

SCRIPTORIUM

REVUE INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES
RELATIVES AUX MANUSCRITS

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF
MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

TOME LI

1997, 1

CENTRE D'ÉTUDE DES MANUSCRITS

BRUXELLES

Tirage à part

A HANDLIST OF LATIN AND VERNACULAR MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
SO-CALLED *TROTULA* TEXTS

PART II: THE VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS AND LATIN RE-WRITINGS

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 Cabré 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 I, 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 ⁽³⁾

1. The earliest known Middle Dutch rendition is a heavily abridged translation of the *LSM*. ⁽⁴⁾ It is found, under the rubric *Van heymeliken medicinen in vrouwen* (Dut1a) or *Secreta mulierum* (Dut1b), 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. Dut1a contains only the opening paragraphs (¶¶2-4) and two other recipes. ⁽⁵⁾ Dut1b, on the other hand, has ¶¶12-12, followed by selected recipes from the *LSM* interspersed with others of unidentified origin.

MSS : ⁽⁶⁾

a. #Utrecht, Universiteits-Bibliotheek, MS 1328, ff. 72r-127v (s. xiv in., Utrecht). *Trotula* section (f. 110r-v), *inc.* : Van heymeliken medicinen in vrouwen. Want vrouwen vele crancker sijn dan die manne van naturen ... ; *expl.* : ... Ende indesen dinghen te doen zellen die vrouwen tevoren baden. Edited W. F. Daems, *Boec van medicinen in Dietsche: Een middelnederlandse compilatie van medisch-farmaceutische Literatuur, Janus Suppléments 7* (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 179-81. Described : Daems, pp. 66-76 ; and Jansen-Sieben, pp. 466-67.

Ehrsam 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) Britta-Juliane KRUSE, *Verborgene Heilkünste: Geschichte der Frauenmedizin im Spätmittelalter, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte*, 5 (Berlin : Walter de Gruyter, 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 mss of translations previously known to me (Eng4b and Fren2IIIa, 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, Universiteitsbibliothek, MS II E 42 (s. xvi), *Dit is van heimelicken medicinen der vrouwen uunde oeren gebrecken, 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 (mss 12, 63, 110), and in two copies of the revised ensemble (mss 106 and 119).

(5) These latter two recipes (beginning in Daems ¶144 with the words « mer smeer omtrent ») are also found in Dut1b, though in different order (ll. 189-196 and 170-178, respectively).

(6) Although there are at least sixteen other mss 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 sijn dan die mannen van natueren ...; *expl.*: ... dat maket die vulua die groet 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 codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, 11 vols. (Vienna: Caroli Geroldi filius, 1864-1912), 1:137-8; Jansen-Sieben, pp. 472-477. (?)

2. The so-called *Der Mannen ende Vrouwen Heimelijcheit* (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-Albertan *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, ll. 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:

a. *Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 15624-41, ff. 77va-85vb (an. 1351, perhaps Brabant), *inc.*: (beg. of text) God, enich Vader ende Here, / Sonder beghin ende emmermere ...; (l. 980, beg. of *LSM*) God, die makere es alre dinge, / Hi besciet ons sonderlinge / Int beginsel der werelt mede ... Ende wilre nemmeer af scriven. *Expliciunt mulierum secreta*. Edited Napoléon De Pauw, «Der Mannen ende Vrouwen Heimelijcheit,» in *Middelnederlandsche Gedichten en Fragmenten*, 3 vols. (Gent: Siffer, 1893-97), 1:121-90. Other contents (all in Middle Dutch): 16 texts on urines, medicinal substances, pulses, surgery, chiromancy, and general medical theory (including extracts from Aldobrandino of Siena's *Régime du corps*); one brief mystical text. Scribe (of the prose texts in the ms): Johannes de Altre; the scribe of the verse texts does not name himself. Owner: owned in 16th cent. by Godefridus Leonijs, a notary and apothecary in Mechelen. Described: Ria Jansen-Sieben, *De natuurkunde van het geheleel: Een 13de-eeuws middelnederlands leerdicht* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 131-142 and 223; J. Deschamps, *Middelnederlandse Handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse Bibliotheken*, tweede herziene druk (Leiden: Brill, 1972), cat. no. 95, pp. 261-64; Jansen-Sieben, pp. 256-260.

b. *Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2818, ff. 284ra-299vb (ca. 1490, Brabant), *inc.*: God maecten den man na sijne werden / vanden lyme ende vander erden ...; (l. 953, beg. of *LSM*) God is maker van alre dingen / Hy besceyct ons sonderlingen / Jnt begynsel 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 Middelnederlandse codex met gebruik van horoscopen,» in H. van DIJK, et al. (edd.), *In de zevende hemel: Opstellen voor P.E. L. Verkuyl over 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 latijnen metten duytsche': Tweetaligheid in een Middelnederlands artes-handschrift,» in Paul WACKERS, ed., *Verraders in Bruggebouwers: Verkenningen naar de relatie tussen Latinitas en Middelnederlandse letterkunde* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996), pp. 151-67 and 307-322.

(8) The text itself does, however, regularly set up parallels between men and women in such phrases as «heimelijchede van mannen ende van vrouwen» or «beide van mannen ende van wiven»; see, e.g., ed. DE PAUW, ll. 27-8, 50, 583, 935.

(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.

werelt mede / Elck nature na die menschelichede ...; *expl.*: ... mer ic laet hiere aldus bliuen / Ende en wilder nyet meer af scrijuen. See Dut1b above for other contents and description.

3. The Middle Dutch *Liber Trotula* is a very free translation and adaptation of gynecological and obstetrical selections from the *Trotula* standardized ensemble. ⁽¹¹⁾ 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 seit »); all references to « Trotula » are suppressed. It incorporates new material, including sections from the pseudo-Albertan *Secreta mulierum* 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:

a. #Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek, MS 593, ff. 1r-18r (s. xiv/xv, western Flanders), *inc.*: Hic incipit liber Trotula. Ic bidde alle vrouwen die dit sullen sien ofte horen lesen ...; *expl.* (¶195): ... Ende aldus soe werden eenighe mannen bedrogen van den wiven. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Only text in codex. Edited by Anna Delva, *Vrouwmeeneeskunde in Vlaanderen tijdens de late middeleeuwen* (Brugge: Vlaamse Historische Studies, 1983). Described: A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Bruges* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, Paris: Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres*, 1934), 709; Jansen-Sieben, pp. 245-246.

(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 » = ¶6, *Ruffus et Galyenus*; p. 167, « te rume ende te seere » = ¶29, *ample et aperte*; p. 171, « die welke materie comt ... ofte van haren natuerliken sade ofte ettere » = ¶160, *fluxus apostematis uel 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 (¶83). Constantine's name had been 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 JESKE 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, » *Verlagen 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. 200) 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 navolghende van desen boeke ende elc op hem seluen [list of 24 chapters]. Allen vrouwen ende Joffrouwen die dit lesen selen oft hoeren biddic ...; *expl.*: ... christus ab omni malo famulam suam Amen. liberat amen. In nomine patris et filij et spiritus sancti Amen. Explicit laus deo. Only text in codex. Edited by Brigitte Kusche, *Frauenaufklärung im Spätmittelalter: Eine philologisch-medizinhistorische Untersuchung und Edition des gynäkologisch-obstetrischen GKS 1657 Kopenhagen*, Acta Universitatis Umensis (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990). Owner: Max Schneider, 1586. ⁽¹⁶⁾ Described: *ibid.*, pp. 126-28; Jansen-Sieben, p. 364.

c. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. med. 798 (s. xv med.), pp. 85-256, *inc.*: <Hic incipit Alberti liber de secretis mulierum>. Ghelijc dat een groot werckman volbringhet siin werck wel in diere ghelijcke ...; *expl.*: ... Explicit liber alberti De secretis mulierum. Hier endet albertus um die secreten der vrowven. Originally a separate pamphlet; later bound with two pamphlets containing, respectively, the Latin pseudo-Albertus Magnus *Secreta mulierum* and the *Trotula* standardized ensemble. For full description, see Latin ms 26 in Part I. See also Jansen-Sieben, p. 343.

B. English ⁽¹⁷⁾

1. The earliest English translation of the *Trotula* was made perhaps in the late fourteenth century. Called in the sole copy where it bears a title *The Knowyng of Womans Kynde and Chyldyng*, it is a gynecological compendium based on selections from *Trotula* Fren2I, ⁽¹⁸⁾ the *Non omnes quidem*

(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. Bouwman 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 (*Medieval 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 Wymmen* 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-p. 168, l. 37 = *DCM* ¶¶149-150 and *LSM* ¶¶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 Wymmen* can be found in Green (1992). The texts here designated Eng1-5 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 yoghs as « y, » « g » or « gh » as appropriate.

(18) Compare, for example, the opening passages. Fren2Ia, f. 246vb: « Quant dex nostre seignor out le mund estore sor tote creature, si fist home raisnable, puis li dona seignorie de totes terrienes choses. Si conmanda a creistre 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 moiste creistreit li enfes. Ices quatre choses sunt necessaire as herbes et as arbres et as blez. Mais pour ce ke les femes sunt de plus fieble qualite ke li ome, et ount greignor trauail denfant, pour ce lor auient plusors enfermetez ke as homes et maiesment a cels membres qui a l'engendreure apertient. Et pour ce ke femes sunt plus huntoses de dire lor enfermetez as homes ke as femes, si lor faz icest livre en language ke eles lentendent que les unes sachent les autres aidier. Bien sachent que ie i met del mielz ke lor besoigne a lor enfermetez que ie ai trouue des diz Ypocras et Galien et Costentin et Cleopatras, et ici troueront dont li mal uient et comant porront guarir. »

Eng1b, ff. 157r-v: « Owor lord god whan he had storyd the world of all creatores he made man and womann resonabel creature and bad hem wax and multiplie and ordent 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 reseyyve the seede so that be the tempere of cold and moyst, het and drye, the chyld xal be ingendered ryght as we se tres, cornys and herbys mowe not grow without resonabel temper[ing] of the .iiii. complexiones. And for as mech as womenn be more febel and colde be natur than men ben and have greter travel in chyldyng, therfor fallyth oftyn to them mo diuarse seknes than to men, and namly to the membrs that be longyng to ingenderyng. Wherfor 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*⁽¹⁹⁾ and other sources,⁽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.⁽²¹⁾ *The Knowyng of Womans Kynde* is addressed to women, with a warning to male readers that they not use the text for slandering women. Excerpts from Eng1e (= Latin *Trotula* ¶1-3, 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 II.VI.33, ff. 33r-68r (s. xv), *inc.*: Owre Lord God whan he had storid the word [*sic*] of all creatures ...; *expl.*: ... and than a man shal do cure hem be no cutting ner be no fire. Followed immediately by « a medycine prouyd for the white floures 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; reprinted. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, and Munich, Kraus, 1980), 3:532.

b. London, British Library, MS Additional 12195, ff. 157r-185r (s. xv²), *inc.*: Her folowyth the knowyng of womans kynde and chyldyng. Ower lord god whan he had storyd the world ...; *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 rygth 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 hade stored the worlde ...; *expl.*: ... and then a man shall doe no cure by cuttinge nor by no fire. Followed by « a medycyne preved for whit flours 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 shall doo cure hem by no

bessynes for to schew after the french and latyn the diveris of the maladis and the signes that ye schall know theme by and the cures helpyng to theme after the tretys of diveris masteris. And therfor every womann redet vnto other that can not so do and helpe hem and cancell theme in her maladis without schewyng her desses unto mann.»

(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 emmenagogue near the end of the text refers to a recipe in the *Non omnes quidem*.

(20) Among these, interestingly, is an emmenagogue « that a lady of selerne 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*.

(21) See Green (1992), p. 86.

cuttyng ne by no fyer. Followed with no break by seven more gynecological recipes (as in Engle), ending (f. 104v): ... gyffe to the paciens j d worthe or more. This is to putoute the secundyne or aftyrbyrthe. 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 receptary; several English herbals; 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).⁽²²⁾ 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.⁽²³⁾ 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.⁽²⁴⁾ 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 bygyneth 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 enoynt 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.⁽²⁵⁾ 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 *secreta mulierum* was more common on the Continent. There is nothing in this translation to suggest it was intended for a female audience.

(22) See Andrew G. WATSON, « John Twynne of Canterbury (d. 1581) as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts: A Preliminary Investigation, » *The Library*, ser. 6, 8 (1986), 133-51, at p. 151.

(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 Trota/« Trotula » 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.

MSS :

a. *Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 43 (Q.D.1), ff. 70r-75v (s. xv), *inc.* : Assit principio santa maria meo. Whanne god maker of all thynkes in the furst ordinawns et [*sic*] of the world ... ; *expl.* : ... and sche schall be delyueryd ther of in schort tyme wyth owten dowl. Expliciuunt secreta mulierum. Other contents: medical texts in Latin and English on *materia medica*, diseases of the eyes, urines, pulses, bloodletting, and plague (this last is dated 1390). Described: Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1895), pp. 64-66. Cited: Singer, « Handlist, » card 223.

b. London, British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff. 100r-105r (s. xv), *inc.* : Right so wommen with owte her fflourys schulle lakke the office of conception ... ; *expl.* : ... and sche schall be deliuered ther of in schort tyme with owte dowlte. Expliciuunt secreta mulierum. Lacks prologue and part of first chapter; lacuna between chapters on provoking the menses and conception (cf. Eng3a f. 71r, 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 whommennes white ffloures. 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 firste ordinaunce of the worlde ... ; *expl.* : ... and sche schall be delyuered 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 (¶¶91-116, less ¶¶98, 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 ¶81 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 hais drawn and compyled this buk to the healp and remedy of woman and for ther 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 cawse and the cuyre. »

(27) My thanks to Linda Ehrsam Voigts 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*.⁽²⁹⁾

MSS:

a. London, British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff. 106r-107v (s. xv), *inc.* (¶91): to drink oximel. Also geue her to drinke the pouder of absinthij ...; *expl.* (¶116): ... and drawe to the matrys and geue her concoccion.⁽³⁰⁾ A loose bifolium. For other contents and description, see entry under Eng3b above.

b. *Longleat House (Warminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 333 (s. xvi²), ff. 33r-43v, *inc.*: Quidam t[r]actatus defectis mulierum bonus et vialis [*sic*]. This boke is called Trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyuers bukes of phesik. (¶2) For as mykyll as woman ar mor febler than men & in partes mor greved with dyuers sycknesses & dyssesses ...; *expl.*: ... maik a pissarye of mynt calemynt savery hylworthe and muske with castoreum and putt this into the marix matrice [*sic*] and let hir smell assefitida and rew. This hav I proved to be wonderfull good. Now her endes this noble tretes of the privitays of women that ys called in sum langwag mat'telle and in oder sum[ma] trotela that a philosopher drew owtt of dyuers bukes of phesik as Ypocras Galyen Constantine and oder. And if thow be noight so conyng to wirk by your medicyns as ther names is wrytten her for strangnes, maik thy bylles in forme as it is her wrytten and send them to the ypticaries and that may be sone sped. Ffynis. None of the material from the middle of f. 41v (following ¶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 («slyppyng out of the matrice»; «rysyng of the matrice»; «wythstandyng of the flowris»; «flyx of the floures»; «letyng of concevyng»; and «hardenes of deliuyryng 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 ¶¶74, 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] Sleppyng downe of the matrice is whenn it falleth over lowe downe ...; *expl.* (¶218): ... and therein holde thi handes a whyle and thow shalt se the wormes 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

(29) Wickersheimer/Jacquart, 1:369-70 and 3:147-8. John of Burgundy has also been confused with John of Bourdeaux (*de Burgigala* or *de Burdeus*), who wrote a plague regimen in England in 1390; see Wickersheimer/Jacquart 1:367, and W. L. BRAEKMAN, *Studies on Alchemy, Diet, Medicine [sic] and Prognostication in Middle English*, Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 22 (Brussels: Omirel, UFSAL, 1986), pp. 46-48. There is no reference to either figure in Talbot & Hammond or Getz, MPME.

(30) These passages correspond to Eng4b f. 40r, line 19 through f. 41r, line 16.

sancta maria meo. [preface]: Thys booke was drowne owtte of dyuerse boks of medycyns concernynge the dessessuf of women bye one experte in the anothamy and specyall consernynge 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 knoleg calle ther maris ... [list of six chapters]; [text] The sclyppyngew 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 unguents 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.

C. French ⁽³¹⁾

1. *Les Secrés 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 (¶¶74, 75a, 76, 78, 78b, 78c, 83-86, 94, 101, 100, 114). A fuller analysis will appear in Monica H. Green and Tony Hunt, « *Les secrés de femmes: An Anglo-Norman Text on Fertility* » (forthcoming).

MS:

a. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.1.20 (1044), ff. 21rb-23rb (s. XIII², England): <Les secretes de femmes> Ypocras dit et enseigne / les raisons de femme baraigne / Auauant maudist tot sodomite / Ke femme laise 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.I.20, Traités de

(31) An Anglo-Norman cosmetic text composed sometime in or before the second half of the thirteenth century (ed. Pierre RUELLE, *L'Ornement des Dames (Ornatus mulierum): Texte anglo-normande du XIII^e 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 Trote » 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, « 'Traittié tout de mençonges': The *Secrés 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. GILLELAND, « 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.

médecine, » *Romania* 32 (1903), 75-101; Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 142-144.

2. The second French translation, in this case of *LSM* 1 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* 1. 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 in so 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 Constantin » 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 proffered. ⁽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) Ieste mecine tolt lauortier et la ventosite quant feme est uenue a tens d'auoir enfant. The text here has a few minor lacunae vis-à-vis 2Ib and 2Ic. Other contents (all in French): Aldobrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*; *L'Ordenance de médecine et de diète*; Johannes Afflacijs on fevers; short tract on medicinal herbs; *Circa instans*; recipes; Roger Frugardi, *Chirurgia*; tract on urines; Salernitan deontological tract; weights and measures; *Antibolonomins*; *Antidotarium 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, « Manuscrits médicaux en Français, » *Romania* 44 (1915-17), 161-214, at pp. 182-214 (includes partial transcription of the text).

(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 Fren2IIa two remedies are said to have been made by Hippocrates for the queen of Spain (ff. 17v [¶25] and 18v [¶59]). In Fren2IIb the efficacy of the second remedy is said to have been proven by « la roine dengleterre 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 I, cap. 7 of the *Régime* to create an « enseignement de médecine » dedicated to sexual relations. It is addressed to both men and women. See Françoise FERY-HUE, « Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienn: 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 porquoi fammes ont icelle maladie que len apelee fleurs et que les senefient.> Diex nostre sire quant il ot le secle estore ... ; *expl.* (breaks off in ¶78a): ... autre poudre face de cheue si le boiue. Although the text is heavily abridged, on occasion this ms gives fuller readings than Fren2Ia. Other contents (in French except where noted): Aldobrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*; Hippocratic text on urines; Isaac Judaeus, *De dietis*; *Glossulae quatuor magistrorum*; Giordanus Ruffus, *Livre de marèschalerie* (on horses); Latin tract on chiromancy; medical 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 Berthelley le Roy demourant 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.*: [Jen nostre seigneur quant il ot le monde 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; 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^o MS med. 1., ff. 16v-20v (ca. 1430-75), *inc.*: Sains Iheromes dist que adam fufais de .viij. 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 siecle des aultres creatures ... ; *expl.*: ... au fons de lesue 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.

(38) On the latter (*inc.* Cum omnis creacio fit ex spermate), see Joan CADDEN, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 89-103.

(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 Fren2Ia.

b. *Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 863, ff. 122v-125v, 127r (s. xv med., probably Tournai), *inc.*: Chi parole des secrez 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 secrez 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 ot estore tout le siecle...; *expl.*: ... Celle qui porte fille est paille, et a le 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 à Bauduin Cauwet, demorant à Lille. Se aucun le treuve ou luy reporte et il luy donra le vin. Cauwet. » 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 prouue est. Et sic finis. Other contents: short moral texts (e.g., *Dits des philosophes*, *Faintises du monde*, *Doctrinal 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.I.20, Traités de médecine, » *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.*: <Prologe> Bien sachies, femmes, de ce naies dotaunce / Ci est escrit por uoir de lor science ...; *expl.* (¶114): ... Sor le masle plus grosse a la mamele destre / Sor la femele 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 (ll. 7-10: A homme icel nent ouere / Ke femme cele tant est couere / Ke envis unkes a nul home / Ke voil mustrer coe la sume) and even suggests that the information is to be shared within a female community (ll. 11-14: Pur ceo aprendre medecine / E a dame et a meschine / Par quei puse priuement / Sei eider sanz aient). 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 Aristoccele nous dit / En Alisaundre en son escrit ... Chaud grant coche le seir / Coe le

(40) On Despars, see Wickersheimer/Jacquart, 1:326-27 and 3:134-35; Danielle JACQUART, « La pratique médicale dans la région du Nord au quinzième siècle, » *Comptes rendus du 101e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Lille, 1976). Section des sciences* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1976), 3:8, 17-19.

garra bien pur veir. Other contents, in French: tract on geomancy, medical recipes in verse, signs of death, *La Novèle Cirurgerie* (another collection of remedies in verse),⁽⁴¹⁾ prognostications according to month of birth; in Latin: many tracts on astronomy and natural philosophy, a book of penances, the sayings of Secundus, dialogue on human generation (ff. 75ra-85vb, here called *Tractatus maior de secretis mulierum*),⁽⁴²⁾ text on unguents, text on physiognomy, text on psalmistry, *Parvus tractatus de secretis mulierum* (ff. 130va-132vb, another brief text on generation, particularly planetary influences), *Secretorum mulierum appendix* (ff. 206rb-207rb, so rubricated by a modern hand, this is a brief tract comparing male and female nature). Described: James, *Manuscripts of Trinity College*, 3:84-92; Paul Meyer, « Les manuscrits français de Cambridge, » *Romania* 32 (1903), 18-120, at pp. 95-101.

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,⁽⁴³⁾ and an *Antidotarium* (in this case, of « Jhesu le filz Hally ») and medicines for the eyes on the other.

MS :

a. *Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, MS 1037, f. 20v (s. xv, N. France), *inc.* : Li livre de Trocule. Comme Dieu faiseur de l'universel monde devisast en la premiere constitucion du monde ... Breaks off at bottom of same folio, *expl.* : ... et a la femme par sa plus foble qualité. Several quires that followed have been lost. Other contents (all in French): Lanfranc, *Chirurgia parva*; *Antidotarium Nicholai* (fragment); recipes, esp. surgical (including those of Jean Picart and Henri de Mondeville, compiled at the request of Charles of Valois). Described: Claude de Tovar, « Les versions françaises de la *Chirurgia parva* de Lanfranc de Milan. Étude de la tradition manuscrite, » *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 12-13 (1982-83), 195-262, at pp. 203-9. Cited: Spitzner.

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 voulum du Regime des dames pour leurs aydier en leurs maladies et aduersitez tant de la comcepcion comme de lanfentement et aultrement.> Dieu tout puissant acteur et ordonneur de toutes les vniuersitez ...; (f. 84v) ... comme sont cepe pastinate domestice et leurs semblés. <Chapitre de la cure des dames selon lenpeshement dessusdit.> POUR Auoir et faire la cure aux dames selon leur necessite nous est expedient ...; (f. 89v) il conuient que telle maladie

(41) Constance B. HEATT and Robin F. JONES, eds., *La novèle cirurgerie*, Anglo-Norman Texts, XLVI (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1990); the editors date the text to the mid-thirteenth century.

(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 Lanffran, » 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.

vulgalement soit appelee Trocula comme la maistresse maladie et douleur des dames ; (f. 106v) ... tu oingdras les mains et autres membres et ilz deuiendront blans. Aultre maniere ace que la dame soit douce sonee blanche et plaisante ... ; *expl.* (f. 117r) : ... Et si vault ladite pouldre contre flux de sang du nez et de la mayre (end of ¶308). Explicit Trocula. Deo gracias. Other contents (all in French) : Bernard de Gordon, *Lilium medicine* and *Prognostications* ; Benvenutus Grassus (or Grapheus), *Le Compendil ... pour la douleur et maladie des yeulx* ; tract on aqua vitae ; tract on potable gold ; *Medecine ordonnée contre l'epedimie, laquelle a esté envoyée par nostre saint pere le pape au roy nostre sire*. Described : *Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Impériale* [later *Nationale*], *Catalogue des manuscrits français: Ancien Fonds*, 5 vols. (Paris : Firmin Didot Frères, 1868-1902), 1:213-14. Cited : Spitzner.

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 traitié compilé par Albert de Trape-sonde. » These seem to derive from a text entitled « Un traitié 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., Justus/Justinus). The text was also, however, considerably modified : this redactor explains, for example, that because of women's embarrassment at naming the intimate 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 « Apolonies. » 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., *Placides et Timéo ou Li secrés as philosophes* (Paris & Geneva : Libraire Droz, 1980), esp. p. 254 (Quant Dieu eust créé le monde ... L'enfant est nourry, croit et sustente ou ventre de la mere = ¶1) ; 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 traitié 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 decouvrir as hommes et as phisicienz de leurs maladies secretes, et que moult de dames se lairoient ainchois grever durement, avons plainement translaté lez causes desquelles les maladies viennent et tous lez instrumens de leurs secretes natures ... ; *expl.* (¶116, 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 translaté lez causes desquelles les maladies viennent et tous les instrumens de leurs secretes natures. Toutes sont ordonnéez l'une après l'autre ; mais, pource qu'elles [sc. femmes] ne soient honteuses de nommer en telle maniere que nous lez nommons communement en romant, nous nommerons cascu instrument par aultre non que a coustume n'ont ; si les nommeront plus habondamment sans estre honteuses. Premier, nous nommerons le premiere porte, que est membre de generacion, alias, *volve*. Item appellerons le langue que est enemy, *pignon*. Item appellerons le semence, *esperm*. » Cf. Thomasset ed., p. 265 : « ... il est expedient que les dames sachent les causes, raisons et manieres de leurs maladies, et qui et quelz sont les instrumens de leurs natures secretes. Mais pour tant que je me vergongne dire, je voel en parler en couvert et, a une chascune equalité, je changeray le nom des natures et tout premierement le premier porte, je l'appelleray le sain, et ce qui est au my lieu, je l'appelleray 'pignonus' ; et ce que se dit 'sperma', je l'appelleray semence et le lieu ou quel la semence de homme est rechupte et assemblee, je l'appelleray matrice ; les maladies secretes, je les appelleray les fleurs ; 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.

... s'il advient choses que l'enfant descende jusques a la nature, li obsterie doit apareillier toutes choses qui sont nécessaires a son office. Other contents (all in French): texts on medicine and surgery; French *Secrés des dames*.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Described: Jules Camus, « La Seconde Traduction de la Chirurgie de Mondeville (Turin, Bibl. nat. L.IV.17), » *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens textes français* 28 (1902), 100-119, at pp. 108-9. Destroyed in the Turin library fire of 1904.⁽⁴⁷⁾

D. German⁽⁴⁸⁾

1. The so-called *Flos mulierum* or *Blume der Frawen* 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 Frawen* 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,⁽⁵⁰⁾ central Germany), *inc.*: < Incipit flos mulierum. > DU Got schepper aller dynges yn der ersten geschepnisse der werlde allerhande dinge natur gab ...; *expl.*: ... der seyn sebinczen vol blutis. *Nu alle missewende hy hot dis buch eyn ende Das ist geheissen blume der frauen Got musse wir beschawen In seyme hymmelreiche Sproecht alle Amen gleiche.* Explicit secretum mulier[um] Anno etc. xliiij [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.⁽⁵¹⁾

2. The German physician, Dr. Johannes Hartlieb (d. 1468), made a translation of the *Trotula* standardized ensemble probably between 1460 and 1465 which he dedicated to Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria-Munich, Count-palatine of the Rhine.⁽⁵²⁾ Hartlieb's version, divided into 26 chapters, uses

(46) Al. C[OLSON] & Ch.-Ed. C[AZIN], eds., *Ce sont les Secres des Dames deffendus a révéler, publiés pour la première fois d'après des manuscrits du XVe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne et Moderne, Édouard Rouveyre, 1880). On this text, see also Green, « 'Traittié' » (n. 31 above).

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

(48) In several instances, the *Trotula* has been assumed to be the source of certain German gynecological material found in other texts. Gundolf KEIL (« Der 'Kodex Kohlhauser': Ein iatromathematisch-hauswirtschaftliches Arzneibuch aus dem mittelalterlichen Oberfranken, » *Sudhoffs Archiv* 64 [1980], 130-50) refers to a brief German text entitled « Von der frauen krankheit » as an « Auszug » from the *Trotula*. 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 *Trotula* is repeated. Keil has also suggested (VL 7:67-82) that the *Trotula* 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 *Trotula*. Finally, Jan Frederiksen has made a similar assertion with regard to the so-called *Düdesche Arstedia* (VL 2:238-9); I have not yet examined this text.

There are, in addition, two references to « Trotula » within the German gynecological texts edited by Kruse (1996). In *Von der Natur der Frauen und ihren Krankheiten* (p. 275), « meister Trocula » 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 *Trotula* 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 mss 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 Trotula* is based on ms Germ2j; on the version of the Latin *Trotula* which must have served as Hartlieb's source, see also « Handlist, » Part I, n. 144.

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 Glosse 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), p. 338.

b. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS germ. fol. 928, ff. 82r-141r (s. xv², Bavaria): incomplete text of Kaiser version. Other contents: Hartlieb's *Secreta mulierum* (Kaiser version). Described: Bosselmann-Cyran, pp. 59-64.

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. xvi²); selected capp. incorporated into another gynecological text. Other contents: medical texts. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, p. 65.

e. #Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 116, ff. Ir-IVv (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 püch Trottula Macroby Gilberini [sic] Mustio das doctor Hartt

(53) Henry E. Sigerist, « Johannes Hartlieb's Gynaecological Collection and the Johns Hopkins Manuscript 3 (38066), » in E. A. Underwood (ed.), *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice in Honor of Charles Singer*, 2 vols. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1:231-46.

(54) Bazzi gives the date 1480; the official catalogue by Vergnano dates it s. xvi.

Lieb geteüschtt hatt. [Then follows list of 26 capp.] Die vor red Trottula was sie bewegt hatt diss püch zü samelnn. Dvrchlichtiger hochgeborner fürst als ewer fürstlich gnad geschafft vnd gepotten hat [dedication to Duke Siegmund] ... Hie hept sich ander war text vnd die haimlich gloss des puchs Trottula vnd dar ein gezogen die gehaim Macroby, Gilberini vnd Muscio. Das erst cappittel. DU gott der merer vnd schepfer aller ding in den anfang der weltt ...; *expl.* (text): ... vnd leg sie vber hinden vnd forn es writt dir wol thün 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, 1965), pp. 96-97.

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

l. #Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 2186 (s. xvi in.); 20 leaves; a fragment of the Kaiser version. Brief notice: Bosselmann-Cyran, 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-Cyran, 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-Cyran, 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 Kyrannus, Rhazes and other unnamed sources. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ The fact that ¶245 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. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

MS:

a. *Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Cent. VI,1, ff. 94r-116v (an. 1509), inc.: Das capitel sagt wie man die man vnd frauen zieren sol. Item am ersten wil ich schreiben von dem har wie man das machen sol lang ...; *expl.*: ... wenden allen zand wee. Other contents (all in German): **ms 1**: south German trans. of pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*; ⁽⁵⁷⁾ **ms 2**: trans. of

(55) « Trotula » is cited by name only twice in the text, though extracts from the *Trotula* are quite frequent. « Die edle Frauen von Salerne » are cited three times (see below).

(56) Kruse (1996), p. 27, n. 92.

(57) Ed. Margaret R. SCHLEISSNER, « Pseudo-Albertus Magnus: *Secreta mulierum cum commento*, Deutsch: Critical text and commentary, » Ph. D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1987).

text that originally accompanied the picture of a pregnant woman in the *Fasciculus medicine* of pseudo-Ketham; excerpts from pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata*.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Owner: Georg Palma (1543-1591), a Nürnberg municipal physician. Description: Karin Schneider, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg*. Bd. 1: *Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), pp. 445-46; Kruse (1996), p. 337.

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 ha-seter* (« 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 present 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 Heb1a omits the cosmetic section may be due to the quite specific gynecological concerns of the manuscript's compiler. The identity of the *Sefer ha-seter* 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-toledet* (« Book on Generation ») which he describes as « on conception, the womb and pregnancy. It is called by them *Gynesias* »; and a *Sefer ha-ëm 'al Galynus* (« Galen'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-seter*, 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⁽⁶⁴⁾ (s. xv, Spain), *inc.* (¶45, leaf damaged at upper edge): *afisat ha-lev ha-niqra shinq ... lif'amim yireh la besibat zeh ha-holy kelifat ...; 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.

(60) See Ron Barkai, *Les Infortunes de Dinah: le livre de la génération. La gynécologie juive au Moyen-Âge*, trans. Jacqueline Barnavi & Michel Garel (Paris: Cerf, 1991), pp. 130 (n. 15) and 177 (n. 8).

(61) See Green, « Development, » Sections A.1.d and A.3.b.

(62) Aside from a handful of recipes in the *Cura 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 presalernitan 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.

yirhazu ota, ve-tishté ha-mayim, ve-hi muflā, ve-hi tova li-dvarim rabim. Tam ve-nishlam shevah le-'el 'olam. Other contents (all Hebrew): a text on hemorrhoids; « A Record of the Diseases Occurring in the Genital members, » an anonymous treatise on andrology and gynecology (ff. 15v-25r); *Sefer ha-toledet*, a translation of Muscio's *Gynaecia* (ff. 25v-53v)⁽⁶⁵⁾; *Sefer ha-ém el Galinus hou ha-niqra Gynias*, a translation of the *De passionibus mulierum* Version B (ff. 53v-59v, ending missing due to loss of leaves between ff. 59 and 60);⁽⁶⁶⁾ various notes and prescriptions. Described: Moritz STEINSCHNEIDER, « Medicinische Handschriften, » *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 10 (1883), 102-112, 157-9; Hartwig HIRSCHFELD, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library* (London: MacMillan, 1904), reprinted in *Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss. of the Montefiore Library and of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews' College, London* (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1969), p. 132.

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:

a. #Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 F 19, ff. 88ra-93ra (s. xv), *inc.* (acephalous): idir na cichib 7 is urcoidech doib cuisle na lam ...; *expl.*: ... oir tuitid da ndaindeoin uatha da reir sin. Other contents (in Irish): a tract on rules of surgery, rules for treatment of wounds, excerpts from John of Gaddesden's *Rosa Anglica*, medicinal preparations, divisions of medicine and surgery, brief *materia medica*, brief tracts on simple medicines and love sickness. Described: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 fasc. (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, Hodges, Figgis and Co.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1926-1970), fasc. 6-10, pp. 1235-39.

b. #—, Trinity College, MS 1436 (E.4.1), pp. 101-107 and 359b-360b (s. xv), *inc.*: [C]um autur un[i]uercitati[s] 7 cetera oir edirdealaighid ughduir na huilidheachta naduir na nuili raet faena ...; p. 107⁽⁶⁷⁾ (text breaks off abruptly): ... coimel an uinnimint adubrumar romainn 7 berbtar premha lili maillire ...; (p. 359b, fragment): Secundum dominam Trotulam Quaedam mulieres sunt grasiles quedam groise 7c. Adeir domina Trotula co fuil cuid dona mnaibh cael 7 cuid ele remar a cosmuiilius ... *expl.*: ... ana maclac 7 in gein bes ann 7 hugho dx (?) 7rl. 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-ém* will appear in Ron BARKAI, *A History of Medieval Jewish Gynecological Literature* (forthcoming).

(67) Or p. 106v? Cf. Wulff pp. xiv and 52.

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.⁽⁶⁸⁾ 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 ¶6 his name replaces Ruffus's). The *Segrete cose* is followed immediately in Italla-c by [*Il Libro*] *dello adornamento delle donne per che modo debbono fare belli i loro membri*, i.e., the *DOM*, in six chapters.⁽⁶⁹⁾ 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: ⁽⁷⁰⁾

a. #Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 73.51, ff. 52r-56v; 56v-59v (s. XIV), inc. (¶1): Dio creatore di tutte le cose di questo mondo ordinò le nature ...; expl. (¶50): ... e vale molto questo medicamento. *Dello adornamento*. Per saper fare buona e bella buccia. Inc. (¶242): Acciocchè la femmina sia scavissima e piena e senza peli ...; expl.: ... e la mattina ha levata con acqua calde. Other contents (all in Italian): Aldobrandino, *Régime du corps*, tract on fevers, general tract on diseases, anatomical text, medical recipes. Described: Bandini, *Catalogus codicum italicorum Bibliothecae mediceae Laurentianae, Gaddianae, et Sanctae Crucis* (Florence, 1778), coll. 289-90.

b. #—, —, MS Redi 172⁽¹⁾ (olim 73), ff. 74r-83v; 84r-88v (s. XV). Base text of Manuzzi & Razzolini's edition of the *Segrete Cose*. Other contents: follows Italian translation of Aldebrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*. No published description.⁽⁷¹⁾

c. #—, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2165 (olim N.IV.20), ff. 70r-76r; 76r-79r (an. 1433). Other contents: follows Italian translation of Aldebrandino of Siena, *Régime du corps*. Scribe: Antonio del Forese. Described: G. Lami, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florentiae adservantur* (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. XVI), inc. (¶1): Prohemio della infrascripto tractato; perchè 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 Secrès des dames': Tradition, traductions, » *Médiévales* no. 14 (Spring 1988), 47-57, at pp. 54-55. In mss Italla-c, it follows an Italian translation (redacted by Zuccherò Bencivenni 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, edd., *Libro degli adornamenti delle donne* (Florence: Tipografia del Vocabolario, 1863 [recte post 1876]).

(70) Manuzzi referred to a « Palatina ms 174 » in his edition of the *Libro delle segrete cose*. The text in Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Palatina 557 (olim 174; E,5,4,49), pp. 214-35, is an Italian translation of ps-Albertus Magnus, *De secretis mulierum*, not *Trotula*. See *Indici e cataloghi IV: I Codici Palatini della R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, vol. II, fasc. 1 (Rome: Principali Librai, 1890), pp. 120-22; and Green, « 'Traittié' » (n. 31 above).

(71) The *Inventario dei codici Redi, Tempi e Rinuccini*, 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.

chaduti in grande miseria et fragilità, à per sua bontà proveduti molti rimedij. [D]io, creatore di tutte le cose di questo mondo ...; *expl.* (¶50): ... et è ottimo questo medicamento e vale ad ciò mirabilmente. Et ògli provati tutti questi rimedij. Finis et laus Deo semper. Edited Gino Arrighi and Giuseppe Caturegli, *La Ginecologica di fra Andrea Seniore da Firenze* (Lucca: Azienda, 1963). ⁽⁷³⁾ Other contents (all in Italian): tracts on powders, foods, herbs, head injuries, astrological associations of plants. Described: Arrighi and Caturegli, pp. 5-6.

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 Trota/« Trotula » has been deleted from ¶151 (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 utilidade e maximamente per le done per la sua infirmitade de la matrice. (¶3) Impero volgio comenziare ad alcune done le quale ano sua natura ...; *expl.* (¶70): ... e di tuti questi cose zonte in sema o di zaschanduno per la fare como e dito disopra. Finis. Amen. Followed on f. 71r by *Signa pregnationis* 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 (¶¶6-66). This adaptor has considerably rewritten the *TEM* text, for example by adding new synonyms as in ¶46 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 ¶13: « 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 ¶6): laborat et multum mouet per racionem non debet habere nimis multum fluxum sanguinis siue menstruorum ...; *expl.* (¶66): ... infirmus mulieris tunc illa. et cetera. Explicit. Other contents: *The Sekenesse of Wymmen 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 :

a. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8161A, ff. 6ra-15va (s. XIII med., England), ⁽⁷⁵⁾ inc.: < Incipit prologus libri de secretis mulierum. > Principio rerum cum conditor orbis adiret / Humani generis primos plasmare parentes ... Caulis et olibanum cui postea fumigium dent. < Incipit prologus libri de ornatu mulierum. > Cum sit ab ingressu mundi totius ad actum ... Et quamvis facilis precii, tamen appreciandum. Edited by Charles Daremberg in *Coll. sal.*, 4:1-38. Other contents: four books on surgery, also in verse, based on the *Chirurgia* of Roger Frugardi and Roland of Parma, and a seventh verse section on healing in general. Owner: purchased in 1512 by Guichard Bessonat, who describes himself as « natif de Lion, demourant a Paris, notaire et secretaire du Roy » (ff. 11vb, 15va, 50rb, 62ra). Described: *Cat. reg.*, p. 434.

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. IIv 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), inc.: < Hic incipit liber Trotularis. > [F]or as muche as ther ben many women that habyn many dyuerse ...; expl.: ... shal concuyve. < WYTNYS 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

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

⁽⁷⁶⁾ H. P. BAYON, « Trotula and the Ladies of Salerno: A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Transition between Ancient and Mediaeval Physick, » *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 33 (1940), 471-75; this claim was repeated in his later article « The Masters of Salerno and the Origins of Professional Medical Practice, » in *Science, Medicine and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice written in honour of Charles Singer*, ed. E. A. UNDERWOOD, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 1:203-219, esp. p. 214.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ See Ker, *MLGB*, p. 21; Ker/Watson, *MLGBSupp*, p. 6.

⁽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 Anglicus' *Compendium medicine* and other material; see n. 17 above.
- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 3356, ff. 1ra-32vb (s. xv), *inc.*: <Assi comença lo libre qui parla gint e desliure de tot adop de la regine, per la qual en tot son temps viurà sana; lo qual à fet mestre Johan a la infante molt agradant, al qual à més nom Tròtula>. Followed by poem and chapter headings, with the heading <Assi començan les rúfiques de Tròtule.> Prologue (f. 1vb): <Del pròlec de aquest libre. Molt és benauyrat qui pot servir a totes jens en grat, e mayorment com hom servex a dona, que és cap e pretz de tot ensenyamens e on beutat s'afina ...; *expl.*: ... ans lo purguen e retèn 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 tradició llatina,» 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).
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VIII.D.53, ff. 1r-38v (s. xiv). Attributed to «Trotula» by Leopoldo Cassese, ed., *Mostra bibliografica della Scuola Medica Salernitana* (Salerno: Fratelli Jovane di Gaetano, 1936), p. 19, item no. 26; and to Trota by Maria Pasca, ed., *La scuola medica salernitana: storia, immagini, manoscritti dall'XI al XIII secolo* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1988), p. 45. This is in fact a copy of pseudo-Albertus Magnus, *Secreta mulierum*.
- Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 164, ff. 240r-243v (s. xv med., England), *inc.*: Mulieres quidem non omnes equaliter ... si fomento galle aut fidie aut lentistis decoctis. 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⁾
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 696 (s. xiii). Cited by Hurd-Mead, «Trotula,» p. 354; apparently an error for «6964» (= Latin ms 83).
- , —, 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).
- , —, MS lat. 15081, ff. 86vb-89va (s. xiii/xiv, Paris), *inc.*: De naturis mulierum locuturi primo a secretiora parte incipiamus ... aut extinguat. <Explicit Trotula de naturis mulierum.> An adaptation of selections from Muscio's *Gynaecia*.⁽⁸²⁾ Owner: listed in 1514 catalogue of Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris.⁽⁸³⁾ Description: George Lacombe, ed., *Aristoteles Latinus*, pars prior (Bruges/Paris: Desclé de Brouwer, 1957), pp. 549-550.

(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·lecció de Tesis Doctorals Microfíxades 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 *magna libraria* of the Sorbonne as described in the mid-14th century by Master Adalbertus Ranconis de Ericinio; here, too, it was attributed to «Trotula» (*Trotula de secretis mulierum, inc.*: De naturis mulierum locuturi ...). See Paul LEHMANN, «Mitteilungen aus Handschriften VII,» *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung* 10 (1942), 3-28, at p. 24.

(83) See Gilbert Ouy et al. (edd.), *Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue, 1514* (Paris: Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1983), p. 380.

ADDENDUM TO PART I: LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

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

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