MEDIEVAL PROSOPOGRAPHY
In his well known work, *Feudal Society*, Marc Bloch identified the family as one of the most important institutions binding men to one another in medieval Europe. However, until relatively recently little attention has been given to prosopographical studies of the men holding prominent positions in tenth and eleventh-century *Francia occidentalis*. This lack of interest towards familial studies in the post-Carolingian era is traceable to two causes: first, the relative paucity of documentary evidence discouraged many, especially since there were other periods with more extensive documentation to be examined; second, and perhaps more importantly, the prevailing opinion held that between the ninth and eleventh centuries a new military elite arose from the disorder caused by the Carolingian civil wars and the Viking raids. These "new men" established families whose sons and daughters were the nobility of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the ancestry of the "new men" could not be traced. Before the tenth century these families would
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not have attracted the notice of a chronicler, nor would they have had sufficient wealth or power to occasion a charter.3 Challenging this theory was difficult because the very lack of evidence for the origins of these "new men" supported it and, at the same time, made it almost impossible to question.

However, the work of Gerd Tellenbach and his associates has demonstrated that a prosopographical method based on names, offices, and property holdings can yield important information about the families of prominent persons even in the absence of specific documentary evidence concerning their families.4 In applying this method to post-Carolingian western Francia, Karl Ferdinand Werner has made available a tool that enables specialists in this era to examine the prevailing theory about the "new men" of the tenth and eleventh centuries. His research suggests that there was a continuity between the nobility of the Carolingian era and that of the tenth and eleventh centuries.5 Thus, the question may be posed: "Were the office-holders of the tenth century "new men" with new families or men of old families which had belonged to the Carolingian aristocracy"?6 The present study will propose an answer to this question for one family: the Rainaldi of Anjou.

Bishop Rainald II of Angers was the son of Rainald, viscount of Angers,7 who first appears as a witness in a charter issued by Nefingus, bishop of Angers,8 in April, 966.9 The same Rainald appears in a number of other documents dated between 966 and 994, often as a member of the entourage of Geoffrey Greymantle, count of Anjou (960-87).10 Viscount
Rainald also has a sobriquet which occurs in various spellings: *Tor-ench*, *Toringus*, *Turringus*, and *Thoringus*. Further, Viscount Rainald was the *prepositus* of the monastery of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes and had a significant interest in the history of the monastery as the author of the *Miracula Martini Abbatis Vertavensis* indicates. Viscount Rainald's land holdings included a complex of alods in the Mauges region as well as properties belonging to the episcopal fisc.

The Viscount's son, Bishop Rainald II, obtained the Angevin episcopal office through a * conventum* made between Count Geoffrey Greymantle and Viscount Rainald. In return for his son's appointment as bishop, Viscount Rainald agreed that his Mauges alods would pass into the comital fisc. Viscount Rainald's sacrifice of his family's alodial property in the important Mauges region indicates a significant interest in the Angevin bishopric. Further, his possession of the episcopal lands, Épinats and Douces, suggests that there was some association between the Viscount and the bishopric even before he made the * conventum* with Count Geoffrey.

While Count Geoffrey Greymantle held the Angevin countship, Viscount Rainald and his son, Bishop Rainald, maintained close and friendly ties to the Fulconian house. However, towards the end of his tenure in the Angevin episcopal office, Bishop Rainald faced a claim to his inheritance from Fulk Nerra, son of Geoffrey Greymantle, count of Anjou. This dispute between the count and the bishop occasioned Bishop Rainald's overtures to King Robert II (996-1031). Bishop Rainald is also found
cooperating with the house of Blois, allied to the Capetians through King Robert's second queen, Bertha. 25

The Rainald family, as known through the Viscount and his son, was associated with the monastery of Saint-Jouin-de-Harnes; held lands in the Mauges; had an interest in the Angevin viscontiel and episcopal offices; and when pressed politically, sought an ally in the Capetian royal house. Thus, the Rainald family seems to have been fairly well established. Yet, Viscount Rainald appears in Angevin documents only in 966 without any trace of his ancestry. 26 Was he a novus homo raised from obscurity by the powerful Count Geoffrey Greymantle? Or was he descendant from a Carolingian aristocratic family? The Tellenbach-Werner method may provide evidence enabling us to answer this question.

In the first third of the tenth century, there was another Rainald who was bishop of Angers. 27 As in Bishop Rainald II's lifetime, so in the early part of the century there was a connection between the Leit-name Rainald and the Angevin episcopal office. It should be noted as well that in the first part of the tenth century, the bishopric of Angers was in the hands of the Robertian dukes, the ancestors of the Capetian kings. 28 Thus, Bishop Rainald I was very probably appointed to the Angevin bishopric by the Robertians. 29 This association between Bishop Rainald I and the Robertians closely parallels the relationship between Bishop Rainald II and King Robert II in the first years of the eleventh century.

On September 13, 900, a Viscount Rainald witnessed a charter issued
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by Abbot Robert of Saint Martin of Tours, who was a brother to King Odo and an ancestor of Hugh Capet. This Viscount shared the office, the name, and the political connections of Bishop Rainald II and his father. Tentatively, then, we have identified Viscount Rainald I (900), Bishop Rainald I (929), Viscount Rainald II of Angers (d. 994), and Bishop Rainald II (d. 1005) as members of a Rainaldi clan.

In 885, a Dux Rainald of Maine was killed in a battle with the Vikings. This Duke Rainald was politically allied with the powerful Robertian family which controlled Neustria because Maine, where Rainald exercised his ducal office, was part of Neustria. It seems probable to conclude that the Robertian dukes appointed Rainald to his office in Maine. Further, Duke Rainald not only held lands adjacent to property of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, but also donated holdings to this monastery. It was in this very same foundation that Viscount Rainald II, a century later, was the prepositus, and took a vigorous interest in its history.

A ninth-century "noble miles" from Poitou named Rainald is described as a "man of great power" in the Chronicles of Nantes. In 841, King Charles the Bald appointed this Rainald as comes in Nantes. Previously, he had been comes in the Herbauge, a county which, at this time, was part of Poitou and located to the south and slightly to the west of Nantes. (It should also be noted that the Herbauge borders the Mauges region, also at this time part of Poitou, where Viscount Rainald II held alods. Herbauge is also near Thouars where the monastery of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes was located.) In 842, Rainald received the additional title of dux.
but he was killed on May 24, 843.

In addition to the Rainald who was comes in Nantes in the early 840's, there is a Rainald who, in 843, was abbot of the Nantais monastery of Saint Martin of Vertou. It was this Abbot Rainald who directed his monks to flee from Nantes during the Viking attacks of 843. The Abbot and his monks re-founded the monastery in Thouars as Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes. The name of this abbot, Rainald, perhaps is some indication of his membership in the Rainaldi clan. Further, his position as abbot of a monastery within the urbs of Nantes during the years that another Rainald held the comital office there as well as his re-foundation of the monastery near the Mauges and Herbauge, where Count Rainald had previously functioned in the comital position, emphasizes that this Abbot Rainald was closely associated with the geographical centers of the Rainaldi family. Similarly, his name and association with Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes identify his interests with those of Viscount Rainald II and his son, Bishop Rainald II.

None of the descendants of Rainald, count of Herbauge and (later) of Nantes, succeeded to his position in Nantes. Lambert, the new count of Nantes, retained the comital office which he had wrested from his predecessor by defeating and killing him on the battlefield. Lambert then appointed three men, Confier, Rainer, and Girard to govern the counties of Herbauge, Mauges and Tiffauge respectively. We do find one of the sons of Count Rainald, Herveus, campaigning with his allies, Bernard and Bego, against the Bretons and their ally, Count Lambert.
Lambert and his men were able to defeat and kill Herveus, Bego, and Bernard in 844.51

In 853, there was a Rainald who was functioning as count of Herbauge. René Merlet, the editor of the Chronicle of Nantes, has suggested that this Rainald was a son of Count Rainald of Nantes killed in 84352 and a brother of the Herveus killed in 844.53 This Rainald shared the name as well as the office of comes in the Herbauge54 with Count Rainald of Nantes and (earlier) count of Herbauge which lends weight to Merlet’s opinion. Apparently, Count Rainald II of Herbauge survived the wars against Lambert in which his father, Rainald, and his brother, Herveus, had died. It seems, then, the following men were members of a mid-ninth century Rainald family: Count Rainald I of Herbauge and (later) of Nantes; his sons, Herveus and Count Rainald II of Herbauge; Abbot Rainald of Saint Martin of Vertou (re-founded in Thouars as Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes).

The prevalence of the name Rainald in this family and in that of Bishop Rainald II suggests the possibility that these are two related families. Secondly, the close relationship between this Rainald family and the monastery of Saint Martin of Vertou, later Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, parallels that of the family of Bishop Rainald II.55 Thirdly, both Count Rainald I of Herbauge and Nantes and his son, Count Rainald II of Herbauge, held the comital office in Herbauge, a county bordering the Mauges,56 where Viscount Rainald II of Angers and, later, his son, Bishop Rainald II, held extensive lands.57 Thus, it may be argued on
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the basis of the Leitname, Rainald, associations with the same monastery, and the similar geographical centers of power of both families that they are really all part of a large, powerful clan dating to the reign of Louis the Pious or perhaps even to Charlemagne. It would appear, then, that Viscount Rainald II and Bishop Rainald II were not "new men" of the tenth century, but members of a noble clan with a substantial tradition behind them.

In addition to the Leitname, Rainald, it appears that the male name, Herveus, also had some importance in the Rainald clan, since one of the sons of Rainald I, count of Herbauge and Nantes, bore this name.

In 859, two men, each with the name Herveus, are mentioned in a letter written to the Bretons by a synod which met at Toul. The Bretons were violating churches, taking church property, murdering, and committing adultery. On account of these crimes, the bishops announced
that they had excommunicated the Bretons. One of the two men named Herveus mentioned in this letter of excommunication was the same Herveus who witnessed a charter issued by King Charles the Bald at his palace of Verberie on November 4, 863. Wanilo, archbishop of Rouen, asked King Charles to confirm the holdings of the Rouen church because the Vikings had destroyed many of the documents recording the possessions of this church. Karl Ferdinand Werner has suggested that Herveus, the witness, was associated with the Rainald family. This opinion, founded on the name evidence, is corroborated by the similar political associations of Herveus, the witness, and members of the Rainald family. Herveus appeared in the bishops' letter to the Bretons together with Robert the Strong, one of the first Robertians. We have seen that other members of the Rainald family were politically associated with the Robertians. Further, Herveus' participation in an act directed against the Bretons accords well with the anti-Breton stance of Count Rainald I of Herbauge and Nantes and his son, Herveus, killed in 844. Finally, Herveus, the witness, functioned geographically in the same area as members of the Rainald family. Thus, the identification of this Herveus as a member of the Rainald family is based on his name, his political associations, and the locus of his activities.

However, the most interesting man, named Herveus, is the successor to Bishop Rainald I in the Angevin bishopric. Bishop Herveus carried a name that apparently was prominent in the Rainald family.
Secondly, he succeeded a Rainald family member, Bishop Rainald I, in the Angevin bishopric. Not infrequently in this period bishoprics were held by members of the same family even in succeeding generations. A Bishop Rainald (I) succeeded by a Bishop Herveus in an episcopal see of the West of France in this era is unlikely to have been coincidental. In addition to name and office, Bishop Herveus was politically associated with the Robertians, a tradition of the Rainald family, since at this time the Robertians continued to appoint men to the Angevin episcopal see. Thus, the discovery of the second male name, Herveus, in the Rainald clan has led us to suggest that Bishop Herveus of Angers was a member of this family. His office and political associations corroborate that suggestion.

In the mid-tenth century, a certain Herveus, who was a vassalus dominici of Hugh the Great, witnessed a charter issued on December 26, 943 in favor of the monastery of Saint Martin of Tours. Herveus also witnessed a donation which Hugh made to the cathedral church of Chartres in 946, and he signed another donation together with Hugh the Great in November, 941. His name as well as his membership in the entourage of the prominent Robertian dux francorum, Hugh the Great, in the years between 941 and 946 suggest that this Herveus was probably a member of the Rainald family. Thus, Herveus, the witness (859, 863), Bishop Herveus of Angers, and Herveus, the vassalus dominici (941–946), have been tentatively identified as ancestors of the family of Bishop Rainald II of Angers.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth/Death</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Herveus (d. 844)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Count Rainald I of Herbage and (later) of Nantes (d. 843)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbot Rainald (843)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Count Rainald II of Herbage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herveus, the witness (859-863)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duke Rainald of Maine (d. 885)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viscount Rainald I (900)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herveus, vassalus dominici (941-946)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bishop Rainald I of Angers (d. 929)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viscount Rainald II of Angers (d. 994)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bishop Herveus of Angers (accessed 929)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Viscount Rainald II of Angers (d. 1005)</td>
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It seems that there was a Rainald-Herveus clan, an important family active in the West of France from the middle of the ninth century until, at least, the death of Bishop Rainald II of Angers in 1005. After Bishop Rainald II's death, the Rainaldi seem to disappear from the sources. Bishop Rainald did have a brother named Hugh, but he seems to have died prematurely. Fulcoius, viscount of Angers, may also have been a brother to Bishop Rainald II. He did, of course, succeed Viscount Rainald II in the Angevin viscontiel office, and he is found cooperating closely with Bishop Rainald II between 994 and 1005. Thus, name, office, and political ties suggest that Viscount Fulcoius was related to Bishop Rainald and Viscount Rainald II. But Viscount Fulcoius also disappears from our view after the death of Bishop Rainald II.

It seems certain, then, that the Rainald-Herveus clan ceased to play a significant role in the West of France after 1005. But for the
previous hundred and fifty years, members of this clan, bearing
the names Rainald or Hervous, held the offices of duke, count, vis-
count, bishop, and abbot. The family was prominent in the Herbage-
Mauges region where the ninth-century family members functioned as
office-holders. During the tenth century, family members held the bish-
opric and the viscountship in Angers. Clan members also had close ties
to the Robertian-Capetian house and were associated with the abbey of
Saint Martin of Vertou and its re-foundation as Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes.

Thus, to answer the question posed at the beginning of this inquiry:
Viscount Rainald II of Angers and his son, Bishop Rainald II of Angers,
were not "new men" but belonged to a family which had been prominent
in the Anjou-Nantes region since the 840's. They were the descendants
of a ninth-century family that received preference from the Carolingians.
Although it is not possible to outline the precise relationship between
Viscount Rainald II of Angers and his son, on the one hand, and the
to the other, the conclusion that they
to one family is based on the complex of lands, offices, poli-
tical alliances, and Leitnamen which they all shared. If the Rainaldi
were not "new men" is it not possible that other tenth-century office-
holders in the West of France were actually members of old Carolingian
families?
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Notes


3. Typical of the historians who hold this theory is the remark of R. W. Southern in his *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 81-82, regarding the upper Loire area in the tenth century: "There was here so clean a sweep of ancient institutions, title deeds, and boundaries...." See also Joseph Strayer's "The Two Levels of Feudalism," in J. Strayer, *Medieval Statecraft and Perspectives in History* (Princeton, 1971), 63-76, where Prof. Strayer points to the rise of a class of retainers during the tenth and eleventh centuries whose ancestors had been insignificant under the Carolingians.

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6. This question approaches the problem of the tenth and eleventh-century office-holders from the point of view of biological continuity. Were those in positions of power in the eleventh century biological descendants of those who held similar positions in the Carolingian world? Therefore, this question (and, a fortiori, this study) does not attempt to define what "noble" meant in the ninth, tenth, or eleventh centuries. As Martindale has remarked, "The establishment of a considerable degree of 'biological continuity' among the ranks of those who wielded power does not in itself prove that this group was regarded, either by its own members or by any group beneath it, as a nobility." See Martindale, "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal," p. 10. We are concerned with those who actually held power and their ancestry.
Whether they were called "noble" by their own society is incidental to the real power they possessed and exercised.

7. Viscount Rainald is called the father of Bishop Rainald II in a document dated March 977. See the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Brousillon (Paris, 1903), no. 3, and the discussion of this document by Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1972), no. 2. He was viscount of Angers. A Rainald is called viscount of the Angevins in the *Miracula Martini Abbatis Vertavensis*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 3, ed. Bruno Krusch (Hannover, 1896), p. 569. This reference can only be to Rainald, the father of Bishop Rainald II. There is no other Rainald who could have been viscount of Angers when this work was written. (The editor of the *Miracula*, Bruno Krusch, dates it in the tenth or eleventh century.) Louis Halphen, *Le comte d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), p. 98, n. 1, and Jacques Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne," *Journal des savants* (1970), 156, n. 18, minimize this evidence claiming that this source was written long after Viscount Rainald, the father of Bishop Rainald II, lived. However, Krusch's dates seem correct and therefore, this source is contemporary to Viscount Rainald.

8. Bishop Nefingus held the Angevin episcopal office at least from 966 to 973. In 966 we know that Nefingus was bishop of Angers.
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because he issued a charter in favor of Saint-Aubin. See the Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin, no. 18. For Nefingus' death on September 12, 1973, see the Annales Vindocinensis, Recueil d'annales angevines et vendéennes, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris, 1903), p. 58.

9. See the Cartulaire Saint-Aubin, no. 18.

10. Cartulaire Saint-Aubin, nos. 3, 21, 34, 211, and 821. See also the Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers, ed. Ch. Urseau (Angers, 1908), nos. 18, 21, 25. In addition, see Charles de Grandmaison, "Fragments de chartes du Xe siècle provenant de Saint-Julien-de-Tours," Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes, 47 (1886), 238-40, no. 26. Aside from these documents where Viscount Rainald is found together with Count Geoffrey Greymantle, there are two other documents where he acts without the count: see Halphen, Le comté, pp. 345-46; and Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cyprien-de-Poitiers, 885-1155, ed. Rédet, Archives historiques du Poitou, 3 (Poitiers, 1874), no. 170. Viscount Rainald died before March, 994 when Viscount Fulcoius appears in an Angevin charter. See the Cartulaire noir, no. 27. For Count Geoffrey Greymantle's dates, see Halphen, Le comté, pp. 6, 8.


12. See the Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme, ed. Ch. Metais (Vendôme, 1892), vol. 1, no. 52.

13. See the Chronicon Nauquetense (Chronique de Nantes), ed. R. Merlet.
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15. See note 7 above.

16. See Halphen, Le comté, pp. 349-50. This document records the agreement made between Count Geoffrey and Viscount Rainald for the accession of Bishop Rainald to the Angevin bishopric when Bishop Nefingus died. In the agreement, Viscount Rainald promises that Bishop Rainald's inheritance (hereditate) would fall to the count. We are only able to determine that this hereditas was in the Mauges region from a notice of the Bishop's donation of this inheritance to the cathedral. The text of the donation reads in part, "Rainaldus... de reliquis alodiis suis Metallice regionis et Pictavensis pagi sancto Mauritio testamentum fecit." See Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne," pp. 195-96.

17. See below and note 21.

18. This conventio was made sometime between the accession of Count Geoffrey Greymantle to the Angevin comital office in 960 and the death of Bishop Nefingus on September 12, 973. For the date of Count Geoffrey's accession, see Halphen, Le comté, p. 6. For the date of Bishop Nefingus' death, see note 8 above. A notice of this nonextant conventio is found in the document published in Halphen, Le comté, pp. 349-50.

19. See note 16.

20. In the latter half of the tenth century and the first part of the
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eleventh, the pagus Hetallicus, the Mauges, which originally belonged to the civitas Pictavorum, was incorporated into the county of Anjou and the diocese of Angers. See J.-F. Lemarignier, Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140 (Paris, 1937), p. 93. The Mauges passed from the control of the Poitevin counts in 942 when William, count of Poitou, signed an agreement with the Breton count of Nantes, Alan Barbe-Torte. This treaty was renewed by Guérech, count of Nantes, in 983. See Chronicon Namnetense, pp. 96-97, 97 note 3, 119-20, 119 note 3. But the Mauges bordered Anjou and was of interest to the Angevin counts. Through an association between Count Geoffrey Greymantle and Viscount Rainald, the Fulconian house was able to establish an important link to the Mauges. This initial, albeit somewhat weak, tie to the Mauges was immeasurably strengthened when Count Fulk seized the properties of the Rainald family after the death of Bishop Rainald in 1005. For the seizure of this property after Bishop Rainald's death, see Boussard, "Les évêques," pp. 195-96. For 1005 as the date of Bishop Rainald's death, see the Cartulaire noir, no. 28.

21. In 1001, Bishop Rainald returned the churches of Épinats and Douces to the cathedral chapter. In the preamble of the document recording the restoration, the Bishop noted, "Sed inaridensce malitia saeculi hujus et cupiditate grassante, reges . . . coeperunt easdem
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hereditates . . . et hominibus saecularibus in hereditatem tradere unde usque hodie nos inolevit ut eas in hereditate habere videantur." See the Cartulaire noir, no. 23. The emphasis on inheritance in this preamble suggests that Bishop Rainald inherited these holdings from his father. We know that Viscount Rainald held the manse of Épinats. In Cartulaire Trinité de Vendôme, vol. 1, no. 52, the phrase occurs: "Spinciaco (i.e., Épinats), mansuram videlicet Rainaldi Toringi." The Viscount must have held Épinats for a considerable period, since his name was associated with it. Therefore, it seems that Viscount Rainald held Épinats as well as Douces and transmitted them to his son, Bishop Rainald, who restored these holdings to the cathedral chapter.

22. For Viscount Rainald's cooperation with Count Geoffrey Greymantle, see note 10. For Bishop Rainald's ties to Count Geoffrey, see the Cartulaire Saint-Aubin, nos. 3, 22, 821. Moreover, it was probably with the full cooperation of Count Geoffrey that Bishop Rainald re-established religious observance at the abbey of Saint-Serge and Saint-Bacchus. Bishop Rainald "misit monachos . . . pro anima . . . Gafridi comitis et Fulconis filii sui." See the Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. L. Delisle (Paris, 1874), vol. 10, p. 583. Since Geoffrey is called count and Fulk is not, Geoffrey was probably still living when Bishop Rainald "sent monks" to Saint-Serge.

23. See the document in Halphen, Le coxté, pp. 349-50. It is clear
from this document that Count Fulk was angered by the Bishop's donation of his inheritance to the cathedral. Since the Bishop's gift occurred in 1001, this claim must have been made after 1001. See the *Annales Vindocinensis*, p. 59, for the year 1001. The claim must have been made before Bishop Rainald died on June 12, 1005 since he takes an active part in denying the comital claims. For the date of Bishop Rainald's death see note 20.

24. See King Robert's confirmation of a donation made by Bishop Rainald to Saint-Serge published in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 10, p. 583. Count Fulk opposed both the Bishop's donation to Saint-Serge and the donation to the cathedral chapter. Both these gifts were made at the same time, i.e., in 1001. See the document in J. Boussard, "Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne," pp. 195-96. The Bishop only required support for his donations after the Count opposed them. He obtained the royal confirmation of his gift to Saint-Serge and papal confirmation of his gift to the cathedral. See the *Cartulaire noir*, no. 26. For the dates of King Robert II, see Ch. Pfister, *Études sur le règne de Robert le Pieux, 996-1031*, (Paris, 1885).

25. Bertha had been married to Odo I, count of Blois, and had two sons, Odo II, count of Blois, and Tethbald, bishop of Chartres. For Bertha's first marriage to Odo I, see Halphen, *Le comté*, p. 105. Bishop Rainald witnessed a charter issued by Queen Bertha and her two sons between August 24, 1003 and December, 1003. See *Marmoutier*.
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Cartulaire blésois, ed. Ch. Metais, (Morlau, 1891), p. 10. For Tertbald as bishop of Chartres, see R. Merlet, "Notes sur la mort d'Eudes Ier, et sur Thibaut, comte et évêque de Chartres," Procès verbaux de la société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 9 (1898), 87-89. It was also in this period that Bishop Rainald acceded to a request made by Count Odo II to exempt the lands of the monastery of Saint-Florent lying within the Angevin bishopric from all exactions by the Angevin clergy. See the document in Léonce Lex, "Eudes, comte de Blois, de Tours, de Chartres, de Troyes, et de Meaux, et Thibaud, son frère," Mémoires de la société académique d'agriculture des sciences et belles-lettres du département de l'Aube, 30 (1891), 318-20. The datum clause of this charter gives the date of June 2, 994. However, the charter should be dated after August 24, 1003 and before the death of Bishop Rainald on June 12, 1005. For the death of Bishop Rainald, see note 20. For the dating of this charter, see Bernard Bachrach, "Robert of Blois, Abbot of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur and Saint-Mesmin-de-Micy (985-1011): A Study in Small Power Politics," Revue Bénédictine, 88 (1978), 136 and note 1.

26. See note 10 above.

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28. The bishopric of Angers had not been in the hands of the king since the late ninth century. See Boussard, "Les évêques," p. 164, note 11. Since the Fulconians were fideles of the Robertian dukes of Neustria at least until Fulk the Red assumed the comital title as a designation for his Angevin office in the early 940's, the Robertians controlled the episcopal office in Angers until the mid-tenth century. See Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," 265-66, 269, 100.

29. It is impossible to determine which Robertian appointed Bishop Rainald I because we do not know when he became bishop of Angers. We only know that he had died by 929. See note 27 above.


31. Tenth-century documents do not usually indicate the geographical locations of the viscounts who witness the acts. See, for example, the documents witnessed by Viscount Rainald II, note 7. See also the Cartulaire noir, nos. 22, 27, 28, where a Viscount Fulcoius is mentioned without any indication of where he functioned. A similar problem occurs with Viscount Rainald I. We do not know where his viscontiel office was located.

32. See the Annales Vedastini, Les annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast, ed. C. Dehaisnes (Paris, 1871), p. 322 under 885;
Thus, this Duke Rainald had political associations with the Robertians similar to those of Viscount Rainald I, Bishop Rainald I, and Bishop Rainald II (when we consider Bishop Rainald II's association with the descendants of the Robertians, the Capetians).

34. See the Miracula Martini, p. 575.

35. Miracula Martini, p. 575.

36. See note 15.

37. See the Chronicon Karvetense, p. 6. The text reads: "Rainaldus, Pictavensis nobilis miles et magnae potentiae homo."

38. See the Chronicon Karvetense, p. 9, note 1.


41. Atlas historique, plate 9. See also notes 16, 19, and 20 above.

42. See Longnon, Atlas historique, plate 9, where the location of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes is called by its earlier name, Ensionem. For this name and its association with Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, see the Miracula Martini, p. 574.

43. See Lot and Halphen, Le règne de Charles le Chauve, p. 76, note 7.

44. Le règne de Charles, p. 77. Count Rainald I of Nantes was defeated
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and killed in a battle with Lambert and the Bretons, allies of Lambert. Lambert wanted the countship of Nantes since a relative of his, another Lambert, had previously been count of Nantes. See Lot and Halphen, Le règne de Charles, p. 76; and the Chronicon Namnetense, p. 6, note 1.

45. For the Viking attack on Nantes in 843, see Lot and Halphen, Le règne de Charles, p. 79. For the re-foundation of Saint Martin of Vertou at Saint-Jouin, see the Miracula Martini, pp. 573-74.

46. See notes 41 and 42 above.

47. See note 39 above.

48. See above, pp. 36-37.

49. See note 44 above.

50. See the Chronicon Namnetense, p. 23.

51. See Lot and Halphen, Le règne de Charles, p. 117, note 5. See also Jan Dhondt, Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales (Bruges, 1948), p. 87.

52. For the death of Count Rainald I of Nantes in 843, see note 44 above.

53. For the death of Herveus, see note 51 above. For Merlet's opinion that Count Rainald II of Herauge (853) was the son of Count Rainald I of Nantes and (earlier) Herauge, see the Chronicon Namnetense, p. 6, note 2. See also the Chronicon Sancti Nazontii Pictavensis, Chroniques des églises d'Anjou, ed. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris, 1869), p. 366 under 852. However, I have followed Merlet in dating Count Rainald II's appearance in the
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Herbauge to 853.

54. See note 39 above.

55. For Viscount Rainald II's association with Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, see note 7 above.

56. See note 41 above.

57. See notes 16, 20, and 23 above.

58. It is possible to suggest that Count Rainald II of Herbauge and Duke Rainald of Maine were the same man. In the account which records Count Rainald II's comital office in the Herbauge, it also mentions that he was fleeing the Vikings. Apparently, he escaped with his life. See the Chronicon Mazontii Pictavensis, p. 366 under 852. See also note 53 above. In the account which mentions Duke Rainald of Maine, it is recorded only that he was killed in 885. See note 32 above. It is possible that Count Rainald II of Herbauge fled his county, migrated eastward and then, later, was given a military responsibility in Maine as a dux. Of course, this is only one possible scenario and the sources do not allow us to draw this conclusion.


61. See Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," 160. For a similar
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view, see Dhondt, Études sur la naissance, p. 322.

62. See the document cited in note 59 above. See also Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," 180.

63. See above, pp. 37-38.

64. See notes 38, 39, 44, and 51 above.

65. The other Herveus in the episcopal letter to the Bretons can be identified with the Count Herveus who signed a charter issued in 859 by Countess Warimburgis and her son, Odo. For the two Herveus who sign the episcopal letter, see note 59 above. For the charter of Countess Warimburgis with the participation of Count Herveus, see the Monuments historiques: Carton des Rois (Paris, 1866), pp. 107-08, 170. This Count Herveus was probably not a member of the Rainald family. He was an ancestor of the counts of Montagne-Corbonnais. See Werner, "Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit," 180; and Dhondt, Études sur la naissance, p. 322.

66. See above, note 27; and the Cartulaire noir, p. xxv.


68. For the previous associations between Rainald family members and the Robertians, see above, pp. 36-38.

69. For the control exercised by the Robertians over the Angevin bishopric when Bishop Herveus was appointed, see above, p. 56.
notes nos. 28, 29. Since we do not know when Bishop Herveus was appointed, it is impossible to determine which Robertian duke appointed him as bishop of Angers. We only know that he was bishop of Angers in 929. See above notes 27, 29.

70. See Habille, *Introduction aux chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, pp. CV-CVIII.


72. See the *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. H. M. Prou and Alexandre Vidier (Paris, 1900-1907), pp. 120-22.

73. See note 58 above.

74. For his full title, see the diagram on p. 45. See also above, p. 40.

75. For the date of Bishop Rainald's death, see note 20.

76. Hugh appears in only one document and in that one he is only mentioned as one of the souls for whose sake Bishop Rainald re-established monastic life at Saint-Serge and Saint-Bacchus. See the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 10, p. 583.


78. For Viscount Fulcoius' appearance in 994, see note 10 above. For his cooperation with Bishop Rainald, see the *Cartulaire noir*, nos. 22, 28; as well as the *Cartulaire Saint-Aubin*, no. 130.
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79. Fulcoius is found in two documents dated after Bishop Rainald II's death, but these are inauthentic. See Olivier Guillot, Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle (Paris, 1972), vol. 2, nos. (3), (3bis).

Robbinsdale, Minnesota

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