



Kunstkamer: Women at Work

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Introduction

This is a kunstkammer with three main exhibitions that honor specific women from the Early Modern and Enlightenment Periods in Europe who overcame societal constraints to work for and support the healthcare sphere by creating wax anatomical figures, acting as a midwife, and creating and exchanging medicinal recipes.

Kunstkammers were common among the nobility and royalty because they were a way for them to “symbolically claim dominion over the entire natural and artificial world.”¹ Though, people from all classes collected objects.² In *The First Treatise on Museums*, Samuel Quiccheberg provides extensive guidelines for creating these exhibitions, categorizes the different types of objects included, and provides options for types of arrangements. Ultimately, he stresses the importance of including items that “promote learning in any field” and result in “usable, practical knowledge.”³ Figure 1 represents Quiccheberg’s Class II map of knowledge⁴. God, a manifestation of all knowledge, sits on top and serves as the “final cause” for the rest of the components.

My kunstkammer hopes to communicate this schematic of knowledge. The objects I include highlight how some women relied on their understanding of the human body (enacted knowledge) to create 3d anatomical representations. In other cases, women used specific tools, like stills, to manipulate natural materials into healing products. Together, these objects highlight the achievements of women from the Early Modern Period and Enlightenment and demonstrate how they used natural and artificial objects to gain higher forms of knowledge.

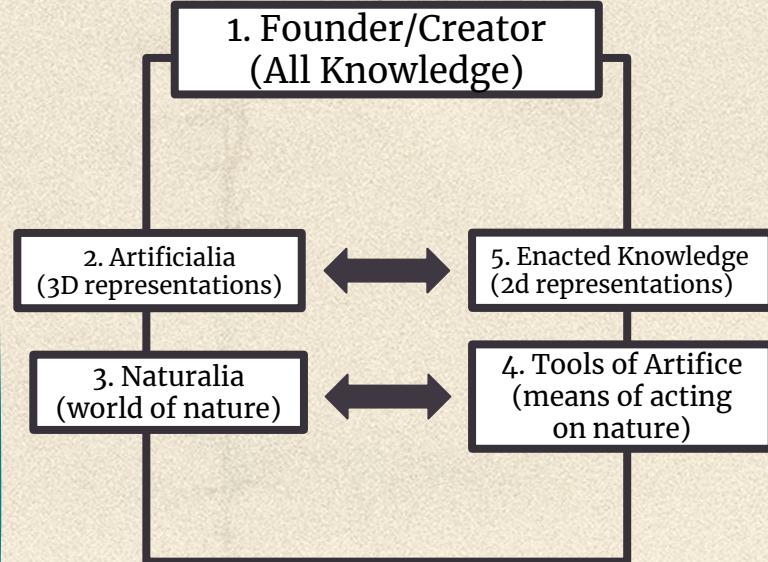


Figure 1:
Quiccheberg System II

How does it fit within the Making and Knowing Project?

One of the goals of the Making and Knowing Project is to utilize a manuscript, Ms. Fr. 640, as a tool to demonstrate a time when “artists were scientists.” The creators of the recipes in the manuscript perfected their work via experiential knowledge. Similarly, the women highlighted in this *kunstkammer* succeed in their craft due to repeated exposure and practice. Whether they have dissected hundreds of bodies to master human anatomy, aided in thousands of childbirths, or tried their medicinal recipes on countless patients – these women gained expertise through experience.

All of my exhibits implicitly respond to the Making and Knowing Project and Ms. Fr. 640. Though, in my final exhibit, I put the medicinal recipes of Margaret Baker in conversation with the medicinal recipes found in Ms. Fr. 640. Although medical recipes only take up a small portion of the 900 entries included in Ms. Fr. 640, they cover a variety of conditions, aches, ailments, etc.⁵ Margaret Baker’s work, on the other hand, mainly contains medicinal recipes and expectedly treats a broader range of conditions. Nevertheless, I categorized the recipes based on medical specialty and calculated the percentages in each manuscript to determine if the two authors focused on a similar ailment, disease, etc. The results are in the final exhibit.

In Xiaomeng Liu’s essay on Ms. Fr. 640, he describes how people of the household did not isolate their collected or recorded recipes to the home.⁶ They were part of what he calls an early modern “medical marketplace” where recipes circulated as commodities, gifts, kinship, friendship, and medical consultations. Ms. Fr. 640 and Margaret Baker’s collection fits into this medical community.⁷ I hope the other objects I have included that are not recipes help reflect this socialized medical knowledge network.

Finally, to exhibit my dedication to experiential knowledge and practice, I recorded my reconstructions for a recipe from each of the manuscripts (See Appendix 1 and 2). One cannot compare these two recipes side-by-side because they treat different conditions: headache and burn. Despite the differences, each reconstruction informed me of the joys and difficulties of craftsmanship and gave me a unique perspective as I researched the remaining figures in the *kunstkammer*.

Conceptions of Women in Healthcare - Early Modern Europe:

Due to the consequences of Adam and Eve, people often considered women to be the “source of evil and sin in the world.”⁸ Though, a few who considered Adam equally responsible, and some thought he was more accountable because as a man who should be able to resist temptation.⁹ Unfortunately, the majority of people fit into the initial response to Adam and Eve, which led to the exclusion of women from different occupations and communities. Finally, at the end of the fourteenth century, writers in Europe decided to critique “misogynistic attacks on women directly.”¹⁰ In 1370, Giovanni Boccaccio wrote a list of famous and praiseworthy women in *De Mulieribus Claris*, one of the first collections of biographies exclusively about women.¹¹ Christine de Pizan wrote *City of Ladies* in which she admits that women are inferior but only due to their “lack of education, economic dependence, and subordinate status.”¹² Over time, there were more texts defending and attacking women, and maybe even some just practicing their rhetorical skills. Nevertheless, these books reveal how old and long the struggle for women’s rights and equality has been in the Western World.

Men often cited marriage and a woman’s “duty to obey their husband” as key reasons why they could exclude women from public offices and occupations.¹³ In most regions, except for Spain, all property and wages belonged to the husband.¹⁴ Women could only regain ownership if in unique situations where they proved that their husband was incapable of ownership due to excessive drinking, gambling, etc.¹⁵

Even under these constraints, in Germany and elsewhere, many women were able to work in healthcare in hospitals, in orphanages, as midwives, and other “healing” roles in the early modern period because these occupations were considered “outgrowths or extensions of a woman’s function in the home.”¹⁶ They were paid meagerly and still subordinate to their male superiors.¹⁷ Because they were not a political or economic threat men could appreciate their work.¹⁸ The women included in this kunstkammer – Anna Morandi, Marie Marguerite Biheron, Madame du Coudray, Countess Dorothea of Mansfeld, and Margaret Baker – demonstrate how, despite these constraints, they could successfully contribute to the healthcare sphere under these constraints and most notably in some cases gain male approval.

Exhibits



**Women and
Anatomical Wax
Models**

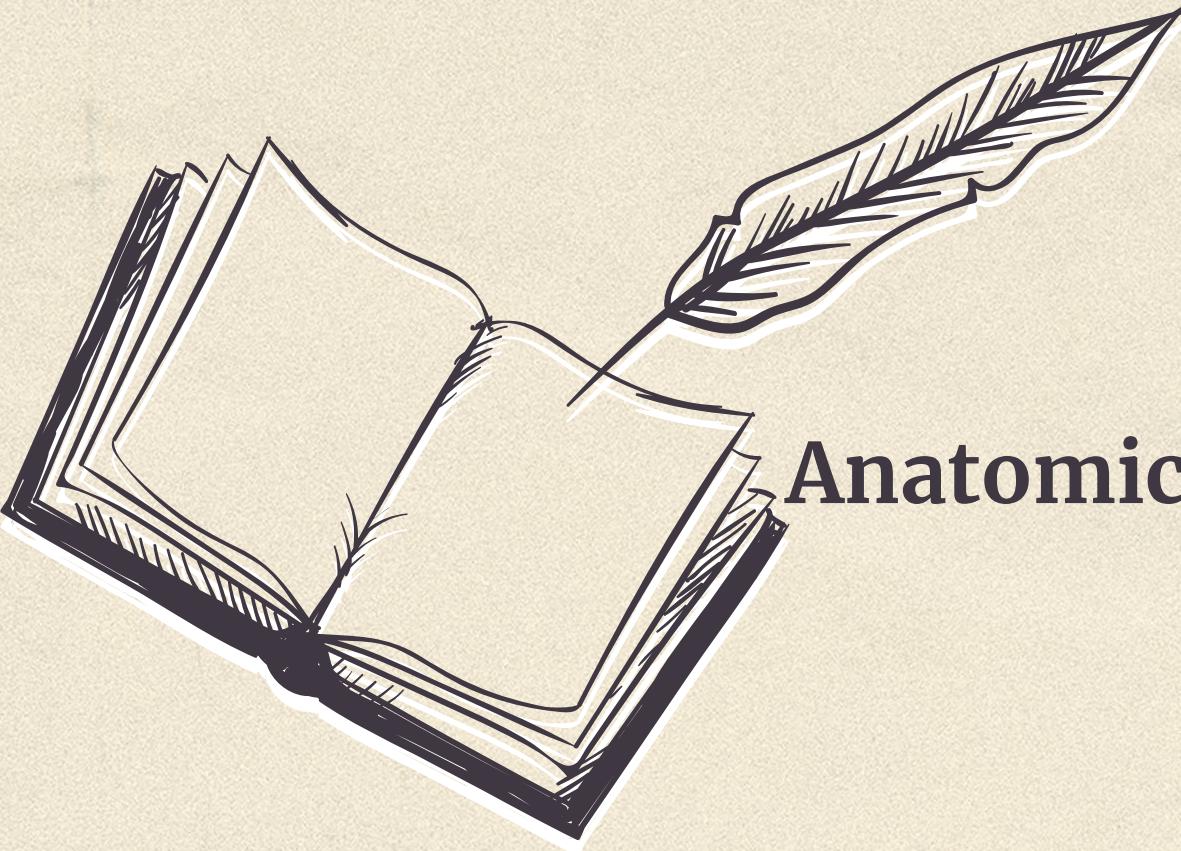


**La Machine:
The Obstetric
Phantom of
Madame du Coudray**



**Medicinal Manuscripts:
Countess Dorothea of
Mansfield
Margaret Baker**





01

Anatomical Wax Models

Anna Morandi

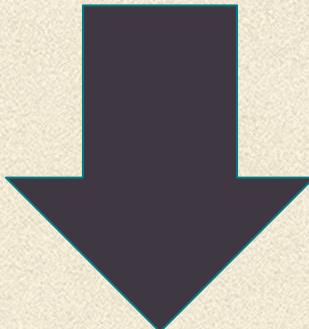
In her book *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Mary Lindemann describes a transition in medicine from being “textual” based to one based on experiential knowledge, observation, and experimentation.¹⁹ Wax anatomical models helped fulfill the initiative to experiment with and explore bodies. Jacopo della Quercia is thought to be the first person to create and utilize anatomical modeling as a tool to gain medical knowledge.²⁰ Typically, doctors taught public anatomy lessons in a ceremonious, staged dissection.²¹ These models allowed for a more intimate learning experience and enabled students to examine human bodies closely.²² Anna Morandi, who worked with her husband Giovanni Manzolini, was one of the key creators of wax anatomical models. She was unique because she could investigate objects of nature and transform them into embodied medical knowledge (similar to the previously mentioned goals of the Quiccheberg).²³ Morandi created these bodily replicas out of wax, a soft, impressionable material that was thought to represent “the features and texture of life easily.”²⁴ She became such a respected public figure because these figures were able to closely match “the power and life of the original.”²⁵ These anatomical models were impressive because they demonstrated Morandi’s anatomical and craft expertise.²⁶ Lelli, another anatomical wax maker, was intimidated by her work and complained to the Pope.²⁷ These complaints did very little to Morandi’s reputation as she eventually received patronage from Pope Benedict XIV.²⁸ This relationship became important later in Morandi’s life in 1755, when she became a widow and suffered financially.²⁹ The pope helped her financially so she could continue her legacy until she eventually died in 1774.³⁰



Figure 2:
Lithograph of Anna Morandi
By L. Aurele. (18th Century)

Description of the works included

I have included some of her most well-preserved models in this exhibition. Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 may have been part of the collection commissioned by the King of Sardinia for the Royal University in Turin called “The Series of the Senses.”³¹ Figures 7, 8, and 9 reveal the anatomy “beneath the skin” – knowledge that could only be developed via repeated dissections of cadavers. Figures 10 and 11 display Morandi’s self-portrait beside one of her husbands. Morandi dissects a brain in this portrait, a preparatory step to understanding its anatomy.³² Ultimately, Morandi’s work eloquently bridges natural flesh to artificial wax, providing an elevated understanding of the human body.



Works of Anna Morandi: The Senses



Figure 3:
Wax Model Representing a Ear
Anna Morandi, 1755-74



Figure 4:
Wax Model Representing Two Hands
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774



Figure 5:
Mouth and Tongue
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774



Figure 6:
A Set of Wax Eyes
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774

Works of Anna Morandi: Underneath the Skin



Figure 7:
Wax Male Anatomical Figure
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774



Figure 8:
Wax Male Anatomical Figure
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774



Figure 9:
Muscles of the Forearm
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774

Anna Morandi and Giovanni Manzolini



Figure 10: Self-Portrait
Anna Morandi, 1755-1774



Figure 11: Giovanni Manzolini and Anna Morandi's Anatomical Waxes at the Museum of Palazzo Poggi

Marie Marguerite Biheron

Marie Marguerite Biheron was another brilliant anatomical wax modeler in Europe in the 18th century. She was the youngest daughter of a well-established pharmacist named Gilles Biheron.³³ Her father died when she was young, and she wanted to honor him and pursue medicine in some fashion.³⁴ Like Anna Morandi, she created wax anatomical models based on the knowledge gained by dissecting actual corpses.³⁵ Her artistic mentor was Françoise Basseport, who recognized Biheron's aptitude for sculpture early on.³⁶ Anatomically, Biheron learned from two savants – Sauveur Morand and Jacques Barbeu Dubourg.³⁷ Morand was a member of the Académie royale des sciences and a chief surgeon at L'hôpital de la Charité and L'hôpital des Invalides, and Dubourg was a member of the Faculté de Médecine.³⁸ So, between these two men and Basseport, she had access to immense knowledge and the ability to make her work visible. Creating these waxes took a while. She had to grease the surface of the specimen, coat it with oil and soap, pour the wax into the cavities, and include a few secret ingredients to maintain the structure.³⁹

Her work also became very well-known and admired. The Journal de Trevoux called her work "an anatomical marvel," while other key figures such as Denis Diderot and Ben Franklin corresponded with her and admired her work.⁴⁰ Eventually, due to input from Morand, she demonstrated her work to the royale des sciences on June 23, 1759.⁴¹ On May 13, 1761, she opened a museum of her models in her home.⁴² Now that she had the approval of the Academie and other intellectuals, she wanted to gather feedback from the public.⁴³ As expected, people loved her work.⁴⁴



Continued

The *Gazette de France* called her museum “astonishing.”⁴⁵ She was proud to receive praise from intellectuals who understood the time and effort it took to perfect her craft and hear the public rave about the exhibit’s beauty.⁴⁶ She would present to the Académie two more times before she died.⁴⁷ Eventually, though, as the French Revolution progressed, she sought refuge in London with the help of her colleague Benjamin Franklin.⁴⁸ There she continued to exhibit her collection.⁴⁹ After a few other buyers attempted, the crown ultimately bought Biherot’s collection and awarded her pension so long as she taught the royal children and continued to produce anatomical pieces.⁵⁰ Eventually, she died in 1795, impressively overcoming the peak of the Reign of Terror and avoiding catching Septicemia (a deadly disease related to dissecting) like her peer Jewsom Hewson.⁵¹

Unfortunately, due to the political turmoil and transitions in the late 18th century, no one preserved Biherot’s pieces. So, in the following slide, I have included a digitized version of one of the letters she wrote to Benjamin Franklin.⁵² In it, she expresses her concern and condolences regarding the political climate in America. She also speaks of her fondness for Franklin and how she often brags about their friendship to her acquaintances. Though this letter reveals very little of her expertise in anatomical wax making, it validates her position in a prominent intellectual sphere as an acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin

Marie Marguerite Biheron's Letter to Benjamin Franklin

Monsieur et cher Ami

De Paris ce 10e octobre 1774

C'est avec la plus grande Satisfaction que jay recu l'honneur de la votre en datte du 13 octobre de l'année dernière.⁸ Si je n'y ait pas repondu plutot ma mauvoise sante en a eté lunique cause, je saisie donc avec empressement d'un jeune Monsieur qui retourne dans votre ville pour vous assuré du vif interest que je prend aux affaires presentes de l'amerique septentrionale. Je fais des vœux sinceres à Dieu pour que l'on vous rende justice et votre tranquilité et celle de votre famille soit rebabli comme par le passé.

Ozerayje vous suplier de faire agrer mes sentiments de reconnoisance a Monsieur le Chevalier Pringle de toutes les bontés quil à bien voulu avoir pour moi—il ne s'effaseront jamais de mon coeur—en lui presentant mes compliments?

Jespere que Madame Stewenson voudra bien ne me pas oublier etant ausy tres sensible aux attantions qu'elle et son aimable famille ont bien voulu avoir pour moi. Il ny à guere de jour ou je n'aye le bonheur de m'entretenir de vous avec nos amis. Je suis tres reconnoisante ainsy que Melle. Basseporte du beau present que Mr. Dubourg nous à remit.⁹ Elle vous fais mille souhaits heureux et moi je ne cesseray de me dire avec toute lestime et la consideration possible Monsieur Votre tres humble et tres obeisante servante

BIHERON

Figure 12: Typed Copy of Biheron's Letter to Franklin (1774)

She gives condolences for tumultuous political climate in America and reflects on their happy and strong friendship (Library of Congress Franklin Papers)

Reference: "To Benjamin Franklin from Marie Catherine Biheron, 10 October 1774," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-21-02-0174>. Original source: The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 21, January 1, 1774, through March 22, 1775, ed. William B. Willcox. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978, pp. 331–332.]



02

Obstetric Phantom

La Machine: Madame du Coudray

Madame du Coudray

Angélique Marguerite Le Boursier du Coudray (pictured in Figure 13), or Madame du Coudray, was a French midwife known for creating obstetric phantoms. Professor Urs. Boschun defines a phantom as a “replica of the birth canal and the mature fetus.”⁵³ Midwives typically endured a few years of training and apprenticeship.⁵⁴ After training, Coudray became a registered midwife in Paris in February of 1740.⁵⁵ In 1756, she first manufactured “La Machine,” a reusable and flexible model of the lower part of the female torso.⁵⁶ This object was both a piece of art as well as a “machine” because it was an apparatus constructed to perform a task – simulate childbirth.⁵⁷ While she made many, the last remaining model, which acts more as a physical blueprint, can be seen in Figures 15 and 16 and stands at the Musée Flaubert et d’Histoire de La Medicine in Rouen, France.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, records show that she created multiple models.⁵⁹ She even made a “Liquid Model” using sponges saturated in clear or red-colored liquid to imitate amniotic fluids.⁶⁰

Coudray wrote the first manual for practical simulation-based training (See Cover in Figure 13) titled *Abrégé de L’art Des Accouchements*.⁶¹ In this text, Coudray describes essential theoretical principles, anatomy, physiology, and reproductive theories and explains how to differentiate between an actual pregnancy and pseudocyesis.⁶²



Figure 13: Title Page of Madame du Coudray’s Book *Abrégé de l’art des accouchements* (Abridgement of the Art of Delivery) 1759 Engraving by J. Robert

Madame du Coudray: Traveling for King Louis XV

In May of 1756, Coudray wrote to the kingsmen in France and announced that she would "gladly give advice to poor women who need it."⁶³ Eventually, due to a high death rate in France – troops were dying worldwide from war, and infant mortality was high – the King commissioned Coudray on a trip to teach other midwives and doctors proper obstetrics with "La Machine."⁶⁴ During her Tour de France from 1759-1783 (See map in Figure 14), she educated between 4,000 to 10,000 midwives and physicians.⁶⁵ Infant mortality was on a dramatic rise – approximately 200,000 newborns died annually due to insufficient obstetric expertise – and she wished to help combat it.⁶⁶ She taught classes six days a week, all morning and all afternoon, for two months in each location.⁶⁷ Madame du Coudray educated both men and women and remained confident in herself despite being "in a patriarchal society."⁶⁸ An interesting fact concerning confronting a "patriarchal society" is that no evidence shows that Madame du Coudray was ever married, so historians believe that she added "du Coudray" to her name to gain respect from her patients, especially in the provinces, as a "married woman."⁶⁹

Midwifery conducted by Coudray and throughout Europe was an art of practice and character.⁷⁰ They dealt with stressful situations (child labor) daily while confronting intense political landscapes. Around this time, midwives in London dealt with Catholics in Cellier's Restoration, Revolution in France, economic decline in Holland, and conflicts between State and Church in Italy and Spain. Nevertheless, these midwives prevailed, and Coudray did so with elegance and poise.⁷¹



Figure 14: The Overall Map of Madame du Coudray's Teaching Travels divided into three time periods (1760-1770, 1770-1780, and 1780-1783)

La Machine



Figure 15: La Machine
Madame du Coudray (18th Century)
Musée Flaubert d'Histoire de la Médecine



Figure 16: Uterus with Mannequin of a Fetus,
Umbilical cord, and Placenta
Madame du Coudray (18th Century)
Musée Flaubert d'Histoire de la Médecine



03

Medicinal Recipes

Countess Dorothea of Mansfeld

Countess Dorothea of Mansfeld, a noblewoman from an estimable line of German princes, lived from 1493 to 1578.⁷² She was known around Europe for the remedies she made in the Mansfeld castle garden.⁷³ She gained approval from her fellow aristocrats, who called her a “meister of medicine,” and the poor, who traveled far to receive medicine from her.⁷⁴ She was one of many noblewomen who created medicinal recipes because creating these recipes was a way for a lady to care for and “heal” her community.⁷⁵ Creating and exchanging recipes was not restricted to the upper class.⁷⁶ There is evidence that shows that lower-class women healers thrived despite economic barriers.⁷⁷ Upper-class women often get recognized, though, due to their increased access to higher-status networks and resources.⁷⁸

Dorothea emerged when medical practices based on empirical observation and experience gained more support.⁷⁹ Artisans, specifically surgeons, had begun to promote their experiential knowledge during the 16th century.⁸⁰ Initially, “Experience” and “experiment” were connected to uncertainty and low forms of knowledge.⁸¹ Additionally, many recipes were classified as “kunst,” commonly known as art or skill.⁸² However, Kunst had a broader range of meanings associated with knowledge and ability. Individuals like Dorothea artistically demonstrated their craft and expertise by creating these recipes.⁸³



Figure 17: Countess Dorothea (Right) and Husband Count Ernst II (Left) Portrait
16th Century
Rijksmuseum

Continued...

As experience gained more credibility, these recipes became more meaningful as “currency” and “gifts”.⁸⁴ Dorothea championed this new phenomenon and became the epitome of a knowledgeable and charitable patron.⁸⁵ To gain credibility, she often cited the exact number of patients her specific remedies cured.⁸⁶ She claimed to have helped over 200 people with a recipe for fevers.⁸⁷

Figures 18-20 are images of some excerpts from Dorothea's recipe books. Specifically of note, Figure 20 shows a sketch of a labeled still – a tool used to distill different medicines. Around this time, in the early 1500s, Hieronymus Brunschwig published medical texts on distilling simple and compound medicines.⁸⁸ So, even though she was working from home, she followed the expertise and experiential knowledge of other medical practitioners of the time who used tools to manipulate natural objects into medicine. Dorothea of Mansfeld is a remarkable example of a noble woman relying on her experiential knowledge and broad social network to heal herself and her community.

Countess Dorothea of Mansfeld: Excerpts from Recipe Book

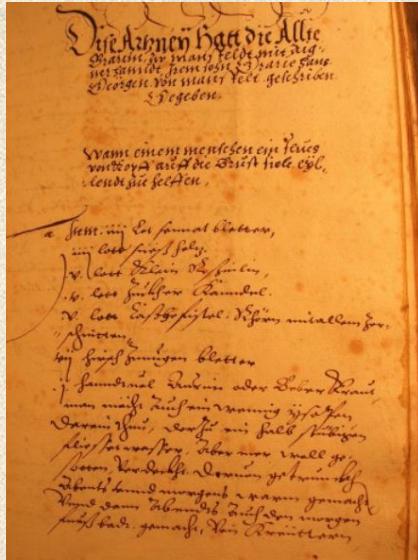


Figure 18
Scribal Copy of Dorothea of
Mansfeld's Recipe Book
(Late 16th Century)

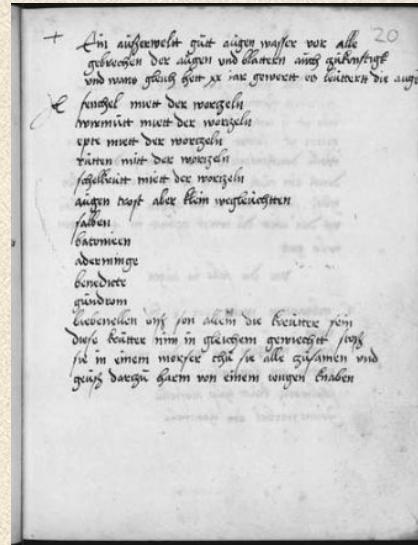


Figure 19
A Recipe for an Eye Water
Dorothea of Mansfeld
(Circa 1550)

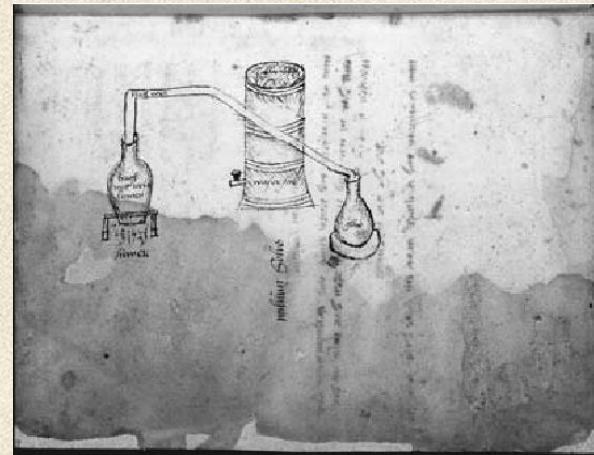


Figure 20
Labeled Sketch of a Still
Dorothea of Mansfeld
(Circa 1550)

Margaret Baker: For the Headache

Not much is known about Margaret Baker, except for the fact that she was the daughter of Richard Baker the Chronicler and Margaret Mainwaring.⁸⁹ In a case study of three of the manuscripts attributed to her, the historian found that many of her recipes were copies from printed sources, suggesting that she was well-read and engaged in extensive research to prepare these recipes.⁹⁰ Interestingly, sources suggest that Margaret Baker never had children or got married.⁹¹ When her mother wrote her will, she was middle-aged, single, and had no children. Engaging in such an extensive social network without those identities makes her work more impressive and commendable.

In Figures 21 and 22, I have included a recipe for the headache from one of her three manuscripts.⁹² I reconstructed this recipe (See Appendix 2) as a way to represent all of the components of Quiccheberg second class (See Figure 1). I used enacted knowledge in the 2d form (written manuscript) and transformed it into a 3d object – the resulting remedy. I also used tools such as knives, containers, etc., to manipulate natural objects into functional and valuable medicines.

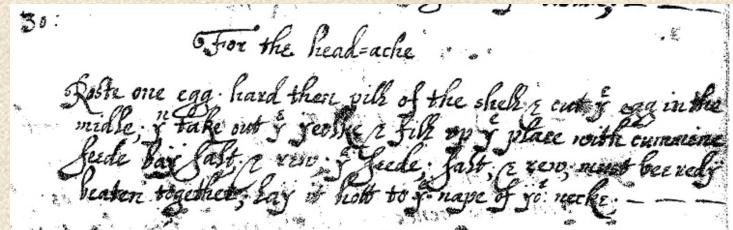


Figure 21
A recipe For the Headache
17th Century
Margaret Baker

Roast one egg hard and then peel off the shell. Cut the egg in the middle and take out the yolk. Fill up the place with cumin seed, bay salt, and rue. The seed, salt, and rue must be ready beaten together. Lay it hot to the nape of the neck.

Figure 22
Legible transcription of Baker's
recipe "For the Headache"

Quantitative Analysis

To continue to illustrate the medical social network women continued to join, I decided to compare the types of medicinal recipes in Ms. Fr. 640 and Margaret Baker's manuscript. Perhaps, they would contain similar recipes or priorities to treat specific ailments and conditions. I classified each recipe in the text, counted them, and displayed the results in Figures 23 and 24. The majority of the recipes in Margaret Baker's manuscript were miscellaneous. However, the following majorities – digestive, dermatological, and infectious – overlapped with the top percentages in the Ms. Fr. 640 data. These similarities in type reveal the ramifications of an extensive medical recipe network. In fact, after some close examination, some of the recipes appear to be similar in purpose and sometimes in ingredients (See Appendix 1 and 2).

Margaret Baker has a recipe for a Healing Salve, and Ms. Fr. 640 has one for a Burn Salve (Reconstruction in Appendix 1). Margaret Baker has a recipe for a headache using salt, and Ms. Fr. 640 has a similar recipe with salt "Against pains." (See Appendix 2 for Reconstruction of "For the Headache"). According to Richard Oosterhoff⁹³, salts in Ms. Fr. 640 and other recipe texts carry metaphorical meaning, and exploring this significance in a future venture could be worthwhile.⁹³

While the reconstructions for these recipes are not explicitly "part of the exhibit," they helped inform my analysis of the figures featured in this kunstkammer.

Medicinal Recipes of Margaret Baker versus Ms. Fr.640

Categorical Breakdown:

Categorized the diseases into one of the following: circulatory, dermatological, digestive, infectious, miscellaneous/multispecialty, musculoskeletal, neurological, psychological, reproductive, respiratory, sensory, and urinary. I then created a pie chart determining the percent composition of each. These categories were inspired by previous research of other manuscripts.

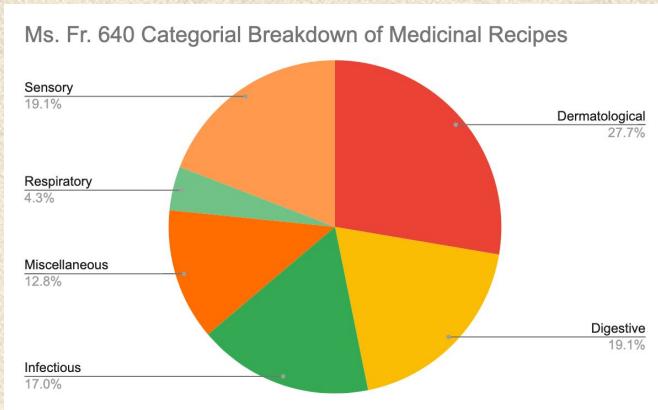


Figure 23

Adapted from Elizabeth Branscum's list
"Medicine in Ms. Fr. 640 and Household
Recipe Books"

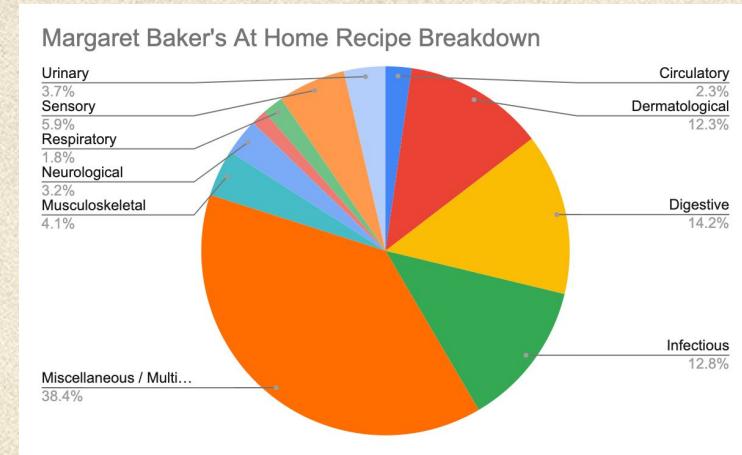


Figure 24

Categorical Breakdown of Types of
Medical Recipes in Margaret Baker's
Recipe Book

All data and analysis can be found in my [Quantitative Analysis file](#).

Compare these graphs to the work by Elizabeth Branscum's [Medicine in Ms. Fr. 640 and Household Recipe Books](#).

Conclusion

All three exhibits demonstrate the power of experience and practice and their role in successful working women's life during the Early Modern Period and Enlightenment in Europe. Experiential knowledge was a form of intellectual currency. A wax model for teaching students that travels worldwide, a "machine" that simulates childbirth, and medical recipes are all exchangeable and valuable. As one encounters these and similar objects, one simultaneously builds one's understanding of the artificial and natural world, ultimately bringing one to an elevated state of knowledge and intellect. Following the mission of the Making and Knowing Project, I believe that more people today could benefit and learn from reconstructions and experimentation in the classroom, in social settings, and in political spheres. I can only aspire to build the courage, creativity, and expertise beheld by Anna Morandi, Marie Biheron, Madame du Coudray, Dorothea of Mansfeld, and Margaret Baker.



Footnotes

¹Impey, *The Origins of Museums*, 1.

²Ibid, 201

³ Meadow, *The First Treatise of Museums*, 23

⁴ Ibid, 24

⁵Liu, "Collecting Cures in an Artisanal Manuscript: Practical Therapeutics and Disease in Ms. Fr. 640"

⁶Ibid

⁷Ibid

⁸ Wiesner-Hanks, *New Approaches to European History: Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 19

⁹Ibid

¹⁰Ibid, 24

¹¹Ibid

¹²Ibid, 26

¹³Ibid, 44

¹⁴Ibid

¹⁵Ibid, 45

¹⁶ Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*,

³⁷.

¹⁷Ibid

¹⁸Ibid

¹⁹Lindemann, *New Approaches to European History: Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 66

²⁰Dacome, *Women, Wax, and Anatomy in the Century of Things*, 526

²¹Ibid, 526

²²Ibid, 526

²³Ibid, 525

²⁴Ibid, 536

²⁵Ibid, 539

²⁶Maerker, "Anatomizing the Trade: Designing and Marketig Anatomical Models as Medical Technologies, 538

²⁷Dacome, *Women, Wax, and Anatomy in the Century of Things*, 542

²⁸Ibid, 542

²⁹Ibid, 545

³⁰Ibid, 545

³¹Dacome, *Women, Wax, and Anatomy in the Century of Things*, 546

³²Ibid, 527

³³Gelbart, *Minerva's French Sisters: Women of Science in Enlightenment France*, 169

³⁴Ibid, 169

³⁵Ibid, 167

³⁶Ibid, 167

³⁷Ibid, 167

³⁸Ibid, 169

³⁹Ibid, 176

⁴⁰Ibid, 166

⁴¹Ibid, 169

⁴²Ibid, 179

⁴³Ibid, 179

⁴⁴Ibid, 179

⁴⁵Ibid, 179

⁴⁶Ibid, 179

⁴⁷Ibid, 179

⁴⁸Ibid, 184

⁴⁹Ibid, 179

⁵⁰Ibid, 202

⁵¹Ibid, 184

⁵²National Archives, "The Papers of Benjamin Franklin."

⁵³Scharf, "La Machine: Obstetric Phantoms of Madame Du Coudray ... Back to the Roots," 1

⁵⁴Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 73

⁵⁵Scharf, "La Machine: Obstetric Phantoms of Madame Du Coudray ... Back to the Roots," 2

⁵⁶Ibid, 3

⁵⁷Maerker, "Anatomizing the Trade: Designing and Marketig Anatomical Models as Medical Technologies, 533

⁵⁸Scharf, "La Machine: Obstetric Phantoms of Madame Du Coudray ... Back to the Roots," 5

⁵⁹Ibid, 3

⁶⁰Ibid, 3

⁶¹Ibid, 2

⁶²Ibid, 2

⁶³Gelbart. *The King's Midwife : A History and Mystery of Madame Du Coudray*, 60

⁶⁴Ibid, 61

⁶⁵Scharf, "La Machine: Obstetric Phantoms of Madame Du Coudray ... Back to the Roots," 2

⁶⁶Ibid, 2

⁶⁷Gelbart. *The King's Midwife : A History and Mystery of Madame Du Coudray*, 97

⁶⁸Scharf, "La Machine: Obstetric Phantoms of Madame Du Coudray ... Back to the Roots," 2

⁶⁹Marland, *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, 134

⁷⁰Marland, *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, 7

⁷¹Marland, *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*, 7

Footnotes (cont)

⁷² Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen As Healers in Early Modern Germany*, 1

⁷³ Rankin, *Panacea's Daughters: Noblewomen As Healers in Early Modern Germany*, 1

⁷⁴ Ibid, 2

⁷⁵ Ibid, 4

⁷⁶ Ibid, 6

⁷⁷ Ibid, 6

⁷⁸ Ibid, 27

⁷⁹ Ibid, 4

⁸⁰ Ibid, 48

⁸¹ Ibid, 4

⁸² Ibid, 75

⁸³ Ibid, 75

⁸⁴ Ibid, 4

⁸⁵ Ibid, 20

⁸⁶ Ibid, 28

⁸⁷ Ibid, 28

⁸⁸ Ibid, 48

⁸⁹ Connor, "Seeking Margaret Baker: Identifying the Author of Three Manuscript Receipt Books."

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Margaret Baker's Cookery and Medical Receipts, 1600s

⁹³ Oosterhoff, "Ingenious Materials: Salts as Material Metaphor."

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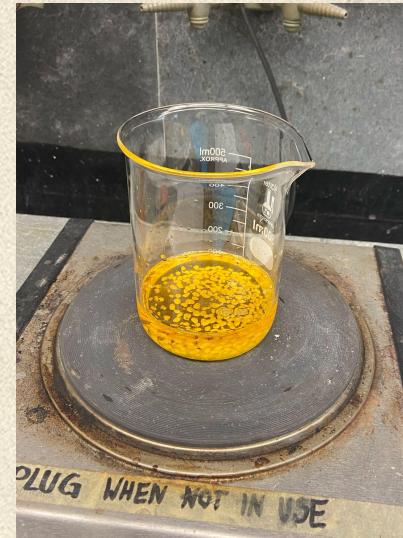
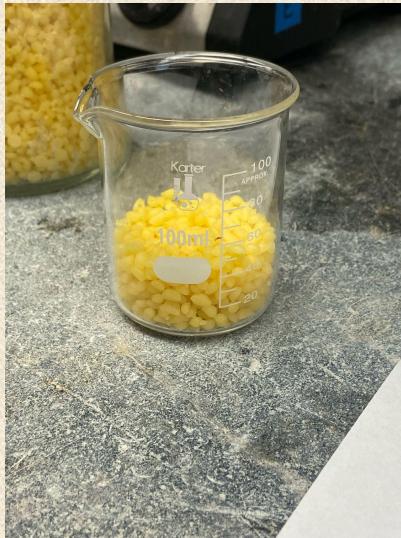
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Appendix 1: Ms. Fr. 640 “Against Burns, Excellent”

Heat linseed oil on a gentle fire without letting it boil & simmer, but once it is hot, put in a quarter as much of the newest wax you can. Once melted, let it cool, & once they begin to curdle, stir continuously with a new wooden spatula t for as long as it takes you to say one 9 paternoster,* and as you say them, wash this composition with holy water, stirring all the while. Having said the s first 9 paternoster, pour out the first water & put in new one, & wash & stir the composition for the time it takes you to say 8 paternoster, and the 3rd time for as long as 7, & thus you will consecutively until add new water, doing the same as above, until the last & single paternoster of nine.

Then you shall have a soft & white ointment, with which you shall anoint the burn for the space of 9 days. But do not apply it any longer than this, for it would cause a* your flesh to grow excessively. You p* shall bandage yourself twice a day, & each time you shall wash your face with water & wine mixed together, a little tepid, not rubbing, but as if pressing with a wet linen cloth, and you shall wipe it similarly aff with a fine linen cloth, & next put the ointment, over which you can put ivy leaves. This causes hair to regrow & leaves no scar. A gunpowder maker who had almost completely burnt himself me & showed no sign of the burn, taught me this.

Heat linseed oil on a gentle fire without letting it boil & simmer, but once it is hot, put in a quarter as much of the newest wax you can.



Continued...

"Once melted, let it cool, & once they begin to curdle, stir continuously with a new wooden spatula t for as long as it takes you to say one 9 paternoster,* and as you say them, wash this composition with holy water, stirring all the while. Having said the s first 9 paternoster, pour out the first water & put in new one, & wash & stir the composition for the time it takes you to say 8 paternoster, and the 3rd time for as long as 7, & thus you will consecutively until add new water, doing the same as above, until the last & single paternoster of nine."



After 8
paternosters



After 7
paternosters



After 5
paternosters



After 4
paternosters



After 3
paternosters



Final Product

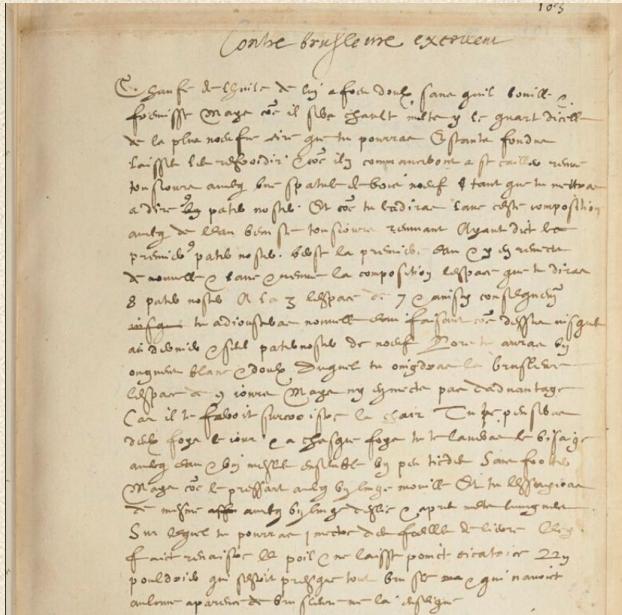
Additional Notes

Major Changes in Reconstruction:

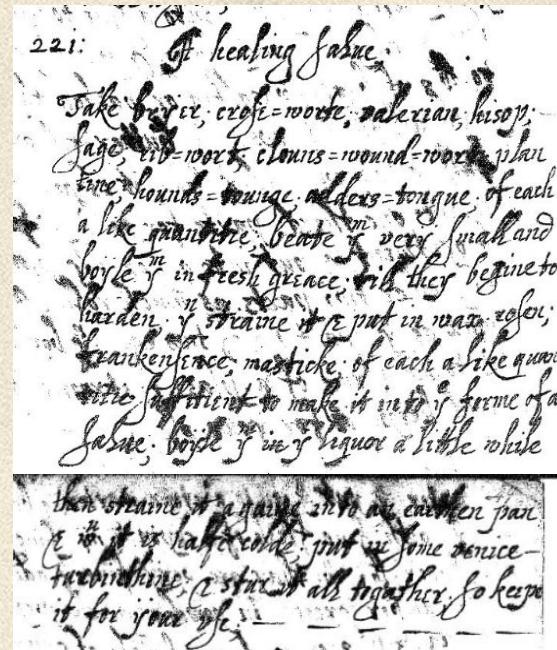
During the reconstruction, I had a mandatory interruption and when I came back the mixture hardened. So, I had to put on heat again to liquify mixture again. Unsure how that affected the final results but I thought it was important to note.



Note: Both Authors have Recipes for Salves



Excellent Recipe Against Burns
16th Century
Ms. Fr. 640

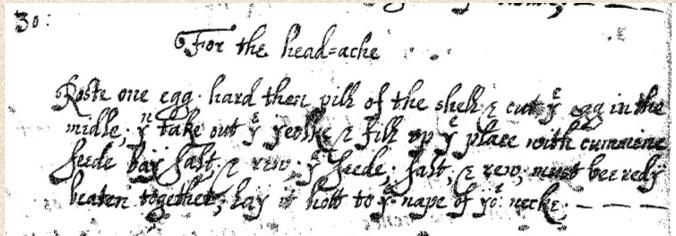


A Healing Salve
17th Century
Margaret Baker

Appendix 2: Margaret Baker “For a Headache”

Roast one egg hard and then peel off the shell. Cut the egg in the middle and take out the yolk. Fill up the place with cumin seed, bay salt, and rue. The seed, salt, and rue must be ready beaten together. Lay it hot to the nape of the neck.

Ms Fr. 640: Against Pains



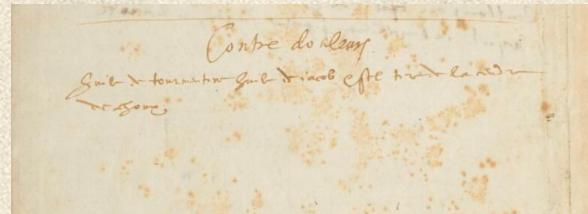
A recipe For the Headache

17th Century

Margaret Baker

Roast one egg hard and then peel off the shell. Cut the egg in the middle and take out the yolk. Fill up the place with cumin seed, bay salt, and rue. The seed, salt, and rue must be ready beaten together. Lay it hot to the nape of the neck.

Legible transcription of
the recipe



Against Pains

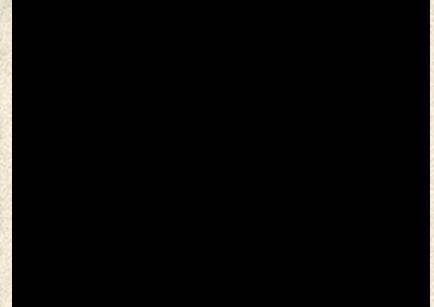
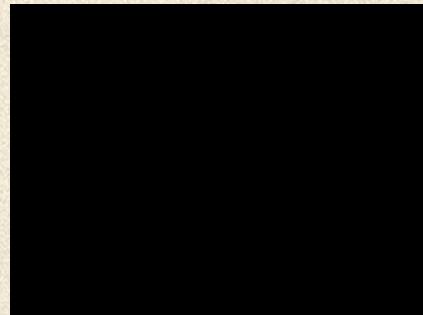
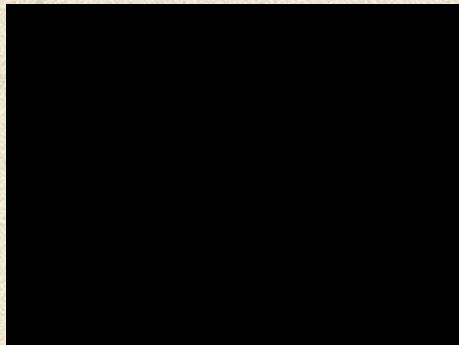
16th Century

Ms. Fr. 640

Turpentine oil, oil of Jacob, and salt extracted from cabbage ash.

English Translation of "Against Pains" Recipe

“Roast one egg hard and then peel off the shell...”



Note: Roasted more than egg (just in case there was an error)

... “Cut the egg in the middle and take out the yolk. Fill up the place with cumin seed, bay salt, and rue. The seed, salt, and rue must be ready beaten together Lay it hot to the nape of the neck.”



Note: It was difficult to film the egg on the nape of my neck but you can see the after effects above

Appendix 3:

Link to Quantitative Data:

https://cu-mkp.github.io/sandbox/data/sp23_gorup_sophie_final-project_quantitative-analysis-of-margaret-baker-and-ms-fr-640.xlsx

Link to Image Sources:

https://cu-mkp.github.io/sandbox/docs/sp23_gorup-sophie_final-project_image-sources.xlsx