

Laurel Black

City of Ladies? An Investigation of the Education of Women in the High Middle Ages

Nearly any history of the medieval university will outline essentially the same narrative arc: in the 12th century, the unions of students and masters coalesced into universities; by the end of the thirteenth century they had reached their intellectual peak, and the 14th and 15th centuries marked a decline into decadence (Le Goff 65-66 and xxi). There is an unavoidable consequence of such investigations: the history of the university is by its nature a history of the elite, and, of perhaps greater interest to the modern cultural historian, a history of elite men. Women were barred from entering universities, and it seems that they have been barred from the history of European intellectualism.

In spite of this, it can be inferred from primary sources and biographical data that women had at least some rudiments of knowledge throughout the period – the ability to read and write in the vernacular and in Latin, and in some more exceptional cases, an extensive education in philosophy, theology, and other disciplines in common with those taught in universities (note the biographies of Hildegard von Bingen and Heloise). What, then, was the system by which women gained an education? Focusing on the years between The Norman Conquest of 1066 and the onset of the Black Death in 1348¹, it is my intent to uncover the ways in which learning was made available to women. In doing this I intend to demonstrate that women had access, albeit limited access, to education in this period. I will show that women were permitted, at least, to learn to read and write, and were in rare cases able to gain a university-equivalent education, even to pursue a life devoted to study, reading, and writing. It is my ultimate aim to show that

¹ These years roughly span the period known as the High Middle Ages, and also mark points of sweeping cultural change in Western Europe.

women's history need not necessarily be treated as an "addendum to 'real' history" (Wertheimer 133), and can instead be included in intellectual histories of the Middle Ages (and not confined to sections related to marriage and families of male intellectuals).

That there were educated women in medieval Western Europe is difficult to refute. For example, a woman named Ingunn taught Latin to boys at a cathedral school in Northern Iceland as early as the eleventh century (Pernoud 193) and tax rolls from the late thirteenth century give evidence of "twenty-two schoolmistresses in Paris." (Pernoud 62) Additionally, women read and wrote books and other works. Manuscript illuminations commonly depict women reading books (Smith 22 in Taylor and Smith). While some of these images are surely allegorical (particularly the many permutations of Mary reading outlined by Smith), they do suggest that a woman reading was not an uncommon activity. Indeed, quiet devotion would seem an ideal pursuit of the humble and faithful woman. An anonymous weaving song, dating no later than the early twelfth century lends further support to the image of woman as reader: "Lovely Doëtte at her window does sit, / Reading a book, but her heart is not in it." (Pernoud 54-55) Unfortunately, such documents do not reveal how women learned to read these books nor what language (Latin or the vernacular) they were written in. For now it shall have to suffice to note that at least some women in some places knew how to read something.

The writing of books by women must be separated into two branches, copying and composing. Despite "writing ... seem[ing] to be a task uniquely suited to women's participation, requiring no great physical hardship (*pace* disgruntled scribes complaints), but rather care, neatness, manual dexterity, and concentration," in surviving manuscripts "there are very few depictions of women writing in the Middle Ages." (Smith in Taylor and Smith 21) I managed to find one such illustration, from the Manesse manuscript (German c. 1300), which is reproduced

in figure 1. It shows a young woman, her hair flowing, writing with a reed (my interpretation) on parchment. However, no further description could be found of this image. The identity, class, or even reality of the woman copyist cannot be determined. Is she meant as an allegorical figure, perhaps some kind of muse? She is dressed as a young, desirable, unmarried woman with her flowing blonde hair, embellishments on her dress, and chaplet of flowers (or so it seems -- it could also be a circlet of gold); this makes her seem more like the idealized figures of women found so commonly as representations of, for example, the seven liberal arts. Study of colophons from the period reveals “a surprise...: among the copyists listed [in a published compendium], a good many were women. This gives us clear evidence of the sizable proportion of women who not only know how to read but also how to write.” (Pernoud 57) Since a colophon is actually composed and not just copied, this indicates that these women may have been able to read and understand what they were copying.

Women’s writing was not limited to the copying of manuscripts; many women in the Middle Ages are known to have composed original works, including letters, music, and books (on the range of subjects common to medieval books). In addition to the more well-known women writers of this period (Hildegard von Bingen among others), “[t]he poets of the twelfth century celebrated several times the intellectual qualities of the women of their circle. Baudri of Bourgueil, writing the epitaph of a certain Constance, said that she was learned as a sibyl, and he also praised Muriel, who was reputed to be able to recite verses with a sweet and melodious voice.” (Pernoud 54-55) A second image from the Manesse manuscript (figure 2) shows lovers exchanging a letter. It is possible that the lady wrote the missive, as the image has much in common visually with illuminations from this work that depict men going to their lovers’ windows where they receive crowns of flowers. Alternatively, if the letter is supposed to be

presented to the lady, this at least implies that she could read. It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into the biography of every woman known to have written in the period, but it is worth noting that aside from the twelfth-century poets and women writing correspondence (an area with surprisingly little research), nearly all women writers were a formal part of the Church (usually nuns or anchoresses, religious recluses).

Thus at least some women were educated. By what system did these women learn to read and write? Evidence suggests that three avenues of education were available to girls: education in the home by parents or a tutor, formal education in a school, or education by nuns by entering or boarding at a convent. To begin with general conclusions, there is some evidence for all of these practices, and most are assumed but rarely documented. Education in convents has strong evidence, formal schooling is less well documented, and education in the home is supported by conjecture and anecdote. I will treat them, therefore, in reverse order, going from least to most understood.

Noble, aristocratic, and royal women appear to have been educated by private tutors in the home. Heloise, as the most memorable example, is famous not only as the lover of Abelard but is also occasionally remembered in her own right as an intellectual. Her early education (in a convent) will be discussed later, but it is worth noting that her affair with Abelard was facilitated by his carefully placing himself as her tutor. Abelard's memoirs give no indication that tutoring was a strange and novel concept, and therefore this episode of Heloise's life provides anecdotal evidence to suggest that upper-class families may have hired tutors for their daughters. Pernoud states boldly that "[w]e know that the daughters of important families had a teacher appointed for them, and these sometimes are mentioned in various deeds, for example, a certain Beatrice, listed as 'magistra comitisse Andegavensis', in a charter by Aremburga, countess of Anjou in the

twelfth century.” (Pernoud 60) Wills and records from the nobility and royalty often mention “a *magistrissa*, a female servant of high birth resident in noble or royal households The choice of term *magistressa* when others ... were available suggests that they had a teaching rather than simply supervisory role.” (Phillips 74) For example, Edward I’s niece Mary of Brittany brought her *magistressa* with her when she joined the royal court in 1286/7 (Ibid.), indicating that a *magistressa* was considered appropriate even for girls who were not destined to rule. It should also be noted that “in aristocratic rather than royal households, where the tasks of female servants were less specialised and demarcated, women described simply as ladies, damsels or gentlewomen took on the duties of mistress or governess to the young daughters of the household.” (Ibid.)

More examples of this practice exist from the household accounts of royalty. Edward II’s former governess, Alice de la Legrave, is listed as one of Isabella’s (his wife) *domicillae* in 1311/2 (Phillips 74). Edeline Popiot was taken into the household of Eleanor of Castile as a damsel around 1281; she later (1285/6) is listed as one of several *domicillae* and is noted as having purchased embroidery thread for Princess Joan, who was fourteen at the time (Ibid.). The note on embroidery thread is particularly telling, as it hints that the *magistressa*’s duties may not have focused on, or even included, literacy for girls. Vincent of Beauvais’s *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium* (On the Erudition of Noble Sons), written for Marguerite (wife of Louis IX), provides information on the education of Louis IX’s four daughters:

Vincent briefly quotes Saint Jerome's letter to his pupil's daughter-in-law... . Literacy, however, won only perfunctory notice from Vincent, a Dominican friar whose remaining advice on the education of girls dealt entirely with their morals – chastity, avoidance of ornament and makeup, modesty, sobriety, humility, the desirability of early marriage, virtuous behavior of wives, all expounded at length in a text cumbered with citations from the Bible and the Church Fathers. (Gies and Gies 112-113)

Thus, the presence of a *magistressa* in royal household records may not actually provide any proof that girls of the upper classes were expected to be literate in addition to being virtuous.

There is a rarely questioned and even less rarely documented assumption that girls (and boys, until later) were educated in the home by their parents, mostly their mothers. Some evidence exists to support this idea, and it should be noted that a lack of evidence may not be evidence of lack, as documentation of women educating their children in the home does not seem likely to have been recorded. Larrington suggests that “[u]ntil the thirteenth century there was no great difference between the education of noblemen and women in England and on the Continent” (Larrington 188-9) in that children were primarily educated in the home until greater access to education outside the home for young men meant that their sisters, who were still educated in the home, were left behind intellectually. Smith succinctly discusses one of the most common visual records of women teaching their children to read:

...books form a recurrent theme in images of the Virgin Mary, who is regularly shown reading in a number of episodes throughout her life. One series of depictions is of the delightful, but non-biblical, theme of St Anne teaching her daughter to read, which occurs with frequency from the early fourteenth century. Whilst I would not wish to take medieval illustration naïvely to illuminate actual practice ... this image seems to be frequent and straightforward enough to suggest that it was usual practice for a mother to teach her daughter her letters. (Smith in Taylor and Smith 22)

An example, a stained glass window from St. Peter’s Church, Marsh Baldon, is included as figure 3. Further visual evidence of women teaching reading comes from a sculpture on the south portal of Chartres Cathedral (built between 1194 to 1260), which is included as figure 4. The sculpture is a depiction of Grammar, holding an open book and standing over two male figures, one of which looks like a child and the other may represent a cleric, each of whom has a book. It is significant to note that this predates the above mentioned depictions of St. Anne, eliminating possibility that the sculptor or sculptors were knowingly imitating contemporary religious

imagery. This image, albeit allegorical, may indicate that a woman teaching children to read was a practice which many would be familiar with, thus making it an ideal candidate to be used in the visual metaphor of Grammar imparting her art.

As further evidence of education in the home, writing from the period also suggests that women were at least concerned with the education of their children, beginning with Dhuoda, a Frankish noblewoman who wrote a “mother’s manual” for her son William in the ninth century. While the next “mother’s manual” to be written was Christine de Pisan’s in the fifteenth century, texts in the intervening years suggest that women remained concerned with their children’s education, as “there are a number of works ostensibly written or dictated by women for their daughters. One thirteenth-century poem is a dialogue between a Bavarian lady and her daughter. In the 1300s an Italian mother purportedly wrote twelve precepts for her betrothed daughter. *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (oldest manuscript, 1350) is another treatise that gives religious, moral, and practical advice, this time from the point of view of a lower-middle-class woman.” (Jaffe in Wertheimer 190) While before the period in question, it is significant that the Church father St. Jerome, who was quoted extensively throughout the period, wrote to one of his pupils (a woman) on the education of her newborn daughter:

Have a set of letters made for her, of boxwood or of ivory, and tell her their names. Let her play with them, making play a road to learning, and let her grasp the right order of the letters and remember their names in a simple song, but also frequently upset their order and mix the last letters with the middle ones, the middle with the first. Thus she will know them all by sight as well as by sound.

When she begins with uncertain hand to use the pen, either let another hand be put over hers to guide her baby fingers, or else have the letters marked out on a tablet so that her writing may follow their outlines and keep their limits without straying. (Reprinted in Gies and Gies 14-15)

Note that Jerome emphasizes reading *and* writing. Later, “Jacques de Vitry, probably the most perceptive male observer of female matters in the thirteenth century, actively encouraged women, especially widows, to become their children’s chief educator.”

(Ranft 132) Thus in a period that has been accused of an almost slavish adherence to the ideas and traditions of the past and the pronouncements of experts, St. Jerome's early advocacy for rudimentary learning for women and Jacques' advocacy for women educators suggest that to educate one's daughter in the home was, at the least, defensible.

Some evidence exists to suggest that girls had access to formal learning in city school. According to Larrington, "as early as the thirteenth century schools for girls existed in the cities of Flanders. ... These city schools taught reading and writing of the vernacular and the basic tenets of religion," (Larrington 189) making it difficult to separate secular and religious education. The fourteenth-century chronicler Froissart "recalls attending a mixed elementary school in Valenciennes in France" (Ibid), however given that he was born around 1333, such evidence may fall after the time period I am examining. Sources suggest that Italy at least may have had public schools. Villani in his fourteenth century chronicle notes that "in Florence around 1338, primary schools were attended by one child in two and specified that this applied to both boys and girls." (Pernoud 63) However, the differences between Italy's social structure and that of the rest of Western Europe prevent inferring that this practice existed in other areas. As a further caveat, "despite their best efforts, Sylvia Thrupp, Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran and Caroline Barron have not found any firm evidence for English girls attending grammar schools." (Phillips 66) It is difficult, therefore, to draw any conclusions about the practice of girls receiving formal schooling.

Ultimately, entering or boarding in a convent may have been the only outlet for a woman who wanted to pursue an intellectual life or a girl whose parents intended to educate her. If it was true that "the nunnery was a refuge of female intellectuals" (Gies and Gies 64), even women who did not have access to education when they were children may have later elected to "take the

veil” so that they might have access to literate culture. Scholars are generally in agreement that, “[a]lthough the majority of nuns were at best literate, most of the learned women of the Middle Ages – the literary, artistic, scientific, and philosophical stars – were nuns.” (Gies and Gies 64) It might be meaningless, therefore, to speak of “laywomen’s education” as separate from religious education. Even the thirteenth century Angela of Foligno (1248-1309), while described by the author of the epilogue to part two of her *The Book of Blessed Angela of Foligno* as “a woman of lay state, who was bound to worldly obligations, a husband and sons, possessions and wealth, who was unlearned and frail” (quoted in Ranft 127-128) wrote on religious matters and worked ultimately as a woman of God (and thus was also not “unlearned”).

Evidence is unclear, however, over whether convents (and the related congregations of anchoresses) actually accepted girls as pupils who did not intend to pledge themselves to God. Medieval sources generally seem to refute the practice. For example, the Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles from 512-534, which is the earliest known rule for nuns and influenced later sets of rules states that “[a]nd, if it can be done, even with difficulty, no little girl shall ever be taken into the monastery, until she is six or seven years old, able to learn to read and write and to obey the rules. *Girls, whether they are the daughters of nobles or of commoners, are definitely not to be received for the purpose of raising or teaching them.*” (Amt 222-223, emphasis mine) It is possible that this proscription was meant to oppose the common practice. A later rule of nuns, set out by St. Clare and approved for use at her death in 1253, says nothing on the teaching of young women but does have provisions for those sisters “who do not know how to read” (Amt 238) indicating that by the time Clare was writing, not all religious women could read or were even expected to learn to read. The *Ancrene Riwe*, an early thirteenth-century English text intended to serve as a rule for a community of anchoresses and anchorites is almost as strict as

Caesarius': "An anchoress must not become a schoolmistress, nor turn her anchoress-house into a school for children. Her maiden may, however, teach any little girl concerning whom it might be doubtful whether she should learn among boys, but an anchoress ought to give her thoughts to God only." (Amt 260) Interestingly, this not only refutes the idea that "the monastery and home tutoring remained the chief vehicles for women's education" (Ranft 44), but provides support for the notion that girls were sometimes educated in mixed settings (presumably a local school). Also it bears noting that (as with Caesarius), proscriptions, like sumptuary laws, are often the strongest evidence in *favor* of a practice.

So why does the idea that the convent was a place where young laywomen were educated persist? This contradiction may stem from geography; most examples of convent education come from biographical data from continental Europe, most notably the early education of Heloise. In England, however, where the Ancrene Riwe originated, strict rules of enclosure led to "the decline of the nunneries in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, [and] educational standards in convents fell dramatically." (Larrington 187-188) Evidence of laywomen educated in convents aside from Heloise seems to be in short supply, however. At the least, there is evidence regarding the education of girls destined to be nuns on the continent; "Those noble girls who were destined to become nuns might be admitted to convents when they were as young as five years old and thus were educated in the Bible, the writings of the Fathers, and most importantly in the Latin language from a very early age." (Larrington 188) Hildegard von Bingen was educated in a convent, but the amount of education she received was not given or even offered to her contemporaries even within the same monastery (Gies and Gies 63).

It would be dangerous, however, to assume from this that the church encouraged literacy for women. The Waldensian heresy of the thirteenth century provides strong evidence of the

church's official position on women's education and literacy: The Passaue Anonymous, written in Germany in the 1260s says of the Waldensians that

The second cause [of heresy] is that men and women, greater and lesser, day and night, do not cease to learn and teach; the workman who labors all day teaches or learns at night. They pray little on account of their studies. They teach and learn without books. ... Matthew 23:13 'Woe unto you, you scribes who hold the key of knowledge, and close up the kingdom of heaven before all men.' From which they claim that all men, and even women, are allowed to preach. ... Against this, [the church cites] ... Corinthians [I Cor. 14:34]: 'Women should keep silence in Church, for it is not permitted for them to speak.' (Amt 306)

Note that it is not stated that women are preaching heresy, but that women preaching is heresy.

An even stronger indication of the church's attitude comes from David of Augsburg, in Bavaria 1270: "They [the Waldensians] give all their seal to lead other astray with them: they teach even little girls the words of the Gospels and Epistles, so that they may be trained in error from their childhood." (Amt 306) What does this mean for the women of medieval Europe, if the only way to achieve knowledge was through an institution that condemned teachers of girls and women preachers as heresy? This may be an oversimplification, as

...by the high Middle Ages there developed a new attitude toward women's participation in religious education. The right to proclaim scripture in public and to interpret it was still the exclusive domain of the clergy, but by the thirteenth century many intellectuals were arguing for the limited inclusion of women in the education field. Eustache of Arras believed that the practices of early Christian women saints like Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Alexandria bore witness to the presence of a teaching ministry among women in primitive Christianity, while Robert of Sorbon defended the right of women to teach at home what had been taught to them in public. (Ranft 132)

Still, such opinions did not represent those of the mainstream Church.

And so we come upon a very similar block as the one encountered with women writers: we know that "[t]o speak of women and the book in the Middle Ages is inevitably to speak of learned nuns who often played vital roles in scholarship and culture in every Christianized area of Europe during the period" (McGuire in Taylor and Smith p 97); the educational level of

religious women is well-documented. Treatises for the education of nuns do survive, for example, Herrad of Hohenburg's (1130-1195) *Garden of Delights*, which aimed to "relay the knowledge easily available to the intellectual elite to her own community members," that is, to educate the nuns of the convent of Hohenburg. However, specific records of the system by which young women pledged to the convent were educated are difficult to come by. Usually the only evidence for practice comes from biographies. For example, Beatrice of Nazareth completed both the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* in a convent (Régnier-Bohler in Klapisch-Zuber 448).

Not only did girls pledged to a life of God from a young age receive an education, but so too did women who joined convents later in life. For example Umiltà of Faenza (1226-1310) entered a monastery after the death of her children and debilitation of her husband. "Her biographer tells us that when Umiltà entered the community 'she was still illiterate,'" but after a miraculous reading of the refectory, "the convent took care to teach her letters – which she did learn – by getting a woman teacher for her" (Ranft 130) Similar examples can be found in period literature.²

All in all, most of the "proof" of girl's education comes from their intellectual endeavors as women. Furthermore, the only women engaging in intellectual endeavors were royal, noble, or affiliated with the church. Did other women have any access to education and literacy? The evidence is scant, and I have found little documentation specifically relating to the childhood education of commoners. It bears stating that the mentions of city schools do not specify the class of children in attendance; it is not too difficult to assert that, with the evidence for noble children pointing more toward private home tutoring, city schools may well have been primarily attended by the children of the growing merchant class. Additionally, there are some anecdotal

² See the discussion of the adult education of the mother of Guibert de Nogent (c. 1064 - c. 1125) in his autobiography in Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker's "The Metamorphosis of Woman: Transmission of Knowledge and the Problems of Gender" in Stafford and Mulder-Bakker's *Gendering the Middle Ages*.

and biographical data which may suggest that some common women were able to reap the rewards of literacy.

The most compelling evidence for an educational system for commoners is the overwhelming presence of women in trades. Women were allowed to join some guilds, and women were allowed to enter trades vacated by the death of a husband or father (Smith in Smith and Taylor p 23). Women, married or single, could run businesses as ale brewers and bakers in towns and cities.³ Smith refutes Phillips's claim that the amount of business carried out by illiterate persons in the present developing world renders claims that merchant women required literacy illegitimate (Phillips 63) when she states boldly that

“Perhaps women did not need books and writing? Not at all. In a variety of circumstances, women as much as men had to read and write. Just like men, women in trade needed to keep accounts, take stock, and record transactions. For this they were likely to use tally sticks, which rarely survive, but also account books, wax tablets, and registers. Women could be members of guilds and might take over businesses originally owned by father or husband. Any streetwise businesswoman would be able to count, read, write, and record debts just as ably as her male counterpart.” (Smith in Smith and Taylor 23)

Since men in trades are known to have kept written records and carried out written transactions, why should we assume that their wives would not have done the same? Then again, why should we assume that their wives should have done the same? In the absence of solid evidence and the presence of tantalizing implications, any conclusion reached is up for debate.

A similar situation exists with the state of education among women running households. It is easy to assume that “[w]omen would not only have learned from older women how to run the household, but also how to heal the sick, using charms and herbal remedies.” (Larrington 191) Larrington also discusses (but provides scant evidence for) networks of female friendships

³ For examples in England, see Bennett, Judith M. *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock Before the Plague*. Oxford University Press, 1987. The definitive text on the subject is her *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600*. New York: Oxford University press, 1996.

and the oral culture of women, and suggests that, though records of such practice are unlikely, it is still probable that culture and knowledge would have been passed around a network, and that if one woman in a group could read (or even be read to), all others would have access to her knowledge (Larrington 190). While this may be believable, even probable, in the absence of evidence this is akin to stating that because medieval wives had access to sugar (at least the wealthier ones) and flour, they made cupcakes. Statements such as these cannot be refuted or confirmed.

So how does one establish firmly how and if common women were educated? How did women in trades and running household gain the knowledge necessary for the successful execution of their positions? This knowledge would enable historians to infer the state of education for common women in trades and noble women alike. Thus I propose an inquiry into guild records for mention of women and correspondence and household records of widows and noblewomen. Records from guilds may contain information about girls who entered the guilds, as “[f]emale apprenticeships did exist in a few trades” (Phillips 6). Guilds are known to have had regulations regarding widows, often stipulating that the wife of a guild member was to be provided for in the event of her husband’s death. Additionally, and it is here that the most compelling information might be found some guilds are known to have allowed widows to enter the guild after their husbands died; what training was such a woman given? The correspondence and household records of widows and noble wives could give insight into literacy, revealing if widows and wives wrote their own letters and records. Additional evidence of the training of daughters could be found, for example, records do exist for the purchase of books for noble daughters, as the earliest known book of hours, the De Brailes Hours, was “made around 1240

for Susanna, probably an unmarried woman of the minor nobility” (Phillips 65), and refer back to the discussion of *magistressas* in noble and royal records.

A devoted study in this manner, returning to primary documents, could perhaps finally solve the vexing riddle that, while educated women existed in the Middle Ages, little information is available about the education of girls. Many women read and wrote, some even taught in schools, and biographical data suggests that at least a few women completed the *quadrivium* and the *trivium*, giving them essentially the same level of education that a man attending university would have had. Records from noble and royal households show that some of these households retained servants for the express purpose of educating daughters, although it is not clear if this education included literacy in addition to moral instruction and instruction on “feminine” pursuits (such as embroidery). Some evidence exists for women educating their children, although this documentation is scant at best. Schools existed in France, Flanders, and Italy, but it is difficult to determine if this practice extended throughout Western Europe. Nuns (and other women of the Church) were the single largest group of intellectual women, and some documentation survives about the education of girls pledged to God. The daughters of lay families who did not intend to enter the convent permanently, however, may not have been able to receive this education. Finally, very little evidence survives for the education of common women. It may simply be that women of “the third Estate” had no use for knowledge. Additionally, it is likely that women running households would have had need of basic knowledge of reading, writing, healing, arithmetic, and other skills necessary to the smooth operation of their household, yet there is little research into the education of such women. It is with this in mind that I propose an inquiry into Guild and household records, so that a complete picture of women’s education in the Middle Ages can be revealed.

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Images



Figure 1: from <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cpg848>.
cpg 848, 323 r. : Reinmar von Zweter dictating verses? Female copyist?



Figure 2: from <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cpg848>
cpg 848, 24r: Graf Konrad von Kirchberg. A man and woman exchanging a love letter. It is unclear which party wrote it: either the woman did, indicating she could write, or the man did, indicating the woman could read.



Figure 3: Image of St. Anne teaching the virgin to read, from http://education.umn.edu/EdPA/iconics/Fig/Fig5_6/fig6-051.html
Listed as “St. Anne teaching the Virgin stained glass. 2nd quarter to mid 14th c. St. Peter's Church, Marsh Baldon.”



Figure 4: Depiction of Grammar from the South Portal of Chartres Cathedral, France
from <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/chartreswest/sportal.html>
This personification of Grammar is shown teaching two men, or possibly a man and a boy, or
possibly two boys, to read.