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THE MARKS IN THE MARGINS OF THE GREEK-LATIN PSALTER AND THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN EMPRESS ADELHEID AND COUNTESS MATILDA OF TUSCANY

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The messages encoded in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I), which is preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona, will be published, described and analyzed in this article. The encoded messages are composed of the words and verses in Latin from selected Psalms, marked in the margins of the Psalter. The textual analysis shows that the sender of Message I requests help; its recipient, the sender of Message II, provides the answer with the instructions. The narrative of the messages resembles the course of events in life of Empress Adelheid, wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich IV, daughter of Vsevolod, King of the Rus'. Imprisoned by her husband, she secretly sought the help of Countess Matilda of Tuscany (also known as Matilda of Canossa), aiming to escape.

The messages encoded in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter can provide additional nuances to the records in the few concurrent sources (Donizone, Bernold of Constance) about the rescue of the Empress, which was organized by Countess Matilda of Tuscany and conducted by the group led by her husband, Duke Welf V of Bavaria. Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda of Tuscany might have exchanged important information encoded with the help of marks in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter. Choice of the Psalter as the means of communication contributed to the successful rescue of the Empress, given Adelheid's dramatic situation and the ongoing hostilities between Emperor Heinrich IV and Countess Matilda of Tuscany. The circumstances of Adelheid's rescue have not been a subject of a philological and historical research yet. The article presents the results of the textual analysis of the encoded messages and their interpretation in the context of communication between Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda of Tuscany as well as the reconstruction of the rescue of the Empress based on the records in the primary sources.

Key-words: *Empress Adelheid, Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Heinrich IV, textual analysis, the Greek-Latin Psalter, marks in the margins*

Радван Д. В. Позначки на полях Грецько-Латинського Псалтиря і таємне листування імператриці Адельгейди з графинєю Матильдою Тосканською.

У статті буде опубліковано, описано і проаналізовано повідомлення, заховані на полях Грецько-Латинського Псалтиря (Ver. I), який належить Бібліотеці Капітоляре у Вероні (Італія). Заховані повідомлення складаються зі слів і словосполучень, позначених на полях латинськомовних псалмів Псалтиря за

допомогою позначок. На підставі текстуального аналізу згаданих повідомлень з'ясовано, що відправник Повідомлення I просить про допомогу, а отримувач цього повідомлення, відправник Повідомлення II, надсилає відповідь з інструкціями про її надання. Наратив повідомлень нагадує події з життя імператриці Адельгейди (Євпраксії Всеволодівни), дружини імператора Священної Римської імперії Генріха IV. Перебуваючи під суворою охороною, імператриця Адельгейда таємно звернулася за допомогою до графині Матильди Тосканської, відомої також як Матильда з Каносси, оскільки прагнула втекти з ув'язнення.

Обставини порятунку імператриці Адельгейди досі залишалися малодослідженими як у філологічних, так і в історичних студіях. Закодовані у Грецько-Римському Псалтирі повідомлення надають додаткову інформацію, яка доповнює нечисленні тогочасні записи хроністів (Доніцоне, Бернольда з Констанци) про порятунок імператриці, який організувала графиня Матильда Тосканська, і який здійснив загін під проводом її чоловіка, герцога Вельфа V Баварського. Перед визволенням імператриця Адельгейда і графиня Матильда Тосканська обмінялися важливою інформацією, ймовірно, закодованою за допомогою позначок на полях Грецько-Латинського Псалтиря. Давній манускрипт міг потрапити у поле зору імператриці київського походження через те, що в ньому були записані псалми грецькою мовою. З огляду на драматичну ситуацію, в якій перебувала імператриця Адельгейда, і зважаючи на війну між імператором Генріхом IV і графинєю Матильдою Тосканською, вибір Псалтиря як засобу комунікації мав велике значення для успішного визволення імператриці. У статті представлено результати текстуального аналізу закодованих повідомлень і їх інтерпретацію у контексті історичних подій, пов'язаних із визволенням імператриці Адельгейди, а також запропоновано дослідження і реконструкцію обставин її визволення на основі аналізу свідчень історичних періоджерел.

Ключові слова: імператриця Адельгейда, графиня Матильда Тосканська, Генріх IV, текстуальний аналіз, Грецько-Латинський Псалтир, позначки на полях

Introduction.

The Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona possesses a Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I), a bilingual manuscript written in the 5th- 6th centuries. When consulting the manuscript, I noticed that it contained a set of marks, namely vertical lines and crosses drawn along the left margins of the folios in front of words and verses of Psalms in Latin. These marks were drawn, most likely, by the readers, with grey ink, while Psalms were written with brown-ochre ink.

The textual analysis of the text of Psalms, graphically highlighted by these marks, led me to the suggestion that the selection of the text was not random, because they marked out two connected messages. The marks might have been drawn with the aim to convey a request for help and an answer to the request with the instructions on how the help will be provided.

The texts of the encoded messages in Latin from the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I) are published in this article. The article presents the results of the textual analysis of the encoded messages. The marks in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter served as a key to decode the messages.

This is the first study containing description and analysis of the encoded messages from the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I) in the context of the events that took place in the early 1090s, when the secret correspondence in the margins of the Psalter was the safest way to convey information. The research analyzes record about the loan of the Greek-Latin Psalter from the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona to Caprino Veronese in the second half of the 11th century and traces the itinerary of Empress Adelheid in the early 1090s in the Verona contado according to the extant concurrent primary sources. The mapping suggests that the Empress could read the Greek-Latin Psalter in Caprino Veronese.

The circumstances of Empress Adelheid's rescue have not been a subject of a philological and historical research yet. This article introduces and describes marks on the margins as a cryptic code and focuses on complementing the scenario of Empress Adelheid's rescue based on the records in the primary historical sources with details reconstructed from the said notes. The paper highlights the possible role of the marks' author as the "designer" of the respective scenario.

Methodological notes

The words and the verses from Psalms in Latin, marked by the vertical lines and the crosses drawn in front of them along the left margins of the recto folios of the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I) were collected for the research. They were synthesized in a text marked by the vertical lines (hereafter Message I) and a text marked by the crosses (hereafter Message II) in Table 1 and in Table 2 respectively with the aim to analyze and decipher messages encoded in them. The textual, contextual and comparative analysis is used in this research.

To render the meaning of the messages in English, the translation of the respective words and verses from Latin into English is given in Table 1 and Table 2. The English translation of Psalms, made by Ronald L. Conte Jr. from the Clementine Vulgate Bible and published in *The Book of Psalms* together with the Latin original (The Catholic Public Domain Version of the Sacred Bible (CPDV)), was used for this purpose. My translations and comments are provided when the Latin words in the Greek-Latin Psalter differ from those in the Clementine Vulgate used in *The Book of Psalms*. The numbering of Psalms in the Greek-Latin Psalter is the same as the numbering in *The Book of Psalms*. Since the verses in the Greek-Latin Psalter are not numbered, the numbers of the verses are provided at the beginning of each line in accordance with *The Book of Psalms* for reference

purposes. The number of the folio in the Greek-Latin Psalter is given at the beginning. The unusual shape or placement of marks is commented.

Results and discussion

Message I (the request for help) is composed of the vertical lines drawn in front of the words and the verses from Psalms 17 and 21.

Table 1. Message I.

Number of folio and verse	Words and verses in Latin from the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I)	Translation into English [Translations marked as * are mine – D.R.]	Comments
Folio 33r			
17:3	<i>salutis meae</i>	my salvation	
17:3	<i>et redemptor meus</i>	and my redeemer *	In the Greek-Latin Psalter: 'redemptor', in The Book of Psalms: 'susceptor' (support).
17:7	<i>et ad Deum meum clamavi</i>	and I cried out to my God	
Folio 34r			
17:8	<i>Quoniam iratus est eis</i>	because he was angry with them	
17:12	<i>tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris</i>	dark waters in the clouds of the air	
17:14	<i>et Altissimus dedit vocem suam</i>	and the Most High uttered his voice	
17:15	<i>et misit sagittas</i>	and he sent forth (...) arrows	
Folio 35r			
17:18	<i>qua confortati sunt</i>	for they had been too strong	
	<i>super me</i>	for me	
Folio 36r			
17:21	<i>retribuet mihi</i>	will reward me	
17:24	<i>et observabo (me) ab iniquitate mea</i>	and I will keep myself from my iniquity	
17:25	<i>in conspectu oculorum eius</i>	before his eyes	
Folio 37r			
17:29	<i>tenebras meas</i>	my darkness	
17:31	<i>sperantium in se</i>	who hope in him	
Folio 38r			
17:37	<i>iustitia mea</i>	my justice *	In the Greek-Latin Psalter: 'iustitia', in The Book of Psalms: 'vestigia' (tracks)

Folio 46r			
21:3	<i>non exaudies</i>	will not heed	
	<i>et nocte, et non</i>	and by night, and not	
Folio 47r	<i>et dispersa sunt</i>	have been scattered.	

Message II (the answer to the request with the instructions on how the help will be provided) is composed of the crosses drawn in front of the words and the verses from Psalms 17, 18, 33, 36, 44, 46, 67, 79, 97, 103, 105, 113, and 149.

Table 2. Message II.

Number of folio and verse	Words and verses in Latin from the Greek-Latin Psalter (Ver. I)	Translation into English [Translations marked as * are mine – D.R.]	Comments
Folio 34r			
17:11	Et ascendit super cherubim	and he ascended upon the cherubim	
Folio 36r			
17:28	quoniam tu populum	for you (...) the people	
Folio 39r			
17:41	me disperdidisti	scattered me *	In The Book of Psalms, this is a fragment of the line: "have destroyed those who hated me."
Folio 40r			
18:2	Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei	The heavens describe the glory of God	
	<i>A cross is drawn between these two lines.</i>		
	et opera manuum eius	and the work of his hands	
Folio 75r			
33:8	Immittet angelus Domini	The Angel of the Lord will encamp	
Folio 76r			
33:19	Iuxta est Dominus iis, qui	The Lord is near to those who	
Folio 84r			
36:3	Spera in Domino, et fac bonitatem	Hope in the Lord and do good	
Folio 108r			
44:2	Eructavit cor meum	My heart has uttered	
Folio 112r			
	<i>A cross, which resembles a signature, is drawn in front of the following lines:</i>		
46:2	manibus	hands	
	iubilare Deo in voce	Shout joyfully to God with a voice.	

Folio 165r			
67:35	super Israel	beyond Israel	
Folio 210r			
79:4	Deus converte nos: et in lumina	Convert us, O God. And light in *	In the Greek-Latin Psalter: 'in lumina', in The Book of Psalms: 'ostende' (reveal)
Folio 233r			
97:2	Notum fecit Dominus	The Lord has made known	
Folio 241r			
103:15	lætificet cor	to cheer the heart	
Folio 246r			
105:4	et visita nos in salutari tuo	and visit us with your salvation	In the Greek-Latin Psalter: 'et visita', in The Book of Psalms: 'visita'.
Folio 300r			
113:4	Montes exultaverunt ut arietes	The mountains exulted like rams	
Folio 371r			
149:3	in tympano, et psalterio	with the timbrel and the psaltery	

A bilingual psalter is mentioned in a list of six books, lent by the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona to the readers from the city of Verona and from the Verona contado (the list is in the collection of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona (Verona LVIII (61), folio 98), in an entry number 2: "Clerici de Caprino <h>abent <p>salterium sancti Hieronimi" (Gorman, 2002, p. 321) (transcription by Carlo Giuliani, edited by Michael M. Gorman). According to Armando Petrucci, the list was composed in the second half of the 11th century (Gorman, 2002, p. 320). The commented translation of the line into English by M. Gorman reads: "The priests at Caprino Veronese [about 8 km northeast of Garda on Lake Garda and about 25 km northwest of Verona] have a Psalter in St Jerome's Vulgate translation" (Gorman, 2002, p. 321). According to M. Gorman (2002), the Psalter could be the Greek-Latin Psalter from the collection of the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona (Ver. I). He noted that it was "not easy to imagine how such a book could be useful to the priests in the remote village of Caprino Veronese" (Gorman, 2002, p. 322) and left the question without an answer.

The marks in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter may be linked to the record about its loan from the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona to Caprino Veronese in the second half of the 11th century.

Who could read the Greek-Latin Psalter in Caprino Veronese in the second half of the 11th century? A parish church with a chapel in Caprino Veronese was located in the diocese of Verona, and its priests were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Verona, according to information available for the 12th century (Rossini, 1975, pp. 56–57). The earliest mention of the church of Santa Maria (now Santa Maria Maggiore) in Caprino Veronese is dated to the year 810. A ‘minor’ school where pupils were taught to write, read and calculate, and a ‘major’ school or ‘schola sacerdotum’ for future priests were established in the church at the beginning of the 9th century (Chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, n.d.).

The bishopric seat was located in Verona in the Cathedral of Santa Maria Matricolare within the complex of the Chapter of Canons with its Biblioteca Capitolare and the ancient scriptorium. Sigebodo (Sigimboldo), the Bishop of Verona from 1080 to 1094, was known as a promoter of education (Sigebodo, n.d.), which can explain the loan of the Psalter to the church in the diocese.

Another powerful ecclesiastical and intellectual centre was the Monastery of San Zeno, situated then outside Verona. The Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich IV (1056–1106) made several donations to the monastery and issued the diploma confirming its property. One diploma was issued in the Basilica of San Zeno on 10 April 1090 when he and his wife, Empress Adelheid (Evpraksia) (d. 1109), daughter of King of the Rus’ Vsevolod, arrived in Verona accompanied by the court (Die Urkunden, 1959, Doc. 413, p. 549–551). Countess Matilda of Tuscany, also known as Matilda of Canossa (1046–1115), together with her mother Countess Beatrice, made significant donations to the Monastery of San Zeno in 1073 (Goez E. & Goez W., 1998, Doc. 8, p. 52-54). The charter of 1084 mentions Matilda as the patroness of the Monastery’s rebuilding.

At the beginning of the 11th century, a group of monks from the monastery of San Zeno settled as hermits on Mount Baldo near Caprino Veronese. In 1087, a new road to Caprino is mentioned in a document issued by the Abbot of San Zeno (Atti abbaziali), which implies that the monastery maintained contact with the hermits. In the 13th century, the congregation on Mount Baldo developed into a monastery with a chapel dedicated to Santa Maria of Montebaldo. Since 1522, this place has been known as the Sanctuary of Madonna della Corona, named for the shape of the surrounding mountains, which resemble a crown. The Sanctuary, which is still a famous pilgrimage site, was built on a rock at 774 meters above sea level; the monks’ cells were carved into the rock. The Sanctuary overlooks the valley of the Adige River (Santuario, n.d.).

Empress Adelheid stayed in Verona for several years with the imperial court. The concurrent German sources inform that she spent a considerable period in imprisonment by the Emperor's order and endured unheard-of suffering (Bernoldi Chronicon, 1844, p. 457). Neither of the extant concurrent Italian and German sources mentions a place of her imprisonment. The chroniclers recorded the periods when Bertha, the late first wife of the Emperor, was absent from the court, dwelling temporarily in the monasteries while Heinrich participated in military campaigns; thus, information about the whereabouts of the Emperor's spouse circulated and was recorded. We can therefore presume that either the imperial court was unaware of Empress Adelheid's isolation in Verona, or it was silenced. Adelheid found a way to break the silence and secretly sent a message to Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Heinrich's closest kinswoman in Italy, who became his most powerful adversary when he invaded her lands in spring 1090.

What do we know about the liberation of Adelheid? Donizone, a monk from the circle of the intellectuals, established at Matilda's court, and her faithful adherent, wrote in 1113 – 1115 a poem "*Vita Mathildis celeberrimae principis Italiae*" about the Canossa family and the life of Countess Matilda. He was a witness or a participant in some of the events described in the poem. In Chapter VIII "*De separatione Praxedis reginae ab Heinrico rege et de adventu papae Urbani in Langobardiam*" in the Second Book of "*Vita Mathildis*" (Donizone, 1930–1940, pp. 81), he wrote that Adelheid (Praxedis) fears her husband as the lamb fears a wolf's tooth. She secretly tries to contact Matilda in the hope that Matilda will rescue her ("*Ast de regina Praxede tamen metra dicant: Sic timet ipsa virum, dentem velut agna lupinum, Cumque timore tremit, furtim munimina quaerit Mathildis, poscens ut eam disiungat ab hoste*" (Donizone, 1930–1940, p. 80). Matilda sent to Verona a group, led, as Bernold of Constance informed, by her husband, Duke Welf V of Bavaria (Bernoldi Chronicon, 1844, p. 457). Donizone wrote that Adelheid came privately and was carried away; her guards made noise but let her depart without a fight (Donizone, 1930–1940, p. 80).

The contextual analysis of the events provides more details. In view of the ongoing war between Heinrich IV and Matilda, the encampment of a military unit in Verona, then the temporal capital of the Roman Empire, would have been a dangerous operation. Adelheid recalled that she was strictly guarded, and it was impossible to escape (Bernoldi Chronicon, 1844, p. 457). The manoeuvres of the armed group of strangers, amplified by the noises of the imperial guards, would hardly have remained unnoticed.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg made a mention about Adelheid's itinerary. For secret reasons, being pregnant, she refused to embark on a trip from the Cisalpine (northern Italy) to Lombardy, planned by the Emperor. Still, she eventually departed when the bishops persuaded her (Gerhohi Praepositi, 1897, p. 324).

Her escape might have been organised during this trip. The suggestion that Adelheid secretly contacted Matilda with the help of the encoded message composed of selected words and verses marked in the margins of the Greek-Latin Psalter with the vertical lines, and that she received Matilda's encoded answer in the same book, can be supported by concurrent records. It can also provide additional facts to the reconstruction of Adelheid's rescue. Adelheid was brought up in a family with strong Greek connections (her father, Vsevolod, was married in his first marriage to a relative of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos) and spoke Greek. Her interest in the Greek-Latin Psalter was obvious.

The culture of psalmody was popular at Heinrich VI's court. He himself sang Psalms; his chancellors included the quotes from Psalms in the diploma issued in the early 1090s. In 1092, Adelheid famously wrote to the head of the pro-Heinrican church (antipope Clement III) and asked for, and was granted permission to psalmody in whatever place available (Annales Palidenses, 1859, p. 37).

The context behind Message I can be understood from Psalm 17 "Diligam te, Domine," in which King David stressed that the strongest enemies could not force him to change his conduct, and that he had not behaved impiously before God. In Psalm 21 "Deus, Deus meus" King David cries to the Lord for rescue from the enemies, who tortured and humiliated him, and whom David compared to the mouth of a lion, seizing and roaring. David is alone, and he asks the Lord to be attentive to his defence; he praises God and his church and wishes to pay his vows in the sight of those who fear God (21:26).

Message II also begins with the verses from Psalm 17: the Lord flew to rescue King David. The selection of Psalms 18, 33, and 44 shows an attempt to console and support a person who hopes only in the Lord in a desperate situation. The glorification of God and his law (Psalm 18 "Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei") is followed by a reminder that God will rescue those who seek him (Psalm 33 "Benedictam dominum"), and a description of moral virtues (Psalm 44 "Eructavit cor meum"), which should provide inner strength to the person who would read the verses.

Information about the sender of Message II can be found encoded in the verses of the psalm. The verses from Psalm 36 "Noli aemulari" (36:3 "Spera in Domino, et fac bonitatem" (Hope in the Lord and do good)) can be interpreted as a direct allusion to Bonifacio, the father of Matilda of Tuscany, and to Matilda herself. Matilda's father, Bonifacio, was killed in 1052, when she was 6 years old. The Canossa family was famous for its good deeds and support for the Church; the verses "spera in Domino, et fac bonitatem" highlighted the family's credo. The cross resembling Matilda's signature on the charters is drawn in the margins of Psalm 46 "Omnes gentes plaudit" in front of the words "manibus: / iubilare Deo in voce".

The following selection of Psalms provides information about preparation for the escape. Psalm 67 "Exurgat Deus" continues the theme of Psalm 17 about the intervention of God, who will reveal his face, revive the deserted vineyard and repair the damage (Psalm 79 "Qui regis Israel").

The call to sing songs to the Lord who performs wonders, to sing psalms with music (Psalm 97 "Cantate Domino"), take delight in the world that he created (Psalm 103 "Benedic anima"), and reflect on his numerous interventions in the course of events when he humbled the enemies (Psalm 105 "Confitemini Domino") can be read as the encouragement to focus attention on the changing world outside. Finally, in Psalm 113 "In exitu Israel" about the departure from Egypt, the sender mentions the mountains ("Montes exultaverunt ut arietes" – "Mountings exulted like rams" 113:4), which can be seen as a reference to Caprino Veronese ('aries' in Latin – a ram, 'capra' in Latin – a goat) or the mountains in its neighbourhood. Gebhard's information about the planned trip from the Cisalpine to Lombardy, on which Adelheid embarked, provides additional argument supporting the suggestion that the escape was organised in the mountains.

In Psalm 149 "Cantate Domino," a song of triumph over enemies, the motive of the loud music and the loud noise reappears. The musical instruments from the verse 149:3, "in tympano, et psalterio" ("with the timbrel and the psaltery"), are marked with the cross in the margins of the Psalter, yet another detail is not marked: "the exultations of God will be in their throat, and two-edged swords will be in their hands" (149:6).

Donizone's record that Adelheid escaped amid noise made by the guards (Donizone, 1930-1940, 80) finds confirmation in the lines from the Psalter: the noise was produced with the musical instruments, hence reference to the tympanum

(timbrel) and the psaltery (an instrument with strings stretched across a flat soundboard).

The priests who taught at the 'schola sacerdotum' in Caprino may have loaned the Greek-Latin Psalter from the Biblioteca Capitolare for educational purposes. The Empress might have had the occasion to read the book during her temporal stay in Caprino or in the monastery of the hermits of San Zeno on Mount Baldo. She described in her message the view of the dark clouds in the sky, which could be observed from the cell in the steep rock. The rescue took place on a feast day, celebrated with processions singing psalms and performing loud music. The monks who guarded Adelheid in a monastery, could neither resist the procession that consisted of the armed men led by Duke Welf nor fight them, and the noise was the only means available to express their reaction.

In September-October 1092, Countess Matilda gathered nobility and clergy in the fortress of Carpineta to discuss the prospects of peace with the Emperor. Heinrich IV, who was then winning the war, suddenly abandoned a siege of Monteveglio. Meanwhile, the assembly at Carpineta rejected the idea of peace after Abbot Johannes' inspirational speech, calling for combating evil for the sake of the Lord. Adelheid's rescue could have been organised in a period of negotiations at Carpineta. Welf V might have escorted Adelheid to the fortress of Nogara, which belonged to Mathilda and, according to Luigi Simeoni, served as a base for the operation (Donizone, 1930-1940, p. 190). Matilda received the Empress in one of her strongholds (Donizone, 1930-1940, p. 80). In October 1092, Heinrich IV suddenly appeared with his army in the surroundings of the fortress of Canossa, probably in an attempt to find his wife, but he was forced to retreat. News on Empress Adelheid taking the side of Countess Matilda announced the defeat of the Emperor as convincingly as the loss of the imperial banner at the battle of Bianello in October 1092. At the Bishopric Council of Constance in April 1094 and the Papal Council of Piacenza in March 1095, Heinrich IV was condemned and excommunicated.

Conclusions

The textual analysis of the encoded messages shows similarity between their narrative and the story told by Donizone in "Vita Mathildis" about the secret correspondence between Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda of Tuscany, preceding the rescue of the Empress. The contextual analysis of records about the course of events made by Donizone in "Vita Mathildis", Bernard of Constance in

Chronicon, Gerhoh of Reichersberg in Liber I of De investigatione antichristi and Theodor the Monk in Annales Palidenses and information about the loan of the Greek-Latin Psalter from the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona to Caprino Veronese in the second half of the 11th century allows us to reconstruct circumstances of the rescue of the Empress and to propose that the Greek-Latin Psalter was used as a means of communication between Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda of Tuscany, the authors of the encoded messages.

The physical copy of the Greek-Latin Psalter appears to have provided the "operational space" in which Empress Adelheid's rescue was modeled via cryptically encoded messages. The primary (descriptive) analysis of the "code-ons" allows ascribing authorship to Empress Adelheid and Countess Matilda of Tuscany.

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