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Medieval Misogyny or Gendered Politics: Rethinking John Gerson (1363–1429)

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Abstract

The late medieval Parisian university chancellor Jean Gerson (1363–1429) offers a productive case study for integrating biographically centered intellectual histories with feminist critiques as a means of understanding the perpetuation and evolution of misogyny. Gerson's famous denunciations of medieval women's mysticism contributed to the early modern European witch hunts and an intensification of clerical oversight of pious women's spiritual practices. Gerson, however, also defended women's capacity for contemplation and right to well-informed and conscientious pastoral care. This essay juxtaposes Gerson-centered and feminist treatments of Gerson's misogynist legacy for the sake of focusing researchers' attention on the forces that conspired to encourage Gerson and other similar individuals, who have been sympathetic to women's concerns in some instances, to make aggressive and virulent contributions to misogynist ideas and policies.

The mixed legacy of the religious, political, and intellectual reformer John Gerson (1363–1429) calls for an integration of biographically centered intellectual history and feminist critique. Gerson, who was one of the most popular and influential theological authors of the 15th century, contributed famously to the defense and vilification of women.[1] When taken as a whole, Gerson's arguments about women promote a patriarchal agenda. Noting women's natural aptitude for affective contemplation, he called for both its encouragement and careful regulation.[2] More famously, he fiercely denounced politically and religiously active female visionaries as dangerous threats to established religious and political hierarchies. He did so by activating longstanding misogynist discourses, which equated all women with sin, diabolical influence, and unreason.[3] At the same time, Gerson served as a spiritual advisor to his devout sisters, defended Joan of Arc, denounced the misogynist poem the *Romance of the Rose*, and inspired the political arguments of the famous proto-feminist Christine de Pizan.[4]

In addition to encouraging and defending some women, Gerson vigorously championed the spiritual, economic, and fiscal needs of the poor, strove for church unity, and denounced aristocratic violence.[5] Impressed by this advocacy for the disempowered, those primarily interested in Gerson as a prominent intellectual tend to excuse or ignore his most aggressively misogynist pronouncements.[6] They do so, however, to the detriment of our broader understanding of Gerson's role in intellectual history. His frequent rhetorical dependence upon misogynist arguments locates him within particular political factions. It also illuminates the role played by widely accepted social narratives and institutionalized ways of thinking in shaping personal, intellectual, and political development.[7] In this sense, fully engaging with and understanding Gerson's misogynist polemics as they reflect his personal goals and wider rhetorical context is an integral and unavoidable aspect of understanding his intellectual legacy. Gerson scholars, moreover, are particularly equipped to undertake such an inquiry in a manner that complements rather than diminishes our understanding of Gerson's more praiseworthy accomplishments.

More significantly perhaps, Gerson's attempt to undermine the religious and political sources of female authority comprises an important episode in the history of the evolution of misogyny.

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As feminist historians have demonstrated, Gerson's critiques of medieval women's visionary practices actively intensified existing misogynist discourses. As a result, he made foundational contributions to late medieval and early modern suspicions of women's intellectual abilities, spiritual motivations, and propensity for partnering with the devil.[8] His political sermons cast similar aspersions upon the ability of women to wield political power.[9] In this sense, feminist scholarship provides an important corrective to the assumption made by many Gerson scholars that Gerson's misogynist pronouncements merely reflect the prevailing attitudes of the medieval clergy and, as a result, do not require sustained historical inquiry.[10]

Feminist scholarship, however, could also further enhance our understanding of how misogyny evolves by broadening its focus. Gerson's brave advocacy on behalf of the disempowered and consequent concern for the spiritual health of devout women suggests that the misogynist polemics of individuals like Gerson served complex personal and intellectual goals.[11] Understanding the relationship between the pursuit of these goals and the perpetuation of misogyny is a necessary part of demonstrating the centrality of women's history to the study of history more generally. Such a focus is especially useful in Gerson's case because his significance to the European intellectual tradition makes him an ideal case for studying the mechanisms that foster the persistence of misogyny.

This review of the scholarship treating Gerson's attitudes toward women invites biographically centered and feminist historians to explore collaboratively the intersections of biography and misogyny through the strategic application of the theoretical frame of gender. Gender theory makes visible the ways in which particular societies use apparent biological sex differences as a means of prescribing, justifying, and understanding a broad range of hierarchical relationships pertaining to individuals, institutions, and abstract ideas.[12] For instance, medieval Europeans regularly employed gendered language to understand the relationship between the king, as father of his country, and his people, as well as between the church, as the Bride of Christ, and God.[13] Examining Gerson's treatments of women through the lens provided by medieval European understandings of gender illuminates the particular social, political, and personal factors that shaped Gerson's contributions to the evolution of medieval misogyny and the European intellectual tradition.

Gerson's Sisters and Female Devotion

Although feminist scholars have portrayed Gerson's prescriptive treatments of female devotion as an aggressive male intrusion into the realm of female piety, many Gerson specialists tend to present Gerson's interest in female piety as evolving directly from his relationship with his sisters.[14] For instance, Brian Patrick McGuire compellingly portrays Gerson as compassionate older brother, who bore the responsibility of being the eldest child of an exceptionally devout family, from which all of the children save one forsook marriage for a life of virginity. Seen from this perspective, Gerson's decision to translate the techniques of contemplative prayer from the Latin authorities into a vernacular idiom accessible to unlearned women grew out of a very personal desire to teach his sisters. He did so in return for both the love that they bore him and the education he had received at his family's expense.[15] As McGuire argues, the personal relationship Gerson enjoyed with his sisters caused him to relate to them "as thinking, feeling human beings," rather than as the "literary objects" he would have encountered in the clerical traditions he inherited and cited.[16]

Yelena Mazour-Matusevich and Daniel Hobbins support McGuire's observations by interpreting the care with which Gerson approached the spiritual advising of his sisters as a sign of his willingness to take women's religious concerns seriously.[17] Mazour-Matusevich argues that in addition to developing with his sisters what she characterizes as a spiritual dialogue based

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upon mutual trust, Gerson also expressed his compassion for all women. He offered them a spiritual practice that did not require them to torture their flesh with extreme asceticism and denounced confessors who assigned women unnecessarily harsh or socially awkward penances.[18] Moreover, as Lori Walters and others have indicated, Gerson inspired some well-educated women by serving as a spiritual advisor and mentor for Christine de Pizan and authoring spiritual works that found an audience among elite women associated with the French, Burgundian, and English courts.[19]

Taken together, these observations question whether the undeniably misogynist statements that characterize Gerson's political sermons and treatises on spirit possession can be completely explained by misogynist intent. Although McGuire suggests that Gerson's writings betray a fear of women and a desire to control them, most of Gerson's defenders reject this explanation.[20] Instead, they note the unhealthy and extreme nature of the predominantly female ascetic practices that Gerson attacked, the ways in which charismatic visionary women effectively challenged the authority of prelates and university-trained theologians, and the pastoral responsibility associated with Gerson's theological expertise.[21]

These arguments find support in the fact that most of Gerson's treatments of women appear in works he authored for more immediately pressing goals than adjudicating the appropriate roles for women in religious and political life.[22] He was far more concerned with safeguarding and expanding the authority of university-trained intellectuals and promoting rational reform in a political and religious environment plagued by factionalism, violence, and corruption. For this reason, when Gerson specialists evaluate Gerson's apparent contribution to medieval misogyny, they do so with full knowledge of the fact that Gerson boldly defended the oppressed by denouncing the princes of France for taxing and pillaging the poor to death.[23] He also worried about the devotional confusion that afflicted the uneducated laity as a result of the schism, a widespread lack of good clerical guidance, and overly zealous reformers.[24] All of these activities identify Gerson as an ardent defender of a practically relevant understanding of Christian truth that could be used to organize the day-to-day lives of devout lay people, learned theologians, and princes.[25] Moreover, his success in defending his idealized understanding of truth is demonstrated in early modern portrayals of Gerson as a pilgrim who brought wisdom from France to German-speaking lands after the Council of Constance.[26]

In light of these accomplishments, the complex portrayals of Gerson offered by Gerson specialists provide a crucial corrective to accounts of him that focus only on his contributions to late medieval misogynist discourses. These defenses of Gerson, however, would benefit greatly from the insights provided by feminist scholars regarding (1) the histories of the particular women and spiritual practices which Gerson critiqued, (2) the historical evolution and persistence of misogynist structures of thought and government, and (3) the historical specificity of the meanings applied to the term "woman" in any particular historical moment or rhetorical discourse.[27] Focusing exclusively on Gerson's perspective on the role played by female visionaries in the late medieval church has caused many Gerson specialists to mistake his polemical characterization of ascetic female spirituality as unruly as proof that such women were indeed unruly and deemed so by all reasonable church leaders. As a result, these Gerson specialists portray charismatic religious women as being more marginal to the major events of their time than they actually were.[28]

Gender and Feminist Critique

These decontextualized defenses of Gerson's aggressively misogynist polemics are all the more problematical because of Gerson's historical significance as both an intellectual leader among his contemporaries and an influential critic of female piety. Gerson did not write for a small or politically marginalized audience. In his speeches and sermons, he addressed the French royal

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court, the parishioners of Paris's most prominent churches, the assembled members of the University of Paris, national meetings of the French clergy, and European-wide councils.[29] He also actively promoted the copying and circulation of his works through monastic networks, aristocratic patrons, and conciliar meetings.[30] Gerson's resulting ability to influence the opinions of many of his contemporaries, as well as his admirers in later generations, allowed him to intervene decisively with respect to questions of female spirituality. By insinuating that many apparently pious women pretended to experience divine revelations for the sake of seducing their confessors into sexual sin, heresy, and diabolical delusion, Gerson contributed to early modern fears of witch conspiracies and inspired more intensive approaches to the spiritual advising of contemplative women.[31]

The popularity of Gerson's works suggests that Gerson's ideas resonated with his audience in such a way that they must reflect much more than his own personal opinions, psychological composition, or immediate goals. Rather than merely repeating the opinions of his contemporaries, however, Gerson sought to change these opinions in a manner that was detrimental to some women. As feminist historians have demonstrated, Gerson's admonishments against female devotional excess intervened in a dynamic that had been consistently encouraged by Christian clergy from the earliest days of Christianity. Christian apologists celebrated Christianity's ability to convince women to abandon the pleasures of this world for the sake of either martyrdom or a life of sworn virginity. Since non-Christian and Christian inhabitants of the late ancient Mediterranean alike believed women to be less rational and therefore more prone to vice than men, Christianity's ability to make women virtuous testified to its value as a divinely supported ethical system.[32]

This very dynamic, which equated women with sin while simultaneously holding up virtuous women as one of the most rhetorically potent examples of the capacities of divine grace, created a tension within Christian thought. This tension, in turn, encouraged clergy members to distinguish carefully between good women and bad women just as suspiciously as they distinguished virtues from vices, divine from diabolical revelations, truth from heresy, and saints from sinners.[33] Whereas Gerson specialists tend to treat women as an unproblematic and transparent category that Gerson came to understand through his personal interactions, feminist scholarship suggests that he always also would have encountered women as readily recognizable and rhetorically useful symbols embedded in universalizing discourses about good and evil.

This symbolic weight of the category of woman, namely the way that prevailing beliefs about women and their behavior shaped fields of power, influenced the arguments and behaviors available to both men and women.[34] Charismatic ascetic visionaries and their supporters demonstrated their authenticity within the same semiotic system Gerson harnessed to promote his own. As Barbara Newman and Nancy Caciola have demonstrated, charismatic women worked to enact convincingly the pre-established role of either a divinely or a diabolically possessed woman as a means of finding their own place in their communities.[35] Performing these roles well, however, only allowed certain women to exercise political or religious influence because their male clerical sponsors believed that demonstrating their close relationships with and control over such women would enhance their own authority.[36]

Feminist historians have explored the evolution of this dynamic over time, paying particular attention to changes that either furthered or diminished women's authority. They have done so, moreover, as part of their firm commitment to restore women to their rightful place in history while simultaneously studying the workings of misogyny.[37] For instance, JoAnn McNamara, Dyan Elliott, and others have shown that reforming clergy actively partnered with charismatic holy women as a means of activating lay piety, persecuting heresy, and authenticating theological truth claims.[38] As Nancy Caciola and Caroline Walker Bynum have demonstrated, however, some women became so proficient in their asceticism and visionary practices that they

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were able to gain a large enough following to challenge the local clergy's ability to control them, upset the clerical hierarchy, and introduce theological novelties. These women intensified already existing suspicions regarding the potentially fraudulent or diabolical nature of all claims to divine inspiration.[39] Significantly, few of these women seem to have worked alone, and many of them enjoyed the support of highly educated and ecclesiastically powerful male clerical advisors. Moreover, in an effort to conform to well-established standards of sanctity, male clergy often emphasized the extreme fasting and revelatory experiences of the women under their supervision to an extent that did not always reflect the priorities of the women themselves.[40]

Gerson's critiques of charismatic female visionaries acknowledge the clerical support and encouragement these women enjoyed by challenging the pastoral abilities of their confessors, denouncing the proliferation of ecclesiastically sanctioned saints' cults, and explicitly rebutting the arguments forwarded in support of the sanctity of these women.[41] When considered alongside his broad reform goals and his encouragement of women's devout meditative reading, Gerson's attempts to undermine the collaboration between charismatic female visionaries and their male clerical supporters suggests that he employed misogynist rhetoric in response to political factionalism as much or more than he did in response to isolated concerns about women and their religious practices.

Gendered Politics

Even Gerson's personal relationship with his sisters may have served a political function. When Gerson encouraged his sisters to pursue the contemplative life by observing that humble devout women who lacked learning were more capable of achieving mystical ascent than proud theologians, he implicitly criticized university men. This implicit criticism supported Gerson's call for a reform of the theology faculty, in which scholars would abandon their proud curiosity and limit their intellectual inquiry to questions that served the practical needs of the church.[42] His relationship with his sisters and the wider readership of his devotional works also provided him with an eager and obedient lay audience at a time when his political authority within the university was quite limited.[43] In this manner, Gerson followed the well-established example of earlier clerical reformers in his promotion of female devotion both as a means to motivate men to live more pious lives and as proof of his pastoral and ecclesiastical authority.[44]

Similarly, although Gerson's theological convictions and scholarly temperament encouraged him to promote a mode of lay devotion that was based upon contemplative reading, his aggressive denunciation of the extreme asceticism practiced by some pious women also served his immediate political needs.[45] Like his colleagues at the University of Paris, Gerson first authored treatises on spirit possession in order to undermine his opponents in the papal schism of 1378–1417. The rival papal party relied heavily upon the support of ascetic female visionaries, especially Saints Catherine of Siena and Bridget of Sweden, to prove its authenticity as the true religious center of Christian Europe.[46] By ascribing women's visions to mental illness, diabolical deception, and fraud, Gerson inferred that the clergy members who relied upon these women to determine the identity of the true pope had been misled despite their high position in the church hierarchy.

Moreover, by demonstrating that silly, lust-ridden, and perhaps diabolically inspired women had tricked these prominent church leaders into promoting heretical errors and superstitious rites among the laity, Gerson promoted the unique capabilities of university-trained theologians as discerners of spirits and theological truth.[47] This expert knowledge justified the university's claim to regulate the pastoral activities of the mendicant orders and other charismatic preachers as much as or more than it justified the intrusion of male authority into the realm of women's spirituality.[48]

In this sense, Gerson's simultaneous encouragement of a particular type of female devotion and aggressive criticism of highly regarded charismatic female visionaries remind us of the hotly contested nature of the church hierarchy, the marginal position of theologians in royally

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controlled debates about the schism, and the centrality of female sanctity to demonstrations of theological authority.[49] These factors encouraged Gerson to employ misogynist polemics as a means of asserting his own authority and pursuing his immediate political goals. In the process, he intertwined misogynist arguments with more seemingly benign or praiseworthy principles such as the pursuit of peace, the demand for just and representative government, the quest for church unity, the defense of academic authority, and the discernment of reliable religious truth. At the same time, Gerson's following among women, who chose to focus their spiritual practice around contemplative reading, reminds us of the complexity of medieval women's spirituality. Some women may have resented the prevailing clerical emphasis on women's extraordinary sensory experiences and extreme asceticism at the expense of their intellectual abilities and quiet reflections.

Gerson, of course, hardly championed women's learning or intellectual abilities. He shared the biases of the all-male university and explicitly barred women from teaching.[50] As the example of Christine de Pizan demonstrates, however, Gerson's encouragement of devotional reading may have had unintended liberating effects for intellectually inclined women.[51] As Brian Patrick McGuire has observed, Gerson also could not have foreseen the late medieval and early modern witch hunts, which likely were encouraged by his particular elaborations upon existing misogynist discourses.[52] Seen from this perspective, the complex and mixed nature of Gerson's motivations and legacy with respect to women's spirituality and authority calls upon us to expand our understanding of the ways in which individual action, social forces, and cultural narratives work together to shape, challenge, and strengthen misogyny. We can only do this well, however, if we work collaboratively and in sincere cooperation.

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Short Biography

Nancy McLoughlin's research focuses upon the intersection of politics, institutions, theories of knowledge, and gender. She has authored four articles on the authentication strategies employed by the influential late medieval theologian John Gerson (1363–1429). Her book *Jean Gerson and Gender: Rhetoric and Politics in Fifteenth-Century France* (Palgrave, 2015) explores the connection between Gerson's misogynist polemics and his political goals, paying particular attention to his purposeful feminization of the University of Paris in the sermons he delivered before the French royal court. Before arriving at the University of California, Irvine, where she is an associate professor of History, McLoughlin taught at the University of New Mexico, Willamette University, and DePaul University. She holds a BA in Environmental Science from Wesleyan University, a Master of Theological Studies from Harvard Divinity School, and a PhD from the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Notes

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[1] For the popularity of Gerson's writings, see Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*.

[2] Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 53–5.

[3] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, esp. 274–315.

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[4] Mazour-Matusevich, 'Late Medieval Control', 428; McGuire, 'Care and Control of Women', 35; Hobbins, 'Jean Gerson's Authentic Tract on Joan of Arc', 99–155; Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'The Debate on the *Romance of the Rose*', 317–56; Edsall, 'Like Wise Master Builders', 33–57; and Walters, 'The Figure of the *seulette*', 119–139.

[5] For the most recent biography, see McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*.

[6] For instance, Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance on Women', 293–315. Also, Mazour-Matusevich, 'La position de Jean Gerson (1363–1429)', 337–353.

[7] Margadant, 'Introduction', 1–10, esp. 7.

[8] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 309–19; Elliott, *Proving Women*, 264–303; and Sluhovsky, 'Discernment of Difference', 181. For a dissenting opinion, see Mazour-Matusevich, 'Gerson's Legacy', 362–4.

[9] McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender*, 96–127.

[10] For instance, Mazour-Matusevich, 'Late Medieval Control', 419–424. Also, Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance', 297–8 and 310.

[11] See Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance', 314–15; and Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 233–303.

[12] Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', 1053–1075. For medievalists' responses to Scott, see Elliott, 'The Three Ages of Joan Scott', 1390–1403.

[13] For example, see Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 110–262. Also, Duby et al., 'Writing the History of Women', x–xiii.

[14] Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 272–5.

[15] McGuire, 'Care and Control', 8–12.

[16] McGuire, 'Care and Control', 18–22.

[17] Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 52–53, and Mazour-Matusevich, 'Late Medieval Control', 418–24.

[18] Mazour-Matusevich, 'Late Medieval Control', 424–9, and 'Late Medieval "Counseling": Jean Gerson', 153–167.

[19] Walters, 'La thème du livre comme don de sagesse', 315–31. Also, Richards, 'Jean Gerson's Writings to His Sisters', 81–98.

[20] McGuire, 'Care and Control', 33–36.

[21] Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 222; Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 62–76, esp. 64; and Mazour-Matusevich, 'Late Medieval Control', 423–426.

[22] Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance', 312–314.

[23] For instance, see Gerson's reform sermon *Vivat rex*, in Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 1137–1185. For detailed discussions of this sermon, see McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, 186–91, and McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender*, 107–114 and 117–121.

[24] Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 55–61; Anderson, *Discernment*, esp. 190–224; and Caiger, 'Doctrine and Discipline in the Church of Jean Gerson', 389–407.

[25] Rubin, 'Europe Remade: Purity and Danger in Late Medieval Europe', 101–24.

[26] Mazour-Matusevich, 'Gerson's Legacy', 357–399, and 'Jean Gerson (1363–1429) and the formation of German national identity', 963–87, esp. 978–87.

[27] Riley, '*Am I that Name?': Feminism and the Category of 'Women*'.

[28] For instance, see Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 62–8, esp. 65.

[29] For the audiences and occasions of Gerson's political sermons and ecclesiastical writings, see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, 53–217, and Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity*.

[30] For Gerson's publication strategies, see Hobbins, *Authorship and Authority*, 152–218.

[31] See note 9 above.

[32] Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride*, and Hunter, 'The Virgin, the Bride, and the Church', 281–303.

[33] McNamara, 'An Unresolved Syllogism', 1–24. Also, Miller, 'Is There a Harlot in This Text? Hagiography and the Grotesque', 419–35. For the way this tension expressed itself in treatments of virginity, see Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist*, 19–45.

[34] For this use of 'weight' see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 278–9.

[35] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 79–125, and Newman, 'Possessed by the Spirit', 733–70.

[36] Coakley, *Women, Men, and Spiritual Power*, and Mooney et al., *Gendered Voices*.

[37] For a summary of the broad methodologies and goals of feminist medievalists, see Elliott, 'Three Ages', esp. 1400–1404.

[38] McNamara, 'The Rhetoric of Orthodoxy', 24–7. Also, Elliott, *Proving Woman*.

[39] Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 79–125; and Bynum, 'Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion', 179–214.

[40] See Newman, 'Hildegard of Bingen', 163–75; Mulder-Bakker, 'The Metamorphosis of Woman', 642–664; Mooney, *Gendered Voices*; and the numerous works on Catherine of Siena by Scott and Luongo.

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[41] McLoughin, *Gerson and Gender*, 135–165; Anderson, *Discernment*, 200–217; and Elliott, 'Seeing Double', 36

[42] Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 274.

[43] McGuire, 'Care and Control', 12, 22–23, and 28–30; and McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender*, 130–8.

[44] For example, see Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 9–11, and Miller, 'What's in a Name?', 60–86.

[45] For the influence monastic theology exercised over Gerson and his contemporaries, see Martin, '*Trahere in Affectum*', 604–616. For the political nature of Gerson's critique of devotional excess, see Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 295–8.

[46] Anderson, *Discernment*, 161–89; Luongo, 'The Historical Reception of Catherine of Siena', 24–5; and Ferzoco, 'The *Processo Castellano* and the Canonization of Catherine of Siena', 194.

[47] Elliott, 'Seeing Double'.

[48] For the centrality of women to mendicant authentication projects, see Poor, 'Mechtild von Magdeburg', 213–30, and Herzig, 'Witches, Saints, and Heretics', 24–55. For Gerson's conflicts with the mendicants, see Swanson, 'The "Mendicant Problem" in the Later Middle Ages', 227–37, and McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender*, 139–48. For Gerson's interest in regulating other charismatic preachers, see Hobbins, 'Lay Devotion', 56.

[49] For the complex nature of the church hierarchy, see Boureau, 'La censure dans les universités médiévales', 321. For the limited authority of theologians during the schism, see Kaminsky, 'The Politics of France's Subtraction of Obedience', 366–97; Swanson, 'Academic Circles', 17–47; and Levy, *Holy Scripture and the Quest for Authority*.

[50] Gerson, *Oeuvres*, 7b: 958. For university bias, see Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 75–83.

[51] Richards, 'Jean Gerson's Writings to His Sisters'.

[52] McGuire, 'Care and Control', 36; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 269–303; and McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender*, 100–101 and 126.

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