Fallen Angels, A Holy Covenant Of Female Mystics And Their Unfortunate Sisters: Twin Relations Between The Witch And The Mystic During The Transition Of Late Medieval To Early Modern Europe.

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There is not an element in Women’s History more notorious than its hoodwinked association with Witchcraft, in particular, its relationship with mysticism. Like the fiery-emblazoned passion of a jealous lover, so too was the Catholic/Christian orthodoxy and her paramours who endeavored to maintain her godly purity and virtue. Even the slightest bit of alien caress, if pushed to the brink, often resulted in the inquisition, condemnation, and in most cases, the instant inflammation of an innocent soul. With its roots sprouting from the first few centuries anno domini, Mysticism in Christianity took almost immediate effect in implanting itself within Medieval and Early Modern European society.

When tracing back to the emergence of the State, historians can begin to see the emasculation of the female role, which originally under gatherer/hunter societies were considered equal if not slightly more significant than the male role. The State’s sister component, Religion, functioned as the primary sponsor in the desecration of womankind throughout its past, and arguably, its present. Indeed, the Church’s joint scorn towards all faiths that were not their own and the female sex, the evil, weaker adversary to the righteous, more resilient nature of the male sex, lead to the widely accepted Western view of witchcraft and discrimination towards womankind.

Despite evident differences in definition and in practice, women associated with either mysticism or witchery were often placed in a similar category. But why? Both possessed and expended some form of supernatural talent very alike in nature that male authorities surely envied beyond comprehension. Could a witch not have visions the same as a mystic, and say it was inspired by God just as easily as a so claimed mystic could fabricate a celestially inspired prophecy? For what reasons were certain mystics like Catherine of Siena and Julian of Norwich saved from the hellfire’s that Margaret Porete, Joan of Arc, and thousands of other women so suffered through?

Mysticism, like witchcraft, is a universally acknowledged element of religion and spirituality that can be found amongst almost every culture in the world’s history. However, positive and negative connotations exist for each term. According to the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Christian mysticism can be best coined by the Latin phrase, Theologia mystica est experimentalis cognitio habita de Deo per amoris unitivi complexum (Mystical theology is knowledge of God by experience, arrived at through the embrace of unifying love). Witchcraft
on the other hand, often referred to during the medieval and early modern periods as Maleficarum, is defined by the Christian west as the practice of black magic (magia), sorcery (maleficium), or intercourse with evil spirits and/or demons (incantatio) to execute and successfully achieve immoral and wicked deeds.

Clearly, the two terms express an obvious distinction; one is good, moral, and godly, the other evil, sinful, and having to do with the Devil. But as history accounts, the lines between the mystic and the witch often become blurred. This can be seen through the examples of famed figures of the Catholic Church such as Joan of Arc, members of or women influenced by members of the Beguine sect like Marguerite Porete, and Julian of Norwich, as well as anonymous and not-so-famed individuals like village midwives and poor elderly widows, samples of countless categories of women targeted by the Inquisition.

Those who were more fortunate, Catherine of Siena as the prime example, are among the most celebrated and remarked woman in Catholic/Christian history. Others like her found holy visions and divine revelations as a doorway to special privilege and power exceptionally rare of a patriarchal society. Catherine would use—and be used for—her unique abilities to influence and transform the world around her. Catherine’s mystical capacities however, came at price, a price which seriously caused them bodily harm and abuse by their male spiritual guides.

The earliest links concerning female mystics and suspicions of witchcraft and heresy start with the Beguines who resided in southern France and Catalonia.¹ The Beguine sect, which also consisted of male members, the Beghards, was founded by in the mid-twelfth century by a man called Lambert le Begue “The Stammer”. These communities called ‘Beguianages’, were very flexible and provided and accepted women from all different martial backgrounds; single virgins, widows, even a married woman could find sanctuary in the community as long as she remained celibate for the time in which she involved herself in the community.²

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The Beguine movement found success throughout most of Europe. Within the next hundred years, the Beguines community lifestyle revolved around the rule of poverty, chastity, and prayer, spread all throughout Europe. More impressively, there was hardly a town in these regions where one could not find a Beguine settlement. These areas included Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Holland. What was unique about the Beguines was that it was not a convent but a communal society which allowed women to live independently with one another and to openly do things that women were not normally permitted to do. For once, they not confined to their households, children, and husbands, and were free to engage in intellectual and spiritual conversation. They also operated within a variety of occupations-as craftswomen, spinners, brewers, nurses, and most notably, as educators.

It was this very sense of successful independence from ecclesiastical authority which led to their persecution. What threatened the ecclesiastical authority was their philosophy of a feminized personification of divine love, emphasis on nature (feminine allegories and connection to nature were aspects of paganism); the metaphorical use of female sexuality in biblical narratives traditionally allied to masculinity and even more liberally and dangerously, the feminization of God and Christ. These elements can be seen in the works of Beguine mystics such as Hadewijch of Antwerp, who expressed her love for God (female) and nature through troubadour style like poems and love songs, “Love does not yield to saints or men or angels, heaven or earth, and she enfolds the divine in her nature. To love she calls the hearts who love, in a voice that is loud and untiring. The voice has great power and it tells of things more terrible than thunder”. Likewise, Hadeqich of Brabant refers to ‘Love’ as a divine deity of the female gender.

The most famous and confrontational of all the Beguine mystics was Marguerite Porete. Her collection of well-known mystical writings called The Mirror of Simple Souls which she wrote in the years 1296-1306. In addition to writing on subjects that clearly demonstrate Beguine pride and devotion towards the divine nature of femininity, love, nature and spirituality, Marguerite took a radical step by openly criticizing the Church, using derogatory references like

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3 Ibid.
4 Roberts, Women, Mystics, And Witches, 2.
6 Roberts, Women, Mystics, And Witches, 1.
7 Ibid, 3.
“little church”. She also demeans church theologians by stating “…You won’t understand this book-however bright your wits-if you do not meet it humbly…”

After the Bishop of Cambrai forbad her to publicize her book, Marguerite Porete was arrested in 1308, declared a pseudo-mulier, and burnt at the stake in the Place de Greve in Paris on the 1st of June 1310. Marguerite’s example would inspire many women like British mystic Julian of Norwich- which ultimately condemned Julian and future female mystics. Just a year after her execution, the Council of Vienne persistently sought out those who shared similar principles as the Beguines. Several of them suffered the same fate as Marguerite: they were accused of heresy, tried, found guilty, and burned at the stake.

As time progressed past the age of the Beguine’s and towards the Renaissance the popularity of female mystics rose to its pinnacle. Indeed, the stunning growth of the Beguine movement occurring within a time scale of less than a century very likely caused the Church- whose massively organized institution took quite a few centuries to establish permanent dominance- much envy with the Beguine’s growing popularity and paranoia in losing the powerful influence they possessed within the lives of everyday people. Later during the early stages of witch-trials, there is an incident where Heinrich Kramer compared the ‘sinfulness’ of a group of Waldensians in Bohemia to those of female witches, hinting at possible prejudicial connection between female mystics and witches during magisterial courts and trials.

Kramer, author of the witch-hunters manual Malleus Maleficarum, like many other churchmen both from and before his time, grew highly suspicious and fearful of the increasing numbers of influential female saints during the late medieval period like Bridget of Sweden, St. Teresa of Avila and Catherine of Siena. It was extremely difficult to distinguish a divinely

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8 Ibid, 1.
9 False women or heretic.
11 McGinn, “Evil-Sounding, Rash, And Suspect of Heresy” (see footnote 3), 196.
inspired woman from a women possessed by the devil, since both were accustomed to acting out in fits of hysteria. A mystic, especially a female mystic, had to proceed with caution.

The female sex, according to the biological beliefs generally acknowledged, was the weaker of the two sexes because A) women in their nature are overwhelmed and controlled by their uterus, which causes the desire of child-bearing, if not satisfied by sexual intercourse, will block respiratory passages and result in illness and maladies, and B) Galen’s theory of bodily humors, which claims that the amount of heat within the body accounts for the differences in sex. The woman is colder because of the inside positioning of genital parts excess as opposed the outward positioning of the male genitalia which makes the male sex warmer, and hence, better.

Relating back to the female spirituality, it was believed that an over excessive or under excessive amount of blood could cause severe mental and physical problems to a women. According to classical physician Hippocrates, women, specifically virgins who are more prone to experiencing visions during her menstrual cycle would often attempt to choke herself due to the imbalance of blood flow from the womb and immense pressure on the heart. This is supposedly caused because the woman did not take a husband and become pregnant in time. That menstrual blood would instead go towards nourishing the fetus and would not cause her any bodily or mental harm.

If this situation were to happen, the blood would makes it way up through lungs, the heart, and finally to the brain. Madness would occur as a result of the inflammation of blood to the brain, which would further cause a woman to say terrible things and hear voices that convinced them to do insidious acts like drowning herself in wells. Though this theory has no basis in real logic, these strange voices and visions would have provided a rational explanation-in the eyes of late medieval society- for the bizarre behavior demonstrated by a demonically possessed woman and so would further distinguish a witch from mystic.

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The fate of a woman, whether as potential mystic or witch, encompassed a variety of dynamics; socio-economic origin, political connections, knowledge of the Latin language and church doctrine, and mode of presentation. Vision was preferred over voice to the mystic because she participated more in the process of translating and interpreting into text, whereas simply reciting words which required less participation from the mystic and more from the male clergy, which could easily be misinterpreted. Of significant importance was credibility and authenticity through male church consultants like Raymond of Capua were essential to the mystics success when it came putting her visions on paper. Without politically and theologically correct rhetoric, mystics could easily be denied their authenticity and declared heretics, or worse, witches.16

Given the individuals’ situation, some factors could cancel out larger ones. For example despite coming from a lower-class family of twenty five children17- one of hardest factors to overcome- Catherine of Siena managed to work her way upwards and become one of the most prominent figures of her time. Catherine’s mystical background can be compared to that of Hildegard of Bingen. Like Hildegard, Catherine wrote her own book Dialogue with the assistance of her male spiritual guide. The fact that she wrote her visionary books in Latin was pivotal. It is very likely that this may have been a major factor in what distinguished the validity and acceptance Catherine’s Latinized writings versus Marguerite Porete’s Mirror of the Soul, which was written in her native vernacular language. Writing in languages such as Greek or Latin instead of English or Italian put forward the notion that the said mystic intends to obey and follow Catholic guideline despite the possible anti-dogmatism that may emerge from visions18.

English mystic Julian of Norwich, perhaps because she lived during Catherine’s time, also shared many things in common. For one thing, both were laywomen lucky enough to receive literacy and education due to their exceptional visions and ascetic acts. Julian however seemed more educated than Catherine. She possessed profound knowledge of the Vulgate Bible and writings of Saint William of Thierry, whose works were rarely, if ever, translated from Latin.


18 Obermeier and Kennison, “The Privileging” (see footnote 16), 145.
to English. It is also very likely that she, like her Italian comparison, could not write or read and was instead fed information and had her writings ordained by a male priest. However, her intelligence as shown in the brilliant allegorical use of her mystical writing *Shewings*, suggest otherwise.\(^{19}\)

It was not uncommon for women medieval mystics to reject and harm their bodies, a means by which they gained attention and obtain religious authority. Granted, men could be ascetics as well but not nearly to the degree that women were in their line of development.\(^{20}\) The most common ways of suffering were starvation which led to constant fevers and other like illnesses. Catherine was bulimic, and her visions and inspirations would not be taken seriously by the public if she did not persist in making herself weak and punishing herself.\(^{21}\) As a result to this abuse and demeanor by male authority Catherine would have gruesome visions such as the one she had of Christ cutting out her heart and replacing it with his own. Even more bizarre, it is said that she received pleasure from drinking the water used to cleanse a leper’s wounds.\(^{22}\)

Likewise, the inspiration for Julian’s -“*Shewings*” - came from an exceedingly intense, three day illness, one that Julian deliberately prayed for herself- in which she floated between life and death, being sure to note every gory detail of agony, despair, paleness, blood and physical deterioration. Nevertheless, she managed to meet her ends by envisioning Christ’s appearance.\(^{23}\) One thing was clear: Catherine and Julian considered it essential to suffer in order to die and be closer to or with God.\(^{24}\) This obsessive mindset with suffering and death that was shared by both mystics can easily be traced through the historical significance that the Black Death held over and forever changed the mentality of the European population, one third of which died under horrible conditions within a time span of 5 years.

In full, Catherine and Julian’s mystical visions often came when they were in a state of weakness; a state of weakness men of the clergy readily used for their own gain; a gain of keeping up a lively correspondence with other monk, nuns, bishops, princes and such prestigious

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\(^{19}\) Furlong, “Visions And Longings: Medieval Women Mystics”, 187.


\(^{22}\) *Ibid*, 183-.184.

\(^{23}\) Furlong, “Visions And Longings: Medieval Women Mystics”, 188-.189.

characters. As we can see, the church propagated that in order to be a saintly women, she had to be willing to victimize and hate herself.\textsuperscript{25} Catherine of Siena, for instance would frequently starve herself, and whenever she did eat, would throw up afterward. If she did not persist in making herself weak and punishing herself, primarily through her personal choice of concessive regurgitation, then her visions and inspirations would not be taken seriously by the public.\textsuperscript{26}

Furthermore, the patriarchy of the church led Julian and Catherine in being ashamed of their sex. Julian perceived her sex as weak and frail, which ultimately led her to gender neutralizing or masculinizing her authorship. She repeatedly refers to herself as “a creature”, while omitting other female characters, other than the Virgin Mary in her works, despite her many passages about a feminine-like Jesus as scholars have noted in her later more longer versions of her writings.\textsuperscript{27} But Catherine managed to uphold her femininity to a minimum. She clearly distinguishes between the spiritual femininity and the physical masculinity in her self-identity. This can be seen in the early years of her personal life: she cut her hair off, wore no jewelry, avoided men, and constantly burned and blistered her skin.\textsuperscript{28} Both mystics died in in similar manner, Catherine of a miserable stroke, and Julian of an unknown, but most likely unbearable illness similar to Catherine’s.\textsuperscript{29}

The most prominent specimen who perfectly intersects at the meeting point of the female witch and the female mystic is the Maid of Orleans. Joan of Arc had her first vision at the tender age 13-14 which told her to seek out the ‘true’ king of France, and lead his armies in God’s stead against the English during the Hundred Years War. Unlike her spiritual predecessors, Joan received little if not any assistance from the Church, the key cause of her downfall. But what made Joan so out of the ordinary, from say Catherine of Siena, who also involved herself in the political realm of affairs pre-dominated by men during the Great Schism?  

Established by Church father St. Augustine 3 hierarchical levels of mysticism existed: the intellectual, the spiritual, and the corporal. “Intellectual needs neither eyes nor soul, spiritual uses
the interior eyes of the soul and corporeal uses the external”.  

Joan’s experiences were more voice oriented than visionary, and so she is categorized under the third, less trustworthy type. The corporeal level was considered the most suspicious because of its state of obviousness. The ease of something being seen or heard through the physical senses rather than the spiritual, according to Augustine, is not the way in which God would communicate would someone, therefore, the visions or voices must be coming from elsewhere. 

Given her peasant background, Joan was probably not aware of the classifications of mysticism set out by Augustine. Nor could she back up or authenticate her mystical experiences, both of which were neither theologically correct nor compatible with Church doctrines, not to mention that they were orally transmitted herself and without the assistance of a male figurehead. In fact, she chose not to accept the resources or connections required to ensure the validity of her experiences. She kept her visions and voices private, entrusting them only to Charles (whom she supported as her king) and her companion Robert de Baudricourt and refused to confess them to the Church and the inquisition. 

These confidential visions included individuals like St Michael (patron of the Franks) St Catherine of Alexandria, and humorously enough the ‘cross-dresser’ saint, St. Margaret of Antioch. She herself had short boyish haircut and dressed in male garments. Joan could clearly identify who she was communicating with by the sound of their voices during her trial, but when they asked her to describe what she saw she refused. Moreover, the time and place in which she lived played against her situation. France, where Joan of Arc was from, had the fewest number of mystics, so mysticism was rare and therefore strange or heretical to the French people. The combination of these disadvantages gave her a much weaker position. As W.T. Jones adeptly puts it, “To the Church as an institution, the mystic was a maverick. He/She is a

30 Obermeier and Kennison, “The Privileging” (see footnote 16), 141.  
31 Ibid.  
32 Ibid, 149.  
33 Ibid, 152.  
34 Ibid, 145.  
36 Ibid, 139.  
37 Ibid, 149.
non-conformist, and a trouble-maker; he/she upsets efficiently functionally procedures; he/she rejects the authority of the institution whenever it conflicts with its private vision.”  

So how do the lives of all these women ultimately relate, or better yet transit, from mystic to witch? Well, for one thing, the catastrophic upsurge of events of the times as mentioned before-the bubonic plague, the schism in Avignon and Rome etc., events in which many mystics indulged themselves in, like Catherine of Siena and her attempts to restore the papacy to Rome and Joan of Arc’s victory against the English – brought about atmosphere of psychological disturbance. It very well could have been the general, internalized belief that the works of diabolical sorcery and witchcraft were the chief agents behind this rapid change. It is important to note beforehand, that the Protestant Reformation perhaps had the most profound effects above all other historical events pointed out, specifically, its philosophy of promoting religious individualism and the transformation of [female gender] social roles by those were previously considered deviant.

Magic was widely used by peasants and commoners during the early and later middle ages, a surviving element from Europe’s pagan era which did not fully disappear amongst popular culture even with the introduction of Christianity. Neither was it criminalized by secular or clerical authorities to the extent seen in the earl modern period. Nonetheless, the Church remained suspicious of the use of magic. There were even some highly educated ecclesiastical members who delved within the magical arts, which led to further mistrust of magic and fear of demonic infiltration within the institution itself.

The most usual type of magic expended was the healing arts. Magical healing could be accomplished in a number of ways; charms, amulets, herbal potions and the rest, which could be provided by a surgeon, midwife, or village healer, skilled individuals who often remained within a particular local area so to be easily accessible to those who may have need of theirs services. Divination, a diverse tradition of magic focused around fortunate-telling, interpretation of signs and omens, palmistry, and prophecies or “visions” were another commonly used form of

38 Ibid, 152.
41 Bailey, Magic and Witchcraft (see footnote 40), 81.
magic.\textsuperscript{42} Predictably, both these practices were later labeled with negative connotations. Divination, with its dynamical complexity and past ties with paganism and possible demonic involvement, was the most strongly opposed,\textsuperscript{43} while the role of midwife, considered a prestigious and respected position was taken and twisted into something sinister.

The key to unlocking door between worlds of divine revelation and ecclesiastical mayhem is the man behind the witch, Heinrich Kramer, and the \textit{Malleus Maleficarum}. While Kramer ably acknowledged the existence of genuine female mystics, he was bias in the sense that he only approved of a certain group. The group no doubt, consisted of women directly connected with the Dominican Order the religious Kramer came from and so sought to promote.\textsuperscript{44} Additionally, his history of prosecution in area’s focused primarily in Bohemia, a territory that turned highly Protestant during the Reformation. His main target were the Bohemian Brethren, a heretical group branched off the Hussite’s, who in turn shared many commonalties in doctrine with another sect called the Waldensians.\textsuperscript{45}

The Waldensians, some of whom originated from the infamous Beguine sects of southern France, caught the Church’s particular attention between the years 1438 and 1461. Rather than being charged as heretics as they were accustomed, they were instead arrested and executed on charges of \textit{vauderie} meaning ‘witchcraft’.\textsuperscript{46} Here, we arrive at a crossroads in which it is safe to assume the terms ‘heretic’ and ‘witch ‘according to Kramer and other inquisitors, can mean one in the same. Recalling the earlier mentioned alteration of the feminine social role during the Reformation, Kramer’s angst and suspicion towards female spirituality, his zealous obsession towards the persecution of heretic’s and/or witches, and loyalty to his holy order and holy ‘true’ church, it is plausible to conclude that the way in which certain mystics like Marguerite, Catherine, Joan, and Julian through the overpowering influence of their writings and actions, ultimately led to the misogyny of the pre-modern witch trials.

Perhaps the most targeted victim was the poor middle-aged to elderly woman. Aside from the obvious reasons for being discriminated against because they were thrived independently and

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, 87.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 89.
\textsuperscript{44} Herzig, “Witches, Saints, And Heretics” (see footnote 39), 38.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 33.
\textsuperscript{46} Maxwell-Stuart, \textit{Witchcraft In Europe And The New World, 1400-1800}, 33.
away from male authority, they were scapegoated because they were seen as a financial nuisance in a time of severe economic hardships. On many occasions these ‘old women’ were healers and midwives, who although were not economically respected, they possessed certain authority within their communities, much like a village elder. The role of the midwife/healer was essential in European towns and villages long even before Roman times. Certainly Kramer in his quest to cleanse any non-Christian components from European society made sure to attack the midwife who “…who surpass all others in wickedness.” According to the Malleus, midwives commit the greatest acts of sin by offering newborn infants to the devil, if there is no need to kill it. It was also to the disadvantage of the midwife that she was considered the ‘weak link’ in European society who a.) Had no means of protecting herself and b.) Did not follow nor uphold the cultural norms women during this time were expected to maintain.

As earlier noted, the art of divination, which included the power of prophecies and visions used by mystics were regarded by the Church as the most treacherous since it was thought that demons could easily corrupt the soul. Kramer further attests to this belief by explaining how women in their nature are weaker, more evil, and less intelligent than men. Therefore, women are more vulnerable and eager to succumb to the influence of a disembodied spirit, which can be used by means of good or by means of evil, depending on how she chooses to use it. From the outside, Kramer’s reasoning makes sense when we look at the accounts from Julian of Norwich and Catherine of Siena, who were able to obtain their visions through a weakened human state, most commonly through starvation and self-physical abuse.

While Catherine was dying of stroke, she went into a period of unconsciousness and feared that her body would be taken over by another spirit, which did occur and was taunted by Satan and other devilish entries for a long period of time. Julian of Norwich went through a

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48 Barstow “Were The Witch-hunts In Premodern Europe Misogynistic? (see footnote 47), 204.


50 Malleus Maleficarium (see footnote 49), part I, question xi.

51 Ibid, part I, question vi.

similar torturous experience on her own deathbed. Examples like these easily prove Kramer’s point and convince the general public that these women, because they were women, regardless of their mystical status, were more prone to devilish pressures than their male superiors.

A man equally as influential during this time was Johan Nider, an inquisitor who lived in the early fifteenth century. When asked by a student regarding his opinion on men being deceived by sorceresses or witches, clearly referring to women who claim they are spoken to by God, in the current time in the form of a letter conversation, Nider explained to his pupil how Joan refused to describe her visions, yet was willing to restate whatever words the voices in her head told her to say. After much interrogation and demand of pictorial explanation from the inquisitors, she gave in and falsely confessed that she was taking command from an evil spirit. In contrast to Kramer, Nider makes no personal or politically-charged accusation towards Joan or her story, but acknowledges the fact that Joan was a sorceress, not out of sexism, but from the facts he was given.53

Incorporating a number of data collected over a period of 500 years, it is estimated that a grand total of 200,000 recorded people were accused of witchcraft and tried by the inquisition in early modern Europe. About 100,000 of those people were burned at the stake, but most shockingly eighty percent of 200,000 either tried and/or executed were women.54 If separated into 2 groups; those tried and those executed, we would find that an additional five percent of women were executed.55 It is very likely these astonishingly high numbers do not come close to real numbers of women who were burned or drowned by the hand of the witch-crazed inquisitor. Despite recent academic findings suggesting that the previously assumed high numbers in executions, it is important to note that many of the records have either been lost or unreadable, and they did not perform an overall census like we do today, so accurately identifying victims based on their age, sex, occupation, wealth and social status, and other factors will forever be lost.56

55 Ibid, 200.
56 Ibid, 197.
So how was a female mystic different and how did or could she distinguish herself from a witch? The answer did not have so much to do with the time periods sexist bias, though it played a significant role in harassing and persecuting the female population. But if one thoroughly looks through a multitude of cases, such as the difference between Joan of Arc and Catherine of Siena, or compare Julian of Norwich and Marguerite Porete, as well as researching the mainstream viewpoint held at the time, like as the rules described in *Visio over Vox* or Galen’s humors regarding the biological differences between the male and female sex, the success spiritual success of a women had to do with credibility and being in the right socio-economic setting. It also helps to recognize the difference in viewpoints of women who claim any supernatural powers in late medieval society and that of early modern society. It is very unlikely that famous female mystics would have had the same luck in their spiritual careers if they lived in the post-Reformation era, as demonstrated by the works of Nider and Kramner. Indeed because of these tensions, it will be very difficult to eradicate these pre-conceived stereotypes regarding women so that others can study history at its best.
Annotated Bibliography


11.) *Medical And Anatomical Ideas* (retrieved pamphlet from Prof. Kristy Bowers):


