



Deposited via The University of Sheffield.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:

<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/93428/>

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Vanderputten, S. and West, C. (2016) Inscribing property, rituals, and royal alliances: The 'Theutberga Gospels' and the Abbey of Remiremont. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 124 (2). pp. 296-321. ISSN: 0073-8484

<https://doi.org/10.7767/miog-2016-0202>

© 2016 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage. This is an author-produced version of a paper subsequently published in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. Uploaded in accordance with the publisher's self-archiving policy. The final authenticated version is available online at: <https://doi.org/10.7767/miog-2016-0202>

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

Inscribing Property, Rituals, and Royal Alliances: The ‘Theutberga Gospels’ and the Abbey of Remiremont

Steven Vanderputten (Ghent University) and Charles West (University of Sheffield)

Abstract

This paper examines the ‘Theutberga Gospels’, a ninth-century gospelbook recently sold at auction at Christie’s in London, in light of questions about literate practices, ritual scripting and aristocratic patronage of female religious communities in Lotharingia between the middle decades of the ninth century and the beginning of the eleventh. While an estate list entered into the manuscript c. 1000 likely refers to property management at the abbey of Remiremont, an ordination ritual for abbesses entered roughly a century earlier reveals significant efforts to revise the representation of abbatial office in a transitional phase of that institution’s existence. These observations invite re-interpretation of traditional assumptions about how the manuscript should be located in mid-ninth-century patronage networks. Appended to the article are editions of the estate list and the ordination ritual.

On 15 July 2015, Christie’s in London auctioned a manuscript known as the ‘Theutberga Gospels’, an exceptional gospelbook from early ninth-century Francia, on behalf of a private seller¹. The winning bid, for almost £2 million, came from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, which intends to put it on permanent display at The Cloisters. Our interest lay not so much with the main part of the manuscript – significant though that is, both to historians of the bible and to specialists of Carolingian book production and illumination – but with two

This collaborative paper partly originated in the context of the research project ‘Re-evaluating female monasticism’s “ambiguous identity” in the ninth- to eleventh-century West,’ sponsored by the Research-Foundation Flanders (FWO) and Ghent University’s Special Research Fund. Our particular thanks to Dr. Eugenio Donadoni at Christie’s.

¹ The most extensive description of this manuscript is currently in Sotheby’s *The Beck Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London 1997) 17–29; for a more concise description, see Christie’s *Valuable Books and Manuscripts Including Cartography*, King Street, 15 July 2015 (London 2015) 20–25.

remarkable texts added at the end, namely a ritual for the ordination of an abbess and a list of revenues, respectively datable to the decades around 900 and around 1000.

This article is the result of our combined investigations. Besides re-examining the Theutberga Gospels' traditional attribution to the ownership of, successively, Queen Theutberga of Lotharingia, the female monastery of Sainte-Glossinde in Metz, and the nunnery of Poussay in the diocese of Toul, it explores the manuscript's significance for our understanding of literate practices, estate management, ritual practice, and aristocratic patronage of female institutions in Lotharingia between the ninth and eleventh centuries. As such, this article provides a biography of the manuscript in the earliest stage of its history, as it changed status from gift to liturgical repository, and then estate management tool, before becoming a commodity and then a collector's item in more recent times². Appended to this article are editions of the estate list and the ritual for the ordination of an abbess, significant texts that have been inaccessible until now to all but a handful of researchers.

1. The Theutberga Gospels

Our understanding of the libraries of female institutions in the (former) middle kingdom of Lotharingia between the ninth and eleventh centuries is decidedly limited. Comparative material from tenth-century Saxony suggests that such book collections certainly could be extensive, and cover as much ground as those of comparable male communities. In these Saxon institutions, contemplative and biblical texts were read alongside liturgical handbooks, penitentials, florilegia, handbooks of canon and secular law, monastic rules, and various other genres of text³. Indirect evidence, such as John of Vandières' account of John of Gorze's time as *hebdomadarius* at the abbey of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains in Metz during the 920s-930s,

² For 'object biographies', see *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun APPADURAI (Cambridge 1986). On the manuscript's fate in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including the role played by the notorious book-thief Guillaume Libri, see n. 9 below.

³ Katrinette BODARWÉ, *Sanctimoniales litteratae. Schriftlichkeit und Bildung in den ottonischen Frauenkommunitäten Gandersheim, Essen und Quedlinburg* (Münster 2004).

and the miscellaneous collection of excerpts included on the early eleventh-century ‘Roll of Maubeuge,’ corroborates this impression for the Lotharingian area too, and likewise suggests a vibrant reading culture⁴. Extant medieval library catalogues too can give some indication of what has been lost⁵.

If however we look at how many surviving manuscripts can be identified as coming from the book collections of Lotharingian female convents, the numbers are distressingly paltry. Aside from a handful of tentatively-attributed spiritual florilegia and hagiographical collections⁶, the famous *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont (on which more below), and a few necrologies known only through later transcriptions⁷, the majority of such books are biblical manuscripts, mostly gospelbooks, that were donated to these communities. We know of such manuscripts from the abbeys of (from north to south) Aldeneik, Marchiennes, Bouxières, Poussay, Epinal, and Remiremont. For some of these books, the donor is known, or a plausible identification can be ventured; for others, all such information is lacking⁸.

⁴ See, respectively, John of Saint-Arnoul. *Vita Johannis Gorziensis*, ed. Michel PARISSE, *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze* (Paris 1999), 54, 56, and 58; and Steven VANDERPUTTEN, *Debating Reform in Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Female Monasticism. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 125 (2014) 289–306.

⁵ For the medieval book holdings of Remiremont, see Michel PARISSE, *Les livres de l’abbaye de Remiremont en 1365 et la vie intellectuelle des religieuses au Moyen Age*, in: *Remiremont. L’abbaye et la ville*, ed. Michel PARISSE (Nancy 1980) 71–87.

⁶ Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 118 (legendary, possibly from Remiremont); 146 (florilegium, same remark); and 147 (legendary/florilegium, same remark). The first author of this paper intends to investigate further the contents and provenance of these manuscripts in a forthcoming study.

⁷ Remiremont’s *Liber memorialis* is preserved as Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica, 10. Later necrologies include that of Munsterbilzen (Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, 437) and Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains in Metz (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 10028).

⁸ Douai, Bibliothèque Marcelline Desbordes-Valmore, 13 (Marchiennes); Maaseik, Treasury

Until recently, all but three of the above gospelbooks belonged to public collections in France. Of those three, two are kept in the crypt of the church of Saint-Catherine, in the Belgian town of Maaseik, and are reasonably accessible to researchers despite their poor state of preservation. But prior to the recent sale at Christie's, the third such manuscript, known as the Theutberga Gospels, had been in private hands since the end of the eighteenth century. Only a handful of privileged scholars were able to inspect it, most often when it was put up for sale⁹.

The general inaccessibility of the Theutberga Gospels over the past two centuries has greatly hindered progress in our understanding of its contents and provenance. Over the course of the last century, several palaeographers were able to inspect the manuscript, but none published their findings. According to several auction catalogues, Bernard Bischoff established its origins in a Lorraine workshop, probably in the town of Metz but perhaps the Alsatian abbey of Murbach, in the second quarter of the ninth century¹⁰. All those who have inspected this magnificent volume have acknowledged that it is of a very high quality, and doubtless originated in circles closely associated with the Carolingian court. According to one tradition, the manuscript had been the private property of Theutberga, Queen of Lotharingia and wife of King Lothar II; it is for this reason that it is commonly known as the Theutberga Gospels. This attribution ultimately derived from a late-ninth century addition on folios 198-99, describing the ordination of an abbess (discussed below), which implied that the manuscript

of the church of Saint Catherine, *Codex Eyckensis I and II* (Aldeneik); Nancy, Cathedral Treasury, *Evangelary of Saint Gozelin* (Bouxières, legacy of Bishop Gozelin of Toul); Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 105 (Remiremont) and 265 ('Purple evangelary' of Epinal, gift of Pope Leo IX?); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 10514 (Poussay, gift of Pope Leo IX?).

⁹ On its provenance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1), 21, and Michèle TAMPIERI, L'évangélaire de la reine Theutberge. Un joyau de l'époque carolingienne vendu à Londres. *Cahiers Elie Fleur* 16 (1997-8) 15-30, here at 24-25 and 27.

¹⁰ The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1) 18, with additional comments at 27-28.

had been given to a female convent. Given its deluxe status, it was natural to think of the close association of several Carolingian queens with female monasteries, either as owner or as lay abbess, in the second half of the ninth century. In view of the putative Metz origins of the manuscript, the most obvious attribution seemed to be to an institution located in that city. That of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains was not considered, perhaps because the abbey had been owned at some point by King Lothar II's disreputable mistress Waldrada. But the abbey of Sainte-Glossinde had belonged from before 867 to the historiographically more respectable Queen Theutberga, and therefore she was singled out as the presumable owner of the volume in the middle decades of the ninth century¹¹.

An enigmatic late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century list of estates that was inserted into the manuscript after the ordination ritual inspired one late nineteenth-century observer to locate these estates on a rudimentary map subsequently inserted at the end of the manuscript; that map led later commentators to suggest that the manuscript subsequently ended up in Poussay, where a nunnery had emerged over the course of the early eleventh century¹². No other evidence is present in the manuscript indicating the ownership from the ninth century until the present, and between the early eleventh century, when the estate list was drafted, and the end of the eighteenth century, we have no clear indication of where it might have been.

There are many things that make this manuscript eminently deserving of further study, especially now that it has (definitively, one hopes) entered into the public sphere. One notable aspect is the manuscript's unusually comprehensive assemblage of texts relevant to study and use of the four gospel texts, including Eusebius's canon tables, Jerome's preface to his translation of the gospels, Eusebius's letter explaining the canon tables, standard prefaces and summaries of each gospel, and a comprehensive and neatly laid-out Roman capitulary of gospel lessons for the liturgical year¹³. However, the evident value of these parts of the

¹¹ Ibid. 17. This provenance is stated as fact in Tampieri's study, *L'évangélaire* (cit. n. 9) 17–18.

¹² *The Beck Collection* (cit. n. 1) 21; also Tampieri, *L'évangélaire* (cit. n. 9) 26–27.

¹³ A succinct description of these contents and their decoration is in *The Beck Collection* (cit. n. 1) 21 and 23–24. This rare combination of texts suggests an intent to represent the Gospels

manuscript to biblical scholarship and specialists of Carolingian codicology, bible production, and bible study lies beyond the interests of this article. Relevant to our purpose is instead the question of ownership, beginning sometime in the second half of the ninth century, and what the inscribed texts can tell us about the literate practices of female communities in the region between the later tenth and the early eleventh centuries.

In particular, even though they comprise a mere three folios worth of text (fol. 198v-200r), the ordination ritual and the estate list turn out to be of exceptional interest to our understanding of the ritual representation of female leadership around 900, and of estate management and the use of the written word in that context approximately a century later. As we contend in this article, the estate list also allows a provisional reallocation of the ownership of the manuscript to the abbey of Remiremont, which like Sainte-Glossinde had connections with Carolingian royalty at the time when the volume was presumably transferred to a female religious community¹⁴. Our approach in the pages that follow will be a

as a unity and to make the manuscript usable as a lectionary for use by an individual keen to follow along with the services. We wish to thank Diane Reilly for her expert advice on this. For a recent study showing the value of these liturgical books to the early medieval historian, see Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *Charlemagne, Rome and the Management of Sacred Space*, in: *Charlemagne. Les temps, les espaces*, ed. Rolf Grosse, Paris, forthcoming.

¹⁴ For recent work on Remiremont in the ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries, see Karl SCHMID, *Auf dem Weg zur Erschließung des Gedenkbuchs von Remiremont*, in: *Festschrift für Eduard HLAWITSCHKA zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl SCHNITH and Roland PAULER (Kallmünz 1993) 59–96; Michèle GAILLARD, *D'une réforme à l'autre (816–934). Les communautés religieuses en Lorraine à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris 2006), esp. 41–55; Anne-Marie HELVÉTIUS and Michèle GAILLARD, *Production de textes et réforme d'un monastère double. L'exemple de Remiremont du VII^e au IX^e siècle*, in: *Frauen – Kloster – Kunst. Neue Forschungen zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Jeffrey HAMBURGER and Carola JÄGGI (Turnhout 2007) 383–94; Eva-Marie BUTZ and Alfons ZETTLER, *Two Early Necrologies: The Examples of Remiremont (c. 820) and Verona (c. 810)*, in: *Texte, liturgie et mémoire dans l'Eglise du Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Luc DEUFFIC (Turnhout 2012) 197–242; and Franz-Josef JAKOBI, *Der Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, in: *Libri vitae. Gebetsgedenken*

reverse chronological one: beginning with discussion of the early eleventh-century estate list, we shall then turn to the late ninth or early tenth-century ordination ritual, before ending with questions about the putative royal ownership in the mid-ninth century and its connection to a female institution, presumably Remiremont, in the Lotharingian area.

II. Echoes of a female convent's estate management: the list of revenues

On fols. 199v-200r of the manuscript, there is a list of sixty-five place names, together with revenues that are due from them. As noted above, the script is approximately from the decades around the year 1000¹⁵. An edition of the text is provided at the end of this article, and the locations it refers to are indicated, as far as possible, on the appended map. Most of the names can be easily identified with places in modern Lorraine, for the most part in the department of the Vosges and in the diocese of Toul.

As mentioned already, this list has been proven influential in the attribution of a provenance to the manuscript. It has been traditionally assumed to be a tithe list of the convent of Poussay, an assumption apparently justified by a nineteenth-century hand-drawn map inserted into the manuscript. This map plotted some of the place names on the list, and underlined Poussay. A marginal note, in English, explains that it is ‘A map of a part of the diocese of Toul in Lorraine, showing the situation of many of the places mentioned in the list at the end of the MS’¹⁶. The fact that these places are ‘more-or-less in a circle around Poussay’ has led subsequent investigators to conclude that the revenues ‘are evidently dues to

in der Gesellschaft des Frühen Mittelalters, ed. Dieter GEUENICH and Uwe LUDWIG (Cologne 2015), esp. 87–121.

¹⁵ The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1) 24.

¹⁶ The note continues: “The places marked with an X are added from Orhellius”. We have not been able to identify what or who Orhellius was. The hand of the marginal note was responsible for adding those places marked X, which are not on the estate list; the original map was however drawn by someone else, and labelled in a non-cursive script.

Poussay', and so that the manuscript must have passed through Poussay's control¹⁷. This is certainly possible: the ordination ritual for abbesses that precedes the estate list suggests that the manuscript belonged to a female religious institution, and as every monastery, Poussay must have needed and owned gospel books. But when the evidence is examined more closely, the association with Poussay is not the only, or in fact the most likely scenario.

According to Michel Parisse, the idea of founding a nunnery at Poussay had probably originated under Bishop Gerard of Toul (963-94), perhaps as a way of managing the excessive numbers of new recruits at the new nunnery of Bouxières. Gerard was not however able to put his plans into effect, and nor was his successor Bishop Berthold. It was only with Berthold's successor as bishop of Toul, Bruno of Dabo (the later Pope Leo IX), that the site was formally initiated as a Benedictine nunnery, after Saint Menna's relics were translated there in 1036¹⁸. This protracted foundation may well reflect difficulty in gathering sufficient resources, for although the Lotharingian female religious landscape was second only to Saxony in sheer density of institutions, Poussay was only a minor part of it¹⁹. We are lucky to possess two lists of Poussay's estates, preserved in papal bulls issued by Pope Leo IX in 1049 and by Pope Lucius III in 1185. According to these documents, Poussay owned merely nineteen estates and churches²⁰. This seems a poor fit with the impressive list of locations

¹⁷ The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1) 24; cf. TAMPIERI (cit. n. 9) L'evangélaire 25–27.

¹⁸ Michel PARISSÉ, Une abbaye de femmes en Lorraine. Poussay au Moyen Age. *Sacris Erudiri* 26 (1983) 103–118, here at 104–5.

¹⁹ IDEM, Der Anteil der Lothringischen Benediktinerinnen an der monastischen Bewegung des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, in: *Religiöse Frauenbewegung und mystische Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter DINZELBACHER (Cologne 1988) 83–98.

²⁰ Leo IX's charter for Poussay refers to the following places, in alphabetical order: *Babainvilla* (Bainville sur Madon); *Bactris*; *Bossevini-frontum*; *Cauleyo* (Chauloy); *Domnum-Germanum* (Domgermain); *Domnum-Martinum* (Dommartin-sur-Vraine); *Faveriis* (Favières); *Grandem-Frasnum* (Frenelle la Grande); *Humberticurtis* (Ambacourt); *Lagniaco* (Lagny); *Mazeriis* (Maizières); *Morlain-curte* (Morlaincourt); *Puteolis* (Puzieux); *Sampiniaco* (Champougny); *Saviniaco* (Sepvigny); *Straflede-villare* (Xaffévillers); *Valdonis-curtem*

recorded in the Theutberga Gospels. What is more, not a single one of Poussay's known estates is mentioned in the Gospels list. There is in fact nothing to connect the revenue list, and therefore the manuscript, with Poussay, beyond the fact that Poussay is in Lorraine, and so are the places in the Gospels list.

However, there was another Lotharingian convent that was also marked on the nineteenth-century map without emphasis or further comment: Remiremont. Compared to Poussay, Remiremont was not only very old, it was extremely wealthy, housing literally dozens of nuns; while Poussay was restricted to fourteen nuns in the fourteenth century, and perhaps had as few as four in 1413, Remiremont in the later Middle Ages had sometimes several times as many²¹. Its enormous endowment has been compared in extent to that of a bishopric²². It was certainly the wealthiest convent in Lorraine in the later Middle Ages, and very likely the wealthiest female monastery in all of the middle kingdom of Lotharingia in the ninth to early eleventh centuries. It is surely the most likely institution to have been able to boast revenues from over sixty different estates around the year 1000²³.

(Vaudoncourt); *Vendopera; Xuilleyo* (Xuillay). As Parisse noted, 'Tout cela ne représentait pas beaucoup': Une abbaye (cit. n. 18) 109.

²¹ Françoise BOQUILLON, *Les chanoinesses de Remiremont (1566–1790). Contribution à l'histoire de la noblesse dans l'Eglise (Remiremont 2000)* 29–31. Note too the significant numbers of ninth- to-eleventh century female religious, and of male clerics serving them, in *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, 2 vols., ed. Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, Karl SCHMID, and Gerd TELLENBACH, MGH Libri Memoriales 1 (Dublin, 1970).

²² BOQUILLON, *Les chanoinesses* (cit. n. 21) 23.

²³ According to the tithe register of 1402, Remiremont was worth 1470 pounds, which was just less than the cathedral of Toul (1500), and more than Poussay (60), Bouxières (90), Epinal (90), or any other institution in the diocese, including the major monasteries of St-Evre and Moyennoutier. See Auguste LONGNON and Victor CARRIÈRE, *Pouillés de la Province de Trèves* (Paris 1915) 289 and 316.

If the scale of the estate list would seem to fit Remiremont, then what about the detail? Unfortunately, until now the early history of Remiremont's property has very been difficult to write, and as a result has been little studied. No ninth-century estate survey to match those from other Carolingian monasteries was produced, or at any rate has survived, and there is no 'foundation' charter, or indeed any charter from before 1200 that contains a list of the convent's holdings²⁴. In short, we cannot know for certain what estates the convent of Remiremont owned in the early Middle Ages. The only significant early medieval evidence is provided by the ninth-century *Liber Memorialis*, now in Rome (Bibliotheca Angelica, 10). Alongside extensive materials for liturgical and commemorative use (some 11,500 personal names), this remarkable manuscript also preserves brief records of donations from the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries inscribed into the margins, though occasionally written on fresh folios. Most of these gifts, totalling more than 800 transactions, were of people, who thereby became the convent's *censuales* – dependants with a limited but real obligation to the nuns, usually expressed through a regular payment in wax²⁵. A number of similar grants were also recorded by the same scribes in the blank pages in a ninth-century gospelbook (the aforementioned Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 105)²⁶.

²⁴ The charters before 1231 are accessible in: *Chartes de l'abbaye de Remiremont des origines à 1231*, ed. Jean BRIDOT (Turnhout 2019). Bridot provides a good introduction to the documentation at 21–28.

²⁵ For discussion of these, see Michel PARISSÉ, *Les notices de tradition de Remiremont*, in: *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Karl SCHMID zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Gerd ALTHOFF, Dieter GEUENICH, Otto-Gerhard OEXLE and Joachim WOLLASCH (Sigmaringen 1988) 211–36; also Michèle GAILLARD, *Le "pays de Remiremont" aux IX^e et X^e siècles d'après le Liber memorialis*, in: *Le Pays de Remiremont des origines à nos jours. Actes des journées d'études vosgiennes. Remiremont, 2–4 nov. 2000*, ed. Michel PARISSÉ, Jean-Paul ROTHOT and Pierre HEILI (Remiremont 2001) 21–32.

²⁶ On this manuscript generally, see Marie-Jean GASSE-GRANDJEAN, *La naissance de la bibliothèque de Remiremont. Annales de l'Est* 46 (1994) 83–103, at 98. The notices are edited in Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, *Studien zur Äbtissinnenreihe von Remiremont (7.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Saarbrücken 1963) 130–43; see also the comments in *Chartes*, ed. BRIDOT (cit. n. 24) 53–4.

The scribes working on the *Liber Memorialis* also however included records of a few small donations of land, as well as some snippets of information relating to what was owed from particular estates²⁷. Usually dated around 965, these snippets (in folios 65-71 of the *Liber Memorialis*) have been represented by Charles-Edmond Perrin and others as the fragments of a tenth-century *censier* or estate survey, originally put together to record the revenues of the office of the *secreta*, responsible for the maintainance of the altars, candles, and the abbey's treasury²⁸. Voicing an alternative interpretation, Michel Parisse has argued that the *censier* indicates the creation of two separate *mensae*, one for the abbess and one for the community²⁹.

Whatever the case, Perrin was surely right to emphasise that the property mentioned in this part of the *Liber Memorialis* cannot have been the entirety of the convent's resources, or even

²⁷ *Liber memorialis*, ed. HLAWITSCHKA, SCHMID and TELLENBACH (cit. n. 21), fol. 65r–71v; see the comments in Giles Constable, The “Liber Memorialis” of Remiremont. *Speculum* 47 (1972) 261–277, who notes at 263 that the lists represents a tiny fraction of the document's overall contents. Compare with the comments on Essen's administrative documentation in BODARWÉ, Sanctimoniales litteratae (cit. n. 3) 196–7. For the small scale of these grants, and the suggestion that they did not represent the majority of the convent's holdings, see GAILLARD, Le “Pays de Remiremont” (cit. n. 25) 28–29.

²⁸ Charles-Edmond PERRIN, Recherches sur la seigneurie rurale en Lorraine d'après les plus anciens censiers (IX^e–XII^e siècles) (Strasbourg 1935) 141–69, and Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, Herzog Gisibert von Lothringen und das Kloster Remiremont. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 108 (1960) 422–465, at 450. Perrin argued that it likely derived from an earlier such document, drafted some time in the second quarter of the tenth century. On the *secreta* and her role in book preservation, see Marie-Jean GASSE-GRANDJEAN, Les livres dans les abbayes vosgiennes du moyen âge (Nancy 1992) 86–88; more generally, see BOQUILLON, Les Chanoinesses (cit. n. 21) 84–89.

²⁹ PARISSÉ, Les notices (cit. n. 25), 220–23.

anything close to it. Even so, it is significant that of the sixty-five places listed in the Gospels, some forty seem to be mentioned in the *Liber Memorialis* (and another two in the Epinal Gospel book)³⁰. Admittedly, the mere mention of these places in the *Liber Memorialis* is not enough to show that Remiremont owned them, since they are often mentioned merely in passing, and some of the attributions are only probable, not definite: still, there is enough to suggest that the Remiremont community was in contact with places listed in the estate list at an early date, and had an interest in them. Even based on the fragmentary early medieval evidence, then, there is more to connect the list with Remiremont than Poussay.

In the later Middle Ages, the documentary record for Remiremont begins to fill out. From 1295, we have the first list of Remiremont properties, naming some thirty-eight estates. Of these thirty-eight estates, some fifteen also appear in the Gospels list. That is a considerable overlap, particularly when it is considered that the 1295 document was not a complete record of the convent's overall holdings, but merely of those places that owed revenues to the duke of Lorraine, Frederic III, as part of an agreement with the convent (the agreement of Echappe-Noise)³¹. Another Remiremont document from 1309 lists fourteen estates, of which eleven are noted in the Theutberga Gospels revenue list; while a document from 1436 enumerates twenty-seven estates, of which seventeen can be found in the Gospel list³².

As already mentioned, none of these medieval lists makes any claim to be comprehensive, and it is only from the seventeenth century that an overview of the community's holdings becomes possible. According to an enduring local tradition, Remiremont owned fifty-two 'bans', that is to say centres of administration entirely controlled by Remiremont, many of which had several dependant villages attached³³. In reality, things were rather more

³⁰ *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. HLAWITSCHKA, SCHMID and TELLENBACH (cit. n. 21): see the table below for folio numbers. See the map of these places in GAILLARD, *Le "Pays de Remiremont"* (cit n. 25) 30.

³¹ Jean BRIDOT and Michel PARISSÉ, *Les 52 bans de l'abbaye de Remiremont. Le Pays de Remiremont* 15 (2001) 65–87, at 79.

³² *Ibid.* 78.

complicated, for a synthesis of three seventeenth-century documents comes up with a total of seventy-two ‘bans’³⁴. Of these seventy-two, some twenty-three also appear in the Theutberga Gospels list. In other words, at least twenty-three of the places on the Gospels list were not only owned by Remiremont in the early modern period, they were exclusively owned by the convent, and were considered amongst its most important holdings.

There is one final kind of evidence that is perhaps the most suggestive of all, and that is registers of tithes. Two of these are relevant here: one from 1618, listing eighty-eight places in the diocese of Toul whose churches were controlled by Remiremont, and another from 1402, listing eighty-one such churches³⁵. Forty-nine of the places from the 1618 list, and forty-two of those from 1402, appear in the revenue list of the Theutberga Gospels. What is more, if we look at the churches from the tithes registers that do not appear in the Gospel list, we see that they include those nineteen (in 1618) or twenty (in 1402) churches immediately around Remiremont itself (the deanery of Remiremont). For whatever reason, this region was not covered by the Gospel list, as is clear from the map. Of the places in the Gospel list, then, the tithes of seventy-five per cent were owned by Remiremont in 1618, and of sixty-four per cent in 1408; conversely, leaving aside the churches in the immediate vicinity of the convent itself, over two-thirds of Remiremont’s tithes in 1408 appear on the eleventh-century list, and seventy-one per cent in 1618.

The overlap is not total, but that would hardly be expected in a period spanning several centuries of expansion and shifts in settlement, on the basis of lists that were seldom intended

³³ For the historiography, see BRIDOT and PARISSÉ, *Les 52 bans* (cit. n. 31) 65–72.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 84–85.

³⁵ BOQUILLON, *Les chanoinesses* (cit. n. 21) 19–22; LONGNON and CARRIÈRE, *Pouillés* (cit. n. 23) 333–334. The 1402 list only survives in later copies: see LONGNON and CARRIÈRE, *Pouilles*, xlv–xlvi.

to be complete³⁶. For instance, a further two places on the Gospel list (Rancourt and Dommartin-les-Remiremont) that were not controlled by Remiremont in 1618 were instead owned by Saint-Mont, the religious community which had developed under Remiremont's watch in the later Middle Ages; it would not be unreasonable to suppose that earlier they too had belonged to the convent³⁷. And the Remiremont connections are all the more compelling when one considers the alternatives. The Metz convents of Sainte-Glossinde and Sainte Pierre-aux-Nonnains, for example, did have churches in the diocese of Toul, but not many: four for the former and five for the latter, according to the 1402 Toul tithe register; not one is to be found on the gospelbook list³⁸. Of the three other convents in the diocese of Toul itself, none is a serious contender. Poussay has already been ruled out, and there is no connection with Bouxières either, whose holdings were further to the north (and anyway relatively small: just nine churches in 1402); Epinal may have had interests at one or two of the sites, but nothing more³⁹. When set in this context, the evidence from the *Liber Memorialis*, the various

³⁶ Several of the places in the Gospel list are not mentioned anywhere in the 1402 Toul tithe register: for instance Liezey. Conversely, several places on this register were apparently new as parishes, for instance Deycimont and Saint-Prancher.

³⁷ The history of the Saint-Mont community is obscure: see Abel MATHIEU, *Histoire du Saint-Mont (Dommartin-les-Remiremont 1971)*.

³⁸ LONGNON and CARRIÈRE, *Pouilles* (cit. n. 23), 341.

³⁹ For Poussay, see above, n. 17. For Bouxières, see Robert-Henri BAUTIER, *Les origines de l'abbaye de Bouxières-aux-Dames au diocèse de Toul. Reconstitution du chartier et édition critique des chartes antérieures à 1200* (Nancy 1987); and Klaus OSCEMA, *Zur Gründung des Benediktinerinnenklosters Notre-Dame de Bouxières. Eine wiedergefundene Urkunde des 10. Jahrhunderts. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 110 (2002) 182–190. Summaries of the archival holdings for both Epinal and Poussay can be conveniently consulted online thanks to the Archives Départementales de la Vosges: see www.vosges-archives.com/fondsAnterieurs.html (accessed 20 September 2015). Epinal had fifteen churches in 1402; just two could possibly be identified with the Latin names in the Gospel list.

medieval and early-modern property registers, and the register of churches in 1402 and 1618, together overwhelmingly suggests that the list in the so-called Theutberga Gospels is a record of Remiremont's revenues.

If this is so, then this document is the earliest known list of Remiremont's possessions, and perhaps in fact the most complete list to survive from the Middle Ages altogether. It may therefore be possible to use it to throw further light on this prominent community's history. Perhaps the first observation is that Remiremont's property holdings were as stable as they were extensive. It has recently been suggested that the convent's holdings were probably derived from royal grants in the early Middle Ages, as also seems to have been the case for other comparable institutions in the region⁴⁰. The Theutberga Gospels list, which provides a kind of 'missing link' for the history of Remiremont's history between the hints of the *Liber Memorialis* and the details of the later Middle Ages, suggests that there was no dramatic turning point in the monastery's history, from the point of view of its holdings at any rate.

Secondly, the gospelbook list sheds light on how the community at Remiremont actually handled its estates. With a few exceptions, three kinds of dues are registered for each location: a sum; a second sum valued in cash (*d'*), either 15 or 30 pence; and a number (usually three) of *m.* which is probably a reference to *modii*, a measurement used of grain. The revenues denoted in pence come to a total of 1,355, a significant amount, and those of *modii* to 174. What the first sum refers to is difficult even to speculate on: perhaps a different source of cash (later in the Middle Ages, Remiremont distinguished between tithes on livestock and tithes on grain), or perhaps something else entirely⁴¹. That the list is a record of tithes is likely, if not altogether certain, given the similarities with the tithe list of the

⁴⁰ Josiane BARBIER, *Fisc et ban à Remiremont. Le fisc à l'origine des bans romarimontains?*, in: *Le Pays de Remiremont des origines à nos jours*, ed. PARISSÉ, ROTHOT and HEILI (cit. n. 25) 9–19. For comparable institutions, see Charles WEST, *From Co-optation to Competition? Relations between the Laity and the Religious in the Moselle Valley, c. 1050–1120*, forthcoming.

⁴¹ BOQUILLON, *Les Chanoines* 22.

seventeenth century discussed above⁴². That would make the list an early indication of the growing importance of such revenues for monastic communities in the tenth century.

Whatever the case, the capacity to administer a triple levy suggests a degree of administrative competence. So too does the organisation of the list, for, as is clear from the map that accompanies this article, the places are grouped together in approximate order of their enumeration, demonstrating that someone at the convent had a good grasp of the geography of its holdings.

As already mentioned, it is extremely unlikely that the list was put together as a comprehensive record of monastery's income, not least because it appears to concentrate on Remiremont's holdings some distance from the convent (50-100 km), rather than those in the immediate vicinity (later known as the 'bans de la Montagne')⁴³. A similar pattern can be observed in the *Liber Memorialis*⁴⁴. This may reflect a separate organisation for exploiting these estates, which owing to their distance could not be treated in the same way as those nearer, and which might have been requested to send transportable goods, such as grain, to the convent, perhaps by river.

Another possibility relates to the division of revenues within the convent, as already suggested by Perrin for the fragments in the *Liber Memorialis*. In the late seventeenth century, the abbess, the *secrète*, the *sonrière*, the provost and the great and lesser chancellors all had their own earmarked incomes⁴⁵. The properties mentioned in our list show a strong

⁴² Maps of the rents and tithes of the community in the early modern period also suggest a stronger geographical overlap of the list with the latter: see Jean-Paul ROTHOT, Réaction féodale et fin des prélèvements, l'exemple du chapitre noble de Remiremont, in: Le Pays de Remiremont, ed. PARISSÉ, ROTHOT and HEILI (cit. n. 25) 217–248, at 224 and 225.

⁴³ For these, see BOQUILLON, Les Chanoinesses (cit. n. 21) 14.

⁴⁴ GAILLARD, Le "Pays de Remiremont" (cit. n. 25) 28.

⁴⁵ For these offices, see BOQUILLON, Les Chanoinesses (cit. n. 21) 84–92. The *sonrière* was in charge of the material needs of the community.

association with the chancellors: twenty of the twenty-three places on the list that were also recorded in the seventeenth century as being one of Remiremont's 'bans' were at that point under the authority of either the great or lesser chancellor, forming more than half of all these officers controlled. Just one estate was under the provost (out of the eleven allocated to him), one under the abbess (out of the eleven allocated to her), and one to the *sonrière*⁴⁶. It may be that the list therefore relates to the chancellor's revenues in some way. The two possibilities – that distant estates were handled separately for practical reasons, and that these estates were predominantly under the aegis of the chancery – are not of course exclusive. Either way, we have to reckon with a degree of administrative sophistication in the community.

As a result, we can conclude that Perrin's judgement on Remiremont's documentation of its estates in the tenth and eleventh centuries, based on the *Liber Memorialis* – 'disastrous practices', incapable of contributing in practice to any temporal administration – requires nuance⁴⁷. No matter what conclusion one draws from the notes copied into the *Liber Memorialis*, the list in the Theutberga Gospels shows this was a community that knew where its estates were, was able to treat them differently, and was able to administer a triple levy. Several circumstances can be identified that may have enhanced awareness of the monastery's temporal wealth towards the later tenth or early eleventh century. Specialists have noted a significant change in the nature of the notices in the *Liber Memorialis* around the middle of the tenth century, with scribes investing more effort into recording information that was important from a legal viewpoint, like penal clauses, witnesses, and indications of date⁴⁸. That in turn may be related to the influence of the cleric Odelric, later archbishop of

⁴⁶ Cf. the map in BOUQUILLON, *Les Chanoinesses* (cit. n. 21) 20.

⁴⁷ PERRIN, *Seigneurie* (cit. n. 28) 163 (about the *cerarii*), and 169: "on voit mal comment des recueils aussi incohérents dans leur composition que les Libri traditionum auraient pu, dans la pratique, apporter une aide efficace à l'administration du temporel des établissements religieux". Cf. *ibid.* 624, on the "pratiques administratives franchement défectueuses".

⁴⁸ PARISSÉ, *Les notices* (cit. n. 25) 213 and 220–21. Parisse also observes attempts to reorganize the information entered in the *liber memorialis*, for instance by grouping related notices (*Ibid.* 214); and a growing division of labour in written practices and practice of estate management (*Ibid.* 223–227). On the changing nature of the notices, see also Alain DIERKENS

Rheims, lay abbot of Remiremont and the nearby nunnery of Bouxières, and of the abbey of Saint-Arnoul in Metz, in the 960s⁴⁹. Finally, we should consider the abbey's involvement in significant land-clearance in the wooded area around the monastic site in the latter decades of the tenth century⁵⁰; and the fact that, around the same time, we see an upper-advocate and several advocates taking over the role of Remiremont's former lay abbots⁵¹.

The gospelbook list should probably be seen in the context of these various changes, suggesting a re-organisation of the abbey's estates and their management during the decades before and after the turn of the first millennium. Given the apparent stability of Remiremont's holdings, however, the impact of that reorganisation should not be exaggerated, and we must also acknowledge that in view of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it remains difficult to establish with any kind of precision its scope and effects.

III. The Ordination Ritual for Abbesses

A third implication of the probable Remiremont provenance of the Theutberga Gospels concerns another text written into the Gospel book, to which we now turn. On folios 198v-199v, just before the estate list, we find an *ordo* for the ordination of abbesses. Written in a single hand (with a handful of corrections and emendations by a second one) that can be

and Michel MARGUE, *Memoria ou damnatio memoriae? L'image de Gislebert, duc de Lotharingie († 939)*, in: *Retour aux sources. Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. Sylvain GOUGENHEIM (Paris, 2004) 869–890, here at 878.

⁴⁹ Eduard HLAWITSCHKA, *Zur Lebensgeschichte Erzbischof Odelrichs von Reims*. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 70 (1961) 1–20; the most recent assessment of Odelric's role at Bouxières is in OSHEMA, *Zur Gründung* (cit. n. 39) 189.

⁵⁰ CONSTABLE, *The Liber Memorialis* (cit. n. 27) 276 dates these indications around 980/990.

⁵¹ PARISSÉ, *Les notices* (cit. n. 25) 232.

dated to the later ninth century⁵², it was copied onto folios originally left blank at the end the Gospels, and therefore clearly was intentionally added to this specific manuscript. While it has been suggested that the order was adapted from a contemporary order for the coronation of a queen, in reality it derives from late eighth- or early ninth-century scripts for the ordination of abbots and abbesses⁵³. An edition is provided at the end of this article.

The order as it is preserved here begins with a double blessing of the vestments of a woman religious, using a specific formula not found in known liturgical handbooks from the time but closely matching, in typology and general ideology, others that are widely attested. Given the formula's placement in the text, and given the presence of other ritual acts not commonly associated with ordination ritual of abbesses throughout these pages, it is likely that the author of these pages intended this blessing of vestments to be an integral part of the ordination ritual. The second and third parts of the order, entitled *Oracio quando abbatissa ordinatur in monasterio*, consist of two prayers to be said during the ceremony. These prayers (*Cunctorum institutor Deus* and *Omnipotens sempterne deus*) are a very close match with the version of the prayer sequence documented in a late eighth- or early-ninth-century Frankish Gelasian sacramentary from Autun⁵⁴, and are more distantly related to versions of the same

⁵² The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1) 24, and Valuable Books and Manuscripts (cit. n. 1) 21 and 23.

⁵³ The Beck Collection (cit. n. 1) 24. Compare the below *ordo* with the coronation rituals for Queens Judith (856) and Ermentrude (866) in *Ordines coronationis Franciae*. Texts and ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., ed. Richard A. JACKSON (Philadelphia 1995–2000), esp. 1: resp. 73–79 and 80–86. Traces of influence on queens' coronation ritual is evident in the so-called *Erdmann Ordo*, c. 900; *ibid.* 142–53, esp. 151–52. On such rituals, see Janet L. NELSON, *Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship*, in: *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*. Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995, ed. Anne J. DUGGAN (Woodbridge, 1997) 301–15.

⁵⁴ Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillips, Lat. 105; *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, ed. Odilo HEIMING, CCSL CLIX B (Turnhout, 1984) 193–94, nos. 1592–93. Also see the nearly identical ninth-century formulas in: *Zwei karolingische Pontifikalien*

prayers found in the famous sacramentary of Gellone, made c. 790 for use by Bishop Hildoard of Cambrai⁵⁵. Fourth, we have a brief, apparently choreographic instruction for the bishop to anoint the abbess with holy chrism, and to recite a brief formula as a blessing. This is followed in fifth place by a blessing of the hands of the elect, using a formula nearly identical to one found in the Autun sacramentary, where it is the last one of a series of blessings used for ordaining members of the clergy⁵⁶. Finally, the *ordo* returns to the last of three prayers represented in the Autun sacramentary's ordination sequence⁵⁷.

The Theutberga Gospels' liturgical *ordo* is highly significant in at least two respects. First, it is of interest to specialists of medieval ritual scripting, as it uniquely elaborates upon a specific tradition represented in the Autun sacramentary that is otherwise poorly attested in ninth- and early-tenth century manuscripts from the wider Lotharingia area. Only three manuscripts known to have been produced or used in this region contain an elaborate set of prayers for blessing abbesses: the aforementioned sacramentary of Gellone, the sacramentary of Autun (which in the tenth century ended up at Sankt-Maximin in Trier and may have passed through French-speaking ownership in the region prior to that)⁵⁸, and the Theutberga Gospels. Each represents a different stage of the absorption, adaption and development of

vom Oberrhein. hg. und auf ihre Stellung in der liturgischen Literatur untersucht, ed. Max-Josef METZGER (Freiburg im Bresgau, 1914) 44–45, nos. 145–46.

⁵⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 12048; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Antoine DUMAS and Jean DESHUSSES (CCSL CLIX, CLIXa), 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1981). On the orations for the benediction ritual of abbots and abbesses in this manuscript, see Stephan HILPISCH, Entwicklung der Ritus des Abtsweihe in der lateinischen Kirche. *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 61 (1948) 60–61.

⁵⁶ *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, ed. HEIMING (cit. n. 54) 187, nr. 1555.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 194, nr. 1594; also see the formula in *Zwei karolingische Pontificalien*, ed. METZGER (cit. n. 54) 45–46, no. 147.

⁵⁸ Ibid. XVII–XVIII.

Roman traditions in Francia since the later eighth century. Thus the ‘Autun blessings’ clearly represent a modified version of those found in the sacramentary of Gellone. For their part, the Theutberga Gospels are faithful to the text of the Autun sacramentary (simply omitting all references to abbots and their male subjects) yet add the aforementioned choreographic instructions, which are helpful when trying to imagine how the ritual would have actually been staged in a late ninth-century context.

Compared to the elaborate choreographic instructions included in the mid-tenth-century Romano-German pontifical tradition, the ones found here are fairly rudimentary⁵⁹. But contrary to what scholars have previously suspected⁶⁰, the ritual additions to the *ordo* in the Theutberga Gospels are clear evidence of attempts to expand that *ordo* into a fully-fledged scenario for abbatial ordination, pre-dating that major achievement of the Ottonian period. In that sense, the order represents a stark contrast with the majority of preserved ritual handbooks from ninth-century Lotharingia. For instance, Cambrai, Médiathèque, 164, the only faithful copy of the pontifical sent by Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne and apparently made for Bishop Hildoard of Cambrai, contains only a few short prayers, none of which was later replaced or complemented with newer material⁶¹. Likewise, none of the ninth-century revised ‘Gregorian’ pontificals from the Lotharingian region contains significant additions to that particular tradition⁶².

⁵⁹ Le pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle, 2 vols., ed. Cyrille VOGEL and Reinhard ELZE (Città del Vaticano, 1963), 1: 67–69 (ritual for Benedictine abbesses) and 76–82 (leaders of houses of canonesses). On the origins of the *PRG*, see Henry PARKES, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church. Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge 2015).

⁶⁰ HILPISCH, *Entwicklung* (cit. n. 55) 61–62.

⁶¹ Nicholas ORCHARD, *The Ninth and Tenth-century Additions to Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, 164*. *Revue bénédictine* 113 (2003) 285–97. Likewise, the earlier Gregorian sacramentary contains a mere three-line blessing: *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*, ed. Hans LIETZMANN (Münster 1958) 218.

Second, the Theutberga Gospel order is also an important piece of evidence for representations of abbesses' and generally female religious' situation in the later ninth-century Church. Of particularly significance in this respect are the inserted ritual acts (blessing of clothes, anointment, blessing of hands). These closely match, and indeed were taken from, the scripts for the ordination of members of the clergy. In view of the stringent measures taken by several councils of the second quarter of the ninth century to exclude abbesses and female religious generally from sacramental and pastoral duties⁶³, it is interesting to see how the author of this version of the *ordo* relied precisely on material destined to install members of the clergy to complement the skeletal set of prayers for the ordination of abbesses transmitted since the late eighth and early ninth century.

These observations make it tempting, given our suspicions of the origins of the revenue list, to look for some link between this unusual combination of ritual acts and prayers and the fact

⁶² Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, D 47 (Cambrai or Liège, 820s/30s): see Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der Römischen Kirche (Cod. Pad. D47, fol. 11r–100r), ed. by Leo K. MOHLBERG and Anton BAUMSTARK (Münster 1927); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 9428, made for Drogo, bishop of Metz (826–55): see Le sacramentaire de Drogon, ed. by J.-B. PELT (Metz 1936); Cambrai, Médiathèque, 162–163 (used at Cambrai in the second half of the ninth century): see Jean DESHUSSES, Le sacramentaire Grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits (Freiburg 1971) 35; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 2291 (used at the abbey of Saint-Amand in Cambrai in the later ninth century); see Victor LEROQUAIS, Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), vol. 1, 56–8; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, 579 (late-ninth century, Lotharingian part of the 'Leofric missal'); see The Leofric Missal, 2 vols., ed. Nicholas ORCHARD (Woodbridge 2002), vol. 2, 424.

⁶³ See, for instance, Suzanne F. WEMPLE, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia 1981) 168–89. The acts of the council of Paris of 829 are particularly negative about women's participation in the sacraments; *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert WERMINGHOFF, MGH Concilia (Hannover, 1906–8), vol. 2, 638–39, c. 39–46.

that Remiremont's *Liber memorialis* in the 920s refers to Abbess Ida as *abbatissa et diaconissa*, abbess and deaconess⁶⁴. Upon this phrase has been constructed an entire narrative of Remiremont's history. Eduard Hlawitschka argued it indicated that the situation of the female religious at the abbey since the late ninth century had shifted away from its former Benedictine regime⁶⁵. Franz-Josef Jakobi has recently extended these observations to paint a picture of Remiremont's situation where the Benedictine observance at the abbey had lapsed, the monastic economy was plagued by massive losses of property, and where the abbey essentially became a proprietary institution of the Bosonids, led by Duke Richard and his son, Count Boso⁶⁶.

Within this narrative, the return to order came only in the 930s, when Duke Gisibert of Lotharingia asserted his lordship over the abbey by issuing a statement on the restitution of its lost property, presumably on the occasion of a visit⁶⁷. In Eduard Hlawitschka's understanding, that statement signified a broader action for reform, aiming to stop the 'secularization process' that had led to Abbess Ida being named 'abbess and deaconess'. To support this claim, Hlawitschka referred to the chronological coincidence of Gisibert's intervention at Remiremont with his actions for the monasteries of Saint-Ghislain and Sankt-Maximin; and to the detail in the notice commemorating his action at Remiremont, that he received the assistance of Bishop Adalbero of Metz, his colleague Gozelin of Toul, and Archbishop Ruodbertus of Trier, all three noted monastic reformers. From these indications, Hlawitschka inferred that the 'reform' at Remiremont signalled a significant reduction of lay abbots' power, the reorganization of the monastic estates, and a return from a canonical to a more recognizably monastic discipline⁶⁸.

⁶⁴ *Liber memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. HLAWITSCHKA, SCHMID, and TELLENBACH (cit. n. 21), fol. 32v.

⁶⁵ HLAWITSCHKA, *Studien* (cit. n. 26) 39–41.

⁶⁶ JAKOBI, *Der Liber Memorialis* (cit. n. 14) 108.

⁶⁷ HLAWITSCHKA, *Herzog* (cit. n. 28); and PARISSÉ, *Les notices* (cit. n. 25) 229.

⁶⁸ HLAWITSCHKA, *Herzog* (cit. n. 28), esp. 434 and 441–8.

In reality, this is all speculation. As recently argued by Dierkens and Margue, Giselbert's activities at Remiremont could have simply reflected his desire to consolidate a recent political alliance amongst a group of Upper Lotharingian aristocrats centered on him as duke of Lotharingia, and bound by the explicit expression of fidelity to King Henry I of Germany⁶⁹. Rüdiger Barth has observed too that Giselbert may have wished to specifically express his ducal role as protector of monastic institutions, and thus further to reinforce his position in Lotharingian elite circles⁷⁰. What is more, as Parisse has pointed out, female members of the Remiremont community continued to be referred to as *deo sacratae* or *sanctimoniales* until late in the tenth century, and there is reason to suppose that there was no division between the incomes of the abbess and the community until the middle of the tenth century, long after other institutions had adopted it⁷¹.

In the light of the prominence of clerical themes in the Theutberga Gospels *ordo*, and this *ordo*'s codicological connection with Remiremont, we might therefore wonder whether the description of Ida as 'abbess and deaconess' in the 920s represents not a so-called decline into a canonical form of life, but rather a clericalisation of the community parallel to that experienced in male institutions from the ninth century, where monks were increasingly also ordained as priests. Remiremont in the 920s was not necessarily a community in need of reform, so much as a place where monastic traditions were increasingly enriched by clerical practices. Of course, it is important not to place too much weight on unique occurrences, given the flexible meanings of terms used to designate female religious functions⁷². Even if it

⁶⁹ DIERKENS and MARGUE, *Memoria* (cit. n. 48) 876–7.

⁷⁰ Rüdiger E. BARTH, *Der Herzog in Lotharingen im 10. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen 1990) 66–69.

⁷¹ PARISSÉ, *Les notices* (cit. n. 25) 221–22.

⁷² On the meaning of *diacona* in earlier orders, René METZ, *La consécration des vierges dans l'église romaine. Etude d'histoire de la liturgie* (Paris, 1954) 156, n. 70.

were possible to resolve the debate on Ida's specific status, it remains to be seen whether the insertion of such material with clear clerical connotations in the order could actually be used to chart changes in female religious' liturgical prerogatives and place in ecclesiastical structures, given the difficulties of working out what these were at any precise moment⁷³.

In summary, then, the *ordo* in the Theutberga Gospels is indicative of a number of broader trends. First, it shows, and rather uniquely so, that regional entities in the later ninth century were experimenting with allusive ritual scripts prior to the creation of the more elaborate so-called 'Romano-German Pontifical' tradition, and that this experimentation also applied to rituals destined for female monastic leaders. Secondly, it brings into question the notion that a profound transition was taking place in the religious' status at that time, from a Benedictine regime to one of 'secularized' canonesses. As historians now acknowledge, women religious' observance c. 900 would normally have been ambiguously situated between these two theoretical templates⁷⁴. Thirdly, its presence in this manuscript confirms that the book almost certainly resided in the library of a female monastery in the later ninth century, and that it likely played a role beyond that of mere treasure or memento of a powerful patron. It is to who that patron might have been that we now turn.

⁷³ There is insufficient evidence to assess the responsibilities of the *sagristae/sacratistae* mentioned in Remiremont's *Liber memorialis*. In this context, see the testimonies of two hagiographers, working respectively around 880–920 and 950–80, on how female religious at the Metz abbey of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains acted as custodians of their abbatial church's main altar, and brought offerings during the eucharist; *Vita, translationes et miracula Glodesindis*, ed. in *AASS Julii* 6 (Antwerp, 1729), col. 209 (first version) and col. 223 (second). Comments in Gordon BLENNEMANN, *Raumkonzept und liturgische Nutzung. Eine Spurensuche zur Frühgeschichte der Metzger Frauenklöster Sainte-Glossinde und Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains*, in: *Frauen - Kloster – Kunst*, ed. HAMBURGER and JÄGGI (cit. n. 14) 319–326, here at 325.

⁷⁴ On women religious' 'ambiguity,' see KartrINETTE BODARWÉ, *Eine Männerregel für Frauen. Die Adaption der Benediktsregel im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Female "vita religiosa" Between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages*, ed. Gert MELVILLE and Anne MÜLLER (Vienna, 2011) 235–274, here at 238.

IV. Female Religious and Carolingian Queenship in the Later Ninth Century

The order for the benediction of abbesses has brought us to the end of the ninth century, a time when female members of the Carolingian dynasty were still heavily involved in Lotharingia's female institutions. The background to this involvement has been explored in a recent article by Simon MacLean, who connected two profound changes, occurring over the course of the middle decades of the ninth century, in views on the office of queen and its moral implications: a desire to shield royal princesses, wives and widows from moral scandal; and an increasing royal reliance on female monasteries for symbolic, political, and economic purposes⁷⁵. This is not the place to lay out in detail the implications of royal women's involvement in the management and spirituality of female communities, but it should be noted that the way these individuals were involved with specific communities (as lay abbess, lay owner, or simply as representative of royal power in a certain area) could vary depending on an institution's specific geographical, socio-political, and other circumstances⁷⁶.

Because the 'Theutberga Gospels' were produced in the region of Metz, and because it is a deluxe manuscript, it has traditionally been associated with the abbey of Sainte-Glossinde in Metz. That derives from the abbey's own connection, which appears to have begun some time before 867, with Queen Theutberga (d. 875), former wife of King Lothar II; she was also buried there⁷⁷. A queen retiring to a convent might well have taken books with her, and

⁷⁵ Simon MACLEAN, *Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe. Past and Present* 178 (2003) 3–38.

⁷⁶ Martina HARTMANN, *Concubina vel regina? Zu einigen Ehefrauen und Konkubinen der karolingischen Könige. Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 63 (2007) 545–568, esp. 549–50.

⁷⁷ Gordon BLENNEMANN, *Die Metzger Benediktinerinnen im Mittelalter. Studien zu den Handlungsspielräumen geistlicher Frauen* (Husum, 2011) 64–65. Theutberga also owned Saint-Pierre d'Avenay in Champagne.

these might well have then been reworked to make them suitable for a convent's library. However, the manuscript's rather shaky association with Theutberga is based simply on the fact that she was the most prominent female member of the extended royal family to have a preferential connection with a female monastery from the Metz region.

In truth, nothing connects it specifically with Theutberga, nor for that matter with Sainte-Glossinde; and if Remiremont owned it around 1000 – as the estate list suggests it did – there is no obvious reason why it could not have been there earlier too. While our understanding of exactly how female communities acquired significant manuscripts like this one is very incomplete for lack of reliable testimonies and ownership marks, there are no known examples in the later ninth to eleventh centuries of such volumes being given to one institution and then transferred to the ownership of another. Once in the collection of a female community, these prestige objects appear to have been awarded special status – hence perhaps the exceptionally pristine state of preservation of some of them, including the Theutberga Gospels – and did not leave the collection until much later, in some cases only upon dissolution in the late eighteenth century⁷⁸.

If we therefore accept that Remiremont is indeed a likely candidate to have acquired the manuscript some time in the late ninth century, another prominent member of the court comes into focus: Waldrada, concubine and briefly queen of King Lothar II⁷⁹.

Historiographically speaking, Waldrada has suffered a very bad reputation, partly due to the allegations of witchcraft promoted by later texts like the *Vita Deicoli* (c. 1000), but mostly because of censorious nineteenth-century historians who held her responsible for leading King Lothar astray, and his kingdom into destruction⁸⁰. This is perhaps also what led Jakobi

⁷⁸ Gasse-Grandjean, *Les Livres* (cit. n. 28).

⁷⁹ Waldrada also owned the abbeys of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains in Metz, and the Vosges abbey of Lure; HARTMANN, *Concubina* (cit. n. 76) 554; and Andrea ESMYOL, *Geliebte oder Ehefrau? Konkubinen im frühen Mittelalter* (Cologne 2002) 159–66.

⁸⁰ Robert PARISOT, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens (843–923)* (Paris 1898), e.g. 145: “une femme ambitieuse, énergique, volontaire”. *Vita Deicoli* (BHL 2120), ed. Georg WAITZ, *MGH SS 15.2* (Hannover, 1888) 675–682.

to connect a narrative of disciplinary and organizational decay with the arrival of Waldrada in the convent of Remiremont in the late 860s⁸¹. In fact we know nothing of Waldrada's character or personal monastic inclinations; and given that both she and the gospelbook share an association with Remiremont, to call them the 'Waldrada Gospels' would be neither more nor less justified than their current title.

Lest we substitute one speculative attribution of ownership for another, however, we should also note that, in principle, any member of the upper *échelons* of the elite could have given the manuscript to the sisters. We know, for instance, that the earliest site of the convent on the Saint-Mont was situated right next to a royal palace, and therefore was frequently visited by sovereigns (and, presumably, their queens) up to the 860s⁸². Any one of these individuals could have presented the manuscript as a gift, with the exception perhaps of King Lothar II, whose relation with the sisters was probably less than cordial⁸³. We also need to look at the possibility that one of the region's bishops, for instance Drogo of Metz (d. 855) whose interest in *de luxe* manuscripts is well known, patronized the monastery by donating a manuscript of this quality⁸⁴.

As for Remiremont itself, we have two further candidates with connections high enough to allow speculation that they may have been behind the donation. Abbess Theuthildis (?before 833-after 862) fostered very close connections to the Carolingian court, and judging by her

⁸¹ JAKOBI, Remiremont (cit. n. 14) 107. For Waldrada's entrance into the convent, see *Vita Deicoli*, 679; see also PARISOT, *Royaume* 324, and Martina HARTMANN, *Die Königin im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 2009) 212.

⁸² GAILLARD, *D'une réforme* (cit. n. 14) 179–80, 248. See though BARBIER, *Fisc et ban* (cit. n. 40) 11–12, for doubt as to the palace's importance.

⁸³ GAILLARD, *D'une réforme* (cit. n. 14) 180.

⁸⁴ For Drogo, see Walter KÖHLER and Florentine MÜTHERICH, *Drogo–Sakramentar: Manuscrit latin 9428, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris* (Graz, 1974), 2 vols.

letters expected significant patronage from both Emperor Louis the Pious and his wife Judith, and from various individuals in his immediate circle⁸⁵. According to some historians, her co-governor, a cleric named Theoderic who is mentioned in sources from the 820s onwards as the local provost and who may have led the sizeable male community of clerics serving at Remiremont, could have been one of Louis's half-brothers. Two other half-brothers of Louis, Drogo and Hugo, were abbots of respectively Luxueil and Charroux; it is possible that Theoderic, alongside his position at Remiremont, held the same position at Saint-Evre or Murbach⁸⁶. This brings us tantalizingly close to one of Bischoff's possible candidates for the scriptorium where the manuscript was originally produced. Even if it were to have been made elsewhere, it does not seem too far-fetched to imagine that Theoderic and Theuthildis acquired high-quality manuscripts and later bequeathed them to the abbey.

That we have no secure indications of who might have transferred the manuscript into the hands of the Remiremont community may seem disappointing. Yet that very uncertainty only underscores the previous observation that the sisters at that institution in the ninth century were tied up in a complex web of interconnecting aristocratic and ecclesiastical relations, all of which were focussed on the then-ruler and his court. The simple fact that we are currently unable to decide who of the many prominent people in that web might have presented the abbey with the magnificent 'Theutberga Gospels' attests to the exceptional significance of that institution in contemporary Carolingian politics and religion.

⁸⁵ Theuthildis of Remiremont, *Indicularius Thiathildis*, ed. and tr. Michel PARISSE, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813–847) avec les lettres de Theuthilde, abbesse de Remiremont* (Paris 1998) 154–63.

⁸⁶ On Thierry and his possible relationship with Louis, see JAKOBI, *Der Liber Memorialis* (cit. n. 14) 110; and Eva-Marie BUTZ, *Herrschergedenken als Spiegel von Konsens und Kooperation. Zur politischen Einordnung von Herrschereinträgen in den frühmittelalterlichen Libri memorialis*, in: *Libri vitae*, ed. GEUENICH and LUDWIG (cit. n. 14) 305–328, at 321.

Conclusions

The reevaluation of the ‘Theutberga Gospels’ that this study has provided allows us to rethink the manuscript’s early history. Though not the only possibility, the most plausible scenario is that the book was donated by an eminent patron in the later ninth century to a female religious institution, almost certainly reflecting and cementing that institution’s connections with the Carolingian dynasty of the middle kingdom, connections that were increasingly important in the ninth century for both dynasty and female religious communities. The way its new owners later inserted the abbess ordination text described above suggests that the object’s prestige status was respected within the community, and that the book had a place at that community’s heart, marked by the inscription within it of perhaps the community’s most important liturgical ceremony, to be repeated in every generation.

Almost a century later, as seems to have been common, the liturgical manuscript took on a new purpose with the addition of an estate revenue list⁸⁷. This may reflect a change in the status and use of the book. The book may not any longer have been used regularly, perhaps due to changing liturgical fashions – a change which explains its excellent state of preservation, which is what made it so desirable for later collectors of different kinds, legitimate and otherwise. It also however reflects an attempt to endow the property list, drawn up for specific reasons that we cannot now know, with a sacral significance through association with the volume: an ‘object lesson’, so to speak, that the distinctions between the liturgical and the administrative life of major institutions were often more blurred than current epistemological divisions can make them seem.

If we have learned new things about the book and its changing role, from prestige item to liturgical repository to estate management tool, then we have also learned new things about its owners. If the Remiremont association that we have proposed holds up – and it is surely the most plausible option – then we have acquired new sources for the history of one of the

⁸⁷ For the use of liturgical mss in preserving property details, see Jean-Loup LEMAITRE, *Les actes transcrits dans les livres liturgiques*, in: *Les cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes*, ed. Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN, Laurent MORELLE and Michel PARISSÉ (Paris 1993) 59–78.

most important convents in medieval Europe, significantly advancing our understanding of the community's property, liturgy and royal associations. Its adaption of the book to suit its own needs and expectations suggests that the institution remained liturgically committed in the late ninth century. The estate revenue list a century later shows not just very considerable wealth but also expertise in managing that wealth, as attested by the division into different kinds of revenue stream, and the geographical organisation of the holdings, as well as reminding us of the institution's essential stability, expressed through ownership of certain rights that lasted for well over half a millennium.

As a result, we may now have good reason to reconsider the traditional story of Remiremont's history which has it sliding into a comfortable decay from its formerly rigid Benedictine observance, as it 'failed' to reform⁸⁸. The so-called Theutberga Gospels throw light onto the changing priorities and needs of an enduring institution over several centuries which defy simple narratives of rise and fall. Further investigation is likely to reveal more of this fascinating manuscript's secrets, and to teach us more about the women who owned and interacted with it in such diverse and changing ways.

⁸⁸ Steven Vanderputten has a forthcoming study on female monasticism in the ninth-to early eleventh centuries; more generally on reform narratives in this period, see IDEM, *Monastic Reform as Process. Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca 2013).

Appendix A. Edition of the List of Revenues on Folios 199v-200r

Abbreviations (dno, cr, sto) have been silently expanded, and the places have been capitalised. All punctuation is original; illegible letters are indicated with an asterisk, *. Modern places (all of which are located in the modern département des Vosges unless otherwise noted) have been identified using the relevant *Dictionnaires Topographiques*, cross-checked wherever possible against other editions⁸⁹. Places where the identification is likely but not certain are indicated with a question mark.

Latin text	Modern name	No. on map	<i>Liber Memorialis</i> ⁹⁰	Ban in s. XVI I?	Ban in 1295/1436?	Tithe list of 1402 or 1618?
De Hercule decem et xxx d' et iii m.	Escles	1	9v, 11r, 27v, 67r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Valleis x.v et xxx d' et iii m.	Les Vallois	2	20v, 23r, 29v, 31r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Walefridi curte l. et xxx. d' et iii m	Valfroicourt	3	14v, 27v, 28r, 30r, 65v, 67r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Rudini curte v. et xv d' et iii m.	Rancourt	4	7r, 65v			
De Haei curte v. xv d' et iii m.	Hagécourt	5	66r, 69v	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Sancto Amando. x. et xxx d' et iii m.	Saint-Amant (near Bazoilles)	6	66r			Yes
De Aldoni x. et xxx d' et iii m.	Adompt	7	31r			Yes

⁸⁹ Dictionnaire topographique du département des Vosges, ed. Paul MARICHAL (Paris 1941); Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Meurthe, ed. Henri LEPAGE (Paris 1863); Dictionnaire topographique du département de la Meuse, ed. Félix LIÉNARD (Paris 1872).

⁹⁰ *Liber Memorialis*, ed. HLAWITSCHKA, SCHMID and TELLENBACH (cit. n. 21).

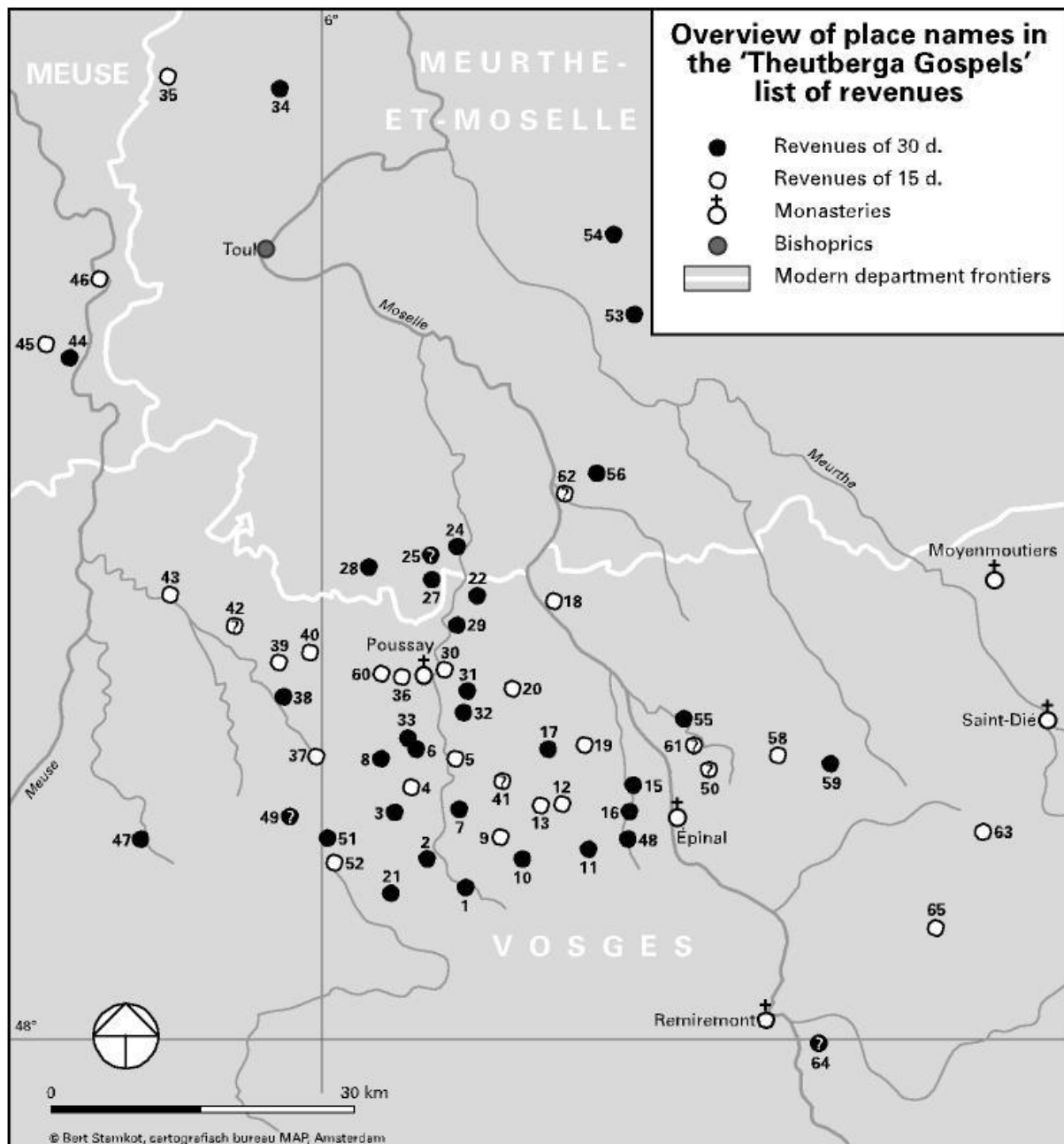
De Domino Apro. x. et xxx. d' et iii m.	?Domevre-sous-Montfort	8				
De Villa. x et xx d' et iii m.	Ville-sur-Ilлон	9	12r, 65r			
De Domino Apro. x. et xxx d' et iii m.	Domèvre (nr. Harol)	10				
De Gerrani curte xv. et xxx d' et iii m.	Girancourt	11	29v, 30r, 71r	Yes		Yes
De Hanoni curte xv. et iii m.	Hennecourt	12	10v, 69v Epinal: 87.	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Sancto Medardo. v et xv d' et iii m.	Damas-et-Bettegney	13				Yes
De Gissas xv et xxx. d' et m.	?		65v			
De Domino Apro xv et xxx d' et iii m.	Domèvre-sur-Avière	15	66v			Yes
De Ursiniaco. x et xxx d' et iii m.	Uxegney	16	8r, 22v, 27r, 31r, 44v, 58r, 66r	Yes		Yes
De Daiberti monte l. et iii m.	Derbamont	17		Yes	Yes	Yes
De Calmosei. v. et xx d' et iii m.	Charmes	18	65r			Yes
De Buxeris v et xx et iii m.	Bouxières-aux-Bois	19	31r, 66r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De *orceis l et xx iii m.	Jorxey	20	28r, 29r			Yes
De Domino Basilo xxx. d' et iii m.	Dombasle-devant-Darney	21	30v			
De Tantini Monte. xxx. et xxx d'	Tantimont (now Hergugney)	22	29r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Walt cella. xxx et xxx d' et iii m.	?Viocelle					Yes
De Serafini curte xxx et xxx d' iii m.	Xirocourt (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	24	29r, 40r		Yes?	Yes

De Domino Frumino. xv et xxx d' iii m.	?Saint-Firmin (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	25	30r			Yes
De Balga v xv d' et iii m.			55v?			
De Daiardi villa l. xxx d' et iii m.	Diarville (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	27	58r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Guigeis vii et xxx d' et iii m.	Gugney (Meurthe et Moselle)	28	67v	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Volmari curte xxx et iii m.	Vomécourt-sur-Madon	29	7v, 10v, 30v; Epinal no. 59	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Macereis v et xv d' et iii m.	Mazirot	30				Yes
De Rimbodi monte. x et xxx d' iii m.	Rabiémont	31				Yes
De Evrod** villa xv et xxx d' et iii m.	?Vroville	32				Yes
De Basili curte x et xxx d' et iii m.	Bazoilles-et-Ménil	33	65r, 65v	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Domino Apro uncia	Domevre-en-Haye (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	34				
De Mandras iii.	Mandres-aux-Quatres-Tours (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	35				Yes
De Domino Valerio v et xv et iii m.	Domvallier	36				Yes
De Domino Iuliano v et xv d' et iii m.	Domjulien	37				Yes
De Sancto Memi xxx et xxx d' iii m.	Saint-Menge	38				Yes

De Buulfi curte v et xv d. et iii m.	Biécourt	39	18v	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Totani villa v	Totainville	40	66r, 67r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Domino Arpanoratio v et xv d' et iii m.	?Dompaire	41				Yes
De Sancto Marcello. v xv d' et iii m.	?Rainville	42	66r			
De Ottoniaco villa v et xv d' iii m.	Attignéville	43	57v, 58r; Epinal no. 30.	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Nova villa x. et xxx d' et iii m.	Neuville-les-Vaucouleurs (Meuse)	44	66r			Yes
De Montigeis v. et xv et iii m	Montigny-lez-Vaucouleurs (Meuse)	45				
De Ugei v et xv d' et iii m.	Ugny (Meuse)	46				Yes
De Sancta Oda xxx et xxx d. iii m.	Sainte-Ouën-les-Parey	47				Yes
De Bosei v et xxx d' et iii m.	Bouzey	48	28v, 31r			Yes
De Vico. x. et xxx d' et iii m.	?Vittel	49	67r, 31r		Yes	Yes
De D?ini Villa. ii.	?Dignonville	50	67r, 19r			
De Mocheri villa x. et xxx. iii m.	Marcheville (Meuse)	51				Yes
De Teoleras v et xv d' et iii m.	Thuillières	52	65r, 67v			Yes
De Curvico. l' et xxx d' iii m.	Crévic (Meurthe-Moselle)	53	44r, 65r, 65v, 70r	Yes	Yes	Yes
De Romalgindis xv et xxx d' iii m.	?Romemont, near Buissoncourt	54				

	(Meurthe-et-Moselle)					
De Domino Apro xxx et xxx d' et iii m.	?Domèvre-sur-Durbion	55				Yes
De Bremoni curte x et xxx d' et iii m.	?Bremoncourt (Meurthe)	56				
De Parsunt ru*ul nti	?					
De Giri curte v et xv d et iii m.	Girecourt-sur-Durbion	58	52v		Yes	Yes
De Grando villa x et xxx d' iii m.	Grandvillers	59		Yes	Yes	Yes
De Baldrici curte iii.	Baudricourt	60	66r			Yes
De Domina Libaria v xv d' iii m.	?Bayecourt	61	55	Yes		Yes
De Baione v et xv d' et iii m.	?Bayon (Meurthe-et-Moselle)	62				Yes
De Colreceo v et xv d et iii m	Corcieux	63	8r, 27r, 27v, 31r	Yes		Yes
De Domino Martino x et xxx	?Dommartin-les-Ville	64	27v, 28v			Yes
De Lieceis v. et xv d.	Liezey	65	Epinal: 94.			

Appendix B. Map of Estates Mentioned in the List of Revenues



Appendix C. Edition of the Gospels' Ordination Ritual for Abbesses

(*folio 198v*) BENEDICTIO VESTIMENTORUM

Benedico vobis vestibus per signacula sancte crucis in nomine alme Trinitatis, ut nullum pars inimici in vobis latitandi seu consistendi nec inueniat, nec habeat locum. Sed sitis per verbum dei vestimenta sanctificata, ad tegumen sanctum famule*m ill.*, ut velamen pudoris alme devotionis custodiens portet in capite suo expectans premia acceptura vite aeternae, prestante domino nostro Jhesu Christo qui vivit.

ITEM ALIA

Benedicat vos Deus pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus omni benedictione spiritali ad tegumen sanctitatis per aeve, per aeterna, secula seculorum.

INCIPIT ORACIO QUANDO ABBATISSA ORDINATUR IN MONASTERIO

Cunctorum institutor Deus qui per Moysen famulum tuum ad gubernandas ecclesias praepositos instituisti, tibi supplices fundimus preces, teque deuotis mentibus exoramus, ut hanc famulam tuam *ill.* quam conibentia et electio famularum tuarum abbatissam hodie houium tuarum esse instituit. Sic⁹¹ regat subditas commendatas ut cum illis omnibus regna celorum adipiscatur⁹² quatenus te opitulanti, Domine, apostolicis iugiter fulta doctrinis centesimo cum fructu laeta introeat portas paradisy. Atque te⁹³ Domine conlaudante audire mereatur: *Euge, euge. famula bona et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis super multa te constituam intra in gaudium domini tui*⁹⁴. Quod ipse prestare digneris⁹⁵ qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus in secula.

ITEM ALIA

⁹¹ Erasure after *sic*, presumably *-que*.

⁹² A second hand changed the more accurate *adepta* into *adipiscatur*.

⁹³ The first hand added this word above the line.

⁹⁴ Matthew 25:23.

⁹⁵ Changed by a second hand from *digna* (?), partly above the line.

(*folio 199r*) Omnipotens sempiterne Deus affluentem illum spiritum tue benedictionis super famulam tuam *ill.* nobis orantibus propitiatus infunde, ut qui per manus nostrae hodiae inpositione abbatissa instituitur sanctificatione tua digne a⁹⁶ te electa permaneat, ut numquam postmodum de tua gratia separetur indigna suscipiat te largiente hodiae domine in bono opere perseuerantiam, in aduersis constantiam, in tribulationibus tolerantiam, in geiuniis⁹⁷ desiderium, in pietatibus misericordiam, in humilitatibus principatum, in superbia odium, in fide dilectionem, in doctrina peruigilantiam, in castitate continentiam, in luxuria abstinentiam, in uarietatibus moderationem, in moribus doctrinam. Te munerante domine talis in hunc ministerium⁹⁸ perseveret qualis levita electus ab apostolis sanctus Stephanus meruit perdurare. Tota diabolica conversatione ab hodie dispiciat. Te domine benedictionem largiente contempnat⁹⁹ presentia premia celestia desiderit et¹⁰⁰ sempiterna sit exemplum et forma iusticiae ad gubernandam regendamque ecclesiam fideliter ut speculatrix idonea inter suas collegas semper proficiat. Sit magni consilii industria censura¹⁰¹, efficacitix discipline. Ita te domine tribuente, ut in omnibus mandatis tuis sine reprehensione tibi mundo corde deserviens adbrauium superne uocationis multiplicato foenore cum centesimo fructu, coronaque iusticiae, et ad celestum¹⁰² thesaurorum dona¹⁰³ perueniat, prestante Domino.

SIC EAM DE OLEO SANCTO PERUNGUAT DICENS

⁹⁶ Possibly followed by a one-letter erasure.

⁹⁷ The manuscript reads *geiuniis*.

⁹⁸ The first scribe first wrote *hunc monasterium*, then changed it into *hoc* or *hac ministerium*.

⁹⁹ The manuscript reads *contepnat*.

¹⁰⁰ The first scribe wrote *et* above the line.

¹⁰¹ The first scribe corrected *censure* above the line.

¹⁰² The first scribe added *ad* above the line, and corrected *celesteum*.

¹⁰³ The scribe first wrote *donativa*, then erased *-tiva*.

Unguo te de oleo sanctificato, ut more militis uncti preparata ad lucta aereas possis superare catervus. Amen.

(*folio 199v*) CONSECRATIO MANUUM

Consecrentur manus iste per istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem, ut quecumque benedixerint benedicantur et quecumque sanctificaverint sanctificentur. Prestante Domino¹⁰⁴.

ITEM ALIA

Domine Deus omnipotens qui sororem Moysi Mariam praeuntem ceteris mulieribus inter aequoreas undas cum timpanis et choris laetam ad litus maris uenire fecisti. Te supplices depraecamur pro fidele famula tua *ill.* que hodiae materna in cathedra uniuersus subditis sibi abbatissa esse constituetur, ut ita pro monasticam normam tueatur cunctas famulas tuas, quatenus aeternam ad gloriam, te auxiliante, cum omnibus introeat laeta, ibique exultantes cum angelis canentes cantica noua sequantur agnum quocumque ierit, prestante Domino.

¹⁰⁴ *Domino* is not present in the manuscript, presumably forgotten because the next part begins with almost the same word form.