Female Authority in Translation:
Medieval Catalan Texts on Women's Health

*by Montserrat Cabré**

ABSTRACT

This article addresses the entangled histories of translation and gendered medical authority in medieval Western Europe, exploring the vernacularization of medicine from the perspective of Catalan literature. Instead of focusing on authorship or on the authenticity of the medieval attributions, it explores how women were recognized as a source of medical knowledge and how female personal names were employed as a means of conveying notions of authority on women's health. Latin medicine created its own celebrity around the acclaimed healer Trota of Salerno, although her original name was almost written out of the historical record in favor of Trotula and the label *Trotula* that flourished after her name. I study a wealth of traces showing that late medieval Catalan medicine retained a notion of female authority on women's health through the use of her name and that both Trota and *Trotula* came to authorize a significant part of medieval women's medicine in Catalan.

While checking a Catalan translation of a healthcare treatise with its Latin source, an anonymous mid-fifteenth-century editor noticed a difference between the two renderings. It was a small, two-letter deviation, but it was perceived to be important enough to merit inserting a comment in the text, right after the puzzling word:

> And as it happened, Trotula was called in —*the Latin says Trota*— as a master of the operation that was about to be performed on a girl suffering from this ailment, and she was astonished.[1]

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[1] "E esdevén-sa que és apellada Tròtula—*lo llatí diu Trota*— axí com a maestra de la hobra la qual devia hom tayllar per aquesta infirmitat a huna donçella, e maravellà-sse'n," Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, MS 2827, fols. 169v–70r (emphasis added). Unless otherwise noted, translations in this article are mine. For the edition and English translation of this passage as it appeared in the original *De curis mulierum*, see Monica H. Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre' of Trota of Salerno," in *La scuola medica salernitana: Gli autori e i testi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani

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The text continues describing how the woman healer took the girl to her own house to examine her in private. There, she determined that the patient had previously been misdiagnosed and so gave her a treatment for windiness in the womb that eventually proved successful. The editor's intertextual observations are a testimony to the keen scrutiny that they applied in validating a translation, particularly including their concern to accurately identify the name of a healer who by then had long been the most well-known female figure of medical authority in medieval Western Europe. From the late twelfth century onward, the name of Trota, the reputed Salernitan healer and medical author, was barely visible in the literate cultures of physicians, surgeons, barbers and apothecaries; instead, a derivative form of her name, Trotula—which literally means "little Trota"—had taken over the identity of the historical woman.

This seemingly incidental anecdote has the power to bring to the fore important issues regarding translation and the gendered construction of authority in Western medieval medicine. On the one hand, it shows the impact of the individual acts of translators, compilers, editors, and copyists of manuscripts in the processes of knowledge transmission and, therefore, in the textual configurations of authority over it. On the other, the vignette evinces a unique quality of female medical authority in the Middle Ages: the extent to which female characters were used as a means to convey expertise in matters of women's health. Trota of Salerno illustrates this distinctive trait like no other medieval woman. Even though her attested medical competence covered a broad variety of medical conditions concerning male and female health, she was nevertheless widely acknowledged not as a medical expert but as an expert on women's health.

In this article I explore whether the translation of healthcare texts from one linguistic tradition into another may have been a vehicle for articulating and disarticulating gendered notions of authority over knowledge. As an epistemic technology, translation involved resorting to a diverse set of techniques that ranged from the modification of the master text to changing or deleting authors' names or using titles to make distinctive imprints in the newly refashioned texts. These techniques framed the texts in certain ways, and included the use of labels relating their contents to authoritative figures gendered male or female.

Historiographical discussions of gender and medical writing in the late antique and medieval European worlds have often centered on crucial questions regarding the authorship of the texts or the authenticity of their authorial attributions.[2] Here, instead, I embark on a different route. I want to take what current scholarship understands as right and wrong attributions alike as traces that share an equivalent value for revealing notions of authority in the circulation of knowledge. Therefore I foreground the

(Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 183–233, on 211–3; the standardized version is in Monica H. Green, ed., *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 126–7. I am indebted to Monica H. Green for generously sharing her full unpublished edition of the Latin original version with me.

[2] John Benton, "Trotula, Women's Problems and the Professionalization of Medicine in the Middle Ages," *Bull. Hist. Med.* 59 (1985): 30–53; Monica H. Green, "The Development of the *Trotula*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 26 (1996): 119–203; Laurence Moulinier, "Hildegarde ou Pseudo-Hildegarde? Réflexions sur l'authenticité du traité *Cause et cure*," in *"Im Angesicht Gottes suche der Mensch sich selbst": Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179)*, ed. Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), 115–46; Rebecca Flemming, "Women, Writing and Medicine in the Classical World," *Classical Quarterly* 57 (2007): 257–79; Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2008).

history of translation as a witness to the transference, suppression, or reconfiguration of a notion of female authority in matters of healthcare.

My project is undertaken from the point of view of Catalan literature, a rich tradition with a significant presence in the Mediterranean region. Research into Catalan-language sources has added significantly to the corpus of known extant texts on medieval women's medicine and can offer fresh perspectives on an issue that has been the subject of comprehensive scholarship. Working with an impressive amount of source material, Monica H. Green has shown that the late medieval vernacularization of medicine in Western Europe, while dramatically increasing the production of medical texts and widening their audiences, did not bring an improvement in women's access to literate medicine. Nor did it help to empower them as medical practitioners, particularly in regard to gynecological knowledge. Rather, it testified to the increase of male control over a medical system that was starting to be organized through formal educational institutions and to be regulated by law.[3] My contribution does not deny these general trends, which narrowed women's opportunities as practitioners and eventually excluded them from regular medical practice. However, it emphasizes another current that runs in parallel with them. While centering my attention on the ways gendered authority over knowledge was envisioned in the new body of medical Catalan texts, I have been able to trace persistent marks of female authority over knowledge on women's health that reconfigured as well as retained the earlier traditions.

In this article I undertake a journey through the entangled histories of translation and gendered medical authority. I begin by tracing the different ways medical texts granted authority to women in the medieval West. Rather than pursuing questions pertaining to the authenticity of the attributions or the authorship of texts, which were quite extraneous to the medieval endeavor, I focus on the recognitions of women as original sources of healthcare knowledge and how they cut across processes of textual transmission. Second, I address how, while embracing female figures of medical authority from different and earlier linguistic traditions, Latin medicine created its own celebrity around the acclaimed healer Trota of Salerno. I then follow her presence over the late medieval Catalan corpus of medical texts, where I recover translated imprints of her authority. On occasion, these marks transcribed the original form of her name, but usually, they took its most famous version, that of Trotula. Retaining meaning from the Latin traditions, in Catalan this latter designation even came to identify a whole new genre of texts on women's health.

GENDER AND THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MEDICAL AUTHORITY

Medieval medical treatises in Western Europe routinely recognized authority in matters of healthcare by associating the knowledge that they were communicating with a particular person who held it, as in the opening vignette. The notion of authorship was subsequent and subordinate to the idea of authority: a person bore authority not because s/he was the author of a text but because s/he was recognized as the origin of knowledge or expertise deemed to deserve textualization so that it could be further preserved.[4] Women

[3] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2).

[4] The classic studies are Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London: Aldershot, 1984; Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), and Pamela Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2001).

as well as men were accorded authority in matters of healthcare; nevertheless, in textual practices medical authority was fundamentally gendered in a number of ways. Both before and after the scholastic method was used as a form of elaboration and validation of medical knowledge, men played the leading role as medical authorities. Certain key names, such as Hippocrates and Galen, occur again and again across various healthcare treatises, where they appear as putative experts in all different spheres of healthcare, from fevers to gynecology. Conversely, women appear much less often in the texts. On the one hand, individual women identified by their personal names tended to be associated primarily with authoritative knowledge in matters of women's health, even if their expertise was broader. On the other, women were sometimes designated simply by their gender, or in conjunction with a peculiar feature, but not by their distinctive names. Often these anonymous women were reported to hold expertise on an ample range of health issues, from treatments for pain to ocular problems, and their authoritative presence in the sources, however meager, was not reduced to the specific recognition of their knowledge on female health.

Before printing favored the standardization of language and the stabilization of texts and of their authorial attributions, processes of transmission made all texts very labile and susceptible to alterations; unlike our Catalan editor, scribes and translators often left their interventions unrecorded. Translation exposed texts to modification, and ascriptions of authorship—the association of texts with an author name—proved to be particularly vulnerable to change. Dealing with the translation process from Greek to Latin of the Hippocratic gynecological tradition in the early Middle Ages, Laurence Totelin has traced the uses and transformation of recipes, showing a stable pharmacological practice through the centuries in combination with an inconsistent authorial attribution, which, in the corpus she analyzes, was always connected to male personal names.[5] Yet as we will see in the Trota/Trotula case, the Latin Middle Ages also embraced the ascription to female authorities of treatises on women's health. In association with this medical theme, female names were modified, disappeared, or migrated from text to text, only to resurface in another set of texts.

Another example of this process is seen in the case of a late antique Byzantine practical compendium ascribed to Metrodora. This was translated from Greek into Latin in the late eleventh century, when a first corpus of texts on women's health in Latin was created in southern Italy—which has recently been identified as the Cassinese corpus.[6] Two different versions of this text, known as the *De passionibus mulierum*, circulated in Western Europe, and excerpts from both were absorbed into other compendia on women's health. However, the authorial ascription to Metrodora is not retained in any of the extant copies of the Latin renderings of the original Greek text. Nevertheless, in the same corpus that supressed Metrodora's authority, the ancient figure of Cleopatra appears in connection with sections of the texts that dealt with women's health. Thus, during that process of translation, a woman's name was lost, but the notion of female authority in issues of women's medicine was retained through its embodiment

[5] Laurence Totelin, "Old Recipes, New Practice? The Latin Adaptations of the Hippocratic Gynaecological Treatises," *Soc. Hist. Med.* 24 (2011): 74–91.

[6] Monica H. Green, "Recovering 'Ancient' Gynaecology: The Humanist Rediscovery of the Eleventh-Century Gynaecological Corpus," in *Transmission of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Outi Merisalo, Miika Kuha, and Susanna Niiranen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 45–54.

in another personal name. The later transmission of the treatises that circulated under Cleopatra's authorial ascription and their use of her name remains to be studied; however, her royal status and Galen's mention of her could have favored its retention.[7] Moreover, there are instances suggesting that some sort of transference of Cleopatra's name also occurred in other languages, attesting to the widespread use of her as a figure of medical authority.[8]

Along with female names coming from the Greek traditions, unnamed women experts made their imprint on Latin medical literature through the translation of Arabic handbooks. In these texts, women were clearly identified as the source of medical knowledge, normally with specific treatments being attributed to them.[9] For instance, in the section on cures for migraines, Gerard of Cremona's translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Canon* includes the ascription to an unnamed woman of a particularly valued cure: "[C]ertain physicians report a remedy for temporary migraines that they learned from a woman and whose effects are well tested."[10] Another example from the same text similarly attributes the creation of some highly esteemed eyedrops to a woman: "Collyrium that is called Fakis. It was composed by a woman for the most intense pain of a queen."[11] These moments of recognition and acknowledgment of anonymous individual women as the originators of knowledge surface here and there in healthcare texts, although since the women are deprived of personal names, they become almost unnoticeable in medical literature. Certainly, they were more invisible than the handful of female personal names acknowledged as the source of certain remedies in Galenic pharmacology.[12] Their continued presence, however, should be seen as a call to historians for further consideration.

Nevertheless, through the translation of texts these acknowledgments did travel from one culture to another and, also, from authoritative text to authoritative text within the same culture. For instance, the treatment for migraine by Ibn Sīnā mentioned above

[7] Flemming, "Women, Writing and Medicine" (cit. n. 2), 278–80.

[8] For vestiges of the recognition of Cleopatra in the Arabic and Castilian traditions, see Montserrat Cabré, "Beautiful Bodies," in *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Medieval Age*, ed. Linda Kalof (Oxford: Berg, 2010; repr., London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 121–39, 244–8, on 134–5. Mentions of her in the Old French and Anglo-Norman traditions suggest that Cleopatra's authority may have been acknowledged more broadly in Western Europe. Thirteenth-century Old French and Anglo-Norman versions of the *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum*, one of the three components of the *Trotula* compendium, incorporated Cleopatra as one of the alleged authorities. See Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 169–70n11.

[9] For two named Middle Eastern women identified as experts on certain medical treatments in religious texts and in physicians' biographies, see Ahmed Ragab, "Epistemic Authority of Women in the Medieval Middle East," *Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 8 (2010): 181–216, on 209–12.

[10] "Quidam preterea medici narraverunt medicaminem emigranee temporalis expertum iuvativum acceptum a muliere. Et illud quidem est ut decoquantur radices cucumeris asinini et absinthium in oleo et aqua donec dissolvantur et embrocetur pars dolorosa ex aqua et oleo calidis et fiat emplastrum ex fece et mulier quidem illa quotiens administrabat hoc sanabat emigranea sive esset cum febre sive sine febre. Et ex emplastris quidem non est sicut emplastrum sinapis"; Avicenna, *Liber canonis tocius medicine* (Venice, 1527; repr., Brussels: Collectaneis Medicinae Historia, 1971), lib. 3, fen 1, tract. 2, cap. 38, fol. 143va. I am indebted to Fernando Salmón for this reference.

[11] "Collirium quod dicitur Fakis. Et composuit ipsam mulier regine faciens ad dolores vehementes cuius hec est permixtio. Climie aureos XV; ceruse ablute aureos XL; amili et dragaganti et acatie et opii, omnium ana aureos II; gummi aureos XII. Conficiatur cum aqua pluviali. Si autem advenit hora in quo faci ex eo collirium proisce super albumen ovi recentis et utem eo"; Avicenna, *Liber canonis* (cit. n. 10), lib. 5, suma 1, tract. 2, fol. 415rb.

[12] Flemming, "Women, Writing and Medicine" (cit. n. 2), 263–7.

appears in Simon of Genoa's *Clavis sanationis*, a late thirteenth-century Latin-Greek-Arabic medical dictionary.[13] Simon's *Clavis* is particularly important as an illustration of how authors and compilers of medical texts were at times dependent on the knowledge of particular women. When Simon introduces his work he recognizes by name all the authoritative male textual sources he relied on to compose his dictionary: Hippocrates, Serapion, Pliny, Muscio, Oribasius, Rasis, Isidore of Seville, and many more. But he then goes on to report that an unnamed "old woman from Crete" went across the mountains with him to identify all the different plants by their Greek names so that he could match with the natural world the information provided by Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, a revered pharmacological work.[14]

On most occasions, these acknowledgments of the value of women's knowledge offer little or no clue to any personal trait of the women involved, as in the examples above. But texts often do provide proof of efficacy or an indication of why the woman's knowledge was particularly valuable. It is indeed very rare that these women are singled out by their personal or family names; they are usually described through other features: the place they were born, their age, where they lived, and often their religious identities. For instance, one anonymous twelfth-century Latin author claims that "[he] saw a certain Saracen woman from Sicily curing infinite numbers of people [of mouth odor] with this medicine alone," and the recipe follows.[15]

Sometimes, female local knowledge was called upon. The Salernitan women—the *mulieres salernitanae*—for example, were widely credited in learned medical literature with having particular medical expertise.[16] Similarly, the "Ladies of Apulia," the women of the region in southern Italy, were credited with expertise in the development of cosmetic treatments, as acknowledged by the anonymous author of a mid-thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman text.[17] Many texts portray women as being the origin of valuable knowledge through simple references to their customary practices: "what Saracen and Jewish women do." Frequently, these beauty treatments are presented as "treatments of," but compilers in their writings also offer them as "treatments for," often making it difficult

[13] "Sicidia et sicidis et sici et sicui aliquando reperitur pro cucumere asinino. Paulus ca. de sterilitate sicio ager idest elacterio et cetera. Item idem ca. de emigranea in emplastro habito a muliere pro ea egritudine radicem agrii sicci .i. cucumeris asinini," *Simonis Ianuensis opusculum cui nomen clavis sanationis*; see "Sicidia," Simon Online, accessed July 20, 2020, https://simonofgenoa.org. "Agrusichi. Agrusichi, radix ponitur in quodam emplastro ad emigraneam a Paulo quod dicit se habuisse a quadam vetula: quod etiam scribit A. in eodem casu et est cucumer agrestis," *Simonis Ianuensis opusculum cui nomen clavis sanationis*; see "Agrusichi," Simon Online, accessed July 20, 2020, https://simonofgenoa.org.

[14] "Nec his solum contentus sed ad diversas mundi partes per sedulos viros indagare ab advenis sciscitari non piguit usque adeo quod per montes arduos nemorosas convalles campos ripasque sepe lustrando aliquando comitem me feci cuisdam anicule cretensis ad modum sciole non modo in dignoscendis herbis et nominibus grecis exponendis, verum etiam in ipsis herbarum virtutibus secundum Dya. sententiam explicandis. Omnia tentavi quam tum ingenii mei paupertas sineret ut opus efficeretur excultum," *Simonis Ianuensis opusculum cui nomen clavis sanationis*; see Preface 4, Simon Online, accessed July 20, 2020, https://simonofgenoa.org.

[15] Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1), 46.

[16] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 64–9; Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1), 48–51; Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre'" (cit. n. 1).

[17] Pierre Ruelle, *L'Ornement des dames (Ornatus Mulierum): Texte anglo-normand du XIIIème siècle* (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles, 1967), 58–60. For other attributions to women in this text, see Montserrat Cabré, "Autoras sin nombre, autoridad femenina (siglo XIII)," in *Las sabias mujeres II (siglos III–XVI): Homenaje a Lola Luna*, ed. María del Mar Graña Cid (Madrid: Al Mudayna, 1995), 59–72.

to interpret whose original knowledge it was. These delicate, in-passing allusions make such acknowledgments almost invisible in medical texts. Nonetheless, these references circulated widely and also crossed linguistic boundaries, as we have seen. Carmen Caballero-Navas has shown that Hebrew texts contain references to these types of unnamed women's medical practices.[18] If we gather them together and consider them significant rather than incidental, they point to a collective attribution of authority to women in certain fields of expertise, most notably cosmetics.[19]

Whether originally written in Arabic, Latin, Hebrew, or in any of the Western mother tongues, many healthcare handbooks in use in medieval Europe contained sections devoted to cosmetics and beauty care, and independent treatises devoted to the issue were also widely known. Christian Latin sources unambiguously distinguished Muslim women's expertise in the art of beauty treatments. However, their authority as a female group was eventually lost in favor of other women.

The Salernitan text *De ornatu mulierum* (Women's cosmetics), a twelfth-century treatise written in Latin by an anonymous male author, presents several of the recipes as being the practices of Muslim women. The earlier versions associate the treatments with Saracen women, but later renderings relate them to the women of Salerno, the *mulieres salernitanae* whose collective expertise I referred to above.[20] The change was neither an exception nor a simple adaptation of a recipe for new audiences, but rather a moment in a complex process of erasure of Muslim women's authority in Western healthcare literature. Obliteration was, however, gradual, subtle, and never complete during the Middle Ages. Even two centuries later, a Castilian household handbook attributed beauty treatments to both Moorish women and to the presumably Christian "ladies" (*señoras*) who were interested in knowing about products to beautify the face. The expertise of Moorish women was called on in relation to recipes containing lead and mercury, dangerous ingredients whose use had worried physicians and surgeons for centuries, particularly for their potentially noxious effects on gums and teeth. The compiler of the text warns about them, advises that they be used carefully, and suggests safe practices.[21]

These attributions of authority to unnamed women were transferred from text to text in healthcare literature and traveled over linguistic borders. Nevertheless, anonymous women were more vulnerable to invisibility and oblivion than the figures of authority who, identified by their female names, feature more prominently in Western medical literature.

A NEW FIGURE OF FEMALE AUTHORITY IN LATIN MEDICINE

Personal names were conspicuous and easily discernible even if they were not the only way women's expertise in healthcare was recognized, as we have just seen. When the vernaculars made their debut as a means of conveying medical literature, Trota—more often the diminutive form, Trotula—had already emerged as a female figure of authority on women's healthcare in Latin medical writings. Learned readers on healthcare issues were familiar with her figure even if sometimes the different spellings of the name

[18] Carmen Caballero-Navas, "Virtuous and Wise: Apprehending Female Medical Practice from Hebrew Texts on Women's Healthcare," *Soc. Hist. Med.* 32 (2019): 691–711.
[19] Cabré, "Beautiful Bodies" (cit. n. 8), 134–6.
[20] Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1), 46–8, 169, 246n6.
[21] *Vergel de señores*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS 8565, lib. 3, cap. 9, fols. 134r, 139v–40v.

could have confused them. Such was the case of the careful Catalan editor who made a record of the discrepancy detected between two different renderings, as the opening quote indicates. The reviewer of that translation was more attentive than certain scribes who used the two designations without noticing the divergence, apparently taking the variations of the name as interchangeable.[22] It was not unusual in the Middle Ages to use diminutive forms of an author's name to identify their works; the surgery of Roger Frugardi (fl. ca. 1170), for instance, was often called *Rogerina*.[23]

Trotula was the most widespread form of the name of Trota, the famous twelfth-century Salernitan healer, and the author of the *Practica secundum Trotam* (Practical medicine according to Trota), a text on therapeutics that covered a wide range of afflictions, including, but not limited to, women's particular illnesses.[24] Monica H. Green has painstainkingly reconstructed the empirical milieu where she worked as a vibrant medical culture that operated fundamentally in the realm of the oral. Indeed, what is known about her practice may have been written by her pupils and not directly by her, as some of the texts that acknowledge her treatments use the third person and highlight her role as a teacher, as a *magistra*.[25]

Like Trota, other women healers practiced in the city of Salerno, also in dialogue and cooperation with male practitioners; however, hers was the only female personal name that was passed on in medical literature.[26] Trota's reputation spread widely and quickly, and particularly strong testimonies to her acclaim came from Normandy and Anglo-Norman England.[27] However, her medical authority was not based on her broad general medical knowledge, attested to in the *Practica* as well as in another Salernitan medical text, *De egritudinum curatione* (On the treatment of illnesses), which includes some of her remedies for ungendered conditions.[28] Rather, it was constructed

[22] The double mentions are found in manuscripts identified and described by Monica H. Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part I: The Latin Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 50 (1996): 137–75, numbers 25, 41, 42, 44, 64, 67, 70, 73, 79, 80, 120, and 121 of her list.

[23] Piero Cantalupo, "L'inedito opusculo di pratica terapeutica della medichessa salernitana Trota. La *Practica secundum Trotam*: Testo, traduzione, appendici e glossario," *Bolletino storico di Salerno e Principato Citra* 13 (1995): 1–103, on 9–10.

[24] The work was first identified by Benton, "Trotula" (cit. n. 2). In addition to the copy discovered by Benton in Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, MS 119, fols. 140r–144r, Monica Green has located another fragmentary copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 506, fols. 146v–47v, and the mention of a *Practica domine Trote ad provocanda menstrua* in a fourteenth-century book catalogue at the Christ Church Priory of Canterbury; see Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre'" (cit. n. 1), on 187–8. The Madrid text, an early thirteenth-century manuscript that contains both forms of the name, was transcribed by Cantalupo, "L'inedito opusculo" (cit. n. 23).

[25] Green, "Development of the *Trotula*" (cit. n. 2), 136–7; for the known Trota's testimonies, see Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre'" (cit. n. 1), 211–26.

[26] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 58–69.

[27] Monica H. Green, "Salerno on the Thames: The Genesis of Anglo-Norman Medical Literature," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval, 2009), 220–31; Green, "Rethinking the Manuscript Basis of Salvatore De Renzi's 'Collectio Salernitana': The Corpus of Medical Writings in the 'Long' Twelfth Century," in *La 'Collectio Salernitana' di Salvatore De Renzi*, ed. Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Firenze: SISMEL, edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008), 15–60, on 55.

[28] For the concordances between the *Practica secundum Trotam*, the *De curis mulierum*, and the *De egritudinum curatione*, see Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre'" (cit. n. 1), 219–21. On its correlations with other Salernitan texts, see Alberto Alonso Guardo, "La 'Practica secundum Trotam' y el poema médico de la 'Collectio Salernitana' (IV, 1–176)," in *En Doiro antr'o Porto e Gaia: Estudos de Literatura Medieval Ibérica*, ed. José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda (Porto: Estratégias Criativas, 2017), 151–65.

solely on the fame achieved by her cures for women: female personal names bore authority only on women's issues even if the historical healers carrying those names were acclaimed general practitioners.

The attribution to Trota of original treatments for women and her fame as an expert healer was passed on through the extensive transmission of the anonymous text *De curis mulierum* (On treatments for women). As the example of the Catalan editor in the opening account of this article attests, the text contained the explicit association of her name with a successful cure for windiness in the womb. Other sections of the *De curis* also derive from Trota's teachings, although her name remained silenced. This unique passage containing her name was solely responsible for expanding her reputation greatly.

Although *De curis mulierum*, with its personal and specific mention of Trota, had a limited independent circulation, it soon started to be linked with two other Salernitan tracts on women's health, both by anonymous male authors: the *De sinthomatibus mulierum* (Book on the conditions of women) and the *De ornatu mulierum* (On women's cosmetics). The process of unifying the three texts took place early on, and already by the end of the twelfth century they were circulating together as a compilation. By the mid-thirteenth century, the ensemble had taken on a stable format: this standard version enjoyed an extensive dissemination in manuscript form and served as the basis of the text that finally reached the printing press with a completely new prologue.[29]

All the while the process of medical translation into the European tongues was starting to take place, the personal name of Trota was being propelled from the short anecdotal passage in the *De curis* to authorizing a comprehensive grouping of texts. The majority of the more than 140 medieval Latin copies already identified of the compendium use the name Trotula instead of Trota to name the famous healer. But, most importantly, this was not just a change in naming a reputed woman practitioner and author but rather a whole reconfiguration of her authority.

Under the name of Trotula, a female figure emerges who accorded authority to the whole compendium on women's health while reciprocally widening her fame and recognition as an expert. Nevertheless, in this process, Trota's name almost disappeared in favor of Trotula. Some instances of the compendium contain the two names; in fewer cases, only the original Trota is retained, testifying without doubt to the rendering of any of the oldest versions of the text.[30] Although unaware of the complex underlying story, the Catalan editor we met at the beginning was using one of these ancient versions to check the integrity of the translation that was being revised.

The new figure of medical authority—Trotula—was being created upon the knowledge of a historically recognized woman healer—Trota—who had direct access to the female body. This access was unique to women healers but out of reach for Salernitan male physicians.[31] The twelfth-century sources reveal a practitioner who treated a wide range of health problems, from migraines to alopecia, from digestive upsets to eye diseases. Despite this, Trotula—and Trota when her original name was retained—was

[29] Green, "Development of the *Trotula*" (cit. n. 2); Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1), 60; I follow the English translation of the titles from this edition.

[30] These are numbers 11, 34, 36, 62, 72, 74, 76, and 115 in Green, "Handlist Part I: Latin" (cit. n. 22).

[31] Green, "Reconstructing the 'Oeuvre'" (cit. n. 1), 191–2; Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2).

envisioned solely as an expert in the care of the health and beauty of women. Prominently visible in the compendium that came to be distinguished as *Trotula*, her figure was present in learned medical libraries around Western Europe in a number of ways. Nevertheless, as is often the case with all sorts of medieval texts, it is not always easy to distinguish whether personal names were used as authorial figures, as titles of texts, or as both at the same time. This historiographical difficulty, in any case, highlights the extent to which individual names were used in connection with texts as a way to identify them and to give them validity. Labeling texts was a technique widely used by scribes, editors, and also translators, as the contributions by Elaine Leong, Alisha Rankin, Dror Weil, and Shireen Hamza in this volume also show.[32] Transformed into Trotula, the name of the healer Trota ended up not only being associated with the authorial figure of the famous compendium of women's medicine, but was ultimately to give name to a medical genre that offered treatments for the care of the female body, as we will see later.

Moreover, in Latin medicine her authority also traveled far beyond the aforementioned compendium. In medical and surgical works of the thirteenth century, Trotula is referred to as an authority on women's health. The physician Gerard of Berry (fl. 1220–30) and Abbé Poutrel (c. 1300), the author of a surgical text, mention her knowledge of cosmetics. Petrus Hispanus (d. 1227), while commenting on the *Isagoge* by Johanitius, also makes reference to her when he explains the physiological phenomenon of sexual pleasure. In the mid-thirteenth-century *Thesaurus pauperum*, a popular compilation of recipes often attributed to Petrus Hispanus, Trotula appears as an authority in some gynecological prescriptions taken from the *De sinthomatibus mulierum*, which, as we saw before, makes up an integral part of the *Trotula* compendium.[33]

Well established in the medical tradition, by the thirteenth century Trotula's figure leaps into literary works as well as into natural philosophy. Her name, already transcribed in different variants (Trotule, Torcule, etc.), appeared in a French translation with a commentary of the *Ars amatoria* of Ovid, in the *Dit de l'herberie* of the satirical poet Rutebeuf (d. c. 1285), and, most notably, in the prologue to *The Wife of Bath's Tale* by Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400).[34] Green has pointed out that it was in the textual traditions most distant from medicine where a negative image of her was created, as well as the texts linked to her figure. Those negative representations, originating to a large extent in the contextual association of the *Trotula* with the misogynist heritage of the pseudo-Albertian *Secreta mulierum*, developed in some of the most popular vernacular genres but eventually ended up having an impact on the learned Latin traditions.[35]

TROTA IN TRANSLATION

During the late middle ages, the vernaculatization of medicine brought about the production, adaptation, and translation of texts in circulation from the Latin into

[32] Elaine Leong, "Translating, Printing, and Reading *The Art of Distillation*"; Alisha Rankin, "New World Drugs and the Archive of Practice"; Dror Weil, "Unveiling Nature"; and Shireen Hamza, "Vernacular Languages"; all in the present volume (*Osiris* 37).

[33] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 84–5, 221.

[34] Benton, "Trotula" (cit. n. 2), 35; Monica H. Green, "'Traittié tout de mençonges': The *Secrés des dames*, 'Trotula,' and Attitudes towards Women's Medicine in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-Century France," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference*, ed. Marilyn Desmond (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998), 146–78, on 160, 170.

[35] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 204–28; Green, "'Traittié tout de mençonges' (cit. n. 34).

languages more broadly used. In the Crown of Aragon, the growing audiences for medical books in Catalan appropriated and adapted earlier traditions of texts on women's health, and traces of the authority of Trota and the derivative forms of her name appear in the new corpus. Nevertheless, although the misogynist trends common in Europe were also current in Catalan literary texts, none of the negative views of Trotula that were popular in other vernaculars have as yet been found.[36] On the contrary, I will show testimonies of her acknowledgment in the Catalan setting, ranging from 1338 to 1479. During this period, a significant number of women practiced medicine, surgery, and midwifery in the Aragonese kingdoms: at least five were hired to work for the court between 1332 and 1421, and no fewer than twelve received royal licenses to protect their legal practice between 1374 and 1404.[37] This unveils an appreciation of their abilities as healers that is congruous with the circulation of textual forms of recognition of female authority in medicine.

In the Catalan context, labels, titles, and ascriptions of texts deriving from the name of Trota were also quickly associated exclusively with women's medicine, understood then as encompassing the domains of gynecology, obstetrics, and cosmetics. However, as highlighted above, Trota's practice—like that of many medieval women healers—was not reduced to women's concerns but covered broader areas of healthcare. There are no known translations in any language of the *Practica secundum Trotam*, or of the *De egritudinum curatione*, the twelfth-century Salernitan texts that fully or fragmentarily passed along her treatments. But there are examples that indicate the existence of Catalan translations of books that had been directly associated with her figure, as well as of their circulation in medical and lay circles. The Catalan linguistic tradition was not alone in displaying an active reception of the Latin *Trotula* texts, as there are over sixty examples of manuscripts of different versions in French, Irish, Dutch, Italian, Hebrew, English, and German.[38] Recently, an important Italian translation of the compendium has been edited, and the Hebrew and Dutch traditions have been the subject of studies that describe the textual configurations in those languages of the Latin renditions.[39] The focus of these analyses has been the evaluation and philological analysis of the contents and nature of the texts themselves, but they do not give significance or attention to whether the translations retain or obliterate female figures that had authorized them in earlier versions.

[36] On the misogynistic traditions in relation to medicine in the Crown of Aragon, see Antònia Carré, "La medicina com a rerefons cultural a l'Espill de Jaume Roig," in *Jaume Roig I Cristòfor Despuig: Dos assaigs sobre cultura i literatura dels segles XV i XVI*, ed. Antònia Carré and Josep Solervicens (Barcelona: Univ. de Barcelona; Vic: Eumo, 1996), 9–71; Michael Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: The Arcipreste de Talavera and the Spill* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998); and Jean Dangler, *Mediating Fictions. Literature, Women Healers, and the Go-Between in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Lewisburg: Bucknell Univ. Press, 2001).

[37] Pere Guaita i Jiménez, *Dona i medicina a la Corona d'Aragó* (Manresa: Arxiu Històric de les Ciències de la Salut, 2010).

[38] Monica H. Green, "A Handlist of the Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts of the So-Called Trotula Texts. Part II: The Vernacular Texts and Latin Re-Writings," *Scriptorium* 51 (1997): 80–104; Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 163–98.

[39] Carmen Caballero-Navas, "Un capítulo sobre mujeres: Transmisión y recepción de nociones sobre salud femenina en la producción textual hebrea durante la edad media," *MEAH: Sección hebreo* 52 (2003): 135–62; Orlanda S. H. Lie, "Women's Medicine in Middle Dutch," in *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens, Pieter de Leemans, and An Smets (Leuven: Leuven Univ. Press, 2008), 449–66; Rossella Mosti, "Una versione tardomedievale della *Trotula*: Il MS 532 della Wellcome Library di Londra. Edizione critica, analisi linguistica e glossario," in *Capitoli di Storia Linguistica della Medicina*, ed. Rosa Piro and Raffaella Scarpa (Milan: Mimesis, 2019), 105–64.

Unlike these approaches, my concern is to explore whether, in the course of translation, the texts lost, gained, or maintained marks of acknowledgment of female authority—a process which, as we have seen before, involved the association of healthcare texts with female personal names.

Both Trota and Trotula made their appearance in the new body of Catalan medical literature. A factitious manuscript, today held at the Riccardiana Library in Florence, contains a self-identified translation of *Trotula*, an important text for the entangled histories of translation and of female medical authority, showing a transference of the medieval figure from Latin medical culture into the vernacular.[40] It is copied in a disorganized miscellaneous codex that contains Italian, Latin, and Catalan medical treatises and collections of recipes, many in a fragmentary state or without headings. Nevertheless, a codicological inspection of the remains allows for a reconstruction of what the different medieval units may have looked like. The *Trotula* is included in a group of three texts written in the main by one single hand. However, an old foliation indicates that they had originally been part of a larger volume, probably containing other medical texts in Catalan, likely also translations from the Latin. The *Trotula* is the first of the extant texts of the group; it lacks the beginning, but on two of its pages the name of Trotula appears as a heading as well as at the end of the text, where five recipes in Catalan and Latin follow. The second bears the title *Con regnen les quatre humors en lo cor[s] de l'hom* (How the four humors reign in the human body), and it has no personal name or label associated with it. It consists of a single chapter on the administration of laxative medicines that undoubtedly comes from a work of a theoretical nature. On the same page, the *On pulses* by Philaretus begins, containing five further chapters that mirror about half of the Latin text very closely, finishing abruptly. The three works contain diverse annotations in the margins, including some recipes in Latin and in Catalan in the lower margins of the folios, written in the same hand that copied the body of the text.

The grouping of these three texts, in conjunction with other features of the manuscript, indicate that the Catalan *Trotula* belonged to a volume envisaged as a text for professional use. *On pulses* was part of the seven texts that formed the core group of the *Articella*, or *ars medicinae*, which constituted the very basis of university medical education.[41] The theoretical bent of the fragment on the administering of laxatives and the fact that it included one of the *Trotula* texts could indicate that the volume was made out of some form of the *Articella*. Although the *Trotula* was never part of the university curriculum, its presence in the context of academic medical training is not rare, given that versions of the *Trotula* have been identified in manuscripts containing the *Articella* collection, and its use by physicians and surgeons is widely attested.[42]

[40] Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2827. For a full description of this manuscript, see Montserrat Cabré, "Trota, Tròtula i *Tròtula*: Autoria i autoritat femenina en la medicina medieval en català," in *Els manuscrits, el saber i les lletres a la Corona d'Aragó, 1250–1500*, ed. Lola Badia, Lluís Cifuentes, Sadurní Martí, and Josep Pujol (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2016), 77–102, on 86–93.

[41] Cornelius O'Boyle, *Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Copies of the* '*Ars Medicine*': *A Checklist and Contents Descriptions of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, 1998), 13–4.

[42] On versions of the *Trotula* copied in manuscripts containing the *Articella*, see ibid., 38, 40, 42, 74. On the uses of the compendium by medical practitioners, see Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 74–84.

This initial core group of texts was extended to include three short alchemical and medical tracts as well as recipes in Latin and in Catalan on a wide range of issues, naming some male individuals as their sources.[43] Two of these recipes are particularly interesting as they include the reception date of 1453 and provide significant evidence of the exchange and circulation of knowledge involved in the production of these books: one was sent from Barcelona to Majorca by Joan Cabaspre, the son of a merchant; therefore, at some point of its elaboration the book may have been compiled in the kingdom of Majorca.

Trotula, therefore, featured in a compilation that was adapting a group of basic materials to the vernacular language for the use of non-university medical practitioners.[44] Lluís Cifuentes has shown the popularity of those vernacular miscellanies, especially among surgeons and barbers, in both the urban and rural settings.[45] It was elaborated by an unnamed male or female practitioner who undoubtedly had a certain level of training, since the text is translated from Latin. Although there is limited evidence on the possession of and engagement with the production of medical books by medieval women, in particular by women healers, nevertheless, the possibility of linking the book with the work of a female practitioner should not be completely discarded.[46] In the inventory of the properties of the *medicissa* Margarida de Tornerons, carried out in Vic in 1401, eleven books of medicine, astronomy, and surgery in Latin and Catalan are listed, one identified as a *Thesaurus pauperum*, where Margarida could read the attributions to Trotula of diverse gynecological recipes.[47]

The self-identified *Trotula* opens the codicological unit made up of the three texts and exhibits her name as the running title in red, and again at the end of the treatise itself. The text is not a translation of the whole compendium but of the *De curis mulierum*, one of the three texts of the ensemble.[48] As its beginning is missing, it is not possible to know if it was preceded by either of the other two, in particular

[43] The three texts are the alchemical epistle *Aque magistri Raymundi*, the *Ars operativa medica* ascribed to Raimundus Lullius, and the *Tractatus de bonitate memorie secundum magistrum Arnaldum de Vilanova*; for a full description see Cabré, "Trota, Tròtula i *Tròtula*" (cit. n. 40). The whole book has been called *Florència II*; for an evaluation in the context of its genre, see Lluís Cifuentes, "El receptari mèdic baixmedieval i renaixentista: Un gènere vernacle," in Badia et al., *Els manuscrits* (cit. n. 40), 103–60, on 124–32.

[44] Lluís Cifuentes i Comamala, "'Translatar sciència en romans catalanesch': La difusió de la medicina en català a la baixa Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement," *Llengua & Literatura* 8 (1997): 7–42; Cifuentes, "Estratègies de transició: Pobres i versos en la transmissió extraacadèmica del saber a l'Europa llatina tardomedieval," in *Translatar i transferir: La transmissió dels textos i el saber (1200–1500)*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia, and Lluís Cabré (Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edèndum, 2010), 241–63; Cifuentes, "Les miscel·lànies mèdiques medievals en català: Una proposta de classificació," in *Sabers per als laics: Vernacularització, formació, transmissió* (Corona d'Aragó, 1250–1600), ed. Isabel Müller and Frank Savelsberg (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 255–90. I am indebted to Lluís Cifuentes for sharing his paper with me in advance of publication.

[45] Cifuentes, "Les miscel·lànies mèdiques medievals" (cit. n. 44).

[46] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 129–45, has argued that records documenting the possession or loan of medical books by medieval women, healers or not, are very scarce.

[47] The library contains books in both Catalan and Latin, but the inventory states that this item was in Latin: "Ítem, ·i· libra cobert de pergamín, en paper, qui s'apella *Thesaurus pauperum*, e és en latín," Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Vic, Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, ACF-3705 (inventaris anònims 1397–1403), fol. 3v. For a full description of the library, see Sciència.cat DB doc28, in *Sciència.cat*, coord. Lluís Cifuentes i Antònia Carré, Universitat de Barcelona, 2006, http://www.sciencia.cat, accessed April 23, 2021.

[48] The translation extends to chapters 132–64 of the standardized edition of the compendium edited by Green; *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1), 116–33.

De sinthomatibus mulierum, which usually went in first place, or even the *De ornatu mulierum*, although that one normally circulated in the third place of the triad. What we do know for sure, however, is that the *De curis* closed the Latin version that was used as a base for the translation because the Catalan retains the customary end: "The *Trotula* is finished, thank the Lord."[49]

The Riccardiana manuscript testifies to the revision of a translation previously made either by the editor emerging in the text or by another person:

> I have myself checked this treatise entitled *Trotula*, which either the original [from which the translation was made] fails or the original that I have checked is more copious, because all the additions that are below this point are taken from the original that I have checked.[50]

Explicitly noting some divergences, the editor added in Latin the omitted chapters found in the version s/he was consulting and that turned out to be longer than the Catalan translation.[51] And thanks to the voice emerging in the text, we can infer that the translation was made from a copy of one of the oldest abridged versions of the *Trotula* compendium.

The labor of the Catalan editor brings Trota back into the vernacular history of the text. The Latin manuscript used for the initial translation contained the name of Trotula, whereas the text used to collate it later on still retained that of Trota—*the Latin says Trota*, as s/he inserted in the text. Therefore, the paragraph places the collated version in the early phases of the development of the *Trotula*, when the *De curis* had not yet lost its principal historical actress. The fact that while annotating the divergence the editor gives preeminence to the spelling "Trotula" would suggest that this was already the culturally predominant form of the name through which both the text and the Salernitan healer were known when the translation and its revision were made.[52] At present, neither of them can be dated with precision; on philological grounds, however, the extant rendering can be placed as deriving from the Western region of the Catalan linguistic domain.[53]

Working with fourteenth- and fifteenth-century examples, Michael McVaugh and Antònia Carré have shown that the revision of previous translations was a technique used by some Catalan translators and copyists of healthcare texts, who acted, in fact,

[49] "Acabada és la *Tròtula*, a Déu gràcies," Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2827, fol. 172r.

[50] "Aquest tractat apellat *Tròtula* és stat per mi conprovat, lo qual o a l'original de aquest ffallie o a l'original que yo l'é comprovat és pus copiós, per què totes les addiccions qui ssón d'así avayll són tretas de l'original, que yo he conprovat aquest," ibid. The note follows the translation of chapter 164 of the standard Latin version of the *De curis*; Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1).

[51] These are chapters 162 (omitted from the translation), 163, and 164 (previously translated after chapter 161), and then follow chapters 165, 176, 179, 183, 209, 212, 217, 222, 218, 225, 227, 228, and 229; Green, *The Trotula* (cit. n. 1).

[52] It is important to note here that the editor writes "Explicit suma Trotule" at the end of the paragraphs that s/he added, showing that their Latin version contained both forms of the name, Trota and Trotula; Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2827, fol. 178r.

[53] The text does not present traces of the primitive Catalan *scripta*, and this prevents us from dating the first translation before 1320–30. On the dating of Catalan texts, see Lola Badia, Joan Santanach, and Joan Soler, "Els manuscrits lul·lians de primera generació als inicis de la *scripta* librària catalana," in Alberni, *Translatar i transferir* (cit. n. 44), 61–90; Lluís Cifuentes I Comamala, "La scripta librària catalana primitiva als primers textos mèdics en català," in "*Qui fruit ne sap collir," Homenatge a Lola Badia*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lluís Cifuentes, Joan Santanach, and Albert Soler (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2021), 1:157–70.

as editors of earlier versions.[54] Articles by Elaine Leong, Ahmed Ragab, Alisha Rankin and Dror Weil in this volume show that these practices were culturally widespread and belonged to a repertoire of methods used widely that influenced the frame of the final texts that were produced.[55] The glaring comments of the Catalan editor evince how these techniques molded the distribution of the authority upholding the refashioning of texts.

In the case of the Catalan *De curis*—understood then as *Trotula*—the immediate objective of the editor was to obtain a text that was as faithful as possible to a Latin original and that perhaps s/he disposed of only temporarily—and might even intend to translate fully later on. It is important to note that only the translation of the *De curis* was collated with a Latin original, and the other accompanying texts show no further investment on the part of the scribe or editor to ascertain their accuracy, indicating a clear interest in this precise text. It is as yet unclear whether the author of the initial translation and the person who later revised it are the same, as they were working in two different periods and with different Latin originals. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the Latin texts that were used to elaborate both the initial Catalan translation and the second phase of revision to which the Riccardiana manuscript is witness. In spite of the fact that the *De curis mulierum* is the text that circulated less independently of the three that comprised the *Trotula*, we know that shortened versions were in use.[56] And it is one of those fragmentary versions that is to be found at the base of the original Catalan translation. One of the fragmentary extant versions belonging to the second stage of evolution of the independent text—which Green calls *De curis mulierum* 2—is made up of exactly the same chapters that were translated into Catalan in the Riccardiana text.[57] Independent of which specific Latin versions were used in the elaboration of the translation and its collation, the visibility of Trota in translation is remarkable. An English text on women's health bears as a title a variant of her name (*The book made by Rota*).[58] But the Catalan version is the only independent translation of the *De curis mulierum* known to date.[59]

[54] This is the case with Bernat de Berriac, who at the beginning of the fourteenth century consulted diverse Latin originals to make his Catalan version of the *Chirurgia* of Teodorico Borgognini, a project he carried out by adapting and correcting the translation of Guillem Corretger from the first three books and translating the rest of the work anew. See Michael McVaugh, "Academic Medicine and the Vernacularization of Medieval Surgery: The Case of Bernat de Berriac," in *El saber i les llengües vernacles a l'època de Llull i Eximenis: Estudis ICREA sobre vernacularització*, ed. Anna Alberni, Lola Badia, Lluís Cifuentes, and Alexander Fidora (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2012), 257–81. In the same way, the person who made the mid-fifteenth-century copy of Bernat Sarriera's translation of the *Regiment de sanitat* by Arnau de Vilanova collated the Catalan version they worked on with a Latin original; see Arnau de Vilanova, *Regiment de sanitat per al rei d'Aragó: Aforismes de la memòria*, ed. Antònia Carré (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2017), 134–42; Antònia Carré, "Del llatí al català: El cas del *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum* d'Arnau de Vilanova," in Müller and Savelsberg, *Sabers per als laics*, 317–35 (cit. n. 44). I am indebted to the author for generously sharing her work with me before publication.

[55] Elaine Leong, "Translating, Printing, and Reading"; Ahmed Ragab, "Translation and the Making of a Medieval Archive"; Alisha Rankin, "New World Drugs"; and Weil, "Unveiling Nature"; all in *Osiris* 37.

[56] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 83.

[57] These are chapters 132–64; for the attestation, see Green, "Handlist Part I: Latin" (cit. n. 22), 151, no. 41.

[58] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 188–9.

[59] Green, "Handlist Part II: Vernacular" (cit. n. 38); Caballero-Navas, "Un capítulo sobre mujeres" (cit. n. 39); Lie, "Women's Medicine" (cit. n. 39).

THE AUTHORITY OF TROTULA IN CATALAN

In the body of medieval medical literature in Catalan, we have not found more traces of the historical Trota. Nevertheless, transformed into the figure of Trotula, her authority spread in Catalan medical culture. One route for its dissemination was via the fortunes of the translation of the *Thesaurus pauperum* (Treasure of poor men), which circulated under the name of Petrus Hispanus, and which, as we have seen before, attributed a handful of gynecological treatments to Trotula. The work was very popular in the late Middle Ages, and three manuscripts of one single Catalan translation have already been identified.[60] Two are extant in full and retain the attributions of the treatments to the different medical authorities presented in the original, acknowledging Trotula as the source for various procedures in two of the chapters devoted to female medicine.[61] Interestingly, one of the Catalan versions omits the mentions of Trotula, because the corresponding sections do not cite authorities for any of the recipes provided.[62] However, a mid-fourteenth-century version attributes five treatments to Trotula in the chapters "De embarguar el concebiment" (For avoiding conception) and "Qual cose ajude a concebre" (For helping to conceive).[63]

We know that Catalan texts identified with the name of Trotula were in use at the royal court and also circulated among medical practitioners in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Crown of Aragon. Some of the known instances come from book inventories and offer little information, making it difficult to ascertain not only the exact treatise referred to, but even the language of the text. For example, the surgeon Bernat Serra had a book entitled *Trotula* when he died in 1338, but this text was probably in Latin if we are to go by the complete learned collection of books that he possessed.[64] In any case, it attests to the circulation of Trotula as a figure with a presence in the libraries of medical practitioners. While compiling lists of books when taking stock of goods, some notaries transcribed sentences from the beginning and the end of the items that they were enumerating, but often they simply wrote short titles or names as a way to identify the texts. The lack of contextual evidence makes it difficult to discern the details in every case. However, neither notaries, scribes, nor readers labeled or referred to texts at random. Personal names of authorities were commonly used in association with texts but even more broadly with particular fields of expertise, offering value and legitimacy to what the books contained. This was not a gendered phenomenon, and it was not peculiar to women's medicine. The name of Palladius, a fourth-century author of a widely acknowledged treatise on agriculture, came to identify a variety of different treatises on the subject, which, although unrelated to his original work, circulated under his name in Catalan during the late Middle Ages—the so-called *Pal·ladis arromançats*.[65] Owing

[60] Cifuentes, "El receptari mèdic" (cit. n. 43), 118–20.

[61] The citations in the original Latin are found in chapter 44, *De impedimento conceptu*, and 45, *Ut mulier concipiat*, in Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, *Obras médicas de Pedro Hispano*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Universitatis Coninbrigensis, 1973), 1:265.

[62] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona, MS 864, fols. 27ra–rb, transcribed by Asunción Escudero Mendo, "Manuscritos de la Biblioteca de Catalunya de interés para la farmacia y las ciencias médicas: En particular el Tresor dels pobres" (PhD diss., Univ. of Barcelona, 1993), 655–6.

[63] Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, MS 191, fols. LXXIIIV, LXXXVIV. I thank Lluís Cifuentes for providing me with a copy of this manuscript.

[64] "[26] Item, quendam alium librum, vocatum *Trotula*, scriptum in papiro," in Josep Hernando, *Llibres i lectors a la Barcelona del segle XIV* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1995), 1:136, no. 76.

[65] Lluís Cifuentes i Comamala, *La ciència en català a l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona-Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de Barcelona–Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2001; 2nd rev. ed., 2006), 289–90.

to his recognized authority on a particular topic, his personal name came to authorize a whole area of knowledge. Similarly, in medieval Catalan texts, Trotula stars as a figure of authority in women's healthcare in a number of ways.

Most visibly, her name appears at the beginning of texts, quickly according their contents authoritativeness. In the library of Pere Company, an apothecary and citizen of Barcelona, there were various books of pharmacology and medicine, one of which is described in detail in a survey of his properties in 1428:

> Item, another book entitled *Tortule of Greece*, written on paper and with wooden covers lined in red leather. The first page of the book starts in black letters: "Here starts the book" and ends: "or lice on the head"; and on the last page of the book, which is unfinished, it ends with "contrary foods."[66]

The description does not allow for a precise identification of the text. It begins with the care of the hair, as was usual in treatises of practical medicine from head to toe, but cosmetic tracts also devote a good part of their contents to hair treatments—and as seen above, cosmetics are a substantial part of the texts associated with Trotula and the collective authority ascribed to women. The final sentence, or *explicit*, indicates that the text ended with diet recommendations, typical advice given in handbooks of practical medicine and regimens of health. Therefore, the text described here is not the compendium that circulated in Latin under the name of *Trotula*, but a further expression of the medical authority that had originally been recognized in Trota. The fact that next to her name appears a demonym—of Greece—is an evident sign that it is referring to a personal female figure giving authority to the text. The identification of that woman with Greek medicine—with the land of origin of Hippocrates and Galen—offers further validity to the authoritative figure. The association of Trotula with Greece is not common in medieval medical literature, but neither is it unique: Johannes Hartlieb, the translator of the most popular German versions of the *Trotula* compendium, made in the 1460s, also places the female authority figure in Greece but raises her status to that of a Greek queen.[67] As we saw before, instances of royal women validating medical knowledge are found in other linguistic traditions, most notably in the case of Cleopatra.

In the above examples, both a surgeon and an apothecary possessed texts that used the name of Trotula to identify and grant authority to a medical text. In neither case can it be ascertained exactly which texts they held since the extant descriptions do not provide sufficient information. The treatise owned by Bernat Serra could be the *Trotula* compendium. However, Pere Company's book contained a different and currently unknown text, likely a text on women's medicine. The association of the name of Trotula with texts on women's health that have no direct connection with the *Trotula* is not without parallel. One of the known copies of a Middle English text on obstetrics and gynecology was entitled *Liber Trotularis*, but its contents had no connection with the *Trotula* or the work of Trota; rather, it is associated with Muscio's gynecological

[66] "Item, ·I· altre libre cubert de posts de fust cubertes de pell vermella, scrit en paper, appellat *Tòrtule de Grècia*, la primera carta del qual libre comensa en letres negres: 'Ací comensa lo libre', e feneix: 'o lèmens del cap'; e la derrere carta del qual libre, no acabada, feneix: 'viandes contràries.'" I follow the transcription, slightly modified, made by Josep A. Iglesias i Fonseca, "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)" (PhD diss., Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona, 1996), 416, doc. 107. For more details, see Sciència.cat DB doc10 (cit. n. 47).

[67] Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (cit. n. 2), 225.

works as well as with Gilbertus Anglicus's discourse on women's conditions in his medical handbook.[68]

There is a one further example of the use of the name of Trotula as an authoritative label on women's healthcare in Catalan texts. Probably dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century, a text entitled *Trotula* was addressed to a lady of the Aragonese royal family, as the prologue of the work states:

> Here starts the book that speaks well and frees the Queen from any cure so that she might live healthily all her life; it has been made by Master Joan, pleasing the Infanta very much, and he has entitled it *Trotula*.[69]

The book is addressed to a "flower of Aragon" and was commissioned by a queen to a certain medical practitioner called Joan. The rhetoric of the prologue is courtly and contains a love poem through which the book speaks to a young lady, expressing hope that it will help her to keep her beauty and health. Exact confirmation of who these three characters were is lacking, but the book could have been made for the infanta Elionor of Aragon (1358–82) at the request of Queen Elionor of Sicily (1325–75, r. 1349). From the start, the author states that his work is a compilation from other texts rather than an original work. Master Joan never discloses his sources apart from a generic mention of Hippocrates and Galen when considering the retention of the menses. Nor does he reveal the language of the texts he is working with.[70] But he is very clear in his identification of the work with the unequivocal label of *Trotula*, as he refers twice to her name: "Here start the rubrics of *Trotula"* (Assí començan les rúbliques de *Tròtule*).[71] Nevertheless, the book does not contain any of the three texts that formed part of the old Latin *Trotula* compendium.

The compilation is a handbook for domestic use, a text that promises the woman who follows its advice that it will help her avoid having to consult a "physician except in case of plague or apoplexy."[72] Nevertheless, beyond the ladies of the court, master Joan's *Trotula* was of interest to medical practitioners. A copy was owned by a barber from Valencia, Miquel Domenge; by 1479 it had passed into the possession of the surgeon Jaume Boixadell in Barcelona. The extant description of the book shared by these practitioners does not mention its title, as it only transcribes the beginning of the dedicatory poem where there is no mention of *Trotula*, but it is distinctive enough to be identified as the same text.[73]

[68] For *Liber Trotularis*, see Monica H. Green and Linne R. Mooney, "The Sickness of Women," in *Sex, Aging, and Death in a Medieval Medical Compendium: Trinity College Cambridge MS R.14.52, Its Texts, Language, and Scribe*, ed. M. Teresa Tavormina, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 292, 2 vols. (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), 2:455–568, on 568n91.

[69] "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 à fet mestre Johan a la infante molt agradant, al qual à mès nom *Tròtula*," Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 3356, fol. 1ra.

[70] Montserrat Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman: A Feminine Manual of Self-Help," *Dynamis* 20 (2000): 371–93.

[71] Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 3356, fol. 1rb.

[72] "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. . ." ibid., fol. 27rb.

[73] "Ítem, ·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 rich e baron» et cetera," original edition, without identification, in Josep Maria Madurell i Marimon and Jordi Rubió i

Master Joan created a health manual from diverse texts or adapted a compilation that someone else, in Catalan or in another language, had put together from different, albeit still distinguishable, elements. Nonetheless, despite the lay audience and the fact that it is a different text, not only its name but also its thematic features directly link it to the Latin *Trotula*. The compilation contains an extensive first section devoted to cosmetics, which brings together materials that circulated under the name of *De ornatu*, although they do not correspond textually with those presented by the anonymous *De ornatu* that forms part of the Latin *Trotula*. This section is followed by the literal version of a gynecological text known in a Hebrew version and three French versions, *Des aides de la maire et de ses medicines* (On the aids of the womb and its medicines); in these latter, the name of the author is assigned as Jehan de Trabarmaco or Tarbamacho, which the Catalan version makes into Joan de Reimbamaco. Finally, the treatise ends with a short section on sexual medicine and a short regimen for health.[74]

The Catalan text that master Joan entitled *Trotula*, therefore, contains traces neither of the work of Trota nor of the Latin compendium that extended her fame. Now that the personal name was transformed into a label of a medical specialty, the choice to employ it was imbued with meaning: used as a rubric, it came to be understood as a genre of medical texts. As was the case with other authorities giving their name to specific domains of knowledge, *Trotula* still conveyed the idea of female authority in women's healthcare. In a similar manner, the name of Trotula in Latin had been saturated with the acknowledgment of female authority in women's medicine that had once been accorded to Trota.

CONCLUSION

Translation was an integral part of the process of the vernacularization of medicine underway in Western Europe during the late Middle Ages. Healthcare treatises were adapted and transported from Latin into Catalan, broadening the audiences that used them, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries included a wider range of practitioners and laypeople alike. Together with the texts, notions of authority over the knowledge that they conveyed were transferred or suppressed. As an epistemic technology, translation involved the use of many techniques to intervene in the texts, including the association of personal names to the renderings in new languages as a method to authorize them.

In Latin medicine, female authority was particularly vulnerable because its acknowledgment was limited in two gender-specific ways. First, recognitions of anonymous women's authority over specific treatments, as individuals or as part of a distinctive collective, circulated widely but were invisible in the large bodies of medical literature. Second, women who were recognized individually as figures of authority were known only for their knowledge of women's health—even if their expertise was broader. The historical Trota of Salerno, through the evolved name of Trotula, stands as a prominent figure peculiar to Latin medical culture.

Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474–1553)* (Barcelona: Gremios de Editores y Libreros y de Maestros Impresores, 1955), 14, doc. 7. For full details, see Sciència.cat DB doc179, text number 4 (cit. n. 47).

[74] Cabré, "From a Master to a Laywoman" (cit. n. 70), 385–7. For the Hebrew version, see Carmen Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love and Jewish Medieval Medical Literature on Women* (London, 2004), 95, 160–2.

Late medieval Catalan medicine recreated and disseminated this female figure of authority, departing from the historicity of the Salernitan healer in a manner similar to that of the Latin traditions. Nevertheless, by reading as gender-significant the acts of identifying and labeling texts, a wealth of traces of a notion of female authority are still retained in treatises on women's health, showing that Trota and Trotula came to authorize an important part of medieval women's medicine in Catalan.