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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF COUNTESS GERBERGA
OF THE ANGEVINS: AN ESSAY IN THE APPLICATION OF THE
TELLENBACH-WERNER PROSOPOGRAPHICAL METHOD

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Despite a substantial amount of research by good scholars on the early genealogies of the Angevin counts, no effort has been made to identify the family background of Countess Gerberga, the wife of Fulk the Good who ruled from ca. 942-60.¹ This is especially curious in light of the widely recognized pattern of using "careful marriage," to quote Sir Richard Southern, as one vital technique among several that were traditionally employed by the Angevin counts during the tenth and early eleventh centuries in order to improve their political position.² Yet, even a cursory examination of the evidence concerning Gerberga is discouraging. We are certain of but a few facts.

Gerberga married Fulk the Good no later than ca. 940, i.e., before he became count, and probably about five years earlier. Both Gerberga's daughter Adelaide and her elder son Geoffrey Greymantle were born by ca. 940.³ Her second son Guy--and we know of only three offspring--was born sometime before 945 and perhaps even in the later 930s.⁴ By 952, at the latest, Gerberga was dead.⁵ With these few facts, it would seem impossible to get very far into Gerberga's background. However, the prosopographical techniques pioneered by Tellenbach and pursued with great success, particularly for *Francia Occidentalis*, by Karl Ferdinand Werner have provided an approach where earlier little or no hope of a breakthrough may have existed.⁶

Among the insights that the intensive study of a large number of aristocratic families from the Carolingian period as well as from the tenth and eleventh centuries has provided are indications of marriage patterns. To state the matter briefly, marriages tended to be contracted among those who essentially were social equals. The families are usually seen to share, either prior to the marriage or as a result of the union, common political interests. Finally, as a corollary of the last point, brides and grooms were usually sought, by parents or guardians, from among families with which they were already acquainted.⁷

If we follow the broad guidelines that have been noted above, it is likely that Fulk the Red, Fulk the Good's father who was Angevin count when the marriage was arranged, sought a spouse for his son from one of the important families with which the Fulconian clan was involved politically. Fulk the Red, during his lengthy career, was at one time or another viscount of Angers, viscount of Tours, and count of Nantes before regularizing his position as count of the Angevins.⁸ However, an examination of the *Namengüter* of the comital, viscomital, and episcopal clans in the Nantais, Touraine, and Anjou with which Fulk the Red was allied or with which the Fulconians had friendly relations has proved to be very disappointing. Gerberga is not found as a *Leitname* in any of the eligible families.⁹

It should be taken as basic that were Gerberga very closely related either to the Carolingian rulers or to the Capetians her origins would not have been ignored by contemporaries and near contemporaries. In this context it may be emphasized that the origins of Fulk the Red's wife, Roscilla, a not-so-distant cousin of Irmentrude, Charles the Bald's queen, has been recoverable from the genealogical evidence.¹⁰ The royal origins of Fulk Nerra's second wife, Hildegarde, did not go unnoticed by contemporaries who described her as "a Lothariensium partibus, de regali progenie ortam. . . ."¹¹

The point to be made here is that the Franks, at least from the time that they settled within the

confines of the Roman empire, reckoned their lineage cognatically, i.e., they took into very careful consideration descent from both the matrilineage and the patrilineage.¹² This is clearly demonstrated by the names that were incorporated into the *Namengut* of each newly created nuclear family and the choice by these new entities of *Leitnamen*.¹³ In addition, it may be emphasized that as late as the mid-twelfth century, historians reconstructed, often from very obscure sources and with a sharp eye for accuracy, though not exclusive of propaganda, the genealogical relationships of their subjects' distant ancestors of both the patrilineage and the matrilineage.¹⁴

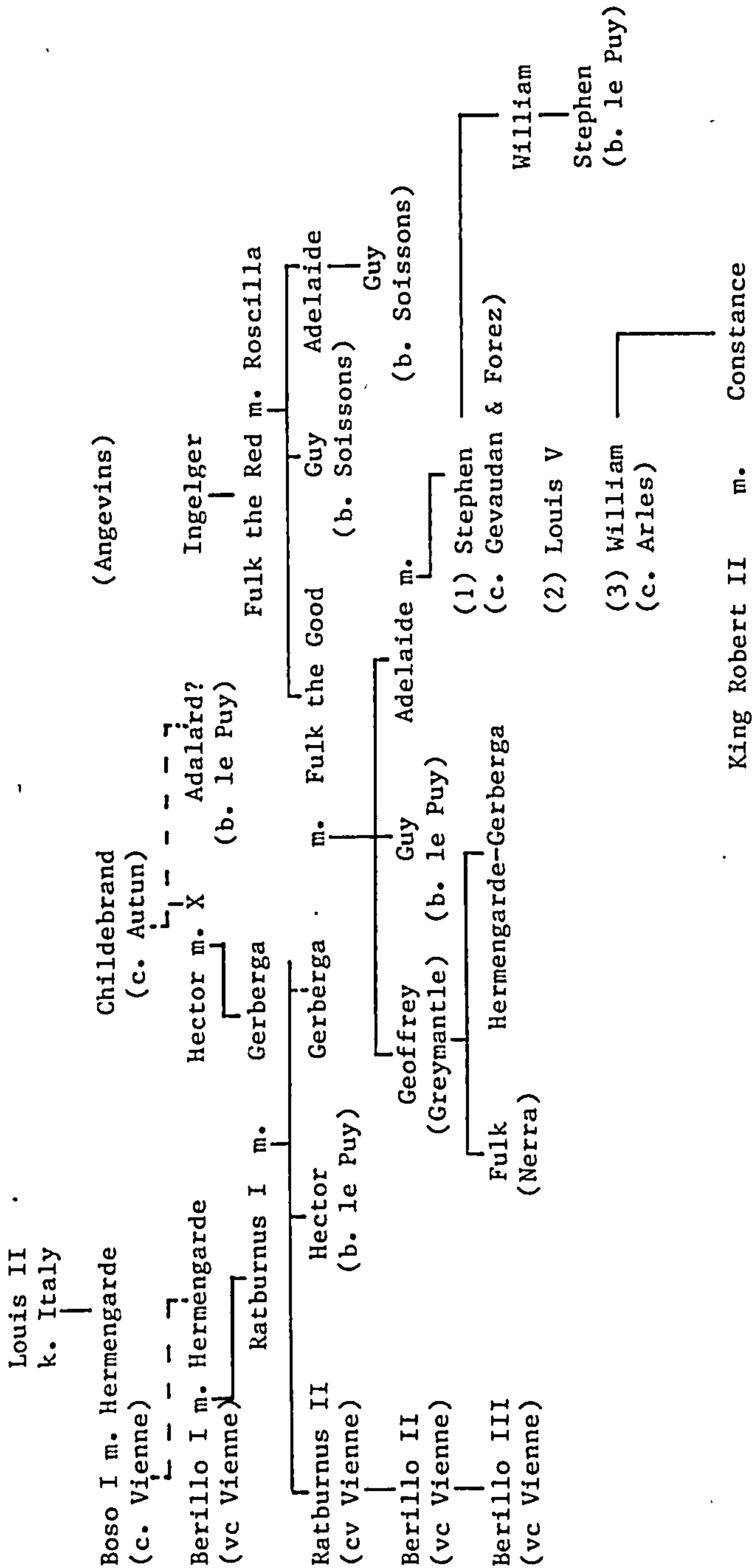
As part of the process of assessing the potential families from which Fulk the Good's bride might have been selected, it was necessary to take into consideration blood relationships, marriage ties in earlier generations, and god-parenting arrangements. These were all severely limiting factors because the church defined seven degrees of relationship in canon law as creating the basis for an incestuous liason. Indeed, even in what has been called by scholars the "aristocratic model," where the nobility appears to have permitted political considerations to determine its behavior, marriages involving the third degree and closer were generally avoided. When such marriages did take place, one's enemies did not hesitate to take advantage of the "incest" that had occurred. The "scandal" was bruited about in the chronicles, and complaints were registered to and often by the ecclesiastical authorities. This was especially the case when the offenders were well-known personages.¹⁵ Since neither Fulk the Good's sobriquet nor his reputation was attacked for "incest" by the family's detractors, it is likely that he did not marry within the forbidden degree and certainly not within the third degree.¹⁶

Since we have exhausted the possibilities presented by families with which the Angevin counts were friendly and which dwelt in the middle and lower stretches of the Loire valley, only one area of known Fulconian interest in this period remains to be explored, i.e., the general region of Cluny to which

Fulk the Red was connected by his close personal relationship with Abbot Odo. Fulk was Odo's patron while the latter was at Saint Martin of Tours, where the count was treasurer and his sons, Fulk and Guy, were canons.¹⁷ We are not very well informed about early Angevin activity in the Burgundian region and its environs, but by no later than 956 and probably a year or two earlier, Fulk the Good had arranged for his daughter, Adelaide, to marry Stephen, who was count of both Gevaudan and Forez.¹⁸ In 975, Adelaide's brother, Guy, was made bishop of the see of le Puy, where he also exercised comital powers.¹⁹

A rather long period of time, however, would appear to have elapsed between the death of Abbot Odo of Cluny in 942, the only known Angevin contact in the region during this period, and the arrangement by Fulk the Good of his daughter's marriage to Count Stephen at least a decade later. How did the Fulconians maintain their connections with Burgundy and its environs during the period between 942 and ca. 955? (Refer to map at end of essay.) If one were to hypothesize an as-yet-undiscovered connection with this region so far to the south and east of Anjou, a likely method for pursuing Angevin interest would have been for Fulk the Red to have arranged for Fulk the Good to have married a woman from some aristocratic family in the area. We can, however, rule out the family of the count of Gevaudan and Forez because of Adelaide's marriage to Count Stephen in the very next generation.

Although Gerberga is an important *Leitname* in the Burgundian region during the later tenth and eleventh centuries, it is far rarer earlier in the tenth century.²⁰ In fact, only one regional family of sufficient social standing, that of the viscounts of Vienne, would appear to have been a viable candidate for providing Fulk the Good's bride. Ratburnus I, viscount of Vienne from 912 until 945, was married to a woman named Gerberga, and thus this name was introduced into the family's *Namengut*.²¹ In light of what would seem to have been Ratburnus I's distinguished maternal lineage (see below) it would appear that he was sufficiently important to have attracted



Established and hypothesized relationships discussed infra.

as a bride that Gerberga who was the granddaughter of Count Childebrand of Autun;²² the name Childebrand in this region may signal Carolingian descent from the brother of Charles Martel, who was established in Burgundy in the eighth century.²³

Unfortunately, following the usual pattern in this region during this era, the names of female offspring often are not recorded in the documents, and we learn only of Ratburnus I's and Gerberga's two sons, Hector who became bishop of le Puy and Ratburnus II who, after some delay, succeeded his father as viscount of Vienne.²⁴ If Ratburnus I and his wife Gerberga had a daughter--and there is no way to *prove* that they did, given the present state of the surviving documentation--this putative daughter would have been of the correct age cohort to have been chosen as a wife for Fulk the Good and to have been the mother of Geoffrey Greymantle, Guy, and Adelaide.

Thus far the introduction of the potential *Leitname*--the name of a viscountess of distinguished descent was not likely to have been ignored in the naming of her daughter--into the *Namengut* of the viscounts of Vienne at the appropriate time to name a daughter who could have married Fulk the Good, combined with the need to provide a geographical link in order to explain the subsequent marriage of Adelaide and Stephen, and the correlation of the required age cohort justifies no more than speculation. However, pieces of circumstantial evidence from the *Namengüter* of the Angevin and Viennois families would seem to give some additional impetus to such speculation. For example, the mother of Viscount Ratburnus I was named Hermengarde.²⁵ Geoffrey Greymantle, the son of the Angevin countess Gerberga and Fulk the Good, gave his daughter two names and called her Hermengarde-Gerberga.²⁶ Thus, if this line of research is correct, Geoffrey may perhaps have named his daughter in honor of his maternal great grandmother, grandmother, and mother. Of some importance here is the fact that, so far as can be ascertained, the name Hermengarde was not a part of the Angevin *Namengut*, and it certainly was not a *Leitname* before the marriage of Fulk the Good to

Gerberga.²⁷

For Geoffrey Grey mantle to have reached back all the way to his great grandmother to find a name for his daughter might seem at first glance to have been a bit odd. This Hermengarde, however, probably was no ordinary person but may have been the daughter of Boso, count of Vienne and king of Provence, and his wife Hermengarde, the daughter of King Louis II of Italy, a great grandson of Charlemagne.²⁸ Thus, in naming his daughter Hermengarde-Gerberga, Geoffrey may be seen not only to have been honoring his great grandmother, grandmother, and mother but to have been calling attention to the family's Carolingian royal blood--however distant that connection may have been--through King Louis II and Count Childebrand.

Clearly, these were not the type of close ties that would find a place in the jejune genealogies of the late eleventh century.²⁹ Indeed, by this period, Angevin connection with Burgundy had ceased to be important for at least a half-century.³⁰ For purposes of comparison, it may be pointed out that toward the middle of the twelfth century, when Thomas of Loches examined Angevin marriages with Aquitanian families that had taken place a century and a quarter before he wrote, he had difficulty in reconstructing the relationships accurately. This despite the fact that his patrons had much closer ties and interests in Aquitaine than the Angevin patrons of the eleventh-century genealogies had with Burgundy.³¹

However, these putative ties established with the Carolingians by Fulk's marriage to Gerberga should not be considered to have been negligible within a generation or two of the marriage when the Angevins had very vital interests in Burgundy.³² For example, the fact that Geoffrey Grey mantle's sister, Adelaide the daughter of Fulk the Good and Gerberga, was considered to have sufficiently satisfactory antecedents to marry King Louis V (this was Adelaide's second marriage) in 982 and be crowned queen of Aquitaine at Brioude may have been based, at least in part, upon her mother's Carolingian blood which our reconstruction of her lineage has suggested.³³ Indeed, the closest Adelaide's father's lineage could come to

royal blood was through her grandmother, Roscilla, who, as we have seen earlier, was only a not-so-distant cousin of Charles the Bald's wife, Irmentrude. To carry this point a bit further, it is likely that Constance, Adelaide's daughter from her third marriage, was thought worthy to marry King Robert II because of her Carolingian blood inherited, if we are correct, from her grandmother, Gerberga.³⁴ The Capetians, and especially King Robert, appear to have made it a matter of policy to marry only women with royal blood in their veins.³⁵

A second body of circumstantial evidence that connects the Angevins to the viscomital house of Vienne by marriage is highlighted by the selection of Hector, one of Viscount Ratburnus I's and Gerberga's sons and a putative brother of the hypothesized Gerberga of Vienne, to be bishop of le Puy.³⁶ One of Hector's successors as bishop of le Puy, as noted above, was Guy, the son of the Angevin countess Gerberga and Fulk the Good. The custom of this period by which a bishopric tended either to be controlled outright by a particular aristocratic family or by which one family was more likely than any other in the region to have its sons as bishops in a particular see suggests the tentative conclusion that the viscomital family of Vienne, no later than the generation of Ratburnus I and Gerberga, had some special connection with the see of le Puy.³⁷

During this era a conspicuous pattern by which bishoprics were passed along from one generation to another within a family developed; the prelate's sister's son would succeed to the see that his maternal uncle had held. Of course, the line of succession was not always direct, due to age discrepancies, premature deaths, and volatile political conditions. However, it is of some importance in the present context that within the extended family of the Angevin counts, the custom of matrilineal succession to episcopal office was entrenched. For example, Fulk the Good's brother, Guy, was bishop of Soissons, and he was succeeded in that office by his sister Adelaide's son, who also was named Guy.³⁸ Bishop Guy of le Puy, Fulk the Good's son, was succeeded by his

sister Adelaide's grandson, i.e., his grandnephew, Stephen.³⁹ Within the *mouvance* of the Angevin counts, Geoffrey Grey mantle, Fulk Nerra, and Geoffrey Martel all supported the matrilineal pattern for succession to the bishopric of le Mans over which they exercised considerable control for about a century.⁴⁰

Matrilineal connections in the selection of bishops is seen to be especially important with regard to the see of le Puy where Guy, despite his strong commitment to religious reform,⁴¹ acted in a flagrantly uncanonical manner to consecrate his grandnephew Stephen as his successor. This not only was done without formal election by the clergy and people of le Puy but also without papal approval and while Guy himself was still living.⁴² If we project the importance of matrilineal succession to the see of le Puy backward in time, the fact that Hector, Guy's putative maternal uncle, also held the bishopric may well be seen to be of significance. In this context, therefore, it may be of some importance that Adalard, Hector's predecessor as bishop of le Puy, had close ties to Autun during the reign of Count Childebrand, who was the grandfather of that Gerberga whom we have suggested was the wife of Viscount Ratburnus I of Vienne and the mother of both Hector, bishop of le Puy, and Fulk the Good's wife, Gerberga. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that Bishop Adalard of le Puy was not a son-in-law of Count Childebrand of Autun.⁴³

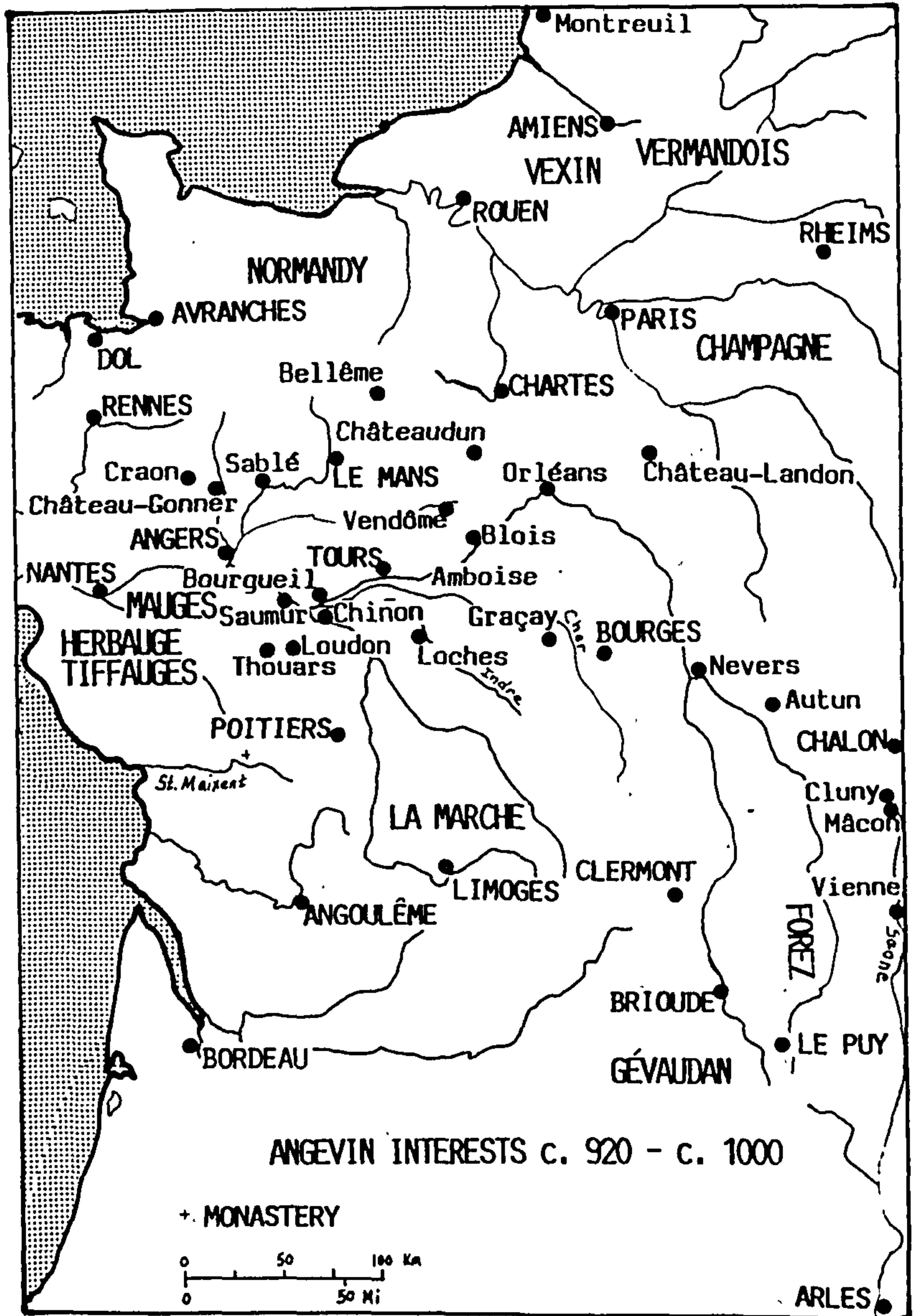
Finally, from the political perspective, we may add that in the year 1033 when Odo II, count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne, tried to succeed his maternal uncle Rudolph as king of Burgundy, the Viennois opposed him vigorously.⁴⁴ This is of some significance because of all the enemies of Fulk Nerra, the Angevin count from 987-1040, Odo II, was the most powerful and persistent.⁴⁵ If the hypothesis put forward above concerning the origins of Countess Gerberga is correct, then Viscount Berillo III of Vienne, her putative grandnephew, may be seen to be siding with her grandson, Fulk Nerra, against the latter's most difficult adversary. It may be of some additional importance that the counts of Gevaudan and

Forez, the grandsons and great grandsons of the Angevin countess Gerberga, are also seen to make common cause with their putative cousins in the Viennois.⁴⁶

The prosopographical method of collecting bits and pieces of evidence dealing with *Leitnamen* (Hermengarde and Gerberga in this study), ecclesiastical ties (the succession to the bishopric previously held by the maternal uncle or grand uncle [Adalard, Hector, Guy, and Stephen at le Puy]), geographical connections, and political cooperation all fit together here to suggest the possibility that the Angevin countess Gerberga was the otherwise unattested daughter of Viscount Ratburnus I of Vienne and his wife Gerberga, the granddaughter of Viscountess Hermengarde of Vienne, and the sister of Bishop Hector of le Puy. Of course, no single piece of evidence is compelling, and the ensemble is only suggestive. However circumstantial the evidence may be, nevertheless it would seem to amount to more than a meaningless scattering of coincidences.

If our hypothesis is correct concerning the origins of Countess Gerberga, it goes a long way toward explaining how the Angevins maintained viable contact with the distant region of Burgundy and its environs during the period between the death of Abbot Odo of Cluny in 942 and the arrangement of the marriage of Adelaide to Stephen of Forez and Gevaudan in the early 950s by Fulk the Good. In addition, the establishment of Guy as bishop of le Puy rather than as bishop of some see more obviously within the *mouvance* of the Angevin counts is adequately explained within the framework of the contemporary custom that nephews succeeded their mother's brother when possible. Further, yet one more example of the appreciation by the Angevin counts of the value of long range planning can be added to the lengthy list that historians have compiled. Finally, and probably most importantly, the suggestion that Gerberga had Carolingian royal blood in her veins explains why her daughter, Adelaide, was thought to be a suitable wife for the son and heir of King Lothair. It also explains why Gerberga's granddaughter, Constance, was

considered an acceptable wife for King Robert II.



NOTES

*My research on the Angevins has been made possible by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and the Bush Sabbatical Fellowship Program at the University of Minnesota.

¹ The basic work is that of Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 1-12; and *Genealogiae comitum Andegavensium in Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris, 1913), pp. xciii, xcv, 247-50, 254-55, which supercedes the earlier study by René Poupardin, "Généalogies angevines du XI^e siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 20 (1900), 199-208. However, now the pathbreaking research of Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums (9.-10. Jahrhundert)," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 18 (1958), 264-86, has vastly expanded knowledge of the early history of the family of the Angevin counts. Constance C. Bouchard, "The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment," *The American Historical Review*, 86 (1983), 515, writes "Fulk the Good married a woman of unknown origins."

² Sir Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), p. 88; see also Bernard S. Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle, Count of the Angevins 960-987: A Study in French Politics," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 17 (1985), 34-35.

³ For Adelaide see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," *Albion*, 16 (1984), p. 115 n. 24; see also Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle," p. 58 n. 90 and p. 47 n. 36, for Adelaide and Geoffrey, respectively.

⁴ Dom Guy Oury, "La situation juridique des monastères de Cormery et de Villeloin sous l'abbatiat de Guy d'Anjou (v. 954-975)," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, 9 (1975), 551-63, supposes

a much earlier date of birth which is, of course, possible; see also Oury, "Le frère de Geoffroy Grisgonelle: Guy II d'Anjou. Moine et évêque de Puy († av. 998)," *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Touraine*, 9 (1975), 61-68, for his later career.

⁵ Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 4-5.

⁶ For an excellent discussion of the method combined with a compelling demonstration of its effectiveness, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne--a Prosopographical Study of the Relationship between King and Nobility in the Early Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. and trans. Timothy Reuter (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 137-202. This translation should, however, be used in conjunction with the original: "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen. Ein personengeschichtlicher Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Königtum und Adel im frühen Mittelalter," in *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 1, ed. H. Beumann (Dusseldorf, 1965), pp. 83-142, because the appendices (pp. 137-42) were omitted from the translation. The translation, however, benefits from bibliographical additions to the notes.

⁷ See, for example, the information collected by Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums (9.-10. Jahrhundert)," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 18 (1958), 256-89; 19 (1959), 146-93; 20 (1960), 87-119; as well as his "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien," pp. 83-142.

⁸ Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," pp. 265-73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-89, provides a fine survey of the families with which the Fulconians were allied both politically and, no less importantly, by marriage, since the latter connections in the two generations prior to Fulk the Good's marriage would severely limit the potential sources from which his wife might be drawn because of ecclesiastical prohibitions. On

this, see below. For a guide to additional families of importance with whom the Fulconians dealt in a friendly manner, see the following studies by Jacques Boussard: "L'origine des familles seigneuriales dans la région de la Loire moyenne," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 5 (1962), 303-22; "Les destinées de la Neustrie du IX^e au XI^e siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 11 (1968), 15-28; and "Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne (950-1050 environ)," *Journal des Savants* (1970), 161-96. Of course, no one can quite prove a negative, and given the state of the sources the reader may well want to believe that a Gerberga may one day be found in an appropriate family in this region.

¹⁰ Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," p. 277.

¹¹ For a discussion of the sources see Halphen, *Le comté*, p. 11 n. 1. The suggestion by L. de Grandmaison, in his unpublished *École des Chartes* thesis (1887) on the reign of Geoffrey Martel (I have not seen this work), made without evidence according to Halphen (*loc. cit.*), that Hildegarde was descended perhaps from the counts of Nordgau would make her the older sister or perhaps half-sister of the future pope, Leo IX. See the genealogies published by Eduard Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge des Hauses Habsburg--Lothringen* (Saarbrücken, 1969), opposite pp. 138 and 148, respectively, and p. 104 n. 110, where he concludes that this Hildegarde is the mother of Louis of Mousson-Mompelgard. In this conclusion Hlawitschka seems to follow Franz Vollmer, "Die Etichonen," *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des grossfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adels*, ed. Gerd Tellenbach (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957), 181-83. Unfortunately, neither Hlawitschka nor Vollmer addresses the Angevin connection. See, however, Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne, v. 950-v. 1150* (Nancy, 1977), p. 163, who follows R. Parisot, *Les origines de la Haute-Lorraine et sa première maison ducale* (Paris, 1909), pp. 371 and 405, who seems to suggest some connection with Duke Theobald of Haute Lorraine and wonders whether this was intended to form an alliance

against Odo II. The exact origin of Countess Hildegard is still a problem that remains to be solved. However, the ability of her son, Geoffrey Martel, to arrange the marriage of his stepdaughter, Agnes of Poitou, to the Emperor Henry III strongly suggests that the lineage of the dowager Angevin countess, who was still alive when the marriage took place, was of some importance. Concerning Agnes of Poitou see Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Kaiserin Agnes," *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 52 (Leipzig, 1933), 1-11. Of course, Agnes of Poitou's mother, Agnes of Burgundy, and her natural father, William the Great, were not from unimportant lineages. Additional insight into Hildegarde's origins might be forthcoming from a detailed study of relations between Geoffrey Martel and Pope Leo IX who may, in fact, have been the Angevin count's uncle. Tilman Struve, "Die Romreise der Kaiserin Agnes," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 105 (1985), 1-29, adds nothing new to the matter under discussion here.

12 See Alexander Callander Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1983); and the review by Bernard S. Bachrach in *Speculum*, 60/4 (1985), 1003-04.

13 See Werner [n. 6 above].

14 Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," pp. 264-79, where hints provided by twelfth-century narrative sources dealing with the genealogy of the Angevin counts provided key clues for further research in inadequate or unpublished charters. On this see the brief discussion by George Beech, "Prosopography," in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse, 1976), p. 164.

15 See Georges Duby, *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from Twelfth-Century France*, trans. E. Forster (Baltimore, 1978); and Constance B. Bouchard, "Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Speculum*, 56/2 (1981), 271.

16 Geoffrey Martel was not so lucky, and the chronicles accuse him of "incest" for marrying his cousin by marriage in the third degree. This was the widow of a cousin who shared the same great grandfather. By Roman law this would have been a relation by marriage in the sixth degree. See the discussion of this marriage by Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 56-57. It may be surmised that those who attacked Geoffrey's marriage that took place ca. 1030 would have, had such been the case, liked nothing better than to have been able to point out that he himself was the great grandson of an incestuous liaison.

17 Jacques Boussard, "Le Trésorier de Saint-Martin de Tours," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 47 (1961), 75, demonstrates that Berno was treasurer from 891-95 and that Robert held the office from 908-15. However, John Salerno, *Vita Odonis* (Bk. I, chs. 11, 18, 21, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia*, vol. 133), makes clear that Fulk the Red controlled the economic and financial resources of Saint Martin at Tours and, in addition, had direct personal access to the treasure stored there. John further indicates that Fulk the Red was active at Saint Martin of Tours, especially during the later teenage years of Odo, i.e., between ca. 896 and 898. With this in mind it seems fair to suggest that Fulk succeeded Berno as Treasurer and that he may have held that position until 915 when Robert is first attested. For more on the background see Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle," p. 54 n. 71.

18 Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin Empire," *Albion*, 10 (1978), 295-96.

19 See the literature cited on this in Bernard S. Bachrach, "King Henry II and Angevin Claims to the Saintonge," *Medieval Prosopography*, 6/1 (1985), 41 n. 23.

20 See, for example, Ferdinand Lot, *Les derniers carolingiens Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine:*

954-991 (Paris, 1891), p. 283 for Gerberga the daughter of King Conrad of Burgundy, and p. 328 for Gerberga the wife of Duke Henry of Burgundy. For her daughter named Gerberga who married Count William of Provence (992-1018), see René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne, 888-1038* (Paris, 1907), p. 234.

21 René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les carolingiens, 855-933* (Paris, 1901), p. 354.

22 For the family of Count Childebrand of Autun and his granddaughter Gerberga see *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, ed. Claude DeVic and Joseph Vaissete (2nd ed. Toulouse, 1875), 2:277-79, with the genealogy printed there. For another possible connection between the comital house of Autun and the viscomital house of Vienne see note 42 below.

23 Concerning the Childebrand clan see the studies by Léon Levillain, "Les Nibelungen historiques et leurs alliances de famille," *Annales du Midi*, 49 (1937), 337-408; and 50 (1938), 5-66. For Gerberga in the *Namengut* of Childebrand see p. 5.

24 See Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, p. 356, who identifies Gerberga's immediate paternal lineage, i.e., her father Hector. This Greek name was very rare in the Frankish *regna* and may well go back to the Hector who was governor of Marseilles during the later seventh century. Concerning the latter see *Histoire générale du Languedoc* (1872), 1:730.

25 Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, p. 356.

26 Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," p. 117, with the texts discussed there.

27 See the works cited above in note 1.

28 As we have seen above, Ratburnus I's wife was named Hermengarde. Boso's wife was also named Hermengarde, and this couple had at least two daughters. In

the year 882, when Richard *le Justicier* captured the city of Vienne which was held against him by the viscount and the Countess Hermengarde, he took the latter prisoner along with her daughter, who also was in Vienne at the time. That one of Countess Hermengarde's daughters is likely to have been named for her mother is hardly a controversial assumption, and in light of the close ties of a political nature between Count Boso and the viscomital family of Vienne, it is also reasonable to see the latter giving one of his daughters to Ratburnus as a wife. These speculations are given some support by the fact that Countess Hermengarde and her daughter were both at Vienne in 882. The latter's presence in this city is easily explained if she were, in fact, the viscountess. Concerning the origins of Countess Hermengarde see Poupardin, *Le royaume de provence*, pp. 73-78; see pp. 46-47 regarding Boso, whose maternal lineage was also close to royalty. *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. Felix Grat, et al. (Paris, 1964), an. 882, provides the information on Richard's capture of Vienne.

29 For references to the Angevin genealogies see above note 1. Concerning the more general characteristics of this text-genre, the volume by Leopold Genicot, *Les généalogies* (Turnhout, 1975), is a very useful guide, while Georges Duby, "Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Comptes rendus des seances de l'année 1967* (April-June 1967), *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1967), and republished in English translation by Cynthia Postan in *The Chivalrous Society* (Berkeley, 1980) as "French Genealogical Literature," pp. 149-157, is an interesting though not wholly successful attempt to adumbrate the significance of this genre. Ideas concerning "legitimacy" need to be refined and then tied specifically to the interests of the historical actors at particular times in their careers.

30 For the reign of Fulk le Réchin see Halphen, *Le comté*, pp. 176-205; and Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1972),

1:111-26. A full book-length study of the reign of Fulk le Réchin is an important *desideratum*.

31 Bernard S. Bachrach, "King Henry II and Angevin Claims to the Saintonge," pp. 23-45.

32 In this context the research of Karl Schmid showing that three generation linkages in the male line (father-son-grandson) became important once offices became hereditary is of significance. See his "Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 105 (1957), 15-16 and 30-31; and more recently "Heirat, Familienfolge, Geschlechtenbewusstsein," *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 24 (Spoleto, 1977), 120-30. This, however, should not lead us to infer that the matrilineage ceased to be of importance. Rather, lineage in general became more important. As early as the mid-tenth century we have a surviving genealogy for the counts of Flanders, and I am not convinced that this was some kind of unique exercise a century and a half before other families of great regional importance began to have such texts drawn up. Rather, the fortunes of historical survival are more than likely the reason for the unique case. Cf. Duby, "French Genealogical Literature," p. 50. Indeed, when the "genealogists" and "historians" who worked under the patronage of the Angevin counts during the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries were constructing their genealogies and histories, it is likely that they had written sources upon which to rely and thus they knew much more than Fulk le Réchin, who based his work upon his own memory and stories told to him by his uncle, Geoffrey Martel. Fulk le Réchin knew far less about the history of his own family than did the "scholars" in his lands and lordships who did research. Cf. Duby, loc. cit. pp. 152-54, particularly his assertions concerning the construction of the *Gesta Consulum*.

33 Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin

Empire," pp. 296-97, with further elaboration by Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle," pp. 21-25.

34 Concerning Constance's family see Lot, *Les derniers carolingiens*, pp. 358-69. In dealing with the duration of King Robert's second marriage, i.e., to Bertha, I tend to follow F. Lot, *Etudes sur le règne de Hugues Capet et la fin du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1903), pp. 127-28 n. 2, up to where he accepts the bull of Pope John XVIII as authentic. Concerning the circumstances and date of the forgery of Pope John's bull see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Robert of Blois, Abbot of Saint-Florent de Saumur and Saint-Mesmin de Micy (985-1011)," *Revue Bénédictine*, 88 (1978), 141-43. In light of the above and of the date of Fulk Nerra's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the autumn of 1003, it is likely that Robert married Constance late in 1003 or very early in 1004. However, the negotiations were certainly complete before Fulk left Anjou in September 1003. Concerning the latter date see Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins, 987-1040," in *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. J. Contreni and T. F. X. Noble (Kalamazoo, 1987), forthcoming.

35 Cf. Bouchard, "Consanguinity and Noble Marriages," pp. 276-77. If Queen Constance had not inherited royal blood she would not have been acceptable to King Robert. Countess Gerberga, her grandmother, was the only possible source of that royal blood. Bouchard seems to imply that Adelaide's earlier fruitless marriage to King Louis V played some sort of legitimizing role in making Constance, her daughter from another and subsequent husband, a viable candidate for the king's bed. However, Bouchard does not suggest why this should be the case.

36 Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence*, p. 354 n. 12.

37 Concerning the control of bishoprics see, for example, Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les élections*

épiscopales dans l'église de France du IX au XII siècle: étude sur la décadence de principe électif, 814-1150 (Paris, 1891); Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustrie," pp. 161-96; Bernard Guillemain, "Les origines des évêques en France aux XI^e et XIII^e siècles," *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII: Papato, Cardinalato ed Episcopato, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali*, 7 (Milan, 1974), pp. 374-407; and Guy Devailly, "Les grands familles et l'épiscopat dans l'ouest de France et les Pays de la Loire," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 27 (1984), 49-55. See below, note 43.

38 Ph. Grierson, "L'Origine des Comtes d'Amiens, Valois et Vexin," *Le moyen âge*, 49 (1939), 105-06; and the discussion by Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," pp. 114-15.

39 Oury, "Guy II d'Anjou," p. 68; for the discussion of the family see Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," pp. 115-16 n. 26.

40 See Bachrach, "Geoffrey Greymantle," pp. 25-26, concerning Bishop Seginfredus. Fulk Nerra's role in the region (Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building in the Reign of Fulk Nerra, 987-1040," *The American Historical Review*, 88 [1983], 555-56) as overlord of the count of Maine, close friend of the viscomital house of le Mans, and overlord of the castellans of Château-du-Loir strongly suggests that the Angevin count played a role in the accession of Gervasius of Château-du-Loir to the bishopric of le Mans that traditionally was held by members of his mother's family. Gervasius' conflict with Geoffrey Martel during the period that he held the *comitatus* while his father, Fulk Nerra, was on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land does not undermine the likelihood that Fulk had played a role in seeing Gervasius made bishop. On this see Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," pp. 124-25, where it is shown that Fulk opposed Geoffrey's conflict with Gervasius. For Geoffrey Martel's role

in choosing Gervasius' successor, Vulgrinus, whose connection to le Mans was also matrilineal, see Steven Fanning, "Les origines familiales de Vulgrin, abbé de Saint-Serge d'Angers (1046-1056) et Évêque du Mans (1056-1065) petit-fils du vicomte Fulcrade de Vendôme," *La Province du Maine*, 82 (1980), 246-54.

41 Oury, "La situation juridique des monastères," pp. 551-63.

42 Oury, "Guy II d'Anjou," pp. 67-68.

43 *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, 1:4 and 402, where Adalard is discussed as attesting the testament of the bishop of Autun. This act highlights the prominence of Adalard at Autun among those whose support for the bishop's testament was regarded as worthwhile on the local scene. In this context it is worth noting that Adalard, who was seneschal under Louis the Pious, is likely also to have been count of Autun. He certainly controlled important resources in the area and was generous to Saint Symphorien of Autun. On this see Levillain, "Les Nibelungen historiques," p. 66. This same Adalard, as Werner has argued ("Untersuchung zur Frühzeit," pp. 277-78), was the grandfather of Roscilla, who married Fulk the Red. Adalard had a son also named Adalard, whose career has not thus far been traceable, and as a result of some incapacity of that son, Fulk the Red gained possession of Villentrois and La Haye "non bona ratione" (Werner, p. 270). If this Adalard were born late in his father's lifetime and were associated with his father's activities in Burgundy, he could have married a daughter of Count Childebrand of Autun and could have been the Adalard who held the bishopric of le Puy before Hector of Vienne, who was the son of Gerberga and the putative great grandson of Count Childebrand of Autun. Although these speculations concerning the career of Count Adalard's son cannot be viewed as anything more than suggestions for further research, we should not lose sight of the fact that the name Adalard is to be found among the ruling elite of the Autun region in the period during which Bishop Adalard

of le Puy, the predecessor of Bishop Hector, is known to have also been a person of importance at Autun.

⁴⁴ This is developed by Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, pp. 158-61, and accepted by Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale, 879-1166* (Paris, 1976), p. 179.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Bachrach, "The Strategy of Castle Building," pp. 533-60.

⁴⁶ In the war of 1033 for the kingdom of Burgundy, the Lyonnais and the Viennois sided against Odo II. The count of Lyonnais-Forez at this time was none other than Gerard, who was the great grandson of Countess Gerbarga and Fulk the Good. Concerning Count Gerard see Poupardin, *Le royaume de Bourgogne*, p. 244.