

From a Master to a Laywoman: A Feminine Manual of Self-Help

MONTSERRAT CABRÉ (*)

SUMMARY

Introduction. 1.—Master Joan's *Tròtula*: the history of a text. 2.—«*Women are in want of it*»: The meanings of a text. 3.—Conclusion.

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes master Joan's *Tròtula*, a late fourteenth-century Catalan text on women's health addressed to an infanta of Aragon which survives in one late fourteenth-century manuscript. It presents a hypothesis regarding its genre, its composition and use at the Catalan-Aragonese Court, and its later *fortuna*. It considers how Master Joan inscribed in the text a conception of women's medical needs, while also defining lay women's involvement in maintaining their health.

BIBLID [0211-9536(2000) 20; 371-393]

Fecha de aceptación: 4 de diciembre de 1999

INTRODUCTION

My contribution attempts to address two interrelated issues through a particular case study. The first is an analysis of one of the ways through which the medieval laity gained access to medical knowledge, that is, the written word that medical masters explicitly set down for lay

(*) Research Associate, Duoda. Centre de Recerca de Dones, Universitat de Barcelona, and Departamento de Historia de la Ciencia, Institución Milá y Fontanals, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Egipcíacas 15, 08001 Barcelona (España). Email: mcabre@bicat.csic.es

people. The second is what their writing can tell us about them both, lay people and university physicians. Since I am using the category of «lay» as an analytical tool, let me begin with a clarification: I propose to use the label «lay» not simply as opposed to «learned» or «educated» but in relational opposition to «practitioner». Thus, I define «lay» by turning upside down what I consider to be the most inclusive definition of medieval medical practitioners—Monica Green’s consideration of women practitioners as «women who at some point in their lives would have either identified themselves in terms of their medical practice or been so identified by their communities» (1). Following the conceptual frame of this definition, I propose to consider as medically lay the people who never in their lives would have either identified themselves in terms of their medical practice or had been so identified by their communities. In what follows, I will try to interpret some of the embedded meanings of a particular instance in the history of the interactions between lay women and medical practitioners.

1. MASTER JOAN’S TRÒTULA: THE HISTORY OF A TEXT

A particular text appears to be the foundation of a medieval Catalan genre of medical literature addressed to women, and more precisely, to lay women. Compiled by a certain master Joan, the text bears the name *Tròtula* as its title and as far as we can nowadays tell, it inaugurated a genre of Catalan texts on women’s health (2). We know this text through

-
- (1) GREEN, Monica. Women’s Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe. *Signs*, 1989, 14, 434-473 (439); and GREEN, Monica. Documenting Medieval Women’s Medical Practice. In: Luis García Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Practical medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 322-352 (335-336).
- (2) Another instance of this genre is the *Flos del Tresor de beutat*, extant in one manuscript copy of the first half of the 15th century, Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitària, Ms. 68, fols. 160r-177v; see CABRÉ i PAIRET, Montserrat, *La cura del cos femení i la medicina medieval de tradició llatina*. Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona [Col.lecció de Tesis Doctorals Microfitxades núm. 2794], 1996, pp. 351-394, and MINERVINI, Vincenzo. Una raccolta di «Flos» di cosmetica catalana. *Messana. Rassegna di Studi Filologici, Linguistici e Storici*, 1991, 8, 129-146. A

only one extant copy, produced in the late fourteenth century and written by three scribes whose names we do not know (3). It is unlikely that this manuscript is the original codex written by or on behalf of master Joan. Its codicological context is not very revealing about its medieval use: today the text is bound in eighteenth century covers together with the Catalan *Speculum al foderi*, a treatise on heterosexual practices of Arabic origin, written from a male perspective and addressed to men (4). The *Speculum* follows the foliation of master Joan's treatise, but by a later hand. It is difficult to assess when the two texts were bound, but it might have occurred before the eighteenth century. In one of the initial *folia* covering the manuscript in its present binding, Gaspar Galceran de Castre i Pinós (1560-1638), first count of Guimerà since 1599, signed an autograph note dated in 1621, stating that he

shorter version of this text, entitled *Flos de veritat del tresor de beutat*, is extant in Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 864, fols. 56va-57va, see AVENOZA, Gemma. Una còpia desconeguda del «Tresor de Beutat» i altres tractats mèdics, BdC Ms. 864. *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, 1992, 6-2, 229-236, and CABRÉ, above, pp. 395-400. The complete description of these texts and their *fortuna* in print in CIFUENTES, Lluís. *La difusió de la ciència en català a la Baixa Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement. Catàleg de manuscrits i de primers impresos. vol. 1: Escrits mèdics*, Barcelona, Curial Edicions Catalanes i Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat [Textos i Estudis de Cultura Catalana], forthcoming; my thanks to Lluís Cifuentes for sharing his work-in-progress with me.

- (3) JOAN, mestre. *Tròtula*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 3356, fols. 1r-33v.
- (4) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 3356, fols. 35r-54v. This text was first edited, in Gothic typography, by Ramón Miquel y Planas ca. 1917. His edition, however, never saw the light as a bound volume; Miquel, due to funding problems, did not publish his *Recull de Textes Catalans Antichs. Aplech IV*, to which it was planned to belong. Miquel's edition circulated in offprint form among bibliophiles; I am indebted to Amadeu-J. Soberanas for sharing with me his research on the history of this edition. An Spanish translation, facsimile reproduction of the Madrid manuscript and an unacknowledged reproduction of Miquel's edition were published in *Speculum al-foder. Speculum al joder. Tratado de recetas y consejos sobre el coito*. [Transcripción, traducción y prólogo de Teresa Vicens]. Barcelona-Palma de Mallorca, Olañeta, editor (Pequeña Biblioteca Calamus Scriptorius), 1978. An English translation in SOLOMON, Michael. *The Mirror of Coitus: a Translation and Edition of the Fifteenth-Century Speculum al Foderi*, Madison, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990. The complete description in CIFUENTES, note 2, forthcoming.

found the manuscript among the books and documents which were in Guimerà, the see of his county in Lleida (5). Thus, it could well be that in the seventeenth century the two texts were bound together by wish of Gaspar Galceran de Castre, who had taken the manuscript from Guimerà to Fréscano, the Aragonese town where he lived at that time (6). It is known that his wife and nephew, Isabel Inés d'Erill, was a learned woman and a literary patroness, but there is no direct indication of her relationship with this text (7). After his death, part of Gaspar Galceran's library went to his heirs, the dukes of Híjar, who sold it in 1735 to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, where the copy of master Joan's *Tròtula* is held to the present day (8).

-
- (5) The initial note does not mention the *Speculum al foderi*: «Nos, don Gaspar Galcerán de Castro y Pinós, conde de Guimerá, vizconde de Évol y al Quer Foradat por la gracia de Dios, hacemos fe y verdadera relación que este libro manuscrito, de letra antigua con rúbricas coloradas de varias recetas, compuesto por maestre Juan escrito en lenguaje elemosín, le hallamos entre los libros y escrituras que estaban en Guimerá. Y por la verdad para que conste d-ella, mandamos hacer la presente relación y la firmamos de la nuestra en Fréscano, a 15 de maio 1621». Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 3356, internal cover. In manuscript quotations throughout this article I have silently expanded abbreviations but I have respected medieval Romance spelling, noting the missing vowels with the sign «·». For the sake of clarity I have accentuated and punctuated according to modern grammar.
- (6) It is known that on May, 1621, Gaspar Galcerán de Castre-Pinós was supervising the inventory of his library. On May 19, 1621, he signs a similar note to accompany a Catalan translation of Guido della Colonna's *Trojan Histories*, where he seems to suggest that he looked after its binding: «...por no tener cubierta, las tres primeras ojas se an rasgado, adonde constava del dominio de dicho libro y, porque se conservase, lo mandé poner en la forma que está aora y mandé hacer la presente relación...». LLOBET I PORTELLA, Josep M. Obres manuscrites en català procedents del primer comte de Guimerà. *Urtx. Revista Cultural de l'Urgell*, 1995, 7, 111-116 (113).
- (7) ANDRÉS, Gregorio de. La valiosa colección de códices del conde de Guimerà en la Biblioteca Nacional. In: *Varia Bibliographica: homenaje a José Simón Díaz*, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1988, pp. 47-54 (48), and LLOBET, note 6, p. 114, who notes her signature on another manuscript.
- (8) The convent of San Agustín in Zaragoza also received part of his book collection, ANDRÉS, note 7, pp. 48-49. Item number six of the list of books bought by the Biblioteca Nacional reads: «Libro de medicina compuesto por el maestre Juan

Besides this early seventeenth-century possessor, I have been unable to trace any other direct indication of ownership of this manuscript. But Guimerà, the town where it was found in the seventeenth century, had been the see of a feudal estate since early in the fifteenth century in the hands of the Castre-Pinós, a prominent noble family closely related to the Catalan-Aragonese court (9). Pere Galceran de Castre-Pinós (*ca.* 1371-1418), the first to unite the Castre-Pinós names, commanded in 1395 the troops sent to Sicily by queen Maria de Luna (1357-1406); his mother's sister-in-law, Constança de Pinós, was a courtesan of queen Elionor de Sicília (1325-1375) (10).

But if we may only envision a relational link between the manuscript owned in the seventeenth century by the Castre-Pinós and the fourteenth century Catalan-Aragonese court, there seems to be no doubt that the original book was produced for the women of the royal family, as the text itself states. Master Joan's *Tròtula* is addressed to an unnamed *flower* of Aragon, as reads its laudatory prologue—written in octosyllabic verse:

«Good health to you, flower of Aragon,
May God give you a rich nobleman
And all pleasant things
To make your good talents

para la infanta de Aragón, el título es Trótula, en lemosín.» ANDRÉS, note 7, p. 52. No indication is given on the *Speculum al foderi*.

- (9) Pere Galceran de Castre-Pinós (*ca.* 1371-1418) was the son of Bernat Galceran de Pinós (+1421) and Aldonça de Castre i Peralta (+1378), since 1371 baroness of Castre and Peralta, titles she inherited from her mother Francesca Alemany. Pere Galceran was granted his mother's baronies and founded the Castre-Pinós noble lineage to which Gaspar Galceran belonged. For the complete genealogy of this family, see FERRER I MALLOL, Maria Teresa; FLUVIÀ, Armand de. Castre. *In: Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Barcelona, Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1974, vol. 4, pp. 622-623, and CAPDEVILA, Sanç. *El castell de Guimerà*, Tarragona, Talleres Tipogràfics Suc. de Torres & Virgili, 1927, pp. 49-73. A 1402 inventory of the goods in the Guimerà castle lists two books in the lord's room, «...hun libre amb les cubertes blanques; hun libre de pergami ab les cubertes vermeylles...», CAPDEVILA, above, p. 18.
- (10) See DEIBEL, Ulla. La reyna Elionor de Sicília. *In: Sobiranes de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Fundació Concepció Rabell y Cibils, 1928, pp. 351-452 (398).

And may he give you his love
 To live long with great honour
 And in paradise after death
 Where you might always have solace
 To you, flower, I am sent
 And that is why I beg you to hear me
 For I am made to serve you
 And keep your body in wellbeing
 I do not say so because you are in need of it
 Since every high need is met by your beauty
 And you are graceful and a pleasure
 And flower and fruit of teachings
 Beautiful above all people
 And generosity is not unworthy of you
 And I beg you not to refuse me
 Because women are in want of it
 And your name will exalt
 And it will always be more valuable
 And if you were to refuse me
 You would bring me into great exile
 And I will die of great pain
 With no relative to cry for me
 And I will go straight to hell
 Without having sinned
 Since it has been thus ordained
 By the one who has made me for beauty
 As the chapters show
 Thus, the titles that follow
 Ordered by me one by one
 I beg you hereinafter to understand them» (11).

(11) «Salutz a vós, flor d'Aragó/ A qui don Déus riq baró/E totes coses ben placent/
 Per fer los vostres bons talentz/ E que vós don la sua amor/ Per molt viure ab
 gran honor/ E-m paradís après la mort/ On vós aiatz tostemp conort/ A vós, na
 fflor, son enviatz/ E per so us prech que m'i oiatz/ Car per vós son fayt a servir/
 E vostre cors per gint tenir/ No u dic per ço que n'i aiatz obs/ Car bela sotz a
 totz richs ops/ E sotz cortesa e plasens/ E flor e fruyt d'e[n]senyamens/ Bela
 sobre tota jent/ E largesa no vos desment/ Eu vos prech que no-m rebugetz/ Car
 dompnes en agen carretz/ E vostre nom exalsaretz/ E a toste[mp]s mais en

In this dedicatory poem both the author and the book itself address the reader in the majestic second person, an address consistently used throughout the text, combined with the use of the impersonal form of verbs. However, the direct feminine address, which frequently includes mentioning the reader as «milady» (*madona*), does not involve naming the royal woman. Such an individualised form of address does not preclude an intended broader audience: in fact, the introductory passage which precedes the laudatory poem presents the book in a somewhat ambiguous way, which could relate it not to one but two women:

«Here begins the book which speaks well and frees the queen from all cure, so that she might live healthily all her lifetime; it has been done by master Joan and has pleased the infanta very much, he has entitled it *Tròtula*» (12).

This fragment engages two women with the text, a queen and an infanta. The *regina* could refer to a daughter of a king of the Catalan-Aragonese crown who was, at the same time, queen of another kingdom by marriage. But most probably it relates to a queen and an infanta of Aragon—a queen's daughter or a queen's daughter-in-law—, who would also be an infanta. Since it seems clear that the infanta was not married by the time the text was produced—the poem wishes the final addressee «a rich nobleman»—the infanta might have been the daughter of a king and a queen, rather than the wife of an Aragonese infant. In any case, there seems to be little doubt that the text was produced for women of the royal Aragonese family and, probably, commissioned by them.

valretz/ E si tant s'és que·m rebugetz/ En gran exil me pausaretz/ E eu morray
a gran dolor/ Senes parent qui mi no plor/ E en inffern tot dret iray/ senes
peccat que no auray/ Car enaxí ho ha mandat/ Aicel qui m'à fayt per beutat/
Sí con o mostren los capítols/ Axí com se seguexen los títols/ De .I. en .I. per
mi ordonatx/ Der enant prech que·ls entenatz». JOAN, note 3, fol. 1ra-b; CABRÉ,
note 2, pp. 243-244.

- (12) «Assí 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 ha fet mestre Joan a la infante molt agradable, al qual à més nom *Tròtula*». JOAN, note 3, fol. 1ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 243.

Explicit interest in medical literature by women from the Catalan-Aragonese Crown was something neither strange nor new in the late fourteenth century. Blanca d'Anjou (d.1310), wife of Jaume II (1267-1327), asked the royal surgeon Berenguer çà Riera to translate for her Arnau de Vilanova's *Regimen sanitatis ad inclitum regem Aragonum*, which he did sometime between 1307 and 1310 (13). Blanca, a woman with a long history of complicated pregnancies and illnesses (14), was desirous of having direct access to medical texts, something she could only do in the vernacular. Although systematic studies of patterns of literacy among women in the late medieval Crown of Aragon are still in a preliminary phase, it seems clear that noble women did read in the mother tongue (15). Ramon Llull (1232-1316), for instance, valued Romance writing «...for it could be understood by women» (16).

-
- (13) This translation was edited by BATLLORI, Miquel (ed.). *Arnau de Vilanova. Obres catalanes. Volum II: Escrits mèdics*, Barcelona, Barcino [Els Nostres Clàssics, Col·lecció A, 55-56], 1947, pp. 99-200. On Berenguer çà Riera, see McVAUGH, Michael. Royal surgeons and the value of medical learning: the Crown of Aragon, 1300-1350. In: Luis García-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), note 1, pp. 211-236. The context of his practice at the court, McVAUGH, Michael. *Medicine before the Plague. Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 4-34.
- (14) On her medical history, see McVAUGH, Michael. The Births of the Children of Jaume II. *Medievalia*, 1986, 6, 7-16.
- (15) In 1377 Sibil·la de Fortià, coming from a low noble family, married Pere III *el Cerimoniós* (1336-1387); at first illiterate, she asked to be taught how to read and write, BÓSCOLO, Alberto. *La reina Sibil·la de Fortià*, Barcelona, Rafael Dalmau, editor, 1971, pp. 32-33. For an instance of the active interest shown by Catalano-Aragonese queens for Romance books, see RIQUER, Isabel de. Los libros de Violante de Bar. In: María del Mar Graña Cid, (ed.), *Las sabias mujeres: educación, saber y autoría*, Madrid, Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1994, pp. 161-173. This situation could be different for women of lower status; the wetnurses of Valencia between 1546 and 1570 were illiterate according to the registers of the General Hospital of Valencia, RÓDENAS MARTÍNEZ, M.^a Gloria; VICENT COLONQUES, Susana M.^a. La cultura escrita y la mujer: modelos de participación y exclusión en la vida pública, In: Segura Graño, Cristina (ed.), *La voz del silencio, I. Fuentes directas para la historia de las mujeres*, Madrid, Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1992, pp. 17-31.
- (16) L'abadessa l'endemà manà capítol, e féu stabliment que totes les dones filasen en un loch, e que alcuna dona legis alcun libre qui fos en romanç, *per ço que les dones*

But apart from Blanca d'Anjou's commissioning of the translation of Arnau's *Regimen of health*, there are other instances of royal women's interest in, and in fact ownership of, medical books. In 1326, Blanca's text was given by Jaume II to his fourth wife's nephew, Elisenda, the daughter of Ot de Montcada (d.1341) and Jofredina de Lloria (17). Already in the fifteenth century, among the books listed in the library of queen Maria de Castella (1401-1458), wife of Alfons IV *el Magnànim*, there is an item with the significant title of *Book of the regimen of lady the queen* (Llibre de regiment de la senyora reina), but whose remaining description cannot be related to any medical book (18). Mata d'Armagnac (1347-1378), the wife of the infant Joan (later Joan I), wrote in 1375 to her mother-in-law, queen Elionor de Sicília, to ask her to send «...the true book of medicine, since I have been told, milady, that you have a good one» (19).

This was not the first medical advice that Elionor had given to Mata. On July 1374, a few weeks after delivery, Mata wrote to Elionor asking her to send a recipe to cure her breast; it had been offered by her

lo poguessen entendre. In: GALMÉS, Mn. Salvador, (ed), Ramon Llull. Libre de Evast e Blanquerna, Barcelona, Barcino [Els Nostres Clàssics, Col·lecció A, 50-51], 1935, vol. 1, p. 153, line 20.

- (17) BATLLORI, Miquel. Notícia preliminar. Les obres mèdiques catalanes d'Arnau de Vilanova, note 13, pp. 76-77.
- (18) The September, 1458, post-mortem inventory of her books reads: «Item un altre libre apellat: *Libre de regiment de la senyora Reyna*, scrit en paper de forma de full comu ab cubertes de posts cubertes doripell picades que comença: *Fortuna que dabans volia*, etc., e feneix *mas a vos grat*, etc.» *Inventari dels llibres de la senyora donna Maria, reina de les Sicílies e de Aragó*, Madrid, Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1872 (Colección de documentos históricos publicados en la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos,1), number 35, p. 19. [Facsimil edition: Valencia, Librerías París-Valencia (Colección Biblioteca Valenciana), 1992]. Maria's will passes her Romance books to Violant de Montpalau, as an acknowledgement of her good and continuous services, SANCHÍS SIVERA, Josep. Bibliografía valenciana medieval. *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*, 1930, 3, 81-132 (87).
- (19) «...lo ver libre de medicina, car man dit, senyora, que vos n'avets un bon libre.» Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (hereinafter, ACA), Cancelleria 1811, fol.64, as quoted in ROCA, Josep Maria. *Johan I d'Aragó*, Barcelona, Institució Patxot, 1929, pp. 78-79; see also DEIBEL, note 10, p. 385, who references the document as in fol. 69.

mother-in-law after hearing she was suffering this pain. Mata was by then pregnant and feeling very well, but had a history of miscarriages and gynecological complaints (20). Elionor de Sicília, who owned a medical book, could then be a good candidate when we ask who commissioned master Joan's *Tròtula*. She had an only daughter, Elionor d'Aragó (1358-1382), who in 1375 after her mother's death married Juan I, king of Castile, between 1379 and 1390. But queen Elionor also had a physician, named master Joan de Foligno (21), to whom the City Council of Barcelona in 1370 paid five pounds and 10 solidi, as a fee for the job he did together with other physicians of «...compiling and writing about some reasons for the infirmities which exist today in the city, and about their causes, and arranging some remedies for them» (22). Joan de Foligno, who might have gone to the Aragonese kingdom with Elionor from Sicily, was involved with the writing of medical texts for the laity; he could have been entrusted by the queen to compose a book for her daughter Elionor (23).

-
- (20) «...si per a remei de mal de la mamella que jo he haut vos teniets una bona recepta ab la qual jo serie, si l'hagués haguda, tantost per guarida, per tal senyora vos suplich que la dita recepta vullats e us plàcia donar an Johan Janer, uxer d'armes del dit senyor Duch, lo qual lam trametrà de continent per tal que jo la dita recepta tenga per a quant obs me serà.» ACA, Cancelleria 1809, fol. 101v, as quoted in ROCA, note 19, p. 77.
- (21) Joan de Foligno (when in Latin, Fulgineo) is documented as Elionor's physician at least from 1364 to 1375, CARDONER I PLANAS, Antoni. *Història de la medicina a la Corona d'Aragó (1162-1479)*, Barcelona, Scientia, 1973, p. 60, and DEIBEL, note 10, pp. 410,439.
- (22) «...A mestre Johan, metge de la senyora Reyna, V lliures 10 sous per trebaylls que ha sostenguts ensemps ab daltros metges, en *compilar e posar en scrits algunes rahons sobre lo fet de les infirmitats qui vuy són en la dita ciutat, ne de que les dites infirmitats pervenen e en ordonar alguns remeys sobre aquelles.*» Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Clavaria, 9, 1370, fols. 178-179, as cited in ROCA, Joseph M^a. *La medicina catalana en temps del rey Martí*, Barcelona, Fidel Giró, impressor, 1919, p. 17; see also RUBIÓ BALAGUER, Jorge. *Documentos para la historia de la Universidad de Barcelona. I: Preliminares (1289-1451)*, Barcelona, Universidad de Barcelona, 1971, pp. 40-41, 52.
- (23) A short and untitled Catalan text addressed to «Alionor d'Aragó» whose contents are cosmetic is extant in Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Miscellanea Gregolin, B.8. I am indebted to Daniel Durán for bringing this text to my attention, which I have not yet been able to inspect.

2. «WOMEN ARE IN WANT OF IT»: THE MEANINGS OF A TEXT

As it is well known, medical literature on the conservation of health reached a high level of development in the fourteenth century and particularly flourished in the vernacular languages; Aldobrandino da Siena's regimen is a very early example (24). One of the sub-genres identified as emerging in the fourteenth century is that of individualized regimens of health, that is, treatises made by university physicians which explicitly address a particular lay person, namely the commissioner of the text. Texts belonging to this sub-genre, in spite of their differences, follow a similar pattern: a first section structured around the six non-natural things, a second section on food and/or on how to take care of the different parts of the body, and a third section devoted to a specific feature of the particular person to whom the text is addressed, as is the case of Arnau de Vilanova's or Maino da Mainieri's *Regimina sanitatis* (25).

What seems to be much less common is that texts on the preservation of health specify directly that their intended audience is particularly of one sex (26). A sex whose medical needs (27), as defined in this text,

(24) See FERY-HUE, Françoise. Le Régime du corps d'Aldebrandin de Sienne: tradition manuscrite et diffusion. In: *Actes du 110e congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Montpellier, 1985), Section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie. Tome 1: Santé, médecine et assistance au Moyen Age*, Paris, Editions du C.T.H.S., 1987, pp. 113-134.

(25) GIL-SOTRES, Pedro; PANIAGUA, Juan A.; GARCÍA BALLESTER, Luis. Introducción. In: Luis García-Ballester and Michael R. McVaugh (eds.), *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia. Vol. X.1. Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera-Universitat de Barcelona, 1996, pp. 471-886 (528-534).

(26) A complete table of medieval medical texts addressed to women and their book ownership is given in GREEN, Monica. The Possibilities of Literacy and the Limits of Reading: Women and the Gendering of Medical Literacy. In: *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts*, Aldershot, Ashgate (Variorum Reprints), 2000, forthcoming, essay VII. My thanks to Monica Green for kindly sharing her work-in-progress with me.

(27) I use the category «sex» rather than «gender» as the primary way to describe medieval women and men; I see this text as a specific historical instance of the embodied character of feminine difference and, more generally, of sexual difference. I am very aware of the conceptual complexity of this crucial topic which I cannot here address; I am working on this direction for the book I am writing on master

are rather dissimilar from those found in mainstream fourteenth-century regimens of health.

As I said above, master Joan's *Tròtula* speaks throughout directly to the second person, «...it is suitable for you, milady, and for the queens...» (28); but although the author is consistently addressing a particular woman reader, the manual's intent is to help readers, in plural, as was common in one of the most popular sub-genres of the regimens of health. «...I want to show» master Joan says, «the ways through which every woman might know how to look after her hair...» (29), or «it is suitable for every woman to look after her face...» (30). And in fact, master Joan is acknowledging the physical disparities of women. He considers not only different and often contradictory procedures which women can perform and use on their bodies but also takes into account that women actually have different bodies—intending to help with women's wishes and needs. For instance to cure sickly hair (with what we would call split ends) it is advised that this should be treated in different ways, so that if the woman is thin she should eat light food, and if she is fat, she should do the contrary (31).

Recipes provided to modify women's bodily appearance are not always of normative character, and for the most part they offer a variety of procedures to be undertaken in case a particular modification of body image is wanted. Two recipes directed to contradictory goals are written in master Joan's *Tròtula* consecutively: «There are women who like brown or black colour on their face or in any other place, and they

Joan's text. On medieval intellectual constructions of sexual difference, see CADDEN, Joan. *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science and Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

- (28) «...e co[n]vé a vós, madona, e a les regines...», JOAN, note 3, fol. 18ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 303.
- (29) «...yo vul mostrar en qual guisa sàpia tota dona gint tenir sos cabels...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 2ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 248.
- (30) «A tota dona se convé que tinga gint sa cara...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 8rb; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 271.
- (31) «...e val-hi entrar al bany e estar en senyor e usar menjars blans si és magra la dona, e si és grassa deu fer lo contrari.» JOAN, note 3, fol. 3vb.; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 254.

can make a brown colour if they proceed in this way...», followed by the specific recipe, and then: «Black can be made white like this...» (32). But when the skin of the face is perceived by the woman as too white, it can still be turned into red: «If by any chance a woman has too white a colour, because of nature or because of any other reason, she can well turn it red...» (33).

Master Joan is, then, assuming the agency of the women and their decision-making on how to care for their health. The recipes, which are considered to be medicines both simple and compound, often lead to complicated procedures:

«Milady, I beg you to know that simple medicines to whiten, or to turn red, or to make spots disappear... the medicines that do all these well, are of very different types. And I have written down in this book the best for you and the most widely used and well-known...» (34).

Practical knowledge described in the text takes for granted women's investment of time and energy on their body surfaces, an investment which is supposed to be made by women in general. This is clear because not only are differences among women's bodies taken into account but also women's different access to wealth. On one occasion, while giving different recipes to cleanse women's faces, master Joan says:

«Another cleanser, rich, and very good and beautiful, and you can make it without great cost. I say this to you, milady, and do not forget

(32) «A-y dones que s'asalten de color bruna o negra en lur cara o en altre loc, e poden fer color bruna en aquesta manera...»; «Color negra pot hom fer blanca, en aquesta guisa...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 12rb; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 285.

(33) «Si per aventura dona ha color trop blanca e descolorada, per natura o per altre ocasió, ben la pot hom fer colorada e vermeyla...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 15ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 294.

(34) «Madona, prech-vos que sapiatz que les medicines simples, per emblanquir e per envermeilir, e a blavura, e a panys, e pigues, e sanc morta, e a totes altres taques, les medicines que són bones a assò, són de moltes guises, mas les mellors e les pus usades e les pus conegudes vos he escrites en aquest libre». JOAN, note 3, fol. 16rb; CABRÉ, note 2, pp. 298-299.

it, since it is more valuable than I say, and it is suitable for rich and poor women.» (35).

The author's alleged intent, that is, «...to show [how] to keep healthy and avoid sickness...» (36), is pursued by presenting a text with four distinguishable sections, in 70 unnumbered chapter headings, ordered in a manner which resembles the popular head-to-toe manuals, and providing cross-references to previous themes dealt with on four occasions. To give a brief description of the manual we can do no better than to follow its topics in turn: considers, in its first and by far longest section, how to care for and dye the hair of certain parts of the body, how to succeed in depilating certain body surfaces, how to prepare remedies to combat headaches, how to colour and decolour the face, how to care for and colour the eyes, how to care for and colour the skin of the face, how to care for the mouth and the gums, how to whiten the teeth, how to colour and take care of the lips, how to combat bad bodily odours with nice smells, how to make wrinkles disappear from the face, how to take care of the appearance and size of the breasts and how to remove wrinkles that have appeared after a pregnancy. Material in this section relies heavily, but not exclusively, upon a Latin treatise ascribed to Arnau de Vilanova, *De ornatu mulierum* (On the adornment of women), known to me in five extant manuscript copies (37).

The second section considers the infirmities of the womb and how to treat menstrual disorders. An important textual clue for this section is a French short text, *On the aids for the womb and its medicines* (*Des aides*

(35) «Altre és esclaridor rich e molt bo e beil, e podets-lo fer sens gran cost: a vós o dic, madona, e no-l metatz en oblit, car més val que no us dic.» JOAN, note 3, fol. 9vb; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 276.

(36) «...aquest libre és de tal gran saber *que mostra a guardar la sanitat e a esquivar l'enfermetat...*». JOAN, note 3, fol. 27ra; CABRÉ, note 2, pp. 332-333.

(37) These are: London, Wellcome Library 78, fols. 40v-48v, a 15th century copy of a 1375 German manuscript; Leipzig, Universität Leipzig 1161, fols. 102r-107v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Palatina Latina 1331, fols. 126r-130r; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 7066, fols. 43a-52v; and Innichen, Biblioteca Capitolare di San Candido, VIII B 15, fols. 168r-172v. My thanks to Monica Green for bringing the last to my attention, and to Michael McVaugh for his description of the Paris manuscript. See CABRÉ, note 2, pp. 180-223.

de la maire et de ses medicines), known to me in three different copies all of southern French provenance and dated in the fifteenth century (38). *On the aids for the womb* is an independent tract from a longer text, since at the beginning of the first chapter its author, Jehan de Trabarmaco or Tarbamacho, claims to have said above that his book only speaks of beautifying—something he has not mentioned. The gynaecological section of master Joan's *Tròtula* is an almost literal version of this text, where the French Jehan becomes Joan de Reimbamaco in the Catalan (39). There is no doubt about the close relationship between master Joan's *Tròtula* and the French *Des aides de la maire*. More difficult is to assess whether the relationship is direct—one being the translation of the other—or if the two texts, the Catalan compendium and the French fragment, depend on a common source: a third text composed by someone surfacing as Joan de Reimbamaco in Catalan and as Jehan de Trabarmaco or Tarbamacho in French. An important question posed by this French text is whether the master Joan from whom the Catalan text originated is the same person as Joan de Reimbamaco, unidentified as master in both, master Joan's *Tròtula* and in *Des aides de la maire*. I am inclined to think that master Joan and Joan de Reimbamaco or Trabarmaco are two different people—the first being responsible for the production of the Catalan compendium, perhaps master Joan de Foligno; the second,

(38) These are: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises 11649, fols. 160v-166r [N]; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Français 19994, fols. 194r-201v [P], and Chantilly, Musée Condé 330, fols. 106va-109vb [M]. N is copied by Esdre, an Hebrew name according to CABALLERO NAVAS, Carmen. *Las mujeres en la medicina hebrea medieval. El «Libro de amor de mujeres» o «Libro del régimen de las mujeres»*. Edición, traducción y estudio. Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Semitical Studies, University of Granada, Granada, 1999, p. 26. M differs from the other copies in that it is not divided into chapters; N and P are twin copies. The three manuscripts are related to barbers. See OMONT, H. *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des manuscrits pendant les années 1918-1920*, Paris, Editions Ernest Leroux, 1921, pp. 30-32; AVRAY, L.; OMONT, H. *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Français. Ancien Saint-Germain Français, vol. 3, nos. 18677-20064 du fonds français*, Paris, Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 1900, pp. 452-455, and *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Paris. Bibliothèques de l'Institut*, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1928, p. 73. I am indebted to Monica Green for the identification of these manuscripts.

(39) I have been unable to track down none of these names in any other source.

the author of a text used by master Joan as a source to compose his *Tròtula*, this source being a third tract or the French text in its complete and unknown form. An indication that would point towards the existence of another source related to these texts is an Hebrew compendium of magic and women's medicine, *The book of women's love*, a late medieval text that presents fragments of the gynaecological section of master Joan's *Tròtula* and the French *Des aides de la maire*, albeit arranged in a different manner (40).

The third and shortest section advises and gives counsels and recipes on how to promote sexual encounters and attain sexual pleasure, for both partners, in heterosexual engagements. And finally, the fourth section is based upon a short text on handling the six non naturals, the *Summa de conservanda sanitate*, one of the three texts on hygiene ascribed to Petrus Hispanus (41). Pedro Gil has dismissed this ascription and considers the *Summa* as a free reworking heavily dependent upon the book that the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum* devotes to the regimen of health (42). It is within this tradition where we may situate the fourth section of master Joan's text. While connecting the four sections, the most intentional voice of the author emerges.

The specific features of the text are not hidden by its author who writes his prologue after the *incipit*, the dedicatory poem and a list of chapter headings:

«Very happy is someone who can willingly be of use to all people, and all the more so when a man serves a woman, who is the head and

(40) For the identification of these Hebrew fragments, see CABALLERO, note 38, pp. 25-26, 288-294, 302-306. The Hebrew compiler claims to have copied from the «Book of al-Zahrāw,», as well as the «Book of al-Raz,» and the «Treatise of Hippocrates». The *Book of women's love* does not mention Joan de Reimbamaco (or Trabarmaco or Tarbamacho) whose voice appears in *Des aides de la maire* and in master Joan's *Tròtula*. The fact that Joan de Reimbamaco is not identified as master in any of his textual appearances would support my suspicion, particularly if the identification of master Joan as master Joan de Foligno were correct.

(41) ROCHA PEREIRA, Maria Helena da. *Obras médicas de Pedro Hispano*, Coimbra, Universidade [Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis], 1973, pp. 447-252.

(42) GIL-SOTRES, note 25, p. 527.

source of all teachings and where beauty reaches its heights. And because I see that he who serves and loves her is of great value, which I ask for and desire, I want to offer her my knowledge in such a way that her beauty might be worth more and that her love might conquer. And this is why here, taking flowers from many authors, like those who take different flowers from the meadow, I want to show every woman to know how to take good care of her hair, and how to remove it from the places it should not be, either for a while or forever, and to make hair grow if one so wishes, or to change to any desired colour. After that, [how] to look after her face, and to remove the spots and warts, if there are any, and all other things that may be bad on it, and to keep its colour fresh and clear for a long time and beautifully, and all the rest of the body, as this book shows» (43).

The author's alleged project to write a manual of self-help is here related to beauty, something which happens again twice in the text, when the author warns the reader «[not] to be astonished, since I do not include in this book the medicines for all illnesses, since I speak only of beautifying women...» (44), or, when introducing the section of the medicines of the womb, master Joan reminds her that «[...you] should know that in this book I am speaking neither about all the medicines of the womb nor about all medicines except those that help to smarten up one's appearance, and as I have said to you in

(43) «Molt és benauyrat qui pot servir a totes jens en grat, e mayorment com hom servex a dona, que és cap e pretz de totz ensenyamen e on beutat s'afina; qui assò quer e desiga, e car eu vey que gran pretz n'à qui ela servex e ama, vuyli servir de mon saber en tal manera que sa beutat ne vayla més e sa amor pusch conquerre. E per çò aquí, presa la flor de molts actors, axí que cel qui cuyl diverses flors al prat, yo vul mostrar en qual guisa sàpia tota dona gint tenir sos cabeyls e ostar del loch on ésser no deven a temps o per ja sempre, e fer créxer si-s vol, o mudar en qual color se vuyla, après que hom tenga gint sa cara e en mova payns e pigues e barruc, si n'i ha, e totes altres coses que mal hi estien, e tinga fresca e clara sa color longament e de beila manera, e tot l'altre cors, axí com aquest libre o mostra.» JOAN, note 3, fols. 1vb-2ra; CABRÉ, note 2, pp. 247-248.

(44) «E no vos maraveletz, car no us dic en aquest libre les medicines de totes les malalties, car no y parle sinó de embeliment de dones...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 17va; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 302.

another place, this book speaks nothing but beautifying...» (45). On one occasion, he advises consulting the books of wise doctors to look for further recipes on ointments (46). Master Joan is consistently making explicit, and even apologizing, for the fact that he had selected certain bits of medical knowledge:

«Milady, if you wish, I ask and beg you to have this book often in your hands, since you will be enriched with the teachings and beauty that it shows. I have abbreviated it like this, but do not hold it against me or allow me to be blamed, since I have written it in brief so that I think it can be of help and value to you, if you want to learn and take advantage of it. And I have done it because of this, that people want medicines which are good and proven and well written» (47).

His repetitive legitimizing statements on his role as compiler and the method he is using to produce the text never bring him to name his sources, except for a general mention of Hippocrates and Galen when considering the retention of the menses—also present in *Des aides de la maire*. His authoritative textual strategy is that of establishing his criteria as selector, on the basis of its attested utility in fulfilling his practical goal, that of helping women to preserve their health. A goal which is however limited, since the different domain of competence of the physician is stressed in comparison to that of lay women; that is, in contrast with that of the intended audience for his text:

(45) «E sapiatz que en aquest libre no dic totes les malalties de la mare ni totes les medicines sinó aqueles que són per aiensar, e ja ho he a vós dit en altre loch, que aquest libre no parla sinó de embeliment...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 22va-b; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 319.

(46) «Enaprès devets pendre de alcun dels letovaris confortatius... e aquests letovaris trobarets als libres dels savis metges qui parlaren de les coses naturals» JOAN, note 3, fol. 27vb; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 333.

(47) «Madona, si a vós plau, prech e man que aquest libre tingatz sovén en vostres mans, cor més ne valrets per la bellea e per l'ensenyament que mostra. E car l'è axí abreviat, no m'o tingatz en mal ni me'n dejats blasmar, car l'è escrit breument, so d'on creu que-n podetz vós aidar e valer, si ben apendre e espletar-lo voletz. E per ço o è fet, car les gens se asalten de les medicines que sien bones e provades e ben escrites.» JOAN, note 3, fol. 27ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 332.

«Have then this book, milady, if it pleases you, to be in good health. For if you want to follow its command, you will never need to obey a physician except in case of plague or apoplexy, which cannot be completely avoided...» (48).

The educational purpose of the text then has a limit which, I would argue, both defines lay women's capabilities in concerning themselves with their health, and university practitioners themselves. Because master Joan is not only selecting and reworking a useful text for lay women, he is also selecting from different types of knowledge and different spheres of intervention in women's health. And he is doing so by prioritizing, in his construction of «women's health»—and prioritizing at length—what we would now define as cosmetic material: aids for human intervention in the modification of body surfaces. We know about some of the cosmetic and hygienic practices of the women of the Catalan-Aragonese court. Maria de Castella, whose library held the mysterious title *Book of the regimen of lady the queen*, took at least ten baths in wooden bathtubs in sixteenth months, and the use of make-up at her court is documented (49). In doing his textual job as a compiler master Joan is not simply acting as mediator of practical knowledge to his intended lay audience, for he is also displacing from the responsibility of physicians certain aspects of his conception of women's health—a conception where adornment has a prominent place. However, his role as mediator goes beyond indicating what pertains to the master and what is appropriate to the women laity. Because while making this displacement he is acknowledging women's authority and command of one sphere of medical knowledge: the modification of body surfaces. He does so not by straightforwardly ascribing to particular women cosmetical recipes—as did the compiler of a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman

(48) «Aiats vós donchs, madona, si a vós plau, aquest libre per ops de estar en vostra sanitat; car si voletz son mandament seguir, nuyl temps no aurets ops a ebeir metge, sinó és per aventura de plages e de feridura, les quals coses no pot hom de tot en tot esquivar...». JOAN, note 3, fol. 27rb; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 333.

(49) SOLDEVILA, Ferran. La reyna Maria, muller del Magnànim. In: *Sobiranes de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Fundació Concepció Rabell y Cibils, viuda Romaguera, 1928, pp. 264-268.

Ornatus mulierum (50)—but by almost unnoticingly introducing recipes as «[t]here are certain women [...who...] pound fresh roots... and they mix it all...» (51). Thus, his function as mediator is also one of textualizing the originally unwritten.

In the case of master Joan's *Tròtula* both the intended audience and the particular address were directed to lay women. But there are indications that certain aspects of the care of the feminine body reached also down to the hierarchy of practitioners other than physicians—namely, barber-surgeons and apothecaries. Surgeon Bernat Serra (d.1338) was in possession of a Latin book named *Trotula* when he died in the royal court where he was practising surgery (52). In 1428 at the time of his death Pere Company, apothecary and citizen of Barcelona, had a Catalan book called *Tòrcule de Grècia* (Trotula of Greece) (53). We might never be in

(50) See CABRÉ I PAIRET, Montserrat. Autoras sin nombre, autoridad femenina (siglo XIII). In: María del Mar Graña Cid (ed.), *Las sabias mujeres, II (siglos III-XVI). Homenaje a Lola Luna*, Madrid, Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna, 1995, pp. 59-73.

(51) «A-y de tals dones, que han la color vermeyla, e poden-la fer blanca, de beila color: enaxí piquen rails fresques de sigairon e .I. poc de litargir e càmpfora. E mesclen-o tot ab oli en què sia cuita escortza de saüc, puis meten-hi argent viu.» JOAN, note 3, fol. 14ra; CABRÉ, note 2, p. 289.

(52) «[26] Item, quendam alium librum, vocatum *Trotula*, scriptum in papiro.» HERNANDO, Josep. *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XIV*, Barcelona, Fundació Noguera (Textos i Documents, 30), 1995, vol.I, number 76, p. 136. A partial transcription had been previously published by CARRERAS VALLS, Ricard. Introducció a la història de la cirurgia a Catalunya. Bernat Serra i altres cirurgians il·lustres del segle XIV. In: *Tres treballs premiats en el concurs d'homenatge a Gimbernat*, El Masnou, Laboratoris del Nord d'Espanya, 1936, pp. 3-63 (p. 22).

(53) «Item, .I. libre cubert de posts de fust cubertes de pell vermella, scrit en paper, appellat «Tòrcule de Grècia», la primera carta del qual libre comensa en letres negres: 'Ací comensa lo libre' e feneix: «olemes del cap»; e la derrere carta del qual libre, no acabada, feneix: 'viandes contràries'». IGLESIAS I FONSECA, Josep A. *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del s. XV: les biblioteques de clergues, juristes, metges i altres ciutadans a través de la documentació notarial (anys 1396-1475)*, Bellaterra, Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Edicions microfotogràfiques Tesis Doctorals), 1996, doc. 107, pp. 476-478 (476). The *Tròtula* title of this unidentified text could be showing that its contents are related to women's health. I am inclined to think that «olemes del cap» should be transcribed as «o

a position to assess the contents hidden under these title-headings; as Monica Green's research is showing, very different treatises on women's health were entitled *Trotula* in the middle ages—cosmetical material being prominent in many of them (54). But much more precise information about the *fortuna* of master Joan's *Tròtula* is that one of the seven medical and astrological books owned in 1479 by Miquel Domenge, a barber from Valencia, and kept by surgeon Jacme Boxedell in the city of Barcelona, is described as beginning with the first verse of the laudatory poem that prologues his text (55). Still, the fate of the main source of the long cosmetical section of master Joan's text is a significant historical example of how the late-medieval slow-but-steady division of medical labour and the institutionalization of medical *curricula* in the universities implied a hierarchy within and at the very core of medical knowledge. The 1585 edition of Arnau de Vilanova's medical works judged the *De ornatu mulierum*, together with the cosmetical tract *De decoratione*, as the only non-necessary treatises of all of Arnau's practical writings (56).

lème[n]s del cap» (or louses of the head), and thus indicating that the text started considering the care of the hair. The end «viandes contràries» (contrary foods) could show that its end was some sort of regimen of health —an structure which would resemble that of master Joan's *Tròtula*.

- (54) See GREEN, Monica. The Development of the *Trotula*. *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, 1996, 26, 119-203; GREEN, Monica. A Handlist of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part I: The Latin Manuscripts. *Scriptorium*, 1996, 50, 137-175; GREEN, Monica. A Handlist of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called *Trotula* Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Texts and Latin Re-Writings. *Scriptorium*, 1957, 51, 80-104, and GREEN, Monica. «Traittié tout de meçonges». The *Secrés des Dames*, «Trotula», and Attitudes towards Women's Medicine in Fourteenth-and-Early-Fifteenth-Century France. In: Marilyn Desmond (ed.), *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1998, pp. 146-178; and GREEN, note 26, forthcoming.
- (55) «Item .I. altre libre scrit en paper de forma mijana, ab posts cubertes de cuyr burell o turrat, ab .X. bolles e .II. gaffets de lautó, e comença 'Saluts a vós, flor d'Aragon, a qui don Déus riche baron' etcetera». MADURELL MARIMON, José María; RUBIÓ BALAGUER, Jordi. *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474-1553)*, Barcelona, Gremios de Editores, libreros y de maestros impresores, 1955, doc. 7, p. 14.
- (56) The index which precedes the texts, «Tabula operum Arnaldi. Catalogum et ordinem complectens», classifies the medical practical writings into necessary

3. CONCLUSION

I have tried to construct and present a historical context for a fourteenth-century text on women's health—a text intended for lay women's use and probably commissioned by them. Master Joan's *Tròtula* stands as a witness to both, lay women's medical practices and feminine needs, as well as physicians' visions of what is «lay» for women. It stands as an instance of a feminine manual of self-help, a manual that differs from mainstream regimens of health in its main concern to offer recipes to modify body surfaces.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Jon Arrizabalaga, Lluís Cifuentes, Luis García-Ballester, Monica Green, Milagros Rivera and Fernando Salmón for their generous and continuous support to this work; my thanks also to Caroline Wilson for her helpful advice on the English translations of the medieval texts. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the conferences «Studying the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: What Difference Does Gender Make?», The University of North Carolina at

and unnecessary—*De ornatu mulierum* and *De decoratione mulierum* being the only tracts deserving to form part of this later category. *Arnaldi Villanovani Opera Omnia*, Basileae, Conradus Waldkirch, 1585, fol. V. On Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588) as the scientific editor of this collection and author of its introductory table, see GILLY, Carlos. *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600*, Basel and Frankfurt, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1985, pp. 126-128. Cfr.: CALVET, Antoine. Les *alchimica* d'Arnaud de Villeneuve à travers la tradition imprimée (XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Questions bibliographiques. In: Didier Kahn and Sylvain Matton (eds.), *Alchimie. Art, histoire et mythes. Actes du 1er colloque international de la Société d'Étude de l'Histoire de l'Alchimie (Paris, Collège de France, 14-15-15 mars 1991)*, Paris, S.É.H.A., 1995, pp. 157-190 (167), and SOLER I GRIRALT, Sebastià. Las ediciones renacentistas de Arnau de Vilanova en Basilea, entre el paracelsismo y el protestantismo. Unpublished paper to be presented at the «III Congreso internacional sobre humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico», Alcañiz, 8-13 de mayo del 2000. I am indebted to Sebastià Soler i Giralto for sharing his doctoral work-in-progress with me.

Chapel Hill, October 1995, and «Medical Education and Classroom Practice in the Medieval University», Kings College, University of Cambridge, January 1998, as well as at a Columbia University seminar on February, 1999. I owe the first of those occasions to Monica Green, and to Andy Cunningham, Roger French, Peter Jones and Cornelius O'Boyle the second; Adam Kosto made possible the last.