

those who labor in the vineyards of undergraduate education, the unsung (but I hope not unthanked or unappreciated) heroines of our profession who have in the world of medieval feminist scholarship so often backed up the efforts of those women training that next generation of specialists. To discover the women of power of the post-Eleanor of Aquitaine age, the women of power of the post-Katherine Hepburn age must begin to travel the routes and rediscover the archives which reflect the activities of Eleanor and her daughters and granddaughter, or her mother-in-law the Empress Matilda, or the many ruling or regent Queens, countesses, and Ladies of castles of their times. There is still much work to be done, and if in doing it we rediscover more women very much like ourselves, all the better.

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¹ Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London, 1961).

² Women are not very apparent in either Charles H. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927), or *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edited Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

³ Joan Kelly-Gadol, "Did Women have a Renaissance?" in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. R. Bridenthal and C. Koonz, first ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 175–201, repr. in Kelly, *Women, History and Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19–50; depending especially on Marion Facingier Meade, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France 987–1237," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968): 3–48, and David Herlihy, "Land, Family, and Women in Continental Europe, 701–1200," *Traditio* 1 (1962): 89–120; cf. idem, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" *A Reconsideration*, "Medievalia et Humanistica" n.s. 13 (1985): 1–22.

⁴ R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970), 314–15, includes the famous quote from Bernard's 'sermones in Cantica,' 65: (PL 183, 1091), "To be always with a woman and not to have intercourse with her is more difficult than to raise the dead. You cannot do the least difficult: do you think I will believe that you can do what is more difficult?" Jean Leclercq, on the other hand, in *Women and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo, 1989) attempts to argue, rather incoherently, that Bernard was not a misogynist.

⁵ Felice Lifshitz, "Demonstrating Gun(t)za: Women, Manuscripts, and the Question of Historical 'Proof,'" in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Pohl and Paul Herold (Vienna: österreichischen Akademie Des Wissenschaften, 2002), but see also Penelope D. Johnson, esp. *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁶ Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, trans. Steven Rowan, with an introduction by Robert E. Lerner (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1995, first published in German as *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, 1935).

⁷ *Medieval English Nunneries c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922); feminist reaction to her apparent distaste for nuns may bring us to discount too much the value of this book for its information on religious women managing property, etc.

⁸ The importance of how we read the evidence is everywhere apparent; see for example Joan M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

⁹ The classic statement is Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*; on dissent, see Robert. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁰ On this see Miriam Shadis and Constance H. Berman, "A Taste of the Feast: Re-considering Eleanor of Aquitaine's Female Descendants," *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and John Carmi Parsons (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 177–211. See also Berman, "Abbeys for Cistercian Nuns in the Ecclesiastical Province of Sens: Foundation, Endowment and Economic Activities of the Earlier Foundations," *Revue Mabillon* 73 [1997]: 83–113, and Shadis, "Piety, Politics, and Power: The Patronage of Leonor of England and her Daughters Berenguela of Leon and Blanche of Castile," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medi-*

eval Women, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 202–27. Good new work is found in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) and Fredrik L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

¹¹ See suggestions of this in Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women: Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹² See the evidence being compiled by the NEH-funded "Medieval Religious Women's Lives and Communities, 500–1500," directed by Mary Martin McLaughlin and Suzanne Wemple, 1982–86, now on-line as MATRIX. <http://monasticmatrix.usc.edu/>

¹³ On the efficacy of religious women's prayers, see my argument in Constance H. Berman, "Dowries, Private Income, and Anniversary Masses. The Nuns of St. Antoine-des-Champs (Paris)," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 20: (1993): 3–20.

¹⁴ A few names to include are Matilda of Courtenay, countess of Auxerre, Nevers, and Tonnerre; Eleanor of Vermandois; Isabelle countess of Chartres and her daughter, Matilda of Amboise; Blanche of Castile; possibly Ingebourg of Denmark; Eleanor of Provence; Eleanor of Castile; and Isabelle of Aubigny, countess of Arundel.

