



THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

SCHOOL OF HISTORY, CLASSICS & ARCHAEOLOGY

MA (HONS) – ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

HISTORY DISSERTATION

*



THE INFLUENCE AND POWER OF OTTONIAN QUEENS IN THE
POLITICAL CONTEXT OF NORTHERN ITALY

April 2017

Supervisor: Dr Zubin Mistry

Exam Number: B048338

Word count: 11'999

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my supervisor Dr Zubin Mistry for his invaluable help and for the support he offered during the course of my research and the writing process. His kindness, encouragement, and reliability (and his sense of humour) are what kept me sane in the past few months. His assistance has been incomparable despite my habit of borrowing books for entire months at a time, and for this I thank his patience.

I am grateful to Erin Irwin and Michaella Stone for proofreading my entire work and giving sassy commentary throughout, especially regarding Medieval art and Henry the Wrangler. I also owe a debt to Riccardo Esposito, who offered his company and readily drove me around Northern Italy so that I could go consult dusty archives. Finally, a big thank you to the History Gals for listening to my ramblings about medieval queens for far longer than appropriate, your support made it a much smoother journey.

CONTENTS

THE INFLUENCE AND POWER OF OTTONIAN QUEENS IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF NORTHERN ITALY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
CONTENTS	III
ABBREVIATIONS	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	VI
INTRODUCTION	1
.1. (MORE THAN) THE KING’S WIFE	5
ADELHEID AND THEOPHANO BETWEEN HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND CHARTERS	6
DOTARIA AND THE ITALIAN CONSORTIUM	11
PROPERTY MANAGEMENT AND POWER	13
.2. MOTHERS AND REGENTS	16
THE INFLUENCE ON THE FUTURE RULER	17
THE FEMALE POLITICAL NETWORK	20
REGENCY	22
QUEEN AGAINST QUEEN (AGAINST KING?)	25
.3. QUEENS AND THE FUTURE	28
THE MANIPULATION OF HISTORY, MEMORY, AND THE ROLE OF MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS	29
INFLUENCE OR POWER? THE IMPLICATIONS OF MEMORY AND RELIGIOUS PATRONAGE	33
CONCLUSION	37
BIBLIOGRAPHY	39

ABBREVIATIONS

Colombo, DOA	A. Colombo, ‘I diplomi ottoniani e adalaidini e la fondazione del monastero di S Salvatore in Pavia’, <i>Miscellanea Pavese</i> , Biblioteca della Società di Storia Subalpina, CXXX, II (Turin, 1932), pp. 3-39
Gilsdorf, QS	S. Gilsford, <i>Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid</i> (Washington D.C., 2004)
Manaresi, PRI	C. Manaresi, <i>I Placiti del ‘Regnum Italiae’</i> , Fonti per la Storia d’Italia, 92, 3 vols (Rome, 1955)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
— BDkz II	<i>Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims</i> , ed. F. Weigle, MGH, Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit II (Weimar, 1966)
— DD L II	‘Ludwig II’, in <i>Ludovici II Diplomata</i> , ed. K. Wanner, MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, IV (Munich, 1994)
— DD H I; DD O I	‘Heinrich’; ‘Otto I’, in <i>Conradi I, Heinrich I et Ottonis I Diplomata</i> , ed. T. Sickel, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, I (Hannover, 1879-84)
— DD O II, DD O III	‘Otto II’; ‘Otto III’, in <i>Ottonis II et Ottonis III Diplomata</i> , ed. T. Sickel, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, II (Hannover, 1888-93)
— DD Th	‘Theophanu’, in <i>Ottonis II et Ottonis III Diplomata</i> , ed. T. Sickel, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, II (Hannover 1888-93)

— QQG	<i>Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters</i> , ed. P.G. Schmidt, MGH (Weimar, 1989)
— SS	Scriptores
Odilo, <i>Epitaph</i>	Odilo of Cluny, <i>Epitaph of Adelheid</i> , trans. S. Gilsdorf, <i>Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid</i> (Washington D.C., 2004)
Thietmar, <i>Chronicon</i>	Thietmar of Merseburg, <i>Chronicon</i> , trans. D. A. Warner, <i>Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg</i> (Manchester, 2001)
VMA	<i>Vita Mathildis Reginae Antiquior</i> , trans. S. Gilsdorf, <i>Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid</i> , (Washington D.C., 2004)
VMP	<i>Vita Mathildis Reginae Posterior</i> , trans. S. Gilsdorf, <i>Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid</i> , (Washington D.C., 2004)

LIST OF FIGURES

FRONT COVER:

Theophano, Adelheid and Otto II.

Source: G. Palumbo, 'Teofano/Theophano', in M. P. Guermandi – S. Urbini (eds), *Imperiituro: Renovatio imperii; Ravenna nell' Europa ottoniana; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe; [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct. 4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]* (Bologna, 2014).

IN-TEXT FIGURES:

Fig. 1

Christ crowning Otto II and Theophano, carved ivory, Italian workshop, c.982, Cluny, Musée de Cluny le monde médiéval, Cl 392.

Source : 'Le Christ Couronnant Otton II et Théopano'; <http://www.musee-moyenage.fr/collection/oeuvre/ivoire-christ-otton-theophano.html> ; accessed 23 March 2017.

Fig. 2

Christ between the emperor Otto II, his wife Theophano and their son Otto III, carved ivory, Milan, c.980-983, Milan, Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco.

Source: 'Pokutny sens proskynezy w sztuce bizantyńskiej'; <http://gertruda.eu/sztuka/str21.htm> accessed 23 March 2017.

Fig. 3

Map of the distribution of territories donated to Berta and Adelheid by Hugh and Lothair upon their respective engagements.

Source: G. Vignodelli, ‘Berta e Adelaide: la politica di consolidamento del potere regio di Ugo di Arles’, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012) , p. 258.

Fig. 4

A section of the Marriage Charter of Empress Theophano, purple parchment and gold ink, Rome, 14 April 972, Wolfenbüttel, State Archives of Wolfenbüttel, 6 Urk 11.

Source: ‘The Marriage Charter of Empress Theophanu, prepared by Holy Roman Emperor Otto II on 14 April 972’, 2008, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Urkunde01.jpg> ; accessed 23 March 2017.

Fig. 5

Pfennig of Adelheid, silver, c.991-5

Source: A. Rovelli, ‘Imperatrici e regine nelle emissioni monetarie altomedievali (VI-X secolo)’, *Agire da Donna*, ed. C. La Rocca (Turnhout, 2007), p. 231.

INTRODUCTION

Thanks to the development of gender and women's studies, from the 1960s and 1970s, the historiographical discourse around female agency in the past has grown and progressed quickly, endeavouring to make the experiences of women more evident throughout history, while at the same time investigating the political and social implications of gender. One of the topics emerging from this discourse regards the social, rather than biological, concepts of masculinity and femininity, and how they intersected with ideas of authority, power, and social order.¹ In relation to studies of the Middle Ages, historians investigating queenship and female agency have often had to grapple with issues of female power in the absence of a clearly-defined institutional role for queens and politically active women.² The seminal work *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers* by Pauline Stafford, published in the 1980s, is a useful example of scholarship confronting the issue at hand. Though innovative and ground-breaking in its approach at the time of its release, it would often refer to a queen having 'influence' or 'power', using both terms interchangeably.³ No specific definition was given for either term, perhaps intentionally left vague to apply to the equally flexible picture of medieval queenly agency as the one given in the book.

Much work has been done since Stafford's publication, but the issue of 'power' vs 'influence' is still active in the scholarship. The study presented here fits into this debate, and

¹ C. Clover, 'Regardless of Sex: Men, Women and Power in Early Northern Europe', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), pp. 363-387; J. M. H. Smith, 'Gender and Ideology in the Early Middle Ages', in *Gender and Christian Religion* ed. R. N. Swanson, (Woodbridge, 1998).

² A few examples among a larger corpus are: E. M. Searle, 'Emma the Conqueror', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth, J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989); P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England* (Oxford, 1997).

³ P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, (Batsford, 1983).

analyses the way two Ottonian queens from the tenth century, Adelheid and Theophano, navigated between gendered social roles, the female sphere of marriage and motherhood, and the traditionally masculine one of politics and public authority. It examines whether a queen could be considered to have ‘power’, defined in terms of her ability to perform specific political and administrative roles in the government of the realm, such as directly and independently issuing charters, administering royal finances, and the freedom of disposing of crown land and resources, or whether she merely possessed a degree of ‘influence’ over the affairs of the realm, mostly due to her proximity to the king as her husband or son, but without independent authority. If influence and power were to be placed at opposite ends of a spectrum, the agency of a queen varied and changed in different stages of their lives, partially deriving from the family roles of these women, and partially from their own efforts to find, develop and make use of a working space in the traditionally masculine world of politics.

The structure of this analysis therefore follows the natural cycle of the lives of Adelheid and Theophano, Queens of Saxony and of the Kingdom of Italy, and Empresses of the Holy Roman Empire, alongside Otto I and Otto II respectively. An initial section will observe the role of the queen as the king’s wife, and what implications towards her agency this position as royal consort can present. Her ability to rule as regent thanks to motherhood and widowhood will then be the topic of the second part of this paper. Finally, the focus will expand outside the boundaries of the royal family, looking at the tools queens could use in order to pursue their interests – in particular religious and monastic foundations.

The geographical area of analysis is primarily Northern Italy, although frequent (and necessary) parallels will be drawn between this region, Saxony and Germanic territories, and occasionally the Byzantine Empire. A series of reasons defends these choices. Firstly, Northern Italy has been selected because in this period it presents the setting for a merging of

Carolingian, Saxonian and Byzantine tradition, offering a culturally mixed backdrop which can open up an interesting discussion regarding the role of queens. Secondly, the relatively narrow focus on individuals and locations will guarantee the lack of broad over-generalizations about the role of *all* queens of the period across large European territories. At the same time, the quantity and quality of material available does not support or justify a focus exclusively on Northern Italy with no treatment of the German areas, especially when discussing a realm where kings and queens were itinerant and only occasionally residing in one place.

This is also a reaction to a rather narrow-sighted historiographical tradition regarding the Ottonian dynasty, mostly composed by either German or Italian works, which only focus on the respective side of the Alps.⁴ The ties which bound together Italy, Saxony and the Byzantine Empire mean that excessive provincialism would produce a distorted picture of the queen's power, because it would not take the wider context into account. Italian scholarship in particular has often tended towards regionalisation, and studies on the Ottonian kings and queens are often incorporated into works relating to specific Italian cities, and only studied in function of the history of the place itself.⁵ While this work does not aim to talk about the Ottonian dynasty as a whole, but only two of its queens, it still attempts to partially bridge these gaps. Southern Italy and Rome, despite being connected to the Ottonians, will be mostly left out, partially because of this attempt to avoid broad generalisations, and partially because

⁴ S. MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship* (upcoming, 2017) will be one of the first major studies about the women of this dynasty written in English.

⁵ Works on the history of Medieval Pavia are most likely to include sections on the Ottonians, due to the status of the city as royal capital. Examples are P. Majocchi, *Pavia Città Regia*, (Rome, 2008) and A. Settia, 'Pavia Carolingia e Post-Carolingia', *Storia di Pavia, II, L'alto medioevo* (Pavia, 1987). Ravenna is another example, due to its importance in the ancient and medieval world: A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'Età Bizantina all'Età Ottoniana. Territorio, Economia e Società*, II/1 (Venice, 1991) and M. P. Guermandi – S. Urbini, *Imperiituro: Renovatio imperii ; Ravenna nell' Europa ottoniana ; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe, [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct.4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]* (Bologna, 2014) discuss the Ottonians during their treatment of the history of Ravenna.

of mere issues of length and conciseness. However, some evidentiary material, such as charters issued at Rome, will occasionally be included in this study.

A wide variety of sources is drawn upon, ranging from chronicles, letters, and hagiographies, to numismatic evidence, administrative texts, and charters. The aim is to present evidence from different points of view and to mitigate the risks of pitfalls related to the use of a single category of material, such as recurring biases and ideas about women's participation in politics which might be linked to a specific type of texts.⁶

⁶ Questions of hegemonic masculinity and its perpetuation in textual sources are discussed in: J. M. H. Smith, 'Introduction: Gendering an Early Medieval World', *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* eds L. Brubaker – J. M. H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004).

.1. (MORE THAN) THE KING'S WIFE

Hincmar, writing in the late ninth century, attributed certain duties to a queen which appear to be in large part wifely tasks transposed to the royal palace, and by extension to the realm. She was expected to ‘manage the palace receptions, maintain the royal dignity, and manage the diplomatic exchanges of gifts’.⁷ This view was part of a growing corpus concerning concepts of queenship, kingship, and morality, which produced the yardstick against which queens were still judged by the writers in the eleventh century. Mathilda, wife of Henry I, was praised for her irreprovable conduct in the two *Vitae Mathildis Reginae*, in which her queenship, piety, and wifeness are portrayed as closely interlinked.⁸ This is not necessarily an unbiased depiction of Mathilda, but nevertheless reveals the writers’ expectations regarding a good queen: to be ‘wise in her counsel’ and ‘mild in her speech’.⁹ The picture of queenship painted in these types of sources begins with and is constantly defined by marriage to the king, although queens could still be active throughout widowhood. Marriage to the king did in fact mark the effective beginning of queenship in the Kingdom of Italy at the time of Adelheid, where a public ceremony of consecration was not yet required.¹⁰

This conceptual frame allows for little to no initiative for the woman herself beyond the wifely sphere, and intervention in the politics of the realm was limited to intercessions with the king. Mathilda was depicted offering advice and petitioning him in behalf of others, but the *VMP* states with no ambiguity that her requests could go unheeded.¹¹ However, if one

⁷ Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, *De Ordine Palatii*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1885), 22, pp. 56-8.

⁸ Gilsdorf, *QS*, p. 38.

⁹ *VMA*, V, p. 77.

¹⁰ Majocchi, *Pavia*, p. 64.

¹¹ *VMP*, V, p. 95.

is to believe the (critical) portrayal of queenly behaviour in Liutprand's *Antapodosis*, Italian queens in this period were highly active, involved in politics, and even more assertive and commanding than their husbands.¹² The question whether either model of queenly behaviour was an accurate representation of reality in the case of Adelheid and Theophano still stands. In order to explore the often ephemeral traces of queenly agency, historians can make use of chronicles and ecclesiastically-produced texts, but also of the evidence presented by charters and administrative documents. Tracing the changes in the way Adelheid and Theophano were portrayed in these different types of sources can therefore be a useful strategy to explore the way these two women acted within their roles as royal wives, and the implications for the management of the realm.

Adelheid and Theophano between historical accounts and charters

An initial look at the charters of the period reveals an image of the Ottonian queens which is in line with the picture painted thus far, one in which their political significance depended on their nearness to the king. The royal wife acted as an intercessor between petitioners and the king, dedicated herself to pious deeds, and in the public sphere kept herself mostly to the sidelines. In Germany, charters mentioning Otto's first wife Edith record her intercessions, often in favour of donations to ecclesiastical orders, and she figures repeatedly as Otto's (*dilecta coniunx*).¹³ Mathilda, wife of Henry I, had a similar role and similar titlature, where in numerous charters the king appears to be deliberating thanks to *interventum/peticione Mahthildae*, and she is often called *dulcissima* or *cara coniunx*.¹⁴ However, the picture of

¹² Balzaretti presented a few examples and argued that these portrayals are not accurate reflections of royal power dynamics, but merely semi-humorous attempts to criticise kings through the rhetoric of unbecoming male submission to the wiles of a woman. R. Balzaretti, 'Liutprand of Cremona's sense of humour', in *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. Halsall (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 114-128.

¹³ MGH DD O I, No. 3, p. 92 and No. 69, p. 149 among others.

¹⁴ MGH DD H I, No. 18, p. 53, No. 20, p. 56 among others.

Adelheid and Theophano painted by Italian charters in this period differs noticeably from that of their predecessors.

Initially, Adelheid is portrayed in a similar fashion to Edith: she is acting as intercessor, and she is called *dilecta coniunx* by Otto I, as seen for instance in a charter of 952 from Como where lands are being donated to the monastery of St. Ambrogio.¹⁵ However, soon enough she is referred to as *imperatrix* and *imperatrix augusta*, but only in charters referring to donations and transactions occurring in Italy.¹⁶ Looking at charters produced in Italy specifically, Adelheid is referred to as *consors regni*, in addition to *imperatrix*.¹⁷ An important element to consider is the Italian tradition, especially given the fact that Adelheid had been a queen in this territory even before her wedding to Otto. This title was typical of the titlature of queens in pre-Ottonian Italy, having been used for the first time in the mid-ninth century, first for Queen Ermengarde, and then for Queen Engelberga.¹⁸ In an Ottonian context, this change marks a significant shift, from the conceptualisation of the queen as mere wife to what effectively appears to be a role as partner in the management of the realm, outside of the strictly private sphere. This enhanced standing of queens in charters progresses further with Theophano, who not only was referred to as *consors* by Otto II in the document created for their wedding in Italy, but acquired the full title of *coimperatrix augusta* and *imperii regnorumque consors* even in *diplomata* from Saxony.¹⁹

It could appear as if a transformation of the role of Ottonian queens from beloved wife to effective co-ruler of the realm had taken place. But there is a question of whether this was

¹⁵ MGH DD O I, No. 145, p. 225

¹⁶ MGH DD O I, No. 241a-b, p. 337ff; No. 242, p. 343 among others. The Italy-related titlature is discussed in R. Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en France et en Germanie (VI-X siècle)', in *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge*, eds F. Bougard, L. Feller, R. Le Jan (Rome, 2002), p. 472.

¹⁷ Manaresi, *PRI* II/1, No. 148, pp. 19ff.

¹⁸ Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs', p. 471.

¹⁹ DD O II No. 21, p. 28-30; No. 76, p. 92.

reflective of an actual increase in queenly agency, or merely a bureaucratic modification aimed at honouring the royal wife, and following the appropriate Italian and Byzantine style. Just as Italy had a pre-existing custom regarding the *consors regni* titles, Byzantium exhibited a long-standing tradition of powerful empresses, who not only ruled alongside their husbands, but could also maintain independent rule.²⁰ A few examples from the eighth to the tenth century included Empress Irene, Theodora, Zoe, and Theophano, wife of Romanos II and Nikephoros II. These enhanced appellatives in regard to Theophano might partially originate from the desire to imitate the Byzantine imperial titulature and prestige.²¹ Ottonian art concerning Theophano has been used to support an image of equal rule alongside her husband, strengthening the impression given by titulature. An ivory plaque from an Italian workshop, thought to have been carved just before Otto II's death, shows the members of the royal couple being crowned by Christ, and being of equal stature (fig. 1).²² An almost-contemporary one from Milan, showing the couple kneeling in front of Jesus, also portrays them of equal stature (fig. 2). The fact that it could have been carved at Theophano's prompting has to be considered, which would also help attribute a degree of agency to the queen herself in the creation of her own imagery.²³ Nonetheless, this equality in depictions was common in Byzantine pictorial art, and could once again be ascribed to the Ottonians' desire to adopt prestigious artistic motifs to visually enhance their own imperial rule.²⁴ In this case, both the titulature and the evidence presented by art would not offer any concrete indication as to the queen's actual participation in government.

²⁰ L. Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium A.D. 527-1204* (London, New York, 1999), p. 87.

²¹ L. Wangerin, 'Empress Theophanu, Sanctity, and Memory in Early Medieval Saxony', *Central European History*, 47/4 (2014), p. 722.

²² J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'The Art of Byzantium and its relation to Germany in the time of empress Theophano', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995), p. 212.

²³ Guermandi, Urbini, *Imperituro*, p. 130-1.

²⁴ Wangerin, 'Empress Theophanu', p. 722.



Fig. 1 – *Christ crowning Otto II and Theophano*



Fig. 2 – *Otto II and Theophano kneeling at Christ's feet.*

It is true that there is some evidence for these two queens being actively involved in the affairs of the Italian realm alongside their husbands. For instance, Theophano almost always accompanied Otto during his travels, even crossing an arduous pass in the alps while pregnant, and during the disastrous military campaigns in Calabria.²⁵ Nikephoros Phokas mentions the presence of Adelheid alongside her husband during the siege of Bari in 968 as

²⁵ A. Di Meo, 'L'Italia Meridionale durante il Regno di Ottone II di Sassonia: Rapporti Culturali e Geopolitici tra Costantinopoli, Emirato di Sicilia, e Sacro Romano Impero', *InStoria*, 88 (2015).

well, in a speech reported by Liutprand.²⁶ But despite the remarkable degree to which these two queens were at the side of the kings, military involvement was not exactly new. There are various examples of Italian queens being left in charge of sieges, such as King Berengar's wife Willa, besieged with her army in 962 by Otto I.²⁷

Moreover, despite the change in titulature, the function of the queen as intercessor does not appear to have noticeably changed or evolved even in charter activity during their husband's reigns. In the case of Theophano, it is true that she was quoted in almost a quarter of all the produced documents in Otto's reign, but even after being titled *coimperatrix*, she still only appeared to be counselling her husband, supplicating him, and asking for his intervention.²⁸ The interceding activity of Theophano and Adelheid is in fact described using the same terminology of petition as their Ottonian predecessors (e.g. *ac petitione, interventum Adhalheidis/Theophanu*) despite their different titles.²⁹ Furthermore, there are no charters produced in Italy (or Saxony) during the reign of their husbands which are co-signed by either queen, despite their apparent co-ruling of the realm.³⁰

Nevertheless, while all of these factors need to be taken into consideration, there is abundant evidence proving that the changing titulature was not merely a symptom of a cosmetic refashioning of the queen's image. It had profound connections to territorial management and the development of independent agency by the queens.

²⁶ Liutprand of Cremona, 'The Embassy of Liutprand the Cremonese Bishop to the Constantinopolitan Emperor Nicephoros Phocas on Behalf of the August Ottos & Adelheid', trans. P. Squatriti, *The complete works of Liutprand of Cremona* (Washington D.C., 2007), 11, p. 246.

²⁷ Adalbert of Magdeburg, *Chronicle*, trans. S. MacLean, *History and politics in late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009), 962, p. 262-3.

²⁸ R. Grégoire, *Theofano: Una Bizantina sul Trono del Sacro Romano Impero (958-991)* (Milano, 2000), p. 106.

²⁹ Examples are: MGH DD O I, No. 268, p. 381; No. 212, p. 293 for Adelheid; MGH DD O II, No. 287 p. 334 for Theophano.

³⁰ R. Grégoire, *Theofano*, p. 108.

Dotaria and the Italian consortium

The Italian royal *consortium* was more than just a formal title. It had legal implications, and coincided with the assignment to the wife by the husband of a quantity of lands directly from the royal demesne, which made up the queen's *dotarium*.³¹ Engelberga, one of the first to receive the title *consors regni/imperii*, was also the first to receive large quantities of territories, of economic and strategic value.³² Adelheid and Theophano's changing titulature also corresponded to an increase in the scale of the *dotarium* given by their husbands, as a comparison with previous Ottonian women reveals. Neither Edith's nor Adelheid's original marriage agreement survived, but later charters confirming the donations can help identify the contents of their respective *dotaria*. Apparently, Edith was only given Magdeburg, while Adelheid was entrusted with a rather conspicuous amount of *curtes* in both Germany and Italy, in addition to the confirmation of the 4580 manses in Italy given to her by her first husband Lothair.³³ It must be noted that, despite the lack of charters listing clearly Mathilda's properties, apart from a 929 confirmation of Quedlinburg, Pöhlde, Nordhausen, Grone and Duderstadt, the *VMP* mentions a feud between her and her son Otto sparked by a dispute over her *dotarium*.³⁴ These accounts appears to suggest that this Saxon queen already managed vast amounts of properties, but does not appear to be comparable to Adelheid's possessions in size.³⁵ Theophano's surviving marriage charter also presents a long list of territories, then enlarged by subsequent donation, both in Saxony and in Italy, albeit not as vast as

³¹ T. Lazzari, 'Una mamma carolingia e una moglie supponide: percorsi femminili di legittimazione e potere nel regno Italico', in «*C'era una volta un re*». *Aspetti e momenti della regalità*, ed. G. Isabella (Bologna, 2005).

³² MGH DD L II, No. 48, pp. 159-60; No. 50, pp. 162-4.

³³ The only reference to the donation to Edith is found in MGH DD O I, No. 14, p. 101; Otto I and Adelheid's marriage charter does not survive, but later documents confirming the donations list the territories involved: D O II No. 109, p. 123; Colombo, *DOA*, No. 2, p. 24.

³⁴ MGH DD H I, No. 20, p. 55 ; *VMP*, 11, p. 104.

³⁵ G. Isabella, 'Matilde, Edgith e Adelaide: scontri generazionali e dotari delle regine in Germania', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012), p. 210-1.

Adelheid's.³⁶ This has been interpreted as proof that the *consors regni* titulature contributed to a change in female acquisition of properties in the whole realm, effectively increasing the stature of queens not only formally, but also economically, through their possessions of lands.³⁷

Régine Le Jan directly associated the donations of larger amount of territories to the queen's increased role in government, and to a process of institutionalisation of her power occurring in Italy, but there is no direct correlation between donations and personal agency to be determined just by looking at the territories listed by the *dotaria*, as their size gives no indication of their management by women.³⁸ It is true that with the control of the lands came a degree of administrative power, however, their attribution could simply be part of a patrimonial strategy pursued by the kings and managed exclusively by them.³⁹ This appears to be the reason behind the large donations made to Adelheid's mother Bertha and to Adelheid herself by King Hugh and his son Lothair, upon their respective engagements. Both *dotaria* included vast amounts of *curtes* placed in crucial areas of the realm, alongside communication routes and key power bases (fig. 3). In a context where well-established Italian aristocrats were vying for the control of public lands, giving territories from the royal fisc to his wife would have allowed Hugh to control them more directly, considering he had no patrimonial basis of his own and that hostile landowners could have presented a substantial threat to his control of the realm.⁴⁰

³⁶ MGH DD O II, No. 21, p. 28-30; No. 76, p. 92;

³⁷ Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs', p. 484.

³⁸ R. Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs', p. 472-4.

³⁹ J. A. McNamara – S. Wemple, 'The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100', *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Erler – M. Kowaleski (Athens and London, 1988), p. 93.

⁴⁰ G. Vignodelli, 'Berta e Adelaide: la politica di consolidamento del potere regio di Ugo di Arles', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012), p. 258.

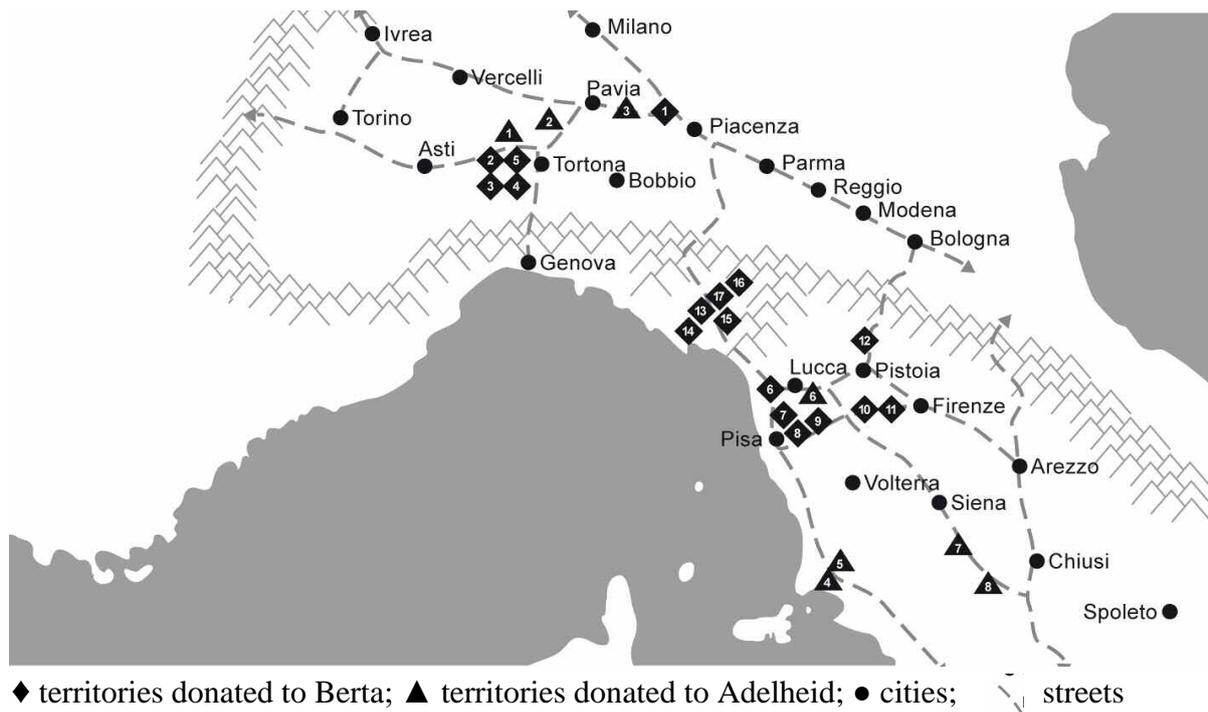


Fig. 3 – *distribution of the territories donated to Berta and Adelheid. Note their concentration alongside the Po and the ancient Via Aemilia, Cassia, and Aurelia.*

Property management and power

There is however some indication that Adelheid and Theophano possessed the ability to manage the territories assigned to them, and went beyond the role of mere placeholders for their husbands' management strategies. The legal terminology used in the donation charters appears to allow these women a striking amount of freedom in the management of the possessions. Adelheid was given lands by Lothair *in proprium ius, perhenni, and in eius ius et dominium*.⁴¹ Theophano was given territories from both sides of the alps *iure perpetuo* and

⁴¹ L. Schiaparelli (ed.), *I diplomi di Ugo e Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 28, (Rome, 1924), No. 47, p. 143.

with the right to donate, sell and transfer them.⁴² Independently from the size of the *dotarium*, it is this legal ability to dispose of their lands which set them apart from other women and from their predecessors.⁴³ There is also evidence that the queens did in fact make use of these possessions. One example is the re-foundation of the S. Salvatore in Pavia, one of the main legacies of Adelheid. The *coenobium* was given large amounts of properties and riches, and in a papal bull it is stated that it was erected by Adelheid on a land of her own property.⁴⁴ It is true that the foundation of a monastery fell within the accepted queenly activities, but what is significant is the fact that the land is said to belong to Adelheid, with no intercessions or ambiguities. The queen will indeed use this institution as a centre of management of her territories, as will be discussed later in this paper.

Through marriage to the king and elevation to *consors regni*, these women could therefore have access to territorial management and it was within their rights to dispose of properties in crucial areas of the realm while their husbands were living. The ability to continue to do so after becoming widows depended entirely upon their own efforts. Just like Mathilda in 947, Adelheid also had to retreat into exile after Otto I's death, despite her extensive rights over her territories, when she entered in a dispute with her son and daughter in law, effectively the new king and queen.⁴⁵ This proves that they were vulnerable and open to attacks once their husbands died. However, Otto II did eventually confirm Adelheid's rights over her properties, which she once again held *in proprium*, and which she could manage at will, as the charter specifies: *potestatem tendendi dandi commutandi posteris relinquendi*.⁴⁶ This followed a reconciliation between mother and son which took place in Pavia, once he had

⁴² MGH DD O II, No. 21, p. 29.

⁴³ Le Jan, 'Douaires et pouvoirs', p. 474.

⁴⁴ Colombo, *DOA*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Odilo, *Epitaph*, V, p. 133.

⁴⁶ MGH DD O II No. 109, p. 123.

‘regained his mother’s favour’.⁴⁷ It is true that the account is likely to be biased in favour of Adelheid, given the celebratory scope of the work, but this evidence still testifies to the fact that Adelheid must have successfully overcome the obstacles which had been interposed between herself and her previously-held position in the realm.⁴⁸ While marriage had opened up a space for her exercise of power, it was up to her to maintain it when she was no longer the *consors regni*.

In conclusion, it has been shown that Adelheid and Theophano still acted as intercessors between king and petitioners, and in many ways behaved like their German or Italian predecessors. Yet they also possessed the ability and the rights to act independently, manage lands, and establish royal foundations in crucial areas of the realm. This ability was tied to their roles as wives. Marriage to the king opened up a path which the queen could then follow in order to achieve a degree of autonomous management of parts of the realm. There was structural dependence between queens’ agency and their role as wives of the ruling king, as proven by the fact that they were left vulnerable and open to attacks once widowed. The position offered them a degree of influence that could be exercised through intercessions, as emphasised by several ecclesiastical sources, but also allowed them to carve themselves a space for the exercise of power, which was not guaranteed after the death of their husbands, but could be maintained through their own efforts.

⁴⁷ Odilo, *Epitaph*, VI, p. 133.

⁴⁸ Gilsdorf, *QS*, p. 22.

.2.

MOTHERS AND REGENTS

The structural dependence of the power of the queen on her position in the family implies a blurring of the private and public spheres, because a private role such as that of wife or mother would also have a public dimension.⁴⁹ Agobard of Lyon in his *Liber Apologeticus* (c.833) put this concept into words while commenting on the moral responsibilities of a queen. He wrote: 'If she does not know how to carry herself in the way appropriate to a queen, how will she uphold the honour of the palace, or how will she properly contribute to the management of the kingdom?'.⁵⁰ In this philosophy, the realm was an extension of the royal palace, and the queen's morality did not only belong to the private dimension, but had a direct impact on the kingdom. If one failed to function, the other consequently failed. Private and familial aspects of the royal couple could even be emphasised in the public sphere for propagandistic reasons. In the case of the Ottonian dynasty, and especially with Otto II, there was a coherent effort to broadcast the image of a quasi-sacred imperial family, drawing from Byzantine and religious models.⁵¹ The marriage to Theophano has been interpreted by Rosamond McKitterick as the peak of this policy.⁵² Within this familial sphere the woman is particularly prominent not just because of her role as wife, but also as mother. Given the public aspect of the royal family, having a child would qualify as a highly political act, because a son would ensure the continuation of the dynasty, and give the impression of stability in the realm. As a consequence, queens would often be praised for being 'mothers of kingdoms', for

⁴⁹ C. La Rocca, 'Monachesimo Femminile e Poteri delle Regine tra il VIII e il IX Secolo', in *Il Monachesimo Italiano dall'Età Longobarda all'Età Ottoniana (Secc. VIII -X)*, ed. G. Spinelli (Cesena, 2006), p. 120.

⁵⁰ Agobard of Lyon, *Liber Apologeticus*, I, ed. Lieven Van Acker, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* 52 (Turnhout, 1981), 5.

⁵¹ Wangerin, 'Empress Theophanu', p. 722.

⁵² R. McKitterick, 'Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophanu', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2/1 (1993), p. 54.

instance in the case of Adelheid.⁵³ There is no doubt that this was indeed a priority for the royal couple. Theophano had several years of intense child-bearing at the beginning of her marriage to Otto II, and only stopped once a male heir had been ensured.

Just as the position of wife could open up avenues for queens to exercise their own power, so could the role of mother of the future king. The types of agency that a queen could achieve through motherhood can be distinguished in two main categories for the purpose of this analysis: the influence a queen could have on her son in terms of education and counselling, and the power she had over political affairs once widowed, with a son in his minority. Nonetheless, these abilities were not a guaranteed rights which came with motherhood, but once again had to be carved for themselves by the queens.

The influence on the future ruler

The most helpful example to observe the queens' influence on their sons' rule is Theophano, mostly because her cultural impact is more identifiable than Adelheid's, given her Greek origin and consequent distinctive visual language. During her queenship, an increasing amount of Byzantine-style works of art and manuscripts were created. The already mentioned figures 2-3 and the marriage contract of 972, decorated with purple, gold, and animal scenes (fig. 4), are only a few examples, and others can be found during Otto III's rule.⁵⁴ For instance, the issuing of charters with script and monogram inspired to the Greek cross.⁵⁵ His insistence in securing a porphyry (in reality only red marble) sarcophagus for his own burial is another sign that his style was more rooted in eastern models of kingship compared to that of his predecessors.

⁵³ Gerbert of Aurillac, *The Letters of Gerbert, with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, trans. H. P. Lattin (New York, 1961), no. 81, p. 119.

⁵⁴ Guermandi, Urbini, *Imperiituro*, p. 169.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 174-5.

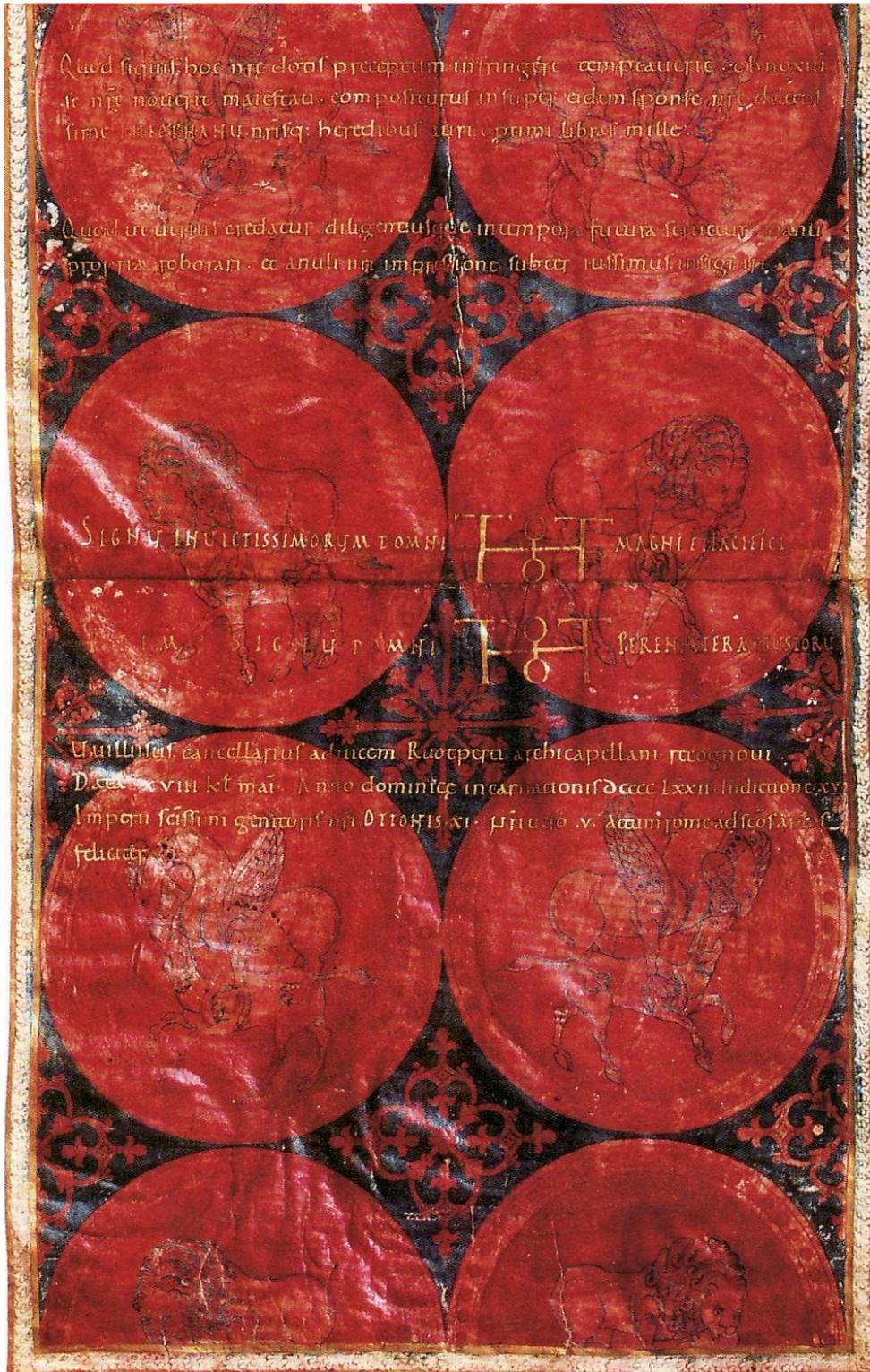


Fig. 4 – a section of Theophano and Otto II's marriage charter, 972, showing the gilding and the Byzantinising animal motif

This is not simply a question of aesthetics. In this context of overlapping public and private spheres, the education of a king had implications that went further from personal taste in finery and art. It had a direct impact on the future of the ruled territories. The policy of *renovatio imperii* undertaken by Otto III saw him focus on Italy to a higher degree than his predecessors, in an attempt to restore the glory of the Roman Empire under his own guidance. His signature as *romanorum imperator augustus* is perhaps the most evident sign of this desire.⁵⁶ Despite this *renovatio* policy having been studied mostly in relation to Rome – and understandably so, considering that Otto III was looking at the city as his new capital, and the building of his palace here can be indication of that – it had an impact on Northern Italy as well. In particular, it brought new life to the ancient capital of Ravenna, which rivalled Pavia in terms of importance in the area. Several documents created by Otto were concerned with giving privileges to the archbishopric and monasteries of Ravenna, and an intense policy of imperial patronage was maintained throughout his reign.⁵⁷

The impact of Theophano on the cultural and political aspects of Otto's reign has been debated. Theophano has often been regarded as the main source for the introduction of Byzantine cultural influences at work in the tenth-century Ottonian realm. Some writers chose to criticise her for it: Otloh of St. Emmeran had her appear in a dream to a nun in his *Visio 17* (c.1067), and confess she was guilty of having introduced Greek luxuriousness to the West.⁵⁸ Others had a more positive stance: Gerbet d'Aurillac praised Otto III for reclaiming Greek and Latin wisdom as his own inheritance, thanks to his Greek origin through his mother.⁵⁹ But some modern historians claimed that the queen could not have possibly had any substantial influence on the upbringing of her son, considering her constant travels alongside her husband,

⁵⁶ MGH DD O III, No. 224, p. 637-8.

⁵⁷ MGH DD O III, No. 400, p. 833; No. 418, p. 852 are examples of his patronage.

⁵⁸ Otloh of S. Emmeram, 'Visio 17', *Liber Visionum*, MGH QQG XIII, pp. 91-2.

⁵⁹ MGH, BDKz II, ep. 187, p. 225.

and the fact that her children were brought up in monasteries.⁶⁰ It is true that the ‘Greekness’ of some of Otto’s political decisions cannot be attributed to Theophano entirely, considering that strands of *renovatio imperii* were already present in Otto I and Otto II’s policies.⁶¹ Moreover, in Italy the historical connection with Byzantium was stronger than in Saxony, and in areas such as Ravenna the remnants of the Byzantine domination were visible reminders of Greek imperial power. However, ignoring or underestimating the mother’s influence misjudges the fact that even if the queen herself was not personally teaching the future king, she appointed the tutors who did, including the Italo-Greek monks Gregor of Cerchiara and Nilus of Rossano.⁶² A concrete proof of their impact on Otto’s intellectual and cultural development is the fact that a large part of his manuscript collection had been gifted to him by his tutors. For example, a group from Italy was given by his Greek tutor Johannes Philagatos, also appointed by his mother.⁶³ Theophano was therefore effectively shaping the education of her child, even if not personally imparting it.

The female political network

Through motherhood, queens not only had the chance to influence future rulers, but could acquire a degree of personal power which would have been precluded to them otherwise. Medieval authors were aware of this dynamic: in Odilo of Cluny’s *Epitaph*, Adelheid is attributed a striking degree of agency when ‘together with her son [she] auspiciously oversaw the rule of the Roman empire’.⁶⁴ It is true that the text was composed to celebrate Adelheid, possibly even under her direct supervision, so it is only natural that it places her at the centre

⁶⁰ Engels, 'Theophano, the western empress from the East', p. 33.

⁶¹ Urbini, 'L'Europa e gli Ottoni tra Roma e Ravenna', in *Imperituro*, p. 53.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁶³ McKitterick, 'Ottonian intellectual culture', p. 60.

⁶⁴ Odilo, *Epitaph*, V, p. 132.

of the scene. However, what is of interest here is that the family role is not forgotten, but rather entangled with an extreme degree of participation in political affairs by Adelheid: she is in fact called ‘mother of emperors’.⁶⁵ The same emphasis on the union between motherhood and political power can also be found in a letter written by Gerbert d’Aurillac, where Adelheid is named ‘mother of kingdoms’.⁶⁶

Despite there being no text comparable to the *Epitaph* for Theophano, epistolary and documentary evidence points towards her being as politically involved as Adelheid thanks to her position in the family. Some surviving epistles exchanged between Queen Emma, her mother Adelheid, and Theophano, are a fantastic source to show how far-reaching the Ottonian empresses’ political action could be. Emma sent a letter to her mother at the end of 986/beginning of 987 asking for counsel and guidance, because she had been left widowed and surrounded by enemies, including her own son. In the message, she also asked her mother to command ‘the princes of her kingdom’ (called explicitly *vestri regni*) pledge their support to Emma.⁶⁷ In this letter, Adelheid is shown as wielding considerable political weight and her power is depicted as being completely autonomous. It is true that Emma would have wanted to flatter her mother in order for her petition to be more successful, but the mere existence of this correspondence means that Adelheid had the potential to intervene in her daughter’s favour. Interestingly, she is also asked to act as intercessor between Emma and Theophano, to obtain the Empress’ support. What is delineated here is still a familial network, but made exclusively of queenly connections: it is a female-dominated sphere, in which Theophano acted in the likeness of a king, receiving petitions through intercession. These power-dynamics are illustrated further in another letter, this time sent directly to Theophano by Emma, where

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, IV, p. 132.

⁶⁶ Gerbert of Aurillac, *The Letters*, no. 81, p. 119.

⁶⁷ MGH BDKz II, ep. 97, p. 126-7.

the Empress is petitioned for help and asked to relieve the Frankish queen from her captivity.⁶⁸ At this stage, Emma was in a similar condition to Theophano, both being widows with living sons, but their position was not the same. While Louis V was twenty years of age, and fully able to act in his role as ruler, Otto III was still a young boy. It is the lack of an adult male figurehead which contributed to the ability of these two Ottonian women to act in their own right, but this does not diminish their independent agency, which they could exercise through several different channels, including a female-based family network.

Regency

Theophano could act in the position of regent for Otto III, but there was no immediate correlation between widowhood and minority of the heir which would guarantee power to the queen. This is proven by the episode of Otto's 'captivity' at the hands of his uncle Henry the Wrangler. The tutelage of the future ruler would offer opportunities to act as regent and influence the entire realm, and it was only through a joint effort between Adelheid, Theophano and Mathilda of Quedlinburg that Otto III was returned to the imperial women, after a substantial number of the leading men of Saxony and Italy also gave them their support.⁶⁹

In this context, Italy provided a strong power base for these two queens. Adelheid was already residing in Pavia and Theophano rushed to join her there at the news of Otto II's death, Thietmar narrates.⁷⁰ As seen in the example of Emma's letter, Theophano ruled and negotiated with allies from Italy, and she also made administrative grants and signed *diplomata* in her name. In one charter, issued at Rome in January 990, Theophano *imperatrix* is found making

⁶⁸ MGH BDKz II, Ep. 119, p. 146-47.

⁶⁹ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV.8, p. 155.

⁷⁰ *ibid*, IV.1, p. 149.

a grant of properties to an ecclesiastical institution in Volturno, and the document is dated to the third year of reign of Otto III.⁷¹ However, only a few months later, it is Theophano *imperator augustus* who is restoring lands to the Abbot of Farfa, using a male title in order to enhance her status and show the legitimacy of her actions.⁷² Moreover, the charter, ratified in Ravenna, is dated to the eighteenth year of Theophano's own reign, and not her son's. It does not look as if these charters were simply the result of Theophano's attempt to stress her position in order to hide insecurity or lack of legitimisation.⁷³ Thietmar also praised her for governing with 'manly watchfulness', and the *Epitaph* (begrudgingly) depicted her as a powerful ruler during Otto's minority.⁷⁴

Other sources also seem to confirm her direct governance. For example, the anonymous author of the *Honorantie Civitatis Papie* (c.995-1020), a source for the administration of Pavia, explicitly criticises Theophano for having appointed Johannes Philagatos and other 'foreigners' to the treasury of the reign and having caused havoc in the finances and in the governing apparatus of the capital.⁷⁵ Again, one should be critical of the source given its stereotypical portrayal of Greeks and of female agency, but all signs point towards her ruling in Italy with a strong degree of power. Supporting proof can also be found in three *placiti* issued in Italy, whereby one is produced *iussione domne theofana imperatricis*, and two are signed by witnesses with Greek names and in the Greek alphabet, reinforcing the idea that she was aided by men of her own choice.⁷⁶

⁷¹ MGH DD Th, No. 1, p. 876.

⁷² MGH DD Th, No. 2, p. 876.

⁷³ R. Cimino, 'Royal Women and Gendered Communication: Female Voices in Carolingian Diplomas', *L'Homme*, 26/1 (2015), p. 14.

⁷⁴ Thietmar IV.10, p. 158; Odilo, *Epitaph*, VII, p. 134.

⁷⁵ 'Instituta regalia et ministerial camera regum Longobardorum et honorantie civitatis Papie', in Majocchi, *Pavia Città Regia*, Appendix 14, c.25r – c.25v, pp. 278-283.

⁷⁶ Manaresi, *PRI*, No. 210, p. 270-3, No. 266, p. 328-34.

While acting as regent opened up a path for female power, it did not guarantee a clear-cut set of rights, which had to be constantly negotiated. A comparison between charter evidence relating to Theophano and Adelheid offers proof that regency was not an automatic role, it depended much on the queen's own work. Adelaide never signed her own charters, even after the death of Theophano which left her at the helm of the realm, since Otto III was still a minor. Yet, as shown in the letter from Emma above, she still was a significant player in the political game, and in the *Epitaph*, she is praised for 'dutifully managing the Roman empire' and 'clasping the great fasces of the Republic'.⁷⁷ Despite these being texts riddled with biases, numismatic evidence proves she was powerful enough to mint her own coinage in Italy (fig. 5). Despite these coins featuring both the names of Otto and Adelheid, the fact that they were minted during her time as regent, between 991 and 995, demonstrates how they were an expression of power by the empress. She still made sure to associate Otto's name to hers, but they were a production for her own benefit.⁷⁸



Fig. 5 – *Adheleid's pfennigs, with the names of Otto and Adelheid on the legend.*

It is interesting that in both these women's cases, the outward trappings and displays of their regencies were apparently stronger in Italy than in Saxony. This is explained by the fact that the two queens had a solid structure of support in Italy: both had substantial

⁷⁷ Odilo, *Epitaph*, VII, p. 134; XI, p. 136.

⁷⁸ A. Rovelli, 'Imperatrici e regine nelle emissioni monetarie altomedievali (VI-X secolo)', in *Agire da Donna*, ed. C. La Rocca (Turnhout, 2007), p. 229-31.

landholdings and powerful allies, as the letter by Emma and the *Honorancie* have shown.⁷⁹ Moreover, despite Henry having lost control over young Otto III years before, in Saxony there was still a substantial number of magnates who could prove to be politically dangerous to the authority of the two queens, and their vulnerability when acting independently has already been remarked upon.⁸⁰

Queen against Queen (against King?)

The fact that regency opened a sphere of potential for female activity, and yet was not a guarantee of success, but a source of a flexible and ambiguous type of power, can be supported further by the clash between Adelheid and Theophano which occurred during the years of Theophano's regency. The position of Adelheid had already become uncomfortable years before, while she was estranged from her son, but once Theophano was regent the rivalry was rekindled.⁸¹ Odilo depicts Adelheid at the mercy of Theophano, who explicitly threatened to suppress the older woman's power, shortly before her own death.⁸² Despite the *Epitaph* trying to cast Adelheid as the victim, oppressed by her daughter-in-law, there is evidence which proves that the Italian queen was not merely a passive recipient of abuse. Two documents from 985 show how Adelheid had attempted to assert a claim on her properties by donating them to Quedlinburg. In the first document, the territories are said to be *predia sua*, explicitly marking her as the owner.⁸³ In the second, a redacted version issued only a week later, this claim of ownership disappeared.⁸⁴ Both charters were issued in the name of the young Otto III, but he

⁷⁹ MGH BDKz II, ep. 97, p. 126-7; 'Instituta regalia', pp. 278-283.

⁸⁰ See p. 14.

⁸¹ Odilo, *Epitaph*, VII, p. 133-4.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ MGH DD O III, No. 7a, p. 401ff.

⁸⁴ MGH DD O III, No. 7b, p. 402ff.

was merely five years old at the time, and all signs point toward Theophano stepping in in her quality as regent, and stopping her mother-in-law's claims. It has been argued that Adelheid and Theophano were not mere representatives of the young king, but were acting as rulers in their own right.⁸⁵ This example, however, might push this claim even further. Both women were effectively using Otto's legal authority as a cover to act out their own policies. His grandmother was attempting to use his name to support her own property management strategy, while his mother was doing the same to stop Adelheid. One might even claim that it was the young king who was acting as a representative for the real power, which resided with Theophano instead.

It must be noted, however, that neither woman gave clear indication that she intended to take the regency further and overshadow Otto III. Byzantine history could provide different examples of mothers taking over and effectively usurping their own children, in particular Empress Irene, who blinded her son and effectively made him incapable of rule.⁸⁶ Irene also had *basilissa* on her coins, reminiscent of Theophano's own choice in broadcasting herself as *imperator*, but the Ottonian empress did not live long enough to pose a threat to her son's rule.⁸⁷ However, in the case of Adelheid, there is evidence which gives the impression that her power had to be reined in. Syrus noted in his *Vita Maioli* (c.1010) that enemies at court had already accused Adelheid of attempting to drive her son Otto II from power.⁸⁸ In a similarly-phrased account, Thietmar relates of how Otto III sent her away, allegedly because he had been misled by some *iuvenum depravatus*.⁸⁹ Given that Thietmar also reports how she 'took his mother's place' at Otto's side, it is clear that Adelheid still held considerable authority and

⁸⁵ Gilsdorf, *QS*, p. 12.

⁸⁶ J. K. Leyser, 'Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta: western and eastern emperors in the later tenth century', in *The Empress Theophano*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995), p. 18.

⁸⁷ For Irene's coinage: J. Herrin, *Unrivalled influence: women and empire in Byzantium*, (Princeton, Oxford, 2013), p. 30.

⁸⁸ Syrus of Cluny, *Vita Sancti Maioli*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 137, ed. J. Migne (e-version: Alexandria, 1996), III.8-9, Col.0770A-D

⁸⁹ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV.15, p. 162.

was still trying to exercise it despite she was no longer serving as regent. However, apart from these shadowy reports, there is no indication that Adelheid intended to rule as sole queen, as the lack of signed charter also maintains. Moreover, her exile did not last long, and Otto reconciled with her around 996.⁹⁰

Just as being the wife of a king gave queens the opportunity to exercise a degree of autonomous power, so did being mother of the future monarch. In both cases, their position in the family allowed them to carve spaces of action, but their authority was not a given, and it was instead individual, tailored, and specific to the circumstances. The example of the struggle against Henry the Wrangler and of the petition for help by Queen Emma gives an interesting glimpse into an all-female network of political connections, demonstrating how their power had to be constantly renegotiated and was built on alliances, even more so when the queens were left widowed. Adelheid demonstrated a remarkable ability to maintain her central role in the politics of the realm even when another queen was acting as regent, and once her grandson had effectively acquired control of his realm. Theophano successfully wielded the authority of a king during Otto's minority, and had a lasting influence on his rule. Both of them thus made active use of their familial connections to justify their power in the public sphere, using young Otto's authority as a foil for their own political interests.

⁹⁰ Reconciliation letter: MGH BDK II, Ep. 215, p. 256-7.

.3. QUEENS AND THE FUTURE

So far, the analysis has been carried out by looking at specific roles which allowed the queens to act in the political sphere, but which have always been defined in relation to the male kin. The fundamentally ambivalent position of queen between the private and public spheres does not simply colour her political activity during her time as wife, mother, or regent. Beyond these roles, queens were not only part of a vertical familial structure, but also of a network of relations which spread horizontally, connecting them to their own family of origin, and putting them at the nodal point of inter- and intra-family connections.⁹¹ Both structures thus need to be examined. Looking at Liudprand's works one can observe that he never delves deeply into genealogy, but mainly concerns himself with the horizontal connections and alliances between the people mentioned in his texts, proving that these networks are not merely a modern framework of scholarly analysis, but were seen as part of the political reality of the time.⁹²

It is true that neither Adelheid nor Theophano attempted to secure permanent power through regency, but it would still be misleading to assume that their participation in political life would end once their role as wife or as regent ended.⁹³ The interference of Adelheid during Theophano's regency, for instance, disproves this assumption. Adelheid's position at court was still conspicuous, even if not overtly so in the official documents of the realm. This chapter will analyse and determine to what extent these two queens could exercise agency within the

⁹¹ An example of these connections has been examined (see pp. 21-2), between the female members of Adelheid's family.

⁹² A few examples are Ermengard, whom Liutprand discusses for her ability to secure alliances rather than her genealogy and, famously, Marozia and her intrigues. Liutprand of Cremona, *Retribution*, trans. P. Squatriti, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, D.C., 2007), III, 7-8, p. 114; 43-4 pp. 132-3; T. Lazzari, 'La rappresentazione dei legami di parentela e il ruolo delle donne nell'alta aristocrazia del regno italico (sec. IX-X): l'esempio di Berta di Toscana', *Agire da Donna* ed. C. La Rocca (Turnhout, 2007), p. 134.

⁹³ As maintained by Grégoire, *Theofano*, p. 122.

Italian realm outside of their roles as wives or regents, and it will focus primarily on concepts of historical memory and the management of their religious institutions. It will also argue that achieving control over the memory of the dynasty and of the queens themselves had implications for the contemporary political circumstances and relationships.

The manipulation of history, memory, and the role of monastic foundations

There was a distinct type of power to be found in the control these queens could exercise over the future, and the way they and their family would be remembered by later generations, which in some cases has even coloured the way these figures have reached modern readers. Historians have in some cases taken at face value the portrayal of Theophano found in sources such as Odilo of Cluny or Peter Damian, depicting her as a luxurious and arrogant queen who ruled with an iron fist thanks to her self-assured personality.⁹⁴ Conversely, Adelheid is often shown in a less critical light, and praised for her abilities, works, and her role as ‘mother of the kingdom’, again a depiction drawn uncritically from contemporary sources.⁹⁵ This is arguably mostly due to the direct interference of Adelheid, who made use of her monastic connections after the death of Theophano to assert an effective monopoly over history. An example is her influence over Odilo of Cluny, author of the *Epitaph*, and one of the queen’s protégés: the queen was a dedicated patroness of Cluny, where Odilo served as abbot for a considerable amount of time, and a favourable depiction of the queen was therefore to be expected.⁹⁶ The role of monastic foundations in this exercise is vast, considering how it was mostly in these institutions that histories and chronicles were being written: most famously, Nordhausen, Quedlinburg and Gandersheim had long been royal monastic centres of cultural

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 135ff; less critical, but still following this depiction: Urbini, 'L'Europa e gli Ottoni', p. 53.

⁹⁵ Gilsdorf, *QS*, p. 7.

⁹⁶ Gilsdorf, *QS*, p. 23.

production and histories.⁹⁷ Considering that the Abbess of Quedlinburg at the time of Theophano's death was Mathilda, daughter of Adelheid, the chances of a favourable history being written about the deceased queen were small, especially given the clash which occurred between the two empresses when Theophano was regent.⁹⁸ Similarly, Adelheid's influence over the content of the *Epitaph* ensured an unflattering representation of Theophano in this text as well.⁹⁹

The institutions and the historiographical focus mentioned, however, appear to be mostly situated in Germany or Francia, and this raises the question of whether the situation in Northern Italy was different. Looking at the amount of royally founded or funded monasteries in the Kingdom would suggest a similar degree of attention to these institutions. Pavia is the most striking example, with seven out of forty-seven monasteries there being founded by Italian queens, and continuing to be sponsored by the two Ottonian queens during their reign.¹⁰⁰ The idea that monasteries in Italy were used in the same way as in Germany for this memorialising function cannot be defended, as no major history or hagiography appears to have been written here in the period. Yet there is evidence that even these institutions had a similar scope, despite the apparent lack of royally-commissioned chronicles being produced here. As in the German monasteries, an exercise in preservation of the memory of the family appears to have occurred in Northern Italian religious centres. While Quedlinburg and Magdeburg are good Saxon examples, as they were founded to respectively preserve the memory of Henry and Mathilda, and Otto I and Edith, who were buried there, so is S. Salvatore

⁹⁷ An overview of the role of these monastic institutions in the writing of history and female cultural production can be found in H. Scheck, 'Queen Mathilda of Saxony and the Founding of Quedlinburg: Women, Memory and Power', *Historical Reflections*, 35/3 (2009), pp. 21-36. and E. van Houts, 'Women and the writing of history in the early Middle Ages: the case of Abbess Matilda of Essen and Aethelweard', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1/1 (1992), pp. 53-68.

⁹⁸ L. Wangerin, 'Empress Theophanu, Sanctity, and Memory in Early Medieval Saxony', *Central European History*, 47/4 (2014), pp. 716-736.

⁹⁹ K. Ciggaar, 'Theophano: an empress reconsidered', in *The Empress Theophano*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995), p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ Majocchi, *Pavia Città Regia*, p. 55.

in Italy.¹⁰¹ Despite a pre-existing religious building being located on this site at Pavia, Adelheid is accredited with the re-founding of the monastery, which Odilo records.¹⁰² This religious institution, which became one of the richest and most powerful in Northern Italy, can be seen as partially fulfilling the same functions as Quedlinburg and Magdeburg. A papal bull by John XIII to Pietro III, bishop of Pavia, specifically claims that the monastery had been founded by the queen to perpetuate the memory of King Lothair and of Emperor Otto I, her two husbands and kings of Italy.¹⁰³ Dynastic history and family memory were thus perpetuated even in institutions from the Italian kingdom, despite the lack of written chronicles.

Tiziana Lazzari argued that considering these institutions as sites of memory for an entire dynasty is incorrect, as she claimed they were places specifically dedicated to the royal couple as a unit, and only relevant for one king and one queen.¹⁰⁴ Charter evidence seems to disprove this theory. A charter attributed to Adelheid herself stipulates a donation to the monastery being made not only *pro anima* of her two husbands, but also of the recently-deceased Otto II's, and young Otto III's.¹⁰⁵ This confirms that this centre functioned as a place to memorialise the entire dynasty. In 1014, a charter records that the memory of Adelheid herself also started to be celebrated here after her death, proving once again the familial and dynastic focus of this institution.¹⁰⁶ Theophano herself had been the patron of several monastic institutions in Southern Italy, but also of S. Martino *foris portam* in Pavia.¹⁰⁷ Yet there are no charters or documents which prove that she emphasised the memorialising role of monasteries in Northern Italy in the same way Adelheid had. Indeed, the older queen appears to have had a much higher profile among the local religious institutions, so while Theophano figures more

¹⁰¹ T. Lazzari, 'Dotari e beni fiscali', *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012), p. 137.

¹⁰² Odilo, *Epitaph*, IX, p. 135.

¹⁰³ Colombo, *DOA*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Lazzari, 'Dotari e beni fiscali', p. 137.

¹⁰⁵ Colombo, *DOA*, No. 2, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Manaresi, *PRI*, II/2, No. 282, p. 527-30.

¹⁰⁷ G. Forzatti Golia, 'Monasteri Femminili a Pavia nell'Alto Medioevo', *Il Monachesimo Italiano dall'Età Longobarda all'Età Ottoniana (Secc. VIII -X)*, ed. G. Spinelli (Cesena, 2006), p. 318.

prominently in administrative documents than her mother-in-law, Adelheid's presence is stronger in the ecclesiastical milieu. This can be explained by the fact that Theophano spent her entire adult life being either Otto II's queen consort, or Otto III's regent, thus having a direct access to the tools of government. This difference between the two women thus implies that ecclesiastical institutions could be a path to achieve agency and public recognition while not filling in a clear-cut position of power dependent on the family structure.

An example of the way Adelheid used this involvement with religious institutions to enhance her public stature is the way she dealt with the plague ravaging Italy and Pavia in the 950s. The relics of saints Sinesius and Theopontius were brought from Nonantola to stop the spread of the disease, and Adelheid took care to receive them into the city with a highly visible and public ceremony.¹⁰⁸ When the plague effectively ended, she was credited for the achievement, and she made sure to compensate the monks at Nonantola with rich gifts. Unsurprisingly, in the hagiographical libellus recording the event she is presented as *Adhelegida regina gloriosissima* and her praises are highly sung.¹⁰⁹ In this case, even though she was not directly commissioning a history or a chronicle, her patronage still had a direct impact on the way she was praised and recorded in the work, since the text was produced in an Abbey she supported. Moreover, this version of the *Translatio* was a copy of an early eleventh-century one, the content of which had been orally passed down by monks before being put into writing.¹¹⁰ This reinforces the impression that the memory of her actions and of her benevolence towards the institution were actively maintained by its members even several decades after the events, a testimony to her ability to broadcast a pious and admirable image of herself.

¹⁰⁸ Settia, *Pavia Carolingia e Post-Carolingia*, p. 154-5.

¹⁰⁹ *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii*, in MGH SS XXX.2, ed. P. E. Schramm (Lipsiae 1926), 6, p. 989.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 985.

Despite Adelheid's primacy in this sphere, there is evidence proving that Theophano also attempted a similar route. In the *Vita Gregorii* (c.1080-90), she is praised as *imperatrix domina Theophania, matrona religiosa et deo devota*, and remembered for a list of her good works.¹¹¹ Considering that St. Gregory was among her Greek friends, as the *Vita* testifies, this praise appears to be following the same *do ut des* dynamic between queens and ecclesiasts as the one between Adelheid and Nonantola.¹¹² Even in this case, the text is a copy of an earlier one, proving that Theophano's memory was also purposefully perpetuated. This evidence supports the idea that Adelheid and Theophano both possessed the ability to act outside limited male relations-defined roles and made use of religious institutions to build and maintain a specific public image of themselves, through patronage, connections and highly visible gestures.

Influence or power? The implications of memory and religious patronage

So far, the discussion has determined that queens possessed the ability to exercise considerable influence over the recording of history and the memorialisation of the dynasty through patronage and the management of religious institutions. This ability also had concrete implications for territorial management, for the exercise of royal power in the contemporary political sphere, and it was important to display legitimacy. Given the higher profile of Adelheid in this case, the following analysis mostly concerns her. As the Chronicle of Novalesa, the *Vitae Mathildis Reginae*, and several other histories record, Otto's marriage to Adelheid was equally important, if not more, to his military victory against Berengar for the legitimisation of his rule in Italy.¹¹³ In this light, the fact that Adelheid used S. Salvatore to

¹¹¹ *Vita Gregorii Abbatis Porcetensis Posterior*, in MGH SS XV.2, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1888), 16, p. 1196.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 1, p. 1191.

¹¹³ *VMA*, 11, p. 82; *VMP*, 15, p. 108; *Cronaca di Novalesa*, trans. G. C. Alessio, (Torino, 1982), V.12, p. 283.

celebrate the memory of both Lothair and Otto is not just a display of spousal piety. It becomes a tool through which legitimacy is transferred from the previous king to the next.¹¹⁴ Her foundation and constant patronage of the monastery indicate that she was not merely a passive player in this exchange. The upholding of legitimacy was constantly negotiated by her, who had been the initial nodal point of this transfer, and who continued to guarantee it through patronage. Its importance is proven by the numerous confirmations made by her descendants of the donations to the monastery.¹¹⁵ This hypothesis acquires strength when compared to the Carolingian tradition, from which examples of similar functions of royal foundations can be found. For instance, Engelberga and her patronage of S. Sisto is often similarly seen as a tool to bridge the gap between royal families.¹¹⁶

It is true that, despite being characterised by female activity, the management of the foundation still served the male kin, and to read it as proof of purely independent female agency would be at risk of applying modern mind-sets and expectations to the study of medieval women.¹¹⁷ However, the fact that the queen's own legitimacy depended on the management of these institutions means that we can see this female involvement in the foundation not only as a tool to serve male interests, but also her own. A pertinent example can be found analysing the history of a document belonging to the archives of the S. Salvatore, containing the *dotarii* of Adelheid and of her mother.¹¹⁸ The relationship between receiving a *dotarium* including territories of the realm, and being a legitimate wife and thus legitimate queen has been explored in the first chapter of this paper.¹¹⁹ Once again it can be seen how Adelheid went beyond the mere acceptance of these two roles, and independently made sure

¹¹⁴ Vignodelli, 'Berta e Adelaide', p. 250-2.

¹¹⁵ Several charters can testify to her constant patronage of the monastery. Some examples are: Colombo, *DOA*, No. 1, p. 22; No. 2, p. 24; No. 5, p. 36.

¹¹⁶ S. MacLean, 'Queenship, nunneries and royal widowhood in Carolingian Europe', *Past & present*, 178 (2003), p. 30.

¹¹⁷ La Rocca, 'Monachesimo Femminile', p. 119.

¹¹⁸ *DOA*, pp. 6ff.

¹¹⁹ Ch.1.

that the document asserting her legitimacy was preserved in the archives of a royal monastery of her own foundation.¹²⁰ The preservation of legitimacy and memory are here clearly connected, and intertwined with the ability to manage territories and properties.

In this light, the donation by Adelheid of thirty-six *curtes*, which she had received partially from Lothair and partially from Otto, to S. Salvatore acquires a remarkable meaning. The donation was made by the queen herself and confirmed the following year by her grandson, so this document shows how the queen made use of her royal foundation to exercise management over her properties when she was no longer supported by the power of her husband and no longer acting as regent.¹²¹ While Lazzari was incorrect about seeing these religious institutions as centres of the ‘cult of the royal couple’ only, she was thus correct in identifying them as centres of territorial management, or ‘safe boxes (*casseforti*) of the reign’.¹²² Two papal bulls from 972 confirming that the S. Salvatore was to be free of any interference beyond that of Adelheid and the pope himself, points towards a *de facto* high degree of management of the institution and all its properties by the queen herself. In the first one, Pope John XIII officially prohibited any emperor, king, bishop, duke, count, etc. from interfering with the monastery’s properties, or alienating them.¹²³ In the second one, he communicated to the bishop of Pavia that by request of Adelheid the monastery had been put directly under papal and imperial jurisdiction for all ecclesiastical matters, not to be managed by other authorities.¹²⁴

These royal foundations could therefore act as places where queens could bring forward their agenda to emphasise legitimacy, territorial possessions, and stressing identity through patronage and the fabrication of memory, be it with chronicles and histories, or with

¹²⁰ Vignodelli, ‘Berta e Adelaide’, p. 247-8.

¹²¹ Colombo, *DOA*, No. 2, p. 24.

¹²² Lazzari, *Dotari e beni fiscali*, p. 137-8.

¹²³ Colombo, *DOA*, p. 8.

¹²⁴ *ibid*, p. 9.

charters proving territorial donations. However, that is not to say that queens did not still need confirmation from the highest authority in the reign, be it the king or the regent. An example is the attempt of Adelheid to donate properties to Quedlinburg, where her daughter was abbess. The first charter stipulating the transaction and declaring the lands to be from her own property was redacted after only one week, and her claim of ownership was eliminated.¹²⁵ This example illustrates that not all attempts at manipulating the past were successful, and that confirmation was still required, even when they had achieved high degrees of personal agency. In this specific case, it was precisely the woman who Adelheid tried to condemn in the historical record who held the prime authority and ultimate decisional power. While Adelheid had managed to find a space of action within the sphere of monastic and religious institutions, there was a higher degree of authority attached to the position of regent.

The fact that future generations remembered Adelheid in a more positive light compared to Theophano demonstrates that the strength of having ecclesiastical connections and managing monastic institutions really lay in the ability to construct an image of power for audiences of the future, whereas the control over administrative tools and institutions allowed more power to whoever was wielding them in the present. This is also the reason why Adelheid is more prominent than the Greek Empress in this context of analysis: the fact that Theophano is less visible in the sources proves that Adelheid tried to counteract her agency by using the tools she possessed at the time, which by design had a stronger impact on the future memory of these queens, due to their memorialising nature.

¹²⁵ MGH DD O III, No. 7a, p. 401ff; MGH DD O III, No. 7b, p. 402ff.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, despite the often uncooperative historiographical tradition, which is characteristically blurry when depicting medieval queens acting in the political sphere, much can be gleaned from the evidence about their roles in the government of the realm. The two women analysed here, Adelheid and Theophano, possessed both influence and power during their lifetimes, in varying degrees depending on the role they had in the royal court. Their ability to act within the political sphere was deeply intertwined with their position in the family, which allowed them to open up specific spaces of action and paths for their agency. As wives and mothers of the ruling king, these women had the chance to influence the monarch and his policies, and their impact is recorded in different kinds of sources. Administrative documents report of their role as intercessors, and testify to large numbers of donations made thanks to their intervention, while more narrative sources tend to stress how their proximity to the king would allow these women to offer advice and give counsel. Even as mothers of the future king, they could have an impact on the education of their sons, effectively shaping the kingship style that they would adopt during their rule.

Adelheid and Theophano, however, also managed to wield independent agency, and actively make their mark on the political world of the time. Thanks to the legal and historical context of Northern Italy, they acquired status of co-rulers of the realm alongside their husbands, which translated into direct management of territories, monasteries, and queenly foundations. An even larger degree of power came with the position of regents, and within this office both these women used their Italian connections and possessions to effectively rule as independent monarchs. While in Saxony their freedom could have been easily restricted by inimical magnates, the solid structure of support they built for themselves in Pavia and in the Italian Kingdom, allowed them to acquire and maintain control of the realm. During the long

minority of Otto III, these women were not merely securing his place on the throne, or acting as his representatives, but effectively using his authority and his nominal power as king to act out and further their own interests.

Nonetheless, Adelheid and Theophano were not by any means limited by their definitions as wives or mothers. Whereas these roles gave them an enormous advantage in making their way in the world of politics, their dependence on the family structure had temporal limitations, after which they needed to carve spaces of action for themselves without the support of a stronger authority. Adelheid and Theophano were part of a network of power which went beyond their relationships with the kings. The example of Queen Emma and her correspondence with Theophano and Adelheid allows a glimpse into a world of politics made of associations and mutual support between rulers of different areas, and between magnates and queens. Adelheid successfully managed to stay at the centre of the court and of the political world of the time even when she was not acting in the capacity of wife or regent. While Theophano wielded administrative power in Pavia, she reacted against being side-lined by weaving a web of ecclesiastical connections, through patronage and foundation of religious institutions, which allowed her to memorialise the dynasty, her own legitimacy, and her power.

The political activity of these two queens in Northern Italy proves that they were able to successfully navigate the public and private spheres of queenship, and act not only within the royal palace, but in the larger setting of the realm. Their power transcended a traditional gendered construction of authority which assumes only men could become effective rulers in the middle ages. By its very nature it also escapes the contemporary tendency to structuralise concepts of royal authority, and evades attempts to fit it into a neat model of queenly power. Both Adelheid and Theophano remained throughout their lives central to the political life of the Ottonian world, and the vision of power they created during their queenship lasted far beyond their time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Adalbert of Magdeburg, *Chronicle*, trans. S. MacLean, *History and politics in late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe : the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009)
- Agobard of Lyon, *Liber Apologeticus*, ed. Lieven Van Acker, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 52* (Turnhout, 1981)
- Colombo, A., ‘I diplomi ottoniani e adalaidini e la fondazione del monastero di S Salvatore in Pavia’, *Miscellanea Pavese*, Biblioteca della Società di Storia Subalpina, CXXX, II (Torino, 1932)
- Conradi I, Heinrici I et Ottonis I Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, MGH, *Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae, I* (Hannover, 1879-84)
- Cronaca di Novalesa*, trans. G. C. Alessio (Torino, 1982)
- Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims*, ed. F. Weigle, MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit, II* (Weimar, 1966)
- Gerbert of Aurillac, *The Letters of Gerbert, with his Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, trans. H. P. Lattin (New York, 1961)
- Guermanti, M.P. – Urbini, S. (eds), *Imperitturo: Renovatio imperii ; Ravenna nell’ Europa ottoniana ; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe ; [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct. 4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]* (Bologna, 2014)

Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims, *De Ordine Palatii*, ed. M. Prou (Paris, 1885)

Instituta regalia et ministerial camera regum Lombardorum et honorancie civitatis Papie,
ed. P. Majocchi, *Pavia Città Regia* (Rome, 2008)

Liutprand of Cremona, ‘The Embassy of Liudprand the Cremonese Bishop to the
Constantinopolitan Emperor Nicephoros Phocas on Behalf of the August Ottos &
Adelheid’, trans. P. Squatriti, *The complete works of Liudprand of Cremona*
(Washington D.C., 2007)

—, *Retribution*, trans. P. Squatriti, *The Complete works of Liudprand of Cremona*
(Washington D.C., 2007)

Ludovici II Diplomata, ed. K. Wanner, MGH, *Diplomata Karolinorum*, IV (Munich, 1994)

Manaresi, C. (ed.), *I Placiti del ‘Regnum Italiae’*, *Fonti per la Storia d’Italia*, 92, 3 vols
(Rome, 1955)

Migne, J. (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 137 (Alexandria, 1996)

Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. S. Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of
Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington D.C., 2004)

Otloh of S. Emmeram, ‘Visio 17’, in *Liber Visionum*, ed. P. G. Schmidt, MGH QQG XIII
(Weimar, 1989)

Ottonis II et Ottonis III Diplomata, ed. T. Sickel, MGH, *Diplomata regum et imperatorum
Germaniae*, II (Hannover, 1888-93)

Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, ed. P. G. Schmidt, MGH (Weimar, 1989)

Schiaparelli, L. (ed.), *I diplomi di Ugo e Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, *Fonti per
la storia d’Italia XXXVIII* (Rome, 1924)

Syrus of Cluny, *Vita Sancti Maioli*, in *Patrologia Latina*, 137, ed. J. Migne (Alexandria, 1996)

Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, trans. D. A. Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001)

Translatio et miracula sanctorum Senesii et Theopontii, ed. P. E. Schramm, MGH SS XXX.2, (Lipsiae 1926)

Vita Gregorii Abbatis Porcetensis Posterior, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS XV.2, (Hannover, 1888)

Vita Mathildis Reginae Antiquior, trans. S. Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, (Washington D.C., 2004)

Vita Mathildis Reginae Posterior, trans. S. Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity: the Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid* (Washington D.C., 2004)

SECONDARY SOURCES

Balzaretti, R., ‘Liutprand of Cremona’s sense of humour’, *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. Halsall (Cambridge, 2002)

Bougard, F – Feller, L. – Le Jan, R. (eds), *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Rome, 2002)

Brubaker, L. – Smith, J. M. H. (eds), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900* (Cambridge, 2004)

- Carile, A. (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età Bizantina all'età Ottoniana. Territorio, economia e società*, II/1 (Venice, 1991)
- Ciggaar, K., 'Theophano: an empress reconsidered', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995)
- Cimino, R., 'Royal Women and Gendered Communication: Female Voices in Carolingian Diplomas', *L'Homme*, 26/1 (2015), pp. 11-24
- Clover, C., 'Regardless of Sex: Men, Women and Power in Early Northern Europe', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), pp. 363-387
- Colombo, A., 'I diplomi ottoniani e adelaidini e la fondazione del monastero di S Salvatore in Pavia', *Miscellanea Pavese*, Biblioteca della Società di Storia Subalpina, CXXX, II (Torino, 1932)
- Davids, A. (ed.), *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the Millennium*, (Cambridge, 1995)
- Di Meo, A., 'L'Italia Meridionale durante il Regno di Ottone II di Sassonia: Rapporti Culturali e Geopolitici tra Costantinopoli, Emirato di Sicilia, e Sacro Romano Impero', *InStoria*, 88 (2015).
- Engels, O., 'Theophano, the western empress from the East', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millenium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995)
- Erler, M., Kowaleski – M. (eds), *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens and London, 1988)

Forzatti Golia, G., ‘Monasteri Femminili a Pavia nell’Alto Medioevo’, in *Il Monachesimo*

Italiano dall’Età Longobarda all’Età Ottoniana (Secc. VIII -X): Atti del VII

Convegno di Studi Storici Sull’Italia Benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10-13

Settembre 2003, ed. G. Spinelli (Cesena, 2006)

Garland, L., *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium A.D. 527-1204*,

(London, New York, 1999)

Gilsdorf, C., *Queenship and Sanctity* (Washington D.C., 2004)

Grégoire, R., *Theofano: Una Bizantina sul Trono del Sacro Romano Impero (958-991)*

(Milano, 2000)

Guermanti, M.P. – Urbini, S. (eds), *Imperituro: Renovatio imperii ; Ravenna nell’ Europa*

ottoniana ; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe ; [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the

TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct. 4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]

(Bologna, 2014)

Harper-Bill, C. – Holdsworth, C. J. (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen*

Brown (Woodbridge, 1989)

Herrin, J., *Unrivalled influence: women and empire in Byzantium* (Princeton and Oxford,

2013)

van Houts, E., ‘Women and the writing of history in the early Middle Ages: the case of

Abess Matilda of Essen and Aethelweard’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 1/1 (1992), pp.

53-68

Isabella, G. (ed.), «*C’era una volta un re*». *Aspetti e momenti della regalità* (Bologna, 2005)

—, ‘Matilde, Edgith e Adelaide: scontri generazionali e dotari delle regine in Germania’,

Reti Medievali Rivista, 13/2 (2012), pp. 203-244

La Rocca, C., ‘Monachesimo Femminile e Poteri delle Regine tra il VIII e il IX Secolo’, in *Il*

Monachesimo Italiano dall’Età Longobarda all’Età Ottoniana (Secc. VIII -X): Atti del VII Convegno di Studi Storici Sull’Italia Benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10-13 Settembre 2003, ed. G. Spinelli (Cesena, 2006)

La Rocca, C. (ed.), *Agire da Donna* (Turnhout, 2007)

Lafontaine-Dosogne, J., ‘The Art of Byzantium and its relation to Germany in the time of

empress Theophano’, in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995)

Lazzari, T. , ‘Una mamma carolingia e una moglie supponide: percorsi femminili di

legittimazione e potere nel regno Italoico’, in «*C’era una volta un re*». *Aspetti e momenti della regalità*, ed. G. Isabella (Bologna, 2005)

—, ‘La rappresentazione dei legami di parentela e il ruolo delle donne nell’alta aristocrazia

del regno italoico (secc IX-X): l’esempio di Berta di Toscana’, in *Agire da Donna*, ed. C. La Rocca (Turnhout, 2007)

—, ‘Dotari e beni fiscali’, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012), pp. 123-141

Le Jan, R., ‘Douaires et pouvoirs des reines en France et en Germanie (VI-X siècle)’, in *Dots*

et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge, eds F. Bougard – L. Feller – R. Le Jan (Rome, 2002)

- Leyser, J. K., 'Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta: western and eastern emperors in the later tenth century', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge, 1995)
- MacLean, S., 'Queenship, nunneries and royal widowhood in Carolingian Europe', *Past & present*, 178 (2003), pp. 3–38
- , *History and politics in late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester, 2009)
- Majocchi, P., *Pavia Città Regia* (Rome, 2008)
- McKitterick, R., 'Ottonian intellectual culture in the tenth century and the role of Theophanu', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2/1 (1993), pp. 53-74
- McNamara, J. A. – Wemple, S., 'The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe, 500-1100', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds M. Erler – M. Kowaleski (Athens and London, 1988)
- Palumbo, G., 'Teofano/Theophano', in *Imperituro: Renovatio imperii ; Ravenna nell' Europa ottoniana ; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe ; [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct. 4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]*, eds M. P. Guermandi – S. Urbini (Bologna, 2014).
- Rovelli, A., 'Imperatrici e regine nelle emissioni monetarie altomedievali (VI-X secolo)', in *Agire da Donna*, ed. C. La Rocca (Turnhout, 2007)
- Scheck, H., 'Queen Mathilda of Saxony and the Founding of Quedlinburg: Women, Memory and Power', *Historical Reflections*, 35/3 (2009), pp. 21-36

- Searle, E. M., 'Emma the Conqueror', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth, J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989)
- Settia, A., 'Pavia Carolingia e Post-Carolingia', in *Storia di Pavia, II, L'alto medioevo* (Pavia, 1987)
- Smith, J. M. H., 'Gender and Ideology in the Early Middle Ages', in *Gender and Christian Religion*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 34 (Woodbridge, 1998)
- 'Introduction: Gendering an Early Medieval World', in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900*, ed. L. Brubaker – J. M. H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004)
- Spinelli, G. (ed.), *Il Monachesimo Italiano dall'Età Longobarda all'Età Ottoniana (Secc. VIII -X): Atti del VII Convegno di Studi Storici Sull'Italia Benedettina, Nonantola (Modena), 10-13 Settembre 2003* (Cesena, 2006)
- Squatriti, P., *The complete works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington D.C., 2007)
- Stafford, P., *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Batsford, 1983)
- , *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: queenship and women's power in eleventh-century England* (Oxford, 1997)
- Swanson, R. N. (ed.) *Gender and Christian Religion*, Studies in Church History 34 (Woodbridge, 1998)
- Urbini, S., 'L'Europa e gli Ottoni tra Roma e Ravenna', in *Imperituro: Renovatio imperii ; Ravenna nell' Europa ottoniana ; Ravenna in Ottonian Europe ; [Catalogue of an exhibition held at the TAMO and at the Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, Italy, Oct. 4, 2014-Jan. 1, 2015]* eds M. P. Guermandi – S. Urbini (Bologna, 2014)

Vignodelli, G., ‘Berta e Adelaide: la politica di consolidamento del potere regio di Ugo di Arles’, *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 13/2 (2012), pp. 247–294

Wangerin, L., ‘Empress Theophanu, Sanctity, and Memory in Early Medieval Saxony’, *Central European History*, 47/4 (2014) , pp. 716-736

Warner, D. A. (ed.), *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester, 2001)

ELECTRONIC RESOURCES

‘Le Christ Couronnant Otton II et Théopano’;

www.musee-moyenage.fr/collection/oeuvre/ivoire-christ-otton-theophano.html ;

accessed 23 March 2017.

‘Pokutny sens proskynezy w sztuce bizantyńskiej’; www.gertruda.eu/sztuka/str21.htm ;

accessed 23 March 2017.

‘The Marriage Charter of Empress Theophanu, prepared by Holy Roman Emperor Otto II on

14 April 972’, 2008, www.commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Urkunde01.jpg ;

accessed 23 March 2017.