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## ORCHESTRATING HARMONY

### Litanies, queens, and discord in the Carolingian and Ottonian empires

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Sometime during the second half of 791, the Carolingian Queen Fastrada received by letter a detailed account of a three-day litany organized by Charlemagne and his collected clergymen on the eve of battle with the Avars.<sup>1</sup> The letter details how all those present in the Frankish camp were asked to abstain from wine and meat throughout the three-day rite unless prevented by illness or age; those who still wished to partake in wine were required to pay.<sup>2</sup> As the gathered laity either fasted or gave alms, priests performed a special mass (*missam specialem*), while the clergy sang fifty of the psalms together and recited the litanies, all whilst barefoot.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of his detailed description, Charlemagne, the sender of this letter, laid bare the rationale for the marathon liturgical venture: ‘that He would vouchsafe to grant us peace and safety and victory and a successful expedition and that in His mercy and goodness He would be our helper and counsellor and defender in all our difficulties’.<sup>4</sup> Charlemagne concluded his letter by requesting that Fastrada, together with unnamed *fideles* in Regensburg, would organize litanies within the bounds of the Carolingian kingdom *qualiter ipsa letanias*, if she was in good health herself.<sup>5</sup>

Considered the only surviving personal letter from Charlemagne himself, this epistle is remarkable for a host of reasons.<sup>6</sup> It is, for instance, the only extant letter addressed to Queen Fastrada. Behind this single epistle lay an unknown series of exchanges, as indicated by Charlemagne’s concluding complaint that Fastrada had not written more often since he last saw her, and his subsequent demand for more letters. More significant is the meat of the missive itself: namely, the litanies that Charlemagne and his itinerant court orchestrated and those that Fastrada and her court organized in the kingdom in Regensburg. Around the same time that this letter was composed and received, Fastrada’s *nomen* appeared in another text, the so-called Montpellier Psalter, which ends with the earliest extant Carolingian *laudes regiae*.<sup>7</sup> Dated to the third quarter of the eighth century, the *laudes regiae* in the Montpellier Psalter comes as an addition at the end of the manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

Immediately preceding it, an extensive litany spanning almost three folios of two columns includes exhortations for prayers naming the Virgin Mary, cherubim and seraphim, the apostles, as well as a long series of martyrs, confessors, *virgines*, and other sainted figures. The litany ends with prayers for the stability of the king (*pro stabilitate rege*) and for the clergy. Near the bottom of the second column on f. 343v, a single blank line separates the final *Kyrie Eleison* and the opening *Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*. These *laudes regiae* prescribe specific prayers for Pope Hadrian, Charlemagne, and Charlemagne's sons. The last individual to be listed by name is Queen Fastrada, with prayers for her *salus et vita*, and petitions for the *virgines Christi* to pray directly to Christ for her continued health and life.<sup>9</sup> Immediately after Fastrada, the gathered congregation would then pray for all of the judges and the entire Frankish army.<sup>10</sup>

As demonstrated by Fastrada's letter and the Montpellier Psalter's *laudes regiae*, liturgy structured the world as harmony. For Carolingian and Ottonian rulers, litanies and the *laudes regiae* created what Ernst Kantorowicz termed 'the cosmic harmony of heaven, Church and State, an interweaving and twining of the one world with the other and an alliance between the powers on earth and the powers in heaven'.<sup>11</sup> This celestial concordance clearly informed the visual semiotics of many early medieval liturgical manuscripts. In the *laudes regiae* contained in a miscellany known as the Metz tonary, for instance, the entire rite is confined to a single folio, from the standard opening proclamations of *Christus uincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* to the final *Amen*.<sup>12</sup> Arranged in two neat columns, this *laudes* visually associates heavenly intercessors with individual secular leaders. In the first column, each unnamed ruler – whether pope, emperor, queen, or bishop – jumps off the page, as they command their own section of apostolic, angelic, and saintly intercessors who are subsequently invoked to come to the aid of the acclaimed ruler. The second column's supplications turn from acclamations for pontifical and temporal rulers to prayers for the entire community in Christ, their *Rex regum*, in whom they placed their hope as *our* impenetrable wall, *our* unconquerable army, *our* fortitude, *our* wisdom, *our* moderation, *our* virtue.<sup>13</sup>

This visual and textual representation of a cosmic harmony belies the real historical discord that litanies often sought to stave off. Such discord comes to the fore when we shift our gaze away from the figure most commonly studied in connection with these rites – namely the king or emperor – and fix onto the other leaders and the wider political community imbedded in liturgical manuscripts and in the epistolary exchanges and historical narratives that detail how these rites were performed. This present study focuses on one comparatively neglected category of rulers included in Carolingian and Ottonian litanies, namely, the queen or empress.<sup>14</sup> The goal of this analysis is not merely to *cherchez la reine*, but also to analyse the picture of political consensus that these rites presented and, as evidenced by historical narratives and letters, seemed to contemporaries to achieve in moments of potential discord and disaster.

This chapter will explore the role of Carolingian and Ottonian royal women in the royal liturgy, and particularly in the litanies and *laudes regiae* present in extant

sacramentaries, graduals, tropers, and other liturgical manuscripts surviving from the late eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. It explores a central tension between the manuscript evidence and the historical narratives, between the hope for a cosmic harmony and the reality of discord, disease, and war. This chapter examines this tension through queens and empresses who appear inconsistently in the liturgical manuscripts, but who consistently work within the wider political community at specific historical moments to oversee these important liturgical rites. It looks especially at those manuscripts that show the visible marks of this instability through the physical act of erasure. Precisely this element of instability and potential for discord, this chapter will argue, guaranteed that litanies attested not just to royal or imperial authority, but likewise to vulnerability.

### Litanies, *laudes regiae*, and early medieval rulers

Although a distinctive religious rite with a formulaic structure, the early medieval litany served a multitude of purposes, and survives in a multitude of forms. Walahfrid Strabo defined litanies as public supplications (*rogationes publicas*), yet as Michael Lapidge has argued,

the word *litaniae* (or *letaniae/laetaniae* as it came – wrongly – to be spelled) could embrace a wide range of meanings, from litanic or supplicatory prayers used in Mass and Office, to penitential processions accompanied by petitions or *rogationes* (which must have included litanic prayers of some sort), and to the annual feasts on which such processions took place, namely the Major Litanies (Great Rogations) of 25 April, and the Minor Litanies (Lesser Rogations) on the three days before the Ascension.<sup>15</sup>

Litanies could function as daily, habitual praxis and, at moments of unifying celebration and potential moments of discord, as extraordinary events. For Carolingian and Ottonian rulers, the extraordinary events included acclamations after one's coronation, a ruler's *adventus*, or the conclusion of an important synod, as in 876 at the Council of Ponthion. At the end of this council, Bishop Peter of Fossombrone and John of Toscanella brought Empress Richildis to stand beside Emperor Charles the Bald. As she stood next to the emperor,

Everyone rose to his feet, each standing in position according to his rank. Then Bishop Leo and Bishop John of Toscanella began the *Laudes*, and when these had been duly performed for the lord pope and the lord emperor and the empress and all the rest, according to custom, Bishop Leo of Sabina said a prayer, and the synod was finally dissolved.<sup>16</sup>

This detailed description from the *Annals of St-Bertin* creates a visual scene of harmony, with each member of the gathered assembly positioned in their place, with Charles the Bald and Richildis standing next to each other, listening to the pope's

and their own names acclaimed. The following analysis, however, is concerned with more tenuous moments in Carolingian and Ottonian politics, particularly in times of strife, when these same litanies and *laudes regiae* were enlisted to restore harmony to a discordant reality.

This plurality of purposes for the litany is reflected in their formal variability, for no two extant early medieval litanies are alike.<sup>17</sup> This mutability of form and function is likewise reflected in the inclusion or omission of the reigning queen or empress. Supplications for the reigning queen or empress take a variety of forms within litanies.<sup>18</sup> At times, the scribe inserted the reigning queen's *nomen* into the body of the litany, while in other manuscripts the placeholder of *illa* allowed the celebrant to insert the ruler's name at the appropriate moment.<sup>19</sup> Several Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts containing litanies omit supplications or acclamations for the reigning queen or empress entirely, instead praying for the king or emperor and then for his children or some other parties.<sup>20</sup> However, these irregularities were not limited to queens alone, and extended to every party within the extant litanies. Indeed, in one late ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript now housed at Angers' Bibliothèque Municipale, a litany spanning several folios contains only prayers for the 'peace and unanimity of the Christian people', while another mid-ninth-century litany in Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 363, contains various prayers only for the Frankish army.<sup>21</sup>

Both the litanies and the *laudes regiae* in their varied ways associate heavenly intercessors with temporal leaders.<sup>22</sup> The *laudes regiae*, in particular, provide interesting, if complex, insights into the protean nature of this association. Overall, the *laudes* tend to invoke early Christian female martyrs – often virgin martyrs – to intercede for the reigning queen or empress. In the Carolingian and Ottonian *laudes regiae* analyzed here, the saints Perpetua, Felicitas, Agatha, and Cecilia appear most frequently as intercessors for the queen.<sup>23</sup> However, some important caveats must be noted. First, there are a few *laudes* which associate the reigning queen or empress with male saints, as in Verona, Biblioteca MS XCII (87).<sup>24</sup> On f. 69r, the scribe composed acclamations for the Empresses Judith and Ermengard together, with the presiding celebrant invoking St. Martin and St. Benedict to intercede for their *salus et vita*.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, in a separate *laudes* contained within the same manuscript, the celebrant called upon St. Paul to intercede for these same empresses, while invoking *Sancta Maria* to pray for the Emperors Louis and Charles the Bald.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, various *laudes* called upon female saints to intercede for male rulers. On f. 76v of Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, the virgin martyrs Petronilla, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, Genofeva, and Columba were all invoked to pray for the presiding bishop, while in an earlier version of the *laudes regiae* praying for Charles the Bald and Ermentrude, the rite calls for *Sancta Maria* to intercede for the king and the *Sancta virgo virginum* to intercede for the judges and the entire army of the Franks.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the Virgin Mary – whether as *Sancta Maria*, *virgo virginum*, *genetrix Dei* or under some other designation – was called upon in numerous *laudes* to pray for the king or emperor, queen or empress, and other secular leaders.<sup>28</sup>

Early medieval scribes only rarely produced royal votive masses, litanies, or *laudes regiae* in isolation.<sup>29</sup> These rites more commonly appear within psalters, sacramentaries, graduals, tropers and other liturgical manuscripts designed to perform a multitude of functions. Indeed, many of these manuscripts were not just produced by and for the clergy, but also served the quotidian needs of the wider community, from the temporal and sanctoral cycle of masses to the specific prayers for everything from difficulty conceiving children to the burial of the dead. Therefore, as scholars have demonstrated, modern readers must exercise caution in assessing a ruler's ideology or projection of power on the basis of these complex rites.<sup>30</sup>

Even with these caveats, Carolingian and Ottonian letters sent to and from rulers suggest the centrality of litanies performed on a regular and episodic basis, and particularly the incorporation of queens and empresses in their performance. Two letter collections from the early Carolingian period – namely, the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* and Abbess Theutild of Remiremont's *Indiculus* – preserve correspondence between religious leaders and the reigning ruler, with specific details of the performance of prayers and litanies for the king. Collected together in 791, the *Codex epistolaris carolinus* contains almost one hundred letters sent from the Lateran palace from 739 until the year the collection was produced.<sup>31</sup> Several letters in this collection either begin or end with the pope promising prayers for the reigning Carolingian king and queen, and for the longevity of their governance of the Frankish realm. In letter 18, dating to the beginning of 759, Pope Paul I ends his message to King Pippin by praying to God to preserve Pippin's life, to fulfil the *victoria regni gubernacula* and the promise of eternal life for him along with his 'sweetest wife, the most excellent queen, our spiritual *commatre*', Bertha, as well as for their children.<sup>32</sup> In a letter sent almost twenty years later in May of 778, Pope Hadrian related to Charlemagne that the church gave 'praise to God (*laudes Deo*) for the exaltation of your kingdom and of our daughter, the queen, your wife, your children and for all of the Franks, the *fidelis* of the blessed apostle Peter, and for you'.<sup>33</sup>

The pope was not the only religious leader to set down in letters his promise to pray for the reigning Carolingian king and queen. In her *Indiculus*, which survives solely in a tenth-century manuscript that gathered several letter collections, Abbess Theutild of Remiremont (d. 865) addressed a number of Carolingian dignitaries including Empress Judith and Emperor Louis the Pious. In her first letter to Louis, Abbess Theutild famously declared that her community at Remiremont prayed one thousand psalmodies and eight hundred masses with offerings and litanies each year, not only for the safety (*pro vestre incolomitate*) of Louis, but also for that of the most worthy queen (*dignissimeque regine*) and the royal children.<sup>34</sup> Such sentiments find corollaries in a template for entreating the king contained in a late ninth-century addition to a manuscript of a formulary contained in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 612. On f. 33r, this particular formula advises its reader to state that the sender prays day and night (*die noctuque*) for the king *vel pro domina regina et pro filis et filiabus vestro vel pro stabilitate regni vestri*, doing so via masses and psalms.<sup>35</sup>

A few manuscripts suggest that rulers at least were prescribed to recite litanies for themselves in psalters created for their own use. Two such ornate psalters for

Charles the Bald contain litanies for the king and his queen Ermentrude. The king's sumptuous psalter, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1152, concludes with three two-columned folios listing the Virgin Mary, angels, the apostles, martyrs, virgins, and others all embossed in gold, with the 'S' of their *Sancte* placed within a continuous red border. At the bottom of f. 171v, the scribe instructs the reader to pray for *Ut mihi karolo a te regi coronato uitam et prosperitatem atque uictoriam dones te rogo audi me*. At the top of the following folio, the reader would pray for *hirmindrudim coniugem nostram conseruare digneris . Te rogamus audi nos*.<sup>36</sup>

In another manuscript labelled on f.1r in gold lettering as the *Enchiridion Precationum Caroli Calvi Regis*, another litany tailored for the king begins on f. 22v in a format similar to the previous psalter.<sup>37</sup> Both begin with the title *Incipit Laetania* and contain two columns naming the collected saints, all picked out in gold lettering. However, the gilded 'S' of *sancte* is contained within a linear stripe of deep purple. Furthermore, the *ut* invocations start with prayers for the pope. The rite goes on to stipulate that the reader should pray *ut mihi tua misericordia uitam . et prosperitatem . uictoriam . atque post obitum requiem aeternam donare digneris te rogamus*.<sup>38</sup> Once again, there follows a prayer for Ermentrude, as well as for the conservation of peace for all of the Christian people, and for the eternal rest of Charles' ancestors.<sup>39</sup>

Even within these two manuscripts – created around the same time and for the same ruler – the litanies differ in important respects. In contrast to his psalter now in Paris, Charles' *Enchiridion* attached no title to Charles himself within the litany, although his title as king was sprinkled throughout the rest of the manuscript. Furthermore, prayers for the rulers could stand on their own, or they could be coupled with prayers for other important leaders (such as the pope) and, crucially, for their wider religious and secular communities.

Only one prayerbook for a tenth-century ruler survives, namely Otto III's *Gebetbuch* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 30111). Composed sometime between 983 and 996, this *libellus* also contains a litany for the young king to recite, with prayers for the pope and all those ordained within the church, the bishops and all their congregations, and the entire Christian people.<sup>40</sup> In between the pope and the bishops, the young king was instructed to pray for 'me, your servant and an unworthy king, and all our *principes*'.<sup>41</sup> Although there are no specific prayers for a queen or empress in this manuscript, scholars speculate that the youthful aspect of each of the three miniatures representing Otto III indicates that this text was composed during the regencies of Empress Theophanu and Empress Adelheid, perhaps even under their direction.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, another manuscript possibly intended for Otto III's personal use and composed around the turn of the millennium – the Bamberg troper (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5) – contains a *laudes regiae* with prayers for an unnamed empress.<sup>43</sup>

Even as Otto III's *Gebetbuch* remains the only extant psalter for royal use, another now-lost psalter could have contained a litany, namely the psalter of Queen Emma of Francia (b.c. 948 – d. post-987). Presumably destroyed in a fire of 1774 along with many other manuscripts contained in the library of Saint-Remi, Mabillon in his *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti* described Emma's psalter as a *libellus precum*. Mabillon

noted that there was a calendar at the beginning of the manuscript.<sup>44</sup> A catalogue of the Saint-Remi holdings compiled in 1640 provides a few more details, claiming that the first Psalm contained gold lettering written upon purpled parchment and ‘that very many or even the greater part of the Psalms which followed were introduced by pictures inspired by the substance of the text’.<sup>45</sup> As Cahn has argued in his analysis of these descriptions of Emma’s lost *libellus precum*, such a manuscript ‘could also contain additional texts of particular concern to the owner: litanies and special devotions, penitential prayers and so forth’.<sup>46</sup> Cahn even goes on to draw comparisons to Charles the Bald’s psalter in Munich’s Schatzkammer and Ot to III’s *Gebetbuch*.<sup>47</sup>

### The mutability of liturgical manuscripts

Terrestrial threats could impel the performance of early medieval litanies. As medieval scribes copied, annotated, and corrected earlier liturgical rites, they were not only adapting formulae rooted in the Roman imperial and late antique past for use in present circumstances.<sup>48</sup> They were also inscribing and reinscribing words that would hopefully serve to steady an uncertain future by eliciting the intercession of saints for current rulers and by reminding these rulers of their personal and public responsibilities and ties to their *populum* and the wider Christian community.

These responsibilities merged in the discourse of political *virtus* which inflected both political thought and the liturgical language of the litanies.<sup>49</sup> Bishop Rather of Verona (b.c. 887 – d. 974), for instance, called upon kings to practice, train in, and be glorified by key features of kingship in his *Praeloquia*:

Be prudent, just, brave, and temperate. Use these virtues as a four-horse chariot, as it were, in which to course the limits of your realm ... Protected by this four-fold breastplate, do not hesitate to meet the enemy unflinching; for you cannot be conquered by any adversaries if only you merit to be defended by such protection.<sup>50</sup>

Like Alcuin and the Carolingian *literati* before him, Rather admonished kings against basing their governance exclusively on martial strength. The king, in Rather’s view, must grasp onto the ‘four-horse chariot’ of virtue in order to prove his ability to secure victories against his enemies and to govern his people correctly.

If a king could not, or would not, exhibit *virtus*, Rather did not consider him a king at all. Rather explicitly stated that any king who did not embody the four virtues of prudence, justice, courage, and moderation could not rightly be called king. ‘We properly know these four virtues as “royal”’, Rather averred,

so that even some peasant who has them can fittingly be called king, whereas without them even he who holds almost total sovereignty of the world (though abusing it) cannot rightly be called king; for by bad government, as the thinker above says, the greatest empire is lost.<sup>51</sup>

At a time when several rivals vied for the Carolingian crown, Rather's ideal king cloaked himself not in armour and physical strength but in the practice of political *virtus*.

Crucially, Rather expected the same display of *virtus* from queens that he did from kings. In his subsequent chapter, Rather asked 'Are you a queen? If so, much of the advice applies to you'.<sup>52</sup> Rather's expectation that a ruler's actions should embody justice, wisdom, moderation, and courage appears in other tenth-century political writings, including chronicles and annals, as well as letters, coronation *ordines*, and poetry. Carolingian and Ottonian authors alike crafted their narratives by using the discourse of *virtus* and *vitium* to assess the performance of secular rulers throughout western Christendom.<sup>53</sup>

To be of any consequence, the rulers' exhibition of these virtues required recognition from their political community.<sup>54</sup> As the litanies and, particularly, the *laudes regiae* associated leading religious and secular figures with the performance of these virtues as well as with saintly exemplars who had perfected such attributes, they also reminded all present of the requirements for a ruler to govern well. The ruler's performance of *virtus* required perpetual validation as their political community's response could and did constantly change. This mutability was reflected in the manuscripts preserving litanies and *laudes regiae* themselves as they often underwent additions, removals, and erasures depending on local context and broader political changes.

These alterations to liturgical manuscripts occur in the earliest Carolingian manuscript for the *laudes regiae*, the previously discussed Montpellier Psalter. Formerly known as the Psalter of Charlemagne, this small, yet deluxe manuscript contains two beautiful illuminations, one of David grasping a harp and the other of Christ holding a codex, along with over a hundred and fifty large initials embossed in gold and silver and more than 2000 smaller coloured initials scattered throughout the codex.<sup>55</sup> The culminating folios of the Montpellier Psalter contain the *laudes regiae*, which were added later to the original manuscript sometime before the death of Fastrada in 794.

Bernhard Bischoff first convincingly argued that this psalter did not originate at Charlemagne's court, but instead at Mondsee Abbey in Bavaria when it was still under the control of Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria.<sup>56</sup> Scholars have hypothesized that a dedication addressed to Tassilo or his family – or perhaps, as Johannes Fried has postulated, liturgical commemorations resembling the *laudes regiae* for the ruling Bavarian family – was ripped from the back of the manuscript and replaced with the Carolingian *laudes regiae*.<sup>57</sup> In either case, these *laudes regiae* have two further features of interest that scholars have highlighted. First, the scribe wrote the responses throughout the Montpellier Psalter's *laudes* not with the traditional *Tu illum/illa/illos adiuva*, but instead in the vulgar Latin form of *Tu lo iuuva* and *Tu los iuuva*. As Mary Garrison has aptly argued, 'this was what the participants had said themselves in their tongue, collectively imploring divine and supernatural help in a moment of prayer, ceremony and consensus'.<sup>58</sup> However, a final, concise litany inscribed with visibly darker ink on f. 345r immediately after this *laudes*



*regiae* might suggest that resistance to this consensus could have continued. The litany culminates in a prayer for a *sororem nomine Rotrude*.<sup>59</sup> Two Rotrudes have been isolated as potential candidates: either the daughter of Charlemagne and Hildegard or, fascinatingly, the daughter of Duke Tassilo III himself.<sup>60</sup> If this Carolingian insertion at the end of the Montpellier Psalter was ‘clearly a way of asserting authority’, this assertion of authority and consensus was by no means immune from dissenting voices.<sup>61</sup>

These physical acts of removal and replacement find echoes in later Carolingian and Ottonian practice. Three individual rites of the *laudes regiae* conclude the liturgical manuscript Verona, Biblioteca capitolare Cod. XCII (87), composed in ninth-century Verona, but with significant emendations to two sets of the *laudes regiae* by contemporary hands.<sup>62</sup> The first *laudes* contains prayers for an unnamed bishop of Verona, an emperor, an empress, and the Christian army. In this manuscript, two additional *laudes* pray specifically for both Empress Judith and Empress Ermengarde, along with their respective husbands Louis the Pious and Lothar.<sup>63</sup> In the final set of *laudes* on fol. 70v–71v, which scholars have postulated could be the earliest, the original scribe acclaimed Empress Judith, with St. Paul as her intercessor. Subsequently, however, this entire clause was excised, visible only in a ghostly form on the folio, and replaced at a later date with the words *Ermengarde imperatrici victoria*, as well as with the reinscription of St. Paul as Ermengarde’s saintly advocate.<sup>64</sup> A similar process occurs in the second set of *laudes*, beginning on fol. 68v. In this particular *laudes*, however, the original intended for a joint series of acclamations, beginning with Emperors Louis the Pious and Lothar and followed by *Judite et Ermengarde imperatricibus*.<sup>65</sup> Again, however, a later hand erased Judith’s name, and corrected the plural ending of *imperatricibus* to *imperatrici*. As Westwell has recently argued, this unique triplicate series of *laudes* and the physical removal of Judith from the parchment ‘suggest that the contents of the manuscript remained relevant and continued to be actively employed in the cathedral of Verona for decades’.<sup>66</sup>

The oldest Ottonian manuscript containing a *laudes regiae* likewise contains an excised queen’s name. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27305 is largely composed of a martyrology, a computational text, a collectar, and a *laudes paschale* with royal acclamations amongst other texts, which scholars have dated to the late 950s or early 960s.<sup>67</sup> On page 241, the *laudes* began with the simple title: *Incipiunt laudes pascale*. As in many other *laudes*, the first acclamation was reserved for the preservation of an unnamed pope, written as *summo pontifici et universali papae*, with accompanying intercessions from the saints Peter, Paul, and Andrew.<sup>68</sup> Next, the celebrant would pray for King Otto I, who according to this *laudes*, was ‘a great and peaceful king, crowned by God’, and for whom the *Redemptor mundi*, as well as the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, along with St. John and St. Stephan, should all intercede.<sup>69</sup> After prayers for the Ottonian queen, to which we will return shortly, appear acclamations for the royal couple’s *nobilissime proli* followed by acclamations for Bishop Abraham of Freising and his *cunctae congregationi* at St. Mary’s in Freising.<sup>70</sup> The final acclamations pray for the *vita et victoria* of all of the judges and the entire Christian army.

Initially, acclamations for Otto I were succeeded by prayers for the wellbeing and life of *Odae reginae*. As her intercessors, the rite called upon *Sancta Maria*, and the virgin martyrs Petronella, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, Waltpurga, and Columba.<sup>71</sup> This Oda has been identified as the Anglo-Saxon Queen Edith, Otto I's first wife, who died prematurely in 946. Indeed, in 1858, Rockinger noted that Edith's name had been erased at some date, which prompts three further questions.<sup>72</sup> First, why did the scribe in the 950s or early 960s transcribe the name of a queen who had been dead for at least a decade? Second, did this scribe or their immediate contemporaries realize the incongruity of this ascription, and if so does this mean another queen – perhaps Adelheid, Theophanu, or even Mathilda – was substituted during a particular recitation of this rite? Finally, was there a lost exemplar that contained Edith's name, suggesting perhaps that this practice of liturgical acclamations extended earlier into the tenth century among the Ottonians?

Though it is not yet possible to answer these questions, the elision and erasure of these queens underscores the ephemeral nature of these rites. Tying an individual liturgical performance to a single historical moment is tenuous at best, particularly considering how modern scholars cannot access the on-the-spot decisions made by the presiding cleric or observe the response of the audience. The construction of community attempted through these litanies is equally ephemeral. Inscribing the queen into these sacred manuscripts and enlisting the prayers of individual saints not only elevated the queen and symbolically projected her royal authority; it also simultaneously forced the audience and the queen herself to question whether her actions and her life were, indeed, exemplary; if she was, indeed, virtuous enough to deserve these prayers and to lead her community to a safe and stable future.

As the Carolingian Queen Fastrada organized litanies within Saxony to ensure the success of Charlemagne's campaign against the Avars, Ottonian queens and empresses also utilized this liturgical form to avert disaster in troublesome times. There exists at least one specific parallel of a king on campaign requesting a queen who had remained at court to perform liturgical services in a time of war, albeit after the battle had been won. In 955 at the Battle of Lechfeld, Otto I famously defeated the Magyars. In the aftermath, Widukind of Corvey claimed that Otto I 'decreed that worthy honor and praise (*honoribus et dignis laudibus*) be given to God in every church'.<sup>73</sup> Widukind then states that Otto I quickly had sent word to his 'sainted mother', Queen Mathilda, of his victory.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, Thietmar of Merseburg added to this messenger's letter and/or oral report that the victorious king sent a messenger to Mathilda

with a complete report of what had happened, and also to arouse the souls of the faithful to the praise of Christ. All of Christendom, but especially that part committed to the king, received such a great gift of divine piety with ineffable joy, offering praise and thanks to God in the highest with one voice.<sup>75</sup>

Charlemagne's implementation of litanies sought to shore up God's divine assistance in the midst of a military campaign; Otto I's similar practice offered praise and thanks in the glow of victory. Both instances, however, not only enlisted the queen or queen mother to implement these liturgies throughout Carolingian Francia and Ottonian Saxony respectively, but they also sought to bind their kingdoms together, under the king and queen, 'with one voice'.

A further example of the performance of litanies during a period of uncertainty appears in the late tenth- or early eleventh-century *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii*.<sup>76</sup> The fifth and sixth chapters describe the translation of these two saints' bodies from Nonantola to Pavia. A severe outbreak of plague had struck the citizens of Pavia, and so the translation of the relics of the saints Sinesius and Theopontius to Pavia through several cities with three days of fasting was organized, with accompanying prayers, singing, and the recitation of psalms by multitudes.<sup>77</sup> As the relics approached Pavia, men and women greeted the bodies of the saints by praising God (*laudantes Deum*), as *regina gloriosissima* Adelheid sat in attendance.<sup>78</sup> At this precise moment, Adelheid enriched the relics with a multitude of gifts.<sup>79</sup> Thereafter, the city of Pavia 'was liberated from this deadly plague by these pious defences' and the citizens of Pavia praised and honoured Adelheid for ending their suffering.<sup>80</sup>

The tenuous nature of the performance of these liturgical rites for rulers is exemplified by a final example from a famously unstable period of Ottonian political history.<sup>81</sup> In 984 and 985, the canonesses of Quedlinburg sang out the divine *laudes* for two rival parties grasping for control over the Ottonian imperial throne. Otto II's death in Rome in December of 983 had struck the Ottonian court, as Thietmar of Merseberg claimed, like 'a harsh bolt'.<sup>82</sup> Central members of the Ottonian court – including Otto II's wife, Empress Theophanu, his mother, Empress Adelheid, and his sister, Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg – were all with Otto II in Italy before his sudden death. Yet, they had sent the three-year-old Otto III back to Saxony to be crowned king at Aachen a few months prior. This spatial distance caused an immense problem for the *dominae imperiales* and presented an irresistible opportunity for Otto III's uncle, Duke Henry II of Bavaria.

After news reached Saxony of Otto II's demise, Bishop Folcmar of Utrecht released Henry from his lengthy confinement in Utrecht. Henry acted quickly and asserted his claim to custody over the young, and newly anointed king, Otto III in Saxony. According to Thietmar's *Chronicon*, Duke Henry first gathered the leading nobles in Saxony to celebrate Palm Sunday in Magdeburg, and 'in the course of negotiations, demanded that they submit to his power and raise him to the kingship'.<sup>83</sup> Thereafter, Henry travelled the well-worn route to Quedlinburg to celebrate Easter, accompanied by 'the great men of the duchy ... and some who did not wish to come in person sent a representative who was to scrutinize everything carefully'.<sup>84</sup> Once in Quedlinburg, Henry's supporters 'openly greeted him as king and he was honoured with divine *laudes*'.<sup>85</sup>

It is at this point in his narrative that Thietmar notes a rift in the Saxon nobility and Henry's wider base of support. Whereas the foreign dukes including Mieszko I of Poland and Boleslaus II of Bohemia swore an oath to confirm their support for Henry as king after these *laudes*, 'many others, not daring to violate their oath to the king, [and] for fear of God', thereafter began to switch their alliance.<sup>86</sup>

According to the *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, after Henry had 'tyrannically seized the throne', the empresses assembled a formidable force of Burgundians, Swabians, Italians, Franks, Thuringians, and Slavs and, together, they crossed into Saxony.<sup>87</sup> At a great assembly of both camps at Rohr, Henry 'was rightly deprived of the name and kingdom he had usurped'.<sup>88</sup> Henry was compelled to surrender his nephew, Otto III, to Adelheid, Theophanu, and Mathilda. The triumphant *dominae imperiales* travelled on to Saxony, where their first port of call was Quedlinburg. There, according to Quedlinburg's annalist, these two empresses and Quedlinburg's abbess 'were received most courteously with the sweet melody of praise by a great crowd of clergy and people, and also by the virgins serving Christ there who piously offered thanks' for their abbess's safe return and the empresses' triumph.<sup>89</sup> These several performances of the liturgy are remarkable not only for their divergent receptions, but perhaps even more so for their commonalities. Both Henry and the *dominae imperiales* utilized the sacred and historically significant space of Quedlinburg in order to solidify their imperial claim and control over Otto III. Even more crucially, Thietmar and the annalist of Quedlinburg noted the presence and response of the wider civic and political community.

Liturgy structured the world as harmony; yet the performance of liturgical rites could be triggered by discord. Evidence from Carolingian and Ottonian narrative sources shows how plagues, battles, and succession crises occasioned the performance of litanies and *laudes regiae*. At the same time, evidence internal to liturgical manuscripts shows how successive scribes and celebrants extracted, overwrote, or amended the very names and titles of rulers in order to accommodate immediate religio-political requirements. By attending to the presence and position of Carolingian and Ottonian queens and empresses in liturgy, this chapter has brought these background instabilities back into the foreground.

Royal and imperial women worked with clergy and their wider court to ensure the public, communal performance of liturgical rites, and they heard their own names recited amongst the heavenly saints along with their fellow temporal rulers. Such rites served to structure their performance as rulers, reminding them of their responsibilities and of the exemplars whose *virtus* they should emulate.

This internalization is finely displayed in Odilo of Cluny's description of Empress Adelheid's final day. In his *Epitaphium*, Odilo claimed that after Adelheid had received her last rites, she requested the recitation of the penitential psalms as well as the litany of saints to be sung by those attending her, both clergy and lay. As they began, the empress herself joined in 'psalming with those singing the psalms, and praying with those praying'.<sup>90</sup> In this moment of ultimate transition, she bound everyone in attendance to her and created a harmonious space through the use of liturgy.<sup>91</sup>

## Notes

- 1 *Nos autem, Domino adiuvante, tribus diebus letania fecimus*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 2777, f. 61r–61v (s.ix). *Epistolae variorum Carolo magno regnante scriptae*, no. 20, in *Monumenta Historica Germaniae (MGH) Epistolae (Epp.) IV*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), pp. 528–9, trans. P.D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Kendal: P.D. King, 1986), pp. 309–10. For more on the political and religious context of this letter see Michael McCormick, ‘The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy’, *Viator* 15 (1984), pp. 1–23. Janet L. Nelson, ‘The Sitting of the Council at Frankfurt: Some Reflections on Family and Politics’, in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur. Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main I*, ed. by Rainer Berndt SJ (Mainz: Der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997), pp. 149–65, at 159. Mayke de Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s Church’, in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. by Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 103–35, at p. 128. For the manuscript context of this letter, see Mary Garrison, ‘Letters to a King and Biblical Exempla: The Examples of Cathwulf and Peregrinus’, *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), pp. 305–28. Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 43–8. Alice Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 142–3. For more on Fastrada see, Janet L. Nelson, ‘Women at the Court of Charlemagne: A Case of Monstrous Regiment?’, in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by John C. Parsons (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), pp. 43–61, reprinted in Janet L. Nelson, *The Frankish World 750–900* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), pp. 223–42. Matthew Innes, ‘Queenship in Dispute: Fastrada, History and Law’, in *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, ed. by Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 230–47.
- 2 *Epistolae variorum Carolo magno regnante scriptae*, no. 20, in *MGH Epp. IV*, ed. Dümmler, p. 528.
- 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 528–9.
- 4 ... *ut nobis pacem et sanitatem atque victoriam et prosperum iter tribuere dignetur, et ut in sua misericordia et pietate nobis adiutor et consiliator atque defensor in omnibus angustiis nostris existat*. *Epistolae variorum Carolo magno regnante scriptae*, no. 20, in *MGH Epp. IV*, ed. Dümmler, p. 528, trans. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources*, p. 310.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 529.
- 6 See note 1.
- 7 Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 409, fol. 343v–344v (before 794). A digital facsimile of this Psalter can be found here: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=17271>. See Elias A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores: A Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), no. 795. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, ‘Ivories and Litanies’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 56–81. Bernhard Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus, 1953), p. 101. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), pp. 21 and 33–7. Franz Unterkircher, *Die Glossen des Psalters von Mondsee (vor 788) (Montpellier Faculté de Médecine MS 409)*, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 20 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1974), pp. 30–45, with edition at p. 507ff. Bernhard Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit II: Die vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980), pp. 16–8. Mary Garrison, ‘The Franks as the New Israel? Education for an Identity from Pippin to Charlemagne’, in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 114–61, at pp. 140–6.
- 8 The circumstances of this addition will be discussed below.

- 9 *Exaudi Christe. Fastradane regina salus et vita. Alia virgines Christi, qualis volueris.* Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 409, fol. 344r. Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, p. 101.
- 10 *Exaudi Christe. Omnibus iudicibus vel cuncto exercitui Francorum vita et victoria.* Ibid. fol. 344r–344v.
- 11 Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 62. The bibliography on early medieval litanies, with a particular focus on the *laudes regiae*, is extensive. In addition to note 3, see, Ludwig Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Kirche und Staat* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1937). Maurice Coens, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936), pp. 1–37. Idem, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1937), pp. 49–69. Idem, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1941), pp. 272–93. Idem, 'Anciennes litanies des saints', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1944), pp. 126–68. Reinhard Elze, 'Die Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 40 (1954), pp. 201–23. McCormick, 'Liturgy of War', pp. 1–23. Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, Henry Bradshaw Society CVI (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1991). Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (887)*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001). Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, MGH Hilfsmittel 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 2007). Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 46–53.
- 12 Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, f. 76r (s.ix/x). A digitized facsimile can be found here: [www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/sets/72157640923158474/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/bmmetz/sets/72157640923158474/). Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, pp. 112–3. Walter Lipphardt, *Der karolingischer Tonar von Metz* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965). For the manuscript's wider context, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 60–7.
- 13 Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, f. 76r. Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, p. 113. See Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 19. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 142.
- 14 However, scholars have extensively analyzed one important liturgical rite for queens and empresses, namely coronation *ordines*. Amongst others, see Julie Ann Smith, 'Queen-Making and Queenship in Early Medieval England and Francia', (University of York, Ph.D. diss., 1993). Eadem, 'The Earliest Queen-Making Rites', *Church History* 66 (1997), pp. 18–35. Janet L. Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 301–16. Franz-Reiner Erkens, 'Sicut Esther regina: Die westfränkische Königin als *consors regni*', *Francia* 20 (1993), pp. 15–37. Julie Ann Smith, 'The Earliest Queen-Making Rites', *Church History* 66 (1997), pp. 18–35. See also, Amalie Fössel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2000), pp. 15–20. Martina Hartmann, *Die Königin im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009), pp. 146–8. Simon MacLean, *Ottoman Queenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 180–206.
- 15 Walafrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, c. 29, in *MGH Capitularia regum Francorum II*, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), p. 513. Alice L. Harting-Correa, ed. and trans., *Walafrid Strabo's Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum: A Translation and Liturgical Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 186. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, p. 11. See also, Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, p. 20ff.
- 16 ... *surrexerunt omnes, stantes quique in gradu suo. Tunc incoeperunt laudes Leo episcopus et Iohannes Tuscanensis episcopus, et post laudes peractas in domnum apostolicum et domnum imperatorem ac imperatricem et ceteros iuxta morem, data oratione a Leone Gavinense episcopo, soluta est synodus.* *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* 5,

- ed. by Georg Waitz (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), p. 131. Janet L. Nelson, trans. *The Annals of St. Bertin: Ninth-Century Histories I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 195. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 70.
- 17 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies*, p. 2.
- 18 The following manuscripts contain litanies and/or *laudes regiae* with prayers or acclamations for a queen or empress: Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 409 (before 794); Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. XCII (87), fol. 67r–68r, fol. 68v–69v, fol. 70v–71v; Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, no MS number (842x869); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1152, fol. 170v–172r (842x869); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v (s.ix<sup>med</sup>); St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 397, pp. 2–3 (s.ix<sup>med</sup>); Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Barth. 179 (c.870); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 272, fol. 151r–154v (883/884); Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 111, fol. 23v–24r (887x882); Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40 (s.ix<sup>2/2</sup>); Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, fol. 76r (s.ix/x); Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 7 B 15/98, fol. 48r (s.ix/x); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS A. 24 bis inf (s.x); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27305, pp. 241–5 (957x962); London, British Library, MS Add. 19768, fol. 56v (967x972); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5, fol. 46r–47v (c.1000); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 6, fol. 92r (c.1000).
- 19 For instance, the scribe of London, British Library, MS Add. 19768 named *Adelheide nobilissimae reginae* on f. 56v, while the scribe of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5 inscribed *Ill. Imperatrici salus et vita* on f. 46v. For a recent analysis of London, British Library, MS Add. 19768, see Henry Parkes, *The Making of the Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz 950–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 31–88. For a complete manuscript description of Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5, see Friedrich Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), pp. 143–45.
- 20 To take but one example, see another psalter composed around the same time as Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 409; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13159, fol. 163r (c.800), with acclamations for Pope Leo III, Charlemagne, his *nobilissime proli regali*, all of the kingdom's judges and the *cuncto exercitui Romanorum*.
- 21 Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 91 (83), fol. 130v–134r (s.ix/x). See Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, no. 45. Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 363, fol. 50r–52v (s.ix<sup>med</sup>). See Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, no. 67.
- 22 For a more in-depth analysis of the intricate connection between litanies and *laudes regiae*, see Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, pp. 54–5. Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, p. 31ff.
- 23 Perpetua: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 397, pp. 2–3; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40; Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, fol. 76r; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5, fol. 46r–47v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 6, fol. 92r. Felicitas: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 397, pp. 2–3; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40. Agatha: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v; Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, fol. 76r; London, British Library, MS Add. 19768, fol. 56v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5, fol. 46r–47v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 6, fol. 92r. Cecilia: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 397, pp. 2–3; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27305, fol. 241–45; London, British Library, MS Add. 19768, fol. 56v.
- 24 Michel Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' du haut moyen âge I*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense XI (Louvain: 'Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense' bureaux, 1931), pp. 473ff. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, p. 33. Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, pp. 24–6, with

- edition at 103 and 115 (Nachtrag). Giles G. Meersseman, E. Adda, and Jean Deshusses, eds., *L'orazionale dell'arcidiacono Pacifico e il carpsum del cantore Stefano: Studie e testi sulla liturgica del duomo di Verona dal' IX all'XI sec.* (Freiburg: Edizioni universitarie, 1974), pp. 188–90. Susanna Polloni, 'Manoscritti liturgici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona (sec. IX)', in *Medioevo. Studi e documenti* II, ed. by Andrea Castagnetti et al. (Verona: Libreria Editrice, 2007), pp. 151–228, at 165–8.
- 25 [Judith et] Ermingarde imperatrici(bus) vita. *Sante Martine ... Sancte Benedicte ...* Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, p. 115.
- 26 For the emperor: ... *augusto (a Deo coronato magno et pacifico) imperatori vita (et victoria). Sancta Maria. Tu illum adiuva.* For Judith and Ermengarde: *Exaudi Christe. Judite imperatrici (nostre vita et victoria) ((Ermingarde imperatrici victoria)). Sancte Paule. Tu illum adiuva.* Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, p. 115 and Nachtrag.
- 27 The earlier *laudes regiae* is Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40. Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, p. 108. See Marco Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional Lists of Manuscripts*, *Middelleeuwse Studies en Bronnen* 3 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989), no. 650.
- 28 For the king or emperor: Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. XCII (87), fol. 70v–71v; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5, fol. 46r–47v; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 6, fol. 92. For the queen or empress: Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. XCII (87), fol. 67v–68r; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1997, fol. 160v; Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40; Metz, Bibliothèque-médiathèque, MS 351, fol. 76r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27305, fol. 241–45; London, British Library, MS Add. 19768, fol. 56v. For the judges and army: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 196 (173), pp. 136–40.
- 29 An important exception would be the ornate and extensive litany known as the Lorsch Rotulus (Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth. 179). See Astrid Krüger, 'Sancte Nazari ora pro nobis: Ludwig der Deutsche und der Lorscher Rotulus', in *Ludwig der Deutsche und seine Zeit*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), pp. 184–202. Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 159–62.
- 30 As Garipzanov acutely states, one must be cautious when speaking 'of political messages disseminated by the Carolingians through royal liturgy if none of these liturgical texts were written by them, but by intermediaries such as monastics and prelates who were both royal servants and interested parties'. Garipzanov, *Symbolic Communication*, p. 51.
- 31 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. Vindob. 449 (s.ix<sup>ca</sup>). For more on the *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, see Dorine van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian rule? The *Codex epistolaris carolinus*, its Historical Context, and the Meaning of *imperium*', *Early Medieval Europe* 21 (2013), pp. 254–82. Eadem, 'Rulers, Popes and Bishops: The Historical Context of the Ninth-Century Cologne *Codex Carolinus* Manuscript', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. by Rob M. J. Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 455–71.
- 32 *cum dulcissima coniuge, excellentissima regina, spiritalis nostra commatre. Codex epistolaris carolinus*, no. 18, *MGH Epp.* I, ed. by Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), p. 518.
- 33 ... *et cepimus Deo laudes referre et beato principi apostolorum Petro pro exaltatione regni vestri atque filiae nostrae, reginae, coniugis vestrae, prolis etiam et pro cunctis Francis, fidelis beati Petri apostoli atque vestris. Codex epistolaris carolinus*, ed. Gundlach, p. 586. As Dorine van Espelo has pointed out, even though Pope Hadrian made a rare reference to the Byzantine emperor Constantine in this letter, the late ninth-century scribe considered it more important to label this letter as *item exemplar epistolae adriani papae ad domnum carolum regem directa, in qua continentur gratiarum actiones pro vita et sanitate domni regis et uxoris vel*



- filiun eius nec non et pro exaltatione snctae dei ecclesiae; et postulans, ut filium suum ex sacro baptismatis fonte suscipere mereretur.* See Dorine van Espelo, 'A Testimony of Carolingian Rule: The *Codex epistolaris Carolinus* as a Product of its Time' (Utrecht University, Ph.D. diss., 2014), p. 141.
- 34 ... *Scire igitur obtamus vestram inianter excellentiam, quod quasi recompensantes ineffabilibus clementie vestre muneribus, huius volvente anni circulo praesentique hoc in tempore pro vestra incolomitate dignissimeque regine ac dulcissime diu servande regis prolis cecinimus psalteria mille, missas DCCC cum oblationibus ac letaniis creberrimis.* Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Cod. 141, f.57 (s.x). Theutild of Remiremont, *Indicularius*, no. 1, ed. by Michel Parisse, *La correspondance d'un évêque Carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813–847) avec les lettres de Theuthilde, abbesse de Remiremont* (Paris, 1998), p. 154. For *Indicularius's* wider context and relevant bibliography, see Hailey J. LaVoy, 'Why Have You Been Silent For So Long?: Women and Letter Writing in the Early Middle Ages, 700–900, (University of Notre Dame, Ph.D. diss., 2015), pp. 36–69 and passim. Steven Vanderputten, *Dark Age Numerics: The Ambiguous Identity of Female Monasticism, 800–1050* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), p. 40ff.
- 35 'or for the domina queen and for their sons and daughters or for the stability of their kingdom.' A digitized facsimile of this manuscript can be found here: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Reg.lat.612](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.612). See Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word*, pp. 126–32.
- 36 It should be noted that no prayers for the rulers' children were included in this litany. A digitized facsimile of this manuscript can be found here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55001423q/f349.item.r=lat.zoom>
- 37 Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, no MS number (842x869), fol. 22v–27r. A digitized facsimile of this manuscript can be found here: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00079994/images/index.html?id=00079994&nativeno=26v>. See Robert Deshman, 'The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald', *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 387–417, repr. in Robert Deshman, *Eye and Mind: Collected Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Early Medieval Art*, ed. by Adam S. Cohen (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Press, 2010), pp. 192–219. William Diebold, 'Verbal, Visual, and Cultural Literacy in Medieval Art: Word and Image in the Psalter of Charles the Bald', *Word & Image* 8 (1992), pp. 89–99.
- 38 Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, no MS number, fol. 26r–26v.
- 39 Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, no MS number, fol. 26v.
- 40 For an excellent analysis and description of this text, with relevant bibliography, see Sarah Hamilton, "'Most Illustrious King of Kings": Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 257–88. A digitized facsimile of this manuscript can be found here: <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00075079/images/>.
- 41 *Ut me famulum tuum et regem indignum et omnes principes nostros ...* Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 30111, fol. 18v.
- 42 Karl Leyser, 'The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships', in *The Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), pp. 29–63, reprinted in Karl Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London: Hambledon Press, 1982), pp. 103–38. Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study I* (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), pp. 173–5. Hamilton, "'Most Illustrious King of Kings"', pp. 257–88.
- 43 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 5 (c.1000), fol. 46r–47v. Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg I*, pp. 143–5. See Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts*, MGH Schriften 39 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), pp. 144ff. Rosamond McKitterick, 'Ottonian Intellectual Culture in the Tenth Century and the Role of Theophano', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. by Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 53–74, at 59.
- 44 Jean Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti IV* (1707), pp. 32–3.

- 45 *Psalterium ad usum Hemmæ Reginae psalmus in membrana purpurea litteris aureis exaratur. Sequuntur alii psalmi quorum plerisque imagines psalmi argumentum exprimentes praehibentur.* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13070, fol. 5v. A digitized facsimile of the manuscript can be found here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10515927f/f18.image.r=latin%2013070>. Transcription in Walter Cahn, 'The Psalter of Queen Emma', in *Studies in Medieval Art and Interpretation*, ed. by Walter Cahn (London: The Pindar Press, 2000), pp. 239–62, at p. 243. See also, MacLean, *Ottoman Queenship*, p. 165.
- 46 Cahn, 'The Psalter of Queen Emma', p. 243.
- 47 *Ibid.*, pp. 243–44.
- 48 See note 1 and note 3.
- 49 For a recent analysis and relevant bibliography on the cardinal virtues in the Middle Ages, see István Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). For a more extensive discussion of this discourse of political *virtus*, see Megan Welton, 'Multiplex Virtus: Queens, Ruling Women, and the Discourse of Political Virtue in Tenth-Century Europe' (University of Notre Dame, Ph.D. diss, 2017).
- 50 *His ergo utere, his exercere, his exornare. Esto prudens, iustus, fortis et temperatus. Hoc quasi quadriga euectus regni fines perlustra; hoc denique curru ista utere in uia ... hoc quadruplici munitus thorace, hostibus ne cunctis imperterritus occurrere, nec enim poteris aliquibus aduersis deuinci, si tamen tanta merueris tuitione uallari merueris.* Rather of Verona, *Praeloquia*, 3.i.2, in *Ratherii Veronensis Opera, Fragmenta, Glossae*, ed. by Petrus L.D. Reid et al., CCCM 46A (Turnhout: Brill, 1984), p. 78. Petrus L. Reid, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), p. 95. For the historical and historiographical context of Rather's life and work, see Jelle Wassenaar's contribution in this volume. See also, Hans Martin Klinkenberg, *Versuche und Untersuchungen zur Autobiographie bei Rather von Verona. Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 38 (Köln: Böhlau, 1956), pp. 265–314. Irene van Renswoude, 'The Sincerity of Fiction: Rather and the Quest for Self-Knowledge', in *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick, Richard Corradini, Matthew Gillis, and Irene van Renswoude (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2010), pp. 309–34.
- 51 *Hae quattuor ita regales proprie noscuntur esse uirtutes, ut eum his quilibet etiam rusticus rex non incongrue dici; sine his nec ipse uniuersam pene monarchiam obtinens mundi, quanquam abusive, rex ualeat iuste uocari; male enim imperando, ut ait qui supra, summum imperium amittitur.* Rather, *Praeloquia*, 3.i.5, ed. Reid et al, p. 80. Reid, trans., *Complete Works of Rather*, p. 97.
- 52 *Regina es? Preter alias innumeras, multa etiam quae et tibi iam superius posita competunt documenta.* Rather, *Praeloquia*, IV.i.36, ed. Reid, et al, p. 141. Reid, trans., *Complete Works of Rather*, p. 155.
- 53 See note 49.
- 54 In particular, see Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, pp. 151–2 and Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language of Authority*, pp. 50–1 and *passim*.
- 55 See note 7.
- 56 Bischoff, *Südöstdeutschen Schreibschulen* II, pp. 16–8. For the wider context, see Stuart Airlie, 'Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission: Charlemagne's Mastering of Bavaria', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1999), pp. 93–119.
- 57 Johannes Fried, *Charlemagne*, trans. by Peter Lewis (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2016), p. 155.
- 58 Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', pp. 142–3.
- 59 *Tu mihi Christe concede sororem nomine Rotrude esse beatam ut tibi semper seruiat illa.* Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Faculté de Médecine, MS H 409, fol. 344v.
- 60 Unterkircher, *Die Glossen des Psalters von Mondsee*, p. 41. Garrison, 'The Franks as the New Israel?', p. 140, ft. 110. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 338. Fried, *Charlemagne*, p. 115.
- 61 Fried, *Charlemagne*, p. 155.
- 62 Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. XCII (87), fol. 67r–68r, fol. 68v–69v, fol. 70v–71v (s.ix.). Andrieu, *Les Ordines* I, pp. 367–73. Opfermann, *Die Liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*,

- pp. 103, 115, Nachtrag. Meersseman, Adda, and Deshusses, eds., *L'orazione dell'arcidiacono pacifico e il carpsum del cantore Stefano*, pp. 188–90. Polloni, 'Manoscritti liturgici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona', pp. 165–8. Arthur Robert Westwell, 'The Dissemination and Reception of the *Ordines Romani* in the Carolingian Church, c. 750–900' (University of Cambridge, Ph.D. diss, 2017), pp. 89–93.
- 63 Westwell, 'The Dissemination and Reception of the *Ordines Romani*,' pp. 90–1.
- 64 Opfermann, *Die Liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen*, pp. 103, 115, Nachtrag.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Westwell, 'The Dissemination and Reception of the *Ordines Romani*', p. 91.
- 67 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 27305, pp. 241–5. L. Rockinger, *Drei Formelsammlungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger: aus Münchner Handschriften* (Munich: Georg Franz, 1858), pp. 473–4. Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamation*, pp. 124–6. Hermann Hauke, ed., *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Clm 27270–27499* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), pp. 23–8.
- 68 Opfermann, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamation*, p. 124.
- 69 Ibid., pp. 124.
- 70 Ibid., pp. 124–5.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 124.
- 72 Rockinger, *Drei Formelsammlungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger*, p. 473.
- 73 ... *decretis proinde honoribus et dignis laudibus summae divinitati per singulas ecclesias*. Widukind, *Res gestae saxonicae*, III.49, in *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 60, ed. by H.-E. Lohmann and Paul Hirsch (Hannover: Hahn, 1935), pp. 128–9. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach, trans., *Widukind of Corvey: Deeds of the Saxons* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), p. 129.
- 74 *et hoc idem sanctae matri eius per nuntios*. Widukind, *Res gestae saxonicae*, III.49, ed. Lohmann and Hirsch, p. 129. Bachrach and Bachrach, trans., *Widukind of Corvey*, p. 129.
- 75 ... *qui, cuncta ordine pandentes, eam cura solverent mentesque fidelium in laudem Christi pariter accenderent. Tantum divinae pietatis donum omnis christianitas maximeque regi commissa ineffabili suscepit tripudio, gloriam et gratiam spallens unanimiter in altissimis Deo*. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, II.10, in *MGH SS rer. Germ.* N.S. 9, ed. by Robert Holtzmann (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), pp. 50–1. David A. Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 98–9.
- 76 *Translatio et miracula Sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii*, *MGH SS* 30.2, ed. by Percy E. Schramm (Leipzig: K.W. Hiersemann, 1926), pp. 984–92. See Aldo A. Settia, 'Pavia carolingia e postcarolingia', in *Storia di Pavia* 2 (1987), pp. 69–158, at 154–5.
- 77 *Translatio et miracula Sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii*, ed. Schramm, pp. 988–9.
- 78 *Translatio et miracula Sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii*, ed. Schramm, p. 989.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 *Urbe vero Papia a predicta mortis clade eorum piis patrociniis liberata*. Ibid.
- 81 Amongst others, see Franz R. Erkens, '... more grecorum conregnantem instituere vultis? Zur Legitimation der Regentschaft Heinrichs des Zänkers im Thronstreit von 984', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993), pp. 273–89. MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, p. 166ff.
- 82 *Duro vecte*. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, III. 26, ed. Holtzmann, pp. 130–1. Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany*, p. 148.
- 83 *Qui cum palmarum sollempnia in Magadaburg celebrare voluisset, omnes regionis illius principes huc convenire rogavit atque precepit, tractans, quomodo se suae potestati subderent regnique eum fastigio sublevarent*. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV. 1, ed. Holtzmann, pp. 132–3. Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany*, p. 150.
- 84 *Inde egressus Heinricus proximum pascha Quidlingeburg festivis peregit gaudiis. Quo magnus regni primatus colligitur, a quibusdam autem venire illo nolentibus ad omnia diligenter inquirenda nuntius mittitur*. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV.2, ed. Holtzmann, p. 132–3. Warner, trans., *Ottonian Germany*, p. 150.
- 85 *Hac in festivitate idem a suis publice rex appellatur laudibusque divinis attollitur*. Ibid.

- 86 *Huc Miseco et Mistui et Bolizlovo duces cum caeteris ineffabilibus confluebant, auxilium sibi deinceps ut regi et domino cum iuramentis affirmantes. Multi ex his fidem violare ob timorem Dei non presumentes paululum evaserunt. Ibid.*
- 87 *quorundam etiam persuasione male illectus regnum tyrannice invasit. Annales Quedlinburgenses, a. 984, in Die Annales Quedlinburgenses, MGH SS rer. Germ. 72, ed. by Martina Giese (Hannover: Hahn, 2004), p. 471. Warner, trans., Ottonian Germany, pp. 154–5, ft. 23.*
- 88 *Qua visa perterrita moxque cedente parte iniusta Heinricus praefatus usurpato nomine et regno iure privatus regem. Annales Quedlinburgenses, a. 984, ed. Giese, p. 473. Warner, trans., Ottonian Germany, pp. 154–5, ft. 23.*
- 89 *Accepto itaque pignore unico praedictae imperiales dominae Saxoniam adierunt, ac primo saepe iam dictam Quedelignensis monticuli vertice eminentem usque civitatem una pervenientes dulcisona laudum melodia cleri scilicet ac populi Christoque inibi famulantium virginum occursum gemino gaudioque affecto et peroptato spiritualis matris adventu et pro triumphali regis eventu pie gratulantium officiosissime susceptae, quod reliquum erat viae, summo cum honore transiere. Annales Quedlinburgenses, a. 984, ed. Giese, p. 473. Warner, trans., Ottonian Germany, pp. 154–5, ft. 23.*
- 90 *psallentibus psallebat, cum orantibus orabat. Odilo of Cluny, Epitaphium domine Adelheide auguste, c. 20, in Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny, ed. by Herbert Paulhart (Graz-Cologne: Hermann Böhlau, 1962), p. 44. For an alternate translation, see Sean Gilsdorf, Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 141.*
- 91 The research for this chapter was conducted with the support of the Paul G. Tobin Dissertation Fellowship from the Nanovic Institute for European Studies at the University of Notre Dame (2016–2017) and the Arts and Letters Postdoctoral Fellowship at the London Undergraduate Program of the University of Notre Dame (2017–2018).