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*THE ROLE OF QUEEN ANNA YAROSLAVNA  
 IN THE FORMATION  
 OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HOUSEHOLD OF FRANCE*

The article examines the ecclesiastical household of Henry I and his second wife Anna Yaroslavna, the youngest daughter of the Grand Duke of Kiev, in the 1050s and 1060s. The author traces the organizational and political evolution of key ecclesiastical positions within Royal chapel (Capella Regis), stated its direct connection with the king's chancellery, and its influence on royal decision-making. It is hypothesized that Anna Yaroslavna took an active part in the formation of the ecclesiastical court of France, as she contributed to the presence of bishops and clerics at the court, continued the policy of Capetians to promote these clerics to vacant church chairs and church sinecures, especially during the minority of her son Philip I. The article is based mainly on the act material of the XIth century and proves the active political participation of Queen Anne in royal affairs.

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*Key words:* Anna Yaroslavna, Henry I, Capetians, ecclesiastical court of France, Royal chapel, French bishops

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**Роль Анны Ярославны  
в формировании церковного двора Франции**

В статье рассматривается церковное окружение Генриха I и его второй жены Анны Ярославны, младшей дочери Великого Киевского князя, в 1050–1060-е гг. Прослеживается организационно-политическая эволюция ключевых должностей церковного окружения в рамках *Capella Regis*; констатируется непосредственная организационно-функциональная связь последней с канцелярией короля, определяется степень их влияния на принятие королевских решений. Выдвигается гипотеза о том, что Анна Ярославна принимала активное участие в формировании церковного двора Франции, поскольку способствовала пребыванию при дворе епископов и клириков, продолжая политику Капетингов по продвижению этих клириков на вакантные церковные кафедры и церковные sinecуры, особенно в период малолетства ее сына Филиппа I. Статья опирается преимущественно на актовый материал XI в, и доказывает активное политическое участие королевы Анны в государственных делах.

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*Ключевые слова:* Анна Ярославна, Генрих I, Капетинги, церковный двор Франции, Королевская капелла, французские епископы.

In May 1051, Anna Yaroslavna, the youngest daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince (King) of Rus', became the third wife of King Henry I of France from the Capetian dynasty<sup>1</sup>. Henry's choice was primarily conditioned by political circumstances, but it also involved finding a bride from a dynasty unrelated to Capetians<sup>2</sup>. The French royal family had already faced church prohibition on relationship until the seventh knee: Henry I's father, Robert II, was forced to divorce his cousin Bertha of Burgundy<sup>3</sup>.

Western chronicles provide us a lot of accounts on Anna Yaroslavna, her active participation in the political and church life of France both as reigning Queen and widowed «Queen of Franks» (*Regina Francorum*)<sup>4</sup>. Many sources, including twenty-eight preserved diplomas where her name is mentioned, show that her political activity was primarily related to the church affairs: foundation and reconstruction of monasteries, the granting of privileges and immunities to abbots, the certification of gift documents in favor of the church<sup>5</sup>.

It is clear that her communication with church representatives was wide. One can mention, for example, a well-known message sent to Anna by the Pope Nicholas II in 1059. In this letter, which was probably written by Cardinal Peter Damiani and provided with pastoral instructions and wishes, Anna called as *Glorious Queen*<sup>6</sup>. The purpose of our paper is to find out how the ecclesiasti-

<sup>1</sup> Bautier R.-H. Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: étude critique de la documentation // *Revue des études slaves*. 1985. T. 57. Fasc. 4. Aspects des relations intellectuelles entre la France, la Russie et l'U.R.S.S. / Sous la dir. de R.-H. Bautier. P. 550; Dhondt J. Quelques aspects du règne d'Henri Ier, roi de France // *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge: dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*. Paris, 1951. P. 199–208; Dhondt J. Henri Ier, l'Empire et l'Anjou (1043–1056) // *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*. 1946. T. 25. Fasc. 1–2. P. 87–109.

<sup>2</sup> Musin A. La formation de la politique matrimoniale et la «diaspora normande» en Europe au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'exemple d'Anne de Kiev // 911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux: Actes du colloque international de Caen et Cerisy (29 septembre – 2 octobre 2011) / Éd. D. Bates & P. Bauduin. Caen, 2016. P. 177–206.

<sup>3</sup> Riché P. Gerbert d'Aurillac. Le pape de l'an mil. Paris, 1987. P. 200–201.

<sup>4</sup> Hallu R. Anne de Kiev, reine de France. Roma, 1973. P. 163–195.

<sup>5</sup> Zajac T. 'Gloriosa Regina' or «Alien Queen»? Some reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075) // *Royal studies Journal*. 2016/3. № 1. P. 28–70.

<sup>6</sup> *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina* / Éd. J.-P. Migne. T. 144 (1). S. Petri Damiani... opera omnia. Paris, 1853. P. 447.

cal circle of the Queen was formed and structured, to identify those clergymen who formed her entourage, and to understand the possibilities of Queen's influence on the church policy of the crown.

In 1049 Henry I received a message from Leo IX, where the Pope made reference to his father's excommunication for marrying Bertha of Burgundy against the will of his bishops<sup>7</sup>. It is possible that this warning of the Holy See was the crucial reason of the embassy to Rus' headed by two significant French prelates close to Henry I, who were commissioned by the King and made responsible for the success of the 2000-kilometres journey. Eleventh-century diplomacy was mainly carried out by prelates and clerics<sup>8</sup>.

The chronicle compiled by the monks of the monastery of Fleury or St. Benedict on the Loire in the middle of the 12th century (so-called «The Continuation of Aymoin of Fleury») reports: «Searching for the wife, the king sent Walter, called the 'Wise', Bishop of Meaux, to the King of the Ruthenes, with the aim of obtaining the hand of his daughter, that it was done. Her name was Anna»<sup>9</sup>. The personality of the Bishop of Meaux Walter is scarcely known: there is neither precise information about his origin nor his career until 1045, when he was elected bishop. However, it is certain that Walter was part of the king's inner circle, because his diocese belonged to the royal Metropolitan of Sens, where the King had the right of *regalia*, i.e. actually administered the episcopal chair. In 1047, Bishop of Meaux's witness signature is already appears in the royal act that indicates his participation in the affairs of the *Curia regis*<sup>10</sup>. In 1048 he participated in the church council in Sens, one of the forerunners of the Gregorian reform<sup>11</sup>. The bishop clearly disposed significant power and resources,

<sup>7</sup> Du Chesne F. *Historiae Francorum scriptores*. T. IV. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1641. P. 145.

<sup>8</sup> Moeglin J.-M., Péquignot S. *Diplomatie et 'relations internationales' au Moyen Âge (IX<sup>e</sup> – XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris, 2017. P. 370.

<sup>9</sup> «Rex sibi quaerens conjugii solatium, ad Rutenorum Regem Galtherum, cognomina Saveir, Meldensem episcopum direxit: Postulans ut ei suam mitteret siliam: quod et factum est. Huius nomen erat Anna» // *Aimoini Monachi Inclyti Coenobii D. Germani a Pratis Libri Quinque de Gestis Francorum*. Parisiis, 1602. P. 361.

<sup>10</sup> *Diplomata Henrici I, Francorum regis. № XV // Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. T. XI. Paris, 1767. P. 581.

<sup>11</sup> Dom Toussaints du Plessis. *Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*. T. I. Paris, 1731. P. 107–108.

as well as enjoyed the support of the royal family, because he established the cathedral in Meaux<sup>12</sup>.

It is unknown when the Bishop Walter with his suite went to Rus'. Contradictory and scarce accounts in the sources gave rise to the hypothesis that there were two embassies<sup>13</sup>. The gloss added to the Rheims manuscript of the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century mentions the second important participant of the embassy, Bishop Roger II of Chalon, who also had a different aim, to learn whether the relics of St. Clement remained in Chersonesos, which then belonged to the Byzantine Empire<sup>14</sup>.

The bishopric of Chalon in Champagne was also royal and was a part of the church province of Rheims<sup>15</sup>. Chalon, surrounded by domelial lands of the Capetians, had an ancient royal residence, so the bishop was part of the royal entourage<sup>16</sup>. It is known that Roger II came from the highest Frankish nobility, he was the son of Count of Namur, and from the female line belonged to the Carolingians. He took the episcopal chair in 1043 thanks to a decision of Henry I<sup>17</sup>. Roger was famous for piety and was known as the founder of the Abbey of All Saints in Chalon<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Encyclopédie théologique. T. 29 / Éd. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1849. P. 869–870.

<sup>13</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108) / Éd. M. Prou. Paris, 1908. P. XIX–XXI.

<sup>14</sup> Farquhar-Monpetit M. Le psautier d'Odalric de Reims et le manuscrit 15 de la Bibliothèque municipale // Un homme, un livre au XI<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Le prévot Odalric et le manuscrit 15 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Reims / Éd. P. Corbet et P. Demouy. Reims, 2015. P. 59–138; Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. XVII.

<sup>15</sup> Ravaux J.-P. Les évêques de Châlons des origines à 1789 // Mémoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts de la Marne. T. XCVIII. 1983. P. 77–78.

<sup>16</sup> Debax H. Des vice-comtes aux vicomtes, des vicomtes aux vicomtés / Éd. H. Debax. Vicomtes et vicomtés dans l'Occident médiéval. Toulouse, 2008. P. 17–18; Guyotjeannin O. Les évêques dans l'entourage royal sous les premiers Capétiens // Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil / Éd. M. Parris et X. Barral. Paris, 1992. P. 91–98; Barthélemy E. de. Histoire de la ville de Châlons-sur-Marne. Châlons, 1854. P. 161.

<sup>17</sup> Paris L. Roger II, XLIV<sup>e</sup> évêque de Chaalons, sa vie et mission en Russie (1048) / La Chronique de Champagne / Éd. L. Paris. T. II. Reims; Paris, 1837. P. 90.

<sup>18</sup> Barthélemy E. de. Diocèse ancien de Châlons-sur-Marne. Paris, 1861. P. 76, 182.

We do not know the exact time of arrival in Rus' nor the time when the embassy returned<sup>19</sup>. All that is known for certain: Anna Yaroslavna was successfully accompanied by eminent bishops to Rheims, the coronation city of the kings of France. On Trinity Day, the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1051 in Rheims Cathedral she became a participant of three ceremonies: wedding, coronation and sacred unction<sup>20</sup>.

As Henry I was already forty-two, he was obviously in a hurry to acquire a family and heirs, and also sought to provide his foreign wife with the highest status, to give the Queen the right to participate in the affairs of the *Royal curia*. Anna was crowned by Guy Archbishop of Reims, and, like the Carolingian queens, anointed by the same unction that the kings of France received. It is also known that Bishop Lietbert of Cambay, chaplain and trustee of Emperor Henry III, was attended the celebrations<sup>21</sup>. It is possible that both bishops from Anna's travelling suite participated in the solemn ceremonies and thereafter remained among the king's close ecclesiastic councillors because their names are listed among the twenty-two bishops, who participated in the coronation of Philip I, Anna and Henry's eldest son, which took place the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1059 in Rheims<sup>22</sup>.

According to Henry I's act of establishing (restoring) St. Martin's Monastery in Paris in 1059, Walter, Bishop of Meaux influenced this royal decision, and affirmed the document with his witness signature alongside that of Queen Anna<sup>23</sup>. In the manuscript from the British Library, «A chronicle of the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, in verse» which was created circa 1072 when the Bishop and Anna Yaroslavna were still alive, we can see his image, signed

<sup>19</sup> Gallia Christiana. T. VIII. Parisiis: ex Typographia Regia, 1744. Col. 1608–1609.

<sup>20</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. XXIII; Demouy P. Le sacre de la reine de France dans le pontifical de l'Église de Reims (BM Reims, Ms. 343) // Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. 2013/2015. P. 293.

<sup>21</sup> Ex Vita S. Lietberti, episcopi Cameracensis / Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France. T. XI. P. 481; Ott J. S. Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050–1150. Cambridge, 2015. P. 205.

<sup>22</sup> Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France. T. XI. P. 32–33.

<sup>23</sup> Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien / Éd. J. Depoin. T. I. Paris, 1912. P. 14–18; Soehnée F. Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier, roi de France. Paris, 1907. № 125. P. 127–129.

«Gualterus» among other bishops and secular persons of the court of Philip I<sup>24</sup>.

Bishop of Meaux also appears in twelve acts of Philip I, that suggest he was sometimes presented in the *Royal curia*, including the period of the king's youth, when Anna Yaroslavna was involved in the administration of royal affairs<sup>25</sup>. In contrast, Bishop of Chalon was mentioned only twice in the king's charters in 1065 (acts in favour of the Abbey of All Saints)<sup>26</sup>. However, it is known that four years earlier he received, probably with the participation of the Queen Mother, the privilege to mint his own coinage<sup>27</sup>.

The sources of the 11<sup>th</sup> century did not conserve information about the ecclesiastical household of Queen Anna and any ecclesiastical persons who served to her as priests, chaplains and handlers of alms, unlike the courts of England or the Holy Roman Empire<sup>28</sup>. The earliest source about the ecclesiastical household of the Queen of France comes from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when one of royal diplomas mentions the clerics of Adelaide of Savoy, the wife of Anna Yaroslavna's grandson, Louis VI<sup>29</sup>. We know, however, that there was the Royal Chapel (*Capella regis*), which formed the ecclesiastical structure of the court. We can assume that some of ecclesiastical persons served the Queen, but were subordinates to the head of the ecclesiastical household, the Chief / arch-chaplain (*archicapellanus*), or the royal chaplain (*regis capellanus*)<sup>30</sup>. In the thirteenth century they were often mentioned together with the ecclesiastics

<sup>24</sup> Chronique versifiée de Saint-Martin-des-Champs. British Library. Add. Mss. 11662. F. 4v.; факсимиле: URL : [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_11662](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_11662) (дата обращения: 18.05.2020); Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien. P. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. 79, 90, 93, 112, 132, 133, 142, 152, 154, 157, 158, 272.

<sup>26</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. 57, 59.

<sup>27</sup> Tobiésen-Duby P.-A. Traité des monnoies des barons. T. I. Paris, 1790. P. 26–27.

<sup>28</sup> Rogeri de Wendover. Chronica sive flores historiarum / Nunc primus edidit Henricus O. Coxe M. A. Vol. 1. Londini, 1841. P. 502; Archon, l'abbé. Histoire de la Chapelle des rois de France. T. 2. Paris, 1711. P. 32.

<sup>29</sup> Du Peyrat G. Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour. Paris, 1645. P. 108.

<sup>30</sup> Branner R. The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the Thirteenth Century // Gesta. V. 10. № 1. 1971. P. 19; Perrichet L. La grande chancellerie de France, des origines à 1328. Thèse pour le doctorat. Paris, 1912. P. 54.

of the king's household: «*Capellanis ac clericis domesticis Regis et Reginae*»<sup>31</sup>.

The Royal Chapel in the eleventh century was not the ecclesiastical household of the King and Queen in the strict sense, because it included ecclesiastical persons responsible for organizing daily worship services and church ceremonies on the occasion of holidays in the various residences where the King and his family stayed (*Sanc-torum Collegium clericorum*)<sup>32</sup>. In general, there are the churches at castles and estates of the royal domain located in Paris, Senlis, Melun, Soissons, Etampes, etc.: it is known, the first Capetians did not have a fixed capital<sup>33</sup>.

We see that under the first Capetians, king's Chief chaplain, the *keeper of the palace*, traditionally also called the Apocrisiary, was the Archbishop of Rheims<sup>34</sup>. And, according the Carolingian tradition, this person was simultaneously the head of the royal chancellery. By the time of Anna Yaroslavna's arrival in France, the positions of Chancellor and Chief chaplain were held by different persons. Still king Robert II, in order to reduce the increased influence of the Archbishop of Rheims, committed both posts to court cleric Baldwin, a little-known person<sup>35</sup>. Nevertheless, Baldwin entered the history of France as a chancellor who served three kings. Apparently, as a young man, he entered the trust of Robert II (1015), who named him Apocrisiary (*Sacri Palatii Apocrisiarius*)<sup>36</sup>. Later, this title disappeared from the charters, and Baldwin signed the royal

<sup>31</sup> Theoria, et praxis Sacramentorum censurarum, monitorium, et irregularitatum auctore Gaspere Juvenin. T. III. Venetiis, 1672. P. 195.

<sup>32</sup> Helgaud de Fleury. Vie de Robert le Pieux / Éd. R.-H. Bautier et G. Labory. Paris, 1965. P. 68, 72, 86, 88; Du Peyrat G. Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour. P. 95.

<sup>33</sup> Guyotjeannin O. Résidences et palais des premiers Capétiens en Île-de-France // Vincennes, aux origines de l'État moderne / Éd. J. Chapelot et E. Lalou. Paris, 1996. P. 123–135.

<sup>34</sup> Hincmar de Reims. De ordini palatii / Éd. M. Prou. Paris, 1885. Ch. 32; Du Chesne F. Histoire des chanceliers et des gardes des sceaux de France. Paris, 1680. P. 144–155; Perrichet L. La grande chancellerie de France, des origines à 1328. P. 42–73.

<sup>35</sup> Boussard J. Les évêques en Neustrie avant la Réforme grégorienne (950–1050 environ) // Journal des savants. 1970. № 3. P. 161–196. Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. L–LIII.

<sup>36</sup> Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France. T. X. Paris, 1760. P. 597.



acts only as a Chancellor (*In Palatio Henrici regis cancellarius; Ego, Balduinus, cancellarius relegendo subscripsi*) or was mentioned in it as the Chief chaplain (*signum Balduini archicapellani*)<sup>37</sup>. In the late 1040s, however, the position of Chief chaplain was transferred by Henry I to the court cleric Adelard, which was likely due to the increased responsibilities of the Royal chancellery and the difficult relations with the papacy<sup>38</sup>. It is also probable that in this time Baldwin received the episcopacy of Noyon, which added to his duties<sup>39</sup>. In any case, since 1047 his name in the royal acts was no longer related to the position of the king's Chief chaplain.

There are thirteen acts published with the participation of Anna Yaroslavna and signed by Chancellor Baldwin<sup>40</sup>. Most of them are from the period of Philip I's minority. It is obvious that the Queen Mother had regency powers, although she shared it partly with the official regent, her son-in-law Count Baldwin V of Flanders<sup>41</sup>. It is highly likely that in the early 1060s Anna in many ways relied on the support of clergymen in the *Royal curia*. Baldwin constantly accompanied the Queen and her son on trips through the royal domain: the geography of the movements of the court, according to acts, was quite wide (Dreux-Paris-Senlis-Etampes-Rheims-Senlis-Paris-Soissons-Orleans-Melun-Paris). The acts of the young King, published with the participation of the Queen or with the signatures of Anna Yaroslavna, signed by chancellor Baldwin, are most-

<sup>37</sup> *Diplomata Henrici I, Francorum regis* // *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. T. XI. P. 566; Soehnée F. *Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier, roi de France*. № 76. P. 80; Guyotjeannin O. *Les actes d'Henri Ier et la chancellerie royale dans les années 1020–1060* // *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. 132<sup>e</sup> année. № 1, 1988. P. 81–97.

<sup>38</sup> Oroux E., l'abbé. *Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour de France*. T. I. Paris, 1777. P. 186; *Rituel du diocèse de Soissons*. T. I. Paris, 1753. P. XXXVII.

<sup>39</sup> Archon, l'abbé. *Histoire de la Chapelle des rois de France*. P. 32.

<sup>40</sup> *Diplomata Henrici I, Francorum regis*. № XXXV. P. 604; *Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien* / Éd. J. Depoin. T. I. Paris, 1912. P. 14–18, 27–28; *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108)*. № 4. P. 13–15; № 5. P. 15–17; № 9. P. 28–30; № 10. P. 30–31; № 11. P. 32–34; № 12. P. 34–37; № 13. P. 38–41; № 18. P. 51–54; № 32. P. 97–99; № 36. P. 105–107.

<sup>41</sup> Ward E. J. *Anne of Kiev (c.1024 – c. 1075) and a reassessment of maternal power in the minority kingship of Philip I of France* // *Historical Research*. Vol. 89. № 245 (August 2016). P. 435–453.

ly the provision and confirmation of various privileges and immunities to the monasteries and churches of the King's domain.

For example, on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1061, «with the advice of our beloved mother Anna», King confirms the gift to the Church of St. Nicaise in Rheims the manor of Oudilcourt with all revenues<sup>42</sup>. In the same year in Paris, in his charter written «with the participation and at the request of Anna, the Honourable Queen and our mother», the king guarantees the inviolability of the former royal gifts to the Church of the Virgin Mary in Poissy<sup>43</sup>. In 1065 in Orleans, Philip I, «with the approval of my mother Anna and Count Baldwin» (of Flanders), also confirms the right of St. Martin's Monastery in Paris to the altars of the church in Janville and the church in Neuvy-en-Beauce, etc.<sup>44</sup>

In 1059, shortly before his death, Henry I decided to crown his son Philip I, making him a co-ruler, like his predecessors, father and grandfather. For this political action, it was necessary to secure the support of Archbishop Gervais of Reims, the most influential prelate in France. On this occasion the honorary position of Archchancellor was specially restored: it is possible that Gervais himself insisted on this, because he was famous as a supporter of strengthening church influence and considered himself a mediator in relations between the King and the Pope<sup>45</sup>. However, according to the royal acts Chancellor Baldwin continued to perform his duties and in fact headed the royal chancellery until his death in 1067. Moreover, some church authors note that in 1060 Baldwin was reinstated as the king-boy's Chief chaplain<sup>46</sup>. The intervention of Anna Yaroslavna in the reappointment of Baldwin could be very likely.

<sup>42</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). № 10. P. 30–31.

<sup>43</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). № 12. P. 34–37.

<sup>44</sup> Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien. P. 27–28.

<sup>45</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). P. XLIX–L; Ott J. S. Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050–1150. P. 159–196.

<sup>46</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108). № 130. P. 120–123; см. также: Pécheur L.-V., l'abbé. Annales du diocèse de Soissons. T. II. Soissons, 1868. P. 67; Clavel de Saint-Geniez, le chanoine. Histoire chrétienne des diocèses de France. T. I. Paris, 1855. P. 487.

With the death of Archbishop Gervais in the same year 1067, the position of Archchancellor in France was abolished forever: King Philip I began to rule independently and decided not to restore it for political reasons. According to the witness signatures in the acts of Henry I and Philip I, mentioning Anna's name, it is possible to learn the names of royal chaplains: Ansculf (*S.[Ans]culfi capellani*), Giszelin (*S. Guiszelini capellani*)<sup>47</sup>, Richard (*Signum Ricardi capellani*)<sup>48</sup>. In four acts 1060, the court chaplain Eustache is listed as vice-chancellor, deputy Baldwin (*Eustachius regis capellanus vice Balduini cancellarii regis subscripsit*)<sup>49</sup>. In another charter we see another name of vice-chancellor, Gotfried (*Eustachius et Gostfridus capellani interfuerunt*)<sup>50</sup>. Thus, there was still a close organizational connection, coming from the Carolingians, between two different functional parts of the King's household — the Chancellery and the Chapel, in which the same ecclesiastical persons combined the positions responsible for the public administration and spiritual life of the court<sup>51</sup>.

It is difficult to understand whether one of them simultaneously was a priest of the Queen of France: there is no direct evidence. The Senlis act of Philip I of 1060 in favor of the monastery of St. Lucian, after the signature of Anna and other witnesses, there is also signature of Gozbert, cleric (*S. Gozberti clerici*)<sup>52</sup>. Senlis was a city closely associated with the name of Anna Yaroslavna: between 1065 and 1069 she established there a monastery in commemoration of her husband, and consecrated it to saint Vincent. Therefore, it is possible that Gozbert or other Senlis clerics were the priests of her entourage<sup>53</sup>.

French historians have recently noticed that chaplains of the court of Capetians eventually promoted by the kings to the posts

<sup>47</sup> Boussard J. Actes royaux et pontificaux des X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles du chartrier de Saint-Maur des Fossés // Journal des savants. Année 1972. № 2. P. 105–106.

<sup>48</sup> Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien. P. 14–18.

<sup>49</sup> Recueil de chartes et documents de Saint-Martin-des-Champs, monastère parisien. P. 14–18.

<sup>50</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, roi de France (1060–1108). № 5. P. 15–17, 47–49, 97–99, 120–123.

<sup>51</sup> Perrichet L. La grande chancellerie de France, des origines à 1328. P. 42, etc.

<sup>52</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, roi de France (1060–1108). № 5. P. 15–17.

<sup>53</sup> Recueil des actes de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>, roi de France (1060–1108). № 130. P. 329–331; Ott J. S. Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c. 1050–1150. P. 36.

of abbots of royal monasteries or to episcopal places and thus expanded the sphere of royal influence<sup>54</sup>. The ecclesiastical career of Chancellor Baldwin and court chaplain Adelard confirms this suggestion. We know the examples where Queen Anna continued this practice. The abbot of the royal monastery of Tournus in Burgundy, Wilhelm, also a former royal chaplain, during the coronation celebrations in 1059, as a special favor, received from the king the right to sign the royal act instead of Chancellor Baldwin, published «for the sake of saving my soul, and [the soul] my wife Anna, and our son, King Philip» (pro salute anime mee, conjugisque mee Anne, filiique nostri Philippi Regis), in the presence of Henry I and Anna Yaroslavna (Scriptum manu Guilhelmi ad vicem Balduini regii cancellarii)<sup>55</sup>.

It is possible with the Queen's influence, the abbey has obtained the considerable privileges: the right to mint its own coin; the right to hold fair days on the holidays of St. Peter and Paul, on the Blessed Virgin's birthday, on day of St. Martin; the right of monks to elect an abbot (with the King 's consent); exemption from land and river taxes and fees.

In sum our conclusion is: Queen Anna made the decisions in consent with the policies of Henry I and his predecessors, contributed to the further strengthening of ecclesiastical influence at court, and in particular the influence of bishops in the *Royal curia*.

All actions of the Queen Mother in 1060s continued the church policy of the Capetians, aimed the consolidating of alliance with the church to oppose to the hostile feudal clans, first of all Norman and Burgundian, as well as the influence of the Pope and Gregorian reform, for the sake of preserving the throne to her son. We can argue that Anna Yaroslavna facilitated the nomination of royal clerics to abbots and bishops, listen the advice of bishops, and used their influence during the period of Philip I's minority to strengthen the dynasty's position, in exchange for granting them military protection, patronage, privileges and immunities.

<sup>54</sup> Barthèlemy D. La chevalerie: de la Germanie antique à la France du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris, 2007.

<sup>55</sup> Diplomata Henrici I, Francorum regis. № XXXIII. P. 600–602; Juenin P., chanoin. Nouvelle histoire de l'abbaye royale et collegiale de Saint-Filibert, et de la ville de Tournus. Dijon, 1733. P. 94–97.

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