

GETTING TO THE SOURCE:

THE CASE OF JACOBA FELICIE AND THE IMPACT OF THE *PORTABLE MEDIEVAL READER* ON THE CANON OF MEDIEVAL WOMEN'S HISTORY¹

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Thirty years after the first Women's Studies courses began to be taught in some US and European universities, it may be hard to recall how difficult those early years were for scholars trying to incorporate women (and later, gender) into their courses. Now we can rely on such series as *The Library of Medieval Women* (Boydell & Brewer) and *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (University of Chicago), and a whole host of sourcebooks and anthologies on medieval sexuality, women religious writers, etc., as we assemble our courses every year. If anything, one is now often faced when putting together a syllabus with a wonderful *embarras de richesses*. But in the early days, before computers or even photocopiers, it was only because of certain pioneering anthologists and translators that works by or about women made their way into the corpus of materials available for teaching. And as we all can attest, what we are exposed to in those crucial undergraduate years is often formative of our whole view of what the Middle Ages is about.

The Portable Medieval Reader (PMR), first published by Viking in 1949, has subsequently gone through at least six different editions and has never been out-of-print in close to sixty years. To an extent that we may find hard to appreciate today, Mary McLaughlin and her collaborator, James Bruce Ross, were quite radical in incorporating women's stories and women's experiences into this "snapshot" of medieval life. Although other basic teaching compendia did not incorporate female writers until well into the 1970s and '80s (and in some cases even the 1990s), already in the first edition of the *PMR* we find Heloise, Anna Comnena, Margery Kempe, Christine de Pizan, and Elizabeth Stonor. I wish to pay particular attention to McLaughlin and Ross' incorporation of the story of the fourteenth-century Parisian healer Jacoba Felicie.² Although the Latin text of her trial had been published in the late nineteenth century and her story

was included among various accounts of women in medicine since the early part of the twentieth century, McLaughlin and Ross' translation of a sizable portion of the trial record was the first, and to this day remains one of only two Modern English translations of Jacoba's trial (neither of which is complete). This brief study of the *PMR* and the work of McLaughlin and Ross will thus serve as a reminder of the importance of these basic pedagogical tools to our larger endeavor to do more than "add women and stir" as we transform the contours of medieval historiography.

All we know about Jacoba (or Jacqueline) Felicie can be found in Henri Denifle's massive four-volume *Cartulary of the University of Paris*, an assemblage of a variety of documents relating to the University and its development in the later Middle Ages.³ In November of 1322, Jacoba, along with five other medical practitioners (two men and three women), was excommunicated and fined sixty Parisian *livres* because they had been practicing medicine unofficially. Although all were excommunicated on the same day, their trials were conducted separately. Jacoba's trial record offers an exceptionally detailed account of her practices and the charges she faced. Importantly, there was never any suggestion that she had actually harmed anyone through the care that she gave them. Rather, she was accused, essentially, of acting just like a learned (male) physician: visiting the sick, examining their urine and pulse, touching and palpating their bodies; contracting with the patient for her payment if she cured them; and prescribing and administering various drugs. The testimony of eight witnesses (seven former patients plus the wife of one of them) is recorded; all affirm her medical procedures but deny that she ever demanded money from them in advance of a cure. On November 2, Jacoba (or the counsel representing her) offered a lengthy response to the charges, to which the faculty of medicine (through their representative) offered rebuttal. That she is consistently referred to in the records as *domina Jacoba* (and refers to herself as *nobilis mulier domina Jacoba*) suggests that she was indeed of higher social class, though aside from a male associate, Master Jean de Turre, with whom she practiced on at least one case, there is no indication in the trial record of her family or other associates. As the Spanish scholars Montserrat Cabré and Fernando Salmón have argued

in the most recent analysis of Jacoba's trial, Jacoba has established exceptional authority in the social spheres within which she functions even if she has none of the institutional power that the Medical Faculty is now wielding against her.⁴

Now, McLaughlin and Ross did not discover Jacoba's story for feminist historiography. Although it is clear that her story remained unknown to those few Renaissance and early modern scholars who added medical women to their lists of "women worthies," already in 1900, following the publication of the *Cartulary of the University of Paris* by Denifle, the Polish emigré to Paris, Melina Lipinska, had retrieved Jacoba's story for women's history by including her in her *Histoire des femmes médecins* [History of Women Physicians], the first monographic study of female medical practitioners ever produced.⁵ Perhaps independently from Lipinska, the great English historian, Eileen Power, included Jacoba in her brief 1922 study "Some Women Practitioners of Medicine in the Middle Ages" along with an interesting petition from an English woman practitioner Power had herself discovered.⁶ In 1936, Ernest Wickersheimer included a brief entry for her in his *Dictionnaire Biographique des médecins en France au moyen âge* [Biographical Dictionary of Physicians in France During the Middle Ages]. In 1938, an American obstetrician-gynecologist and feminist activist, Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead, incorporated Jacoba's trial into her planned two-volume *History of Women in Medicine*.⁷ Finally, in 1943, the literary scholar Muriel Joy Hughes devoted a full four pages to recounting Jacoba's case in her still-valuable survey of historical and literary representations of medieval female healers.⁸ In short, prior to the first publication of the *PMR* in 1949, Jacoba's story had been summarized or at least acknowledged five different times. When Pearl Kibre published what is still the most extensive English-language analysis of the case in 1953, the story was probably already familiar to most historians of medicine.⁹

Despite the availability of McLaughlin's translation, it was solely from the above-mentioned secondary accounts that Jacoba's story entered feminist historiography in the "second wave" period, making her well known now in popular accounts of women healers. When Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English published their feminist manifesto, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses* in 1971, they drew (without acknowledgement) on Hughes' account for their summary

of Jacoba's trial; they never quoted from the actual trial records and, not being medievalists (or historians of any sort, for that matter), it is not surprising that they looked no further for detailed information.¹⁰ Similarly, Power's account was the principal source for Hilary Bourdillon's *Women as Healers: A History of Women and Medicine*, a 1988 pamphlet intended for juvenile readers, while Hughes' account was used for Elisabeth Brooke's popularizing *Women Healers through History*.¹¹ Most recently, Jacoba merited a full three-page biography in *Extraordinary Women of the Medieval and Renaissance World*, a reference work intended for high school and undergraduate audiences, which again drew on previous secondary works rather than engage with either the original Latin account of Jacoba's trial or the McLaughlin/Ross translation.¹² The same trend holds for the most recent accounts, where we find that Jacoba's Internet presence has her appearing on websites such as "Profiles of Famous Women Scientists,"¹³ and being regularly incorporated into textbooks and lectures on women in the sciences and medicine and even bioethics.¹⁴ Indeed, six years before another famous economist made a notable gaffe in speaking of women in science, Ismail Serageldin, then Vice President of the World Bank, included reference to Jacoba in his 1999 address to the Women in Science International League at the UN office in London.¹⁵ Most recently, Jacoba makes a cameo appearance as one of several persecuted female healers in Robin Morgan's new novel, *The Burning Time*, about the witchcraft trial of the fourteenth-century Irish woman, Alice Kyteler.¹⁶

Unsurprisingly, given that these accounts are all derivative, many get Jacoba's facts wrong: she is called a thirteenth-century midwife when, besides the chronological error, there is no specific evidence of her expertise in obstetrics ("Profiles"); it is claimed with delightful anachronism that she ran a "women's clinic" in Paris;¹⁷ she is said to have enacted "[a]lmost a replay of the case of Agnodice [...] for impersonating a physician to practice medicine," though Jacoba did not (as far as we know) practice in drag as did the fictional Agnodice made famous in Antiquity by Hyginus (Serageldin).¹⁸ In scholarly studies of medieval women, Jacoba has had a more accurate though somewhat less regular appearance. (See Table 1 below.) She appears in Eileen Power's posthumous 1975 study, *Medieval Women*,

and in a poorly distributed collection of essays from a conference in Pittsburgh the same year.¹⁹ Likewise, she appears in the chapter on women healers in Shulamith Shahar's *Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (1983), Margaret Wade Labarge's *A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life* (1986), and in Emilie Amt's *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Source Book* (1993).²⁰ Finally, her story appeared prominently in the latest general survey of medieval women's history, Jennifer Ward's 2002 *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500*, who used data collected in my own 1989 study of women's medical practice and care to assemble a rich survey of the question.²¹

Jacoba's story hasn't quite achieved "canonical" status in medieval women's and gender history yet, though I think it likely that it will. Aside from the malpractice trial of a Jewish midwife in Marseille (which a colleague and I are currently editing), Jacoba's story is the fullest account we have of the actual hands-on practices of a historical female practitioner.²² Clearly, Jacoba's is not a story of a simple suppression of *female* practitioners; unlicensed practitioners in general were being targeted at the time by the Faculty of Medicine in Paris and it is clear that Jacoba posed such a threat to the university masters precisely because she practiced a medicine strikingly similar to their own. Recent researches on the processes of professionalization of medicine in the later Middle Ages show that efforts to control the use of powerful drugs (particularly opiates) by unlearned (meaning "not university-trained") practitioners was a strong motive behind learned physicians' efforts to supervise medical practice generally.²³ Nevertheless, there is an important and undeniable gender dimension to her trial: it is one of the clearest statements that I have ever encountered for why women are excluded from the practice of law and why, by analogy, they should likewise be excluded from the practice of medicine. Indeed, Jacoba's case may well signal the moment that learned male practitioners, who had been dismissing the practices of "old women" and general empirics in sweeping generalizations since the thirteenth century (though without passing laws that specifically forbade women to practice), first realized the power of making a categorical prohibition against women on the basis of the analogy with law.

No complete translation of Jacoba's trial has ever been published and there are still key issues of her case that remain to be resolved.²⁴ One that I think literary scholars would love to jump on is to what extent the rhetoric of women's exclusion from law drew on current controversies or had any "play" in debates about women's legal capacities in later years.²⁵ The most pressing question to my mind is where Jacoba (or her lawyer) drew the striking rhetoric that she deploys at one point to claim that "it is better and more becoming that a woman clever and expert in the art should visit a sick woman, and should see and look into the secrets of nature and her private parts, than a man, to whom it is not permitted to see and investigate the aforesaid, nor to feel the hands, breasts, belly, and feet, etc., of women."²⁶ Although a discourse of "women's secrets" had begun in France several decades earlier, prior uses of the term had primarily conceived of such "secrets" as knowledge about the processes of generation. Jacoba's defense argument is one of only a handful of instances in the fourteenth century that uses the concept of "women's secrets" defensively—that is, as a barrier to keep men away from "women's business" rather than as a lure to male intellectuals that some unknown aspect of generation was about to be revealed to them.²⁷ In fact, there is an inherent flaw in Jacoba's argument since her own practice, as evidenced by the witnesses (all but one of whom are uniformly supportive of her competence), belies her claim that she specializes in "secret" diseases. She is clearly treating both sexes (four of the eight witnesses are men) and none of the witnesses articulates any concern about shame nor are any of them being treated for gynecological or andrological diseases. Rather, all testify that they have sought out her services for the simple reason that prior attempts at curing their fevers, paralyse, etc. had not worked and they had heard from others of Jacoba's reputation for success. Far from being a fourteenth-century version of a women's health specialist, Jacoba was, I suspect, a general practitioner treating anyone who came to her. She or her counsel are simply tapping into a gendered rhetorical discourse already available to them, perhaps (and I'm still trying to document this) coming out of arguments for the suitability of women doctors for women patients that emerged from the Angevin Kingdom of Naples in the early fourteenth century.²⁸

The potential for analysis that Jacoba's story holds is thus great. Perhaps one of the reasons that that potential has not yet been realized is simply that more medievalists haven't been exposed to the story. As indicated in Table 1, even those few scholarly surveys of medieval women that do cite Jacoba's story never reference the translation in the *PMR*, and only Ward mentions Amt's 1993 partial translation. As far as I know, my 1989 essay in *Signs* is the only scholarly acknowledgment of the existence of McLaughlin's translation.²⁹ In fact, I have to admit that I was never asked to read the *PMR* during my own undergraduate training in the 1970s; it may well be that I only purchased the book after Mary herself (whom I had met through the good graces of my friend and co-panelist, Joan Cadden) tipped me off early in my graduate training that Jacoba's story could be found there.

This recounting of the story of the *PMR* and Mary McLaughlin's translation of Jacoba's trial may thus sound like a story of failure, or if not that, at least one of minimal impact. But actually, I don't think that's the case. The importance of Jacoba's story in the *PMR* is not that it has transformed scholarship. Rather, it has made Jacoba's story available to "regular folk": undergraduate students and a broader public interested in the "daily life" that is depicted in so many of the excerpts that make up the *PMR*. Like Jacoba herself, the *PMR* itself has never been "canonized"—it has continued to exist in a bibliographical netherworld of its own, just under the radar of the marketing efforts of the major publishing companies that hawk their "new and improved" textbooks every year.

Despite the marginalization of the *PMR* and despite the still relatively low profile of Jacoba's trial record in the canon of medieval feminist historiography, I think we can characterize the small acts of pioneering scholars and dedicated educators like James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin as examples of the fabled "butterfly effect" of chaos theory: tiny and seemingly ephemeral gestures that in fact have a profound effect on the entire world of scholarship. I have made the *PMR* translation of Jacoba's story required reading in every medieval history and medical history class I have taught in the past twenty years, and I will no doubt continue to use it for the

rest of my teaching career. I plan to include a new and complete translation of Jacoba's trial in a sourcebook of medieval women's medical history that I am preparing. As should be obvious by now, I would very much like to see Jacoba's story earn a place in the canon of medieval feminist historiography: a case of a woman who, though we have no writings from her own hand, nevertheless left the imprint of her will and her personality on some of the most important men of her day. Was Jacoba an unsung feminist hero of the fourteenth century? Hardly. She was just as ready to condemn the practices of "illiterates and empty-headed ignoramuses" (*ydiotas et fatuos ignaros*) as the male physicians who were trying her.³⁰ She simply didn't think that laws meant to keep unlearned practitioners off the streets of Paris should apply to her. Mary Martin McLaughlin was always one to play straight with the medieval evidence for women, never embellishing it or distorting it to argue a point about modern politics. I would suggest that the modern story about Mary Martin McLaughlin and James Bruce Ross' *Portable Medieval Reader* similarly does not need to be embellished for us to acknowledge how their quiet and seemingly small decisions to include the voices and experiences of women in their anthology of sources in 1949 continues to affect our thinking and our teaching nearly sixty years later.

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Table 1: Studies of Medieval Women that Do/Do Not include the Story of Jacoba Felicie

Author/Title		Sources Cited
Eileen Power, <i>Medieval Women</i> , ed. M. M. Postan (Cambridge UP, 1975)	yes	Denifle
Rosmarie Thee Morewedge, ed., <i>The Role of Woman in the Middle Ages</i> (SUNY P, 1975)	no	—
Douglas Radcliff-Umstead, ed., <i>The Roles and Images of Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance</i> (Cneter for Medieval & Renaissance Studies, 1975)	yes	Kibre
Brenda M. Bolton and Susan Mosher Stuard eds., <i>Women in Medieval Society</i> (U Pennsylvania P, 1976)	no	—
Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, <i>Women in the Middle Ages</i> (Crowell, 1978)	no	—
Susan Hill Gross & Marjorie Wall Bingham, <i>Women in Medieval/Renaissance Europe</i> (Glenhurst, 1983)	no	[use was made of Hughes]
Shulamith Shahar, <i>The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages</i> (Methuen, 1983)	yes	Denifle
Edith Ennen, <i>The Medieval Woman</i> , trans. Edmund Jephcott (Basil Blackwell, 1989); translation of <i>Frauen im Mittelalter</i> (C. H. Beck, 1984)	no	—

Margaret Wade Labarge, <i>A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life</i> (Beacon, 1986)	yes	Denifle; Kibre
Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, ed., <i>Women and Power in the Middle Ages</i> (U Georgia P, 1988)	no	—
David Herlihy, <i>Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe</i> (Temple UP, 1990)	no	—
Julia Bolton Holloway, et al., eds., <i>Equally in God's Image: Women in the Middle Ages</i> (Peter Lang, 1990)	no	—
Erika Uitz, <i>The Legend of Good Women: Medieval Women in Towns and Cities</i> (Moyer Bell, 1990)	no	—
Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, general eds., <i>A History of Women in the West</i> , vol. II, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, <i>Silences of the Middle Ages</i> (Belknap, 1992)	no	—
Emilie Amt, <i>Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook</i> (Routledge, 1993)	yes	Denifle (new partial translation provided)
Marty Newman Williams and Anne Echols, <i>Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages</i> (Marcus Wiener, 1994)	no	—
Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean, eds., <i>Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women</i> (U Illinois P, 1995)	no	—

Régine Pernoud, <i>Women in the Days of Cathedrals</i> , trans. and adapted by Anne Côté-Harriss (Ignatius, 1998)	no	—
Carole Levin, et al., eds., <i>Extraordinary Women of the Medieval and Renaissance World: A Biographical Dictionary</i> (Greenwood, 2000)	yes	Bourdillon; Brooke; Hurd-Mead; Kibre
Jennifer Ward, <i>Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500</i> (Longman, 2002)	yes	Denifle; Jacquart; notes that “parts of the case are translated in Amt”
Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, eds., <i>Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages</i> (U Notre Dame P, 2005)	no	—

END NOTES

1. This essay was first presented at the 41st Annual International Medieval Congress in a session “In Honor of Mary Martin McLaughlin II: Medieval Women and Religious Life.” My thanks to the organizer of these sessions, Catherine Mooney, for giving me this opportunity to honor the impact that Mary Martin McLaughlin had on my life. This essay is dedicated to her memory.

2. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, *The Portable Medieval Reader* (1949; New York: Viking, 1959), pp. 635-40. The translation itself was made by McLaughlin.

3. Henri Denifle, ed., *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris: Delalain, 1891-9; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), 2:255-67. Denifle adds the geographical designator “de Almania” in the heading to Jacoba’s arraignment document on August 19, yet no such designation occurs in any of the transcripts themselves. It is unclear from where it derives. I will refer to her throughout this essay as “Jacoba” since in the trial record itself she is most frequently referred to either simply by her given name or as *domina Jacoba* (Lady Jacoba).

4. Montserrat Cabré i Pairet and Fernando Salmón Muñiz, "Poder académico *versus* autoridad femenina: la Facultad de Medicina de París contra Jacoba Félicié (1322)," *Dynamis* 19 (1999): 55-78.
5. Melina Lipinska, *Histoire des femmes médecins depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: G. Jacques, 1900). Lipinska repeated Jacoba's story in her later abbreviated work, *Les femmes et le progrès des sciences médicales* (Paris: Masson & Cie, 1930).
6. Eileen Power, "Some Women Practitioners of Medicine in the Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 15, no. 6 (April 1922): 20-23. Jacoba would also make an appearance in Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), a collection of essays edited and published posthumously by her husband, M. M. Postan.
7. Kate Campbell Hurd-Mead, *A History of Women in Medicine* (Haddam, CT: Haddam Press, 1938; repr. New York: AMS, 1977).
8. Muriel Joy Hughes, *Women Healers in Medieval Life and Literature* (New York: Columbia UP, 1943; rpt. Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1968).
9. Pearl Kibre, "The Faculty of Medicine at Paris, Charlatanism, and Unlicensed Medical Practice in the Later Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 27, no. 1 (January/February 1953): 1-20.
10. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Oyster Bay, NY: Glass Mountain Pamphlets, 1971-72; repr. Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1973).
11. Hilary Bourdillon, *Women as Healers: A History of Women and Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988); Elisabeth Brooke, *Women Healers Through History* (London: Women's Press, 1993). Bourdillon cites Denifle as if she had made her own translation, though in fact she is drawing on Power.
12. Carole Levin, et al., eds., *Extraordinary Women of the Medieval and Renaissance World: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2000).
13. See Northern Illinois University, Department of Biological Sciences. "Women in Science at NIU." <<http://www.bios.niu.edu/wis/profiles.html>>
14. Lectures and syllabi available online: Cara East and Debbie Bridges, "Women Physicians at Baylor University Medical Center." Baylor University, July 2004. <http://www.baylorhealth.edu/proceedings/17_3/17_3_east.pdf>; Amy Bix, "History of Medicine, Gender, and the Body." Iowa State University. 12 December 2003. <<http://www.public.iastate.edu/~hist.486x/medieval.html>>. Incorporated into the narrative of bioethics: Stephen G. Post, ed., *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Gale, 2004), vol. 5, pp. 2585-86.
15. Ismail Serageldin, "Women in Science: Time to Recognize the Obvious. An address delivered at the UN Information Office to the meeting of The Women in Science International League, London, November 26, 1999." <<http://www.serageldin.com/speeches/WomeninScience5.htm>>. Accessed 3 May 2006.
16. Robin Morgan, *The Burning Time* (Hoboken, NJ: Melville House, 2006).
17. Cora Agatucci, "Women's Studies 101." Central Oregon Community College. 1997. <<http://web.cocc.edu/cagatucci/classes/ws101/wstml/wstml1.htm>>.
18. In one account (East and Bridges, "Women Physicians"), she is even called a

Jew. This apparently is due to a conflation of Jacoba's identity with that of a woman named Belota, who is identified as a Jew and was sentenced at the same time as Jacoba. How a Jew could be punished by excommunication is unclear to me.

19. Jacoba appeared here in an essay specifically on female medical practitioners by the historian of medicine Thomas Benedek.

20. Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (NY: Methuen, 1983), Margaret Wade Labarge, *A Small Sound of the Trumpet: Women in Medieval Life* (London: Hamilton, 1986), pp. 175-77; Emilie Amt, *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Source Book* (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 108-112. I am grateful to Shona Kelly Wray for reminding me that Amt's collection includes Jacoba's story.

21. Monica H. Green, "Women's Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14 (1989-90): 434-73; repr. in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989), pp. 39-78; and, with addenda, in Green, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West: Texts and Contexts*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS680 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), Essay I.

22. Monica H. Green and Daniel Lord Smail, "The Trial of Floreta d'Ays (1403): Jews, Christians, and Obstetrics in Later Medieval Marseille" (in progress). This case involves a Jewish midwife who is accused of having caused the death of a Christian patient; the five people who testify against her are all Christian women and offer some intriguing insights into contemporary obstetrical practices. Similarly, the witnesses who testify at Jacoba's trial go into considerable detail of both her diagnostic and therapeutic practices.

23. Walton Orvyl Schalick, III. *Add One Part Pharmacy to One Part Surgery and One Part Medicine: Jean de Saint-Amand and the Development of Medical Pharmacology in Thirteenth-Century Paris*. Diss. Johns Hopkins University, 1997.

24. McLaughlin's translation presents only three of the patient testimonies, abbreviates Jacoba's own testimony, and provides none of the Faculty's reply to Jacoba. Similarly, Amt's translation presents only three testimonies (all of the female patients), abbreviates Jacoba's own defense, and omits the Faculty's reply. 25. Kibre presents some background on this issue, but it certainly merits far more research.

26. Ross and McLaughlin, *PMR*, p. 639. The Latin text reads *Item melius est et honestius et par quod mulier sagax et experta in arte visitet mulierem infirmum, videatque et inquirat secreta nature et abscondita ejus, quam homo, cui non licet predicta videre, inquirere, nec palpare manus, mammas, ventrem et pedes, etc., mulierum.*

27. Monica H. Green, "From 'Diseases of Women' to 'Secrets of Women': The Transformation of Gynecological Literature in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000): 5-39. I am referring here to uses of the term "women's secrets" in Latin and other European vernacular languages. Carmen Caballero Navas, building on earlier work by Ron Barkai, has now documented several quite different Hebrew uses of the term, none of which had the "voyeuristic" overtones found in Latin and the vernaculars; see "Secrets of Women:

Naming Female Sexual Difference in Medieval Hebrew Medical Literature," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender* 12 (2006): 39-56.

28. In 1321, just a year before Jacoba's trial in Paris, Charles of Calabria, acting for his absent father Robert the Wise (who was off with the papal court in Avignon from 1318-1324), authorized the granting of a license to practice to the illiterate Francisca, wife of Matteo de Romano of Salerno, in Naples. Although licenses had been given to women in the Kingdom of Naples since at least 1307, Francisca's is the first to employ the modesty argument as a justification for women's medical practice: "Although it should be alien to female propriety to be interested in the affairs of men lest they rush into things abusive of matronly shame and incur the first sin of forbidden transgression, nevertheless because the office of medicine is expediently conceded to women by an unspoken rule of law, mindful that by honesty of morals women are more suited to treat sick women than men, we, having first received from this same Francisca the accustomed corporal oath of fidelity and [the promise] that she will faithfully cure according to the traditions of this art, we impart to her a license to treat and to practice in this art throughout the Justiciarate by the authority of those present" (Raffaele Calvanico, *Fonti per la storia della medicina e della chirurgia per il regno di Napoli nel periodo angioino (c. 1273-1410)*, Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1962, item 1451). Robert held properties in Paris and I am currently researching connections between the Angevin court and Parisian intellectuals.
29. I have searched through JSTOR and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index.
30. Although McLaughlin twice translates *ydiotas* as "ignorant women" (*PMR*, pp. 638-39), the term is in fact a masculine noun. Hence, Jacoba may not be as prejudiced against her fellow female practitioners as it seems.