.

Green 2009a. Monica H. Green, “The Sources of Eucharius Rösslin’s *Rosegarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives* (1513),” *Medical History* 53, no. 2 (Spring 2009), 167-92; available gratis on PubMed Central at <<http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/tocrender.fcgi?iid=178168>>. Author’s abstract: “It has been recognised since 1994 that the *Rosegarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives* (*Der Swangern Frawen vnd Hebammen Rosegarten*), a treatise on obstetrics and neonatal care first published in German in 1513, was not an original composition by the Frankfurt apothecary Eucharius Rösslin (d. 1526?); rather, Rösslin printed a text that had already existed in manuscript since at least 1494. The present study argues that neither the *Rosegarden* nor this earlier German text was an original composition but derived from the obstetrical chapters of a Latin book on practical medicine by the Italian physician, Michele Savonarola (d. ca. 1466). In print, the *Rosegarden* proved to be the most popular text of its kind throughout Europe, with translations into Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Latin, and Spanish. This study thus shows how much the earliest phase of print medical culture in western Europe owed to late medieval learning.”

Green 2009b. Monica H. Green, “Medicine in Southern Italy: Six Texts (twelfth–fourteenth centuries),” in Katherine L. Jansen, Joanna Drell, and Frances Andrews, eds., *Medieval Italy: Texts in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 311-25. This sourcebook of texts in translation includes obstetrical procedures that may reflect the work of the famed 12th-century medical writer Trota of Salerno (pp. 314-16). Also included is the complete translation of the medical license granted to a female surgeon, Maria Incarnata, in Naples in 1343 (pp. 324-25).

Green 2009c. Monica H. Green, “Integrative Medicine: Incorporating Medicine and Health into the Canon of Medieval European History,” *History Compass* 7, no. 4 (2009), 1218-45, doi: 10.1111/j.1478-0542.2009.00618.x. Rather than being specifically devoted to women and medicine (for assessments of that subfield, see Green 1989/2000e, Green 1993, and Green 2005), this essay provides an overview of the entire field of medical history as it relates to the medieval period. Novices to the field might find this particularly helpful, as it explains why the field has a strong philological bent, what the emerging trends are (one of the most important being the later medieval processes of vernacularization), and also how to efficiently conduct research in the field. An extended bibliography includes lists of basic reference sources, critical editions, essay collections, and Internet sources.

Green 2009d. 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, with Carolyn Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, Linne Mooney, Ad Putter and David Trotter (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 220-31. This essay observes that already in the early 12th century, England was particularly well-endowed with the growing corpus of new Latin medical texts coming out of 11th- and 12th-century southern Italy. While the common Norman domination of southern Italy and England offers a ready explanation for that influence, it does not explain why only a fraction of that new corpus of texts was rendered into Anglo-Norman in the 13th century. Green argues that there is a notable prominence of texts directed to or concerning women (gynecological texts and cosmetics). She raises the possibility that women themselves may have commissioned

some of these translations, wishing to have the new southern Italian medical learning immediately accessible to them.

Green 2009e. *Trotula. Un compendio medievale di medicina delle donne, A cura di Monica H. Green. Traduzione italiana di Valentina Brancone*, Edizione Nazionale La Scuola MedicaSalernitana, 4 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009), ISBN 978-88-8450-336-7. This Italian translation of Green's 2001 Latin edition and English translation of the *Trotula* presents a slightly updated introduction to the text. Revisions primarily involve inclusion of new information on Trota (Green 2007) and Green's cultural history of the *Trotula* and other medieval gynecological texts (Green 2008a).

Green 2010. Monica H. Green, "Moving from Philology to Social History: The Circulation and Uses of Albucasis's Latin *Surgery* in the Middle Ages," in *Between Text and Patient: The Medical Enterprise in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Florence Eliza Glaze and Brian Nance, Micrologus' Library, 30 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galuzzo, forthcoming 2010). This study springs from the question of why a series of images meant to show different malpresentations of the fetus at birth was extracted in the 13th century from its original context (a late antique text by Muscio) and attached to the newer surgical text by the Arabic writer Albucasis (al-Zahrawi). Green argues that this was due to new concerns among male physicians and surgeons to appear to have learned knowledge of emergency obstetrics. "Appearance" led to "reality" as male obstetrical expertise did, in fact, grow in the later Middle Ages.

Green and Hanson 1994. *See Hanson and Green 1994.*

Green and King 2007. Monica H. Green and Helen King, "Structures and Subjectivities in 16th-Century Gynecology, or How the Father of Medicine Reclaimed His Paternity," in *Structures and Subjectivities: Attending to Early Modern Women*, ed. Joan Hartman and Adele Seeff (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007), pp. 100-101. Report on a workshop conducted at the 5th Attending to Early Modern Women Conference, College Park, MD, November 2003.

Green and Mooney 2006. Monica H. Green and Linne Mooney, "The *Sickness of Women*," in *Sex, Aging, and Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. M. Teresa Tavormina, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 292, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 455-568. This is a critical edition of and commentary on a Middle English gynecological text, the *Sickness of Women, Version 2 (SW2)*. Green and Mooney document that SW2 is a compilation made from an earlier English translation of the gynecological chapters of Gilbertus Anglicus's (mid-13th cent.) Latin *Compendium medicinae*. Onto that "core" text, the mid-fifteenth-century compiler added new material such as extensive obstetrical information, again drawn primarily from previously existent texts. Green and Mooney argue that SW2, although nominally addressed to female readers, was in fact employed as much by male readers, both medical practitioners and learned laymen such as the commissioners of the Trinity College manuscript. This is a new and more

comprehensive edition of a text previously edited by Beryl Rowland (Rowland 1981). Although no modern English translation is included, readers will profit from the extensive Glossary included at the end of the volume.

Green and Schleissner 1996. Monica H. Green and Margaret Schleissner, “Trotula (Trota), ‘Trotula’,” in Kurt Ruh (general editor), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978-1999), vol. 9 (1996), coll. 1083-1088. A brief summary of the writings attributed to Trota and “Trotula,” with particular emphasis on the German tradition of the *Trotula* texts. This brief overview was superseded by Green’s later work on the *Trotula* (Green 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2001, 2002, and 2007).

Green and Smail 2008. Monica H. Green and Daniel Lord Smail, “The Trial of Floreta d’Ays (1403): Jews, Christians, and Obstetrics in Later Medieval Marseille,” *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 2 (June 2008), 185-211. This study presents an edition, translation, and comprehensive analysis of the trial of a Jewish midwife in early 15th century Marseille. Called in to assist a Christian patient suffering from retained placenta (the baby itself had been born two hours earlier with the assistance of a Christian midwife), the Jewish midwife Floreta was accused of having caused the woman’s death when she hemorrhaged shortly after her arrival. Although the criminal record itself has been lost, the appeals court record includes testimony from the five Christian women also present at the birth. This case provides extraordinary documentation—hitherto extremely rare—on the practices of childbirth and the interactions among women across the religious divide. (For other documentary accounts of birth scenes, see Cabré n.d., Park 2008, and Zuccolin 2008.)

Green, R. 1987. Rosalie Green, “The Missing Midwife,” *Romanesque and Gothic. Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. Neil Stratford, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), pp. 103-105. **Not yet seen.** According to the summary on the *International Medieval Bibliography*, this concerns representations of the New Testament Apocryphal midwife, Salome, at Jesus’s birth.

Greilsammer 1991. Myriam Greilsammer, “The Midwife, the Priest, and the Physician: The Subjugation of Midwives in the Low Countries at the End of the Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1991), 285-329. Greilsammer argues that municipalities, the Church, and physicians conspired to reign in the midwife’s supposed prior monopoly on the care of women’s health. Greilsammer’s arguments are not always backed up by the evidence she presents (she in fact never establishes that midwives wrote or used the medical texts she cites), and one should note that by “medieval” Greilsammer means 14th-17th centuries.¹⁴ The primary documents she presents (mostly midwives’ oaths, which unfortunately are not translated) are valuable. Much the same material can be found in her

¹⁴On this tendency to infer the earlier history of midwives from later, often post-medieval sources, see Green 2008d.

book, *L'Envers du tableau: mariage et maternité en Flandre médiévale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1990).

Gualdo 1996. Riccardo Gualdo, *Il Lessico medico del 'De regimine pregnantium' di Michele Savonarola* (Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1996). Basing himself on an edition published by Belloni in 1952, Gualdo analyzes the Ferrarese vocabulary in the *Regimen for Pregnant Women* by the grandfather of the famous 15th-century Franciscan friar, Michele Savonarola (d. ca. 1466). This provides a comprehensive glossary and interpretive study of this important Italian text on pregnancy and neonatal care, which was the first text of its kind addressed both to laywomen and to midwives. (For more on Savonarola's obstetrics, see Green 2009a.)

Haage 1993. Bernhard D. Haage, "Die heilkundige Frau in Dichtung und Realität des deutschen Mittelalters," *Würzburger Medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 11 (1993), 107-132. A general survey of evidence. The author shows little awareness of work published outside of Germany.

Hanson and Green 1994. Ann Ellis Hanson and Monica H. Green, "Soranus of Ephesus: *Methodicorum princeps*," in Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini, general editors, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Teilband II, Band 37.2 (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 968-1075. A comprehensive historical study of Soranus, who was the leading gynecological writer of Greco-Roman antiquity. Includes (as Section V) an overview of the influence of his *Gynecology* in medieval Europe, which was due primarily to several Latin translations of his work that were made in Late Antiquity. (The most popular of these was that by Muscio, a version that included important illustrations.) Includes a listing of extant manuscripts of both the Greek and Latin texts. (The manuscripts list should be updated by reference to Green 2000d; on the circulation of the fetal images, see also Green 2010.)

Harding 1992. Wendy Harding, "Medieval Women's Unwritten Discourse on Motherhood: A Reading of Two Fifteenth-Century Texts," *Women's Studies* 21, no. 2 (1992), 197-209. Examines the ways in which Margaret Paston and Margery Kempe discuss—or don't discuss—motherhood.

Harley 1990. David Harley, "Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-witch," *Social History of Medicine* 3, no. 1 (April 1990), 1-26. An incisive analysis that shows how historians have been misled by taking literally the rhetoric of the witch-hunters who wrote *The Hammer of Witches* (*Malleus maleficarum*, 1496). Harley calls for solid research rather than mere speculation about the impact of the witch hunts on midwives.

Harris-Stoertz 1996. Fiona Harris-Stoertz, "Suffering and Survival in Medieval English Childbirth," in Cathy Jorgensen Itnyre, ed., *Medieval Family Roles* (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 101-20. Discusses the concern for female suffering in childbirth in miracle stories and medical texts.

Harris-Stoertz 2008. Fiona Harris-Stoertz, “Pregnancy and Childbirth in Chivalric Literature,” ; *Mediaevalia. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Studies Worldwide* 29 (2008), nr 1, a special issue edited by D. Stewart, *Science and Literature at the Crossroads: Papers from the 34th CEMERS Interdisciplinary Conference*, pp. 27-36. Acknowledging that medical texts are often less than reliable sources of information for practices that went on inside the birthing room, Harris-Stoertz examines French and English chivalric literature (both romances and *chansons de geste*) for clues about historical experiences of pregnancy and childbirth. She finds that, for example, the births of heroes are suitably “heroic” and thus emphasize the pain or other trauma the mother has to endure. Also useful is Harris-Stoertz’s examination of birthing attendants, where she finds that although assistance at birth was commonly given by women, “midwives” *per se* are almost never mentioned. This accords with findings by other historians which demonstrate that the professionalization of midwives only began ca. 1300, and even then only sporadically. (The coverage of historical studies on midwives here is not up-to-date; readers should refer to Saunier 1987, all of Cabré’s important studies on women’s medical work, and Green’s researches after 1989.) A short essay, but one that would work well in teaching because of its clear exposition and references to commonly taught romances.

Harvey 1989. L. P. Harvey, “In Granada Under the Catholic Monarchs: A Call from a Doctor and Another from a *Curandera*,” in *The Age of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1516: Literary Studies in Memory of Keith Whinnom*, ed. Alan Deyermond & Ian Macpherson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), pp. 71-75. Recounts how a *muger morisca* (“Moorish woman”) cured Cardinal Cisneros in 1501.

Hess 1998. Helmut H. Hess, sen., ed., *Gynaecia Mustionis. Der Hebammenkatechismus des Mustio (deutsch und lateinisch) & Eucharius Rösslin's Rosengarten. Band I. Mit einem Nachwort von Prof. Dr. med. Dr. phil. Keil, and vol. 2: 'Gynaecia Mustionis': The Midwives' Catechism of Mustio (englisch und lateinisch) & Eucharius Rösslin's 'Rosegarden'*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Haag + Herchen, 1998). The first volume of this reprints a Latin edition and German translation first published by Hans Medert in 1911 of the *Gynecology* of Muscio, itself a Latin translation of Soranus of Ephesus’s Greek *Gynecology* from the late first or early second century CE. The second volume presents English translations of both Muscio’s *Gynecology* and Eucharius Rösslin’s *Rosegarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives*, first published in German in 1513. (A more accessible English translation of Rösslin can be found in Roeslin 1994. For more on the genesis of that text, see Green 2009a.)

Hildegard of Bingen 2008. Hildegard of Bingen, *Physica. Edition der Florentiner Handschrift (Cod. Laur. Ashb. 1323, ca. 1300) im Vergleich mit der Textkonstitution der Patrologia Latina (Migne)*, ed. Irmgard Müller and Christian Schulze, with Sven Neumann (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2008), ISBN 978-3-487-13846-6. **Not yet seen.** From the publisher’s website: “This first edition of the Florentine manuscript of the *Physica* by Hildegard of Bingen (1198-1179) brings to a wider audience the oldest known version (ca. 1300) of the work on natural history and medicine ascribed to the mediaeval nun and abbess. The Florentine manuscript is compared chapter by chapter with the text from the *Patrologia Latina* 197 (ed. J.-P. Migne), dating only from the late 15th century, and previously considered to be the standard version.

This direct comparison allows for an overview of the many variations, additions and abbreviations to the original text in the course of its transmission. The aim of the edition is to contribute not only to a more proper understanding of mediaeval natural history and medicine, but also to a critical evaluation of the esoteric alternative therapies which are named after Hildegard and refer to western monastic medicine without ever having had access to a sure textual basis.” (Cf. Moulinier 2003 for a critical edition of Hildegard’s *Cause et cure*; for a general introduction to Hildegard’s medicine, see Glaze 1998.)

Homble 1981. A. G. Homble, “De vroedvrouw in de pikturale voorstelling van het Kerstgebeuren,” *Oostvlaamse Zanten* 56:4, (1981), 122-126. [Translation of title: The midwife in the iconography of Christmas] **Not yet seen.**

Huizenga 1997. Erwin Huizenga, *Een nuttelike practijke van chirurgien: Geneeskunde en astrologie in het Middelnederlandse handschrift Wenens, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2818* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997). This revised dissertation presents a comprehensive study of an entire manuscript containing a mix of medical and astrological texts. Included are editions of two Dutch versions of the *Trotula*: f. 265ra-vb, what is here called *Secreta mulierum* (*Trotula* Dut1b in the schema in Green 1997); and ff. 284ra-299vb, what is here called *Der mannen ende vrouwen heimelijcheit* (On the secrets of men and women; *Trotula* Dut2 in Green 1997). Although editions are not presented (the second text was already edited in the mid-19th century), this exhaustive study shows the intersecting interests in medicine, surgery, and astrological science among male readers in the late medieval Low Countries.

Hülsen-Esch 1997. Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, “Frauen an der Universität? Überlegungen anlässlich einer Gegenüberstellung von mittelalterlichen Bildzeugnissen und Texten,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 24, no. 3 (1997), 315-46. Despite its hopeful title (“Women at the University? Reflections in Connection with a Comparison of Medieval Pictorial Evidence and Texts”), this piece in fact presents no new evidence for women’s relations with universities other than an intriguing image of what seems to be a female student from the tomb of the jurist Cino da Pistoia. Rather, this lengthy essay is a rehearsal of mostly German- and (rather dated) English-language scholarship on “learned women” in medieval and early Renaissance Europe. For medical topics, readers will be better served by other studies on the present list.

Hulsker 2009. Jojanneke Hulsker, *‘Liber Trotula’: Laatmiddeleeuwse vrouwengeneeskunde in de volkstaal*, available online at <<http://www.historischebronnenbrugge.be>> (accessed 20.xii.2009). Hulsker presents a new edition (cf. Delva 1983, which is now superseded) of a Dutch translation of the so-called *Trotula* compendium. (This is *Trotula* Dut3a in the schema of Green 1997.) To access digital images of the manuscript (one of a handful of copies of the *Trotula*, in any language, that is illustrated), click on the link “Liber Trotula,” select “Consulteren” and then the first option, “doorbladert.” This online edition is adapted from Hulsker’s 2008 MA thesis in Medieval Studies, Utrecht University: J. Hulsker, “‘Want dien boem moet bloyen sal hi draghen vruchten’ Een Middelnederlandse gynaecologische tekst, Brugge SB 593: inleiding en editie,” Universiteit Utrecht, 2008. A summary can be found in Jojanneke Hulsker, “Vrouwengeneeskunde in de Middeleeuwen: Een nieuwe editie van de

Brugse Trotula-tekst,” *W-Mail* 10, no. 1 (2009), -12, available gratis online at <http://wemal.let.uu.nl/w-mail.html>>.

Hunt 1994-97. Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994-1997). Volume 2 includes editions of two versions of the so-called *Trotula* texts. (1) pp. 76-115: an Anglo-Norman rendition in 871 lines of decasyllabic and alexandrine verse, probably dating from the mid-13th century, certainly no later than the second half of the century, the date of the sole extant manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.1.20 (1044). (2) pp. 116-28: version 1 of the Latin *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* from one of the two known copies, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 261 (SC 2462), the text from which the Anglo-Norman version ultimately derives. The Anglo-Norman text in particular merits scholarly attention, since it raises important questions about audience and the historical uses of texts on women’s medicine. (For more on these texts, see Green 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2008a, and 2009d.)

Ieraci Bio 2007. Anna Maria Ieraci Bio, “Testi ginecologici tra Oriente ed Occidente. 1. *Metrodora* ed il *Dynameron* di Nicola Mirepso. 2. Una testimonianza italo-greca su una *Quaestio* medicalis salernitana,” in *La Scuola medica Salernitana: Gli autori e i testi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, Edizione Nazionale ‘La Scuola medica Salernitana’, 1 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 283-314. Ieraci Bio demonstrates that the 13th-century pharmaceutical text by the Byzantine writer Nicola Mirepso drew, in part, on the Greek gynecological text traditionally attributed to “Metrodora” (probably sixth century). The author also gives evidence of the translation of a Salernitan *quaestio* (disputed topic) from Latin into Greek.

Jacquart 1993. Danielle Jacquart, “La morphologie du corps féminin selon les médecins de la fin du Moyen Age,” *Micrologus: Rivista della Società per lo studio del Medio Evo latino* 1 (1993), 81-98. An insightful and learned analysis of late medieval views of women from the perspective of physiognomy and skeletal anatomy. Jacquart demonstrates that the female is usually described solely in terms of her divergence from the male model.

Jacquart and Thomasset 1985. Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexualité et savoir médical au Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985). An important examination of various points of intersection between medicine and sexuality. The fields of both history of sexuality and history of medieval medicine have developed substantially since this was first published. But it still repays consultation for its original insights.

Jacquart and Thomasset 1988. Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Polity Press; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), trans. from the French edition of 1985. This English edition includes images and an index, both of which were lacking in the original French.

Jansen-Sieben 1994. Ria Jansen-Sieben, “De vrouw in de medische Literatuur,” *Acta Belgica Historiae Medicinae* 7, no. 4 (Dec. 1994), 218-229. Presents excerpts from several later medieval Dutch texts on women’s medicine and generation.

- Jiménez Brobeil 1992. Sylvia A. Jiménez Brobeil, “A Contribution to Medieval Pathological Gynaecology,” *Journal of Paleopathology* 4, no. 3 (1992), 155-61. Recounts the discovery during an archeological excavation in Seville of a grave of a Muslim woman who suffered from a calcified growth in her uterus. This piece is an excellent example of the types of analyses and data made available by paleopathological researches. (Cf. Grauer 1991 and 2002.)
- Johnson 1998. Willis Johnson, “The Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” *Journal of Medieval History* 24 (1998), 273-95. Argues that the myth of the menstruating Jewish male was universalized to encompass all Jewish males by the end of the 15th century. Cf. the related studies by Biller 2001a, Pomata 2001, and Resnick 2000.
- Jong 2006. Neeltje de Jong, “Den Roseghaert vanden Bevruchten Vrouwen’: Een onderzoek naar de Middelnederlandse *Roseghaert* gedrukt in 1528 waarin een vertaling van *Der Rosengarten* (Eucharius Rösslin, 1513) is uitgebreid met toevoegingen van een Antwerpse bewerker’, M.A. thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2006. [The title translates as “‘The Rosegarden of Pregnant Women’: An investigation of the Middle Dutch *Roseghaert* printed in 1528, in which a translation of the *Der Rosengarten* (Eucharius Rösslin, 1513) is edited with additions by an Antwerp editor.”] This MA thesis is available online at the University of Utrecht library’s website <<http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2007-0307-200221/UUindex.html>> (accessed 02.ii.2010). [For more studies on the *Rosegarden*, see Green 2009a and the literature cited therein.]
- Junceda Avello 1991. E. Junceda Avelló, *Ginecología y vida íntima de las reinas de España* (Madrid, 1991). **Not seen.**
- Jung 2007. Jacqueline Jung, “Crystalline Wombs and Pregnant Hearts: The Exuberant Bodies of the Katharinenthal Visitation Group,” in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 223-37. Examines a sculpture of the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth at the Swiss Dominican nunnery of St. Katharinenthal, made during the first decade of the fourteenth century. Jung suggests that this is not simply a “crystalline womb” that Gertrude of Helfta had famously referred to. Jung focuses on the high positioning of the “wombs” of both Mary and Elizabeth, suggesting that for an audience of nuns who had rejected sexual reproduction, such art afforded a way to meditate on the ways they could reproduce grace in their hearts. The article offers a useful summation of uses of metaphors of pregnancy in religious contexts, particularly of German origin.
- Jütte 1994. Robert Jütte, “Bader, Barbieri und Hebammen: Heilkundige als Randgruppen?,” in Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, ed., *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft*, 2nd rev. ed. (Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 1994), pp. 89-120. Jütte argues from evidence of marriage and godparenting relationships that while bath attendants and barbers may have been low on the social scale, neither they nor midwives were in any real sense marginal. More importantly, Jütte points out that his findings agree with most recent scholarship that there is no persuasive

evidence that midwives in general in the late Middle Ages and early modern period were ever stigmatized or systematically persecuted as witches.

Karras 2003-4. Ruth Mazo Karras, “Women’s Labors: Reproduction and Sex Work in Medieval Europe,” *Journal of Women’s History* 15, no. 4 (2003-2004) 153-158. In this brief essay in a special issue on “Sex Work and Women’s Labors Around the Globe,” Karras suggests the ordinary sexual and reproductive demands made on married women can be considered a kind of “sex work,” first since compliance with the sexual demands of her husband (the “marriage debt”) was an obligation on every Christian woman; and secondly because reproductive work (particularly the production of male heirs for women of the upper classes) was, indeed, a married woman’s chief obligation.

King 2004. Claire Sisco King, “The Poetics and Praxis of Enclosure: Julian of Norwich, Motherhood, and Rituals of Childbirth,” *Comitatus* 35 (2004). 71–82. Examines Julian’s interest in motherhood and the body in the context of the material practices of midwifery and birthing practices in the late Middle Ages.

King 1993. Helen King, “Once Upon a Text: Hysteria from Hippocrates,” in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. Sander Gilman, Helen King, Roy Porter, George Rousseau, and Elaine Showalter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 3-90. A definitive analysis of the historical construction of the “disease” of hysteria/uterine suffocation; King’s main focus is on Antiquity, but she surveys the Middle Ages as well as the Renaissance.

King 2007. Helen King, *Midwifery, Obstetrics, and the Rise of Gynaecology: The Uses of a Sixteenth-Century Compendium, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Not medieval, but an important study of the origin and later uses of the *Gynaeciorum libri* (Books of Gynecology), a massive collection of Latin texts on women’s medicine (including the *Trotula*) published in three increasingly large editions from 1566 to 1597.

See also Green and King 2007.

Kinzelbach 1997. Annemarie Kinzelbach, “‘wahnsinnige Weyber betriegen den unverstendigen Poeffel’: Anerkennung und Diffamierung heilkundiger Frauen und Männer, 1450 bis 1700,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 32 (1997), 29-56. Surveys data from four southern German towns (Augsburg, Nördlingen, Überlingen, and Ulm) for evidence of suppression of marginal medical practitioners. She finds that aside from midwifery (which was tightly organized and regulated by this period), women rarely practiced medicine legally except as widows of deceased male practitioners. This essay offers an excellent overview of German scholarship up through the mid-1990s on medieval and early modern women in medical practice.

Kinzelbach 1999. Annemarie Kinzelbach, “Konstruktion und konkretes Handeln: Heilkundige Frauen im oderdeutschen Raum, 1450-1700,” *Historische Anthropologie* 7, no. 2 (1999), 165-90. **Not seen.**

- Klapisch-Zuber 1985. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Blood Parents and Milk Parents: Wet Nursing in Florence, 1300-1530,” in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985). This classic study was first published in Italian in 1980 and remains seminal to our understandings of the practices of wet nursing. Cf. Baumgarten 2004, Giladi 1999, and Winer 2008.
- Klapisch-Zuber 1993. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Le dernier enfant: fécondité et vieillissement chez les Florentines XIV^e-XV^e siècles,” in *Mesurer et comprendre: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Dupaquier*, ed. Jean-Pierre Barder, François Lebrun, and René Le Mée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), pp. 277-90. A brilliant and crucially important essay that examines Florentine data for information on “completed” fertility in women. Using a sample of 44 upper-class couples who lived at least until the woman reached the natural end to fertility (estimated for her purposes as age 45), K-Z finds that these women had, on average, eleven children each, a quite high fertility rate abetted both by early marriage (average age at first marriage for women was 17) and by use of wetnurses. More surprisingly, K-Z finds that most of these women *stopped* having children at least 10 years before natural fertility would have ended. Medical conditions resulting from prior births may well have been a factor, but by analyzing the sex of the last two children, K-Z finds a what seems to be a deliberate tendency to stop childbearing after birth of a male. In other words, couples decide they have “enough” children when they have a sufficient number of male heirs. There is insufficient evidence to say whether this mid-life infertility has to do to contraceptive practices or simply the cessation of sexual relations.
- Krause 1992. Kathy Krause, “Guérisseuses et sorcières: La médecine féminine dans les romans des XII^e et XIII^e siècles,” *Equinoxe* 8 (1992), 161-73. Surveying much the same material as McCracken 1993, Krause sees the *guérisseuses-sorcières* of 12th and 13th century narratives as strong figures. She suggests they disappear from later 13th-century sources because of the simultaneous rise of university medicine and theological conceptions of sorcery.
- Krause 1994. Britta-Juliane Krause, “Neufund einer handschriften Vorstufe von Eucharius Röblins Hebammenlehrbuch *Der schwangeren Frauen und Hebammen Rosengarten* und des *Frauenbüchleins* Ps.-Ortolfs,” *Sudhoffs Archiv* 78 (1994), 220-236. Argues that Röblin’s famous *Rosengarten* (1513), one of the earliest printed midwifery manuals, derives from an earlier manuscript tradition in German. (For proof that that German tradition itself derives from a 15th-century Latin source, see Green 2009a.)
- Krause 1996a. Britta-Juliane Krause, *Verborgene Heilkünste: Geschichte der Frauenmedizin im Spätmittelalter*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, 5 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996). A revision of Krause’s 1994 Berlin, Freie-Universität dissertation. In the first half of the volume, Krause surveys German gynecological literature generally, offering suggestions about the importance of these texts for the history of late medieval medical practice, sexuality, and scientific theory. In the second half, Krause edits several brief, hitherto unpublished German gynecological texts and recipe collections.

- Kruse 1996b. Britta-Juliane Kruse, “Women’s Secrets: Health and Sexuality of Women in Unpublished Medieval Texts,” in *Sex, Love and Marriage in Medieval Literature and Reality: Thematische Beiträge in Rahmen des 31th International Congress on Medieval Studies an der Western University (Kalamazoo-USA) 8.-12. Mai 1996* (Greifswald: Reineke, 1996), pp. 33-40. An English précis of Kruse 1996a.
- Kruse 1999. Britta-Juliane Kruse, *‘Die Arznei ist Goldes wert’: Mittelalterliche Frauenrezepte* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999). This volume recycles material from Kruse’s earlier book, *Verborgene Heilkünste* (1996), rendering her previously-published editions of several medieval German texts into modernized German. The publisher’s blurb describes it as follows: “In this history of gynecology in the late Middle Ages, Britta Kruse analyzes hitherto unknown recipe collections and treatises that provide basic information on how female physicians and midwives treated diseases and how women treated themselves. The daily life of women, sexual relations, sexuality, menstruation, infertility, pregnancy and birth are treated in these texts, as well as the medical activities of women in the late Middle Ages.” Deals exclusively with German-speaking territories. Most of this same material is also available in Kruse’s essay, “‘Das ain fraw snell genes’: Frauenmedizin im Spätmittelalter,” in *Lustgarten und Dämonenpein: Konzepte von Weiblichkeit in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Annette Kuhn and Bea Lundt (Dortmund: Ebersback, 1997), pp. 130-53.
- Kusche 1980. Brigitte Kusche, “Laatmiddelnederlandse Fragmenten uit de Chirurgie van Albucasis,” *Verslagen en mededelingen, Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (Gent, 1980), pp. 370–420. Regarding excerpts from the *Surgery* of Albucasis embedded in a 15th-century Dutch translation of the *Trotula* found uniquely in a manuscript now in Hamburg (*Trotula* Dut3c in the schema of Green 1997). The manuscript has now been more thoroughly studied by Glas 2008. See also Green 2010. For different redactions of the same Dutch translation, see Hulsker 2009 and Kusche 1990.
- Kusche 1990. Brigitte Kusche, ed., *Frauenaufklärung im Spätmittelalter: Eine philologisch-medizinhistorische Untersuchung und Edition des gynäkologisch-obstetrischen GKS 1657 Kopenhagen*, Acta Universitatis Umensis (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1990). An edition of an expanded redaction of a 15th-century Dutch translation of the *Trotula* found uniquely in a Copenhagen manuscript (*Trotula* Dut3b in the schema of Green 1997). For different versions of the same translation, see Glas 2008 and Hulsker 2009.
- Larson 2003. Wendy R. Larson, “Who is the Master of this Narrative? Maternal Patronage of the Cult of St Margaret,” in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2003), pp. 94-104. As St Margaret is one of the principal saints of childbirth, this intriguing analysis about the uses of Margaret’s legend presents an intriguing path into new and potentially important methodologies for reconstructing the history of childbirth, which is so hard of access vis traditional sources.
- Laurence 2005. Patrick Laurence, “La faiblesse féminine chez les Pères de l’Église,” in *Les Pères de l’Eglise face à la science médicale de leur temps*, ed. Véronique Boudon-Millot and

Bernard Pouderon, *Théologie historique*, 117 (Paris: Beauchesne, 2005), 351-377. **Not yet seen.**

Laurent 1989. Sylvie Laurent, *Naître au moyen âge: De la conception à la naissance. La grossesse et l'accouchement (XII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1989). Now dated, but still a useful survey of a variety of iconographical evidence for birth practices and attitudes toward childbirth in the Middle Ages. Includes 55 black-and-white reproductions of various scenes of childbirth or related information. (On why such birth images should not be taken literally, however, see the important study of L'Estrange 2008.)

Laurent 1993. Sylvie Laurent, "L'accouchement dans l'iconographie médiévale d'après les miniatures de la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Maladies, Médecines et Sociétés: Approches historiques pour le présent*, Actes du VI^e Colloque d'Histoire au Présent, ed. F. O. Touati, 2 vols. (Paris: L'Harmattan et Histoire au Présent, 1993), 1:144-52. Laurent surveys the entire collection at the BNF (medical, religious and historical sources, and romances) for iconographic depictions of birth. She announces a forthcoming thèse du 3^e cycle on this same topic, but I have been unable to ascertain that it was ever completed.

Lee 2002. Becky R. Lee, "A Company of Women and Men: Men's Recollections of Childbirth in Medieval England," *Journal of Family History* 27, no. 2 (April 2002), 92-100. Lee analyzes records from 13th-15th century "proof-of-age inquests," legal proceedings during which male witnesses (fathers, neighbors, etc.) would recollect the circumstances of an heir's birth in order to establish his or her age. Lee uses these documents to construct a picture of how men, even though they rarely entered the birthing room, were aware of what went on inside. She also finds evidence of men visiting the new mother and child, the exchange of gifts to "mark" the birth in people's memories, and the involvement of fathers in the choice of a wetnurse. Readers might wish to contrast Lee's findings with documents from southern France where it is women themselves who testify about the circumstances of a child's birth; see Joseph Shatzmiller, *Médecine et justice en Provence médiévale: Documents de Manosque, 1262-1348* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1989), pp. 113-14.

Leidig 2004. Dorothee Leidig, "Frauenheilkunde in volkssprachigen Arznei- und Kräuterbüchern des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts. Eine empirische Untersuchung," Inaugural-Dissertation, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, 2004. This dissertation surveys a massive corpus of medieval German-language medical texts looking for material on treatments for women. Leidig is primarily interested in the philological, linguistic, and pharmaceutical aspects of what are mostly untheoretical recipe collections, but this study does have some valuable evidence for female empirical practices. Leidig's command of secondary literature in the field is dated aside for works in German, hence limiting the utility of this work for more comparative study.

Lemay 1978. Helen Rodnite Lemay, "Some Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Lectures on Female Sexuality," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 1 (1978), 391-400.

Demonstrates the frankness and openness with which medical and scientific authors discussed sexuality.

Lemay 1980. Helen Rodnite Lemay, “The Stars and Human Sexuality: Some Medieval Scientific Views,” *Isis* 71 (1980), 127-137.

Lemay 1981. Helen Lemay, “William of Saliceto on Human Sexuality,” *Viator* 12 (1981), 167-181. This survey of the views of a late 13th-century Italian physician, William of Saliceto (1210-77), is largely descriptive, with analysis limited to comparing Williams’ views with his main source, Avicenna. Topics covered include the need for mutual pleasure in heterosexual intercourse, the character of orgasm, sterility, and sexual disorders. Lemay argues that female homoeroticism was rarely discussed by doctors. In the two instances she cites, women engaging in homoerotic activity are mentioned either in passing in a discussion of male homosexuality (here considered a pathological disorder) or in a medical discussion of unnatural, penis-like growths that women sometime use to have intercourse with other women.

Lemay 1982. Helen Rodnite Lemay, “Human Sexuality in Twelfth- through Fifteenth-Century Scientific Writings,” in Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage (eds.), *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1982), pp. 187-205. Lemay finds intense interest among physicians and astrologers on such topics as virginity, sexual proclivities, female orgasm (which is thought by most writers to be essential for conception), and sterility. Although the article are more descriptive than analytical (temporal and geographical specificity are almost completely ignored), a particular virtue of Lemay’s work is her recognition that Arabic sources—together with the attitudes of the Arab world—profoundly influenced the developing Western scientific and medical views of sexuality.

Lemay 1985. Helen Lemay, “Anthonius Guainerius and Medieval Gynecology,” in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, ed. Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford and New York: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 317-36. Regarding the gynecological writing of the Italian physician Anthonius Guainerius (d. ca. 1455).

Lemay 1992. Helen Lemay, trans., *Women’s Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus’ ‘De secretis mulierum’ with Commentaries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992). A welcome first translation of the most important medieval scientific text on “the nature of women.” Commonly (though falsely) attributed to the great Dominican theologian Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), this odd compilation of medical and natural-philosophical lore about generation was probably composed by a student of Albert’s circle. Although Lemay has consulted a handful of medieval manuscripts of the text (there are over 100 Latin manuscripts already known and several medieval vernacular translations; see Green 1998 and Green 2008a), she translates the text and portions of the commentaries from a Renaissance printed edition. The work is still desperately in need of a proper critical edition, so scholars should rely on this translation only tentatively.

- L'Estrange 2005. Elizabeth L'Estrange, "Anna Peperit Mariam, Elizabeth Johannem, Maria Christum: Images of Childbirth in Late-Medieval Manuscripts" in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images*, eds. B. Dekeyzer and J. Van der Stock (Paris, Leuven, and Dudley, MA, 2005), pp. 335-346. An important preliminary study.
- L'Estrange 2008. Elizabeth L'Estrange, *Holy Motherhood: Gender, Dynasty, and Visual Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008). In this wonderfully rich account of childbirth images in manuscripts made for or circulated among the Breton and Angevin branches of the French royal house in the 15th century, L'Estrange employs the analytical concept of "the situational eye" to examine the history of childbirth images. L'Estrange argues that such images (usually depictions of the births of Biblical figures) were neither deliberate mechanisms to remind women of their roles of merely physical reproduction nor self-empowering celebrations of the female-dominated sphere of childbirth. Rather, she argues that *both* female and male observers of these images would have understood them as narratives about their own roles in perpetuating family lineages and power. Chapter 2 of *Holy Motherhood* is a gem in and of itself, offering the best single analysis available of the role of charms and saints' lives in the processes of birth. Appendices provide the Latin texts and English translations of two childbirth prayers.
- Lie 2008. Orlanda Lie, "Women's Medicine in Middle Dutch," in *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens, Pieter De Leemans, An Smets (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), ISBN 9789058676719, pp. 449-66. Lie offers the first general survey in English of a variety of texts on women's medicine that circulated in manuscript and print from the 14th to the 16th centuries.
- Lindgren 2005. Amy Lindgren, "The Wandering Womb and the Peripheral Penis: Gender and the Fertile Body in Late Medieval Infertility Treatises," PhD dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2005. **Not yet seen.**
- MacLehose 1996. William F. MacLehose, "Nurturing Danger: High Medieval Medicine and the Problem(s) of the Child," in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 3-24. MacLehose surveys attitudes towards the maternal "menstrual" blood that nourished the fetus *in utero*. Most of this material reappears without revision or updating in Chapter 1 in William F. MacLehose, 'A Tender Age': *Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Gutenberg<e> (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), available online at <<http://www.gutenberg-e.org/>> (accessed 20.vii.2008).
- Mafart 1994. Bertrand-Yves Mafart, "Approche de la mortalité maternelle au Moyen Age en Provence," in *La Femme pendant le Moyen Age et l'Epoque moderne: Actes des Sixièmes Journées Anthropologiques de Valbonne, 9-11 juin 1992*, ed., Luc Buchet, *Dossiers de Documentation Archéologique*, 17 (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994), pp. 207-219. A bioarcheological study. **Not yet seen.**

- Maire 2003. Brigitte Maire, “Le triangle méthodique: Soranos, Caelius Aurelianus et Mustio,” in *Rationnel et irrationnel dans la médecine ancienne et médiévale : aspects historiques, scientifiques et culturels*, ed. Nicoletta Palmieri, Centre Jean Palerne, Mémoires 26 (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Etienne, 2003) , pp. 215-230. On the most important ancient Greek gynecologist, Soranus of Ephesus (late 1st/early 2nd cent. CE), and his two late antique Latin translators.
- Maire 2004. Brigitte Maire, “Cissa, ma chissà cos’è? Enquête sur un terme gynécologique énigmatique,” *Etudes de lettres* 1-2, (2004), 181-198. A study of the *cissa*, the cravings for unnatural foods common to women in pregnancy, as used in the ancient and late antique writings of Soranus of Ephesus, Caelius Aurelianus and Muscio.
- Marienberg 2002. Evyatar Marienberg, “Le bain des Melunaises : Les juifs médiévaux et l'eau froide des bains rituels,” *Médiévales* 43 (2002), pp. 91-101; available gratis online at http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/issue/medi_0751-2708_2002_num_21_43 (accessed 16.i.2010). Abstract: “The article deals with the discussions of certain medieval Ashkenazi and Provençal rabbis about the legality of warming the water of the ritual baths used by Jewish women. Tradition held that Rabbenu Hananel and Rabbenu Tarn, two major authorities, permitted the custom. Nevertheless, many Jewish legal experts were not sure about the "real" opinion of Rabbenu Tarn, having heard about a case in which he forbade it. The article shows that a text we know today confirms the first tradition.”
- Marienberg 2003. Evyatar Marienberg, *Niddah: lorsque les juifs conceptualisent la menstruation* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003). Regarding conceptions of menstrual impurity (*niddah*) in Judaism, which has three meanings: the menstrual blood itself, the menstruating woman (who is considered impure until she is purified in a ritual bath), or the impure period during menstruation when intercourse and other activities are prohibited. This important volume surveys beliefs and practices from Biblical times to the present, focusing on the medieval period. It also offers some additional observations about the myth of Jewish male menstruation (cf. Biller 2001a, etc.).
- Markus 2005. Manfred Markus, “Terms for Pregnancy in the History of English: An Onomasiological Approach Based on the *OED*,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: Bulletin de la Société néophilologique / Bulletin of the Modern Language Society* 106:1, (2005), 7-21. This essay provides an overview of 140 terms for pregnancy in English used up through the 20th century. The author finds that camouflaging terminology was most prominent in the 19th century, while “downtoning” terms were particularly prominent in the 20th century. One interesting finding is that terms like “barren” and “with child” were first applied to women in the Middle Ages, and only afterwards came to be used for animals and (usually metaphorically) things. It would be good if a medievalist were to pursue this line of research, as Markus’s only source, the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is very impoverished in terms of its Middle English terminology. (See, for example, the Middle English texts edited by Barratt 2001, which documents the ready use of “childing” ca. 1400 whereas Markus dates it to ca. 1440. See also Green 1992; and Green and Mooney 2006.)

- Marland 1993. Hilary Marland, ed., *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993). This is an excellent collection of empirically informed studies on midwives in various countries of early modern Europe. What medievalists should understand, however, is that it is *only* about early modern Europe and it is only about midwives. Midwifery underwent major shifts towards licensing in the early modern period and one cannot infer the duties or professional identities of medieval midwives from their early modern counterparts. On the former, see the studies of Saunier 1987, Taglia 2001, Cabré 2008, and Green 2008a. For more recent work on early modern midwives, see Flügge 2000, Green 2008d, and Harkness 2008. For aspects of women's healthcare beyond midwifery (and male involvement with the same), see Park 2006, Green 2008a, and Zuccolin 2008.
- Martín Ferreira n.d. Ana Isabel Martín Ferreira, "El *DILAG* (Diccionario Latino de Andrología y Ginecología) del grupo *Speculum medicinae* (Universidad de Valladolid)," <<http://descargas.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01482963878920747460035/031275.pdf?incr=1>> (accessed 27 Jan. 2009). This is an (undated) interim report of an on-going project of the University of Valladolid in Spain to assemble a dictionary of all Latin terminology used to refer to gynecological and andrological topics from Antiquity through the Renaissance. It is based on a broad survey of printed or edited texts, many of them edited by the *équipe*'s director, Enrique Montero Cartelle.
- Martinez Crespo 1995. Alicia Martinez Crespo, *Manual de mugeres en el qual se contienen muchas y diversas reçeutas muy buenas: Estudio, edición y notas* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1995). Edition of a late 15th- or early 16th-century Spanish collection of medicinal, cosmetic and culinary recipes for women.
- Martínez Crespo 1994. Alicia Martínez Crespo, "Mujer y medicina en la Baja Edad Media," *Hispania: Rivista Española de Historia* 54, no. 186 (January-April 1994), 37-52. As a general survey, this essay was dated and unoriginal even when it was first published. The author does, however, bring to light some hitherto unstudied Spanish sources.
- Matheson 2006. Lister Matheson, "Constantinus Africanus: *Liber de coitu (Liber creatoris)*", in *Sex, Aging, and Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. M. Teresa Tavormina, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 292, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), vol. 1, 287–326. Matheson presents a general introduction to this unique translation of Constantine the African's Latin translation of the *De coitu* (On Intercourse) from an Arabic original by Ibn al-Jazzar (see Montero Cartelle 1983 and Montero Cartelle 1988). He then provides an edition of the Middle English text, which was apparently left incomplete by the translator. See also Carrillo Linares 2006, Green and Mooney 2006, and Pahta and Carrillo Linares 2006.
- McCann 2009. Christine McCann, "Fertility Control and Society in Medieval Europe," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 40 (2009). A naive study largely

summarizing the arguments of John Riddle's work. It does not contain any original primary source research.

McClanan 2002. Anne McClanan, "Weapons to Probe the Womb": The Material Culture of Abortion and Contraception in the Early Byzantine Period," in *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, ed. Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 33-57. Argues that the late antique and early Byzantine world had a number of mechanisms, both chemical and surgical, to prevent or interrupt unwanted pregnancies. As the book's title indicates, the focus here is on material culture and McClanan presents evidence of surgical tools used for "abortion." However, many would have been used for excising the impacted (and usually dead) fetus at the time of birth, not for elective abortions. Another difficulty is that McClanan does not always cite dates of authors or texts and jumps between the Latin West and the Byzantine East and even 11th-century al-Andalus, making it difficult for the novice reader to assess development. The lack of clear focus is disappointing, since it would have been very valuable to have a study for the Byzantine world as rigorous as work that has been done for the Muslim world (Musallam 1983) and the Latin West (the several studies of Elsackers and W. Müller).

McCracken 1993. Peggy McCracken, "Women and Medicine in Medieval French Narrative," *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5, no. 2 (1993), 239-62. Although it is usually women who make drugs in medieval narratives, McCracken argues, women's healing powers are usually attributed to magic rather than medical skill. She suggests that only Marie de France presents a substantively different image of women healers.

McCracken 2003. Peggy McCracken, *The Curse of Eve, the Wound of the Hero: Blood, Gender, and Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). A broad-ranging cultural study of the meanings of blood and bleeding with respect to women and gender. Overall, she finds a marked silence with respect to menstruation in non-medical contexts.

McDonough 2008. Susan McDonough, "Impoverished Mothers and Poor Widows: Negotiating Images of Poverty in Marseille's Courts," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), 64-78. Although this essay is primarily concerned with examining attitudes towards poverty and not medicine, it includes an interesting case that shows how the giving of medical care (including paying for doctors and prepared medicines) could be an impoverishing commitment in early 15th-century Marseille.

McTavish 2005. Lianne McTavish, *Childbirth and the Display of Authority in Early Modern France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). McTavish, an art historian, offers a brilliant analysis of a series of printed French obstetrical sources from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Most of these were written by men for other men practicing in the field. She examines how these writers constructed public identities for themselves and claimed authority in this increasingly masculinizing field. This is exemplary work, as it displays excellent command over medical-historical as well as art-historical modes of analysis.

McTavish 2006. Lianne McTavish, “Blame and Vindication in the Early Modern Birthing Chamber,” *Medical History* 50, no. 4 (2006), 447-464; available gratis at <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1592634/> (accessed 29.i.2010). Continuing her work on French obstetrical treatises produced by male surgeons and female midwives between 1550 and 1730, McTavish here focuses on descriptions of difficult deliveries and the disputes that arose about who was responsible for obstetrical catastrophes.

Meens 1999. Rob Meens, “Questioning Ritual Purity: The Influence of Gregory the Great’s Answers to Augustine’s Queries about Childbirth, Menstruation and Sexuality,” *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 174-186. **Not yet seen.**

Micrologus: Rivista della Società per lo studio del Medio Evo latino 1 (1993). The whole of the first volume of this journal is devoted to “I Discorsi dei corpi/Discourses of the Body.” Subsequent issues likewise address various aspects of medicine and the history of the body.

Micrologus 2009. *Micrologus* 17 (2009), “La madre / The mother.” Contents include: P. Borgeaud, “La Mère des Dieux, l’ici et l’ailleurs”; S. Campese, “Platone e le madri nel libro V della Repubblica”; V. Dasen, “Empreintes maternelles”; F. Sivo, “La metamorfosi dell’animo: da madri a novercae”; E. Baumgarten, “Jewish Conceptions of Motherhood in Medieval Christian Europe. Dialogue and Difference”; L. Moulinier, “Aspects de la maternité selon Hildegarde de Bingen (1098-1179)”; Y. Cazal, “Nec jam modo Mater. Enquête sur une dénomination disparue pour désigner ‘la Mère qui a perdu son enfant’”; M. Uhlig, “La Mère, auxiliaire ou adversaire de l’idylle? Les figures maternelles dans deux récits idylliques des XIIe et XIIIe siècles”; J. Wirth, “Le sein féminin au Moyen Age”; D. Lett, “Les mères demeurent des filles et des soeurs. Les statuts familiaux des femmes dans les Marches au début du XIVe siècle”; C. Klapisch-Zuber, “Une filiation contestée: la lignée maternelle à Florence, XIVE-XVe siècles”; O. Niccoli, “Corps maternels. Les mystères de la génération aux débuts de l’époque moderne”; C. Schuster Cordone, “Maternité et sénescence. Le corps féminin entre prodige et transgression.”

Miramon 1999a. Charles de Miramon, “La fin d’un tabou? L’interdiction de communier pour la femme menstruée au Moyen-Âge. Le cas du XIIe siècle,” *Le sang au Moyen Age. Actes du Colloque du CRISIMA (Montpellier, 17-29 novembre 1997)*, Les Cahiers du CRISIMA, 1999, n° 4, (Montpellier: Publications de l’Université Paul Valéry, 1999), pp. 163-181. After asking whether “taboo” can legitimately be used in medieval contexts, Miramon looks briefly at 12th-century medical attitudes toward menstruation and then turns to canon law. Here he finds an inherent discord between Levitical dictates against impurity after birth and New Testament, which rejected such enforced segregation along with other practices such as male circumcision. Nevertheless, some of the early medieval penitential collections had reinstated segregation practices, making their way into the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (ca. 1020), and this despite Gregory the Great’s avowal in the 7th century that such restrictions should not be enforced. This narrative is well known, of course, but what Miramon adds here is an account of how the new scholastic analyses in canon law of the 12th century wrestled with this question. His suggestion that legal interpretations were influenced

by contemporary medicine struck me as flimsy; still, it is interesting that he found medical recipes in manuscripts of Gratian's *Decretum* and especially interesting that, in the second redaction of that text, menstruation was implicitly made analogous to nocturnal emission in men, which was likewise an involuntary self-pollution. Miramon then addresses the ceremony to reintegrate the "polluted" woman into society: purification. (On this topic, see also Rieder 2006.)

Miramon 1999b. Charles de Miramon, "Deconstruction et reconstruction du tabou de la femme menstruée (XII-XIIIe siècle)," in *Kontinuitäten und Zäsuren in der Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte: Europäisches Forum Junger Rechtshistorikerinnen und Rechtshistoriker, München 22-24 Juli 1998*, ed. Andreas Their, Guido Pfeifer and Philipp Grzimek (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 79-107. This essay carries forward the arguments in Miramon 1999a into the 13th century. Here, he demonstrates that although exclusionary practices continued into the twelfth century, Pope Innocent III effectively put an end to the controversy in 1198: although a menstruating (or postpartal) woman should not be discouraged if she *wanted* to stay out of church, she could not be prohibited. The Levitical injunctions were part of the "old law" that Christ's coming had abolished.

Molénat 2003. Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Privilegiées ou poursuivies: quatre sages-femmes musulmanes dans la Castille du XV^e siècle," *Identidades marginales*, ed. Cristina de la Puente, Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus, 13 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 413-30. An important study presenting wonderfully rich evidence for five (not four, as in the title) Muslim midwives: Blanca and Xenci at the court of King Carlos III of Navarre (r. 1387-1425), who were brought in all the way from Toledo; a mother and daughter "dynasty" of Muslim midwives, doña Fatima and doña Haxa, who attended the births of, respectively, Catalina, the queen of Castille, and Blanca, daughter of Carlos of Navarre and herself queen by 1425; and a fifth, also named Haxa, who is documented later in the fifteenth century in Segovia.

Montero Cartelle 1983. Enrique Montero Cartelle, ed., *Constantini Liber de coitu: El tratado de andrología de Constantino el Africano*. Monografías de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela 77 (Santiago de Compostela, 1983). Based on the fifteen manuscripts of the text then known to him (many others have since been identified), Montero Cartelle presents the first critical edition of a treatise on male sexuality translated into Latin by Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99). The accompanying Spanish translation and detailed glossary should make the work readily accessible to a broad group of scholars. (See also Montero Cartelle 1988 for definitive identification of the author of the original Arabic text.)

Montero Cartelle 1987. Enrique Montero Cartelle, *Liber minor de coitu: Tratado menor de andrología. Anonimo Salernitano. Edición crítica, traducción y notas* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1987). Literally what it says it is: "the lesser book on sexual intercourse." This work may be a product of Constantine the African's student, Johannes Afflacijs. Montero Cartelle edits it here from all six known copies and provides a modern Spanish translation.

Montero Cartelle 1988. Enrique Montero Cartelle, “Sobre el autor arabe del *Liber de coitu* y el mode de trabajar de Constantino el Africano.” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 23 (1988), 213–23. Montero Cartelle finds that a later re-translation of an Arabic text on sexual intercourse that had been first translated into Latin by Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99), proves that the original Arabic work was written by Ibn al-Jazzar, a physician in 10th-century Qayrawan. (See Montero Cartelle 1983 for an edition of Constantine’s translation.)

Montero Cartelle 1993. Enrique Montero Cartelle, *Tractatus de sterilitate: Anónimo de Montpellier (s. XIV). Attribuido a A. de Vilanova, R. de Moleris y J. de Turre*, *Linguistica y Filologia*, no. 16 (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid and Caja Salamanca y Soria, 1993). First modern edition of a widely-circulating Latin text on sterility (with facing-page Spanish translation). This text, one of several written in 14th-century Montpellier on the topic of infertility, attempts to reframe the problem as more than a simple disease category; instead, it is a failure of the very function for which the reproductive organs were created: generation. On this premise, the author includes discussion of a wide range of gynecological and andrological conditions. Although the editors do not pursue a contextualized historical analysis, further research may someday localize and perhaps even date the text more specifically: for example, the author refers to his success in curing the infertility of a noble woman in Lomagne who, though she had been sterile for thirteen years, was able to conceive within two months with the aid of his regimen. (See also Conde Parrado *et al.* 1999 and Montero Cartelle and Herrero Ingelmo 2003.)

Montero Cartelle 1994. Enrique Montero Cartelle, “Lengua médica y léxico sexual: La constitución de la lengua técnica,” in *Tradición e innovación de la medicina latina de la antigüedad y de la alta edad media: Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional sobre los ‘textos médicos latinos antiguos’*, ed. Manuel Enrique Vázquez-Buján (Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1994), pp. 207-21. Abstract: “The object of this study is to analyze the typology of sexual language in certain semantic fields from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, focusing on Latin medical language. Its development is traced through the individual contributions of the most important authors of the periods concerned, and a comparison is drawn between this language and its literary counterpart. In the light of these investigations, we are able to observe a progressive technicalism of the medical language used, which might be characterized in the following way: connotative terms are avoided in preference for neutral or euphemistic ones, while there is a clear tendency towards the selection of univocal and specific vocabulary.”

Montero Cartelle and Conde Parrado 2001. Enrique Montero Cartelle and Pedro Conde Parrado, “Sobre nombres y funciones (‘testes, semen’): de la andrología a la ginecología,” *Medicina nei secoli* 13, no. 2 (2001), p. 373-399. Surveys the differential usage of terminology for analogous male and female organs or bodily fluids (*testes/testiculi*, *semen/sperma*) from Antiquity through the Renaissance. They find that while one or the other of the word pairs may be preferred at certain times, there is no gender differential in the usage. Around the beginning of the 14th century, however, they note that *sperma* tends to be used for the seminal contribution of the male, while *semen* is used for the female contribution. Yet the distinction does not hold and the earlier pattern remains. **Note:** this whole issue of *Medicina*

nei secoli is devoted to the topic of andrology; other articles touching on the Middle Ages include one on seminal diseases in the Byzantine tradition and one of Hildegard's views of semen.

Montero Cartelle and Herrero Ingelmo 2003. Enrique Montero Cartelle and María Cruz Herrero Ingelmo, "Las *Interrogaciones in cura sterilitatis* en el marco de la literatura médica medieval," *Faventia* 25, no. 2 (2003), 85–97; available gratis at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Faventia/issue/view/1817/showToc>> (accessed 16.i.2010). Presents the first critical edition of a 14th-century Latin treatise called, in effect, "Questionnaire on the Causes of Sterility." This brief treatise lists a series of questions that are to be asked (apparently, of the woman) in order to assess (and eventually, treat) the causes of sterility in a couple.

Moral de Calatrava 2006. Paloma Moral de Calatrava, "El aborto en la literatura médica castellan del siglo XVI," *Dynamis: Acta Hispanica ad Medicinæ Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 26 (2006), 39-68, available gratis online at <<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Dynamis/issue/view/9195/showToc>> (accessed 16.i.2010). Moral de Calatrava surveys texts written in or translated into Castilian during the 15th and 16th centuries. A useful descriptive summary of various views on miscarriages. (She devotes a good deal of time discussing the uterine mole, too, though technically this is not a miscarriage since it does not involve a real fetus. Cf. Ausécache 2007 above.) It is frustrating that the author does not more carefully distinguish between transmitted views (i.e., in literal translations of works written up to 300 years earlier) and those more original to early modern Spain. The remaining survey of other causes of miscarriage or abortion (from violence to self-administered herbs and potions) is pretty standard fare and presents no new insights.

Moral de Calatrava 2007. Paloma Moral de Calatrava, "Magic or science? What 'old women lapidaries' knew in the age of Celestina," *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Spanish Language and Literature* 36:1 (2007) 203-235. Moral de Calatrava starts from the now-familiar observation that "female healers were described as untutored practitioners, but also that university-educated physicians could link their methods with magic, superstition and heresy" (p. 204). She goes on to argue that Celestina's knowledge of the condition known as uterine suffocation shows her awareness of learned theory, yet does not consider the alternative interpretation that it shows, rather, the broad cultural dissemination of this ancient idea. Equally questionable are such claims as "Physicians' ignorance of certain female health conditions explains why magical rituals were included in medical textbooks" (p. 220). The article is an odd mishmash of material from a variety of different times and places (mostly drawn from dated secondary sources) and presents no persuasive account of the historical realities of women's medical practice or knowledge in the period of its alleged focus, 15th- and 16th-century Castille; for that, the reader will be better served by consulting Surtz 2006 (below). The one valuable section is her rendering of Francisco Nuñez's additions to his 1580 translation of Rösslin's *Rosengarten* (see Green 2009a above) on the nature of witchcraft.

Morrison 1996. Susan Signe Morrison, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell: The Wife of Bath and Vernacular Translations," *Exemplaria* 8 (1996), pp. 97-123. Argues the Chaucer's reference to "Trotula" (and to Heloise) in the Wife of Bath's Prologue (3 [D], 669-85) is a positive

approbation of women's access to new knowledge in the vernacular. (Cf. the very different interpretations of this same passage in Green 1998.) A technical error mars this analysis: Morrison doesn't realize that the Middle English gynecological text *Knowing of Womans Kynd* is the *same* as *Trotula* translation A (= *Trotula* Eng1 in the schema of Green 1997), nor does she recognize that "Trotula's" name was never attached to this Middle English text in any of its five extant manuscripts.

Moulinier 1993. Laurence Moulinier, "Fragments inédits de la *Physica*: Contribution à l'étude de la transmission des manuscrits scientifiques de Hildegarde de Bingen," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age* 105 (1993), 629-50. An important study demonstrating the piecemeal use of Hildegard's medicine in late medieval Heidelberg. Moulinier has discovered three new fragments of Hildegard's *Physica* in Vatican manuscripts. (See now the critical edition of the Florentine manuscript in Hildegard of Bingen, 2008.)

Moulinier 1995. Laurence Moulinier, *Le manuscrit perdu à Strasbourg: Enquête sur l'oeuvre scientifique de Hildegarde* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne; Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1995). A revision of Moulinier's 1994 thesis, this learned study raises our understanding of the origins and later fate of Hildegard's medical writings to a whole new level. (This work has now led to definitive editions of both the *Cause et cure* and the *Physica*; see Moulinier 2003 and Hildegard of Bingen 2008.)

Moulinier 1999. Laurence Moulinier, "Deux fragments inédits de Hildegarde de Bingen copiés par Gerhard von Hohenkirchen (d. 1448)," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 83 (1999), 224-38. Moulinier continues her exemplary philological researches into Hildegard's medical writings (see *MFN* 21, Spring 1996). Here she edits excerpts from the *Physica* from Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Pal. lat. 1207. She demonstrates how brief excerpts such as these raise textual problems related to the overall history of these important texts.

Moulinier 2001a. Laurence Moulinier, "Hildegard ou Pseudo-Hildegard? Réflexions sur l'authenticité du traité *Cause et cure*," in Rainer Berndt, ed., *Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst': Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179)* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 115-46. This superb essay will be critical to all future studies of Hildegard's medicine. Moulinier, as a preliminary study to her critical edition of the *Cause et cure* (*C&C*; this has since appeared as Moulinier 2003), addresses several still puzzling aspects of H's medical and scientific work including its date and its original configuration, i.e., whether it was originally one work or two (the *C&C* and the *Physica*). She comes to the surprising but persuasive conclusion that the *C&C* is a compilation made soon after H's death in part out of materials written by H. The work is thus "Hildegardien," but not properly by Hildegard.

Moulinier 2001b. Laurence Moulinier, "Le corps des jeunes filles dans les traités médicaux du Moyen Âge," in *Le corps des jeunes filles de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. L. Bruit Zaidman, G. Houbre, C. Klapisch-Zuber, and P. Schmitt Pantel (Paris: Perrin, 2001), pp. 80-109. Moulinier surveys a variety of medical texts from the 11th through the 15th centuries. She argues that medical writers did not conceptualize the adolescent female body as a separate

category. Topics covered include the difference between a *puella* and a *virgo*, the age of menarche, the dangers of sexual abstinence, and mechanisms to “restore” virginity.

Moulinier 2001c. Laurence Moulinier, “Magie, médecine et maux de l’âme dans l’oeuvre scientifique de Hildegarde,” in Rainer Berndt, ed., *‘Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst’: Hildegard von Bingen (1098-1179)* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 545-59. Surveys H’s views about magic, medicine, and “passions of the soul.”

Moulinier 2003. Laurence Moulinier, ed., *Beate Hildegardis Cause et cure*, *Rarissima mediaevalia*, 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2003). This is the definitive edition of Hildegard’s *Cause et cure*, done to the highest levels of philological rigor. It is the only edition that should be used now for scholarly purposes. (For an edition of the redaction of Hildegard’s work known as the *Physica*, see Hildegard of Bingen 2008.)

Müller, I. 1995. Irmgard Müller, “Zur Verfasserfrage der medizinisch-naturkundlichen Schriften Hildegards von Bingen,” in Margot Schmidt, ed., *Tiefe des Gotteswissens-Schönheit der Sprachgestalt bei Hildegard von Bingen* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1995), pp. 1-17. **Not seen.** See also Hildegard of Bingen 2008.

Müller, W. 2000. Wolfgang P. Müller, *Die Abtreibung: Anfänge der Kriminalisierung 1140-1650* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2000). Müller surveys the entire corpus of canon and civil law for statements regarding abortion (by which he means both miscarriage caused by violence to a pregnant woman and induced abortion). Most valuable is Müller’s use of two kinds of evidence for the meaning of these legal views in practice: petitions sent to the papal court (*poenitentiarum*) and letters of remission sought out from secular authorities. Müller quotes liberally from these documents in his footnotes, thus providing the richest “archive” yet assembled of fertility limiting practices in the later Middle Ages. Thus, for example, we find evidence for priests trying to induce their lovers to take contraceptives or abortifacients, the case of a man in Florence giving abortifacients to women without their knowledge, and many cases of infanticide and beatings to induce abortion. (For more on legal attitudes towards abortion, see the several studies of Elsackers. For medical attitudes towards abortion, see Green 1990.)

Müller, W. 2002. Wolfgang P. Müller, “Canon Law Versus Common Law: The Case of Abortion in Late Medieval England,” *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Keith Kendall (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002), pp. 964-975. Müller complements his earlier study on Continental evidence by examining the question of the English case in more detail. On paper, English civil law after the 12th century adopted the church lawyers’ view that actions that resulted in fetal death should be considered equivalent to homicide. However, in practice, plaintiffs themselves simply wanted compensation for physical harm done by assault on the pregnant woman, the traditional justice provided by law. (Voluntary abortion caused by the woman’s own use of chemical methods is not at issue here.) Müller argues that “those who only sought financial compensation, had to bring an appeal of felony [because no other legal option was available], hoping that the threat of a death penalty might persuade the accused to

give in to a lucrative out-of-court settlement. . . . Only after 1250 did an ordinary damage suit gradually gain its place among the royal pleas. Accusers and jurors soon grasped this opportunity, whence miscarriages began to show up as a rather subordinate element in accusations dealing with attacks on property, on cattle, servants, and pregnant household members” (p. 941). This is an important finding in showing how slow (and perhaps reluctant) Christian populations seem to have been in adopting the full force of religious condemnations of pregnancy disruption. Unfortunately, Butler 2005 was unaware of Müller’s essay when she wrote her own study of the same phenomenon.

Musacchio 1999. Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999). A lavishly illustrated account of the use of domestic objects (bedding, clothes for the mother, birth trays and other furnishings) to enhance the success of reproduction. A richly contextualized study based on both art-historical and documentary evidence. An exemplary achievement.

Musacchio 2001. Jacqueline M. Musacchio, “Weasels and Pregnancy in Renaissance Italy,” *Renaissance Studies* 15, no. 2 (June 2001), 172-187. Another installment of Musacchio’s lucid analyses of the symbolic meanings of art in pronatalist post-plague northern Italy. Musacchio finds that weasels, who had long had associations with miraculous birth, are used in early Renaissance art to imply or foreshadow pregnancy.

Musallam 1993. Basim Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam: Birth Control Before the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). More than 25 years after its initial publication, this remains the best study of Muslim attitudes towards contraception and abortion.

Narbona-Cárceles 2001. Maria Narbona-Cárceles, “Woman at Court: A Prosopographic Study of the Court of Carlos III of Navarre (1387-1425),” *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001), 31-64. Narbona-Cárceles, as part of an international research team, plowed through the entire evidentiary record—receipts for payments, records for daily expenses, and treasury account books—to come up with a total of 364 women who could be connected to the court. Among them, she found one healer, María Periz de Artigas, who was summoned to the court to treat the infanta Isabel for an eye condition, and three midwives: Blanca Sanchiz, apparently a Christian woman, and Marién and Xenci, both of whom are Muslim. (On the latter two, see also Molénat 2003.)

Nathan 1994. Bassem Nathan, “Medieval Arabic Medical Views on Male Homosexuality,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 26, no. 4 (1994), 37-39. Presents an English translation of the chapter on passive male homosexuality (*ubnah*) from the Canon of Ibn Sina (in Europe known as Avicenna, d. 1037 CE). This is not a particularly scholarly study, but it is more accessible than Franz Rosenthal’s earlier, rather technical study of al-Razi’s views on *ubnah* (Franz Rosenthal, “Ar-Razi on the Hidden Illness,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978), 45-60) and can be used effectively for teaching with Amer 2009. For the ways Muslim views of male same-sex relations were interpreted by Christian commentators, see Cadden 2001.

- Neff 1998. Amy Neff, "The Pain of *Compassio*: Mary's Labor at the Foot of the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998), 254-73. A survey of artistic renderings of Mary's swoon at the foot of the cross at the moment of Christ's death. Neff argues that these images as well as theological texts from the twelfth century on show new beliefs that Mary literally underwent a second, more painful birth of humankind on Calvary.
- Nicoud 2000. Marilyn Nicoud, "Expérience de la maladie et échange épistolaire: les derniers moments de Bianca Maria Visconti (mai-octobre 1468)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 112, no. 1 (2000), 311-458. **Not yet seen.**
- Oberrauch 2004. Barbara Oberrauch, "Die Frau und ihr Körper. Frauenmedizinische Aspekte des mittelalterlichen Alltagslebens," *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 23-24 (2004), 43-126. [Translation of title: "The Woman and her Body: Gynecological Aspects of Medieval Daily Life".] This odd essay is based almost entirely on German-language sources (some of them quite dated), ignoring a wealth of material that has been published in other languages in the past two decades. It also relies to a surprising degree on material that doesn't relate to the Middle Ages, such as Jacques Gélis's study of pregnancy in early modern France. It is not clear to me what benefit any reader could derive from this work that has so little new to say.
- Pahta 1998. Päivi Pahta, *Medieval Embryology in the Vernacular: The Case of 'De spermate'*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, LIII (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1998). An important historical study and edition of a unique Middle English translation of the anonymous *De spermate*, a text that had been translated into Latin in the 11th or 12th century. It is an important source of lore on embryological development, and seems to have introduced to the West the idea that the human uterus had seven cells that gave rise to variously sexed males and females, as well as hermaphrodites. This is a model of rigorous philological scholarship.
- Pahta and Carrillo Linares 2006. Päivi Pahta and Maria José Carrillo Linares, "Vernacularizing Medical Science: Translation Strategies in *De spermate* and *De humana natura*," in *Sex, Aging, and Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. M. Teresa Tavormina, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 292, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), vol. 1, pp. 95-117. The volume examines an unusual collection of texts on generation, aging, and the predictive sciences made in London in the third quarter of the 15th century, probably for the former mayor of London, Thomas Cook, and later owned by his secretary. Several texts may have been translated expressly for this manuscript: they are found nowhere else and concern matters of generation. Pahta and Carrillo Linares examine those translating strategies. See also Carrillo Linares 2006, Green and Mooney 2006, and Matheson 2006.
- Park 1998. Katharine Park, "Medicine and Magic: The Healing Arts," in Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis, eds., *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 129-49. Covers the period from the 14th century to the 17th and so is useful for

comparative purposes for late medieval medicine. This essay is especially good for showing how multiple medical systems (formal theoretical, religious, etc.) operated simultaneously in late medieval society.

Park 2000. Katharine Park, “Dissecting the Female Body: From Women’s Secrets to the Secrets of Nature,” in Jane Donawerth and Adele Seeff, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2000), pp. 29-47. Park shows that intense curiosity about female anatomy was a driving force behind the development of anatomical investigation at the end of the Middle Ages. This argument is developed more fully in Park 2006.

Park 2006. Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006). This amazing book demonstrates how transformative gender analysis can be. Park argues that human dissection began to be practiced again in late 13th- and early 14th-century northern Italy not out of strictly academic motives (as is often asserted) nor even in defiance of religious strictures. On the contrary, one of the earliest “autopsies” she documents is the opening up of a nun by her fellow inmates in their search for signs of her sanctity. Medical dissections, Park argues, were largely motivated by desires to penetrate the “secrets” of women’s bodies, to understand the processes of generation. Park’s *pièce de résistance* is a stunning explanation of why Vesalius, in his paradigm-shifting work of anatomy in 1543, chose to depict himself dissecting an allegedly pregnant female corpse on the titlepage to his work. This work should be on the reading list of all courses on gender in premodern Europe.

Park 2008. Katharine Park, “The Death of Isabella della Volpe: Four Eyewitness Accounts of a Postmortem Caesarean Section in 1545,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82.1 (2008) 169-187. In 1545 in Vercelli (Duchy of Savoy), the wife of a physician, Isabella della Volpe, died after a brief illness. She was pregnant at the time of her death so the women in attendance recognized that a Caesarean section needed to be performed to liberate the still-living child (or so it was thought to be). The surgeon who had been tending to Isabella declined to do it, so a barber was brought in to perform the procedure. Park presents the testimony of the surgeon, the barber, a priest who was present at the time of Isabella’s death, and a maidservant who witnessed most of these proceedings. Park speculates that the deceased’s husband requested the recording of these testimonies so as to forestall an attempt by her uncle to claim her dowry, which by law would have been his if the child had not been born alive. Park presents the full Latin text as well as a complete translation, thus providing a wonderful document for teaching.

Paxson 1998. James J. Paxson, “The Nether-Faced Devil and the Allegory of Parturition,” *Studies in Iconography* 19 (1998): 139-176. This is an intriguing (if often exasperating) application of post-modernist theory to medieval images of devils who have their sexual organs replaced by “nether faces.” Rejecting previous interpretations of these images (the oldest of which seems to be in Hildegard’s *Scivias*), Paxson suggests that instead these devils reflect the moment of birth when the infant emerges from the birth canal. Paxson writes: “This connection, so glaring in its obviousness (once one has made the visual connection, that

is), invokes the quotidian experience—and the subculture—of midwifery.” This is an intriguing hypothesis, though one regrets that Paxson has not better researched the medical aspects of the thesis he is proposing. Paxson notes, for example, that what he calls a “Middle English *Trotula*” (which was shown in 1992 not to be the *Trotula* but gynecological excerpts from Gilbertus Anglicus) “contains only stylized, cutaway views of the fetus *in utero*; never does the text illustrate actual parturition” (p. 164). This is true enough, but then *no* medieval gynecological text has such illustrations. The fetus-in-utero figures, meanwhile, are not original creations of this manuscript’s illuminator but remnants of a long iconographic tradition that can be traced back to late antiquity (see Hanson and Green 1994). Paxson suggests that since medieval men would have been universally excluded from the birthing room (in fact, a false assumption: see Cabré n.d., Green 2008a, Park 2006, and Zuccolin 2008), they would have no direct experience of seeing living versions of these “nether-faced” beings. The question this raises, though, is how we can explain why men would see this “creature” as uniformly monstrous while women (presumably, given their quotidian experience) would have seen it as quite ordinary.

Pfister 2007. Rudolf Pfister, “Über Frauenheilkunde im mittelalterlichen China: Idealisierte die Medizin ein androgynes Körperbild oder nicht? Beherrscht darin der Blutaspekt die Frau? Wann entstand eine Heilkunde speziell für Frauen?,” *Asiatic Studies/Etudes Asiatiques* 61, no. 3 (2007), 989–1006. This is an essay review of LEUNG, Angela Ki Che (ed.): *Medicine for Women in Imperial China*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006. vi+214 p., Index. ISBN 90-04-15196-6, a book version of a special issue of the journal *Nan Nü, Men, Women, and Gender in China*, Volume 7, Issue 2, 2005.

Pierro 1964. Francesco Pierro, “Nuovi contributi alla conoscenza delle mediche nel regno di Napoli negli ultimi tre secoli del medioevo,” *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 17, fasc. 1-4 (1964), 231-41. This study, not cited in Green 1989, adds several additional names to the Italian practitioners listed in the latter essay.

Pomata 2001. Gianna Pomata, “Menstruating Men: Similarity and Difference of the Sexes in Early Modern Medicine,” in *Generation and Degeneration: Tropes of Reproduction in Literature and History from Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, ed. Valeria Finucci and Kevin Brownlee (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 109-152. Pomata takes themes already addressed by medievalists (see Biller 2001a, Johnson 1998, and Resnick 2000) and carries them forward into the early modern period. She finds that positive views toward male menstruation continued, thereby mollifying, to some extent, anti-Semitic assertions that this process was unique to a certain group of already stigmatized men.

Pomata 2005. Gianna Pomata, “Medicina delle monache: Pratiche terapeutiche nei monasteri femminili di Bologna in età moderna,” in *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura fra Rinascimento e barocco*, ed. Gianna Pomata and Gabriella Zarri (Rome: Storia e letteratura, 2005), pp. 331-63. **Not yet seen.**

Rand 2006. Kari Anne Rand, “A Previously Unnoticed Fragment of John of Burgundy’s Plague Tract and Some Connected Pest Regimens,” *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006), 295-297,

doi:10.1093/notesj/gjl069. Mentions Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 261, which dates from ca. 1500 and was probably made after the accession of Henry VII for his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), whose arms and badge occur. This can now be added to the list of medical manuscripts known to have been owned by women (cf. Green 2000c).

- Randolph 2004. Adrian W. B. Randolph, “Gendering the Period Eye: ‘Deschi da Parto’ and Renaissance Visual Culture,” *Art History* 27, 4 (September 2004), 538-562. See write-up in *Feminae*.
- Rankin 2008. Alisha Rankin, “Duchess, Heal Thyself: Elisabeth of Rochlitz and the Patient’s Perspective in Early Modern Germany,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (2008), 109–44. The detailed self-descriptions of symptoms over the course of 20 years by Lady Anna of Waldeck (d. 1557), Landgravine of Hesse and Duchess of Saxony.
- Rauws and Rauws 2005. E. A. Rauws and J. E. Rauws, “De baarstoel van Michele Savonarola”, *Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde* 10 (2005), nr. 6, p. 46-53. The title translates as “The Birthing Chair of Michele Savonarola.” A study of textual and visual depictions of birthing chairs up through the 16th century.
- Rawcliffe 1995. Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1995). This handsomely produced survey for the general reader includes two chapters on women as patients and practitioners, though given its richness this book should be read in its entirety. The 64 B&W illustrations and 20 color plates are aptly chosen, and excellent use is made of literary as well as historical sources. Readers particularly interested in English midwives may wish to supplement Rawcliffe’s account with the information provided in Green and Mooney 2006. See also Rawcliffe 2003 below.
- Rawcliffe 1998. Carole Rawcliffe, “Hospital Nurses and their Work,” in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998), pp. 43-64 (and notes, 202-6). A useful survey of women’s work as hospital attendants, primarily in France and England.
- Rawcliffe 2003. Carole Rawcliffe, “Women, Childbirth and Religion in Later Medieval England,” *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow, 2003), pp. 91-117. A richly documented account of the intersections of childbirth and religion. At p. 113, she cites evidence that recent excavations in Switzerland have found one chapel’s cemetery where the remains of 250 infants were found; the chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, who was believed to breathe life into the stillborn children long enough for them to be baptized.
- Rawcliffe 2009. Carole Rawcliffe, “A Marginal Occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her Work,” *Gender and History*, 21, no.1 (April 2009), 147–69. Rawcliffe surveys evidence primarily from England and northern France regarding functions and images of medieval laundresses. This exceptionally well-documented essay uncovers evidence not only about the laundresses, but about attitudes toward health and cleanliness as well.

- Raynalde 2008. Thomas Raynalde, *et al.*, *The Birth of Mankind (1540-1654)*, ed. Elaine Hobby, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). An edition with commentary of the English translation of Eucharius Rösslin's *Rosegarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives*, which was first published in German in 1513. (See Green 2009a and Roeslin 2008.) The English translation was made from an intervening Latin translation, which was also the source for editions in French (cf. Worthy-Stylianou 2006), Italian, and Spanish. Hobby's edition is particularly valuable for showing the elements of the text that are unique to the English version.
- Reisert 1986. Robert Reisert, *Der siebenkammerige Uterus: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Wirkungsgeschichte und Entfaltung eines embryologischen Gebärmuttermodells*, Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen, Band 39 (Pattensen/Han.: Horst Wellm, 1986). Collects sources showing the dissemination of the idea that the human uterus was composed of seven cells. Reads more like a series of note cards than a sustained historical analysis, but it is useful as a collection of materials. This is not, however, an exhaustive list: the idea is found in many vernacular gynecological texts not cited here.
- Resnick 2000. Irven Resnick, "Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses," *Harvard Theological Review* 93 (2000), 241-63; a revised version of "On the Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses in Jacques de Vitry's *History of Jerusalem*," *International Rennert Guest Lecture Series* 3 (Bar-Ilan University, 1998). Resnick argues that the myth of menstruating Jewish males (a fantasy that survived well into the modern period) has its roots in the 12th century. In particular, Resnick shows the role that natural science played into contributing to theological views on the nature of Jews. See also Biller 2001a, Pomata 2001, and Johnson 1998.
- Richards 1980. Mary P. Richards, "A Middle English Prayer to Ease Childbirth," *Notes and Queries* 225, no. 4 (1980), 292. Presents a short text found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1280, f. 192v. The fact that this prayer, added into a blank space in a 13th-century hand, occurs in the context of a collection of texts for parish priests (all written in either Latin or Anglo-Norman) says a lot about the practices of childbirth and perhaps also about issues of literacy.
- Reynaert 2001. Joris Reynaert, "Der vrouwen heimelijcheit als secundaire bron in de Zuid-Nederlandse bewerking van de *Chirurgia Magna* van Lanfranc van Milaan," in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 111, no. 1 (2001), 165-188. Demonstrates that an editor of a mid-14th-century Dutch version of the *Surgery* of Lanfranc of Milan took excerpts from a Dutch translation of the pseudo-Albertan *Secreta mulierum* and embedded them into his surgical text in order to offer a fuller understanding of the processes of menstruation (and presumably the production of blood in the body). (For more on the gynecological aspects of Lanfranc's *Surgery*, see Green 2008a.)
- Riddle 1991. John M. Riddle, "Oral Contraceptives and Early-Term Abortifacients During Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Past and Present* no. 132 (August 1991), 3-32. Using modern chemical analyses of the properties of botanical pharmaceuticals, Riddle argues

that many substances prescribed in medieval herbals (e.g., rue, juniper, and pennyroyal) do indeed have the menses-inducing and abortifacient effects that they were claimed to have.

- Riddle 1992. John M. Riddle, *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Argues that chemically-effective contraceptive drugs were known and available throughout the medieval period. Riddle's larger claims about women's *control* over this information are, however, problematic because he neglects conflicting information that emmenagogues were used not to terminate pregnancies but rather to facilitate them (by "cleaning out" the uterus and making it ready for conception).
- Riddle 1997. John M. Riddle, *Eve's Herbs: A History of Contraception and Abortion in the West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Meant as a sequel to his 1992 book, Riddle here returns to the thesis that knowledge of the contraceptive and abortifacient herbs was readily available to medieval women. See the review by Monica Green in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73 (1999), 308-11, which points out that Riddle has not clarified that emmenagogues were also (and probably more frequently) used to "cleanse" the womb, not in order to contracept, but to do precisely the opposite: to *enhance* fertility on the belief the uterus needed to be cleaned out in order to receive the seed. (For comparative studies on the variety of motives involved in menstrual regulation, see Etienne van de Walle and Elisha P. Renne, eds., *Regulating Menstruation: Beliefs, Practices, Interpretations*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.) Green also points to evidentiary problems in proving that women had access to the texts that Riddle uses as evidence. (For more on this point, see Green 2008d.)
- Riddle 2007. John M. Riddle, "Women's Medicines in Ancient Jewish Sources: Fertility Enhancers and Inhibitors," in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller, *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 200-14. **Not yet seen.**
- Rider 2005. Catherine Rider, "Between Theology and Popular Practice: Medieval Canonists on Magic and Impotence," *Boundaries of the Law: Geography, Gender, and Jurisdiction in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Musson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 53-66. A précis of arguments developed more fully in Rider 2006.
- Rider 2006. Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Argues that impotence caused by magic took on new import among theologians, lawyers, and physicians beginning in the 12th century because impotence was recognized in canon law as grounds for annulling a marriage. She finds that these learned accounts contain a surprising amount of information on popular attitudes toward and practices of magic. The medical part of this study focuses on the text "On Those [Men] Who, Impeded by Magic, Cannot Have Intercourse [with Their Wives]" commonly attributed to Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99), a Benedictine monk who translated a wide variety of Arabic medical texts into Latin. Unfortunately, Rider misconstrues the evidence for the origin of this text; she insists on referring to it as "ca. 1100" yet the larger text from which it appears to derive—the completed form of the *Practica* of the *Pantegni*—could not have been completed

prior to 1115 and is not known to have been in general circulation until the early 13th century.¹⁵ This dating is crucial, since as she herself demonstrates, one of the key actors in making impotence caused by magic an important element of canon law was Ivo of Chartres, who died in 1115. The question then becomes, is medicine reacting to concerns that had already been generated by theologians? Or is it helping to generate them? Rider provides a new edition of the Constantinian text in an appendix (including additions that were made later, the text now bearing the title *Remedies Against Magic*), together with an English translation.

Rider 2007. Catherine Rider, “Magic and Impotence: Recent Developments in Medieval Historiography,” *History Compass* 5, no. 3 (2007), 955-62. The impotence part of this essay is largely a summary of her own research in Rider 2006. Here, however, Rider sets her work into the larger context of work on medieval magic, specifically the medieval origins of the early modern witch-hunts; the types and uses of magical texts in medieval Europe; and the relations of magic to other areas of medieval religion and culture. The coverage is rather superficial, but it might make a useful summary for undergraduate teaching.

Rieder 1998. Paula M. Rieder, “The Implications of Exclusion: The Regulation of Churching in Medieval Northern France,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 15 (1998), 71-80. Rieder puts forward a fascinating argument that French parish priests used the ceremony of churching (the reintegration of a woman into the community after childbirth) as a way of censoring and controlling women’s sexual activities. Compare this to the more sanguine views advanced by Gibson 1996.

Rieder 2006. Paula M. Rieder, *On the Purification of Women: Churching in Northern France, 1100-1500*, The New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2006). From the publisher’s blurb: “On the Purification of Women examines the medieval ritual of churching, a rite of purification after childbirth performed on a woman’s first visit to church after giving birth. The book describes the development of the rite from its original meaning as a response to blood pollution to its redefinition as a rite honoring marriage. This redefinition, accomplished within the heated context of twelfth-century Church reforms, promoted lay conformity with the Church’s understanding of marriage and allowed the Church to use the ritual as a disciplinary tool with important consequences for the lives of women and men in late medieval France.”

Rodríguez-Álvarez and Domínguez-Rodríguez 2005. Rodríguez-Álvarez, Alicia, and M^a Victoria Domínguez-Rodríguez. “A Middle English Text Revised by a Renaissance Reader: John Wotton’s Annotations to British Library MS Sloane 249 (ff. 180v-205v),” *International Journal of English Studies* 5, no. 2 (2005), 45-70. MS Sloane 249 contains a mid-15th copy of the Middle English *Sickness of Women* 2, a work based on the gynecological and

¹⁵See the essays by Green and Wack in Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, eds., *Constantine the African and ‘Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Mağusi: The ‘Pantegni’ and Related Texts*, Studies in Ancient Medicine 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1994). The *terminus a quo* comes from the documented date for the translation of the latter part of the *Surgery* of the *Pantegni*, which is datable precisely to the years 1114-15.

obstetrical chapters from Gilbertus Anglicus's *Compendium medicine*. The work has been edited from MS Sloane 2463 in Rowland 1981 and from Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.51 in Green and Mooney 2006. Studied in Green 2003 for its brief "regimen" of prayers, Sloane 249 was heavily annotated by its 16th-century owner, a physician John Wotton, apparently to prepare it for publication in print. Rodríguez-Álvarez and Domínguez-Rodríguez offer an in-depth study of the changes Wotton made in the text, which included insertions of updated vocabulary, altered syntax, etc. Although primarily of interest to those working on the history of the English language, this would be worth consulting by anyone interested in women's medicine during the Tudor period. (See also Domínguez-Rodríguez 2004 above.)

Roeslin 1994. Eucharius Roeslin,¹⁶ *When Midwifery Became the Male Physician's Province: The 16th Century Handbook 'The Rose Garden for Pregnant Women and Midwives'*, trans. (from the German) and intro. by Wendy Arons (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994). English translation of the famous German midwifery handbook, *Der swangern Frauen und Hebammen Rosegarten*, originally printed at Strasbourg and Hagenau in 1513. The first published text of its kind, the *Rosegarten* was frequently reprinted and translated in the 16th century. While it is very valuable to have this translation, the introduction should be used with caution. For important corrections to the account presented here regarding the genesis of Rösslin's text, see Green 2009a. For further information on the audiences of Rösslin's text, see Green 2008a.

Rowland 1981. Beryl Rowland, ed., *Medieval Woman's Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1981). An edition and modernized English translation of a mid-fifteenth-century Middle English gynecological text found in London, British Library, MS Sloane 2463. Rowland's edition has been heavily criticized in subsequent years for its many errors (not least of which is the misidentification of the text as an "English Trotula" even though it is no such thing).¹⁷ Green and Mooney 2006 have since produced a new edition of the Middle English text, which should be preferred for scholarly usage. Nevertheless, for undergraduate teaching, Rowland's modern English translation may still prove useful if carefully compared to other scholarship.

van Roy 2008. V. van Roy, "De medicalisering van het vroedvrouwenberoep te antwerpen in de Nieuwe Tijd," *Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde* 12, no. 6 (2008), p. 345-355. [The title translates as "The Medicalization of the Midwifery Profession in Antwerp in the Early Modern Period."] The oldest regulations date from 1494. (For other studies of the beginnings of regulation in northern Europe, see Flügge 2000, Greilsammer 1991, and Taglia 2001.)¹⁸

¹⁶This author's last name will variously be spelled "Roeslin," "Roesslin," "Rösslin," and "Rößlin."

¹⁷Particularly important for its corrections of misidentified medical terms is the review by Jerry Stannard and Linda E. Voigts in *Speculum* 57, no. 2 (April 1982), 422-26.

¹⁸Two older studies still valuable for their presentation of primary sources are Gordon P. Elmeer, "The Regulation of German Midwifery in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries" (M.D. thesis, Yale University School of Medicine, 1964); and Isaac De Meyer, *Recherches sur la pratique de l'art des accouchements à Bruges depuis le XIVe siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Bruges: Felix de Pachtere, 1843). The latter is now available gratis on Google Books.

- Rublack 1996. Ulinka Rublack, “Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Female Body in Early Modern Germany,” *Past and Present* 150 (1996), pp. 84–100. An important study showing for sixteenth and seventeenth-century southern Germany the many ways in which pregnancy was a public concern for communities, but especially the husband, and not something that remained hidden within a closed female group.
- Salmón and Cabré 1998. Fernando Salmón and Montserrat Cabré, “Fascinating Women: The Evil Eye in Medical Scholasticism,” in *Medicine from the Black Death to the French Disease*, ed. Roger French *et al.* (Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 1998), pp. 53-84. Salmón and Cabré discuss a series of medical texts from the late 15th and early 16th centuries that attempt to give rationalized explanations of the phenomenon of the evil eye. This essay provides an excellent survey of medieval theories (including those found in pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*) about the evil eye and the allegedly poisonous properties of menstrual blood and postmenopausal women.
- Salvat 1980. Michel Salvat, “L’Accouchement dans la littérature scientifique médiévale,” *Senefiance* 9 (1980), 87–106. Much work has been published in the field since this appeared in 1980, but it still repays consultation.
- Saunier 1987. Annie Saunier, “Le visiteur, les femmes et les ‘obstétrices’ des paroisses de l’archidiaconé de Josas de 1458 à 1470,” in *Santé, médecine et assistance au moyen âge*, Actes du 110^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Montpellier, 1985 (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1987), pp. 43-62. By analyzing the visitation records of the archdeacon Jean Mouchard—one of whose tasks was to oversee the appointment of midwives in his parishes—Saunier is able to document the existence of no less than 113 midwives in the area to the SW of Paris in this thirteen-year period. Her findings make a tremendous addition to the thus-far meager evidence we have for medieval midwives.
- Scarborough 1993. Connie Scarborough, *Women in Thirteenth-Century Spain as Portrayed in Alfonso X’s ‘Cantigas de Santa Maria’*, Hispanic Literature 19 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993). Chapter 3, “Maternity,” examines the roles that Mary played in assisting childbirth as portrayed in the *Cantigas*.
- Schilt 1994. Lys Dorin Ritzmann Schilt, *Hildegard von Bingen: Pflanzliche Heilmittel mit gynäkologisch-geburtshilflicher Indikation*, Zürcher medizingeschichtliche Abhandlungen, 259 (Zurich: Juris Druck & Verlag Dietikon, 1994). An examination in modern botanical/chemical terms of the physiological properties of 25 plants which Hildegard (1098-1179) recommended for gynecological and obstetrical conditions.
- Schleissner 1987. Margaret Schleissner, “Pseudo-Albertus Magnus: *Secreta mulierum cum commento*, Deutsch: Critical text and commentary,” PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1987. Presents an edition of a 15th-century German translation of the *Secrets of Women* falsely attributed to the Dominican theologian, Albertus Magnus (d. 1280), but probably

written by a student in his circle. A revised edition for publication had been planned and is still awaited.

- Schleissner 1994. Margaret Schleissner, "Sexuality and Reproduction in the Late Medieval *Problemata Aristotelis*," in Josef Domes, et al., eds., *Licht der Natur: Medizin in Fachliteratur und Dichtung. Festschrift für Gundolf Keil zum 60. Geburtstag* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1994), pp. 383-98. Discusses a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century composition attributed to Aristotle which comprises, among other things, a series of questions on reproduction. Schleissner discusses both the Latin text and one of the two German translations.
- Schäfer 1996. Daniel Schäfer, "Embryulkie zwischen Mythos, Recht und Medizin: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von *Sectio in mortua* und Embryotomie in Spätantike und Mittelalter," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 31 (1996), 275-97. Argues that medical, legal, and mythic traditions all transmitted different ideas about excision of the (usually dead) fetus from the womb of a living woman (*embryotomy*), on the one hand, and extraction of the living fetus from the womb of a dead woman (*sectio in mortua*), on the other. A learned and fascinating article that has important implications for the history of childbirth and obstetrics. (See now Park 2006 and 2008.)
- Schäfer 1999. Daniel Schäfer, *Geburt aus dem Tod: Der Kaiserschnitt an Verstorbenen in der abendländischen Kultur* (Hürtgenwald: Guido Pressler, 1999). This book offers a useful survey of evidence for the history of what Schäfer refers to as *sectio in mortua*, a better term perhaps than the modern "caesarean section" since it makes clear that this procedure was performed, probably beginning around the 13th century, not in order to save the life of either mother or fetus, but to allow the child to be "born" out of its dead mother so that it could be baptized and its soul saved. The definitive history of this procedure remains to be written, however, since there is still great need for systematic analysis of religious sources. Taglia 2001 offers an excellent guide.
- Schmugge 2000. Ludwig Schmugge, "Im Kindbett gestorben: Ein kanonistisches Problem im Alltag des 15. Jhdts.," in *Grundlagen des Rechts. Festschrift für Peter Landau zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. R. M. Helmholz, P. Mikat, et al. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2000), pp. 467-76. Looking at a collection of petitions sent to the Vatican around the same period, Schmugge finds requests from the inhabitants of two small German towns (Ellrich and Ebnek, both in the diocese of Mainz) to be allowed to bury women with dead fetuses still inside them in consecrated ground. Schmugge examines earlier canon law collections and finds that there was, in fact, no injunction that such women had to be buried outside the cemetery, but the practice (or at least the fear that the practice might be enforced) lived on. (Cf. van der Lugt 2008a for more on the animation of the embryo and concerns about how to bury mothers and their fetuses.)
- Seidel Menchi 2001. Silvana Seidel Menchi, "The Girl and the Hourglass: Periodization of Women's Lives in Western Preindustrial Societies," *Time, Space, and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne Jackson Schutte, Thomas Kuehn, and Silvana Seidel Menchi,

Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Volume 57 (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2001), pp. 41-74. From the summary on *Feminae*: “The author examines various models that were used to indicate the significant ages in men's and women's lives; in the latter half of the article, the author concentrates on medieval Italian child brides, using case studies, prescriptive literature, and legal evidence to argue that consummated marriages with pre-pubescent girls was not uncommon because a woman's period of biologic utility was viewed as brief and fleeting.”

Shatzmiller 1992. Joseph Shatzmiller, “Femmes médecins au moyen âge: Témoignages sur leurs pratiques (1250-1350),” in *Histoire et société. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, vol. 1: *Le couple, l'ami et le prochain* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1992), pp. 167-75. Discusses the range of women's medical practices.

Shatzmiller 1994. Joseph Shatzmiller, *Jews, Medicine, and Medieval Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Pp. 108-112 offer a brief overview of Jewish and Christian women practitioners. Unfortunately, some of this information is both superficial and misleading. Readers would be better served by examining more up-to-date studies (e.g., Green 2008a/b/c).

Shatzmiller and Lavoie 1984. Joseph Shatzmiller and Rodrigue Lavoie, “Médecine et gynécologie au moyen-âge: un exemple provençale, *Razo: Cahiers du Centre d'Études Médiévales de Nice*, no. 4 (Nice: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Nice, 1984), 133–43. Concerns the trial of a fourteenth-century practitioner in the southern French town of Manosque, Antoni Imbert, who was convicted of having promised (but failed) to cure women's infertility by magical means. The original Latin text of the case can also be found in Joseph Shatzmiller, *Médecine et justice en Provence médiévale: Documents de Manosque, 1262–1348* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1989), pp. 176–83.

Shenton 2003. Caroline Shenton, “Philippa of Hainault's Churchings: The Politics of Motherhood at the Court of Edward III,” in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 9 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 105-121. **Not yet seen.** The entry in the *Feminae* database reads: “The author argues that Philippa's numerous births and subsequent churchings were opportunities to celebrate the growing royal family which had experienced a difficult start. The humiliations of the regency were to be forgotten and the disappointing mother figure of Isabelle, Edward II's queen, was replaced by her son's devotion to the Virgin. Title note supplied by *Feminae*.”

Sheridan 2002. Bridgette Ann Majella Sheridan, “Childbirth, Midwifery, and Science: The Life and Work of the French Royal Midwife Louise Bourgeois (1563–1636),” PhD dissertation, Boston College, 2002. Louise Bourgeois is the first woman known to have written a text on women's medicine since Trota of Salerno in the 12th century. Her story, therefore, forms the end of an arc of four centuries of women's ambiguous relations to literate medicine.

Sherwood-Smith 1997. Maria Sherwood-Smith, “God and Gynaecology: *Women’s Secrets* in the Dutch *Historiebijbel van 1360*,” *German Life and Letters* 50 (1997), 390-402; repr. in Margaret Littler, ed., *Gendering German Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 12-24. Examines two passages in a glossed Dutch Bible which are said to come from “Aristotle’s Book of Women’s Secrets” and which discuss issues of menstruation and multiple births. The author compares these passages with a Dutch translation of the pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*; although the latter is clearly not the exclusive source, the parallels are intriguing. (See also Green 1998 and 2008 for more on the phenomenon of “women’s secrets”.)

Sherwood-Smith 1999. Maria Sherwood-Smith, “Forschung oder Vorurteil, Kultur oder Naturkunde? Zur Frage der Frauenfeindlichkeit in den deutschen und niederländischen Bearbeitungen der ‘Secreta Mulierum’ von Pseudo-Albertus Magnus,” in Alan Robertshaw and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Natur und Kultur in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Colloquium Exeter 1997* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1999), pp. 163-74. Drawing on the earlier work of Margaret Schleissner, Sherwood-Smith assesses the degree of misogyny in four different Dutch and German translations of the pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum*. Not surprisingly, she finds that the different translations put different valences on the misogynistic character of the Latin original.

Sigal 1987. Pierre André Sigal, “La grossesse, l’accouchement et l’attitude envers l’enfant mort-né à la fin du moyen âge d’après les récits de miracles,” in *Santé, médecine et assistance au moyen âge*, Actes du 110^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Montpellier, 1985 (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1987), pp. 23-41. Sigal uses the accounts of miracles from various canonization procedures and collections of miracle stories from France and Italy from the mid-thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. From these sources he culls surprisingly rich information about the realities and attitudes toward sterility, pregnancy, birth, concern for the infant’s soul, etc. Like Saunier 1987, Sigal’s study shows the importance of religious sources for documenting the “hidden history” of women’s experiences of birth in the Middle Ages.

Signori 1996. Gabriela Signori, “Defensivgemeinschaften: Kreißende, Hebammen und ‘Mitweiber’ im Spiegel spätmittelalterlicher Geburtswunder,” *Das Mittelalter* 1 (1996), 113-34. In her very learned study of childbirth in some late medieval German miracle collections, Signori finds that one of the common motifs in the miracle stories is when a child that is born dead (and therefore lost to Salvation) is miraculously revived just long enough to be baptized. Signori suggests that this level of concern shows how important baptism was believed to be. (See also Taglia 2001.)

Skemer 2006. Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Magic in History Series (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). Chapter 5, “Textual Amulets for Women,” includes valuable information on birthing amulets, charms, etc. Included here is discussion of the amuletic properties of books like the *Life of Saint Margaret*. Although there’s not much by way of gender analysis, in every other respect this is scholarship of the highest order. The one limitation is that there are not enough pictures of the amulets described! See also his earlier essay, “Amulet rolls and female devotion in the

late Middle Ages,” *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies* 55:2 (2001), 197-227.

Stoertz. See Harris-Stoertz.

Stoudt 1997. Debra L. Stoudt, “Medieval German Women and the Power of Healing,” in Lilian R. Furst, ed., *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1997), pp. 13-42. An overlong survey of general evidence for women’s medical practices that was no longer necessary in 1997. What remains valuable in this study, however, is the intriguing (if too brief) evidence for women as “authors” of medical recipes in German at the end of the Middle Ages.

Surtz 2006. Ronald E. Surtz, “A Spanish Midwife’s Uses of the Word: The Inquisitorial Trial (1485/86) of Joana Torrellas,” *Mediaevistik: Internationale Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Mittelalterforschung* 19, (2006), 153-168. Surtz examines the inquisitorial trial record of a midwife in Teruel (Castille) accused variously of conjuring demons, murdering babies before baptism, and placing talismans on the bodies of women in childbirth. In the end she is convicted only of the last charge. Surtz uses the record to show the midwife’s engagement with the oral world of charm lore and the written world of talismans.

Sweet 1999. Victoria Sweet, “Hildegard of Bingen and the Greening of Medieval Medicine,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 73, no. 3 (Fall 1999), 381-403. An analysis of Hildegard’s medicine that looks particularly at her concept of *viriditas* (“greening”); Sweet argues that Hildegard conceived of the body as a plant. This is an idiosyncratic view that is not broadly shared among scholars.

Sweet 2003. Victoria Sweet, “Body as Plant, Doctor as Gardener: Premodern Medicine in Hildegard of Bingen’s *Causes and Cures*,” PhD dissertation, University of California-San Francisco, 2003. Examines the use of humoral theory in a major scientific-medical work attributed to the 12th-century nun, Hildegard of Bingen. (For more recent opinion on the authorship of the *Cause et cure*, see the works by Moulinier cited above.)

Sweet 2003. Victoria Sweet, *Rooted in the Earth, Rooted in the Sky: Hildegard of Bingen and Premodern Medicine* (New York: Routledge 2006). A published version of the above-cited dissertation.

Taglia 2001. Kathryn Taglia, “Delivering a Christian Identity: Midwives in Northern French Synodal Legislation, c. 1200-1500,” in Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, eds., *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, York Studies in Medieval Theology, 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 77-90. Taglia provides concrete evidence for what will hopefully be a whole new conception of the history of midwives in the High and later Middle Ages. Surveying synodal and conciliar legislation from the four ecclesiastical provinces of Rouen, Tours, Sens, and Reims, Taglia points out the ways in which previous narratives of midwifery have relied on early modern sources to infer an earlier medieval past. When one looks at the medieval sources themselves, one finds that there was no explicit concern for midwives’ involvement in

either witchcraft or abortion, nor is there any mention of midwives *per se* performing caesarean sections (to baptize the dying child, not to save its life). Rather, supervision of midwives by Church officials apparently arose solely out of concern for ensuring that they were properly trained in performing emergency baptisms when the need arose. This exemplary study shows both why studies on medieval women need to be interdisciplinary (in this case, the story lies in religious sources, not medical ones), and why research must be systematic in order to avoid the distortions of random sampling.

Taylor 2006. Nathaniel L. Taylor, “Women and Wills: Sterility and Testacy in Catalonia in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Women in Medieval Catalonia, a Special Issue of Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 12, no. 1 (2006), 87-96. **Abstract:** “Abundant surviving wills from before 1200 present medieval Catalan women as testators. Existing wills, as well as indirect evidence, including legislation and complaints about the *mals usatges* of *exorquia* (sterility) and *intestia* (intestacy), show the degree to which women enjoyed testamentary freedom even at a humble social level. Approximately twenty percent of pre-thirteenth-century (non-clerical) testaments are by women, though barriers to women’s testamentary rights existed that were both traditional (rooted in Roman law) as well as new (the *mals usatges*). Women’s wills more frequently indicate them as single (especially as widowed parents) than men’s wills, thus supporting a traditional view of women as fiscally less independent than men. While some wills show women acting from positions of relative political strength or social independence (undertaking pilgrimages, even to Jerusalem, on their own initiative), the imposition of various restrictions on testamentary rights in the twelfth century reflects tightening limits of such fiscal independence, especially for rural women of middling means.”

Thomasset 1993. Claude Thomasset, “Le corps féminin ou le regard empêché,” *Micrologus: Rivista della Società per lo studio del Medio Evo latino* 1 (1993), 99-114. A sampling of views on women from several medical writers.

Totelin 2007. L. M. V. Totelin, “Sex and Vegetables in the Hippocratic Gynaecological Treatises,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 38 (2007), 531–540. **Not yet seen.**

Toubert 1996. Hélène Toubert, “La Vierge et les deux sages-femmes. L’iconographie entre les Evangiles apocryphes et le drame liturgique,” in *Georges Duby: L’écriture de l’Histoire*, ed. Claudie Duhamel-Amado and Guy Lobrichon (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1996), pp. 401-23. **Not yet seen.**

Traister 1991. Barbara Traister, “‘Matrix and the Pain Thereof’: A Sixteenth-Century Gynaecological Essay,” *Medical History* 35 (1991), 436–51; available gratis at <http://pubmedcentralcanada.ca/articlerender.cgi?artid=26567> (accessed 20.i.2010). Regarding a treatise by an English physician, Simon Forman (d. 1611), written in 1596. A complete transcription is provided as is a thorough glossary of terms.

- Van de Walle 2000. Etienne van de Walle, “‘Marvellous secrets’: Birth Control in European Short Fiction, 1150-1650,” *Population Studies* 54, no. 3 (Nov. 2000), 321-30. The author (who is a demographer) surveys a variety of literary genres in Latin and various vernacular languages to assess references to birth control, under which rubric he includes contraception, abortion, and concealment of pregnancies. He finds very little evidence of the former two methods, with concealment being the more frequent choice. None of these methods, he concludes, seem to have been widely used outside of the context of extra-marital liaisons.
- van der Lugt 2001. Maaïke van der Lugt, “The *Incubus* in Scholastic Debate: Medicine, Theology and Popular Belief,” in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and Joseph Ziegler, York Studies in Medieval Theology, 3 (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 175-200. Perhaps the most important study yet published on this curious view that demons were capable of impregnating women. van der Lugt examines this question from a variety of learned texts and works directed at broad audiences (including sermons). The medical interpretation of incubus as a pathological dream or a nightmare rather than an active demon did not preclude certain physicians from acknowledging that nocturnal suffocation might be caused by demonic influences.
- van der Lugt 2004. Maaïke van der Lugt, *Le ver, le démon et la vierge: les théories médiévales de la génération extraordinaire. Une étude sur les rapports entre théologie, philosophie naturelle et médecine* (Paris: Belles lettres, 2004).¹⁹ An exemplary study of learned discourse between 1100 and 1350 concerning three types of unusual generation: (1) cases of generation on the margins of what was considered natural (e.g., generation with seed but without coitus or without seed at all); (2) demonic generation; and (3) the generation of Christ and questions about virgin birth, etc. Van der Lugt’s study is especially valuable for showing how this discourse was altered precisely by being interdisciplinary, working at the interstices of theology, philosophy, and medicine. (Her principal sources are commentaries on the three great texts of each of these disciplines: Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, Aristotle’s books of animals, and Avicenna’s *Canon of Medicine*.) This is a superb case of gender issues being at the heart of intellectual change, and this study is one that all scholars of theology and gender should attend to.
- van der Lugt 2008a. Maaïke van der Lugt, “L’animation de l’embryon humain dans la pensée médiévale,” in Luc Brisson, Marie-Hélène Congourdeau, Jean-Luc Solère, eds., *L’embryon: formation et animation. Antiquité grecque et latine, traditions hébraïque, chrétienne et islamique* (Paris: Vrin, 2008), pp. 233-54, abstract available at <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00175587/fr/>>. Adding another welcome contribution to her body of work, here van der Lugt offers a learned and richly documented exploration that cuts across the disciplines of law, theology and medicine. At what moment does the embryo become alive? When does it become a human being? Whence comes the soul? Is abortion always a crime? What happens to aborted fetuses and stillbirths? Most interesting is van der Lugt examination of the whether the fetus needed to be extracted from its dead mother before she could be

¹⁹A summary is available online at <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00175506/fr/>> (accessed 09.i.2010).

buried. van der Lugt limits her focus to the 12th and 13th centuries, particularly examining the impact of the new Aristotelianism in the latter period. As with her earlier work, the implications of van der Lugt's study for all kinds of questions in both medicine and theology should be obvious.

van der Lugt 2008b. Maaïke van der Lugt, "L'humanité des monstres et leur accès aux sacrements dans la pensée médiévale," in *Monstres et imaginaire social. Approches historiques*, ed. A. Caiozzo and A.-E. Demartini (Paris: Créaphis, 2008), pp. 135-162; also available online at <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00175497/en/>> (accessed 06.x.2009), where a fuller version with Latin references and an abstract (also in French) are provided. A learned exploration of the question of, essentially, what made a human human. Included topics are: (1) peoples on the margins of humanity; (2) the question of whether and how conjoined twins can be baptised or marry; and (3) the identity of hermaphrodites. This is work that must be consulted in all future discussions of what constitutes the "monstrous" in the Middle Ages.

van der Lugt and Miramon 2008. Maaïke van der Lugt et Charles de Miramon, eds., *L'hérédité entre Moyen Âge et Époque moderne. Perspectives historiques* (Florence: Sismel, 2008), ISBN 978-88-8450-309-1. **Not yet seen.** The introduction to this volume is available gratis on the Web at <<http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00339425/>> (accessed 06.x.2009). Here is my partial translation of the abstract posted there: "The status of heredity in the medieval West is paradoxical. Medieval society is largely founded on heredity, through which it transmitted responsibilities, powers, functions, occupations, etc., but this sociological rule was rarely discussed or theorized. There did not yet exist in the Middle Ages a general theory of biological heredity. . . . In the life sciences, generation, not heredity, was the central concept. The stress was placed on the individual and there was little place for reflection on the physical characteristics of ethnic groups or other kinds of variety with the human species. . . . Nevertheless, the Middle Ages invented many concepts and terms which played a crucial role in the development of physical anthropology and hereditary theories. . . . The word "race," the differentiation between noble and non-noble animals (like falcons and dogs) and the idea of "noble blood" as a metaphorical expression ... were medieval creations."

Wack 1987. Mary Frances Wack, "The *Liber de heros morbo* of Johannes Afflacijs and Its Implications for Medieval Love Conventions," *Speculum* 62, no. 2 (April 1987), 324-344. An edition and translation of a brief text on lovesickness, translated from the Arabic and perhaps written by a student of Constantine the African (d. before 1098/99) in southern Italy.

Wack 1990. Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The 'Viaticum' and Its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). Takes medical approaches as its central focus as it explores the development of the concept of lovesickness in high medieval culture. An appendix includes excerpts (with English translations) from several medical texts and commentaries. This is an exemplary study of interdisciplinary work at its best.

- Wack 1994. Mary F. Wack, “‘Ali ibn al-‘Abbas al-Mağusi and Constantine on Love, and the Evolution of the *Practica Pantegni*,” in *Constantine the African and ‘Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Magusi: The ‘Pantegni’ and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 161-202. This is a very philologically dense study in which Wack attempts to determine how the terminology for love sickness developed in the production of one of the most widely disseminated medical texts of the 13th century.
- Warren 2009. Adam Warren, “An Operation for Evangelization: Friar Francisco González Laguna, the Cesarean Section, and Fetal Baptism in Late Colonial Peru,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 83, no. 4 (Winter 2009), 647-675, DOI: 10.1353/bhm.0.0302. This is a great study for seeing how long the “Middle Ages” really lasted, and for seeing how really excellent, culturally rich work can be done in the history of medicine. Here’s the abstract: “By publishing a medical-theological treatise in 1781, Friar Francisco González Laguna of Lima initiated a campaign to train Andean priests to perform postmortem cesarean sections for the purpose of baptizing the fetus. Linking González Laguna’s text to European works on cesarean sections and Peruvian decrees ordering priests to train in surgery, this paper argues the friar saw the operation’s utility as extending beyond saving unborn souls. Writing in the aftermath of indigenous and peasant uprisings, he argued the procedure constituted a tool for defeating the devil’s presence in the Andes and carrying out evangelization, teaching parishioners by pious example.” For the medieval origins of these religious motives for Caesarean section, see Park 2006 and 2008, and Taglia 2001.
- Weiss Adamson 1995a. Melitta Weiss Adamson, “A Reevaluation of Saint Hildegard’s *Physica* in Light of the Latest Manuscript Finds,” in Margaret Schleissner, ed., *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: A Book of Essays*, Garland Medieval Casebooks (New York and London: Garland, 1995), pp. 55-80. The discovery of two complete manuscripts of the *Physica* (a book describing the uses of herbs and other medicinal products) plus several fragmentary copies (two in German translation) significantly expand our knowledge of the medieval influence of Hildegard’s medicine. (Other copies have been found subsequently. Cf. Hildegard of Bingen 2008 for a new critical edition of this text.)
- Weiss Adamson 1995b. Melitta Weiss Adamson, “Der deutsche Anhang zu Hildegard von Bingens ‘Liber simplicis medicinae’ in Codex 6952 der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fol. 232v-238v),” *Sudhoffs Archiv* 79 (1995), 173-92. Provides a transcription of a late medieval German translation of part of Hildegard’s medical writings.
- Weston 1995. L. M. C. Weston, “Women’s Medicine, Women’s Magic: The Old English Metrical Childbirth Charms,” *Modern Philology* 92.3 (1995), 279-93. Argues that three Anglo-Saxon charms for assisting, respectively, pregnancy, childbirth and lactation show signs of coming directly from women’s oral traditions.
- Whitaker 1993. Elaine E. Whitaker, “Reading the Paston Letters Medically,” *English Language Notes* 31/1 (1993), 19-27. Surveys references to medicine in letters of Margaret Paston (15th cent.) and her female relatives.

Whittington 2008. Karl Whittington, “The Cruciform Womb: Process, Symbol and Salvation in Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 399,” *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art*, <<http://www.differentvisions.org/>> (ISSN 1935-5009), Issue 1 (September 2008), 1-24,²⁰ accessed 09/15/2008. Whittington examines the abstract diagrams of the male and female genital tracts in a late 13th-century English manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 399. He argues that the drawings of the female body are laid out like an image of the crucified Christ, suggesting in particular that the image embodies a male perspective for the manuscript’s viewers/readers. Readers will need to draw their own assessments of the value of Whittington’s strained analogies. Helpful to their analysis will be the following facts (none of which are noted by the author): (1) The genital images in Ashmole 399, as much as the other anatomical images in this manuscript, replicate an iconographic tradition of suspected ancient origin, which throws into question the specific medieval Christian interpretations Whittington wishes to claim for the image of the female genitals. (2) The images in Ashmole 399 are identical to those in an earlier English exemplar, Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College, MS 190/233, which dates from the 12th century, again throwing into question Whittington’s claims about the specifically *13th-century* character of Ashmole 399. Importantly, this earlier manuscript does have the explanatory text for the image of the male genitalia (as do the two other copies of this image, one now in London and the other in Pisa). It is likely, therefore, that the absence of the explanatory text from Ashmole 399 simply reflects the incomplete state of the manuscript rather than, as Whittington claims (p. 5), that “the image *requires* no labels to explain itself to the assumed male viewer” (emphasis added) and “operates more as a description of natural forms, instead of as an explanation of theories or processes, the model through which I will argue the female image functions”; these other copies were also intended for male viewers, who (in Whittington’s essentialist model) would likewise need neither labels nor explanations of male reproductive function. (3) Whittington does not have firm command over the paleography of the manuscript, and implies (p. 9) that the texts written into the open spaces surrounding the female genitalia diagram (which “sneak around the corners of the various parts of the female anatomy”) “are most likely later.” They are *most definitely* later and therefore should not be taken into account when trying to assess the original artist’s intent. Conversely, the widely-cited and reproduced clinical scenes on an inserted bifolium are not of a “later date” (n. 8), but have been determined on art-historical grounds to predate the rest of the manuscript by a quarter-century.²¹ As for Whittington’s claim that “[t]he illustrations were completed in the 1280s or 1290s” (p. 4), Malcolm Parkes already demonstrated quite definitively that the scribe who wrote the text accompanying the anatomical images was working in 1298 or early 1299;²² it is unlikely that the images of the genitalia were done much earlier than that. There are other basic errors and dated bibliography here, all of which are unfortunate since these images (and

²⁰Each article in this online journal is separately paginated.

²¹See O. Pächt & J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. III: *British School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 41.

²²M. B. Parkes, “The Hereford Map: The Handwriting and Copying of the Texts,” in *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and Their Context*, ed. P. D. A. Harvey (London: The British Library, 2006), pp. 107-17, at p. 109.

others in this ancient sequence of anatomical diagrams) really deserved a thorough art-historical treatment showing full command over the medical-historical literature.

Winer 2008. Rebecca Lynn Winer, “Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250-1300,” *Journal of Medieval History* 34, no. 2 (June 2008), 164-84, a special issue on the theme of “Conversing with the Minority: Relations Among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Women in the High Middle Ages.” Using archival records from 13th-century Perpignan and surrounding areas as well as evidence from art and devotional manuals, Winer argues that despite emphasis by Christian moralists on the virtues of maternal nursing, wealthy urban women and women of the knightly class more and more turned to wet-nurses—either paid lower class women from the surrounding countryside or slave women. She explores how this practice may have created gendered spaces for dialogue between Christian and Muslim women in particular. Indeed, Winer shows how the new availability of Muslim slaves (from Aragon’s recent conquest of Majorca) may have stimulated this shift towards greater employment of wet-nurses, which likely had effects on the fecundity of the upper classes. Importantly, Winer finds that the Christian women themselves often signed contracts with paid wet-nurses, suggesting that they had more direct control over these decisions than their counterparts in 15th-century northern Italy, who were studied in the 1980s by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. Indeed, this is probably the best study of the practice of wet-nursing since Klapisch-Zuber and should be consulted widely by anyone needing a general overview of the subject.²³ (For other essays from this special issue, see Caballero Navas 2008, Goldy 2008, Green 2008b, and Green and Smail 2008.)

Wogan-Browne 1994. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, “The Apple’s Message: Some Post-Conquest Hagiographic Accounts of Textual Transmission,” in *Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. A. J. Minnis (London: D. S. Brewer, 1994), pp. 39-53. This is a gem of an essay that examines the alternate “physical supports” by which texts could be communicated, especially among women. The “apple’s message” in this case regards the use of apples, cheese, bread and other items to be consumed, onto which were written charms or excerpts of saints’ lives. These seem to have been used especially often in childbirth, often with excerpts from the life of Saint Margaret.

Worth-Stylianou 2006. Valérie Worth-Stylianou, *Les Traités d’obstétrique en langue française au seuil de la modernité. Bibliographie critique des ‘Divers Travaulx’ d’Euchaire Rosslin (1536) à l’‘Apologie de Louyse Bourgeois sage-femme’ (1627)* (Geneva: Droz, 2006). This is an extraordinary bibliographical study that collects all available evidence for printed editions of French texts on gynecology and obstetrics from the first French translation of Eucharius Rösslin’s *Rosegarden for Pregnant Women and Midwives* (see Rösslin 1994 above) up through the first text on women’s medicine written by a woman since Trota’s work in the 12th century. This will be the definitive work in its field and is well worth consulting

²³This essay won the 2008 competition for the Best Essay Prize awarded by the Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship.

by anyone studying early modern texts on women's medicine for its nuanced observations about images, and the professional strategies of authors, translators, and publishers.

Zimmermann 2002. Karin Zimmermann, "Ein unbekannter Textzeuge der *Secreta mulierum*- und *Trotula*-Übersetzung des Johannes Hartlieb in Cod. Pal. germ. 280," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 131 (2002), 343-45. Zimmermann has discovered in the University Library in Heidelberg a major portion of a manuscript that had previously been known only in a fragmentary state, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 116, ff. Ir-IVv (an. 1528). (Cf. Green 1997, item Germ2e.) Heidelberg Cpg 116 contains only the table of contents and the preface to Johannes Hartlieb's *Das Buch Trotula*, a mid-15th-century German translation of the *Trotula*. Zimmermann identifies Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 280, ff. 4r-39v, as the lost section of Cpg 116, both manuscripts having been written by the same scribe. Cpg 280 comprises 22 chapters of Hartlieb's *Das Buch Trotula* (ff. 4r-23v), then, after a blank leaf, an incomplete version of Hartlieb's translation of the *Secreta mulierum* (ff. 25r-34r). Then follows what Zimmermann describes as a "a short gynecological recipe book," which may correspond to the Beitexte of the *Fasciculus medicinae* that Kruse has found in several other copies of Hartlieb's treatises on women. (Cf. Kruse 1996a, pp. 339-48.) Cpg 280 also provides information on the scribe of the manuscript, one Johannes Mader.

Zuccolin 2008. Gabriella Zuccolin, "Gravidanza e parto nel Quattrocento: le morti parallele di Beatrice d'Este e Anna Sforza," in *Beatrice d'Este (1475-1497)*, ed. Luisa Giordano, Quaderni di Artes, 2 (Pisa: ETS, 2008), ISBN 9788846720573, pp. 111-145. This immensely learned essay juxtaposes two very different kinds of sources, forty years apart, to reconstruct the meanings of pregnancy and birth among elite women of northern Italy in the 15th century. Zuccolin takes as her starting point the *De regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum usque ad septennium* ("On the Regimen of Pregnant Women and Newborns up to the Seventh Year"), a work by the physician Michele Savonarola from ca. 1460 which is, despite its Latin title, written in the local Ferrarese dialect and addressed to the women of Ferrara and their midwives. Zuccolin presents a very thoughtful assessment of Savonarola's real audience intentions, noting such factors as midwives' probable illiteracy, physicians' agendas, and the political concerns of both the birthing women and their husbands. Drawing on a notion first articulated by Riccardo Gualdo, Zuccolin suggests there is a "double filter" in Savonarola's text: an "operative" one between the physician, the midwife, and the birthing woman; and a linguistic one, between the physician, the male head of the household, the midwife, and the mother. Zuccolin then turns to a historical analysis of the nearly simultaneous deaths of Beatrice d'Este and Anna Sforza, both of whom died in childbirth in 1497 and both of whom were attended by the same midwife, named Fraxina, whose activities in northern Italian noble households can be traced from at least 1493 to the time of the two deaths. Zuccolin quotes amply from the original archival documents in her notes, some of which might be worth translating for use in class discussions. This is a long essay, but it well repays the effort of reading, as it innovatively and persuasively combines linguistic, rhetorical, and historical analysis.

Zuccolin 2010. Gabriella Zuccolin, "Nascere in latino ed in volgare. Tra la *Practica* ed il *De regimine*, in *Michele Savonarola: Medicina, etica e cultura di corte*, ed. Chiara Crisciani and

Gabriela Zuccolin (Florence: SISMELE/Edizioni del Galluzzo, forthcoming 2010). Comparing the Latin and vernacular gynecological writings of the Paduan and Ferrarese physician, Michele Savonarola (d. ca. 1466), Zuccolin asks the question “What is the role of vernacularization in the dissemination of Savonarola’s scientific teaching?” Her answer is that Savonarola sees his vernacular text on obstetrics and pediatrics as a means to educate his lay audience not simply on medical details (in fact, he believes that certain technical issues do not need to be known by women or the laity), but also on moral qualities about governance of self, procreation, and the proper upbringing of children. Savonarola thus serves as preacher and moralist, as well as physician. This is a splendid example of the importance of interrogating Latin and vernacular traditions simultaneously for, as Zuccolin demonstrates, they are often complementary in their agendas. (My thanks to the author for providing an advance copy of this important study, in what is sure to be the definitive collection of scholarship on Savonarola’s medical writings.)

Items that include edited primary sources and/or modern English translations (the latter indicated by an E):

Aguirre de Cárcer 1991
Barkaï 1989 (E)
Barkaï 1991
Barkaï 1998 (E)
Barratt 1992
Barratt 2001
Baumgarten 2000
Biller 2001a (E)
Bosselmann-Cyran 1985
Bos 1997 (E)
Braekman 1987
Caballero-Navas 2004 (E)
Caballero-Navas 2006
Cabr  n.d. (E)
Carolus-Barr  1979
Carrillo Linares 2006
Chardonnens 2000
Cilliers 2005 (E)
Conde Parrado 1999
Congordeau 1993
Cormack 2008 (E)
Delva 1983²⁴
Dumas 1996

²⁴This has now been superseded by Hulsker 2009.

Fischer 2002
Fischer 2004 (E)
Green 1987
Green 1992
Green 2001/2002 (E)
Green 2003
Green 2007 (E)
Green 2009b (E)
Green 2009e
Green and Mooney 2006
Green and Smail 2008 (E)
Greilsammer 1991
Hildegard of Bingen 2008
Hulsker 2009
Kruse 1996a
Kruse 1999
Kusche 1990
L'Estrange 2008
Martinez Crespo 1995
Matheson 2006
Montero Cartelle 1983
Montero Cartelle 1987
Montero Cartelle 1993
Montero Cartelle and Herrero Ingelmo 2003
Moulinier 2003
Pahta 1998
Park 2008 (E)
Raynalde 2008
Reisert 1986
Rider 2006 (E)
Roeslin 1994 (E)
Rowland 1981 (E)²⁵
Shatzmiller and Lavoie 1984
Traister 1991
Wack 1987 (E)
Wack 1990 (E)
Weiss Adamson 1995b

²⁵This is a very problematic edition: the source text is misidentified, errors in transcription are frequent, and mistranslations uncomfortably common. For the Middle English text, Green and Mooney 2006 is now to be preferred. If using Rowland's translation, it should be controlled against the latter edition and its accompanying glossary and editorial notes.