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Tirage à part
The present article forms the second and final part of my survey of Latin and vernacular manuscripts of the so-called Trotula texts. (1) I describe here all twenty-four vernacular transla-

(1) Monica H. GREEN, « A Handlist of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts, Part I: The Latin Manuscripts, » Scriptorium 50 (1996), 37-75; see also the Addendum at the end of the present article. I would like to take this opportunity to thank collectively the several scholars who have shared their research-in-progress with me and without whose aid the present analysis of the vernacular Trotulas could never have been completed: Ron Barkai, Montserrat Cabrè i Pairet, Luke Demaitre, Erwin Huizenga, Tony Hunt, and Linda
tions and Latin re-writings of the *Trotula* texts that have thus far come to my notice: i.e., the translations into Dutch (three independent translations), English (five), French (seven), German (three), Hebrew (one), Irish (one), Italian (two), Latin prose (one), and Latin verse (one). These appear in a total of sixty different manuscript copies. (2) As in Part 1, I provide the incipit and explicit of the *Trotula* text(s), a brief description of the manuscript's other contents, and information on scribes and owners (through ca. 1600). An asterisk (*) indicates that I have examined the manuscript only on microfilm or another photographic reproduction; a pound sign (#) indicates that I am citing information from a catalogue or other published description. In all other cases, I have examined the manuscript directly. In the Appendix, I list all erroneous manuscript citations in modern scholarly literature plus all misattributions or misidentifications of non-*Trotula* material in medieval manuscripts. As with the Latin manuscripts, I would appreciate it if readers would bring to my attention notices of newly-discovered manuscripts.

A. Dutch (*)

1. The earliest known Middle Dutch rendition is a heavily abridged translation of the *LSM*. (*) It is found, under the rubric *Van heymeliken medicinen in vrouwen* (Dutla), within a Middle Dutch medical compendium composed ca. 1300. The text adds a gratuitous reference to Avicenna alongside the names of Hippocrates, Galen and Cleopatra, whom the Latin *LSM* had cited as its sources. Dutla contains only the opening paragraphs (#2-4) and two other recipes. (2) Dutla, on the other hand, has #2-12, followed by selected recipes from the *LSM* interspersed with others of unidentified origin.

**MSS:** (*)


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Ehms (1994)  
Voigts. I employ in the present article the same abbreviations as used in Part I, with the following additions:

Green (1992)  
Monica H. Green, *Obstetrical and Gynecological Texts in Middle English*, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 14 (1992), 53-88.

Kruse (1996)  

(2) These total numbers correct those originally announced in Part I of the article. One additional German translation has since come to light (Germ3) and two additional ms of translations previously known to me (Eng4b and Fren2111a, respectively). I have also determined that the Catalan text called *Trotula* is in fact of completely independent origin; see the Appendix below.

(3) I have not yet examined several additional Dutch gynecological and cosmetic texts noticed in Jansen-Sieben's *Repertorium*. Some of these may well prove to be derived from the *Trotula*, e.g., Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 11 E 42 (s. xvii), *Dit is van heimelicken medicinen der vrouwen wende oeren gebreken, inc.*: *So salmen weten dat die vrouwen crancker sein van naturen dan die mannen ...* (p. 216).

(4) It is not clear which version was used. The reading of *xx. maenden* (= *xx. menses*) in #9 is found only in two copies of the transitional ensemble (ms 73 and its apograph, ms 79), in three copies of the intermediate ensemble (ms 12, 63, 110), and in two copies of the revised ensemble (ms 106 and 119).

(5) These latter two recipes (beginning in Daems #144 with the words *mer smeer omtrent*) are also found in Dutla, though in different order (ll. 189-196 and 170-178, respectively).

(6) Although there are at least sixteen other ms of the *Boec van medicinen* (see Jansen-Sieben, *Repertorium*, p. 32), the gynecological section is found in only the two listed here.
b. *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2818, ff. 266va-268va (ca. 1490, Brabant), inc.: <Secreta mulierum> Want vrouwen vele crancker zijn dan die mannen van naturen ...; expl.: ... dat maket die vulua die groot js mee gelijck oft een maget waer. Probatum est. Other contents: nine gynecological recipes (f. 214ra-b) and Dut2 (ff. 284ra-299vb); texts in Latin and Dutch on alchemy, medicine, astronomy and astrology. Described: Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis, Tabulae codicis manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis asservatorum, 11 vols. (Vienna: Caroli Geroldi filius, 1864-1912), 1:137-8; Jansen-Sieben, pp. 472-477. (7)

2. The so-called Der Mannen ende Vrouwen Heimelijckheit (the only documented title is the closing Latin rubric Expliciunt mulierum secreta in Dut2a) (8) was composed in the first half of the 14th century. It is a rhymed verse text, over 2300 lines long, (9) on generation. It seems to draw in part on the pseudo-Albertian Secreta mulierum, the pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum secretorum, and the pseudo-Galenic De spermate. Its largest debt is to the gynecological and obstetrical sections of the Trotula ensemble. The version used was the meretrices group (cf. particularly the anatomical passage attributed to Alexander, II. 1566-1663 of De Pauw’s edition). (10) There is, however, no reference here to «Trotula» either as author or title, nor is there any allusion to prostitutes.

MSS:


b. *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2818, ff. 284ra-299vb (ca. 1490, Brabant), inc.: God maecten den man na sijne werden / ende vanden lyme ende vander erden ...; (l. 953, beg. of LSM) God is maker van alre dingen / Hy besceyt ons sonderlinge / Jnt begynsell der

(7) My deepest thanks to Erwin Huizenga of the University of Groningen for bringing this important ms to my attention and, especially, for sharing with me his draft transcripts of Dut1b and Dut2b. I follow his foliation, which corrects that in Jansen-Sieben’s Repertorium. On this ms, see Erwin Huizenga, Vanden XII teikenen des hemels: Mogelijkheden en moeilijkheden bij de localisering van een Middelnederlands codex met gebruik van horoscopen, in H. van Dijk, et al. (edd.), In de zevende hemel: Opstellen voor P.E. L. Verkuyl ooer literatuur en kosmos (Groningen: Passage, 1993), pp. 44-51; IDEM, ‘Die conste vanden almenack’: Astronomie in een Middelnederlands verzamelhandschrift, Queeste: Tijdschrift over Middeleeuwse Letterkunde 1 (1994), 12-33; and idem, ‘Hoe mense noemt in latijnmen metten duytscye’: Tweetaligheid in een Middelnederlands artes-handschrift, in Paul Wackers, ed., Verraders in Bruggenbouwers: Verkenningen naar de relatie tussen Latinitas en Middelnederlands letterkunde (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996), pp. 151-87 and 307-322.

(8) The text itself does, however, regularly set up parallels between men and women in such phrases as «heimlijch» of mannen ende van vrouwen « or «beide van mannen ende van wiven «; see, e.g., ed. De Pauw, II, 27-8, 50, 583, 955.

(9) De Pauw’s edition of Dut2a has 2335 lines; Dut2b has 2316 lines. Dut2b lacks the first 50 lines found in Dut2a (a prayer invoking Adam). Each copy, furthermore, has additional lacunae vis-à-vis the other.

(10) The phrasing of ll. 1041-43, «Uuten boeke van Ypocras/Ende uute Galienus bede,Ende met der Gods hulpe mede, « suggests that the translator has conflated readings from the revised or standardized ensemble (ex libris Ypocratis et Galieni deo prestante) but otherwise the text bears the distinctive features of the meretrices group.
3. The Middle Dutch Liber Trotula is a very free translation and adaptation of gynecological and obstetrical selections from the Trotula standardized ensemble. (13) It is found in three mss, each of which presents a strikingly different redaction. Both the Brugge and the Copenhagen manuscripts begin with interpolated discussions of female anatomy and physiology. The rest of the Brugge manuscript is a translation of the Trotula; in general it follows the order of the chapters in the ensemble, though periodically it moves relevant chapters of the DCM forward. The Copenhagen manuscript, in contrast, incorporates several chapters from the same translation of the Trotula, but it presents a fuller text, arranged in a different order: starting with conception and problems of fertility, it moves on to pregnancy, care of the newborn, difficulties of birth and removal of the afterbirth; then it addresses uterine diseases and menstrual conditions, ending with a chapter on the breasts. The Trotula excerpts are supplemented by material translated from Muscio's Gynaecia and other sources. (12) A third manuscript, now in Hamburg, has many passages in common with both the Brugge and the Copenhagen mss. The Hamburg text, however, presents the work as the direct teachings of Albert (i.e., Albertus Magnus), sometimes using the first person ("ic Albertus"), sometimes the third person ("Albertus seu"); all references to "Trotula" are suppressed. It incorporates new material, including sections from the pseudo-Albertan Secreta multierum and the gynecological sections from Albucasis' treatise on surgery. (13) All three versions are ostensibly addressed to a female audience. Each manuscript has illustrations of pessaries and instruments for fumigation; the Hamburg ms (in the Albucasis section) also has illustrations of surgical instruments.

**MSS:**


(11) The text in Dut3a, for example, has several readings found only in the standardized ensemble, particularly the characteristic word doubling of that version: e.g., p. 164, "Rufus ende Galienus = W6, Ruffus et Galenius"; p. 167, "te rume ende te seere = W29, ample et aperete"; p. 171, "die welke materie comt ... ofte van haren natuerliken sale ofte etere = W160, fluxus apostematis uit spermatis". Dut3b, however, shows some signs of having been compared to another version as well, perhaps the independent LSM. In its first chapter (Kusche ed., p. 141-42), for example, it cites Constantine for the opinion that women with small uterine openings ought not engage in sexual activity (W83). Constantine's name was changed to "Galienus" in the proto-ensemble.

(12) Kusche's comparison of the Copenhagen and Brugge mss (pp. 92-103) is largely unhelpful as she neither provides a proper analysis of either version's Latin sources nor identifies the precise passages that both copies share. For a collation of one section from the Copenhagen and Brugge mss, see Robert Reisert, Der siebenkammerige Uterus: Studien zur mittelalterlichen Wirkungsgeschichte und Entfaltung eines embryologischen Gebärmuttermodells, Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen, Band 39 (Pattensen/Han.: Horst Wellm, 1986), pp. 61-62 and 93-99. For further addenda to Kusche's edition, see the review of Bernhard D. Haage and Hans Jeseke in Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen 9 (1991), 449-59.

(13) The section from Albucasis has been edited by Brigitte Kusche, "Laatmiddelnederlandse Fragmenten uit de Chirurgie van Albucasis, Verslagen en mededelingen, Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde (Gent, 1980), pp. 370-420.

(14) For the incipit I follow the description in de Poorter's catalog, which differs at one point from Delva's transcription. Delva argues (following the cataloguer) that the text here is incomplete (the last four and a half pages having been cut-out-according to Delva, for moral reasons), but as Albert Derolez pointed out in his review of Delva's edition (Scriptorium 38 [1984], 175-77) the text on the last page of the ms (f. 18v; cf. Delva ed. p. 206) is in a larger script and lacks the decoration that characterizes the rest of the text. As Derolez suspected, this last page of text (three recipes for provoking the menses) does not come from the Trotula and is instead clearly an addition. Thus, no more than a few final lines of the Trotula (and perhaps none) are missing from the severed f. 18r. See also Derolez's review for a critique of Delva's dating of the ms, transcription errors, etc.
b. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 1657, ff. 1r-36r (s. xv med., (15) perhaps Brabant), inc.: Dit siin die Cappittelen navolgheende van desen boeke ende elc op hem seluen [list of 24 chapters]. Allen vrouwen ende Joffrouwen die dit lesen selen oft hoeren biddic ...

(15) Kusche dates this post 1430 (p. 10). In a description by Prof. Dr. W. L. de Vreese (a copy of which was kindly provided to me by Dr. A. Th. Bouwmán of the Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta) it should be dated ca. 1460.

(16) Again, this information comes from the description of Dr. de Vreese.

(17) Beryl Rowland (Medieual Woman’s Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook [Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1981]) referred to the Middle English gynecological text that she published from London, British Library, MS Sloane 2463 as an “English Trotula.” The Sloane text is actually The Sekenesse of Wyommen 2, the second of two versions of a translation of the gynecological and obstetrical chapters from Gilbertus Anglicus’s Compendium medicinae. Sekenesse 2 does, however, incorporate several brief selections on uterine prolapse and fertility from the Trotula near the end (Rowland ed., p. 164, l. 31-1 p. 168, l. 37 = DCM 7149-150 and LSM 7149-129 [oddly conflated with other material], 75, 75a, 76 and 77). See also the entry for London, Royal College of Surgeons, MS 129 a.i.5 in the Appendix below. More detailed descriptions of the Middle English Trotula translations and the Sekenesse of Wyommen can be found in Green (1992). The texts here designated Engl-5 correspond, respectively, to Trotula Translations A, B, D, E, and C in that article; I have changed their ordering here to better reflect their probable chronology of composition. For all Middle English texts cited, I have transcribed thorns with th and yoghbs as y, g, or gh as appropriate.

(18) Compare, for example, the opening passages. Fren21a, f. 246vb: Quant dex nostre seignor out le mund estore sor tote creature, si fist home raisnable, puis li dona seignorie de totes terriennes choses. Si commanda a creatre et a multeplier, et establi ke des deus uendreit le tierz, et del cors del home, qui plus est de chaude nature et de seche, istreit la semence; en la feme, ke plus est de freide nature et de mole, la receureit et par la temprement del chalt et del freit et del sec et del moisite creistriet li enes. Ies quare choses sunt necessaire as herbes et as arbres et as blez. Mais pour ce ke les feme sunt de plus fieble qualite ke li ome, et omt gneiron travauil denfart, pour ce lor auient plorus enfermenetz ke as homes et maisement ke as membris qui a l’engendreure apertienent. Et pour ce ke feme sunt plus huntoes de dire lor enfermenetz as homes ke as feme, si lor faz icest livre en language ke eles lentendront que les unes sachen les autres aident. Iiien sachen que je i met del mielz ke lor besoigne a lor enfermenetz que je ai trouue des diz Ypocras et Galien et Costentin et Cleopatras, et ici troueront dont li mal uientes et comant porront guarir.

Eng1b, ff. 157r-v: Owor lord god whan he had storyd the world of all creatures he made man and womann ressonabel creature and bad hem wax and multiplye and ordenet that of them xald cum the thyrd. And that is of the man that is made of hote and dry natur scheld com the seede, and of the womann that is made of colde nater and moyst schelde resveve the seede so that be the tempere of colde and moyst, het and drye, the chyld xal be engendereiryght as we se tres, cornys and herbys mowe not groww without ressonabel temper[ing] of the .iii. complexciones. And for as mech as womenn be more febel and colde be natur than men ben and have greter travel in chyldyng, therfor fallyth often to them mo diverse sekenes than to men, and namly to the membris that be longyng to ingendereyng. Therfor in worchep of ower lady and of all the seynts I thynke to do myn intent and
(a compilation drawn primarily from Muscio’s Gynaecia), the Gynaecia Cleopatrae (\textsuperscript{19}) and other sources, (\textsuperscript{20}) with considerable theoretical embellishments by the translator-adaptor. It covers a broad range of gynecological conditions, and it incorporates (from the Non omnes quidem) substantial sections on obstetrical procedures and neonatal care. It shares a passage in common with a fourteenth-century English translation of a Muscio adaptation regarding amenorrhea in nuns, though whether these two works have any direct historical relation remains to be determined. (\textsuperscript{21}) The Knowing of Womans Kynde is addressed to women, with a warning to male readers that they not use the text for slandering women. Excerpts from Engle (\textsuperscript{21} Latin Trotula 11-3, plus other material) have been edited by Alexandra Barratt in Women’s Writing in Middle English, Longman Annotated Texts (London and New York: Longman, 1992), pp. 29-35.

**MSS:**

a. *Cambridge, University Library, MS li.VI.33, ff. 33r-68r (s. xv), inc.: Ower Lord God whan he had storid the word [sic] of all creatures ...; expl.: ... and than a man shal do cure hem be no cuttyng ner be no fire. Followed immediately by «a medycyne prouyd for the white flores of wyf or maydyn» (as in Eng1c), ending: ... and wel on hir body a litill a boue hire share. Explicit. Other contents: gynecological and other recipes added at end; later bound with another pamphlet containing the «Boke Rota» (Eng3a). Described: A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 5 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856-67; retd. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, and Munich, Kraus, 1980), 3:532.

b. London, British Library, MS Additional 12195, ff. 157r-185r (s. xv\textsuperscript{2}), inc.: Her folowyth the knowyng of womans kynde and chyldyng. Ower lord God whan he had storid the warld ...; expl.: ... mayst not cut them ner ser theme. The chapters on choosing a nurse, care of the infant, and apostemes are much abbreviated. Followed immediately in a new hand by three more gynecological recipes: «A medysynge to bryng the modyr in her ryght place» ... and mak worts ther of, and vs it daylye’tyle that sche be hall. Other contents: ff. 122-190 (formerly a separate manuscript) contain English medical recipes (including two obstetrical recipes on f. 142v) and astrological and prognostic material; later bound with notarial documents, liturgical texts, a grammatical treatise, and prayers, mostly in Latin. Described: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library, 1841-43 (London: British Museum, 1850), 7:50-51; David Thomson, A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts (New York and London: Garland, 1979), pp. 193-211; Peter Brown and Elton D. Higgs, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist V: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Additional Collection (10001-14000) (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988), pp. 45-51.

c. —, —, MS Sloane 421A, ff. 2r-25v (ante 1530), inc.: Our Lord God when he had stored the worlde ...; expl.: ... and then a man shal doo no cure by cuttyng nor by no fire. Followed by «a medycyne prveued for whit floers of wyff or of mayd» (as in Eng1a), ending: ... and well one her body a lytell above her share. Other contents: brief English «regiment of helthe» for body and soul, followed by two English recipes for delivering a woman of a dead fetus. Described: Cat. Sloan., 1:78.

d. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483 (SC 2062), ff. 82r-103v (s. xv med.), inc.: Our Lord God when he had stored the world ...; expl.: ... and then a man shal doo cure hem by no bessynes for to schew after the french and latyn the diveris of the maladys and the signes that ye schall know theme by and the cures helpnyng to theme after the tretys of diveris masteris. And therfor every womann redet vnto other that can not so do and helpe hem and concell theme in her maladys without schewyng her deseys unto mann.«

\textsuperscript{19} On the Gynaecia Cleopatrae and the Non omnes quidem, see Part I, nn. 16 and 60. The reference to Dam Fabyan Priciall in an emmenagouge near the end of the text refers to a recipe in the Non omnes quidem.

\textsuperscript{20} Among these, interestingly, is an emmenagouge «that a lady of servelne vsyd.» I have thus far been unable to identify this in either the Trotula texts or any remedy attributed in other Salernitan texts to the mulieres Salernitane.

\textsuperscript{21} See Green (1992), p. 86.
cuttyng ne by no fyer. Followed with no break by seven more gynecological recipes (as in Eng1e), ending (f. 104v):...gyffe to the paciens j d worthe or more. This is to putoute the secundyne or aftrybyrth. Other contents: followed immediately (ff. 104v-116r) by an anonymous Middle English andrological and gynecological text; then (ff. 116v-117r) by two additional gynecological recipes in different hands. Also contains English herbal; miscellaneous recipes in English and Latin. Owners: inscription of "Jhon Barcke" ca. 1500 on f. 117v; probably owned in the later sixteenth century by John Twynne of Canterbury (d. 1581). (24) Described: Summ. Cat., 2/1:190-91.

e. —, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611), ff. 1r-37v (s. xv in.), inc.: [O]vre Lorde God whan he had storid the worlde ...; expl.: ... and than a mann schall do curys to hem by no cuttyng ne by no fyer. Followed with no break by seven more gynecological recipes (as in Eng1d), ending (f. 39r): ... Thys is to putte out the secundine or aftyr byrth. Only text in codex. Described: Summ. Cat. 4:500; and Laurel Braswell, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist IV: A Handlist of Douce Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 12-13.

2. The Liber Trotuli (sic) is a highly condensed and rearranged translation of selections from the intermediate Trotula ensemble. It is currently known from a unique manuscript. (25) The manner of abbreviation shows concern to extract the therapeutic essentials from the text; in this respect, the Liber Trotuli conforms well with the other collections of experimenta in the manuscript. It is not clear whether the absence of all the obstetrical material from the LSM is a deliberate omission or the result of what appears to be a lacuna between ff. 203v and 204r. Notably, however, of the thirteen DCM obstetrical chapters, only three addressing postpartum complaints appear here. (26) The Liber Trotuli is the only one of the five English translations to include many of the cosmetic as well as the obstetrical and gynecological remedies. Some excerpts (= Latin text ¶305f, 307, 308 and 309) have been edited by Barratt in Women's Writing in Middle English, pp. 35-38.

MS:

a. London, British Library, MS Additional 34111, ff. 197r-217v (s. xv1), inc.: Here bygynneth a boke that is clepid Liber Trotuli. Sithen that god of his grete grace and souereyn leche ...; expl. (¶310a): ... and do to thes pouder of crowlek and smerewort and of white mustard and do enoymt the face. Explicit liber trotuli. Other contents: originally 18 medical texts in Middle English (the last three of which have been lost), mostly experimenta of various authors. (27) Described: Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1888-1893 (London: British Museum, 1894), pp. 198-200. Cited: Singer, * Handlist, * card 204.

3. The Middle English text entitled Secreta mulierum is a very literal translation of selected chapters from the proto-ensemble that had circulated in Latin under the title Trotula maior de secretis mulierum. (See Latin ms 48 for a list of contents.) Whether this abbreviated Latin redaction originated in Flanders (where Latin ms 48 was written late in the fifteenth century) or in England is unknown, though the habit of referring to gynecological literature as secretula mulierum was more common on the Continent. There is nothing in this translation to suggest it was intended for a female audience.


(23) Eng2a is the only copy of all mss of the Trotula, Latin or vernacular, to cast Trotula into a masculine (or possibly neuter) form. ¶151 with the anecdote about Trotula's maternity is not included here, so it is impossible to know whether the translator or scribe was deliberately trying to suppress Trotula's feminine identity.

(24) That is, ¶149 (much abbreviated), 229 and 230.

(25) In Green (1992), pp. 60 and 68, I followed the statement of the cataloguer in suggesting that this ms was prepared by or for Master William Somers. On further consideration, it has occurred to me that the references to Somers may refer to the experimenta of a 13th (?)-century physician, William de SUMERE; on the latter, see Talbot & Hammond, p. 416. It still seems to me likely, however, that Eng2a, a massive compilation (originally some 250 folios), was intended for a professional practitioner.
NOTES ET MATÉRIAUX

MSS:


b. London, British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff. 100r-105r (s. xv), inc.: Right so wommen with owte her ffloourys schulle lakke the office of concepcion ...; expl.: ... and sche schall be deluyeryd therof in schort tyme with owte dowte. Expliciunt secreta mulierum. Lacks prologue and part of first chapter; lacuna between chapters on provoking the menses and conception (cf. Eng3a f. 7r, line 30 to f. 72v, line 15), apparently due to loss of a one or more leaves between ff. 100 and 101. Codex as it is now bound also contains a fragment of Eng4 (see below); and on f. 108r: A goode drynke for wommennenes white ffloours. Other contents (in many hands): medical recipes and texts on medicine, astrology and alchemy in Latin and Middle English. Described: Cat. Sloan., 19-20.

c. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. misc. c. 66, ff. 83r-86v (s. xv ex.), inc.: Uhan god the maker of all thinges in the firsttordinaire of the worlde ...; expl.: ... and sche schall be deluyeryd therof in schort tyme etc. Other contents of this pamphlet (ff. 75-91): Middle English commentary on Giles of Corbeil's De urinis; medical recipes in Latin and Middle English, some of the latter having been added by Humphrey Newton himself. Later bound by Newton with miscellaneous leaves containing legal and notarial notes, poems (mainly by Newton himself), and various notes, recipes, and brief tracts. Owner: Humphrey Newton (1466-1536), a Cheshire country gentleman and minor poet. Described: Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London: G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1871), p. 80; typescript catalogue at Bodleian Library, published in Rossell Hope Robbins, « The Poems of Humfrey Newton, Esquire, 1466-1536 » Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America 65 (1950), 249-81, at p. 257, n. 43.

4. A fourth translation of the LSM (probably from the proto-ensemble) (26) is known from a fifteenth-century fragment (¶116, less ¶102-3, and 106-110) and a complete copy in a manuscript from the second half of the sixteenth century. (27) For the most part, the text is a fairly literal rendering of the LSM. If Eng4b reflects the original version, however, this compiler has also added new material, such as the Plinian account of the noxious properties of the menses (new here in ¶3) and aphrodisiacs intended as aids to conception. This compiler has also rearranged some material, moving the final section on conception (¶129-131) forward to follow the other material on that topic (i.e., ¶74-78). Interestingly, a lacuna (obviously unnoticed by the scribe of Eng4b) has caused the loss of the latter half of ¶114 through the first half of ¶91; the text recommences almost exactly where the fragment in Eng4a begins. (28) The lacuna is especially intriguing since the missing passages contained the contraceptives (¶83-87). The final peculiarity of this translation is its attribution. * Trotula * is used here as the title, while one « Iohn of Burgwen » is credited with its authorship.

(26) Unusual is the appearance of the name of Constantine in ¶2 of Eng4b (which here opens the text). Two Latin manuscripts of the proto-ensemble, mss 81 and its apograph, ms 65 (both of English provenance), have this reading, too. In Eng4b, the passage reads « therfor the maker of this bok haius drawn and compiled this bok to the healp and remedy of woman and for their dysses owt of thir bukes of Ypocrac, Galen and Constantine the whilk buk declares and shewes the dysses and the remedy of womens seknes, both the cause and the cyure. » (27) My thanks to Linda Ehram Voigt for bringing this important manuscript to my attention and sharing her notes with me, and to Dr. Kate Harris of Longleat House for kindly providing me with a transcript of the chapter headings and a microfilm on very short notice. (28) Eng4b, f. 40r, line 18, lacuna between « mastyke » (¶81) and « vyolotte » (¶91).
This ascription is nowhere documented in the extant Latin manuscripts of the *Trotula* and it is not entirely clear to whom it refers. There is a John of Burgundy (Bourgogne) from the fourteenth century who wrote a Latin tract on epidemic diseases, and who may or may not be the same as John de Mandeville, alleged author of the infamous *Voyages of John Mandeville.*

**MSS:**

a. London, British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff. 106r-107v (s. xv), *inc.* (f. 91): to drink oximel. Also geue her to drinke the poudre of absinthij ...; *expl.* (f. 116): ... and drawe to the matryx and geue her concoccion. (29) A loose bifolium. For other contents and description, see entry under Eng3b above.

b. *Longleat House (Warminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 333 (s. xvi*²), ff. 33r-43v, *inc.*: Quidam [r]actatus defectis mulierum bonus et vitalis [sic]. This boke is called Trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyuers bukes of phesik. (f. 2) For as mykyll as woman ar mor febeler than men & in partes mor greved with dyuers sycknesses & dyssesses ...; *expl.* ... maik a pissaryse of mynt calemynt savery hylworth and muske with castoreum and putt this into the marix matrixe [sic] and let hir smell assaffitida and rew. This hav I proved to be wounderfull good. Now her endes this noble tretes of the privatys of women that ys called in sum langwag mat'telle and in oder matrics and ypoticaries and that may be sone sped. Ffynis. None of the material from the middle of f. 41v (following f. 123) to the end comes from the *Trotula*. Other contents: a variety of Middle English medical and astrological texts, including tracts on herbs, urines, and miscellaneous recipes. No published description.

5. The « Boke mad [by] a woman named Rota » is a free translation of random chapters of the *LSM* and *DCM*. It may have been composed as late as the early sixteenth century, the date of the two extant manuscripts. The opening table of contents lists six subheadings (« slypyng out of the matrice »; « rysyng of the matrice »; « wythstandyng of the flowris »; « flyx of the flyours »; « letyng of concevynge »; and « hardenes of deliueryng in tyme of travell »). Both copies, however, include more material than this. Eng5a omits the contraceptive recipes that are found in Eng5b (p. 357); Eng5a also has a lacuna (perhaps due to the loss of one or more leaves) between ff. 18v and 19r (cf. Eng5b p. 361, l. 13). Eng5a appends material on topics ranging from inguinal hernias to gardening tips to treating people who talk in their sleep. It is also, unlike Eng5b, addressed to female readers. Some excerpts from Eng5a (= Latin text W74, 75, 78, and 78b/77) have been edited by Alexandra Barratt in *Women's Writing in Middle English*, pp. 38-39.

**MSS:**

a. *Cambridge, University Library, MS li.VI.33, ff. 1r-32v (s. xvi), *inc.*: This boke mad a woman named Rota [sic] of the priue sicknesses that long to a woman, with medicynes to helpe them in ther neade. [preface]: The matrice of a woman ys cause oft tymes of ther secknesse ... [list of six chapters]; [text] Sleppynge downe of the matrice is thow be noght so conyng to wirk by your ... whenn it falleth over lowe downe ...; *expl.* (f. 218): ... and therin holde thi handes a whyle and thow shalt se the worms crepe out. Other contents: originally an independent pamphlet; later bound with Eng1a. Described: A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 3:532. Cited: Singer, *Handlist*, card 201.

b. *Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403 (V.3.1), pp. 347-363 (no pp. 355-56) (an. 1544), *inc.*: [title, later hand]: De morbis muliebrium. [heading]: Assit principio...
santa maria meo. [preface]: Thys booke was drowne owtwe of dyuere boks of medycyns concernynge the dessessus of women bye one experthe in the anothamy and speyvall concernynge the parts of a womane and the desses to them ofte tymes bee happenynge wher in schalbe schewyd monye of ther dessessys and remedys for the same bye the grace of gode. And in asmyche as that the matrice the wyche that women for the lake of knolge calle ther maris ... [list of six chapters]; [text] The sclyppynge owtt of a womans matrice ys whene thatt ytt fals ouere lowe downe ...; expl.: ... and soo warme goo thow to thye beede and take thy reste &c. Finis huius. Other contents: John of Arderne, Practica (in Middle English); a compilation of plasters and ungueus in Latin and Middle English. Owner: copied by Robert Green of Welby in 1544 for his own use. Described: J. Young & P. Henderson Aitken, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1908), pp. 321-22.

G. French (31)

1. Les Secrès de femmes is a free French translation of the Tractatus de egritudinibus mulierum in octosyllabic and alexandrine verse, probably dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. It was probably composed on the Continent, though the sole extant copy was written in England and bears Anglo-Norman features. Either it derives from a fuller text of the TEM than we now possess or it represents a conflation of the TEM and LSM 1. After about 46 opening lines of new material on marital sexual relations, it offers a very free adaptation of the chapters on infertility and its treatment, contraceptives, aids for expelling the dead fetus, and signs for determining the sex of the fetus (ff. 74, 75a, 76, 78b, 78c, 83-86, 94, 101, 100, 114). A fuller analysis will appear in Monica H. Green and Tony Hunt, « Les secrès de femmes : An Anglo-Norman Text on Fertility » (forthcoming).

MS:

a. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.20 (1044), ff. 21rb-23rb (s. xii2, England): <Les secrès de femmes> Ypocras dit et enseigne / les raisons de femme beraigne / Auaant mauidst tot sodomite / Ke femme laisse a home habite ...; expl.: ... Auques uaut uiaires / Enplaisaunt ses aferes. Fren3a also appears in this ms (ff. 216r-235v). Other contents (in French unless otherwise noted): Physique rimee; two translations of Roger Frugardi's Chirurgia; (32) Latin text of the same; Johannes Platearius, Practica brevis; De instructione medici; 172 octosyllabic verses on beauty treatments for women; (33) numerous recipes; incomplete treatise on confession. Described: Paul Meyer, Les manuscrits français de Cambridge. III. Trinity College O.1.20, Traités de...(31) An Anglo-Norman cosmetic text composed sometime in or before the second half of the thirteenth century (ed. Pierre Rueelle, L'Ornement des Dames (Ornatus mulierum): Texte anglo-normande du X11e siècle. Le plus ancien recueil en français de recettes médicales pour les soins du visage, publié avec une introduction, une traduction, des notes et un glossaire, Bruxelles: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1967) shows some signs of influence from the Trotula texts. The prologue to the text echoes that of the LSM (e.g., the framing creation story and the citation of Galen, Constantine, and Hippocrates as its authorities). Its cap. XII corresponds to DCM ¶217f (= ensemble ¶271), cap. XXV to DOM ¶243, and cap. XXXIX to DCM ¶175. Actually, these last two correspond even more closely to the Practica secundum Trotam, suggesting that the many references in the Anglo-Norman text to « Dame Trot » are not sheer fiction but an accurate reflection of one of the text's sources. Further discussion of several of the French Trotula translations described below can be found in Monica H. Green, « Traité tout de ménonges »: The Secrès des dames, 'Trotula,' and Attitudes Towards Women's Medicine in 14th- and Early 15th-Century France, in Marilynn Desmond, ed., Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); (32) For reproductions of the illustrations accompanying the second of these translations, see Tony Hunt, The Medieval Surgery (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992).

(33) This has elements in common with the Salernitan DOM, but it is not a direct translation. See J. R. Gillesland, Eight Anglo-Norman Cosmetic Recipes: MS. Cambridge, Trinity College 1044, Romania 109 (1988), 50-67. Most of these same cosmetic recipes are also found within the Physique rimee in Cambridge, St. John's College, MS D.4 (James 79), ff. 83rb-99rb. The two versions are edited together in Tony Hunt, Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 204-7, 215-6.

2. The second French translation, in this case of *LSM* I alone, would eventually evolve into three different versions, what I call here Redaction I, Redaction II, and Redaction III. Redaction I, the original form of the text, is a fairly literal prose translation of *LSM* I. It was later to serve as the basis for a Middle English translation (Eng1), and was very probably also the source for an Anglo-Norman verse rendition (Fren3). If this latter identification is correct, its composition could be situated in the first half of the thirteenth century. None of the extant mss gives the full text, but comparison of Fren2Ia, the most complete copy, with the other mss suggests the fidelity of the original translation. (34)

Redaction II is a later abbreviation and rewriting of the text. Although most of the main topics of the original version are included (¶1-4, 6-8, 10-11, 19, 25, 29, 30, 45, 47-48, 52, 54, 56, 59-62, 68, 70, 74-77, 83-84, 87-88, 91, 101, 104-105, and 114), the text is abbreviated in such a way as to stress women’s diseases only as far as they affect fertility. The prefatory material in both manuscripts, moreover, situates the material amid concerns with generation. Redaction II incorporates such novelties as the intriguing addition of “Helayne li mere Constentin” to the list of authorities from whom the text was drawn; both she and “la roine Aelis” are personally credited with testing certain remedies. (35) In Redaction II (as in Fren2Ib), the original preface’s claim to a female audience was suppressed. Redaction II also suppresses any reference to women’s unwillingness to bare their ills to male physicians out of shame. There is nothing, in other words, to suggest address directly to women.

Redaction III is found in a unique manuscript from the early 16th century. The introductory section of this tract on generation derives from Redaction II (= ¶1-4), but thereafter the text diverges completely from the *LSM* to go into a novel discourse on the causes of infertility. Several remedies (none of which derives from the *LSM*) are then preferred. (36)

As with most copies of the original independent *LSM*, in none of these mss is the text called or attributed to Trota or “Trotula.”

**Redaction I – MSS:** (37)

a. London, British Library, MS Sloane 3525, ff. 246v-253r (s. xiv in., region of Paris), inc.: Quant Dex nostre Seignor out le mund estoré ...; *expl.: ...* (= ¶88c) Iceste meene tolt lauortier et la ventosite quant feme est venuen a tens’ d’auoir enfant. The text here has a few minor lacunae vis-à-vis 21b and 21c. Other contents (all in French): Aldobrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*; *L’Ordre de médecine et de diète*; Johannes Afflacius on fevers; short tract on medicinal herbs; *Circa instans*; recipes; Roger Frugardi, *Chirurgia*; tract on urines; Salernitan deontological tract; weights and measures; *Antidolorum Noms*; *Antidolorarium Nicholai*; Constantinus Africanus, *De melancholia*; more recipes. Owner?: the inscription “Williamus Pauli” is found on f. 259r in a 15th-century English hand. Described: Paul Meyer, *Manuscripts médicaux en Français*, *Romania* 44 (1915-17), 161-214, at pp. 182-214 (includes partial transcription of the text).

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(34) Fren2Ic, though it has only excerpts, goes one paragraph beyond the end point of Fren2Ia. Since Fren3, which almost certainly derives from this version, has the full text through ¶114, it would seem that the original translation was in fact complete.

(35) In Fren2Ia two remedies are said to have been made by Hippocrates for the queen of Spain (ff. 17v [¶25] and 18v [¶59]). In Fren2Ib the efficacy of the second remedy is said to have been proven by “la roine dengle-terre quant elle fu femme le roi de france” (f. 124v), apparently a reference to Eleanor of Aquitaine.

(36) The novelty of this redaction of the *LSM* is paralleled and complemented by the redaction of Aldobrandino of Siena’s *Régime du corps* which immediately precedes the *LSM* in Fren2IIa. Here, the redactor has reworked and drastically expanded Part 1, cap. 7 of the *Régime* to create an “enseignement de medicine” dedicated to sexual relations. It is addressed to both men and women. See Françoise Fery-Hue, “*Le Régime du corps d’Aldobrandin de Sienne*: tradition manuscrite et diffusion,” in *Actes du 110e congrès national des Sociétés savantes* (Montpellier, 1985), *Section d’histoire médiévale et de philologie*, t. 1: Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1987), pp. 113-34.

(37) See also Fren2IIb below.
b. —, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 546, Miscellanea Medica XX, ff. 46vb-49vb (s. xiv med.), *inc.*: <Or est bon asauoir porquoy femmes ont icelle maladie que len apelee fleurs et que les benefient.> Diex nostre sire quant il ot le secle estore ... *expl.* (breaks off in ¶78a): ... autre poudre face de cheue si le boiu. Although the text is heavily abridged, on occasion this ms gives fuller readings than Fren21a. Other contents (in French except where noted): Aldobrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*; Hippocratic text on urines; Isaac Judaeus, *De dietis*; *Glossulae quatuor magistorum*; Giordanus Rufus, *Livre de marieschalerie* (on horses); Latin tract on chiroancy; and other recipes in Latin. Owners: the name Saudon (?) is written on the verso of the first fly-leaf in an early s. xv hand; on the verso of the second fly-leaf in a 16th- or 17th-cent. hand is written: «Ce present liure appartient a Berthellemey le Roy demeurant paris en la Rue de la riviere au dit lieu au lougis de monsieur de Vignaulx.» Described: S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*, vol. 1 (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1962), pp. 408-9.

c. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 693, ff. 181v-183r (s. xiii/xiv), *inc.*: J'en nostre seigneur quant il ot le munde estore ... *expl.* (¶89): ... e que la marriz od ses vertuz gette lenfant fors del lit que lem apele rerefas. Includes only the prologue, the first few sections on menstruation (¶1-8), and material on fertility (¶75, 75a [followed by two additional recipes], 76, 78a-b, 83, 86, 88, 88a and 89). Followed immediately by several recipes to test or promote fertility: A sauoir si la femme ad conceue, boiuet hermoise ... Semence de panage bu od vin u od ceruoise maismes ceo fait. Other contents (in Latin and French): tracts on astrology and computus; and medical and surgical texts, including miscellaneous recipes and a Latin dialogue on human generation; (*38*) formulae for letters. Described: Henri Omont, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1898-1899* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), pp. 13-14.

d. *Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS L.IV.25, ff. 56r-65r (s. xiv, Italy), *inc.*: Oou nostre sire quant ont le secle estoze [sic] des autres creatures ... *expl.*: ... et de la femme fetes autresi. (*39*) Other contents, in Latin: Master Salernus, *Tabulae*; in French: tracts on urines, diseases in general, fevers, pseudo-Hippocrates’ letter to Caesar, tracts on humors, and diseases of horses (this last with French-Latin-Italian glossary of terms); in Italian: *Practica minor* of Gerard, *Antidotarium Nicholai* with commentary. Described in 1901 by Piero Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1901), pp. 427-30, it was destroyed in the library’s fire of 1904. The loss of this codex is particularly unfortunate due to the exceptionally high quality of its illuminations; the *Trotula* text began with a depiction of God creating Adam.

Redaction II — MSS:

a. *Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek, 4° MS med. 1., ff. 16v-20v (ca. 1430-75), *inc.*: Sains Iheromes dist que adam fuais de .vij. parties de choses ... (a brief account of the creation of Adam by God and his naming by the four archangels). Quant dieux ot estore le secle des aultres creatures ... *expl.*: ... au fons de leseue est vn filz etc. Other contents (all in French): texts on herbs, waters, urines, alchemy, astrology; Aldobrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*; several plague regimens. Described: Dieter Hennig, general ed., *Die Handschriften der Murhardschen Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek*, 3, 1: *Manuscripta medica*, ed. Hartmut Broszinski (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 19-23.

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(39) It cannot be determined securely that this was a copy of Redaction I (no copy of either redaction has a phrase matching the explicit reported by Giacosa), but the overall length accords with the text as known from ms Fren21a.
b. *Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 863, ff. 122v-125v, 127r (s. xv med., probably Tournai), inc.: Chi parole des secrecs as dames. Diex, nostres sires, quant il eut le monde cree de terre ... After the opening lines about the creation of male and female (which are drawn from Redaction I), this copy inserts a brief dialogue between a master and his student about the differences between men and women and other matters of generation. The text then begins anew (f. 123r): Chi commence li liures des secrecs as dames que Constantins, Galijens et Ypocras fisent. Et fu au faire Helaine qui fu mere Constantin, qui seut toute le nature et cogneut toutes les forces des herbes. Quant dieus et estore tout le siecle...; expl.: ... Celle qui porte fille est paille, et a la senestre plus grosse del autre. Explicit. The text is heavily abbreviated, except for the final paragraphs on fertility and contraception. Other contents: medical texts and recipes in Latin and French, including regimens by Jacques Despars (d. 1458). (40) Owner: f. 2, *Ce livre appartient a Bauduin Cauvet, demorant a Lille. Se aucun le treuve ou luy reporte et il y lu donra le vin. Cauvet. * Described: Cat. gén., 41:563-65.

Redaction III - MS:

a. London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 380, ff. 269r-271v (s. xvi in.), inc.: Quant nostre seigneur dieu eust fait lomme a sa semblance ...; expl.: ... Et qui ainsi fera soit acertene que enfant aura. Car proue est. Et sic finis. Other contents: short moral texts (e.g., Dits des philosophes, Faintises du monde, Ordonnances des filles); pious works (French prayers, pious nomenclatures, Profits de la messe, Joies de paradis, Vie de sainte Catherine); lyrics (poetry of Pierre de Nesson, Charles d'Orleans, etc., plus a variety of anonymous ballades); medical miscellanea (plague tract, recipes, bloodletting notes). A note on planets added by later hand. Description: N. Hardy Wallis, Anonymous French Verse: An Anthology of Fifteenth Century Poems Collected from Manuscripts in the British Museum (London: University of London Press, 1929), pp. xiv-xvi.

3. The third French version is very likely a recasting of Fren2 into 871 lines of decasyllabic and alexandrine verse. It probably dates from the mid-13th century, certainly no later than the second half of the century, the date of the sole extant ms. This copy was clearly made by an Anglo-Norman scribe, though whether the versification itself is of Continental or insular origin is uncertain. A partial transcription was published by Paul Meyer, *Les manuscrits français de Cambridge. III. Trinity College O.1.20, Traites de medecine, *Romania 32 (1903), 75-101, at pp. 87-90. A full edition appears in volume 2 of Tony Hunt, Anglo-Norman Medicine, 2 vols. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995-97).

MS:

a. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.20 (1044), ff. 216r-235v (s. xiii2, England), inc.: <Prologue> Bien sachies, femmes, de ce naies dotance / Ci est escrit por uoir de lor science ...; expl. (f114): ... Sor le masle plus grosse a la mamele destre / Sor la forte plus grosse la senestre. See Fren1a above for other contents of this ms.

4. A fourth, very loose French translation of LSM 1, this one in 188 lines of octosyllabic verse, is found in a unique copy. The preface of this incomplete text echoes the shame topos of the Latin LSM (II. 7-10: A homme icel nent ouere / Ke femme cele tant est couere / Ke envis unkes a nul home / Ke voil mustre coe la surne) and even suggests that the information is to be shared within a female community (II. 11-14: Pur ceo aprendre medecine / E a dame et a meschine / Par qui puse priuement / Sei eider sanz afent). Whether it is somehow related to Fren2 and Fren3 is unclear.

MS:

a. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.5 (1109), ff. 123rb-124va (s. xiv med., England), inc.: Si com Aristocle nous dit / Èn Alisaundre en son escrit ... Chaud grant coche le seir / Coe le


5. A literal prose translation called *Li livre de Trocule*, is extant in a single fragmentary copy of ¶1. The text breaks off after 19 lines of the LSM prologue. It appears to be a translation of the standardized ensemble. The extant manuscript dates from the fifteenth century, yet if it is related to one found in the library of king Charles V in the 1370s, then the translation should be dated to the fourteenth century. Mme de Tovar notes that the other main texts in the Ste-Geneviève ms, those of Lanfranc and the collection of surgical receipts, were probably composed in the late 13th or early 14th century. In Charles V’s copy, « Trotole » was similarly framed by a translation of Lanfranc on one side, (*40*) and an *Antidotarium* (in this case, of « Jhesu le filz Hally ») and medicines for the eyes on the other.

**MS :**


6. A generally literal prose translation of the *Trotula* standardized ensemble is likewise known from a single fifteenth-century manuscript. This is the sole medieval vernacular translation that renders virtually the whole of the ensemble (through ¶308). The translator has recast many of the instructions into direct second-person addresses (alternately *tu* or *vous*), apparently directed at male practitioners.

**MS :**

a. *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 1327, ff. 61r-117r (s. xv med.), inc. : <Cy apres sensuit le vouulum du Regime des dames pour leurs aydier en leurs maladies et aduersitez tant de la concepcion comme de lanfentement et aultrement. > Dieu tout puissant acteur et ordonneur de toutes les vniuersitez ... ; (f. 84v) ... comme sont cepa pastinate domestice et leurs sembls. <Chapitre de la cure des dames selon lenpeschement dessusdit. > POUR Aoir et faire la cure aux dames selon leur necessite nous est expedient ... ; (f. 89v) il conuient que telle maladie

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(42) See n. 38 above.

(43) From his punctuation, Delisle apparently interprets « le petit et le grant » as referring to the just-cited « un livre de Cirurgie, appellé Lanfran », yet it is clear from the manuscript’s punctuation that the phrase refers instead to the next item, « Trotole » Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337-1380*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907; repr. Amsterdam : van Heusden, 1967), Item 828 (2:*135) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 2700, f. 5r.
MONICA GREEN


7. Adaptations of some passages of the LSM appear in one late manuscript of the French encyclopedia Placides et Timéo under the heading ung petit traité compilé par Albert de T rape-sonde. * These seem to derive from a text entitled Un traictié de plusieurs maladies qui peuent avenir aux femmes, et de leur maladies secretes, * the only witness of which is a now destroyed Turin manuscript. If one can judge from a summary published by Jules Camus, the Turin text had many features suggesting derivation from the LSM, including the shame topos in the introduction and the citation of the authorities Hippocrates, Paulus and Justien (i.e., Justinus). The text was also, however, considerably modified: this redactor explains, for example, that because of women's embarrassment at naming the parts of their bodies, he will use certain euphemisms to refer to the vulva, vagina, etc. According to Camus' description, this version also includes references to Maistre Albers de Coulongne qui fust un grant naturien (i.e., Albertus Magnus) and Apolones. * The contents, again according to Camus, are limited to female anatomy, menstruation, conception, lactation, uterine suffocation, signs of conception, and the functions of the midwife.

MSS:

a. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fr. 212 (s. xv ex.). See Claude Thomasset, ed., Pla-cides et Timéo ou Li secrés as philosophes (Paris & Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1980), esp. p. 254 (Quant Dieu eust creé le monde ... L'enfant est nourry, croit et sustente ou ventre de la mere = 11); and pp. 265-68 on menstruation (Galien, jadis grant philozophe, dit que les maladies des femmes doibvent estre cellees aux hommes ... car la forte maladie consomme et destruit les fleurs). (44)

[b. #Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS L.IV.17, ff. 414r-429v (s. xv med.). Title: Un traictié de plusieurs maladies qui peuent avenir aux femmes, et de leurs maladies secretes. [...] (45) Et premier, pour ce que lez femmez sont honteuses de prendre conseil et ellez descouvris as hommes et as phisicienz de leurs maladies secrettes, et que moult de dames se lairoient ainchois grever durement, avons plainement translatè les causes desquellez les maladies viennent et tous lez instrumens de leurs secrettes natures ...; expl. (1116, incomplete):

(44) The closest parallels between this new material in the Placides et Timéo and the Turin text are found in a passage where the author explains the euphemisms he will use to refer to female anatomy and diseases. Camus, p. 109: « ... avons plainement translatè lesz causes desquelz les maladies viennent et tous les instrumens de leurs secrettes natures. Toutes sont ordonnez l'une après l'autre; mais, pource qu'ellez [sc. femmes] ne soient hon-teuses de nommer en telle maniere que nous lez nommons communement en romant, nous nommerons cascin instrumens par aultre non que a coustume n'ont; si les nommeront plus habondament sans estre honteuses. Premier, nous nommerons le premiere porte, que est membre de generacion, alias, volve. Item appellerons le langue que est enmy, pignon. [Itm] appellerons le semen, sperma. » Cf. Thomasset ed., p. 265: « ... il est expedient que les dames sachent les causes, raisons et manieres de leurs maladies, et qui quelz sont les instrumens de leurs natures secrettes. Mais pour tant que je me vergoncle dire, je voleu en parler en couvert et, a une chascune equality, je changeray le nom des natures et tout preyemrement le premier porte, je l'appelleray le sain, et ce qui est au my lieu, je l'appelleray 'pignous'; et ce que se dit 'sperma', je l'appelleray semen et le lieu ou quel la semen de homme est rechupte et assemblee, je l'appelleray matrice; les maladies secrettes, je les appelleray les fures; et les choses qui sieuvent l'enfant, je les appelleray secondines.»

(45) Camus calls the following passages les premières lignes, * though I am unclear whether he means that this is the actual incipit of the text.

D. German (48)

1. The so-called Flos mulierum or Blume der Frauen is a German translation of a fairly early version of the LSM, possibly the proto-ensemble. (49) The text is generally quite abbreviated; it runs through ¶123, and then adds new material on determining the sex of the fetus. The Blume der Frauen is found in a unique manuscript owned and perhaps prepared for the physician Hermann Bach, who also owned two other large medical compendia now in the Benjamin collection at UCLA.

MS:

a. #Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles Library, MS Benjamin 11, ff. 34r-44v (ca. 1444, (ca. central Germany), inc.: < Incipit flos mulierum. > DU Got schepper aller dynge yn der ersten geschenpisse der werdle allerhande dinge natur gab ... expl.: ... der seyn sebinczen vol blutis. Nu alles misseweende hy hot dis buch eyn ende Das ist geheissen blume der frauen Got musse wir beschauen Jn seyme hymmellreiche Sproech alle Amen gleiche. Explicit secretum mulierum Anno etc. xliijj [i.e., 1444]. Other contents: more than 50 medical texts and groups of recipes, in German and Latin. Owner: probably Hermann Bach, a mid-fifteenth-century German physician. Described: Mirella Ferrari, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles*, ed. R. H. Rouse (Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 17-21. (50)

2. The German physician, Dr. Johannes Hartlieb (d. 1468), made a translation of the Troguta standardized ensemble probably between 1460 and 1465 which he dedicated to Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria-Munich, Count-palatine of the Rhine. (51) Hartlieb's version, divided into 26 chapters, uses


(47) 100 leaves of the ms survived the 1904 fire, but these contain only the surgical text of Mondeville.

(48) In several instances, the Troguta has been assumed to be the source of certain German gynecological material found in other texts. Gundolf KEIL (« Der ‘Kodex Kohlhauer’: Ein iatromathematisch-hauswirtschaftliches Arzneibuch aus dem mittelalterlichen Oberfranken, » Sudhoffs Archiv 64 [1980], 130-50) refers to a brief German text entitled • Von der frauen krangheit • as an « Auszug » from the Troguta. Although this has certain similar elements to the LSM, it can perhaps be called a loose adaptation but certainly not a translation. The text is edited from all three extant copies in Kruse (1996), pp. 370-378, where the identification with the Troguta is repeated. Keil has also suggested (VL 7:67-82) that the Troguta was used as the chief authority for the gynecological sections of the Arzneibuch of Ortolf von Baierland, a late thirteenth-century Würzburg surgeon. Here I find no relationship whatsoever with the Troguta. Finally, Jan Frederiksen has made a similar assertion with regard to the so-called Düdese Arstedie (VL 2:238-9); I have not yet examined this text.

There are, in addition, two references to • Troguta • within the German gynecological texts edited by Kruse (1996). In *Von der Natur der Frauen und ihren Krankheiten* (p. 275), • meister Troguta • is described as the source for the observation that the womb is folded like a cloth and grows with the growth of the embryo; no such statement is found in any of the Troguta texts. In the second instance, an untitled collection of gynecological recipes (p. 383), two fertility recipes from the LSM are rendered into German (the latter half of ¶76, and ¶75a/82).

(49) One distinctive reading is in ¶9, where it is said that the woman cured by Galen lost her menses for eleven months. Two ms of the proto-ensemble have this reading, both of them of German provenance (mss Latin 48 and 62).

(50) Other parts of the ms were copied as late as 1468.

(51) My thanks to Margaret Schleissner for providing me with her notes on this manuscript, which correct a few minor errors of Ferrari's description.

(52) For Hartlieb's biography, see VL 3:480-96. Ms Germ2b is an incomplete revision addressed to Emperor Frederick III. My description of Das Buch Troguta is based on mss Germ2j; on the version of the Latin Troguta which must have served as Hartlieb's source, see also • Handlist •, Part I, n. 144.  

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the Trotula (primarily the LSM and the DOM) simply as a framework on which to weave a novel compendium of cures drawn from a variety of sources, including Gilbertus Anglicus, Avicenna, Rhazes, « Kyrannus, » etc. Hartlieb prepared the translation as a companion to his German rendition of the Secreta mulierum of pseudo-Albertus Magnus; the Trotula (though not the Secreta) later circulated independently. Das Buch Trotula is as yet unedited, though a few excerpts (from ms Germ2a) were published in 1953 by Henry Sigerist. (53) Full descriptions of eight of the nine extant mss containing both the Secreta and the Trotula can be found in Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, 'Secreta mulierum' mit Glossen in der deutschen Bearbeitung von Johann Hartlieb. Würzburger medizinhistorische Forschungen, Band 36 (Pattensen/Hannover: Horst Wellm, 1985), who also provides brief notices of five others with the Trotula alone.

MSS:

a. #Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Library, ms 3 (38066), ff. 72r-110v (s. xvi ex., S. Germany). Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; German trans. of text originally accompanying the picture of a pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from German pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Sigerist, op. cit.; Bosselmann-Cyran, pp. 46-48; Kruse (1996), pp. 338.


c. #Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, C 314, ff. 1r-73r (s. xvi²). Other contents: medical texts. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, p. 65.

d. #—, —, C 451, ff. 71r-v, 90r-93v (s. xv²); selected capp. incorporated into another gynecological text. Other contents: medical texts. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, p. 65.

e. #Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 116, ff. 1r-1Vv (an. 1525); table of contents and preface only. Copied onto blank pages of Alsatian chronicle. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, p. 66.

f. #—, —, Cpg 480, ff. 4r-89v (s. xvi², S. Germany); abbreviated. Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; German trans. of text originally accompanying the picture of a pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from German pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Bosselmann-Cyran, pp. 54-5; Kruse (1996), p. 338.

g. #—, —, Cpg 488, ff. 4r-62r (s. xvi², S. Germany); abbreviated. Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; German trans. of text originally accompanying the picture of a pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from German pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Bosselmann-Cyran, pp. 55-7; Kruse (1996), p. 338.

h. #London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS N 133, ff. XXIr-52r (s. xvi, S. Germany); incomplete. Other contents: medical texts. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, p. 66.

i. #Marburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 93, ff. 2r-48r (s. xvi med., S. Germany); abbreviated. Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; German trans. of text originally accompanying the picture of a pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from German pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Bosselmann-Cyran, pp. 52-4; Kruse (1996), pp. 338 and 433.

j. *Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AE.IX.34., ff. 1r-45r (s. xvi, Germany), (54) inc.: Hie hebet sich an die capitel uber das puch Trottula Macroby Gilberini [sic] Mustio das doctor Hartt


(54) Bazzi gives the date 1480; the official catalogue by Vergnano dates it s. xvi.
Lieb geteutscht hatt. [Then follows list of 26 capp.] Die vor red Trotulla was sie bewegt hatt diss pich zu samelnn. Drvachtlicher hochgeborner frist als ewer fristlich gnad geschafft vnd gepoten hat [dedication to Duke Siegmund] ... Hie hept sich ander war text vnd die himlich gloss des puchs Trotulla vnd dar ein gezogen die gehaim Macroby, Gilherini vnd Muscio. Das erst capittel. DU gott der merer vnd schepfer aller ding in den anfang der weltt ...; expl. (text): ... vnd leg sie vber hinder vnd forn es writt dir wol thun vnd das we vertriben. Closes with final address to Siegmund and disclaimer that Hartlieb, despite his initial intentions to translate the Gynaecia of Muscio as a companion to the Secreta and the Trotula, will postpone that work for another time. Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum (ff. 46r-113v). Described: Franco Bazzi, Catalogo dei manoscritti e degli incunaboli di interesse medico-naturalistico dell’Ambrosiana e della Braidense, Quaderni di ’Castalia,’ 7 (Bergamo: Stamperia Editrice Commerciale, 1961), p. 133; L. Pecorella Vergnano, Il fondo Halleriano della Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense di Milano (Milan, 1963), pp. 96-97.

k. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 261, ff. 50r-95r (s. xv², Bavaria). Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreteria mulierum. Described: Bosselmann-Cryan, pp. 39-46.

l. #Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 2186 (s. xvi in.); 20 leaves; a fragment of the Kaiser version. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cryan, pp. 66-7.

m. #Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. Vindob. 11168 (med. 99), ff. Vr-60r (s. xvi², S. Germany); abbreviated. Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; trans. of text originally accompanying picture of pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Bosselmann-Cryan, pp. 57-58; Kruse (1996), pp. 338 and 439.

n. #Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 69.8 Aug. fol., ff. 66r-114v (s. xvi in., S. Germany). Other contents: Hartlieb's Secreta mulierum; German trans. of text originally accompanying picture of pregnant woman in Fasciculus medicine of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from German pseudo-Aristotle, Problemata. Described: Bosselmann-Cryan, pp. 49-51.

3. Britta-Juliane Kruse has recently identified a German translation of the DOM, known from a single sixteenth-century manuscript. As in Hartlieb's translation, the Trotula functions here less as an authoritative text to be translated in its entirety than a resource from which miscellaneous recipes can be gleaned. This is thus less a translation than a novel composition by an anonymous author who weaves material from the DOM in with selections from Kyrrannus, Rhaes and other unnamed sources. The fact that T245 is attributed to *die edle Weib in Salernum* (f. 103r-v) suggests that this author used a copy of the revised or standardized ensemble, since it was only in those versions of the DOM that the original reading nobiles sarracene had been changed to nobiles salernitane. Despite the heading that opens the text (*This chapter speaks of how one should adorn men and women*), the work is, like the Latin DOM, really devoted to women's concerns only, and its second-person addresses seem directed at a female audience. Kruse has announced plans for an edition.

MS:


E. Hebrew

1. The Hebrew version, a generally quite literal translation of LSM 3, is known from only one fifteenth-century Spanish manuscript. (59) Due to the loss of several leaves in two places, only the latter half is extant and this with a large lacuna (i.e., ¶¶45-122c, breaking off in the middle of ¶57 and recommencing in the middle of ¶88a). This translation may, however, have an importance that its fragmentary state belies. An anonymous Hebrew translator working in southern France between 1197 and 1199 wrote a comprehensive list of twenty-four medical works that he had translated, most if not all from Latin into Hebrew. Among them was the so-called Sefer haseret (*Book on the Hidden Place*), which the author describes as *referring to women’s hidden parts and cosmetics.* This may very well refer to the same translation. The title *Book on the Hidden Place,* admittedly, is never attested in the Latin mss of the LSM. The term is not unusual in Jewish contexts, however, where the term *the house of women’s secrets* had been used since Talmudic times to refer to the female genitalia; (60) the phrase may, moreover, be an allusion to the term partes secretiores which is how the female genitalia are referred to in the LSM prologue. As for the reference to cosmetics, extant Latin mss show that LSM 3 often circulated with DOM 2. (61) Since aside from the DCM there is no medieval Latin gynecological work that incorporated any significant amount of cosmetics, (62) it is quite possible that the translator is referring to LSM 3 and DOM 2 viewed as an ensemble; that Hebra omits the cosmetic section may be due to the quite specific gynecological concerns of the manuscript’s compiler. The identity of the Sefer ha-saret and the present Hebrew translation of the LSM is further suggested by the fact that this same translator also laid claim to two other gynecological translations: a Sefer ha-toldelet (*Book on Generation*) which he describes as *on conception, the womb and pregnancy. It is called by them Gynesiases*; and a Sefer ha-em ‘al Galynus (*Galien’s Book on the Womb*). (63) Texts with exactly these titles are found in this same Montefiore ms immediately before the LSM translation. The Montefiore ms may thus be a collection of all three of this anonymous translator’s gynecological works. If, then, the Hebrew LSM 3 is indeed to be identified with the Sefer ha-saret, this would confirm it as the oldest known translation of any of the Trotula texts. It would also confirm the circulation of the Latin LSM 3 in southern France in the late twelfth century.

MS:
a. *London, Jews’ College, MS Montefiore 440, ff. 60r-62v (54) (s. xv, Spain), inc. (¶45, leaf damaged at upper edge): asyas ha-lev ha-niqra shinq ... lif’amim yireh la besibat zeh ha-holy kelilat ...; expl. (¶¶122-123): ... Gam be-veten zippor dror ha-nolad r’ishon nimzet even; ve-

(58) These latter two texts are edited from this ms in Kruse (1996), pp. 339-348 and 348-369.
(59) Identified as a copy of the Trotula by Ron Barkai of Tel Aviv University; my thanks to Dr. Barkai for allowing me to see his English translation of this text, from which I was able to determine that it was LSM 3. My thanks also to Ezra Kahn, Librarian of Jews’ College, for additional information on the manuscript.
(62) Aside from a handful of recipes in the Curia omnium causarum matricis (found in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, cod. misc. med. 2, s. 9/10, ff. 11r-22r; and Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 175, s. 11, ff. 101r-104r), none of the extant preserlarian gynecological texts has any cosmetics whatsoever.
(63) My thanks to Dr. Barkai for allowing me to cite his translation of this passage in advance of publication.
(64) Nearly a whole quire was lost between the current ff. 59 and 61. At least five and possibly as many as nine leaves are missing between the leaves presently numbered 59 and 60, with another lacuna following f. 60. F. 60 itself is a single paper leaf that apparently came from the inside of the quire.

G. Irish

1. An Irish translation, dating perhaps from the mid-14th century, exists in two manuscripts. The Trinity College ms (Wulff’s ms E) has the fuller text, containing both major parts of the LSM and portions of the DCM. However, Wulff presents from the Trinity manuscript only the first seven chapters of the LSM plus excerpts from two chapters of the DCM on pp. 359-360. Wulff’s rather confused edition is based for the most part on the Irish Academy ms (her ms F), which contains only sections of the LSM followed by gynecological material from John of Gaddesden’s Rosa Anglica. See Winifred Wulff, ed., A Mediaeval Handbook of Gynaecology and Midwifery, Preceded by a Section on the Grades and on the Treatment of Wounds and Some Good Counsel to the Physician Himself, Finishing with a Discussion on the Treatment of Scabies, in Irish Texts: Fasciculus V, ed. John Fraser, Paul Grosjean, and J. G. O’Keefe (London: Sheed & Ward, 1934), pp. 12-54.

MSS:


b. #--, Trinity College, MS 1436 (E.4.1), pp. 101-107 and 359b-360b (s. xv), inc.: [Cjum autur u[n]jotericati[s] 7 cetera oir edirdealaghid ughduir na huilidheachta nadur na nuili raet faena ...; p. 197 (66) (text breaks off abruptly): ... coimel an uinnimint adubrumar roimain 7 berbta premha lili maillire ...; (p. 559b, fragment): Secundum dominam Troulum Quaedam mulieres sunt grasiles quedam groise 7c. Aideir domina Troulta co fuil cuid dona mnaibh cael 7 cuid ele remar a cosmulius ... expl.: ... ana malac 7 in gein bes ann 7 hugho dx (7r). Other contents: various medical tracts and notes (mostly in Irish), including commentary on Aphorisms; Capsula eburnea; rules for practice of physic; poems; texts by Bernard of Gordon, Walter, Gilbertus Anglicus. Described: T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921), pp. 312-17.

(65) Edited in Barkai, Les Infortunes.
(66) On Muscio’s Gynaecia, see Handlist, Part I, nn. 64 and 106. On the Dpm B, see Part I, n. 16; the attribution to Galen here derives from the Latin tradition, where in two of the twelve extant Latin mss, it is attributed to him (elsewhere it was attributed to Theodorus Priscianus, Theodorus, Priscianus, and Trotula). Editions of both the Record of the Diseases Occurring in the Genital members and the Sefer ha-em will appear in Ron Barkai, A History of Medieval Jewish Gynaecological Literature (forthcoming).

G. Italian

1. Il Libro delle segrete cose delle donne is a fourteenth-century Florentine translation of many of the gynecological chapters from the intermediate ensemble. An abbreviated though otherwise relatively faithful rendition, it reorganizes the material into fourteen chapters: amenorrhea, excessive menstruation, uterine movement, infertility (four chapters), regimen for pregnancy, handling of childbirth, problems of continent women, excessive lochial flow, kidney stones, uterine pain, and uterine suffocation. There are frequent references to Avicenna, though in at least one instance it is a gratuitous addition (in 66 his name replaces Rufus’s). The Segrete cose is followed immediately in Italia1c by [Il Libro] dello adormamento delle donne per che modo debbono fare belli i loro membri, i.e., the DOM, in six chapters. This, too, is a selective translation of material from the intermediate ensemble, again with some new material added.

Il Libro delle segrete cose (but not the cosmetic text) appears in a revised version in an early sixteenth century manuscript. This has been edited from the Lucca ms under the title La ginecologia di fra Andrea Seniore da Firenze.

MSS:


b. , MS Redi 172 (olim 73), ff. 74r-85v; 84r-88v (s. xiv). Base text of Manuzzi & Razzolini’s edition of the Segrete Cose. Other contents: follows Italian translation of Aldobrandino of Siena, Régime du corps. No published description.

c. Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2165 (olim IV.20), ff. 70r-76r; 76r-79r (an. 1433). Other contents: follows Italian translation of Aldobrandino of Siena, Régime du corps. Scribe: Antonio del Forese. Described: G. Lami, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentiae adseruntur (Liburni, 1756), p. 16; Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi: Manoscritti e edizioni del s. XV (Firenze, 1810), p. 45; and Mahmoud Salem Elsheikh, Medicina e farmacologia nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze (Manziana [Rome]: Vecchiarelli, 1990), p. 46. (72)

d. Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS 1286, ff. 97v-104v (s. xv1), inc. (W1): Proehimio della infrascripto tractato; perché avendo Idio facto l’uomo e la donna, essendo per lo peccato

[68] Il Libro delle segrete cose delle donne, ed. Giuseppe MANUZZI and L. RAZZOLINI (Florence: Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1863 [recte post 1876]): the readings of this translation most closely resemble those of Latin ms 109. In his edition, Manuzzi does not posit a date or origin. See, however, Dinora CORSI, "Les Secrèt des dames": Tradition, traductions, Médiévales no. 14 (Spring 1988), 47-57, at pp. 54-55. In ms Italia1c, it follows an Italian translation (redacted by Zuccherò Benciveni in 1310) of Aldobrandino of Siena’s Régime du Corps. I know of at least thirty-one copies of the Italian Aldobrandino, but few have been well-catalogued and they may yet prove to contain additional copies of the Trotula.

[69] Giuseppe MANUZZI and L. RAZZOLINI, eds., Libro degli adornamenti delle donne (Florence: Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1863 [recte post 1876]).


[71] The Inventario dei codici Reali, Tempii e Rinacini, an unpublished ms, p. 8bis, lists only Aldobrandino among the contents. My thanks to the Director of the Library, Dottoressa Anna Lenzuni, for information about this ms.

[72] My thanks to Maria Prunai Falciani of the Biblioteca Riccardiana for providing me with a copy of Elsheikh’s description.

2. The second Italian translation is a condensed rendition of selected gynecological and obstetrical material from the LSM and the DCM, here arranged in twenty-one chapters. The opening sentence suggests that it was intended for a female audience, but there is nothing in the rest of the text that addresses women in particular. The reference to Trotula/Trotula has been deleted from W151 (ff. 67v-68r).

MS:

a. London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 532, Miscellanea Medica II, ff. 64r-70v (ca. 1465), inc.: < Incipit prologus de matrice. > Ergo per voler acomenziare vna opera de picol volume e bona utilitade e maximamente per le done per la sua infirmitade de la matrice. (W3) Impero volgio comenziare ad alcune done le quale ano sua natura ...; expl. (W70): ... e di tutti questi cose zonte insema o di zasconduno per la fare como e dito disopra. Finis. Amen. Followed on f. 71r by Signa pregrenationis and (in a later hand) Per difetto de la matrice, both in Latin. Other contents: recipes and tracts on poisons, baths, urines in Italian and Latin; a letter on bone fractures added by a later hand. Main scribe: Baldaxar de Serrato. Described: Moorat, 1:386-87.

H. Latin Prose

1. An adaptation of the TEM is now found in a single English copy from the fifteenth century. Lacking the first leaf, what remains of the text is divided into seven chapters, with 38 individual cures enumerated (W6-66). This adaptor has considerably rewritten the TEM text, for example by adding new synonyms as in W46 on uterine suffocation: whereas the TEM had simply called it an « Infirmitas, » giving no specific name, it is here called « vna infirmitas que vocatur morsura siue dolor vel punctura matricis mulieris. » This text is also notable for its frequent lapses into English, especially for materia medica, e.g., in W13: « Galienus dicit quod mugwort or moderworth teratur et bibatur ... »

MS:

a. London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Western MS 5650, ff. 62v-67v (s. xv, England), inc. (acephalous, begins in W6): laborat et multum mouet per racionem non debet habere nimis multum fluxum sanguinis siue menstruorum ...; expl. (W66): ... infirmus mulieris tune illa. et cetera. Explicit. Other contents: The Sekenesse of Wyommen 1, copied by the same hand as the TEM; The Boke of Marchalse (Middle English verse text on horses); some 65 English culinary recipes; four English phlebotomy texts; English herbal; four remedy compendia in Latin and English; Latin treatise on uroscopy. Described: Green (1992), p. 78. (74)

I. Latin Verse

1. The Latin verse De secretis mulierum and De ornatu mulierum, both in dactylic hexameters, are reworkings (with substantial elaborations) of all three Trotula texts. These appear to be the work of the same redactor who was responsible for the other versified medical texts in the sole manuscript

(73) Fra Andrea names himself as the copyist of the previous text in the ms; it is not clear why the editors chose to attribute the gynecological text to him.
(74) A comprehensive description will be found in a forthcoming catalogue of recent acquisitions by Richard Palmer.
thus far identified. Given the presence of the works of Roger Frugardi (fl. ca. 1170) and Roland of Parma (ca. 1230) here, the poem must date from no earlier than the middle decades of the thirteenth century.

**MS:**


**APPENDIX**

**ERRONEOUS CITATIONS AND ATTRIBUTIONS OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS**

Breslau (Wrocław), Codex Rhed. XXXII (s. xiv). Cited by Spitzner (following De Renzi) (= Latin ms 120).

Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.XI.45 (cat. 671) (= Latin ms 10). H. P. Bayon claimed that *The Trotula in the University Library, Cambridge, is a copy of the gynaecological section of the Thesaurus pauperum* attributed to Petrus Hispanus. (76) In actuality, in the ms the Thesaurus pauperum (ff. 1r-62v) and the Trotula (ff. 62v-80v) are clearly labelled as distinct texts.

—, Clare College, MS 15 (Kk.IV.2). Cited in T-K² (1612); an error for MS 12 (Kk.III.13) (= Latin ms 12).

Glasgow, Hunterian Museum, I.8.3. Cited by Meyer; perhaps an error for MS Hunter 341 (U.8.9) (= Latin ms 25).

Laon, MS 418. Cited by Spitzner; apparently an error for MS 417 (= Latin ms 30).

London, MS in possession of Mr. Philip Robinson (formerly Helmingham Hall MS 58; from the medieval library of Bury St. Edmunds). (77) s. xiii. A table of contents written in the margin of f. 11v lists a *Liber Trotile* as the third item among a total of six texts. Where the Trotula should have stood in the manuscript, however, there is the Passionarius of Gariopontus. Cited: Kristeller, *Iter* 4:236-37. (78)

—, Royal College of Surgeons, MS 129 a.i.5, ff. 1r-45v (s. xv, England), *incipit:* <Hic incipit liber Trotularis.> [F]or as muche as ther ben many women that habyn many dyuerse ...; *expl.:* ... shall conccuye. <WYNYS TROTULA.> Despite the opening and closing rubrics, only the four final chapters of this work are translated directly from the Latin Trotula. The bulk of the

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(75) My thanks to Mme Patricia Stirnemann for dating this manuscript for me.


(78) Brian Lawn informs me (personal communication, 7 November 1989) that this MS was sold at auction at Sotheby’s on 23 June 1988. Its current whereabouts are unknown. Lawn’s own notes have the book’s title spelled *Liber Trotule.*
text is instead a translation of the gynecological and obstetrical chapters from Gilbertus Anglica's *Compendium medicina* and other material; see n. 17 above.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 3356, ff. 1ra-32vb (s. xv), *inc.*: *Assí comenza lo libre qui parla gint e desllure de tot adop de la regine, per la qual en tot son temps viurá sana; lo qual à fet mestre Johan a la infante molt agradant, al qual à mès nom Tróoluta* >. Followed by poem and chapter headings, with the heading *Assí començan les règnes de Tròoluta.* > Prologue (f. 1vb): *Del proèle de aquest libre. Molt és benauyart qui pot servir a totes jens en grat, e mayorment com hom serveix a dona, que és cap e pretz de tot ensenyaments e on beutat s'afina ...; expl.: ... ans lo purguen e retén bona sanch. Deo gracias. Followed by two further recipes (f. 33r-v). Despite its title, this fourteenth-century tract on feminine cosmetics and hygiene is not a Catalan translation of the *Trotula*. (79) Rather, it is a vernacular rendition of a Latin *De ornatu* traditionally ascribed to Arnau de Vilanova (which derived some of its material from the *Trotula*) together with recipes extracted from other texts. For bibliography on the manuscript and a transcription of the text, see Montserrat Cabré i Pairet, *La cura del cos femení i la medicina medieval de tradición latina*, Ph. D. dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona, 1994. (80)

Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, 3,7. Cited by Meyer; apparently a printer’s error for the correct citation, MS 317 (= Latin ms 56).


Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 164, ff. 240r-243v (s. xv med., England), *inc.*: Mulieres quidem non omnes equaliter ... si fomento galle aut fistide aut lentitisis decocdit. Explicit. This is not one of the *Trotula* treatises as suggested by the entry in the printed catalogue and by Meyer, but the *Non omnes quidem*, a highly condensed version of Muscio’s *Gynaecia* and other early medieval gynecological material. (81)


—, MS lat. 705 (s. xiv). Cited by Hurd-Mead, ibid. Apparently an error for 7056 (= Latin ms 87).

—, MS lat. 708, f. 226. Cited by Meyer.

—, MS lat. 7856, f. 112r. Cited by Hamilton, p. 378, n. 1. Apparently an error for 7056 (= Latin ms 87).


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(79) All my references to a Catalan translation (*Cat1*) in *Development* (pp. 119, 127, 172-3 and 178) should be disregarded.

(80) This is available on microfiche from Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, Col·leccion de Tesis Doctorals Microfítxades núm. 2794. Dr. Cabré is currently preparing a critical edition.

(81) On the *Non omnes quidem*, see *Handlist*, Part I, n. 60.

(82) A Middle English translation of the *De naturis mulierum* is edited in Green (1992), pp. 85-88. Another copy of the Latin text was among the chained books in the *magistria librorum* of the Sorbonne as described in the mid-14th century by Master Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericoni; here, too, it was attributed to *Trotula* (<em>Trotula de secretis mulierum, inc.</em> De naturis mulierum locutiur ...). See Paul Lehmann, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften VII*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 10 (1942), 3-28, at p. 24.

ADDENDUM TO PART 1: LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

The following manuscript came to my attention after Part 1 of this article went to press.

123. #Nicosia (Enna), Biblioteca Comunale, MS 15 (olum 14), ff. 21r-60r (s. xv). Trotula de passionibus mulierum (title given by Kristeller). Other contents: Master Salernus, Tables; Johannes Stephanus, De febris; Pomum ambre; Walter [Agilon?], Summa de febris (inc.: Grandinum quedam). Described: Manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Comunale di Nicosia (typescript list, ca. 1981/82). Cited: Iter 6:121.