

# WOMEN IN/AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY: A SURVEY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY



Over two years ago, I was asked to organise a session for the *MFN* at Kalamazoo on feminist issues in medieval philosophy. I was not sure if there was enough work in progress to make up a panel, and the 'Zoo organisers seem to have been even less sure, as they did not accept the proposal. This discussion grows out of that original interest and attempts to examine both the uncertainty of working in medieval philosophy as a feminist, and to assemble information on women in/and medieval philosophy which will be pertinent to medievalist feminists outside the discipline. Since I first began to solicit the names of those working in woman-thoughtful material in medieval philosophy, I have seen almost fifty letters, trying to identify scholars currently working in the area or to find work already available. The difficulties noted by respondents are indicated at the end of this section. Their contributions amplified the bibliography, and several generously shared specific research suggestions.

The following discussion will outline the situation with respect to: I) women in the profession and especially working in the history of medieval philosophy; II) the feminist study of medieval philosophy; III) contemporary research tools for non-philosophical scholars who feel they need to include it somehow in their work; IV) further study. A bibliography follows, listing works either *about* women (often includes sexuality), *female imagery* in medieval philosophy, or about women *using* or *responding to* philosophical material or *developing* philosophical positions in whatever genre.

All of this is very preliminary and tentative but should be a useful base from which to build. I would be happy to maintain a reference list to update bibliography and research suggestions for future listing, so please feel free to contact me with additions or feedback. You may reach me at the Department of Humanities, York University, North York, Ontario, M3J 1P3, Canada or by E-mail at GIBSON@writer.YorkU.CA. on Bitnet.

## I. WOMEN IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL PROFESSION



SPECIAL THANKS TO: Marilyn Adams, Christine Allen, Anne Bartlett, Kari Børresen, William Courtney, Thérèse-Anne Druart, Elizabeth Evasdaughter, Helen John, Richard McGowan, Barbara Newman, Kathleen Okruhlik, Tamar Rudavsky, Mary Ellen Waithe, Cornelia Wolfskeel, Beatrice Zedler. Terry Wade's research assistance has been indispensable.



The situation of women in the profession presents a familiar pattern, depressing near the low end of the range. A survey of professional philosophers in Canada found that in 1990 women comprised 45% of students in philosophy classes, 36% of majors (fewer for the honours degrees), 29% at the MA and 27% at the PhD. A similar survey is now in progress in the United States on the status of women in the profession; preliminary indications are that results will be roughly comparable. A decade ago, a report on Australian women philosophers found even more dismal numbers. The percentage of full-time permanent/tenure track positions in Canada filled by women is 13%, and only

14% of these fortunate few have reached the rank of full professor. In contrast, women represent 37% of the full-time sessional or limited term faculty in philosophy, and 31% of the part-time sessional or limited term faculty. Large (11 - 15 members) and very large departments (16 +) in general appear to have the highest percentages of women. But as the report notes, small- and medium-sized units represent a comparatively larger number of available positions in philosophy. Statistics were not collected on the distribution of women by fields within philosophy, but intuition and anecdotal evidence point to women being relatively more common in "soft" areas, such as history of philosophy, bioethics, and aesthetics, and relatively less numerous in logic and philosophy of science, for instance. Epistemology has been especially active for both women and men over the last decade or so, and has been the site of much feminist philosophical work.

Conversations with women philosophers reveal memories of a training situation ranging from strong support to the more usual attitudes of benign neglect or lack of distinction between the sexes, to more patronising behaviour, to active hostility. The differences do not seem wholly generational. Women are active in the profession as a whole, and have developed strong networks, both informal and organised. The Society for the Study of Women Philosophers (SWIP) has three regional organizations in the United States which meet annually or semi-annually; it has organised as well in Canada (C-SWIP), and recently in the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries. The International Society for Women Philosophers holds large European meetings every third year. All of the above groups have newsletters for current events, information, and calls for papers, as does the American Philosophical Association Status of Women committee. *HYPATIA: A Journal for Women and Philosophy* is supported by SWIP, and IAPH publishes selected conference proceedings. There have been many recent books in feminist philosophy: especially active areas include epistemology, philosophy of science, ethics, bioethics, political philosophy, and philosophy and gender. The postmodern critiques found in other disciplines have also made a significant impact on recent feminist philosophy. Feminist philosophy draws widely on theories across disciplines and is in turn often incorporated into theoretical positions in other areas. It thus cannot be neatly marked off from sociology, politics, literature or linguistics.

## HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY



Although women are well-represented in the field, medieval philosophy has attracted a comparatively small percentage of non-White, non-European women, and perhaps proportionately fewer women than men who work with Jewish and Arabic medieval materials. As noted above, history of philosophy is not always considered "core" philosophy, and in addition, because of its close link with theology, it was for a long time closely tied to a clerical culture which was not welcoming to women. A further complication is that the history of philosophy sometimes occupies an ambiguous place within even secular philosophical traditions, reflecting this attitude once expressed to me: "We at Oxford hold that Descartes was born the day Aristotle died." Those women who work in the field are thus multiply marginalised within the professional institution. They fit especially uncomfortably in a discipline which for centuries offered norms for

rationality while holding that women are not fully rational. Some suggest that the identification of philosophy and maleness still thrives. (For a brief introduction to current feminist philosophical discussion on this question, see the "Symposium on Susan Bordo's 'Feminist Skepticism and the 'Maleness' of Philosophy,'" *HYPATIA* 7 (Summer, 1992): 155 - 207.)

After a period of relative quiescence dating from the early sixties, however, writing histories of medieval philosophy has recently become quite an active field, with at least a dozen relevant books since the mid-eighties, responding in part to significant shifts in scholarly direction. Of the several dozen male-authored general or medieval histories I have examined lately, only one general work raises the question of the absence of women in the tradition — and then only to tell us that, feminists to the contrary, it doesn't matter at all. Jorge Garcia's new book on philosophical historiography (SUNY 1992) seems to leave room for feminist critiques of philosophy or history of philosophy but makes no direct reference to the question. Women (and "Woman") are almost entirely absent from all the indices. Feminists have begun to make the history of philosophy a lively area; see especially Allen, Lloyd, Nye, Tuana, and Waithe. Feminist philosophers working on male philosophers have increasingly raised questions about the traditions of philosophy as is it usually understood. The State University of New York (SUNY) is launching a feminist revisionings series which has potential for reevaluating the work of the malestream. And since so few women have historically been identified *as* philosophers, much remains to be done in this area. Where women thinkers — Hildegard of Bingen or Christine de Pizan, for instance — have received attention, it has usually first been by scholars from other disciplines.

Although a number of excellent and highly visible women scholars are working within medieval philosophy, and there are certainly feminists among them, they have not so far succeeded in giving a substantial presence to woman-centred material in the scholarship. The reasons are complex. Resistance is certainly one reason I can attest to. But the problem of sources is of primary importance. Almost all who responded to my enquiries gently reminded me that a) there were no recognised medieval women philosophers; and that b) women weren't even well-educated and certainly not scholastic; and that c) medieval (male) philosophers seldom, and in some cases, never discussed women. These are significant impediments to feminist studies in medieval philosophy. But I cannot believe that in a culture so heavily imbued with philosophical material and outlook, the points of contact were not more complex than we have yet realised. Only systematic attempts to find traces of such an interaction will establish what the true limits are.

## II. ISSUES FOR WOMEN AND THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

### WOMEN, EDUCATION, AND PHILOSOPHY

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Much of what we assume can be said about women as philosophers in the Middle Ages hinges on what is presumed to be true about women and education. But we know very little about what women might sometimes have known. The new literacy studies have presented a much more intricate picture of how learned culture filters into

the general population. And we are still learning about those capable of reading and writing Latin. Dronke has called attention to the Latin verses and correspondence of young women with tutors throughout the century preceding Heloise (*Women Writers*, pp. 84 - 74). He mentions as well (*Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies*, Glasgow, 1976) the existence of other correspondence between women and their tutors, including some identified as philosophers. Christopher Brooke stresses that in the early years of the twelfth century, secular canons were uniquely likely to maintain wives, concubines, and families within the cloister, even as their own educational programs underwent change (*The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, pp. 83 - 92). He cites R.-H. Bautier, who believes that Heloise was raised in this environment, the one which most closely replicates that favourable to producing female legists in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in southern universities, and to women entering artisanal and professional areas in the Renaissance. Michael Shank has argued for the plausible reliability of a reported case of a girl passing herself off as male in order to study at the university, where she would certainly have studied logic ("A Female University Student in Late Medieval Krakow," *Signs* 12 (Winter 1987): 373-80). While unusual women might have been educated under these unusual circumstances, we do not yet know clearly enough even to say what was possible under more normal circumstances in the most advanced of women's convents. As for the mystics, although they are increasingly studied, we are still far from knowing in individual cases what their education may have been, nor do we know the meaning of their continuing relations with an educated male elite. It seems most likely that we will be revising our earlier estimates of both the lack of erudition of the women themselves and their levels of influence on speculative philosophy, especially in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Explorations along the broad thoroughfare of intellectual commerce between vernacular and Latin cultures still have much to reveal.

None of this proves that women could or did have the education necessary to become philosophers — but it does argue that we just don't know enough to declare that women *could not* have had an education suitable for philosophy and certainly leaves open the accessibility of a monastic philosophy. But even if we find women present in some forms within scholastic philosophical culture, another point remains. Did women, so generally deliberately excluded from the world of technical philosophy, occasionally create new technical terms, or techniques, out of their own experience and the more accessible cultural forms of the vernacular, to address philosophical questions? Which raises the next problem.

## WHAT COUNTS AS A PHILOSOPHY?



This is no trivial question: it has been much debated within the field. John Marebon gives a lucid, very brief summary of differing definitions of the field in his *Later Medieval Philosophy* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987). While the vexed question of the identification, relation, or separation of philosophy and theology in the Middle Ages remains unsettled, it has been less pressing in recent scholarship. A more secular pool of scholars (and even some anti-clericalism) may have played a role in this shift, alongside the wide-spread linguistic turn in philosophy. Much current work focuses on arts masters rather than theologians, and on the issues of language and logic rather than metaphysics

or natural theology. But women who might figure as philosophers are probably even less likely to be found among the linguistically identified group than in company with the more religiously oriented philosophies. The issue becomes acute when we deal with the mystics, who are always, at best, uncomfortably accommodated within the philosophical mainstream. At present there is no clear solution.

Allen (below) classifies as philosophers those using rational argument, perception, and philosophical tradition. Waithe (below) solved the question by giving as her criterion for studying a woman as a philosopher that she fit an accepted definition of philosophy for a particular period. Self-reference or contemporary reference as a philosopher strengthens this identification. While acknowledging that this begs the question of whether philosophy as a traditionally male discipline already defines women philosophers out of existence, she notes that the topics and theories women pursue are indeed often commensurate with those of their male contemporaries, although the styles and genres may differ significantly. This is especially important for a period such as the Middle Ages in which the *scholastic method and form* became for some scholars almost the defining characteristic of philosophy.

Women also fall outside most of the kinds of controversies and structures which have provided impetus to the study of medieval philosophy. Since they were excluded from the universities, they were present neither in the arts nor the theological faculties. Women who might warrant study as philosophers often do not have known masters and intellectual genealogies, nor can we easily trace the influence they exerted in most cases; they seldom are easily placed within "schools" of thought, nor are they clearly members of orders in a way that makes them part of the history of medieval struggles between rival orders, or attractive to succeeding generations of scholars and champions within an order. Nevertheless, women sometimes do work philosophically, and even reflect explicitly on the nature of philosophy. It is important to leave room to ask what women say about philosophy in a variety of contexts. Perhaps they do not believe they are as excluded as we might expect.

## MALE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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It is true that women seldom became an important topic for most male philosophers. Allen's work, however, points to the need to study this matter carefully. Where and when the topic will usually arise may be tiresomely predictable — in hexameral literature on Eve, on why God created women at all, and on the Fall; in questions about the image of God in humans, about the limits of salvation, about generation, or sexual sin or exemplary chastity, about Mary, and so on. There is certainly much work left to be done through studies of individual thinkers, especially in order to resolve potential conflicts between theological and philosophical doctrines concerning women. And there is much to do in the area of sociology of knowledge and cultural history as background to the appeal of certain kinds of philosophical ideas about women. As well, it is far from clear how easily antifeminist materials could be removed from a given thinker's philosophy without damaging other positions. If the example of classical philosophy is any guide, ideas about women are closely woven into the larger fabric. Another large area, as yet very little studied, is the use of female imagery in medieval philosophy.

### III. RESEARCH TOOLS



For those who are beginning to work with philosophical materials for the first time, a suitable starting point might be Fr. Synan's chapter on philosophy in *Medieval Philosophy: An Introduction* (ed. James M. Powell, 2nd. ed. 1992). In addition to the bibliographical instruments he cites, you might want to try the *Philosophers Index*, which I believe is now on-line. Canadian Academic Research Libraries (CARL) will identify many current listings for an on-line search. Religion indices should also be checked. Consult the *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, 1992, especially Chapter One, on how to find your way around in the medieval literature, and what to expect. This volume gives the best introduction and summary of recent philosophical approaches. For the older material and more traditional approach, familiarise yourself as well with Gilson's still invaluable *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Random House, 1955).

Some material for medievalist feminist philosophers is found in the mainstream feminist publications listed in Section I above. Other journals not specifically devoted to philosophy sometimes have relevant material; I mention in particular *The Journal for the Feminist Study of Religion*, *Vox Benedicta*, *Mystics Quarterly*, and *Signs*. Mainstream journals useful for studying medieval philosophy include *Franciscan Studies*, *The Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *The Thomist*, *Traditio*, *Viator*, *Vivarium*, and the new annual *Medieval Philosophy and Theology*; many more could be named. Given the paucity of work solely on our topic, it is necessary to check for useful bits in articles on the history of science, medicine, theology, and mysticism as well, in these and other journals.

Never neglect such simple techniques as scanning the index of editions of medieval philosophers for listings of *femina*, *mulier*, or *virgo*, or even the words for female body parts, as this will turn up those unlikely-but-true nuggets which are occasionally found, including my own favourite: "Can God restore a fallen virgin?" (For an example of this long-debated discussion-turned-example, see Chapter Three in Francis Oakley, *Omnipotence, Covenant, and Order* [Cornell, 1984].)

### IV. AREAS FOR FURTHER WORK



Many respondents mentioned the need for more detailed philosophical work on the mystics. Several also had more specific recommendations. Thérèse-Anne Druart mentioned a possible paper on the use Arab writers make of Plato's *Republic*, and a look at Al-Farabi's *Perfect City or Opinions of the People of the Virtuous City*, with perhaps some differences between his views and practices as indicated by passing remarks in other texts. Avicenna on *Metaphysics*, Book X and Averroës in the Commentary on Plato's *Republic* also treat of the subject. Tamar Rudavsky indicated that she has done some work on male/female principles in Jewish philosophies (e.g., matter and form/individuation). Joan Ferrante, in her recent Binghamton address, indicated two avenues worth exploring: she offered the intriguing example of Peter Damien encouraging his sister's curiosity about the world before creation, a common philosophical topic, and later raised the question, "Why do natural inequality arguments become so important among

the schoolmen?" Elizabeth Evasdaughter would like to see a novel about Julian of Norwich eavesdropping on her brother's lessons.

Other possible areas of investigation might include sermon studies and the history of the university; the figuring of Catherine of Alexandria as the matron saint of university studies might be explored. A paper providing a better philosophical background against which medieval misogyny appears would be very helpful to us all. Particularly in the light of Howard Bloch's claims about the static nature of misogyny, it is important to know whether citing the same few lines of Aquinas to indicate medieval anti-feminism may not be simplistic. Since Aquinas' doctrines in general were less important for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century philosophy than Scotistic or Ockhamist views, does the medieval material itself enshrine him as the spokesman of misogyny, and if so, what does it say about how philosophy was received by the wider culture?

Additional attention is also needed for work at the very late end of the medieval spectrum, or crossing into the Renaissance, where there is even less available, since this is a comparatively underdeveloped area of history of philosophy. I do not know the literature on Christine de Pizan well enough, but I am unaware of work which looks at her philosophically — which seems almost certain to be a potentially fruitful area. In addition, I would like to see: a study of the Renaissance reception of Plato's teaching about women; and, studies which follow up the hints about individual women who did study logic or scholastic ethics (e.g., more work on the extent to which Mary Ward offered philosophical education for girls). In general, I would also like to see more dialogic studies which look for the presence of philosophical perspectives in the work of women writers, and for more voices from the gendered world outside the academy on the work of male writers.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRELIMINARY NOTES ON BIBLIOGRAPHY



I have not included material from the voluminous bibliography on mystics, unless it gives a philosophical reading of the mystics. I have also omitted sources that would help to identify the names of learned women, as well as general studies on the status of medieval women, learned and otherwise. I have summarized as many entries as I am able. Some suggested entries arrived too late, or took too long to obtain, and are not summarized. Where summaries are given, they are mostly my own, but some follow author's summaries. Where I have indicated "not seen," the material is not readily available in my local major research library, which means that it would probably require interlibrary loan arrangements, and some patience, for most readers. This is particularly true for foreign language works.

Material listed in the general studies has not been repeated knowingly in the individual studies, with the exception of the d'Alverny, Børresen, and Cadmen works, which are important reference points for anyone working in this material.

## GENERAL STUDIES



The following entries constitute the current major studies of the sources, and

themselves provide a fairly comprehensive bibliography of available materials. There is some overlap among bibliographies, but the majority of entries are not repeated from one to the next.

- Allen, Prudence, R.S.M. *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 B.C. - A.D. 1250*. Montreal: Eden Press, 1985. Analyses the philosophical traditions concerning the concept of woman in relation to the concept of man within the field of philosophy of the person. Categorizes them in terms of a theory of sex unity, sex polarity, or sex complementarity.
- Børresen, Kari Elizabeth. "Women's Studies of the Christian Tradition," in *Contemporary Philosophy: A New Survey* v. 6/2 (901 - 1001) ed., Guttorm Fløistad, Raymond Klibansky. Dordrecht, 1990. The same title also appears in *La philosophie du V<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 2 vols. (Haven't seen) Provides tools designed to help correct androcentrism and asexualism in traditional medieval scholarship. Groups the heterogeneous works connected with medieval philosophy and theology under the following topics: theological anthropology, sexology, canon law, history, hagiography and women writers. Consists of sixty pages of analytical guide, and forty pages of bibliography. Comprises 450 entries.
- Duden, Barbara. "A Repertory of Body History" in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Part Three* (471 - 578). *Zone 5* (1989). A bibliography in progress (many items annotated) covering material helpful to understanding the perceived body and its perceptual milieu. There are many entries for the medieval period relevant to medieval treatments of bodiliness, and especially to woman as body or women's bodies. The topical index is inadequate to give the full range of philosophical listings; browsing entries is required. I was unable to find out when a full version of the bibliography might be available.
- Maclean, Ian. *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Examines the Renaissance continuation, use, and adaptation of medieval scholastic analyses of scientific, legal, and moral literature on women.
- Salisbury, Joyce. *Medieval Sexuality: A Research Guide*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990. An invaluable annotated bibliography of 815 primary and secondary sources for the study of medieval sexuality in a wide sense, including, for instance, debates on theories of generation. Much material covered under religion and science is from philosophical discussions relevant to the study of women.
- Voight, Kari. "Études relatives aux femmes et à leur rôle dans les cultures musulmanes du VII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècles" in *Contemporary Philosophy: A New Survey* v. 6/2 (1003 - 1024) (supra). A brief discussion of sources and bibliography which lists material relevant to the study of medieval Muslim learned women and women mystics, as well as to the studies of religious and scientific texts relating to women and sexuality. Not highly philosophical, but material from the Arab philosophers has not yet been widely studied for what it reveals about the understanding of women.
- Waihe, Mary Ellen, ed. *A History of Women Philosophers* Vol. II, *Medieval, Renaissance and Enlightenment Women Philosophers: A.D. 500 - 1600*. Dordrecht:

Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989. An introduction to medieval women holding philosophical positions in their works. Chapters on Murasaki Shikibu, Hildegard of Bingen, Heloise, Herrad of Hohenbourg, Beatrice of Nazareth, Mechtild of Magdeburg, Hadewych of Antwerp, Birgitta of Sweden, Julian of Norwich, Catherine of Siena, Oliva Sabuco de Nantes Barrera, Marie le Jars de Gournay, and a chapter on Hroswitha of Gandersheim, Christine de Pizan, Margaret More Roper, and Teresa of Avila.

#### ADDITIONAL STUDIES NOT LISTED IN ABOVE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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- Baker, Robert and Frederick Elliston, eds. *Philosophy and Sex*. New rev. ed. Buffalo, New York, 1984. Gives the framework for more contemporary discussions about philosophy and sex, with extended bibliographies. Only a small percentage are appropriate for medieval material, but these are helpful.
- Bartlett, Anne Clark. "Commentary, Polemic, and Prophecy in Hildegard of Bingen's *Solutiones Triginta Octo Quaestionum*." *Viator* 23 (1992): 153 - 66. Examines Hildegard's responses to a set of scholastic *quaestiones* sent to her by the monks of Villers-en-Brabant, hoping to enlist her prophetic, scientific, and monastic authority against the newer theological methods in use at the schools of Paris. Analyses the strategies used to address the monks' inquiries and shows how such controversies created a space for a female voice.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. "Miraculous Literacy and Textual Community in Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias*." *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992): 43 - 55. Problematises Hildegard's claims of ignorance and illiteracy by showing how the reception of her visions and their subsequent organization are structured by the techniques of monastic *lectio*.
- Børresen, Kari Elizabeth. *Subordination and equivalence: The Nature of the rôle of women in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. Examines these two leading figures on the philosophical and theological anthropology around the equal value assigned to women's souls in the eternal order and the earthly subordination required of them. Looks especially at doctrines of creation, sin, and salvation with emphasis on the question of the image of God in women.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. *Anthropologie médiévale et théologie mariale*. Oslo: 1971.
- Not seen.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991. See especially Chapters 5, 6, & 7, "'... and Woman His Humanity': Female Imagery in the Religious Writing of the Later Middle Ages"; "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages"; and "Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in Its Medieval and Modern Contexts." These address the consequences for religious writing of a biology which assigned the mother the role of transmitting humanity (5 and 6); and the questions of personal identity and bodily survival in medieval and modern perspectives. Lightly revised versions of previously published work.

- Cardman, Francine. "The Medieval Question of Women and Orders." *The Thomist* 42 (1978): 582 - 99. Reviews the canon law developments which prompted the thirteenth century ban on women's ordination and increased restrictions on their exercise of priestly roles. Shows the intertwining of canon law, philosophy, and theology on this question.
- Capelle, Catherine. *Thomas d'Aquin féministe?* Paris: J. Vrin, 1982. A brief section on strictly philosophical issues. Surveys Thomas' reaction to Pauline texts on women. Argues that Aquinas' view of biological sexual difference is less important than the subjugation of women through original sin. However much his thought is based in sin or nature, this is not a necessary conclusion, and his doctrine is hopeful in that it does not preclude a more feminist philosophical appraisal of the situation of the role of women.
- al-Ghazali. *Marriage and Sexuality in Islam: A Translation of al-Ghazali's Book on the Etiquette of Marriage from the Ihya' 'Ulam al-Din*. Trans. Madelain Farah. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1984. Not seen.
- Gibson, Joan. "Education for Silence: Renaissance Women and the Language Arts." *Hypatia* 4 (Spring, 1989): 9 - 27. Examines the opportunities and impediments which humanist education offered women, focusing on the de-emphasis or prohibition of logic and rhetoric and the effects of this education on a female would-be philosopher.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. "Could Christ have been born a woman?": A medieval debate." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 8/1 (Spring, 1992): 65 - 82. Examines over a dozen *Sententiae* commentaries on this question, from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, comparing the responses and rationales, which include theological, philosophical, and pragmatic approaches.
- Gössman, Elisabeth. "*Scientia boni et mali*. Science and Faith in Hildegard v. Bingen." *Vox Benedicta* 4 (1987): 307 - 320. Discusses Hildegard's largely theological use of faith and rationality.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Image of the Human Being according to Scholastic Theology and the Reaction of Contemporary Women." *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 11 (1988): 183 - 195. A brief summary of issues and positions relevant to the question of the *imago Dei*. Emphasizes contemporary medieval women's resistance to the masculinised *imago*.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. "Das Konstrukt der Geschlechterdifferenz in der christlichen Tradition." *Concillium* (Nov. 1991). Incomplete reference: author indicates that the English edition is poor. Not seen.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Archiv für philosophie- und theologiegeschichtliche Frauenforschung*. Bd. 1, *Das Wohlgelehrte Frauenzimmer*. Bd. 2, *Eva — Gottes Meisterwerk Gelehrten*. Bd. 4, *...ob die Weiber Menschen sein*. Munich: Iudicium Verlag. Documents relating to the Renaissance *Querelle des Femmes*: ten volumes planned. Collections of historical texts (German translations of Latin and other texts), with some analytical and summative essays. Some work from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; most from seventeenth.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, co-ed. *Wörterbuch der feministischen Theologie*. Includes many articles on medieval women. Gütersloh, 1991. Incomplete reference. Not seen.

- Healy, Emma Thérèse. *Women according to Saint Bonaventure*. [New York: Gregorian Press], 1956. (Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Erie, PA.) Although the tone is dated, the careful study of Bonaventure's doctrines is quite useful. Sees him as representative of the Franciscan school on the nature of women, the sacrament of marriage, virginal life, and Mary. Provides a rather different approach to the questions than is found in Aquinas.
- John, Helen. "Hildegard of Bingen: A New Medieval Philosopher?" Revised essay in *Hypatia* 7/1 (Winter, 1992): 115 - 23. Reviews three recent books in English on Hildegard and argues for placing her work in a philosophical as well as theological context.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990. Philosophical and scientific theories of the relations among physical sex, sexuality, and gender. Relevant medieval material is found throughout the book.
- Laurentin, R. "Marie et l'anthropologie chrétienne de la femme." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 89 (1967): 485 - ? Not seen.
- Lloyd, Genevieve. *The Man of Reason: "Male" and "Female" in Western Philosophy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984. See especially Chapters 1 and 2 on the legacy of the Greek theories of knowledge and on the use of theories of a soul divided in parts.
- McGowan, Richard J. "Thomas' Doctrine of Women and Thirteenth-Century Thought." *Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association*, v. 2 (1985). Not seen.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Augustine's Spiritual Equality: The allegory of Man and Woman with regard to *Imago Dei* ." *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* , 33 (1987): 255 - 64. Argues, against the common view, that man and woman are spiritually equal in Augustine's philosophical anthropology, which holds that all people are an *imago Dei* and that the *imago Dei* is beyond the body asexual.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Misogyny in Augustine and Sexist Scholarship." *The University of Dayton Review* , 21/3 (Spring, 1992). Not seen.
- Newman, Barbara. "Some mediæval theologians and the Sophia tradition." *The Downside Review* , 108 (April, 1990): 111 - 30. Helpful for gaining an understanding of how the Sophia tradition appears in the theological/philosophical literature.
- Nye, Andrea. *Words of Power: A Feminist Reading of the History of Logic*.. New York and London: Routledge, 1990. See especially Part II, Chapters 5 and 6, on Abelard and Ockham. Argues for reading logic as a series of historical products created by men in specific material and in historical relation to each other, to women, and to the world around them.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Woman's Thought or a Man's Discipline? The Letters of Abelard and Heloise." *Hypatia* 7 (Summer, 1992): 1 - 22. Argues that Heloise's views on love, religious devotion, and language are an alternative to philosophic method as conceived by Abelard.
- Wolfskeel, Cornelia W. "Some remarks with regard to Augustine's conception of man as the image of God." *Vigiliæ Christianæ: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language* , 30/1 (1976): 53 - 71.

## WORK IN PROGRESS



Allen, Prudence, R.S.N. *The Concept of Woman: 1250 - 1800*. Forthcoming, Univ. of Scranton Press, 1993 - 94? Of special interest may be Chapter 5, on women religious writers as a bridge to the new concept of woman. It shows the progressive philosophical development of women religious writers on the subjects of wisdom and virtue. Demonstrates that their use of discursive reasoning to defend active self-knowledge, self-governance, and public action serves as a direct counter-example to the Aristotelian theory of woman's proper identity.

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\_\_\_\_\_. "Lucrezia Marinelli and Woman's Identity in the Late Italian Renaissance." With Filippo Salvatore, forthcoming in *Renaissance and Reformation*.

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\_\_\_\_\_. Paper on the history of the history of medieval philosophy and how it frames the investigation of women *in* philosophy and *as* philosophers, as well as *female imagery* in philosophy.

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## GAY AND LESBIAN CONCERNS



(This discussion continues from no. 13 of the *Medieval Feminist Newsletter*, where it began)

### MALE/FEMALE/BOTH/NEITHER: GENDER AS FLOATING SIGNIFIER IN THE LITERATURE OF MIEVEAL FRANCE



Gender has recently been at the forefront of philosophical and literary scholarship, propelled by such studies as Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*<sup>1</sup> and Judith Butler's provocative *Gender Trouble*.<sup>2</sup> Both these studies are indebted to the anthropologist Margaret Mead, whose 1949 book *Male and Female* pointed out that the notion of sex