



**‘Gloriosa Regina or “Alien Queen”?:  
Some Reconsiderations on Anna**

**Yaroslavna’s Queenship**

**(r. 1050-1075)’,**

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## *Gloriosa Regina* or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050-1075)

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**Abstract:** The article questions the image that has emerged in secondary sources of Anna Yaroslavna (r. 1050-*c.*1075), the Rus-born wife of King Henri I of France (d. 1060), as an "alien queen" who remained a foreigner in Capetian society. Focusing on charter evidence, it examines the ways in which Anna exercised her queenship and demonstrates that while limited evidence suggests that she maintained contact with the Orthodox culture of her homeland, she also became assimilated into her husband's western-Christian court culture. The article thus also sheds light on relations between western and eastern Christianity in the mid-eleventh century.

**Keywords:** Anna Yaroslavna; King Henri I; King Philippe I; Queenship in France; Kyivan (Kievan) Rus; History of Orthodox/Catholic relations; Royal Patronage; Regency; Early Capetian Charters.

The marriage of Anna Yaroslavna, the daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of Rus, to the third Capetian King Henri I in 1050/1051 has excited the imagination of historians since the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Over two hundred articles and books exist on the reign of the princess who left her Eastern Orthodox cultural environment of Kyiv (Kiev) and travelled some 2,000 kilometres across Europe to become the wife of the French king. Most of these works, however, are not scholarly in nature and often repetitive, drawing on legendary material ultimately founded on unsubstantiated early modern histories or persistent myths.<sup>2</sup> The actual number of scholarly studies on Anna Yaroslavna remains small, beginning with Labanoff de Rostoff and Caix de Saint-Aymour in the nineteenth century, and

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<sup>1</sup> Beginning with the work of Jean du Tillet, secretary of the Paris Parlement, in his *Recueil des Roys de France: leur Couronne et Maison. Ensemble, le rang des grands de France* (Paris, 1580), as cited in Y. Luniak, *Anna Ruska— koroleva Frantsii v svitli istorichnikh dzherel* (Kyiv, 2010), n. 8, 9 and 89. This article draws on research for my dissertation on the Orthodox/Catholic intermarriages of the Riurikid dynasty of Rus at the University of Toronto, co-supervised by Isabelle Cochelin and Allan Smith. I thank Wladimir V. Bogomoletz, Daniel Collins, M.A. Johnson, Predrag Matejic, Andrew Dunning, and the anonymous reviewers for their reading suggestions. My thanks as well to Jean-Loup Leguay of the Musées d'Amiens, Aurélien André at the diocese archives of Amiens, and to Alexis Durand at the Archives départementales de Loir-et-Cher for their help in obtaining archival material. I gratefully acknowledge funding from the following sources: the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, Massey College, and the Medieval Academy of America.

<sup>2</sup> See the assessment made of the scholarly literature in W. V. Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev: An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century: A Reassessment of Biographical Sources", *French History*, vol. 19, no. 3 (September, 2005), 299-323 (300). Older English-language scholarship on Anna often repeats legendary, unsubstantiated material.

continuing a century later by the works of Roger Hallu and R.-H. Bautier.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Wladimir Bogomoletz has surveyed the impressive number of charters to which Anna Yaroslavna subscribed: a total of twenty-six documents, of which six survive in the original.<sup>4</sup> Despite this interest, however, scholars of Capetian queenship have treated Anna as somewhat of an Oriental anomaly: by virtue of her Rus origins, even after her marriage, she has been repeatedly described as an "alien" whose foreign status supposedly impeded her ability to exercise her public duties as queen.<sup>5</sup> For instance, in her classic study on Capetian queenship, Marion Facinger dismissed Anna's reign with the following words, "His [Henri's] late and short marriage to the alien Anne of Russia had not adequately prepared the new queen for a significant role in government ...."<sup>6</sup>

Building on Bogomoletz's compilation of charters, this article seeks to reassess this view of Anna Yaroslavna's queenship, exploring her power and patronage first as the wife of King Henri I (d. 1060) and anointed queen in her own right, and secondly as co-regent for her son

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne ou Agnès, épouse de Henri Ier, Roi de France et fille de Iaroslaf Ier, grand duc de Russie*, ed. A. Labanoff de Rostoff, (Paris, 1825); Vicomte de Caix de Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie, reine de France et comtesse de Valois au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris, 1896); R. Hallu, *Anne de Kiev: Reine de France* (Rome, 1973); R.-Henri B., "Anne de Kiev, reine de France et la politique royale au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, étude critique de la documentation", *Revue des Études Slaves*, vol. 57, no. 4 (1985), 539-564. Hallu's work has been reprinted recently in Ukrainian translation, testifying to continuing popular interest in this queen: *Anna Yaroslavna: koroleva Frantsii*, trans. Maria Strutynska (Toronto, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> The most complete listing is in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310-323. Columbia University's database of medieval women's Latin letters only lists fifteen of Anna's charters; four from the reign of Henri I and the rest from the minority of her son; "Anne of Kiev" in J. Ferrante et al., *Epistolae. Medieval Women's Latin Letters* <<http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/woman/116.html>> [accessed 14 August 2014]. French royal charters have been traditionally organized into collections categorized by the reign of kings, not queens, so that charters signed by queens in their own right or after a queen's remarriage are more difficult to find. Indeed, charters which clearly state that they have been issued by both Anna and Henri or both Philippe and Anna have been listed in secondary literature solely as acts of patronage by these male rulers. Maurice Prou edited the charters signed by Anna's son Philippe, accompanied by a lengthy diplomatic introduction: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1908). No similar edition has been published for the charters of Anna's first husband King Henri I. An incomplete number of his charters are printed in the *Recueil des historiens de la France* series. Frédéric Soehnée also has published a catalogue of Henri's acts accompanied by summaries of their contents: *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 11: *contenant principalement ce qui s'est passé sous le règne de Henri Premier, fils du Roi Robert le Pieux, c'est-à-dire, depuis l'ans MXXXI, jusqu'à l'ans MLX par les religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, rev. ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1876) [henceforth: RHGF]; F. Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France* (Paris, 1907). Olivier Guyotjeannin analyzed the geographical sphere of action of Henri's royal chancellery and the formulas it employed in "Les actes d'Henri Ier et la chancellerie royale dans les années 1020-1060", in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. 132, no. 1 (1988), 81-97. Some general remarks on Henri's chancellery is also found in G. Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1962), 129-131. More recently, transcriptions of French charters surviving in the original prior to the year 1121 are in the process of being published online as part of the following project: *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, eds. C. Giraud, J.-B. Renault and B.-M. Tock (Nancy: electronic edition: Orléans, 2010), <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index/>> [accessed 29 January 2015].

<sup>5</sup> André Poulet claims that "[m]any chronicles agree that Henry's Russian wife, Anne, was excluded from the regency because her command of politics and the French language was suspect" and calls Anna "the alien queen ..."; "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation" in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. J. Carmi Parsons (New York, 1993), 93-116 (106); J. Dunbabin calls Anna "exotic", "What's in a Name? Philip, King of France" *Speculum*, vol. 68, no. 4 (1993), 949-968 (953).

<sup>6</sup> M. F. Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, series 1, vol. 5 (1968), 3-48 (41).

Philippe I (d. 1108) and as Countess of Valois by virtue of her second marriage to the powerful Count Raoul de Crépy-en-Valois (d. 1074).<sup>7</sup> I will examine Anna's activities in the royal court or council (*curia regis*) as well as the ways in which she became familiar with western ideals of queenship through her coronation in 1051 and by a letter sent to her by Pope Nicholas II in 1059. Special attention will be paid to the appearance of Anna's name in a witness-list in a charter of 1063, extant in the original, in which her name and title as queen appear in Cyrillic and to Anna's foundation of Saint-Vincent in the royal city of Senlis, just north of Paris. By assenting to or subscribing to charters, by appearing as an intercessor, or by witnessing an act among the lay and clerical elite of the kingdom, Anna Yaroslavna exercised her royal power and was able to promote the patronage of churches and monasteries. While maintaining ties to her Orthodox homeland, Anna also fully engaged in the duties expected of a Capetian queen. The study of her queenship thus leads one to a fuller understanding of the process by which Anna adapted to and flourished in the new cultural and religious atmosphere of her married life, and, more generally, to an understanding of Orthodox-Catholic relations around the time of the so-called Great Schism of 1054.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> A concise definition of "queenship" – a queen's public office – may be found in A. Fössel, "The Queen's Wealth in the Middle Ages", *Majestas*, vol. 13 (2005), 23-45 (24). The study of medieval queenship is an ever-expanding field: see P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens GA, 1983); J. A. McNamara and Suzanne Wemple, "The Power of Women Through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100", in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Athens GA, 1988), 83-101, esp. 90-92; *Medieval Queenship*, ed. Parsons, *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, eds. J. Carpenter and S.-B. MacLean (Urbana, 1995); A. J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College London, April 1995* (Woodbridge, 1997), J. L. Nelson, "Medieval Queenship" in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. L. E. Mitchell (New York, 1999), 179-207, Heather Tanner, "Queenship: Office, Custom or Ad Hoc? The Case of Queen Mathilda III", in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Lord and Lady*, eds. J. Carmi Parsons and B. Wheeler (New York, 2003), 133-158, T. Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (London, 2013) with extensive further bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> Traditionally the date 1054 has been seen as the official schism of Christendom between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, but at least since Bernard Leib in the 1920s scholars have argued that this date has been exaggerated in significance, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: rapports religieux des Latins et des Gréco-Russes sous le pontificat d'Urbain II (1088-1099)* (Paris, 1968), xxxi. They point out that medieval contemporaries did not consider the mutual excommunications of the papal envoy Humbert and Patriarch Michael Keroularios to signify the beginnings of a permanent divide in Christendom. Steven Runciman argues that it that it is "impossible ... to give a precise date for the schism" because it occurred on several levels – political, cultural, theological – over time; *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), 160. Other scholars suggest that only as a result of the sack of Constantinople by crusaders in 1204 and the establishment of a Latin Empire did East-West relations dramatically worsen, V. T. Pashuto, *Vnesbnaia politika Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), 9; M. Hellmann, "Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen", in *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte*, eds. M. Bernath, H. Jablonowski, and W. Philipp, vol. 8 (Berlin 1962), 7-25 (9-10). H. Chadwick traces the origin of divergences between eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism in liturgical customs and theological positions back to the mid second century (for instance, differences in the celebration of Easter). Nonetheless, he notes that the sack of Constantinople by western crusaders in 1204 and the imposition of western doctrine on the Greek Church at the (failed) reunificatory Council of Florence in 1439 were of greater importance in making the Schism a permanent reality than the events of 1054, *East and west: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 2003), 274.

*Anointed Queen of France, 1051*

According to the *Life of Saint Lietbert of Cambrai (Vita sancti Lietberti)* written by the monk Raoul of Saint-Sépulchre around 1100, Anna Yaroslavna was the first queen of the Capetian dynasty to be married and crowned in Reims Cathedral, the seat of the primate of France.<sup>9</sup> The setting was unusual for an early Capetian marriage and perhaps points to the particular prestige attached by the French court to this long-distance alliance with the Rus princess.<sup>10</sup> It was a ceremony attended by many clerics as the monk Raoul claims that Henri's wedding with Anna took place simultaneously with Lietbert's consecration as bishop of Cambrai by the Archbishop of Reims, Gui de Soissons (r. 1033-1055), probably on Easter (31 March) or Pentecost (19 May) of 1051:<sup>11</sup>

King Henri was ruling over the kingdom of the Franks ... the nobility of the Franks provided for him the daughter of the King of the Rus people. Hearing of the future consecration of the bishop of Cambrai, since he had long desired to see the man, it concerned him that he would also act in his own matter. He asked that his bride, she who was obtained for him, equally be marked by the royal consecration [i.e. anointed] and blessed in the same gathering. Our Lord Lietbert, bishop of Cambrai, took part in and was in charge of this royal consecration. The carnal bride was joined to the king of France; Holy Church was united to Lord Lietbert, Bishop of Cambrai, the royal and episcopal chamberlain.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxii; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 66; Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship", 17; R.H. Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premières Capétiens. Recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français", *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France*, (1987), 7-56 (53); J. Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France au Xe et XIe siècles" in *Veuves et veuvage dans le haut Moyen Age*, ed. M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), 187-199 (189), J. S. Ott, "Both Mary and Martha: Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100" in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, eds. J. S. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007), 137-160 (143-146).

<sup>10</sup> Patrick Demouy points out that it was not established custom in the early Capetian dynasty for the Archbishop of Reims to always marry the king: Yves of Chartres planned to marry Philippe I and Berthe before the pope forbade it as an illicit union; Louis VI had his queen Adelaide of Maurienne crowned in Paris in 1115 by the Archbishop of Sens; Louis VII likewise crowned his three successive wives by the Archbishop of Sens; Eleanor of Aquitaine was crowned in Bordeaux in 1137; the archbishop of Sens officiated at the marriage of Constance of Castile in 1154 in Orleans and at Adèle of Champagne's marriage in 1160 in Paris. The Archbishop of Sens, once more, married Philippe Augustus and Isabelle of Hainaut at Saint-Denis in 1180: *Genèse d'une cathédrale: Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Langres, 2005), 573-574; see also Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements", 5-55.

<sup>11</sup> On Gui de Soissons' life see Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 607-608. Maurice Prou determines the date of the consecration on the basis of reports on the death of Lietbert's predecessor in the see of Cambrai, Gérard, who died on March 14th 1051. Lietbert's ordination in this year is confirmed also by the report of the second hagiography of Lietbert, the contemporary *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, which states that Lietbert was confirmed in his see by Emperor Henry III while the latter was celebrating Easter in Cologne; an event that also occurred in 1051, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxi-xxii. The bishops of Cambrai were subordinated to the archbishops of Reims, but received their comital authority from the German emperors, Ott, "Both Mary and Martha", 137-138.

<sup>12</sup> "Regnum Francorum rex regebat Henricus .... Rusciorum gentis regis filiam Francorum nobilitas ei parabat. Audiens Camaracensis episcopi consecrationem futuram, quoniam videre virum diu praeoptaverat, interfuit, acturus quoque sui negotii causam; petiit ut sponsa, quae sibi parabatur, in eodem conventu benediceretur regalique consecratione pariter insigniretur. Huic regiae consecratione dominus noster Lietbertus, Camaracensis episcopus, interfuit et praefuit. Regi Francorum coniungitur carnalis sponsa, domno Lietberto Cameracensium pontifici, regio et sacerdotali cubiculario, sancta committitur Ecclesia." Raoul of Saint-Sépulchre, *Vita sancti Lietberti* in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, vol. 25: *Iunius, Die vigesima tertia Iunii*, chap. 19 and 20, 593c, < <http://acta.chadwyck.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/all/search> > [accessed 27 January 2015];

The passage is obviously designed to emphasize Lietbert's sanctity, but also to stress harmony between the laity and clergy as well as between the ceremonies of royal marriage and episcopal consecration.<sup>13</sup> It is significant that the monk Raoul's description also underlines the assent of both Henri's nobles and clerics to Anna's anointing since they are the ones who chose her as Henri's bride and as their queen. The harmonious vision of unity depicted by the monk Raoul in which laity and clergy are all in agreement is especially striking in light of relations between the Eastern and Western churches: despite growing polemic in some ecclesiastical circles on dogmatic and liturgical issues, the highest prelates in France accept without written comment a bride from an Orthodox land. Indeed, the marriage is presented in a positive and prestigious fashion.

There is no evidence that this ceremony at Reims included Anna's re-baptism and/or re-naming as "Agnes" is as has been sometimes claimed.<sup>14</sup> Only three extant charters out of a total of twenty-six documents refer to her as "Agnes". The first of these, a royal confirmation of the re-foundation of Sainte-Nicaise de Reims and the donation of the estate of Houdilcourt to the monastery, could easily have a corrupt text, since it does not survive in the original or in any copies, but is only known through early modern references.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, the second instance of Anna's name as "Agnes" in a charter in favour of the abbey of Marmoutier whose earliest copy dates to 1639.<sup>16</sup> Only in the third instance does an original charter survive which gives

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RHGF, vol. 11, 481a; *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 146, col. 1459 <<http://pld.chadwyck.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/all/search>> [accessed 27 January 2015] [henceforth PL]; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 1, xxi, Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, pièce justificative [henceforth PJ], no. 14, 168-169.

<sup>13</sup> Lietbert's consecration as described by the monk Raoul of Saint-Sépulchre, writes John Otto insightfully, "was the very picture of social and religious concord .... Raoul accepted the superiority of clergy and canon law over secular dignity and tradition, but stressed their essential complementarity", "Both Mary and Martha", 147 (where the above-cited passage is further analyzed). Otto argues that Bishop Lietbert fits neither into the mould of a proto-'Gregorian' reformer nor an 'imperialist' bishop (*Reichsbischof*). Lietbert's hagiographer, Raoul of Saint-Sépulchre, writing in the early twelfth-century, portrays the bishop as one living both a contemplative and an active life, set apart from the German imperial court. At the same time, the hagiography looks back with nostalgia at the harmonious co-operation between Empire and Church in the first half of the eleventh century, "Both Mary and Martha", 137-160.

<sup>14</sup> The first to present the view that Anna had to be re-baptized as "Agnes" in France was Labanoff de Rostoff in his *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, viii and ix. This thesis subsequently has been presented as an undisputed fact in, for example, G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven, 1973), 342- 343 and in "Anne of Kiev, queen of France [Anne of Russia; Agnes]", in A. Echols and M. Williams, *An Annotated Index of Medieval Women* (New York, 1992), 55.

<sup>15</sup> The first reference to a charter is in a letter from the monks of Saint-Nicaise to Dom Mabillon (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12688, fol. 45r): "*Tâchez de trouver la charte de Henri I, roy de France, qui a confirmé le rétablissement du monastère faite par Gervais et donne la terre de Houdilcourt, redonnée ensuite et confirmée par Philippe I.*", cited in Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, 106. The charter is also referred to in Guillaume Marlot's seventeenth-century summary of donations made to Saint Nicaise: "... *praesentatâ Regis Henrici, & vxoris suae Agnetis libera donatione, cum suo, & Successoris sui Philippi praecepto & confirmatione ...*", *Metropolis Remensis historia*, vol. 1: *In Quo Remorum gentis origo, vetus dominium, Christianae religionis per Prouinciam Belgicam initia... quatuor libris distinctè referuntur* (Lille, 1666), "Epitome chronicon Celebris Monasterij S. Nicaisij Rem. Ordinis S. Benedicti..."; chap. 10, 646.

<sup>16</sup> The name "Agnes" appears in the three copies of the charter. The oldest copy is from 1639: Blois, Archives départementales de Loir-et-Cher, 16 H 113, 5r-6v (5v). The other copies include a cartulary of the abbey of Marmoutier made in 1701-1800: R. Gaignières, *Chartularium Majoris Monasterii Turonensis ordinis S. Benedicti* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. 5441), 101-103 (102), digitized by Gallica, <

Anna's name as "Agnes" (Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, n. 1), but it only appears in a genitive form in the witness-list ("Agne regine").<sup>17</sup> As the Vicomte de Saint-Aymour noted already in the nineteenth century, the correct genitive form of "Agnes" should in fact be *Agnetis*.<sup>18</sup> In all other extant charters discussed here, however, both before and after 1054, the queen's name is given as Anna. Moreover, Western canon law, in fact, discouraged re-baptism as it asserted the sacrament should only be taken once and declared the equal validity of the Greek baptismal formula to the Latin one.<sup>19</sup>

The exact coronation ritual used for Anna's anointing as queen is not known but in the extant *ordo* chronologically closest to Anna's coronation Old Testament models of queenship, including Judith and Esther, are invoked (the Royal Ordo in Köln, Dombibliothek Ms 141; also known as the Ordo of Arras, originating from the archdiocese of Reims in c.1000-1050).<sup>20</sup> The queen is urged to be like Esther in becoming not only a sharer of the king's marriage bed, but also an active "partaker of his royal power."<sup>21</sup>

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<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077798j/f54.image> > [accessed 2 January 2016], and an eighteenth-century copy in the manuscript history of Dom E. Martène (1654-1739), *Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 12878), fol. 162v. The terms of the charter are also summarized in Dom E. Martène, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier publiée [...] par M. l'abbé C. Chevalier*, vol. 1, 372-1104 (Tours, 1874-1875), 335, digitized in Gallica, < <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5604268z/f619.item> >. Prou lists the copy of 1639 but without giving its fond number or shelf mark. See *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier Roi de France*, no. 6, 17-20, and the discussion of this charter below. I am grateful to Alexis Durand at the Loir-et-Cher archives for providing me with a copy of this charter and of providing the correct bibliographical reference.

<sup>17</sup> Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, n. 1, Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 10, 102, *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 9, 21 and end-leaf (no page, facsimile of charter), *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 4, 13 and n. 1, 15. It survives in several other copies, the oldest two from the thirteenth century, the White Cartulary of Saint Denis, Paris, Archives nationales de France, LL 1157, 26 under the rubric "Philippi regis de quadam villa tradita in vadimonium" and in Saint Denis' *Livre des privilèges*, Paris, Archives nationales de France LL 1156 fols. 55v and 56r. under the rubric "Confirmatio Philippi regis de Curtesiolo". Anna's name is not given in this last copy; the charter is only noted as being made "per interventum matris mei" on fol. 56 r. For Labanoff de Rostoff, this original charter served as conclusive proof that Anna had to change her name after the Schism of 1054. Labanoff de Rostoff, *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, v-vi.

<sup>18</sup> Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, 79. The matter is not cleared up by the fact that in the text of the charter itself her name remains unexpanded ("per interventum matris mee A."). Gertrud Thoma suggests that the names Agnes/Anna were thought to correspond to each other in medieval nomenclature, citing for instance, the same alternation of the name Anna/Agnes that also occurs for Agnes of Châtillon (d. c.1184), wife of King Béla III of Hungary (r. 1172-1196), *Namensänderungen in Herrscherfamilien des mittelalterlichen Europa* (Kallmünz, 1985), 198. On Agnes of Châtillon see also P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London, 2001), 53 and genealogical table 1, 381.

<sup>19</sup> P. Torquebiau, "Baptême en Occident", in *Dictionnaire du droit canonique*, gen. ed. R. Naz, vol. 2 (Paris, 1937), 110-174 (123), W. W. Bassett, "The Impediment of Mixed Religion of the Synod in Trullo (A.D. 691)", *The Jurist*, vol. 29 (1969) 383-415 (393), Thoma, *Namensänderungen*, n. 106, 188-189, Chadwick, *East and West*, 229.

<sup>20</sup> *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. A. Jackson, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1995), 214-215. Cf. J. L. Nelson, "Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship", in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Duggan, 301-315 (315).

<sup>21</sup> "Deus ... ut sicut Hesther reginam Israelis ... dignam sublimemque regis nostri copulam regnique sui participium misericorditer transire concedas", Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, vol.1, 215. On the importance of the Biblical Queen Esther as a model for medieval queens, see L. L. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: the Esther Topos", in *Power of the Weak*, eds. Carpenter and MacLean, 125-146, esp. 129, Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 11.

According to this *ordo*, a crown was to be placed on the queen's head with words that recall a Christian's wish to be crowned with eternal glory at the end of time:

Accept the crown ... so that you may shine, splendid, and be crowned with eternal joy ... preserve the crown of royal excellence, which although it is placed on your head by the unworthy hands of bishops, from which, just as externally you shine forth encircled with gold and gems, so also internally may you be able to be adorned with the gold of wisdom and with gems of virtues, while, after the end of this world worthily and praiseworthy running to meet our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal Bridegroom, with the wise virgins, may you merit to enter the royal door of the heavenly court, by the help of our same Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>22</sup>

Although this specific *ordo* may not have been used at Anna's consecration, the text of extant *ordines* for queens' consecrations is stable enough to suggest that something similar was used, probably with additions or modifications to reflect the particular circumstances of this long-distance alliance. While Janet L. Nelson rightly warns against reading medieval *ordines* purely as "juristic texts" outlining claims of power, the public ceremony of the queen's anointing nonetheless communicated verbally, symbolically, and ritualistically the queen's roles and responsibilities.<sup>23</sup> These roles included co-rulership with her husband, chastity and fertility in marriage, and the promotion of virtue and true faith. The degree to which Anna understood these principles of queenship can be seen in the royal charters in which she participated, in which the religious, the political, and the practical were tightly interwoven.

#### *Queen consort: Charters with Henri I, 1051-1060*

In the first years of her marriage, Anna fulfilled her primary responsibility as queen by providing Henri with long-awaited successors. She gave her husband three sons: Philippe in 1052, the heir to the throne, Hugh around 1057 (later known as "the Great", d. 1101), and Robert, who died as a child.<sup>24</sup> There also might have been a daughter named Edigna or

<sup>22</sup> "Accipe coronam glorie ... ut splendida fulgeas et aeterna exultatione coroneris ... retine coronam regalis excellencie, que licet ab indignis episcoporum tamen manibus capiti tuo est imposita, unde sicut exterius auro et gemmis redimita enites, ita et interius auro sapientie virtutumque gemmis decorari valeas, quatinus post occasum huius seculi cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni domino nostro Iesu Christo, digne et laudabiliter occurrens, regiam celestis aulae merearis ingredi ianuam, auxiliante eodem domino nostro Iesu Christo ...", Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, vol.1, 216.

<sup>23</sup> J. Nelson, "Ritual and Reality in the Early Medieval Ordines", in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 329-340 (338). See also Nelson, "Medieval Queenship", 192.

<sup>24</sup> "Rex etiam accepit in coniugium filiam regis Russorum Annam, quae ei tres genuit filios, Philippum videlicet, Hugonem, atque Rotbertum. Quorum Rotbertus immatura morte decessit"; Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum regum Francorum, Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores* [henceforth, MGH, Scriptores], ed. Georgius Heinricus Pertz (Hannover, 1826-1934), vol. 9, 388-389; RHGF, vol. 11, 159d; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, n. 1, xv; Raoul Tortaire, *Miracula sancti Benedicti*: "... Rex Ainricus in conjugium sibi adscivit filiam Regis Russorum, nomine Annam. Haec ei peperit tres filios, Philippum, Rotbertum, Hugonem ...", RHGF, vol. 11, 486d; *Ex Chronicon Fr. Andreae Monachi Aquicinctini, De Regibus Francorum*: "Henricus Rex... duxit uxorem nomine Annam filiam Georgii Sclavi Regis; ex qua genuit tres filios, Philippum, Robertum et Hugonem ...", RHGF, vol. 11, 365a; *Ex Historiae Franc. Fragmento*, "Qui post Mahilidis Reginae inhumationem, accepit aliam conjugem, videlicet filiam Jurisclobt, Regis Russorum, nomine Annam; quae ei genuit tres filios, Philippum, Hugonem, Rotbertum", RHGF, vol. 11, 161c; *Ex Chronicis Veteris Excerpto*, "Hic rex ... uxorem duxit nomine Annam, filiam Georgii Sclavi Regis Rutorum [sic]; ex qua genuit filios tres, Philippum, Robertum, Hugonem ...", RHGF, vol. 11, 159c; "Cum qua Rex feliciter vivens, ex ea genuit tres filios, Philippum videlicet, Robertum et Hugonem", *Excerptum Historicum* (interpolations in Hugh of Fleury) in RHGF, vol. 11, 157d. Hallu estimates that Robert died around age ten, *Anne de Kiev*, 78.

Emma.<sup>25</sup> It was Anna who introduced the Greek name "Philippe" to France, as Jean Dunbabin has successfully demonstrated.<sup>26</sup> Among the inspirations for the name of Anna and Henri's first born might have been the Apostle Philip, who was said to have converted the Scythians. Latin sources identified Rus with ancient Scythia, such as the *Annals of Vendôme* which described Henri as marrying a "Scythian and Rus' wife".<sup>27</sup> The choice of Philippe's name thus celebrated the newly-established marriage alliance between the Riurikid dynasty of Rus and the Capetian dynasty of France.<sup>28</sup>

The dating of the seven extant charters in which Anna appears as co-actor, intercessor, corroborator, or witness during her first husband's lifetime suggests that Anna participated more fully in royal government only after the birth of the heir to the throne.<sup>29</sup> Whether or not this was in fact the case, Anna soon made good on the obligations of queenship communicated to her at her coronation not only to ensure the royal succession, but also to be a partaker of her husband's royal power. In the first extant record of her participation in the *curia regis*, dating between 1050/1051 and October 1055, she settled with her husband the long-standing dispute over an estate in Villiers-Franqueux between the monastery of Saint-Thierry and Gui de Soissons, the Archbishop of Reims who had officiated at her consecration as queen.<sup>30</sup> Gui de Soissons had seized the estate and given it to his lay administrator (*viceminus*),

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<sup>25</sup> Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 78; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 308. Saint Emma or Edigna's (c. 1055- d. 26 February 1109) existence is asserted by the chronicler William of Jumièges (before 1087) as well as in her *vita*. She supposedly fled marriage to live in poverty in Puch, near Fürstenfeldbruch in upper Bavaria; N. del Re, "Edigna" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, eds. F. Caraffa, G. Morelli et al., vol. 4 (Rome, 1964), 910-911. No-one has yet proposed, however, that this Emma might be the daughter of Henri's previous wife, Matilda of Frisia, and that she would end up in a Bavarian monastery due to her mother's German family connections. It seems improbable that after ten years of marriage with his Matilda of Frisia (from 1034-1044) Henri should have no surviving children at all with her. This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that William of Jumièges conflates Anna with Matilda in his account (giving Henri but one wife) and seems unaware of the existence of Henri's son Robert: "*rex ... Mathildem Iulii Clodii [=Yaroslav!] regis Rugorum filiam in matrimonio habuit, ex qua duos filios, Philippum et Hugonem, unamque filiam genuit*", *The gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, vol. 2: *Books V-VIII*, ed. E. Van Houts (Oxford, 1992-1995), p. 152. Older edition in: *Excerptum Willelmi Calculi Gemeticensis Monachi Historia Normannorum* in *RHGF*, vol. 11, 48d. N. del Re, "Edigna", 910 considers her to be a daughter of Henri I or Philippe I ("figila forse del re di Francia Enrico I o di Filippo I"), but this is not chronologically possible as Philippe would have been but a child at her birth.

<sup>26</sup> Dunbabin, "What's in a Name?", 949-968.

<sup>27</sup> "MLJ [1051]. *Heinricus, Francorum rex, uxorem duxit Scithicam et Rufam*", *RHGF*, vol. 11, 29d; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 1, xix, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 8, 165. "Rufa" means a "red-head", but it is very easy for a scribe to mix up "P" and "s", in which case it should read "Rusa". The correction is made by Léopold Delisle in *RHGF*, vol. 11, 29 n. "b".

<sup>28</sup> Dunbabin, "What's in a Name?", 952-954.

<sup>29</sup> The total of seven extant charters to which Anna subscribed to during her first husband's life time forms a significant numerical contrast to the complete lack of extant charters subscribed to by Henri's previous wife, Matilda of Frisia.

<sup>30</sup> Saint-Thierry au Mont d'Or, founded in the sixth century, is located in the diocese of Reims; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 89, n. 1, 93. For a map of the Reims diocese and its major pilgrimage churches, see Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 196. The dating of this first extant charter is determined based on the marriage date of Anna and Henri (1050/1051) and the fact that Archbishop Gui died in October 1055, Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 89, 93. This struggle between Saint-Thierry's monks and the archbishops stretched back to the episcopate of Gui's predecessor, Eubles de Roucy (r. 1021-1033). The charter survives in a near-contemporary note dating to 1059 made in a ninth-century manuscript belonging to Saint-Thierry and containing Saint Augustine's commentaries on the Psalms; Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, Ms.

his own powerful nephew Count Manassès known as "Bald Ass" (*Calva Asina*).<sup>31</sup> The royal court judged in favour of the monastery, asking the Archbishop to return the estate in Villiers-Franqueux to Saint-Thierry. The decision is described as taking place in the *curia regis* in the joint presence of Anna and Henri, Archbishop Richard of Sens and Bishop Hélinand of Laon, as well as Count Raoul of Crépy-en-Valois, Anna's future second husband.<sup>32</sup> Though Henri was in no way a supporter of Gregorian-style church reform – he had famously ignored the Council of Reims in 1049 – the charter in favour of Saint-Thierry demonstrates how the Capetian royal family at this time conceived of itself as defending the Church while at the same time protecting its own interests against powerful ecclesiastical lords.<sup>33</sup>

Besides Saint-Thierry, other Benedictine monasteries also benefited from the joint patronage of Henri and Anna: Sainte-Nicaise de Reims (between October 1055 to 4 August 1060),<sup>34</sup> Saint-Maur-des-Fossé (c.1053-12 July 1058),<sup>35</sup> Coulombs (before 1059),<sup>36</sup> Saint-

85, fol. 3r. The entire manuscript has been digitized online in both black-and-white and colour copies: Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, < <http://www.bm-reims.fr/ClientBookLine/recherche/NoticesDetaillees.asp?INSTANCE=exploitation&iNotice=9&ldebut=&chkckbox23=off&chk0=off&chk1=off&chk2=off&chk3=off&chk4=off&chk5=off&chk6=off&chk7=off&chk8=off&chk9=on&DISPLAYMENU=&IDTEZO=&IDTEZOBASE=&IDTEZOFORM=>> [accessed 3 June 2013] and Gallica <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449024c>> [accessed 27 January 2015]. The case is summarized in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1751), 185 and listed in Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 89, 93.

<sup>31</sup> "Defuncto eballo successit Wido in pontificatum. qui etiam suggrentibus peruersis et infidelibus uiris/membris uideclit diaboli illud quod uir bonus respiciens ecclesie reddidit. lesa ius-/tittia inproprios usus conuertit tenuitque ... abbas/ albertus et modo sancti B. apud regiam maiestatem de predicta iniustitia multum conquesti/obtinuerunt ut et rex archiepiscopum oraret immo preciperet ut ab iniusta exactione/quam in ecclesiam dei fecerat desisteret. ...", Reims MS 85, fol. 3r. Thanks to Andrew Dunning for his help with the transcription. The relationship with Manassès is known through a charter of 1053, AD Reims, 56H833 cited in Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 607 and n. 26, 607. Gui was the brother-in-law of Manassès's father, Hilduin II de Ramerupt. Hilduin III de Ramerupt, the half-brother of Manassès, married Adèle, countess of Roucy, whose mother was Béatrice of Hainaut and whose father was Archbishop Ebles de Roucy; Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 516 and genealogical table 1. Béatrice's mother, Havide, was Henri I's aunt, the daughter of Hugh Capet. Ebles de Roucy, who conveniently had discovered a bond of consanguinity between himself and Beatrice, later separated from her and became archbishop, M. Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne v. 950-v. 1150* (Nancy, 1977), genealogical table no. 17, 160-161; Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 515-516.

<sup>32</sup> "... in curia/regis presente Henrico rege et regina. et Richero Senonensi archiepiscopo/ Elinando Laudunensi episcopo Rodulfo comite"; "Ms. 85", < <http://www.bm-reims.fr/ClientBookLine/recherche/NoticesDetaillees.asp?INSTANCE=exploitation&iNotice=9&ldebut=&chkckbox23=off&chk0=off&chk1=off&chk2=off&chk3=off&chk4=off&chk5=off&chk6=off&chk7=off&chk8=off&chk9=on&DISPLAYMENU=&IDTEZO=&IDTEZOBASE=&IDTEZOFORM=>> [accessed 3 June 2013] and <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449024c>> [accessed 27 January 2015]. The Roucy family returned to the archbishop's seat: Manassès *Calva Asina*'s son, also named Manassès (who was thus also the great-nephew of Archbishop Gui de Soissons) later became Archbishop of Reims (r. 1096-1106); Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne*, 257; Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, 516-517 and 617-619, genealogical tables 2-3.

<sup>33</sup> On the goals, circumstances, and legislation of the Council of Reims of 1049 as well as a list of primary and secondary sources, see O. Pontal, *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu'en 1215* (Paris, 1995), 154-158.

<sup>34</sup> The document is issued in document in Melun, purportedly dating between October 1055, when Gervais de Château-du-Loir was made the new Archbishop of Reims, and 4 August 1060, when Henri died. It confirms the re-establishment by Gervais of the monastery of Sainte-Nicaise de Reims and grants the land of Houdilcourt to the monastery (Houdilcourt-et-Poicourt, Ardennes); *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, viii and ix; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, NO. 104, n. 3, 105; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310. See the discussion on this charter above.

<sup>35</sup> The charter survives in the original (Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101; formerly K 19 no. 5/2) as well as in nine copies dating from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier*

Philibert of Tournus (23 May 1059),<sup>37</sup> and Saint Remi de Sens (1059-1060).<sup>38</sup> Anna's subscription as "A. Reginae" is also added to a charter generally considered a forgery that was supposedly issued by Henri I for the Abbey of Hasnon and dated to 5 August 1058.<sup>39</sup>

Anna's participation in these royal charters indicates several ways in which she was integrated into the cultural, political, and ecclesiastical world of her husband. She acted in consort with Henri as a member of the so-called "Capetian Trinity," the household-based government in which royal authority (*auctoritas*) was exercised jointly by king, queen, and royal children.<sup>40</sup> She participated in the judgments of the court as a member of the *curia regis*, and in the public ceremonials that accompanied the dispensation of justice and grants to monasteries.

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*Roi de France*, no. 102, 104. A high-quality colour photograph is provided in Régis Lapasin, ed. et al., *Le Pouvoir en Actes: fonder, dire, montrer, contrefaire l'autorité* (Paris, 2013), 172 and Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, plate vi. Printed (without witness-list) in *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne* no. 1, 1-2 and RHGF, vol. 11, no. 32, 600; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, document no. 2083 <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte2083/>> [accessed 29 January 2014]. Listed in Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 1, 92; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 102, 103-104; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 54, 185; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 87; Bologomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310. See also the discussion of this charter below.

<sup>36</sup> Anna corroborates with her husband Henri I the donations of the knight Hugues Bardoux or Bardulphe/Bardoul, lord of Nogent (r. 1040-1059) to the monastery of Coulombs (these include a church, Notre-Dame in Villemeux, a ploughshare of land, an acre of a vineyard, wood, meadows, and so on). The charter only survives in late printed copies; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 4, 10; listed in Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 120, 123. Hugues had a troubled relationship with the king: Henri I had confiscated Nogent in 1044 after besieging Hugues in his castle for two years and banishing the knight from his kingdom. Hugues regained possession of his lands in 1048, and thereafter accompanied Henri on the king's campaigns; M. Marre, *Les seigneurs de Nogent-le-Roi et les abbés de Coulombs sous la dynastie Capétienne d'après un manuscrit inédit de l'Abbé de Sabuguet d'Espagnac conseiller en la grand' chambre du Parlement, rapporteur des affaires de la Cour* (Dreux, 1861), 10-12.

<sup>37</sup> The donation to Saint-Philibert does not survive in the original and its earliest copy is in a "Vidimus" of Philippe the Fair (Le Bel) of March 1309 (Paris, Archives nationales de France, JJ. 41, fols. 12 v-13 v., act. no. 12). The charter was made at Philippe I's coronation (see below) and confirms a long list of goods of the monastery as well as the right of the monks to mint their own money, to hold three fairs of four days each on the Feast of Saint Peter and Paul, on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and on the feast of Saint Martin, to elect their own abbot, and to have exemption from various royal tolls and taxes on land and on rivers; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, 95; RHGF, vol. 11, no. 33, 600c-602a, listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 54, 185. Abbot William of the Monastery of Saint Philibert of Tournus was present at Philippe's coronation on Pentecost Day, 23 May 1059; cf. the *Memorandum of the Coronation of Philip I in Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, vol. 1, 230 and 237. Saint Philibert was said to be a seventh-century monk and confessor, who fled his position at the court of King Dagobert to renounce the world, P. Juenin, *Nouvelle Histoire de l'abbaye royale et collegiale de Saint Filibert, et de la ville de Tournus* (Dijon, 1733), 3, 7, 16-17, 23-25.

<sup>38</sup> The monastery is exempted from sheltering royal huntsmen (*stabularii*), soldiers, and dogs on the condition that the monks celebrate a daily mass for Henri's soul as well as for the souls of his parents and on the condition that they pay every three years three *muids* (Latin: *modius*, a measure of liquids and dry goods) of *trémois* (Latin: *modius*) to feed his horses. The original does not survive and the charter is only extant in two very late copies: one from 1650 printed in *Epitaphium coenobii S. Remigii Senon.* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 13878), 236 and an eighteenth-century copy in Bouvier's *Chronique de Saint-Remi de Sens*; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier*, no. 123, 125-126; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 311. The *muid* of Paris was equivalent to 268 litres, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, ed. A. Beaujean (Paris, 1895), 739.

<sup>39</sup> Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier*, forgery III, 130-131; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 311. It is published as authentic in RHGF, vol. 11, no. 31, 599b-e; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 2, 2-4; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 2, 92; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 54, 185.

<sup>40</sup> Facing, "A Study of Medieval Queenship", 24.

These grants also established an ongoing social and spiritual relationship between Anna, the monks who were the beneficiaries of royal patronage, and, ultimately, the saints which those monks served.<sup>41</sup> All of these activities suggest Anna's integration into the life of the royal court as queen consort and mother to the king's children.

One example serves to illustrate Anna's membership in this "Capetian Trinity" of government. In an act dating to c.1058 King Henri agrees with the monks of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés that royal officials have usurped unjustly the monks' right to exact tolls on beef and meat. His judgment in favour of the monastery is made "with the agreement of my wife Anna, and my sons Philippe, Robert, and Hugh."<sup>42</sup> Below the eschatocol of this charter, which survives in the original, the witness-list is divided into two columns. On the left-hand side the scribe lists twenty-three names of counts, viscounts, and, in a smaller hand, lesser royal officials who assented to the act.<sup>43</sup> The *signa* of the royal family, however, are listed together in a facing column on the right-hand side of the document. Henri's tops the list (*Signum Henrici gloriosi regis*); Anna's follows directly below her husband's signature and next to a thick, probably autograph cross (*Signum regine Anne*). The *signa* of Henri and Anna's sons, Philippe and Robert and their own autograph crosses, then follow. Finally, the king's seal (now lost) was appended below Robert's name.<sup>44</sup>

Graphically, the lay-out of the witness-list indicates the social hierarchy and corporate identity of the validators of this act.<sup>45</sup> Henri's position at the head of this list and the presence of a seal that doubtlessly bore his image clearly indicate the king's place at the top of this social hierarchy.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, however, the scribe's grouping of the signatures of the royal family together, separate from the other signatories of the act, serves to emphasize the corporate identity of all members of the royal family, including Queen Anna. They share

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<sup>41</sup> The classic study on the reciprocal social, and religious bonds established between donor and monastery through donations of land is B. H. Rosenwein, *To Be a Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989). See also the concise remarks in W. C. Brown, M. Costambeys, M. Innes and A. J. Kosto, eds., "Introduction", *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2003), 1-16 (7).

<sup>42</sup> "*Istam concessionem pro remedio animae maeae feci, annuente mea conjuge Anna, et prole Philippo, Roiberto, ac Hugone.*" Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101, formerly K 19 no. 5/2; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 102, 104, Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, plate vi; Lapasin, ed. et al., *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 172 (photograph); *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne* no. 1, 2; RHGF, vol. 11, no. 32, 600; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, document no. 2083 <<http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/chartre2083/>> [accessed 29 January 2014]. Listed in Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 1, 92; Soehnée, ed. *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 102, 103-104 and Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310.

<sup>43</sup> "*Guillelmi comitis Corbuliensis. S. Gualteri comitis Medante. S. Hugonis Bardulfi. ....*" Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101, formerly K 19 no. 5/2; Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, plate vi; Lapasin, *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 172 (photograph), *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 2083.

<sup>44</sup> Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101; formerly K 19 no. 5/2; Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, plate vi; Lapasin, *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 172 (photograph); *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 2083.

<sup>45</sup> The juridical and semiotic functions of the signature are traced in Béatrice Fraenkel, *La signature: genèse d'un signe* (Paris, 1992), especially 30.

<sup>46</sup> Henri was the first French king to use a seal of the so-called 'majesty type' ("type de majesté") in which the king is depicted *en face* seated on a throne with a crown and holding a scepter. See Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, 192, Eliana Magnani, "Enregistrer une donation. Acte diplomatique, vers et image dans la chronique versifiée de Saint-Martin-des-Champs" in *Le don et le contre-don. Usages et ambiguïtés d'un paradigme anthropologique aux époques médiévale et moderne*, eds. L. Faggion and L. Verdon (Aix-en-Provence, 2010), 10-11 accessed at <halshs-00541527> [accessed 20 March 2015].

membership in the "Capetian Trinity" of royal authority. George Tessier uses this charter as an illustration of the nadir of the king's power under the early Capetians, since the king requires the consent of queen, royal children, vassals, and royal officers to lend juridic authority to his act.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, however, the charter also indicates the importance of the queen's public exercise of co-rulership with her husband at this time. The royal family's autograph crosses – signs of Christian salvation and of Christ's power – stress that it is God who is the source of this royal authority, to whom both king and queen are subject.<sup>48</sup>

Anna's role as queen consort and patroness may also be seen in the last extant royal act issued and jointly subscribed by Anna and Henri before the latter's death. In it, Anna and Henri I ceremoniously re-founded the monastery of Saint-Martin-des-Champs (1059/1060) outside the gates of Paris as a house of regular canons.<sup>49</sup> Once more, the charter indicates that the entire family lent their royal authority to the act: "Therefore I, King Henri, and the Queen equally [*pariter*] and Philippe my son with his brothers corroborate its strength by our hand..."<sup>50</sup> This charter includes the *signa* of Henri, Anna, and Philippe, as well as those of eight bishops and of Count Raoul.<sup>51</sup> The fact that the king knew that he was ailing and made arrangements to ensure the succession is suggested by the fact that he had his seven-year-old son Philippe crowned king that same year, on Pentecost Day (23 May 1059).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Tessier *Diplomatique royale française*, 208.

<sup>48</sup> The message that God is the ultimate source of royal authority and guarantor of the act is reinforced also by the charter's Christogram and opening invocation to the Trinity in whose name the act takes place: "In nomine sanctę et individue Trinitatis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti", Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101; formerly K 19 no. 5/2, Lapasin, *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 172; Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, plate vi; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 2083; Fraenkel, *La signature*, 57-59. M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1993), 313; Lapasin, *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 17, 171 and 172 (photograph); Guyotjeannin, "Les actes d'Henri", 93.

<sup>49</sup> This charter also does not survive in the original, but an eleventh-century copy exists in the *Chronique versifiée de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* (London, British Library, add. Mss. 11662, fol. 4v). The text is printed in PL, vol. 151, no. 10, 1037a-1038c; RHGF, vol. 11, no. 36, 605-606; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 1, 92; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 6, 13-16; *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs: monastère parisien*, ed. J. Depoin, vol. 1, in *Archives de la France monastique*, vol. 13 (1912), no. 6, 17; listed in Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 125, 127-129; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 54, 185; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310-311. In contrast to the text, however, the accompanying illustration in the *Chronique*, however, depicts only Henri as founder, Guyotjeannin, "Les actes d'Henri", 95; Magnani, "Enregistrer une donation", 23-37.

<sup>50</sup> "Ego ipse rex Henricus et Regina partier et Philippus filius meus cum fratribus suis manu firmatam corroboravimus", PL, vol. 151, no. 10, 1038b; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 6, 15.

<sup>51</sup> "Signum Henrici regis. S. Philippi regis. S. Annae reginae... S. Radulfi comitis", PL, vol. 151, no. 10; 1038b-1038c; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 6, 15-16; RHGF, vol. 11, 606; *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, no. 6, 17; Soehnée, *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France*, no. 125, 127.

<sup>52</sup> Philippe I was crowned king at Reims Cathedral by the new royal appointee to the archiepiscopal see, Archbishop Gervais. The Archbishop's memorandum of the coronation ceremony still survives, being "the only description of a precise coronation between 877 and 1461"; *Memorandum of the Coronation of Philip I in Ordines coronationis Franciae*: ed. Jackson, vol. 1. 216-239 (217) where the manuscripts and editions are also given. This memorandum makes no mention of Anna's presence at the ceremony (nor indeed, of any woman), but it does mention the two bishops who accompanied Anna from Rus to France, Roger of Châlons and Gautier of Meaux, as well as Anna's future second husband, Count Raoul de Crépy; RHGF, vol. 11, 33 and *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, vol. 1, 237-238, discussed in Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements", 53. Philippe II Augustus (r. 1180-1223) was the first Capetian who did not crown, consecrate, or formally designate his heir (the future Louis VIII), before his own death; Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements", 56; R. E. Giesey, "Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials", in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J. M. Bak (Berkeley, 1990), 35-45 (37).

In 1059, Anna also received a letter addressed directly to her from Pope Nicholas II (r. 1059-1061).<sup>53</sup> The pope's legates, Bishop Hugh of Besançon and Bishop Ermenfroi de Sion, were present at Philippe's coronation, and it was perhaps through them that the pope was informed about Henri's illness and Anna's imminent more active role in royal government.<sup>54</sup> In the letter, Nicholas II presents Anna with Biblical *exempla* for her to follow in rulership. He stresses both the positive model of the Queen of Sheba who sought wisdom and the negative example of Michal, daughter of Saul, who mocked David for dancing before the Ark of the Covenant.<sup>55</sup> In return, God punished Michal by depriving her of male children.<sup>56</sup> Nicholas II contrasts Michal's childlessness with Anna's fertility, and counsels that Anna ought to instruct her children to follow the Church's teachings.<sup>57</sup>

The final words of Nicholas' letter echo the *ordo* of a queen's crowning in that they draw a direct link between a Christian queen's responsibilities in her terrestrial kingdom and her aim to deserve one day the heavenly realm: "You also, o daughter, possess wisdom by obeying divine commands, so that you may merit to abound suitably for the salvation of your soul and on earth, and to come from the height of a transitory kingdom to a celestial one."<sup>58</sup> The 'private' pious actions of a queen and her good works are presented in the letter as a fulfillment both of Anna's Christian duties and as part of her royal office. It should be added that in no part of the papal letter is Anna's upbringing in the eastern rite of the Byzantine Church mentioned nor does it seem at all problematic in the image with which Nicholas flatters her as a pious queen.

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<sup>53</sup> It was probably written on the pope's behalf by Peter Damian; *Petrus Damiani Epistolae* in MGH *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4, part 2: *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reinde (Munich, 1993), Ep. 64, 225-27 < [http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M\\_AAO\\_KAU](http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M_AAO_KAU) > [accessed 29 January 2014]; *S. Petri Damiani S. R. E. Cardinalis Epistolarum*, PL vol. 144, Epistola IX, 447-48 < <http://acta.chadwyck.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/all/search> > [accessed 27 January 2015]; RHGF, vol. 11, 653-654, *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5, 10-12; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 82-84; Latin text with English translation by Ashleigh Imus in "A letter from Nicholas II, pope (1059, October)" in *Epistolae* < <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1190.html> > [accessed 14 August 2014]. French translation in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 53, 182-183.

<sup>54</sup> "astante Hogone Bisonticensi Nicholai pape legato, et cum Ermendfredo Sedunensi" (variant: "praesentibus Hugone archiepiscopo Vesontionensi et Ermenfrido episcopo Sedunensi, Nicolai papae legatis"), *Memorandum of the Coronation of Philip I, Ordines coronationis Franciae*, vol. 1, 228 (see also 231 and 237); *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, nos. 1 and 2, xxiv; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 79; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 311. Pontal sees the letter as an attempt on the part of Nicholas II to introduce church reform in France through Anna Yaroslavna; *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu'en 1215*, 162. On the importance of a queen's intercession in promoting church reform see also Huneycutt, "Intercession", 131.

<sup>55</sup> "Regina quippe Saba venit non videre divitias, sed audire sapientiam Salomonis", RHGF, vol. 11, 653e-654a; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5, 12; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 84. The Biblical story is told in 1 Kings 10:1-13 and in 2 Chronicles 9: 1-12.

<sup>56</sup> "Quae profecto quia desiderium suum in sola carne posuerant, carnis fructu debita est admiadversione private. Unde Paulo post scriptura subiungit: igitur Michol filiae Saul, non est natus filius usque ad diem mortis suae", RHGF, vol. 11, 653e; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5, 2; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 84. Nicholas cites the text of 2 Samuel 6: 23.

<sup>57</sup> "Tu, autem, gloriosa filia, quia fecunditatis donum divinitus meruisti, sic clarissimam instrue sobolem, ut inter ipsa lactantis infantiae rudimenta ad creatoris sui nutriatur amorem. Per te igitur discant cui potissimum debeat, et quod in regalis aulae solio sunt nobiles geniti, et quod in regalis aulae solio sunt nobiles geniti, et quod in ecclesiae gremio longe nobilium per sancti spiritus gratiam sunt renati", RHGF, vol. 11, 653 e; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5, 12; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 84.

<sup>58</sup> "Tu, etiam, filia, divinis obediendo mandatis, sapientiam posside; ut merearis ad salute animae tuae et terrenis competenter affluere, et de transitorii regni culmine ad coeleste transire", RHGF, vol. 11, p. 654a; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 84.

*Co-Regent and Countess of Valois*

After Henri's death on 4 August 1060, Anna took part in the regency for Philippe I, now eight years old, though scholars have expressed different views on the capacity in which Anna ruled for (or with) her son.<sup>59</sup> Her co-regency must be put in its historical context: only in the thirteenth century did a queen of France rule alone on her son's behalf and not until the ordinances of Charles V in 1374 and 1375 was the term 'regency' used to define a queen's role formally and legally in this regard (at the same time when women were also definitely excluded from the royal succession).<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless queens had been fulfilling the function of regent *de facto* since Merovingian times, ruling on behalf of their young sons often with the co-operation of a powerful male noble.<sup>61</sup> Such was probably the arrangement during Anna Yaroslavna's widowhood. Count Baldwin V of Flanders (1035-1067), who had married Henri I's sister, Adèle, is named as Philippe's male regent in both chronicle sources and charters, where he is designated by the titles *procurator* and *bajulus* (both roughly meaning regent, governor, or administrator).<sup>62</sup> As Olivier-Martin argues in detail, these titles are rather vague and do not reflect a specific legal position.<sup>63</sup>

Only one near-contemporary narrative source, the German annals of Berthold of Reichenau, directly states that Anna began to govern with her son at Henri's death, but her role as *de facto* co-regent is confirmed by strong charter evidence.<sup>64</sup> Passages in two charters

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<sup>59</sup> Prou, followed more recently by Bogomoletz, argued that it was in her capacity as queen rather than formally appointed regent of her son that Anna exercised power after her husband's death and participated in the regency council. Jean Verdon argues that as Philippe I was not yet married, Anna continued to exercise the role of queen as the mistress of the royal household, whose duties had been outlined in Archbishop Hincmar of Reims' ninth-century treatise, *De Ordine Palatii*; Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France", 190. Cf. *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxii and xxxi-xxxii; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 312; Huneycutt, "Intercession", 126; Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 86.

<sup>60</sup> Félix Olivier-Martin, *Les Régences et la Majorité des rois sous les Capétiens directs et les premiers Valois (1060-1375)* (Paris, 1931), viii-ix; Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency", 112-116; E. Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées? Les veuves dans la société aristocratique du haut Moyen Âge* (Lille, 2003), 365.

<sup>61</sup> On other queens who were *de facto* regents, though never formally give this title, see Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France", 190; Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées?*, 361; Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, 10.

<sup>62</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxviii-xxix, listing the chronicle source and the charter evidence in no. 2, xxxi; Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency", 106; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 311. Olivier-Martin and Bogomoletz note that Henri did not choose his own brother Robert of Burgundy as regent, perhaps because Henri feared that Robert would want to seize the throne from his nephew, Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 12-13 and Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 311. Prou notes that Robert was excommunicated at the time of Philippe's coronation and Robert's lands lay under interdict due to the fact that he allowed his men to seize crops meant for the tithe; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxx.

<sup>63</sup> See Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 15-16 with comparative classical and medieval examples of the uses of these words.

<sup>64</sup> "Heinricus Galliarum rex obiit, et filius eius Philippus adhuc puer regnum cum matre gubernandum suscepit", *Bertholdus Augiensis, Bertholdi Annales*, ed. G. Heinricus Pertz in *MGH Scriptores*, vol. 5, *sub anno 1060*, 271; *Bertholdus Augiensis, Chronicon (Zweite Fassung)*, ed. I. S. Robinson in *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Nova Series, vol. 14, 2003), 187 < [http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M\\_BJY\\_\\_NMW](http://clt.brepolis.net/eMGH/pages/TextSearch.aspx?key=M_BJY__NMW) > [accessed 29 January 2015]; discussed in A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris, 1912), 16; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 26, 172; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 312. Prou interprets this line to mean simply that Anna shared in

make this role explicit. The first is a charter of Philippe I from the year 1061, extant in the original (Paris, Archives nationales, K 20, n. 2), which grants the manor of Bagneux to Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>65</sup> The charter describes this act as taking place, "After Lord King Henri died, while I, Philippe, his son, still very young, received the kingdom [i.e. the reins of government] together with my mother ...."<sup>66</sup> Olivier-Martin notes that this phrase echoes the expression used by Berthold's chronicle to describe the transfer of power ("regnum una cum matre suspicissem" and "regnum cum matre gubernandum suscepit", respectively), though there is no evidence that one source influenced the other directly.<sup>67</sup> The charter is signed by Count Baldwin of Flanders who therefore at least publically acknowledged Anna's role in governing.<sup>68</sup>

The second charter in question survives only in copies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It consists of the aforementioned royal confirmation of a charter of Bishop Agobert of Chartres, issued on 25 November 1060, in which the bishop allows Abbot Albert of Marmoutier to build a church in honour of Saint Bartholomew at Orchaie.<sup>69</sup> Agobert states that these things are done "by the will also of our lords, the most pious kings, namely Philip and his mother, Agnes"<sup>70</sup> and that "I [Agobert] obtained in the presence of those aforementioned most serene lord kings that it [the act] be strengthened by the royal seal ... against the vexations of the wicked."<sup>71</sup> Several scholars have pointed out that the phrase "the most serene kings" refers to Anna and Philippe who would thus be equally depicted as rulers.<sup>72</sup>

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the government, not that she was formally part of the regency council; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, xxxii and no. 1, xxxii. To Berthold, an outsider to the Capetian court, it seemed that Anna and Philippe ruled together.

<sup>65</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. c, 41. It would seem that possession of the manor of Bagneux was the cause of ongoing dispute between the royal family and the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, changing hands during the succession of each of the three previous Capetian kings. In exchange for this donation, Philippe I adds the manor of Combs, in Brie from the possessions of Saint-Germain-des-Prés to the royal domains, but at Count Eudes' death promises to return it to the monastery; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 13, 38-41. The charter has no witness-list, only a royal monogram and seal.

<sup>66</sup> "... Domno vero Henrico rege obeunte, dum ego Phippus, filius ejus, admodum parvulus, regnum unicum matre suscepissem ...", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 13, 40.

<sup>67</sup> Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 24-25; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 82. On Berthold, see F. Hartmann, "Berthold of Reichenau" in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy (Brill Online, 2016) , [http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/berthold-of-reichenau-EMCSIM\\_00315](http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/berthold-of-reichenau-EMCSIM_00315) [accessed 6 January 2016].

<sup>68</sup> Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 18.

<sup>69</sup> Blois, Archives départementales de Loir-et-Cher, 16 H 113, 5r-6v, Gaignières, *Chartularium Majoris Monasterii Turonensis*, 101-103, digitized by Gallica, < <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077798j/f54.image> > *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, ed. Prou, no. 6, 17-21; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316.

<sup>70</sup> "... voluntate id fecimus, necnon etiam dominorum nostrorum piissimorum regum Philippi scilicet et matris ejus, Agnetis ...", Archives départementales de Loir-et-Cher, 16 H 113, 5v; Gaignières, *Chartularium Majoris Monasterii Turonensis*, 102, < <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077798j/f54.image> >, Martène, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Martmoutier* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 12878), fol. 162v, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 6, 20.

<sup>71</sup> "... apud predictos dominos nostros serenissimos reges obtinui ut regio sigillo...contra pravorum vexationes muniretur", Archives départementales de Loir-et-Cher, 16 H 113, 5v, Gaignières, *Chartularium Majoris Monasterii Turonensis*, 102-103, < <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9077798j/f54.image> >, Martène, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Martmoutier* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 12878), fol. 162v; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 6, 20.

<sup>72</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 6, n. 1, 18; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 18; Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 25 (who notes that Isabelle of Castile and Maria-Theresa of Austria also appear in documents as "kings"); Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 82, Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France", no. 62, 194; J. Ferrante, ed., "Anne of Kiev" < <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/woman/116.html> > [accessed 13 August 2014].

The charter's designation of Anna as "king" is a clear assertion of her lordship and thus also a strong statement of her ongoing membership in the *curia regis*.

Corroborative evidence for Anna's role as co-regent for her son is also found in her role as co-issuer, witness, or intercessor in charters from the early years of her son's reign. As mentioned in the introduction, André Poulet claims that Anna was excluded from the regency because she neither had mastered French "politics" nor the French language.<sup>73</sup> He adds, "The forces of Count Baldwin, solidly organized, easily surpassed the uncertain authority and charisma of the alien queen..."<sup>74</sup> In fact, however, by 1060 Anna had spent at least ten years in France (having arrived in 1049 or 1050), during which time one may assume that her comprehension of the language around her had improved. She had received her queenly authority in the ritual of her coronation, and had sat in judgment as a member of the *curia regis* during first husband's reign. No less a person than Pope Nicholas II had exhorted her to continue exercising her office of queenship.

Although Facinger dismisses the period of Anna's widowhood as one of "self-effacing dowagerhood," she herself notes that a queen's presence in royal charters indicates her continuing role as a participant in the *curia regis*.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, Anna regularly appears as co-actor, intercessor, corroborator, and head of the witness-list (where she bears the title of queen) in the twenty-three charters issued or corroborated by her son throughout the seven years of his minority, spanning from 4 August 1060, when Henri I died, to the end of 1066 or early 1067, when Philippe turned fourteen and attained his majority.<sup>76</sup> Her role in particular charters will be discussed in more detail below, but in brief, they include four following her husband's death in 1060,<sup>77</sup> one charter dated to either 1060 or 1061,<sup>78</sup> five from 1061,<sup>79</sup> one charter from

<sup>73</sup> Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency", 106.

<sup>74</sup> Poulet merely concedes that "Anna's royal rank and motherhood allowed her to attain great influence during Baldwin's regency"; "Capetian Women and the Regency", 106.

<sup>75</sup> Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship", 26, n. 80, 27 and 40-41.

<sup>76</sup> The start of Philippe's sole rule coincided with the death of Baldwin on September 1st of 1067 and of the young king's dubbing as a knight by Baldwin's son, Baldwin the Younger; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 22 and 32; Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 2, 19, 29; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 104; Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements", 53.

<sup>77</sup> Anna's charter activities in 1060: 1) co-issuer of the donation of the church of Saint-Germain of Brezolles to the monastery of Saint-Père of Chartres; Chartres, Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir H 399; *Collection des cartulaires de France*, vol. 1: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, ed. M. Guérard, Tome 1 (Paris, 1840); 130-131; RHGF, vol. 11, no. 34, 604 (erroneously dated to 1062); *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 11, 24-29; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 2, 3-7; charter listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 186; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 315 and Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88. Anna's future step-son, Simon, the son of Count Raoul is on the witness list ("*Simon, Radulphi comitis filius*"); 2) co-intercessor and head of witness-list in the donation of the manor of Courcelles to the monastery of Saint-Denis; charter extant in the original: Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, n. 1; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 9, 20-21; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 10, 102; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 4, 13-15; listed in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 17; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 186; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88; 3) intercessor and head of witness-list in a charter renouncing royal duties on the lands of the monastery of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais and permission for the monastery's carts and pack horses to pass freely over the river of Authie up to Montreuil; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 9, 99-101; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 5, 15-17; listed in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 17; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 186; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316 4) corroborator of Bishop Agobert's building of a church dedicated to Saint Bartholomew at Orchaie; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 6, 17-21; listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 186; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316.

<sup>78</sup> Eight-year old Philippe confirms the possessions of the monastery of Saint-Philibert in Tournus for the souls of his father and mother ("*pro salute anime mei domni Henrici regis genitricisque mee Anne*") at the request of Abbot

1063,<sup>80</sup> two from 1065,<sup>81</sup> one from 1067;<sup>82</sup> one from sometime before 1069,<sup>83</sup> one dated to 1075,<sup>84</sup> and one dated sometime between 1060 and 1067.<sup>85</sup>

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Guillaume. The witness-list is no longer extant, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the queen would have played a role in confirming royal patronage of Saint-Philibert made before her husband's death, Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 8, 99; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 8, 19; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 14, 41; listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 185 and 188; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316 and Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 87. Bogomoletz mistakenly says "Saint Philip" which suggests a non-existent association with the king's name.

<sup>79</sup> Anna acts as 1) co-issuer of a charter returning the manor of Houdilcourt with its dependencies to the church of Saint-Nicaise in Reims, removed recently by Archbishop Gervais of Reims; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 10, 22-23; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 12, 105; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 10, 30-31; listed in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 17; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 187; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316 and Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88. 2) witness to exemption from all secular authority granted to the church of Saint-Adrien in Béthisy, and confirmation of the goods donated to this church by the castellan Richard and his wife Melisande; *Recueil de pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, ed. Labanoff de Rostoff, no. 9 (bis), 51-53; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 11, 102-105; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 11, 32-34; listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 187 and Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316. 3) intercessor for the confirmation of previous royal donations (including by Henri I) to the church of Notre-Dame de Poissy ("*interventu et intercessione Anne, venerabilis regine et matris nostræ*"); *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 12, 34-37; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 187; 4) donation of the manor of Bagneux to Saint-Germans-des-Prés in exchange for the manor of Combs, given in usufruct to a certain Count Eudes at whose death Combs should revert to the monastery and Bagneux the royal domain. The act is described as occurring when Philippe was ruling together with his mother ("*regnum unacum matre suscepsem*"); extant in the original: Archives nationales, K 20, no. 2; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 13, 38-41; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 187; 5) donation to the monastery of Saint-Christophe in Halatte for the redemption of the soul of King Henri. The charter does not survive in the original, but is present only in a number of copies, the earliest being from a "vidimus" of King Charles IV of 1326; Beauvais, Archives départementales de l'Oise, H 2348; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 9, 28; listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 186 and Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 316.

<sup>80</sup> Anna signs her name in Cyrillic in the witness-list to a donation to Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons (discussed below); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Picardie, vol. 294, no. 38; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 16, 49, Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 75, 196-197, Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>81</sup> Anna appears: 1) on the witness list confirming the donation by a knight called Gobert of the church of Chalette on the river Loing to the monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 18, 51-54; listed in Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 188 and Bogomoletz, "Anne of Kiev", 317 2) co-intercessor confirming donations to Saint-Martin-des Champs; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 19, 54-56; Depoin, *Recueil des Chartes de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, no. 11, 27.

<sup>82</sup> Anna appears in the witness-list confirming that a certain Gui renounces the tolls that he had demanded on the lands of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 32, 98; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317.

<sup>83</sup> Anna refounds the monastery of Saint-Vincent in Senlis as a house of regular canons: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Baluze, vol. 47, fols. 219 r.- 220 v.; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 7, 16-18 and no. 14, 32-34; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 7, 96-99 and no. 18, 109; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 43, 120-123 and, no. 130, 329-330, Abbé Magne, *Notice sur l'ancienne abbaye de St.-Vincent à Senlis. Abbaye royale de St. Vincent à Senlis: histoire et description* (Paris, n. d. [c. 1860]), note a, 96-98. English translation in: "A letter from Anne of Kiev (1072-1092)" in *Epistolae*, < <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1195.html> > [accessed 14 August 2014]; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 319.

<sup>84</sup> Anna witnesses the confirmation of the foundation of the monastery of Pontlevoy by Gelduin de Saumur, his wife Aenor, and their son Geoffrey in July of 1035. The charter survives in the original: Blois, Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher, fonds de Pontlevoy, 17 H 1, no. 2; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 16, 37-41; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 75, 188-191; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ 55, 188; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>85</sup> Anna acknowledges that the monks of Saint-Maur-de-Fossés gave her the use of the land of Verneuil in usufruct; Paris, Archives nationales de France, LL 46 (formerly LL 112), *Livre noir of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés*, fol. 16v.

Moreover, there is no discussion either in chronicle sources or in documentary evidence of rivalry between Count Baldwin and his sister-in-law Anna over the regency. They appear as co-issuers with Philippe and as co-intercessors in two charters. Although admittedly slim evidence for an amicable co-operation between Anna and Baldwin, the witness of their co-operation in these two charters is nonetheless stronger than a claim for conflict between queen and brother-in-law made by Poulet *ex silentio*. In the first document, Anna, Philippe, and Count Baldwin of Flanders corroborate a charter of Henri I which, in turn, confirms the gift of one Aubert, son of the nobleman Ribaud, of the church of Saint-Germain of Brezolles to the monastery of Saint-Père of Chartres. Its eschatocol reads: "Done publically at the castle of Dreux, in the court of the king, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1060, likewise [in the same year] after the death of his father, King Philippe together with his mother, the queen [*Philippus rex cum matre regina*] ... with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and with his other faithful men issued the corroboration ...."<sup>86</sup>

Another example of co-operation is found in a charter from 1065, in which Philippe confirmed his father's donation of the churches of Janville and Neuvy-en-Beauce to the church of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris on the urging of both Anna and Count Baldwin: "therefore, since my mother and Count Baldwin urged it, they who govern the office of the royal house, I grant the same altars [i.e. Janville and Neuvy-en-Beauce] to the aforementioned church by royal right to be possessed eternally."<sup>87</sup> This statement once again strongly suggests Anna's participation in the regency. A copy of this charter in the eleventh-century *Chronique versifiée* (made before 1079), also known as the *Livre des privileges de Saint-Martin-des-Champs* (London, British Library, Add. MS. 11662, fol. 7v), adds a Latin rhyming poem after the year of the indiction:<sup>88</sup> "Thus the King confirms his father's gift by his mother's prayer ...."<sup>89</sup> The

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under the rubric "Carta Adel. reg. de conventionne que fuit inter ipsam et abttem Foss. super terram de Vernolio"; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Clairambault, vol. 1225 (formerly Mélanges 115), fol. 45r; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 36, 105-106. English translation: "A letter from Anne of Kiev (1060-67)", *Epistolae*, <<http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1194.html>> [accessed 14 August 2014].

<sup>86</sup> "... *Actum Droicis castro publice, in aula regis, anno incarnationis dominice millesimo .LX. Item, post mortem patris, Philippus rex cum matre regina, hanc cartam firmavit Droicis castro in sua aula et Balduino, comitii Flandrensi, et ceteris fidelibus suis roborandum tradidit: Simoni, filio Radulfi comitis ...*", Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 13, 105-106; RHGF, vol. 11, 604b; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 2, 7. On the history and cartulary records of Saint-Père of Chartres see R. F. Berkhofer III, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (Philadelphia, 2004), 30-32.

<sup>87</sup> "... *Ego autem, favente matre atque comite Balduino, regie domus curam gerente, eadem altaria prefate ecclesie region jure eternaliter possidenda concedo*", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 19, 56. Anna's interest in this act of confirmation is natural, seeing she also co-issued the original charter to Saint Martin-des-Champs with Henri in 1059 or 1060; PL, vol. 151, col. 1937; RHGF, vol. 11, 605; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 6, 13-16; *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier*, no. 125, 127-129; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 188 and Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 310-311.

<sup>88</sup> In 1079 the church of Saint Martin-des-Champs was subordinated to Cluny, but since *Livre des privilèges* makes no mention of this event Maurice Prou logically supposes that it must have been written before the subordination occurred; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 1, 55. The charter was also recopied in the thirteenth century. This manuscript of the *Chronique versifiée* was formerly housed in Copenhagen but has since been transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale de France, (Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelle acquisition Latin 1359, olim Copenhagen Kongelige Bibliotek MS 252), L. Delisle, "Manuscrit à peintures relatif à la fondation de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, conservé à la bibliothèque de Copenhague" in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et l'Île-de-France*, vol. 5 (1878), 36-38 (who dates the manuscript to 1500). For an analysis of the images in this manuscript see E. Magnani, "Translatio ou l'actualisation du 'modèle'. Les manuscrits de la 'chronique versifiée' de Saint-Martin-des-Champs (XIe et XIIIe siècles)" in *Centre d'études médiévales Auxerre, Bulletin*, vol. 14 (2010), 221-225. The

passage emphasizes Anna's role as a linking element between the reign of her first husband Henri and that of her son, Philippe, ensuring that Henri's donation was not forgotten. Aristocratic widows often were responsible for charters confirming grants given by their deceased family members, including their spouse for whose soul they prayed. Such was the case with this charter and many of Anna's other confirmations during Philippe's minority.<sup>90</sup>

But in 1061, that is to say a mere year after her first husband's death, Anna remarried with Raoul, the Count of Crépy-en-Valois.<sup>91</sup> This hasty remarriage does suggest that Anna remained to a certain degree a "foreigner" at the royal court. She may have felt the need to turn to a powerful local ally or protector since she was far from the support that her natal family could offer.<sup>92</sup> Though no written evidence exists to show that Raoul courted Anna or when their liaison began, his land of Crépy was directly adjacent to the royal domain of Senlis which Anna had favoured with a foundation of her own (discussed below).<sup>93</sup> From Raoul's presence on the subscription lists of charters and at Philippe's coronation, it is clear that he could have frequently met Anna at court and perhaps especially near Senlis.<sup>94</sup>

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thirteenth-century manuscript is digitized on the site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France : < <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525017061/f3.image> > [accessed 18 March 2015].

<sup>89</sup> The poem is marked by a littera notabilior S of the first word "Sic" in an inter-laced leaf design which extends down the first three lines of the poem: "*Sic donum patris confirmat Rex prece matris./Et precibus quorum sunt nomina presto virorum./Corpora si desunt, presentia nomina presunt/Ut, presente nota, firmetur kartula tota./Nec villanorum sunt nomina, nec reproborum/Sed perfectorum vita dapibusque bonorum*", London, British Library, Add. MS. 11662, fol. 7v . The text is edited in: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 19, note v, 56; *Recueil des chartes and documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, ed. Depoin, 21.

<sup>90</sup> Santinelli cites Anna's confirmations as examples of a widow's memorialisation of her husband in confirming charters granted by him; Santinelli, *Des femmes éplorées?*, 319.

<sup>91</sup> The precise date of the wedding is not known but it must have been after the death of Pope Nicholas II on 27 July 1061; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 20. The sources report the marriage briefly: "*Mortuo autem Hainrico rege ... Rodulfus comes, consanguineus ejusdem regis, duxit uxorem in conjugio contra jus et fas, unde fuit excommunicatus*", *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius: Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi senonensis*, ed., trans., and annotated R.-H. Bautier and M. Gilles (Paris, 1979), 126; *Chronicon Petri Vivi Senonensis* in RHGF, vol. 11, 197; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 24, 171-172, Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 80; "*Philippus igitur regnum assecutus est Francorum anno incarnationis divinae 1059...Cuius mater Anna, Henrici relicta, nupsit Rodulfo comiti, viro nobili et generoso ...*", H. de Fleury, *Hugonis liber qui modernorum regem francorum continent actus*, MGH, *Scriptores*, vol. 9, 389; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 32, 174, Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 86-87; "*Radulphus ... quod Henrici regis uxorem, Philippi iidem regis matrem, in conjugio post mariti decessum habuerit*", Guibert of Nogent, cited in, *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, xv; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 33, 174; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 86.

<sup>92</sup> Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers*, 170. Verdon echoes Stafford's explanation for Anna's remarriage and points out that beside Anna, the only other Capetian widow in the tenth to eleventh centuries to re-marry was also a foreigner, Eadgifu (French: Ogive), the second wife of Charles III "the Simple". After the death of her husband in 951, she married Herbert, the son of Herbert II of Vermandois. Verdon asks whether the re-marriage of two foreign-born French queens could suggest that they were rejected by the local nobility and thus felt the need for the support of a second husband; "Les veuves des rois de France", 187-188. Olivier-Martin suggests that either Anna was in need of a protector, or that she needed a strong male noble supporter to counter the power Baldwin of Flanders had over her son, *Les régences*, 25. Louis Carolus-Barré notes that Adelaide, the widow of Louis the Fat, likewise remarried with a court noble after her husband's death: in her case Matthieu de Montmorency in 1137; *Le Comté de Valois jusqu'à l'avènement de Philippe de Valois au trône de la France (X siècle-1328)*, Société d'histoire et archéologie de Senlis (Châlons-en-Champagne, 1998), 44.

<sup>93</sup> Abbé Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, 4 and 9.

<sup>94</sup> Raoul had rebelled against the young Henri I in 1039, but after his defeat, he remained a loyal supporter of the king; see L. Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 42-43. A long list of charters in which Raoul appears is given in *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, cxxxiv and Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 26.

Secondary literature assumes that the marriage had a devastating effect on Anna's status as queen, because it was bigamous: after the death of his first wife, Adèle, in 1053, Raoul had married Eleanor called 'La Haquenée' (or 'Haquenez'; 'the mare'), a relative of the counts of Champagne and heiress to Montdidier and Péronne.<sup>95</sup> Bogomoletz claims "a gap of four years during which Anna was excluded from royal charters," implying that this absence was due to her remarriage.<sup>96</sup> Louis Carolus-Barré, Andrzej Poppe and Danuta Poppe, and Robert Bautier all refer to the remarriage as a "scandal" and the latter implies that it effectively ended Anna's regency.<sup>97</sup> In support of the notion that Anna's remarriage caused her disgrace, scholars cite the letter of Archbishop Gervais of Reims, of which only a fragment survives: "Our realm is greatly disturbed. Our queen has married Count Raoul and our king [her son] is saddened by it, and his counsellors too. Sorrow over this matter has greatly affected me too ...."<sup>98</sup>

Omitted from discussion in secondary literature, however, is the fact that Archbishop Gervais's letter was in response to a letter sent from Pope Alexander II (r. 1061-1073), itself prompted by the fact that Hacquenez had travelled to Rome in person to complain of the fact that Raoul had repudiated her on the grounds of adultery and deprived her of her possessions after marrying Anna.<sup>99</sup> The very fact that Hacquenez was obliged to appeal to Rome in person indicates that local bishops were unwilling or unable to champion her cause. Indeed, after describing the fact that Anna's remarriage had caused everyone distress, Gervais excused himself from taking any action by saying that, "I do not have the means of affecting this change."<sup>100</sup>

Most scholars take it for granted that Raoul was, in the end, excommunicated, although already in 1912, Augustin Fliche pointed out that our only source for this assumption is the twelfth-century chronicle of Pseudo-Clarius which is not always reliable. For instance, it gives

<sup>95</sup> Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 19; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 44; Jean-Marie Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois: mille ans d'histoire*, drawings by Philippe Dubois (Troësnes, 1987), 19; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 313.

<sup>96</sup> Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317.

<sup>97</sup> Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 45; Andrzej Poppe and Danuta Poppe, "The Autograph of Anna of Rus, Queen of France", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 33/34 (2008/2009), 403-404; Bautier, "Sacres et couronnements", 53: "La reine Anne assura officiellement la régence de leur jeune fils Philippe – du moins quelque temps, jusqu'au scandale de son remariage avec Raoul de Valois".

<sup>98</sup> "Domino et patri Alexandro sanctae apostolicae sedis Pontifici, Gervasius gratia Dei Remorum archiepiscopus .... Regum nostrum non mediocriter conturbatum est. Regina enim nostra comiti Rodulpho nupsit, quod factum Rex noster quam maxime dolet. At custodes ipsius non aequè graviter ferunt. Qua de causa me quoque moeror non modicus affecit ...", RHGF, vol. 11, 499d; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 13, 31; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 16, 108; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 34, 174-175. Demouy in his *Genèse d'une cathédrale* provides a French translation of the relevant passage, no. 157, 407 as does Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 45; see also the discussion in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 19-20; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 100; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 312.

<sup>99</sup> "Alexander Episcopus servus servorum Dei, charissimo fratri Gervasio Remensis Archiepiscopo ... salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Mulier ista praesentium literarum portatrix, apostolorum limina adiens conquesta est quod ei comes Radulphus omnia bona sua abstulerit, eaque dimissa, crimine fornicationis fallaciter objeto, alteram ducere velit. Quod quam sit divinis et humanis legis contrarium, fraternitas vestra perpendit. Quapropter studeat religio vestra ipsum convenire: et si causa talis est, ut ista asserit, redditis propriis bonis, ut ipsa ab eodem recipiatur satagite. Quod se ipse rationi acquiescere recursavit, vos super eum canonicum deliberate iudicium, quod nos sequentes sanctorum Patrum auctoritatem, ubi sententiam vestram audieremus, confirmabimus", *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 12, 30; *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 59, 190-191, listed in Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 15, 108. Neither the papal letter nor Archbishop Gervais' letters are dated. Carolus-Barré, in contrast to Fliche, considers that the archbishop's letter was sent first; *Le Comté de Valois*, no. 235, 45; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 19-20.

<sup>100</sup> "... quippe cum mihi hac vice complendi facultas non sit", *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 13, 31.

an incorrect death date for Raoul as 1066, rather than 1074.<sup>101</sup> In any case, if Raoul was excommunicated, this sentence did not seem to apply to Anna, who continued to appear at the royal court as well as in her new capacity of Countess of Valois.<sup>102</sup> Maurice Prou and Augustin Fliche have argued that the absence of Anna from royal charters in this period may be explained by the fact that Philippe was at this time with Count Baldwin in the latter's lands in Flanders and in the north of France where his mother did not accompany him.<sup>103</sup> While it is true that there are no charters surviving from 1062 that record Anna's participation in the *curia regis* that year, it is not always possible to establish the exact date when a charter was issued. Since some charters are only known to have been issued in the 1060s in general, Anna's absence from court cannot be asserted unqualifiedly nor the length of her absence from court precisely dated.

One such charter which is generally dated to the early 1060s (but probably from 1063) serves as a witness to Anna's continuing status as queen after her remarriage, her presence in the royal counsel, and at the same time as strong evidence that she continued to maintain ties with her native Rus.<sup>104</sup> In it Anna's *signum* appears in Cyrillic as ANA РЪHNA (*Ana regina*, roughly *Anna regina*).<sup>105</sup> The charter, issued by Philippe at the request of Bishop Heddon of

<sup>101</sup> Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 20. "Anno M LXXVI ... Obiit etiam eo tempore comes Rotdulfus, adhuc tenens matrem regis, unde erat excommunicatus", *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, 126-128.

<sup>102</sup> Raoul died in 1074, and on 22 May 1077, his son Simon transferred Raoul's remains from the castle of Crépy to the monastery of Saint-Arnoul of Crépy, *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 17,41-42; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois*, 24; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 124; Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale*, no. 158, 407. The *gisant* of Raoul in the church of Montdidier depicts him lying with arms crossed over the breast in a long surcoat or mailcoat, his head resting on a pillow; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois*, 23. Simon shortly afterwards became a hermit, dying in Rome on 30 September 1080 or 1082, but not before trying to mediate between the reforming Pope Gregory VII and his step-brother King Philippe I. He is venerated today as Roman Catholic saint; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 49-58, 144; P. Rouillard, "Simone di Crépy" in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 11, cols. 1179-1180. Simon's *vita* is printed in *De S. Simone comite et Monacho Romae, Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, vol. 8: *Septembris, Trigesima Dies Septembris*: < <http://acta.chadwyck.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/all/search> > [accessed 29 January 2015] 744d-751a. On Saint-Arnoul as a comital necropolis, see M. Lauwers, "Du pacte seigneurial à l'idéal de conversion. Les légendes hagiographiques de Simon de Crépy (+ en 1081-82)", in *Guerriers et moines: conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'Occident médiéval (IXe-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. M. Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), 559-588 (566-567).

<sup>103</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, cxxxiv; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 17. Verdon likewise notes that while Anna follows Philippe to Dreux, Paris, and Senlis in 1060, Reims and Senlis in 1061, and Soissons in 1063, she does not follow him into Flanders; "Les veuves des rois de France", 191.

<sup>104</sup> A later hand adds "*mille sexagesimo tertio*" to the bottom of the parchment; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Picardie, vol. 294, no. 38; C. Couderc, "Une signature autographe d'Anne de Russie, femme d'Henri Ier, roi de France", in *La Russie géographique, ethnographique, historique, etc.*, ed. L. Delavaud et al. (Paris, 1892); 473-475; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, 82-84 and no. 14, 106-107; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, cxxxiv and n. 16, 47-49; Bautier, "Anne de Kiev", 557; M.-P. Laffitte, "Diplôme du roi de France Philippe Ier en faveur de l'abbaye Saint-Crépin de Soissons, avec souscription autographe de la reine Anne de Kiev" in *Sainte Russie: l'art russe des origines à Pierre le Grand*, eds. J. Durand, D. Giovannoni and I. Rapti (Paris, 2010), 120; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317. Prou identifies the scribe of this line with the one who wrote the charter in favour of Saint-Denis in 1060, in which Anna also participates (Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, no. 1); *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 16, note a, 48. A lightly drawn design of a stylized three-petaled flower or leaf with a braided stem follows the last word of the text of the charter after "*corroboravi*" (unremarked by Prou).

<sup>105</sup> Since the 1890s, the exact transcription of the signature has spurred a lively and still ongoing debate among both Romance linguists and Slavic philologists, which, briefly, focuses on two issues. The first point of the debate concerns the phonetic value of the back jer (yer) symbol (ѣ), which represented a reduced vowel sound in Old

Soissons, confirms the donation of the income from two shrines (*altaria*) in Pernant and Colombes to Abbot Anse of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons.<sup>106</sup> The lord of the region was a vassal of Anna’s second husband, Count Raoul and his consent is noted in the charter along with that of Archbishop Gervais of Reims, Anna’s other son Robert, Count Baldwin, Bishop Hélinand of Laon, and unnamed others. Philippe and Anna are markedly the only signatories.<sup>107</sup>

The signature itself suggests either a fine education in Kyiv – her father Yaroslav allegedly established the first library in Rus and is known in the chronicle tradition as a “lover of books” – or continuing cultural ties with Rus during her life in France, or both.<sup>108</sup> Surviving Rus birch-bark letters, whose earliest examples date from the mid-eleventh century, indicate that it was possible for lay women to be literate in Rus, but these letters do not have the precision and symmetry of Anna’s carefully written signature on the 1063 document.<sup>109</sup>

Previously unremarked upon is the further possibility that the Cyrillic signature could have been written by a scribe rather than by Anna herself, perhaps a member of her retinue who stayed with her in France or one who was present after her widowhood. The chancellery at the time was linked with the royal chapel which could be an appropriate place for the

Church Slavonic, which the majority of linguists see as lying in the range represented by International Phonetic Alphabet symbols [ɛ] and [ə] (French, *e muet*). The second point of contention is whether Anna was influenced by Old French orthography (*reine, roïne, raine*) or Latin spelling (*regina*) in her rendering of her royal title since she omits the “g”. Among the most recent studies in this debate are: Poppe and Poppe, “The Autograph of Anna”, 400-406; E. Melin, “Die kyrillische Unterschrift АНА РЪИНА aus dem Jahre 1063”, *Scando-Slavica*, vol. 11, no. 1, (2008), 122-131; L. Iivainen, “Nochmals АНА РЪИНА”, *Scando-Slavica*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2008), 115-118, where earlier literature is cited and discussed.

<sup>106</sup> *Altaria*: the income from alms and offerings given to the shrines; Couderc, “Une signature autographe”, no. 2, 474. Soissons was under Raoul’s overlordship; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois: mille ans d’histoire*, 21. Anna evidently patronized other churches and monasteries that formed part of her dominions as Countess of Valois. The obituary of the Soissons Cathedral records Anna’s death and the fact that she made a donation to repair the roof of the church; Bogomoletz, “Anna of Kiev”, no. 65, 320 citing J. Dufour, personal communication of a hitherto unpublished document. J. Dufour is since deceased and it has not been possible to find his document.

<sup>107</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 16, 48; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 75, 196-197; discussed in Olivier-Martin, *Les régences*, 26.

<sup>108</sup> “Yaroslav ... applied himself to books, and read them continually day and night. He assembled many scribes, and translated from Greek into Slavic. He wrote and collected many books... Thus Yaroslav, as we have said, was a lover of books”, *The Russian primary chronicle: Laurentian text*, trans. and ed. S. Hazzard Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, 1953), *sub anno* 6547 (1037), 137-138; *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. 1: *Lavrentevskaia Letopis*, Part 1: *Povest Vremenyikh Let*, ed. Historical-Archaeological Committee of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow, 1962), 151-152.

<sup>109</sup> For example, see the twelfth-century birch-bark letters nos. 9, 644, 731 and 955 written by lay women; available online with photographs, transcriptions, and Russian translations; “Drevnerusskie berestianye gramoty”, eds. A. V. Artsikhovskii et al. <www.gramoty.ru> [accessed 7 July 2013]. I am very thankful to Dr. Daniel Collins for drawing my attention to these birch-bark letters. A. M. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: an introduction to Slavic Philology* (New Haven, 1995), 234-235; S. Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300* (Cambridge, 2002), 36-40. On evidence for women’s literacy in Rus based on ownership inscriptions on spindle-whorls see A. A. Medyntseva, “Gramotnost zhenschin na Rusi XI-XIII vv. po dannym epigrafii” in *Slovo o polku Igoreve i ego vremia*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1985), 218-240. Rosalind Mckenzie notes that a claim in the twelfth-century life of Saint Evfrosiniia of Polotsk that Evfrosiniia “wrote books in her own hand” is intriguing, but sadly cannot be substantiated”, “Women’s image in Russian medieval literature”, in *A History of Women’s Writing in Russia*, eds. A. M. Barker and J.M. Gheith (Cambridge, 2002), 16-36 (21).

queen's chaplain to remain.<sup>110</sup> There was no need for Anna to sign herself in order to authenticate her documents: the autograph cross, the highest symbol of truth in Christianity, was far more significant as a guarantee of authenticity and power than a handwritten signature.<sup>111</sup> The trust placed in the power of the Cross as a guarantor of agreements was as much part of the culture of French royal charters as it was of agreements in Anna's native Rus.<sup>112</sup> As we have seen, the autograph cross was previously used by Anna in other documents to indicate her assent. On the other hand, since there is no documentary evidence of a Rus cleric remaining with Anna in France, and since other charters show that she was frequently in contact with western clerics, the hypothesis that this *signum* is an autograph still remains. In this case, the charter is the only known example of a Capetian queen's signature on parchment and the only known signature of a member of Anna's Riurikid princely dynasty.<sup>113</sup>

Discussion of the Cyrillic signature in secondary literature reads an emotional context into the charter which is not justified by the document's text.<sup>114</sup> Jean-Marie Tomasini sees in Anna's signature a defiant assertion of her royal status after her disgrace at court following the excommunication of her bigamous second husband.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, prominent Slavic historians Andrzej and Danuta Poppe claim that:

... when the document was being drafted in the royal chancery, it was decided to conceal Anna's role in it, most likely under the pretext that the wife of the Count of Crépy was no longer the dowager queen ... But Anna ... must have noted the omission of her person in the deed and immediately reacted to that show of disrespect by emphasizing her presence and her right to be there, emphatically and unequivocally .... [She signed]... in a fit of irritation.<sup>116</sup>

However, as the two scholars themselves note, the signature is written in a formal uncial (Russian: *ustav*) script similar to the contemporary Rus Ostromir Gospels (1056-1057), and so there can hardly be any evidence for it being written "in a fit of irritation."<sup>117</sup> Moreover, in comparing this document to other charters, there is no evidence that Anna's status as queen was even in question after her second marriage. A charter from 26 January 1065, for example, confirming the donation by a knight called Gobert of the church of Chalette on the river

<sup>110</sup> Following Carolingian tradition, the Archbishop of Reims in the tenth and eleventh centuries held the honorific title of "archchancellor", but since the early-eleventh century, this function was not exercised in practice, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, lxxvii; Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 22; Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française*, 130; Guyotjeannin, "Les actes d'Henri", 81.

<sup>111</sup> Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 313. It was only in 1554 that King Henri II required notarised acts to be validated by an autograph signature in France, Fraenkel, *La signature*, 12, 24-25.

<sup>112</sup> On the ritual of 'kissing the cross' to seal peace agreements between princes in eleventh-century Rus and references to 'documents of the cross' (*kreštnye gramoty*) in the twelfth century, see Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus*, 173. The first extant Rus princely charter, however, dates only to circa 1130 (a charter of Prince Mstislav Vladimirovich and his son Vsevolod in favour of Yuriev monastery in Novgorod); reproduced in S. P. Obnovskii and S. G. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiia po istorii russkogo yazyka*, Part 1 (Moscow, 1952), 32-33. On the power of the cross in eleventh-century Capetian charters, see Fraenkel, *La signature*, 63-67, Lapasin, ed. et al., *Le Pouvoir en Actes*, 171, Guyotjeannin, "Les actes d'Henri", 95; Magnani, "Enregistrer une donation", 10.

<sup>113</sup> Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 318. Franklin notes that some of the graffiti in Kyiv's St. Sophia Cathedral may be autographs of princes; *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus*, 108.

<sup>114</sup> "L'écriture est raguèse ...", Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 101.

<sup>115</sup> Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois: mille ans d'histoire*, 23.

<sup>116</sup> Poppe and Poppe, "The Autograph of Anna", 403-406.

<sup>117</sup> Poppe and Poppe, "The Autograph of Anna", 405.

Loing to the monastery of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire contains Anna's name and title rendered in Latin as "Anna regina" on the witness list immediately after her son Philippe.<sup>118</sup> The charter is done "with the permission of my lord, Count Raoul" who was presumably Gobert's overlord.<sup>119</sup> Count Raoul also appears on the witness list, demonstrating that despite his excommunication, Philippe's step-father and Anna's second husband continued to play a role at court.<sup>120</sup>

Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that Anna's dual identity as Queen of France and Countess of Valois were in conflict: she could act as both queen and seigneurial lady. For instance, some time between May 1061 and August 1065, together with her second husband, she witnessed an agreement as "Queen Anna" in which Abbot Engelard of Saint-Martin-des-Champs loaned the sum of forty pounds to the royal chamberlain Galeran.<sup>121</sup> In 1067 she appeared in her function as Raoul's wife in a charter which her second husband issued in favour of Notre-Dame of Amiens, exempting its lands from his comital justice and granting it the lands he and his knights possessed in Conty: "This charter is placed upon the altar of Blessed Mary by my own hand, and that of my wife, and that of my son Simon... [Signed] Count Raoul, Anna his wife, Simon, the son of the Count."<sup>122</sup> In a charter issued in her own name between 1060 and 1067, Anna refers to herself as "I, A., by the grace of God the queen of the Franks".<sup>123</sup> In it she acknowledges that the monks of Saint-Maur-de-Fossés gave her the use of the land of Verneuil in usufruct, to be returned to the monastery after her death.<sup>124</sup> Anna continued here to reinforce the social bonds with the monks of Saint-Maur she had formed during her first husband's lifetime.

<sup>118</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 18, 51-54; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317.

<sup>119</sup> "*cum consensus domini mei Rodulphi comitis*", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 18, 52.

<sup>120</sup> *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 18, 53.

<sup>121</sup> "*In hac cartula continetur conventio quam Ingelardus, abbas Beati Martini, habuit cum Waleranno, camerario Regis ... Factum est hoc annuentibus Anna regina, comite Radulfo ...*", *Recueil des Chartes and documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, vol. 1 no. 10, 26-27; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 320. The original charter is lost, but the agreement is known from the *Liber Testamentorum*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 10977, no. 81, fol. 38r, dating to 1118.

<sup>122</sup> "*Haec autem cartula, mea manu atque uxoris meae Anne, necnon Simonis filii mei super altare Beatae Mariae imposita ... [Signa] Radulphus Comes, Anna uxor ejus ...*", Amiens, *Cartulaire I*, Archives départementales de la Somme 4 G 2966, fols. 71r-71v. This *Cartulary I* of Notre-Dame d'Amiens ends in 1269; Aurélien André, archivist of the diocese of Amiens, personal communication, 30 January 2015. The text is printed in *Histoire de l'état et de la ville d'Amiens et des ses comtes*, ed. C. du Fresne, Sieur Du Cange (Amiens, 1840), 198-201 but the foliation has since been corrected (fol. 91 is given in Du Cange rather than 71r); full text also printed in *Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, ed. L'abbé Rose, intro. J. Roux, vol. 1 (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1905), no. 5, 9-10; excerpted in de Saint-Amour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 19, 109; excerpted in RHGF, vol. 11, 433d; excerpted in *Pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, ed. Labanoff de Rostoff, no. 15, 34-36; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 35, 175; listed in Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88; discussed in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 19; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois*, 23-24; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 48; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 315.

<sup>123</sup> "*ego, A., gratia Dei Francorum regina ...*", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 36, 106; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 188 and PJ no. 77, 201-202. English translation in "A letter from Anne of Kiev (1060-67)" in *Epistolae*, <<http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1194.html>> [accessed 14 August 2014]

<sup>124</sup> According to the eighteenth-century copy of the charter which seems to have been copied from the original, its reverse reads "*Carta conventionis facta inter A. Reginam Francorum et Ecclesiam Fossiacensem de terra quae dicitur Vermeil apud Meledunum, quae debuit eam edificare et meliorare et post mortem reginae ad Ecclesiam redire*", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Clairambault, vol. 1225 (formerly Mélanges 115), fol. 45r.

Evidence suggests that Anna or Raoul worked to link their families more closely because they arranged a dynastic marriage between their two families: Anna's younger second son Hugh was married to Raoul's granddaughter (the daughter of Count Hugh of Vermandois and Raoul's daughter from his first marriage).<sup>125</sup> Raoul continued to appear in royal charters at Philippe's side. Gautier, his eldest son from his first marriage, died fighting for Anna's son Philippe I during the siege of the castle Vitry in 1071 in which Raoul also took part.<sup>126</sup> These circumstances suggest that Anna was far from a *persona non grata* at the royal court.

Based on her titles as they appear in extant charters, one can say that it was not when Anna remarried in 1061 that her status as queen changed, but rather much later when her son Philippe married in 1072 and hence had a queen of his own: Berthe of Holland (repudiated in 1092). This conclusion comes from Anna's last surviving endorsement, dating to 1075 and extant in the original, in which Philippe confirms the foundation of the monastery of Pontlevoy by Gelduin de Saumur, his wife Aenor, and their son Geoffrey in July of 1035.<sup>127</sup> Anna's title in the witness-list now only reads "Anna, mother of the king."<sup>128</sup>

It was likely from her dower land in Senlis that Anna was able to (re)found a house of regular canons dedicated to Saint Vincent, deacon and martyr of Saragossa (d. 304).<sup>129</sup> The city

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<sup>125</sup> Anna's second son Hugh the Great (d. 1101) married Adelaide/Adèle, the daughter of Herbert IV of Vermandois and Alix, the daughter of Anna Yaroslavna's second husband Raoul de Crépy by his first wife, also named Adèle. Through his wife, Hugh became Count of that region and in 1096-1098 he joined the First Crusade, staying in Constantinople and returning from France to the Holy Land in 1101 where he died. See Hugh of Fleury, *Modernorum regum Francorum actus* in RHGF, vol. 11, p. 159d; *Ex Chronicon Fr. Andreae Monachi Aquicinctini* in RHGF, vol. 11, p. 365a. In Anna Komnene's contemporary chronicle, *The Alexiad*, Hugh (called *Ubo* in Greek) is portrayed as an arrogant man, overly proud of his noble origins. Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, rev. with intro. and notes P. Frankopan (London, 2009), n. 20, 51 and Book X, 7, 279-281; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois*, 20, 28-31; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 58-61; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 308.

<sup>126</sup> Raoul buried his eldest son's body at Saint-Remi in Reims. His charter on the occasion (offering reparations for damages Gautier had inflicted on the monastery) serves also as a testimony to his love for his boy whom he calls "the son I loved the most of all the children that it pleased God to give me": "*Notum sit universis catholice matris ecclesie filiis tam presentis temporis quam futuris, quod ego Rodulfus, comes de Crespeio, filium habui, Walterum nomine, quem maximo semper amore dilexi, plus quam omnes liberos meos quos mihi Deus donare dignatus est. Contigit autem ut Dominus meus, Francorum rex, Philippus expeditionem equitatus sui duceret ad castrum Vitreum recipiendum, cui expeditioni ego et predictus filius meus Waltererus cum principibus regni interfuimus . . .*", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Picardie, vol. 233, *Cartulary of Saint Remi of Reims*, fol. 214r; cited and discussed in Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier*, 267-268; Carolus-Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 47-48 (with French translation).

<sup>127</sup> Blois, Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher, fonds de Pontlevoy, 17 H 1, no. 2; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no 16, 37-41; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 20, 110; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 75, 188-191; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 4548 < <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte4548/> > [accessed 29 January 2015]; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 102 and 113, PJ no. 55, 188, listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>128</sup> "*S. Anne, matris Philippi regis.*", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 75, 191, *Anne de Kiev*, PJ no. 55, 188; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>129</sup> The first clear reference to a queen's dower in royal charters occurs only in 1193 in a charter of Philippe Augustus (r. 1179-1206) granting land to his estranged Queen, Ingeborg of Denmark; Facinger, "A Study of Medieval Queenship" 20. Both Verdon and Gerd Althoff in studying tenth- and eleventh-century French and German queens, respectively, show that queens' dowers were only given in usufruct and that queen widows could make use of their dower so long as it still passed on to future generations; discussed in Parisse, "Introduction" in Parisse, ed., *Veuves et veuvage*, 12; G. Althoff, "Probleme um die dos der Königinnen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert", in *Veuves et veuvage*, 123-133 and Verdon, "Les veuves des rois de France" in *Veuves et veuvage*, 196-197. In France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the ability of an aristocratic woman to retain control over her dower lands

of Senlis had been part of the royal domain, the *allodium regale*, since Merovingian times and was of special significance to the Capetians since it was here that the founder of the dynasty, Hugh the Great, Henri's grandfather, was elected king by the assembled magnates.<sup>130</sup> Only the adjoining territory of Crépy had been detached from the royal domain and given to the daughter of Count Herbert of Senlis, by which it became part of the county of Valois and thus passed into the hands of Anna's second husband, Count Raoul.<sup>131</sup> It was a territory thus closely connected with Anna's second marriage as well.

Anna's refoundation is known from two charters. The first is a late copy of Philippe I's confirmation charter for Saint Vincent dating to 1069, which grants the same privileges to Saint Vincent as to the other royal churches of Saint-Frambourg de Senlis, Saint-Martin, and Saint-Geneviève.<sup>132</sup> In it, Philippe states that Anna made the foundation in memory of the soul of her first husband and for the salvation of her own soul.<sup>133</sup> A second charter of Philippe I relating to Saint-Vincent de Senlis, made between 1072 and 1092, begins with a summary of the main terms of Anna's original foundation charter:<sup>134</sup>

It is known to all the sons of the Holy Church that the creator of the universe, God the Father, formed all things for the construction and adornment of the most holy nuptials of his only Son. Not only the Father but also his Son, in harmony with the Holy Spirit, prepared the bride for him, as he says in the Song of Songs to that bride: "Come from Lebanon, my bride, come from Lebanon, come and you will be crowned from the height of Amana, from the peak of Senir and Hermon." But I, Anne [Anna], understanding in my heart and going over in my mind such beauty and such splendor and remembering what is written: "Blessed are those who are called to the feast of the Lamb," and what that bride of Christ [says] elsewhere "Those who light me will have eternal life," I deliberated with myself how I might be a participant of those feasts and of that beatitude and eternal life. Then my heart was lifted to build a church for Christ, so that I might be connected, incorporated within it with any member of that holy society which is joined to Christ by faith, in honor of the holy Trinity and the pious mother of God, Mary, and the precursor of the Lord and the martyr Saint Vincent. I built it and ordered it to be dedicated to Christ and as a gift

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varied greatly from region to region. See A. Livingstone, *Out of Love for my Kin: Aristocratic Family life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000-1200* (Ithaca, 2010), 130-140. The suggestion that Anna had dower land in Senlis is made in Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, 3-4 and Facinger, "A Study of Queenship", 22. On St. Vincent of Saragossa see *Butler's Lives of Patron Saints*, ed. with additional material by M. Walsh (Tunbridge 1987), 430-432; T. Moral, "Vincenzo, diacono di Saragozza", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. 12, 1149-1155; David Hugh Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1997), 493; St. Vincent's hagiographies are printed in *Vincentius, Martyr Gerundae in Hispania*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, vol. 2: *Ianuaris, XII Ianuarii*, <<http://acta.chadwyck.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/all/search>> [accessed 27 January 2015]

<sup>130</sup> Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 85; Tomasini, *Crépy-en-Valois: mille ans d'histoire*, 22.

<sup>131</sup> A. Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, 4.

<sup>132</sup> A. Magne, superior of Saint-Vincent in the nineteenth century, gives the date of foundation as 29 October 1065, without indicating a source. He adds that the canons of Saint-Vincent celebrate yearly their foundation on October 29th. According to Abbé Magne, the first abbé of Saint-Vincent was one Lietauld in 1065; *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, note N, 123, no source given.

<sup>133</sup> M. *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, note b, 98-99; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 43., 121-22, Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 88-90, PJ no. 55, 188 and no. 76, 197-201; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>134</sup> In the second half of this charter, Philip and his new queen Berthe of Holland receive the loan of thirty pounds from canons of Saint-Vincent and give them as surety the manor of Barberie; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 130, n. 2, 329-330; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 89-90 and PJ no. 78, 203-206; Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 319; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 7, 16-18; A. Magne, *Abbaye royale de Saint-Vincent*, note a, 96-98; another English translation "A letter from Anne of Kiev (1072-1092)" in *Epistolae* <<http://epistolae.cnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1195.html>> [Accessed 14 August 2014].

from my goods and those which king Henry [Henri], my husband, gave me at our marriage ... I grant them all revenues completely to Saint Vincent and to his canons.<sup>135</sup>

The foundation act is also recorded in interpolations to the text of Hugh of Fleury's chronicle which praise Anna's faith in God for building the church to Saint Vincent.<sup>136</sup> The same interpolations are repeated in very similar wording in early modern chronicles which praise Anna for meditating on the world to come.<sup>137</sup>

Scholars have struggled to explain the Rus-born Anna's choice of a Spanish saint for her church. Roger Hallu suggests that her choice was due to the fact that Saint Vincent was the patron saint of winegrowers, and grape vines were in abundance at Senlis.<sup>138</sup> In 1670, a sub-prior of Senlis, Nicolas Quesnel, claimed that the foundation was a result of Anna's initial infertility: Anna supposedly implored Saint Vincent in tears to grant her the gift of children and that she would build a church in his honour if he would allow her to become the mother

<sup>135</sup> "Notum est omnibus sanctę aeclesie filiis quoniam universitatis creator omnia ad ornatum compositionemque sacratissimarum nuptiarum unigeniti sui Deus pater condidit, nec solum genitor sed et ipse genitus, concordia Sancti Spiritus, sibi sponsam aptavit, sicut in Canticis Canticorum eidem sponsae dicit 'Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, Veni de Libano, veni et coronaberis et capite Amanae, de vertice Sanir et Hermon'. Ego, autem Anna, corde intelligens, mente pertractans, tantam pulchritudinem tantumque decus atque recolens illud quod scriptum est: 'Beati qui ad cenam Agni vocati sunt' et quod ipsa Christi sponsa alias dicit: 'Qui elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt', deliberavi apud me quomodo illarum epularum illiusque beatitudinis ac vitae aeternae particeps existere possem, cumque demum sublevatum esset cor meum ad fabricandum Christo aeclesiam, ut intus incorporari et quodlibet membrum illius sanctae societatis, que fide Christo adjuncta est, connecti valuissem, in honore sanctae Trinitatis et pie Dei genetricis Mariae et precursoris Domini et sancti Vincentii martyris, Christo eam fabricavi et dedicare precepi atque dans deputavi ibi de facultatibus meis et de his, que in matrimonio Henricus rex, conjux meus, mihi dederat ... concedo omnis omino sancto Vincentio et canonicis ejus ...", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Baluze, vol. 47, fols. 219r.- 220v.; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 7, 16-18; Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, no. 7, 97; Magne, *Abbaye royale de Saint Vincent*, note a, 96-98; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 130, 330; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 319. English translation from: "A letter from Anne of Kiev (1072-1092)" in *Epistolae*, <<http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1195.html>>; [last access 14 August 2014].

<sup>136</sup> "Haec autem Deo devota, plus de futuris quam de praesentibus cogitans, in aeterna vita mutuum multipliciter recipere credens, apud Sylvanectum Ecclesiam in honore S. Vincentii construxit", *Excerptum Historicum* in RHGF, vol. 11, 157d.

<sup>137</sup> "Henricus ... accepit Annam filiam Regis Russorum: et plus de futuris quam temporalibus cogitans, apud Sylvanectum Ecclesiam in honore S. Vincentii construxit ... li Rois Henrix son fuiz prist à jamé Annte la fille au Roi Russin. Icele dame pensoit plus aux choses à venir que aux choses présentes, ce est à dire qu'elle pensoit plus à Dieu qu'aux choses du siècle; dont il avint qu'ele fist estorer à Senliz une Yglise en l'enor S. Vincent", *Ex Historia Regum Francorum* in RHGF, vol. 11, 319b; "... la Dame qui sainte vie niénoit, pensoit plus aus choses esperitueux qui à venir sont, que ele ne faisoit aus temporeux, en espérance que ele an recenst le loier en la vie pardurable. Une Eglise fonda en la cité de Senliz en l'onor de S. Vincent", *Chroniques de S. Denis* in RHGF, vol. 11, chap. 8, 409b; "si [Henri] espousa Anne fille du Roy de Roussie, qui fut de moulte sainte vie, et pensoit plus à acquérir la vie perdurable que la gloire mondaine. Une Eglise fonda en la cité de Senlis en l'honneur de S. Vincent", *Miroir Historial*, in RHGF, vol. 11, 411b; "Habuit uxorem Annam nomine, bonam et religiosam, quae fundavit Ecclesiam S. Vincentii Sylvanectensis", *Origo Regum Francia*, in RHGF, vol. 11, 412b.

<sup>138</sup> Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 87. Michael Walsh suggests that the association between St. Vincent and wine may have arisen "because of the similarity of the name Vincent with the French word for wine [*vin*]"; *Butler's Lives of Saints*, 430. That St. Vincent of Saragossa was the intended patron saint of Anna's church, and not the less popular St. Vincent of Lérins (d. 450) is suggested by the fact that he was praised by St. Augustine of Hippo and the church in Senlis was a house of Augustinian regular canons. See Augustine, *Sermo IV: De Jacob et Esau, in festo Vincentii martyris habitus* in PL vol. 38, col. 52; discussed in L. de Lacger, "Saint-Vincent de Saragosse", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, vol. 13, no. 16 (1927), 307-358 (307-308, 311-312); Moral, "Vincenzo", col. 1150; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 493. Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard suggest that Henri I favoured Augustinian canons because their "... houses were small and under episcopal and seigneurial control rather than directly subject to the pope, as were the Cluniac abbeys ...", *Capetian France 987-1328* (Harlow, 2001), 136.

of the heir to the throne.<sup>139</sup> When her son Philippe was born, reminded by Henri of her vow, she herself laid the first corner-stone.<sup>140</sup> This legend is not found in medieval chroniclers' description of Anna, and, on the contrary, as has been seen, Anna was particularly praised for her fertility in a letter of Pope Nicholas II addressed to her.<sup>141</sup>

A more simple explanation for the choice of patron saint may simply be that since Anna restored a pre-existing church, it probably previously had the name of Saint Vincent. Anna was familiar with Vincent's cult, which had been established in France by the sixth century. Various French cities claimed to possess his relics: Victor Saxer counts fifteen monasteries, eighty cities or villages, and four hundred parishes.<sup>142</sup> Closest to Anna's immediate environs, the Parisian abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, originally dedicated to Saint Vincent, claimed to possess a stole belonging to the Spanish saint, which King Childebert deposited there in 527.<sup>143</sup> Anna was familiar with this Capetian royal veneration of Saint Vincent, since in 1061, Philippe and Anna's donation of a manor to Saint-Germain-des-Prés was made both to both dedicatees of the monastery, Saint Germain and Saint Vincent.<sup>144</sup> Unremarked by previous studies of Anna Yaroslavna, however, is the fact that in the eleventh-century Saint Vincent also was a universal saint, appearing (twice!) in the *synaxarion* (martyrology) of Constantinople, dating to the eleventh or tenth century, as well as in eleventh-century Rus menologia (*metsasloryi*; saints' lives organized by month).<sup>145</sup> Anna's patronage of a house of regular canons dedicated to Saint Vincent could thus reflect both her Orthodox upbringing and the ecclesiastical environment of the French royal court.

Furthermore, as Robert Bautier first indicated, in Anna's foundation charter Saint Vincent occupies the third and last place in the church's dedication to the "honour of the Holy Trinity and the pious Mother of God Mary and the Precursor of the Lord and the holy martyr Vincent."<sup>146</sup> Both Bautier and Vladimir Vodoff have argued that this formulation is more

<sup>139</sup> N. Quesnel, "Les Antiquités de St Vincent de Senlis: fondation, histoire, biographies des abbés", Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms 1877, chap. 4, 29-32. The story is first repeated in the nineteenth-century history of A. Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, 4. It then recurs in subsequent works: Saint-Aymour, *Anne de Russie*, 40, 46-49; R. P. Hallu, "Histoire de Saint-Vincent" in *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Senlis. Comptes-rendus et mémoires* (1960-1961), 3-4 (4), Barré, *Le Comté de Valois*, 45.

<sup>140</sup> Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, 5.

<sup>141</sup> "Tu, autem, gloriosa filia, quia fecunditatis donum divinitus meruisti ...", RHGF, vol. 11, 653e; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no. 5, 12; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 84. This letter is discussed in the previous section. Abbé Magne seems to see confirmation of a cure for infertility being the reason for Anna's foundation in the choice of John the Baptist as a second saint to whom the church was dedicated, noting that John was born "of a sterile mother", *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent à Senlis*, 6.

<sup>142</sup> Places which possessed Saint Vincent's relics including Paris, Poitou, Bessay, Orbigny, Conques, Mans, and Castres, V. Saxer, *Saint Vincent diacre et martyr: Culte et légendes avant l'An Mil* (Brussels, 2002), 21. See also de Lacger, "Saint Vincent de Saragosse", 307 and 331; Moral, "Vincenzo", 1151; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 493. No data seems to be available on the original foundation date of the church in Senlis.

<sup>143</sup> Hallu, "Histoire de Saint-Vincent", 4; Saxer, *Saint Vincent diacre et martyr*, 34 and 37.

<sup>144</sup> "... donavimus coenobio sancti Vincentii et sancti Germani quandam villam nostri juris nuncupatam Banniolis, sitam prope moenia Parisiacae urbis ...", *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 13, 41.

<sup>145</sup> St. Vincent has two feast days in the Constantinopolitan *synaxarion* and likewise appears twice in Rus church calendars: under 22 January, as in the west, but also under 11 November together with Saints Victor and Menas; de Lacger, "Saint Vincent de Saragosse", 309 with further citations; O. Viktorovna Loseva, *Russkie metsasloryi XI-XIV vekov* (Moscow, 2001), 199-200 (11 November) and 254 (22 January) with numerous manuscript examples.

<sup>146</sup> Bautier, "Anne de Kiev", 560-61.

typical of the Eastern Church than the Western.<sup>147</sup> The naming of John the Baptist as the "Precursor of the Lord" (*Preacursor Domini*) is an Eastern title, in Greek *Prodromos*.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, Bautier adds that this formulation recalls the Byzantine *Deesis*, the common Byzantine image in which, foreshadowing the events of the Last Judgment, the Mother of God and John the Baptist are depicted interceding before Christ on behalf of humanity, their arms raised towards Him.<sup>149</sup> Does the inclusion of Orthodox theological formulations again suppose some sort of ongoing contact between Rus' and France during Anna's regency? Or could it be written by a Rus cleric at the French court?

Equally striking is the nuptial imagery in Anna's foundation charter for Saint Vincent. The image of Christ as the Heavenly Bridegroom taken from the Song of Songs recalls the imagery used in the *ordo* for a queen's coronation in the contemporary Köln Dombibliothek 141 in which the queen is exhorted to run "to meet our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal Bridegroom with the wise virgins."<sup>150</sup> Anna here well demonstrates that she has well understood the ideals of western queenship: combining her worldly wealth and rulership with the hope of eternal crowning.

After Anna's last extant subscription to a charter of 1075, she disappears from the records.<sup>151</sup> Based on the fact that a charter of Philippe I issued a charter in memory of his parents in 1079 (making the Church of Saint-Martin-des-Champs dependent on Cluny), Anna is believed to have died on 5 September, between 1075 and 1079.<sup>152</sup> This *memoria* takes on special significance when one recalls that it was Anna who together with her husband restored Saint-Martin-des-Champs from ruin, and then again confirmed this donation in the early years of her co-regency.<sup>153</sup> Anna's memory was also preserved in her foundation at Senlis where the Abbey of Saint-Vincent in Senlis celebrated an annual *obit* (memorial service) for Anna on 5

<sup>147</sup> Bautier, "Anne de Kiev", 561; Vladimir Vodoff, *Naissance de la chrétienté russe. La conversion du prince Vladimir de Kiev (988) et ses conséquences (XI-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1988), 249.

<sup>148</sup> Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 319.

<sup>149</sup> Bautier, "Anne de Kiev", 561. Cp. V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the XI to the XVI Century*, trans. B. Roniger and rev. N. Dunn (London, 1966), 38-39. This image would have been seen by Anna Yaroslavna in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kyiv, built by her family. In it, Mary and John the Baptist are prominently depicted in a *Deesis* mosaic dating from 1043-1046, i.e. before Anna left for France. Indeed, Anna's close association with the artistic program of this Cathedral is demonstrated by her almost certain presence among her sisters in the donor (Greek: *klitor*) composition in the Cathedral, which also functioned as her family's court church, Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics*, 48, ill. no 36, 52; F. Kämpfer, *Das russische Herrscherbild von den Anfängen bis zu Peter dem Grossen: Studien zur Entwicklung politischer Ikonographie im Byzantinischen Kulturkreis* (Recklinghausen, 1978), 111.

<sup>150</sup> "cum prudentibus virginibus sponso perenni domino nostro Iesu Christo, digne et laudabiliter occurens", *Ordines Coronationis Francia*, ed. Jackson, vol.1, 216.

<sup>151</sup> Blois, Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher, fonds de Pontlevoy, 17 H 1, no. 2; *Recueil des pièces historiques sur la reine Anne*, no 16, 37-41; Saint-Aymour, Anne de Russie, no. 20, 110; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 75, 188-191; *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, no. 4548 < <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte4548/> > [accessed 29 January 2015]; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 102 and 113, PJ no. 55, 188; listed in Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 317; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 88.

<sup>152</sup> "Facio autem hanc donationem pro remissione peccatorum meorum et genitoris genticisque mee et omnium regum Francorum, antecessorum meorum ...", Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 10977, fol. 1 r.; *Cartulaire générale de Paris: collections de documents*, ed. Robert de Lasteyrie, vol. 1 (Paris, 1887), no. 102, 130; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, no. 95, 247; Hallu, *Anne de Kiev*, 115; Luniak, *Anna Ruska*, 60 and 88.

<sup>153</sup> *Cartulaire générale de Paris*, vol. 1, no. 96, 122-124.

September until the French Revolution.<sup>154</sup> According to Abbé Magne, after the mass, dinner was given to three poor widows, suggesting a memorialization of Anna as a pious widow.<sup>155</sup> Her "scandalous" second marriage or her "alien" origins do not seem to have affected her memory in France.

### *Conclusions*

The extant charters of Anna Yaroslavna demonstrate that, far from being isolated as an "alien queen" by her contemporaries, Anna actively participated in the governance of the kingdom, in both temporal and spiritual matters. Most of her subscriptions and issuing of charters are in favour of Benedictine monasteries and houses of Augustinian canons, foremost among the latter her own foundation of Saint-Vincent in Senlis. Formulas in the latter as well as her Cyrillic signature on the charter in favour of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand suggest continuing contact with the Orthodox culture of Kyivan Rus, but the charters as a whole show Anna's active participation in affairs of the "western" Church, an activity acknowledged by no less than a person than Pope Nicholas II. Anna's marriage to Count Raoul a year after the death of her first husband indicates that she did remain a foreigner at the Capetian court to a certain degree, probably in need of a local magnate as a protector. But while her remarriage may have been scandalous to some churchmen, its damage to the reputation of the queen has been exaggerated in secondary literature. In particular, her act of refounding Saint-Vincent in Senlis earned her the memory in chronicles as a pious, even saintly queen. Her *signum* on charters after her second marriage in 1061 continue to give her the status of queen until her own son's marriage to Berthe of Holland. Nor do the charters provide evidence of renaming or "conversion": the majority of documents call her "Anna". Finally, charters provide strong evidence for Anna's co-regency, corroborating the statement of the *Annales Bertholdi* that Anna shared in the governing of the kingdom. Instead of labeling her as an "alien queen", one charter even calls her "king." The documentary sources on her reign suggest both continuity with her natal Orthodox culture as well as conformity to the practice of western ideals of queenship.

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<sup>154</sup> Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev", 321.

<sup>155</sup> "Fidèles à la reconnaissance, les chanoines de Saint-Vincent célébrèrent tous les ans, jusqu'à leur suppression, 'un obit solennel' au jour du décès de la reine Anne, qui est le lendemain de l'octave de la solennité de Saint-Augustin. Après la messe, ils donnaient à dîner à trois pauvres femmes veuves", A. Magne, *Abbaye royale de St. Vincent*, no. 1, 10.

## The Charters of Queen Anna Yaroslana, c.1050-1075

Extant charter	Date	Place of issuing	Anna's role	Purpose	Comments on witness list	Earliest source
1.	1050/1-Oct. 1055	<i>in curia regis</i>	Witness together with Henri I	Return of Villiers-Franqueux to the Abbey of Saint-Thierry	Witness list includes Anna and Henri I, Archbishop Richard of Sens, Bishop Hélinand of Laon, Count Raoul	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 85, fol. 3r
2.	Oct. 1055-4 August 1060	?	Witness together with Henri I? (original lost)	Confirmation of re-establishment of the monastery of Sainte-Nicaise de Reims	Witness list no longer extant	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 12688, fol. 45r
3.	c.1053-July 12 <sup>th</sup> 1058	Melun	Co-issuer and in witness-list	Permission for Saint-Maur-des-Fossés to exercise customs on beef and meat previously "unjustly" exercised by royal officers	Witness list includes Henri, Anna, and their sons Philippe and Robert	Extant in the original: Paris, Archives nationales de France, AE II 101 (formerly K 19 n° 5/2)
4.	1059	Poissy, Vitry-aux-Loges or Dreux	Corroboration and subscription	Confirmation of Hugues Bartoul's donation of the church of Notre-Dame in Villemeux to the monastery of Coulombs along with the other possessions	Witness list includes King Henri, Anna, Philippe, the knight Hugues Bartoul.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Martène, Ampliss. Collectio, vol. 1, col. 448 and Gaignières, ms. Lat. 17048
5.	23 May 1059	Reims	Charter given by Henri I for the salvation of her soul on the day of their son's	Donation to Saint Philibert of Tournus	Henri I and Philippe I	Paris, Archives nationales de France, JJ. 41, fols. 12 v-13 v., act. no. 12

			coronation			
6.	1059-1060	?	Subscription	Exemption of the monastery of Saint-Remi de Sens from quartering the king's army, hunters and <i>stabularii</i>		Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 13878
7.	1060	Paris	Participation and subscription	(re)foundation of Saint Martin-des-Champs	Witness list includes: Archbishop Mainard of Sens, Archbishop Gervais of Reims, Bishop Imbert of Paris, Count Raoul, Bishop Gui of Amiens, Bishop Gautier of Meaux, Bishop Hélinand of Laon, Bishop Froland of Senlis, the Bishop of Troyes.	London, British Library, Add. Mss. 11662, fol. 4v
8.	1060 (after 4 August)	Dreux	Co-issuer with Philippe and Count Baldwin of Flanders	Confirmation of donation to Saint-Père of Chartres	Witness list includes Anna's future step-son, Simon, the son of Count Raoul, and Ingeran, Philippe's tutor	Original copy: Chartres, Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir H 399
9.	1060 (after 4 August)	Senlis	Intervention and on witness list	Confirmation of donation of her sister-in-law Adela of the manor of Courcelles to the	Her name heads the witness-list as "Agne regine".	Original copy: Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, n. 1

				monastery of Saint-Denis		
10.	1060 (after 4 August)	Senlis	On witness-list	Exemption granted to the monastery of of Saint-Lucien de Beauvais	Heads witness-list as "A. regine".	Beauvais, Archives départementales de l'Oise, H 946, 18 and 169 (rubric mention only)
11.	25 November 1060	Étampes	Corroboration of charter of Bishop Agobert of Chartres; Anna is called "king".	confirmation of the building of a church dedicated to Saint Bartholomew at Orchaie by abbot Albert of Marmoutier	Extensive witness list headed by Bishop Agobert of Chartres and containing Philippe I's monogram	Blois, Archives départementales du Loiret-Cher, 16 H 113
12.	1060-1061	Tournus?	Charter given by Philippe I for the salvation of her soul	Confirmation of donation to Saint Philibert of Tournus	Not extant	Paris, Archives nationales de France, JJ 41, fol. 28 v-29 r., n. xlii.
13.	30 April 1061	Compiègne	Issuer with Philippe	Donation to Saint-Christophe in Halatte and confirmation of previous donation	Not extant	Beauvais, Archives départementales de l'Oise, H 2348
14.	14 May 1061	Reims	Intercessor and on witness-list	Donation of manor of Houdilcourt with its dependencies on the church of Saint-Nicaise in Reims	Not extant	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, ms. 863, fol. 10r (formerly fol. xi)
15.	27 May 1061	Senlis	On witness list	Exemption granted to Saint-Adrien in Béthisy	Queen Anna ("Agnes"), Bishop Froland of Senlis, Galeran chamberlain, Thibaud de	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 12776, 93-95

					Crépy, Névelon, lord of Pierrefonds,	
16.	Before 4 August 1061	Paris	Intercessor	Confirmation of donations Notre-Dame de Poissy	Witness-list composed of local castellans and knights	Paris, Archives nationales de France, JJ 62, fol. 161 r., no. 2.
17.	Before 4 August 1061	?	Described as taking the reins of government with Philippe	Grant of the manor of Bagneux to Saint-Germain-des-Prés in exchange for the manor of Combs, held in usufruct by a certain Count Eudes	None (royal monogram of Philippe I only)	Extant in original: Paris, Archives nationales de France, K 20, n. 2
18.	1060s, between 1061-1065	Paris?	On witness-list	private agreement in which Abbot Engelard of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris loans the sum of forty <i>liberas</i> to Galeran <i>camerario regis</i> .	Witness list includes Queen Anna, Count Raoul.	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Liber Testamentorum</i> , ms. Lat. 10977, no. 81, fol. 38r.
19.	1060s, probably 1063	Probably Soissons	Signs "Ana Regina" in Cyrillic	Confirmation of the donation of two shrines in Pernant and Colombes to Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons	Charter notes the consent of Gervais, Archbishop of Reims, Robert [Anna's son], Count Baldwin Bishop Hélinand of Laon, of Count Raoul, "other men". King Philippe and Queen Anna are the only signatories	Original copy: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Picardie, vol. 294, no. 38

20.	26 January 1065	Orléans	Signs as "Anna Regina" in Latin	Confirmation of the donation of the knight Gobert of the church of Chalette to Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire.	Witness list includes: King Philippe, Queen Anna, Bishop Mainard of Sens, Count Raoul, Bishop Gui of Amiens, Ingeran, Philippe's tutor.	Rome, Vatican Library, ms. Regina 556, fol. 34r
21.	1065	Orléans	Intercessor along with Count Baldwin	Confirmation of Henri I's donation of the churches of Janville and Neuvy-en-Beauce to Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris	Witness list includes Count Baldwin, Count Hugh [probably Anna's son], Count Raoul, and Bishop Gui of Amiens.	London, British Library, MS. 11662, fol. 7v
22.	1067	Melun	On witness list as "Anna regina" in Latin	Confirmation that a certain Gui renounces the tolls that he had demanded on the lands of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire	King Philippe, Bishop Gui of Amiens, Bishop Gaufrif of Paris, Queen Anna, Baldwin of Flanders, Count Raoul.	Paris, Dom Estiennot, <i>Fragmentorum historiae tomus XIII</i> , Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 12776, p. 477
23.	1067	Amiens Cathedral	Co-issuer	Exemption from comital justice to Notre-Dame of Amiens, and donation of lands in Conty:	Count Raoul, his wife Anna, Simon, the son of the Count	Amiens, <i>Cartulaire I</i> , Archives départementales de la Somme, 4 G 2966, fols. 71r-71v.
24.	Between 1065-1069, cited in charter of Philippe from 1072-1092	Senlis?	Issuer	Foundation of Saint-Vincent in Senlis	No longer extant	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Baluze, vol. 47, fol. 219r.

25.	Between 1060 and 1067	?	Issuer	Anna acknowledges that the monks of Saint-Maur-de-Fossés gave her the use of the land of Verneuil in usufruct, to be returned to the monastery after her death	Bishop Frolland of Senlis, Chancellor Baldwin, Raoul, the king's seneschal, Baldwin the constable, Amalric, the queen's seneschal	Paris, Archives nationales de France, LL 48 (anc. LL 114), fol. cclxxxvi, and Archives nationales de France, LL 46 (formerly LL 112), fol. 16 v.
26.	Before 23 May 1075	Paris	On witness list	Confirmation of the monastery of Pontlevoy by Gelduin de Saumur, his wife Aenor and their son Geoffrey in July of 1035.	Anna, the mother of King Philippe, Frederic the cupbearer of the king, Henri, the constable of the king, Hugh the chamberlain, Hervei, the master of the cupbearers, Gosfrid de Calvomonte, by whose petition and prayer, this present confirmation is made.	Original copy: Blois, Archives départementales du Loir-et-Cher, fonds de Pontlevoy 17 H 1, no. 2

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