

Crusade, Crisis, and Statecraft in Latin Christendom:
The Case of Fulk V of Anjou (1090-1143)

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Dedication

For my mother,
whose love, support, and sacrifice
taught me to love, support, and sacrifice
for what is important.

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Abbreviations

AA = Albert of Aachen. *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S.B. Edgington. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

AD = Archives départementales

AN = Archives Nationales (France)

APC = *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, eds. Gustave Busson and Ambroise Ledru. Archives historiques du Maine, vol. 2. Le Mans: Siège de la Société, 1902.

Arr. = Arrondissement

BEC = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*

BM = Bibliothèque municipale

BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

Cant. = Canton

CCA = *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin. Paris: A. Picard, 1913.

Cme = Commune

Dép. = Département

Dioc. = Diocese

GAD = "Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin. Paris: A. Picard, 1913: 74-132.

GCA = "Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin. Paris: A. Picard, 1913, pp. 25-73, 135-171 for additions.

JM = John of Marmoutier, "Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et comitis Andegavorum," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin. Paris: A. Picard, 1913: 172-231.

MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica

OV = Orderic Vitalis. *Historia Ecclesiastica: The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols., ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1980.

p.j. = pièce justificative.

RHC Oc = *Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1844-1895.

RHGF = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols., ed. M. Bouquet et al. Paris: 1874.

RRAN = *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, 4 vols., eds. H.W.C. Davis et al. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913-1969.

Suger = Suger of Saint Denis. *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929.

WM = William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors; completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-1999.

WT = William of Tyre. *Chronique*, 2 vols, ed. R.B.C. Huygens. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986.

Note on Translations and Terminology

Due to their recycling of personal names across generations, in conjunction with recurring cognomina, the counts of Anjou often appear in different guises in modern scholarship. For the sake of clarity, I generally refer to the Angevin counts by their nicknames where available, assigning them ordinal rank where multiple such counts exist. That is to say, we will speak of: Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060), rather than Geoffrey II; Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8), instead of Geoffrey III; Geoffrey Martel II (d. 1106), rather than Geoffrey IV; Fulk le Réchin, instead of Fulk IV. The twin exceptions here are the earlier twelfth century counts: we will concern ourselves with Fulk V (r. 1109-1129), not Fulk the Young(er), as well as Geoffrey V (r. 1129-1151) rather than Geoffrey le Bel or Geoffrey Plantagenet. Avoiding usage of the ‘Fulk the Younger’ moniker is more than an idiosyncratic choice: *Fulco Iunior/is* is an identification shared by Fulk V and his father Fulk le Réchin in contemporary documentation. The comparative is in reference to their predecessor, Fulk Nerra. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, we will call Fulk V as so.

Other names have generally been rendered into their French rather than English forms, e.g. *Raginaldus* has become Renaud instead of Reginald. There are a few exceptions to this rule, such as *Radulfus* sometimes being rendered as Ralph instead of Raoul. Barring any errors, such usage is intended to be consistent with regard to specific individuals, e.g. Ralph of Beaugency remains a Ralph even while Raoul of Tours remains a Raoul. Also, note that the common linguistic construction—“X, son of Y”—has been condensed to “X fitz Y” in what follows.

With regard to dates, readers will note the variant usage of ‘x’ intervals and ‘-‘ intervals. The distinction here is in regard to whether the indicated interval of time represents possibility or inclusive duration. Thus, if Geoffrey of Clairvaux is said to be seneschal in 1110x1112, we are to understand that our knowledge is limited to his known service *at*

some point during that interval. If, on the other hand, Robert fitz Renaud is described as seneschal in 1121-1129, then we might be certain that Robert maintained his post inclusively of those years, i.e. from 1121 through 1129. Maintaining variant usage of the ‘x’ and ‘-‘ intervals is critical in the present study, as many of our investigations will concern functionaries whose possible dates of service overlap. To conflate temporal possibilities with temporal certainties would only introduce confusion.

References to the catalog entries of Appendix A will appear as bracketed entities bearing an ‘F’ designation, i.e. [F #]. References to the catalog entries of Appendix B will appear with a ‘G’ designation, i.e. [G #].

Introduction

Few today would invoke the construct of the ‘Twelfth-Century Renaissance’ without a considerable degree of reservation or, at least, qualification. Nevertheless, most scholars concur that the twelfth century represented a time of dynamic, diversified, and self-conscious change for Latin Christendom.¹ Developments in political-cultural landscapes of power rank among the most significant legacies of the twelfth century. Chief among these developments was the reemergence of centralized political authorities within the principalities of western Europe following a century of fragmentation.² This dissertation project investigates how one particular prince, Fulk V of Anjou, sought to reconstruct centralized authority in the fractured lands of his dynasty’s historic domain. It will be

¹ The classic work is: Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927). Although scholars today generally refrain from invoking the term ‘Renaissance,’ the paradigm remains as influential as ever. Part of the continuing success of the Renaissance construct may be attributed to twelfth century contemporaries who, in reflecting upon the times in which they lived, confidently proclaimed themselves to be living in an age of social and cultural efflorescence. See the discussion in: R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 13-14. Recent critical scholarly responses have sought to revise the analytical frameworks of societal reconfiguration in the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance rather than discard the paradigm entirely. See, for instance: Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Francis Oakley, *The Mortgage of the Past: Reshaping the Ancient Political Inheritance (1050-1300)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 6-14. For others who seek to broaden the temporal bounds of Haskins’ Renaissance paradigm, the twelfth century remains the pivot on which societal transformation hinged, with the previous centuries offering the preparatory groundwork. Refer to R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

² The loose geopolitical coherence of many such ‘territorial principalities’ problematize lordly claims of jurisdictional authority therein, as well as scholarly analyses based on the assumption of such coherence. In many cases, it is more defensible to speak of contested zones of ducal, comital, and royal influence than it is to demarcate borders of official jurisdiction. For reflections on this matter, see: Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 467-474; Ronnie Ellenblum, “Were There Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, eds. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 105-120.

argued that Fulk's achievements must be attributed chiefly to his engagement with another of his era's most significant developments: the advent of crusading. Each chapter of this project individually establishes the historical and historiographical frameworks in which it operates. Therefore, in what follows below, we will explore only the broader historical contexts and scholarly debates that frame the project as a whole. Before proceeding, we will also consider the sources and methods that the project employs.

By the late eleventh century, most princes of western Europe had experienced a substantial decline in their effective authority.³ This decline was reflected in their deepened inability to exercise the judicial, military, and economic prerogatives that they had formerly enjoyed, originally as *fideles* of the Carolingian kings but subsequently, following the dissolution of the Carolingian *regnum Francorum*, as autonomous lords of

³ The developmental trajectory of 'decline' in each principality varies. However, most princes of western Europe witnessed a decline in their authority over the course of the eleventh century, with a recovery beginning toward the latter end of the same century. Of notable exception were the Norman princes, who evaded prevailing currents of continental decline by crossing the Channel and conquering the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of England in 1066. For a comparative discussion of the Norman exception, see: Jean-François Lemarignier, *La France médiévale: Institutions et société*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 2000), 125. For the model of 'feudal' decentralization, see the now classic work, to which most contemporary historians of individual principalities are responding either explicitly or implicitly: Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâconnaise* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1953). See also: Idem, "The Evolution of Judicial Institutions: Burgundy in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 15-58. For an intensive overview of such matters in the context of Boulogne, where the arc of such trajectories was less acute, see: Heather J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). For the Flemish counts, who began to recover the erstwhile authority of their office toward the later eleventh century following a decline commencing in the late tenth, refer to: David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992).

their own domains.⁴ Lay and ecclesiastical clients had drifted from comital, ducal, and royal orbits of influence, forging between themselves new interrelationships of patronage and obligation that displaced the centrality of the princes in local landscapes of power.⁵ By the later twelfth century, many of those same principalities exhibited not only a reestablished but also a strengthened princely exercise of power over resident aristocratic kin groups and ecclesiastical institutions. Princes had managed to reassert the central position of their offices within regional landscapes of power, re-orientating subordinate relationships under their own auspices and once again exercising with regularity their Carolingian-devolved prerogatives of rulership.⁶

Yet, what princes achieved in the earlier twelfth century was not simply a restitution of the centralized authority that their predecessors had lost during the preceding century. Rather, these princes had begun to reformulate the prevailing praxis of rulership itself.⁷ From programs of governance based upon and, therefore, subject to the

⁴ The first scholar to have examined at length and in such terms the tenth century inheritance of Carolingian prerogatives was: Jan Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe-Xe siècles)* (Bruges: De Temple, 1948). Dhondt's work is, however, marred by a distinct hostility toward Carolingian instruments of rulership, instruments which he believed were oppressive of the subject populations. The comital and ducal appropriation of these instruments as independently held privileges was, therefore, a coup for the people whom the princes, as opposed to the kings, ruled justly. Moreover, Dhondt argued that comital and ducal power never significantly devolved to local castellans or ecclesiastical figures. Refer to: Dhondt, *Études*, 231, 235-237, 254-255.

⁵ Eleventh century monastic complaints concerning *malae consuetudines* are, therefore, less a reflection of actual baronial exploitation of established customary practices and more a means by which monastic establishments sought to compete with local lords in the acquisition and exercise of regional privileges. For a discussion, see: Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 131-3, 137-43.

⁶ Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making: 843-1180*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 256-294.

⁷ There is a question here of intentionality. It is not my purpose here to suggest that Latin Christian princes of the early twelfth century held some prescient vision of bureaucratic states to bring into fruition. Rather, the environment in which they found themselves encouraged reforms of rulership that, in concert with ensuing contingencies of historical circumstance, ended up yielding the medieval European state by century's end. This is a central theme of the present work and one upon which we will intermittently reflect throughout the project.

vagaries of personal rule, there were increasing shifts toward channeling princely authority through quasi-bureaucratic functionaries and regularized fiscal-judicial mechanisms.⁸ Though regional trajectories concerning such matters varied, the cumulative effect of such reorientations of rulership was the transformation of the political landscapes of Latin Christendom. For example, the cultivation of self-perpetuating mechanisms of governance allowed princes to be securely absent from their lands for progressively greater durations of time.⁹ This, in turn, enabled the unprecedented proliferation of interregional diplomacy between comital, ducal, and royal entities.¹⁰ The consolidation of princely authority within bureaucratic mechanisms, in conjunction with such intensive diplomacy, facilitated the consolidation of geopolitical units. By the end of the twelfth century, much of western Europe had fallen under the aegis of either the Angevin Empire or Philip Augustus' reconstituted *regnum Francorum*.¹¹ Modern scholars have referred to these two polities as the first post-Roman

⁸ To be sure, the timeline of this shift, as well as the not-necessarily-linear progress of that shift at any given point, has been the object of enormous scholarly debate. We will review such matters below.

⁹ The advanced stages of this reorientation make it clear that such a shift had been underway. For instance, King Henry I (r. 1100-1135) was repeatedly forced to return from his continental holdings to England in order to manage various affairs there, lest that realm collapse. In comparison, his grandson, King Richard I (r. 1189-1199), spent only six months of his ten-year reign in an England which yet remained whole by the end of his reign; in his prolonged absences, Richard's administrators were able to maintain the realm on his behalf, acting and being received by their contemporaries as legitimate conduits for royal authority. See: John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 269-282.

¹⁰ Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹¹ The Angevin Empire comprised the territories of England, Normandy, Maine, Brittany, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Touraine. With regard to the forging of this empire under Fulk V's dynastic successors, see: C. Warren Hollister and Thomas K. Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 12, 2 (1973), pp. 1-25; Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Idea of the Angevin Empire." *Albion* 10, 4 (1978), pp. 293-299; John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold, 2001); Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007). The classic work on King Philip's efforts, which dramatically expanded the effective power of the Capetian kings, remains: John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

states in the European tradition.¹² Indeed, earlier twelfth century developments in the exercise of centralized power had established the logistical and conceptual groundwork for the emergence of the medieval state, itself arguably the precursor to the modern bureaucratic state.¹³ The investment of princely authority within bureaucratic mechanisms had, thus, fostered ‘international’ diplomacy, facilitated consolidation of geopolitical structures, and fundamentally enabled state-formation in Latin Christendom during the twelfth century.

To what might be attributed the rise of an administrative disposition among early twelfth century princes who were pursuing such processes of centralization? In comparison with the import of the matter, there has been a shortage of scholarly efforts investigating the question, at least with regard to the exercise of sub-royal power, though

¹² The classic work is: Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, 2005). To be sure, the invocation of the ‘state’ construct is bound to raise red flags for some scholars of the Middle Ages. Rees Davies has argued that the term ‘state’ is “so infected with the connotations of its modern associations that its usage distorts our very understanding of medieval society and its power relationships.” Even at the level of heuristic, preservation of the term fundamentally imperils our apprehension of medieval realities of power; the notion of the ‘state’ inescapably pulls our attentions away from the various historically contingent nodes of local power relations. See: Rees Davies, “The Medieval State: The Tyranny of a Concept?” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16, 2 (2003), pp. 280-300: 292 for the quotation. In response, Susan Reynolds has agreed that scholars must exercise caution and critically examine their use of the term ‘state’ in the medieval context. However, Reynolds rejects the idea of abandoning the term which, as she points out, is highly particularized to *every* context: the modern nation-state, from which we problematically reverse-engineer the notion of the ‘state,’ looks categorically different than every other state which scholars have identified in pre-modernity. Casting off the term for the medieval European context limits our understanding by shutting off potentially fruitful avenues of comparative analysis. We should preserve the term while seeking to refine what it means in its specifically medieval European context. See: Susan Reynolds, “There were States in Medieval Europe: A Response to Rees Davies.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16, 4 (2003), pp. 550-555. I am inclined to agree with Reynolds’ assessment.

¹³ The medieval state has been characterized as a “permanently ambiguous concept.” See: Alan Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 295. Though sometimes intended as a dismissive assessment, one should observe that a concept’s elasticity is precisely that which allows it to find renewed currency and generative influence in different contexts over time. This is a point which has been fundamental in the study of human traditions. Refer to: Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

the implications for royal authority have received considerable attention.¹⁴ The classic institutional studies of medieval French principalities rarely treated the earlier twelfth century in a sustained manner. Though bringing some attention to bear upon the mechanisms of comital and ducal rulership, administrative developments on the eve of state-formation were not the subject of discrete analysis.¹⁵ More recent scholarly attentions have gravitated toward the polar ends of the long twelfth century, here defined as the period from roughly 1060 to 1215. The debates concerning the fragmentary aftermath of the so-called feudal (r)evolution of 1000 and its consequences for local lordship dominate scholarly attention on one end.¹⁶ Investigations into the established

¹⁴ With regard to royal Anglo-Norman and Capetian administrative developments during the earlier twelfth century, see, among others: Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Eadem, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. A. Clark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Jacques Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1938); W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). As concerns the rise of accountability in the administrative operations of abbatial princes, refer to: Robert F. Berkhofer III, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Georges Duby established the reigning model for the institutional study of a principality: Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâconnaise* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1953).

¹⁶ The historiography here is substantial. A classic starting point is the series of conversations during the 1990s in *Past and Present*: Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 142 (1994), 6-42; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 152 (1996), 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 155 (1997), 177-208; Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution': Reply," *Past and Present* 155 (1997), 208-225. As with most flashpoints of scholarly contention, the arguments had been longstanding. In the 1950s, Georges Duby and Jean-François Lemarignier had revised prevailing orthodoxies by proposing a breakdown in Carolingian institutions of public order not upon the dissolution of the *regnum Francorum* in 900 but, rather, around the turn of the millennium. For nearly a century, counts and dukes continued to exercise the powers of justice and administration that the erstwhile Carolingian kings had delegated to them. However, discontented by the steady hand of the princes who ruled over them, castle-lords seized power at the local level between 980 and 1030. The devolution of political-judicial authority to the castellans led to arbitrary violence and unjust customary practices for which local actors had little available recourse. Princes would not manage to restore public order until 1100 with the advent of "feudal" relationships of mutual obligation. This vision of the eleventh century remained dominant for some time. See: Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région Mâconnaise* (Paris: Librairie Armand

governmental apparatuses and apparatchiks of the Angevin Empire and Philip Augustus' *regnum* dominate scholarly efforts on the other end.¹⁷ The book-ending of the transformative period of the earlier twelfth century, the bridge between eras of substantially different modes of rulership, makes for a *desideratum*.

Recent academic works which do traverse this bridge have followed trends in early medieval historiography in rejecting analytical frameworks inclusive of institutional mechanisms: 'informal' processes of practice and ritual have displaced 'formal' processes of institutional development in scholarly conceptions of the realities of

Colin, 1953); Jean-François Lemarignier, "La dislocation du *pagus* et le problème des *consuetudines* (Xe-XIe siècle)," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, ed. Charles-Edmond Perrin (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 401-410. Arguably the clearest articulation of their vision of a great feudal mutation has been: Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *La Mutation Féodale, Xe-XIIe Siècle* (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1980).

During the 1980s, criticisms of the Duby-Lemarignier thesis began to proliferate. Drawing upon anthropological theories of dispute resolution and kinship networks, Stephen D. White, Frederic Cheyette, and others sought to demonstrate that, in the midst of alleged anarchy, various eleventh-century actors had found reliable non-institutional mechanisms and strategies to maintain social order. During the 1990s, the dispute came to a head in the aforementioned pages of *Past and Present*. The anti-revolution argument was presented most forcefully by Dominique Barthélemy who, there and elsewhere, posited a *mutation documentaire* that had misled the revolution scholars. In Barthélemy's estimation, the nature of the surviving documentation had changed during the eleventh century in ways that yield an exaggerated impression of castellan autonomy and arbitrary coercive lordship. Although influential detractors yet remain—most prominently Thomas Bisson—scholarly favor has largely shifted into the camp of evolution rather than revolution as concerns developments in eleventh-century lordship. In any case, it should be emphasized here that both mutationists and anti-mutationists today concur that there had transpired an appreciable devolution of authority from princes to castellans by the twelfth century; ongoing disagreements concern the extent and rate of such devolution over the course of the eleventh century as well as how broadly representative any one region's circumstances might be. As a result, the present study will primarily engage with the (r)evolution debate in reference to its admonitions concerning the proper use of the charter/notice source-base, given eleventh century developments. For the criticisms of the Duby-Lemarignier thesis, see: Stephen D. White, "'Pactum... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium': The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France," *The American Journal of Legal History* 22, 4 (1978), pp. 281-308; Idem, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840-1066* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Fredric L. Cheyette, "Suum cuique tribuere," *French Historical Studies* 6, 3 (1976), pp. 287-299.

¹⁷ Jacques Bousard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1938); John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd edition (London: Arnold, 2001); W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Martin Aurell, *The Plantagenet Empire, 1154-1224* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007).

power.¹⁸ The consequence is a stopgap in our understanding of medieval governance. From a world in which the princely exercise of authority yet remained personal,¹⁹ flexible,²⁰ rudimentary,²¹ and perennially subject to re-negotiation,²² we abruptly find ourselves confronting political landscapes in which complex bureaucratic apparatuses legitimately channeled princely authority in a systematic fashion.²³ Such a transformation could not have been instantaneous. Neglecting institutional developments as a key component of princely rulership during the early twelfth century thus tends to obscure rather than illuminate how and why fundamental reorganizations of political power had taken place by 1215.

¹⁸ For some recent reflections on the state of affairs in early medieval scholarship, see: Hans Hummer, "Politics and Power," in *A Companion to the Medieval World*, eds. Carol Lansing and Edward D. English (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 36-66: 38-39. To be sure, such works have been welcome correctives to the rigid institutionalist histories of the 1970s. However, it is my contention that we ought to recognize princely efforts to cultivate institutional structures of power even while those same princes sought to maintain a versatile toolkit of social strategies that were predicated upon the absence of those institutional structures. Such developmental trajectories can coincide without negating one another entirely. In any case, the dominance of 'informal' processes in recent studies of rulership can be attributed to the aftermath of the aforementioned *mutation* debates. The victory of the *mutation documentaire* camp has led to an extended practice of the victors from the eleventh century well into the twelfth. Though not entirely without merit, maintaining such an approach until the very doorstep of medieval states tends to obscure as much, if not more, than it illuminates.

¹⁹ Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 337.

²⁰ Stephen D. White, "Proposing the Ordeal and Avoiding It: Strategy and power in Western French Litigation, 1050-1110," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 89-123.

²¹ Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

²² Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c.890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004); Patrick Geary, "Living with Conflicts in Stateless France: A Typology of Conflict Management Mechanisms, 1050-1200," in *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 125-162.

²³ See: Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies*, xxi, where new models of medieval government are proposed through engagement with informal processes of medieval social interaction. However, Tanner's work, like many other such works of deep and welcome insight (e.g. Barton), concludes in the mid-twelfth century, that is, before it is forced to locate the roots of what would otherwise appear to be abrupt and seismic changes in medieval government during the late twelfth century.

This project aims to offer an explanatory framework for what might heuristically be called the rise of administrative rulership by linking that emergent paradigm to another of the great legacies of the twelfth century: the advent of crusading.²⁴ Traditionally, scholars approached early crusading as a hermetically sealed phenomenon, whose Eastern Mediterranean locus of activity had no enduring impact upon the political culture of western Europe.²⁵ Recent studies have demonstrated this assumption to be untenable. From the moment of its inception, the crusading environment had begun to reorient aristocratic notions of cultural prestige and dynastic identity.²⁶ The recurrent expeditions to the Holy Land—not just the numbered crusades but the innumerable pilgrimages that

²⁴ The advent of crusading, as well as the historical contexts which gave it shape, will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter One.

²⁵ The operative concern has been whether twelfth-century contemporaries perceived anything distinctive about early crusading vis-à-vis traditional modes of pilgrimage or warfare in medieval Europe. The argument against categorical distinction has been expressed most famously by: C.J. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), pp. 553-577. Scholarly contention arises from the circumstance that twelfth-century authors had not yet developed a vocabulary to clearly and consistently distinguish the activities of 'crusade' from the activities of pilgrimage and warfare, in whose trappings crusading had appeared. The historiography seeking to define early crusading is vast. For a useful overview, starting with the Erdmann thesis, refer to: Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 1-23. Nevertheless, the broad scholarly consensus is that Latin Christians of the early twelfth century perceived crusading to be a sort of armed, penitential pilgrimage, i.e. a malleable fusion of the concepts of penance, pilgrimage, and holy war. For an expression of this consensus, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 10; Idem, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 13-57. The relative proportion of each of those elements within contemporaneous receptions of 'crusade' must, of course, vary considerably based on the time, place, and actors involved; how best to apportion these elements in reference to those variables is chiefly what occupies contemporary scholarly attentions. For our own purposes, I would emphasize that, whatever conceptual clarity might have been achieved as the crusading movement matured, the state of affairs in the crusading phenomenon's earliest years was nothing if not ambiguous. The significance of crusading in its earliest years derived not from its ideological impact *per se*, which presupposes an ideological coherence that did not yet exist, but rather from its social impact. The mass mobilization of individuals from all segments of Latin Christian society could not but have had an impact on that society, especially once those individuals, fighting in the name of Christ, achieved epic victories in the lands of biblical Israel and then, finally, returned to Europe as heroes. In this dissertation, we will be exploring what these epochal developments—and their consequences—signified for those who stayed behind.

²⁶ Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

littered the intervening years—placed significant stresses upon the logistical infrastructures supporting the armed elite, forcing those would-be crusaders to engage in distinctive patterns of funding arrangements with their local ecclesiastical institutions.²⁷ These arrangements, in turn, provided local religious institutions with an opportunity to shape their benefactors' ideas about what gestures of lay piety and patronage might signify within such times of epochal change.²⁸ And, as more Latin Christians traveled to and returned from the Holy Land, the conduct of war itself progressively reflected their experiences in meaningful ways.²⁹ Early crusading had, it would appear, a substantial influence upon Latin Christian society.

However, in assuming cross-regional and/or diachronic approaches, these studies cannot fully consider how crusading realities shaped and, in turn, were shaped by the historically contingent concerns of individual rulers embedded within specific contexts.³⁰ Every socio-political environment exemplifies its own particularities, and it is these particularities that inform the reception of cultural phenomena, such as early crusading,

²⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Giles Constable, "The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, eds. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institution, 1982), pp. 64-88.

²⁸ Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.980-c.1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

²⁹ David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c.300-c.1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 108-150, but see also 151-189.

³⁰ Naus' recent monograph on the impact of the early crusading phenomenon with regard to Capetian dynastic identity provides some comments toward this end. Although Naus has provided many insights into how crusading informed the performance of Capetian royal authority during the twelfth century, his brief investigations are unmoored from the broader historical and material contexts of power and authority that might grant his conclusions greater extrinsic utility. Jay Rubenstein has pursued the point in his recent *H-France* review of the work. See: James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Jay Rubenstein, review of *Constructing Kingship*, by James Naus, *H-France* 17, 34 (2017).

as well as grant meaning and efficacy to specific resulting practices of rulership.³¹ Moreover, regardless of their lone significance, individual factors such as crusading form only one part of a broader amalgam of concerns that constrain, encourage, and enable potential practices of rulership.³² In parsing an individual factor and examining it across a breadth of historical and/or regional contexts, diachronic and/or cross-regional frameworks of analysis tend to obscure how that individual factor interacts with a panoply of other contingent factors that only collectively inform specific moments in the exercise of medieval power. In consideration of these limitations, this dissertation takes the form of a case study in order to evaluate the role of the crusading phenomenon in the rise of administrative rulership.

The present study focuses on a prince who was especially central in twelfth-century landscapes of change: Fulk V, count of the influential western French principality of Anjou (r. 1109-1129) and monarch of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (r. 1131-1143). Treating his reign as count, this project demonstrates that, for Fulk, the crusading phenomenon was neither a substrate nor an overlay, but rather, a central determinant of his rulership in Anjou, transforming his performance of just governance. To rule effectively within the political-social environment of crusading, Fulk had to engage in a process of reformulating and systematizing administrative, material, and discursive strategies of governance that had previously been used only inconsistently. Drawing upon a wide array of archival and published Latin sources, including charters, chronicles, and

³¹ Regarding these concerns in the context of political rituals, see: Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 220.

³² For a discussion concerning such matters, refer to: Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto, "Introduction," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*, eds. R.F. Berkhofer III, A. Cooper, and A. Kosto (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1-7.

ecclesiastical correspondence, as well as archaeological materials, I demonstrate that these crusade-inspired reforms of rulership included: the creation of bureaucratic functionaries to enforce justice at the local level as extensions of the prince's office; the manipulation and routinization of charter production as a means of bolstering comital authority; the collaborative exercise of power by male and female actors in elite kin-groups; the appropriation and adaptation of successful strategies of governance from external principalities; and, selective building campaigns to articulate power through material representation. The resulting body of formalized practices yielded an administrative praxis of governance that helped establish the conceptual and logistical groundwork for the subsequent emergence of the medieval state, as such, in Latin Christendom. Since this state arguably appeared first in the domain of Fulk's grandson, King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189), Fulk's comital reign offers a unique yet neglected opportunity to illuminate how crusading revolutionized rulership in the medieval European tradition.³³

³³ Fulk's continental successors were able to build upon his legacy in unifying, by the mid-twelfth century, most of western France and England under the so-called 'Angevin Empire,' which lasted until 1204. It was here that the medieval state, as such, is said to have emerged in the later twelfth century under Fulk V's grandson, King Henry II (r. 1154-1189), whose court culture sometimes explicitly invoked the memory of the rulership of his crusading grandfather in contemporary efforts to cultivate political legitimacy. See: Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, 2005); Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 207-250; Katherine L. Hodges-Kluck, "Helena, Constantine, and the Angevin Desire for Jerusalem," *Haskins Society Journal* 27 (2016), forthcoming.

Having observed relevant contours of modern historiography, we will now survey the scholarship that necessarily frames any study of Anjou during the early twelfth century.³⁴ Remarkably, there is a dearth of such literature: despite their recognized centrality, neither Fulk V nor his earlier twelfth-century contexts have been the recipients of sufficient scholarly attentions. Indeed, to my knowledge, there is not a scholar who has suggested that there failed to be a substantial recovery of comital authority under Fulk V following a decline in such authority under Fulk's predecessor. And yet, as we will detail below, Fulk V has not been the subject of focused study in nearly a century. Our understanding of the nature and process of Fulk's rehabilitation of comital authority in Anjou, therefore, remains exceptionally dated.

As with studies of rulership more generally, Anjou has been well-served for the eleventh as well as later twelfth centuries, just not for the intervening period.³⁵ The works

³⁴ As a point of clarification for the uninitiated: the early twelfth century principality of Anjou corresponded roughly to the contemporary French département of Maine-et-Loire. Situated in the western lands of the Loire River Valley, its capital of Angers was situated nearly equidistantly along the horizontal axis of the Loire River between the cities of Nantes in the west and Tours in the east. By the early twelfth century, the counts of Anjou had claims to territories in most adjacent principalities. Their effective authority outside of Anjou proper varied considerably. In the eastern region of Tours (Touraine), they yet held the *honor* of its capital city and a substantial amount of realized influence extending outward from their own strongholds and those of their *fideles* in the intermediate region of the Saumurois (named after its central city of Saumur). Eastward beyond the city of Tours, however, Angevin authority conflicted increasingly with that of the counts of Blois, one of their traditional enemies from whom the Angevin counts had seized the *honor* of Tours in the mid-eleventh century. Angevin comital influence in the northern county of Maine was significantly more patchy, even after the county was added to the Angevin patrimony upon the death of Count Hélias of Maine, whose daughter Fulk V had married. The acquisition of Maine brought the Angevin counts into more direct confrontation with the Anglo-Norman royal dynasty, who, as the dukes of Normandy, still held dominant interests in that principality which existed to the north of Maine. It was a confrontation that enmeshed the counts of Anjou in broader conflicts involving the Capetian kings and various Norman march-lords. In any case, in this project, we will be deploying the term Anjou generally to refer to the comital heartland, that is, the territories of Anjou proper as well as western and central Touraine. 'Greater Anjou' will largely be reserved for an inclusive discussion of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine.

³⁵ Some of the relevant historiography has been cited above, but see again: Jacques Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151-1204)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977; reprint of Paris: Honoré Champion, 1938).

of three historians, in particular, dominate earlier Angevin history. Given the frequency of their appearance in the footnotes of this project, they require some introduction here.³⁶ The first such historian is Louis Halphen. In 1906, Halphen published the first authoritative study of the princely dynasty that had achieved prominence during the eleventh century.³⁷ As with most regional studies preceding the Duby-Lemarignier thesis, Halphen considered the eleventh-century counts of Anjou to have ruled through rudimentary administrative structures that bore little resemblance to their Carolingian antecedents.³⁸ The Angevin counts' triumphs were due to their military ruthlessness, opportunistic piety, and deft management of "feudal" relationships of mutual obligation.³⁹ In Halphen's assessment, Angevin comital authority experienced minimal decline over the course of the eleventh century, with castellan inclinations of autonomy being rapidly suppressed where they appeared.⁴⁰ Although Halphen's work suffers from a bevy of problematic source and methodological assumptions common to scholarship of that era, his vision remains influential in parts.⁴¹

³⁶ Kate Norgate should receive mention here as well. Though primarily a political narrative without substantial analysis, Norgate's exploration of Angevin history remains eminently useful for establishing a foundational understanding of the Angevin dynasty. See: Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin kings*, 2 vols (London: MacMillan and Co., 1887).

³⁷ Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine-Megariotis Reprints, 1974; Original as Paris: 1906).

³⁸ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 98-110.

³⁹ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 81-91, 112, 115.

⁴⁰ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 202-205.

⁴¹ The most distinguished contemporary historian working in the neo-Halphen vein is Thomas Bisson. Though rejecting the idea that comital authority did not decline in the late eleventh century, Bisson fundamentally agrees with Halphen as concerns the historic essence of comital power. According to Bisson, those counts of Anjou whose reigns had been successful had been immensely violent lords who had ruled through the terrifying and ruthless oppression of their baronage. In Bisson's vision, ministerial corruption remained rampant, but this was of little consequence: the administrative dimensions of comital rulership were of minor benefit and, in any case, rudimentary. Throughout this project, we will be in conversation with Halphen and his adherents, given this work's rejection of their vision of administrative inconsequentiality. See: Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 130-135. In fairness to

In 1972, Olivier Guillot produced a magisterial two-volume work in response to Halphen's work.⁴² As with other principality studies of the mid- and later twentieth century, Guillot's work seeks to illuminate the survival of Carolingian institutions of public order into the eleventh century. In Guillot's assessment, the counts of Anjou maintained and cultivated their authority through modified administrative structures of Carolingian design; skillful exploitation of these prerogatives of governance are what fundamentally enabled the counts of Anjou to thrust their principality into greatness.⁴³ In Guillot's view, the fragmentation of princely authority did not occur in Anjou until after 1060 when, under the infirm rule of less capable counts, numerous Angevin castellans managed to secure a significant degree of autonomy.⁴⁴ In comparison to Halphen, Guillot also substantially accounts for the key role of ecclesiastical reform movements in curbing comital influence with monastic and episcopal actors.⁴⁵ Guillot's analysis has been criticized primarily for its overreliance on rigid understandings of the contemporary documentation⁴⁶ as well as terms appearing within that documentation.⁴⁷ Such criticisms

Bisson, his arguments extend well beyond Anjou, speaking to broad continental trends. Nevertheless, Anjou remains a touchstone in his analysis; it is, thus, perhaps not unreasonable to associate him with the neo-Halphen school of thought.

⁴² Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: A. Picard, 1972).

⁴³ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 353-432.

⁴⁴ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 299-352.

⁴⁵ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 127-194, 249-280. See also Guillot's later reflections and revisions of his earlier analysis: Olivier Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture before the Investiture Struggle in Anjou, Normandy, and England," *Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), pp. 81-100.

⁴⁶ The inflexible diplomatic approach to the charter vs notice binary has attracted significant attention in Guillot's case, especially as it led him to falsify a number of otherwise authentic *acta*. See, for example: Chantal Senséby, "Une notice fautive du cartulaire de l'abbaye tourangelles de Noyers?" *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 155 (1997), pp. 61-94.

⁴⁷ Barthélemy has been a consistent critic in this regard. See, for instance, his demonstration that Guillot's assumption of the term *dominus* reliably indicating castellan autonomy is not defensible. Refer to: Dominique Barthélemy, "Castles, Barons, and Vavassors in the Vendômois and Neighboring Regions in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995): 56-68; 58-

notwithstanding, Guillot's vision predominates over that of Halphen in recent historiography and is widely considered to be the necessary starting point for any study of Angevin history in the earlier period.

The most prominent historian working in line with Guillot is Bernard Bachrach. Bachrach has produced numerous articles and books seeking to emphasize continuity in the Angevin inheritance and manipulation of Carolingian administrative structures.⁴⁸ This aspect of Bachrach's work has often found support.⁴⁹ However, his legalistic approach to the surviving sources, as well as his insistence upon the instrumentality of neo-romanitas in the shaping and maintenance of Angevin dynastic authority, identity, and rulership, has been met with suspicion.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Bachrach has drawn invaluable attention to the material realities that constrained and, thus, fundamentally shaped the performance of comital authority. Furthermore, Bachrach remains one of the few Angevin scholars to have seriously considered whether a princely benefactor's elite social status might have played an outsized role in the shaping of the language of charters both in their initial form and in subsequent cartulary and/or notice redactions.⁵¹ In any case, this project owes a particular debt of gratitude to the work of Olivier Guillot and Bernard Bachrach: their

59n14. We will return to this particular criticism elsewhere in the present work. See also: Idem, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme: de l'an mil au XIV siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).

⁴⁸ His most influential works are: Bernard S. Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*: The Techniques Used by Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins (987-1040)," *Speculum* 59, 4 (1984), pp. 796-819; Idem, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987-1040: A Political Biography of the Angevin Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Idem, "Geoffrey Grey mantle, Count of the Angevins, 960-987: A Study in French politics," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 17 (1985), pp. 3-67.

⁴⁹ See, for instance: Thomas F.X. Noble, review of *Fulk Nerra* by Bernard S. Bachrach, *Journal of Military History* 58 (1994), pp. 319-320.

⁵⁰ See: George T. Beech, review of *Fulk Nerra* by Bernard S. Bachrach, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995), pp. 1-2; Geoffrey Koziol, review of *Fulk Nerra* by Bernard S. Bachrach, *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 332-334; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, review of *Fulk Nerra* by Bernard S. Bachrach, *English Historical Review* 111 (1996), pp. 668-669. We will discuss such criticism in Chapter Two.

⁵¹ Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 295-297.

visions of Angevin comital rulership during the eleventh century provide vital starting points for any study concerning itself with such matters for the twelfth century.

Remarkably, there has not been a sustained examination of comital rulership under Fulk V since Josèphe Chartrou's 1928 monograph. One of Halphen's students, Chartrou surveyed the institutional history of the Angevin principality under both Fulk V (r. 1109-1129) and Geoffrey V (r. 1129-1151), Fulk's son and successor.⁵² Unfortunately, this work is of somewhat limited value for our purposes. Chartrou provides minimal analysis concerning the reign of Fulk V; the bulk of her efforts are devoted, instead, to an investigation of developments under Fulk's son.⁵³ Furthermore, Chartrou offers minimal consideration of whether the crusading movement had any impact upon Angevin landscapes of power.⁵⁴ Most seriously, Chartrou's work suffers from numerous errors of not inconsequential magnitude, especially as concerns Fulk's reign.⁵⁵ This project's

⁵² Josèphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151: Foulque de Jerusalem et Geoffroi Plantagenet* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1928).

⁵³ Chartrou allots fifty-five out of the 225 pages of her work to institutional developments within Anjou during the reigns of Fulk and Geoffrey. The analytical focus is overwhelmingly upon the reign of the latter, however, particularly as concerns the transfer of administrative structures from the duchy of Normandy, which the Angevins acquired in 1144, to the principality of Anjou. See: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 107-162. Fortunately for Geoffrey V, he has recently been the beneficiary of the attentions of a formidable scholar who has begun to supersede Chartrou's considerably dated work. See: Kathryn Dutton, "Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-51" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2011); Eadem, "Authority, Administration, and Antagonism on the Margins: Tours under Count Geoffrey V of Anjou (1129-1151) and the Capetian Kings," *French Historical Studies* 37, 2 (2014), pp. 215-242; Eadem, "The Personnel of Comital Administration in Greater Anjou, 1129-1151," *Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2014), pp. 125-153.

⁵⁴ This is an oversight shared by the works of Guillot and Halphen, among other historians of Anjou.

⁵⁵ Although the errors are not ubiquitous, they are sufficiently numerous and of sufficient impact that they fundamentally warp Chartrou's analysis. Scholars of Anjou have often commented to this effect. See, for instance: Bruno Lemesle, *Conflicts et justice au Moyen Âge: Normes, loi et résolution des conflits en Anjou aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 16n1, wherein Lemesle characterizes Chartrou's work as "*fourmille d'erreurs*." To provide an illustrative example, Chartrou indicates on pp. 97-105 that Fulk's entourage was dominated by members of the great seigneurial families. However, the evidence that Chartrou cites does not demonstrate this point. Indeed, as we will see in this project, Fulk V's early entourage, as well as that of his father after the 1080s, was distinguished by the clear absence of members of the great seigneurial families.

engagement with Chartrou's monograph is, therefore, chiefly in regard to her catalog of Fulk V's *acta*. The catalog which accompanies the present study is meant to be the successor to Chartrou's compilation, offering substantial revision and augmentation.

More recent contributions to our understanding of Fulk V's rulership derive from works whose analytical focus tends to be elsewhere. These works examine either specific castellanies within Anjou,⁵⁶ proximate counties within the Angevin orbit,⁵⁷ aristocratic involvement in monastic affairs,⁵⁸ the logistical response to crusading by the Angevin aristocracy,⁵⁹ or local manifestations of judicial proceedings.⁶⁰ In their investigations of related matters, Kathryn Dutton and Nicholas Paul have also occasionally broached issues of crusading and rulership under Fulk V.⁶¹ This project aims to build upon the various insights of these works.⁶² Nevertheless, a sustained analysis of the various factors informing Fulk V's rulership remains a longstanding *desideratum*. Although the process remains unclear, historians today concur that Fulk V initiated a dramatic recovery of

⁵⁶ Peter Joseph Burkholder, "The 'Feudal Revolution' and the Lords of Durtal," *Haskins Society Journal*, 11 (2003), 85-96. See also: Idem, "The Birth and Growth of an Angevin Castellany: Durtal in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2000).

⁵⁷ Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004); Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme: de l'an mil au XIV siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).

⁵⁸ Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Penelope D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage, and Power: The Abbey of la Trinité, Vendôme, 1032-1187* (New York: New York University Press, 1981).

⁵⁹ Mark E. Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades, 1095-1145," 3 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2008).

⁶⁰ Bruno Lemesle, *Conflits et justice au Moyen Âge: Normes, loi, et resolution des conflits en Anjou aux XIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008).

⁶¹ Kathryn Dutton, "Crusading and Political Culture under Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-51," *French History* 29, 4 (2015), 419-444; Nicholas L. Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise," *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), 127-141; Idem, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

⁶² That is to say, throughout this project, we will be engaging directly with their claims, seeking to revise or augment their analyses within the focused investigation of Fulk V's rulership that this dissertation provides.

Angevin comital authority, rehabilitating it from the dilapidated state in which he inherited it.⁶³ This project seeks to explain that process and how the crusading phenomenon played a central role in the fortunes of the Angevin dynasty during the early twelfth century.

The twelfth century witnessed a proliferation of historical writing and general record-keeping in western Europe.⁶⁴ This efflorescence of literary production can partly be attributed to some of the historical factors discussed above.⁶⁵ Here, we will discuss the array of sources upon which the present study draws, as well as the methodologies employed to make use of them. As concerns the narrative material, we are fortunate to have a range of chronicles, annals, and other such accounts that touch upon events in Anjou during Fulk V's lifetime. A variety of ecclesiastical institutions scattered across Greater Anjou either produced recensions of existing annals during Fulk's lifetime or later compiled such works which recalled events of the earlier twelfth century.⁶⁶ Between

⁶³ Dunbabin, *France in the Making*, 333-340.

⁶⁴ Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

⁶⁵ With regard to shifting lay perceptions concerning the possibilities of the written word as a source of legitimacy, see: M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

⁶⁶ *Annales Qui Dicuntur Rainaldi Archidiaconi Sancti Mauricii Andegavensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1903) pp. 80-90; *Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1903), pp. 1-49; *Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1903), pp. 111-126; *Annales Sancti Sergii Andegavensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1903, pp. 91-110); *Annales Vindocinenses*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard et Fils), 1903, pp. 50-79.

the early twelfth and thirteenth centuries, various cathedral canons and monastic scribes brought forth a series of chronicles and other short narrative texts recording historical developments pertaining to their religious institution.⁶⁷ Of particular interest to us is the *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium*, a twelfth century redaction of a non-extant ninth century narrative text recounting the deeds and various lordship claims of the bishops of Le Mans; the twelfth century redaction of the *Actus* provides us with unique insights concerning the evolving relationship of the Angevin counts with the Manceaux episcopate during Fulk V's lifetime.⁶⁸

Neither annals nor chronicles are, of course, empirical repositories to uncritically mine for historical events.⁶⁹ Awareness of the contexts in which such texts, especially

⁶⁷ "Chronica Rainaldi," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869) 3-16; "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869) 17-61; "Chronicon Sancti Sergii Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869) 127-152; "Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 351-433; "Chronicon Petri Filii Bechini," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 1-63; "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 64-161; "Textus de dedicatione ecclesiae Majoris Monasterii," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 338-342; "Narratio de commendatione Turonicae provinciae...," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854) pp. 292-317; "Fragmentum Chronicae Prioratus de Casa Vicecomitis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 335-343.

⁶⁸ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, vol. 2, eds. Gustave Busson and Ambroise Ledru (Le Mans: Siège de la Société, 1902), hereafter as APC.

⁶⁹ Annals and chronicles are vessels of historical representation, wherein the author's particular interests inform the inclusion or exclusion of past events. In annals, historical events tend to be presented in a strictly chronological fashion, typically with minimal effort having been made to group together related occurrences in some manner of interpretive framework. Authorial ambition here tends to be limited toward the omission or inclusion of certain events, the sequence in which included occurrences are presented, and the language used to describe those events. Annals, in contrast to chronicles, present fewer difficulties as concerns the determination of and accounting for authorial perspective. Simultaneously, however, annals prove less fruitful for the modern historian, as the provided glimpses into the historical past are often too scattershot to lend themselves to significant utility.

In contrast, medieval Latin chronicles tend to feature a narrowly defined subject, often an elite political figure, as well as a "geographical and social center." These chronicles provide a sustained narrative, wherein historical realities are mediated to facilitate certain authorial ambitions. That is to say,

chronicles, operated is key for their responsible use by the modern historian. This is especially the case as concerns the various dynastic histories that began to emerge around the turn into the twelfth century. Most relevant to our purposes is the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, a narrative of the deeds of the historic counts of Anjou.⁷⁰ As we will discuss further in Chapter Two, the *Chronica* first appears to have emerged on the eve of Fulk V's comital accession, offering crucial insights into Angevin landscapes of power in the aftermath of the First Crusade. The *Chronica*'s narrative concerning Fulk V's own reign was produced as part of its first redaction in the 1130s or 1140s at the hands of Thomas of Loches, one of Fulk's chaplains before the count's relocation to Jerusalem in 1129. However, the *Chronica* would continue to be redacted through the later twelfth century by at least two additional authors, one of which was the famous John of Marmoutier. The complicated textual as well as diplomatic history of the surviving manuscripts renders difficult any extensive use of the *Chronica* as a reliable contemporary "eye-witness" to developments during Fulk's comital reign.⁷¹ Beyond Anjou, the Capetian and Anglo-Norman accounts, such as that of the Norman monk

authors of chronicles command greater agency in manipulating the reader's reception of the presented material. Some awareness of the contexts in which those authors produced their works is, therefore, necessary to utilize chronicles in an academically defensible manner. For a useful overview of these categories of historical representation, see: Hayden V. White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 6-25, at 17 for the quotation.

⁷⁰ "Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris: A. Picard, 1913), pp. 25-73, 135-171 for additions. The *Chronica* will hereafter appear as GCA. Of interest is also the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, a mid-twelfth century dynastic history of the lords of Amboise, as well as the surviving fragment of Fulk le Réchin's narrative concerning his dynastic ancestors. We will discuss these texts at greater length in the chapters that are to follow, but see: Nicholas L. Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise," *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), pp. 127-141; Idem, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin: A Reassessment," *The Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007), pp. 19-35.

⁷¹ See: CCA, vii-xvii; Nicholas L. Paul, "Origo Consulum: Rumours of Murder, a Crisis of Lordship, and the Legendary Origins of the Counts of Anjou," *French History* 29, 2 (2015), pp. 139-160.

Orderic Vitalis, offer numerous insights.⁷² Nevertheless, these accounts must be used with great caution, given their general hostility toward the Angevin counts, whose efforts frequently ran counter to that of the Anglo-Norman kings or other such patrons of the authors. This project also makes significant use of surviving letters from ecclesiastical figures in Fulk V's orbit, as well as papal bulls.⁷³

However, our main source for reconstructing the rulership of Count Fulk V, as well as the role that the crusading environment played in the fortunes of the Angevin dynasty around the turn of the century, are charters. It is primarily through a diplomatic and prosopographical analysis of these documents that we will illuminate Fulk's program to intertwine Angevin dynastic authority and legitimacy with the crusading phenomenon. A medieval charter was a juridical act/*actum* that was issued by a lay or ecclesiastical figure of some authority. At the time of its production, a charter from this period was witnessed by various individuals whose names were noted toward the end of the document.⁷⁴ The basic purpose of these acts/*acta* was to record the bestowal of

⁷² Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica: The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols., ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-1980), hereafter OV; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors; completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998-1999), hereafter WM; *Gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-1995); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Dorothy Whitelock (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1962); Suger of Saint-Denis, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929), hereafter Suger; Simeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, ecclesie*, ed. and trans. David W. Rollason (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁷³ Ivo of Chartres, *Yves de Chartres: Correspondence*, ed. and trans. Dom Jean Leclercq (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1949); Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. Geneviève Giordanengo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996); Hildebert of Lavardin, *Patrologia Latina*, 171:1-1458; "Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde," ed. Jules de Pétigny, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 15 (1854), pp. 209-235; *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II, 1119-1124: Essai de restitution*, 2 vols, ed. Ulysse Robert (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891); Ulysse Robert, *Étude sur les actes du Pape Calixte II* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1874).

⁷⁴ These witness lists were neither necessarily comprehensive of individuals in attendance nor necessarily truthful. As David Bates has argued in the Anglo-Norman context, witness lists occasionally

properties, fiscal exemptions, commercial privileges, and various other rights from one party to another for a variety of reasons, including the enactment of patronage, for spiritual benefaction, or as the consequence of a judicial verdict. Yet, in their capacity as diplomatic instruments, charters served a political-social function beyond administrative or quasi-legal record-keeping.⁷⁵

Indeed, the truth value of what transpired *wie es eigentlich gewesen* at the site of benefaction or adjudication was secondary to the truth claims that the charter, in its

served as imaginative spaces in which benefactors and beneficiaries might project ideas about who *should* have been present to better serve the purpose of the benefaction. See: David Bates, "The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters," in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth century*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 89-102: 91-94. However, we should not extend Bates' conclusions into a wholesale dismissal of witness lists. It is critical to note that such falsehoods tend to be informed by contexts of royal or episcopal power, contexts from which Bates' examples draw. The frequency of such falsehoods in princely diplomatic is unlikely to be as prevalent due both to the social ranks of the involved individuals as well as to the circumstance that princes such as the counts of Anjou did not yet have formalized chanceries through which to mediate such falsehoods. Furthermore, it should be observed that such forgeries were not random; they served meaningful purposes at the time of their production. As a result, the careful historian, by judiciously heeding the social contexts in which a benefaction was issued, can exercise caution when attempting to make arguments on the basis of particular witnesses appearing in certain kinds of charters at junctures where their invention might serve a broader, meaningful purpose. With regard to navigating and even making use of such sorts of forgeries, see: Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 315-400. For the refutation of the occasional claim that twelfth century diplomatic witnessed an increase in the rate of forgeries, see: Marco Mostert, "Forgery and Trust," in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, eds. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 37-62: 39.

⁷⁵ It was once believed that charters held an incontrovertible truth-value in medieval legal proceedings. Following nearly a century of increasing problematization, few scholars yet maintain such a notion. Nowadays, charters are often characterized as *aides-mémoires* more than anything else. Charters served as but one tool in a larger toolkit of informal strategies available to medieval contemporaries to forge compromises between one another. See: Karl Heidecker, "30 June 1047: The End of Charters as Legal Evidence in France?" in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, eds. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 85-94; Dominique Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? Observations sur des actes de Saint-Aubin d'Angers (XIe siècle)," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 155, 1 (1997), pp. 95-117.

original performance⁷⁶ and in its reification in parchment,⁷⁷ generated for contemporaries.⁷⁸ In the formulation of Charles West, charters were vehicles to “tell stories about the past in order to shape the present and the future.”⁷⁹ Preserved historical realities, as such, were to “[serve] power, honour, and understanding.”⁸⁰ The stakes were high: the written word shaped oral discourses and, thereby, conceptualizations of how the world functioned, how it ought to function, how knowledge was to be structured both in relation to itself and to other systems of knowledge, and so on.⁸¹ Therefore, every dimension of a charter—from the spatial locations of the actors to the individuals included or excluded in the list of witnesses,⁸² from the incorporation of particular liturgical formulas to the mimesis of or otherwise references to previous charters—served a purpose that would have been understood by those present as well as those relevant actors of posterity.⁸³ In other words, every *actum* was a carefully orchestrated set-piece of

⁷⁶ With regard to the later Carolingian period, Geoffrey Koziol has recently argued that diplomas must be understood as 'performatives' rather than artifacts deployed in public ceremonial. See: Geoffrey Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1-8, 38-42.

⁷⁷ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Toward an Archaeology of the Medieval Charter: Textual Production and Reproduction in Northern French *Chartiers*," in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, eds. Adam J. Kostó and Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), pp. 43-60, esp. at 60.

⁷⁸ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 74, 93, 218-223. For some pithy remarks on truth claims vs truth values in European medieval discourses, refer to: Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-9, esp. at 8.

⁷⁹ Charles West, "Meaning and Context: Moringus the Lay Scribe and Charter Formulation in Late Carolingian Burgundy," in *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, eds. Jonathan Jarrett and Allan Scott McKinley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 71-87: 81.

⁸⁰ Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 399. For a general discussion with substantial historiographical references, refer to: Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-9.

⁸¹ Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 1-11, 60-2.

⁸² Bates, "Prosopographical Study," 91-94.

⁸³ Bernard S. Bachrach has argued that the dispositive act of a charter likely would have been read aloud in the vernacular so that those audience members who could not understand Latin would comprehend

political theater. And, in its reification in parchment, a charter became a trans-historical vessel for the timeless performance of that original *actum*: when read aloud, a charter reproduced the stagecraft of its production, reconstituting for contemporaries all the political and cultural significations that the involved actors had sought to convey.⁸⁴

For these reasons, Geoffrey Koziol has recently argued for handling charters not primarily as *aides-mémoires*, but, rather, as performatives. When deployed by princes, such performatives ought to be understood as a unique form of public communication, conveying to contemporaries a range of messages about princely power, authority, and legitimacy.⁸⁵ Heeding Koziol's admonition, this project approaches the charters of Count Fulk V in just such a manner. We will see how the discursive performance of Fulk's authority was a key element within his broader program to restore the once-ascendant fortunes of his dynasty and principality. We will observe how Fulk collaborated with various beneficiaries⁸⁶ to legitimize, consolidate, and memorialize his reforms of rulership through select modifications of the generically typological structures of the

what was being done in their presence. This was especially important for the witnesses themselves, as they were implicated in the dispositive force of the *actum* itself. See: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 17n109. It has been noted that the translation into the vernacular would likely have been to the reassurance of some of the monks as well, given that a solid command of Latin—especially a sufficient proficiency to understand spoken, elevated Latin—was not terribly common at any point in the post-classical age. See: Julie Barrau, "Did Medieval Monks Actually Speak Latin?" in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 293-318: 296-297.

⁸⁴ Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 47-49. Bedos-Rezak's comments with regard to seals as process is germane here. See: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3-4.

⁸⁵ Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 1-8.

⁸⁶ The absence of a formalized princely chancery at this juncture in Anjou meant that the language of most comital benefactions was forged through a complex negotiation between the comital benefactor and the ecclesiastical (or, much more rarely, lay) beneficiary. As effective suzerains of their principality, the counts of Anjou would have commanded significant influence in the shaping of the language of their regional benefactions. Comital agency would have been especially pronounced at institutions of which the counts were preexisting patrons of note. In Chapter Four, we will see how Fulk's intimate relationship with the Abbey of Fontevraud granted him substantial agency over the language of his benefactions there.

charter.⁸⁷ It is within this medium that the necessary conceptual antecedents to Fulk's administrative praxis were forged.

There is a question here with regard to the form in which these charters survive. Of the 124 *acta* that I have identified for Fulk, only seven original parchments,⁸⁸ as well as ten original copies,⁸⁹ are extant today. The remaining charters survive in ecclesiastical cartularies⁹⁰ as either copies or notices.^{91,92} Most of these *acta* have been published in

⁸⁷ It was precisely such typologies and formulaic rhetoric that granted any modifications thereof clear and outsized significance. See: Koziol, *Politics of Memory and Identity*, 98-99. To be clear, I will not be arguing for coherent diplomatic alterations across contexts of time or place. The significances of each alteration are highly contingent to particularized circumstances, and it is these contexts of circumstance that we will be investigating as defensibly meaningful. Additionally, I would note that charters and notices since the eleventh century were becoming increasingly flexible in terms of the narrativity that they provided. In some respects, then, Fulk V's efforts to exploit the documentary genre was timely. For Barthélemy's reflections on such matters, in which he contemplates rebranding his *mutation documentaire* as *mutation expérimentaire* for the sake of more accurately gesturing toward the documentary diversification of the era, see: Barthélemy, *Serf, Knight, and Historian*, 13-17.

⁸⁸ See: Catalog ns. [F 16], [F 28], [F 51], [F 75], [F 104], [F 106], [F 124].

⁸⁹ See: Catalog ns. [F 2], [F 3], [F 6], [F 10], [F 12], [F 22], [F 61], [F 62], [F 87], [F 65].

⁹⁰ Broadly speaking, a cartulary is a compilation into a codex (or, in rare cases such as the Abbey of Ronceray, into rolls) of charters pertaining to the property and judicial interests of an institution, most commonly a monastery whose scribes would be the individuals performing the compilation. See: David Walker, "The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies," in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honor of Kathleen Major*, eds. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 132-150.

⁹¹ Various scholars, most prominently Dominique Barthélemy, have called for the collapsing of the categorical distinctions between charters, which are held to be 'original' acts that execute dispositive force and consistently exemplify first-person perspectives, and notices, which are held to be later redactions that only record and necessarily exemplify a third-person perspective. These scholars have demonstrated that the later eleventh century introduced substantial hybridization. Indeed, some original documentary productions were articulated in the third-person, though they sought to enact; some post-hoc remembrances appeared in the first-person, though they sought to record. Further confusing matters, contemporary scribes sometimes used the terms *carta* (charter) and *notitia* (notice) interchangeably in referencing the same document. As a result, it has been suggested that hybrid documents be deemed 'charter-notices' and that the categorical distinctions between charters and notices be collapsed generally. See: Dominique Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 14-15; Chantal Senséby, "Une notice fautive du cartulaire de l'abbaye tourangelle de Noyers?" *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 155 (1997): 61-94. Where the specification of a charter-notice is non-critical, I will be referring to those hybrid documents simply as charters in the chapters of this project. In any case, my catalog does indicate the hybridity of such documents when they appear as comital *acta*. As for notices that are clearly subsequent remembrances of events past, I will continue to refer to them as such and limit their analytical impact where redaction seems evident.

⁹² There is disagreement as to the extent to which cartulary copies or most notices redact the original language of princely benefactions. Scholars who investigate such documents with regularity find that, although certain monastic *scriptoria* frequently rework existing charters and even interpolate new

editions of the aforementioned cartularies, where such editions exist, or in various collections of medieval documents.⁹³ Many remain unpublished, scattered across various departmental and municipal archives in central and western France as well as at the British Library. Still others likely remain unknown to this day.

Given the fragmented and often-enigmatic distribution of such sources, scholars of Angevin history have occasionally sought to produce catalogs that collate references to known *acta* pertaining to a specific political actor or institution. Often, these catalogs will also provide diplomatic analysis of the documents in question, establishing forgeries and intertextual relationships between the surviving manuscripts. In 1928, Josèphe Chartrou published a catalog in which she identified ninety-four separate *acta* for Fulk V.⁹⁴ Chartrou also established possible dates of issuance for Fulk's charters; indeed, most documents from this period in Angevin history are not dated with any specificity.⁹⁵ Though a welcome effort in response to a difficult source-base, Chartrou's catalog is far

material, others generally refrain from doing so in a substantial fashion where princely benefactors are concerned. See: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 295-297. With the exception of certain kinds of notices that, at a great distance from the benefaction in question, collate and condense the princely *actum* alongside other matters, one can consider the "authenticity" of a given charter's language on a case-by-case basis with especial regard to the institution. As concerns the charters of Fulk V in specific, I would note that we do have a few institutionally-diverse cases in which both a cartulary copy and either the original charter or an original copy survives. In these cases, the language of benefaction remains consistent across all manuscript versions, though certain secondary matters, such as the witness lists, are occasionally truncated. Refer to: Catalog ns. [F 51], [F 62], [F 6].

⁹³ It should be noted that such collections and editions vary considerably in quality. Many of these publications feature numerous errors of transcription, summary, and/or diplomatic analysis. My catalog seeks to identify such errors where they might hinder future scholarly inquiries concerning Fulk V.

⁹⁴ Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 253-281. Chartrou actually lists ninety-eight acts for Fulk V. One such act (n. 23) is that of exclusively Countess Aremburge, i.e. Fulk V was not involved; another two sets of acts (ns. 1 and n. 40; ns. 31 and 32) are different manuscript versions of the same *actum*; and, n. 63 is a fragment of n. 59. Chartrou additionally enumerates most of the known royal *acta* of Fulk V as monarch of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1131 to 1143. She then provides a catalog for the acts of Geoffrey V, Fulk V's son and successor in Anjou.

⁹⁵ Sometimes, *datum* clauses will provide full calendar dates; sometimes, *datum* clauses will reference only the contemporaneous holders of various princely offices; and, sometimes, *datum* clauses will be absent entirely, either in consequence of scribal preservation practices or as the result of a disinclination, at the moment of documentary production, to anchor the benefaction to a specific moment in time.

from definitive. For one, it omits numerous comital charters. The compilation also includes several misattributed or false *acta*. And, perhaps most problematically, Chartrou's proposed dating intervals for Fulk's charters exemplify numerous impossibilities. Although Chartrou's compilation has been vital in facilitating scholarly efforts over the past ninety years, it is in urgent need of revision.

A central contribution of the present dissertation project, as well as the foundation of its analysis, is a comprehensive update to Chartrou's compilation. In line with the archival conventions of recent Angevin historical catalogs, such as those by Claire Lamy⁹⁶ and Kathryn Dutton,⁹⁷ Appendix A here offers a systematic cataloguing and diplomatic analysis of all known *acta* in which Fulk V participated from the moment of his documentary debut in 1096 until the time of his relocation to the Eastern Mediterranean in 1129. Augmenting Chartrou's compilation of ninety authentic *acta* under Fulk V, I have identified 124 such acts.⁹⁸ Four additional *acta* which appear in Chartrou's catalog, as well as a charter assigned to Fulk V in an edited cartulary, have been reattributed to different counts of Anjou.⁹⁹ Through substantial archival work, I have also sought to establish a fuller picture of the diplomatic histories of and relationships between the variant manuscripts in which Fulk's charters survive. Toward

⁹⁶ Claire Lamy, "L'abbaye de Marmoutier (Touraine) et ses prieurés dans l'Anjou médiéval (milieu du XIe siècle - milieu du XIIIe siècle)," 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Paris-IV, 2009).

⁹⁷ Kathryn Dutton, "Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-51," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2011).

⁹⁸ This latter figure is inclusive of Fulk V's pre-accessional *acta* which, as we will see, are critical to understanding his later rule as count of Anjou. At the beginning of her catalog, Chartrou does reference some of these acts; however, she neither includes these *acta* as relevant entries in her catalog nor analyzes them elsewhere. Indeed, Chartrou describes these *acta* as ones in which merely "the presence of Fulk the Young is mentioned." Unfortunately, this characterization obscures the wide-ranging significances of Fulk V's involvement. See: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 253.

⁹⁹ See: Appendix B.

that end, in the footnotes of this project's body-chapters, I will often cite the particular manuscript that I feel most reliably preserves Fulk's original benefaction. This is notwithstanding edited cartularies that accurately publish the text of the preferred manuscript; in those cases, I will instead cite the cartulary edition. Finally, my catalog comprehensively revises Chartrou's proposed dating intervals for Fulk V's *acta*. My dating intervals are based on extensive prosopographical research investigating the known associations and years of activity for the individuals appearing in Fulk's charters as witnesses and participants. As with any such prosopographical work, I must stress that some of my conclusions are bound to be revised upon further research. However, as the catalog presently stands, most previous dating intervals have been narrowed considerably or entirely relocated. Upon revision and publication, I hope for this catalog to serve as the future reference for scholars of Anjou working on the reign of Count Fulk V.

Each chapter in this dissertation examines how Fulk's dynasty reacted to the deepening influence of the crusading phenomenon within prevailing Angevin landscapes of power. Our analytical aim will be to clarify how that crusading environment fundamentally and increasingly shaped the performance of Angevin comital authority after 1095, inspiring the development of an administrative praxis of rulership under Fulk V. The first chapter investigates how, from 1095-1103, the nascent political-social environment of crusading disrupted traditional ideas about power and authority in western France under Fulk V's father, Fulk le Réchin (r. 1067/8-1109). Having refused to embark upon crusade himself,

Fulk le Réchin's various transgressions against crusaders and their kin generated a legitimacy-deficit that imperiled comital authority and regional stability. Indeed, there emerged a crisis that threatened the very integrity of the principality of Anjou.

Chapter Two examines three sets of attempts to manage the deepening crisis of comital authority before 1109. The first such effort was that of Fulk le Réchin himself. The aging count's failure compelled the then-comital heir and Fulk V's elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II, to undertake a *dissensio* against their father. The success of Geoffrey's efforts at the public expense of the standing count tethered dynastic legitimacy to the promise of his own accession, ensuring that, upon Geoffrey's reputed murder in 1106, Angevin comital authority collapsed entirely. In the remaining years before Fulk V's accession, various external parties, such as Count Hélias of Maine and Queen Bertrade of France, stepped forward to support the Angevin dynasty as well as to pursue their own designs. Yet, in so doing, they not only ensured the failure of their own proffered assistance but also inflicted further damage upon the legitimacy and prestige of the office that Fulk V was now destined to inherit.

In Chapter Three, I argue that, following his accession, Count Fulk V (r. 1109-1129) recognized the centrality of the crusading environment in the ongoing crisis. From 1109-1120, Fulk V formulated his policies of governance as a response to the previous failed attempts, particularly those by his father, to adapt dynastic practices of rulership to the ideological pressures generated by the crusading phenomenon. Drawing upon extensive prosopographical research, the chapter demonstrates that Fulk V acknowledged the singular place that crusaders and their kin had come to occupy in the regional prestige

economy. He deployed these individuals as the key element within an emerging administrative praxis of governance in order to rehabilitate Angevin comital authority.

In Chapter Four, I explore how Fulc's own experience of crusading in the Eastern Mediterranean had a significant impact upon his rulership during the second decade of his comital reign. When Fulc returned to Anjou from Jerusalem in 1121, his positionality had fundamentally changed: having finally embarked upon crusade himself, Fulc V had rectified one of the major shortcomings in the perceived legitimacy of his dynasty. Fulc had forged a new religious-military identity for the Angevin counts, thereby opening up new possibilities of governance. Fulc, thus, sought to relocate the performance of comital authority within broader landscapes of spiritual reform, asserting the central role of the count in rejuvenating the social fabric of Greater Anjou. This reformist realignment, as such, inspired an increased prominence to crusade rhetoric within Fulc's governance, further justifying his own efforts toward centralization within Anjou. Fulc's intensification of the systemization of administrative practices and institutions yielded in Anjou an incipient bureaucracy that would serve as the foundation of the later medieval state there.

These dissertation chapters are followed by several appendices that address supplementary matters. Appendix A provides a comprehensive cataloging and diplomatic analysis of Fulc's 124 known pre-royal *acta*. Appendix B catalogs the false *acta* of Fulc V as well as the known independent *acta* of Fulc V's first wife, Countess Aremburge. Appendix C clarifies the ambiguous matter of the year of Fulc's birth; establishing his birth-year as 1090 has significant implications for events occurring around the time of his majority. Appendix D makes the case that Fulc V spent his childhood not in Anjou but in

Brittany; situating Fulk at the Breton ducal court for his early years similarly has implications for Fulk's later relationship with his half-sister, Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, as well as his geopolitical sensitivities more generally. Appendix E seeks to establish the dates of production for Count Fulk V's three Fontevraudian pancartes, today located within Carton L 1018 at the Archives Nationales in Paris; Chapters Three and Four draw upon this analysis in order to illuminate significant, neglected aspects of Fulk's rulership.

Chapter One

Crusade and the Comital Response, 1095-1103

In the first week of March 1095, Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099) held a council at Piacenza in northern Italy. The pope had convened the conciliar assembly, well attended by clergy from across Latin Christendom, in order to discuss matters of ecclesiastical reform, especially with regard to the issue of simony.¹ Of minor immediate but epochal subsequent significance, the assembly also entertained an envoy from the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081-1118). Through his envoy, Alexius requested mercenaries to bolster Byzantium's forces as it sought to reclaim territory which had been lost to various Turkic groups in previous decades. Such requests, with their concomitant embellishment of the extent of the threat posed and the perils to which the Eastern Christian Church was subject, were not a new phenomenon.² Nevertheless, the prospect of an enterprise to relieve Eastern churches and their adherents appears to have lingered in Urban's mind as he crossed the Alps in August 1095 in order to promote reform in France as well as to cultivate ecclesiastical support in opposition to the antipope, Clement III, and the antipope's patron, Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV.³

¹ For an account of the council's proceedings, refer to: Robert Somerville, *Pope Urban II's Council of Piacenza* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

² Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 7; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13-15.

³ Concerning how later eleventh century ideas of reform in papal circles established the groundwork for the preaching of and societal enthusiasm for the crusades, refer to: H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades," in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié*

On 27 November 1095, Urban II turned such musings into action. Toward the end of the council at Clermont, Urban spoke in a field before a great crowd of laymen and ecclesiasts.⁴ Three ‘eyewitness’ accounts exist of this speech.⁵ Although the details of these and other accounts vary considerably, modern scholars generally agree that most medieval contemporaries understood Urban to be calling for a mass pilgrimage to reclaim the Holy Land through force of arms.⁶ To be sure, this was not the first occasion on which a pope had issued such a summons.⁷ Yet, Urban appears to have struck a singular

avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 65-83. Jonathan Riley-Smith has noted that Urban II's emphasis upon the liberation of eastern Christians and eastern churches echoed the papal reform focus on the liberation of ecclesiastical institutions from lay interference. See: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 17-20.

⁴ Alfons Becker notes that Pope Urban II chose Clermont as the site to preach the crusade on account of the city's central location, which would enable a geographically diverse array of attendees. These attendees would, in turn, be able to disseminate the crusading call throughout France. See: Alfons Becker, "Le voyage d'Urban II en France," in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d'Auvergne* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), pp. 127-140: 136. Somerville makes the point that actual numbers of laymen attending the sermon were probably low; most attendees were bishops and monastics. See: Robert Somerville, "The Council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian Society," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974), pp. 55-90: 72-82.

⁵ The priest Fulcher of Chartres wrote the earliest account circa 1101. The monk Robert of Reims composed his account toward 1107, and abbot Baudri of Bourgueil, later bishop of Dol, provided a rendition of Urban II's speech in 1108. With regard to the spiritual and temporal concerns of these auditors in constructing their accounts of the epochal address at Clermont, see: Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 2-36. Concerning the accounts by those who had not been in attendance at Clermont, such as the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and Guibert of Nogent, as well as the role of 'eye-witnesses' more generally in sources for the First Crusade, refer to: Susan Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 55-77.

⁶ Few topics in contemporary scholarship on the Middle Ages are more contested than what Urban II intended to convey in his speech at Clermont, what various segments of medieval society understood to be the papal summons, and how the realities and contemporaneous significances of crusading changed over time. For a useful review of the assorted trajectories of the scholarly literature, see: Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), esp. 15-17, 22-38, 47 with regard to the contemporary reception of early crusading. More recently, scholars have sought to break new ground by approaching the crusading phenomenon through an investigation of the cultural impact within Europe, especially in terms of remembrance and commemoration. See, for example: Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

⁷ H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'crusading' plans of 1074," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-

chord on that day at Clermont as well as whenever he preached the call to arms on the remainder of his year-long tour de France ending in August 1096.⁸ By July 1099, a vast host of armed Latin Christian pilgrims, set out primarily from France and the Low Countries, would have conquered numerous settlements in Syria and Palestine, including the holiest of cities, Jerusalem.⁹ The polities which they established are retrospectively known as the Crusader States, and their enterprise the First Crusade (1095-1099). Numerous additional expeditions to the Holy Land would follow, most immediately the Crusade of 1100-1101.

Fulk V was around six years of age when the Roman Pontiff initially traversed the lands of the Loire to preach crusade.¹⁰ The resulting mass mobilization of aristocratic society, as well as the heroicized reception several years later of those who had reconquered Jerusalem, would have formed some of Fulk's most vivid childhood memories. Whatever Fulk's understanding of these epochal events at the time, it must be remembered that contemporaries would have recounted such matters to Fulk time and time again in subsequent years. The future count's experiential understanding of this era was, therefore, subject to constant and ongoing refinement. These reflections would have allowed Fulk to grasp the various contextual nuances and sociopolitical significances that eluded him as a child. Illuminating Fulk's experience of these years is key, as people do

Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 27-40; Idem, "The Mahdia campaign of 1087," *English Historical Review* 92, 362 (1977), pp. 1-29.

⁸ For Pope Urban II's itinerary, see: Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)*, vol 2: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, MGH XIX/2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1988), 435-457. The classic article, to which Becker made important revisions, is: René Crozet, "Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France, (1095-1096)," *Revue Historique* 179, 2 (1937), pp. 271-310.

⁹ As concerns the discursive reconquest of the spatial typologies of Jerusalem, see: Basit Hamad Qureshi, "A Hierophany Emergent: The Discursive Reconquest of the Urban Landscape of Jerusalem in Latin Pilgrimage Accounts from the Twelfth Century," *The Historian* 76, 4 (Winter, 2014), 725-749.

¹⁰ For Fulk's age, see: Appendix C.

not have experience simply happen to them: experience constitutes them, and it is necessary to examine that constitution in order to understand them as individuals and political actors.¹¹

Exploring such matters is further important because, as we will see in this chapter, the events of these years re-shaped contemporary landscapes of power and authority in the realm which Fulk would later govern. Yet, modern scholarship on Anjou has neglected the question of whether the early crusading movement had any role to play within broader trajectories of the decline of comital authority since 1060. In this chapter, we will investigate the fateful impact of the crusading phenomenon on political culture in western France during Fulk V's childhood, 1095-1103. I will argue that the nascent political-social environment of crusading, with its emerging ideological pressures and popular aristocratic support, challenged traditional modes of princely rulership. The inability of Fulk V's father, Count Fulk le Réchin, to adapt sufficiently to the dynamic environment of crusading accelerated broader trajectories of decline, resulting in a significant deterioration of Angevin comital authority by 1103. The ensuing crisis, which we will continue to explore in later chapters, fundamentally imperiled both dynastic legitimacy as well as the territorial integrity of Anjou itself. By the time of his own accession in 1109, the instrumental role of the crusading movement in such matters would have been made abundantly clear to Fulk V, who would shape his own rulership in explicit response to the lessons of these years.

¹¹ Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, 4 (1991), pp. 773-797: 779.

The Advent of Crusade and the Societal Response in Brittany, 1095-1096

In late 1095 and early 1096, Fulk V likely still resided in the Breton ducal household under the tutelage of his half-sister, Ermengarde, and her husband, Alan Fergent.¹² Fulk's earliest memories of the crusading phenomenon would, therefore, have been shaped by the manner in which the ducal court responded to the papal summons. News of Urban II's message could have reached the court as early as Christmas 1095 upon the return journeys of the Breton prelates Roland of Dol and Benedict of Nantes. Both bishops had been present at Clermont,¹³ and Benedict, in particular, appears to have maintained close relations with his nephew, Duke Alan Fergent, visiting the ducal court on a number of occasions.¹⁴ The precise manner in which the penitential summons was articulated to the ducal household is unknown. However, several basic elements common to the various accounts of Pope Urban's crusading sermon would certainly been conveyed and, more importantly, would have resonated with arms-bearing elites such as Duke Alan and his *familiares*.¹⁵ In particular, the emphasis upon brotherhood with Eastern Christians, the

¹² For Fulk's upbringing at the Breton court since 1092, refer to: Appendix D. Even if Fulk remained at the Angevin comital court, his intimate relationship with his half-sister would have meant that he would have been made aware of the reception of crusade at the Breton ducal court and, specifically, Alan's justifications in opting to participate, despite the attendant risks. These circumstances would still have formed an explicit contrast to the contemporaneous reception of crusade at the Angevin comital court.

¹³ Somerville, "The Council of Clermont," 72-76. There is little evidence that Breton clergy comprised a subsequent part of the "papamobile"--Becker's formulation--as it toured France in 1095-1096. The "papamobile" refers to the rotating cast of ecclesiastical characters seeking consecrations, judgments, as well as privileges while Urban II trekked across southern, western, and central France. Refer to: Becker, "Le voyage d'Urbain II," 129-131.

¹⁴ Melissa B. Lurio, "An Educated Bishop in an Age of Reform: Marbode, Bishop of Rennes, 1096-1123," 3 vols. (Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 2004), I, 155n81. Benedict's association with his nephew's act of rulership would suggest that the Benedict's visits held greater relevance than simply that of an uncle visiting his nephew. It is further telling that Alan's last known actum before embarking upon crusade is a donation into the hands of his uncle, who was also abbot of Saint-Croix de Quimperlé. See: *Les actes des ducs de Bretagne*, no. 101, pp. 390-391.

¹⁵ Georg Strack has recently argued that, when comparing the various accounts of Urban II's speech with known examples of later eleventh century papal speeches, Fulcher of Chartres' version appears the most authentic. Its somber reporting of a spare, legalistic style of oratory is in accordance with

imperative of relief for churches allegedly under pagan oppression, and the spiritual as well as temporal glory to be achieved in the penitential campaign would have translated for the arms-bearing elites as a summons to war, a war which was itself holy through its papal and, thus, divine sanction.¹⁶ To be sure, the spiritual impetus generated through the papal promise of a remission of sins, should an individual fulfill his or her crusading vow in reaching Jerusalem, played a critical role. Without the attendant indulgence, it is entirely possible that most participants would not have ventured forth.¹⁷

Evidence suggests that the Breton duke had the requisite piety to find the enterprise of crusade highly attractive on its own terms.¹⁸ His spiritually attuned wife Ermengarde would have further cultivated these sensibilities.¹⁹ Yet, Alan, like many of the magnates of western France, was ensnared in geo-political quandaries that rendered undesirable the prospect of an extended absence from his domain, concerns of piety notwithstanding. For one, Brittany was surrounded by aggressively expansionist neighbors in the Angevins to the east and the Normans to the north. Alan had earlier sought to address Norman encroachment by marrying Constance, daughter of William the

established papal models of the era. The accounts of Robert of Reims and Baudri of Bourgeuil, Strack notes, were written in the context of Bohemund's crusade of 1106; their versions were meant to provide for preachers an array of rhetorical mechanisms by which to generate support for recruitment, whether or not Urban II offered such mechanisms himself. See: Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012), 30-45: 44-45.

¹⁶ David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c.300-c.1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), 108-129.

¹⁷ Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, 29.

¹⁸ Alan's sudden interest in church reform and patronage for ecclesiastical institutions after 1101 may have been a function of his experience of crusading, though Tonnerre implies that such piety was a general characteristic of the duke. See: André Chédeville and Noël-Yves Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale, XIe-XIIIe siècle* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1987), 67-68. Tonnerre does not consider the potential influence of the spiritually-attuned Ermengarde with regard to Alan's piety and support for reform.

¹⁹ Amy Livingstone, "Extraordinairement ordinaire: Ermengarde de Bretagne, femmes de l'aristocratie et pouvoir en France au Moyen Âge, v. 1090-1135," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 121, 1 (2014): 7-25.

Conqueror, in 1086x1087. However, Constance died by 13 August 1090 before she and Alan had produced children, re-opening the question of Norman designs.²⁰ Alan subsequently wed Ermengarde, daughter of Fulk le Réchin, and they brought forth around 1093 a child who was raised alongside Fulk V. These ties of kinship which, in no meager capacity, bound together Brittany and Anjou would have been of some reassurance to Alan. The prospect of Angevin relief in opposition to any Norman incursions would have given Norman partisans pause. However, Fulk le Réchin's ability to intervene within the duchy, in support of Ermengarde's regency against any internal Breton insurrections, would have been more limited.

Indeed, the duchy of Brittany featured profound structural instability. Brittany had historically been a loose assemblage of several countships over which its dukes had to exert and then attempt to maintain control through arms. Through his unitary lineage, however, Alan was uniquely positioned to bring about centralization across the duchy. His father, the late Breton duke Hoël, had bequeathed to Alan the countships of Cornouaille and Nantes, and Alan's maternal inheritance was of the countships of Rennes and Vannes.²¹ Although Alan acceded in 1084 to the Nantais without much incident, the counts and other lords of the Rennais resisted recognition of his authority. Evidence suggests that aristocratic agitation persisted through the 1080s, forcing Alan to endow his brother Mathias with the county of Nantes so that the duke might focus upon subduing insurrections in the north from a co-lateral branch of the Cornouaille kin group.²²

²⁰ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M.C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-1995), II: 260.

²¹ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 163-165.

²² Chédeville and Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale*, 64-65.

Reconciliation with some of the greater lords of Haute-Bretagne appears to have transpired by 1089, though ducal authority remained on unstable footing, inspiring the occasional rebellion such as that of Alan's maternal cousin, Count Geoffrey Boterel of Penthièvre, from 1091-1093.²³ These struggles against ducal centralization may even have had episcopal support. The worldly bishop of Rennes, Silvester of La Guerche (r. 1076-1093), was also *dominus* of the *castrum* of La Guerche along the Breton-Anjou border and, like many such march lords, valued his autonomy. Moreover, Silvester hailed from an aristocratic family that had controlled the bishopric of Rennes since at least 990 and was known to have supported discontent against former Breton dukes.²⁴ Upon Silvester's death in 1093, the bishopric remained vacant, and it is likely that the La Guerche kin group aggressively sought to install one of their own rather than a ducal partisan in the bishopric. The spiritual-moral imperative of venturing forth on crusade, therefore, conflicted with temporal concerns of preserving ducal authority within Brittany. This conflict of the responsibilities of rulership presented Alan with a dilemma that would have been discussed substantially at the ducal court.

From the contemporary as well as retrospective vantage point of Fulk V, the key development here was that Alan did ultimately choose to leave for the Holy Land, despite the risks of doing so. Making preparations during the summer of 1096, Alan departed for Jerusalem in August, conferring rulership of the duchy into the hands of Countess Ermengarde.²⁵ In addition to the availability of a capable and loyal regent in his wife,

²³ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 163-168; Chédeville and Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale*, 66.

²⁴ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 173-176, 181-183.

²⁵ The last reliably dated actum of Alan before he left on crusade was at Quimperlé on 27 July 1096, when he appears to have been relinquishing land to the abbey there. Although there is no such mention, it is likely that the abbot, Alan's uncle Benedict, provided a counter-gift of moneys to fund Alan's

several circumstances must have struck Fulk as significant in having encouraged Alan to fulfill his crusading vow. First, a handful of Alan's *milites* as well as his lordly clients elected to accompany him across the sea.²⁶ Whether Alan had to convince these individuals to join him or whether they were individually motivated to go on crusade is difficult to establish. Both are likely to have been the case. A favorable attitude by a lay or ecclesiastical lord with regard to the crusading phenomenon often had a significant impact upon crusade recruitment within that lord's *mouvance*.²⁷ Yet, crusading enthusiasm among lordly clients might also impel their lords to take the cross, though the nature of the extant sources generally obscures a causal factor in this direction. Whatever the case, it would have been of mutual benefit for lords and their clients to embark jointly upon crusade, as the mutual absence would discourage, though hardly eliminate, any familial efforts back home to aggrandize properties and privileges at the expense of the other. In Alan's circumstance, the company of Rennais lords in particular would have eliminated important domestic points of anti-ducal resistance. The desirability of achieving such an aim in advance of embarking upon a multi-year absence from one's domain would have been made clear to Fulk V.

A second development encouraging Alan to leave on crusade was the decisions of multiple western French magnates to take the cross: the vows to head east would nullify several external threats to Brittany's security. The most pressing of these threats was

impending trek to the Holy Land. See: *Les actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 101, pp. 390-391. With regard to the dating of Alan's departure alongside Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, refer to: Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 163-164.

²⁶ Chédeville and Tonnerre, *La Bretagne féodale*, 81.

²⁷ John France, "Patronage and Appeal of the First Crusade," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 5-20: 7-8, 10-11, 15-6.

Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, who likely took the cross in February or March 1096.²⁸ Although King William Rufus of England would, in Robert's absence, hold Normandy in pledge, conditions in the Norman duchy had recently become unstable due to increasing agitation on the part of discontent magnates.²⁹ Before concocting any designs on Brittany, therefore, William Rufus would first have to restore the peace in Normandy. Yet, demonstrated Anglo-Norman interest in recent years had been to reestablish authority not in Brittany, where existing Norman influence was more threadbare, but in Maine, where the Anglo-Normans already had a foothold in the pro-Norman disposition of a number of Manceaux lords. Further drawing William Rufus' interest toward the latter domain was the reality that Count Hélias of Maine had taken the cross in mid-February 1096, thereby declaring his intent to leave on crusade.³⁰ Although Hélias would eventually decide to remain in Maine, allegedly on account of William Rufus' threat to invade the county upon Hélias' departure, Hélias' decision must have occurred only shortly before the departure of the August wave of crusaders, of which Alan was a part.³¹ Hélias' decision to abort his planned accompaniment of the August host would have postdated Alan's own vow to embark upon crusade. Hélias' decision

²⁸ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 158.

²⁹ OV, V: 24-26. Orderic Vitalis attributes Robert's decision to hand over the duchy to William Rufus to the former's inability to tame his Norman discontents. However, William Aird has recently argued for the improbability of such a motivation, instead focusing upon Robert's genuine concerns of piety and a confidence in reclaiming an intact duchy upon his return: Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 154, 157-164.

³⁰ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 45.

³¹ Count Hélias appears to have intended to leave with the August host of crusaders including Robert Curthose, Alan Fergent, and Hugh of Vermandois. However, when Hélias traveled to the royal court at Rouen in advance of this departure in order to seek a guarantee of peace from King William Rufus, William allegedly demanded that Hélias cede the entire county to him, implying that the king would advance upon it anyway in Hélias' absence. See: OV, V: 228-230. This exchange between the king of England and the count of Maine would have occurred shortly before the departure of the August host, as William Rufus spent the summer scrambling to raise the 10,000 marks which his elder brother Robert Curthose demanded as a pledge for the duchy of Normandy. Refer to: Barlow, *William Rufus*, 365.

would, thus, not have been part of the reasoning process whereby Duke Alan justified setting off on crusade, having come to believe that William Rufus would not prove a credible threat with regard to Breton affairs for the duration of Alan's anticipated absence. Fulk V would have witnessed Alan's measured consideration of these internal and external concerns before deciding in favor of taking the cross.

Another critical factor bolstering Alan's confidence as to the preservation of ducal authority in his absence was the installation of one Marbode as bishop of Rennes. Evidence suggests that Marbode was chosen for the bishopric of Rennes at the Council of Tours (16-23 March 1096) through unilateral action on the part of Pope Urban II.³² Such action is neither surprising nor entirely unusual. As discussed above, the former bishop of Rennes, Silvester of La Guerche, had been a layman who had seized the episcopate in order to aggrandize familial interests. Urban seems to have felt that the canons who had operated in the cathedral under Silvester's rule were incapable of choosing an appropriate successor for the bishopric, which had been vacant for three years. Furthermore, given that one of the key aspects of the reform agenda was to liberate ecclesiastical, especially episcopal, elections from simony and otherwise lay interference, Urban was likely not keen on the prospect of Duke Alan electing the next bishop.³³ Alan had already installed his sister, Adela, as head of the convent of Saint-George of Rennes. Alan would, therefore, have been in a position to situate his own brother as the next bishop of Rennes,

³² The choice of Marbode may have been the result of influence upon Urban II by two of his cardinals, Rangerius of Reggio and Milo of Palestrina, who had formerly been monks at Marmoutier and Saint-Aubin, respectively. Fulk le Réchin certainly would have advocated for Marbode's selection, given the close ties which Marbode and his kin enjoyed with the Angevin comital house. Lurio discusses the motivations of these parties in depth: Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 150-4, 161-2, 521-3.

³³ For the most recent survey of the eleventh-century age of reform, refer to: Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: a New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 119-147.

possibly obtaining support for such an installation by his own uncle, Bishop Benedict of Nantes.³⁴

Nevertheless, from Alan's perspective, the selection of Marbode for the Rennais episcopate theoretically promised to be highly effective in safeguarding Breton ducal interests. In his capacity as archdeacon and *magister scholarum* of the cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers since 1076x1077, Marbode had cultivated and could rely upon relationships of support with a wide array of ecclesiastical and lay figures across the Loire River Valley.³⁵ Influential ecclesiasts, including Geoffrey of Vendôme, Hildebert of Lavardin, Baudri of Bourgueil, and Robert of Arbrissel, likely numbered among Marbode's many former students. Marbode maintained vigorous correspondence with several of these individuals, soliciting and providing counsel with regard to their affairs and vice versa.³⁶ Marbode appears also to have enjoyed significant shows of support from major regional institutions. For example, the papal cardinal Rangerius of Reggio, who was formerly a monk of the Abbey of Marmoutier, seems to have recommended Marbode, on behalf of Marmoutier, to Urban II as the choice for the vacant Rennais bishopric. Indeed, the Abbey of Marmoutier advocated for Marbode's nomination as bishop in exchange for Marbode's promise of future support as concerned Marmoutier's expansionary agenda across the Loire River Valley.³⁷

³⁴ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 186-187.

³⁵ Lurio, "A Proposed Genealogy for Marbode, Angevin Bishop of Rennes, 1096-1123," *Medieval Prosopography* 26 (2005), pp. 51-76: 75; Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 27-29, 58.

³⁶ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 111-115.

³⁷ A notice from the Abbey of Marmoutier suggests that Marbode had entered into a *quid pro quo* with the monks. In exchange for Marbode's later support as bishop in Brittany as well as ongoing influence within Angevin circles, Marmoutier would support Marbode's nomination for the bishopric. See: Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," Instrument n. 58, pp. 521-523. With regard to Marmoutier's expansionary agenda, see: Claire Lamy, "L'abbaye de Marmoutier (Touraine) et ses prieurés dans l'Anjou médiéval (milieu du XIe siècle - milieu du XIIIe siècle)," 2 vols (Unpubl. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Paris-IV, 2009).

Further assuring Alan, Marbode hailed from a family which was associated closely in Angevin comital governance. Marbode's father, Robert, had been a *pelletarius*, or manager of local fur processing efforts, appearing in comital entourages between 1036 and 1081.³⁸ Geoffrey Rotundellus, provost of Angers under Count Fulk le Réchin from 1068 to shortly before 1074, was Marbode's brother-in-law, having married one of Marbode's sisters. Geoffrey's son and Marbode's nephew, Herveus Rotundellus, would become another provost of Angers around 1100.³⁹ Such familial associations not only afforded Marbode a familiarity with the comital court; they also facilitated his responsibilities as archdeacon. For, the office of the archdeacon in the later eleventh century functioned as a sort of ecclesiastical provostship.⁴⁰ Archdeacons managed episcopal estates and prerogatives on behalf and in the absence of the bishops of Angers. Marbode, therefore, had to cooperate substantially in local administration with the lay provosts of Angers. For instance, a notice from the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers indicates that, on 13 August 1082, the count of Anjou and the bishop of Angers agreed that their ministers, specifically the provost of Angers and the archdeacon of the cathedral, Marbode, would jointly [*communiter*] handle the prosecution of lay usurers and adulterers.⁴¹ In other words, in nearly twenty years of service, Marbode grew to become a skilled administrator who was accustomed not only to managing ecclesiastical estates but also to collaborating with the count's lay ministers in the management of

³⁸ Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 42-48.

³⁹ Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131; Lurio, "Proposed Genealogy for Marbode," 60-69. Lurio provides important correctives to the analyses of Louis Halphen and Olivier Guillot with regard to the eleventh-century provosts of Angers, especially on 66n54.

⁴⁰ For an overview of the institution, see: C.N.L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999), 119-122.

⁴¹ *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 53 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 337, pp. 209-210).

comital territories with the aim of preserving both episcopal and comital power. Alan must have been thrilled that Marbode would be bringing to Rennes both a reinforcement of the strong Breton-Angevin connection, otherwise maintained through Alan's marriage to Ermengarde, as well as the demonstrated ability to preserve centralized power in the region through administrative acumen. Therefore, conceding to the papal designation of Marbode was a natural choice for Alan, notwithstanding any desires to avoid confrontation with papal reform efforts.

Indeed, in considering the prospect of crusade, some circumstances proved favorable; others remained inauspicious. Fulk would have witnessed the extended deliberations upon these matters at the Breton ducal court. He would have seen how, having weighed the risks and the mitigating factors, Alan and his *fideles* still ultimately chose to venture forth in what would be remembered as the most defining affair of their generation. Whatever Fulk, as a young boy, understood of the proceedings of late 1095 and earlier 1096, he would, in later years, have reflected at length upon the contexts in which his uncle had made the fateful decision; the retrospective vantage point would have elucidated the risks that Alan had assumed in leaving his lands for an extended period of time. Alan's voluntary acceptance of those risks, the success of the enterprise in which he participated, and the preservation of his lands until the time of his return would have, from Fulk's perspective, established Alan's decision as the correct one befitting a just prince upon the advent of the crusading phenomenon.

It would have been impossible for Fulk not to contrast the Breton response to the crusading movement with contemporaneous developments in his paternal lands. In the next section, we will see how the decision of Fulk V's biological father, Count Fulk le

Réchin, not to participate in crusade both diminished dynastic prestige and inspired many Angevin lords to delay the fulfillment of their own crusading vows. A further series of comital missteps following their departures meant that, by 1103, Angevin dynastic authority had sharply deteriorated. The resulting crisis threatened not just the comital office but also the very integrity of the principality of Anjou. It is to the reception and impact of crusading in Fulk V's paternal lands that we next turn.

The Advent of Crusade and the Societal Response in Anjou, 1096-1098

The arrival of Marbode, the new Angevin bishop of Rennes, at the Breton court in spring 1096 would have meant for Fulk V the first authoritative glimpse into how crusading was being received in his homeland of Anjou.⁴² Marbode would, in any case, have offered to the young boy observations regarding crusade on two counts. First, as a venerable churchman, especially one who had acceded to his bishopric through the grace of a reform pope, Marbode would have been keen to emphasize to Fulk V how the crusading enterprise was not just about martial glory or even penitential rewards. It was, more importantly, about the liberation and protection of church institutions as a moral imperative for lay rulers. Some of the motivation here must have derived from resurgent rhetoric of the Peace of God movement.⁴³ To be sure, some modern scholarship may have

⁴² To be sure, a renowned schoolmaster of twenty years such as Marbode would have been inclined to speak to the ducal household, especially the young wards therein, concerning the significances of the rapidly growing contemporary movement. Given Marbode's familial connections with the Angevin comital dynasty, discussed above, it is possible that Fulk le Réchin had personally asked the westward-bound bishop to relay certain understandings to his second son as concerned the impending pilgrimage and the place of the counts of Anjou within the emergent phenomenon.

⁴³ The *Pax Dei* movement, as such, refers to several church councils held between 975 and 1054 C.E., initially in southern France and later in other French regions. Although scholars continue to debate the precise origins of the movement, what is clear is that post-Carolingian lay violence against ecclesiastical estates inspired some of the movement's call for the protection of those estates. With the

exaggerated the impact of the Peace of God movement upon lay culture in the later eleventh century.⁴⁴ Yet, the fundamental expression of the *Pax Dei* and its later expansion under the *Treuga Dei* (Truce of God) concerning the responsibility of lay rulers to protect ecclesiastical estates from aristocratic violence certainly would have been part of early crusade preaching.⁴⁵ Indeed, Urban II may have chosen Clermont as the site of his initial articulation of the penitential pilgrimage-cum-war on account of the familiarity of the regional ecclesiastical establishment with regard to the *Pax Dei*: many of the earliest councils occurred in southern France.⁴⁶ The message appears to have had a particular impact in Anjou with regard to local ecclesiastical conceptions of the purpose of the crusading enterprise. In their chronicles and annals, ecclesiastical institutions in Greater Anjou emphasized the liberation of churches and Christians from pagan

expansion of the *Pax Dei* at the synod of Elne in 1027, there was an effort to curb violence against all Christians on days of religious significance. The responsibility for such protection fell upon lay rulers, who, in time, invoked such responsibility to orchestrate the restoration of lay judicial courts as well as to centralize their own authority. At the local level, the summons for *milites* not to exercise their *métier* with regard to ecclesiastical properties and persons may have been understood as a plenary discouragement of violence and "bad customs" [*malae consuetudines*] against peasants and such, fueling notions of spiritual sanctity that lent themselves to broad support for the clerical reform of the later eleventh century. See: R.I. Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1980), 49-69; Élisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500-1100," *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, eds. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 65-79; Thomas Head, "The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970-1005)," *Speculum* 74, 3 (Jul., 1999), pp. 656-686: 658, 661, 675; H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century," *Past & Present* 46 (Feb., 1970), pp. 42-67: 47-49, 53-4, 57-58; Basit Hammad Qureshi, "Peace of God Movement," *Great Events in Religion: An Encyclopedia of Pivotal Events in Religious History*, 3 vols, eds. Florin Curta and Andrew Holt (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2017), II: 472-474.

⁴⁴ For a corrective, see: Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 10-12, 14-20, 285-288. With regard to the *Pax Dei* and crusading, Bull argues that crusading enthusiasm bears little correlation to the areas in which the Peace councils were held, namely southwestern France. Rather, it was the particular relationships which arms-bearing elites forged with their local monastic institutions that shaped regional receptions of the call to crusade.

⁴⁵ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 22.

⁴⁶ Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God," 56-58.

depredations as one of the imperatives justifying the crusading endeavor.⁴⁷ Marbode would have conveyed such an imperative, borne of his perspective as an Angevin clergyman, to an impressionable young Fulk V. Marbode and others would certainly have reiterated the message to Fulk V in later years as well. As we will see in subsequent chapters, Fulk appears to have internalized this imperative in the exercise of his own rulership.

Bishop Marbode would also have provided Fulk V with a narration of what was, for the comital dynasty of Anjou, the central event of Pope Urban II's visit to the region in 1096. It was an event that conferred upon Fulk's father as well as upon the comital dynasty immemorial honor and prestige. On 23 March 1096, following the conclusion of the Council of Tours, Urban II proceeded from the Cathedral of Tours toward the Abbey of Marmoutier in a grand papal *adventus*.⁴⁸ There at Marmoutier, in the presence of a great host of lay and ecclesiastical notables,⁴⁹ Urban bestowed upon Fulk le Réchin a

⁴⁷ "Annales Vindocinenses," in *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1903), pp. 50-79: 69; "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," in *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1903), pp. 41-45: 42; "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabilie (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 17-61: 28.

⁴⁸ "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 64-161: 129.

⁴⁹ Although the only extant account of the bestowal of the golden flower is found in Fulk le Réchin's *Fragmentum*, the occasion of the papal *adventus* during mid-Lent at one of the beacons of monastic reform in Latin Christendom following a general council was bound to have drawn a great number of attendees. Other assorted narrative and charter records also make clear that a great mass of aristocrats and churchmen were flocking about Tours even before the general council. See, for instance: Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Picard, 1972), II, C 390, pp. 241-2; "Narratio de commendatione Turonicae provinciae...," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 292-317: 314-316; "Textus de dedicatione ecclesiae Majoris Monasterii," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 338-342.

golden flower.⁵⁰ The full cosmological and scriptural meanings of the gesture would have been explained to the audience by Pope Urban, given his particular interest in drawing upon exegetical traditions, especially those concerning passages of eschatological relevance, to help shape contemporaries' receptions of temporal events. Marbode would, in turn, have explicated to Fulk V—both at the time and in subsequent years—the significances of what the Roman pontiff had intended to achieve through the gesture. For Urban II, pagan persecution of Christians and churches in the Holy Land had been prefigured in the Book of Isaiah, among others, which promised also the eventual fulfillment of the destiny of a restored Jerusalem as the religious center of the world. The pilgrims of the First Crusade were meant to be the sword which would complete this arc of sacred history.⁵¹ To have conferred a golden flower upon Fulk le Réchin on 23 March 1096 was a symbolically loaded gesture intended to evoke the aforementioned themes. The golden flower itself represented the promise of the future kingdom of Isaiah 11:1. And, 23 March was Laetare Sunday, a day on which the liturgical celebration invoked Isaiah 66:10-11's exhortation to turn mourning into joy in hopeful anticipation of the destiny of a restored Jerusalem.

In addition to impressing these ideas upon the audience, the bestowal of the golden flower allowed for the positioning of the comital dynasty of Anjou as centrally

⁵⁰ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), pp. 232-238: 237-238. The flower was subsequently established in convention as a rose.

⁵¹ Matthew Gabriele, "The Last Carolingian Exegete: Pope Urban II, the Weight of Tradition, and Christian Reconquest," *Church History* 81, 4 (Dec., 2012), pp. 796-814: 798-9, 811-3. Later twelfth-century pilgrims who did not bear arms sought, through their accounts of pilgrimage, to participate discursively in this physical reconquest and reclamation of the spaces of Jerusalem. Refer to: Basit Hammad Qureshi, "A Hierophany Emergent: The Discursive Reconquest of the Urban Landscape of Jerusalem in Latin Pilgrimage Accounts from the Twelfth Century," *The Historian* 76, 4 (Winter, 2014), 725-749.

significant in emerging cultural ideations about crusading. Fulk le Réchin arranged for the golden flower "to be always conveyed to [him] and [his] successors on Hosanna."⁵² Hosanna is the acclamation celebrating Jesus' triumphal entry as messiah into Jerusalem, an occasion commemorated by the feast of Palm Sunday.⁵³ The cosmological interweaving of Angevin comital ritual at the Abbey of Marmoutier with the scriptural past and promised future of sacred history, whose fulfillment was to be through the enterprise of crusading, was a unique opportunity afforded by Pope Urban's gesture. Fulk le Réchin is the only individual known to have received a golden flower during Urban's tour of France. Fulk le Réchin appears, furthermore, to be the earliest known lay ruler upon whom the Roman pontiffs ever conferred such an honor.⁵⁴

Jonathan Riley-Smith has suggested that the purpose of such distinctive papal favor was to encourage the count of Anjou to embark upon crusade himself.⁵⁵ It is certainly possible that Urban II had this motivation in mind when he visited Angers from 6-12 February 1096.⁵⁶ In presiding over such important events as the consecration of the church of Saint-Nicholas as well as the translation of the body of Count Geoffrey Martel I (d. 1060) from the chapel of Saint-Nicholas into a new tomb there, Urban would have had ample opportunity to speak with Fulk le Réchin.⁵⁷ Indeed, the pope may even have

⁵² "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 238.

⁵³ Jn 12:13; Mt 21:9; Mk 11:9-10. All biblical references are to NRSV.

⁵⁴ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 59.

⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 59.

⁵⁶ For the dating of the visit, see: Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)*, vol 2: *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*, MGH XIX/2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1988), 444-445.

⁵⁷ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1903), pp. 1-49: 6, 42; "Chronica Rainaldi," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 3-16: 14; "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 27; "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 238.

publicly encouraged Fulk to take the cross when the pontiff preached the crusade in an "exhortatory sermon" [*exhortatorio sermone*] in Angers.⁵⁸ The prospect of the Angevin count's participation was not unreasonable. Although Fulk le Réchin did not, at the time, have a wife who might serve as regent, his eldest son and heir, Geoffrey Martel II, who was probably around fifteen years of age in 1096, could have governed the principality, aided by his half-sister Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, in their father's absence.⁵⁹

However, Urban's recent activity in lands north of the Angevin heartland had shifted the geo-political contexts in which Fulk had to operate, discouraging the count of Anjou from seriously contemplating the crusading venture by later March. On 14 February, Pope Urban II is known to have been in Sablé, likely speaking with its lord, Robert the Burgundian.⁶⁰ From 15x16 February through 18 February, the Roman Pontiff was found in Le Mans, interacting with local potentates, almost certainly including Count Hélias of Maine.⁶¹ Both of the aforementioned lords were Manceaux *fideles* of the count of Anjou and critically important to the Angevin matrix of anti-Norman resistance in Maine. Both are believed to have taken the cross while Urban was visiting their lordships, and cartulary records suggest that numerous local individuals of lesser standing joined

⁵⁸ "Chronicon Sancti Sergii Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 127-152: 141.

⁵⁹ According to the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum*, Geoffrey Martel's mother was Ermengarde of Bourbon, whom Fulk le Réchin could not have married until after his 9 June 1080 divorce from his previous wife, Orengarde. Refer to: GCA, 65; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 321, pp. 202-203. Geoffrey's documentary debut was in 1090; given that the canonically valid age of legal consent was eight as well as the various contexts of the aforementioned record of 1090 that I discuss in Appendix C, it is probable that Geoffrey was at least eight in 1090.

⁶⁰ W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 149-150; Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 445.

⁶¹ Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 445.

them in doing so.⁶² If this was, indeed, the case, it would be difficult to sustain the assertion that the papal flower was meant to prompt the count of Anjou to take the cross. Urban was a savvy political operator who understood the geo-political constraints acting upon the lords with whom he interacted. By the time Urban arrived in Tours, the prospect of major Angevin comital partisans and numerous arms-bearing elites from Maine embarking upon crusade would have raised concerns about the security of the northern territories of the Angevin comital orbit during the years in which the crusaders were likely to be absent. These concerns were pressing, especially given that the northern territories were an ongoing locus of contestation with none other than the Normans.

The papal bestowal of the golden flower upon Fulk le Réchin on 23 March, therefore, may not have been intended primarily to encourage Fulk himself to go on crusade. Rather, this gesture was one of a series of papal maneuvers, beginning at the Council of Clermont, designed to inspire maximum recruitment in the lands of the Loire for the armed pilgrimage. Urban II sought to accomplish this by strengthening perceived bonds of solidarity between the papacy and the countship. Doing so would help rehabilitate public confidence in comital authority so that those concerned about the security of their estates might be more inclined to take the cross. Urban first sought to demonstrate such papal solidarity at the Council of Clermont by ordaining, on 24 November 1095, Fulk le Réchin's choice for the vacant bishopric of Angers, one Geoffrey of Mayenne *le Jeune*. Urban ordained Geoffrey despite the contradiction which such support would have presented vis-à-vis Urban's reform agenda at Clermont, a

⁶² Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 101-102.

centerpiece of which was the rejection of lay influence in episcopal elections.⁶³ Urban's motivations appear to have been much the same as Fulk's own in having pressured the canons of the Cathedral of Angers to elect Geoffrey. These motivations derived from the geopolitical benefits such a nomination offered. Geoffrey of Mayenne *le Jeune* was the son of Hugh of Mayenne, brother to Geoffrey of Mayenne *le Vieux*, ruler of the lordship of Mayenne.⁶⁴ Mayenne historically had found itself pulled between the orbits of the Norman dukes and the Angevin counts as a function of its strategic position as part of the Manceaux conduit into Brittany and Anjou. The installation of Geoffrey of Mayenne *le Jeune* as bishop of Angers, therefore, would strengthen Angevin comital influence in Maine, the central theater of contestation with the Normans.⁶⁵

The Roman Pontiff coupled the orchestration of a promise of greater security in Anjou's northern zone of influence with a similar effort in the eastern theater. On 9 March 1096, Urban II spoke before a vast crowd in Tours along the banks of the Loire River. There, Urban declared the Abbey of Marmoutier to be immune from any episcopal threat of excommunication; he placed the abbey and its estates under the direct protection of the papacy. At Marmoutier on the subsequent day, Urban II enjoined Fulk le Réchin, Fulk's nobles [*procerum*], and many other aristocrats to offer upon the abbey's altar, before the relics of saints, any relief and protection which they themselves might be able

⁶³ At some point before 6 April 1095 but after the death of the previous bishop, Geoffrey of Tours, on 10 October 1093, the canons of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice, including presumably then-still Archdeacon Marbode, elected Geoffrey of Mayenne as bishop of Angers. As cathedral treasurer and one of the regulars in the former bishop's entourage, the canons would have been familiar with Geoffrey, but Fulk's seeming 'counter-gift' to Saint Maurice as well as the geopolitical implications of Geoffrey's kin relations betray the influence of Count Fulk le Réchin in Geoffrey's election to the bishopric. For the circumstances surrounding the election and eventual ordination of Geoffrey on 24 November 1095, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 256-260.

⁶⁴ "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 27.

⁶⁵ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I: 257.

to provide for Marmoutier's estates.⁶⁶ Such preservation was to include lands and privileges both historic and whatever the abbey was coming to hold, either in pledge or through sale, from the departing crusaders of the region.⁶⁷

The broader ambition of this political theater was to bolster a center of reform against the machinations of a hostile archbishop of Tours. Yet, another significant and more immediate motivation would have been to render all those elites who held properties or privileges in Touraine—but might not be taking the cross—jointly responsible for the preservation of Marmoutier's holdings. Indeed, the monastic scribe for these proceedings at Marmoutier, probably an eyewitness to said proceedings,⁶⁸ described the promise of aristocratic protection as *auxilio* and *tuitio*. These terms generally carried semantic associations of mutual military obligations owed between lords and clients.⁶⁹ Although such language implicated a broad swath of the region's aristocracy, Fulk's leading role would have been apparent to contemporaries. It was the count who was ultimately responsible for matters of security and preservation in Greater Anjou. Moreover, any decisions which might compromise such matters ideally ought to have been approved by him. Toward that end, Urban may have endowed Fulk with the ability to issue specific licenses [*licentia*] that granted his clients dispensation to leave on crusade: Renaud of Château-Gontier is alleged to have sought such a license from Count

⁶⁶ "Narratio de commendatione...", 315-316; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 390, pp. 241-242.

⁶⁷ See, for example, the confirmation of Lord Hugh of Amboise concerning some land which his family had previously given to the Abbey of Marmoutier: BNF, ms. lat. 12878, fol. 350r-v (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 389, p. 241).

⁶⁸ *Recueil de chroniques de Touraine*, cxvi-cxvii.

⁶⁹ J.F. Niermeyer and C. Van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus: Lexique latin médiéval—Medieval Latin Dictionary—Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), I: 98-99; *Ibid.*, II: 1367.

Fulk before embarking for the Holy Land.⁷⁰ Indeed, these various papal gestures were crafted to promote crusade participation by publicly affirming the role of the comital dynasty as guarantor for the interests of those who were considering the prospect of being away for years on armed pilgrimage. Any papal expectations about Fulk joining his lords would, in any case, have been secondary to Urban's goal of maximizing crusade recruitment throughout the Loire River Valley.

And so, when Fulk V traveled to Anjou with his sister Ermengarde by 23 June 1096,⁷¹ staying through at least 24 August,⁷² the young boy would have expected to witness the imminent departure of numerous Angevins with the August crusading host. What Fulk found, however, was rather different: many of the would-be crusaders from the lands of Greater Anjou did not intend to leave that fall. Indeed, the surviving chronicle and charter evidence suggests that, of those Angevins who participated in the earliest years of crusading, many—possibly most—chose not to leave in August 1096, but rather in early 1098 or 1100x1101.⁷³ With the exception of certain Tourangeaux castellans, the lords of Greater Anjou and their attendant entourages delayed the completion of their vows for at least two years.⁷⁴ Such delays were not, of course, limited

⁷⁰ CCA, 149; Mark E. Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades, 1095-1145," 3 vols. (Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2008), I, 79.

⁷¹ Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131.

⁷² Catalog n. [F 2] (1096) *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

⁷³ For an extended discussion of the evidence, see: Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," 83-90. Blincoe identifies departures which can be dated with some certainty to 1096 as those of Hugh of Amboise, Aimery of Courron, Peter Jordan of Châtillon, and Peter of Vihiers. In contrast, the 1098 and 1100x1101 departures included those of Robert the Burgundian, Renaud of Château-Gontier, Herbert of *Campus Marini*, Bertrand of Moncontour, Raoul of Beaugency, Geoffrey Fouchard, Fulco of Mathefelon, and others. Nominal client of the counts of Anjou, Count Geoffrey I Jordan of Vendôme also departed with the 1100-1101 crusade. See: *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 405, pp. 159-160.

⁷⁴ The scribal propensity not to include and/or preserve datum clauses for benefactions from this period makes any definitive quantitative claim impossible. Nevertheless, the combination of surviving charter and chronicle evidence offering chronological points of clarification yield a clear picture of

to Greater Anjou: enough laypersons had remained behind after having taken the cross in 1095-1096 that clerics on the First Crusade requested the papacy to excommunicate the lingerers in October 1097. Additional clerical threats of excommunication began to surface periodically after this time.⁷⁵ To be sure, some of the departures of 1098 and 1100x1101 may have been motivated, at least in part, by such threats.⁷⁶ However, the prospect of excommunication frequently proved unreliable in otherwise modifying contemporary aristocratic behavior, given the inconsistent observation of such pronouncements by local clergy.⁷⁷ Therefore, the impact of such threats in the early crusading context should not be exaggerated.

In any case, the arrested state of crusade participation in Greater Anjou in 1096 would necessarily have reflected on the individual at the center of it all—Count Fulk le Réchin. From the younger Fulk's contemporaneous as well as retrospective vantage point, the delay must have illustrated, in no small part, an instrumental lack of public confidence in the elder Fulk's ability to insure clients' lands in their extended absence. Rather than having positioned the comital dynasty as the reliable guarantor of Angevin crusaders' estates, then, Urban's efforts had served to highlight the limitations of comital authority under Fulk V's father. Such perceptions of comital weakness not only restrained

numerous Angevin aristocrats delaying their departures: comparatively few crusaders from Greater Anjou are confirmed to have left in 1096.

⁷⁵ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 23, with accompanying citations of n50. In January 1098, the crusading clergy, having requested papal support, went ahead and excommunicated those who had failed to join the earlier crusading hosts.

⁷⁶ Blincoe has suggested that the stabilization of the Manceaux frontier in 1098 encouraged regional comital *fideles* to complete their crusading vows at that time. However, as will be discussed below, the political-military situation appears to have worsened by and in 1098, not improved, making any prospective departure even less propitious. See: Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," 90.

⁷⁷ In theory, however, excommunication remained an extraordinarily serious encumbrance, threatening a wide range of social relationships, should others observe the sentence. See: Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 44-111.

early Angevin participation in the enterprise of crusading; they also amplified the perceived offense of Fulk le Réchin's later disreputable behavior following the delayed departures of his crusading lords. It is to these fateful blunders of comital authority that we next turn.

The Crusading Environment and the Failures of Comital Rulership, 1096-1103

There are three categories into which we might organize the assorted failures of Fulk le Réchin's rulership during the earliest years of the crusading phenomenon. Individually, none of these failures were necessarily atypical of mediocre or unscrupulous princes. However, as we will see here, the confluence of Fulk le Réchin's behavior, by turns ineffectual and contemptible, with few advantageous outcomes to show for it assumed particular significance within the political-social environment of crusading. The aggregate of resulting blemishes upon comital prestige and ruling legitimacy engendered a crisis of Angevin dynastic authority by 1103, whose immediate ramifications we will address in the next chapter. Fulk V would have personally witnessed some, if not most, of the following debacles. For, having spent several years with his sister in Brittany, Fulk V was again part of his father's household in Anjou by 1096x1098.⁷⁸

The first category of Fulk le Réchin's assorted failures during these years was political-military blunders. These missteps highlighted the incompetency, inconstancy, and treachery of Fulk le Réchin's machinations, as well as the potential long-term threat

⁷⁸ Refer to: Appendix D, where I make the case for Fulk's upbringing at the Breton ducal court from 1092 until 1096x1098. Regardless of whether Fulk was in Brittany since 1092, he was, again, in Anjou by 1098 at the latest and mid-1096 at the earliest.

the count might pose toward existing relationships of power within the comital orbit. One of the most prominent episodes exhibiting Fulk le Réchin's lack of military mettle—a particularly unfortunate deficiency in an age of crusading heroics—took place over the course of the Maine campaign of summer 1098. Following his capture of Count Hélias of Maine on 28 April 1098, King William Rufus of England had led a major campaign into Maine in order to reclaim territories which he felt rightly belonged to the Anglo-Norman royal dynasty.⁷⁹ Fulk le Réchin traveled to Le Mans, presumably in order to defend the lordship of his client, Hélias.⁸⁰ However, Fulk appears to have felt no particular commitment to following through on such a fundamental responsibility of a lordly patron. According to both Angevin, Manceaux, and Norman chronicles, Fulk arrived in Le Mans, delegated custodianship of the garrison to his son Geoffrey Martel II, and promptly departed to tend to other affairs. Fulk le Réchin had left even as the English king's army approached immediately north of Le Mans, razing the estates of the Manceaux bishop.⁸¹ The only specific instructions which Fulk is alleged to have left his representatives in Le Mans was to fleece the citizenry of as much wealth as possible before either Count Hélias orchestrated his own release or William Rufus took the city.⁸² Rather than the Angevin overlord of Maine, then, it was his son, Geoffrey Martel II, who led the forces which halted the English king's advance upon Le Mans. Indeed, Geoffrey and his troops stalled William Rufus long enough to force the depletion of the last of the

⁷⁹ *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. Elisabeth M.C. Van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992-1995), II: 213.

⁸⁰ OV, V: 242.

⁸¹ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 42; APC, 400-401; OV, V: 242.

⁸² "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 42; APC, 400-401.

royal provisions in those ravaged lands, compelling the English king to return to Normandy for the new harvest.⁸³

With the king of England back in Normandy by early July 1098 and, thus, with the greater danger having passed, Fulk le Réchin seized an opportunity to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors of martial renown. The count of Anjou returned to Maine and organized a joint force of Angevins and Manceaux to besiege a fortification north of Le Mans—a certain Ballon, which was then under the control of one of William Rufus' *fideles*.⁸⁴ The investment ended not only unsuccessfully but also rather embarrassingly for the Angevin count. One day, word had reached the besieged forces that all the *milites* of the Angevin-Manceaux host were dining at the same time. A sortie was organized, and the raid managed to capture many of the tabled elite. Fulk managed to escape. As if to emphasize the disparity in martial confidence, King William Rufus, upon arriving with a relief force, is said to have allowed the prisoners to dine with his own troops, in the open and unrestrained. Fulk, meanwhile, retreated to Le Mans, leaving his *milites* to fend for themselves, at least for the time being.⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter, Fulk delivered the city of Le Mans to William Rufus "in friendship" [*in amicitia*] and returned to Anjou.⁸⁶

In showcasing the bravado-fueled incompetency of the count of Anjou, the summer 1098 campaign in Maine instigated a shift in the relations of power which had maintained some Angevin comital influence in the county in recent years.⁸⁷ Whether

⁸³ Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 386.

⁸⁴ Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 48.

⁸⁵ OV, V: 242-244.

⁸⁶ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 42.

⁸⁷ For Angevin comital influence in Maine vis-à-vis the principality's resident count during the late eleventh century, see: Bruno Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine (XIe- XIIIe siècles)*

through necessity, inclination, or both, numerous Manceaux lords abandoned the *mouvance* of Fulk le Réchin for that of William Rufus. According to Orderic Vitalis, Angevin comital *fideles* in possession of strategically important frontier castellanies were among this number: the lords of Sablé and the lords of Mayenne confederated themselves [*confederati sunt*] to the English king in exchange for royal recognition of their holdings.⁸⁸ William Rufus delegated control of Le Mans into the hands of several such lords, one of whom was Count William of Évreux, former Angevin-allied bulwark against Anglo-Norman machinations into Maine.⁸⁹ Count Hélias too, displeased with Fulk's stewardship of his domain while he was in captivity, attempted to commit himself to King William as a *fidelis*.⁹⁰ Even the Angevin comital heir and Fulk V's elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II, abandoned his father's side: subsequently, Geoffrey Martel II was to be found in the company of Count Hélias of Maine, to whose daughter Geoffrey was betrothed around that time.⁹¹ Although Count Hélias would capitalize upon the death of William Rufus in 1100 to reclaim his lost territories, Fulk had, in his ineffectual pursuit of martial glory in the summer of 1098, brought Angevin comital influence in Maine to its lowest point in a half-century.

Another political-military blunder worth exploring in detail is Fulk's effort to aggrandize Angevin comital influence in Amboise at the expense of the region's

(Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 38-42; and, Appendix C, for specifically Fulk le Réchin and Maine in the years immediately preceding the current matter.

⁸⁸ OV, V: 250.

⁸⁹ OV, V: 250. With regard to the previous alliance, the outcome of the marital union between Fulk le Réchin and Bertrade of Montfort, see Appendix C.

⁹⁰ OV, V: 246-50; APC, 401.

⁹¹ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 47-52; Richard Barton, "Henry I, Count Helias of Maine, and the Battle of Tinchebray," in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. D. Fleming and J. Pope (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 63-90: 75.

crusading co-rulers, Hugh of Amboise/Chaumont-sur-Loire and Aimery of “Courron.”⁹² The episode is particularly deserving of attention on account of the immediate as well as long-term consequences resulting from Fulk le Réchin’s transgressions against these crusaders and their kin: Fulk V would still be striving to repair the comital relationship with the seigneurial dynasty of Amboise into the 1120s.⁹³ The castellans of Amboise had historically enjoyed a mutually beneficial clientship under the Angevin comital dynasty.⁹⁴ However, these relations had become turbulent early into the reign of Fulk le Réchin. Around 1068, Lord Sulpicius I of Amboise had, in concert with his stepbrother Count Thibaud III of Blois, led a rebellion against Fulk le Réchin. The conflict resulted in Fulk’s pyrrhic victory and the delivery of Sulpicius’ young son, Hugh,⁹⁵ to the Angevin comital court as a hostage.⁹⁶ Following Hugh’s inheritance of the *honor* of Amboise, Hugh and Fulk also came into conflict. At some point before 1096, Fulk overstepped his authority, in Hugh’s estimation, by arranging for the marriage of Hugh’s paternal first-cousin and heiress of the lordship of Amboise, Corba of Thorigné,⁹⁷ with Aimery of Courron, a

⁹² For “Courron” as Coron (cant. Vihiers, arr. Saumur, dép. Maine-et-Loire), see Chapter Three.

⁹³ See Chapter Four.

⁹⁴ The lands of Amboise originally fell into the Angevin comital *mouvance* in the later ninth century with the marriage of Count Ingelgarius into the family which then controlled the strategically vital *castrum* in eastern Touraine. In the early eleventh century, Fulk Nerra invested Lisoius of Bazougers, one of Fulk Nerra’s most loyal supporters from the Anjou-Maine frontier, with command of the *castrum* in order to facilitate Angevin expansion into Blésois lands, an effort culminating in the memorable victory over Count Odo II of Blois at Pontlevoy in 1016. Refer to: GAD, 78-81; Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 4, 123, 145-146, 149-150.

⁹⁵ GAD, 95-96.

⁹⁶ Halphen, *Le comté d’Anjou*, 149; GAD, 90-91, 99-100.

⁹⁷ Corba was the daughter of Elisabeth, one of three daughters of Lisoius of Bazougers, lord of Amboise, who had also two sons, namely Sulpicius I and Lisoius of Amboise. Hugh of Amboise/Chaumont-sur-Loire, the son of Sulpicius I, was unmarried until after 1103; hence, the inheritance of the Amboise lordship could readily be carried through Corba until such a time as Hugh produced heirs. Additionally, it should be noted that, with the death of her father, Fulcoius, Corba acquired the *honor* of Thorigné, which passed to Hugh following her death in 1101. For this portion of the family tree, refer to: GAD, 86, 102-103.

client of the Angevin comital *fidelis* at Durtal. This marriage, along with Fulk's installation of Aimery as guardian of the comital domicile at Amboise, promised to strengthen Angevin influence in the lordship of Amboise at the expense of Hugh's authority.⁹⁸ In response to the encroachment, Hugh violently asserted his rights in confrontation with the count's men at Amboise, forcing Fulk to concede Hugh's familial privileges about the lordship. Aimery was allowed, however, to maintain his own guardianship of the comital domicile at Amboise as well as his marriage to the lordship's heiress, Corba, thereby effectively becoming co-ruler of the *castrum*.⁹⁹

The occasion of the First Crusade offered an opportunity for reconciliation between Hugh, Aimery, and Fulk le Réchin. In March 1096, soon after having taken the cross,¹⁰⁰ Hugh and Aimery sought from Fulk, in the presence of the comital heir Geoffrey Martel II, a confirmation of donations which the lords of Amboise had made to the Abbey of Pontlevoy concerning the estates of a church at Amboise.¹⁰¹ Seeking comital confirmation for such a donation in advance of embarking on crusade served two purposes for the departing co-rulers of Amboise. First, it established a guarantee of protection from the theoretical suzerain of the Amboise lordship. As has been indicated

⁹⁸ Aimery of Courron was a landholding *miles* and high-ranking member of the entourage of Hubert IV of *Campania*, lord of Durtal. Even after becoming guardian of the comital domicile at Amboise and effectively co-ruler of the *castrum*, Aimery witnessed two acts pertaining to Durtal while the elites of the Angevin realm had assembled at Tours in order to see Urban II preach in March 1096. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 156, pp. 138-141; *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 157, pp. 141-143. For a useful discussion of those acts, see: Peter Joseph Burkholder, "The Birth and Growth of an Angevin Castellany: Durtal in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2000), III, ns. 34-35, pp. 306-311.

⁹⁹ GAD, 99-100; Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," I, 91.

¹⁰⁰ Hugh and Aimery were among those who purportedly took the cross in the presence of Pope Urban II at the Abbey of Marmoutier. Refer to: GAD, 100-101.

¹⁰¹ *Revue de Loir-et-Cher*, XV (1902), col. 201; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 393, p. 243. For a discussion of the multiple *acta* which are conflated in the comital confirmation, see: Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," II, n. 1, pp. 293-298.

above, such practice was convention, benefitting both the monastic beneficiaries and the benefactors. Second and no less importantly, the donation and confirmation to this particular abbey functioned as a means of publicly reaffirming the historic clientship of the lords of Amboise with their overlords.¹⁰² The Abbey of Pontlevoy was founded in the wake of Fulk Nerra's epochal triumph over the count of Blois at the Battle of Pontlevoy in 1016. This was a victory enabled in no small part by the assistance of Lisoius of Bazougers, who had been installed as lord of Amboise by Fulk Nerra and from whom descended the seigneurial family which currently dominated the castellany.¹⁰³

In other words, in a public ceremonial before a vast assembly, the lords of Amboise reminded the count of Anjou as well as his heir of their historic interrelationship and the trust which that entailed. It was a trust which was especially pertinent now that the men of Amboise were leaving for the Holy Land. While they fought for Christ, Fulk was to fight for the preservation of their estates, if the need arose.¹⁰⁴ Fulk, to put it mildly, abused that trust. According to the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, Count Stephen of Blois, returning to the lands of the Loire in later 1098 after having fled from the siege of Antioch, brought word that Aimery of Courron—guardian of the comital domicile at Amboise, husband of the heiress to the *honor* of the lordship, and co-ruler of Amboise—had died at Nicaea in 1097.¹⁰⁵ Fulk le Réchin moved immediately to

¹⁰² Nicholas L. Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise," *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), pp. 127-141: 137-138.

¹⁰³ Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 4, 123, 145-146, 149-150

¹⁰⁴ Pragmatism did, however, strike a note, and Lord Hugh placed his estates of Amboise into the guardianship of his paternal first-cousin, Robert of Rochecorbon. Refer to: GAD, 101.

¹⁰⁵ The text is a dynastic chronicle redacted in the mid-twelfth century to facilitate the contemporaneous political agendas of the seigneurial family of Amboise. For a discussion of the text's sources, chronology of composition, and authorship see: CCA, lvii-lxv; Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics," 127-141.

aggrandize comital influence in Amboise at the expense of Hugh, the remaining lord of the estate. Fulk sold the guardianship of the comital domicile at Amboise as well as the hand of Aimery's widow and heiress to Amboise, Corba, to "a most old man" [*senissimo viro*], Achard of Saintes.¹⁰⁶ Purportedly on account of Hugh's impending return, though perhaps simply in response to the threats of Robert of Rochecorbon—Hugh's paternal first-cousin to whom Hugh had entrusted his rights while on crusade—Achard kidnapped Corba, removing her from Amboise and hiding her in Tours at the house of his brother. Corba managed to orchestrate her escape, at which point she established contact with Robert of Rochecorbon, who escorted her back to Amboise.¹⁰⁷ Achard allegedly died of heartbreak.

Concerns of narrative veracity notwithstanding, what is striking about this episode is not simply that Fulk had spectacularly abused the trust of crusaders who had publicly performed their trust in the count of Anjou. It is also, and perhaps more importantly, that the count, in failing to achieve any benefit from his machinations, again instigated a reorientation of political alliances that proved deeply injurious to Angevin comital designs, this time in eastern Touraine. Upon Hugh of Amboise's return, the seigneurial family of Amboise began to move itself out of the Angevin orbit and into the Blésois comital *mouvance*. In 1100x1101, Corba married Geoffrey Borrellus, whose family, as Blésois landholding elite, long had enjoyed privileged relationships of patronage with the comital dynasty of Blois.¹⁰⁸ When Corba died in the Eastern Mediterranean while on

¹⁰⁶ GAD, 101.

¹⁰⁷ GAD, 102.

¹⁰⁸ LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 145-146; GAD, 102.

crusade with her husband in 1101, her patrilineal inheritance of Thorigné, situated approximately twenty-two miles north-northwest of Angers, seems to have reverted to her paternal first-cousin, Hugh of Amboise, instead of going either to her late husband Geoffrey Borrellus or to her son with Aimery of Courron, one Paganus, who appears to have resided in Angers by 1104, possibly as part of the comital household.¹⁰⁹ Finally, around 1106, Hugh of Chaumont took a torch to the Angevin comital domicile in Amboise itself. In so doing, Hugh dismantled what the modern historian Olivier Guillot has characterized as one of the few places in eastern Touraine where the counts of Anjou had been able to exercise some influence reliably during the eleventh century.¹¹⁰ All of this is to say that Fulk's questionable efforts to aggrandize Angevin authority in his eastern theater had ended up costing his dynasty its foothold in eastern Touraine, at the same time that Countess Adela of Blois had begun consolidating Blésois comital authority in the region.¹¹¹

These reversals of Angevin geo-political fortunes would have reminded contemporaries of the high costs of Fulk le Réchin's very first designs, namely the civil war in the 1060s with his elder brother, the then-count of Anjou Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8).¹¹² While the brothers were preoccupied in fraternal squabbling, the count of Poitou, Anjou's southern neighbor, had managed to reclaim the territory of Saintonge from Angevin control. Fulk's disputed usurpation of the Angevin countship in 1067/8,

¹⁰⁹ GAD, 103. With regard to Paganus' whereabouts in 1104, see: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 315, pp. 355-356.

¹¹⁰ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 285.

¹¹¹ LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 118-303.

¹¹² The heirless previous count, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060), had designated his nephew, Geoffrey le Barbu, as successor to the *honor* of Anjou.

with its attendant dispossession of Geoffrey le Barbu, compelled Fulk to concede yet another *honor* from the Angevin comital patrimony: in exchange for recognition, the king of France demanded the relinquishment of the territory of Gâtinais. In a similar exchange, Fulk le Réchin also had to do homage to the Blésois count for Angevin holdings in the contested lands of Touraine. This latter concession must have proven especially embarrassing, given the substantial advances made in the province against the counts of Blois by Fulk's predecessors of living memory, namely Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) and Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060).¹¹³ The early crusading phenomenon had granted to Fulk le Réchin additional such opportunities to diminish the dynastic patrimony and weaken Angevin comital influence in western France. Such political-military blunders would have raised questions regarding the count's fitness to rule, laying part of the groundwork for the insurrection of Fulk's son Geoffrey Martel II in 1103.

The second category of Fulk's assorted failings of 1096-1103 follows from the first. Indeed, the moral shortcomings of the count achieved greater visibility during this period, whose ideological pressures were heightening scrutiny of the moral qualities of Christian rulers.¹¹⁴ As described above, the summer 1098 campaign of Fulk le Réchin had exemplified his cowardice in the face of military adversity: the count first abandoned Le Mans shortly before the king of England marched upon the city and later abandoned his *milites* who had been captured by the forces of that same king.¹¹⁵ The previous episode encompassing the sale and subsequent kidnapping of a comital client's widow

¹¹³ GCA, 64.

¹¹⁴ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 112-115.

¹¹⁵ OV, V: 242-244; "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 42; *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, 400-401.

exposed Fulk's shameless perfidy, which evidently failed to stop short even of advances upon kin and property belonging to clients actively fighting for Christ in the Holy Land at the time.¹¹⁶

Fulk le Réchin's lecherous nature would also have become a topic of renewed interest during these years. At the Council of Poitiers in 1100, King Philip I was again excommunicated for his ongoing affair with Fulk le Réchin's estranged wife, Bertrade of Montfort, who had left the Angevin count and their young son (Fulk V) for the bigamous company of the French monarch in spring 1092.¹¹⁷ In reflecting upon the king's obstinate refusal to renounce Bertrade, despite growing consequences, contemporaries would have recalled certain veins of public speculation concerning Fulk le Réchin's own reasons for having abandoned his then-wife to pursue Bertrade's hand in 1089.¹¹⁸ The count of Anjou was reputed to have been drawn to the striking beauty of the young lady, a "tender virgin" [*tenera virgo*] at the time.¹¹⁹ Perhaps modern historians have insufficiently heeded Orderic Vitalis' claim that Bertrade actively pursued Philip's company in order to preempt what she feared was an inevitable desertion on the part of Fulk le Réchin. In her estimation, the count of Anjou was a man who had already cast aside multiple previous wives following a few years of marriage, that is, after they were virginal no longer.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ GAD, 101-102.

¹¹⁷ Philip had originally been excommunicated in 1094, reconciled in 1096 upon the condition of dismissing Bertrade, and excommunicated again in 1100 for having failed to meet the previous condition. See: Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1912), 40-74.

¹¹⁸ For a broader analysis concerning these matters, refer to: Appendix C.

¹¹⁹ GCA, 65; WM, I: 730-732; OV, IV: 184, where, upon Fulk's declaration of romantic intent, Bertrade's uncle allegedly described his niece as a *tenera virgo*.

¹²⁰ OV, IV: 260. To be sure, Orderic Vitalis' account otherwise brims with hostility toward Bertrade. This narrative detail, however, provides a fleeting glimpse of Bertrade as a sympathetic character; in its aberrance vis-à-vis the remainder of Orderic's portrayal of Bertrade, the explanation for her pursuit of the French monarch rings of verisimilitude.

Following the birth of Fulk V in late 1089 or 1090, Bertrade may have felt that her own time was limited.¹²¹ For contemporaries more broadly, Fulk's reputed penchant for young girls, as well as his sexual misconduct in general, would have represented the promise of regional instability. For, "where there was adultery, divorce, and fornication, there, too, would be found theft, murder, arson, sacrilege, war and rebellion."¹²² Within the emerging crusade environment, such immoralities would have become more rather than less prominent and, thus, more rather than less threatening to social order.

Fulk le Réchin's moral decrepitude was also noted to have been reflected in his physical state as well as sartorial conduct. In the eighth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written in 1133x1135,¹²³ Orderic Vitalis recalls that, among Fulk's many reprehensible qualities, perhaps the worst was that he had "succumbed to many curses of physical defects" [*multisque vitiorum pestibus obsecundabat*].¹²⁴ The defect which Orderic Vitalis chose to highlight was Fulk's overly long toes, which, to make matters worse, featured bunions. To accommodate said defect in his later years, Fulk le Réchin had commissioned the tailoring of shoes with long and pointed ends toward the year

¹²¹ For the dating of Fulk V's birth, refer to: Appendix C.

¹²² Megan McLaughlin, "Disgusting Acts of Shamelessness': Sexual Misconduct and the Deconstruction of Royal Authority in the Eleventh Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, 3 (2011), pp. 312-331: 313. McLaughlin's remarks are a comment upon the general consensus of medieval theology concerning sexual immoderation and disordered desires more generally.

¹²³ OV, I: 45-48 (editor's introduction).

¹²⁴ OV, IV: 186. Chibnall's translate on p. 187 is rather different; she interprets *vitiorum pestibus* as "pestilential vices." However, the word *vitium* does tend to mean defects of physical body or character, especially those which are inimical toward 'success.' Given the context, discussed below, it seems more appropriate to render *vitiorum pestibus* as "curses of physical defects." Refer to: *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 2080.

1100.¹²⁵ The fashion proved popular in northwestern Europe, heralding all manner of variation, and, by the end of the twelfth century, appeared as far east as Saxony.¹²⁶

Such matters entailed two morally problematic realities. First, much like climactic disturbances, physical defects among aristocrats represented, for Orderic Vitalis and many contemporaries, manifest signs of divine displeasure.¹²⁷ Fulk's "misshapen" [*deformes*] feet were, therefore, not a mere physiological anomaly but, rather, evidence of God's referendum on the Angevin count's rulership: his physical imperfection mirrored his lack of fitness to rule. Furthermore, the maintenance of an image of aristocratic dominance remained a societal imperative. Aristocratic progeny with physical imperfections were often hidden from public view in order to preserve normative social hierarchies. Unlike peasants, aristocrats were supposed to be unmarked from physical flaws.¹²⁸ In reminding observers of the imperfections obscured within, the Angevin count's elongated shoes served as a constant disruption of the social order. As the ostentatious footwear grew in popularity, so too did the perceived consequences for society. Orderic Vitalis laments that, by the time of his writing in the second quarter of

¹²⁵ The precise dating of the sartorial commission is unclear from Orderic's narrative. Given the noted transmission of the shoe-style to the court of William Rufus, termini of 1088 and 1100 are appropriate. Yet, William of Malmesbury indicates that the shoes appeared as part of a more general ruination of the formerly honorable conduct of the Anglo-Norman court by the end of William Rufus' reign, i.e. toward 1100. This may indicate that the shoes were commissioned in the later 1090s. Refer to: WM, I: 559-561; OV, IV: 186-188.

¹²⁶ In a manuscript illumination from Helmarshausen Abbey in Saxony around 1185x1188, Henry the Lion's father and King Henry II of England appear with golden, long-toed shoes. Refer to: Herzog August Bibliothek, Ms Guelph 105 Noviss. 20, fol. 171v, cited in Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library, 2007), 51, 56.

¹²⁷ Amanda Jane Hingst, *The Written World: Past and Place in the Work of Orderic Vitalis* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

¹²⁸ Aristocratic appearance constituted a social marker which reified societal relationships of domination and subjugation. Refer to: Timothy Reuter, "Nobles and Others: The Social and Cultural Expression of Power Relations in the Middle Ages," in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 85-98: 90.

the twelfth century, the widespread adoption of the footwear had ushered in unprecedented vice and hedonism across Latin Christendom.¹²⁹

The third category of Fulk le Réchin's major failings in the earliest years of the crusading phenomenon was his antagonization of influential actors within the ecclesiastical establishment. The ability of the Angevin counts to influence abbatial elections in Anjou had, in any case, been declining steadily since the mid-eleventh century.¹³⁰ In particular, the comital prerogative of lay investiture—that is, investing new abbots with both temporal authority [*temporalia*] as well as spiritual authority [*spiritualia*]¹³¹—was, by the late eleventh century, delimited in most Angevin monasteries to the investment of *temporalia* only, with bishops commanding the right to confer *spiritualia*.¹³¹ The significant exception here was the Abbey of Saint-Aubin. Located in the comital capital of Angers, the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had been the historic epicenter of the Angevin comital-monastic network of influence. There, the counts of Anjou had vigorously withstood currents of reform and maintained their prerogative to invest abbot-elects with the pastoral staff, which was understood to signify both temporal and spiritual authority.¹³²

A series of interrelated events from 1096-1098, however, jettisoned the Abbey of Saint-Aubin beyond the count's influence. First, when Pope Urban II visited Angers in

¹²⁹ OV, IV: 186-188.

¹³⁰ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 127-193.

¹³¹ The distinction between spiritual and temporal authority in a Christian society existed as early as the fourth century, but the Carolingians suppressed such dualism through the practice of royal anointing. The suppression endured as part of the devolution of regalian prerogatives to sub-royal actors in the tenth century. The early eleventh century produced the first currents of revival with regard to such dualism and the widespread practice of lay investiture. Refer to: Olivier Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture before the Investiture Struggle in Anjou, Normandy, and England," *The Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), pp. 81-100: 83-84.

¹³² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 161; Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture," 89-91.

February 1096 to preach, among other things, investiture reform, the monks of Saint-Aubin declined the pope's offer to consecrate their church.¹³³ The abbey's rejection of Urban's offer and, by proxy, the papal reform agenda may have been at the request of Fulk le Réchin. For, once the papal entourage departed Anjou, the abbot of Saint-Aubin, "fleeing to the refuge of the Apostolic See" [*ad Sedis Apostolice portum confugiens*] then in Saintes, sought the Roman Pontiff's forgiveness. The abbot secured, on 14 April 1096, a papal bull that guaranteed the freedom of the monks of Saint-Aubin to elect their own abbots, pursuant to which only consecration by the bishop ought to follow.¹³⁴ At the time, the acquisition of the bull may not have had any immediate purpose beyond mitigating the scandal which must have followed the abbey's snubbing of the pope while he was in Angers.

It was Fulk's subsequent malfeasance threatening Saint-Aubin's patrimony that appears to have instigated a breakdown in comital relations with the abbey; the severity of the breakdown was amplified by the existence of the aforementioned bull. On 22 August 1096 at the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas in Angers, Fulk le Réchin expanded an earlier comital donation of part of the forest of Échats near Pruniers to include the entire forest, as demarcated by a certain border. In the presence of a substantial host which included his younger son Fulk V and daughter Ermengarde, Count Fulk le Réchin received from the monks of Saint-Nicholas a princely sum of six thousand *solidi* as a counter-gift. Two days later, the comital heir Geoffrey Martel II confirmed the

¹³³ "Chronica Rainaldi," 14.

¹³⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 413, pp. 21-23: 21.

benefaction, receiving in exchange a smaller sum of money.¹³⁵ Word of the sale would have reached the monks of Saint-Aubin a few later, while the count's family yet remained in Angers. The monks of Saint-Aubin lodged a complaint with the count, likely in the presence of his household, insisting that the recently alienated land belonged to their own abbey. They claimed that one of Fulk's predecessors had seized the land in much the same way as Fulk le Réchin was now committing a second theft by alienating that same land to Saint-Nicholas. The monks of Saint-Aubin characterized the act as the "violent domination" of Fulk's "secular power" [*quae secularis potestas et violentia dominatio...*].¹³⁶ Rather than resolving the issue, Count Fulk appears to have evaded it, ignoring the protests of the monks of Saint-Aubin for two years until an assembly of abbots and bishops was finally forced to convene and adjudicate. The end result was that the abbeys of Saint-Aubin and Saint-Nicholas had to share that part of the forest of Échats.¹³⁷

The outcome was less than ideal, particularly from the perspective of the Abbey of Saint-Aubin, which claimed centuries-long ownership of the territory. It is around this time that a scribe of Saint-Aubin, seemingly in revenge, went through the abbey's cartulary and erased, in the chapter concerning abbatial elections, any mentions of historic comital involvement in the election process.¹³⁸ An additional folio which was apportioned in the cartulary for recording the proceedings of future abbatial elections

¹³⁵ Catalog n. [F 2] (1096) *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

¹³⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 108, pp. 125-128: 125.

¹³⁷ The entire episode is reported with useful discussion in: Henk Teunis, *The appeal to the original status: Social justice in Anjou in the eleventh century* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 76-79.

¹³⁸ BM Angers, Ms. 829, ff. 7r-10v.

henceforth remains blank on both the recto and verso.¹³⁹ The election process itself had been removed from cartulary documentation; any involvement on the part of temporal actors, comital or otherwise, would no longer be recognized.¹⁴⁰ Whereas the Angevin counts had once enjoyed broad influence with monasteries across their realm, Fulk had antagonized even the monks of Saint-Aubin into withdrawing from the comital orbit.

One of the most significant consequences of Saint-Aubin's detachment from the comital *mouvance* was that the counts of Anjou henceforth would be unable to rely upon that powerful community to influence the selection of future bishops of Angers. A supportive Angevin episcopate, with its attendant landed wealth, historic as well as immediate aristocratic kinship ties, and spiritual prestige, was vital for securing the cooperation of resistant elites, especially those being drawn away from comital persuasion by currents of reform or desires of autonomy.¹⁴¹ As discussed above, Fulk le Réchin appears to have exercised a considerable degree of influence in the nomination and subsequent papal ordination of Geoffrey of Mayenne *le Jeune* as bishop of Angers in November 1095.¹⁴² Reflecting poorly upon comital judgment, Geoffrey had subsequently inspired ecclesiastical condemnation by pursuing the aggrandizement of his own familial interests at the expense of performing his episcopal duties. In 1101, Geoffrey succumbed to papal pressure and abdicated his See.¹⁴³ The election of Geoffrey of Mayenne's

¹³⁹ BM Angers, Ms. 829, fol. 11r-v.

¹⁴⁰ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 445-450.

¹⁴¹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 195.

¹⁴² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 256-260.

¹⁴³ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 260n284 discusses the evidence and immediate instances of neglect which led to the abdication.

successor, Renaud of Martigné, on 2 August 1101 proved to be highly controversial as well as injurious to the count's standing.

Indeed, a careful examination of the circumstances betrays the count's interference, which had to be more heavy-handed than usual due to Fulk's already-weakened ability to influence ecclesiastical affairs in his domain. The widespread disapproval of the election's proceedings diminished the perception of comital legitimacy, and, as we will see in Chapter Two, bolstered ecclesiastical support of Geoffrey Martel II's insurrection in 1103. On the surface, Renaud's election appears to have been the function of a populist uprising, and it certainly has been treated as such by modern historians.¹⁴⁴ According to letters from Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme and Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans, the cathedral's canons and assorted ecclesiastics had gathered in the chapter of Saint-Maurice of Angers around 2 August 1101 to judge the worthiness of the episcopal candidate Renaud of Martigné. The assembled church figures had firmly rejected Renaud's candidacy on the basis of his youth and lack of previous involvement in any canonical order. A local mob, however, broke into the cathedral chapter and forced the churchmen to elect Renaud to the episcopal seat.¹⁴⁵

The influence of Fulk le Réchin may be revealed here. The mob is unlikely to have assembled spontaneously, much less to have decided to articulate its discontent through the strong-arming of an episcopal election. Henk Teunis has argued that the mob

¹⁴⁴ This is the judgment of Olivier Guillot and Henk Teunis. Both additionally agree that the count of Anjou likely played no significant role in the election of Renaud. I provide here a reconsideration of such an assessment. Refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 261; Teunis, *The appeal to the original status*, 120-121.

¹⁴⁵ For Geoffrey of Vendôme's letter, in which he recounts the entire ordeal, see: Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. Geneviève Giordanengo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), n. 142, pp. 300-308. For Hildebert's letter, refer to: *Patrologia Latina*, 171, II, no. 4, col. 210-211.

probably coalesced in anger following discussions of the worldliness of the former bishop of Angers. This was sure to be a topic of public conversation on the occasion of the election of the future bishop. Such anger would have been inflamed further by related observations on the prominent affluence of the cathedral's canons: they profited handsomely from numerous properties and privileges in and around Angers,¹⁴⁶ while the city's denizens had suffered mightily from recent famines.¹⁴⁷ Yet, given the unknown standing of the outsider Renaud, generalized public discontent in Angers would have had to have been channeled into focused support for Renaud. Bishop Marbode of Rennes, visiting ecclesiastical dignitary and loyal partisan of Fulk le Réchin, seems to have been the one to direct public anger into a means of advocacy for Renaud. Marbode exploited his own status as both bishop of Rennes and archdeacon of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers to facilitate the mob's entry into the cathedral chapter and force the election.¹⁴⁸ Other than to carry out the will of the Angevin count, whose dynasty had long been a generous patron of Marbode's family as we saw above, it is unclear what Marbode's motivations could have been in directing a local mob to coerce an episcopal election.

For Fulk le Réchin, the benefits were tangible and immediate. For one, Fulk had created an opportunity to exercise one of the most significant, historic prerogatives of the counts of Anjou: comital investiture of new bishops in the Angevin capital. In an

¹⁴⁶ Teunis, *The appeal to the original status*, 120.

¹⁴⁷ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 237.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans subsequently tried to dissuade Archbishop Raoul of Tours from listening to Marbode's arguments in favor of ordaining Renaud. The effort failed, and Raoul ordained Renaud on 12 January 1102. See: *Patrologia Latina*, 171, II, no. 4, col. 210-211. Hildebert subsequently attempts to convince Renaud of not accepting ordination. Refer to: *Patrologia Latina*, 171, II, n. 5, cols. 211-213. For the dating of the ordination, refer to: "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 29.

1116x1118 letter, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme recalls that, in violation of reform principles of investiture, the count of Anjou himself had invested Renaud with the episcopal crosier, symbolizing the bestowal of both *temporalia* and *spiritualia*.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, the installation of Renaud in the Angevin episcopate strengthened ties with the lords of Montreuil-Bellay, who were patrons of Renaud's family.¹⁵⁰ Situated approximately sixteen kilometers south-southwest of Saumur, the stronghold of Montreuil-Bellay was vital to Angevin military interests. Bernard S. Bachrach has argued that Fulk Nerra constructed the stronghold in approximately 1030 as part of a defensive network of strongholds established to guard the southern Angevin frontier. That frontier was the conduit for incursions by, among others, the viscounts of Thouars, who were former Angevin *fideles* turned loyal clients of the Poitevin counts.¹⁵¹ By Easter 1101, however, Viscount Herbert of Thouars, Count William of Poitou, and numerous men within their *mouvance* had taken the cross and embarked for the Holy Land: they were noted to be in Constantinople by June.¹⁵² Given Fulk Réchin's willingness to violate the lands of absent crusaders, it appears that the count may have intended to capitalize on the

¹⁴⁹ Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, n. 142, pp. 300-308, at 304: "*Investituram quam de manu laici accepistis per pastorem virgam silere non debeo nec loqui sine dolore.*" Although Geoffrey does not specify Fulk as the lay agent of investiture, it could have been no other figure.

¹⁵⁰ For the evidence concerning Renaud's background, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 261n288.

¹⁵¹ Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building in the Reign of Fulk Nerra, 987-1040," *The American Historical Review* 88, 3 (1983), pp. 533-560: 545, 548-9, 557. See also: Jacques Bousard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151-1204)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977; orig. publ. 1938), 35-6.

¹⁵² "Fragmentum Chronicae Prioratus de Casa Vicecomitis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 335-343: 340-341, 340n2; Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 128-130; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 140.

newly strengthened ties with the seigneurial family of Montreuil-Bellay to extend Angevin comital authority beyond the southern frontier and reclaim former territories.¹⁵³

Such a campaign would not come to pass before the uprising of 1103. The scandal surrounding the episcopal election had destabilized comital-ecclesiastical relations in the Angevin realm, threatening the counts' ability to reliably exercise the fiscal and military customs necessary to conduct a campaign along the southern Angevin frontier. Indeed, following the election, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme and Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans wrote a series of letters to Angevin ecclesiastical prelates, encouraging obstruction and non-compliance with comital designs.¹⁵⁴ Perhaps as a consequence of this, monastic repositories record no comital *acta* dating from between 2 August 1101 and March 1103, the year of Geoffrey Martel II's insurrection; the count had been shut out.¹⁵⁵ The election also came at great personal cost to Fulk's most influential ecclesiastical ally. The cathedral canons of Angers stripped Bishop Marbode of Rennes of his archdeaconship.¹⁵⁶ Marbode was then arrested, an act for which Bishop Hildebert was initially blamed,

¹⁵³ Fulk le Réchin's motivations may, in part, have been to rehabilitate his deteriorating relationship with the ecclesiastical establishment. In recent years, Viscount Herbert of Thouars had been encroaching upon customs exercised by regional Angevin institutions. For instance, between 1092 and 1101, the monastery of Notre-Dame of Loudun, founded by Count Geoffrey le Barbu in 1062, records a quitclaim by Viscount Herbert, who had been attempting to seize the monastery's *vinaticum*, or wine collection custom, as well as other privileges in the commune of Taizé in the department of Deux-Sèvres. See: AD Vienne, Carton 1, piece 3. For the foundation of Notre-Dame of Loudun, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 234, p. 155. In returning Deux-Sèvres to the Angevin comital orbit, Fulk would not only have consolidated his own authority in an historic Angevin holding but also have safeguarded ecclesiastical interests.

¹⁵⁴ The extant letters are to abbots of Saint-Serge and Saint-Florent as well as the archbishop of Tours. See: Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, no. 14, pp. 22-28; Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, n. 19, pp. 34-36; Hildebert of Lavardin, *Patrologia Latina*, 171, II, n. 4, cols. 210-211.

¹⁵⁵ Guillot's catalog of comital acts, does however, include mention of Fulk's involvement in a donation recorded in a familial pancarte. Refer to: AD Indre-et-Loire, H 290, piece 1 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 422, p. 263).

¹⁵⁶ Teunis, *The appeal to the original status*, 121.

prompting Geoffrey of Vendôme's impassioned epistolary defense,¹⁵⁷ but for which fault was eventually found with the cathedral's deacon, Stephen.¹⁵⁸ Marbode was forced to suspend his activities as bishop of Rennes—that is, as Count Fulk's proxy in Brittany as well as Countess Ermengarde's valuable ally—in order to travel to Rome to plead his case before the Roman Pontiff.¹⁵⁹

The assorted failures of the count of Anjou's efforts from 1096-1103, efforts inspired by the opportunities and quandaries presented by the early crusading phenomenon, generated instability across the Angevin realm. Fulk le Réchin had spectacularly failed in his various princely ambitions during these years. Not unrelatedly, contemporary chronicles in the lands of the Loire described Fulk's son and heir, Geoffrey Martel II, as the one who was "youthful, prudent, and bold" as well as possessed "worthiness."¹⁶⁰ The young man was a "subduer and conqueror of tyrants... a guardian and defender of the church," and one whose glories were the function of "worthiness."¹⁶¹ There were even those who launched mortal plots against him precisely "because he was worthy."¹⁶² An epic poem produced in the earlier twelfth century describes Geoffrey as a "man esteemed

¹⁵⁷ Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, n. 21, 38.

¹⁵⁸ Melissa B. Lurio, "An Educated Bishop in an Age of Reform: Marbode, Bishop of Rennes, 1096-1123," 3 vols. (Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 2004), III, App. 1: Letters Written by Marbode of Rennes, ep. 1, pp. 729-735: 732.

¹⁵⁹ As concerns Marbode's plea to the Pope, refer to: Lurio, "An Educated Bishop," 732. It should be noted that Duke Alan Fergent of Brittany returned to his duchy by 9 October 1101 and that this likely preceded Marbode's arrest and journey to Rome. For Alan's arrival, see: *Les actes des ducs de Bretagne*, ns. 104-105, pp. 396-399.

¹⁶⁰ GCA, 65: "...iuvenis, prudens, et animosus... probitates."

¹⁶¹ "Annales Vindocinenses," 68: "debellator et expugnator tyrannorum... protector et defensor ecclesiarum... probitatis."

¹⁶² "Chronicon Petri Filii Bechini," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 1-63: 55: "quia probus erat." The context is the alleged murder of Geoffrey Martel II at Candé in May 1106.

even by the factions that envy him... who took up the protection of his fatherland in auspicious times... [who] fixed justice at the farthest borders of the land...[and to whom] the world will be forever indebted."¹⁶³ These were the failed aspirations of Fulk le Réchin, methodically attributed to his heir. Yet, by 1106, Geoffrey Martel II would be dead, and, in 1109, Fulk V would find himself inheriting an office and principality on the brink of disintegration. It is to these pivotal years that we next turn.

¹⁶³ *A Garland of Satire, Wisdom, and History: Latin Verse from Twelfth-Century France*, eds. J.M. Ziolkowski and B.K. Balint (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2007), 80-83, translation by the editors.

Chapter Two

Crusade and Crisis Management before 1109

In the previous chapter, we saw how Fulk V's father, Count Fulk le Réchin, had responded unsuccessfully to the emerging challenges of the crusading environment. His failure to adapt dynastic practices of rulership had generated ruptures in comital relations with both lay clients and the ecclesiastical establishment. The ensuing rifts promised to fundamentally imperil Angevin comital legitimacy and authority. Indeed, the damage inflicted to the comital dynasty's standing promised to worsen rather than improve over time, as prevailing landscapes of power came to be shaped increasingly by the ongoing crusade movement and its continuing successes in the lands across the sea.¹ Such matters required urgent address.

In this chapter, we will examine three different sets of attempts to manage the deepening crisis of comital authority in Anjou before 1109. In contrast to the efforts of Fulk V during his own countship, these attempts during the last years of his father's reign ultimately failed to halt the crisis which, after 1106, had compromised not only dynastic legitimacy but also the territorial integrity of the Angevin principality itself. These unsuccessful responses to the crusading environment would have been instructive to the future count. Frequently in the company of the actors who undertook these responses,

¹ Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c.1071-c.1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 124-146.

Fulk V would have been witness to whatever rationales they might have publicly expressed and, at the least, the consequences of their actions.

In the first of this chapter's three sections, we will investigate the response of Fulk le Réchin. As early as the fall of 1096, the aging count understood that his failure to participate in the crusading enterprise which was galvanizing so many of his lordly clients might engender a problem vis-à-vis Angevin comital authority in the near future. To bolster such authority and defend his dynasty's legitimacy, Fulk undertook the composition of an *apologia* that addressed his contemporaries as well as his successors in seeking to explain how the counts of Anjou remained centrally relevant within the emergent environment of crusading. As we saw in the previous chapter, however, the actual actions of Fulk le Réchin in the years of 1098-1103 undermined whatever benefits his *apologia* might have provided.

In the second section of this chapter, we will explore how the failures of Fulk le Réchin within the specific context of crusading impelled the comital heir, at this time Fulk V's elder brother Geoffrey Martel II, to undertake a *dissensio*. Traditionally, the events of 1103-1105 are considered to have constituted a civil war between the father and the son, resulting in the latter's displacement of the former as count of Anjou. However, as we will see, Geoffrey's actions were devised to reestablish rather than disrupt dynastic hierarchies of power. Geoffrey aimed to restore dynastic relations both within and without to the state in which they had existed in early 1096, before the coming of crusade had cast into motion a series of events imperiling the legitimacy and authority of the *honor* that Geoffrey was to inherit. Yet, Geoffrey's non-engagement with the crusading phenomenon, whose emerging contexts had amplified the consequences of Fulk le

Réchin's various misbehaviors, meant that his own early successes of rulership might not have endured within the particularized crusading environment of Greater Anjou.

Regrettably, Geoffrey's premature death on 19 May 1106, less than two years after the completion of his *dissensio*, preclude any conclusions toward this end.

In the final section of this chapter, we will briefly consider the anarchy that enveloped Anjou following the alleged murder of Geoffrey at the hands of Fulk le Réchin, his own father. We will see how, as the Angevin count's perceived legitimacy collapsed in the aftermath of Geoffrey's death, various actors commanding local influence, such as Count Hélias of Maine and Queen Bertrade, sought to restore order in different ways. Although their efforts were ultimately directed toward different ends, halting the disintegration of comital authority on behalf of the new heir, Fulk V, was a shared ambition. Unfortunately, their attempts do not appear to have yielded any particular gains; instead, they might have contributed to the worsening state of affairs by drawing further attention to those failings of Angevin dynastic legitimacy that the crusading environment had recently highlighted. It would, then, fall to Fulk V as count of Anjou after 14 April 1109 to devise a new program by which to rehabilitate Angevin comital authority in a time of unprecedented crisis.

Promising a New Future: Fulk le Réchin's *Apologia*

Lordly authority in medieval Christendom hinged on many factors, but one of the most pivotal was honor. 'Honor,' as such, comprised a *mélange* of various concerns of

prestige, one's status relative to peers and subordinates, as well as perceived piety.² The advent of the crusading phenomenon, with its emergent ideological pressures, began to offer new avenues through which to generate lordly honor in the collective consciousness of the Latin Christian aristocracy.³ However, in so doing, the nascent environment of crusading also created new paths upon which lords might falter in the production and preservation of their dynastic honor. The first such pitfall would have emerged in the immediate wake of the preaching of crusade.⁴ Having pledged themselves to travel to the Holy Land, many lords soon found themselves either unwilling or unable to complete their vows.⁵ Some of the princes who chose not to embark on crusade are alleged to have presented public justification for their actions. For instance, according to Orderic Vitalis, Count Hélias of Maine insisted before the English king's court at Rouen that he was not, in fact, abandoning the spirit of the crusading effort by staying behind. The cross which Hélias had taken in pledge of crusade he would now engrave onto his shield, helmet, saddle, and bridle in order to defend Christian lands at home.⁶ To some, defending

² Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 77-78, 105-110.

³ Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 6, 10-11.

⁴ Who, for the most part, was responsible for the preaching of crusade following the Council of Clermont has been a subject of some discussion. For the argument that local monks were chiefly responsible for conveying the call for crusade rather than a widespread movement of wandering preachers, see: Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 1-36.

⁵ Their absence became a point of controversy as conditions on the First Crusade deteriorated. In late 1097, the clerics who had accompanied the crusading host requested that the Roman Pontiff excommunicate those who had failed to fulfill their vows. See: Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 23.

⁶ OV, V: 228-232, esp. 230. Although Orderic Vitalis' account reflects the attitudes of the 1130s in which he was writing, the extended discussion of the circumstances which led to Hélias' decision as well as the riveting speech which Hélias delivers in justification of that decision suggests, at the least, that Hélias did, in some capacity, publicly declare his reasons for not leaving. In any case, the Christian lands in question were those of Hélias himself; the rapacious king of England allegedly threatened to advance upon those lands if Hélias left on crusade. Other contemporary lords would certainly have faced a similar dilemma as that of Hélias. Regardless, the decision to stay would have to be justified in terms suitably calibrated to the vow being abrogated; the logics of Hélias' speech are not implausible.

Christian lands at home seemed to be an acceptable, or perhaps simply plausible, substitute for defending Christian bodies in the Holy Land.

This would not have been an unreasonable inference following from what such lords might have seen and heard during Pope Urban II's preaching tour in support of the crusading enterprise.⁷ Such an understanding would have been especially forthcoming in Anjou. We saw in the previous chapter how, in the effort to maximize regional recruitment for crusade, Pope Urban had seemingly positioned Count Fulk le Réchin as the papacy-backed guarantor of would-be crusaders' lands. In so doing, Urban had tethered Angevin comital honor to the completion of the crusading vows of those Angevin lords who had taken the cross that spring. When many of those lords dithered and ultimately failed to leave in September 1096, Fulk was forced to explain what role he was, in effect, playing in the context of the epochal mass movement. The aging count was forced, in other words, to defend the honor of his dynasty. In this section, we will explore how Fulk le Réchin sought, in 1096, to mitigate a growing point of concern that would, by 1098, have become worrying and, after 1099, potentially destabilizing for not only comital authority but the Angevin principality itself.

Our most illustrative glimpse into how Fulk le Réchin might have defended himself to his contemporaries as well as to his successors endures in the form of a certain autobiographical account. Fulk dictated this account in vernacular to a scribe, probably his household chaplain Geoffrey Caiaphas, in 1096 and then continued, under a different

⁷ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 13-30.

scribe, in 1098.⁸ The account remains incomplete. In the 1096 segment of the text, Fulk first relates the exploits of historical Angevin counts to his day.⁹ He then provides a few evasive comments regarding the civil war between him and his brother over the *honor* of Anjou during the 1060s.¹⁰ Subsequently, Fulk pivots away from recounting the merits of his own reign. This deviation in the narrative does not follow. In the prologue, Fulk had framed the retelling of his ancestors' reigns as the necessary prelude to that of his own; the reign of Fulk le Réchin was the destination in pursuit of which the narrative was unfolding.¹¹ Nevertheless, Fulk insists that he must first relate contemporary astrological phenomena as well as Pope Urban II's recent visit to Anjou. After a discussion of these matters, the 1096 section of the text abruptly concludes.¹² In the 1098x1099 continuation, Fulk launches immediately into a detailed report on the progress of the First Crusade, the

⁸ The account survives in a single manuscript: Vatican Library, ms. lat. 173 (Coll. Reginensis), ff. 1-8v. In their classic edition of the manuscript, Halphen and Poupardin justified the exclusion of the second part of Fulk's account, relating events of the First Crusade until the siege of Antioch, on the basis of a rather apparent stylistic shift from the first part of the account, details of which establish a temporal *terminus ad quem* of 1096. Nicholas Paul has demonstrated that the second part of Fulk's *Fragmentum* should be understood not as a forgery but rather as Fulk's own continuation in 1098 or 1099 of his earlier, incomplete account. The stylistic shift can be attributed to a change in the scribe who was translating Fulk's vernacular dictation into Latin for the account. As to the dating of the second part of the account, Paul traces the composition to 1098x1099 due to the inclusion and exclusion of certain details concerning the First Crusade, details which Paul suggests count Stephen-Henry of Blois provided to Fulk upon the former's premature return to France in later 1098. See: Nicholas L. Paul, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin: A Reassessment," *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007), 19-35: 28-30. For the editions of the first and second parts of the account of Fulk le Réchin, see, respectively: "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1903), 232-238; "Gesta Andegavensium Peregrinorum ab Auctore Anonymo Coaevo sub Nomine Fulconis IV Rechini Andegavensis Comititis, Narrata," in *RHC Oc*, V: 345-347.

⁹ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 232-237.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 232: "Ego Fulco, comes Andegavensis, qui fui filius Gosfridi de Castro Landonio et Ermengardis, filie Fulconis comitis Andegavensis, et nepos Gosfridi Martelli, qui fuit filius ejusdem avi mei Fulconis et frater matris mee, cum tenuissem consulatum Andegavinum viginti octo annis et Turonensum et Nannetensum et Cenomannensem, volui commendare litteris quomodo antecessores mei honorem suum adquisierant et tenuerant usque ad meum tempus et deinde de me ipso quomodo eundem honorem tenueram adjuvante divina misericordia."

¹² *Ibid.*, 237-238.

main host of which was then besieging Antioch.¹³ The account then ends, having failed to report the achievements of Fulk's own reign.

Modern historians have typically read the text as a reflected model of military prowess for the lay nobility¹⁴ or an early example of the princely *gesta* that would emerge with some frequency in the twelfth century.¹⁵ Nicholas Paul has argued, however, that Fulk le Réchin's 'autobiography' is not a precocious example of a *gesta principium*, as such. Rather, the text is a private cartulary devised primarily for the instruction and reference of future Angevin counts. This is the reason, Paul contends, why the account eschews fantastical origin myths common to other *gesta principium* and focuses instead

¹³ "Gesta Andegavensium Peregrinorum," V: 345-347. To be more specific, the final portion of Fulk's account provides a report on the progress of the primary crusading host through its beleaguered siege of Antioch from October 1097 to June 1098. The narrative ends immediately before mention of the late June repulsion of the army of the atabeg of Mosul, Kerbogha, who had arrived earlier that month in order to reclaim the recently captured city. There are several reasons to suggest that the successful siege and then defense of Antioch provides the point of termination for Fulk's continuation. As Nicholas Paul has argued, the absence of Bohemond of Taranto and Tancred Marchisus in Fulk's enumeration of crusade leaders would seem to indicate that Fulk composed his continuation before the fame of these individuals became well-known in Francia, something which would have occurred by 1100 or so. Refer to: Paul, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin," 29. Furthermore, I would note that the final words of Fulk's account indicate an impending discussion of the alleged appearance of Jesus Christ to one of the besieged crusaders in Antioch on 10 June. The earlier framing of the list's enumeration as a task "in evidence for posterity" [*ad evidentiam posterorum*] speak of a great accomplishment which prompted the composition; the crusaders had likely just successfully defended Antioch from the atabeg's attempted re-capture. This would be in accord with Paul's argument that Fulk le Réchin was drawing upon reports of the crusade's progress from Count Stephen of Blois, who had fled Kerbogha's investment of Antioch. See: "Gesta Andegavensium Peregrinorum," 346: "...*quorum nomina ad evidentiam posterorum hic annotato sunt...*" and 347: "*Denique piissimus Jesus eorum afflictione et frequenti lamentatione ad misericordiam erga populum...*" For scholarly accounts of the prolonged siege, refer to: Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 50-54; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 37-42.

¹⁴ Thomas N. Bisson, "Princely Nobility in an Age of Ambition (c. 1050-1150)," in *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 101-113: 106.

¹⁵ Jane Martindale, "Secular Propaganda and Aristocratic Values: The Autobiographies of Count Fulk le Réchin of Anjou and Count William of Poitou, Duke of Aquitaine," in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, eds. David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 143-159: 146-147, 151. For the princely *gesta* of the twelfth century more generally, see: Björn Weiler, "Kingship and Lordship: Kingship in 'Dynastic' Chronicles," in *The Gallus Anonymous and his Chronicle in the Light of Recent Research*, ed. Kristof Stopka (Krakow: Proceedings of the Polish Academy of Arts and Letters, 2011), pp. 103-123.

upon the meticulous enumeration of comital land acquisitions, military encounters, castle constructions, and relationships of monastic patronage.¹⁶ The text was meant, thus, to serve as a handbook of governance and model of rulership.

The crusading context which inspired its production is key to understanding why Fulk le Réchin had begun writing his account only in 1096, toward the thirtieth year of his reign. However, this, in turn, also leads us to reconsider whether ‘private cartulary’ is the most effective analytical lens through which to apprehend the text. Indeed, within months of its inception, as Latin Christian society responded fervently to its call, the crusading movement had begun to exert influence upon aristocratic conceptions of self-identity and *fama*, or reputation.¹⁷ Participation or the prospect of participation became a form of currency that might have threatened the status of the Angevin counts, especially if Fulk le Réchin had, in fact, not planned on joining the enterprise. Therefore, the primary objective of Fulk's account was to articulate the historic and ongoing *probitas*, or worthiness of elite status, exemplified by both his comital predecessors and himself.¹⁸ In Paul's estimation, Fulk's narrative deviation upon arriving at the recounting of his own

¹⁶ Paul, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin," 25-27. More generally, aristocratic families kept transcriptions of familial possessions in individual, uncollated archives resident in local religious houses. Historically, the Angevin counts had maintained chests of such archival records detailing various estates which were under their dominion, direct and extended. Refer to: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 35.

¹⁷ Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 21-26. The cultivation and maintenance of *fama* has received insufficient attention, but, for the Middle Ages, see: Thelma Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail, eds., *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003). More generally, refer to: Philip Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁸ The term *probitas*, as deployed in the central Middle Ages, has inspired much discussion, especially in its capacity as an antecedent for *preudommie* or *chevalerie*. See, for instance: David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, c. 900-c. 1300* (London: Routledge, 2005), 30-37; Richard E. Barton, "Aristocratic Culture: Kinship, Chivalry, and Court Culture," in *A Companion to the Medieval World*, eds. C. Lansing and E.D. English (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 500-524: 504-511.

reign may thus be attributed to the visit of Pope Urban II to Anjou: the count “became distracted” in the midst of his composition which he had, Paul suggests, begun earlier that year.¹⁹ To be sure, the papal visit would be a point of significant distraction. However, the fanfare surrounding Urban’s time in Anjou does not explain the narrative stumbling which precedes the account’s deviation—that is, the hasty and evasive comments regarding the civil war between Fulk and his brother in the 1060s before the veering off into astrological matters followed by a discussion of Urban’s arrival. Nor does such fanfare provide a satisfactory explanation for why Fulk waited almost two years after the conclusion of the papal visit to resume his composition. We also remain unclear on why Fulk le Réchin had felt compelled to begin writing this text before either the impact or the implications of the crusading movement had yet come into focus in Anjou. Such a composition on the part of a layman was hardly a common occurrence; in fact, Fulk le Réchin’s text might be the earliest surviving lay narrative from the High Middle Ages.²⁰ In other words, the uncertainty of what crusade yet meant for Anjou seems unlikely to have compelled Fulk to such unprecedented action.

Some of these interpretive dilemmas can be resolved by considering that Fulk might have begun composing his account in the later rather than earlier months of 1096, once the call for crusade had resonated deeply across the lands which he governed. Fulk intended his account to be received not just or even primarily by his heirs as a future handbook of governance but rather by all his contemporaries as an *apologia* responding

¹⁹ Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 24. Fulk le Réchin claims, in the first part of his account, to have been writing in the year 1096. There is no apparent reason to reject this claim and, in fact, many to commend it. See: "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 237: “*Tenui igitur honorem illum viginti octo annis usque ad terminum illum quo scriptum istud facere disposui.*”

²⁰ Paul, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin," 19.

to their shared contexts of crusading, contexts of progressively urgent significance. Through his textual production, Fulk sought to defend his own honor and that of his dynasty within an emerging crusade environment whose implications increasingly threatened the health of Angevin comital legitimacy and authority. For, as we saw in the previous chapter, the failure of many would-be Angevin crusaders to observe their vows and leave for the Holy Land by autumn of 1096 had reflected poorly upon the count of Anjou. If Fulk had begun composing his account in the later months of 1096 rather than in the earlier months—and, there is no conclusive reason to believe that he had not—it is certain that he would have thought to respond within that account to the increasingly problematic circumstances of his political situation.²¹ A reexamination of the text, with consideration to how Angevin deferment of crusading vows in 1096 imperiled the authority of the Angevin count, provides additional insights into the manner in which Fulk sought to explain the intersections between comital responsibilities, crusading, and *probitas* to both his successors and his contemporaries.

Thus, within his discussion of the factors generating historic comital *probitas*, Fulk le Réchin embedded rhetorical elements that were devised to resonate with emergent contexts of crusading in Anjou. In so doing, the count defended his own as well as his dynasty's honor in times of rising uncertainty. As justification for his own decision not to

²¹ In redating the composition of the 1096 portion of Fulk's account from the early months of 1096 to the later months of that year, we might explain the account's narrative deviation not as the function of Urban's arrival but, rather, as the consequence of Fulk having written himself into a corner. As previously mentioned, the narrative begins to lose coherence even before its left-turn into a discussion of astrological phenomena and Urban's visit—as Fulk neared the recounting of his own reign, it became increasingly clear to him that he could not persuasively echo the glories of his ancestors. Toward this end, it seems relevant that the only point at which Fulk inserted himself in the remainder of the 1096 segment was in relating how the Roman Pontiff presented him with a golden flower. As we saw in the previous chapter, the significance of this gesture was inextricably bound up in matters of both crusading and lordly power.

embark upon crusade, Fulk juxtaposes the duty of liberating Christian estates from pagans with the duty of defending Christian estates from other, Christian princes:

“And so, those men who were my ancestors were most worthy counts, and, as my uncle Geoffrey Martel recounted to me, were named thus: the first was Ingelgarius; the second was Fulk the Red, his son; then was Fulk, who was called the Good; after him was his son, Geoffrey Grey mantle. Indeed, these four consuls had held the *honor* of Anjou; they had wrested it from the hands of pagans and had defended it from Christian consuls...”²²

The above passage occurs at the very beginning of the work, immediately following Fulk le Réchin's stated intent "to commit to letters how [his] predecessors acquired their *honor* and held it until [his] time."²³ The expressed obligations to preserve one's domain against both pagan and Christian parties are, thus, placed on equal footing in good rulership. The juxtaposition offers exoneration to those who were staying behind in 1096 to fight other Christians rather than leaving for the Holy Land to fight 'pagans.' It is unclear whether 'pagans' here refers to pre-Christian parties, such as some Northmen, against whom the earliest Angevin counts fought and aggrandized their domain, or whether 'pagans' here refers to co-religionists who are being denounced as such. Of course, neither scenario precludes the secondary function that the above passage serves with regard to the

²² "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 232: "*Illi igitur antecessores mei, sicut ille meus avunculus Gosfridus Martellus narravit mihi, fuerunt probissimi comites, et sic nominati sunt: primus Ingelgerius; secundus Fulco Rufus, filius ejus; deinde Fulco, qui Bonus appellatus est; postea filius ejus Gosfridus Grisa Gonella. Isti autem quatuor consules tenuerunt honorem Andegavinum et eripuerunt eum de manibus paganorum et a christianis consulibus defenderunt...*"

²³ *Ibid.*, 232: "...*volui commendare litteris quomodo antecessores mei honorem suum adquisierant et tenuerant usque ad meum tempus...*"

crusading context.²⁴ Indeed, the structure itself of the work hints that Fulk le Réchin planned the double-significance. Although Ingelgarius' predecessors had a more plausible claim to battling pagans in the strictest sense of 'non-Christians,' Fulk's account narrates only the deeds of Angevin ancestors who followed the dynasty's acquisition of the comital *honor* and title. Notwithstanding one possible exception, these deeds include no mention of 'wresting' much of anything from unnamed pagans; all military confrontations occur with other Christian consuls whose identities are established.²⁵ The final sentence of the above passage was, it would seem, designed to speak to the crusading context: it articulates how the Angevin counts had historically fulfilled the duty of fighting 'pagans.'

However, Fulk was personally neither fulfilling the historic Angevin duty to repulse pagans nor reliably motivating Angevin clients to do so in 1096. As a result, Fulk had to articulate a narrative framework of dynastic *probitas* that would prove resilient in the face of his own increasingly insecure position. To be sure, even within the crusading context, the duty of fighting pagans was but one significant part of a more general practice of good lordship. The parallelism of Fulk's narrative threads concerning the reigns of his predecessors demonstrates that Fulk had planned from the outset to articulate certain deeds as emblematic of princely *probitas*. As indicated above, these accomplishments included territorial acquisitions, military victories, fortification-

²⁴ For the most comprehensive account of the earliest known members of the Angevin dynasty, see: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 1-19, with the attendant, extensive bibliographic references.

²⁵ The exception pertains to a certain matter during the reign of Fulk Nerra. The legendary count is described as having pursued a campaign of castle-building in order to facilitate urban settlement that had been precluded by the savagery of pagans. It is unclear whether the text is saying that Fulk Nerra fought with such "pagans" or whether the text is indicating that he simply was defending against their possible incursions. See: "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 233-234: "Fulco... et edificavit plurima castella in sua terra, que remanserat deserta et nemoribus plena propter feritatem paganorum." This matter is further discussed below.

building, and the cultivation of relationships of monastic patronage. Fulk le Réchin clearly intended to characterize the achievements of his own reign in similar terms.

Yet, upon arriving at the point of his own appearance in the narrative, Fulk le Réchin encountered a problem of his own design. Fulk had framed the deeds of his predecessors as heroics necessarily following from circumstances forced upon them. For instance, Fulk Nerra had not raised castles throughout his lands to facilitate conquest but, rather, to nurture and protect the growth of landed settlements whose very existence had been prevented by pagan savagery.²⁶ Geoffrey Martel I had not seized Tours from the Count of Blois but had, rather, received the city as a gift from the king of England; the epic battle about Tours in 1044 was of the Blésois count's initiation.²⁷ In contrast, what logistical, much less moral, justification could Fulk le Réchin provide for the civil war that had raged during the 1060s between himself and his elder brother, Count Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8)? Indeed, the outcomes of that conflict were entirely the opposite of what fortunes were supposed to befall principality and patrimony under the rule of meritorious princes. The brother whom the former count had chosen to be his successor to the *honores* of Anjou and Touraine had been displaced by his younger sibling, Fulk le Réchin, upon whom the former count had seen fit to bestow only the dislocated holdings of Saintonge and Vihiers.²⁸ Following his victory over his elder brother, Fulk le Réchin

²⁶ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 233-234: "...edificavit plurima castella in sua terra, que remanserat deserta et nemoribus plena propter feritatem paganorum..."

²⁷ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 235-236: "...accepit donum Turonice civitatis ab ipso rege..." For the historical circumstances, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 57-63.

²⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 102. Geoffrey Martel I had also dubbed Fulk le Réchin as *miles*, according to Fulk's own narrative. See: "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 236. To be sure, Geoffrey le Barbu's standing as the elder brother may have proven instrumental in the assignment of a greater inheritance. However, it does speak of a certain lack of confidence that, to Geoffrey le Barbu's preexisting countship of Gâtinais, Geoffrey Martel decided to add the substantial countships of Anjou and Touraine, whereas Fulk le Réchin had received only the distant lordship of Saintonge as well as the immediate area

had banished Geoffrey le Barbu to a prison at Chinon, earning Fulk a papal sentence of excommunication.²⁹ This inspired even more public discord, compounding the notable devastation that had accompanied the protracted civil war.³⁰ Having lost Saintonge to the count of Poitou as the result of his violent preoccupations with his brother, Fulk le Réchin further had to relinquish another territory from the Angevin patrimony in order to secure his questionable rule: the lands of Gâtinais returned to the king of France in exchange for royal recognition of Fulk's usurped office. Fulk also had to do homage to the count of Blois for Angevin holdings in Touraine, a chiefly symbolic gesture that, nevertheless, reflected poorly in contrast to recent Angevin dominance in the region.³¹

None of these consequences were becoming of princes who were exemplars of true *probitas*. Nor did such consequences befit principalities under the rule of such princes. And so, naturally, none of these consequences are mentioned in Fulk's narrative transition concerning the events that preceded his own acquisition of the Angevin countship. Fulk indicates that, following the death of Geoffrey Martel, Fulk and his brother fought over what was, seemingly, an unassigned inheritance, with Fulk inevitably winning on account of divine favor.³² Although such narratives by definition entail a degree of selective remembrance, the overt ideological and political implications of the

around the castle of Vihiers. For reference, Saintes—the capital of Saintonge—is approximately 150km south of Vihiers.

²⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 116n518.

³⁰ At the time, Fulk appears to have been willing to acknowledge the devastation. For example, the preamble to a comital charter from 19 June 1068 relates that Fulk's domain "had been, by that time, nearly brought to ruin by the disturbances of the world." See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, 21: "...in terra nostro dominatui mancipata, sed mundi conturbationibus nunc pene destructa..." See also: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 292, p. 187.

³¹ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 133-152, esp. 148-150; GCA, 62-64; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, 111-116.

³² "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 237.

obscurations here must have been difficult for contemporary audiences to ignore.³³ Many of the consequences that Fulk had chosen to omit endured as manifest realities or recent memories at the time of Fulk's composition. Saintonge and Gâtinais remained absent from the Angevin demesne; Fulk le Réchin's long-standing sentence of excommunication had been lifted only two years prior;³⁴ Geoffrey le Barbu had remained imprisoned in his brother's chains until after Fulk's papal absolution on 24 June 1094, a condition of which was the former's release.³⁵ Fulk's obscuration of recent territorial losses, in particular, must have struck audiences, especially Fulk's sons Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk V, as an especially glaring omission in a work that had fundamentally concerned itself with the enumeration of historic developments in the Angevin patrimony.

It is arguably as the result of this emerging structural tension that Fulk redirected his narrative to focus on the pope's visit. The redirection allowed Fulk to directly and meaningfully locate himself and his dynasty within the nascent crusading environment that had begun to imperil their legitimacy by the time of Fulk's composition in late 1096. Such complementary association was, after all, the ultimate purpose of the account's composition, though Fulk had initially intended to accomplish such association through articulating conventional sources of dynastic *probitas*. To reiterate, Fulk's redirection, as

³³ For how narratives must, by definition, make significant ontological and epistemic choices that inevitably generate various implications, see: Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1-25, esp. 16-25.

³⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 16 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 385, p. 239).

³⁵ Geoffrey Martel II is said to have conversed with his uncle, Geoffrey le Barbu, before the latter's release. Upon his nephew, the uncle allegedly conferred the Angevin *honores* which he himself had received from Count Geoffrey Martel I. Geoffrey le Barbu died soon following his release, "having been agitated of mind" and "of somewhat diminished sense" after nearly thirty years of shackled imprisonment. Whether Fulk le Réchin had facilitated his brother's demise following the latter's release does not appear to have been the subject of contemporary speculation. See: GCA, 64.

well as the narrative threads which follow, constitutes a fundamental break with the consistent and predictable structure of Fulk's work until this point. It appears that Fulk had realized, after having recounted the glories of the reigns of his predecessors, that he would be unable to construct a similar narrative for his own reign, wherein he would explicate his own *probitas* in a parallel fashion. Writing one's self into a corner is not, it would seem, an exclusively modern phenomenon.

To be sure, Fulk le Réchin had allowed himself substantial imaginative latitude in terms of his own achievements. For instance, in the prologue, he alleges that, at the time of the composition of his account, he "had been holding for twenty-eight years the consulship of both Anjou and Touraine, as well as Nantais and Maine."³⁶ Although the counts of Anjou had an historic claim to suzerainty over Nantes, Angevin influence had only recently been re-established in the region with the marriage of Fulk le Réchin's daughter, Ermengarde, to Duke Alan of Brittany a few years prior.³⁷ To have purported continuous dominion over the Nantais since 1068 was an especially imaginative stretch. The claim of Angevin suzerainty over Maine had comparatively substantial grounding. Nevertheless, effective Angevin influence in the county had been declining since the 1060s, especially under its most recent count, Hélias of La Flèche.³⁸ It is telling that, even in having granted himself such interpretive freedoms, Fulk le Réchin could not bring

³⁶ "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 232: "...cum tenuissem consulatum Andegavinum viginti octo annis et Turonensum et Nannetensum et Cenomannensem..."

³⁷ For Fulk Nerra's initial siege of Nantes, subsequent battle with Conan at Conquereuil, and second siege and conquest of Nantes in 992, refer to: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 38-46.

³⁸ Count Hélias of Maine generally proved capable of resisting Angevin designs where they were not complementary to his own. See: Bruno Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine (XIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 34-45. Lemesle is explicitly modifying Latouche's assessment, which asserts that the Angevin counts maintained effective overlordship in Maine into the early twelfth century. See: Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 54-56.

himself to fabricate a satisfactory narrative concerning the achievements of his own reign.

Indeed, Fulk's decision not to take the cross, in conjunction with the subsequent failure of many of his clients to do so, created a situation in which Fulk le Réchin felt compelled to defend his own *probitas* as well as that of his dynasty through the composition of the present account in late 1096. In having actually recounted the achievements of his predecessors, however, Fulk le Réchin had seemingly come to realize that he would be unable to construct a mirrored narrative for the achievements of his own reign. Perhaps in part, it was the perceived necessity of completing his own narrative that drove Fulk le Réchin to exceptionally rash action in subsequent years. This may have been why he never completed his account, despite having lived for another decade: he was yet pursuing the sort of *probitas* that might cast him in the same mold as his legendary predecessors, an aim which had particular and increasing significance for a non-crusading prince ruling in crusading lands.³⁹ Unfortunately for the comital dynasty, Fulk le Réchin floundered grievously in his subsequent, errant pursuit of comital *probitas*. These failures and their exposure of the coercive and moral shortcomings of comital power under Fulk le Réchin nurtured an emerging crisis of dynastic authority. By 1103, Geoffrey Martel II, Fulk le Réchin's son and heir, felt that dramatic action was needed.

³⁹ Modern scholars have generally not sought an explanation as to why Fulk le Réchin never completed his account, suggesting that it was perhaps a matter of not having found the opportunity to do so. See, for instance: Martindale, "Secular Propaganda and Aristocratic Values," 143-159; Paul, "The Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin," 19-35.

Turning Back the Clock: The *Dissensio* of Geoffrey Martel II and Its Aftermath, 1103-1106

Modern scholars have observed that Angevin history before the reign of King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189) is a history characterized mostly by a pattern of cooperation and relatively peaceable relations within the comital family.⁴⁰ To be sure, there were individual moments of notable familial discord, and from narrative reports of these, we learn a number of what were undoubtedly meant to be instructive vignettes. For instance, William of Malmesbury notes that, in the later 1030s, Count Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) forced his rebellious son and heir, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060), to walk with a saddle atop his back for a considerable distance. Fulk Nerra declared that the child had now been conquered at last, thereby suggesting that proper relations between the father and the son had been restored.⁴¹ Within the period before the later twelfth century, however, scholars have identified the years 1103-1105 as one of two periods of sustained familial strife best characterized not as negotiated reaffirmations of proper dynastic hierarchies but as comital civil wars.⁴² As one such period, the insurrection of Geoffrey Martel II against

⁴⁰ Bernard S. Bachrach, "Henry II and the Angevin Tradition of Family Hostility," *Albion* 16, 2 (1984), pp. 111-130: 126; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 184-190, 333-340.

⁴¹ WM, I: 436-438. For an analysis of these events, refer to: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 231-236.

⁴² The other period is the conflict of the 1060s between the brothers Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8) and Fulk le Réchin (r. 1067/8-1109). This civil war has been relatively well studied, and the chronology of events has been reliably established. We discussed above certain aspects of this war, aspects relevant for our purposes here. For more general discussions of the conflict, see: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 133-152, 173-177; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 102-116; Bachrach, "Angevin Tradition," 113-114, 125-126; W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 168-169; Idem, "The Angevin Civil War and the Norman Conquest of 1066," *Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991), pp. 101-109; Idem, "Urban Violence and the Coup d'État of Fulk le Réchin in Anjou, 1067," *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1997), pp. 75-82.

his father, Fulk le Réchin, constituted an exception to the dynastic pattern of overall concord, serving a disruptive rather than a restorative function in its own time.

There has been minimal scholarly disagreement as to the general outline of events conveyed in contemporary chronicles with regard to the so-called civil war of 1103-1105. We are told that, after decades of inept rulership, Count Fulk le Réchin found himself challenged by his valiant, godly, and capable eldest son. Allying with Count Hélias of Maine and leading men from around the realm, Geoffrey Martel II took arms against his supposedly incompetent and widely disliked father, conquering Marçon and Briollay in 1103 and 1104, respectively. Following these conquests, Geoffrey is said to have deposed his father as *comes*, ruling in his stead. Fulk le Réchin was allowed subsequently to play only an auxiliary role in governmental affairs until Geoffrey himself died from an errant arrow during the siege of Candé on 19 May 1106. His sudden passing brought the entire affair to an abrupt end.⁴³

The development which has escalated scholars' appraisal of Geoffrey Martel's campaign into the category of "civil war" is his alleged supplantation of Fulk le Réchin as count by 1105. However, the narrative sources upon which modern scholars have relied are somewhat ambiguous in relating what precisely happened in those first years of the twelfth century, especially with regard to the alleged deposing of the elder count. Several chronicles, which are otherwise significant sources for this period of Angevin history, make no mention of a displacement as part of Geoffrey's uprising against his

⁴³ J.M. Ziolkowski and B.K. Balint, *A Garland of Satire, Wisdom, and History: Latin Verse from Twelfth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 77-80; Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 1-3; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 173-177; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 117-118; Bachrach, "Angevin Tradition," 113-114, 125-126.

father.⁴⁴ The three works which do offer some evidence toward such an end are equivocal in their accounts. According to the earlier-thirteenth century *Chronicon Turonense Magnum*, Geoffrey Martel II was, for a time, "ruling on behalf of his father, Fulk le Réchin, who was then aged."⁴⁵ Both the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum*, produced in the years following Geoffrey's death, and Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica* similarly do not indicate a disenfranchisement of Fulk le Réchin so much as an enfranchisement of Geoffrey Martel with comital authority.⁴⁶ These texts relate how Geoffrey le Barbu, Fulk le Réchin's older brother who had been imprisoned at Chinon following the civil war of the 1060s, had transferred to Geoffrey Martel II the countship that he himself had received from his maternal uncle, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060). Orderic Vitalis clarifies that this transfer occurred "with nothing less than the favor" of Fulk le Réchin.⁴⁷ Arguably, what these chronicles suggest is that the so-called civil war of 1103-1105 resulted not in a usurpation of comital authority but rather a recognized sharing of it between the older count and the comital heir. Power-sharing was not, in any case, unknown in a basic sense either in Angevin dynastic tradition⁴⁸ or in contemporary princely governance, such as that at the Capetian court.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ "Chronica Rainaldi," 15-16; "Annales Vindocinenses," 68; "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 43-44.

⁴⁵ "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," 130: "*Gaufridus Martellus...regebat pro Fulcone Rechin comite patre suo qui tunc senex erat.*"

⁴⁶ GCA, 65; OV, VI: 74-76.

⁴⁷ OV, VI: 74-76: "*Tandem ipse iussu Goisfredi patru sui... annuente nichilominus patre Andegavensem comitatum accepit...*"

⁴⁸ For example, Fulk Nerra extensively associated his heir, Geoffrey Martel I, in his own governance. See: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 220-226.

⁴⁹ For instance, Louis VI shared power in matters of royal benefaction under his father, King Philip I of France (r. 1060-1108), from 1100-1108. Refer to: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 3-18. To be sure, the dispositive authority of the Capetian crown-prince is perhaps a distinctive matter. Nevertheless, the association of princely heirs in their father's governance appears to have been a broadly attested

What Geoffrey Martel sought to accomplish in 1103-1105 was not a supplantation of the aging count of Anjou but, rather, a reversal of the conceptual clock back to 1096. As we saw in the previous chapter, the circumstances of crusading in 1096 had inspired Fulk le Réchin to pursue comital *probitas* in an errant and ultimately fruitless fashion between 1096 and 1103. Rather than comital *probitas*, then, these efforts had engendered antagonism among both the ecclesiastical and lay elite. Before the coming of crusade, Fulk le Réchin had proven an acceptable, if somewhat mediocre, ruler who was held in reasonable esteem by his various clients.⁵⁰ As W. Scott Jessee has demonstrated, at least one major aristocratic family still considered the count of Anjou a *primus inter pares*, joining him in the quasi-collective exercise of regional power into the early 1090s.⁵¹ Whatever the broader representativeness of Jessee's study, what remains clear is that most lay aristocrats before 1096 did not perceive Fulk le Réchin as an illegitimate authority against whom rebellion readily could or actively should be orchestrated. Furthermore, as we have also seen, Fulk's relationship with the ecclesiastical establishment was at its most positive in 1096: having recently lifted Fulk's longstanding excommunication, Pope Urban II did Fulk the additional honor of positioning him as the papacy-backed guarantor of crusaders' properties.

phenomenon. See: Jonathan R. Lyon, "Fathers and sons: Preparing noble youths to be lords in twelfth-century Germany," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 291-310.

⁵⁰ The failure to appreciate the developments during the latest years of the reign of Fulk le Réchin as significant with regard to overall trajectories of comital power extends not only to Fulk's critics but also to his defenders. For a defense of Fulk le Réchin that does not place particular importance on the period of 1096-1109 as concerns the contemporary reception as well as remembrances of Fulk, see: Jim Bradbury, "Fulk le Réchin and the Origin of the Plantagenets," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, eds. C. Harper-Bill, C.J. Holdsworth, and J.L. Nelson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), pp. 27-41.

⁵¹ Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian*, 173.

Therefore, the blunders of the years of 1096-1103, rather than alleged decades of incompetent rulership, were what had been the catalyst for Geoffrey's insurrection. That insurrection, in turn, should not be understood as a civil war intended to disrupt dynastic hierarchies. Rather, Geoffrey Martel II, much like his namesake, was pursuing against his own father what would more appropriately be characterized as a *dissensio*—a limited and highly symbolic form of dissent intended to reaffirm the right of succession of the heir as well as the right to rule of the standing count.⁵² Geoffrey's objective was to turn the clock back to 1096, before the coming of crusade and his father's ensuing blunders, in order to restore proper comital relations both within and without the Angevin dynastic house. A reconsideration of the developments of 1103-1105, with a greater emphasis upon the charter evidence which, relative to the narrative sources, can be dated more reliably to the events in question, yields such a picture.

At the dawn of the year 1103, Geoffrey Martel II had been absent from Angevin comital *acta* for nearly seven years. Geoffrey is known to have spent most of that time in the entourage of Count Hélias of Maine, the father of his fiancée Aremburge.⁵³ In March 1103, Geoffrey suddenly re-appeared in Angers, his dynasty's capital, in a manner that arguably suggests a growing rift within the comital family. According to the second part of an extant charter-notice which was not incorporated into the cartulary of Saint-Aubin, Geoffrey Martel had appeared with his personal retinue at the Abbey of Saint-Aubin on 29 March in order to confirm the invalidity of some 'new customs' which his father's

⁵² For Geoffrey Martel I's *dissensio* against his father, see: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 232-233 which can alternately be read as an affirmation of the authority of both father and son *per se* as well as relative to one another, following times of political trouble.

⁵³ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 48-52.

foresters had been exercising in some of the abbey's lands.⁵⁴ In exchange for the confirmation and the placing of his cross signature at the bottom of the parchment, Geoffrey received from the abbot a palfrey. According to the first part of the same charter-notice, Geoffrey's father had passed judgment on the same matter six days earlier, resulting in the restoration of the unjustly collected revenues to the abbey. Fulk le Réchin placed his own cross signature upon the parchment and attached the comital seal.

What is unusual here is that Geoffrey's confirmation of his father's actum did not result in a re-issuance of the charter-notice in the presence of Fulk le Réchin, who was likely still present in the Angevin capital to celebrate Easter, the day of Geoffrey's confirmation. For, the last actum in which both Count Fulk and his heir Geoffrey Martel had been involved had established such a precedent. On 22 August 1096, Fulk le Réchin relinquished, in exchange for an extraordinary sum of money, part of the forest of Échats to the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas. Two of his children, Ermengarde and Fulk V, are noted to have been present and subscribed the donation with cross signatures. Two days later, Geoffrey Martel arrived at the same abbey and confirmed his father's donation, receiving a modest sum of money in turn. Geoffrey's confirmation is presented as an addition to the original actum.⁵⁵ A second charter was then produced to supplant the original.⁵⁶ In this version, Fulk le Réchin enacts the same benefaction, but there is no mention of Geoffrey

⁵⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 930, pp. 406-407 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 423, pp. 263-264)..

⁵⁵ Catalog n. [F 2] (1096) *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17. Guillot provides a discussion of the materials, though his parsing of the variant manuscripts is incomplete, failing to mention significant details such as Fulk V's subscription in Version I (Guillot generally indicates such matters): Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 398, pp. 245-246.

⁵⁶ "Charte de l'an 1096 relative à l'abbaye de Saint-Nicolas des Angers," ed. Barbier de Montault. *Repertoire archéologique de l'Anjou* (1862): 55-58.

Martel's later confirmation. Instead, Geoffrey is presented as having participated in the original benefaction, consenting to the donation and jointly subscribing a cross-signature alongside his father. Memory of the donation was to be thus revised for posterity; any irregularities that might generate the impression of the heir acting out of step with the count were ideally to be suppressed. Such was the state of affairs in 1096, until which point Geoffrey had appeared as an uncontested, collaborative actor in the governance of his father, a count whose reputation had not yet crossed over from the acceptably mediocre to the actively contemptible.⁵⁷

Modern scholars have suggested that this rift between Fulk le Réchin and his heir had emerged in 1103 on account of the count's attempted disinheritance of Geoffrey in favor of Geoffrey's young half-brother, Fulk V. The evidence supporting this claim is hardly substantial, though it does bear consideration. The chronicle evidence is limited to a mention in the Annals of Saint-Aubin, a source of constant revision by numerous unknown authors.⁵⁸ For the year of 1103, the Annals note that Fulk le Réchin "wished to disown" Geoffrey and that efforts toward this end engendered the *casus belli*.⁵⁹ We should also consider a notice from 1103.⁶⁰ There, it is recorded that Count Fulk le Réchin, jointly with his younger son Fulk V, had made a donation to the canons of Toussaint. The donation included confirmation of a previous gift made by the former

⁵⁷ From 1090 through 1096, Geoffrey Martel appears in six comital acts as the *filius comitis*, consenting to his father's donations, confirmations, and sales. Refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 363; *Ibid.*, C 367; *Ibid.*, C 377; *Ibid.*, C 393; *Ibid.*, C 397; *Ibid.*, C 398.

⁵⁸ *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), v-xxv.

⁵⁹ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 43: "Anno MCIII, cum Fulco Rechint Andecavorum comes filium suum majorem Gaufridum, amore filii sui minoris, multis et magnis consiliis atque molitionibus exheredare voluisset, praedictus Gaufridus cognomento Martellus voluntatem patris sui praesentiens, sumpta amicitia cum Helia comite Cenomannensi, contra eum arma corripuit ac mox Mazonem castellum super patrem suum obsedit primoque impetu cepit et incendit."

⁶⁰ Catalog n. [F 3] (1103), *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 17, pp. 102-103.

count Geoffrey Martel I in 1041x1046.⁶¹ A sixteenth century copy of the original notice indicates also that the manuscript bore the cross signatures of Count Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V, as well as a replicated cross signature of Geoffrey Martel I.⁶² To be sure, this actum might have resulted in some concern for Geoffrey Martel II. The last time Fulk V had been involved in Angevin charter production was as a cross-bearing signatory of a donation in August 1096.⁶³ At that time, Fulk V had been around six years of age; in 1103, he would have been approaching fourteen, that is, approaching the age of his majority. For Fulk V to have been associated as a joint actor in a major comital benefaction, which, furthermore, exemplified the high stagecraft of the comital seal and cross signatures, may have portended a genuine threat of disinheritance.

It is not inconceivable that Fulk le Réchin had such a design in mind. As we have seen, it is probable that Fulk V had been raised for a time at the Breton ducal court under the guardianship of his half-sister Ermengarde and her husband, Duke Alan Fergent of Brittany.⁶⁴ Elevating Fulk V to the heirship of Anjou might, therefore, serve to strengthen ties with the ducal family of Brittany, who guarded Anjou's western flank. This, in turn, would more securely allow Fulk le Réchin to pursue a campaign along Anjou's southern frontier in the aspiration of reclaiming former Angevin castles, such as Thouars, which had fallen under the influence of the counts of Poitou. As we saw in Chapter One, Fulk le Réchin already betrayed his intent to pursue such designs in his support for the episcopal

⁶¹ Indication of this gift survives only in the present notice. For a discussion, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, pp. 76-77.

⁶² Catalog n. [F 3] (1103), with reference to the specific manuscript of AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1281, n. 4, pp. 1-3.

⁶³ Catalog n. [F 2] (1096) *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

⁶⁴ See: Appendix D.

election of Renaud of Martigné in 1101. Nevertheless, disinheriting Geoffrey Martel II remained a risky proposition. The comital heir had established a significant base of support with the men of Count Hélias of Maine, whose own authority and influence north of Anjou had reached an apogee in the early twelfth century.⁶⁵ In contrast, the *potestas* of Fulk le Réchin's office had weakened considerably by 1103; the Angevin count's ability to suppress a major insurrection, especially one that had been legitimized by the involvement of his legal heir, would have been questionable. To accept the claim of disinheritance, therefore, requires us to assume that Fulk le Réchin had lost all perspective in courting an insurrection that he knew he probably could not suppress. We are additionally required to assume that all those individuals who might have swayed him not to threaten disinheritance upon his powerful heir either had also lost perspective or, at least, were unable to dissuade the count from such unwise actions.⁶⁶ And so, perhaps we ought to conclude that the Annals of Saint-Aubin had sought to provide a sensible, rather than necessarily accurate, explanation for a conflict whose *raison d'être* remained obscure to them and other contemporary narrative sources.⁶⁷ We should similarly consider that the dispositive involvement of Fulk V in the aforementioned comital

⁶⁵ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 51-53.

⁶⁶ The involvement of the canons of Toussaint here is also questionable. If Fulk V's involvement in the aforementioned donation of 1103 had, in fact, been broadly perceived as an omen of disinheritance, the canons of Toussaint had been foolish to have accepted the comital benefaction in its dispositive form. Of course, the community remained a rather minor one at this time, suggesting that they might not have had the standing to refuse an insistent count. For Toussaint's early history, see: François Comte, *L'abbaye Toussaint d'Angers des origines à 1330: Étude historique et cartulaire*. Angers: Société des études Angevines, 1985), 14-23.

⁶⁷ For some recent observations concerning the malleability of "truth," as such, in the construction of medieval texts, especially with regard to the conceptual distinctions between truth claims versus truth values, see: Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-8.

donation of 1103 might not have alarmed Geoffrey, at least not in the sense of inspiring open conflict with his father.

In consequence, there remains no clear *casus belli* to explain why Geoffrey Martel II took up arms against his father. Aided by Count Hélias' men, Geoffrey razed the *castellum* of Marçon in late 1103 and then captured the *castrum* of Briollay in early 1104.⁶⁸ Yet, rather than signifying Geoffrey's attempt to challenge the authority of Fulk le Réchin, these events—which comprise the entirety of the armed conflict between the father and the son—speak instead to Geoffrey's attempt to bolster the stability of the office he was to inherit. The *castellum* of Marçon, which appears to have been constructed recently, presented a serious potential threat along the eastern frontier of Greater Anjou: Marçon was located seven kilometers northeast of the castle of Château-du-Loir, the foundation of Count Hélias' authority in the region and, thus, of Geoffrey's own authority following the death of his prospective father-in-law.⁶⁹ Who had raised this castle? Independent lords of Marçon remain obscure: although a layman with a toponymic surname of Marçon does witness an act from 1080x1103, there is no evidence

⁶⁸ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 43; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 174; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 117-118. Between these two events, Fulk le Réchin had allegedly invited the count of Poitou to march upon Angers in order to defend him against his own son. This allegation, which is provided only by the above-cited source, is dubious in multiple respects. Although the count of Poitou had been invited to march upon the capital which his dynasty had coveted for decades, not only had the count turned back upon reaching the environs of Angers with his "vast army" [*ingenti exercitu*] but he also had declined to strip any vulnerable territories or fortifications from the Angevin patrimony upon his own return journey to Poitiers while the Angevin dynasty was in disarray. This is the same count—William VII (IX as Duke of Aquitaine)—who would not fail to capitalize on his opportunity of escorting Fulk V from the Capetian court in May 1106 by kidnapping Fulk V, given the young man's newfound standing as the Angevin heir. In exchange for Fulk V's release, William would extract various territorial concessions from Fulk le Réchin. The matter is discussed below.

⁶⁹ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 48-49. Modern scholars are in agreement that Hélias considered Geoffrey Martel II to be his heir through his daughter, Aremburge, following the death of Hélias' wife, Mathilda of Château-du-Loir, in late March 1099. For Mathilda's death, see: *Cartulaire de Château-du-Loir*, n. 67, p. 33.

to suggest that this individual held lordly rank.⁷⁰ Perhaps revealingly, Marçon was also located a short five kilometers southwest of La Chartre-sur-le-Loir, a *castellum* then under the control of the lords of Mayenne, former comital *fideles*. This aristocratic family had fallen out of the comital *mouvance* in 1101 following the coerced resignation of one of their kin as bishop of Angers.⁷¹ Given the proximity of the historic settlement to Angevin interests, constructing a castle at Marçon would have been a wise strategic precursor to any aristocratic acts of retribution. And so, it stands to reason that the lords of Mayenne were the ones to have fortified Marçon, generating understandable concern on the part of Hélias. Such concern might have been why Geoffrey, supported by Hélias' men, chose to raze what was essentially the advance position of the lords of Mayenne into eastern Maine.

Geoffrey's seizure of Briollay may be understood as a symbolic gesture, intended to project for contemporaries Geoffrey's aspirations of rulership. Located immediately north of Angers, Briollay was a former comital possession, having been granted to comital supporters as a lay benefice under either Fulk Nerra or Geoffrey Martel I.⁷² However, like many Angevin lords who owed their patrimony to comital favor, the lords of Briollay had drifted from the comital *mouvance* over the course of Fulk le Réchin's reign. Briollay would, thus, have been an effective choice to demonstrate Geoffrey's intention to bring former partisans back into the comital orbit. Following the seizure of Briollay, Abbo, the brother of the fortress' lord, Geoffrey, appeared regularly within the

⁷⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, n. 179, p. 109. A Harduin of Marçon here serves as witness to the resolution of a dispute involving the Abbey of Saint-Vincent-du-Mans and a local potentate.

⁷¹ *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 342, pp. 68-70.

⁷² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 319, 458.

entourage of the Angevin comital dynasty, perhaps initially as a hostage to secure Briollay's cooperation.⁷³ Indeed, Geoffrey's aggression against Marçon and Briollay could not have signified a challenge to Fulk le Réchin's authority, as both outcomes strengthened rather than weakened the position of the comital office of Anjou. Rather than usurp his father's authority, Geoffrey sought to bolster it and, in so doing, ensure the stability of his own eventual succession.

The actions of Geoffrey Martel following Marçon and Briollay are similarly indicative of Geoffrey's aim to restore the historic vitality of the comital office without displacing the current holder of that office. The re-establishment of comital influence and reclamation of former dynastic holdings along Anjou's frontiers constituted a top priority that Geoffrey pursued alongside his father, with whom Geoffrey was evidently reconciled after the seizure of Briollay in early 1104. To have pursued such ends independently would have benefitted the son at the expense of the father; to have done so in tandem was explicitly meant to serve both. Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel are noted to have besieged together La Chartre-sur-le-Loir. Situated along the Maine-Touraine frontier, La Chartre-sur-le-Loir was the regional holding of the aforementioned lords of Mayenne, who had drifted recently from the comital orbit as well as had dared to threaten Angevin interests with their probable fortification of Marçon.⁷⁴ Geoffrey and Fulk le Réchin also jointly invested Candé. Located along the Brittany-Anjou border, Candé was another

⁷³ For the relevant acta until 1109, refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 110, pp. 130-131; Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 111, pp. 132-135; Catalog n. [F 16] (1109), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 81r; Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121.

⁷⁴ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 43-44.

important frontier castle similarly belonging to derelict comital subordinates.⁷⁵ In this case, the stray partisans were the lords of Petit-Montrevault who had recently seized Grand-Montrevault, a *castellum* which Fulk Nerra had likely constructed after 1005.⁷⁶ Along the southern Angevin frontier with Poitou on 28 August 1104, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel took and razed the *castellum* of Thouars, a formerly Angevin fortification now under the control of viscounts loyal to the count of Poitiers.⁷⁷ The razing was the prelude to an Angevin incursion aiming to reclaim the Saintonge, which Fulk le Réchin himself had lost to the count of Poitou in 1062.⁷⁸ This incursion was, in any case, delayed when a tempest forced a prospective military confrontation between Fulk le Réchin, Geoffrey Martel, and Count William VII of Poitiers into a parlay instead. Both sides decided to retreat to fight another day.⁷⁹ To recapitulate, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel undertook all of these campaigns in collaboration. The proper dynastic

⁷⁵ OV, VI: 74.

⁷⁶ The last known records of Viscount Fulco of Grand-Montrevault, who succeeded his father Raoul as lord of Grand-Montrevault after 1095, are contained in a series of notices dating to approximately 1100. In these, Fulco appears to be providing benefactions to a number of Angevin ecclesiastical institutions—namely the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, and the Abbey of Saint-Serge—in advance of his departure on the 1101 crusade with the Vendômois host of his kin, Count Geoffrey of Vendôme. Refer to: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2072, piece 3; Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice, n. 63, pp. 122-125; Cartulaire de Saint-Serge, II, n. 49, pp. 458-465: 462-463. Following Fulco's death, it seems that Normand of Petit-Montrevault, hitherto "*dominus de alio Monte Rebelli*," seized Grand-Montrevault. Normand henceforth styled himself "*dominus de Monte Rebelli*" while his brother, Paganus, began to attest as "*dominus de Montem Rebellem Parvum*." See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2072, pieces 3 (1095x1100) and 8 (c. 1101). With regard to the construction of the *castellum* of Montrevault, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 227-229.

⁷⁷ *Cartulaire du Bas-Poitou*, n. 17, pp. 24-25; "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 43-44; Bachrach, "Angevin Strategy of Castle Building," 545, 548-549.

⁷⁸ "Chronicon Sancti Maxentii Pictavensis," in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), pp. 351-433: 403.

⁷⁹ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), 444-446.

hierarchy of the lord-father and the heir-son demanded it, doubly so if the latter's purpose was to enact a *dissensio* to affirm such relations rather than upset them.

Geoffrey appears, furthermore, to have strived to restore relations with various aristocratic and ecclesiastical parties that had been given offense during his father's errant pursuit of comital *probitas*. Along the eastern frontier of the Touraine, the comital dynasty of Anjou was reconciled with the lords of Amboise as Geoffrey Martel's half-sister Elizabeth arranged to marry Hugh of Amboise.⁸⁰ Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel are recorded as having heard from and then ruled jointly in favor of ecclesiastical institutions and figures that had clashed with the comital office after the call for crusade. For example, in 1104, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel sought to reestablish dynastic favor with the historic ecclesiastical base of Angevin comital power, the Abbey of Saint-Aubin. They affirmed the veracity of a false charter which the abbey had produced in their ongoing dispute with the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas as concerned jurisdictional rights in the forest of Échats.⁸¹ Around the same time, the father and the son co-adjudicated a dispute concerning the exercise of customs between comital lay agents and the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, ruling in favor of the latter's rights.⁸² In 1105, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel even sought to appease Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme: they ruled in favor of his institution with regard to the lord of Craon's encroachments upon Vendôme's privileges.⁸³ In seeking to mend these particular fences, Geoffrey Martel was continuing

⁸⁰ GCA, 66.

⁸¹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 110, pp. 130-131.

⁸² BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1930, fol. 140 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 431, p. 268).

⁸³ *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 342 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 429, p. 266-267). The charter is from the perspective of Geoffrey Martel and frames the judicial actum as the disposition of Geoffrey Martel alone. However, as Guillot notes in his analysis, the diplomatics of this document are highly unusual, strongly suggesting that it is a later forgery. At the least, the extant version was redacted

his efforts to restore the comital office to its pre-1096 stature of prestige and authority, that is, before the coming of crusade had cast into motion a set of events that had embarrassed the comital dynasty and imperiled the prospect of Geoffrey's own peaceful succession.

As we have seen, the evidence for Geoffrey being worried about the prospect of disinheritance in 1103 and that this is what had inspired his *dissensio* is questionable. However, Fulk V's ongoing involvement in comital acts, sometimes on equal discursive footing with Geoffrey, as well as Fulk's increasingly substantive entrenchment within landscapes of institutional power, must have begun to concern Geoffrey following his own return to the comital court in 1104. For instance, when Fulk V joined Geoffrey Martel and Fulk le Réchin in confirming an aristocratic donation around this time, the heir and the spare provided their consent on equal terms as *duo filii* of Fulk le Réchin.⁸⁴ In 1103x1104, Fulk V relinquished various comital customs to the aunt or grandmother of Adam, his *nutritor* (tutor); Adam's relative was the sacristan of the Abbey of Ronceray, an influential institution within the Angevin ecclesiastical establishment.⁸⁵ These gifts not only reinforced the bonds between Fulk V and his tutor but also ensconced Fulk V within networks of regional power. At this juncture, it would have

after 1138, given the reference to the death of Renaud of Martigné. Provided Geoffrey's own lionization by 1138 as the epitome of ideal rulership vis-à-vis his father's vices and failures, the extant charter's dispositive framing presents cause for suspicion. No less significantly, the pomp and ceremony of the comital court's proceedings as depicted herein stand in distinct contrast to other contemporary charters from the region, suggesting an exceptionally idealized vision (or wholesale invention) of what did (or did not) transpire. In any case, it is peculiar that, despite having identified many of these striking diplomatic aberrations, Guillot still included the present act within his catalog of 'authentic' Angevin comital *acta* before 1109; Guillot falsified other acts on the basis of much less.

⁸⁴ Catalog n. [F 4] (c.1104), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 412, pp. 405-406: "...concessit Fulco Andegavis comes et duo filii eius, Gauffredus et Fulco..."

⁸⁵ Catalog n. [F 19] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 313, pp. 196-198, with reference to the original gifts of 1103x1104.

been unusual for Geoffrey not to have been concerned. Having reached his majority in 1104 and now an active associate of the Angevin court, Fulk V was ideally situated to cultivate the sorts of alliances necessary to press a claim to the heirship. Or, perhaps to be more precise, he was in an ideal position to be used as such by external parties, such as his mother Queen Bertrade or any number of Angevin lords disinclined to see their autonomy curbed by the prospective future countship of Geoffrey Martel, who had already demonstrated himself to be a capable figure intent on curbing aristocratic autonomy.⁸⁶

These growing concerns may have motivated Geoffrey to sever Fulk V from Angevin networks of power by relocating him elsewhere. This might explain why, upon Geoffrey Martel's death in May 1106, we find Fulk V at the Capetian royal court, with which Fulk is not known to have had historic contact: the boy may have been in exile. The evidence for this supposition is scattered, requiring some explication, though it remains quite suggestive. In a comital charter issued in the chapel of Saint-Laud of Angers on 8 June 1104, Fulk V's *nutritor* Adam appears as a witness, though Fulk V himself is not indicated to have been present.⁸⁷ One would expect Adam to be found

⁸⁶ As any capable individual in her position, Queen Bertrade was active in pursuing outcomes that might benefit her kin. The succession in Anjou of Fulk V, her own son, rather than that of Geoffrey Martel II, her former stepson with whom she may have had a contentious relationship while countess, would not have been an unreasonable end to pursue. Contemporary sources, in any case, suggest that she may have continued to wield considerable influence over Fulk le Réchin, though it is difficult to be confident in such claims, laden as they are with misogynistic assumptions about evil stepmothers and overly politically-engaged women. For Bertrade's influence, see the compilation of contemporary sources discussed in: Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme, et le prêtre: Le mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris: Hachette, 1981), 17-19, though of course Duby's conclusions regarding such evidence should be approached with the utmost caution. For my own discussion of Bertrade's possible relationship with Geoffrey Martel II, which also includes discussion of some of the contemporary evidence concerning Bertrade's character, refer to: Appendix C.

⁸⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 55, pp. 74-75.

consistently in the company of Fulk V; not only was he the personal tutor of Fulk V but he was also individual who was yet unknown to have had any lands, privileges, or lordly patrons demanding his involvement in documentary contexts.⁸⁸ Indeed, until after Fulk V's accession as count on 14 April 1109, Adam never appeared alone in contemporary documents.⁸⁹ Adam's attestation here, with no accompanying mention of Fulk V, thus presents two possibilities. First, Fulk V was present but was excluded from the list of recorded witnesses. This scenario would suggest that Geoffrey Martel had requested the discursive obscuration of Fulk V to lessen the viability of any future contest concerning the matter of succession: an actor whose place within prevailing landscapes of power had been suppressed would find it more of a challenge to cultivate the legitimacy and support necessary to overthrow a comparatively established heir. The second possibility is that Fulk V had been removed from the Angevin capital soon after Geoffrey Martel's *dissensio* and re-association with the Angevin comital court. Fulk V's relocation to Brittany after his mother left Anjou in 1092 would form precedent for this response.⁹⁰ Fulk V would probably have returned to the Breton ducal court, where his half-sister resided. Alternately, given that his Breton tutor did not accompany him, he might have traveled to the Capetian court, where resided his mother and step-father, Queen Bertrade and King Philip I.

⁸⁸ Adam had been endowed with properties by 1116, in which year he appears as witness in an accord between Saint-Laud and Fontevraud involving, *inter alia*, some of Adam's land. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 17, pp. 21-23. In a notice pertaining to an *actum* of 1109x1113, Adam appears in the witness list as "Adam of Saumur," perhaps signaling the acquisition of properties about the city by that time. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5.

⁸⁹ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105) *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 134; Catalog n. [F 14] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 9, pp. 12-13: 13.

⁹⁰ For Fulk V's possible early childhood in Brittany, see: Appendix D.

In any case, Fulk V did reappear in Angevin sources on 7 December 1104 as he participated in a series of bizarre comital *acta* at the Abbey of Saint-Aubin from that date through 19 January 1105.⁹¹ The affair seems to speak to Geoffrey's growing insecurities concerning Fulk's ongoing involvement in comital governance. Geoffrey had only begun to rehabilitate the faltering legitimacy and authority of their dynasty; Fulk's very presence as another comital son in his majority potentially complicated that effort. On 7 December 1104, Fulk V confirmed a certain part of the forest of Échats as the rightful possession of the Abbey of Saint-Aubin.⁹² Fulk V issued this confirmation in the comital chamber [*camera*], where his father, his father's lay *fideles*, and a small envoy from the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had convened.⁹³ In exchange for Fulk V's confirmation, for which Fulk le Réchin provided his own approval and consent, the abbey's monks provided Fulk V and Fulk le Réchin with 500 *solidi* each.⁹⁴ On 10 December, three days later, Geoffrey

⁹¹ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135. The charter-notice presents the confirmations out of chronological sequence. In what follows, I have restored the chronology. Additionally, I would clarify here that the above-cited cartulary version is demonstrably faithful to the original charter-notice—a surviving copy of the original document (AD Maine-et-Loire, H 62, ff. 9r-10v) presents the same text as the cartulary redaction, save for a brief mention at the end of an appended comital seal.

⁹² *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 108, pp. 125-128. This part was that which the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had been allowed to keep following the resolution of its dispute with the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers. It is possible that the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had sought a comital confirmation in order to strengthen their claim upon the land versus an anticipated challenge from the monks of Saint-Nicholas

⁹³ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 108, pp. 125-128. This part was that which the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had been allowed to keep following the resolution of its dispute with the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers. It is possible that the Abbey of Saint-Aubin had sought a comital confirmation in order to strengthen their claim upon the land versus an anticipated challenge from the monks of Saint-Nicholas. For this dispute, albeit with some errors of summary: Henk Teunis, *The appeal to the original status: Social justice in Anjou in the eleventh century* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 76-79.

⁹⁴ Broadly speaking, medieval coins were minted as *denarii*. The terms *solidi* and *librae* refer to scaled units of measurement: a *solidus* comprised of twelve *denarii*, and a *libra* consisted of twenty *solidi* or 240 *denarii*. In the present case, the coins under usage here likely derived from the Angevin counts' mint at Angers rather than the Vendômois counts' mint at Vendôme or mint of Tours operated by the communities of Saint-Martin there. See: B.J. Cook, "En Monnaie aiant Cours: The Monetary System of the Angevin Empire," in *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500-1250: Essays in Honor of Marion Archibald*, eds. Barrie Cook and Gareth Williams (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 617-686: 620-623. Thus, 500 *solidi* were equivalent to 6,000 *denarii*.

Martel appeared at the Abbey of Saint-Aubin to issue his own confirmation concerning the aforementioned matter.⁹⁵ In exchange, Geoffrey secured from the abbey's monks 110 *librae*, an enormous sum compared to that which his father and younger brother had received.⁹⁶ Geoffrey was accompanied only by his small personal entourage, though the monastic assembly in attendance was considerable. There is no indication that Geoffrey, in issuing his own confirmation of the matter, referenced his brother's earlier confirmation, which had occurred only three days prior in the presence of a much smaller monastic assembly but a significant number of lay Angevin notables.

On 19 January 1105, "with exceptionally little time having elapsed"⁹⁷ since Geoffrey's confirmation, Fulk V returned with two attendants before the monks of Saint-Aubin and confirmed his own earlier confirmation. In justification of the peculiar circumstances, Fulk V is said to have provided the redundant confirmation so that his original "would be established altogether as more robust."⁹⁸ Toward this end, Fulk's second such act involved more of what might be deemed ritual stagecraft.⁹⁹ In the presence of the lord-abbot as well as a vast assembly of the monastic household, Fulk took a *cultellum*, a type of small knife, and placed it atop an altar in signification of his *actum*, thereby memorializing his (redundant) confirmation for all posterity. It is unlikely

⁹⁵ The charter-notice presents this as the first *actum*.

⁹⁶ 110 *librae* were equivalent to 26,400 *denarii*. Geoffrey's brother and father had received the equivalent of 6,000 *denarii*.

⁹⁷ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 134: "...parvo admodum elapso tempore..."

⁹⁸ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 134: "...robustius omnino firmaretur..."

⁹⁹ Marguerite Ragnow, "Ritual Before the Altar: Legal Satisfaction and Spiritual Reconciliation in Eleventh-Century Anjou," in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China and Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 57-79: 60-62. Fulk V's initial confirmation involved the placing of a hat into the hand of the abbatial prior—certainly not as weighty in symbolism as the *cultellum* atop the altar, though principally similar.

to be without significance that Fulk bypassed any mention of his brother's disposition and, instead, unnecessarily confirmed his own earlier confirmation. To have had Fulk's second *actum* framed as a supplement to his brother's disposition would have served to strengthen Saint-Aubin's claim; such affirmation was ostensibly the purpose of all these benefactions on the part of the comital family. To have had ignored the related disposition in favor of presenting Fulk's own benefaction as discrete and, perhaps, superior to that of his elder brother served only to strengthen Fulk's position in implicit opposition to that of Geoffrey. The contention was resolved after 19 January 1105. Fulk le Réchin, Fulk, and Geoffrey Martel convened at the apparent request of the community of Saint-Aubin, who made them collectively inscribe their cross signatures upon a charter which recounted the preceding confirmations; the signed parchment would ensure that those confirmations, irregular as they were, might endure as viable.¹⁰⁰ The seventeenth-century copy of this non-extant charter records that it carried a great comital seal.¹⁰¹ Despite the harmonious implications of the final joint disposition, the witness list suggests unabated discord: Fulk le Réchin, Fulk V, and Geoffrey Martel are all listed separately with their own personal entourages.

Why had the comital family not jointly issued a new confirmation to supersede the previous ones? A single collective disposition, with suppressed mention and, thus, memory of the preceding series of separate dispositions, would have obscured the unseemly image of dynastic discord. From the perspective of the Abbey of Saint-Aubin,

¹⁰⁰ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 134: "... *supradictorum comitum propriis manibus in presenti pagina fecimus consignari...*"

¹⁰¹ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 62, ff. 9r-10v, at fol. 10v: "*sigillatum sigillo magno.*"

this would only have strengthened its claim to the lands being confirmed. The request to preserve the irregular confirmations must have come from the comital family itself. As to why, it is revealing to consider that this charter, which was produced in early 1105, provides us with the earliest example of Geoffrey Martel bearing the title of count, or *comes*. Geoffrey Martel bore this title in conjunction with not only Fulk le Réchin but also Fulk V; all three were, in fact, designated as counts of Anjou. Perhaps the 1105 charter preserved the irregular series of confirmations and then extended the comital title to both the heir and the cadet in order to affirm that they both fundamentally shared in legitimate dispositive agency as sons of the count. Nevertheless, there was a hierarchy, and that appears to have been enforced in other, more tangible ways after this point. The elder son and heir, Geoffrey Martel, continued to participate in comital governance as co-count with his father, appearing as such in contemporary charters.¹⁰² The younger son, Fulk V, subsequently disappeared from Angevin records for the remainder of Geoffrey Martel's lifetime. Having been discursively cloaked in the princely mantle would seem to have been a concession of sorts to justify his documentary but perhaps also physical exile. Indeed, when Fulk V would resurface within the evidentiary record, it would be at the Capetian royal court in May 1106 upon its reception of the news of Geoffrey Martel's death.

As we have seen, a fear of losing his heirship to his younger brother is likely not what had compelled Geoffrey Martel to return to Anjou in 1103 in order to take up arms

¹⁰² There are two such additional acts, both dated to 1105. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 72, pp. 139-141; *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 110, pp. 130-131. As indicated above, Geoffrey's charter of 1105, which was included in the Cartulary of the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, is probably a later forgery.

against his father. Yet, upon having resituated himself at the Angevin court, Geoffrey found actual cause for concern with regard to Fulk V's increasingly extensive activity within Angevin networks of power. An apparent heightening of such activity in late 1104 led to Fulk's exile from Anjou in the subsequent year. For, such activity and its resulting entrenchment of Fulk within broader landscapes of power threatened Geoffrey's ambitions to restore the Angevin comital dynasty to the state in which it had existed before the coming of crusade in 1096—when Fulk le Réchin was the acceptably mediocre count of a stable principality, not the reviled prince of a realm in a time of dynamic change; when Geoffrey Martel was the assured heir with an integral yet singular role in his father's governance; and when Fulk V was the absent cadet.

Indeed, through his successful *dissensio*, Geoffrey Martel had begun the process of reversing the conceptual clock to a time before crusade had inspired Fulk le Réchin to undertake the errant pursuit of *probitas* that so imperiled comital prestige and influence. Comital relations with the region's aristocracy and ecclesiastical establishment were on the mend. Threats along Anjou's frontiers, such as the viscomital fortress of Thouars along the Poitou-Anjou frontier, had been neutralized or weakened considerably, priming efforts toward the expansion of Angevin comital influence in the near future. But would Geoffrey's revitalization of the Angevin countship endure in the long-term? The catalyst for the recent travails of the comital dynasty had, after all, been the crusading phenomenon itself. The resulting environment of crusading had begun to change what it meant to rule as a just, legitimate, and effective prince, especially in lands such as Anjou where crusading participation had been high on the part of those whom the counts sought to govern. Geoffrey Martel's approach to rulership, rooted as it was in the skillful

replication of historic dynastic practices, may not have proven successful in the long-term; he, like his father, had not participated in the novel enterprise of crusade.

Unfortunately, since Geoffrey Martel died in May 1106, less than two years after having joined his father in the business of governance, it is difficult to say whether he would have modified his own praxis of rulership in consideration of the growing influence of the crusading environment. There is, nevertheless, evidence to suggest that he might already have been considering such modification at the time of his death. It is to this matter as a preface for the anarchy of 1106-1109 that we next turn.

The Anarchy of 1106-1109

Shortly before Geoffrey's passing, the counts of Anjou were presented with a singular opportunity to re-align themselves with the crusading movement. Over the past year, the famous crusading hero Bohemond of Taranto had been traveling across western Europe in order to solicit recruits for a new holy expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean, albeit one destined to fight Byzantine Christians in Illyria rather than Muslims in Palestine.¹⁰³ Bohemond arrived in Angers in April or early May 1106.¹⁰⁴ His reception in Angers was noted to have been a grand affair, for which local potentates, above all Geoffrey Martel and Fulk le Réchin, would certainly have been present.¹⁰⁵ It stands to reason that a

¹⁰³ Nicholas L. Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 85, 3 (2010), pp. 534-566: 537.

¹⁰⁴ The date of April or earlier May 1106 is established in consideration of two matters. The first is Bohemond's marriage to Constance, daughter of King Philip, a marriage which took place after Easter 25 March 1106 at Chartres. It is unlikely that Bohemond would have traveled to Angers any earlier than the following week. By 19 May 1106, Geoffrey Martel had already besieged Candé for some time. Refer to: Suger, 44-50; OV, III: 182.

¹⁰⁵ "Chronica Rainaldi," 15; "Annales Vindocinenses," 68-69.

number of Angevins took the cross then and there: allegedly, King Henry I had discouraged Bohemond from visiting England entirely, as the king anticipated many of his best *militēs* pledging themselves to crusade and, thus, leaving him bereft of their support for some time.¹⁰⁶ Geoffrey would have realized that his father's failure to respond to the challenge of crusade had been central to the developments which had rendered his own *dissensio* of 1103-1104 necessary. As a result, it is probable that Geoffrey used the occasion to remind aristocratic and ecclesiastical attendees that the past need not be the future. In the midst of crusade, the comital office, now bolstered through Geoffrey's restoration of proper dynastic relations, would not fail Angevin lords, crusading and otherwise, as it had previously. The multifarious successes of the previous year were, indeed, portents of the prosperity to come. In offering such reminders to the assembled host, Geoffrey would have ensured that any individuals who subsequently took the cross were, in so doing, publicly affirming their confidence in the ability of the comital office to preserve the realm in their prospective absences. To contemporaries in the dawning months of 1106, it must have appeared as if the fortunes of the Angevin counts and, thus, Anjou itself were shining at their brightest in over a half-century.

Such exceptionally high spirits meant that the series of disastrous events which soon followed would have been especially shocking to contemporaries. In this section, we will explore these events of 1106-1109. Our aim will be to consider the depth of the crisis that befell Anjou during these years as well as how various actors within Anjou unsuccessfully sought to curb the historic crisis. These failed endeavors provided the

¹⁰⁶ OV, VI: 68. We can be certain of at least one Angevin lord who participated in the crusade of 1107-1108: Gautier of Montsoreau. See: *Archives d'Anjou*, II, pp. 53-54.

immediate backdrop to Fulk V's reorientation of comital rulership following his accession. On 19 May 1106, while besieging a rebellious castellan at Candé, Geoffrey Martel II was struck by an arrow or crossbow bolt. Geoffrey died on the following day and was interred alongside his namesake, Geoffrey Martel I, at the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas in Angers.¹⁰⁷ To be sure, the premature demise of an heir was not an unknown occurrence. However, Geoffrey's recent *dissensio* had moored the legitimacy of the Angevin countship to the promise of his own succession: Fulk le Réchin may have lacked the *probitas* to rule in an age of crusading, but the future holder of his office did not. Therefore, the death of Geoffrey Martel, the living bulwark of comital legitimacy, cast Fulk le Réchin's own lack of *probitas* into unprecedented relief.¹⁰⁸ The contrast must have become starker upon the subsequent circulation of rumors insinuating foul-play. According to the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, whose initial composition probably dates to later 1106, Geoffrey had, in fact, been murdered with the involvement or, at least, complicity of his father, Fulk le Réchin.¹⁰⁹ It is not unlikely that such rumors had taken flight in the immediate aftermath of Geoffrey's demise, generating instability across the political landscapes of Anjou. Indeed, it would have been after this point in 1106 that Lord Hugh of Amboise razed the Angevin count's domicile in Amboise: Geoffrey Martel II had restored some favor with the former comital *fidelis* by marrying

¹⁰⁷ OV, VI: 76.

¹⁰⁸ In lamenting the valiant young man's tragic and untimely death, contemporaries lauded Geoffrey Martel's assorted virtues, laudations which appear to provide explicit counterpoint to Fulk le Réchin's assorted vices. See the conclusion to the previous chapter for a discussion. GCA, 65; "Annales Vindocinenses," 68; *Garland of Satire, Wisdom and History*, 80-83.

¹⁰⁹ GCA, 66. For the dating of the initial composition, see: Nicholas L. Paul, "Origo Consulum: Rumours of Murder, a Crisis of Lordship, and the Legendary Origins of the Counts of Anjou." *French History* 29, 2 (2015), pp. 139-160: 143, 145-146.

one of his own half-sisters to Hugh around 1105;¹¹⁰ Geoffrey's reputed murder was met by this declaration of broken relations.¹¹¹

News of Geoffrey's death—and quite possibly the rumors surrounding it—soon reached the Capetian court, where resided Geoffrey's younger brother and now-presumptive heir, Fulk V.¹¹² Lest the crisis worsen, it was crucial to Angevin dynastic interests that Fulk be delivered securely to Angers and positioned as a legitimate successor to not only the standing count but also the late heir of much acclaim. Perhaps it was with such matters in mind that King Philip of France personally “conceded the county of Anjou to his stepson Fulk” upon having received the news.¹¹³ Although modern scholars have sometimes read Philip's concession as an assertion of regnal suzerainty over the counts of Anjou,¹¹⁴ it is important to observe that the Capetian kings at this time had minimal ability to enforce any such claims.¹¹⁵ And, if Angevin comital authority itself collapsed, such enforcement would have provided little benefit. As a result, we should perhaps consider Philip's gesture to be one of support: through explicit royal recognition, Philip aimed to facilitate his stepson's installation as heir to an embattled

¹¹⁰ GCA, 66. The marriage is discussed further in Chapter Three.

¹¹¹ For the razing of the comital domicile at Amboise, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 285.

¹¹² OV, VI: 76. According to William of Tyre, Fulk had been present at the court of Count William VII of Poitou at the time of the arrival of the news of Geoffrey's passing. Fulk was serving as William's cupbearer at that time. William's kidnapping, in this circumstance, is a less impressive feat. Orderic Vitalis' modern editor, Marjorie Chibnall, notes that William of Tyre's account perhaps “derived from Fulk himself after he became king of Jerusalem.” However, this does not necessarily indicate that we should give greater credence to what is allegedly a transmission of Fulk's own representation of the circumstances of his kidnapping—there are numerous reasons why either account (or its tradition) might have distorted Fulk's whereabouts at the time of notification, as such. See: OV, VI: 77n5; WT, 632.

¹¹³ OV, VI: 76: “...*Philippus rex Francorum Fulconi priuigno suo Andegavorum comitatum concessit...*”

¹¹⁴ See, for instance: Paul, “Rumours of Murder,” 142.

¹¹⁵ According to a later twelfth century cleric, King Philip was unable even to travel securely beyond the Ile-de-France without risking capture. Though likely to be an exaggeration, the characterization remains telling. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, rev. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 442.

office in an increasingly volatile region. The influence of Queen Bertrade, Fulk V's mother, must have been key here. Nevertheless, such royal theatrics, as all such stagecraft, were polysemic in their potential local reception: for the lay and ecclesiastical Angevin luminaries whose support buttressed comital authority, Philip's concession of Anjou to the new comital heir could have been read as a threat of royal annexation to come.¹¹⁶

Had Fulk V been swiftly and securely established within Anjou as the heir-apparent, such anxieties might have been allayed. Unfortunately, for the task of escorting Fulk V to his father, the king chose Count William VII of Poitou, who happened to be present at the royal court at that time. Instead of delivering Fulk to the Angevin court, William kidnapped the comital heir.¹¹⁷ In exchange for Fulk's return, William demanded that the count of Anjou cede to him additional matters from the Angevin patrimony, namely the castle of Mirebeau and its supporting fortifications.¹¹⁸ From William's perspective, such a demand was strategically wise: located only 26 kilometers northwest of Poitiers, Mirebeau was the staging ground from which Geoffrey Martel II had recently launched an assault upon Poitevin holdings and from which future counts might promise to follow suite.¹¹⁹ However, from the standpoint of Fulk le Réchin, the prospect of further

¹¹⁶ How to characterize the ambiguities of medieval "ritual," as such, has been an issue of some dispute among modern scholars. Although the term itself has fallen out of favor, the medieval stagecraft which it attempted to apprehend into a useable conceptual history remains centrally relevant to the study of the local contexts and actors for which such stagecraft was enacted. On at least this much, the two leading modern scholars concerning medieval "ritual" agree. See: Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 307-308; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 79, 251-253.

¹¹⁷ OV, VI: 76-78.

¹¹⁸ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 778-1204*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), 450.

¹¹⁹ For the campaign in Poitou, resulting in the aborted battle at Parthenay, see: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 177.

losses to the Angevin patrimony must have seemed intolerable. Fulk le Réchin had begun his comital reign forty years earlier with multiple such concessions; undoubtedly approaching the end of that reign at sixty-three years of age in 1106, Fulk le Réchin must have been deeply reluctant to preside over additional such concessions. According to Orderic Vitalis, Fulk V remained at the Poitevin court for nearly a year while his father attempted to hold out on surrendering Mirebeau.¹²⁰ At some point in 1107, Fulk le Réchin finally acquiesced to William's demands, and Fulk V was returned to Anjou.

By that point, the comital office had succumbed to the combined stresses resulting from the rumors of foul-play in the death of the beloved former heir, the unresolved kidnapping of the current heir, and the semblance of a threat of royal annexation. Indeed, notwithstanding a handful of deathbed benefactions, Fulk le Réchin neither independently issued any benefactions nor adjudicated any disputes after the summer of 1106.¹²¹ Beyond the absence of such dispositive activity, we may consider several developments as reflective of the collapse of comital authority. First, contemporary charters hint to the lethargy of comital justice during this period. When Fulk V himself

¹²⁰ OV, VI: 76-78. While Fulk V was hostage at the court of William VII, the count of Poitou may have subjected him to various displays of power intended to intimidate the young heir. For instance, it is probably before Fulk's departure from the Poitevin court that we see what is possibly the first usage of a comital seal in the Poitevin tradition. In a charter dated to 1107, Count William VII granted various foresting rights to the monks of Saint-Saturnin-du-Bois as concerned the woods of Argenson. To the extant original charter, the count of Poitou attached his seal, which remains in attractive condition. See: AD Vienne, Carton 17, n. 125. The timing of such a development is highly suggestive. Additionally, as a point of future research, I would mention the extraordinary similarity between William's seal in 1107 and the seal of Fulk V which we see in 1116. Neither of these seals resembled that of Fulk le Réchin, whose own seal might have been the first lay sub-royal *sigillum* to have come into use in medieval *Francia*, nor did they resemble royal seals. For the seal of Fulk V, see: BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5446, p. 135, catalogued as Ms. D in [F 51] here.

¹²¹ For the deathbed benefactions which, in any case, were part of Fulk V's accessional *acta* and thus not exactly independent initiatives, see: [F 12]; [F 13]. Fulk le Réchin's other *acta* of this period were joint dispositions with Fulk V and/or other major political actors.

had brought a calumny against the Abbey of Bourgueil in 1108, the comital *curia* scheduled the matter to be resolved at a later date. However, “those seeking peace” [*pacem indagantes*] chose to reach an accord before that time: Fulk V and the monastic community soon after settled the matter elsewhere.¹²² When Hélias of Maine, Fulk V, and Fulk le Réchin jointly adjudicated a dispute in Tours toward 1107, that dispute appears to have been long-standing.¹²³ Following his own accession, Fulk V sought to resolve an aristocratic feud that had been lingering for some time, “not wishing that contention to be prolonged further.”¹²⁴ To be sure, such rhetorical framings were not unknown in contemporary diplomatic, though their concentrated appearance here is suggestive.

Into this collapse of Angevin dynastic authority stepped Count Hélias of Maine, the late Geoffrey Martel II’s prospective father-in-law.¹²⁵ Indeed, Hélias may have assumed control in the immediate aftermath of Geoffrey’s demise. Fulk le Réchin’s final independent benefaction, which was issued on 19 July 1106, featured Hélias as the lead witness; Hélias had never appeared in any Angevin comital benefactions or adjudications hitherto, much less an *actum* issued in the intimate space of the comital chapel in Angers.¹²⁶ According to a subsequent notice which should be dated toward 1107, it was

¹²² Catalog n. [F 8] (1108), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 990 (Dom Fouquet), pp. 66-67. To be sure, Fulk V’s contestation was a carefully staged maneuver to extract concessions from the abbey as well as ultimately to publicly affirm his relationship with the monastic community. Lordly heirs often undertook such acts as a sort of announcement of the rite of passage into adulthood. See: Teunis, *The Appeal to the Original Status*, 88-93.

¹²³ Catalog n. [F 10] (1107x1109), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 963, fol. 146 & *Ibid.*, IV, n. 1183, fol. 43r-v.

¹²⁴ Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5: “...*Ego vero Fulco comes, nolens causam istam diutius prolongari, cum predictis calumpniatoribus talem concordiam feci...*”

¹²⁵ As we saw above, Geoffrey Martel II had been engaged to the daughter of Count Hélias, who was without living male heirs.

¹²⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 167, pp. 243-246. Fulk le Réchin was a witness for one of Hélias’ own benefactions in 1093; the location of issuance is unknown, though given that the gift was to the

“under [Hélias’] hand [that] the county of Anjou was then being held.”¹²⁷ Unmarried and without male heirs, Hélias presumably intended to halt the dissolution of Angevin comital authority so that his own daughter Aremburge, who had been engaged to the late Angevin heir, might marry the new heir and eventually become countess of a principality which still had some coherency.

Hélias’ chief aim as regent of Anjou was, in other words, to restore public order. Yet, in order to establish such order, Hélias demonstrated a willingness to make concessions of the sort that, in the context of the crusading environment, served ultimately to weaken comital authority. For instance, Hélias may have been the party to convince Fulk le Réchin to surrender the lordship of Mirebeau to the count of Poitou in exchange for Fulk V’s return. Fulk le Réchin had dithered on matter for some time, apparently out of concern regarding the optics of additional losses to the Angevin patrimony; Hélias must have felt that the benefits of the heir’s return by 1107 outweighed the costs. After his return, the seventeen-year old Fulk V was married to Aremburge, his deceased brother’s fiancée, perhaps on the instruction of Count Hélias.¹²⁸ If we are to trust the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum* concerning this matter, Fulk V promised the return of the castle of Montrichard to the lords of Amboise at his wedding; again, Hélias’ agency here is suggestive.¹²⁹ Beyond relinquishing lordships from the Angevin patrimony

cathedral community of Saint-Julian of Le Mans, a location of Le Mans is probable. See: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, C 381, pp. 236-237.

¹²⁷ Catalog n. [F 10] (1107x1109), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 963, fol. 146 & Ibid., IV, n. 1183, fol. 43r-v: “...*sub cuius manu tunc temporis pagus Andegavensis habebatur.*”

¹²⁸ Fulk V was married to Aremburge by 29 July 1108 at the latest. See: Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299.

¹²⁹ GAD, 111-112. The chronology of this section of the *Gesta* is rather confused. For instance, Fulk’s nuptials are indicated to have postceded Hélias’ death in 1110. This is impossible, as Fulk V was already married to Aremburge by 29 July 1108 at the latest. See: Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire*

in exchange for peace, Hélias is known to have razed the Angevin stronghold of Morand, which a rebellious lord had occupied. Although such razings were not unusual in and of themselves, the optics here were undesirable: Morand was a construction of Fulk Nerra, the greatest of the Angevin counts.¹³⁰ Fulk Nerra had considerably augmented the Angevin patrimony; Fulk le Réchin, in contrast, was allowing Hélias to dilute that patrimony time and time again. Given the heightened sensitivities in Anjou as of late concerning such matters, it is likely that Hélias' efforts had secured temporary benefits at the cost of significant damage to Angevin dynastic legitimacy and prestige, the bedrocks of comital authority.

Hélias was not the only major actor who took an active role in attempting to stabilize the crisis of Angevin comital authority during this period. Arguably, Bertrade of Montfort, Queen of France and Fulk V's mother, was the other key figure in Anjou for much of this period. Bertrade initially (re-)appeared within Anjou a few months following her son's kidnapping. On 10 October 1106, King Philip and Queen Bertrade were received in Angers by Count Fulk le Réchin and a vast assembly of lay and ecclesiastical persons alike. On the following day, the king and queen confirmed a series of gifts at the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers in the presence of the Angevin count.¹³¹ As with the aforementioned royal concession, these confirmations have sometimes been

de Fontevraud, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299. In any case, as indicated earlier, the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum* is a mid-twelfth century dynastic history of the House of Amboise.

¹³⁰ GAD, 110. For Morand's fortification under Fulk Nerra, see: Bachrach, "Angevin Strategy of Castle-Building," 541.

¹³¹ The editor of King Philip's *acta* identified two of the charters which received royal confirmation, though there were eight such charters, as we will discuss below. See: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. Maurice Prou (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), ns. 157-158, pp. 391-396.

considered by modern scholars to be acts of royal aggression. For instance, the king's exercise of his royal privilege in the Angevin capital is said to have "[raised] the spectre of the end of Anjou as an independent principality."¹³²

However, if we take a closer look at the royal acts of benefaction, it appears that these gestures, as well as the royal visit itself, had been orchestrated by Queen Bertrade as a means of strengthening the faltering office which her eldest son, still hostage at the Poitevin court, was to inherit. For one, the monks of Saint-Nicholas had not secured the royal confirmations entirely through their own efforts; Bertrade played a prominent role and, in fact, may have recommended the confirmations in the first place. According to a notice produced by the abbey to commemorate the occasion, it was with "the queen beside them" that the monks had approached King Philip. They, "alongside the queen," humbly requested confirmation concerning various holdings of theirs. Such confirmations would, indeed, be for the prosperity of the king himself, "the queen, and all their parents as well as their friends."¹³³ That the monastic community saw fit to preserve, in their own notice, memory of Bertrade's agency at multiple stages of this affair arguably speaks to her instrumentality in bringing about the confirmations.

As a result, it is not unreasonable to consider also whether Queen Bertrade had a hand in recommending some of the charters that would be presented before King Philip.

¹³² Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 141-142, at 142 for the quotation; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 171. In fairness to Paul, his remark concerning the specter of royal annexation appears to be intended mostly as a characterization to what might have been a common popular interpretation of October's events.

¹³³ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1259, fol. 93v: "...*monachi Sancti-Nicholai et regina cum eis illum adierunt et ut ea quae in toto regno suo dono vel emptione adquisierant et adquisituri erant eis pro salute sua et reginae et omnium parentum et amicorum suorum concederet et sigillo suo confirmaret, eum humille cum regina rogaverunt...*" See also: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 177, pp. 255-257.

The notice recalls that there were eight such charters, four royal benefactions issued by Philip's own father, King Henry I of France (r. 1031-1060), and four records of gifts from historic Angevin counts.¹³⁴ The former royal benefactions would ensure Philip's interest; the four comital charters would serve to secure the interests of Bertrade's son, the future count of Anjou. Indeed, although the notice claims King Philip to have authorized his chaplain to affix the royal seal upon any documents that the monks might produce, there is no surviving evidence that a royal seal appeared on any of the four comital charters.¹³⁵ Instead, in a surviving copy of the original parchment for one of those charters, we witness a concerted royal effort not to champion its own authority through individual confirmation but, rather, to celebrate comital authority by confirming the charter alongside yet subordinately to the count of Anjou. The charter in question is a benefaction issued by Count Geoffrey Martel I of Anjou in 1041x1046 at the behest of

¹³⁴ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1259, fol. 93v: "...scilicet in carta de foresta Catiae; in carta de quittance cosdumarum; in carta de fodero terrae nostrae et de pasnatico Mulnesii, in carta de pratis Longae islae et de torrente Brionello, in quo eadem die piscatorem suum Vivianum nomine ad piscandum cum eisdem monachis misit, in aliis etiam quatuor quae sigillatae erant sigillo patris sui regis videlicet Ainrici."

¹³⁵ The identity of two of the four comital charters is certain, with the other two remaining only possibilities. The first certainty is a confirmation issued by Count Geoffrey le Barbu in 1062. This document survives only as an eighteenth-century copy of a cartulary redaction and bears no mention of a royal seal. There is indication of subscriptions on the parts of both Philip and Bertrade. See: BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 660 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 232, pp. 154-155). The second certainty is a 1041x1046 benefaction issued by Count Geoffrey Martel I. This document survives in a copy made from the original charter. We will be discussing this document below. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 397, n. 1 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 99, pp. 79-80). The third charter *de foresta Catiae* (Échats) may have been the 1096 grant from Fulk le Réchin himself. See: Catalog n. [F 2] (1096), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, I, n. 3, pp. 11-17. The fourth charter *de fodero terrae nostrae et de pasnatico Mulnesii* likely refers to another of Geoffrey Martel I's charters, though this benefaction is seemingly non-extant. The donated matters had, in any case, been contested in July 1106, resulting in Fulk le Réchin's own act of benefaction pertaining to the matters. However, this is unlikely to have been the parchment under royal confirmation that October. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, pp. 243-246 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 435, pp. 270-271).

Countess Hildegarde, his mother and Fulk Nerra's widow.¹³⁶ Toward the bottom of the parchment, the cross signature of "Count Geoffrey" appears. To the right of Geoffrey's signature survives the 1106 cross *signum* of "Fulk the Younger," that is, Fulk le Réchin.¹³⁷ Situated farthest to the right is a cross signature of smaller size than the previous two. This cross bears the relatively ambiguous inscription: "signature of the king of France" [*signum Regis francia*]. The subscription of "Queen B." [*Regina B.*], as well as a list of various witnesses from Philip's entourage, survives to the left of the cross signatures in record of the act of royal confirmation on 11 October 1106. This was not the picture of royal diplomatic majesty. Such documentary circumstances suggest that the chief symbolic purpose of the royal confirmations, at least as concerned the comital charters, was to establish stabilizing continuity between the increasingly turbulent reign of Fulk le Réchin and the reigns of his predecessors. At the least, Fulk's predecessors had managed to maintain principality and patrimony for the benefit of future generations. And so, rather than posturing to intimidate Fulk le Réchin, King Philip was, at the behest of Queen Bertrade, seeking to replenish the depleted legitimacy of the Angevin countship so that Bertrade's son might still have a princely office to inherit in time. Nevertheless, as with the preceding royal favor granted to Fulk V, Philip's acclamation of Fulk le Réchin was likely to generate varying responses among contemporaries, especially in the

¹³⁶ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 397, n. 1. Guillot includes this manuscript in his catalog entry for Geoffrey Martel's *actum* of 1041x1046. However, Guillot makes no mention of the early twelfth century confirmations that appear on this manuscript. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 99, pp. 79-80.

¹³⁷ It should be clarified here that many of Fulk le Réchin's charters identify him as *Fulco Iunioris*, "Fulk the Younger." The comparative was intended to distinguish Fulk le Réchin, i.e. Fulk IV, from his legendary namesake, Fulk III, whom we commonly refer to as Fulk Nerra. Making this distinction was especially important on the present occasion, as the charter being confirmed did reference that previous count bearing the name of Fulk.

retrospective retelling of the affair. A king of France had still exercised his powers within the heart of the ostensibly autonomous principality of Anjou. For a princely dynasty whose right to rule was fundamentally in question, any collaborative efforts of governance with higher powers might inevitably be read as submission to those powers, further compromising princely legitimacy.

The royal entourage departed Angers soon afterward. Bertrade reappeared in Angevin landscapes at least twice more before Fulk V's accession in 1109. The first such occasion was between Fulk V's return in 1107 and the death of King Philip on 29 July 1108.¹³⁸ There, she is seen joining her son Fulk V and his wife Aremburge in exhorting the donation of a minor aristocrat to the Abbey of Fontevraud.¹³⁹ In a quitclaim at the Abbey of Ronceray in 1107x1109, Bertrade received ten *solidi* as a gift from a local aristocrat who had just relinquished, in exchange for 1,000 *solidi*, his dispute of some land belonging to the abbey. The monastic community's own gift of ten *solidi* to Fulk V and Fulk le Réchin, as well as the preceding comital grant of a certain castle to that aristocrat, suggest a coordinated lay effort to extract some money from the monastic

¹³⁸ Following Philip's death, Louis VI, the new king and her stepson, banished her from the Capetian court. There is evidence that Louis confiscated her dower upon her banishment. At some point between 3 August 1108 and 1115, King Louis VI sold back Bertrade the portion of the forest of Plante that had been part of her dower from King Philip. See: British Library, Add. Ch. 11209; *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, n. 113, p. 234. A papal bull of 15 September 1119 provides additional evidence of Louis' act of confiscation. There, it is related that, in seeking to establish the Fontevraudian priory of Hautes-Bruyères upon lands sustained through Bertrade's dower, Bertrade and her kin, namely Simon II of Montfort and Amaury IV of Montfort, had to convince Louis to allow the matter. Additionally, following Bertrade's death in early 1119, the religious of Fontevraud had requested that Louis concede to their abbey the various goods and rights Bertrade possessed in dower about Tours. Their argument was that, provided her burial in one of their priories, such matters rightfully belonged to them upon her death. Louis was convinced and relinquished the matters. See: *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II, 1119-1124: Essai de restitution*, 2 vols, ed. Ulysse Robert (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891), I, n. 61, pp. 85-89. See also the discussion of these royal concessions in: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, ns. 75, 153.

¹³⁹ Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299.

community.¹⁴⁰ That Bertrade received her monetary gift directly from the aristocrat in question rather than from the abbey perhaps reveals her agency in the matter. These examples suggest that Bertrade may have encouraged Fulk V to cultivate favor with his future aristocratic subjects by actively supporting their local designs. However, again, such measures were risky in terms of their potential reception. To be sure, selective contestations and quitclaims were not unknown maneuvers to publicly affirm and ultimately strengthen the social ties that bound the involved parties.¹⁴¹ However, comital involvement in such matters in 1106-1109, by which time many influential ecclesiastical institutions had come to hold the Angevin dynasty in low esteem, could have resulted in ecclesiastical opprobrium rather than the begrudging acceptance that ultimately led to strengthened relations. This would have been counterproductive, to say the least.

Before concluding, we would be remiss not to explore what is one of the most notable legacies from this era in Angevin history and, for our purposes, another contemporary response to the prevailing crisis in Anjou: the emergence of the narrative tradition known as the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*. A dynastic history of the Angevin counts, the *Chronica* was redacted and augmented on multiple occasions through the twelfth century, with variant manuscript copies being subsequently preserved at a few monastic and secular institutions in Anjou.¹⁴² It has long been suspected that the

¹⁴⁰ Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121. The contexts for this *actum* are discussed further in Chapter Three.

¹⁴¹ Teunis, *Appeal to the Original Status*, 17-19; Stephen D. White, “‘Pactum... Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium’: The Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France,” *The American Journal of Legal History* 22, 4 (1978), pp. 281-308.

¹⁴² With regard to the medieval sites of preservation for the *Chronica*, refer to: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 62.

narrative first appeared in the year 1109 or shortly thereafter.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, the date of the *Chronica*'s original production has remained a matter of significant uncertainty, given the textual and diplomatic complexities of the surviving manuscripts.¹⁴⁴ Recently, Nicholas Paul has shown that there is abundant reason to date the first version of the *Chronica* to the aftermath of Geoffrey Martel II's death, with composition likely commencing during the period of Fulk V's captivity, i.e. mid-1106 through earlier 1107.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, as with the mid-twelfth century production of the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, which had been spurred by the imprisonment of the lord of Amboise by one

¹⁴³ After considerable discussion of the potential authorship, Halphen and Poupardin furtively suggested a composition shortly after the death of Fulk le Réchin. Refer to: CCA, xxx. This recommendation has been followed by subsequent scholars. See, for instance: Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249.

¹⁴⁴ For an overview of the history of the narrative's manuscript tradition, see: CCA, vii-xxvi. Though generally underserved, the *Chronica* has been the subject of occasional scholarly analyses of suggestive portents. For instance, Neil Wright has argued for the *Chronica*'s plentiful borrowing of rhetoric and passages from Baudri of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, an adaptation of the anonymous chronicle of the First Crusade known as the *Gesta Francorum*. See: Neil Wright, "Epic and Romance in the Chronicles of Anjou." *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXVI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2003*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 177-189: 180-183. As Steven Biddlecombe has recently shown, Baudri began his first recension of the *Gesta Francorum* around 1105, while he was still abbot of Bourgueil. Baudri completed this first recension by 1107 before producing a second recension at some point following his accession to the archbishopric of Dol in 1108. See: Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. Steven Biddlecombe (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014). Is it possible that the anonymous author of our *Chronica* drew upon Baudri's first recension? Tempting as such a question might be, it is difficult to provide any conclusive answers. The surviving manuscripts of the *Chronica* exhibit substantial incorporation of materials postdating the 1106x1109 point of original production, precluding most analyses of what might or might not have existed within the initial composition. That being said, there are some passages of whose appearance in the initial composition we can be relatively certain. It is on the basis of some of these passages that Nicholas Paul has presented his compelling argument for the composition of the *Chronica* in 1106 or, at least, 1106x1109. See: Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 142-145.

¹⁴⁵ Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 142-145. Beyond the historical contexts which we have explored above, Paul draws attention to the concluding passage of the *Chronica*'s narrative retelling of the deeds of Fulk le Réchin. As the crux of his overall argument, Paul persuasively shows how this passage not only constituted the *terminus* for the original *Chronica* but was also a direct message to Fulk V in consideration of the various traumas of that year, especially his brother's death, which the *Chronica*'s author insinuates as murder. The passage in question is GCA, 67: "Ad honorem igitur dominorum nostrorum Andegavorum consulum sicut gesta eorum agnovi conscripti et ad edificationem successorum credidi destinanda, obsecrans ut labor noster in optimorum antecessorum imitatione a modernis valeat fructum invenire." Paul's own translation ("Rumours of Murder," 145) is as follows: "To the honor, therefore, of our lords the counts of Anjou, I wrote of their deeds what I understood of them, and what I believed ought to be intended for the instruction of their successors, praying that our work should be useful to the current generation for deriving profit in the imitation of their best ancestors."

of his foes, it was Fulk's captivity at the Poitevin court, in conjunction with the failures of lordship on the part of his father, that inspired the composition of the *Chronica*.¹⁴⁶ The narrative was crafted, above all, to serve as a moralistic *exemplum* for the future count.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the identity of the narrative's original author remains unknown.¹⁴⁸ The *Chronica*'s frequent stylistic references to classical sources, particularly Sallust, alongside the dearth of scriptural or Patristic allusions, suggests the advanced literary training and secular sensibilities of an individual emerging from the cathedral schools of the Loire River Valley. Like the early authors of other dynastic narrative traditions in twelfth-century Christendom, it is possible that the progenitor of the *Chronica* was a cleric associated in some capacity with the Angevin comital household.¹⁴⁹

Here, I would like to consider the possibility that the *Chronica* had been commissioned at the instruction of Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, Fulk V's elder half-sister and, as I argue in Appendix D, his childhood care-taker after Bertrade eloped with the French king in 1092. Though broadly informed by Geoffrey Martel's death and Fulk V's ensuing captivity, the *Chronica* seems also to have been responding to the royal visit to Angers in October 1106. There are a few pieces of evidence which nudge us in this

¹⁴⁶ For the circumstances of the production of the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, namely the 1153 imprisonment of Lord Sulpicius II of Amboise at the hands of Count Thibaut V of Blois, refer to: Nicholas L. Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics in twelfth-century Amboise." *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005), pp. 127-141: 132, 136.

¹⁴⁷ It is likely that the author intended for Fulk V's *nutritor*, Adam, or a similar such tutor-figure to guide the comital heir in his understanding of the text's moralistic significances. Indeed, such as the purpose of the Angevin *nutricii*. See: Kathryn Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit: The Upbringing of Angevin Comital Children," in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 24-40: 39. In Chapter Four, we will investigate the long-ranging impact of such moralistic instruction upon Fulk V's praxis of rulership.

¹⁴⁸ Subsequent redactors' apparent attribution of the authorship to Abbot Odo of Marmoutier (r. 1124-1137) has been received by modern scholars with considerable suspicion. Refer to: CCA, xxx-xxxi.

¹⁴⁹ Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 146; Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 61-65.

direction. First, although the *Chronica* consistently enumerates the individuals whom members of the comital family married and the children they bore, Ermengarde's own marital history remains vague.¹⁵⁰ Ermengarde is described only as the *comitissa Britannie*. Her husband, Duke Alan of Brittany, is obscured not only here but also entirely from the *Chronica*, a narrative which is otherwise detailed concerning major political actors in the western lands of the Loire.¹⁵¹ Such obscuration might be explained as the function of Ermengarde's prevailing anxieties regarding the legitimacy of her marriage to Alan. Indeed, concerns of marital consanguinity¹⁵² had compelled Ermengarde to return to Anjou around mid-1105;¹⁵³ there, she remained for approximately three years.¹⁵⁴ The *Chronica* must have been completed well before Ermengarde's decision to return to Brittany, that is, before the legitimacy of her marriage to Alan had been confirmed to her satisfaction. If Ermengarde had, in fact, commissioned the composition of the *Chronica*, it would have made sense for the clerical author to have avoided mention of such unresolved matters.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ This is, of course, in reference to comital family members whom the *Chronica* chooses to mention. For Ermengarde's appearance, see: GCA, 65. The surviving manuscripts preserve a later interpolation following mention of Ermengarde: Ermengarde is recorded as having cultivated a monastic life in Jerusalem. This must be a reference to her temporary relocation during the earlier 1130s to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, where Fulk V was monarch from 1131 to 1143.

¹⁵¹ Such obscuration was not the function of Alan's lack of involvement in regional affairs. For example, we see him participating in Geoffrey Martel II's joint campaign with Fulk le Réchin in 1104-1105 to punish rebellious castellans. See: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 174-175.

¹⁵² Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 12.

¹⁵³ Ermengarde appears to have been in Brittany as late as 4 June 1105. On that day in Nantes, Ermengarde is indicated to have encouraged her husband to quit his claim upon a certain contested matter. See: *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 107, pp. 402-403.

¹⁵⁴ Ermengarde joined Bishop Marbode, her husband Duke Alan, and others in providing cross signatures for a benefaction issued on 15 May 1108 in Rennes. See: *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 110, pp. 410-411.

¹⁵⁵ Notwithstanding Ermengarde's consent, reifying her marriage for posterity within the folios of her own dynasty's history might prove problematic on a number of levels if her concerns were determined to be valid and her marriage was subsequently declared consanguineous.

Of course, Ermengarde had spent the previous fifteen years in Brittany, and so she unsurprisingly retains the comital title. Perhaps not coincidentally, the unique origin story which the *Chronica* provides for the Angevin counts forges an historic link between Brittany and Anjou. According to the *Chronica*, the first count of Anjou was a certain Tertullus whose great deeds in the service of Charles the Bald initiated the Angevin dynasty's rise to power.¹⁵⁶ Tertullus' father, Torquatius,¹⁵⁷ had dwelled in the region of Redon, and their ancestors are said to have resided in Armorica Gallica.¹⁵⁸ The counts of Anjou, in other words, originally hailed from Brittany.¹⁵⁹ Although such an association might have generated any number of implications, perhaps the most important at the time of the production of the *Chronica* was to encourage Fulk V to position himself with the

¹⁵⁶ GCA, 26-29.

¹⁵⁷ The character of Torquatius and his function within the origin story of the counts of Anjou, especially in relation to Tertullus, has been the subject of some debate. Bernard Bachrach has argued that this Torquatius was intended to be an allusion to Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus via Cincinnatus' *magister equitum*, a certain Tarquitius. Cincinnatus' story as the farmer-turned-consul was meant, in Bachrach's estimation, to evoke the Angevins' own historic transition from rustic peasants to noble consuls. This vignette allegedly constituted the ontological epicenter of the "neo-Roman" identity of the Angevin dynasty henceforth. See: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 150-153. Indicating a variety of inconsistencies in this explanation, especially in the context of the manuscripts that would have been available to twelfth-century authors in the Loire Valley, Nicholas Paul has rejected Bachrach's conclusions. Paul draws attention to the immediate contexts of the *Chronica*'s production, namely the aftermath of Geoffrey Martel II's death, for which, again, the *Chronica* implies the complicity of Fulk le Réchin. In Paul's estimation, the figure of Torquatius is a reference to Titus Manlius Torquatus, a Roman Republican consul of 347 BCE, who is mentioned in Sallust's *Catiline Conspiracy*, the most-cited classical source in the *Chronica* itself. The consul had had his son executed, much like Fulk le Réchin is insinuated to have done. Moreover, given the overt parallelism of the *Chronica*'s internal characterizations of Fulk le Réchin and Torquatius, we should read the relationship between Torquatius and Tertullus as that between Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V. As Tertullus had left behind the instability of his father's holdings, so too did the *Chronica* author hope Fulk V would lead his dynasty and lands into more exemplary times. See: Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 153-159.

¹⁵⁸ GCA, 26: "*Fuit vir quidam de Armorica Gallia, nomine Torquatius, genus cuius olim ab Armorica iussu Maximi imperatoris a Britonibus expulsum est... Sicut enim complures referunt, genus suum nolentibus Britonibus diu in nemoribus vixerat. Is vero in pago Redonico oriundus habitator rusticanus fuit...*"

¹⁵⁹ The more recent location of the Angevin *genus* in Redon was perhaps a reflection of the intimacy of the longstanding relationship between the Breton dukes and the Abbey of Redon. As countess (duchess), Ermengarde is known to have been a firm supporter of that monastic community. See: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 18-19.

broader interest group in which the ducal family of Brittany was situated. In other words, Ermengarde wished Fulk V to pivot away from what she must have seen as Capetian attempts to secure the loyalties of the future count of Anjou at the potential expense of Count Hélias of Maine, her first cousin once removed.¹⁶⁰

For, Hélias of Maine had aligned himself with King Henry I of England in recent years.¹⁶¹ The Anglo-Normans had long maintained designs on royal interests and clients along the frontier between Normandy and the Île-de-France. During the early years of Henry I's reign (r. 1100-1135), pursuit of such designs had been delayed due to Henry's ongoing struggle against his brother, Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy.¹⁶² On 28 September 1106, Henry, with Hélias numbering among his supporters, decisively defeated Robert Curthose at the Battle of Tinchebray.¹⁶³ Having secured the ducal title, Henry now had a freer hand to advance upon Capetian lands. That King Philip and Queen Bertrade decided to travel to Angers in mid-October, two weeks after Tinchebray, is

¹⁶⁰ According to the *Chronica*, Ermengarde's mother was the daughter of Lancelin (II) of Beaugency/Baugency. Lancelin II's brother was John of La Flèche, the father of Count Hélias of Maine. See: GCA, 65; Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 113-115; OV, V: 228, with Chibnall's cross-references.

¹⁶¹ Rick Barton has recently cautioned against reading overly much into Hélias' fidelity to King Henry. Hélias' alliance with Henry was one of mutual benefit between peers, conditioned by the particular circumstances of 1100-1106, rather than the long-standing service dutifully owed by a vassal to a lord. See: Richard E. Barton, "Henry I, Count Helias of Maine, and the Battle of Tinchebray," in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. Donald Fleming and Janet Pope (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 63-90: 64-65.

¹⁶² William the Conqueror had split the Anglo-Norman realm between his two elder sons upon his own death in 1087. Robert Curthose received Normandy, and William Rufus inherited England. In 1100 while on a hunting trip with, among others, his younger brother Henry, William Rufus was fatally injured by an errant arrow shot by an unknown party. Henry became king of England thereafter, an ascension which was immediately challenged by his elder brother Robert Curthose. The hostilities flared intermittently between 1100-1106 until Henry captured and imprisoned Robert Curthose at the Battle of Tinchebray on 28 September 1106. See: William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c. 1050-1134* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 191-244; Kathleen Thompson, "From the Thames to Tinchebray: The Role of Normandy in the Early Career of Henry I," in *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World*, eds. Donald F. Fleming and Janet M. Pope (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 16-26; Hollister, *Henry I*, 149-203.

¹⁶³ "Henry I, Count Helias of Maine, and the Battle of Tinchebray," 63.

unlikely to be coincidence. After all, it had been many months since both the kidnapping of Fulk V and the collapse of Fulk le Réchin's authority. A key factor here must have been the news arriving at the Capetian court in early October as concerned Hélias' participation in the Battle of Tinchebray. As we saw above, Hélias had been governing Anjou in the stead of Fulk le Réchin since probably mid-summer 1106; Hélias' involvement in the recent campaign in Normandy indicated the likelihood of his ongoing absence from Anjou. Hélias' absence granted the Capetians an opportunity to safely visit Angers and demonstrate their support for the Angevin comital dynasty in light of the English king's recent victory. By seeking to bolster the authority of a countship in crisis, the French crown must also have intended to cultivate the loyalty of the current heir to that countship. The previous heir, Geoffrey Martel II, had joined his prospective father-in-law Count Hélias, in supporting the English king's efforts on the continent.¹⁶⁴

Given these circumstances, we might expect the *Chronica* to present Count Hélias in markedly favorable terms vis-à-vis King Philip, especially in contexts where the English king was involved. This appears to be the case. For instance, in providing an unusually detailed narrative concerning the 1060s, the author of the *Chronica* reworks actors and events to emphasize the mutual benefits that an alliance between the count of Anjou and Hélias of Maine had historically brought forth. During the Angevin-Norman conflict of 1062-1064, it was through the assistance of Geoffrey le Barbu that Hélias reclaimed his Manceaux patrimony, lands which had been violently seized by "King

¹⁶⁴ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 51-53.

William of the English.”¹⁶⁵ The reimagining here is substantial: William the Conqueror would not hold the crown of England until 1066, and Hélias had probably not yet even been born.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, Hélias’ repaid the favor of the Angevin count by coming to his defense when his younger brother, Fulk le Réchin, captured and imprisoned him a few years later. In seeking to free Geoffrey le Barbu from his chains, Hélias was joined by King Philip of France. However, Philip readily abandoned Geoffrey when Fulk le Réchin offered to cede some lands.¹⁶⁷ In addition to being fickle, Philip was depicted as being treacherous. The final passage of the original production of the *Chronica* relates how, upon having met Bertrade in 1092, the then-wife of his client Fulk le Réchin, King Philip resolved to steal her away.¹⁶⁸ This was a betrayal not simply of morality but also of lordship. The *Chronica*’s last sentence preceding the parting address to Fulk V reminds us of how such an act had placed the House of Capet under excommunication and that the children of Bertrade and Philip had been born in such ignominy.¹⁶⁹ In seemingly

¹⁶⁵ GCA, 63. For the conflict, see: Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 33-35; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, 32-35.

¹⁶⁶ The dates of birth for the Beaugency/La-Flèche kin group remain unclear for this period. However, we do know that Hélias’ father died before 1097, Hélias’ daughter Aremburge was not born until the early to mid-1090s, Count Herbert II—the son of Hélias’ father’s brother-in-law—was still “very young” *puerulo* in 1058, and Hélias himself married again in 1109. All of this suggests it unlikely that he had been born during the 1040s, i.e. was old enough in 1062-1064 to be leading campaigns of reconquest. See: Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 113-115.

¹⁶⁷ GCA, 64. Philip’s smooth exit from the conflict brings to mind an amusing passage from William of Malmesbury. On an occasion during the 1090s, when King William Rufus had coupled his threat of resisting Capetian efforts in Normandy with the promise of coin, King Philip had allegedly “unbound his belt and returned to feasting.” See: WM, I, 548: “...nummi regis Angliae, quibus infractus cingulum solvit et convivium repetiit.”

¹⁶⁸ Earlier, the *Chronica* insults Bertrade by claiming that no one had ever praised anything about her as good, save for her beauty. See: GCA, 65. The particular phrasing was borrowed from Sallust, as Halphen and Poupardin note in their edition.

¹⁶⁹ GCA, 66-67: “*Rex libidinosus Philipus Turonis venit et cum uxore Fulconis loquutus, eam fieri reginam constituit. Pessima illa, consule dimisso, nocte sequenti regem subsequitur, qui Mindraio prope pontem Beuronis¹⁶⁹ milites dimiserat, qui eam Aurelianis duxerunt. Sicque rex luxuriosus domum suam sceleratis nuptiis sub anathemate factis replevit et duos ex ea filios, Philipum et Florum, genuit.*”

intentional contrast, the author of the *Chronica* had just expounded upon the virtues of the recently deceased Geoffrey Martel II, he who “[did] not fall short of [his] ancestors in *probitas*.”¹⁷⁰ Mirroring such forthrightness, Count Hélias had handed over to Geoffrey the lordship of Le Mans “with all its appendages” upon Geoffrey’s betrothal to “[Hélias]’ only daughter.”¹⁷¹ These were the reliable manners befitting honorable individuals from honorable dynasties.

The extent to which the *Chronica* undermines Philip and Bertrade in favor of Ermengarde’s cousin Hélias potentially speaks to Ermengarde’s prominent role in the production of the *Chronica*. Such matters perhaps reveal also an inchoate struggle for power in Anjou, a principality in disarray following Geoffrey Martel’s death. As we have seen, various parties were seeking to consolidate their own influence over the future count of Anjou while also positioning themselves as bulwarks against the continuing deterioration of Angevin dynastic legitimacy. However, their oppositional efforts meant that their regional actions took forms that ultimately contributed to rather than mitigated the prevailing crisis of comital authority between 1106 and 1109.

Regardless, none of these parties managed to secure the exclusive loyalty of Fulk V. Bertrade certainly became an important part of her son’s entourage, as we will see in the next chapter. Yet, her integration within Angevin landscapes of power was only after Philip’s death and her resulting banishment from the Capetian court. Her post-1108 political influence must have been relatively limited, as well as, in any case, restrained to

¹⁷⁰ The remark is conveyed through an imprisoned Geoffrey le Barbu. See: GCA, 65: “‘Gaudeo te ab avorum probitate non degenerare’...”

¹⁷¹ GCA, 66: “*Huic Martello Helias comes unicam filiam suam non adhuc matrimonio aptam desponsavit et Cenomannum cum omnibus apendiciis ejus tribuit.*”

her direct familial interests. Returning to Brittany around the same time that Bertrade relocated to Anjou, Ermengarde clearly remained an influence upon Fulk V.¹⁷² Ermengarde participated in a handful of Fulk's *acta* around the time of their father's death, for which she was present in Angers.¹⁷³ However, she subsequently appeared only intermittently; her influence, though not insubstantial, cannot be said to have centrally shaped Fulk's rulership.¹⁷⁴ For his own part, Hélias largely disappears from Angevin landscapes around the time of Fulk V's accession.¹⁷⁵ One wonders whether Hélias' remarriage in 1109, along with whatever influence he yet retained in Anjou from the period of his regency, must have worried Fulk V.¹⁷⁶ If Hélias and his new wife produced a male heir, Fulk V might eventually be denied not only Aremburge's dowry of Maine but also effective control in Anjou as Hélias sought to consolidate authority for his own biological children. Fortunately for Fulk, Hélias died without additional children on 11 July 1110, at which point the county of Maine was added to the Angevin patrimony. The reins of Greater Anjou were now in the hands of Fulk V.

¹⁷² For the lifelong sibling connection between Fulk and Ermengarde, see: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne."

¹⁷³ [F 14]; [F 16]; [F 13].

¹⁷⁴ [F 73] (1120); [F 112] (1128); [F 123] (1129).

¹⁷⁵ Hélias appears only once in a comital witness list for an *actum* of 1109x1110. See: Catalog n. [F 20] (1109x1110), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 163, pp. 255-256.

¹⁷⁶ The identity of Hélias' second wife has been a matter of some dispute, though modern scholars generally concur that Hélias had remarried in 1109. See: Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 113-115; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, 22; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 577.

As we have seen, Fulk le Réchin consistently demonstrated an inability to respond with the appropriate sensitivities to the crusading environment since its inception. In short order, these failures had come to threaten his dynasty's legitimacy and ruling authority. In 1103, Geoffrey Martel II had attempted to address the growing crisis by undertaking a *dissensio*. The successful completion of this symbolic reaffirmation of Angevin dynastic relations both within and without had restored public confidence in the comital office, at least in the short term. However, Geoffrey's *dissensio* had tethered public confidence to the promise of his own accession to come. The succession of events in May 1106—Geoffrey's death, rumors of murder implicating Fulk le Réchin, and the kidnapping of Fulk V—plunged Anjou into a cataclysmic crisis of comital authority. Several external actors stepped forward to support the Angevin dynasty as well as to pursue their own designs. Their efforts ultimately proved unsuccessful. On 14 April 1109, Fulk V became count of Anjou. To rehabilitate the authority of his office, Fulk V would opt to turn to the crusading environment itself—the root cause of and potential solution to the crisis besetting his dynasty and principality. It is to these matters that we next turn.

Chapter Three

A Non-Crusader in Crusading Lands, 1109-1120

By the time of Fulk V's accession as count of Anjou on 14 April 1109, the comital dynasty was facing not only an historic nadir in public authority but also an unprecedented crisis that had compromised the very integrity of the principality. Yet, by 1120, centralized authority and regional stability had been restored to such an extent that Fulk V confidently departed for the Holy Land on crusade, a journey which promised Fulk's absence from his lands for months, if not years. The fortunes of the county of Anjou and the dynasty that ruled it had undergone a remarkable transformation in little over a decade. What was the process by which Fulk V had reversed the bleak outlook for his principality, reviving its state of regional prominence?

Modern scholars have tended to assume that Fulk's rehabilitation of comital authority was the function of an unusually capable execution of historic Angevin strategies of cultivating centralized power. Thomas Bisson, for instance, has argued that Fulk V emulated Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) and Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060) in aggrandizing comital authority through the violent suppression of unruly Angevin castellans, aggressive regional expansionism, and the maintenance of the loyalty of the great lords via close observation at the comital court.¹ In other words, there was nothing categorically distinctive about Fulk V's rulership vis-à-vis his successful predecessors.

¹ Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 130-135.

Yet, the signature policies of the former architects of Angevin comital power—Fulk Nerra and Geoffrey Martel I—were largely absent from Fulk V’s own rulership: Fulk V conquered no regional lands to add to the dynastic patrimony, he built few, if any, new castles by which to consolidate his influence within Greater Anjou, and he consistently populated his court with no lay or ecclesiastical magnates in order to maintain their obedience.² Indeed, as we saw in previous chapters, the political-social environment of crusading had complicated many dynastic practices of rulership, rendering them ineffective if not outright counterproductive. To the extent that Fulk V endeavored to emulate traditional comital policies of governance, his efforts proved unsuccessful, as we will see here. For example, Fulk V was typically unable (or unwilling) to dispossess the castellans who rose against him, as dynastic prescription would commend.³ The count

² With regard to these policies as the factors instrumentally enabling the ascendance of the Angevin comital dynasty, refer to: Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building," *American Historical Review* 88, 3 (1983), pp. 533-560; Idem, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*: The Techniques Used by Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins (987-1040)," *Speculum* 59, 4 (1984), pp. 796-819; Idem, "The Angevin Economy, 960-1060: Ancient or Feudal?" *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1988), 3-55; Idem, *Fulk Nerra: The Neo-Roman Consul, 987-1040* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Regarding the castles which Fulk V constructed, there is only one possible candidate—Trôo. In a benefaction dated to 1124, the count claims to have been raising a *castrum* at the location. See: Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r. It is possible that the surviving manuscript for the comital benefaction mischaracterizes the nature of Fulk’s project. Some scholars have alternately suggested that Geoffrey Martel I was responsible for the castle at Trôo, i.e. Fulk V was expanding upon existing fortifications. See: Léon Aubry, *Un coin du Vendômois: Monographie de Trôo (Loir-et-Cher)* (Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1906), 6-8. The competing claims are difficult to evaluate, given the problematic nature of the surviving evidence. I discuss the matter further in the catalog entry for [F 93] as well as in Chapter Four.

³ Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*," 810-811. In 1109, Fulk V marched upon and forced the surrender of l’Île-Bouchard. Its lord, Aimery Peloquin, continued to issue benefactions as *dominus Insule Burcardi* toward 1140 as well as to remain generally absent from comital acts. For the 1109 siege of Fulk V, refer to: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7. Aimery Peloquin and his wife granted an oven in Tours to the Abbey of Marmoutier in 1109: BNF, Coll. Baluze, t. 388, n. 348, as reproduced in CN Telma, "Chartes originales antérieures à 1121," n. 2488. Aimery Peloquin renounced crimes committed against Saint-Hilaire of Poitiers toward 1140: "Documents pour l’histoire de l’église de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers," in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l’Ouest* (Poitiers: Létang et Oudin, 1848), pp. 1-362: 137, n. 122. Fulk V similarly besieged Preuilley-sur-Claise but allowed its lord, Eschivard, to maintain the castle’s lordship. See: GCA, 68. Pursuant to Fulk’s 1124 investment, he restored the lordship of Montreuil-Bellay to its seigneurial family, though the castle was garrisoned with Fulk’s own men for a

had to restore their lordships, after which point, rather than rejoin the comital entourage in gratitude, they continued to operate in relative autonomy,⁴ with some even choosing to rebel again later.⁵ It is, therefore, difficult to sustain the notion that Fulk V restored the fortunes of his beleaguered principality by replicating traditional dynastic practices of rulership.

In this chapter, I argue that Fulk aimed to rehabilitate Angevin comital authority by harnessing what had proven to be its greatest challenge in recent years: the crusading movement itself. As count of Anjou, Fulk endeavored to situate crusade as the central framework of his dynasty's rulership and ruling identity. He methodically sought to associate the Angevin countship with the crusading phenomenon in a discursive, material, and personal sense. In binding the structures of Angevin comital authority to the crusading fabric, he reconstituted not only what princely authority signified to regional contemporaries but also how that authority might legitimately seek to effect its will in the territories over which it claimed dominion. A key factor shaping the Angevin performance of such authority before 1120 was Fulk's positionality as a non-crusader ruling in lands where crusading participation had been and remained high.⁶ The

time. Refer to: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 8; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 121; GCA, 68. A notable exception here was Brissac-Quincé, whose 1112 siege appears to have ended in the transfer of the castrum's lordship to one of Fulk V's other *fideles*. The matter of the transferred lordship is discussed below. For the siege, see: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 8; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 121.

⁴ The *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* depicts such constraints upon Fulk V's authority as voluntary acts of generosity from a magnanimous count: GCA, 68.

⁵ The seigneurial family of Doué-la-Fontaine rebelled against Fulk V in 1109 and, again, in 1123. See: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 120-121.

⁶ Conglomerations of individual penitential pilgrimages during this era are granted analytical coherency under a formal crusading designation—e.g. First Crusade, Crusade of 1100-1101, Bohemond's Crusade of 1106-1107. However, armed individuals venturing to the Holy Land on pilgrimage remained a constant and ongoing reality through the early years of the crusading phenomenon.

disjuncture between his status as a non-crusader and the reorientation of comital legitimacy to be increasingly predicated upon crusade associations generated a tension that Fulk sought to resolve through a bureaucratization of comital authority itself. Progressively, Fulk channeled his authority through an apparatus of personal representatives and quasi-institutional mechanisms whose performative functions were devised, in large part, to transpose crusading prestige onto the comital office.⁷ This process of investing the authority of the comital office into various representatives and mechanisms had the attendant effect of abstracting the exercise of princely power, rendering the successful exercise of that power less vulnerable to circumstantial vicissitudes. From the resulting set of formalized practices, thus, a new sort of 'administrative' praxis of rulership began to cohere. This was something which, as Chapter Four will demonstrate, Fulk V was able to develop further in the 1120s, following his own experience of crusade, in order to yield the incipient bureaucratic framework that his dynastic successors would forge into the medieval European state.⁸ Whereas the challenge of crusade had destabilized the reign of his father, Fulk V ensured that, within the first decade of his own rule, the crusading phenomenon would facilitate rather than imperil comital interests.⁹

⁷ For 'performance' as an avenue for illuminating constructions of medieval authority in charters, see the broader discussion in my Introduction as well as: Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 17-62.

⁸ To be clear, contemporary processes of bureaucratization were not restricted to Anjou. It is the aim of this chapter, as well as this project more generally, to demonstrate that the crusading phenomenon fundamentally gave shape to such a process within Anjou.

⁹ The phrase "challenge of crusade" is invoked in respectful homage to Bill Jordan's classic work: William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

The first section of this chapter deals with the construction of the comital apparatus of administration: the personnel who effected the comital will. We will explore how Fulk V significantly deviated from historic dynastic practices of recruitment and patronage with regard to the individuals who would serve as the count's associates in governance. Rather than populate his *mouvance* with members of the high aristocracy, Fulk employed the services of men of lesser social rank, men whose loyalty was assured through selective but substantial comital patronage. To be sure, the rise of such "new men" was not an uncommon development in contemporary princely circles. However, drawing upon extensive prosopographical research, I will demonstrate that, at least in Anjou under Fulk V, such new men owed their ascendance not just to their remoteness from existing webs of aristocratic power but also, instrumentally, to their connections to the crusading movement itself. The second part of this chapter explores how Fulk deployed these "new men" as an integral part of an increasingly administrative praxis of rulership. I will argue that such praxis fundamentally sought to bolster comital authority through its bureaucratization.¹⁰ Particular attention will be devoted to the broader social logics which Fulk employed in documentary productions in order to intertwine his dynasty with the crusading fabric.¹¹ Collectively, the sections demonstrate that the rehabilitation of comital authority in Anjou cannot be understood fully without an

¹⁰ As I discuss in the Introduction, it is not my intention to make an argument for epochal clairvoyance on the part of Fulk V: he had not necessarily envisioned the (re-)establishment of a bureaucratic state on the order of the Roman Empire. However, I do seek to make the case that Fulk strived to move the Angevin exercise of power in an explicitly administrative direction, wherever that might ultimately lead.

¹¹ With regard to such logics in broader contexts, see: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65, 1 (1990), pp. 59-86.

appreciation of how Fulk V increasingly situated the crusading phenomenon at the center of the moral and physical framework of his rulership beginning in the 1110s.

Crusade and the Personnel of Governance

During the later tenth and earlier eleventh centuries, princes had sought to cultivate their power by insinuating the great aristocrats of their realm within the exercise of princely authority. Bernard Bachrach has demonstrated that, for the Angevin dynasty, this was a methodical process governed by a careful consideration of the long-term implications of patronizing aristocratic families. The counts of Anjou had to cultivate the fidelity of influential aristocratic kin groups, maintaining them through the investment of benefices, honors, and other privileges. These favors had to be significant enough to preserve aristocratic loyalty as well as to generate *gravitas* to enable the recruitment of additional supporters. But, the favors also had to be non-inheritable and sufficiently geographically scattered so as to avoid an aggregation of aristocratic power that might lead to a serious challenge of comital authority.¹² The aim was to ensure that sub-comital actors with the greatest landed resources—and thus, power—would hold interests that coincided rather than conflicted with the comital agenda.¹³ Counts Geoffrey Grey mantle, Fulk Nerra, and Geoffrey Martel I were successful in executing this aim; their successors, Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8) and Fulk le Réchin (r. 1067/8-1109) were not. By the time of Fulk V's accession, the great aristocrats of the realm no longer participated in comital

¹² With regard to the issue of inheritability, it was vital to preserve comital prerogative to withdraw favors from a supporter's successor, even if the count still eventually appointed the heir of a *fidelis* to hold the same honors; appointment had to be at the pleasure of the count.

¹³ Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*," 799-803, 812-813, 818; Idem, "The Angevin Economy," *passim*.

governance in any meaningful sense,¹⁴ and some of them, such as the Manceaux lords of Craon, Laval, and Mayenne, had managed to aggregate dangerously large lordships, enabling them to flaunt comital authority with relative impunity.¹⁵

With the advent of the crusading movement, this shift in the composition of the comital *mouvance*, or sphere of influence, generated consequences beyond great aristocratic resistance to comital initiatives. W. Scott Jessee has shown how Fulk V's father and predecessor was able to partly mitigate the decline of Angevin dynastic influence by positioning the counts of Anjou as *primus inter pares*, forging a body of quasi-collective rulership with select aristocratic families.¹⁶ However, such an effort meant that the authority of the Angevin counts was increasingly tethered to the public perception of their legitimacy to negotiate compromises with other political entities as sovereigns in their realm's prestige economy, if not in actual coercive ability.¹⁷ In the face of declining involvement of the great aristocrats in comital governance, such legitimacy had to be maintained even more assiduously through markers and rituals of

¹⁴ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 281-282, 299-352. Bruno Lemesle has cautioned against overstating the extent to which middle-ranked aristocrats disappear from comital courts. In Lemesle's estimation, there remained a significant number, though a decline from the days of Fulk Nerra is undeniable. Refer to: Bruno Lemesle, *Conflits et justice au Moyen Âge: Normes, loi, et résolution des conflits en Anjou aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008), 55-59.

¹⁵ Jacques Boussard, *Le Comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils (1151-1204)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977; reprint of Paris: Honoré Champion, 1938), 55-63. These lords appear as neither witnesses nor participants in Fulk V's *acta*.

¹⁶ W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 171-173. The extent of the mitigation should not, however, be overstated. Jessee convincingly demonstrates quasi-collective rulership between Count Fulk le Réchin and the seigneurial family of Sablé, but such collaboration appears neither to have continued with Robert's dynastic successors nor necessarily extended to other contemporaneous lords of Greater Anjou.

¹⁷ Status and authority were constituted by the continually renegotiated amalgamation of relationships between lords, lords and men of lesser standing, and between lesser men—all categories which themselves could be structured differently based on the actors involved, or the time and place. See: Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 77-78.

separation, such as the triumphal *adventus* ceremony and marital alliances with the highest rungs of aristocratic society.¹⁸ Consequently, when contemporaries conferred princely prestige upon returning crusaders of lesser aristocratic rank by granting them access to rituals of triumph or marriage into the upper ranks of the aristocracy, the markers of separation maintaining princely status became dangerously confused.¹⁹ In a realm where governing authority relied upon consent which contemporaries granted to the *primus inter pares*, the reasons for granting such consent to non-crusading princes became more tenuous, especially in areas of high crusading participation such as Greater Anjou. The very legitimacy of the comital dynasty in its perceived right to govern, i.e. forge consensus and consent, found itself in rising peril.²⁰ What, indeed, still rendered the count of Anjou first among equals?²¹ One of the imperatives confronting Fulk V upon his accession, therefore, was the reestablishment of perceived comital legitimacy as it needed

¹⁸ Nick Paul has discussed how the maintenance of these rituals were often inspired by the crusading context: Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 125.

¹⁹ For instance, Guy II of Rochefort appears to have been graced with triumphal receptions at a variety of religious houses upon his return from crusade. For his reception at the Abbey of Morigny as well as such receptions for crusaders of modest aristocratic rank more generally, see: *La chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)*, ed. Léon Mirot. Paris: A. Picard, 1909, 41-42; Paul, *To Follow in their Footsteps*, 125; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 144-145. The classic example of a lesser aristocrat being able to marry into the highest of social echelons as a function of crusade participation is Bohemond of Taranto / Antioch. Bohemond was able to secure the hand of a Capetian princess despite his formerly modest background; he, too, was graced with a number of triumphal receptions while touring France in 1106-1107. See: Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 36-39; Nicholas L. Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade," *Speculum* 85, 3 (2010), pp. 534-566.

²⁰ For the forging of counsel and consent as the functional core of Angevin comital governance, see: Olivier Guillot, "Administration et gouvernement dans les états du comte d'Anjou au milieu du XIe siècle," in *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, eds. Werner Paravicini and Karl Ferdinand Werner (Munich: Artemis, 1980), 311-332.

²¹ The issue was not localized to Anjou, of course. James Naus has recently investigated how the Capetian monarchs confronted what was a fundamentally similar dilemma by pursuing marital alliances with crusade veterans and kin as well as engaging in discursive campaigns of (re-)framing the past. See: James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 31, 44-45, 59-84.

to be reflected in the ranks of those who comprised his *mouvance*, that is, his associates in governance.

Initially, it appears that Fulk V made a concerted effort to bind the great seigneurial lords to his *mouvance*, as historic dynastic practice would commend. Aimery of Faye-la-Vineuse,²² Peloquin of l'Île-Bouchard,²³ Fulco of Mathefelon,²⁴ Peter of Chemillé,²⁵ Abbo of Briollay (Rochefort-sur-Loire),²⁶ Normand of Montrevault,²⁷ Aimery of Avoir,²⁸ and Hugh of Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine²⁹ all appear as witnesses in comital acts. However, the localities in which these comital benefactions were enacted, in conjunction with the possible dates of production, belie the impression that Fulk V had reaffirmed the fidelity of major seigneurial lords. These acts mostly appear to have occurred at or near the centers of power for these lords; Fulk V went to them, but they were not a regular part of the comital entourage, as previous such lords had been under

²² Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299; Catalog n. [F 36] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 55, pp. 46-48; Catalog n. [F 36] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 207, pp. 203-204.

²³ Catalog n. [F 8] (1108), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 990, pp. 66-67.

²⁴ Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121.

²⁵ Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5.

²⁶ After receiving the castle of Rochefort-sur-Loire in 1107x1109, Abbo of the seigneurial family of Briollay appeared in charters alternately as Abbo of Briollay and Abbo of Rochefort; the two are the same individual. Abbo of Rochefort may also be the same person as an Adam of Rochefort, given that Abbo was sometimes rendered as Abbon in contemporary documents. Abbo's elder brother, Geoffrey, remained lord of the patrimonial *castrum* of Briollay until his own death after 1112, at which point Abbo acquired Briollay. For Abbo's involvement in comital acts from the first half of the reign of Fulk V, see Catalog numbers: [F 12] (1109), British Library, Add. Mss. 21198, n. 147, fol. 199; [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121; [F 15] (1109), *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 373, pp. 401-402; [F 16] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 426, pp. 33-34; [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93, pp. 171-174; [F 17] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280; [F 25] (1112, Angers), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200; [F 39] (1115), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172; [F 44] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 6; [F 54] (c. 1116), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 194, pp. 127-128.

²⁷ Catalog n. [F 36] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 55, pp. 46-48.

²⁸ Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5; Catalog n. [F 34] (1114); Catalog n. [F 37] (1109x1115); Catalog n. [F 38] (1109x1115), BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, ff. 46v-47r.

²⁹ Catalog n. [F 57] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin*, n. 28, p. 53.

Fulk V's legendary predecessors.³⁰ Moreover, the involvement of the seigneurial lords in comital acts is heavily distributed toward the earliest years of Fulk's rulership. None of the benefactions can be dated reliably beyond 1114, with most occurring between 1107 and 1113.³¹

Fulk's inability to rehabilitate comital authority through historic dynastic methods can be illustrated at length in his relationship with Abbo of Briollay. The younger brother of Lord Geoffrey of Briollay, Abbo was an active presence in benefactions pertaining to his family's interests.³² However, Abbo rarely appeared in comital acts until 1107, the year in which Fulk V returned to Anjou as the heir-apparent.³³ Between 1107 and 1109, Abbo witnessed six of ten comital charters, in all of which Fulk V participated as an actor.³⁴ Initially, the association was one of mutual benefit, bolstering the standing of both the Angevin comital dynasty and the seigneurial family of Briollay within prevailing landscapes of power. The comital dynasty invested Abbo with the comital castle of Rochefort-sur-Loire and its attendant resources in 1107x1109. Seemingly in return, Abbo

³⁰ For citations of the relevant acta, see the footnotes above and refer to the associated catalog entries. All occasions on which Aimery of Faye-la-Vineuse participated in comital governance transpired at Loudun; the act in which Peloquin of l'Île-Bouchard appeared was issued at Bourgueil; Fulco of Mathefelon did not travel far for his witnessing of a comital act in Angers; Peter of Chemillé was certainly far afield for his participation at Fontevraud, but his presence could readily be explained as a visit to his relative, Petronilla of Chemillé, who became abbess of Fontevraud in 1115; and, Abbo of Briollay typically appeared in comital acts around Angers, which was immediately to the northeast of his lordship of Rochefort-sur-Loire. Hugh of Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine did, in contrast, travel a considerable distance of 30 kilometers east of his lordship to attest at the comital castle of Loches.

³¹ Refer to the aforementioned acts, whose citations indicate the dates of issuance.

³² See, for instance, his attestation of his brother's confirmation for the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice in Angers: Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 98bis, pp. 180-181.

³³ In 1096, Abbo witnessed one of the grand acts transpiring in Angers upon the occasion of Pope Urban II's visit. Refer to: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131. In 1104, the Abbey of Saint-Serge appears to have requested the intervention of local "nobles" [*procerum*] to secure a comital concession in the middle of Geoffrey Martel II's *dissensio* of 1103-1105; Abbo was an involved party. See: Catalog n. [F 9] (1104 for Geoffrey's *actum*), *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280.

³⁴ For complete citations, refer to the footnotes above. The relevant catalog numbers are: [F 11]; [F 15]; [F 16]; [F 13]; [F 17]; [F 12].

contested some land in the forest of Lattay that was held by the Abbey of Ronceray—the resulting settlement with the nuns provided a significant cash sum for Abbo, Fulk V, and Queen Bertrade, Fulk V’s mother and advisor.³⁵ By 1112, the seigneurial family of Briollay had capitalized on comital influence to secure advantageous marital alliances. Abbo had married Agnes,³⁶ the sister of Alberic of Montjean, thereby granting him a claim to the important lordship of Montjean in the region of Mauges,³⁷ on which Abbo appears to have made good by 1118.³⁸ Abbo’s niece, Theophania, married Lisiard of Sablé, a powerful Manceaux lord whose demesne was located northeast of Briollay lands; the marital alliance defused a potential neighboring threat.³⁹

Having reaped the benefits of comital association, Abbo’s rate of participation in Fulk’s *acta* declines following his attestation of a comital concession in 1112.⁴⁰ The one reliably dated occasion on which Abbo subsequently appears in the 1110s features him working in opposition to rather than in concert with comital interests. In 1115, Abbo is seen threatening to challenge Fulk V’s confirmation of some customs which the Abbey of Ronceray held at the hamlet of Sainte-Foy.⁴¹ Around 1116, Abbo is seen violating the

³⁵ Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121. The singular influence of Bertrade will be discussed below. Hank Teunis has argued that the outcome of the present contestation was a coup for Abbo of Briollay at the expense of the counts of Anjou. Given the significant counter-gifts and that these sorts of affirmations/renegotiations of institutional relationships were common in the years surrounding princely accessions, it is difficult to see why the comital dynasty could not (and would not) have encouraged Abbo’s challenge. They all certainly benefitted from it. Refer to: Henk Teunis, *The appeal to the original status: Social justice in Anjou in the eleventh century* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 38-40.

³⁶ Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200.

³⁷ Teddy Véron, *L’intégration des Mauges à l’Anjou au XIe siècle* (Limoges: Press universitaires de Limoges, 2007), 123n134.

³⁸ See: *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 448, where Abbo is entitled “of Montjean.”

³⁹ Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, p. 199.

⁴⁰ For the attestation, see: Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200.

⁴¹ Catalog n. [F 39] (1115), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172.

extent of judicial privileges that Fulk V had granted him at Saint-Lambert-du-Lattay.⁴²

What is clear is that the ability of the Angevin counts to cultivate and maintain the loyalty of their great aristocrats, one of the chief means by which former counts had aggrandized their authority, had eroded significantly by the early twelfth century.

Fulk V could not restore the place of the comital dynasty in the regional prestige economy by populating his *mouvance* with the great lords of the realm. As a result, Fulk V moved to address his dynasty's legitimacy deficit by recruiting those who had recently gained access to prestige markers hitherto reserved for the high aristocracy and by incorporating those individuals into the performance of comital authority: returning crusaders of middle or lower aristocratic rank. For instance, after Hugh of Mathefelon returned from the Holy Land in 1114, he began to appear in comital charters in positions of prominence.⁴³ He presented as one of the few knights [*milites*] who were identified as part of the comital court in a major adjudication.⁴⁴ Subsequently, Hugh attested as the highest-ranked knight of Fulk V's entourage [*miles comitis*] in a significant and rare comital act at the Abbey of Saint-Aubin, the former epicenter of comital-ecclesiastical

⁴² Catalog n. [F 54] (c. 1116), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 194, pp. 127-128. A third comital act in which Abbo may have appeared after 1112 can only be dated to 1109x1116. In it, Abbo serves as a witness in an unremarkable manner, consistent with pre-1112 appearances. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 44] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 6.

⁴³ Hugh's return was an occasion of some ceremony. According to the chronicle of the Abbey of Saint-Serge, Hugh of Mathefelon gifted the arm of the abbey's patron saint to the abbatial community upon his own return from the Holy Land. Hugh claimed to have recovered the arm from Antioch. For the gifting, Hugh may have been graced with a triumphal reception at the abbey, which was located within the count's capital city of Angers. The optics of such a display would likely have made Fulk V uneasy, further compelling the count to associate himself with the honored crusading veteran. See: "Chronicon Sancti Sergii Andegavensis," p. 143. Little else is known about Hugh's activities in the Holy Land c. 1114.

⁴⁴ Catalog n. [F 54] (c. 1116), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 194, pp. 127-128. Hugh's father, Fulco, had participated in the Crusade of 1101. Refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 410, pp. 255-256.

cooperation.⁴⁵ Having participated in Bohemond of Antioch's crusade of 1107-1108, Gautier of Montsoreau was recruited into the entourage of Fulk V.⁴⁶ Gautier appeared with the count in several geographically distributed acts during the 1110s.⁴⁷ Arduin of Cinq-Mars, a veteran of the Crusade of 1101, faithfully served the comital dynasty in several capacities.⁴⁸ Arduin appeared as Count Fulk's earliest *fidelis* in 1107x1108 and subsequently occupied different officerships.⁴⁹ A participant in the First Crusade, Geoffrey of Clairvaux was brought into the comital entourage upon Fulk's accession.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Catalog n. [F 89] (1121x1123), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 114, pp. 139-142. In Chapter One, I discussed how Count Fulk le Réchin instigated a breakdown in relations between the Angevin comital dynasty and the Abbey of Saint-Aubin.

⁴⁶ With regard to Gautier's participation in the crusade of 1107-1108, see: *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 251, pp. 274-275; *Archives d'Anjou*, II, pp. 54-56.

⁴⁷ Catalog numbers: [F 64] (1116x1119), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, IV, n. 1291, fol. 119v; [F 38] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 266, pp. 268-269; [F 53] (1116), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 455, pp. 445-446; [F 24] (1110x1112), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 94, pp. 174-175. The social rank of the Montsoreau family during this time was ascendant, possibly as a function of their crusading participation. I have identified them here as aristocrats of modest rank, though their status is debatable, given especially their deepening relations with the great lords of Montreuil-Bellay in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

⁴⁸ A notice for the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours records the death of one of its monks, an Odo from the aristocratic family of Cinq-Mars, on the path to Jerusalem in 1101. Odo's brother, a *miles* named Arduin, is noted to have been accompanying him at the time of his death. This Arduin can be none other than Arduin of Cinq-Mars. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 57, p. 82.

⁴⁹ Refer to Catalog numbers: [F 7] (1107x1108); [F 26] (c. 1112); [F 28] (1113); [F 34] (1114); [F 38] (1109x1115); [F 49] (c. 1113x1116); [F 51] (1116); [F 57] (1109x1118); [F 75] (1120). For Arduin as comital chamberlain in 1113, see Catalog n. [F 28] (1113), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1114, fol. 80r. Arduin subsequently served as chief comital seneschal. See, for instance: Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v. Arduin had also been *dapifer* for Geoffrey Martel II, Fulk V's elder brother who died in 1106. See: Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135.

⁵⁰ With regard to Geoffrey's participation in the First Crusade, see: *Chronique de Parcé*, ed. H. de Berranger (Le Mans: Imprimerie Monnoyer, 1953), pp. 9-10. Although the chronicle is mythical in various parts, such as the genealogical links of many of its characters, the fundamental claim that Geoffrey of Clairvaux traveled to Jerusalem as part of the First Crusade is probably true, even if his alleged heroics there belong to the realm of epic. Indeed, if the chronicle's aim was to identify a crusading figure from Geoffrey's kin-group, there was no particular need to invent Geoffrey's participation: Geoffrey's brother Peter of Champchévrier was a ready and worthy candidate. Peter was known to have traveled to Jerusalem in 1129 in the company of his lord and promised future king of Latin Jerusalem, Fulk V. Of course, an ancestor who participated in the First Crusade—of all crusades—had singular cachet, and Geoffrey's eventual status as a lord of Durtal would have made him the more appealing candidate, concerns of accuracy aside. For Peter of Champchévrier as the brother of Geoffrey of Clairvaux, see: [F 118]; [F 60]. Peter's involvement on the crusade of 1129 is established in Chapter Four.

Geoffrey served as one of the most frequent witnesses in Fulk's charters throughout the 1110s as well as Fulk's chief seneschal [*dapifer*] around 1112.⁵¹

Fulk V looked also to the relatives and descendants of crusaders, those individuals whose ties of kinship still provided a powerful anchor to the crusading cohort. For instance, Fulk V's son and heir, Geoffrey V (b. 1113), was brought up in the comital household alongside Robert III of Sablé, paternal great-grandson of Robert the Burgundian, castellan of Sablé who died on the First Crusade in 1098.⁵² An extended kinsman of the family of Sablé may also have been appointed in 1110 as an administrative official for the Angevin capital of Angers.⁵³ The count's cupbearer [*pincerna*], a Beringerius of Coron,⁵⁴ appears to belong to the seigneurial family of Coron in the Mauges-Saumurois frontier,⁵⁵ which also produced Aimery of "Courron" (Coron)

⁵¹ For Geoffrey's involvement in comital charters, refer to Catalog numbers: [F 13] (1109); [F 15] (1109); [F 12] (1109); [F 18] (1109); [F 26] (c. 1112); [F 36] (1109x1115); [F 27] (c. 1112); [F 70] (1116x1120); [F 50] (1116x1118); [F 55] (1109x1118); [F 60] (1116x1118).

⁵² Kathryn Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit: The Upbringing of Angevin Comital Children," *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 24-40: 32. For Robert the Burgundian, see: W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000).

⁵³ Less than a year after his accession, Count Fulk seems to have appointed a certain Hugh as vicar in Angers. A surviving notice from the Tourangeau cartulary of the Abbey of Marmoutier indicates that the abbatial priory at Sablé received in 1110 from a Hugh, "vicarius of Angers," a confirmation of the gifts of his predecessors as well as further gifts from him of a tithe from "his own land" at Grez-en-Bouère [*Goez*] and of some land near his house at Bouère. Both estates are located west of the castle of Sablé, whose castellan, Lisiard of Sablé, is recorded in the second part of the notice similarly enhancing the gifts of his predecessors for Marmoutier's priory of Sablé. Refer to: *Cartulaire Tourangeau de Marmoutier*, pp. 51-52. Thirteen years later, a Hugh of Sablé is indicated as provost of Angers. See: Catalog n. [F 88] (1123), *Epitome*, pp. 53-54. These connections suggest a tenurial if not kin relationship between the family of Sablé and this Hugh.

⁵⁴ Catalog n. [F 49] (c. 1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v; [F 57] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin*, n. 28, p. 53.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the castellany, refer to: *Dictionnaire Maine-et-Loire*, I, p. 811; Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, p. 34.

who participated in the First Crusade.⁵⁶ Balthar of Vihiers, who was perhaps the kin of Peter of Vihiers—guardian of the comital castle of Vihiers and veteran of the First Crusade⁵⁷—seems to have traveled for a time as part of Fulk V’s entourage.⁵⁸

To maintain the loyalty of these individuals and the kin groups whom they represented, Fulk adapted dynastic strategies originally devised to cultivate and preserve the support of the great aristocrats. For example, Fulk V rewarded his crusading *fideles* and their kin with lordships or heirships to castellanies which were important to maintaining comital authority in Anjou. The aforementioned Geoffrey of Clairvaux was positioned by Fulk as heir to the frontier estate of Durtal, which was held by Fulk’s loyal castellan Hubert of *Campania*, Geoffrey’s childless paternal uncle.⁵⁹ Following several years of faithful service to Fulk, Geoffrey inherited the castellany of Durtal in 1116.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Chartes vendômoises*, ed. Charles Métais (Vendôme: Bureau de la Société Archéologique, 1905), n. 32, pp. 47-48, misdated to 1016. For the corrected dating of 1096, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, II, C 393, p. 243.

⁵⁷ Examining the evidence, Guillot suggests that the case for seigneurial autonomy by 1104 with regard to the comital castle of Vihiers is thin; Peter of Vihiers probably continued to hold the castle as a loyal guardian. See: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, I, p. 466. For Peter and the First Crusade, refer to: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 72, pp. 140-141, as cited and discussed in Blincoe, “Angevin Society and the Early Crusades,” II, n. 26, pp. 385-389.

⁵⁸ In 1109x1116, Balthar witnesses a comital act at Fontevraud and, c. 1114, at Nouâtre, both rather distant from each other as well as from Vihiers, thereby indicating travel as part of the comital entourage. See: Catalog n. [F 45] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 15; Catalog n. [F 35] (c. 1114), *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 439, p. 476.

⁵⁹ In 1109, the same year in which Geoffrey first appears in the comital entourage, witnessing no less than four of six known comital acts that can be dated firmly to that year, Geoffrey confirms a concord established earlier between Hubert and the canons of the secular college of Saint-Laud of Angers. The confirmation of a knight of minor aristocratic rank was relevant only insofar as it signaled Geoffrey’s status as the heir to Durtal and, thus, the interest of the canons to solicit the heir’s consent to the gifts Hubert bestowed upon them as part of the concord. That the canons were devoted to the count of Anjou, maintaining his chapel in Angers and populating the ranks of his chaplains, suggests the ease with which Fulk V could have arranged such a confirmation. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 19, pp. 24-26. For a brief discussion concerning the relationship between the Angevin comital dynasty and the college of Saint-Laud, see: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 126-7. For Hubert’s relationship to Geoffrey of Clairvaux, refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint Aubin*, n. 796, as cited and discussed in: Peter Joseph Burkholder, “The Birth and Growth of an Angevin Castellany: Durtal in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” 3 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2000), vol. I, pp. 49-53.

⁶⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, II, n. 60, p. 499; Burkholder, “Durtal,” III, n. 73, pp. 73-74.

The brothers of Geoffrey of Clairvaux were also notable recipients of comital largesse. Fulk V incorporated Paganus as an integral part of the comital entourage.⁶¹ It was an association that would endure well into the reign of Fulk's son, Geoffrey V (r. 1129-1151), who would confer upon Paganus the unique honor of being the count's diplomatic representative in England.⁶² In 1109, Fulk V invested another of Geoffrey's brothers, a certain Peter,⁶³ with Champchévrier. The lordship was not without strategic significance: Champchévrier was located in the northern environs of Langeais, the comital castle which secured the count's western approach into his eastern capital of Tours.⁶⁴ Comital patronage of individuals affiliated with the crusading movement bound them as well as their broader kinship networks into the manifest realities of the count's power. In entangling them within the apparatus of comital authority, the count of Anjou would have reaped the associated crusading prestige.

The instrumentality of the crusading connection can perhaps be discerned in the relationship between Count Fulk V and a certain Bartholomew of Langeais. In the only known example of a charter produced to commemorate Fulk V receiving homage, the count took as his man one Bartholomew of Langeais.⁶⁵ Bartholomew was the paternal nephew of a crusader named Drogon, whom Bartholomew may have accompanied to

⁶¹ As Paganus of Clairvaux in Catalog numbers: [F 27] (c. 1112); [F 35] (c. 1114); [F 40] (1115); [F 51] (1116); [F 64] (1116x1119); [F 70] (1116x1120).

⁶² Kathryn Dutton, "The Personnel of Comital Administration in Greater Anjou, 1129-1151," *Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2014), pp. 125-153: 144-145.

⁶³ For Peter of Champchévrier as the brother of Geoffrey of Clairvaux, see: Catalog n. [F 118] (1113x1129), *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 451, p. 486; Catalog n. [F 60] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 281, pp. 376-378.

⁶⁴ For the location of medieval Champchévrier in the modern commune of Cléré-les-Pins, see: *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, II, p. 77. Peter—and thus, Geoffrey—had another brother, Joscelin of Champchévrier, who appears twice in early comital charters. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208; Catalog n. [F 26] (c. 1112), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 8, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁵ Catalog n. [F 55] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 322, pp. 325-326.

Jerusalem.⁶⁶ The comital act appears to signal Bartholomew's installation as guardian of the comital castle of Langeais, an *honor* formerly held by his father.⁶⁷ Yet it may have been Bartholomew's status as crusader kin—or perhaps a crusader himself—that proved the impetus behind the production and subsequent preservation of this charter commemorating an act of homage. No other individuals, much less comital guardians, find themselves at the center of such comital theater.⁶⁸ Moreover, given that Bartholomew and his kin had recently been involved in a series of disputes with the Abbey of Fontevraud, of which Fulk V was the chief patron during the 1110s, Fulk's decision to maintain Léon's heir as guardian likely was also a function of the crusading associations that Bartholomew could lend the comital dynasty.⁶⁹ To have dismissed Bartholomew in favor of an individual from another family would have provided the benefit of avoiding a troublesome aristocratic family's local entrenchment of power. Such a dismissal would, furthermore, have publicly affirmed the count's historic prerogative to override aristocratic expectations as to the inviolable inheritability of their comitally-derived privileges.⁷⁰ On this occasion, however, Fulk V seems to have felt that the

⁶⁶ Bartholomew of Langeais was identified as the son of the late Léon of Langeais in [F 55]. Léon was the brother of a Drogon who is recorded as having consented to a gift of his brother before leaving for Jerusalem. Bartholomew was, therefore, the paternal nephew of a crusader. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 239, pp. 238-239.

⁶⁷ For the seigneurie of Langeais and the various kin groups whose loyalty the counts of Anjou and Vendôme sought to cultivate therein, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, pp. 291-293.

⁶⁸ For the multivalent symbolism of medieval oaths of homage, refer to: Jacques le Goff, "The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage," in *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 237-287.

⁶⁹ For Bartholomew's disputes with the Abbey of Fontevraud, disputes supported by his mother and brother, see: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 97, pp. 85-86; *Ibid.*, n. 299, pp. 300-301.

⁷⁰ As previously discussed, these were central among the various strategies which the late tenth and earlier eleventh century counts of Anjou deployed in the construction and maintenance of Angevin dynastic power. See: Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*."

tradeoff was worthwhile: the crusading association would prove to be of greater advantage in the aim to rehabilitate comital authority.

Nevertheless, aggregation of wealth and resources on the part of those whom the comital dynasty endowed remained a significant concern. Powerful clients brought attendant benefits to comital prestige, but only if those clients remained loyal to the count. Fulk's more capable predecessors had sought to mitigate the threat of unruly clients by geographically disaggregating their holdings, thereby increasing the difficulty of marshalling resources to oppose the count. However, Fulk V here again chose to abandon Angevin dynastic practice. The count allowed certain supporters with crusading associations to accumulate concentrated lands and privileges. For instance, the seigneurial family of the Roonards,⁷¹ who were connected to a probable crusading lineage via marriage, proved to be the recipient of significant comital patronage in the western Saumurois region, close to the heartland of Angevin comital power.⁷² In acts that can be dated to Fulk V's reign, the Roonards are first indicated to be in possession of the *vicaria* of Chavais (Dénezé-sous-Doué),⁷³ a forum at Doué-la-Fontaine,⁷⁴ customs about

⁷¹ The Roonards held the castle of Boumois at Saint-Martin-de-la-Place as well as scattered privileges in the Vendômois. See: Christian Cussonneau, "Une famille de chevalerie Saumuroise: Les Roinard de Boumois (XIe-XVe siècles)," *Archives d'Anjou* 7 (2003), pp. 5-23.

⁷² It is unknown whether the Roonards themselves participated in crusade, but the marriage of Peter Roonard to "Jarosse of Giseux," whom evidence suggests was crusader kin, would forge the requisite crusading association to make Roonard patronage part of the broader comital strategy to capitalize upon the crusading environment. For Peter's marriage to Jarosse of Giseux, refer to: Cussonneau, "Les Roinard," 16. In carrying the toponym, Jarosse of Giseux was likely the daughter or otherwise kin of a Stephan of Giseux, a landholding client of the castellan of Candé—a certain Geoffrey, son of Rorgo, who himself had participated in the First Crusade. Stephan of Giseux may have accompanied his lord on crusade, as many clients were wont to do. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, n. 209, as cited and contextualized in Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," II, 341-350.

⁷³ Catalog n. [F 68] (1109x1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 47r-v. Count Fulk V confirms the resolution of the proceedings. His *fideles* Arduin of Cinq-Mars as well as Joscelin of Champchévrier witness the donation by Maurice Roonard of the *vicaria* of Chavais to the monks of Saint-Florent of Saumur (Ibid., 47r).

⁷⁴ Catalog n. [F 68] (1109x1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 47r-v.

the forum of Saumur,⁷⁵ and land in the environs of Doué-la-Fontaine.⁷⁶ Comital influence here is suggestive. Joscelin Roonard was one of the earliest supporters of Fulk V, appearing in 1105 as part of Fulk's entourage.⁷⁷ Joscelin continued to witness comital acts as *miles comitis* through the 1110s, often alongside his brother Peter and father Maurice.⁷⁸ While relinquishing some customs to Fontevraud in 1115x1116, Joscelin even specified that what he held was by gift of Fulk V.⁷⁹ Although a personal friendship with Joscelin Roonard would certainly have been a factor inspiring Fulk's patronage, the Roonards' inclusion within crusading networks granted them access to geographically concentrated comital patronage that may otherwise have been unavailable. From Fulk's perspective, localized benefaction may not have been worthwhile without the crusading associations that the Roonards would have been able to offer the Angevin dynasty.

As we have seen, the crusading connections of potential lay associates often shaped the forms which comital patronage took. It is, therefore, unsurprising that the intensity of comital favor bestowed upon a particular beneficiary appears to have correlated at times to the measure of crusading prestige embodied by that beneficiary. In Greater Anjou at the time of Fulk V's accession, there was no one who could claim a more singular association with the crusading movement than an individual named

⁷⁵ Catalog n. [F 47] (1115x1116), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 414, pp. 407-408.

⁷⁶ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 47v-48r. Joscelin of Roonard is indicated to be lord of a certain fief, including a house, that Cussonneau places in the vicinity of Doué-la-Fontaine. See: Cussonneau, "Les Roinard," p. 19. The nature of the benefaction, which involves Joscelin's confirmation of a client's donation of part of the *vicaria* of Chavais to Saint-Florent, indicates that this act must have preceded [F 68], which follows Maurice Roonard's relinquishment of the *vicaria* in its entirety.

⁷⁷ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 135.

⁷⁸ Catalog numbers: [F 18]; [F 20]; [F 21]; [F 26]; [F 32]; [F 42]; [F 37]; [F 35]; [F 50]; [F 52]; [F 64]

⁷⁹ Catalog n. [F 47] (1115x1116), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 414, pp. 407-408: "...*quas cosdumas dederat mihi Fulco comes Andegavensium...*"

Archalois. Evidence suggests that Archalois was a minor Byzantine Greek aristocrat who had fought as part of the Greek auxiliary forces that aided Latin Christians in the assorted campaigns about the Holy Land around the turn of the century.⁸⁰ He had probably arrived in Anjou with returning Angevin crusaders. By 1105, he had become an undistinguished knight in the employ of the comital court: in a comital act from that year, Archalois appeared as a witness from the entourage of Fulk le Réchin.⁸¹ Given that this was Archalois' only known participation in comital *acta* before 1109, it is reasonable to conclude that Fulk le Réchin discerned no particular benefit to the man's unique positionality. For Fulk V's father, Archalois was little more than another minorly-propriety (if not landless) *miles* in the comital court.⁸² Fulk V, however, appears to have recognized that Archalois, as a living embodiment of the deepening connections between

⁸⁰ Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 122-123. To be sure, Archalois was foreign not only to Anjou but also to northwestern France and, quite possibly, non-Mediterranean Europe: to date, I have found neither an *Archalois* nor any onomastic variation thereof in any contemporary European record. In the pages cited above, Chartrou suggests that Archalois, by virtue of his name, was Greek "sans doute." Although she offers no further explanation of this assertion, there is reason to believe that modern onomastic similarities may indeed reflect medieval realities. In 1110x1112, Count Fulk granted to the secular canons of Saint-Laud "that part of servitude which he was holding at *Algero*." See: Catalog n. [A 10] (1110x1112), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 8, pp. 11-12: "...partem illam servitutis quam de *Algero* habebat..." The location of *Algero* has proven to be of some confusion to Angevin specialists, defying identification even at the hands of the topographical biographer of the region, Célestin Port. See: *Dictionnaire Maine-et-Loire*. There is, however, an Alghero on the northwestern coast of Sardinia, and this settlement had ties to both the Byzantine Greek aristocracy and, more recently, Genoese and Pisan nobility. Archalois' acquisition of the Angevin seneschalship, as well as his subsequent lordships, suggest a background of at least minor aristocracy. It is, therefore, possible that he derived from a Byzantine aristocratic family that had, until recent encroachment by Genoese and Pisan forces, maintained lands and privileges on the island. For such regional developments, see: Stephen L. Dyson and Robert J. Rowland, Jr., *Archaeology and History in Sardinia from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages: Shepherds, Sailors, and Conquerors* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007), 197-217. Displaced by such activity, individuals such as Archalois may have sought their fortunes elsewhere—in the case of Archalois, perhaps in the company of Angevin crusaders who may have expected to have been showered with privileges upon their heroic post-crusade return to Anjou. This is the most probable explanation for how Archalois, an individual with no discernible ties of kinship or landholding in Anjou, suddenly appears as a knight of the Angevin comital court by 1105. See below.

⁸¹ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135: 134-135, with this section dated to after 19 January 1105.

⁸² Archalois is not known to have held any properties or privileges before Fulk V's accession.

Latin Christendom and a newly reclaimed Holy Land, could offer the comital dynasty a truly singular association with crusading. What better way to announce that the crusading phenomenon would constitute the central framework of your rulership than to make the physical representative of the lands across the sea your most powerful associate?

Known to possess neither land nor office before 1109, Archalois rapidly acquired a series of significant privileges and lordships through Count Fulk V's patronage, appearing in approximately twenty comital acts between 1109 and 1120.⁸³ Less than six months after Fulk's accession, Fulk had appointed Archalois as his first chief seneschal [*dapifer*], the highest rank in Anjou's governmental apparatus.⁸⁴ Soon afterward, Fulk arranged for a regional magnate, Geoffrey of Briollay, to enfeoff Archalois with substantial territories and privileges around Verrières, a forest east of Angers.⁸⁵ After Fulk seized the castle of Brissac-Quincé in 1112, he granted it to Archalois as a lordship.⁸⁶ Archalois appears to have held the castle not as a comital guardian but as a lord [*dominus*] faithful to Count Fulk V, whose consent Archalois sought in a subsequent donation of transit customs associated with the lordship.⁸⁷ Archalois was charged with

⁸³ Refer to Catalog numbers: [F 18], [F 25], [F 28], [F 32], [F 42], [F 40], [F 37], [F 44], [F 46], [F 70], [F 49], [F 59], [F 60], [F 35], [F 24], [F 72], [F 75], [F 52], [F 66].

⁸⁴ Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-260. The office of seneschal is further discussed below.

⁸⁵ Catalog n. [F 32] (1109x1113), BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, ff. 44v-45r. For various disputes concerning these territories, refer to: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 161-167, 181.

⁸⁶ For the 1112 conflict, refer to: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7; Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 27. Guillot finds no evidence that the castle, extant by 1068, had slipped from comital control by 1109. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 286.

⁸⁷ Catalog n. [F 69] (1112x1120), AN, Trésor des Chartes, J 184, n. 1. Olivier Guillot has argued that, in eleventh-century Anjou, the title of *dominus/domina* identified its recipient as holding his or her lordship independently of the count. This interpretation yielded much of the evidentiary basis for Guillot's thesis concerning the rise of autonomous castellanies in Anjou during later eleventh century—the *domini* were flourishing. Dominique Barthélemy has, however, challenged this interpretation of the title's usage. Drawing upon evidence from the Vendômois, Barthélemy demonstrates that "*dominus*" did not necessarily indicate autonomous lordship: the term could equally apply to those who held their castrum or estate as clients of a higher authority. The present case of Archalois and the lordship of Brissac-Quincé supports

managing, on behalf of the count, justice in the village of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire⁸⁸ as well as in the lands at *Fossa* south of Angers.⁸⁹ By 1119, Archalois had been endowed with another comital castle, Thouarcé.⁹⁰ Collectively, Archalois' holdings stretched across much of the southern bank of the Loire River between Angers and Saumur, with both of his castles located within twenty kilometers of Angers, the patrimonial capital of Fulk's dynasty. It was fitting that Fulk V had invested an unparalleled amount of geographically concentrated power and trust into the hands of Archalois; Archalois offered the comital dynasty an unparalleled connection with the crusading fabric through association.

To be sure, the Angevin counts were hardly alone in having sought to bolster their authority by shifting the focus of their associative patronage from unresponsive or unreliable high aristocrats toward individuals of lower rank. Other contemporary princes in northwestern Europe were pursuing similar strategies in what modern scholars have dubbed the "new men phenomenon." Judith Green and Charlotte Newman have

Barthélemy's position. See: Dominique Barthélemy, "Castles, Barons, and Vavassors in the Vendômois and Neighboring Regions in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) pp. 56-68: 58-59; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 305.

⁸⁸ Catalog n. [F 77] (1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 19r-v. The village falls within the modern commune of Gennes-Val-de-Loire.

⁸⁹ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204, p. 132. The precise boundaries are unclear, though *Fossa* may include the commune of Saint-Melaine-sur-Aubance.

⁹⁰ Catalog n. [F 66] (1119), AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, piece 1, where Archalois is identified in the witness list as "of Thouarcé." The former commune of Thouarcé corresponds to the present commune of Bellevigne-en-Layon, cant. Chemillé-Melay, arr. Angers. Thouarcé had slipped from comital control in the mid-eleventh century. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, p. 460, with attendant discussion of the seemingly autonomous *dominus* Isembard on p. 423. There is no record of either Fulk IV, Geoffrey Martel II, or Fulk V reconquering Thouarcé. However, Fulk le Réchin is known to have maintained a provost in the lordship, a Raoul of Thouarcé, who appears to have been active in this capacity continuing into Fulk V's reign, roughly between 1100 and 1115. Raoul's status as provost signals the restoration of the comital castle at some point in the later reign of Fulk le Réchin, perhaps as one of the several efforts undertaken by Geoffrey Martel II between 1103 and 1106 to reestablish comital authority by suppressing rebellious castellans. For Raoul's activities, see: *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, ns. 202-203; Catalog n. [F 16] (1109); Catalog n. [F 12] (1109); Catalog n. [F 13] (1109).

demonstrated that, confronted with a powerful and fickle baronage on either side of the Channel, King Henry I of Norman England (r. 1100-1135) populated his administration with new men of lesser social birth.⁹¹ Although some of the cross-channel high nobility did serve in administrative roles, Henry recruited and rewarded his new men disproportionately.⁹² Endowing them with lands, exemptions, and privileges, Henry bound their fates and fortunes to the royal will; the loyalties of these new men rested overwhelmingly with the crown, whereas entrenched familial interests inevitably complicated the allegiances of the great aristocrats.⁹³ Jean Dufour and Éric Bournazel have argued that future king Louis VI of France (r. 1108-1137) began his own cultivation of such a retinue around 1101 in advance of his accession.⁹⁴ Although rising hostilities with his father, King Philip I (r. 1060-1108), may have been the immediate inspiration for Louis' recruitment and patronage of men devoted to him, the deepening absence of regional magnates from Philip's court had made such recruitment a necessity. Following his accession, Louis maintained his pre-regnal supporters in his service, in addition to incorporating additional "new men" as an integral part of his royal *mouvance*.⁹⁵

As with Louis VI and Henry I, Fulc V's inability to reliably incorporate the great aristocrats of the realm within the princely exercise of power was the chief factor

⁹¹ Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 242.

⁹² Charlotte A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 99-103.

⁹³ Green, *Henry I*, 245-246; Newman, *Anglo-Norman Nobility*, 137-140.

⁹⁴ Jean Dufour, "Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137), à la lumière des actes royaux et des sources narratives," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 134, 2 (1990), pp. 456-482: 462-463.

⁹⁵ Éric Bournazel, *Louis VI le Gros* (Paris: Fayard, 2007), 209-231; Idem, *Le gouvernement Capétien au XIIe siècle (1108-1180): Structures sociales et mutations institutionnelles* (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), 65-85; Dufour, "Louis VI," 476.

promoting his cultivation of “new men.” However, as we have seen, the crusading environment itself was programmatically bound up with Fulk’s strategies of rehabilitating and aggrandizing comital authority. Fulk had recruited and maintained many of his new men—those who would comprise the comital *mouvance* and, through association, empower the comital dynasty to renegotiate its standing in the regional prestige economy—as an explicit function of the relationship of those men to the crusading movement. Modern scholars have yet to focus their attentions on whether such logics of recruitment were present in other princely courts during the early twelfth century.⁹⁶ This is especially unfortunate given that the new men phenomenon is considered to have been the catalyst for the process which would result in the later emergence of professionalized state bureaucracies under, among others, Fulk V’s grandson, King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189).⁹⁷ Therefore, at least in the Angevin context, the transformative “new men” phenomenon cannot be fully understood without an appreciation of how crusading fundamentally shaped it in its earliest years.

⁹⁶ Evidence suggests that Henry I and Louis VI—neither of whom embarked on crusade—spurned rather than harnessed the crusading environment. Orderic Vitalis writes that, in 1106, King Henry forbid Bohemond of Taranto/Antioch, a crusade hero, from setting foot on English shores. Henry feared that his men may be convinced to participate in Bohemond’s prospective crusade. See: OV, VI: 68-70. Unlike his father who had made some effort to capitalize upon the crusading environment as a bulwark against decentralization, King Louis VI had posthumously left the task to his advisor, Abbot Suger, who, as James Naus has recently shown, skillfully interwove crusading ideologies with the Capetian royal image during the 1130s and 1140s in the *Vita Ludovici Grossi* as well as in the architectural renovations for the royal abbey of Saint-Denis. See: James Naus, “Negotiating Kingship in France at the Time of the Early Crusades,” *French Historical Studies* 36, 4 (2013), pp. 525-541; Idem, *Constructing Kingship*, 42-45, 59-84. Louis may also have had a hand in the various monastic redactions of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* occurring within the Capetian sphere of influence soon after his accession in 1108. Refer to: Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 45-49; Naus, “The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk and the Coronation of Louis VI,” in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory*, eds. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 105-115.

⁹⁷ For the classic articulation of this argument, see: Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970, 2005).

Before proceeding, we should observe two points of clarification. First, whether in Anjou or in England, our understanding of the new men themselves is necessarily limited. Compared to the high aristocrats, these individuals of humbler social origin possessed few of the familial properties or privileges whose donation or subsequent contestation comprise the bulk of the surviving evidence. Moreover, the favors which the new men came to acquire through princely patronage were often neither alienable to other parties nor inheritable across generations, limiting the engagement of individual such actors within broader landscapes of power.⁹⁸ Such factors considerably attenuate the evidentiary representation of the new men. This, in turn, inescapably obscures many of their broader activities and kin relations. Scholarly conclusions regarding the new men, therefore, have had to rely upon generalizations drawn from scattered data points.

This brings us to my own second point of clarification. Given how little we typically know of their backgrounds, it is remarkable that we can establish so many of Fulk's own new men as either crusade veterans or immediate crusading kin, though we can establish little else about them.⁹⁹ This suggests that the crusade association was

⁹⁸ The point is common to studies of the new men in various regional contexts. For a summary of such realities in the Anglo-Norman realm, see: Green, *Henry I*, 242-247.

⁹⁹ The revelation of such connections often occurs by accident. Take, for example, the case of Arduin of Cinq-Mars. We only know of his participation on crusade because a certain Odo of Cinq-Mars, a former monk of Saint-Julian of Tours, is recorded as having died at *Licea* (Lecce, Italy?) while on the road to Jerusalem in 1101—his own brother, a certain Arduin, is noted to have been by his side, having accompanied him on the crusade. If not for the memorial concerns of the monastic community of Saint-Julian with regard to one of their former monks, Arduin's own involvement on crusade would remain entirely obscure.

Identifying crusade participation during this period can often prove challenging. Beyond the question of sources, there existed no identifier which clearly distinguished crusaders from other pilgrims through the earlier twelfth century, and pilgrimage activities in general were not extensively documented. Although certain, especially major, political actors had their crusade involvement subsequently memorialized—and thus, clarified—in family histories or chronicles, the participation of others on crusade must be ascertained through various details in surviving charters. For these matters, see, for example: Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 349-352. The confusion in distinctive terminology for crusaders was arguably the result of an ongoing lack of conceptual

common among such individuals, most of whom remain entirely obscure. For such recruitment and patronage to be coincidence is unlikely. Venturing to the Holy Land as part of a crusading host was an expensive endeavor: Jonathan Riley-Smith has estimated that the journey cost a “poor knight” approximately four times his annual income.¹⁰⁰ Many prospective crusaders appear to have drawn upon the resources of broader kin groups to fund their journeys; future new men, with their more modest familial backgrounds, would not have benefitted from comparable material support.¹⁰¹ This would have suppressed their overall rate of crusading participation. And, as we will see in the next section of this chapter, the involvement of these new men in Fulk’s praxis of governance was far from incidental: their relationship to the crusading movement conferred upon them a singular, meaningful place within Fulk’s performance of comital authority. Therefore, it is improbable that Fulk V had inadvertently assembled an entourage of crusading new men, whom he then centrally incorporated within his rulership.

Crusade and the Performance of Comital Authority

Populating the comital *mouvance* with crusaders and crusading kin served to rehabilitate comital authority through the associative transposition of their prestige. However, this program of association also generated significant risk in drawing attention to Fulk’s own

clarity with regard to the nature of the expedition, provided that there was anything distinctive about early “crusading” as such. In any case, it has been argued that the lack of a distinctive contemporaneous marker of crusading status should not be understood as reflective of a lack of perceived significance to crusading participation. See: Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 10, referencing C.J. Tyerman, “Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?,” *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), pp. 553-577.

¹⁰⁰ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 109-113, at 112.

¹⁰¹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 81-105.

tenuous position. As we saw in previous chapters, the Angevin comital dynasty had formed a problematic relationship with the early crusading phenomenon. Fulk le Réchin had not only failed to join the heroicized crusading expeditions around the turn of the century; he had also plunged his dynasty into an historic crisis of authority as a direct function of his errant response to the crusading environment. Upon his own accession, Fulk V was forced to confront the challenge of restoring his dynasty's embattled standing. Yet he had to do so while being shackled by his own position both as the son of Fulk le Réchin and as another non-crusader ruling in crusading lands. Accordingly, instead of generating a net benefit of prestige through association, Fulk's recruitment and patronage of crusade veterans and their kin ran the risk of further dishonoring his dynasty. Such efforts tethered to the comital *mouvance* potential reminders of the Angevin counts' historic and ongoing failures to have appropriately engaged with the crusading environment.

Therefore, it was imperative not just to populate the comital ranks with crusading associates but also to incorporate them as a crucial element within the performance of comital authority. In this section, we will consider how Fulk V positioned these individuals as key functionaries within an increasingly elaborate and regularized system of governance whose performative functions were devised to establish, maintain, and amplify the associations that Fulk sought to cultivate between his dynasty and the crusading environment.¹⁰² By channeling comital authority through these functionaries

¹⁰² Again, refer to my Introduction for my methodological reorientation of investigating rulership as performance and charters as performatives, a reorientation following in the vein of: Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

and reconstituting the structures of rulership in which they were embedded, Fulk V sought to bolster comital legitimacy and prestige through the bureaucratization of comital authority itself. No less significantly, these reforms of rulership were also intended to collapse the performative barriers between constituent elements of the comital governing apparatus. This fluidity of function would provide a crucial bulwark against the vulnerabilities of any individual part, such as the comital office in its strained relationship with the crusading phenomenon. Cumulatively, such reforms of rulership, fundamentally inspired by the crusading environment, began to cohere an administrative praxis of governance in Anjou under Fulk V.

To be sure, significant reforms of rulership were also underway in other French principalities. From counts to dukes, numerous princes across western Europe were striving to reassert their authority which, to varying extents, had fragmented over the course of the eleventh century.¹⁰³ Given the high degree of coincidence in logistical, material, and other factors constraining medieval political actors across western Europe, some princely efforts to restore centralized authority necessarily approximated other such efforts.¹⁰⁴ We will occasionally pause below to consider contemporaneous developments beyond Anjou which bore resemblances to Fulk's own rulership. Specific attention will

¹⁰³ Vast is the scholarship contesting the pace, nature, and extent of the fragmentation of princely authority as well as the ensuing rise of the overmighty castellans during the (long) eleventh century. The now-famous set of debates in the pages of *Past and Present* during the mid-1990s remains an excellent point of entry. Refer to: Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 142 (1994), 6-42; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 152 (1996), 196-223; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, "The 'Feudal Revolution'," *Past and Present* 155 (1997), 177-208; Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution': Reply," *Past and Present* 155 (1997), 208-225. See also Barthélemy's reflections on the debates, twelve years later: Dominique Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 1-11.

¹⁰⁴ This is one of the fundamental points of Rick Barton's monograph, though his analysis focuses on such structural continuities within specifically Manceaux contexts across three centuries: Richard Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).

be given to concurrent developments at the court of Fulk V's stepbrother, King Louis VI of the Capetian dynasty (r. 1108-1137).¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, our primary aim here is to illuminate how Fulk's sustained engagement with crusading fundamentally shaped the performance of his rule and, thus, the reforms which he pursued to rehabilitate dynastic authority in Anjou. As we saw in previous chapters, the crusading movement, in its particularized reception in Anjou, destabilized Angevin comital authority in highly particularized ways. Therefore, Fulk's rulership was contingent to his regional inheritance; any reforms of such rulership must be understood foremost within the localized contexts that granted them collective meaning.

Fulk's reconstitution of the form and function of the office of chief comital seneschal [*dapifer/siniscallus*] offers us a useful point of entry, as it was perhaps the lynchpin of Fulk's early program of rulership. The office of chief seneschal of Anjou appears to have emerged during the reign of Count Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060).¹⁰⁶ The chief seneschalship would become a highly influential position by the later twelfth century, encompassing an array of lay judicial responsibilities second only to the count's own authority.¹⁰⁷ However, the office previous to the reign of Fulk V does not appear to

¹⁰⁵ Born in 1081, Louis VI was the biological son of Bertha of Frisia and King Philip I of France. Bertrade had eloped with and bigamously married Philip following the c. 1090 birth of Fulk V, her biological child with Fulk le Réchin. For such matters, see: Appendix C.

¹⁰⁶ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423-424. Based on the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum*'s identification of Lisois of Amboise as chief seneschal under Fulk Nerra, Louis Halphen has suggested that the Angevin office of chief seneschal may have existed in the early eleventh century. However, Halphen acknowledged the problematic nature of this argument, given the absence of contemporary charter evidence which corroborates the phrasing of the GCA's twelfth-century authors. The defensible conclusion here is that the GCA authors sought to anachronistically project the chief seneschalship onto Lisois of Amboise in order to communicate to their own contemporary audiences Lisois' intimate standing vis-à-vis Fulk Nerra. See: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 102.

¹⁰⁷ By 1150, the Angevin chief seneschal would wield a significant range of judicial powers as the count's adjutant in *absentia*. See: Richard Barton, "Between the King and the Dominus: The Seneschals of Plantagenet Maine and Anjou," in *Les seigneuries dans l'espace Plantagenêt (c. 1150-c. 1250)*, eds. Martin

have endowed its holder with any formalized powers; charter evidence does not reveal the seneschals of either Geoffrey Martel, Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8), or Fulk le Réchin (r. 1067/8-1109) exercising any special prerogatives delegated by the count.¹⁰⁸ The chief seneschalship was evidently ceremonial in its function, providing a reciprocal symbolic benefit to both count and seneschal. Indeed, observing that, until the early twelfth century, the seneschalship had been occupied by major seigneurial lords, Olivier Guillot has suggested that Count Geoffrey Martel I introduced the post as a means of acknowledging the liberty of increasingly powerful lords in his realm while simultaneously binding one of them to him in a mutually constitutive relationship of legitimacy and prestige.¹⁰⁹

Trends in the documentary activity of the Angevin chief seneschals support Guillot's hypothesis. Following the emergence of the office under Geoffrey Martel I, the chief seneschals of Anjou proved an infrequent and unremarkable presence within comital charters. A Babinus of unclear provenance appeared as seneschal only once, serving as witness in a comital act of 1058x1064.¹¹⁰ Isembard, lord of Thouarcé,

Aurell and Frédéric Boutouille (Bordeaux: Diffusion de Bocard, 2009), pp. 139-162. For a brief discussion of historiographical attitudes toward the mid- and late twelfth century incarnation of the post, refer to: Kathryn Dutton, "The Personnel of Comital Administration in Greater Anjou, 1129-1151," *Haskins Society Journal*, 23 (2014), pp. 125-153: 130-131.

¹⁰⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423-424. Chronicle evidence suggests only that the chief seneschals held some claim to military command of the count's forces, though this may have amounted to no more than an advisory role. Such a responsibility would primarily have been a function of perceived military competency—assumed on the basis of the seneschal's seigneurial status—rather than a privilege of the office *per se*. See: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 102. The reigns of Geoffrey Martel and Geoffrey le Barbu witnessed two seneschals: Babinus and Isembard of Thouarcé. Fulk le Réchin had four seneschals: Adelard in 1073, Girois toward 1085; Peter toward 1087; and, Geoffrey Foucharde from at least 1089 until the turn of the century. See the compilation of references in: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423-424.

¹⁰⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423.

¹¹⁰ *Archives d'Anjou*, II, pp. 31-32 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 257, pp. 167-168, dated to 1058x1064).

presented as seneschal in the witness lists for three comital acts dated between 1046 and 1068.¹¹¹ Adelard, likely the *dominus* of Château-Gontier,¹¹² was noted among a list of *legales testes* for a comital confirmation in 1073.¹¹³ Around 1085, however, the chief seneschals experienced a heightening of their discursive realization. By that point, the high aristocrats of Anjou had largely abandoned their count's court, inflicting upon the comital dynasty a substantial loss of social prestige. Fulk le Réchin sought to compensate by increasing the visibility of the chief seneschal, traditionally a major seigneurial lord, within the performance of comital authority. Toward the mid-1080s, Girois (perhaps of Beaupréau)¹¹⁴ and Peter (perhaps of Chemillé)¹¹⁵ each appeared twice in comital acts and engaged otherwise in regional benefactions as *siniscallus comitis*.¹¹⁶ Geoffrey Fouchard,

¹¹¹ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 8 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 242, pp. 159-160, dated to 1062); *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 175 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 275, p. 181, dated to 1046x1068); *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 63 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 288, p. 186, dated to 1060x1068). In 1055x1067 but probably under Count Geoffrey Martel, i.e. 1055x1060, Isembard made a donation of various lands and privileges to the monks of Saint-Florent of Saumur. He did so explicitly as the lord of Thouarcé and seneschal of the count. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 17-18r (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 257, pp. 167-168, dated to 1055x1067).

¹¹² A series of Adelards regularly manifested across multiple generations of the influential seigneurial family which emerged in the eleventh century as guardians of the comital castle of Château-Gontier. Perhaps this same Adelard was the *vassus dominicus* indicated to hold the castle at the pleasure of Count Geoffrey Martel in 1046x1049. At some point in the later eleventh century, the family achieved relative autonomy from the counts of Anjou. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 295-296, 350n326, 463.

¹¹³ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 307, *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, I, n. 239, pp. 379-381. According to Guillot, the act's diplomatic suggests that the seneschal was not that of the count. The basis for this argument is the undistinguished company of *legales testes* which accompanied Adelard for the confirmation. However, the remainder of the witnesses comprises of representatives from the abbey to which the confirmation pertained; Adelard is the only comital representative noted, so the company was not his to keep and reflects, therefore, the monastery's interests in having at least one comital intimate to remind the count of his benefaction. If anything, this suggests Adelard's status as a seneschal of some influence. For Guillot's reasoning, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423n376.

¹¹⁴ For Lord Girois of Beaupréau's extensive links to the comital dynasty suggesting the possibility of such an appointment, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 288-289, 349-350.

¹¹⁵ For Lord Peter of Chemillé's links to the comital dynasty suggesting the possibility of such an appointment, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 304-305; 306; *Ibid.*, II, C 353.

¹¹⁶ For Girois, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 347c (1085); *Ibid.*, II, C 353 (c. 1085). For Peter, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 354 (1087); *Ibid.*, II, C 360 (1085x1089); *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 78.

lord of Trèves and Fulk le Réchin's fourth seneschal, appeared in five comital acts between 1087 and 1101.¹¹⁷

Comital productions began to accord to these chief seneschals a more prominent place in the stagecraft of rulership. For instance, a cartulary notice for the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur records with atypical detail that, when Geoffrey of Preuilly and others arrived to solicit an important confirmation from Fulk le Réchin, they beheld the count in his hall, seated at a table while his seneschal, Geoffrey Fouchard, stood before him to receive supplicants.¹¹⁸ Although Fulk le Réchin subsequently issued the confirmation himself, this scene in the count's hall was likely included in the notice in order to convey a sense of the prestige of the office of chief seneschal so as to benefit the count through association. It is important to note here that Fulk le Réchin expanded only the discursive presence of the chief seneschal within comital productions, not the judicial responsibilities of the office. Nevertheless, by the early twelfth century, the chief seneschals of higher aristocratic origin seem to have felt that association with the comital court was no longer in their own interests. Following his participation in the Crusade of

¹¹⁷ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 34r (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 361, pp. 225-226); AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 17v (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 364, pp. 227-228); AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 21v-22r (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 384, pp. 238-239); *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 10 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 414, pp. 258-259); BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 805 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 415, p. 259). In contrast to Girois and Peter, whose higher aristocratic affiliations are only intimated, Geoffrey Fouchard's standing is relatively clear. Geoffrey Fouchard was the son of Geoffrey Fouchard (the Elder) and Amelina of Loudun. Through his father, Geoffrey Fouchard inherited significant lands and privileges around Anjou, some of which he and his father donated at different times to the Abbey of Ronceray. Through his mother, Geoffrey was connected to the complicated kinship network based out of Loudun. Geoffrey Fouchard's father was indicated to be part of the *familia* of Fulk le Réchin in 1068; such a position likely enabled Geoffrey Fouchard the Elder to have made the marital match with the Loudunois kin group and to have acquired the lordship of Trèves, whose castle Fulk le Réchin had razed in 1068. The family's relationship with the count subsequently remains obscure until Geoffrey appears as chief comital seneschal and lord of the rebuilt castle of Trèves. See: *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 243; *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 294; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 345, 427n402.

¹¹⁸ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 21v-22r, at 21v: "...invenerunt eum in aula sua sedentem super mensam et ante eum Goffredum Fulcradi dapiferum suum."

1101, Geoffrey Foucard appears to have resigned his office, subsequently disappearing from comital acts.¹¹⁹ For the remaining eight years of the reign of Fulk le Réchin, the seneschalship remained vacant.

From the perspective of Fulk V, the prime benefit of restoring the seneschalship would have been the acquisition of legitimacy and prestige through association with the socially distinguished holder of the office. Although Fulk V had attempted, in the earliest years of his rulership, to bind the great seignorial lords to his *mouvance* in various ways, appointment to the seneschalship was not one of them, despite the centrality of such practice in traditional dynastic strategies of rulership as well as the outstanding vacancy. On this count, Fulk demonstrated an appreciation of how crusading affiliations might substitute for high nobility as currency in the contemporary prestige economy. Indeed, the chief seneschalship was held by a succession of crusaders through at least the first seven years of Fulk's reign. The first chief seneschal under Fulk was Archalois, whose singular connection with the crusading phenomenon catapulted him to the highest position in Anjou's governmental apparatus, despite his foreign origins.¹²⁰ Pursuant to Archalois, Fulk appointed Geoffrey of Clairvaux around 1112¹²¹ and, subsequently,

¹¹⁹ Geoffrey's resignation and subsequent disappearance from comital acts was not on account of death. He remained active in his lordship of Trèves. For instance, in 1114, Geoffrey Foucard made a donation to the monks of Saint-Aubin. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 931, pp. 407-408. Moreover, as we will see in Chapter Four, Geoffrey remained active into the early 1120s. For Geoffrey's participation in the Crusade of 1101, refer to the sources cited and discussed in: Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," II, 350-363. It is possible that Geoffrey's resignation was in response to the cumulative weight of Fulk le Réchin's errant ventures, particularly his recent offenses against crusaders, matters which we explored in previous chapters. As a crusader himself, Geoffrey may have been unable to abide his lord's malfeasance by continuing to serve as chief comital seneschal.

¹²⁰ For Archalois as chief seneschal, refer to: Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-260. See the previous section for a discussion of his association with the crusading phenomenon.

¹²¹ For Geoffrey of Clairvaux as chief seneschal, refer to: Catalog n. [F 26] (c. 1112), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 8, pp. 11-12.

Arduin of Cinq-Mars, who appears to have served in this role until before 8 April 1116x1118.¹²² As we previously established, both of these individuals were crusade veterans.¹²³ The remaining two seneschals of Fulk V's comital reign, Stephen Baucan and Robert fitz Renaud, may also have been crusaders or otherwise had intimate crusading connections; unfortunately, we have no reliable information concerning their backgrounds or kin relations.¹²⁴ The consistency of the crusading connection in Fulk's appointments to the chief seneschalship, at least the early such appointments, was unlikely to have occurred by chance. It is further unlikely to have been coincidence that

¹²² In 1113, Arduin is identified as the comital chamberlain. See: Catalog n. [F 28] (1113), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 80r. Subsequently, he appears as comital seneschal in 1113x1116. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v. In a notice from March 1114, monks of the Abbey of Bourgueil identify Arduin as the *magister militum*, likely referencing his position as the chief seneschal. See: AD Indre-et-Loire, H 990, pp. 179-182: p. 180. Stephen Baucan succeeds Arduin as chief seneschal by 8 April 1116x1118. See: Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160.

¹²³ See the previous section for a discussion of their participation on crusade.

¹²⁴ Their backgrounds remain entirely obscure. Evidence concerning the activities or relations of Stephen Baucan, Arduin's successor who served from c. 1116 until at least 1118, are virtually non-existent. For Stephen as chief seneschal, see: Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160; Catalog n. [F 60] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 281, pp. 376-378. Stephen Baucan was affiliated with the Angevin court as early as 1103, appearing then as a man of Fulk V's father. Refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 930. The background of Robert fitz Renaud, chief seneschal by 1121, is more receptive to speculative inquiry, though ultimately still unclear. He may have been a part of Fulk V's entourage as early as 1109, when a comital charter describes a particular witness as "Herveus, serving Renaud, son of Robert." Refer to: Catalog n. [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93. The inversion of Robert fitz Renaud for Renaud fitz Robert is a recurrent mistranscription in the Saint-Maurice cartulary: Chartrou has identified another notice from the same cartulary, likely made by the same scribe, featuring a similar inversion. A "Renaud fitz Robert" would be an otherwise unknown figure. See: Catalog n. [F 84] (1121), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 153; Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 124-125. Robert fitz Renaud may have been the son of the comital *fidelis* Renaud of Saumoussay. This Renaud was a regular witness in comital acts until 1120, at which point Renaud's participation became more infrequent but Robert fitz Renaud began to attest. It would not have been unusual for the son to remain obscure in the realized witness lists for comital acts, given the noted presence of the father; once the father no longer served in the comital entourage, the son took his discursive place. Perhaps coincidentally or perhaps significantly, Robert fitz Renaud and Renaud of Saumoussay appeared close to one another in the witness list for a comital act of 1127. See: Catalog n. [F 111] (1127), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, ff. 33v-35. Since Renaud of Saumoussay was a comital *fidelis*, there is, in any case, a high degree of probability that he accompanied Fulk V on the crusade of 1120. This would have made Robert fitz Renaud the son of a crusader and, thus, part of the pattern of crusading veterans or immediate crusading kin staffing the office of the chief comital seneschal.

Fulk was continuing his father's efforts in magnifying the discursive presence of the chief seneschalship, a position formerly held by major seignorial lords but now, under Fulk, by a succession of crusaders. Each of Fulk V's seneschals attested comital charters numerous times, usually as one of the highest ranked witnesses.¹²⁵ The office of the chief seneschal was arguably now serving as Fulk V's prime conduit through which to deepen ties between the comital dynasty and the crusading environment.

It is additionally revealing to consider the rate at which the chief seneschals surfaced under Fulk V in comparison to his predecessors. There are two known seneschals for the nearly three decades spanning the reigns of Geoffrey Martel and Geoffrey le Barbu; Fulk le Réchin employed four across the forty-two years of his reign. In contrast, Fulk V appointed four different chief seneschals within the first seven years of his rule.¹²⁶ The rapid cycling of individuals in the office does not, however, appear to have been the consequence of individual seneschals losing the favor of the count. With the exception of Stephen Baucan, the resignation of a particular person from the

¹²⁵ It is difficult to provide reliable figures as to the number of times that the various chief seneschals attested comital charters while holding the office versus before/after holding the office. Surviving copies of charters often do not preserve the titles of witnesses; differentiating when various individuals held various offices is largely a matter of establishing reliable dates during which they are known to have held the office. Further complicating the situation, most earlier twelfth century Angevin charters are undated, as I discussed in the Introduction. Prosopographical and diplomatic analyses, therefore, typically yield only a range of possible dates concerning such matters. These ranges naturally overlap, causing no small amount of consternation in the attempted formulation of reliable dates of service, as well as of numerous other issues. All of that being said, Archalois, as seneschal, appears to have witnessed up to nine comital charters. Geoffrey of Clairvaux may have witnessed up to seven comital acts as chief seneschal. Arduin of Cinq-Mars possibly attested, as seneschal, five comital charters, and Stephen Baucan witnessed up to four. Refer to the citations above for the various acts and their respective dating intervals.

¹²⁶ As discussed above, the four seneschals were Archalois, Geoffrey of Clairvaux, Arduin of Cinq-Mars, and Stephen of Baucan. Robert fitz Renaud assumed the office by 1121 and maintained it into the early reign of Fulk V's successor, Geoffrey V. For Robert fitz Renaud as the seneschal of Geoffrey V in 1133, see: *Cartulaire de l'évêche du Mans: 936-1790*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon (Le Mans: Société des archives historiques du Maine, 1900), n. 37, p. 6.

seneschalship was not followed by that person's disappearance from the comital entourage. After their terms as chief seneschal, Archalois, Geoffrey of Clairvaux, and Arduin of Cinq-Mars continued to enjoy the favor of the count of Anjou, participating in comital charters for many years.¹²⁷ This was in contrast to previous chief seneschals, who largely disappeared from comital acts following their service. These circumstances suggest that Fulk V was deliberately rotating a succession of crusaders through the chief seneschalship so that any reforms in the functionality of the office would be understood to be tied not to a specific individual occupying that office but to the office itself—a bureaucratization of functionality, as it were.¹²⁸

Fulk reconstituted both the form and the function of the chief seneschalship. Angevin charters from the early years of Fulk's reign reveal the explicit emergence of an exercise of judicial powers on the part of his crusading seneschals. As we saw above, the Angevin chief seneschalship had hitherto been a position with no demonstrated judicial authority. In 1109x1112, Archalois delivered a verdict against one of the men of the count for having led an unauthorized fishing expedition to a certain preserve, the fishing rights at which belonged to the nuns of the Abbey of Ronceray.¹²⁹ The notice makes clear

¹²⁷ For Archalois's post-1112 involvement in comital charters, refer to catalog numbers: [F 28]; [F 42]; [F 40]; [F 59]; [F 60]; [F 72]; [F 75]; [F 52]; [F 66]. For Geoffrey of Clairvaux, whom Arduin succeeded by 1114, refer to catalog numbers: [F 50] (1116x1118), [F 60] (1116x1118), [F 118] (1113x1129). Arduin of Cinq-Mars presents as the highest ranked witness in September 1116, five months after Stephen Baucan perhaps succeeded him as chief seneschal. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2. For additional attestations, see: [F 75] (1120); *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 432 and 723, which probably should be dated to 1120x1121, the period of Fulk V's absence on crusade.

¹²⁸ That Robert fitz Renaud was chief comital seneschal by 1121 until the end of Fulk's comital reign in 1129 may indicate the success of this extended effort of bureaucratization. Robert continued to serve as Geoffrey V's seneschal until at least 1133. See: *Cartulaire de l'évêche du Mans: 936-1790*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon (Le Mans: Société des archives historiques du Maine, 1900), n. 37, p. 6; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 65.

¹²⁹ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204. Marchegay's dating of "vers 1110" may be narrowed to 1110x1112. The *terminus ab quo* must be 1110, as justice was sought from Archalois on the day of

that the abbess of Ronceray had specifically pursued Archalois for the dispensation of comital justice.¹³⁰ In March 1114, the monks of the Abbey of Bourgueil drew upon the authority [*auctoritas*] of Arduin of Cinq-Mars as it pertained to the adjudicatory law of the count in order to help resolve the contested matter of a certain Alon's servitude.¹³¹ On 8 April 1116x1118 in the comital court at Angers, Stephen Baucan heard testimony and passed judgment [*iudicavit*] on the matter of a contested rent-holding. As comital seneschal, Stephen ruled in favor of the nuns of the Abbey of Fontevraud, forcing the disputant to renounce his claim.¹³² To be sure, modern scholars have recognized that the chief seneschals of Anjou had begun to exercise judicial powers during the first half of the twelfth century.¹³³ Yet, it remains unappreciated that this occurred specifically within the first decade of the reign of Fulk V as part of his strategy to formulate an administrative praxis of governance in response to the crusading environment: that these seneschals were crusaders is not incidental to the expansion of their delegated powers.

Fulk was not only investing his chief seneschals with judicial powers derived from the comital office; he was also reframing comital justice itself as the collective expression of the organized will of his *curia*, or court. His chief seneschals were, in this

Ascension during Easter, and Archalois is known to have held neither position nor privileges before Fulk V's accession on 14 April 1109, which postdated that year's day of Ascension. The *terminus ad quem* must be 1112, since that is the latest year by which Girard, who is referenced in the notice as provost (of the city of Angers), is succeeded in the provostship of Angers by Hugh Rigaud and, then, Herveus Rotundellus.

¹³⁰ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204: "Unde clamorem fecit abbatissa Theburgis Archelao..."

¹³¹ Fulk V is noted to have been absent, and, although Fulk's other barons are noted to have played a role in the adjudication as well, the *auctoritas* of Arduin as the "magister militum," i.e. chief seneschal, received particular emphasis. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 990, pp. 179-182, at p. 180: "*Qua de causa abbas et monachi Alo et sui apud Salmurum castrum tractaturi veniunt in curiam comitis Fulconis Iunioris cuius cumque ius presentia non affuit, tamen baronum illius sed et Arduini magistri militum auctoritas et quod super est iudiciaria lex non defuit.*"

¹³² Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160.

¹³³ Lemesle, *Conflicts et justice*, 73.

sense, only the conduit through which such justice would pass. Comital charters demonstrate that such reconstitution occurred as a gradual shift during the first decade of Fulk's comital reign. Acts dated to between 1109 and 1115 portray Fulk V as a lone adjudicator.¹³⁴ He heard petitions and passed lone judgment in his legal capacity as count of Anjou. For instance, in 1109x1115, Fulk listened to a disputant's testimony, personally expressed disapproval of the disputant's actions, warned him of the potential consequences, and then, having passed judgment on the matter, exhorted the individual to relinquish his calumny.¹³⁵ Around 1116, dispositive action in judicial proceedings at the comital court had become a collective exercise. When the abbess of Ronceray sought justice from Count Fulk V for a contested right of forfeiture, it is specified that Fulk and his court adjudicated the matter, the resolution of which is described as being by the verdict of the court [*iudicio curie*] rather than the verdict of the count.¹³⁶ Following a dispute in 1116x1120 concerning the exclusivity of a certain commercial privilege in the burgh north of the city of Angers, the contested privilege is conceded jointly by the count and his court.¹³⁷ On 8 April 1116x1118, Fulk V ordered a certain Géroire who was engaged in a dispute with the Abbey of Fontevraud "to come to him (Fulk) and, with him (Fulk) being present in his own court, establish the cause of this affair, to be discussed at length."¹³⁸ Following testimony delivered before the comital court, Chief Seneschal

¹³⁴ Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-260; Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208; Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5; Catalog n. [F 36] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 55, pp. 46-48.

¹³⁵ Catalog n. [F 36] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 55, pp. 46-48.

¹³⁶ Catalog n. [F 54] (c. 1116), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 194, pp. 127-128.

¹³⁷ Catalog n. [F 72] (1116x1120), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 60, pp. 53-54. The concession is also made by Countess Aremburge. Her role as a critical part of the comital *curia* is discussed below.

¹³⁸ Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire du Fontevraud*, n. 167, pp. 158-160: "...*ad se venire precepit eoque presente causam in curia sua huius negotii statuit pertractari.*"

Stephen Baucan—rather than Count Fulk, who was explicitly indicated to be present—adjudicated in favor of the communities of Fontevraud “in a verdict before all.”¹³⁹ Such procedural reconstitution, which only began emerging in comital charters as Fulk’s crusade-inspired praxis gradually cohered, was meant to emphasize that comital justice stood independently of the count. Indeed, comital justice could be enacted through the comital seneschal, even in the count’s own presence, as an expression of the will of his court.

Before proceeding, we should briefly pause to consider potential, broader avenues of influence. In pursuing such reforms, Count Fulk likely drew inspiration from the Carolingian *mallus publicus* and its post-Carolingian successors. In these courts, the procedural involvement of the *boni homines* was understood to signify the collective justice of the court, which itself was understood as metonymy for the realm at large.¹⁴⁰ In recent years, members of princely *curiae*, such as that of Fulk V’s father-in-law Count Hélias of Maine (d. 1110), had even convened in the absence of their prince in order to dispense his justice.¹⁴¹ The expansion of the judicial role of the royal seneschal at the court of King Louis VI (r. 1108-1137) would have been the most immediate avenue of influence upon Fulk. Indeed, the count’s extensive interactions with Louis, his stepbrother, during the 1110s would have offered Fulk ample opportunity to observe the

¹³⁹ Ibid.: “*Auditis itaque super hac re utrorumque rationibus, Stephanus Baucan, qui tunc senescallus erat, in iudicio conspicuus rem unde supra tractavimus nobis monialibus in perpetuum possidendam habere iudicavit.*”

¹⁴⁰ See: Lemesle, *Conflicts et justice*, 36-43.

¹⁴¹ Bruno Lemesle, “Praticiens de la justice et juridictions (Haut-Maine, fin du XIe siècle),” in *Les pouvoirs locaux dans la France du centre et de l’ouest (VIIIe et XIe siècles): Implantation et moyens d’action*, eds. Dominique Barthélemy and Olivier Bruand (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004) pp. 215-232: 220-222. Lemesle identifies Count Hélias to have been physically present on only three of the seven occasions that courts are mentioned in his reign.

workings of contemporary procedural reform at the Capetian court.¹⁴² Around the same time as in Angevin comital charters, Capetian royal diplomatic began to articulate the great seneschal as a figure who, before the other members of the court, assisted the king in the dispensation of justice.¹⁴³ Additionally, Louis' seneschals as well as many of his other associates in governance were also "new men" from kin-groups of lesser to middling aristocratic rank. And, the three families which dominated the great officerships—the Rocheforts, the Garlandes, and the Senlis—had established or possible ties to crusading.¹⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the comparative import of such similarities, especially those between the Capetian and Angevin courts, is limited. As concerned the judicial role of the seneschalship, the agency of Louis' seneschal appears to have been limited toward providing the king with counsel, generating the semblance of collective action with the royal court; whatever justice was done ultimately remained through the personal disposition of the king.¹⁴⁵ As we saw above, the judicial role of the Angevin chief seneschal had expanded categorically: Fulk's seneschals did not merely prompt him to

¹⁴² Fulk V and Louis VI effectively formed a diplomatic bloc against the Anglo-Norman/Blésois axis and their own partisans. For the various conflicts of the 1110s, wherein Fulk would have substantially observed the workings of the Capetian court, see: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 324-340.

¹⁴³ Bournazel, *Louis VI*, 286-306, esp. 299-302; Idem, *Le gouvernement Capétien*, 94-97. This role may have been shared, in part, by the royal chancellor, as Bournazel points out in the latter work at p. 96.

¹⁴⁴ Bournazel, *Le gouvernement Capétien*, 31-47. For Guy II of Rochefort on the Crusade of 1101, see: AA, 594-595; *Chronique de Morigny*, 40-41. For Guy Paganus of Garlande on the First Crusade, refer to: AA, 106-107. For William of Senlis' possible participation in the First Crusade, see: *La Chanson d'Antioche*, I, 438.

¹⁴⁵ See, for instance: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI, roi de France (1108-1137)*, 4 vols, ed. Jean Dufour (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1992-1994), I, n. 90 (1113), pp. 198-200, where Seneschal Anselm of Garlande and his brother, William, provide counsel for royal justice. Such judicial agency was not the exclusive provenance of the royal seneschals. See, for example: Ibid., I, n. 118 (1116), pp. 241-244, where Chancellor Stephen of Garlande (also seneschal after c. 1120) entreated [*deposcentes*] royal justice to be done, prompting the king to action. For a general discussion, albeit a discussion relying upon some *acta* which Dufour subsequently established as inauthentic, see: Bournazel, *Le gouvernement Capétien*, 96-97.

dispense justice, but could independently manifest comital justice through their own person, even in the count's own presence, as a legitimate exercise of their office. The relationship of the new men to their prince also varied considerably between the two courts. Unlike Fulk's new men, whose involvement in the rulership of Fulk's predecessor was either minimal or nonexistent, many of Louis' new men, especially those who occupied the officerships, came from kin groups which had long served Louis' father in substantial capacities. Louis VI, in other words, appears to have inherited rather than recruited and then cultivated individuals with crusading connections. Furthermore, Louis did not integrate his personnel of crusading association into any known program of rulership that sought to leverage their status as a means of bolstering royal authority.¹⁴⁶ In fact, in his recent study of early Capetian involvement with crusading, James Naus illustrates Louis VI as a king whose interest in the crusading environment remained marginal, despite Abbot Suger's efforts to the contrary.¹⁴⁷ In contrast, new men of crusading association as well as numerous other aspects of the local crusading environment were central to Fulk's own program of rulership. To what extent Fulk drew inspiration from such comparative contexts is difficult to establish from the extant source-base. Regardless, Fulk employed any such inspiration toward rather different ends

¹⁴⁶ For Louis' core ambition of expanding royal power through the active military suppression of nearby castellans, refer to: Dominique Barthélemy, "Quelques réflexions sur Louis VI, Suger, et la chevalerie," in *Liber largitorius: études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*, eds. D. Barthélemy and J. Martin (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 2003), 435-453.

¹⁴⁷ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 59-84. Louis' paternal uncle, Hugh of Vermandois, had abandoned the First Crusade while it was still in progress, eliciting widespread condemnation and bringing shame upon the Capetian dynasty. Perhaps this memory played a role in discouraging Louis from tackling the Capetian dynasty's troubled relationship with the crusading movement. For Philip I's attempts at damage control following Hugh's dereliction of his crusading vows, for which Hugh essentially atoned by dying on the Crusade of 1101, see: Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 44-49.

in disparate political-social contexts. Both these factors limit the revelatory capacity of any comparative analysis.¹⁴⁸

The deepening bureaucratization of Angevin comital justice had, in any case, been primed by charters produced during the earlier years of Fulk's reign. These documents feature a rising prevalence of language gesturing toward the desirability of the count securing counsel and consent from his *curia* in advance of dispositive action. In October 1109, Fulk sought the "reasonable counsel of his noblemen and especially that of his familiars" before passing a verdict in favor of the monks of Saint-Nicholas of Angers.¹⁴⁹ Before responding to a petition by the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours in 1114, Fulk "asked his *fideles* whether what the monks were saying could be true and whether it would be lawful or injurious if he were to do that which the monks were requesting."¹⁵⁰ In advance of making certain judicial decisions, Fulk is even indicated to have brought before his court the testimony of individuals who could provide useful counsel. For example, in Angers in 1109x1112, Fulk heard the opinions of unnamed but esteemed individuals before adjudicating on a matter involving customs to be collected during the Feast of Saint-Nicholas.¹⁵¹ Toward 1116, such gestures of collective counsel

¹⁴⁸ Contingency, of course, goes both ways. More work yet needs to be done with focused regard to Louis VI's relationship with the crusading environment. It is a fundamental point of this dissertation that one cannot abstract the exercise of highly localized practices of power without distorting the nature, meaning, and agency of those practices.

¹⁴⁹ The verdict pertains to the concession of the custom. To this, Fulk V added a plenary confirmation of previous comital donations. See: Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-260: "*Rationabili igitur procerum suorum consilio et maxime familiarum abbati et monachis in perpetuum concessit et confirmavit non tantum hanc costumam sed etiam omnes alias et omnia dona quaecunque pater eius Fulco comes inclitus et alii sui antecessores...*"

¹⁵⁰ Catalog n. [F 34] (1114), *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 60, pp. 83-85: "*Quo audito comes querit a fidelibus suis an ita esset ut monachi dicebant utrumve sibi proliceret an noceret si faceret quod petebant.*"

¹⁵¹ Catalog n. [F 59] (1109x1112, pt 1), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, pp. 413-415, n. 314.

and consent were evolving into collective dispositive action for judicial proceedings, as we saw above. Thus, in future years, when petitioners arrived at the comital court to pursue arbitration, members of the court itself, led by the chief seneschal, could and did serve as the vehicle for comital justice.¹⁵²

The emphasis upon counsel and consent as the governing forces of the prince's court reflected, in part, medieval ideas about political authority during the height of the Carolingian period.¹⁵³ Traditionally, the counts of Anjou had pursued rhetorical, visual, and material association with the Carolingian legacy as a sort of proxy for Roman Imperial tradition.¹⁵⁴ Documentary productions under Fulk V, however, focused on cultivating associations with the period of the Roman Republic. Indeed, Fulk's charters increasingly paired conciliar language with consular rhetoric. Although Angevin records since the mid-eleventh century had occasionally referred to the counts of Anjou as consuls,¹⁵⁵ productions since 1107 featured a frequent invocation of the title as an interchangeable identifier with 'count.'¹⁵⁶ Such intitulation initially manifested in force between 1107 and 1109. During that interval, both Count Fulk le Réchin and the comital

¹⁵² *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 432, pp. 422-423; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 723, p. 680, with Robert fitz Renaud as chief seneschal.

¹⁵³ For a useful starting point on Carolingian government being predicated upon the public perception of the realm's counsel and consent, refer to: "'The invincible race of the Franks': conquest, Christianisation and Carolingian kingship," in Matthew Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Europe, 300-900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 427-490, with the accompanying bibliographical essay.

¹⁵⁴ One of the most prolific advocates for the influence of neo-Roman/Carolingian political rhetoric and imagery into the High Middle Ages has been Bernard S. Bachrach. See his various works.

¹⁵⁵ For a brief discussion, see: Nicholas Paul, "Origo Consulium: Rumours of Murder, a Crisis of Lordship, and the Legendary Origins of the Counts of Anjou" *French History* 29, 2 (2015), pp. 139-160: 148-150.

¹⁵⁶ The 1107-1109 invocations are discussed below. For some examples of the usage of the consular title after 1109, refer to: Catalog n. [F 40] (1115), *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cadouin*, pp. 9-11, n. 4; Catalog n. [F 84] (1121), BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 39, fol. 51r; Catalog n. [F 111] (1127), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, ff. 33v-35.

heir Fulk V jointly appeared in comital records as twin consuls of the realm.¹⁵⁷ The resulting tableau would have been familiar to contemporaries in a region where classical studies were flourishing once more.¹⁵⁸ Comprising the apex of the *cursus honorum* of the later Roman Republic, twin consuls presided over the Roman Senate, the collective body of the Roman elite that provided the necessary counsel and consent empowering the consuls to govern the realm.¹⁵⁹ Additional discursive elements in comital charters reinforced this tableau. For example, Fulk’s *curia* was identified at times as the “consular hall” [*aula consulari*] rather than the comital court.¹⁶⁰ In 1118, by which point Fulk had incorporated his judicial authority into the chief seneschalship, one of the chief seneschals bears the title of *praetor* in a comital charter—praetors were the high magistrates who were invested with judicial authority from the consuls of the later Roman Republic.¹⁶¹ The provosts of the Angevin capital of Angers later held this title as

¹⁵⁷ Catalog n. [F 12] (1109), British Library, Additional Manuscripts 21198, fol. 199, n. 147; Catalog n. [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93, pp. 171-174; Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121. Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V appear as consuls within the dating clauses of contemporary charters. See, for instance: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 87, pp. 163-164: “...*Fulcone patre cum filio suo Fulcone, Andecavorum nominatis consulibus...*” It is probable that the joint holding of the princely title was a continuation of the co-countship which we witnessed between Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk le Réchin following the former’s *dissensio* in 1103-1105. The rhetorical shift to co-consulship rather than just co-countship, however, remains a significant development upon Fulk V’s acquisition of the Angevin heirship. In any case, we may also comment here regarding the contemporary Capetian practice of the crown-prince sharing in the regnal title in some sense as the *rex designatus*. See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 7-18. Bertrade’s integration as part of Fulk V’s entourage following her banishment from the Capetian court in 1108 may thus have provided a line of royal inspiration.

¹⁵⁸ C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

¹⁵⁹ See: Francisco Pina Polo, *The Consul at Rome: The Civil Functions of the Consuls in the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Arthur Eckstein, *Senate and General: Individual Decision Making and Roman Foreign Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

¹⁶⁰ Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2.

¹⁶¹ Catalog n. [F 62] (1118), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826.

well.¹⁶² The cultivation of such associations helped legitimize the idea of the comital court as a consultative body comprised of those who represented the realm and, through whose counsel and consent, Count Fulk V was empowered to govern legitimately.

Functional counsel and consent were to be sought not only from the barons, ministers, and knights of the court but also prominent members of the comital family present in the court. Comprising a key element of the comital *curia*, these were individuals whose roles were incorporated into the exercise of the count's authority. The leading members of the nuclear family, namely Countess Aremburge and the comital heir Geoffrey V, were situated prominently in Fulk's *acta*. The heiress to the county of Maine who had married Fulk V before 29 July 1108,¹⁶³ Aremburge consistently appeared in Fulk's charters until her death in 1126.¹⁶⁴ In addition to conceding various acts,¹⁶⁵ the countess frequently participated alongside Fulk and the comital court as a joint and equal actor in assorted benefactions and judicial proceedings.¹⁶⁶ Geoffrey V, born on 24 August 1113, made his documentary debut in 1116 by joining his parents in two different acts of

¹⁶² In a notice pertaining to a judicial verdict around 1120, William des Moulins is alternately identified as both *praetor* and *praepositus*, with a local provost also being present. See: *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 205.

¹⁶³ Aremburge was identified as the wife of Fulk V in an act which can be dated to 29 July 1108 at the latest. See: Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299.

¹⁶⁴ See Catalog ns.: [F 7]; [F 59]; [F 25]; [F 33]; [F 41]; [F 46]; [F 48]; [F 51]; [F 52]; [F 50]; [F 58]; [F 60]; [F 63]; [F 62]; [F 61]; [F 65]; [F 66]; [F 72]; [F 81]; [F 79]; [F 77]; [F 75]; [F 74]; [F 76]; [F 78]; [F 83]; [F 86]; [F 88]; [F 98]; [F 95]; [F 97]; [F 93]; [F 84]; [F 103]; [F 102]; [F 104]; [F 80]; [F 105]; [F 106]; [F 73]. Countess Aremburge also independently issued or was involved in Angevin regional *acta*. See: [G 1-4]; [G 1-1]; [G 1-3]; [G 1-2].

¹⁶⁵ Angevin comital charters of the period were generally consistent in using forms of *concedo* as indications of consent, affirmation, assent, and concession. For Aremburge's concessions (not exclusive of other dispositive actions), refer to Catalog ns.: [F 25], [F 46], [F 48], [F 51], [F 52], [F 63], [F 62], [F 72], [F 81], [F 79], [F 77], [F 78], [F 88], [F 98], [F 97], [F 106].

¹⁶⁶ Refer to Catalog ns.: [F 33], [F 41], [F 60], [F 61], [F 66], [F 72], [F 81], [F 77], [F 75], [F 74], [F 76], [F 83], [F 86], [F 95], [F 97], [F 93], [F 84], [F 103], [F 102], [F 105], [F 106], [F 73].

benefaction.¹⁶⁷ Geoffrey continued to participate regularly as a joint actor or concessor in subsequent comital acts until his own accession as count of Anjou in 1129.¹⁶⁸ It was an image of familial stability and harmony which had been lacking in the recent past for the Angevin comital dynasty.

Aspects of the discursive realization of Aremburge and Geoffrey in Fulk's *acta* were somewhat unusual. This was the case with respect to both historic Angevin tradition and contemporary princely diplomatics beyond Anjou. A sustained comment regarding such matters helps illuminate the broader purpose behind the atypical dispositive participation of the countess and comital heir in Fulk's performance of authority.¹⁶⁹ Let us begin with Geoffrey, future count of Anjou (r. 1129-1151). There was nothing aberrant

¹⁶⁷ Catalog n. [F 52] (1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1; Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2. Geoffrey V may have been less than three years of age for [F 52], where he is indicated to be "a very young boy" [*puerulus*]. In [F 51], Geoffrey appears to have offered his own cross signature on the original parchment, which does survive. The inscription of his cross is visibly weaker than that of Aremburge or Fulk.

¹⁶⁸ See Catalog ns: [F 89], [F 60], [F 61], [F 66], [F 65], [F 77], [F 62], [F 88], [F 95], [F 96], [F 97], [F 94], [F 81], [F 108], [F 106], [F 120], [G 1-3], [F 123], [F 102], [F 110], [F 112], [F 87], [F 124], [F 114], [F 105], [F 79], [F 80], [F 111], [F 74], [F 76], [F 99].

¹⁶⁹ A few points of clarification: dispositive participation here includes any performative gestures that inspire, enable, or realize the benefaction itself. This would include: granting [*do/dono*], confirming [*confirmo*], conceding [*concedo*], consenting [*consensu*], affirming [*af-firmo*], lauding [*laudo*], approving [*assentio/annuente*], placing [*posui*] the gift upon the altar, investing [*investivimus*] a *cultellum*, counseling [*consilio*], requesting [*rogatu*], praying [*precibus*], or subscribing, whether as a signum [S.] or with a cross [+]. Serving as a non-signatory witness would not, in contrast, be a dispositive act, at least not in the same categorical sense. Furthermore, we will be paying particular attention below to such gestures when performed *jointly* as opposed to independently, e.g. the count and the countess *donaverunt* as opposed to the count *dedit* with the countess *concedente*. From a dispositive perspective, these are categorically different modes of participation, though both still fundamentally involve the actors in the benefaction. As a final point of clarification, I would note that Angevin princely diplomatic under Fulk V tends to be fairly consistent in its usage of certain words to describe broad categories of action. For instance, *concedo* encapsulates gestures of concession, affirmation, consent, and the like. For donations as well as confirmations, *do/dono* is almost invariably used. I provide such a disclaimer in order to signal that I will not be exploring possible conceptual differences in the usage of different words, as the terminology of benefaction in contemporary Angevin diplomatic is, again, not sufficiently varied to make any such explorations meaningful, in my opinion. I suspect that this may also be the case for contemporary Capetian royal diplomatic. For an overview of such matters of disposition, see: Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 63-102.

about extensively involving princely heirs in the governance of their fathers; to do so was entirely conventional.¹⁷⁰ Angevin history itself commended such association,¹⁷¹ though recent counts had not been especially observant.¹⁷² In some sense, then, Fulk V sought a return to dynastic prescriptions of rulership. However, Geoffrey's age upon his first documentary appearance and dispositive involvement was rather unusual in terms of princely diplomatics: he was three years of age, possibly two.¹⁷³ No previous Angevin heir was known to have granted, conceded, or otherwise participated in the stagecraft of comital benefaction before at least eight years of age, the canonically-sanctioned minimum for legal consent in such matters.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Geoffrey granted, conceded, or

¹⁷⁰ Association of the heir in princely governance was an established tradition designed to facilitate the eventual transition of power as well as to familiarize the heir with regional structures and personnel of rulership. Refer to: Jonathan R. Lyon, "Fathers and sons: Preparing noble youths to be lords in twelfth-century Germany," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 291-310: 298-99, 304-306.

¹⁷¹ Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) had extensively associated his heir, Geoffrey Martel (b. 1006), in matters of governance after 1027. See: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 220-226; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, Catalog ns. 38, 42, 43, 47, 57, 62-64, 70, 77.

¹⁷² In contrast to his father, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060) had had no children whom to associate in his own governance. Geoffrey was forced, shortly before his death, to split the Angevin patrimony between two of his nephews, the sons of his sister Ermengarde. Already the count of Gâtinais, Geoffrey le Barbu was to receive the *honores* of the Angevin comital office; Fulk le Réchin would inherit Saintonge and the lordship of Vihiers. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 102. These nephews had, nevertheless, witnessed comital *acta* on a few occasions. They appear together twice in witness lists for Geoffrey Martel's *acta*: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 204 (1042x1060); *Ibid.*, C 213 (1052x1060). Geoffrey once appeared by himself and was described as count of Gâtinais. See: *Ibid.*, C 212 (1052x1060). However, the dispositive involvement of these nephews before Geoffrey Martel's death had been limited to a single instance. Refer to: *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, n. 117, pp. 183-192 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 162), at 188: "...*faventibus atque auctorizantibus nepotibus meis... Gaufrredo et altero Fulcone*." The ensuing civil war of the 1060s and turbulent marital history of Fulk le Réchin (r. 1067/8-1109) meant that it was not until 1090 that another dynastic heir appeared in Angevin comital *acta*: Geoffrey Martel II, who was likely eight or nine years of age in 1090. For reasons which we explored in previous chapters, Geoffrey Martel II did concede or jointly enact up to seven comital benefactions between 1090 and 1096, though perhaps not entirely as the expected function of dynastic tradition. See: Chapter Two; Appendix C.

¹⁷³ His debut was either in [F 51] or [F 52]; the former would mean he was three years of age, and the latter would mean he may have been two.

¹⁷⁴ Although attestations below eight years of age were not unknown, Amy Livingstone has observed that charters of the Loire region typically indicated when an actor was below the age of consent and/or below the age of majority, often considered to be fourteen years of age. See: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 144-145, esp. 145n15. That Geoffrey was rarely indicated as such, despite the numerous occasions on which he participated before reaching eight years of age, is highly unusual. Later redactions

subscribed Angevin comital acts alongside his father and, often, his mother at least eight times before even having reached the age of eight.¹⁷⁵ By the time of his own accession in 1129 at sixteen years of age, Geoffrey had participated in approximately thirty-three comital acts.¹⁷⁶ As an historic Angevin point of comparison, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060), whose extensive association had been the dynastic standard hitherto, first participated in his father's governance at the age of twenty-one and ultimately was involved in ten such acts before his own accession.¹⁷⁷ A contemporaneous point of comparison might be that of the future Capetian monarch, Louis VI, who first subscribed a royal benefaction in 1090, when he was nine.¹⁷⁸ Subsequently, Louis disappeared from Capetian charters,¹⁷⁹ returning to royal benefactions only in 1100 at nineteen years of age.¹⁸⁰ Given that succession concerns remained an omnipresent anxiety for princes in any age, what might have compelled Fulk not only to associate his heir in governance but to do so at an abnormally young age and with such dynastically exceptional frequency?

cannot even be blamed here; a surviving original comital charter of 15 September 1116, less than a month after Geoffrey's third birthday, presents him donating and conceding alongside his parents as simply *filius*. Amusingly, the horizontal slash for his cross signature is weak—firm inscription, though evidently not benefaction, was apparently yet beyond the toddler's abilities. See: Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2. In another act from that same year, possibly before Geoffrey turned three, he is identified as *puerulus*, a little boy. See: Catalog n. [F 52] (1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1.

¹⁷⁵ See: [F 51] (1116); [F 52] (1116); [F 61] (1118); [F 77] (1120); [F 62] (1118); [F 66] (1119); [F 74] (1120); [F 76] (1120).

¹⁷⁶ See Catalog ns: [F 51], [F 89], [F 60], [F 61], [F 66], [F 65], [F 77], [F 62], [F 88], [F 95], [F 96], [F 97], [F 94], [F 52], [F 81], [F 108], [F 106], [F 120], [G 1-3], [F 123], [F 102], [F 110], [F 112], [F 87], [F 124], [F 114], [F 105], [F 79], [F 80], [F 111], [F 74], [F 76]. See also: [F 99], where Geoffrey V is indicated only as a witness.

¹⁷⁷ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, Catalog ns. 38, 42, 43, 47, 57, 62-64, 70, 77.

¹⁷⁸ *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Louis issued an independent act in 1093x1094. See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, n. 2.

¹⁸⁰ After this point, Louis extensively participated as an equal actor to his father, donating, confirming, and adjudicating various matters. For the remainder of his acts as crown-prince before his royal accession, see: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 3-18.

To reveal such matters, we must turn to Aremburge's own discursive realization in Fulk's charters. In certain respects, the countess' broad dispositive involvement accorded with lapsed dynastic tradition. During the earlier eleventh century, Angevin countesses had participated with great frequency in comital *acta*.¹⁸¹ Hildegarde appeared in fourteen of fifty-two known comital acts which can be dated after her marriage to Fulk Nerra in December 1005 and before his death.¹⁸² Agnès was involved on thirty-five occasions in the 109 acts which can be dated to her marriage with Geoffrey Martel I.¹⁸³ And, Aremburge appeared in forty of ninety-nine comital *acta* dated to between 1107 and her death in 1126.¹⁸⁴ Beyond the relatively similar rates of participation, however, there were some important differences in Aremburge's own dispositive activity.¹⁸⁵ Traditionally, the countesses of Anjou had consented to comital *acta* or jointly enacted such acts where their ancestral lands, dowries, or favored institutions of patronage were

¹⁸¹ With regard to Fulk le Réchin and the reasons for such diplomatic deviation, see: Appendix C. To be sure, rising dispositive involvement on the part of aristocratic wives was part of longer-term trends of lordship. Modern scholars have argued that it is necessary to understand the aristocratic husband and wife as a single marital unit rather than two independent actors. As control and preservation of landed patrimonies became ever more central to aristocratic agendas into the twelfth century, the performance of the marital union in documentary productions became more explicit as well as frequent, with wives often attesting, consenting, and jointly participating in acts involving patrimonial lands. See: Régine le Jan, "Le couple aristocratique au haut Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 65 (2013), pp. 33-46: 38-40.

¹⁸² As concerns Hildegarde's appearances, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, Catalog ns. 33, 42, 43, 45, 46, 51, 61, 70-75. Hildegarde remained active into the reign of her son: *Ibid.*, Catalog ns. 95-99, 160, 186, 206, 208, 213. With regard to the date of the marriage of Hildegarde and Fulk Nerra, see: Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 100.

¹⁸³ The marriage was from 1032 until 1052 at the latest. For her appearances, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, Catalog ns. 78, 79, 81-83, 101-102, 105, 109-116, 122-125, 128-140, 161bis, 164, 208.

¹⁸⁴ For Aremburge's involvement, see Catalog ns: [F 7]; [F 59]; [F 25]; [F 33]; [F 41]; [F 46]; [F 48]; [F 51]; [F 52]; [F 50]; [F 58]; [F 60]; [F 63]; [F 62]; [F 61]; [F 65]; [F 66]; [F 72]; [F 81]; [F 79]; [F 77]; [F 75]; [F 74]; [F 76]; [F 78]; [F 83]; [F 86]; [F 88]; [F 98]; [F 95]; [F 97]; [F 93]; [F 84]; [F 103]; [F 102]; [F 104]; [F 80]; [F 105]; [F 106]; [F 73].

¹⁸⁵ Hildegarde's rate of participation was 27%; Agnès' rate of participation was 32%; Aremburge's rate of participation was 40%. The somewhat higher frequency of Aremburge's involvement may represent a meaningful increase over that of her predecessors. We will explore the possible significance(s) below.

concerned.¹⁸⁶ Aremburge, in contrast, extensively participated in a wide range of comital benefactions and adjudications that neither pertained to her ancestral lands in Maine, involved her dowry (or dower), nor were localized to specific institutions of patronage. In other words, Countess Aremburge appears to have been Fulk's partner in rulership, rather than a supplement to it.¹⁸⁷

For specialists, such matters may bring to mind the participation of Louis VI's wife, Adelaide of Maurienne, in his own royal rulership. To be sure, Aremburge's dispositive agency owed much to Angevin dynastic precedent. However, the Capetian context helps us understand what were perhaps broader resonances ensuing from Aremburge and Geoffrey's extensive involvement in the performance of Angevin comital authority. Adelaide was a key player at the court of King Louis VI. Following her marriage to Louis in March 1115 and until his death in 1137, Adelaide participated in

¹⁸⁶ Such concentrations of documentary activity were also typical of wives' roles in non-princely benefactions. See: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 130-140, 170-203.

¹⁸⁷ Such extensive and intentional involvement of Aremburge in Fulk's rulership in Anjou casts into serious doubt the prevailing orthodoxy in crusades historiography that the regular involvement of Melisende, Fulk's second wife, in his royal charters, as well as her association as co-monarch with Fulk before his accession, demonstrates the collapse of royal authority under Fulk, at least with regard to his own agency. If one considers Fulk's preceding twenty years of governance, Melisende's involvement and association appear to be rather conventional and perhaps reflective of vibrant rather than weakened royal authority under Fulk. The matter requires serious reconsideration. William of Tyre's claim c. 1170 concerning Fulk and Melisende's rivalry during the 1130s perhaps has more to do with contemporary aristocratic reimaginings regarding such matters following earlier unsuccessful aristocratic encroachments on royal authority that, first, Fulk and Melisende had jointly rebuffed in the 1130s and, then, Melisende had withstood as queen-regent in the 1140s. In any case, I hope to pursue such matters in a monograph following from this dissertation or possibly an article. For the prevailing orthodoxy, see: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp. 93-182. As a final note, I would mention only that such dichotomous scholarly approaches to medieval female/male authority, that one must be the true agent over the other, is increasingly being recognized as unnecessarily antagonistic as well as inappropriate in many cases. The exercise of power was quite often collaborative, complementary, and mutually reinforcing between counts and countesses, kings and queens. For an overview of such lingering dichotomies, see: Kimberly A. LoPrete, "Women, Gender, and Lordship in France, c. 1050-1250," *History Compass* 5, 6 (2007), pp. 1921-1941.

forty-two royal *acta*.¹⁸⁸ In addition to jointly enacting certain benefactions with Louis,¹⁸⁹ she provided alternately her counsel,¹⁹⁰ consent,¹⁹¹ exhortation,¹⁹² or subscription for royal benefactions.¹⁹³ The extent of Adelaide's involvement in royal *acta*—truly substantial in comparison to former Capetian queens¹⁹⁴—rendered her a “partner in [royal] government.”¹⁹⁵ Although it might be tempting to cast Aremburge in similar terms, we should observe that Adelaide's dispositive involvement was far less substantial than that of Aremburge in both scope and substance. Adelaide participated in forty-two of 335 known royal acts that transpired after her marriage to Louis; Aremburge participated in forty of ninety-nine such comital *acta*.¹⁹⁶ Additionally, Adelaide only co-issued five of the forty-two acts in which she participated in a broadly dispositive sense;¹⁹⁷ Aremburge

¹⁸⁸ *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 120, 125, 130, 150, 168, 182, 198, 229, 233; *Ibid.*, II, ns. 261, 263, 274, 277, 280, 281, 283, 285, 292, 293, 295, 304, 307, 309, 310, 311, 317, 326, 335, 338, 339, 341, 342, 350, 351, 352, 375, 378, 383, 384, 389, 390, 393.

¹⁸⁹ These are acts wherein Adelaide and Louis jointly engaged in the fundamental dispositive action, e.g. “*Ego quoque et uxor mea Adelais regina... confirmamus.*” See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 130, 168 (from which derives the quotation above), 198; *Ibid.*, II, ns. 274, 311.

¹⁹⁰ These are acts wherein Adelaide provided her *consilium*. See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, n. 120; *Ibid.*, II, ns. 283, 350, 352.

¹⁹¹ These are acts wherein Adelaide provided *assensu/consensu* or was *concedente/annuente*. See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 150, 229, 233; *Ibid.*, II, ns. 261, 280, 283, 285, 292, 293, 295, 304, 307, 309, 317, 326, 338, 339, 341, 351, 375, 378, 383, 384, 389, 390.

¹⁹² These are acts wherein the benefaction was made *prece/petitione/voluntate/rogatu* of Adelaide. Refer to: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, II, ns. 309, 350, 351, 352, 393.

¹⁹³ Adelaide was, along with others, a signatory of eight royal charters. See: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, n. 182; *Ibid.*, II, ns. 277, 281, 283, 284, 335, 342, 389. Additionally, it should be noted that several royal charters featured datum clauses referencing her regnal year, further signaling her significance within the performance of royal authority.

¹⁹⁴ For example, Philip's wife Berthe appeared only twice in royal *acta*, and Bertrade appeared on four occasions. See: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. Maurice Prou (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), ns. 78, 86, 130 for Berthe; *Ibid.*, ns. 141, 157, 158, and 168 for Bertrade. Bertrade provides her consent in ns. 141 and 168.

¹⁹⁵ Marion F. Facinger, “A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), pp. 3-48: 27-30, at 29. See also: Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 191n1 for a survey of the most recent literature concerning Adelaide's exercise of power.

¹⁹⁶ The tally of known royal *acta* is drawn from Dufour's edition, cited above.

¹⁹⁷ *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 130, 168, 198; *Ibid.*, II, n. 274, 311.

is known to have enacted—in a joint and equal capacity alongside Fulk—twenty-three of the forty comital benefactions or adjudications in which she participated.¹⁹⁸ On all such counts, Aremburge’s participation was the more substantial. If Queen Adelaide is rightfully heralded as a partner in Capetian rulership, then how might we characterize Countess Aremburge?¹⁹⁹

In light of the preceding discussion, we perhaps ought to conclude that the discursive realization of Aremburge, as well as of Geoffrey, within Fulk’s charters was part of a broader strategy that surpassed the mere pursuit of dynastic prescription. As we have seen, their participation in comital governance was not just extensive; it was also distinctive in various respects, such as in its overt break with the strictures of canon law or in its amplified character relative to contemporary practices of princely diplomatic. The integration of Aremburge and Geoffrey within the performance of Fulk’s authority was calibrated to emphasize the integral function of the comital family at the comital court. Each collaborative act of benefaction or adjudication regularized their capacity to function within the comital court as one of the many fundamentally complementary forces comprising that court. Whether through the body of the seneschal or at the hands

¹⁹⁸ Refer to Catalog ns.: [F 33], [F 41], [F 60], [F 61], [F 66], [F 72], [F 81], [F 77], [F 75], [F 74], [F 76], [F 83], [F 86], [F 95], [F 97], [F 93], [F 84], [F 103], [F 102], [F 105], [F 106], [F 73].

¹⁹⁹ As previously discussed, we must exercise caution in speculating about cross-regional influences. This is especially the case with regard to matters of diplomatics. Every court diplomatic operates within a highly particularized historical tradition and enormously contingent political, social, and other circumstances advocating specific sorts of developments. Controlling for this myriad of “internal” factors in order to ascertain external influences requires a focused comparative study. That being said, with regard to potential interregional influence, I would note here only that Aremburge’s documentary activity largely preceded that of Adelaide. By the time of Aremburge’s death in 1126, Adelaide, who had been married to Louis since March 1115, had only participated in nine of the forty-two royal acts in which she would be involved by 1137. Had the court diplomatic of Fulk V of Anjou, Louis’ half-brother and his on-again off-again ally through the 1110s and 1120s, begun to have an influence upon royal practice? For Adelaide’s royal involvement 1115-1126, see: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 120, 125, 130, 150, 168, 182, 198, 229, 233.

of the comital family, the exercise of comital authority was increasingly being legitimated as something that could be wielded independently of the count's person.

As we will see below, this untethering extended beyond the court itself, which was, of course, only the prime element within a vaster apparatus of rulership. Thus, when Countess Aremburge and Geoffrey V donated some woods of the forest of Chédon in 1120x1121, their gift was later recalled as being made “as if of the count of Anjou or of his officials or ministers from those woods.”²⁰⁰ The categorical distinctions between different elements of the comital court—and the dispositive powers they exercised—were being conflated in the performance of comital authority. As we previously discussed, the collapse of these kinds of conceptual barriers would facilitate the bureaucratization of comital power, ultimately strengthening dynastic legitimacy in the face of circumstantial vicissitudes. These efforts were, in effect, central to Fulk's rehabilitation of his dynasty's standing, which had faltered in the circumstance of crusade.

Another key element within Fulk's exercise of political power, as well as a routine presence at the comital court, was the count's mother, Queen Bertrade. An extended consideration of Bertrade's role in Fulk's charters reveals the wide-ranging implications for comital rulership. Following the death of her second husband King Philip I of France on 29 July 1108, Bertrade's royal stepson King Louis VI (r. 1108-1137) appears to have ejected her from the Capetian court, confiscating her dower in the

²⁰⁰ Catalog n. [G 1-3] (1120x1121), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 1056, n. 4: “*Fecerunt siquidem donum istud in capitulo sancti Iuliani Turon eo ipso tempore et eisdem diebus quo prenomatus ac reverentus et honorifice recolendus Fulco comes ierusalem prima vice perrexerat, libere et quiete et tam comitis Andegavensis quam officialium ac ministrorum ipsius a bosco eodem.*”

process.²⁰¹ Queen Bertrade subsequently traveled as part of Fulk’s entourage, frequently appearing in her son’s charters until her retirement at the Abbey of Fontevraud by 15 April 1118.²⁰² Her role as one of Fulk’s closest advisers is clear. Comital charters often accorded her such influence explicitly. For instance, in 1110, Fulk made a donation to the Abbey of Marmoutier “by the counsel and advice of Queen Bertrade, mother of that count.”²⁰³ While tending to administrative affairs at the castle of Loches in 1109x1118, Fulk “acquiesced to the prayers of his mother, Bertrade,” and donated to the Abbey of Saint-Sauveur of Villeloin some waters at Chemillé-sur-Indrois.²⁰⁴ Most of the time, however, Bertrade’s agency was only implied, as was often the case with the role of mothers in aristocratic benefaction.²⁰⁵ Bertrade’s influence is intimated in several comital acts, such as when she received a cash sum resulting from a lucrative quitclaim in which Fulk V was involved,²⁰⁶ when one of her ladies participated in a series of sales with Fulk’s men,²⁰⁷ or on the numerous occasions on which Bertrade attested comital charters across Anjou as the highest ranked witness.²⁰⁸

²⁰¹ For the relevant evidence, on which Dufour comments in the footnotes, see: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I, ns. 75, 113, 153, 155.

²⁰² Given the obscurities of the surviving sources, modern scholars have recommended varying dates as to the timeframe of Bertrade’s retirement at the Abbey of Fontevraud (generally considered to be around 1115) as well as her subsequent death there (estimated to be between 1117 and 1119). I contend that Bertrade could not have taken the veil until at least mid-1116 but possibly not until 15 April 1118 and, furthermore, that we can establish the date of her death as 19 January 1119. For such matters, refer to the extended discussion in: [F 55].

²⁰³ Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208: “*Hoc autem factum est apud Salmurum castrum consilio et ammonitione Bertrade regine matris eiusdem comitis.*”

²⁰⁴ Catalog n. [F 57] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin*, n. 28, p. 53: “*...matri sue Bertree precibus acquiescens...*”

²⁰⁵ The role of mothers in medieval charter donations may have been obscured by scribal practices that favored portraying the act of disposition as enacted by the son rather than the mother. This obscuration can sometimes be detected through alternate versions of the charter. For these observations, refer to: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 47.

²⁰⁶ Catalog n. [F 11] (1107x1109), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121.

²⁰⁷ Refer to Catalog n. [F 32] (1109x1113) for a discussion of the relevant series of acts.

²⁰⁸ Refer to Catalog numbers: [F 42]; [F 37]; [F 43]; [F 46]; [F 31]; [F 56]; [F 58]; [F 50].

It may have been at Bertrade's instigation that Fulk's charters often invoked her regnal status. In six of the fourteen comital acts in which Bertrade appeared, Bertrade was explicitly referenced as queen [*regina*], and on half of those occasions she was additionally described as the mother of the Angevin count.²⁰⁹ The purpose of the regnal title's inclusion may be glimpsed in Bertrade's only surviving charter, a sealed 1115 confirmation of an earlier comital grant.²¹⁰ On the parchment, which is the original for Bertrade's *actum*, the scribe—who was perhaps from beneficiary party, namely the Abbey of Marmoutier—first identified Bertrade only as “wife of Philip, king of the Franks, and mother of Fulk the Younger, count of the Angevins.”²¹¹ Her regnal title survives as interlinear gloss, added only subsequently to the original composition by what appears to have been the same hand. These circumstances suggest that Bertrade had requested the revision before signing and sealing the benefaction; this was only appropriate for a living queen.

The invocation of Bertrade's regnal status was a significant aspect of the performance of Fulk's authority. Her status offered Fulk a unique avenue by which to exploit royal connections with the crusading environment for the benefit of the comital dynasty. By securing for their children marriages with crusaders or crusader kin in the

²⁰⁹ For Bertrade bearing only the regnal title, see: [F 11], [F 21], [F 55]. For Bertrade being identified as both *regina* and mother of the count, see: [F 7], [F 32], [F 31]. For the other eight occasions on which Bertrade is identified only as the mother of the count, refer to: [F 37], [F 42], [F 43], [F 46], [F 58], [F 56], [F 57], [F 50].

²¹⁰ British Library, Additional Charters 11209. The original comital donation is: Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208.

²¹¹ British Library, Additional Charters 11209: “...*quod Betrada Philippi regis Francorum uxor et mater Fulconis iunioris Andegavorum comitis, anno ab incarnatione domini MCXV dedit...*” The title of ‘*regina*’ was fashioned between her name and that of Philip. The parchment is almost certainly the original, as it bears slits for Bertrade's seal, itself a fascinating and underserved topic of inquiry. For an analysis of the seal's implications, see: Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 21-34.

opening years of the twelfth century, Queen Bertrade and King Philip had managed to curb the rising threat to royal prestige ensuing from questionable Capetian involvement in the nascent enterprise of crusade.²¹² Bertrade's stepchildren—future-king Louis VI and Constance—as well as two of the three of her own children with Philip—Philip and Cecile—were all arranged to marry crusading affiliates between 1104 and 1106.²¹³ In contrast, the Angevin dynasty had remaining no suitable candidates for such marital alliances. Fulk's elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II, had been engaged to marry Aremburge since before the end of the First Crusade;²¹⁴ Fulk and Aremburge were married at the soonest opportunity following the 1106 death of Geoffrey Martel II, whose own marriage to Aremburge had still been pending;²¹⁵ Elizabeth, Fulk and Geoffrey's half-sister through one of their father's several marriages, was wed to Hugh of Amboise toward 1105;²¹⁶ and, Ermengarde, Fulk's elder sister and probable childhood caretaker, had already married Duke Alan IV of Brittany prior to the First Crusade.²¹⁷ What Fulk V did have during the early years of his reign, however, was access to his royal half-brothers through his queen-mother.²¹⁸ Philip, who had been married to the daughter of the crusading veteran Guy Trousseau since 1104, appeared in several comital charters during

²¹² Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 44-45.

²¹³ For the arrangement of these marriages, see: Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 51.

²¹⁴ Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 47.

²¹⁵ Catalog n. [F 10] (1107x1109), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 963, fol. 146.

²¹⁶ GCA, 66.

²¹⁷ Alan did participate in the First Crusade, offering the Angevin dynasty some associative prestige through Ermengarde. For Ermengarde and Alan's marriage in the earlier 1090s, see: Amy Livingstone, "Extraordinairement ordinaire: Ermengarde de Bretagne, femmes de l'aristocratie et pouvoir en France au Moyen Âge, v. 1090-1135," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 121, 1 (2014), pp. 7-25: 10.

²¹⁸ Having been married to Bohemond of Antioch's brother, Tancred, Fulk's half-sister Cecile had been residing in the Crusader States since 1106.

the 1110s; Philip was presented as the “brother of the count” [*frater comitis*].²¹⁹ Florus did not appear in Fulk’s charters until 1116; it may have been by this year that Florus had also acquired his marital connection to the crusading ranks.²²⁰ Through the opportunities afforded by Bertrade and her regnal status, Fulk was able to integrate his royal half-brothers in the performance of comital authority. Their presence and participation infused the comital court with much-needed prestige of not only the royal variety but also, perhaps more importantly, the crusading sort. After all, the inspiration for much recent turmoil within the principality of Anjou had been the legitimacy-deficit confronting its ruling dynasty; this deficit was tethered fundamentally to matters of crusading prestige.

The presence in the comital *curia* of Bertrade, Philip, and Florus also helped legitimize Fulk’s formalization and expansion of the ranks of his comital functionaries, those who effected comital power beyond the count. Such efforts furthered the bureaucratization of Angevin comital authority. Within the territorial jurisdiction of the counts of Anjou, there existed two categories of comital officials.²²¹ The first category comprised the functionaries of the comital court. Since the reign of Count Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040), the comital entourage had included ecclesiastical auxiliaries, such as chaplains, who had informally served as chancellors or scribes for particular charters.²²² Lay agents, in contrast, were largely non-existent until the later years of the reign of

²¹⁹ See Catalog numbers: [F 29], [F 31], [F 55].

²²⁰ Catalog n. [F 52]; [F 59]. See: Detlev Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln, Neue Folge: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, vol. 14: Les familles féodales de France II (Marburg: Verlag von J.A. Stargardt, 1991), 146 for Florus’ marriage to the heiress of Nangis, the seigneurial family of which appears to have been involved with the extensive Champenois contingents to the Holy Land.

²²¹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 397.

²²² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 417-421.

Count Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060), who, as we saw earlier, introduced the position of the chief seneschal as a means of bolstering comital prestige in an increasingly decentralized political landscape. By the accession of Fulk V in 1109, only three additional officers had appeared in the comital court: chamberlains, cellarers, and constables.²²³ Yet, within the first decade of Fulk's reign, formal officerships are found to have proliferated in surviving records. Comital acts announce the presence of various new offices: marshal [*mariscallus*],²²⁴ cupbearer [*pincerna*],²²⁵ chancellor [*cancellarius*],²²⁶ doorkeeper [*ianitor*],²²⁷ butler [*buticularius*],²²⁸ and physician [*medicus*].²²⁹ Although previous individuals in the comital entourage had almost certainly performed these roles in an unofficial capacity, the discursive realization of these roles as formal officerships arguably illustrated more than just Fulk's penchant for political pageantry. The aim may have been to further exploit the royal status of Bertrade, Philip, and Florus, who were present at the Angevin comital court, in order to legitimately introduce to that court additional markers of regnal prestige. Indeed, many of these offices had been functional elements within the Capetian *familia regis* since the late

²²³ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 423-426.

²²⁴ Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, pp. 257-260, n. 178. It is unclear whether the noted marshal belongs to the count in: Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v.

²²⁵ Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, fol. 154r-v, n. 1347.

²²⁶ Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2.

²²⁷ Catalog n. [F 62] (1118), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826.

²²⁸ Catalog n. [F 18] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, pp. 257-260, n. 178. It should be noted that a *buttellarius* does appear once in the *familia comitis* of Fulk Nerra. However, the post is otherwise absent from documentary records until Fulk V's reign. See: Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*, 101; Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*," 809n63.

²²⁹ Catalog n. [F 65] (c. 1118), *Clypeus nascentis Fontebraldensis ordini...*, II, p. 138; Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v.

eleventh century.²³⁰ Bertrade, as queen, had maintained at least some of these offices within her own personal entourage while she was part of the Angevin comital court.²³¹ Regnal markers were innately generative of prestige, to be sure. But, for the reasons we discussed above, such markers were likely to have been especially prestigious within the contemporaneous Angevin context. By introducing royal offices to his own court, Fulk bolstered comital prestige through royal association and, in so doing, legitimated his expansion of the ranks of the functionaries who embodied his authority.

Fulk also expanded the machinery of government that existed beyond his court. The local agents whom the count maintained within the major castles and settlements of his domain comprised the preponderance of comital officials responsible for effecting the comital will.²³² Unfortunately, most such agents, such as foresters, remain obscure within the documentary record. The higher-ranked officials who managed them, however, did often and increasingly appear within comital and regional charters. The expansion of the ranks of these ministers, who alternately carried the titles of vicar (*vicarius*)²³³ and provost (*praepositus*),²³⁴ perhaps indicates the multiplication of the subordinate personnel

²³⁰ Bournazel, *Louis VI le Gros*, 236-246; Bournazel, *Le gouvernement Capétien*, 97-107.

²³¹ For her butler, refer to: Catalog n. [F 32] (1109x1113), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 161, pp. 150-151.

²³² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 397.

²³³ Louis Halphen has argued that the relatively circumscribed judicial authority of Angevin vicars (and provosts) renders them categorically distinct from their Carolingian predecessors. The distinction does not necessarily follow, however, since the positions themselves as well as the comital right to maintain such administrators—a devolved regalian prerogative—are Carolingian in origin; the narrowing of the positions' capabilities reflects the constraints upon centralized authority in general rather than a conceptual shift in what the positions represented. See: Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*, 107.

²³⁴ Furthermore, it should be noted that, in addition to vicars and provosts, local seneschals do begin appearing in surrounding principalities over the course of the eleventh century, and these officials, when not attached to households but to localities, appear to be largely synonymous with provosts and vicars. See: J.A. Everard, *Brittany and the Angevins: Province and Empire 1158-1203* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10-11, 21-27.

whom they managed and, thus, an expansion of Fulk's broader administrative apparatus.²³⁵ Indeed, within a year of his accession, Fulk maintained two provosts at his eastern capital of Tours, namely Benedict and Martin. In a notice from the Abbey of Marmoutier, the provosts are described as being jointly responsible for the collection of the *pasnagium*, a toll custom, pertaining to some comital woods southeast of Tours that Fulk had donated to the abbey earlier in 1110.²³⁶ Evidence dated to 1114 indicates that the two provosts remained active simultaneously.²³⁷ Multiple comital *vicarii* are noted to

²³⁵ The responsibilities of the posts of *vicarius* and *praepositus* overlapped in large part: these agents represented the count in local matters concerning customs. What precisely this entailed likely varied according to the territorial division which the official maintained. However, the duties generally included the seizure of property or persons in case of a judicial infraction, the resolution of disputes involving minor actors, the collection of property-based revenue, the management of lesser personnel like foresters, and the exercise of the comital *bannum*, or summons to military service. See: Dutton, "Personnel of Comital Administration," 129-130; Louis Halphen, "Prévôts et voyers du XIe siècle dans la région angevine," *Le Moyen Âge* 15 (1902), pp. 297-325; Jacques Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1956), 311-339; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 399-402; Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 113-122. Surviving evidence from Anjou indicates that, although only a singular agent was usually attached to a given territorial division, disputes involving institutions and properties in multiple jurisdictions sometimes obliged the involvement of multiple local comital officials. Here, the provosts appear to have operated in a juridically superior role to the vicars. Nevertheless, Guillot has argued that multiple *vicarii* may have operated within the same locality under the provosts of Angers. Guillot presents a case which, he suggests, demonstrates the provost of Angers to have managed multiple vicars within the same jurisdiction. However, the case in question records a dispute brought by the canons of Saint-Maurice of Angers against comital officials allegedly exercising customs in the lands of Longchamp: Longchamp was a significant parcel of land stretching across the modern communes of Saint-Sylvain-d'Anjou and Le Plessis-Grammoire roughly ten kilometers northeast of the *urbs* of Angers. The multiple vicars who were involved in the case likely thus belonged to the different territorial divisions which Longchamp spanned; the involvement of the provost of Angers can be more readily explained as a function of the dispute being brought by the canons of Maurice of Angers before the comital court itself in Angers. The canons were motivated to present the exercise of the customs as the initiative of the provost of Angers in order to secure an immediate and more binding verdict in his presence. For the case, see: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 403n268; *Ibid.*, II, C 372, p. 232; *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 56, pp. 115-116.

²³⁶ Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208: "...*Benedictus et Martinus praepositi ipsius comitis acceperunt pasnagium videlicet duodecim solidos de eodem bosco. Tenebant enim ipsum boscum ad manu(m) firmam de comite.*"

²³⁷ Provost Martin was hosting the comital entourage at his house in Tours when the monks of Saint-Julian brought a complaint before Fulk regarding disturbances emanating from a nearby street belonging to the count. When Fulk granted the monks license to maintain public order on the street—which the record described as "a whirlpool and pit of fornicators and thieves," as well as "suitable and agreeable for the tricks and jests of men"—Provost Benedict is indicated to have conceded the grant. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 34] (1114), *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 60, pp. 83-85: "*apta et delectabilis ad lusus et ad iocos hominum... diverticulum et fovea fornicatoribus fiebat et furibus.*"

have managed customs pertaining to a village in Gennes-Val-de-Loire,²³⁸ where the nearby Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire was seeking to organize a fair in 1120.²³⁹ In the city of Angers, the western capital of Greater Anjou, Fulk seems to have maintained a provost and a vicar simultaneously. A comital act which was issued in Angers in 1109 records a vicar named Girard as well as a provost also named Girard as witnesses in the middle of an extended enumeration of comital *fideles* and officials who were present for Fulk's benefaction.²⁴⁰ Hugh of Sablé was identified as vicar of the *urbs* of Angers in 1110, when either Girard or Hugh Rigaud was provost of the city.²⁴¹ Similarly, a vicar

²³⁸ Cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

²³⁹ Catalog n. [F 77] (1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 19r-v. Additional evidence from the same abbey indicates, albeit somewhat more equivocally, that more than one provost might have operated out of the comital castle of Beaufort-en-Vallée. A cartulary notice laments that the provosts of Beaufort were wont to disrupt the local festival of Saint-Maur, insulting the quality of the food and making a general nuisance with their great entourages. The abbey lodged a complaint with Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge, whereupon they limited the number of men which "an individual of the aforementioned provostship" may bring to the festival and expect to be fed. The quoted phrasing is suggestive, though not conclusive: although the agent holding a certain office may be referred to in the plural—situating him in the historic sequence of office-holders—the extended formulation of "an individual of the aforementioned provostship" is highly unusual, possibly indicating that more than one individual may have occupied the office. See: Catalog n. [F 86] (1109x1122), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 17r: "*Igitur ego et uxor mea Aremburgis constituimus ut quando persona supradicti prepositi ad festivitatem advenerit, amplius quam preposito sibi quarto vel quinto perpetuis temporibus cibus non administretur.*"

²⁴⁰ Catalog n. [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93, pp. 171-174. The vicar does not belong to the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice, as this Girard does not attest elsewhere in the cathedral's cartulary. As for the provost named Girard, Beautemps-Beaupré attempted to resolve the confusion surrounding Girard's activities as provost until 1100 and then again in 1104-1109 with the explicit attestation of Herveus Rotundellus as provost of Angers in 1100 and then again in 1112-1116 by suggesting that this Girard was connected, instead, to local ecclesiastical institutions. Refer to: Beautemps-Beaupré, "Notices sur les prévôts d'Angers," *Revue de l'Anjou* 42 (1901), pp. 428-447: 436-438. Girard's continuing direct involvement in comital affairs extending beyond the cathedral's interests, however, would suggest that Herveus Rotundellus was relieved of his provostship by 1104 and then resumed under Fulk V in 1112. Indeed, Herveus' brief promotion to the provostship under Fulk le Réchin may have been the result of Girard's absence from the county, if this is the same Girard who made benefactions in advance of embarking upon crusade in *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, n. 156. For Herveus' attestation in 1100, see: *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 18. For Girard's activities as provost of Angers from 1104 through 1109x1112, see: Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135; Catalog n. [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93; (1110x1112) *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204; Catalog n. [F 23] (1109x1112), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 101; Catalog n. [F 24] (1110x1112), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 94; Catalog n. [F 59] (1109x1112, pt. 1), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, XIII/1, n. 9695, fol. 226r.

²⁴¹ For Hugh of Sablé as vicar in 1110, see: *Cartulaire Tourangeau de Marmoutier*, pp. 51-52. For Hugh Rigaud's attestations as provost, refer to: Catalog n. [F 26] (c. 1112), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 8,

named Boschet exists for the city of Tours in 1114 under the two comital provosts, with a separate vicar attesting for the nearby burgh of Châteauneuf.²⁴² Fulk's expansion of the ranks of his functionaries within and beyond his court facilitated processes of bureaucratization, as greater numbers of those whom he had invested with various aspects of his governing authority came to exercise that authority in his name throughout his domain.

pp. 11-12; Catalog n. [F 27] (c. 1112). For Girard, see: (1110x1112) *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204; Catalog n. [F 23] (1109x1112), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 101; Catalog n. [F 24] (1110x1112), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 94; Catalog n. [F 59] (1109x1112), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, XIII/1, n. 9695, fol. 226r. The exact situation of Hugh of Sablé within the Craon-Sablé kin group is unclear, though the Marmoutier entry above does indicate his father's name to have been *Albericus* and that Lord Lisiard of Sablé had alienated properties and privileges around Sablé to Hugh. In contrast, Hugh Rigaud was certainly the kin if not the son of Aimery Rigaud, a *miles* about the comital castle of Loudun. Toward 1100, Aimery Rigaud and various members of his family jointly made a donation to the Abbey of Saint-Florent; *Hugo Rigaudi* appeared as witness to the donation, though was otherwise uninvolved, suggesting his young age. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3497, piece 7. Hugh Rigaud disappears from Angevin regional records after c. 1124. For these attestations, see: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 242, 337. Perhaps not coincidentally, a Hugh Rigaud surfaces in 1128, receiving an aristocratic donation in Toulouse on behalf of the Order of the Knights of the Temple, of which he was one of the earliest members. Had Fulk's Hugh Rigaud traveled to the Holy Land, perhaps with Fulk on his 1120-1121 crusade, and stayed behind to become one of the earliest Templars? We must recall that Count Fulk had associated himself with the nascent order before returning to Anjou in mid-1121; did his association involve the relinquishment of certain of his men to the Knights? The templar Hugh Rigaud was known, in any case, to have been in Toulouse on 28 November 1128 as one of several Templars staying behind in France following the involvement of their grandmaster, Hugh of Payns, as a central part of the Jerusalem envoy that had, earlier that year, presented Fulk V with the hand of Melisende and, thus, the throne to Latin Jerusalem. Hugh Rigaud may very well have been part of the Templars who met with Count Fulk to convince him to accept the proposal. As a former comital provost, Hugh would have had some rapport with his erstwhile lord. I intend to explore these matters in the monograph forthcoming from this project. For the presence of a Hugh Rigaud in Toulouse in November 1128, see: *Cartulaire général du Temple*, n. 18, p. 12. For the Jerusalem envoy lingering in France after their spring 1128 conversation with Count Fulk V, refer to: Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 35-36. It is possible that Hugh Rigaud returned to Anjou in his later years: we might observe a certain Hugh Rigaud appearing in an Angevin notice dated to 1155x1165. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 803/897. In any case, Hans Eberhard Mayer has had a somewhat difficult time identifying all those "new men" that Orderic Vitalis alleges Fulk brought with him to the Holy Land in 1129—could the Angevin count have been channeling them into the Templar Order, upon whom Fulk was known to have bestowed extraordinary patronage? The coincidences mount, though little remains conclusive at this point in my research concerning such matters. In search of Fulk's new men in the Crusader States, refer to: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, 1 (1989): 1-25.

²⁴² Catalog n. [F 34] (1114), *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 60, pp. 83-85.

In concert with such developments, Fulk sought to enforce a normative set of relationships governing interactions between different echelons of the comital ruling apparatus. The objective here was to preserve the impression that comital authority could be wielded legitimately across a tiered system of comital functionaries, even as the ranks of those functionaries grew substantially. The higher-ranked agents would continue to manage lower-ranked agents, all of whom would remain accountable to the Angevin prince, who served as the locus of their derived authority. For example, in 1110x1112, an unnamed comital agent was subjected to the count's justice in the presence of various Angevin notables. Described as both "vicar of the count" and "beloved servant of Lord Archalois," this individual faced judgment at the hands of Lord-Seneschal Archalois, who is said to have "managed that man."²⁴³ The provost of the comital castle of Chinon, a certain Arnaud of Chaufournois, appears in a comital charter not as Fulk's own provost—which he was—but, instead, as "the provost of that man," a certain Normand of Chinon, who was the count's guardian at the castle.²⁴⁴ While Count Fulk V and his men confronted King Henry I of England in Maine and Normandy in 1112-1113, a certain individual is said to have incarcerated a local miller on account of the miller's failure to have observed the *exercitus*, or the count's customary demand of military service, which had required the miller to join northbound Angevin forces. In pursuing punishment for the alleged violation of a comital custom, the unnamed individual may reasonably be identified as a comital agent. However, the notice describes him as "a man of Herveus"

²⁴³ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 204, p. 132: "*Dilectus famulus domni Archelai et vicarius comitis... Archelao qui habuit hominem suum...*"

²⁴⁴ Catalog n. [F 55] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 322, pp. 325-326.

Rotundellus, the count's provost in Angers at that time.²⁴⁵ Assuming responsibility for this lower-ranked agent, Herveus Rotundellus later adjudicated the matter, confirming that Fulk's earlier donation of customs in the area had included the *exercitus* and, thus, had forbid any comital agents from attempting to impose such customs.²⁴⁶

Contemporary records indicate that the count's functionaries and *fideles* were often deployed as administrative extensions of Fulk's will, representing his dispositive presence in various matters. For example, in 1112, Fulk granted to the Abbey of Vendôme's daughter-monastery in Angers, L'Evière, a certain newly developed burgh as well as all customs owed to the count therein, save for the *exercitus*. Several concessions from various political actors followed. Some of these concessions appear to have been solicited by envoys comprising of comital functionaries—namely, Herveus Rotundellus, the provost of Angers, as well as Geoffrey Caiaphas and Geoffrey of Blaison, comital chaplains.²⁴⁷ In 1109x1113, two comital *fideles*, Archalois and Lambert of *Super*

²⁴⁵ Having briefly been provost of Angers under Fulk le Réchin, Herveus Rotundellus reprised the position in 1112 and maintained it until his murder in March 1116. For Herveus' temporary provostship of Angers in 1100, see: *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 18. The former provost, Girard, who had likely been away on crusade in 1100, resumed the position by 1104 and continued in such a role through 1110x1112. With regard to his 1104 attestation, refer to: Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135. Rather than Girard's return from crusade, Herveus' dismissal may have been the result of political fallout from the contested episcopal election of Renaud of Martigné in 1102, wherein Herveus' relative, Bishop Marbode of Rennes, had consequentially intervened on behalf of the comital candidate. Marbode had been stripped of his archdeaconry; his relative had possibly been stripped of his own provostship. The circumstances of this episode are discussed in Chapter One. In any case, Herveus Rotundellus was provost again by 1112. See: Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200. For Herveus' kinship relation with Marbode of Rennes, refer to: Melissa Lurio, "A Proposed Genealogy of Marbode, Angevin Bishop of Rennes, 1096-1123," *Medieval Prosopography* 26 (2005), pp. 51-76: 62.

²⁴⁶ This episode is analyzed in: Catalog n. [F 23] (1109x1112), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 101, p. 77.

²⁴⁷ Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, pp. 197-200, n. 427. Fulk V's grant of the 'new burgh' was, in effect, a partial confirmation of an earlier benefaction by Abbo of Briollay, a benefaction which also included an adjoining older burgh. It appears, however, that Abbo held the new burgh, which Fulk conceded along with its attendant customs, from the count himself, i.e. the burgh was Fulk's to grant. The presence of the count's functionaries in the subsequent concessions implies that those concessions pertained chiefly to the count's own grant.

Pontem,²⁴⁸ accompanied the prioress of Fontevraud as an envoy seeking to convince a regional lord to concede a particular sale involving persons in the service of Count Fulk and Queen Bertrade.²⁴⁹ On 18 August 1109x1115, one of Fulk's closest *fideles*, Geoffrey of Ramefort,²⁵⁰ represented the count in serving as chief witness to Countess Aremburge's confirmation of all preceding donations by Fulk to the Abbey of Fontevraud.²⁵¹ Over the course of several years, a certain aristocratic family from Petit-Chouzé²⁵² relinquished to the Abbey of Fontevraud various privileges and properties, some of which were indicated to have been held from the count of Anjou; Gana, a comital provost, witnessed and authorized several of these grants on behalf of the count.²⁵³

Nevertheless, Fulk's efforts to impose order, regularity, and accountability on local practitioners of his authority were met with only partial success. Non-compliance on the part of comital officials remained a significant problem into the reign of his son, Count Geoffrey V (1129-1151).²⁵⁴ An episode from early in Fulk's reign illustrates the imperfect realities that medieval princes such as he inevitably confronted. In 1110, Fulk

²⁴⁸ For Lambert of *Super Pontem*, a comital knight probably originating from the environs of Angers, see: [F 18], [F 23], [F 42], [F 49], [F 50], [F 60], [F 72]. [F 50] lists him alongside other laypersons from Angers.

²⁴⁹ Catalog n. [F 32] (1109x1113), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 202, pp. 198-199.

²⁵⁰ There was no *fidelis* who attested comital charters more frequently. See Catalog numbers: [F 20], [F 46], [F 49], [F 50], [F 59], [F 60], [F 61], [F 63], [F 62], [F 65], [F 66], [F 72], [F 77], [F 86], [F 89], [F 88], [F 71], [F 94], [F 52], [F 100], [F 81], [F 108], [F 82], [F 120], [F 98], [F 123].

²⁵¹ Catalog n. [G 1-1] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 165, pp. 155-156. The confirmation included Fulk's recent provisions for the construction of a church upon the abbey's grounds.

²⁵² Cme Savigny-en-Véron, cant. and arr. Chinon, dép. Indre-et-Loire

²⁵³ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 131, 136, 145, and 177.

²⁵⁴ For the classic tale of Geoffrey investigating the corruption of his ministers by going incognito among commoners, refer to: JM, 185-187.

donated to the Abbey of Marmoutier some woods southeast of Tours.²⁵⁵ Although the donation included any revenue collected from the *pasnagium*, a custom owed on the transit of goods, the responsibility for the custom's collection remained with the count's ministers; Fulk wished to maintain comital administrative management of such resources. Later that same year, after two comital provosts had collected twelve *solidi* in revenue from traffic through the donated woods, a dispute arose between the comital officials and the monks. The provosts refused to deliver the returns of the *pasnagium*, insisting that the count's benefaction earlier that year did not include the collected customs from that same year.²⁵⁶ In the resulting comital adjudication, Fulk V required the provosts to acknowledge their error and promise to deliver the withheld revenue to Marmoutier. However, soon after this verdict, the provosts arrived at a different arrangement with Marmoutier's abbot. This agreement avoided violating Fulk's judicial decree by modifying the terms of the original comital benefaction. According to a scribe of Marmoutier, "because it could hurt us in the future if they (the provosts) were to hold back the *pasnagium*, they henceforth provided management (of the custom) to us."²⁵⁷ From the perspective of both the comital agents and the community of Marmoutier, the revised arrangement was comparatively beneficial. The provosts would not have to enforce a custom whose yields they could not enjoy, and the monks had not to worry

²⁵⁵ All of what follows derives from: Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208.

²⁵⁶ The provosts' claim may have supported by the circumstance that Fulk's donation transpired in the middle of the year, specifically between 14 April and 2 August 1110. As a result, there was a case to be made, albeit a weak one, for delaying until the end of the calendar year to transfer ownership of such customs.

²⁵⁷ Catalog n. [F 21] (1110), British Library, Additional Charters 11208: "*Et quod posset nobis nocere in futurum si retinerent pasnagium, fecerunt inde rectum domno Willelmo Abbati nostro et per eum beato Martino et nobis.*"

about proper and full delivery of the collected revenue. However, by relinquishing comital management of the donated woods and its customs, this arrangement defied the purpose of Fulk’s original benefaction: programmatically maintaining, through an increasingly complex governing apparatus, a centralized locus of administrative authority that exerted influence over and was intertwined with varied interests across the realm. In any case, despite their transgressions, the provosts remained in the count’s service until at least 1114.²⁵⁸ Good help was clearly hard to find.

Unsurprisingly, Fulk demonstrated some awareness of the limits of his coercive authority over his growing network of comital agents. The count took preemptive measures to ensure that changes to the Angevin political economy would be communicated with maximum visibility to his officials. For instance, when Fulk and Aremburge relinquished to the monks of Saint-Florent of Saumur half of the *vinagium*—a customary due on vineyards—on all lands the abbey held beyond the Thouet river, the count ordered the monks “to declare this throughout his own land.” Fulk also commanded his crier to announce his benefaction in the forum at Saumur.²⁵⁹ The intended audiences for these public proclamations were both the local comital officials scattered throughout the Saumurois and the Saumur-based comital ministers theoretically responsible for managing them.

Such communications would not, of course, have reliably produced the desired effect. The surviving evidence provides us with glimpses of how Fulk sometimes

²⁵⁸ Catalog n. [F 34] (1114), *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 60, pp. 83-85.

²⁵⁹ Catalog n. [F 33] (1109x1114), BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1930, fol. 139v: “*iussit comes monachos hoc dicere per terram suam...*”

publicly imposed punishment upon his own men who had failed to comply with his directives.²⁶⁰ Let us examine the case of Robert Pevrel, who appears to have been the comital guardian of Chinon before Normand, guardian by 1118 at the latest.²⁶¹ Following the 1116 death of its founder, Robert of Arbrissel, the Abbey of Fontevraud had produced a pancarte that memorialized Fulk's gifts to the abbey hitherto, as many of those gifts had been given directly to Robert of Arbrissel.²⁶² This pancarte redacted, in a somewhat unusual manner, a certain comital charter for which Robert Pevrel had served as witness. In this charter, which was issued in 1109x1113, Count Fulk had granted to the Abbey of Fontevraud two mills and a lock near Chinon, as well as the comital woods of Teillé.²⁶³ Beyond a few of the usual rhetorical flourishes,²⁶⁴ the pancarte redaction of the original

²⁶⁰ There are several such examples. With regard to the comital provosts of Montbazou, whose corruption in c.1118-1122 resulted in a series of dismissals, refer to Chapter Four. Nevertheless, as we saw above, Fulk sometimes refrained from penalizing non-compliance. The surviving evidence does not demonstrate a clear pattern with regard to why Fulk punished certain functionaries but not others. Perhaps the extent of his authority in a given area or his ability to install effective replacements proved instrumental.

²⁶¹ Excepting one of his own donations augmenting a comital benefaction (discussed below), Robert Pevrel appears exclusively within Fulk's acts pertaining to properties and privileges around Chinon. His high rank within the witness lists as well as the explicit administrative instructions he receives from the count in [F 31] suggest that Robert Pevrel was either the provost of the comital castle at Chinon or its guardian. Robert's lone surviving benefaction, an independently-issued relinquishment of an array of lands to Fontevraud, suggests that he was *dominus* of those lands and, thus, probably Chinon's guardian rather than its provost. For Normand's guardianship by 1118 at the latest, see: Catalog n. [F 55] (1109x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 322, pp. 325-326.

²⁶² See: AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, which features continuations. Piece 2 was produced in c. 1118 and similarly features continuations. Piece 3 (2bis) was produced in 1129 and then was confirmed in 1154 by Fulk V's grandson, King Henry II of England. For the establishment of these dates, refer to: Appendix E.

²⁶³ Catalog n. [F 31] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 16. We can reasonably conclude that the surviving redaction of Version II faithfully represents the language and disposition of the original comital charter. It is Version I that features additions and reworkings. For a discussion of these matters, refer to the relevant catalog entry.

²⁶⁴ The interpolations of more lofty rhetoric or minor reworkings of existing phrases to render them more ornate are not significant for our purposes here; such revisions are entirely conventional, notwithstanding any identifiable particularities to the actor and/or institution in question. More substantially, the pancarte redaction does omit mention of Fulk's sealing of the original charter. This is not entirely surprising, given that the dispositive force of the seal may have been perceived as having been supplanted by that of the pancarte's own materiality. Indeed, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak has argued that "the seal's effectiveness... was less as an object than as a process" in which seals were utilized. The process of

charter provided a revealing addendum following the mention of Robert Pevrel: “[it was he] whom I [Fulk] ordered to hand over the mills to them [the religious of Fontevraud.]”²⁶⁵ The addendum, which exists only in this pancarte redaction, hints that Robert Pevrel had failed to relinquish control of the mills following Fulk’s donation of them in 1109x1113. Indeed, in an act which must be dated shortly thereafter, Robert Pevrel and his wife sold to Fontevraud, from their own lands, an array of fields which adjoined the count’s earlier donation.²⁶⁶ The circumstances of Robert’s sale, when considered in conjunction, hint of comital coercion: Robert Pevrel’s sons conceded the relinquishment; a comital *fidelis* Gosbert of Morton was recorded as being present; and, Robert Pevrel subsequently disappeared from regional charters.²⁶⁷ It seems that, following Robert’s refusal to heed his prince’s directive, Count Fulk not only stripped him of his guardianship but also possibly forced him to liquidate substantial landholding assets. Such punitive measures, where possible, were necessary to encourage compliance

the pancarte would have duplicated such ends. See: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 3; Chantal Senséby, “De l’usage des pancartes dans les conflits en Anjou au début du XIIe siècle,” *Archives d’Anjou* 13 (2009), pp. 5-25; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept,” *American Historical Review* 105, 5 (2000): 1489-1533.

²⁶⁵ Catalog n. [F 31] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 4: “*Roberto Peurello cui precepi eisdem tradere molendina.*”

²⁶⁶ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 318, pp. 322-323. Bienvenu, the cartulary’s editor, dated the act to 1101x1116. However, we can narrow the interval to 1109x1116, but specifically after the 1109x1113 comital benefaction of [F 31]. Robert Pevrel’s sale references an unspecified comital gift which Robert’s own fields adjoined. This gift must be the aforementioned donation of Count Fulk V in 1109x1113, for which Robert Pevrel and Gosbert of Morton—involved in the present act—were also present; Fulk le Réchin made to Fontevraud no gifts in the area that allow him to be the unnamed count in question here.

²⁶⁷ It should be reiterated that none of these circumstances, when taken individually, are necessarily unusual. For instance, the concessions on the part of the sons as well as the participation of the spouse in the alienation of lands was entirely conventional as part of the *laudatio parentum* practice that Stephen White has explored: Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Nevertheless, these various circumstances—when considered in conjunction, in the broader contexts in which Robert was known to have been active, and in light of broader Angevin comital practices (a notable lacuna in White’s aforementioned work)—are highly suggestive.

on the part of comital functionaries, a prerequisite to an administrative praxis of centralized rulership.

In this chapter, we saw how Count Fulk V formulated his early policies of governance as a response to his father's failed attempts to adapt dynastic practices of rulership to the ideological pressures generated by the crusading phenomenon. Recognizing both the singular place that crusaders and their kin had come to occupy in the regional prestige economy as well as the disruptive absence of such prestige on the part of the Angevin dynasty itself, Fulk actively recruited and patronized such individuals, benefiting the comital office through association. Fulk then deployed these individuals as a key element within an emerging administrative praxis of comital governance devised to bolster and rehabilitate faltering comital authority through its increasing bureaucratization. Though a non-crusader ruling in crusading lands, Fulk V had managed to programmatically associate crusade with the realities of his own rulership, stabilizing the historic crisis of dynastic legitimacy and authority that he had inherited. In Chapter Four, we will explore how Fulk's personal participation in the crusading enterprise, beginning with his taking of the cross in 1119, substantially altered his performance of comital authority. Might a crusading prince in crusading lands aggrandize his authority in ways that were inaccessible to a non-crusader in crusading lands? It is to these matters that we next turn.

Chapter Four

A Crusader in Crusading Lands, 1119-1129

In the previous chapter, we saw how Fulk's program to rehabilitate Angevin comital authority was constituted through a sustained engagement with the crusading environment. To bolster the standing of his dynasty within a regional prestige economy that was increasingly appreciative of crusading associations, the count recruited into his *mouvance* lesser aristocratic crusaders and their kin. Fulk then deployed these individuals as key functionaries within an emerging administrative praxis of governance, an effort designed to strengthen the exercise of comital power through its bureaucratization. This approach to rulership was fundamentally inspired by the failure of Fulk's predecessor to adapt dynastic practices of rulership to the challenges presented by the early crusading phenomenon. Yet, Fulk's approach to rulership was also mediated by his own positionality. Fulk's status as a non-crusader ruling in crusading lands conditioned his exercise of power, leading him to pursue specific external associations and reforms of governance in the quest to rehabilitate centralized public authority.

What happens when princely positionalities of such instrumental significance change? In the case of Count Fulk V of Anjou, the question demands serious consideration. After a decade of governance shaped by the crusading environment, Fulk decided to take the cross on 7x9 September 1119 while in the presence of Pope Calixtus

II and other ecclesiastical luminaries in Angers.¹ Leading a significant host of Angevins, Fulk departed for Jerusalem by June of the following year,² returning to Anjou by September 1121.³ When Fulk returned, he did so as a prince who shared in the crusading credentials of many of the most prominent of his countrymen. If effective rulership during the early twelfth century remained tethered to a general perception of legitimacy—that princes governed through the counsel and consent of their subjects—then, for the last eight years of his comital reign, Fulk presided over the political landscapes of Greater Anjou as truly a *primus inter pares*. The chief contributor to the legitimacy deficit which had loomed over the Angevin comital dynasty since 1095 had

¹ Count Fulk and Countess Aremburge issued a benefaction on the occasion of Pope Calixtus II's arrival in Angers. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 66] (1119), AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, piece 1. Fulk also participated in an adjudication of a dispute between the monks of Saint-Nicholas of Angers and a confraternity at Genéteil. See: Catalog n. [F 67] (1119), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9614, fol. 216r-v. For the dates of Pope Calixtus II's visit to Angers, i.e. 7x9 September 1119, refer to: Beate Schilling, *Guido von Vienne--Papst Calixt II*, MGH 45 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), p. 694.

² The latest reliably dated appearance of Fulk in Anjou in 1120 is at Saumur on 2 May. See: Catalog n. [F 76] (1120), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30. Bishop Renaud of Angers, who accompanied the Angevin host on its journey to the Holy Land, remained active until at least 20 May 1120, when he is noted to have been present in the cathedral-chapter of Saint-Maurice in Angers for a benefaction by some canons. Refer to: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 112, pp. 195-197.

³ Catalog n. [F 83] (1121), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1733. Virtually nothing is known of Fulk's activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem from the time of his arrival during the later summer of 1120 to the occasion of his departure the next summer. It is possible, albeit unlikely, that, in leaving Anjou by late May 1120 and traveling by sea, Fulk had arrived in the Holy Land in time for the 5 July siege of Damascus. For a discussion of travel times across the Mediterranean, refer to: John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 3. When Fulk traveled to the Holy Land again in 1129, the journey appeared to have taken approximately two and a half months, if William of Tyre's claim that Fulk arrived in Jerusalem shortly before the feast of Pentecost (2 June 1129) is accurate. For Fulk's last act in Anjou c. 2 February 1129, see: Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18. For William of Tyre's claim of Fulk's arrival date, refer to: WT, 618-619. In any case, Orderic Vitalis and William of Tyre characterize the primary achievements of Fulk's time in the Latin East in 1120-1121 to have been his establishment of a personal friendship with many of the local notables. According to William of Tyre, this friendship was established in no small part through Fulk's maintenance of one hundred *equites* at his own expense, as well as his fraternal association with the nascent order of the Knights of the Temple, for whom Orderic Vitalis alleges Fulk subsequently provided an annual stipend of thirty *librae*. See: WT, 633; OV, VI: 308-310. Fulk may also have brought back to Anjou a piece of the True Cross. Refer to the discussion in: Dutton, "Crusading and Political Culture under Geoffrey," 425-426.

finally been addressed. In consideration of the implications for governance, this chapter explores the question of how Fulk's own experience of crusading and the attendant shift in his positionality might have affected his rulership. What did it mean to rule as a crusading prince in crusading lands?

Such a question is underserved in modern scholarship. As concerns Fulk V in the specific, neither Josèphe Chartrou nor subsequent commentators on Fulk's reign in Anjou have assigned any transformative significance to his crusading experience.⁴ As concerns princely lords in general during the earlier twelfth century, recent scholars have investigated some related issues. For instance, Kimberly LoPrete has drawn attention to how shared crusading status facilitated the consolidation of regional political alliances under Countess Adela of Blois (b. c.1067; d. 1137).⁵ In addition to making a similar point for the Champenois context, Theodore Evergates has demonstrated that a brief stay in Norman Sicily while returning from the Second Crusade shaped the material performance of the subsequent rule of Count Henry the Liberal of Champagne (b. 1127; r. 1152-

⁴ In addition to establishing the possible dates for Fulk's journey to the Holy Land, Chartrou expressed interest in exploring the political circumstances preceding Fulk's journey as well as the northwestern European developments hastening his return (namely, the sinking of the White Ship and the drowning thereupon of William Adelin, King Henry I's heir and the husband of Fulk's daughter Mathilda). Mention of Fulk's 1120-1121 crusade is otherwise absent throughout the work. Refer to: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 15n2. It should be noted that Chartrou misdated the interval of Fulk's pilgrimage. For a corrective, see: Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 25n2. Subsequent commentators have not considered the two halves of Fulk's comital reign to be distinctive periods that warrant differentiated analysis. As an aside, it should also be noted that specialists of the military orders have remarked upon Fulk's 1120x1121 establishment of annual monetary support for the nascent Knights Templar as an example of early princely interest in the order, though the broader implications for comital identity fall outside of the interests of these works. See, for instance: Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 162-163.

⁵ Kimberly LoPrete has suggested that several participants in the fracas of 1111-1113 were able to be rallied to the Blésois cause through an appeal to their or their fathers' shared crusading experience with Adela's late husband, Stephen-Henry of Blois. See: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 332-333.

1181).⁶ Along similar lines, James Naus has highlighted the centrality of the failure of the Second Crusade in the discursive and material productions of the reign of King Louis VII of France (r. 1137-1180).⁷ Nevertheless, sustained considerations of the personal impact of crusading on princely governance in early twelfth century Latin Christendom remain *desiderata*, especially for the Angevin context.

In this chapter, I argue that the personal experience of crusade had a significant impact upon the rulership of Count Fulk V of Anjou. From the moment he had taken the crusading vow, pledging himself to tread the same ground as the biblical kings of Israel, Fulk began to review several key aspects of his authority as a lay prince in medieval Christendom. In certain respects, Fulk chose to reaffirm his existing practice of power. For instance, he elected to strengthen the authority of his functionaries as extensions of his own office, entrenching what may be deemed an incipient regional bureaucracy. In other respects, Fulk ventured in new directions, sometimes explicitly reversing course on previous policies of governance. Such change was especially the case with policies involving the count's functional role within broader political-cultural landscapes. Yet, the unifying thread in the performance of Angevin comital authority after Fulk's taking of the cross was the projection of princely rulership itself as a vehicle for personal and societal reform—in short, of *reformatio*. Fulk's experience of crusading was instrumental in this realignment.

⁶ Theodore Evergates, *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 16-33, 45-49. See also: Basit Hammad Qureshi, review of *Henry the Liberal: Count of Champagne, 1127-1181*, by Theodore Evergates, *Digital Philology* 5, 2 (2016), 250-253.

⁷ Naus, *Constructing Kingship*, 85-111.

In illuminating the connections between *reformatio*, crusading, and lay princely rulership, this chapter aims to build upon a series of landmark works by Giles Constable. A preeminent scholar of medieval church history, Constable has observed that the perceived need for *reformatio*, though always present in Latin Christian thought, had begun to appear with greater frequency in ecclesiastical discourses over the course of the eleventh century. Moreover, the achievement of *reformatio* was increasingly envisaged as renewal not only of one's own person but also of societal institutions. By the early twelfth century, the demand for *reformatio* had become especially pressing. Contemporaries wrote of their age as a time of unprecedented division, disorder, and confusion within the assorted structures of Latin Christendom.⁸ In response to such uncertainty, a diversity of spiritual reform movements flourished across western Europe, aiming to provide salvation through new or institutionally reformed religious communities. Wandering preachers, hermits, regular canons, and mixed congregations abounded especially in northwestern France. There, they found influential supporters whose patronage enabled them to establish an authoritative presence. The proliferation of competing reform movements confused the functional and conceptual boundaries between different communities and the places they occupied within cultural fabric of Christendom.⁹

The advent of the crusading phenomenon at the end of the eleventh century further complicated such matters. The theologically undefined status, as well as diverse

⁸ Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2-29. See also: Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁹ Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 44-87, 209-256.

backgrounds, of those early pilgrims who bore arms to fight for Christ in body and spirit meant that crusaders simultaneously occupied multiple positions in medieval society.¹⁰

The increasingly permeable boundaries between the categories of soldier, pilgrim, crusader, hermit, and monk inspired a cross-pollination of ideas about warfare and spirituality. For instance, as early as 1101, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* attributed to the crusading hero Bohemond of Antioch a speech in which Bohemond made clear that crusaders are to “be vigorous for God and the Holy Sepulcher, for [they] know, in truth, that such warfare is not of the flesh but of the spirit.”¹¹ Although later ecclesiastical authors would clarify the substance of such claims, the state of affairs in the third decade of the twelfth century remained ambiguous. What is clear is that contemporaries perceived crusading to be part and parcel of broader spiritual landscapes of reform, especially with the genesis of mixed orders from within the crusading environment itself, e.g. the Knights Templar.¹² The cumulative result was a confused yet generative intertwining of the conceptual threads of consecrated warfare, monasticism, eremitism, and penitential pilgrimage in contemporary medieval discourses.¹³

Fulk V could not have been ignorant of these intermingling currents of *reformatio*. The future count of Anjou grew up in the midst of several key figures in

¹⁰ Giles Constable, “The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society,” *Viator* 29 (1998), pp. 377-403: 377-387.

¹¹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 37: “...esto acer in adiutorium Dei Sanctique Sepulchri. Et revera scias quia hoc bellum carnale non est sed spirituale.”

¹² Giles Constable, “The Military Orders,” in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 165-182. This article is a revised and augmented edition of pp. 392-402 of Constable’s 1998 original, “Place of the Crusader,” cited above.

¹³ With regard to monastic influence upon the ‘local mental maps’ of *milites* in the early crusading context, refer to: Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 14-20, 285-288.

contemporary reform movements, from establishment luminaries such as Marbode of Rennes, Hildebert of Lavardin, and Geoffrey of Vendôme to itinerant preachers and their supporters, such as Robert of Arbrissel, Bernard of Tiron, and Ermengarde of Brittany, Fulk's own half-sister. It is, therefore, unsurprising that Fulk sought to locate his exercise of power within landscapes of reform that were already flourishing in western France. Although this effort began in the 1110s, the present chapter demonstrates that Fulk's acquisition of the liminal status of crusader meaningfully inflected the remainder of his reign as count. The experience of crusade inspired Fulk to reposition comital praxis itself as a performance of *reformatio* drawing upon contemporary as well as historical wellsprings of reformist legitimacy.

The first section of this chapter investigates Fulk's reconsideration of the composition of his *mouvance*. Having previously supplanted the great seigneurial lords with 'new men' of crusading prestige out of necessity, Fulk as crusader returned to the possibility of insinuating higher aristocrats within the exercise of his public authority. Although Fulk was not broadly successful in returning these individuals to the fold, the discursive performance of comital rulership during the 1120s reflects the count's effort to restore the perception of governance through the manifest counsel and consent of the realm's high aristocrats—the mythologized ideal of Carolingian governance—rather than through collaborative association with 'new men.' Part I of the second section of this chapter briefly addresses continuity in Fulk's administrative praxis after the experience of crusading: Fulk sought to maintain and even strengthen certain aspects of his governance which had proven successful in the rehabilitation of comital power during the previous decade. Part II of the second section illuminates the significance of the various post-1119

discontinuities in the performance of comital authority. I argue that, following his assumption of the cross in September 1119 and, especially, pursuant to his return from the Holy Land, Fulk enacted what might be deemed a ‘reformist realignment’ of comital rulership and ruling identity. The count reworked the performance of his authority to be one which explicitly positioned him as the lay spearhead for *reformatio* in Greater Anjou. In this realignment, Fulk sought not just the aggrandizement of his own authority but also the penitential salvation of Angevin society as a whole.¹⁴ These were objectives which resonated with, informed, and were bolstered by the crusading environment itself.

The Personnel of Governance after Crusade

As we saw in Chapter Three, Fulk V, following his accession to the countship of Anjou, found himself unable to bind the great seigneurial lords to his *mouvance*. This inability compelled Fulk to abandon dynastic traditions of rulership which prescribed governance through the procedural counsel and consent of the realm’s great aristocrats.¹⁵ Fulk recruited, instead, lesser aristocrats with crusading associations to populate his entourage and administration. These new men and their connections to the crusading environment enabled Fulk to establish a new sort of administrative praxis that would offset the perceived loss in prestige resulting from the non-participation of the realm’s great lords in the exercise of comital power. Before examining how Fulk reviewed such matters after

¹⁴ For similar ambitions in the thirteenth century royal context, see: William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

¹⁵ Cf: Bernard S. Bachrach, “Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*: The Techniques Used by Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins (987-1040),” *Speculum* 59, 4 (1984), 796-819.

1121, it is necessary to consider first the impact of his rulership in specific regard to his ongoing (non-)relationship with the greater seigneurial lords of Anjou.

A broad perception of ruling prestige and legitimacy was crucially important, *inter alia*, in mitigating baronial restiveness potentially leading to rebellion. Such restiveness was common in the French principalities of the early twelfth century. Many aristocrats, including those of Anjou since 1060, had become accustomed to a significantly greater degree of autonomy and would, thus, chafe against any princely efforts to strengthen centralized power.¹⁶ Yet, Fulk's crusade-inspired program to rehabilitate centralized comital authority managed to substantially deter baronial insurrection over the course of his reign. Between his accession in 1109 and the year 1114, Count Fulk had to confront alternately the castellans of Doué-la-Fontaine,¹⁷ L'Île-Bouchard,¹⁸ Brissac-Quincé,¹⁹ and Montrichard,²⁰ as well as a major coalition of unspecified barons.²¹ In the next six years, however, as many aspects of his praxis

¹⁶ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 301-352. In arguing for a process of decentralization which had begun after 1060 and had reached its apex by 1109, Guillot was revising the previous chronological framework of Halphen, who had suggested that decentralization only occurred but briefly during the earliest part of the twelfth century before being suppressed by the Angevin count. See: Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 202-205.

¹⁷ The siege occurred in 1109: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 120.

¹⁸ The siege occurred in 1109: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7.

¹⁹ The siege occurred in 1112: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 8; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 121.

²⁰ The siege occurred c.1109: GAD, 111.

²¹ Refer to: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7. The scribe conveys the scale of the baronial coalition and the ensuing conflict by describing the affair as a "war against the count" [*werra baronum contra comitem*]. The annals of Saint-Aubin infrequently deployed the term *werra/guerra*, reserving it for more devastating conflicts, such as that between Count Geoffrey V and his barons in 1145. See: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 11. It should be noted that Ms A of the Annals of Saint-Aubin records the 1114 conflict as a *guerra burgensium contra comitem*. This transcription is, however, contradicted by the other surviving manuscripts. The text's editor, Louis Halphen, remarked in his preface that Ms A often proves "une mauvaise transcription" of another of the more reliable manuscripts. See: *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen (Paris: A. Picard, 1903), xx. The date of Fulk's investment of Preuilly-sur-Claise, an additional baronial revolt of his reign, remains unclear. Its place in the series of comital investments related in the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum* suggests, however, that the

cohered, Fulk is known to have faced only one baronial revolt, that of John of Montbazon in 1118.²² In his eight final years as count of Anjou following his return from crusade in 1121, Fulk had to besiege only two castellans, the lords of Doué-la-Fontaine (for a second time) and Montreuil-Bellay.²³ To be sure, Fulk's recurrent absence from Greater Anjou encouraged such insurrection on its own terms; while the prince was away, medieval barons inevitably sought to play.²⁴ However, Fulk was consistently engaged in military campaigns in the Norman marchlands and elsewhere throughout his comital reign.²⁵ The uneven distribution of baronial sedition cannot, therefore, be attributed clearly to Fulk's presence or lack thereof in Anjou during certain periods. Since the overall trajectory of decline coincided with the coherence of Fulk's mode of rulership, this latter factor is more plausibly to credit for having generated the legitimacy necessary to stay the hand of many of Fulk's barons.

Perhaps as further testament to the efficacy of Fulk's praxis, it should be noted that the three known baronial revolts between 1114 and 1129 appear not to have been general challenges to comital authority with the aim of reasserting aristocratic autonomy. Specific, contingent motivations seem to have been the impetus for these insurrections.

siege occurred between the incidents at Montrichard (c. 1109) and Montbazon (1118), perhaps as part of the general baronial revolt of 1114. See: GCA, 68.

²² GCA, 68.

²³ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 120-121.

²⁴ Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 26-35.

²⁵ For Fulk's central place within broader regional affairs during the 1110s, refer to: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 4-15; LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 317-349; C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. A. Clark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 221-279. For the same during the 1120s, see: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 15-24; Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 168-205; Sandy Burton Hicks, "The Impact of William Clito upon the Continental Policies of Henry I of England," *Viator* 10 (1979), 1-21; Karl Leyser, "The Anglo-Norman Succession 1120-25," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990*, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), 225-241.

According to the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, Fulk's siege of Montbazou in 1118 was the consequence of John's stated refusal to surrender the fortress, even though Fulk had already begun paying him for its acquisition.²⁶ Later evidence clarifies the nature of the agreement on which John of Montbazou had reneged: Fulk had sought to purchase control of the castle itself as well as half the lordship of the castellany, with the other half to remain as John's *honor*.²⁷ By attempting to back out of the deal, John had forced the confrontation with Fulk, who, upon seizing control of the castle, still generously paid John the remainder of the agreed-upon sum and allowed him to maintain his half of the lordship of Montbazou. The second baronial revolt between 1114 and 1129 transpired in 1123 when the count besieged, for a second time, the castle of Doué-la-Fontaine.²⁸ That same year, Fulk had rebuked Michael of Doué, the recently-installed comital provost at Montbazou, for contesting some lands belonging to the Abbey of Cormery. In addition to publicly interrogating Michael and then forcing him to relinquish any claim to those lands, Fulk dismissed or censured several of the men in Michael's service.²⁹ It is probable that Fulk also discharged Michael from the provostship, as Fulk had done with the two previous, misbehaving provosts at Montbazou.³⁰ Thus, rather than a general referendum on Fulk's perceived legitimacy, the insurrection at Doué-la-

²⁶ GCA, 68: "*Ipse Montem Basonis a Iehanne, ipsius oppidi domino, emit. Cum autem Iehannes, accepta iam parte pecunie, peniteret, fortissimus Fulco oppidum illud obsedit et ad reddendum sibi coegit, redditaque promissa pecunia, castellum obtinuit.*"

²⁷ A notice relating events of c. 1121 identifies an Archembaud fitz Ulger as "lord of half the castrum" [*dominus medietatis castris*] of Montbazou alongside a Paganus Burduth as provost of the comital castle of Montbazou. See: Catalog n. [F 85] (c. 1121), *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours*, n. 69, pp. 92-93. John of Montbazou continued on as the other half-lord of the castellany, serving as a notable lay aristocratic witness in a comital adjudication at Le Mans on 31 May 1128. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 112] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, ns. 1500-1501, ff. 256r-258r.

²⁸ "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 120.

²⁹ Catalog n. [F 90] (1123), *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113.

³⁰ Alongside the present *actum*, see: [F 85], esp. the discussion; [F 86]; [F 56].

Fontaine in 1123 may have been specific retaliation for the perceived ill treatment of a member of Doué's seigneurial family.³¹

The last rebellion of Fulk's reign occurred at Montreuil-Bellay in 1124.³² Joseph Chartrou has attributed the comital investment of Montreuil-Bellay to its lord's support of King Henry I of England in the resurgent conflict that year between Henry and the coalition of which Fulk V was a part.³³ Chartrou presumably bases this claim on the mention in the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* that Henry frequently bribed various Angevin and Manceaux lords in order to inconvenience Fulk at home, thereby impeding Fulk's engagements against Henry elsewhere.³⁴ The susceptibility of the lord of Montreuil-Bellay—either Berlai or Girard-Berlai at this time—to such tactics may be questioned.³⁵ Located approximately sixteen kilometers south-southwest of the comital stronghold of Saumur, Montreuil-Bellay was part of the cluster of fortifications which

³¹ The lord of Doué-la-Fontaine at this time may still have been Geoffrey of Doué, the son of Griscia of Montsoreau and of Gautier of Montsoreau as well as the nephew of Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay and cousin of Girard-Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay. See: Catalog n. [F 37] (1109x1115), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 10; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 225. Indeed, Geoffrey appears to have been the *dominus* of Doué in 1109x1120 at least. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 47r-v; Christian Cussonneau, "Une famille de chevalerie Saumuroise: Les Roinard de Boumois (XIe-XVe siècles)," *Archives d'Anjou* 7 (2003), pp. 5-23: 11. Michael of Doué's position within this kin group is unclear, though certain. In 1109x1120, Michael witnessed Maurice Roonard's donation of the *vicaria* of Chavais—located in the northern environs of Doué-la-Fontaine—to the monks of Saint-Florent alongside several landholding *milites*. A short time later, recorded within the same cartulary notice, Geoffrey of Doué, his brothers, and his mother confirmed the concession of the aforementioned donation by Maurice's son Absalom. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 47r-v, with broader discussion in Catalog n. [F 68] (1109x1120).

³² "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 8; "Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," 121; GCA, 68.

³³ Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 27-28. For the confrontations of 1124, which had carried over from 1123, see: Orderic Vitalis, VI: 330-336, 342-346.

³⁴ GCA, 68.

³⁵ Berlai II remained active into late April 1120 alongside his son, Girard-Berlai, who succeeded the former soon thereafter. See: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, ns. 88-89, pp. 164-167. Mark Blincoc discusses this evidence as a corrective to the suggestion that Berlai II may have been dead at the time of the Battle of Alençon in 1118: Blincoc, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," 136n120, responding to Richard Barton, "Writing Warfare, Lordship, and History: The *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*'s Account of the Battle of Alençon," in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXVII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 32-51: 41.

Count Fulk Nerra built to defend the Saumurois and, ultimately, the western river-approach to Angers against Poitevin incursions via Thouars.³⁶ In other words, Montreuil-Bellay was entrenched within the heart of the Angevin defensive network, and this situation discouraged its lord to revolt alone against the count of Anjou; Montreuil-Bellay was not an easy mark for Henry I's bribes.³⁷ Furthermore, the seigneurial family of Montreuil-Bellay and those within their immediate kin network had hitherto maintained amicable relations with Count Fulk V, especially vis-à-vis King Henry I. Lord Berlai is recorded as having fought alongside Fulk against Henry's forces at the Battle of Alençon in December 1118.³⁸ Berlai and his brother-in-law Gautier of Montsoreau accompanied Count Fulk to Jerusalem in 1120.³⁹ Some of Montreuil-Bellay's landholding clients, such as William Garini, counted themselves amid Fulk's entourage.⁴⁰ Therefore, it appears unlikely that King Henry had been the inspiration for the 1124 revolt by the castle's seigneurial family.

³⁶ Bachrach, "Angevin Strategy of Castle Building," 556.

³⁷ Historically, the lords of Montreuil-Bellay rebelled as part of a broader coalition of Angevin barons. See, for instance, the insurrection following the commencement of the reign of Count Geoffrey V: JM, 201.

³⁸ CCA, 159. See above for Barton's claim that Berlai II may have been dead in 1118 and Blincoe's corrective.

³⁹ With regard to Berlai's participation on Fulk's crusade of 1120-1121, see: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, ns. 88-89, pp. 164-167; Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," 134-135. Gautier of Montsoreau's wife, Griscia, was the sister of Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 225, 227. For 21 May 1121, Gautier of Montsoreau is described as having been on the *viam Ierosolimitanae peregrinationis*, forcing his son and heir William to testify on the matter of a disputed gift of his father. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 398, pp. 392-393. The notice's dating of the act to 1122 *anno incarnationis* and the thirteenth indiction is an impossibility. By 1122, the Angevin host had already returned from the Holy Land; if Gautier had failed to return, William would have testified as the lord of Montsoreau, not as the lord's son. Although the thirteenth indiction of that era ran a calendar year from 1/24 September 1119 (or, more uncommonly, 1 January 1120), it is more likely that the recorded indiction of XIII is a mistranscription for XIV, much as the recorded year of 1122 *incarnationis* (25 December 1121 to 24 December 1122) is a mistranscription of 1121 *incarnationis*: on 21 May 1120, the Angevin host yet remained in Anjou, i.e. Gautier could not yet have been described to be on the *viam* to Jerusalem..

⁴⁰ For William Garini, refer to: Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 427, pp. 197-200; Catalog n. [F 64] (1116x1119), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1291, fol. 119v.

Instead, the instrumental factor may have been Fulk's ill treatment of a papal envoy bearing unwelcome news in later 1124. Succumbing to King Henry's "pecuniary inducements" and the promise to allow a papal legate to enter England, Pope Calixtus II had agreed to declare consanguineous the recent marriage of Fulk's daughter Sibyl and William Clito.⁴¹ To encourage recognition of the annulment, the pope wrote a letter on 26 August 1124 to the bishops of Chartres, Orléans, and Paris, instructing them to place under interdict any area which hosted William Clito; the threat of interdict was to stand until such a time that William Clito repudiated Fulk's daughter. A papal envoy delivered this news and the letter of annulment directly to Fulk. Upon reading the letter, Fulk burned the parchment, followed by the beards and hair of the papal envoy, whom he then threw in prison.⁴² For his actions, Count Fulk was excommunicated, and his lands were placed under an interdict which lasted until at least 12 April 1125.⁴³ Although this appears not to have impeded Fulk's relations with ecclesiastical lords in Greater Anjou, it is probable that some more pious lay lords took exception to tolerating an excommunicate whose behavior had brought a sentence of interdict upon their shared

⁴¹ Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119-1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 164-167, at 166. The marriage significantly strengthened the claim of William Clito, Robert Curthose's son, to the Anglo-Norman throne. King Henry I was highly motivated to weaken the increasingly significant support coalescing around William Clito in the earlier 1120s. For an overview, refer to: Sandy Burton Hicks, "The Impact of William Clito upon the Continental Policies of Henry I of England," *Viator* 10 (1979), 1-21. See also: David Crouch, *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 229-238; Sandy Burton Hicks, "From Tinchebrai to Alost: a Study of the Diplomacy and Warfare between King Henry I and his Continental Rivals for Control of Normandy, 1106-1128," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974); C. Warren Hollister, "The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126: Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy," *Journal of Medieval History* 1, 1 (1975), 19-41; Karl Leyser, "The Anglo-Norman Succession 1120-25," in *Anglo-Norman Studies XIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1990*, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), 225-241.

⁴² RHGF, XV: 251, 258, as cited in C. Warren Hollister and Thomas K. Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," *The Journal of British Studies* 12, 2 (1973), pp. 1-25: 11n45.

⁴³ Sandy Burton Hicks, "The Anglo-Papal Bargain of 1125: The Legatine Mission of John of Crema," *Albion* 8, 4 (Winter, 1976), pp. 301-310: 308-309.

realm.⁴⁴ As the earliest and some of the most generous lay patrons of the flourishing Abbey of Fontevraud, the seigneurial family of Montreuil-Bellay would have been well known for its piety, which, naturally, extended to a defense of the church.⁴⁵ Combined with the circumstance that Fulk had besieged during the previous year Doué-la-Fontaine, which may still have been in the lordship of a close relation of the seigneurial family of Montreuil-Bellay, the lord of Montreuil-Bellay had ample reason to protest the count's recent behavior.⁴⁶ That behavior, as well as the subsequent revolt at Montreuil-Bellay, was the result of highly contingent circumstances rather than broad trends.

Indeed, the few instances of castellans revolting between 1114 and 1129 do not appear to have been the function of generalized discontent or restiveness on the part of the Angevin baronage; Fulk's rulership had managed to prevent such outcomes following the first five years of endemic rebellion in his comital reign. Therefore, one might expect that Fulk's recruitment of new men of crusading association, in lieu of seigneurial lords, and their subsequent integration within the performance of his authority would be a

⁴⁴ As concerns the continuing relations with ecclesiastical lords: on 9 October, Hildebert of Lavardin, Bishop of Le Mans, solicited Count Fulk and Countess Aremburge for a foundational grant to an order of Augustinian canons which Hildebert had established at Notre-Dame of Beaulieu-lès-Mans. See: Catalog n. [F 94] (1124), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 17124, p. 87. On 25 November, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme accepted a gift from the comital family in exchange for agreeing to have the Vendômois congregations of the mother-abbey and L'Evière in Angers celebrate the family's anniversaries in the manner of abbatial anniversaries. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 95] (1124), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 449, pp. 235-237.

⁴⁵ For the foundational years of the community, see: Daniel Prigent, "Fontevraud au début du XIIe siècle: Les premiers temps d'une communauté ecclésiastique," in *Robert d'Arbrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'Ouest de la France*, ed. Jacques Dalarun (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 255-280. For the seigneurial family of Montreuil-Bellay as lay patrons whose benefactions to Fontevraud were outweighed only by the counts of Anjou, see the involvement of Lord Berlai and his son and successor Lord Girard-Berlai: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 142, 143, 222, 225-227, 229, 230, 232, 233, 235, 368, 392, 409, 415, 455, 499, 545, 576, 646, 684, 735, 736, 796, 798, 947(7), 947(8).

⁴⁶ Through his mother, Geoffrey of Doué-la-Fontaine, who may still have been castellan at Doué in 1123, was the nephew of Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay and cousin of Girard-Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay. See: Catalog n. [F 37] (1109x1115), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 10; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 225.

consistent strategy across his reign. However, evidence suggests that Fulk may have abandoned at least the latter dimension of this strategy after 1121. In contrast to the previous decade, comital charters of the 1120s do not feature a novel array of appearances by new men whose documentary participation subsequently recurs as part of the exercise of comital power.⁴⁷ Rather, comital acts between 1121 and 1129 depict a very select group of core *fideles* routinely accompanying the count in his affairs of governance, namely Geoffrey of Ramefort,⁴⁸ Geoffrey fitz Garinus,⁴⁹ and Gervase of Troyes.⁵⁰ What happened to those new men whose integration into the discursive performance of comital authority was key in the formulation of Fulk's administrative praxis during the 1110s?

Many all but disappeared from Fulk's remaining comital charters. In the case of Archalois, who attested at least twenty-five comital acts before 1121, his disappearance may reflect his actual absence from the region. Indeed, no documents reliably date Archalois' presence in Greater Anjou after May 1120, suggesting that he accompanied Fulk V that year to the Holy Land, where he may have died or chosen to remain.⁵¹

However, as concerns some of the most prominent of the other new men, evidence hints

⁴⁷ An exception might be the c. 1121 appearance of Robert fitz Renaud, who subsequently appears with great frequency in comital charters as chief seneschal. However, as I discuss in Chapter Three, Robert was likely the son of one of Fulk's crusading *fideles* and may, thus, have hitherto been an obscured part of the comital *mouvance*, i.e. one of the various individuals whose presence was usually not perceived to be significant enough to reify in comital charters. For Robert fitz Renaud's pre-1121 appearance in the comital *mouvance*, refer to: Catalog n. [F 13] (1109), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93, pp. 171-174.

⁴⁸ [F 84]; [F 89]; [F 87]; [F 88]; [F 90]; [F 94]; [F 100]; [F 104]; [F 106]; [F 108]; [F 120]; [F 98]; [F 110]; [F 111]; [F 124]; [F 123].

⁴⁹ [F 84]; [F 89]; [F 88]; [F 90]; [F 95]; [F 96]; [F 97]; [F 94]; [F 106]; [F 111].

⁵⁰ [F 88]; [F 95]; [F 96]; [F 97]; [F 64]; [F 94]; [F 106]; [F 108]; [F 114]; [F 111]; [F 124].

⁵¹ Archalois' final appearance in Anjou was on 20 May 1120, when he witnessed an act in the chapter of Saint-Maurice of Angers in the company of Bishop Renaud. The Jerusalem-bound departure of the Angevin host was imminent. See: *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 112, pp. 195-197.

at the enduring intimacy of their place within Fulk's *mouvance*, if not their realized presence within comital charters. For instance, on 10 June 1127, when Geoffrey V traveled to Rouen in order to be received by King Henry I in advance of Geoffrey's marriage to the king's daughter and heiress, Fulk had sent Jacquelin of Maillé, Robert of Semblançay, Arduin of Cinq-Mars, Robert of Blou, and Paganus of Clairvaux as his son's baronial escort.⁵² The escort would not have been entirely ceremonial: King Henry I and Count Fulk V had warred over much of the past twenty years, and the former had previously restrained the latter's family members as unwilling hostages at his court.⁵³ That is to say, Fulk trusted these individuals with the safety of his eldest son and heir, as Geoffrey ventured into hostile territory. Although the first two of these figures—Jacquelin of Maillé and Robert of Semblançay—are generally obscure within the comital *mouvance*, the latter three are well attested in comital charters from the first decade of Fulk's comital reign.⁵⁴ Arduin of Cinq-Mars held a series of officerships, participated in at least ten comital charters, and even served as one of the leading judges of Fulk's *curia*

⁵² JM, 178. Although John of Marmoutier does massage certain narrative details in order to craft a particular image of harmonious comital-baronial relations (notwithstanding baronial revolts as the exceptions to prove the rule), there is no apparent reason why John would have fabricated the presence of these five individuals, whose lordships were relatively minor and of little significance outside of their functional role within Fulk's praxis. For the regional triviality of these lordships refer to: Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 31n5, 38n1, 40n4, 40n6, 40n8.

⁵³ Following William Adelin's drowning on the White Ship, King Henry I refused to allow Fulk's daughter Mathilda, who had been married to William Adelin, to return to the Angevin court. The king also held onto her dowry of Maine for some time. Refer to: OV, VI: 330-332. Preferring the accounts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Historia* of Symeon of Durham—for reasons which are not specified—Hollister has indicated that Henry did peacefully return Mathilda to Fulk upon the count's return to Europe. Refer to: Hollister, *Henry I*, 290n34. The gesture would appear to be out of step with Henry's continued designs upon the county of Maine: restraining Mathilda as a guest at the Anglo-Norman court would be more advantageous in pushing royal advantage in the contested principality.

⁵⁴ For Jacquelin of Maillé's participation in the comital *mouvance*, see: Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r; Catalog n. [F 114] (1128), AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 69r. Jacquelin is also listed among the list of comital partisans at Alençon in 1118: CCA, 157. Robert of Semblançay has no known attestations in Fulk's charters.

in his absence.⁵⁵ The lord of Blou and a certain “Champigny,” Robert of Blou attested nine comital charters through 1120.⁵⁶ Paganus of Clairvaux participated in a half-dozen such acts, often alongside his brother Geoffrey of Clairvaux, who had served as Fulk’s chief seneschal and held, as comital *fidelis*, the lordship of Durtal after 1116.⁵⁷ In contrast to their prominent roles before 1121, these three individuals were rarely present in comital charters between 1121 and 1129. Neither Paganus of Clairvaux nor Robert of Blou appeared in any comital acts reliably dated to this later period. On both occasions of Arduin’s post-1120 participation, his personal connections with the disputed matters at hand demanded explicit mention of his involvement.⁵⁸ Yet, as we saw above, these individuals clearly remained on intimate terms with Count Fulk, serving as the baronial escort for Fulk’s son when the young man journeyed to the continental capital of his father’s greatest adversary.

Additional evidence further suggests an ongoing relationship between Fulk and the new men who no longer appeared in his charters. For instance, despite the complete post-1120 obscuration of the formerly prominent Clairvaux-Champchévrier brothers, Peter of Champchévrier remained on sufficiently intimate terms with Fulk to have chosen not only to travel with the count to the Holy Land in 1129 but to accompany him there

⁵⁵ See Chapter Three more generally, but with regard to his service as a leading judge in Fulk’s *curia* during the count’s absence, refer to: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 432, pp. 422-423; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 723, p. 680.

⁵⁶ Catalog ns: [F 8]; [F 38]; [F 35]; [F 53]; [F 59]; [F 63]; [F 24]; [F 77]; [F 76]. For the lordship of Champigny, see: Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 38n1.

⁵⁷ For Paganus of Clairvaux, refer to: [F 27]; [F 35]; [F 40]; [F 51]; [F 64]; [F 70]; [F 80]. For Geoffrey of Clairvaux, see Chapter Three.

⁵⁸ In c.1120x1126, Arduin, who is noted to have been married to the disputant’s daughter, brokered a peace between the monks of Marmoutier and his father-in-law, following comital adjudication. Catalog n. [F 104] (c.1120x1126), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 303, piece 4. In 1128, Fulk called upon Arduin, as well as some of his other barons, to confirm their previous relinquishment of claims upon lands of the Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur. Catalog n. [F 111] (1128), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2117, piece 2.

permanently. For, Peter appears to have relinquished his own lordship of Champchévrier before departing from Anjou.⁵⁹ Several of Fulk's new men, such as Peter Roonard, reappeared within the comital *mouvance*, following a decade-long absence, upon the accession of Fulk's son, Geoffrey, in 1129.⁶⁰ Indeed, some reappeared to occupy prominent positions within the discursive performance of comital authority under Count Geoffrey V (r. 1129-1151). For example, in addition to participating in seventeen of Geoffrey's *acta*, Paganus of Clairvaux served as the count's diplomatic representative in England.⁶¹ Joscelin Roonard, who had also vanished from comital charters during the 1120s despite having been a prominent recipient of Fulk's patronage during the previous decade, witnessed several of Count Geoffrey's charters, beginning as early as 1131,⁶² and

⁵⁹ A new lord of Champchévrier attests in a record dated to 1130; the proximate timeframe suggests that Peter had voluntarily relinquished his lordship before leaving for the Holy Land in early 1129. See: *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, II, p. 77. In an act which Marchegay dated to c.1150, a certain Geoffrey of Champchévrier made a donation on behalf, inter alia, of his brother Peter who is noted to have died in Jerusalem. *Archives d'Anjou*, II, n. 8, pp. 57-58 (dated on p. 86). This Geoffrey may be Geoffrey of Clairvaux—also Peter's brother—appearing here under a different toponym here. Blincoe has indicated that this act cannot be dated to c.1150 as that would be too late for Peter's brother to be alive; however, Geoffrey of Clairvaux is otherwise known to have still been active around 1150. See: Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," II, n. 66, pp. 517-519; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 96, citing RRAN, III, n. 806.

⁶⁰ Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, ns. 37, 38, 93. The possible timeframes for the *acta* of Count Geoffrey V are particularly difficult to narrow with certainty.

⁶¹ Kathryn Dutton, "The Personnel of Comital Administration in Greater Anjou, 1129-1151," *Haskins Society Journal* 23 (2014), pp. 125-153: 144-145. The earliest reliably dated attestation of Paganus of Clairvaux occurred in 1135, though there are attestations potentially dating to 1129. For the attestation of 1135, refer to: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 868; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 46. Paganus' brother, Geoffrey of Clairvaux, lord of Durtal, re-appeared on only two occasions, once in 1133 and again after 1150. Refer to: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 89, correcting the date to 1133 from 1130; *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 96.

⁶² Joscelin Roonard's earliest reliably dated attestation is in 1131, though, as with Paganus of Clairvaux, there are acts potentially dated to 1129. See: BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, V, ns. 1527 and 1535, as edited and discussed in Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix III, n. 1. For the otherwise participation of Joscelin in Geoffrey's acts, refer to: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 89 (1133); *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 93 (1138); *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 42 (1144); *Ibid.*, Appendix VI, n. 41 (c.1134); *Ibid.*, Appendix VI, n. 10 (1134).

is found in 1138 as *nutricius* for Geoffrey's younger son.⁶³ It appears likely, therefore, that Fulk had maintained the new men within his *mouvance* and perhaps even continued recruiting them into his apparatus of rulership during the 1120s. However, the count no longer requested the realization of these individuals within the discursive space of his charters.⁶⁴ Given that their appearance was initially the function of a legitimacy deficit tethered to the Angevin dynasty's non-participation in crusading, it follows that their systemic integration in the performance of comital authority was no longer deemed a priority once Fulk had himself participated in the crusading enterprise.

Following the experience of crusade, Fulk strived, instead, to restore the place of the high aristocracy within the discursive performance of his authority.⁶⁵ Although Fulk

⁶³ Kathryn Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit: The Upbringing of Angevin Comital Children," *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 24-40: 32-33. It should also be noted that Absalom, the brother of both Joscelin and Peter Roonard, is one of the most well-attested *fideles* of Geoffrey V. See: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, ns. 4, 5, 19, 37, 38, 39, 45, 77, 90, 92, 101, 103, 112. It is perhaps through Geoffrey's benefaction that Absalom is indicated to be lord of Lavardin in 1130. See: Christian Cussonneau, "Une famille de chevalerie Saumuroise: Les Roinard de Boumois (XIe-XVe siècles)," *Archives d'Anjou* 7 (2003), pp. 5-23: 10.

⁶⁴ Witness lists for charters were not necessarily comprehensive enumerations of individuals in attendance. In royal diplomatic, in particular, charters could and did serve as imaginative spaces in which benefactors and beneficiaries reified their ideas about who should be signified to have been present rather than who necessarily was or was not. See the important article by David Bates: David Bates, "The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters," in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the tenth to the twelfth century*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 89-102: 91-92. The depth of Bates' pessimism concerning the enduring utility of witness lists writ large goes too far, in my estimation. Regardless, his exhortation for greater caution in handling these discursive constructions is absolutely on point.

⁶⁵ Although this section (and this project as a whole) focuses on the aristocracy of Greater Anjou, it should be mentioned here that Fulk's *mouvance* included two Norman lords from influential aristocratic families. The first was Arnulf of Montgomery, a younger brother of the Anglo-Norman magnate Robert of Bellême. Following Robert's imprisonment by King Henry I, Arnulf appears to have spent much of his time in exile at the court of one of Robert's key supporters: Fulk of Anjou. For Arnulf's frequent presence at the comital court until 1122, refer to: Catalog ns. [F 34], [F 48], [F 51], [F 59], [F 60], [F 35], [G 1-4], [F 66], [F 86], [F 87]. Arnulf's participation was, at any rate, never more elaborate than mere attestation. For Arnulf's death by 1122, at the latest, see: Kathleen Thompson, "Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery," *Annales de Normandie* 45,1 (1995), 49-53. The second Anglo-Norman lord was Amaury Crespin from the Crespin/Crispin family. Amaury must have entered Fulk's service through the count's various anti-English campaigns in the Norman marchlands. In a comital confirmation of 1121x1123, it is indicated that Amaury had, by 1117, married Warmaise, the daughter of Geoffrey of Jarzé, widow of

was not comprehensively successful in this aim, comital charters reveal a concerted effort to reform and reshape prevailing landscapes of power in accordance with mythologized ideals of lordly-client relations. The count's relationship with the seigneurial family of Blaison is exemplary.⁶⁶ Located immediately to the east of Angers along the Loire River, the stronghold of Blaison had been occupied for the previous century by a kin group holding significant privileges in the surrounding region through the favor of the counts of Anjou.⁶⁷ The House of Blaison extensively participated in comital governance into the 1080s, at which point they, like many aristocrats, receded from the count's *mouvance*.⁶⁸ Fulk V's elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II (d. 1106), managed to secure a cleric, who was likely derived from the seigneurial family, to serve as his chaplain around 1105.⁶⁹ This

Geoffrey of Briollay, and heiress to Champtoceaux, a castle along the Angevin-Breton frontier. Paganus of Montrevault remained *dominus* of Champtoceaux until 1118, and Amaury's acquisition of Champtoceaux by 1124 (following Paganus' retirement as a canon of Toussaint) in lieu of Paganus' brother, Rolland, who inherited Montrevault, may have been secured through the count's influence. Fulk, in any case, had endowed Amaury with various properties within the heartland of Anjou, which Amaury is seen donating in 1124x1126. For the comital confirmation of 1121x1123, see: Catalog n. [F 89] (1121x1123), BM Angers, ms. 829 (745), fol. 34r-v. For Paganus of Montrevault as *dominus* of Champtoceaux still in 1118 and his retirement as canon at Toussaint c. 1124x1126, refer to: Véron, *L'intégration des Mauges*, 144-145; AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1317. For Amaury's donation of 1124x1126, wherein he is identified as *dominus* of Champtoceaux and an Angevin comital client, refer to: Catalog n. [F 106] (1124x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, G 789, piece 1.

⁶⁶ Blaison is identified alternately as Blazone, Blazon, or Blaison-Gohier. Today, it is part of the commune of Blaison-Saint-Sulpice (c. Les Ponts-de-Cé, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire).

⁶⁷ Toward 1046, Odo of Blaison was identified as a *vassus dominicus*, a somewhat ambiguous title which perhaps refers to an individual entrusted with an inheritable guardianship of a comital castle. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 349-350, 350n326, citing *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 213.

⁶⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 269-270.

⁶⁹ Catalog n. [F 6] (1104-1105), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135. Geoffrey's precise relation within the kin group of Blaison is unclear, though the evidence is suggestive. When various gifts of the seigneurial family of Blaison were being confirmed at the Abbey of Saint-Maur in 1123x1126, Geoffrey was recorded as the only named witness *de parte monachorum*, other than the abbey's prior and abbot; this gestures toward both Geoffrey's own retired status by 1123x1126 as a monk at Saint-Maur as well as the perceived relevance of explicitly recording Geoffrey's presence for a gift from the family of Blaison, i.e. his kin. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 105] (1123x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 24r-v. In a partially preserved act, Thibaut of Blaison, lord of the stronghold by 1129, granted to Fontevraud a tithe on a certain toll, and the relevant charter seemingly indicates that a *nepos* of Geoffrey of Blaison was a part of Thibaut's entourage. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 298, p. 300. Geoffrey of Blaison was known to have held some vineyards from Lord Philip of Blaison in 1115x1116. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 413, pp. 406-407.

individual, Geoffrey of Blaison, subsequently attended to Fulk V during the 1110s as one of a handful of comital chaplains.⁷⁰ However, Fulk had no documented relationship with the then-lord of Blaison, a certain Philip.⁷¹

This changed with John of Blaison, who succeeded Philip after 1116. On at least four occasions, John participated in acts of comital governance.⁷² Although one of these occasions occurred in 1118, the other three postdate Fulk's taking of the cross. Moreover, it is in the post-1121 period that we witness a profound, symbolic strengthening of the relationship between the lords of Blaison and the counts of Anjou. In a charter produced at the Abbey of Saint-Maur, Fulk and his family confirmed, in the presence of John and his own family, various gifts which the latter had made to the abbey of all their holdings about the castellany of Blaison.⁷³ Following the discursive practices of the former decade, comital productions of the 1120s continued to decree Fulk as "consul" of Anjou; here, John of Blaison is announced alongside Fulk as "proconsul."⁷⁴

⁷⁰ In 1113, Geoffrey witnessed a comital benefaction to the Abbey of Saint-Aubin; the gift was made at his own house in Angers. See: Catalog n. [F 28] (1113), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 80r. In 1109x1115, Geoffrey was a witness *de parte dominae Petronillae* concerning an aristocratic sale made to Prioress Petronilla and the Abbey of Fontevraud, a sale for which Count Fulk gave his consent as lord of the *feodum* from which the sale drew. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 41] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 166, pp. 157-158. Following the death of Robert of Arbrissel, Geoffrey wished to re-issue his previous, extensive gifts to Fontevraud and, so, asked Fulk to consent again to them in the presence of the vast assembly of laymen and ecclesiastics. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 53] (1116), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 455, pp. 445-446. The other comital chaplains during this period included Geoffrey Caiaphas, Geoffrey of Restigné, Fulcoius, Arnaud, and Mainerius. Geoffrey of Blaison, along with Fulcoius, may have been the only comital chaplain who was not a canon of the college of Saint-Laud of Angers. For a discussion of the links between Saint-Laud and the comital chaplaincy, refer to: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 126-127

⁷¹ In 1115x1116, Philip of Blaison made various gifts to the Abbey of Fontevraud, including the provision of consent for some vineyards which Geoffrey of Blaison held from him. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 413, pp. 406-407.

⁷² Catalog n. [F 62] (1118), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 432, pp. 422-423, and *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 723, p. 680, where Fulk is absent for the adjudication of his court; Catalog n. [F 87] (1121x1122), BNF, ms. français 27246, original piece 762; Catalog n. [F 105] (1123x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 24r-v.

⁷³ Catalog n. [F 105] (1123x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 24r-v.

⁷⁴ For Fulk V as consul of Anjou during the 1120s, refer to: [F 84]; [F 90]; [F 111]; [F 119]. The matter will be discussed at greater length below.

Fulk would not have granted this title lightly. In addition to the prestige conferred through Roman association, twelfth century contemporaries would have perceived the honorific as heralding the potential restoration of the viscomital office of Anjou. Count Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) had saw fit to suppress the Angevin viscountship in the earliest years of the eleventh century. Olivier Guillot has argued that Fulk Nerra felt threatened both by the inheritability of the office as well as by the possibility that the viscounts might exploit their delegated authority to supplant that of the count in regional landscapes of power, much as the counts themselves had done with regard to their own *honor* delegated from the late Carolingian kings.⁷⁵ Yet, Fulk Nerra maintained the descendants of the last viscount of Anjou within the comital *mouvance*, where they remained through the third quarter of the eleventh century. This was the likely provenance of the House of Blaison.⁷⁶ Fulk V had, thus, restored the viscomital office as a means of luring the last viscount's contemporary descendants back into the *mouvance* of the contemporary descendant of the count who had suppressed their former *honor*.

Fulk V would have been aware of his predecessor's reasons for wresting the viscomital honorific from John's ancestors. Fulk would, thus, have understood the significance as well as danger of restoring that honorific. Indeed, in 1129, when Fulk's son, Count Geoffrey V, faced a coalition of rebellious barons, John's son, Thibaut of Blaison, is intimated to have been the spearhead of the conspiracy, perhaps buoyed by his authority as viscount of Anjou.⁷⁷ Yet, as with various decisions of patronage and

⁷⁵ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 397-398.

⁷⁶ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 220n103, 350n326.

⁷⁷ JM, 202-203; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," 34. The lords of Blaison do not subsequently appear as viscount, suggesting that Geoffrey had stripped the House of its restored office following the rebellion.

personnel during the 1110s, Fulk here seems to have believed that the potential reward outweighed the risk: the conferral of the viscomital title would prove to be of greater advantage in the performance of Fulk's authority during the 1120s, now that he was a crusading prince in crusading lands. It cannot be coincidental that John of Blaison's first appearance in comital charters occurred in an act that, uniquely among Fulk's *acta*, fully reproduced the text of an original donation by Fulk Nerra.⁷⁸ The reproduction of Fulk Nerra's benefaction not only explained the origins of the contemporary gift—the chapel of Saint-Sauveur at the comital castle of Langeais—but also reestablished a performative link to an idealized past wherein the greatest of the Angevin counts, with his aristocrats in tow, had catapulted the principality of Anjou to its historic pinnacle of greatness. In seeking to renew such fortunes, Fulk V was obligated to follow suite; restoring the place of the viscounts by his side would have been an important part of the tableau of idealized Angevin rulership for a new era.

As we saw in Chapter Three, however, Fulk's early efforts to return the seigneurial lords to the comital *mouvance* had not met with success. Such failure had fatefully compelled the count to devise viable alternatives. Provided the ensuing success of those alternatives, why was Fulk, now in the 1120s, aiming to try again with his overmighty barons? The impetus for Fulk's resumption of such efforts during the 1120s, as well as the reason for their partial success, should be attributed to his personal acquisition of crusading status. For, apart from the House of Blaison, the only seigneurial

⁷⁸ Catalog n. [F 62] (1118), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826. After the count, countess, and the comital heir, John as well as his son Thibaut are the highest-ranked witnesses recorded for the benefaction.

kin-groups who responded to Fulk's overtures from 1121 to 1129 were those of intimate crusading association.

In other words, Fulk was only able to leverage his crusading credentials to establish the support of influential seigneurial families that were led by fellow crusaders. The count's relationship with the House of Le Plessis-Macé is illustrative. Occupying a stronghold twelve kilometers northwest of Angers, the seigneurial family of Plessis-Macé maintained close ties of patronage with the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas in Angers.⁷⁹ Despite such activity, the documentary presence of the crusading lords of Plessis-Macé had not intersected with that of the counts of Anjou since the mid-eleventh century. Even when the lords of Plessis-Macé relinquished territories or privileges that they had acquired from former counts of Anjou, their overlords did not appear to provide consent. For example, in c.1096, when Lord Philip offered to the community of Saint-Nicholas the woods at Linières, which his ancestors were said to have received from Count Geoffrey Martel I, consent from the then-count, Fulk le Réchin, was not established.⁸⁰ Nor was comital consent evidently sought on two subsequent occasions before 10 May 1116, by which date both Fulco, Philip's brother and successor, and Matthew, Fulco's elder son, had appeared before the monastic community of Saint-Nicholas in Angers to confirm the

⁷⁹ For benefactions during the later eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries, see, among others: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, ns. 7-10, 59, 121, 124, 154, 275.

⁸⁰ Philip had attempted to offer the woods of Lignièrres as a pledge to Saint-Nicholas in exchange for thirty *librae* in order to fund his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Having refused this arrangement, Abbot Lambert agreed instead that Fulco would hold the land until Philip's death, at which point it would pass to the abbey as a gift. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 154, p. 228. Labande-Mailfert, the editor of the reconstructed cartulary, dates the notice to 1096x1116, but the original pledge likely occurred around 1096 as part of the sales and other benefactions enacted by aristocrats in order to fund their travel to the Holy Land as part of the First Crusade. In any case, Fulco of Plessis-Macé had succeeded Philip by 1111 at the latest. Refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 275, p. 369.

relinquishment of the woods.⁸¹ In the year 1120, the castellans of Plessis-Macé finally crossed documentary paths with the counts of Anjou: in an act for the Abbey of Ronceray, Lord Fulco indicated that he was joining Count Fulk V as part of the Angevin contingent to the Holy Land.⁸²

The shared experience seems to have enabled Fulk to restore relations with the seigneurial family. By 1122, Fulco's younger son, Renaud le Roux,⁸³ had been established within Fulk's entourage as one of the count's chamberlains, a position which Renaud held through 1128.⁸⁴ Around the same time, Renaud's elder brother Matthew, having succeeded as *dominus* of Plessis-Macé upon their father's death, produced for the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas a charter in which Matthew offered another confirmation of the aforementioned gift of the woods of Lignièrès.⁸⁵ The impetus for the redundant confirmation is clear: on this occasion, the count of Anjou was present. Fulk V, along with his sons Geoffrey V and Hélias, consented to the grant, strengthening it with the "impression and authority of [his] seal."⁸⁶ In so doing, Fulk not only affirmed his

⁸¹ For Matthew's confirmation of the donation of the woods of Linières, indicated to have been previously given by his father Fulco and promised by his uncle Philip—a confirmation which occurred on 10 May 1116, the day Matthew had become a chevalier—refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, I, n. 9, pp. 23-24.

⁸² *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 354; Blincoe, "Angevin Society and the Early Crusades," 464-468.

⁸³ For Renaud le Roux as the brother of Matthew and the son of Fulco of Plessis-Macé, refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 10, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁴ Catalog ns: [F 87]; [F 101]; [F 99]; [F 113]. Renaud maintained the post through 1128 [F 113] though several additional chamberlains appear within the comital household during this period. There was an Albert in 1123-1124: [F 90]; [F 96]. A Bruno is found as chamberlain in 1123: [F 90]. A Bigat is noted to have held the position in 1116x1118, 1119x1126, and 1128: [F 59]; [F 102]; [F 111]. This Bigat also served Fulk around 1120 as the *nutricius* of Geoffrey V: [F 76]; [F 79]. A Durand was one of the comital chamberlains in 1119x1126: [F 102].

⁸⁵ Catalog n. [F 99] (1121x1125), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1504, fol. 259v.

⁸⁶ Catalog n. [F 99] (1121x1125), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1504, fol. 259v: "...*sigilli mei impressione et autoritate supradictum donationem confirmare decrevi, pro ut praesens scriptum testatur.*"

relationship with the seigneurial family of Plessis-Macé, who held Lignièrès through the benefaction of Fulk's predecessors, but also reasserted comital privilege and centrality within broader Angevin landscapes of power and patronage. After Renaud le Roux succeeded Matthew by 1125 as *dominus* of Plessis-Macé, Renaud further deepened the restoration of ties between his family and the comital dynasty by making a donation to the college of Saint-Laud, whose intimate ties to the counts of Anjou are well established.⁸⁷ Like his brother Matthew but unlike their predecessors before 1121, Lord Renaud pursued comital consent when granting territories or privileges held through historic comital benefaction. For instance, on 7 July 1128, Renaud donated part of the woods in Fessines to Saint-Nicholas with the *consensu* of Count Fulk.⁸⁸

In the aim of reestablishing a perception of seigneurial-comital harmony, Fulk made a concerted effort to restore relations between himself and those with whom his dynasty had had an especially fraught relationship following the advent of the crusading phenomenon. For example, as we saw in Chapter Three, the lord of Trèves—Geoffrey Fouchard—had abandoned his position as chief comital seneschal following the First Crusade, seemingly as a consequence of Fulk le Réchin's dishonorable behavior during those years. Between 1101 and 1122, there are no documented interactions between the seigneurial family of Trèves and the counts of Anjou.⁸⁹ Subsequently, however, there is

⁸⁷ The donation is contested in: Catalog n. [F 101] (1125), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 36, pp. 48-51. The chapter of canons at Saint-Laud served the chapel of the comital fortress at Angers and provided many of the chaplains of the comital household. See: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 126-127; Teddy Véron, *Les seigneuries angevines (XIe-début du XIIIe siècle): l'exemple de Beaupréau* (Angers: University of Angers, 2012), 24.

⁸⁸ Catalog n. [F 113] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9622, fol. 217r.

⁸⁹ The possible exception here was a judicial accord at Saumur in 1109x1115. In the presence of the bishops of Angers, Poitiers, and Le Mans as well as Count Fulk V, Abbot William of Saint-Florent contested various tithes, rents, and customs which the Abbey of Fontevraud held about the territory of Rest

evidence of seigneurial reintegration within the performance of comital authority. In April 1123, Geoffrey Fouchard agreed to establish at Trèves a priory belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers. Upon the day of the priory's dedication, Lord Geoffrey granted various customs for the priory's upkeep. At some point thereafter, perhaps on the same day, Count Fulk V gave his consent to the donation of these customs.⁹⁰ Since these customs fell under Geoffrey's own lordship, over which the counts of Anjou had demonstrated no effective suzerainty in decades, it stands to reason that the Saint-Aubin monks who preserved the act of comital consent did so because the seigneurial family of Trèves had acknowledged the prerogative of the counts of Anjou to give such consent. In effect, the lord of Trèves had publicly affirmed the theoretical if not practical authority which the count of Anjou wielded over him and his lordship; this was an act of concession and, through it, reconciliation.⁹¹ To bolster their reestablished relationship, Fulk and Geoffrey bound their sons in friendship and company. On 15 December 1124, Geoffrey Fouchard's son and heir, Aimery of Loudun, was recorded as a leading member

through the donation of Geoffrey Fouchard. Geoffrey's men are listed as witnesses in the notice relating the adjudication. It is unclear whether Geoffrey himself was present, though the explicit presence of his seneschal in lieu of his own noted presence probably indicates that Geoffrey was absent. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 38] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 266, pp. 268-269.

⁹⁰ Catalog n. [F 91] (c.1123), BM Angers, ms 863 (775), fol. 1v of "Saint-Macé" compilation. Trèves and its resident priory of Saint-Macé would be located today as: Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

⁹¹ Such concession does not appear to have been forced upon Geoffrey Fouchard by external circumstances. If anything, the lordship of Trèves—and thus, its lord—was more prosperous than ever, with economically flourishing burghs in the surrounding landscapes. See: Noël-Yves Tonnerre, "Les bourgs angevins: Quelques exemples," in *Des villes à l'ombre des châteaux: naissance et essor des agglomérations castrales en France au Moyen Âge: Actes de colloque de Vitré (16-17 octobre 2008)*, eds. André Chédeville and Daniel Pichot (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 79-87: 83.

of the personal entourage of Fulk's son and heir, Geoffrey V.⁹² Aimery remained by Geoffrey V's side through February 1129.⁹³

The reestablishment of the fidelity of the lords of Amboise was another of Fulk's projects during the 1120s. As with Trèves, the seigneurial family of Amboise had fallen out with the comital dynasty as a function of Fulk le Réchin's disreputable behavior at the time of the First Crusade. The optics of their estrangement were especially troubling in terms of ideal patron-client relations: whereas Lord Hugh of Amboise had publicly reaffirmed his family's historic allegiance with the counts of Anjou on the eve of his 1096 departure for Jerusalem, by 1106 we find Hugh razing the count's residence at Amboise.⁹⁴ Around the time of his accession, Fulk V had attempted to smooth over relations with the House of Amboise by restoring the castle of Montrichard, for which Hugh claimed matrilineal inheritance, first to Hugh's brother-in-law and then to Hugh

⁹² Aimery of Loudun, *filius Fulchardi*, appears as the first of the two witnesses for Geoffrey V's confirmation of his parents' relinquishment of the *vicaria* of *Lectus Ansaldi* to the Abbey of Saint-Maur. The charter was sealed. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 97] (1124), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 7r-v.

⁹³ Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18. Apart from Aimery of Loudun and Rolland of Montrevault, the remainder of the lay witnesses from the comital *mouvance* comprise of Fulk's own *familiares*. Rolland, the castellan of Montrevault since c. 1124x1126, appeared frequently in Geoffrey V's early acts. For the timeframe of Rolland's succession of his brother, Paganus of Montrevault, at the lordship of Montrevault, refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, n. 59 [103], pp. 513-516; *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 47. Paganus' lordship of Champtoceaux (by 1118) was inherited by Amaury Crespin by 1124x1126. See: Catalog n. [F 106] (1124x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, G 789, piece 1; Teddy Véron, *L'intégration des Mauges*, 144-145. For Rolland's attestations of the early acts of Geoffrey V, see: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 2, dated to 1129; *Ibid.*, Appendix III, n. 1, dated to 1131; *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 29, dated to 1135; *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 58, dated to 1133; *Ibid.*, Appendix I, n. 89, dated to 1133.

⁹⁴ Fulk le Réchin's depredations upon Amboise itself while its lord was absent, participating in the First Crusade, were key to the deterioration of the relationship between the two houses. For a discussion of the episode as well as the significance of the 1096 charter celebrating the historic link between Amboise and Anjou, refer to Chapter One.

himself.⁹⁵ However, Fulk subsequently appears to have had minimal interaction with the seigneurial family until the 1120s.⁹⁶

A charter produced in earlier 1124 announces a significant change in this regard. While numerous lay and ecclesiastical notables were in residence at the Abbey of Marmoutier, waiting upon its mortally ill abbot, Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge took the occasion to arrange for the establishment of a monastic priory at Trôo, where a comital castle was under construction. After enumerating the comital gifts of land, commercial exemptions, and various customs to support the nascent institution, Fulk ordered Lord Hugh of Amboise to serve as its defender, enjoining him to allow no harm to come to Marmoutier's priory or to its staff.⁹⁷ From a logistical perspective, the choice of Hugh as defender would not have been particularly effective: Trôo's location forty kilometers north of Amboise limited Hugh's ability to intercede. The comital guardian of Trôo would have been far better positioned to defend the priory situated within the environs of the comital castle. Charging Hugh to be defender of the priory of Notre-Dame des Marchais at Trôo was an important symbolic gesture meant to ensnare the

⁹⁵ The *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum* is our source for the events of c.1109x1113. Unfortunately, the chronicle is a difficult source to use for the purposes of investigating political developments in this period. In the production of its narrative for its mid-twelfth century audience, the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum* frequently reworks the chronology of events as well as details of those events, from the actors involved to the terms of various agreements. For the relevant section, refer to: GAD, 107-112. For an attempted disentangling of the events of these years as conveyed in the *Gesta Ambaziensium Dominorum*, see: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 317-321. For the source's narrative concerns with regard to its later audience, refer to: Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics," 127-141. In any case, as we saw in Chapter Two, the concession of Montrichard may have been of Count Hélias' design.

⁹⁶ Insofar as the prosopographical details of the highly fictive Alençon fragment of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum* can be trusted, Hugh of Amboise fought alongside Fulk against King Henry I at the Battle of Alençon. See: CCA, 157.

⁹⁷ Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r. The priory would come to be known as Notre-Dame des Marchais at Trôo (cant. Montoire-sur-le-Loir, arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher). Fulk also imposed the obligation of guardianship on Lord Peter of Montoire-sur-le-Loir. The second defender will be discussed below.

former comital *fidelis* within the performance of comital authority. In front of the various luminaries solemnly gathered to wait upon the dying abbot of Marmoutier, Hugh could not have refused the honor of Fulk's assignment.⁹⁸ In being responsible for the defense of the priory, Hugh would, by proxy, be perceived as responsible for the defense of Fulk's castle at Trôo: the former comital *fidelis*, whose loyalty once helped secure the easternmost reaches of Angevin authority in the Touraine, would now help secure the northeastern frontier with the Vendôme. The realities of such obligation were secondary to the perceived significance of the gesture. Contemporaries would have recognized the count's efforts to articulate an image of a mythologized past wherein comital *fideles* constituted a defensive network extending comital power across Greater Anjou. That Hugh of Amboise was one of the most famous of the early crusaders of the Loire River Valley would have rooted such perceptual reform to a very distinctive present.⁹⁹

The political stagecraft of 1124 heralded a greater intimacy in the relationship between the seigneurial family of Amboise and the comital dynasty. On 31 May 1128, when Hugh defended his allegedly unjust extraction of various customs from the men and lands of Marmoutier, Hugh insisted that these customs were held from the count, suggesting that Fulk may have endowed Hugh with new privileges following their 1124 reconciliation.¹⁰⁰ Upon Hugh confessing the injustice of his actions, Count Fulk

⁹⁸ The formal charge of defender of a Marmoutier priory did not prevent Hugh of Amboise from forcefully extracting customs, which he was not owed, from various lands and men belonging to the abbey. The monks of Marmoutier had to pursue Hugh for some time before justice was achieved. See: Catalog n. [F 112] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, ns. 1500-1501, ff. 256r-258r.

⁹⁹ With regard to regional fame and commemorations concerning the dynasty of Amboise, see: Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics," 127-141.

¹⁰⁰ Catalog n. [F 112] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, ns. 1500-1501, ff. 256r-258r.

intervened on Hugh's behalf, beseeching the abbot of Marmoutier to forgive Hugh for his offenses. Fulk may also have been the instigator of a second absolution at the Abbey of Marmoutier ten days later.¹⁰¹ Lord Hugh joined Count Fulk in departing permanently for the Holy Land in 1129, and, when Hugh died there, Fulk may have been instrumental in Hugh's burial upon the Mount of Olives.¹⁰² One of Hugh's sons also joined Fulk in the Holy Land a few years later.¹⁰³ A certain Robin fitz Isembard of Amboise received various customs from Count Fulk as well as the provostship of Beaufort-en-Vallée by 1125x1129.¹⁰⁴ All of this was a far cry from the cool state of affairs that had existed between the counts of Anjou and the House of Amboise since the aftermath of the First Crusade.

The aforementioned charter of 1124 also offers us a point of entry for Fulk's reintegration of the sprawling Fréteval-Mondoubleau-Montoire kin group.¹⁰⁵ Alongside Lord Hugh of Amboise, Fulk had ordered Peter "*dominus* of Montoire" to defend

¹⁰¹ [F 112] concludes with mention of Hugh's request for forgiveness at Marmoutier a few days later: "*Aliquantis etiam evolutis diebus, iam cruce acceptam, quia Jerusalem profecturus erat, praefatus Hugo de Ambaziam in capitulum nostrum venit, et de his quae nobis forisfecerat veniam humiliter petivit, et, sicut Cenomannis fecerat, recognovit quod consuetudines, quas in terram nostram requisierat, injuste et violenter eas immiserat. Nos igitur quibus est proprium pro inimicis orare, quantum in nobis fuit, quod nobis forisfecerat iterum dimisimus.*" Although John of Marmoutier's narrative details concerning Fulk's stay at Marmoutier, namely the count's vision of the "Fire at Marmoutier," may be apocryphal, the fundamental claim that Fulk was present at the Abbey of Marmoutier during Pentecost 1128 (10 June) appears to be based in truth, as he was almost certainly present (and likely the instigator) for Hugh's request for forgiveness here. For the narrative of Fulk's vision, see: CCA, 161-162. For a discussion of the later twelfth century audiences for John of Marmoutier's redaction, see: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 233-242, 249-250.

¹⁰² GAD, 116; Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics," 138.

¹⁰³ GAD, 120; Paul, "Crusade, memory and regional politics," 138.

¹⁰⁴ Catalog n. [F 121] (1125x1129), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 162, pp. 254-255.

¹⁰⁵ This kin group intertwined seigneurial families whose members, at varying times, held not only Fréteval and Montoire-sur-le-Loir but also Mondoubleau and Langeais. For a reconstruction of these links, see: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 60-65, 241-245.

Marmoutier's nascent priory at Trôo.¹⁰⁶ Again, the count's interest was spurred by both the crusading context as well as historic ties to the involved families. Peter was a descendant of former lordly *fideles* of the counts of Anjou: Peter's grandfather was Hamelin of Langeais, who, before having ascended to the *honor* of the Vendômois lordships of Montoire and Mondoubleau in 1081, was the guardian of the comital castle of Langeais.¹⁰⁷ Through his paternal grandmother, Helvisa-Adierna, Peter was related to several lordly crusade veterans, including Paganus of Mondoubleau,¹⁰⁸ Nivelô II of Fréteval,¹⁰⁹ and Rotrou II of Le Perche.¹¹⁰ Peter may even have been a crusader himself, having perhaps traveled to the Holy Land with the counts of Vendôme, with whom Peter maintained familiar relations as an important client.¹¹¹ Early in Fulk V's reign, the count

¹⁰⁶ Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r. Peter had inherited the lordship of Montoire-sur-le-Loir by 1121. See: *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 438, pp. 215-217. In any case, Montoire's proximity to Trôo made this assignment of guardianship more logistically sensible, for Montoire is located roughly five kilometers to the east of Trôo.

¹⁰⁷ Guillot, I, *Le comte d'Anjou*, 292-293. Guillot outlines two aristocratic lineages active about Langeais, with varying degrees of demonstrated service and fidelity between the interrelated counts of Anjou and Vendôme. For the guardianship of the comital castle in the later eleventh century, Guillot's evidence for Hamelin is most suggestive: BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, III, n. 936, as cited and discussed in 293n89. The guardianship of Langeais was, in any case, in the hands of a different family by the reign of Fulk V. See the previous chapter.

¹⁰⁸ For Paganus' involvement in crusading, refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, n. 666, p. 384. Paganus was the son of Peter's paternal grandmother from her first marriage. For Paganus' relationship to Peter and his control of Mondoubleau around the end of the eleventh century, see: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 64, 243, 245.

¹⁰⁹ For Nivelô's participation in the First Crusade, refer to: *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, n. 64, pp. 56-57. Nivelô II was the nephew of Peter's grandmother through her first marriage with Paganus of Fréteval, Nivelô II's paternal uncle. See: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 242.

¹¹⁰ For Rotrou II's involvement on the First Crusade, refer to: Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship*, 50-53. Rotrou II was the paternal cousin of Geoffrey III/IV, viscount of Châteaudun, who had married one of the daughters of the aforementioned Paganus of Mondoubleau. See: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 64, 238.

¹¹¹ By the time of Peter's lordship, the client-patron relationship with the counts of Vendôme remained active. See: *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 438, pp. 215-217. For the participation of the counts of Vendôme on crusade, see: *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 405, pp. 159-160. For the role of lordly crusading enthusiasm as a critical factor in inspiring crusade participation on the part of that lord's clients, see: John France, "Patronage and Appeal of the First Crusade," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) pp. 5-20.

had run afoul of several members of this kin group. During the regional conflict of 1111-1112, Countess Adela of Blois had successfully harnessed the shared crusading ties between her late husband—the infamous Stephen-Henry of Blois—and Nivelon of Fréteval, Rotrou of Le Perche, Rotrou’s cousin Geoffrey of Châteaudun, and others to forge an alliance opposing Fulk’s machinations.¹¹² Their coalition, which halted Angevin advances on Blésois interests, must have been instructive to Count Fulk, impressing upon him the potential impact of the shared crusading experience in the establishment of enduring loyalties.

Perhaps it was these considerations that compelled Fulk, following his own acquisition of crusading status, to pursue various members of the Fréteval-Mondoubleau kin group. Peter’s integration as a lay defender of a spiritual outpost established on the frontier of Angevin comital authority is discussed above. Another member of this crusading kin group received a similarly venerable privilege: a certain “Girard Paganus.” Girard Paganus was actually Girard fitz Paganus of Frouville; through his father, who was the brother-in-law of Lord Nivelon II of Fréteval, Girard fitz Paganus was the cousin of Ursio, Nivelon’s son and lord of Fréteval by 1122.¹¹³ Girard fitz Paganus first presented in comital charters around the time of his brother’s c. 1120 inheritance of the paternal lordship of Frouville.¹¹⁴ Identified as a baron in Fulk’s court, Girard held a singular role

¹¹² LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 332-333.

¹¹³ A previous Girard Paganus had appeared in the late eleventh century charters of Fulk le Réchin. This Girard Paganus was the brother of Fulcher, lord of Fréteval. Given that Fulcher became active around 1030 and then died by 1072, it is almost certainly the case that the present Girard Paganus is not the extraordinarily long-lived brother of Fulcher. For citations of the relevant evidence as well as an extended discussion, refer to the analysis in: Catalog n. [F 104] (c.1120x1126), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 303, piece 4.

¹¹⁴ Girard’s lordship remains unclear, given that his brother Paganus II received the paternal lordship of Frouville c. 1120. Perhaps Girard held a castellany directly through the benefaction of Count Fulk V. Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 80, 94n22. For Girard fitz Paganus’ attestations in comital charters, refer to: [F 104], [F 96], [F 80].

in the comital *curia*: his was the voice which spoke on behalf of the other barons in matters of adjudication.¹¹⁵ Beyond his familial connections, it is unclear what about Girard inspired Fulk to assign him such a distinguished role in the comital court, given especially that Girard appears not to have held any lands independently of the count's patronage. Indeed, Girard's Fréteval kinship is the only familial toponym which received mention in comital charters, such as in 1124 when he witnessed a documentary production at the Abbey of Saint-Maur *ex parte comitis* as "Girard of Fréteval."¹¹⁶ Fulk's enduring interest in the kin group is perhaps further exemplified by his arrangement of a marital match between his younger son, Hélias, and Rotrou II's only daughter at some point during the 1120s.¹¹⁷ Bound to each other in blood and crusading status, the seigneurial lords of the Fréteval-Mondoubleau kin group were now bound to Fulk along similar lines.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Catalog n. [F 104] (c.1120x1126), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 303, piece 4: "...precepit comitissa baronibus suis ut facerent inde iudicium. Quo inter se tractanto, dixit Girardus Paganus pro aliis, hoc curiam comitis iudicare, quod..."

¹¹⁶ Catalog n. [F 96] (1124), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1775, piece 1.

¹¹⁷ WT, 632-633. Kathleen Thompson has argued that, from the perspective of Count Rotrou of Le Perche, the marriage was advantageous insofar as "it linked the Rotrou lineage with one of the major princely families of northern France." From the perspective of Count Fulk, the marital match for Hélias represented Fulk's effort to secure the futures of all his various children before he departed for the Holy Land. On this basis as well as that of Hélias' birthyear (1114 at the earliest), Thompson dates Hélias' marriage to after Geoffrey V's own marriage to Mathilda in June 1128 and probably in early 1129. See: Thompson, *Power and Border Lordship*, 75-77, quote at 75. However, it is not only possible but also likely that, as with the marital prospects of the other comital children, Fulk had been devising an arrangement for Hélias for some time before the marriage actually took place. Within this context, it would appear that the match with Rotrou's daughter may have been less a design upon her promised inheritance of the county of Le Perche—which would only be delivered if Rotrou died without having produced any legitimate male heirs—and more part of a long-term agenda to deepen ties with the extended kin network of the Fréteval-Mondoubleau family.

¹¹⁸ There is an additional, major seigneurial family of Greater Anjou who may have rejoined the comital *mouvance* during the 1120s: the lords of Thouars. I have not discussed them here since, from the evidentiary perspective, the extent of their reinvolvement in Angevin comital affairs as well as Fulk's crusading status as the instrumental factor for such reinvolvement is somewhat unclear. As we saw in Chapter Two, the counts of Anjou maintained designs upon the castle of Thouars, which Fulk Nerra had originally built to defend against Poitevin incursions but whose lords were loyal to the counts of Poitou by the later eleventh century. Fulk le Réchin seems to have been planning a conquest of Thouars during the

Indeed, in contrast to the integration of new men of crusading association into the performance of comital authority during the 1110s, the greater seigneurial lords who joined Fulk in comital governance during the 1120s did not participate with much frequency. As the discussion above should make clear, however, the nature of the involvement of these lords in Fulk's post-crusade praxis was key. Compared to their ephemeral participation toward the beginning of Fulk's reign, when they briefly appeared in comital acts as local witnesses, their appearances in comital charters of the 1120s were infused with symbolic significances of contemporary resonance. The discursive realization of the greater seigneurial lords, in conjunction with the obscuration of the new men, emphasized Fulk's post-crusade intention to enact comital rulership itself as a vessel of *reformatio*. Such reform demanded the renewal of the idealized image of princely rulership, a model in which great lords of the realm meaningfully participated. Yet, it remained unlikely that, even as a crusading prince, Fulk would have been able to

absence of its lord on crusade c. 1101. The campaign never came to pass, though Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel II did manage to raze the castle in 1104. Subsequent comital interactions with the seigneurial family of Thouars were sporadic. Although the lords of Thouars never appeared in Fulk's charters (Geoffrey III from 1104-1123, and Aimery V from 1123 to 1127), the son of the crusading viscount Herbert II (r. 1093-1104) did crop up on a few occasions before his own accession to the viscountship in 1127. On 11 July 1115 at Fontevraud, Aimery VI is listed after Count Fulk as a witness to Robert of Arbrissel's foundation of an hermitage in the distant forest of Cadouin (the hermitage would later become the Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame of Cadouin). See: Catalog n. [F 40] (1115), *Cartulaire de Cadouin*, n. 4, pp. 9-11. In 1116x1122, Aimery is a witness for an act of Countess Aremburge, in which she confirms Fulk's recent confirmation of the gifts of Adam of Rochefort. See: Catalog n. [G 1-4] (1116x1122), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 341, pp. 346-347. In 1124x1126, Aimery is found to be traveling in Fulk's entourage along the road between Angers and Baugé. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 106] (1124x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, G 789, piece 1. Nevertheless, the discursive integration of Aimery never extends beyond attestation as a witness, so any attempted links to Fulk's broader strategies of recruitment must remain tentative. Nevertheless, as viscount, Aimery VI may have considered himself as an Angevin client, for he joined the other Angevin barons in revolting against Count Geoffrey V in 1129. For a chronological listing of the viscounts of Thouars during this era and their family relationships as well as major involvements in regional politics, see: Hugues Imbert, "Notice sur les vicomtes de Thouars de la famille de ce nom," *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest* 29 (1865, for 1864), pp. 321-431: 351-363.

convince most seigneurial dynasties, which had enjoyed a state of relative autonomy for the past half-century, to bind themselves to the comital *mouvance* anew. Instead, Fulk used what was available to him. The count harnessed his crusading status to recruit what greater lords were susceptible to his advances and then amplified their role within the discursive performance of his authority. Comital charters, thus, served as the vehicle for attempting to restore the perception if not the reality, as such, of Fulk as a prince who ruled justly through the manifest counsel and consent of his great lords, i.e. the ideal personnel of governance. In the next section, we will consider the impact of the crusade experience upon the broader praxis of Fulk as a crusading prince in crusading lands.

The Praxis of Governance after Crusade, Part I: Administrative Continuity

In the previous chapter, we saw that Fulk had deployed new men of crusading association as a key element within a gradually cohering administrative praxis of governance. Indeed, these individuals and the associative prestige which they offered determined the contours of Fulk's rulership early in his comital reign. As we saw above, however, Fulk's personal acquisition of crusading status inspired him to eclipse the discursive centrality of new men with an increasingly prominent and meaningful integration of greater seigneurial lords within the performance of his authority. In this section, we will explore the varied ways in which the experience of crusade, inclusive of Fulk's taking of the cross in late 1119, affected the administrative dimensions of comital praxis from 1120 to 1129. To grasp the significance of subsequent developments, we must also reconsider key aspects of Fulk's earlier praxis, especially how Fulk's approach to the ecclesiastical establishment inflected his broader post-crusade exercise of comital authority.

Throughout the 1120s, Fulk maintained several of the policies which had emerged as a function of the crusading environment during the first half of his comital reign. For instance, Roman imagery persisted as a significant element in the performance of comital authority. Comital documentary productions across Greater Anjou continued to confer upon Fulk the title of *consul*.¹¹⁹ The imminence of Fulk's own participation or prospective participation in crusading appears, in particular, to have inspired invocation of such rhetoric. In March 1128, upon the arrival of an envoy offering Fulk the crown of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem through marriage, Fulk commissioned a charter in which his reign was described—uniquely among his documentary productions—as a principate.¹²⁰ Although contemporary documents often referred to counts, dukes, and kings as *principes*, this is the only Angevin charter since the eleventh century in which a count of Anjou identified his own reign as a principate; the singular evocation of Roman imperial associations is unlikely to have been coincidental.¹²¹ On 1 May 1120, on the eve

¹¹⁹ Catalog n. [F 84] (1121), BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 39, fol. 51r; Catalog n. [F 90] (1123), *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113; Catalog n. [F 111] (1128), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, ff. 33v-35r, and AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3715, ff. 22r-v; Catalog n. [F 122] (1126x1129), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 760, fol. 179r-v: "...*autem munificentia consulari sub domno Gaufrido Saviniensi abbate eiusdem sucessore in coenobiale domicilium confirmamus...*"; Catalog n. [F 119] (1120x1129), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32.

¹²⁰ Catalog n. [F 111] (1128), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, ff. 33v-35r, and AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3715, ff. 22r-v: "*Actum... in principatu Andegavorum me Fulcone iuniore...*" For the Jerusalem envoy, see the discussion in: Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119-1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 31-32; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), pp. 139-147; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," 28-29n132, who demonstrates that the arrival of the envoy could have been as early as March 1128. Two comital charters here, namely [F 111] and [F 110], suggest that the arrival did, in fact, occur in March.

¹²¹ The terms *princeps* and *principatus* principally appeared in comital charters during the reign of Geoffrey Martel I. The usage of these terms was rare during the reigns of Geoffrey le Barbu and Fulk le Réchin, disappearing after 1094. Refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 356-370, especially 357ns18-19. In a charter from 1120x1129, Fulk references the generosity which is becoming of princes, implicitly identifying himself as a *princeps*. In referencing his predecessors as consuls, he similarly assumes the mantle of consul here. See: Catalog n. [F 119] (1120x1129), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32.

of his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Fulk confirmed a certain longstanding subsidy which the counts of Anjou had disbursed annually to the abbatial community of Saint-Florent of Saumur. Fulk's father had established the subsidy to offset the costs incurred by the monks in hosting a comital *adventus*, or triumphal ceremony, on the occasion of the *translatio* of their patron saint. In confirming this subsidy as his final act before journeying to the Holy Land, Fulk may have sought to provide a highly public reminder of what his next *adventus* at the abbey would signify: the spectacular reception of a consul returning triumphantly from foreign conquests.¹²² This is the only one of Fulk's charters which references the comital *adventus*; again, the timing suggests deliberate discursive intent rather than coincidental association.

The integral role of the count's family in the performance of comital authority also continued.¹²³ Countess Aremburge, Geoffrey V, and even Fulk's second son Hélias routinely participated in the disposition of comital charters, jointly consenting or adjudicating in various matters.¹²⁴ The enduring relevance of collective familial action is relayed in a charter from 1124x1126. There, it is indicated that an embassy which was comprised of the Abbot of Marmoutier, some of his monks, and the *dominus* of Champtoceaux managed to track down Count Fulk while he was traveling on the road

¹²² Catalog n. [F 75] (1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1840, piece 14 and Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 22, pp. 348-350. See also the discussion in: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, 125. It is unlikely that the impetus for confirmation on 1 May 1120 came from the abbatial community: the notice clarifies that Fulk had been paying the subsidy hitherto, and the *translatio* which occasioned the triumphal ceremony probably did not occur until the saint's feast day on 22 September. The confirmation was, therefore, almost certainly a comital initiative.

¹²³ It should be noted that Fulk's half-brothers Philip and Florus are a rare presence in comital charters during the 1120s. Florus is entirely absent, whereas Philip appears once as a witness for a comital confirmation at Loches in November 1128, a few months before Fulk's second and final departure for the Holy Land. See: Catalog n. [F 114] (1128), AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 69r.

¹²⁴ For Aremburge and Geoffrey's involvement, see the citations above. For Hélias, see: Catalog ns. [F 102], [F 108], [F 87], [F 99], [F 124], [F 105].

from Angers to Baugé. The embassy sought comital relinquishment of some donated churches in Angers belonging to the Angevin patrimony; Fulk provided this relinquishment, along with his son Geoffrey, road-side. Then, engaging the members of the embassy in conversation, Fulk brought them to the comital castle of Baugé, where he again relinquished the churches. This time, Fulk was joined in disposition by his wife, Countess Aremburge.¹²⁵ Although it is possible that the embassy itself had wished to reiterate the comital relinquishment at Baugé, given the irregularity of road-side benefaction, previous patterns of comital governance suggest that Fulk himself had insisted upon reissuing the relinquishment at Baugé in the presence and with the joint participation of his wife Aremburge.

More broadly, the comital *curia* itself remained a corporate entity which collectively embodied the authority of the count and could independently effect his justice. When Bishop Renaud of Angers sought redress for the violation of a previous agreement by the comital provost of Angers, the bishop is noted to have had to petition and then explain his case before both the count and his *curia*.¹²⁶ Upon being supplicated for adjudication by the monks of Marmoutier regarding the predations of the *dominus* of Rillé, Count Fulk left the execution of justice to Countess Aremburge and their barons, who collectively passed the judgment of the comital court.¹²⁷ Such judgment bound even

¹²⁵ Catalog n. [F 106] (1124x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, G 789, piece 1.

¹²⁶ Catalog n. [F 84] (1121), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 153, pp. 245-247: "...comiti et curiae eius exponit querelam; scriptum superpositum recitat; requirit ut pactum teneatur."

¹²⁷ Catalog n. [F 104] (c.1120x1126), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 303, piece 4: "Venit utraque pars ad castellum comitis Balgiacum, et se ibi comiti et comitissa prasantaverunt. Sed quia comes quibusdam suis propriis negotiis tunc occupatus erat, causa illi tractandae non affuit, sed comitissae vicem suam et locum committens, ut ipsa cum suis baronibus causam juste definiret imperavit...precepit comitissa baronibus suis ut facerent inde iudicium. Quo inter se tractanto, dixit Girardus Paganus pro aliis, hoc curiam comitis iudicare, quod..."

the count himself. For instance, in 1121x1122, Fulk had contested the freeholding of various customs on the part of Andefredus fitz Guito, the son of a comital *fidelis* who had likely died recently.¹²⁸ With the court having received from twelve honest men [*proborum hominum*] relic-sworn testimony repudiating the count's challenge, Fulk conceded the matter, though he clarified that he would rather have continued the dispute. Moreover, Fulk turned this moment of defeat into a public celebration of his own authority: having been constrained by the system of judicial order which he had cultivated, Fulk commissioned the production of a charter, which was strengthened with the comital seal and the confirmation of both his sons, in order to commemorate for all posterity the count's acquiescence to procedural justice.¹²⁹

As we saw in the previous chapter, Fulk's agents often chafed against this image of systemic order which the count was striving to cultivate. Ministerial abuse continued into the 1120s, and Fulk continued to punish non-compliance with his directives. For instance, corruption in the provostship of Montbazon led to a revolving door of

¹²⁸ Guito (Guy) of Super Pontem was a well-documented comital *fidelis* until around 1121x1123, at which juncture he disappeared from comital acts. Andefredus fitz Guito was almost certainly his son, appearing in a comital act with his father in 1109x1112. For Guito of Super Pontem, see: [F 51]; [F 89]; [F 60]; [F 23], in which Guito appeared with his son Andefredus; [F 50]; [F 72]. That Guito does not appear in the charter detailing his son's dispute with the count concerning inherited familial lands likely indicates Guito's passing. There was, nevertheless, a certain Guito of Super Pontem who appeared in comital charters during the 1130s, though this was likely a grand- or second-son of the original Guito, given medieval onomastic trends. See: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 29, dated to 1135.

¹²⁹ Catalog n. [F 87] (1121x1122), BNF, ms. français 27246, original piece 762: "*Cum hoc audivi, volui contendere cum homine meo. Sed omnem contencionem ei quieter concessi, et Gaufredum et Helyam filios meos ei concedere feci et quod ratum et inviolabile perseveret sigilli mei munimine pr[ae]sentum scriptum feci corroborare.*" In her edition of this charter, Chartrou transcribed 'volui' as 'nolui.' This dramatically changes the thrust of Fulk's sentiment: in spite of the testimony, his desire was to continue the dispute, not end it. Yet, by rejecting such personal inclinations and abiding by the outcome of the judicial proceedings, Fulk emphasized the binding nature of comital justice and, thus, ultimately strengthened comital authority.

appointments there during the early 1120s.¹³⁰ Such punishments and their reification in comital charters served the interests of the ecclesiastical beneficiaries who wished to preserve such matters, to be sure. However, the punishments also visibly affirmed ministerial accountability, a vital component of contemporary bureaucratic efforts.¹³¹ Unsurprisingly, the enduring inability to curb ministerial abuse, in conjunction with the deepening exercise of comital authority through bureaucratic structures, meant that the count himself, as the ultimate avenue of judicial redress, may have proven increasingly inaccessible for certain political actors. There existed, after all, multiple layers of comital agents whose potential corruption could obstruct access to the count's person. In a notice for 1123, the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Paul of Cormery recount the failure of an extended series of attempted resolutions with the comital provost of Montbazon and his foresters as concerned the abbatial community's holdings in the forest of Brechenay.¹³² The notice indicates that the dispute with the count's agents had already been ongoing for some time before an inquest was conducted in 1121x1123, suggesting that these contestations had begun soon after Fulk's acquisition of half the lordship of Montbazon in 1118.¹³³ For up to five years, thus, the monks had been either unwilling or unable to bypass the count's agents in order to resolve the lingering feud. The circumstances under

¹³⁰ See above, but also: [F 85], esp. the discussion. The city of Angers also witnessed a rapid succession of provostships during the early 1120s, but the circumstances here remain comparatively obscure. Refer to: [F 89], esp. the discussion.

¹³¹ Bob Berkhofer has explored how some French abbots in northern France during the twelfth century were similarly developing practices and procedures that cultivated ministerial accountability as well as generated expectations of such accountability. See: Robert F. Berkhofer III, "Abbatial Authority over Lay Agents," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*, eds. R.F. Berkhofer, A. Cooper, and A.J. Kosto (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp 43-57: 44-45; Idem, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

¹³² Catalog n. [F 90] (1123), *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113.

¹³³ For the comital (re-)acquisition of Montbazon, see the discussion in the previous section above as concerns the 1118 rebellion of John of Montbazon.

which the monks ended the dispute in 1123 recommend the latter interpretation: the abbatial prior had had to enlist the aid of Albert, one of the count's chamberlains, in order to secure an audience with Fulk when the comital entourage was passing through Chinon.¹³⁴ The comital provost at Montbazou attempted to further impede the resolution of the dispute by refusing to show for the verdict of the ensuing trial. Fulk proceeded with the judgment regardless, discharging at least one of the comital foresters and censuring several others associated with the estate at Montbazou.¹³⁵ The judicial show clearly had to go on.

The Praxis of Governance after Crusade, Part II: The Reformist Realignment

Nevertheless, Fulk significantly altered many aspects of his praxis of governance during the 1120s. Cumulatively, these represent a paradigmatic shift in how Fulk perceived the *raison d'être* of his office in prevailing landscapes of power once he had committed himself to participate in the enterprise of crusading. As a touchstone of inquiry, we will lean on the following observation:¹³⁶ although Fulk had endowed various ecclesiastical institutions with a diverse array of benefactions during the 1110s, there occurred a

¹³⁴ Albert's connection to the community at Cormery, as well as his background more generally, remains unclear. However, it is possible that Albert, much like the comital *secretario* John, was one of a number of former hermits who had been part of the various eremitic communities operating in the comital forest of Brechenay. The abbatial prior's acquaintance with Albert may have stemmed from those days. For John as an hermit of Brechenay turned comital secretary, see: Catalog n. [F 78] (1120), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, n. 12, pp. 26-28.

¹³⁵ Catalog n. [F 90] (1123), *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113.

¹³⁶ Scholars have variously explored comital patronage of ecclesiastical institutions under Fulk V, but the 1120 pivot remains unidentified. See, for instance: Lindy Grant, "Aspects of the Architectural Patronage of the Family of the Counts of Anjou in the Twelfth Century," in *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, eds. John McNeill and Daniel Prigent (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2003), pp. 96-110; Kathryn Dutton, "Angevin Religious Patronage in the County of Maine: The Assertion of Identity, Authority, and Legitimacy, 1110-1151," in *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, eds. Emilia Jamrozak and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 211-235.

dramatic increase in comital efforts to expand the physical presence of the Christian *ecclesia* in Greater Anjou beginning soon after Fulk took the cross in later 1119. Until that juncture, Fulk had established only one ecclesiastical institution, the priory of La Fontaine-Saint-Martin in 1117, likely at the behest of Bishop Marbode of Rennes and Fulk's half-sister Countess Ermengarde of Brittany.¹³⁷ Between 1120 and 1129, however, Fulk centrally involved himself in the foundation of up to nine hermitages, priories, and abbeys across his realm. There are seven certain or near-certain comital foundations during this interval: an hermitage at La Boissière on c.25 April 1120;¹³⁸ an hermitage in the forest of Brechenay in 1120;¹³⁹ the Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux-en-Vernantes on 13 September 1121;¹⁴⁰ the Marmoutier Priory of Notre-Dame des Marchais of Trô in 1124;¹⁴¹ the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Beaulieu-lès-Mans, comprising of Augustinian canons, on 9 October 1124;¹⁴² the reformed Benedictine

¹³⁷ For Fulk and Aremburge's benefaction of land and customs in November 1117, enabling the establishment of the priory of La Fontaine-Saint-Martin, refer to: Catalog n. [F 61] (1118), *Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt*, n. 54, pp. 127-128. Although the influence of Marbode and Ermengarde is not specified, it is highly likely, given the situation of the mother abbey of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt in the arrondissement of Rennes. Ermengarde is otherwise known to have encouraged her half-brother to make ecclesiastical benefactions as well as to have herself been a significant patron of the church. Refer to: Amy Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 15-21. The abbey's re-founding by a discipline of Robert of Arbrissel introduces a Fontevraudian link, perhaps suggesting influence therefrom: Raoul de Linière, "Le prieuré conventuel de la Fontaine-Saint-Martin," *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine* 58 (1905), pp. 5-24: 6-11. Though not a foundational grant, it should be noted that Fulk had made provisions in 1109x1115 for the construction of a church on the abbey-grounds of Fontevraud. The disposition survives in a confirmation by Countess Aremburge: Catalog n. [G 1-1] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 165, pp. 155-156.

¹³⁸ Catalog n. [F 73] (1120), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 760, fol. 179r-v.

¹³⁹ Catalog n. [F 78] (1120), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, n. 12, pp. 26-28. By 1163, the hermitage would have become the Augustinian Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais under the College of Saint-Martin of Tours. The timeframe of such transitions in institutional form and association remains unclear. See: *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, III, pp. 224-225, where the founder of the institution is mistakenly identified as Fulk Nerra rather than Fulk V.

¹⁴⁰ Catalog n. [F 83] (1121), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1733.

¹⁴¹ Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r.

¹⁴² Catalog n. [F 94] (1124), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 17124, p. 87.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay around 1127;¹⁴³ and, the Saint-Aubin Priory of Saint-Macé at Trèves in c.1123.¹⁴⁴ An eighth foundation may have been of the Tiron Priory of Sainte-Marie Madeleine of Russé, which Fulk is known to have established at some point.¹⁴⁵ A ninth and final example pertains to the Abbey of Fontevraud itself. As his last *actum* on c.2 February 1129, shortly before leaving for Jerusalem permanently, Count Fulk had his children—Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla—“[reinvest] Petronilla, the first abbess of Fontevraud, with the rule of Saint Benedict,” suggesting a symbolic re-foundation of the abbey.¹⁴⁶ What did such a flurry of foundational patronage—unprecedented from the counts of Anjou since Geoffrey Martel I—signify within the political landscapes of Greater Anjou during the 1120s?¹⁴⁷

Comital motivation for such patronage must be understood in the context of the broader, strained comital-ecclesiastical relationship which Fulk V inherited from the reign of his father. With regard to the episcopate of Greater Anjou, comital agency had reached an historic nadir. Although the princely dynasties of Capet, Blois, and Anjou continued to jostle for influence in the vicinity of Tours, the city’s archbishops still operated in a largely autonomous manner into the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ Maine had only fallen under direct Angevin jurisdiction with the death of Fulk

¹⁴³ Catalog n. [F 109] (c.1127), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, fol. 463, fol. 473r.

¹⁴⁴ Catalog n. [F 91] (c.1123), BM Angers, Ms 863 (775), fol. 1v of “Saint-Macé” compilation.

¹⁴⁵ Catalog n. [F 117] (1109x1129), AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 81v.

¹⁴⁶ Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18: “*Et ut hoc donum meum et filiorum meorum concessio magis firma videretur, Gaufredus, filius meus, et helias et Sibilla, cum regula sancti Benedicti, Petronillam abbatissam Fontis Ebraudi primam revestierunt.*” Fulk’s remaining child, Mathilda, had already taken the veil at Fontevraud, as the charter indicates.

¹⁴⁷ For monastic foundations and their circumstances under Geoffrey Martel I and Fulk Nerra, see: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, 127, 162-193; Halphen, *Le comté d’Anjou*, 82-87.

¹⁴⁸ For recent overviews of the relevant historiography, see: Kathryn Dutton, “Authority, Administration, and Antagonism on the Margins: Tours under Count Geoffrey V of Anjou (1129-1151) and

V's father-in-law in 1110, but the Manceau bishop, Hildebert of Lavardin (r. 1097-1125 as bishop of Le Mans), appeared in no comital documentary productions between the time of his episcopal election in 1097 until the year 1120.¹⁴⁹ As concerned the bishopric of Angers, the apogee of comital-episcopal collaboration established by time of Bishop Hubert's death in 1047 had waned considerably by 1109:¹⁵⁰ joint adjudication largely disappeared after the 1080s,¹⁵¹ and, by 1101-1102, the count could exercise neither reliable nor unchallenged influence in episcopal elections.¹⁵² Nevertheless, Fulk did enjoy the occasional company of the Angevin See: Bishop Renaud (r. 1102-1125) appeared in several early charters involving the count of Anjou in Angers, typically as a local witness but occasionally as a disputant challenging comital administrative authority.¹⁵³

In contrast to what may be characterized as episcopal apathy, the attitude of some of the great Benedictine abbeys toward the counts of Anjou remained unwelcoming into the early years of Fulk V's reign. The comital relationship with the Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers is exemplary. As we saw in Chapter Two, Fulk le Réchin's mishandling, *inter alia*, of an ecclesiastical dispute in 1096-1098 between the communities of Saint-

the Capetian Kings," *French Historical Studies* 37, 2 (2014), pp. 215-242: 216-218; Jörg Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers, and Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c.1140-c.1230* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁹ On the occasion of the 25 April 1120 consecration of the Cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans, Bishop Hildebert courted a donation from the count and countess of Anjou: Catalog n. [F 74] (1120), APC, pp. 416-417. Hildebert became archbishop of Tours in 1125.

¹⁵⁰ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 249-279. See also: Steven Fanning, *A Bishop and His World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1988).

¹⁵¹ Henk Teunis, *The appeal to the original status: Social justice in Anjou in the eleventh century* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006), 105-132.

¹⁵² In previous chapters, we saw the controversy arising from Fulk le Réchin's heavy-handed influence in the episcopal election of 1101, the resultant fallout inflicting great cost upon comital partisans, and the enduring ecclesiastical criticism from the likes of Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans and Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme.

¹⁵³ See: [F 20]; [F 25]; [F 60]; [F 24]; [F 67].

Nicholas and Saint-Aubin inspired the latter to erase from their cartulary any record of Angevin comital involvement in their abbatial elections.¹⁵⁴ The erasure heralded a breakdown in relations between the counts of Anjou and the Abbey of Saint-Aubin; an institution which had once served as the nexus for comital agency within the monastic sphere became remote to comital designs. Fulk V's own relationship with Saint-Aubin does not appear to have improved. Over the course of his reign, not only did Fulk V issue just four benefactions pertaining to Saint-Aubin but also, revealingly, the monks declined to receive the count within the physical space of their abbey for any of these benefactions, though three of the four acts are known to have been issued in Angers.¹⁵⁵

Fulk's strained relationship with Saint-Aubin as well as other major Benedictine houses is suggested, furthermore, by a number of symbolic concessions to which Fulk apparently consented in his charters. For instance, in making a gift to Saint-Aubin in 1113, Fulk had to prostrate himself before two abbatial representatives.¹⁵⁶ As Geoffrey Koziol has argued, such prostrations were, for the counts of Anjou, a rare gesture, implying deferential humility forced upon them in recognition of a beneficiary

¹⁵⁴ For the cartulary erasure, see: BM Angers, Ms. 829, fols. 7r-11v. For the discussion of the erasure, refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 445-450. For the dispute, see: Teunis, *Appeal to the Original Status*, 76-79.

¹⁵⁵ Catalog n. [F 16] (1109), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 81r, which took place in Angers alternately at the cathedral of Saint-Maurice and then at the monastery of L'Evière; Catalog n. [F 28] (1113), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 80r, which took place at the house of Geoffrey of Blaison in Angers; Catalog n. [F 89] (1121x1123), BM Angers, Ms. 829, fol. 34r-v, which transpired in the cloister of Saint-Laud of Angers; Catalog n. [F 91] (c.1123), BM Angers, ms 863 (775), fol. 1v of "Saint-Macé" compilation, whose location is unclear but was likely at the castle of Trèves, as I discuss supra. In all of this, the immediate proximity of the community of Saint-Aubin to the comital fortress in Angers should be emphasized. The abbey was centrally located within the city's landscapes, making its absence within the performance of comital authority all the more conspicuous.

¹⁵⁶ Catalog n. [F 28] (1113), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 80r. Prostration before the abbot may have allowed the spectacle to signify comital piety, as the count humbly recognized the proper hierarchy between agents of the lay and ecclesiastical spheres. That the comital prostration had to be done before the community's almoner and secretary, however, would have precluded such mutually beneficial signification.

institution's status and autonomy.¹⁵⁷ In the witness list for a benefaction at the Abbey of Saint-Serge in 1109, one of the count's *fideles* was described as "*miles Fulconelli*."¹⁵⁸

The diminutive construction of *Fulco* followed a vivid depiction of comital-monastic harmony: in friendship, Fulk had conceded to the abbey whatsoever they held from his father; Fulk had received from the abbatial prior the blessing of the community; and, before placing the gift atop the abbatial altar, the count had personally embraced all of the abbey's brothers.¹⁵⁹ Unremarkable on their own, such narrative details resonate discordantly with the subsequent *Fulconellus* diminutive, perhaps indicating a chilly rather than warm reception at the Abbey of Saint-Serge. As further testament of their lack of confidence in the count, the monks of Saint-Serge appear to have solicited Lord Adelard of Château-Gontier after September 1116 for his guarantee of a recent comital relinquishment of the foraging custom at Thorigné-d'Anjou.¹⁶⁰ Adelard's guarantee, on

¹⁵⁷ Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 262-263. Koziol does, however, interpret the prostration as being on the part of the abbatial almoner, rather than Count Fulk V. The phrasing of the record itself is ambiguous, but there are several circumstances which recommend reading the prostrating part as Fulk. I discuss these in the catalog entry for the actum cited supra, i.e. [F 28].

¹⁵⁸ Catalog n. [F 17] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280, at 280. The two surviving manuscripts identify the *miles* as either the comital *nutritor* Adam or William of Loches. Both were well-attested comital *fideles*, however, meaning that the Fulconellus in question can be none other than Fulk. For Adam, see: [F 14]; [F 25]; [F 62]; [F 88]; [F 71]; [F 95]; [F 108]; [F 9]; [F 17]; [F 72]; [F 13]; [F 47]; [F 79]. For William of Loches, refer to: Catalog ns. [F 25]; [F 28]; [F 32]; [F 42]; [F 49]; [F 17]; [F 13]; [F 111].

¹⁵⁹ Catalog n. [F 17] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280, at 280: "...*monachis eius quidquid de patro suo Fulcone habuerant et benefitio loci a domno Ansgerio priore accepto et osculatis omnibus fratribus donum portavit super altare.*"

¹⁶⁰ Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2. The uneasy situation of the cross-seal of Adelard of Château-Gontier indicates that his confirmation was sought pursuant to the original production of the comital charter. Indeed, Adelard was barely able to find sufficient space for his inscription on the bottom of the parchment. His cross-seal is nestled uncomfortably to the right of the cross signatures of Aremburge and Geoffrey V, with the remaining space on the bottom of the charter occupied by Fulk's signature and (non-extant) seal. As concerns cross-seals more generally, Michel Parisse has observed that these were a transitional phenomenon in the Loire Valley, serving as a midway point of sorts between cross autographs—prominent in eleventh century diplomatic—and proper matrix seals—increasingly common over the course of the twelfth century. See: Michel Parisse, "Croix autographes de souscription dans l'Ouest de la France au XIe siècle," in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen*

its own terms, was germane neither to the land nor to its foraging custom. Evidence suggests that Thorigné-d'Anjou, which was located south of Adelard's lordship, remained within the comital demesne at this time.¹⁶¹ Moreover, the counts of Anjou had maintained the *fodrium* at Thorigné since at least 1046x1049.¹⁶² Given the otherwise infrequent interaction between Saint-Serge and Adelard of Château-Gontier, the aristocrat's sealing of the parchment of comital benefaction may have reflected the monks' desires to secure some manner of symbolic assurance in light of their general skepticism toward the count.¹⁶³

All of this is to say that Fulk could not rely upon the support of the great Benedictine houses in the earliest years of his comital reign. Indeed, luminaries of these communities, such as Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, even sought to orchestrate broad resistance to some of Fulk's initiatives:¹⁶⁴ though devised to rehabilitate comital authority

Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik, ed. Peter Rück (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996), pp. 143-155:152-154.

¹⁶¹ Thorigné-d'Anjou is situated in the environs of Le Lion d'Angers (cant. Tiercé, arr. Segré, dép. Maine-et-Loire), which Count Fulk le Réchin razed in 1087 in response to his troublesome castellan there. Subsequently, Le Lion d'Angers largely disappears as a lordship, though comital control of the castle of Segré is confirmed through the reign of Count Fulk V, suggesting enduring comital influence in the area. For Fulk le Réchin's razing of Le Lion d'Angers, see: Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*, 173. For the disappearance of Le Lion d'Angers as a lordship in the twelfth century, refer to: Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 31. For Count Fulk V at his castle of Segré, managing regional commercial customs, see: Catalog n. [F 58] (1115x1118), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1735, fol. 68r-v.

¹⁶² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 118, p. 93.

¹⁶³ Adelard's relationship with the Abbey of Saint-Serge was that of an occasional but insignificant patron, though his father Renaud was more active in this regard. See, for instance, in 1082x1093, when Adelard participated in a familial donation to Saint-Serge: *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 214, pp. 203-204. Adelard's own interactions with Saint-Serge were more typically those of circumstantial attestation. For example, Adelard appeared as a witness in an act of 1113x1133 which was issued in Château-Gontier: *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 350, p. 286.

¹⁶⁴ For instance, toward 1110, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme wrote to Bishop Renaud of Angers, claiming to have heard a rumor that the count of Anjou was attempting to curb ecclesiastical liberties by enforcing *novis et execrandis consuetudinibus*. Geoffrey encouraged Renaud to actively resist any such efforts where he perceived them. Refer to: Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. Geneviève Giordanengo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), n. 112, pp. 216-218. Fulk's sister, Ermengarde, was likely instrumental in maintaining civilities between her brother and the abbot of Vendôme. See, for instance: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 17-18. Livingstone argues that the abbot considered Ermengarde,

in a general sense, such initiatives were often perceived to infringe upon ecclesiastical liberty.¹⁶⁵ Fulk, therefore, had to turn elsewhere for support from the ecclesiastical sphere. During the first decade of his reign, the count's efforts focused predominantly on the establishment of increasingly intimate ties with the flourishing reformist Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud (f. 1100/1101). Of his approximately seventy charters dated to between 1109 and 1120, Count Fulk V issued a remarkable twenty-seven on behalf of the increasingly influential communities of Fontevraud.¹⁶⁶ All but four of these charters record acts of comital largesse—either comital donation, comital confirmation of the donations of others, or comital solicitation of others' donations.¹⁶⁷ Fulk's Fontevraudian patronage was extensive in both frequency as well as scale. For instance, probably on the eve of his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Count Fulk relinquished to Fontevraud all customary revenue deriving from the *pasnagium*—a transit tax—collected on traffic throughout the comital forests of Greater Anjou.¹⁶⁸ Such largesse constituted a truly singular relationship between the young abbey and the Angevin count.¹⁶⁹

rather than Fulk V, to be the custodian of the memory of Fulk le Réchin; this sentiment must have been, at least partly a function, of the general attitude of the ecclesiastical establishment toward Fulk V in his earliest years.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Catalog n. [F 67] (1110x1112), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 94, pp. 174-175. Therein, Fulk's attempt to formalize the comital *curia* as the avenue for judicial redress involving the canons of Saint-Maurice elicited an immediate reprisal from Bishop Renaud of Angers. Renaud solicited the aid of Bishop Marbode of Rennes in arguing before the count that his canons neither were obligated to address any grievances outside the space of their own chapter nor were subject to any non-ecclesiastical local justice, i.e. the cathedral's canons fell only under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Angers, the cathedral's dean, or the chapter assembly itself.

¹⁶⁶ [F 27]; [F 29]; [F 32]; [F 30]; [F 31]; [F 36]; [F 37]; [F 38]; [F 41]; [F 42]; [F 40]; [F 43]; [F 44]; [F 45]; [F 46]; [F 70]; [F 47]; [F 48]; [F 52]; [F 53]; [F 50]; [F 55]; [F 63]; [F 65]; [F 64]; [F 81]; [F 82].

¹⁶⁷ The exceptions are: [F 30]; [F 36]; [F 50].

¹⁶⁸ Catalog n. [F 82] (c.1120), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 12. Count Geoffrey V confirmed this benefaction in 1129x1144 or 1150x1151. See: AN, P 1334/5, fol. 131r; Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 50.

¹⁶⁹ To be sure, such intimacy was the result of a variety of influences upon Fulk. His half-sister, Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, had been an early supporter and patron of the abbey's founder, Robert of

As a function of such extensive patronage, Fulk enjoyed a special relationship with the abbey. Most prominently,¹⁷⁰ the abbatial communities accorded to Fulk a unique privilege in the mutually negotiated rhetoric of comital benefaction: the preambles to comital donations consistently framed the count's alms as a means of public penance.¹⁷¹

Arbrissel, even having contemplated the religious life at Fontevraud c. 1105-1108. The contemplations may have been spurred by anxieties concerning the possible consanguinity of her marriage. For a discussion, see: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 12. Fulk's mother, Queen Bertrade, may also have been an instrumental influence in regard to his Fontevraudian patronage. The causal relationship is more difficult to discern here, however, as Bertrade's early involvement with the abbey coincided with her son's benefactions. Nevertheless, Bertrade was sufficiently moved by what the communities represented that she appears to have coordinated the establishment of a Fontevraudian priory at Hautes-Bruyères, ten kilometers from her family's castle of Montfort-l'Amaury. Before her death on 19 January 1119, Bertrade took the veil at Fontevraud, and she was interred at the aforementioned priory near her family's stronghold. With regard to Bertrade and Hautes-Bruyères, refer to: Kathleen Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver: The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 34-44. For a corrective on the date of Bertrade's retirement, i.e. not by 1115 but at least after April 1116 (given her continuing itineration with the comital court), see the previous chapter as well as: Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 167, pp. 158-160. Nevertheless, Fulk's support of the Abbey of Fontevraud and its founder, Robert of Arbrissel faced countervailing influence. For instance, Bishop Marbode of Rennes, who, as we saw in earlier chapters, may have been a prominent figure in Fulk's childhood, remained critical of Robert of Arbrissel in both a general sense as well as specifically in regard to his communities at Fontevraud. For the criticism of Marbode as well as that of Geoffrey of Vendôme, refer to: Bruce L. Venarde, "Power, Personality--and Perversity? Robert of Arbrissel (ca. 1045-1116) and His Critics," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*, eds. R.F. Berkhofer, A. Cooper, and A.J. Kostko (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 213-225: 220-223; Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 26n120.

¹⁷⁰ Other benefits of this special relationship may have included the personal intervention of Robert of Arbrissel on behalf of Fulk with regard to individuals hostile to the count. See, for instance, an occasion which transpired in 1115 at Fontevraud: Catalog n. [F 40] (1115), *Cartulaire de Cadouin*, n. 4, pp. 9-11. Fulk and Aimery, son of the standing viscount of Thouars, jointly witnessed an act. The viscomital family of Thouars and the counts of Anjou had been on poor terms since Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel II razed their castle in 1104. Did this joint witnessing herald a potential rapprochement which had been mediated by Robert of Arbrissel? This Aimery appeared in the comital *mouvance* twice subsequently before his own accession to the viscountship of Thouars in 1127. See: [G 1-4] (1116x1122); [F 106] (1124x1126).

¹⁷¹ These preambles survive in contemporaneous form in a trio of comital pancartes produced at Fontevraud in c. 1116, c. 1118, and 1129, respectively, though acts 13-15 on piece 1 and acts 13-16 on piece 2 are subsequent additions to the parchment before the production of piece 3 in 1129. Piece 3 itself has a later addition in 1154 as n. 19, wherein Fulk's grandson Henry (soon to be King Henry II of England) confirmed the entire pancarte. These pancartes are cataloged today as AN, Carton L 1018, pieces 1-3. Given the nature of my argument here, my evidence will draw exclusively upon the pancarte redactions which can be dated with some confidence to before 1121, i.e. numbers 1-12 on piece 1 and numbers 1-12 on piece 2. For such matters, see the discussion in: Appendix E.

It is vital to observe, furthermore, that evidence suggests that these pancarte redactions of the original comital charters preserved the intent of the original preambles, if rendering those preambles more florid in language. The relationship of Version I and Version II [F 45] is illustrative. Version II, appearing in piece 1 of c. 1116 and then being faithfully duplicated in pieces 2 (c.1118) and 3 (1129), constitutes the

In prefacing Fulk's relinquishment of two mills and a lock near Chinon, the comital charter references Proverbs 10:12, "in which it was written: charity buries a multitude of sins."¹⁷² In granting various half-rents and meadows in alms, Fulk is noted to be heeding Daniel 4:27's exhortation to "atone for your sins through alms and for your injustices through mercy to the meek so that perhaps God may pardon your misdeeds."¹⁷³ Even beyond the rhetoric of the preambles, comital charters at Fontevraud depict Fulk as an individual "greatly weighed down with the burden of [his] sins."¹⁷⁴ The count framed his

c. 1116 pancarte redaction of Version I, which survives only as a later addition to pieces 1 and 2. That Version I is the faithful original of Version II is suggested by the lack of any substantive dispositive difference between the two acts, the spare rhetorical construction of Version I relative to the ornate construction of Version II, and the absence of Queen Bertrade, who was inserted into the c. 1116 redaction of Version II whereas she was absent in the witness list for the earlier-produced Version I. The preamble of Version I is quite clear in its penitential dimension: Fulk sought to make his donation for "the cleansing of [his] sins" [*a peccatis meis mundari desiderans*]. This assertion is grandiosely elaborated in Version II, though the penitential message remains clearly similar: [*Huius igitur sacrae exhortacionis dilectione animatus et auctoritate fretus, ego Fulco Andegavensium comes Fulconis comitis filius ardenti desiderio mea magna facinora desiderans relaxari usque ad Fontem Ebraudi magna cordis conpunctione orationis gratia Deo adiuvante perveni. Qui ego qualiscumque sim, Deum Dominum indesinenti studio suppliciter deprecans et sanctimonialium eiusdem ecclesiae multas multarum necessitates ibidem Deo humilitatis devotione famulantium considerans, ad earum ditacionem unam possessionis meae particulam donare invigilavi ut ante tantum iudicem mei peccatoris oracio dignetur exaudiri*]. For these acts, refer to: Catalog n. [F 45] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 2 (Version II); Catalog n. [F 45] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 15 (Version I).

With regard to the process of mutual negotiation which yields the rhetoric of any individual benefaction, see my Introduction. As I discuss in the Methods section there, frequent and/or powerful benefactors would have wielded a disproportionate influence in shaping the rhetoric of their benefactions. And, given Fulk's extraordinarily close relationship with the Abbey of Fontevraud, it is likely that the manner in which his charters were framed there reflected as well as shaped his own ideations of rulership.

¹⁷² Catalog n. [F 31] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 4: "*Scriptum est: quia karitas operit multitudinem peccatorum.*"

¹⁷³ Catalog n. [F 44] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 6: "*Ex nonnullis Scripturarum testimoniis habemus ut peccata nostra elemosinis redimamus. De quibus hoc cuidam per Danielelem ex divina inspiratione loquentem dicitur: O rex consilium meum placeat tibi et elemosinis peccata tua redime et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum si forsitan ignoscat Deus delictis tuis.*" This particular preamble, with its citation of Daniel, recurred, in even more elaborate form, in a later comital charter. See: Catalog n. [F 52] (1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 8, though cf. the significant variations in BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2414, ff. 107v-108v, as discussed in *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 168, pp. 161-162 and *Ibid.*, II, n. 862, pp. 801-802.

¹⁷⁴ Catalog n. [F 48] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 9: "*Igitur ego Fulco comes Iunior Andegavensis nimis mole peccaminum adgravatus, notum facio...*" Within such a context, other more conventional preambles, such as those articulating alms as a means of amassing treasures in heaven (cf. Matthew 6:20) perhaps acquire particularized significance.

benefactions as acts “of true penance” in pursuit of divine clemency for the afterlife.¹⁷⁵ It was in “wishing to be cleansed of [his] sins,” for instance, that the count traveled to Fontevraud Abbey at one point to grant to its religious various meadows at Véron as well as the woods of Bouretard.¹⁷⁶ Such frameworks of signification would have had tremendous resonance within the crusading environment of Greater Anjou. For, if early twelfth century Latin Christians had received the enterprise of crusade as a sort of penitential exercise, then Angevin contemporaries would have recognized the overt parallelism in Fulk’s performance of comital authority at the Abbey of Fontevraud as, itself, a sort of penitential exercise.¹⁷⁷ Fulk’s relationship with Fontevraud not only provided him with an alternate base of ecclesiastical support but also constituted an important dimension of his early crusade-informed praxis.

Before proceeding, we should observe a few points of clarification. First, to be sure, some of these rhetorical elements constituted variations of diplomatic formulas already in regional circulation. For instance, preambles articulating charity for the remission of one’s sins were used intermittently at the cathedral of Saint-Maurice, where two of Fulk’s charters unremarkably incorporated the formula.¹⁷⁸ Yet, the centrality of

¹⁷⁵ Catalog n. [F 44] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 6: “...concedo sicut ipse libere et quiete longiturnitate temporum possedit ut spacium verae paenitentiae divina Dei omnipotentis clementia mihi conferat et locum refrigerii antecessoribus meis habere concedat.”

¹⁷⁶ Catalog n. [F 45] (1109x1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 15: “...a peccatis meis mundari desiderans...”

¹⁷⁷ For the contemporaneous reception of the advent of the crusading phenomenon as a sort of penitential exercise, namely a penitential pilgrimage, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 22-23; James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 30-39; C.J. Tyerman, “Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?,” *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), pp. 553-577.

¹⁷⁸ Catalog n. [F 20] (1109x1110), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 163, pp. 255-256; Catalog n. [F 14] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 9, pp. 12-13.

penitential imagery in Fulk's acts at Fontevraud remains noteworthy with respect to both the consistency of incorporation¹⁷⁹ as well as the exclusivity of such rhetorical usage for the count alone.¹⁸⁰ Indeed, penitential rhetoric is absent from the benefactions of the foremost of the abbey's other major lay patrons—Lord Gautier of Montsoreau, whose family comprised the abbey's foundational patrons and whose mother Hersende was prioress of Fontevraud from 1103x1104 until her death in 1109x1113, and Lord Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay, who was Gautier's brother-in-law via the marriage of his own sister Griscia.¹⁸¹ Instead, non-comital documentary productions were framed in the more conventional language of guarding against the inevitable failures of human memory, that is, preserving gifts in the face of anticipated future challenges.¹⁸² Performative penance was an exclusively comital privilege at the Abbey of Fontevraud during Fulk's reign. Finally, the influence of the spiritual mission of the abbey's founder, Robert of Arbrissel (d. 25 Feb 1116), upon the Fontevraud-specific discursive strategies of Count Fulk should be understood as complementary rather than instrumental. Robert of Arbrissel preached a purity of faith that encouraged reform of one's inner being; comital penance in pursuit of

¹⁷⁹ Only a handful of Fulk's twenty-eight Fontevraudian acts of 1109-1120 do not invoke frameworks of penitence. These acts incorporate more conventional formulas, e.g. the charter is said to have been produced on account of the failures of human memory, so as to preserve the donation for posterity, and so on. See: Catalog n. [F 30] (1109x1113), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5; Catalog n. [F 63] (1118), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 12.

¹⁸⁰ Even Aremburge's independent *actum* at Fontevraud did not invoke penitential rhetoric. See: Catalog n. [G 1-1] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 165, pp. 155-156.

¹⁸¹ For the ties of kinship between Gautier and Berlai, refer to: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 225 and 227. For the Montreuil-Bellay kin group as the original lay founders of the Abbey of Fontevraud, see: Lindy Grant, "Aspects of Architectural Patronage," 98.

¹⁸² For Gautier of Montsoreau's acts at Fontevraud, refer to: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 152, 225, 281, 302, 402, 448, 468, 633. For Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay's acts, see: *Ibid.*, ns. 143, 225, 227, 947(1), 947(2).

salvation must have been inspired by Robert's ministry in part.¹⁸³ However, as Robert's extant writing indicates, his emphasis upon interior reform in pursuit of the City of God generally precluded an interest in renegotiating the exterior structures of the City of Man.¹⁸⁴ Lay princes such as Fulk necessarily had to engage with such structures, and such external reform was, in any case, a preoccupation of other reformist figures in the count's orbit, such as Marbode of Rennes and Hildebert of Lavardin.

Fulk's relationship with the Abbey of Fontevraud during the 1110s would have heightened the count's appreciation of the meaningful role which burgeoning ecclesiastical reform communities could play within his program to rehabilitate Angevin comital authority. However, it was not until the second decade of his reign that Fulk turned an institutionally-specific performance of comital authority as interior reform for personal salvation into a broader regional policy of facilitating exterior reform for societal rejuvenation.¹⁸⁵ Returning to the series of ecclesiastical foundations in which Fulk participated between 1120 and 1129, we may now appreciate the intentional signification in his efforts: it was to articulate a certain message of rulership that Fulk issued the majority of his establishments on behalf of various reformist communities.

¹⁸³ Bruce L. Venarde, "Robert of Arbrissel," 216. See also: Fiona Griffiths, "The Cross and the *Cura monialium*: Robert of Arbrissel, John the Evangelist, and the Pastoral Care of Women in the Age of Reform," *Speculum* 83, 2 (2008), pp. 303-330.

¹⁸⁴ Venarde, "Robert of Arbrissel," 222-223, referencing Robert's only extant piece of writing, his letter to Ermengarde in c.1109. For the letter, see: "Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde," ed. Jules de Pétigny, BEC 15 (1854), pp. 209-235. In Venarde's estimation, the foundation of Fontevraud was less about reforming ecclesiastical structures and more about placating Robert's critics by establishing a stabilizing locus for the religious enthusiasm that the itinerant preacher was inspiring.

¹⁸⁵ Lindy Grant has observed Fulk's generally disproportionate support of the reformed orders in lieu of the great Benedictine houses. Yet, it is revealing to distinguish between the pre-1119 and post-1119 periods—the disproportionality grows markedly during the post-1119 period and appears to be connected, in no small part, to Fulk's crusading experience. Refer to: Lindy Grant, "Aspects of Architectural Patronage," 97-98.

Most commonly, Fulk had encouraged within the physical landscapes of Anjou the growth of those congregations which drew upon eremitic concepts to usher in ‘originalist’ observances of the Benedictine Rule.¹⁸⁶ For instance, shortly before heading to Jerusalem in 1120, Fulk provided for the establishment of an hermitage east of the comital stronghold of Baugé¹⁸⁷ on behalf of the Savigniac Order, a reform Benedictine community founded by an eremitic disciple of Robert of Arbrissel.¹⁸⁸ In 1126x1129, the count also granted to this community of La Boissière commercial exemptions and material resources to enable the construction of a priory, further extending Savigniac influence in the northern Saumurois.¹⁸⁹ Similarly, around 1127, Fulk established the reformist Benedictine Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay from what was likely a preexisting hermitage in the northeastern environs of the comital castle of Chinon.¹⁹⁰

Along the Poitevin frontier southeast of Loudun, Fulk granted various lands and

¹⁸⁶ Such reform has been referred to as a “crisis of Cenobitism.” Following in the wake of the counterreaction to Cluny’s institutionalized Benedictine monasticism which had resulted in the lavish accumulation of wealth and the increasing grandeur of liturgical ritual on the part of Cluniac monasteries, the “crisis of Cenobitism” was often spearheaded by hermits and emphasized austerity and reform in the observance of the Benedictine Rule. Refer to: John Van Engen, “The ‘Crisis of Cenobitism’ Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1150,” *Speculum* 61, 2 (1986), pp. 269-304.

¹⁸⁷ Situated in the northern Saumurois, the hermitage was located at: Cme. Denezé-sous-le-Lude, cant. Noyant, arr. Saumur. See Port, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 415.

¹⁸⁸ The Abbey of Sainte-Trinité of Savigny (Cant. Le Teilleul, arr. Avranches, dioc. Avranches, dép. Manche) had been founded in 1105 as an hermitage by Vitalis of Mortain, a disciple of Robert of Arbrissel and former canon at Saint-Evroul. An endowment of lands in 1112 had established the monastery proper, and the pope bestowed upon the community papal protection in 1119. Abbot Geoffrey (r. 1122-1138) succeeded Vitalis upon the latter’s death in 1122. The congregation of Savigny had come to be associated with the Cistercian Order by the mid-twelfth century. Refer to: Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 146-148; Grant, “Aspects of Architectural Patronage,” 98.

¹⁸⁹ Concerning the community’s construction of a priory, see: Catalog n. [F 122] (1126x1129), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 760, fol. 179r-v. The original foundation of the hermitage is preserved as part of the later confirmation. For my analysis and discussion, refer to: Catalog n. [F 73].

¹⁹⁰ Catalog n. [F 109] (c.1127), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, fol. 463, fol. 473r. The nature of the early community which would become the Abbey of Turpenay remains ambiguous beyond its eremitic trappings. See: *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, VI, 331-334, drawing upon BM Tours, Ms. 1325, ff. 165-170.

privileges for the foundation of a priory belonging to the Tironensian Order, another flourishing reform congregation initiated by an hermit.¹⁹¹ On 13 September 1121, as his first known act upon returning from Jerusalem, Fulk established northeast of his castle of Saumur the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux,¹⁹² in so doing, the count introduced to his principality what was already on its way to becoming the most successful of the eremitism-inspired Benedictine reform communities: the Cistercian Order.¹⁹³ Count Fulk later bestowed upon the Cistercian abbey an additional foundational honor: establishing at Louroux the mausoleum and final resting place of his wife, Countess Aremburge, after her death in 1126.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ The foundation of the priory of Sainte-Marie Madeleine of Russé can probably be dated to the 1120s, though this is not certain. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 117] (1109x1129), AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 81v. The location of the priory has been a matter of some confusion, but Kathryn Dutton has argued convincingly for situating it in the modern-day commune of Orches (cme Orches, cant. Lençloître, arr. Châtellerault, dép. Vienne): Refer to: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 99. Like Savigny, the Abbey of Sainte-Trinité of Tiron (Cme and cant. Thiron Gardais, arr. Nogent-le-Rotrou, dioc. Chartres, dép. Eure-et-Loir) was founded c.1107 by a disciple of Robert of Arbrissel—one Bernard of Tiron, c.1046-1116. For Tiron and its founder, see: Ruth H. Cline, "The Congregation of Tiron in the Twelfth Century: Foundation and Expansion," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2000); Geoffrey Grossus, *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, trans. Ruth H. Cline (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), xi-xxvi.

¹⁹² Catalog n. [F 83] (1121), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1733. The Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux-en-Vernantes under the Cistercian Order was: Cme Vernantes, cant. Longué-Jumelles, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

¹⁹³ Michel Pecha has argued that this foundation, representing the first incursion of the Cistercian Order into Anjou, was not an entirely surprising decision by the count and countess: the isolationist, impoverished, and manual labor-intensive stance of the Cistercian Rule well complemented local eremitic movements and foundations of reform communities therefrom. See: Michel Pecha, "Origines d'une abbaye cistercienne: Notre-Dame de Pontron," in *Archives d'Anjou: Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie angevines*, VI (Angers: Association des amis des Archives d'Anjou, 2002), pp. 5-28. For an overview of the Cistercian emergence as a function of broader eremitic currents, refer to: Kevin Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 164-173.

¹⁹⁴ The decision likely mirrored, in part, Bertrade's decision to be interred at the Fontevraudian priory of Hautes-Bruyères in 1119. Later, Fulk's son Geoffrey V would opt to be buried at the Cathedral of Le Mans rather than at the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers or within his own mausoleum. Refer to: Grant, "Aspects of Architectural Patronage," 102-103. Countess Aremburge's burial at Louroux is referenced in: Catalog n. [F 83] (1121), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1733.

Comital patronage extended also toward growing communities of Augustinian canons regular, whose contemporary efflorescence has been considered a hallmark of twelfth-century *reformatio*.¹⁹⁵ On 9 October 1124, for example, Fulk and Aremburge granted lands and privileges about Saint-Fraimbault¹⁹⁶ to the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Beaulieu-lès-Mans,¹⁹⁷ where a canonical order of Saint-Augustine was being established.¹⁹⁸ Likely earlier that same year in May, Fulk had relinquished a chapel and its dependencies at Saint-Jean-du-Bois north of the Manceaux comital stronghold of La Flèche to another community of Augustinian canons, the Abbey of Notre-Dame of La Roë.¹⁹⁹ The reform congregation which Fulk had established in the forest of Brechenay in 1120 may even have begun its transition from hermitage to Augustinian priory by the end of the decade.²⁰⁰ In 1121x1125, the count of Anjou relinquished to the regular canons of

¹⁹⁵ For the proliferation of regular canons under the Rule of Saint Augustine as part of later eleventh and twelfth century reform currents, refer to: Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 54-58. Constable distinguishes between the earlier *ordo antiquus* (Rule of Aachen) for the canons regular versus the *ordo novus* (rule of Augustine) of the central medieval reform period; the latter distinctly drew upon monastic concepts in its formulation.

¹⁹⁶ Cme Saint-Fraimbault, cant. Passais, arr. Alençon, dép. Orne.

¹⁹⁷ Cant. and arr. Le Mans, dioc. Le Mans, dép. Sarthe.

¹⁹⁸ For the foundation and further analysis, refer to: Catalog n. [F 94] (1124), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 17124, p. 87.

¹⁹⁹ Catalog n. [F 98] (c.1124), AD Mayenne, H 154, n. 136, fol. 61r-v. The act is traditionally dated to 1110, as per Chartrou's tentative suggestion in her catalog entry for the benefaction. See, for instance: Kathryn Dutton, "Angevin Religious Patronage in the County of Maine: The Assertion of Identity, Authority, and Legitimacy, 1110-1151," in *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 211-235: 217; Grant, "Aspects of Architectural Patronage," 96-97. However, as I discuss in my own catalog entry above, a variety of evidentiary circumstances recommend, instead, a dating of May 1124.

²⁰⁰ For the comital foundation, see: Catalog n. [F 78] (1120), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, n. 12, pp. 26-28. As I indicated above, the hermitage had become the Augustinian priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais under the College of Saint-Martin of Tours by 1163. Although the timeline for the institutional conversion of the hermitage into a priory remains unclear, the circumstances of Fulk's confirmation and exemption of 1128x1129—in which the act of foundation survives—suggest that, at any rate, the congregation had grown significantly in terms of its local influence and management of surrounding lands. See: [F 110]. Nevertheless, the institutional conversion may not have occurred until 1146, when a certain Joscelin is recorded as having provided for the construction of a church at the site. Refer to: *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, III, pp. 224-225, though the year of foundation of the hermitage is misreported there as 1017.

the Abbey of Toussaint of Angers an almshouse constructed in honor of his biological and adoptive fathers, Fulk le Réchin and Alan Fergent.²⁰¹ In the case of Toussaint, it is important to note that Fulk V, as count, had made two gifts to its canons previously, once in 1118 and again in 1116x1120; his support of this particular reformist institution constituted an extension of an existing relationship.²⁰² However, unlike during the first half of Fulk's comital reign, wherein the chief recipient of the count's reformist patronage was the Abbey of Fontevraud and, to a much lesser extent, the canonical Abbey of Toussaint, such reformist benefactions were located during the 1120s within an institutionally diverse pattern of patronage. As if to signal that post-crusading comital support of reform communities would not be tied to a specific institution, Fulk's patronage of Fontevraud declined precipitously after his return from the Holy Land: in contrast to nearly thirty benefactions on behalf of Fontevraud during the 1110s, only three comital acts can be dated to 1121-1129.²⁰³ Furthermore, although Fulk's relationship with the ecclesiastical establishment did improve in the 1120s, the improvement occurred chiefly at those institutions led by reformist luminaries, namely

²⁰¹ Catalog n. [F 100] (1121x1125), *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 55, p. 121. For the count's relationship with Alan Fergent (d. 13 October 1119), see Chapter One. It is possible that the relinquishment of the almshouse—or even its construction—was at the behest of Countess Ermengarde, who otherwise was instrumentally involved in the relinquishment of properties and privileges from her family to the canons of Toussaint. See, for instance, her participation in the Toussaint grant of her son, Duke Conan III of Brittany, concerning the possession of and privileges about a bridge in Nantes: *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 61, pp. 123-124, whose *datum* clause is inaccurately recorded as 9 October 1118, though Alan Fergent did not die until 13 October 1119, thus perhaps suggesting scribal omission of an additional 'X' in the *anno* element, i.e. 9 October 1128.

²⁰² Catalog n. [F 71] (1116x1120), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1425, ff. 177-178; Catalog n. [F 62] (1118), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826. Fulk V had also joined his father, Fulk le Réchin, in 1103 as part of a comital donation to the canons. See: Catalog n. [F 3] (1103), *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 17, pp. 102-103.

²⁰³ Catalog n. [F 103] (1115x1126), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 502, pp. 490-491; Catalog n. [F 108] (1127), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 435, pp. 31-32; Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18.

the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, whose abbot was Geoffrey of Vendôme, and the Cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans, whose bishop until 1125 was Hildebert of Lavardin.²⁰⁴

Fulk's reformist realignment demanded a reorientation of not only comital patronage but also the discursive construction of the count's character within his charters. For, if the count sought to position himself as the lay spearhead of reform in Anjou, it was increasingly important that the performance of comital authority exemplify moral virtues.²⁰⁵ Angevin society writ large could not be spiritually rejuvenated without an attendant renewal of its princely office which, as we saw in previous chapters, had been tarnished by the perceived immoralities of its previous occupant. Indeed, Fulk V's articulated virtues form explicit counterpoints to contemporary characterizations of Fulk

²⁰⁴ With regard to Geoffrey of Vendôme before Fulk took the cross, there were two comital benefactions for which the abbot accompanied the count: [F 25] in 1112; [F 54] in c.1116. After September 1119, including the occasion on which Fulk took the cross, Geoffrey joined Fulk in at least six acts: [F 66] and [F 67] in 1119; [F 88] in 1123; [F 95] in 1124; [F 93] in 1124; [F 110] in 1128. The abbot also noted in a letter which has been dated to 1119 (but could also be early 1120, depending on the calendar which Geoffrey used) how Fulk V had recently aided La Trinité of Vendôme in the reclamation of various contested lands: Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, n. 154, p. 344. Concerning Hildebert of Lavardin, the only known documentary interaction before September 1119 was in 1109x1115 when Hildebert, Fulk, and other magnates heard a dispute between the communities of Saint-Florent and Fontevraud: Catalog n. [F 38] (1109x1115), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 266, pp. 268-269. For the period between then and the end of Fulk's comital reign, refer to: [F 74] in 1120; [F 94] in 1124; [F 112] in 1128; [F 92] in 1124. The relationship between Bishop Renaud of Angers and Count Fulk also improved following the latter's taking of the cross. Before accompanying Fulk to Jerusalem in 1120, Renaud joined the comital *curia* in an attempted comital adjudication; it was the first such joint comital-episcopal adjudication since the 1080s: Catalog n. [F 76] (1120), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30. There was another joint adjudication—this time, a successful attempt—in 1125: Catalog n. [F 101] (1125), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 36, pp. 48-51. Fulk's known interactions with Bishop Ulger, Renaud's successor in 1125, are not particularly revealing with regard to their relationship: [F 121]; [F 112]. Ulger, in any case, appeared in comital charters before 1125 as the archdeacon of the cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers: [F 72]; [F 67]; [F 89].

²⁰⁵ Carolingian political discourses which formed the ideological backdrop to twelfth century ideations of power and authority articulated temporal rulership as a form of *ministerium* "whose moral responsibilities bound king or count more straitly than any accountability to public wishes." See: Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 54-56, at 56 for quote; John Van Engen, "Sacred Sanctions for Lordship," in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Thomas Bisson (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995), pp. 203-230: 209-218.

le Réchin, especially those characterizations reified within the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum*, the Angevin dynastic history that had been produced in 1106x1109 as an *exemplum* for Fulk V's own reign.²⁰⁶ The depiction of the late count in the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* was of a man who was enslaved to his assorted vices. Governed by such intemperate desires, Fulk le Réchin had gravely mistreated his various family members.²⁰⁷ Driven by treacherous opportunism, Fulk le Réchin had repeatedly betrayed and eventually imprisoned his elder brother, Count Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8).²⁰⁸ Fueled by lust, Fulk le Réchin had dismissed the mother of Geoffrey Martel II, his eldest son and original heir, to pursue Bertrade of Montfort.²⁰⁹ Jealous of contemporary renown for that heir's *probitas*, which stood in contrast to his own dubious reputation, Fulk le Réchin had even come to conspire in the murder of the young man, his own son, in 1106.²¹⁰

Establishing a stark contrast, Fulk V undertook various ceremonial gestures which emphasized his proactive care of family members living and dead. For example, in advance of leaving for Jerusalem in 1120, the count placed his heir and lands under the

²⁰⁶ See: Paul, "Rumours of Murder," 142-143 who, within the interval of 1106x1109, identifies later 1106 as the most probable moment of composition.

²⁰⁷ For a broader discussion of the medieval perception of disordered desires as inherently problematic for stable, much less successful, rulership, see: Megan McLaughlin, "'Disgusting Acts of Shamelessness': Sexual Misconduct and the Deconstruction of Royal Authority in the Eleventh Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 19, 3 (2011), pp. 312-331: 313.

²⁰⁸ GCA, 62-66, especially at 63 where Fulk le Réchin's decision to war with his brother after the latter's accession to the countship is depicted as opportunism: Geoffrey le Barbu was absent from the county, assisting Manceaux allies in the recovery of lands seized by the English king.

²⁰⁹ GCA, 62-66, at 65: "...*libidinosus Fulco sororem Amalrici de Monteforti adamavit, cujus preter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit, pro qua matrem Martelli dimisit, affirmans eam de genere suo fuisse...*"

²¹⁰ GCA, 62-66, at 66 which follows an extended discussion of Geoffrey Martel II's worthiness to rule on 65. To be clear, the anonymous author of the initial composition of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* still presented Fulk le Réchin as an ultimately redeemable figure, albeit a deeply flawed one whose inner virtue had been obscured by his embrace of intemperate desires leading him into vice.

protection of Saint Julian, the patron saint of the cathedral of Le Mans, which itself was the See of the reformist luminary Hildebert of Lavardin. In the presence of numerous lay and ecclesiastical notables who had gathered for the cathedral's consecration, Fulk lifted Geoffrey V atop his shoulders and set the boy upon the altar, beseeching, "with the crowd listening," Saint Julian to "be both protector and defender" of the count's son and domain during his impending absence. Fulk is then noted to have withdrawn in tears, leaving his heir upon the altar and, soon thereafter, disembarking for Jerusalem.²¹¹ When Aremburge fell mortally ill in late 1126, Fulk's charter indicates that he summoned his friend, John "the healer-abbot" of Saint-Nicholas, from Angers to the comital castle of Baugé to tend to her.²¹² Upon her death, Fulk issued a benefaction in explicit fulfillment of Aremburge's final request.²¹³ Uniquely among Fulk's Fontevraudian benefactions, this charter concludes with a *sanctio* clause, resoundingly threatening excommunication upon any who would dare violate the dying wishes of Fulk's late wife.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Catalog n. [F 74] (1120), APC, pp. 416-417: "*Porro, cum recitatum esset donum istud, tam baronibus quam populo, et ab omnibus approbatum, ipse comes, assumens filium suum Gaufridum, et de terra elevans inter brachia sua, posuit super altare beatissimi Juliani, offerens ei et ipsum puerum, et per eum et in ipso, prefatum beneficium; adjungens hoc, audiente populo: 'Tibi, sancte Juliane, meum filium commendo et terram meam; tu, utriusque sis protector et defensor.' Relinquens igitur prefatum puerum super aram, atque uberrimus perfusus lacrimis recessit, brevi intervallo Ierosolimam, sicut disposuerat, profecturus.*" See my catalog entry for a discussion concerning the surviving text of the benefaction; the text appears to have been borrowed faithfully from the original non-extant document.

²¹² For John "*medici abbatis*" here, who, before becoming Abbot of Saint-Nicholas of Angers in 1118, previously appeared as Fulk's personal physician and close friend, out of love for whom Fulk made a donation in 1113x1116, see: Catalog n. [F 49] (1113x1116), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v: "*Maxime autem hoc donum facio, et concedo, et confirmo pro amore Johannis medici Monachi Sancti Nicholai, qui mihi affectuose et utiliter de medicina sua deservit.*"

²¹³ Catalog n. [F 108] (1127), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 435, pp. 31-32: "...*ego, Fulco Andegavensium comes, per presentem cartam presentibus atque futuris notum fieri volo quod Erenburgis uxor mea ad mortem veniens rogavit me ut donarem...*"

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*: "*Si quis vero, quod futurum esse non credo, hoc donum meum et elemosinam vel alia quecumque ecclesiae Fontis Ebraldi donavi seu concessi impedire seu perturbare vel diminuere temptaverit, secundo terciove commonitus, nisi restituerit et digna satisfactione emendaverit, a liminibus Ecclesiae Dei sanctae et a sacratissimo corpore Domini nostri Jhesu Christi arceatur.*" Although such clauses appear with regularity in comital charters produced for certain institutions, such as the college of Saint-Laud, this is the only one of Fulk's Fontevraudian charters that invokes a *sanctio* clause.

During the second decade of his comital reign, Fulk made considerable efforts to honor, in particular, his various father-figures.²¹⁵ Fulk commemorated his taking of the cross on 7x9 September 1119 by arranging for liturgical services to be conducted on behalf of his father Fulk le Réchin and his father-in-law Hélias of Maine, as well as the rest of the comital family, at L'Evière of Angers, a dependent monastery of the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme.²¹⁶ On 25 November 1124, Fulk V improved upon this previous arrangement by requesting that the congregations of both L'Evière and its mother-abbey venerate the anniversaries of the entire comital family in the same manner as those of Vendôme's abbots. The count also instructed Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme to undertake, at the abbot's own expense, a second renovation of the tomb of Fulk le Réchin at L'Evière; having funded its original renovation in 1112 upon Ermengarde's solicitation,²¹⁷ Fulk V in 1124 felt the tomb to be insufficiently splendid to properly honor his father.²¹⁸ In 1121x1125, Fulk granted to the Abbey of Toussaint an almshouse which he had commissioned in the name of Fulk le Réchin and Duke Alan Fergent, Fulk V's father-figure during his childhood in Brittany.²¹⁹ Comital charters framed such

²¹⁵ Contemporaries may have considered Fulk's sister, Ermengarde, rather than Fulk to have been the custodian of their father's memory during the 1110s. For the case of Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, see: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 17-18.

²¹⁶ Catalog n. [F 66] (1119), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 434, pp. 208-209.

²¹⁷ Toward 1110, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme wrote a letter to Countess Ermengarde, admonishing her for having neglected, in her various patronage, the monastery of L'Evière where her father was buried. Geoffrey encourages her to patronize the monastery in filial affection for the soul of her father and the monks who honor his memory there. See: Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, n. 110, pp. 212-214. Amy Livingstone has identified Fulk's subsequent 1112 grant of various customs, exemptions, and land to Vendôme as a product of Ermengarde's intervention. Refer to: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 17-18.

²¹⁸ Catalog n. [F 95] (1124), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 449, pp. 235-237. Fulk identified Hélias' sepulcher at the monastery of La Couture in Le Mans as a baseline of excellence in the renovation of his own father's tomb.

²¹⁹ Catalog n. [F 100] (1121x1125), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 10656. For Alan Fergent as Fulk's adoptive father during Fulk V's childhood in Brittany, see the previous chapters.

benefactions as fulfillments of a moral responsibility incumbent upon sons after the passing of their fathers.²²⁰ Although this framework of signification was conventional in terms of contemporary diplomatics, it only manifested regularly in comital charters following Fulk's personal commitment to the enterprise of crusade, betraying the impact of the crusading experience here.

The *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum* further characterized Fulk le Réchin as one of those men whose dishonesty, indulgence, and "steadfastness in the preservation of rivalries," among other vices, "deformed the innocence of the multitude" of his realm.²²¹ In contrast, comital charters of the 1120s depicted Fulk V as an individual who strived to cultivate the opposing traits—honesty, moderation, and forgiveness—not just in himself but also in those with whom he associated. For instance, before establishing an hermitage in the forest of Brechenay, Fulk requested that his *secretario*, who was formerly an hermit in the area, vouch for the "spirit of the eremitical profession in those places" so as to ensure that Fulk's gift would be used honestly for its intended purposes.²²² The count aspired to maintain such sincerity within his own benefactions as

²²⁰ Catalog n. [F 81] (c.1120), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 14: "*Quia post mortem patris filii ceteris intenti sunt negociis quam animabus patrum benefaciendum, ego, Fulco...*"

²²¹ GCA, 64: "*Sepe Fulco talia actitans progeniem suam doli ream, licet injuste, accusare fecit. Est autem hec quedam vis malis moribus ut innocentiam multitudinis devenustent scelera paucorum, cum tamen e diverso bonorum raritas flagitia multorum nequeat excusare virtutibus communicatis. Sed quis non exacerbescat, cum videat sordidari virtutum sinceritatem criminatione paucorum vitiorum? Erant enim tunc multi in bono amministrando segnes, in malo obloquendo celeres, seditionibus occupati, caritate infirmi, factione robusti, in emulationum conservatione stabiles...*" This passage is adapted from Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. O.M. Dalton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), II: Book VII, n. 9.

²²² Catalog n. [F 78] (1120), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, n. 12, pp. 26-28: "*Qui in locis predictis heremitice professionis animas habitasse perhibebat...*" I should note here that the former eremitical status of this John, Fulk's *secretario*, is the lone surviving instance of Fulk recruiting current or former hermits to serve in his administration. It is possible that John's background provides us with a glimpse into a broader practice of recruitment by Fulk, either pursuant to his having taken the cross or more generally, but no additional evidence survives to buttress such a claim.

well as those involving his men. When, in 1123, the comital provost of Montbazou presented himself before Fulk so as to make a gift to the Abbey of Cormery in repentance of his sins, Fulk personally interrogated the provost; Fulk sought to determine the sincerity of his provost's alleged contrition, though the abbatial prior, who had brought the man before the count, had already accepted that man's confession.²²³ At times, Fulk intervened to secure forgiveness for his *fideles* who had caused offense to various parties. For example, on 31 May 1128, the count successfully petitioned the abbot of Marmoutier to release Hugh of Amboise from any penalties resulting from his confessed recent crimes against the abbey.²²⁴ On 15 December 1124, the comital family made a gift to the Abbey of Saint-Maur for the absolution of all their *fideles*, as well as the remedy of their own souls.²²⁵ Ideally, of course, such sin would be avoided where possible, and toward that end, Fulk sought to curb immoderate behavior which might inspire unvirtuous action.²²⁶ For example, in a comital charter from c. 1124, it is recorded that, while enacting his benefaction within the relevant monastic cloister, Fulk noticed one of his lords, Lisiard of Sablé, gorging himself on cheese with milk. Fulk chastised Lisiard for

²²³ Catalog n. [F 90] (1123), *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113.

²²⁴ Catalog n. [F 112] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, ns. 1500-1501, ff. 256r-258r.

²²⁵ Catalog n. [F 97] (1124), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 7r-v: "...*ego Fulco comes Andegavorum, Fulconis venerabilis comitis filius, et uxor mea Aremburgis comitissa, ob remedium animarum nostrarum et omnium fidelium absolucionem, vicariam... donamus et concedimus...*"

²²⁶ Earlier medieval discourses on power and authority, which twelfth century Christendom inherited, featured the adaptation of classical philosophies such as Stoicism which emphasized that a ruler must learn virtues in order to moderate passions, since immoderate passions lead to unwise judgments. See: Geoffrey Koziol, "Leadership: Why we have mirrors for princes but none for presidents," in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval light on modern injustice*, eds. Celia Chazelle, Simon Doubleday, Felice Lifshitz, and Amy Remensnyder (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 183-198: 188-190.

his gluttony, recommending that the monks subsequently provide him with barley bread to eat instead. Lisiard agreed to such moderation “on account of his own corpulence.”²²⁷

Fulk le Réchin had been a man whose moral failings had governed his actions in life and rulership, engendering both personal ruin and societal fragmentation; his son’s moral rectitude would rejuvenate both dynastic office and dominion. Yet, in addition to moral rectitude, a reforming prince had to exemplify martial prowess. On this count, Fulk faced a significant challenge: although Fulk had engaged in numerous skirmishes and other such low-scale engagements throughout his comital reign, the Battle of Alençon in November 1118 was the only major battle in which Fulk had successfully participated before his royal reign in the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet, even Fulk’s conquest of the stronghold of Alençon along the Normandy-Maine frontier provided no lasting benefit to Angevin interests. In exchange for relinquishing Alençon to King Henry I of England a few months later, Fulk achieved largely only a consummation of the earlier betrothal between his own daughter Mathilda and Henry’s son, William Adelin, as well as a peace settlement resulting therefrom.²²⁸ Both the marriage and the peace, established in June

²²⁷ Catalog n. [F 98] (c.1124), AD Mayenne, H 154, n. 136, fol. 61r-v: “*Haec concessio facta fuit in claustro Sancti Iohannis mense maio, talibus intersignis quod supradictus Lisiardus comedebat in eodem claustro caseum cum lacte, quod sibi frangebatur supradictus comes, quia nam poterant reperire panem ordeaceum et Lisiardus nolebat alio pane uti in illo mense, propter grossitudinem corporis.*”

²²⁸ Fulk was also able to secure pardons and territorial restorations for some of his partisans, but such arrangements likely also dissolved upon the death of William Adelin. Orderic Vitalis preserved details concerning these arrangements as well as the marriage of William Adelin and Mathilda at Lisieux in June 1119: Orderic Vitalis, VI, 224-226. The betrothal between the two had transpired as part of the peace made in March 1113. However, as LoPrete has argued, contemporaries had not necessarily expected the betrothal to be fulfilled, at least in regard to Fulk’s promised concession of Maine as Mathilda’s dowry upon marriage. The betrothal of Mathilda and William Adelin as children—the latter being ten years of age and the former two or three at the time—was intended to establish a holding pattern rather than resolve, in the long term, Anglo-Angevin contentions along the Maine-Normandy frontier. For, Fulk would have been expected to produce a male heir in due time; King Louis VI of France did not particularly benefit from this arrangement, and he still commanded influence with Fulk, his half-brother; and, the offspring of Mathilda and William Adelin would, in any case, have been ensconced within Anglo-Norman royal circles, minimizing their actionable influence in the Maine-Normandy borderlands. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 337-

1119, unraveled when William Adelin drowned in the English Channel on 25 November 1120.²²⁹ It is telling that, in recounting Fulk's reign, later redactors of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum* struggled to establish structural continuity with the previous narratives relating the reigns of Fulk's predecessors. Those narratives had focused predominantly upon the military engagements of the former counts, encounters often yielding either triumphant conquests augmenting the comital patrimony or calamitous defeats detracting from it.²³⁰ In contrast, the narrative of Fulk V's reign can speak only briefly as to the acquisition of Maine, indicating that Fulk had inherited the county through marrying his late brother's betrothed, a marital union which, in any case, had been orchestrated by others in advance of his accession.²³¹ Subsequently, the narrative meanders from topic to topic: in short order, it successively addresses Fulk's character, his reconciliation with various troublesome castellans, developments in the Anglo-Norman sphere, and the birth of his two sons. In the final section, the narrative regains focus by providing the only sustained discussion, that of the local circumstances in the Eastern Mediterranean which led to the selection of Fulk V as the third king of Latin Jerusalem.²³² In other words, there were no martial achievements of which Fulk could readily boast as a reforming prince in crusading lands.

338, 347n47. Indeed, at the time of these negotiations in spring 1113, Countess Aremburge was already pregnant with the Angevin comital heir—Geoffrey V—who would be born on 24 August. See: "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 7.

²²⁹ Hollister, *Henry I*, 276-279.

²³⁰ GCA, 26-67.

²³¹ GCA, 67-68. With the exception of Montbazou, even various engagements with rebellious castellans are noted not to have resulted in any territories changing hands. As we saw above, Fulk V had acquired half the lordship of Montbazou.

²³² GCA, 68-71. In conclusion, the narrative briefly gestures toward some of Fulk's achievements as king of Latin Jerusalem before ending abruptly.

It was necessary, therefore, that the discursive performance of comital authority cultivate an image of martial prowess to complement that of spiritual sanctity.²³³ Toward such an end, comital acts of the 1120s articulated an uncompromising vision of the role of the count in matters of military service and security. For example, comital benefactions following Fulk's return from Jerusalem never conceded military prerogatives nor were ever unclear as to whether they had.²³⁴ In contrast, during the first decade of his reign, Fulk had issued numerous benefactions wherein he either explicitly relinquished military rights associated with certain lands²³⁵ or he failed to clarify whether such privileges had been included in the donation of unspecified customs about a certain place.²³⁶ Although Fulk had expended considerable effort in developing an increasingly

²³³ To be clear, contemporaries of both the 1110s and 1120s remained wary of the serious threat which Fulk represented. For instance, LoPrete has demonstrated how the central factor informing the diplomatic and military strategies of numerous political actors in northwestern France in 1111-1113—from Countess Adela of Blois to King Henry of England—was Count Fulk V and the danger he posed. Refer to: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 317-329. Nevertheless, it is a testament to the savvy of these actors that Fulk's broader designs did not often prove successful. Moreover, although later contemporaries beyond Anjou would characterize Fulk V as warlike, one wonders the extent to which this constituted a reflection of the focused discursive effort to cultivate that perception in the 1120s. See, for instance, Abbot Suger's repeated description of Fulk as *bellicosus*: Suger, *Vie de Louis VI de Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929), 224, 232.

²³⁴ When relinquishing to the Abbey of Saint-Maur all jurisdiction which he held over several villages and their estates, Fulk clarified that there would be three exceptions: the custom of the *exercitus* (military service); the custom of the *equitatus* (mounted patrol); and, the right to prosecute high justice upon murderers and thieves seized within those areas. Catalog n. [F 96] (1124), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1775, piece 1. Observe also that, when the son of a likely-deceased comital fidelis was feuding with Fulk in 1121x1122, he is explicitly noted to have never made any claims upon the count's military rights, though he challenged comital privileges to all else. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 87] (1121x1122), BNF, ms. français 27246, original piece 762. The counts of Anjou would have been profoundly sensitive to the relinquishment of military rights in any case, given that these privileges were to first to have been contested and usurped as part of the later eleventh century devolution of centralized authority. See: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 379-391.

²³⁵ Catalog n. [F 23] (1109x1112), BM Angers, ms. 844, Roll 1, n. 99, and ms. 848B, Roll 6, n. 12, wherein the *exercitus* was explicitly included; Catalog n. [F 25] (1112), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200, including the *bannum* but not the *exercitus* (at least, against foreign adversaries).

²³⁶ Catalog n. [F 20] (1109x1110), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 163, pp. 255-256; Catalog n. [F 34] (1114), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1349, fol. 153r; Catalog n. [F 39] (1115), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172; Catalog n. [F 29] (1109x1113), BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, fol. 45v; Catalog n. [F 52] (1116), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 8, though cf. BNF, ms. nouv.

bureaucratic apparatus of rulership, he demonstrated a ready willingness to bypass that apparatus with regard to matters of military defense. For instance, when restoring to the monks of Saint-Nicholas certain lands of theirs which Fulk V had angrily seized due to the disrepair of the defensive palisades thereupon, Fulk stipulated that, were the monks subsequently to compromise those structures, “they would be answering not to a provost, not to a *vicarius*, nor to any of their agents but, rather, to the count alone.”²³⁷ The security of Anjou was a matter that transcended administrative praxis.

Crucial to such security was the extensive network of fortifications establishing defense-in-depth across the Angevin theater.²³⁸ The architects of this network had been Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040) and, to a lesser extent, Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060); there is minimal evidence of their successors building new strongholds, though seigneurial families within their orbits appear to have continued to do so between 1060 and 1109.²³⁹ Therefore, when Fulk V indicated in 1124 that he had been constructing a *castrum* at Trôo, it was likely the first new comital castle in over a half-century.²⁴⁰ The strategic

acq. lat. 2414, ff. 107v-108v, as discussed in *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 168, pp. 161-162 and *Ibid.*, II, n. 862, pp. 801-802. There was also an explicit relinquishment of comital rights of high justice in [F 52].

²³⁷ Catalog n. [F 88] (1123), *Epitome*, pp. 53-54: “*Quod si monachi, aut per eos aliqui, in predictis haiis, vel ad hortos, vel ad vineas, vel ad agri culturam exempla facerent: non preposito, non vicario, neque eorum ministris aliquid inde responderent, sed soli comiti.*”

²³⁸ Bachrach, “Angevin Strategy of Castle Building,” 556-557.

²³⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, I, 281-352, 456-468.

²⁴⁰ Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r. It has been suggested that Geoffrey Martel had raised walls at the settlement of Trôo by 1050, installing some canons therein. The settlement may have fallen into disrepair by the time of Fulk V’s accession. The latter count’s accomplishment, in this case, had been to expand a fortified settlement into a fully-fledged *castrum* replete with towers, reinforced walls, and an impressive donjon. Refer to: Léon Aubry, *Un coin du Vendômois: Monographie de Trôo (Loir-et-Cher)* (Paris: Charles-Lavauzelle, 1906), 6-8. Aubry, unfortunately, does not grace us with citation of the sources which he employed to arrive at such conclusions. Among other scholars who have broached the issue, the timeline of Trôo’s emergence as a comital castle remains unclear. Boussard has noted that the *Narratio de commendatione Turonicae Provinciae* identified Trôo as a comital defensive stronghold during the reign of Geoffrey Martel I, though Boussard also notes the difficulty in establishing whether the *Narratio*, whose redactions continued into at least the thirteenth century, was accurately reflecting the mid-eleventh century state of affairs or whether it was interpolating later developments. See: “*Narratio de*

benefit of constructing a stronghold in that particular location along the Vendôme-Maine frontier appears to have been marginal: comital dominion over several nearby castles—Château-du-Loir,²⁴¹ Marçon(?),²⁴² and La Chartre-sur-le-Loir²⁴³—already established the count’s physical presence in the region.²⁴⁴ Therefore, Fulk’s chief aim in building a new comital stronghold may have been to evoke symbolic parallels with the former counts of greatest martial renown; as they had established Angevin greatness through the demonstration of military might, so would Fulk V. The cultivation of such an image would also have been at least a secondary aim in Fulk’s decision to expand the walls of his castle at Vihiers, a decision whose primary objective must have been the strengthening of Fulk’s southwestern defense network against the Poitevin counts.²⁴⁵

commendatione Turonicae provinciae....," 292-293; Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 11n2. Nota bene Halphen and Poupardin’s corrective to Salmon’s ready attribution of the *Narratio* to John of Marmoutier: CCA, xxxix, addressing *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

²⁴¹ The castle had entered the comital demesne as part of the acquisition of the consulship of Maine.

²⁴² It is possible that the castle of Marçon did not exist by this juncture. In late 1103, Geoffrey Martel II had seized and “burned” [*incendit*] Marçon, which was held at that time by the seigneurial family of Mayenne, comital *fideles* until recent years. Since the other castle belonging to this family—La Chartre-sur-le-Loir—was also besieged by Geoffrey in the following year and the counts of Anjou appear to have maintained control of that castle into the mid-twelfth century, it stands to reason that Marçon, if it had survived the burning and/or been rebuilt, would have endured under comital dominion. Unfortunately, the post-1103 fate of the castle otherwise remains obscure in contemporary sources. For these matters, see Chapter Two, as well as: Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 48-49; “Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis,” 43-44; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 174; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 117-118. For Angevin comital control of La Chartre-sur-le-Loir, see below.

²⁴³ For the seizure of La Chartre-sur-le-Loir by Geoffrey Martel II and Count Fulk le Réchin in 1104, see: “Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis,” 43-44; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 174. In 1145, Count Geoffrey V was sought to bear witness to a confirmation of certain abbatial rights at La Chartre-sur-le-Loir. Refer to: *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 500, pp. 320-322, with revised dating by Dutton, “Geoffrey V of Anjou,” Appendix I, n. 11.

²⁴⁴ The count’s physical presence in the region was buttressed by the general enduring fidelity of the counts of Vendôme (notwithstanding the necessary investment of Preuilley-sur-Claise at some point) as well as the recently reestablished ties with the Fréteval-Mondoubleau-Montoire kin-group. For both points, see above.

²⁴⁵ Catalog n. [F 119] (1120x1129), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32. With regard to the place of Vihiers within the southwestern cluster of fortifications defending against the incursions of the Poitevin counts and their partisans, see: Bachrach, “Angevin Strategy of Castle Building,” 556.

One particular development vividly illustrates how Fulk's discursive performance of comital authority sought to intertwine the martial and spiritual bases of his power in a complementary manner. This development further provides us with a point of conclusion, as it encapsulates both the impact and the significance of the personal crusading experience upon princely rulership under Fulk V. As discussed previously, Fulk's developmental efforts at Trôo involved the establishment of not only a military stronghold but also an ecclesiastical outpost in the form of a priory of Marmoutier.²⁴⁶ In a similar fashion, Fulk's expansion of the walls at Vihiers had been coupled with the provision of resources to build new churches thereabout.²⁴⁷ Traditionally, Angevin counts had articulated the intertwined nature of the martial and spiritual dimensions of their identity and rulership by invoking the *dei gratia* clause in charters soon following their accession as well as upon the acquisition of a new *honor*.²⁴⁸ This formula signaled that the invoker wielded his or her temporal authority as a direct benefice from the divine.²⁴⁹ It is possible, as modern scholars have argued, that the eleventh century counts of Anjou, in contrast to some of their contemporaries, cared little for the religious implications of the clause. Instead, Fulk's predecessors are said to have maintained the formula as part of a secular diplomatic intended to reify and legitimize the hierarchy between their own authority and that of their lay clients.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ Catalog n. [F 93] (1124), BNF, ms. lat. 12879, fol. 63r.

²⁴⁷ Catalog n. [F 119] (1120x1129), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32.

²⁴⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 354-356.

²⁴⁹ Karl Ferdinand Werner, "Königtum und Fürstentum im französischen 12. Jahrhundert," in *Probleme des 12. Jahrhunderts: Reichenau-Vorträge 1965-1967*, Vorträge und Forschungen, 12 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 1968), 177-225; A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris: Hachette, 1894), 318-319, 447-448, 716-717, 731-732.

²⁵⁰ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 355-356; Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 259-262. It is unusual that, although Koziol emphasizes the polysemic significances of medieval "ritual," medieval diplomatic is comparatively handled in his 1992 monograph as being of more monolithic intent as well as

In this case, Fulk V's relationship with the *dei gratia* clause signifies a watershed in Angevin comital diplomatics: neither following his accession to the countship of Touraine-Anjou in 1109 nor upon his acquisition of the *honor* of Maine in 1110 did Fulk issue a charter which announced his authority to be held *dei gratia*. As aforementioned, these were the two sorts of occasions on or soon after which former counts had customarily invoked the formula. Indeed, it was not until 1119, a full decade following his accession that Fulk finally made use of the *dei gratia* clause: on 7x9 September 1119, Fulk issued a benefaction in which he identified himself as “count of the peoples of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine—by the grace of God” alone.²⁵¹ The occasion was not without significance otherwise: Fulk had just taken the cross in the presence of Pope Calixtus II.²⁵² In so doing, Fulk had vowed to participate in the crusading enterprise which his father had shirked, a decision whose fallout, as we saw in previous chapters, cast into question the Angevin heirship and ultimately engendered an unprecedented crisis of comital authority. Fulk V's own taking of the cross would, thus, have offered counterpoint to a range of historical resonances.²⁵³ As if to emphasize such counterpoint,

achievement. Koziol's 2012 monograph provides a more nuanced approach. See: Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: the West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

²⁵¹ Catalog n. [F 66] (1119), AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, piece 1: “*Ego Fulco Andegavorum et Cenomannensium atque Turonensium Dei gratia comes...*”

²⁵² Jonathan Riley-Smith has demonstrated that Pope Calixtus II was encouraging lay lords to take the cross and travel to Jerusalem in the wake of The Battle of Ager Sanguinis by 27-29 August 1119. Refer to: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 176; Schilling, *Papst Calixt II*, 693 as concerns the precise dating of the Pope's visit to Poitiers, where Riley-Smith's illustrative example took place. Given this circumstance, the various highly symbolic aspects of Fulk's own benefaction on 7x9 September 1119 (discussed here), as well as the dramatic multidimensional shift in the performance of Angevin comital authority which can confidently be traced to after this date (described throughout this chapter), it would be astonishing if the papal visit of 7-9 September was not the occasion on which Fulk had taken the cross. Fulk, of course, had his own reasons for embarking upon crusade; the pope's exhortation would simply have acted as a catalyst.

²⁵³ Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was not, of course, unknown to the Angevin comital dynasty. However, none of the Angevin counts had embarked on such an endeavor since Fulk Nerra, who had

Count Fulk used the occasion to request that the Roman Pontiff grant absolution to his father, the former count, for that man's failings and confirm his own son, Geoffrey V, the future count, in trust of his successes to come. It is, thus, difficult to read the present invocation of the *dei gratia* clause as a predominantly secular gesture enacted to affirm the hierarchical relationship between the count and his lay subordinates. Instead, the invocation here, as well as in six subsequent comital charters during the 1120s—the most of any Angevin count hitherto²⁵⁴—foremost announced that Fulk, in taking the cross and pledging himself to the crusading enterprise, had finally come to acquire the positionality which a ruler of crusading lands was rightfully supposed to embody—that of a crusader himself.²⁵⁵ The *dei gratia* clause thus signaled that the martial and spiritual dimensions of Fulk's rulership and ruling identity were not only inextricably linked but also necessarily intertwined.

In concert with the continuation of many aspects of Fulk's earlier governance, this fundamental shift in comital positionality enabled an important transition in comital rulership during the 1120s. As we saw in this chapter, Fulk's program to rehabilitate

traveled to Jerusalem on four occasions to expiate his many sins. See: Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), pp. 205-217. Of course, such pilgrimage took on singular meaning(s) following the triumphant successes of the First Crusade, arguably resulting in categorically distinct significances to the enterprise of penitential pilgrimage in the twelfth century vis-à-vis the early eleventh century.

²⁵⁴ Guillot has indicated one such invocation on the part of Fulk Nerra, two from Geoffrey Martel I, five from Geoffrey le Barbu, and three from Fulk le Réchin. Geoffrey Martel II may have invoked the clause in 1105, though this document is likely to be a later forgery, as Guillot himself intimates in his catalog. Refer to: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 354-355; *Ibid.*, II, C 429, pp. 266-267.

²⁵⁵ For the six subsequent occasions, refer to: Catalog n. [F 77] (1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 19r-v; Catalog n. [F 79] (c.1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 39v-40r; Catalog n. [F 95] (1124), *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 449, pp. 235-237; Catalog n. [F 105] (1123x1126), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 24r-v; Catalog n. [F 107] (1126), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 445, pp. 279-280; Catalog n. [F 76] (1120), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30.

comital legitimacy through association with the crusading environment had become a program to rejuvenate Angevin society writ large through the reorientation of the performance of comital authority as a vessel for *reformatio*. The personal experience of crusading was instrumental in actualizing this religious-military transformation of comital rulership and ruling identity. Ruling as a crusader in crusading lands required a somewhat different praxis than ruling as a non-crusader in crusading lands. In the conclusion, we will review Fulk's comital rulership in the context of his final acts in Anjou as well as his royal reign in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Conclusion

In February 1129 or shortly thereafter, Count Fulk V of Anjou again departed the lands over which he ruled in order to journey to the Holy Land as a crusader.¹ However, on this occasion, Fulk did not intend to return. Abdicating his dynasty's *honores* to Geoffrey V, his sixteen-year old son, Fulk of Anjou embarked for Jerusalem not simply as a crusader but in promise of acceding to its very throne. Indeed, an envoy from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had arrived almost a year earlier, bearing a proposal of marriage for the widower-count² of Anjou.³ King Baldwin II (r. 1118-1131), who was without male heirs, was offering the hand of his eldest daughter, Melisende, and through her, the inheritance of his kingdom. Fulk V eventually accepted the proposal and made his way to Jerusalem in the early months of 1129.⁴ His marriage to Melisende was celebrated in the Holy Land shortly before 2 June 1129.⁵ At the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on 14 September 1131,

¹ Fulk V's final *actum* was at the Abbey of Fontevraud on c. 2 February 1129. See: Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18.

² Recall that Countess Aremburgh had died in 1126, almost certainly in late December or even early January 1127. A comital charter issued at Baugé on 15 January 1127 is indicated to have shortly followed her death. See: Catalog n. [F 108] (1127), BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 435, pp. 31-32.

³ Scholars have skillfully treated the negotiations elsewhere, though I have provided some necessary correctives with regard to the involved timeframes in consider of a closer examination of the Angevin evidence. See Chapter Four as well as the relevant catalog entries from 1128-1129.

⁴ For the issue of the *haeres regni* and Fulk's insistence upon Melisende bearing such a designation, see: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), pp. 139-147.

⁵ According to William of Tyre, it was only a short time after Fulk's ship had arrived at Acre that he was married to Melisende. These nuptials are said to have transpired *in proximo* of the feast of Pentecost, i.e. 2 June. Provided a travel time of four to six weeks under good conditions, it is possible that Fulk V had disembarked from Genoa or Pisa as late as mid-April. See: WT, Bk. XIII.24, 618-619. Nick Paul has made the argument that it was Fulk V's journey through the Lesser St Bernard's Pass en route to Genoa/Pisa via Turin that brought a copy of his father's 1096-1098 narrative account to the monks of Saint-Michael of La Chiusa, through whose repositories a fragment of the work exclusively survives. See: Paul, "Chronicle of Fulk le Réchin," 32-35.

following the death of Baldwin II, Fulk of Anjou was crowned and consecrated king of Latin Jerusalem.⁶ For the next twelve years until his death, King Fulk would rule as monarch jointly alongside his wife Queen Melisende and their two-year-old son, the future King Baldwin III (r. 1143-1163).⁷

Before speaking briefly as to what insights we might gain from investigating Fulk's royal reign with a fuller understanding of his comital one, I would like to review Fulk's rulership as count of Anjou in the context of his final *acta* in Anjou. Indeed, rather than simple pre-departure preparations of a logistical nature, these acts were carefully orchestrated set-pieces of political theater. Through these calculated performances, Fulk explicitly sought to remind his Angevin contemporaries what his reign over the past twenty years had signified in the wake of the crisis that, at the time of his accession in 1109, had enveloped his office as well as their shared lands. Although the negotiations between Fulk and the royal envoy bearing the marriage proposal would take some time to be concluded, the count appears to have immediately begun the process of consolidating the authority of his office. In March 1128, in the presence of members of the recently arrived Jerusalem envoy, Fulk undertook two symbolically-charged acts of benefaction devised to facilitate the transition of power to his son as well as to curate the memory of his own rule. In the first such act, the count of Anjou issued an exemption to the eremitical community that he and Countess Aremburge had previously founded in the forest of Brechenay at the request of his *secretario*, a certain John who had previously

⁶ WT, Bk XIV.2, 633-634.

⁷ WT, Bk XIII.28, 625.

been a hermit in those parts.⁸ The exemption of 1128 pertained to any lay exactions that increasingly active comital agents might attempt to impose upon the hermits; the hermits were to be apart from any interference that might hinder their peaceful contemplation of the heavens. The witness list is unmistakably significant in its selectivity across all surviving manuscript versions. There consistently appears only: Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres; Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme; Hugh of Payns, Grand Master of the Knights Templar and one of the leading figures of the Jerusalem envoy; Renaud *Fremaudi*, a burgess from the city of Tours;⁹ and Abbess Petronilla of Fontevraud. The charter further records that, shortly thereafter, Fulk's son Geoffrey V confirmed these matters so that they would be held firm in his own reign. In other words, the construction of this charter methodically sought to articulate how Angevin comital authority, as well as its exercise through comital functionaries across Anjou, was centrally located within key regional landscapes: reform and establishment monasticism, as signified by the recorded presence of Abbess Petronilla of Fontevraud and Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, respectively; eremitism, as signified by the exemption itself as well as the reference to the original foundational grant; episcopal power, as signified by the attestation of Bishop Geoffrey of Chartres; commercial efflorescence, as indicated by the burgess from Tours, representing that city's flourishing economic landscapes; and, the crusading fabric itself, as manifested through the presence of the Grand Master of the Knights Templar.

⁸ Catalog n. [F 110] (1128), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, n. 12, pp. 26-28. For the foundation of 1120, see: Catalog n. [F 78].

⁹ Renaud Fremaudi and his son—also named Renaud Fremaudi—appeared as burgesses of the city in a royal *actum* at Tours in 1141. See: *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, I, pp. 52-53.

Fulk's second *actum* during that month was devised to communicate the rightful suzerainty of the counts of Anjou over their aristocrats. In the presence of at least one member of the Jerusalem envoy, Fulk requested that a series of aristocratic disputes against the Abbey of Saint-Florent from 1121x1124 be recounted to him and those in attendance.¹⁰ After these disputes and their quitclaims later that same year were recalled, Fulk demanded that those same barons again relinquish their disputes, albeit this time in the presence of Count Fulk V and his heir. The father and the son then jointly confirmed the new quitclaims, which, in effect, were confirmations of those quitclaims issued four to seven years ago. Fulk, Geoffrey, and Fulk's second son, Hélias, then attached their cross signatures to the confirmation; the comital seal was affixed to the parchment in the presence of the witnesses; and, the *datum* clause, uniquely among Fulk's *acta*, identified Fulk's comital reign as a principate. It should be noted that this charter does not mention any recent contentions inspiring the present comital confirmation of the bygone quitclaims.¹¹ Additionally, a version of this *actum* that was produced from the perspective of Saint-Florent's abbot makes no mention of whether he or one of his monks had solicited the confirmation.¹² In other words, this *actum* was designed to reify, through its otherwise superfluous performance, the sovereignty of comital privilege vis-à-vis the Angevin aristocracy.

Nevertheless, Fulk's historic rulership had extended to the rehabilitation of not only comital authority but also the spiritual health of his clients. A final *actum* in the

¹⁰ Catalog n. [F 111] (1128), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, ff. 33v-35r.

¹¹ The charter is of a considerable length relative to other contemporary charters. That is to say, there is no apparent reason, such as brevity, that might explain why the surviving manuscripts omit mention of any disputes inspiring the comital intervention.

¹² AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2117, piece 2, as Ms B in [F 111].

known presence of members of the Jerusalem envoy emphasized this point. When, on 31 May at Le Mans, Hugh of Amboise relinquished a longstanding contention against the Abbey of Marmoutier before a great assembly of clerics and laypersons, Count Fulk V intervened to ensure that his *fidelis* might receive absolution for his past sins.¹³ As Hugh of Amboise journeyed a few days later to the Abbey of Marmoutier in order to again seek forgiveness for his past sins, Fulk may have been in Hugh's company, perhaps having encouraged the on-site absolution.¹⁴ Fulk's ministering to the spiritual health of his subjects ought, of course, to have yielded tangible results of greater consequence. A benefaction which Renaud le Roux, one of Fulk's chamberlains, issued in the count's presence in July 1128 made an explicit claim toward such an end. According to Renaud le Roux, his donation to the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas was being made in the year when the Jerusalem envoy had come for Fulk and, through God's favor, the agricultural bounty had been especially fruitful.¹⁵ That Fulk's reign would end in such prosperity would have struck a note of overt contrast for Angevin contemporaries. For, according to both

¹³ Catalog n. [F 112] (1128), BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, ns. 1500-1501, ff. 256r-258r. The assembly had been convened "by order of the count" [*iussone comitis*] to witness his taking of the cross at Le Mans.

¹⁴ Although the notice does not specify whether Fulk V accompanied Hugh to Marmoutier, John of Marmoutier's later invention of Fulk V's vision of the "Fire at Marmoutier" speaks to Fulk's presence at Marmoutier before the feast of Pentecost on 10 June—this timeframe would align with Hugh's own appearance at Marmoutier some days after the 31 May quitclaim [*aliquantis etiam evolutis diebus*]. For Fulk V's alleged vision of the "Fire of Marmoutier," see: CCA, 161-162. Nicholas Paul has demonstrated the contemporaneous purposes for which John of Marmoutier included the vision in his redaction of the *Chronica de Gestis Consulium Andegavorum* during the early 1170s. See: Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*: 207-250. In any case, John of Marmoutier claims to have based his account upon a non-extant record by one Gautier of Compiègne, a monk of Marmoutier who was active in the 1120s and did, in fact, appear in one of Fulk V's *acta*. See: CCA, xli-xliii. However, in claiming that Fulk came to Tours in order to receive the cross from its archbishop (at that time, Hildebert of Lavardin, former bishop of Le Mans), the vision narrative raises suspicion: Fulk V had already taken the cross at Le Mans on 31 May, as [F 112] attests. One wonders, moreover, why Thomas of Loches, Fulk V's own chaplain and the first redactor of the *Chronica*, did not include Fulk's alleged vision in his own account of his former lord's reign, given the significance of what the vision purports to have represented for Fulk.

¹⁵ Catalog n. [F 113] (1128), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 199, p. 298.

Angevin and Norman sources, the years of 1109-1111, that is, the beginning of Fulk's comital reign, had witnessed recurrent famines, erratic weather patterns, and crippling sicknesses which had swept the lands of central and western France.¹⁶ A successful reign had ushered in the opposite state of such affairs; Fulk's *acta* sought to make that contrast apparent for his contemporaries.

Following his personal participation in crusade, Fulk had reoriented the performance of comital rulership as a vessel for *reformatio*, one of the hallmarks of which was foundational support for reformist institutions. Therefore, it is unsurprising that Fulk's final *actum* on the eve of his departure from Anjou was a foundational grant for a reformist community—or, to be more precise, the symbolic re-foundation of such a community. “Wishing to go to Jerusalem,” Count Fulk traveled to the Abbey of Fontevraud. There, after having confirmed his previous gifts to the community, Fulk instructed his children—namely, the future Count Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla—to “[reinvest] Petronilla, the first abbess of Fontevraud, with the rule of Saint Benedict,” thereby re-establishing the abbey.¹⁷ As we saw in Chapter Four, the Abbey of Fontevraud had been crucial in enabling Fulk to cultivate, through his benefactions there, particular associations with the crusading environment. The abbey now served Fulk as the venue for his final performance of Angevin comital authority, facilitating his translation to the epicenter of the crusading phenomenon itself—the Holy Land.

¹⁶ "Chronicae Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 31; OV, VI: 166, 172.

¹⁷ Catalog n. [F 124] (1129), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18: "...ego Fulco iunior andegavensis comes fulconis comitis filius ire volens Iherusalem, conventum sanctimonialium Fontis Evraudi expetii... et ut hoc donum meum et filiorum meorum concessio magis firma videretur, Gaufredus, filius meus, et helias et Sibilla, cum regula sancti Benedicti, Petronillam abbatissam Fontis Ebraudi primam revestierunt."

Indeed, to rehabilitate the ailing fortunes of the office and principality which he had inherited in 1109, Fulk had systematically interwoven comital authority and dynastic identity with the crusading environment itself over the twenty years of his comital reign. As we saw in Chapters One and Two, the advent of the crusading phenomenon had produced the particular set of circumstances in maladaptive response to which Fulk V's father, Fulk le Réchin, had imperiled dynastic legitimacy and comital ruling authority. Various actors such as Fulk V's elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II, were unable to halt the emerging crisis that, by the time of Fulk V's accession in 1109, had vitiated the authority of the Angevin countship to an unprecedented degree. Chapter Three demonstrated how, during the first decade of his reign, Count Fulk V had methodically sought to recruit crusaders and their kin into his *mouvance*. Recognizing the singular place that they had come to occupy in the post-crusade prestige economy, Fulk aimed to benefit the comital office through their association. Additionally, Fulk deployed these individuals as an instrumental part of a progressively administrative praxis of governance that was designed to bolster comital authority through its increasing bureaucratization. In Chapter Four, we witnessed how Fulk's acquisition of personal crusading status inspired a reformist realignment in his performance of comital authority and dynastic identity. The legitimacy deficit which had haunted the counts of Anjou since the advent of crusade had finally been rectified, actualizing new possibilities in rulership while facilitating the ongoing bureaucratization of comital authority.

Nevertheless, we should not exaggerate the extent of the bureaucratization that had taken place by the time of Fulk's departure to the Holy Land. Centralized authority yet remained substantially tethered to the personal standing of individual rulers. Once

Fulk had ventured forth from Anjou, his sixteen-year-old son and successor faced widespread baronial rebellions. Ministerial non-compliance and corruption continued, as it had under Fulk. Yet, Geoffrey did build upon the administrative practices and institutions that Fulk had established as a legitimate means of effecting comital authority. These matters were crucial in enabling Geoffrey to pursue the acquisition of the duchy of Normandy and the kingdom of England, his denied inheritance through his 1128 marriage to the Anglo-Norman heiress. And, in pursuing these ends, Geoffrey would seek to locate his own authority within a framework of rulership that was informed by the crusading environment, following in the footsteps of his father.¹⁸ Geoffrey's successes paved the way for his own son, King Henry II of England, to bring forth the medieval state in the European tradition.

As with Fulk's reign in the Latin West, scholars of the Latin East have often considered the reign of Fulk as pivotal in the evolution of royal power in the Crusader States.¹⁹ Yet, few have undertaken focused studies of the circumstances of Fulk's reign as king of Latin Jerusalem. Those scholars who have examined Fulk's reign have approached his kingship as a practice *ex nihilo*: there is largely superficial consideration of how twenty years of successful rule in France may have informed Fulk's pursuit of effective governance in the

¹⁸ Kathryn Dutton, "Crusading and Political Culture under Geoffrey, Count of Anjou and Duke of Normandy, 1129-51," *French History* 29, 4 (2015), pp. 419-444.

¹⁹ See, for instance: Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 27.

Eastern Mediterranean.²⁰ Rulership is, however, a holistic enterprise. One cannot aim to understand the temporal ambitions of a political actor without investigating the totality of his or her experience.

The potential fruits of such comparative work can readily be illustrated with regard to the issue of Fulk's co-rule with his wife Melisende and their infant son Baldwin III. Scholars of the Latin East have interpreted King Baldwin II's alleged deathbed designation of Fulk, Melisende, and Baldwin III as joint monarchs to have been antithetical to Fulk's wishes, who intended to rule alone.²¹ This assumption is at considerable odds with how Fulk had voluntarily ruled in Anjou for the preceding two decades: as we have seen, joint governance alongside his first wife Countess Aremburge and his heir Geoffrey had been a key dimension of Fulk's rulership. Given that Fulk would have been an outsider in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, it would have been in his interests to govern in conjunction with his second wife Melisende, who was personally enmeshed in kinship networks that were prominent in regional landscapes of power. If anything, Baldwin II's deathbed designation of joint rule may have been at the behest of Fulk V rather than in violation of the former count's political wishes. To extend this comparative insight, we might also cast suspicion on the prevailing assumption that

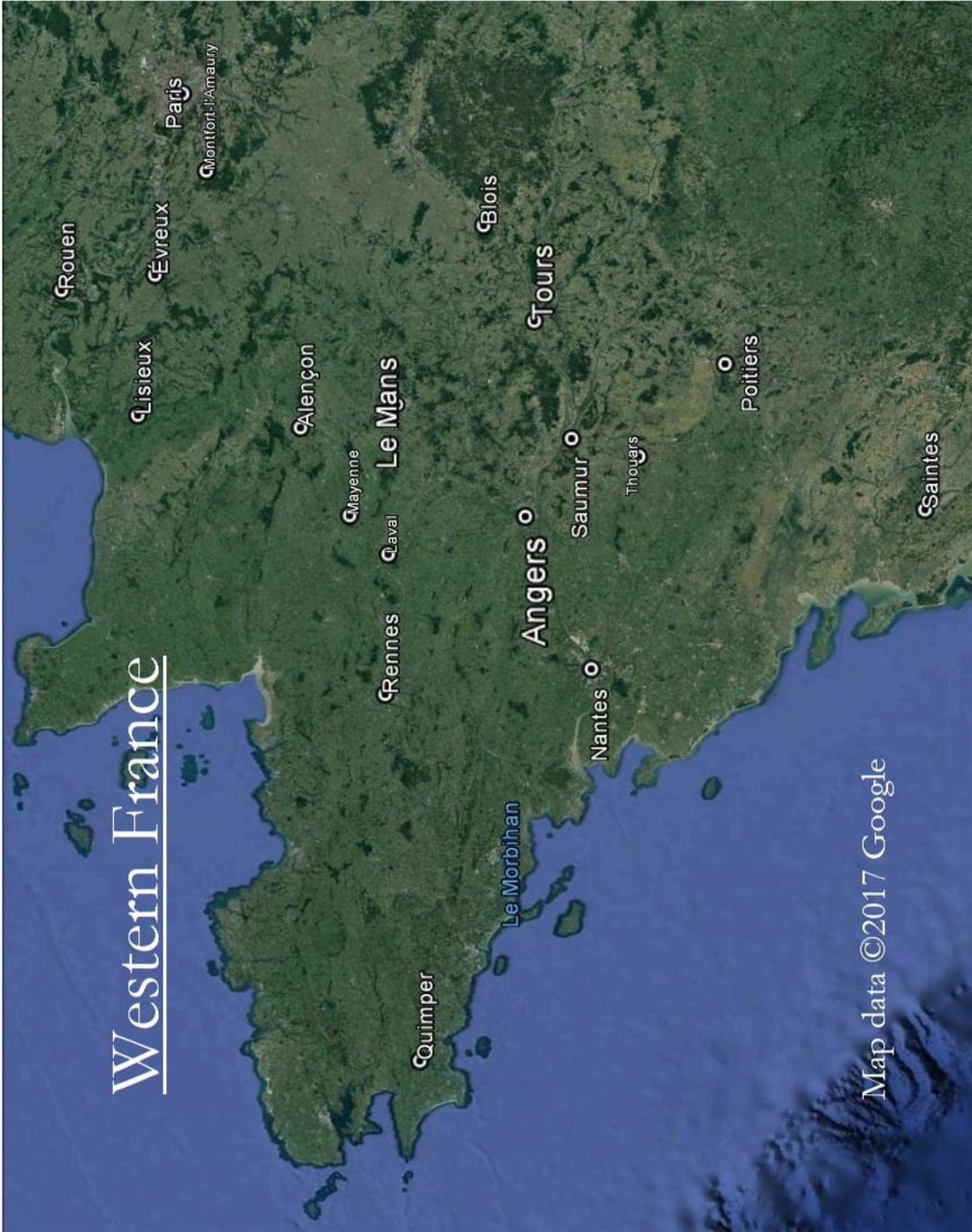
²⁰ Mayer has drawn some attention to the influence of Fulk's experience on the continent in insisting upon the recognition of Melisende as the heir to the Latin throne, but there is no sustained look at rulership beyond a brief reference. Refer to: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 139-147.

²¹ Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), 139-147; Sarah Lambert, "Queen or Consort: Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118-1228," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King College London, April 1995*, ed. A.J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), 169. Jonathan Riley-Smith has suggested that Baldwin II's deathbed alteration may, in fact, have been a planned and deliberate ploy by the Montlhéry family to maintain some direct access to royal authority, should Fulk refuse to cooperate with their various ambitions. See: Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 183-187.

Melisende's regular concessions of Fulk V's royal *acta* signified Fulk's inability to govern independently.²² Again, such concessions had been entirely conventional in Fulk's twenty years of governance in Anjou, where the joint disposition of the spouse had been a collaborative rather than antagonistic act. In other words, we cannot rely upon Melisende's dispositive participation as an index for the weakness of royal authority.

This matter, upon which we have touched only briefly, is but one of several that stands to benefit from comparative analysis with Fulk's reign in Anjou. Regrettably, investigating Fulk's rulership in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem falls outside the scope of the current project. However, it is to these matters that I next hope to turn.

²² The classic study here remains: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp. 93-182.



Western France

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APPENDIX A

Catalog of Fulk V's *Acta*, 1096-1129

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 1]

23 June 1096

Angers, episcopal *camera*

Charter. Comital Donation (Fulk V as signatory). Situating himself as the intermediary of divine clemency and with his sons—Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk V [*Fulconello*—as well as his daughter Ermengarde conceding and confirming, Count Fulk le Réchin donates to the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice and Geoffrey of Mayenne, bishop of Angers, all that he was freely holding about the island of Chalennes. Fulk permits the cathedral's canons to use the island and its waters in whatever capacity they wish. The count specifies that any forfeitures arising from disputes between his own men will be owed to him; forfeitures arising from disputes between men belonging to the bishop will be due to the bishop. If the dispute concerns men of both the bishop and the count, the two of them will share any resulting forfeitures.

In exchange for this benefaction made as much by Fulk as by his sons and daughter,¹ they receive from the bishop five thousand Angevin *solidi*. So that the donation may endure unmolested into perpetuity, there are persons seeing and hearing from the parts of both the count and the bishop; the count and the bishop both place the benefaction atop an altar via a *cultellum*; they both order the donation to be recorded in writing; and they affix the sign of the holy cross upon the charter. The cross signatures of the comital family appear at the bottom of the parchment: Count Fulk le Réchin; Geoffrey Martel II, *fili* *ejus*; Fulk V, *fili* *ejus*, and, Ermengarde, *filiae ejus*.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice, fol. 42r, copy after A (12th c.), lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, G 87, n. 5, copy after B (1613)
- D. BM Angers, ms. 706, pp. 33-36, copy after B? (17th – 18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131, after C

¹ From a: "...donamus et firmam fore donationem hanc in perpetuum volumus, tam ego quam filii et filia..."

Analysis:

1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 397, p. 245
2. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, n. 279, p. 325

Witnesses:

Quod viderunt praesentes et audierunt isti... de parte comitis: Abbo of Briollay; Fulco fitz Urso; Sigibrand, the constable of the count; Peter Rubiscallus; Girard, provost; Oricus, his son; Herveus Rotundellus; Richard of Saint-Quentin; Geoffrey Fouchard of Trèves;; Hugh of *Vado*; Rannulf of Craon; *Alduinus Supplicii*; Robert, *ingeniator*; Fulbert, *pelletarius*; Guito, merchant; Arnaud, cellarer; Garinus, his son; *Morinus de Volvent*; Alfred, *pelletarius*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *...IX kalendas julii, vigilia sancti Joannis Baptistae, anno Domini MXCVI, indictione IIII, epacta XXII, anno quo innumerabilis populus ibat in Hierusalem ad depellendam pincenatorum perfidiae persecutionem: scilicet secundo anno quo Urbanus papa Andegavum visitavit, Philippo regnante super Francos, Fulcone juniore dominante super Andegavinos, anno dominationis ipsius XXIX, sub Gaufrido de Meduana Andegavorum episcopo, anno primo ordinationis ipsius.*

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 2]

24 August 1096

Angers, Abbey of Saint-Nicholas

Charter. Comital Donation (Fulk V as signatory). Emulating the generosity of his predecessors in their own benefactions to the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Fulk le Réchin grants to the monastic community the entirety of the forest of Échats as it is demarcated by the stream of Brionneau. Placing this gift atop an altar, Fulk le Réchin receives from the monks in turn, a counter-gift of 6,000 *solidi*. The count indicates that he is making this gift on 22 August 1096, at a time when numerous individuals were preparing to leave for Jerusalem; the *actum*'s unusually extensive witness list (comprising many unfamiliar lay faces for the comital court) would corroborate such activity.

Two days later, on 24 August, Geoffrey Martel II confirms his father's gift, similarly placing the benefaction atop the altar at Saint-Nicholas. In turn, Geoffrey receives thirty *librae* and a palfrey. In providing cross signatures for this confirmation, Geoffrey, "son of the count" is joined by his father as well as by Ermengarde, "daughter of the count," and Fulk V, "son of the count."

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, fol. 6, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 1018, fol. 187, after B (18th c.)

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Couvent du Bon Posteur in Angers, un-cataloged, copy after A (11th c.?), lost

Editions:

- a. *Epitome*, p. 30, after B (Version I)
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, I, n. 3, pp. 11-17, after C (Version I) and B (Version II)
- c. "Charte de l'an 1096 relative à l'abbaye de Saint-Nicolas des Angers," pp. 55-58, after B (Version II)

Analysis:

- 1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 398, pp. 245-246
- 2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, I, n. 3, pp. 11-17

Witnesses (for Geoffrey's confirmation, for which Fulk V is signatory):

Istis testibus: Richard of Saint-Quentin; *Arraudo filio Elinanicae*; Clarembaud *bibegaleiam*; *Pipino de Raesio*; Ralph Toaret; Geoffrey the Burgundian; *Aufredo Guidonis*; William Francigena; *Lebertus de Ponte*; Paganus Fulberti; Martin *earum tempus*; Alberic *de Mairal*; Ascelin, his brother; Gautier, *furbitore; aliisque pluribus*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for the original benefaction: *Factum est hoc et confirmatum Andecavis apud sanctum Nicholaum, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo sexto... vigesima octava mense augusto*. Geoffrey's confirmation is subsequently indicated to be *die autem post haec tertia scilicet dominica*. The alternate incarnation of this *actum* (here designated Version II) appears to have been a reissuance of the original benefaction whose details constitute the present catalog entry. In this reissuance, the gift was remade to have been a joint, simultaneous disposition from Count Fulk le Réchin and his son Geoffrey Martel II—this, rather than the independent benefaction of the count followed by his heir's later confirmation. In Version II, neither Fulk V nor Ermengarde appear as signatories; their dispositive involvement has been obscured. The timeline as well as motivation for such redactions are matters of significant interest. See Chapter Two. In any case, Guillot has also identified a possible third version following the first two in the form of a notice. The elusive manuscript history here is difficult to engage in a meaningful way. Refer to his own discussion, cited *supra*.

Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 3]

1103

Notice. Comital Donation/Confirmation. The first part of the notice redacts a benefaction that Count Geoffrey Martel I had issued on behalf of the community of Toussaint in 1041x1046.² In the second part of the notice, it is recorded that Count Fulk le Réchin and

² Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 92, pp. 76-77.

Fulk V had jointly conceded and confirmed that previous benefaction. Additionally, they donated: an island in La Vallée, to be held free from any customs; a certain custom of *vinagium* as well as that of *banagium*; and, a particular measure of land next to *Aralazrum*. Finally, they conceded whatever enfeoffed lands or privileges comital clients might seek to relinquish in the future.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, fol. 5v? (14th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), vol. V, n. 1224, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1281, n. 4, pp. 1-3, copy after A (16th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 17, pp. 102-103, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 424, p. 264

Witnesses:

Testes qui fuerunt subscripti sunt: Roaldus, prior; Manerius, *magister*; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey Ursellus; *Audefredus Dyabolus*.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Anno Domini MCIII*. The notice carried the cross signatures of Fulk le Réchin, Fulk V, and Geoffrey Martel I. Moreover, according to Ms. D, the original parchment bore a seal depicting a horse-mounted individual with a long standard in his hand. Such a seal matrix belonged to both Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 4]

c. 1104

Notice. Comital Concession of Aristocratic Donation. The notice of the Abbey of Fontevraud first recalls two sets of aristocratic donations concerning lands about Chanzelle. These gifts had been provided by Galo fitz Foucher and Girois of Chemazé, whose individual benefactions were accompanied by the concession of multiple family members.³ The final benefaction is by Count Fulk le Réchin, who, along with his two sons Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk V, conceded donation of Girois of Chemazé.

³ Such *laudatio parentum* was conventional in the contemporary lands of the Loire. See: Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Additionally, Fulk le Réchin donated to Fontevraud all the customs which he held upon those lands.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Grand Cartulaire d'Angers*, fol. 40
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 104, p. 22, partial after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Clypeus...*, II, p. 201
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 412, pp. 405-406, after C and a

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 412, pp. 405-406

Witnesses:

Huius rei sunt testes: Rainerius, *pelletarius*; Frambert of Bourgueil; Baudinus, priest of *Avertha*; *et alii*.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta carta Philippo Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavensium comite, Rainaudo Andegavorum praesule*. The episcopacy of Renaud establishes a necessary *terminus ab quo* of 1102. The participation here of Geoffrey Martel II, who died in May 1106, establishes the necessary *terminus ad quem* of 1106. However, we may suggest a probable date of production of 1104. Between 1096 and 1103, Geoffrey Martel II had been absent from Anjou, likely occupying the entourage of Count Hélias of Maine. As we saw in Chapter Two, it was in 1103 that Geoffrey Martel II sought a *dissensio* vis-à-vis his father. In early 1104, Geoffrey was reconciled with Fulk le Réchin, yielding a state of familial harmony. Yet, by late 1104, Geoffrey's attitude toward the ongoing presence of his younger brother, Fulk V, in Angevin landscapes of power began to harden. It appears that Fulk V was sent to the Capetian court after January 1105. Provided these circumstances, it is probable that the present *actum* was issued not just before Fulk V's relocation but also specifically during the period of familial harmony between early-mid 1104 and late 1104.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 5]

c. 1104

Charter. Comital Donation. For the health of his own soul as well as that of his parents, Count Fulk le Réchin donates to the religious of Fontevraud all the fields that he holds at Guesnes. He makes this gift into the hand of Robert of Arbrissel, with his sons Fulk V and Geoffrey Martel II conceding.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Grand Cartulaire d'Angers*, fol. 40

- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 348, p. 25, copy after B (18th c.)
 D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5670, fol. 164v, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Clypeus...*, II, p. 200, after B
 b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 647, pp. 612-613, after C, D, and a

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 647, pp. 612-613
 2. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 433, pp. 269-270, conflating this *actum* with [F 27]

Witnesses:

Huius doni sunt testes: Hugh Rigaud; Gautier of Poggiaco.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta Philippo Francorum rege, Guillelmo Aquitanorum duce, Petro Pictavorum pontifice*. The establishment of the Abbey of Fontevraud in 1101 establishes a necessary *terminus ab quo* of 1101. The participation here of Geoffrey Martel II, who died in May 1106, establishes the necessary *terminus ad quem* of 1106. For the same reasons as with [F 4], we may suggest here a probable date of production of 1104. In his catalog, Guillot presents this *actum* and [F 27] as variants of the same benefaction from Fulk le Réchin. As we see in [F 27], that *actum* clearly belongs to Fulk V, though there is a connection to the present donation of his father.

**Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
 cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 6]

1104-1105

Charter-Notice. Comital Confirmations (multiple stages). It is noted that, at the Abbey of Saint-Aubin on 10 December 1104, Geoffrey Martel II had confirmed a certain, formerly contested part of the forest of Échats (Pruniers) as the rightful possession of Saint-Aubin. In exchange, the monks provided “the elder son of Count Fulk le Réchin” 110 *librae denariorum*. The notice subsequently recalls that, three days prior to this confirmation, Fulk V had conceded the same matter, with his father approving and consenting, in the comital *camera*. Fulk V and Fulk le Réchin received 500 *solidi* each in counter-gift. On 19 January 1105, Fulk V provided a second confirmation of his earlier confirmation upon the altar of Saint-Aubin, receiving from the abbot a counter-gift of a silver goblet.

Subsequently—probably soon thereafter—the monks of Saint-Aubin issued the present charter which recorded the recent series of comital confirmations. To strengthen the benefactions for posterity, the monks indicate that they have made “the aforementioned counts” inscribe their cross signatures upon the parchment. Fulk V’s *nutricius*, Adam,

also received twenty *solidi* from the monks at this juncture.⁴ The witness lists are indicated independently for Fulk le Réchin, Geoffrey Martel II, and Fulk V.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 829 (745), Cartulary of Saint-Aubin, ff. 32-33, copy after A (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 62, ff. 9r-10v, copy after A (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 111, pp. 132-135, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 427, p. 265, concerning Fulk V's first confirmation
- 2. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 434, p. 270, concerning the final joint confirmation

Witnesses:

For Geoffrey Martel II's confirmation on 10 December 1104:

De hominibus comitis: Richard of Saint-Quentin; Fulco fitz Ursio; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Arduin, his *dapifer*

De familia Sancti Albini: Robert, provost; Garinus, cellarer; Renaud *Recordellus*; Rainerius, chamberlain of the abbot; Rainerius *Gaudinus*; Henry, *cementarius*; Aldulfus and Girard, *corvesarii*; Paisant, *hospitarius*; *Samazollus*, servant of the prior; *multique alii quos nominare longum est, nec presenti operi necessarium.*

For Fulk V's confirmation on 7 December 1104:

Huic concessioni interfuerunt isti, de monachis: Brientius, prior; Gautier of *Lovennis*; Guito, his brother; Arduin, *elemosinarius*.

De clericis: Peter, chaplain; Paganus *Bovetus*.

De laicis: Count Fulk; Abbo of Briollay; Guito *Pictavinus*; Hugh, his brother; Joscelin of Champchévrier; and, his brother, Hugh; Fulco *Graphinus*; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael; Girard fitz Andfredus, provost at that time; Adam, *nutricius* of Fulk the Younger; Renaud *Guarengerius*.

De hominibus Sancti Albini: Robert, provost; *Samazollus*, servant of the prior; Renaud *Recordellus*.

For Fulk V's confirmation on 19 January 1105:

Huic etiam concessioni affuerunt testes subinserti, de parte Fulco Iunioris: Peter Rubiscallus; Adam, his *nutritor*.

De monachis: Brientius, prior; Gautier of *Lovennis*; Guito, his brother; Alberic of Azay.

De familia Sancti Albini: Renaud *Recordellus*; *Samazollus*, servant of the prior; Henry, *cementarius*; Firmatus, marshal; Girard, *corvesarius*; Constantine and Gosbert, *coqui*; *aliique quamplurimi quos ne longum faceremus placuit pretermittere quoniam et hos presentes existimavimus satis esse.*

For the joint confirmation after 19 January 1105:

In hac consignatione presentes affuerunt, cum Fulcone comite: Abbo of Briollay; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael; Archalois, (the preceding men being) *milites* of his (Fulk le Réchin); Geoffrey Caiaphas; Geoffrey of Restigné; Peter of Saint-Christopher, his chaplain.

Cum Gosfrido Martello: Paphoth of *Aveto*; Girois, brother of Clarembaud; Hubaudus, cupbearer; Geoffrey of Blaison, his chaplain.

Cum Fulcone Iuniore: Joscelin of Champchévrier; Joscelin Roonard; Adam, his *nutricius*.

⁴ The charter-notice records Adam's reception of the gift following indication of Fulk V's 19 January 1105 confirmation, i.e. immediately preceding the final section of the document. The reference to the strengthening of the parchment indicates, however, that Adam received his gift on the occasion of the production of that parchment, i.e. after 19 January 1105.

De monachis: Brientius, prior; Gautier of Lovennis; Renaud Paganus.

De hominibus eorum: Robert, provost; Rainerius, valet [*cubicularius*] of the abbot; Samazollus, servant of the prior; *et plures alii*.

Dating and Discussion:

The datum clause for Geoffrey Martel II's confirmation on 10 December 1104 is: *Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini MCIII, quarto idus decembris...* The dating reference for Fulk V's confirmation on 7 December 1104 is: *...eodem anno septimo idus decembris*. The dating reference for Fulk V's confirmation on 19 January 1105 is: *...eodem vero anno,⁵ parvo admodum elapso tempore... XIII kalendas februarii...* This charter-notice records the various comital confirmations out of order, foregrounding the disposition of Geoffrey Martel II as not only the first in sequence but also the most prominent in terms of narrative framing. See Chapter Two for why this document was written in such a manner. In any case, Guillot cataloged the present matter as two separate notices. The distinction seems to follow from the assumption that each point of benefaction/confirmation yielded an individual charter. As I discuss elsewhere, this assumption is not tenable. In the present case, a parchment was only produced upon the final instance of confirmation—the joint confirmation after 19 January 1105. The parchment was signed and affirmed collectively by the three *comites*. The imminence of the benefaction recommends the categorization of the present *actum* as a charter-notice. This charter-notice was, indeed, not superseding parchments that had been issued on the previous occasions of confirmation. Finally, we should note the lack of textual variations between Mss B and C, i.e. the cartulary redaction vs the copy of the original charter-notice. The scribes of Saint-Aubin preserved the original charter-notice in an entirely faithful manner, a not uncommon occurrence with Angevin comital benefactions.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 7]

1107 x 29 July 1108

Loudun, house of Fulco Foterelli

Charter. Aristocratic Donation. Robert of Arbrissel relates how Fulco Foterelli is granting into Robert's hands his own house, the furnishings therein, and all its appendages in Loudun. Fulco Foterelli made this gift upon the prayers and advice [*precibus et ammonitione*] of Fulk V, his mother Queen Bertrade, and his wife Aremburge.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Grand Cartulaire d'Angers*, fol. 1r
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, p. 1, no. 2, partial after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 1, p. 5, partial after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5523, fol. 144r, partial after B (18th c.)

⁵ In contemporary Angevin diplomatic, the start of the calendar year of the Incarnation was typically considered to be 25 March or, more uncommonly, 25 December.

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299

Witnesses:

Hoc viderunt et audierunt: Aimeric of Faye-la-Vineuse; Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Sigibrand, the constable; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Philipo in Francia regnante, Fulcone Iuniore Andegavensium comite postea vero Iherusalem rege, Petro bone memorie Pictavensium episcopo, Raginaudo de Martigniaco Andegavensium episcopo.*

The *terminus ab quo* is 1107, during which year Fulk V returns to Anjou and would, at the earliest, have been able to marry Aremburge, whose engagement to Geoffrey Martel II ended with his death in 19 May 1106. The *terminus ad quem* is established by the datum clause, which indicates that the act transpired in the reign of King Philip I of France (d. 29 July 1108).

Ms. B, the earliest extant copy of the original manuscript, bears interpolations. Indeed, B appears to date from the period after Fulk V's accession to the throne of Jerusalem, as he is noted *postea vero Iherusalem rege*. This formulation surely could not have been present in the original charter, given that Fulk did not become king until 14 September 1131. Yet, since Bishop Peter II is noted *bone memorie* and Fulk V is not—something which becomes rather conventional in Angevin charters following his death—it is reasonable to suggest that the present transcription hails from the period between 14 September 1131 and 1143.

**Abbey of Saint-Pierre de Bourgueil, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Bourgueil, arr. Chinon, dioc. Angers, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 8]

1108

Mouliherne and Bourgueil

Notice. Comital Dispute, Donation, and Confirmation. After a preamble referencing the wisdom of preceding fathers, it is recorded that Fulk, "third count of Anjou," upon having inherited "the highest honor of public office" [*cum honoris apice foret adeptus*], had brought a calumny against Bourgueil concerning the sale of bread at Chinon, something which his father Fulk le Réchin had previously donated to the abbey. The men of the comital court decided that the matter was to be resolved at a subsequent date. However, it is indicated that "those seeking peace" [*pacem indagantes*] reached an accord before the judicial hearing.

The accord was as follows: in exchange for a concession of the right to sell bread in

Chinon and an admission that the calumny which he brought was false, Fulk received from Abbot Guibert and the monks of Bourgueil a horse worth ten *librae*. This agreement was reached near Mouliherne between the party of Fulk and that of the abbot.

In the second part of the notice, it is recorded that, perhaps shortly afterward, so as to enable the aforementioned agreement to endure into posterity, Count Fulk V came to the Abbey of Bourgueil, wherein he placed the gift of the agreement [*huius pacti donum*] upon the altar and made the sign of the cross upon the confirmation charter. The witnesses for this second part include several of the individuals present for the original agreement.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey Bourgueil, fol. 45v, copy after A (1481), lost
- C. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 990 (Dom Jean Fouquet), pp. 66-67, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, 17127, p. 175, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 38, fol. 187, copy after B (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1285, copy after B (18th c.)
- G. BM Angers, Ms. 775, fol. 3
- H. BM Tours, Ms. 1338, fol. 412

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 2, pp. 321-323, after D and E

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 2, p. 253
- 2. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, p. 4
- 3. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, n. 305, p. 333
- 4. Dupont, *Monographie du Cartulaire de Bourgueil*, p. 187

Witnesses:

For the first part of the notice:

Fulcone comite concedente... vidente: Robert of Blou; Bernerius of *Campania*;

De monachorum parte: Bernard, prefect; Arnold, the Bald Monk; Caloius, vicar; Alon, mayor
Leodegarius, servant

For the second part of the notice:

Qui viderunt et audierunt haec sunt no[m]i[n]a testium: Robert of Blou; Peloquin of l'Île-Bouchard; Aimericus the Younger, son of Aimeric II of Faye-la-Vineuse; Gano Papot of Luvigné, son of Aimeric II of Faye-la-Vineuse; Mainardus, the good infant [*bonus infans*]; Alon; Caloius; Galdus, the chaplain⁶

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for the second part of the notice: *Actum*⁷ *Burgolio anno dominica incarnationis CVIII*.

The events of the first part of the notice likely transpired shortly before the second part, which was a confirmation of the agreement of the first.

⁶ Ms. C omits

⁷ C: datum

Abbey of Saint-Serge of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cme. and cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 9]

10 January 1104 x 14 April 1109

Angers, Chapel of Saint-Laud

Notice. Comital Concession. On 10 January 1104 at the house of Hugh of Saint-Laud, following Peter Rubiscallus' solicitation of a confirmation of land from Geoffrey Martel II, Geoffrey Martel II additionally confirmed two matters at the request of Abbo of Briollay and other noblemen [*procerum*]. The first was a custom of land granted by Count Geoffrey le Barbu. The second was the land of Gatinoles⁸ which Count Fulk le Réchin had previously donated to the monks. Fulk le Réchin confirmed this "alteration" [*mutationem*].

At some point afterward, the monks went before the chapel of Saint-Laud, where Fulk V conceded to Saint-Serge the aforementioned land with a *baculum* that he had been keeping. Abbo of Briollay and Peter Rubiscallus, participants in the previous act, joined as witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Additions to the First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Serge, n. 335, ff. 150v-151 (11th c.), lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1245bis, I, pp. 323-327
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, 5446, pp. 89-90, partial copy (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280

Witnesses (for Fulk V's *actum*):

Testes: Abbo of Briollay; Peter Rubiscallus, that man's *miles*; Adam, *nutricius*; Rafredus, provost (of the monks)

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for Geoffrey's concession: *Facta haec donation sive concession anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo quarto dominica post Theophaniam prima*. The present *actum* is part of a series of *acta* collated into a single notice. Although Fulk V's concession follows that of Geoffrey Martel II, there is no reason to believe that it was necessarily contemporaneous with Geoffrey's own *actum*. Such notices in the cartularies of Saint-Serge often collated acts traversing a considerable span of time. For instance, this notice has a final section concerning another act of Fulk V, and this act

⁸ Cme. Écouflant, cant. Angers-Nord-Est, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire. This is approximately 5km north-northeast of the city of Angers.

cannot be dated to before 14 April 1109. Indeed, the *terminus ad quem* here can be established as 14 April 1109, as that is the *terminus ab quo* of [F 17], which must postdate this *actum*.

Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 10]

1107 x 14 April 1109, toward 1107

Tours, Comital domicile

Notice. Comital Justice. The monks of Marmoutier recall the process by which they achieved a verdict regarding the judicial overreaches of one Robert, lord of Rochecorbon [*Rupium*], who is said to have been advocating on behalf of various dependents of Marmoutier vis-à-vis the mother abbey. A judicial verdict was reached upon the visit to Tours by Count Fulk “of Tours” (Fulk le Réchin), his son Fulk who was “now married and knighted” [*iam miles iam etiam uxoratus*], as well as Count Hélias of the Manceaux, “under whose hand the *pagus* of Anjou was then being held” [*sub cuius manu tunc temporis pagus Andegavensis habebatur*]. Upon the solicitation of representatives of Marmoutier, Count Hélias brought Robert to explain himself before the comital *curia*, whereupon it was decided, in the noted presence of various comital agents, that Robert held no authority to pursue such advocacy and should henceforth desist.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 963, fol. 146, after A? (18th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1183, fol. 43r-v, partial copy after A? (18th c.)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, n. 442, pp. 273-274

Witnesses:

N/A for comital verdict

Dating and Discussion:

No datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* is 1107, the year in which Fulk V returns to Anjou. The safest *terminus ad quem* is 14 April 1109, the date on which Fulk le Réchin dies. However, it is likely that the events which this notice describe occurred not long after Fulk V's return to Anjou toward mid-1107. The notice indicates that Fulk V had recently been knighted as well as married. The former occurred at the hands of King Philip of France in May 1106; the latter could not have happened until Fulk V returned from captivity in Poitou in 1107. Given the precarious political situation in Anjou, Fulk V would almost certainly have married his dead brother's fiancée Aremburge soon after his return

in order to put his inheritance of an unstable county upon more stable footing. Hélias' noted authority in the county of Anjou speaks to the probability that these events occurred before Fulk V was able to consolidate his own authority in Anjou.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 11]

1107 x 14 April 1109
Angers, Church of Ronceray

Notice. Comital Justice. The notice recalls how, in the time of Count Fulk the Young [*Pueri comitis*], Lord Abbo of Briollay had sought to bring into his own *ius* some cultivated land containing a fortified stronghold in the forest of Lattay, a forest which Fulk Nerra and Hildegarde had donated to Ronceray in 1028x1040. At some point previously, likely toward 1106, Geoffrey Martel II had given this land to Geoffrey fitz Garinus, who had built the fortified stronghold [*domum defensabilem*] for Geoffrey's own defensive purposes. Upon the protests of the nuns of Ronceray, who insisted that their original gift included both cultivated and uncultivated land in Lattay, Geoffrey relinquished his bestowal of the land to Geoffrey. In exchange for the relinquishment, Geoffrey received 100 *librae*; for his own concession, Count Fulk le Réchin received a house in the burgh of Ronceray.

Following Geoffrey Martel II's death at Candé, Count Fulk le Réchin granted the castrum of Rochefort-sur-Loire to Abbo of Briollay, who, for some time, sought to bring the previously contested land into his own domain. The matter was then brought before Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V, alternately referred to as counts and consuls, who, with the mediation of Bishop Renaud of Angers, helped forge a concord between the nuns and Abbo of Briollay. Persuaded by reason, moved in spirit, and heeding the assertions of the bishop and of many barons, Abbo relinquishes his claim in exchange for 1000 *solidi*, ten of which he gave to Queen Bertrade. So that the counts would dismiss any future challenges, the nuns gave ten *solidi* to both Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V, who conceded the quitclaim and approved [*annuentibus*] Abbo's placement of a *cultellum* atop the altar of the church of Ronceray.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 845, Roll 2, n. 5 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 182, pp. 120-121, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, p. 330
2. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, p. 273, no. 441
3. Teunis, *Appeal to the Original Status*, pp. 38-40

Witnesses:

Huius actionis testes sunt qui viderunt et audierunt: Renaud, bishop, with those assent the deed is done; *Stephanus cantor*; William, archdeacon; Guibert, canon-elect; Fulco of Mathefelon; Geoffrey of Briollay; Peter, son of Orry (of Beaupréau?); *Maino*, provost; *Raginaldus Fossardus*; *Gaufridus de Spiniaco*; Erneis of Rochefort; Vallinus of Rochefort; Boso of St-Lambert; *Hubertus Curtus*; Beringerius, seneschal [*siniscallus*]; *Gauterius Gauficus*; Thetburgis, abbess; Adelaide of Chemillé; *Garsinidis de Manso*; Eusebia, cellarer; Hildeburgis of St-Croix; *Soletia* of Craon.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay suggests that the act transpires “vers 1108.” Given that the act indicates the presence and participation of Fulk V, the *terminus ab quo* must be at least 1107, the year in which he returns to Anjou. The *terminus ad quem* is 14 April 1109, on which day Count Fulk le Réchin dies.

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 12]

12 April 1109

Angers, Chapter of Saint-Maurice

Charter. Comital Confirmation. Previously, having been moved by corrupt counsel, Count Fulk le Réchin had deprived the canons of Saint-Maurice of the rental right [*cessiva*]⁹ that they had been exercising within and beyond the fosse that Fulk’s predecessors had constructed in the territory of Ronceray and of Saint-Maurice. Now, gravely ill, Fulk le Réchin heeds the supplications of his daughter Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, Bishop Marbode of Rennes, and others in deciding to return the *cessiva* to the canons. Upon the transfer of a *baculum* into the hands of Ermengarde and two canons of Saint-Maurice, the canons promise to hold for the dying count a Mass on the appropriate days and according to the martyrology for up to a year. There are witnesses.

Subsequently in the chapter of Saint-Maurice, Fulk V, “son of that man,” concedes the matter into the hands of three of the cathedral’s canons, thereby restoring the locality of the *cessiva* to the cathedral. The present charter is produced, and Fulk V inscribes his cross signature.

⁹ Niermeyer and Van de Kieft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 217-218.

There is an addendum to the charter. At some point thereafter—once the sepulcher of Fulk le Réchin had been completed at L’Evière, the monastery of Vendôme in Angers—Countess Ermengarde and Bishop Marbode confirmed the original charter, adding their own cross signatures, before the sepulcher of the deceased count.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. British Library, Add. Mss. 21198, n. 147, fol. 199, copy after A (1534)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, vol. 36 (1875), pp. 421-422, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, II, C 444, p. 274 (partial for Fulk le Réchin *actum*)

Witnesses (for Fulk V *actum*):

Videntibus et audientibus istis: Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Abbo of Rochefort; Carbonellus (of Saint-Michael); Ralph Toaret; Ralph of La Possonnière; Hugh of Tours; Stephen, priest; Rainerius, priest; Herveus Rotundellus; Paganus Fulberti, provost;¹⁰ Andefredus fitz Guito; *Auberto de Merallo*.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Fulk V’s confirmation must have occurred in the days preceding the death of Fulk le Réchin on 14 April. The aging count is described as being gravely ill but not necessarily imminent in his demise. Furthermore, the overlap of witnesses here—and even the order of such witnesses—with the witness lists of [F 13], dated to 12 April, in Angers suggests that this confirmation likely took place on 12 April as well. There is an addendum: Ermengarde and Marbode confirm the original charter. This must have occurred before mid-Lent of 1116, whereupon Herveus Rotundellus, one of the witnesses, was assassinated.

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 13]

12 April 1109

Angers, Chapter of Saint-Maurice

Charter. Comital Confirmation. In the comital *camera*, sensing his impending death, Count Fulk le Réchin heeds the salutary counsel of his daughter Countess Ermengarde of Brittany as well as his *familiares* in granting to the cathedral of Saint-Maurice whatsoever he held in Le Plessis-Grammoire and at Reigné. Count Fulk le Réchin makes

¹⁰ The identification of Paganus Fulberti as *praepositus* must be a scribal error. The copyist was working with an original manuscript which featured the same witness list better preserved in [F 13], where Girard is identified as *praepositus*. Girard is identified as provost of Angers numerous times elsewhere; this is the only instance of Paganus Fulberti appearing as provost and, as such, is already suspect.

the gift into the hands of Bishop Marbode of Rennes, since Bishop Renaud of Angers is absent, leaving Marbode to handle Angevin episcopal affairs.

Subsequently in the chapter of Saint-Maurice and in the presence of numerous Angevin notables, Fulk V approves and confirms what his “pious” father had “piously” arranged for Saint-Maurice. Fulk V places the gift atop the altar with the *cultellum* of a minter named Aimery and, in so doing, is acquiring the office of the father, the consul [*iam consulis patris obtinens dignitatem*].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, fol. 62r, after A (12th c.), lost
- C. BM Angers, ms. 690-691, fol. 409r, after B (17th c.)
- D. BM Angers, ms. 706, pp. 66-68 (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 39, fol. 65r, after a register of B? (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1302, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 93, pp. 171-174

Analysis:

- 1. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 437, pp. 271-272

Witnesses (for Fulk V actum):

Videntibus istis: Abbo of Briollay; Carbonellus (of Saint-Michael); Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Ralph Toaret; Herveus Rotundellus; Paganus Fulberti; William of Rochefort; Ralph of Grez; Hubert of *Gena*; Girard, provost; Aimery Chamailard; Hugh of Tours; Ralph of La Possonnière; Hugh of Martigné; Garinus le Borgne;¹¹ Adam [*Adeno*]; Fulco, the cellarer; Girard, *vicarius*; Bernard *Mantello*; William of Loches; Burgundius *Restivo*; Herbert, the grain-collector [*annonario*]; Garinus *Boguerio*; Saracenus, the *miles*; Aimery, minter, whose *cultellum* the aforementioned Fulk placed atop the altar of Saint-Maurice as the gift, Fulk now acquiring the office of his father, the consul; Herveus, serving Robert fitz Renaud. *Aliique quamplures, quos longum est enarrare, huic actioni interfuerunt.*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *II idus aprilis, regnante Ludovico, strenuissimo regis Philippi filio, regni ipsius anno primo, anno Domini MCIX*. Note that [F 12] transpired concurrently with the present act. Chartrou has established the recording here of a ‘Renaud fitz Robert’ as a mistranscription for ‘Robert fitz Renaud’ (corrected above). This mistranscription recurs in the present cartulary, probably at the hands of the same scribe. See: [F 84]; Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, 124-125.

Collegiate Chapter of Saint-Laud
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 14]

¹¹ Garinus le Borgne was lord of Ingrandes (SW of Angers). See: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, I, 463.

14 April 1109
Angers, Cathedral of Saint-Maurice

Charter. Comital Manumission. With a preamble discussing how Christ instructed his *fideles* to absolve their own debtors of debt so that they might secure salvation—for the health of the recently deceased Fulk le Réchin and for the remission of their own sins—Fulk V and his sister Ermengarde collectively free [*absolvimus*] their own *fidelis*, a man named Benedict, from the outstanding obligations which he owes them through his bond of servitude. Fulk V and Ermengarde indicate that his liberty and that of his descendants are to be assured.

One Burgundius of Colombiers placed the parchment above the head of Benedict. Fulk and Ermengarde impressed their *signa* upon the charter, though these signatures are not preserved in the 13th c. cartulary copy (Ms B below). This process took place in the cathedral of Saint-Maurice during the funeral rites of Fulk le Réchin.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, 1 MI 28, fol. 74v, cartulary copy after A (1201-1225)
- C. BNF, Coll. Baluze, 276, fol. 122v, copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1282, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 9, pp. 12-13

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 9, pp. 12-13
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 3, p. 254

Witnesses:

Adam, *nutritor*; Burgundius of Colombiers [*Calumpna*]

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Actum est Andegavi, in ecclesia Sancti Mauricii, ubi patris Fulconis exequie celebrabantur, XVIII kalendas maii, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCVIII, indictione II, concurrente IIII, epacta XVII, Pascasio papa sedem apostolicam obtinente, Ludovico in Gallia regnante, Rainaldo episcopo Andegavensem ecclesiam gubernante.* The indicated year of 1108 cannot be correct. Fulk le Réchin died in 1109, and Louis VI did not accede until after 29 July 1108, thereby rendering the charter's proposed dating of 14 April 1108 an impossibility. In her catalog, Chartrou asserts Benedict to be a serf of Saint-Laud. Presumably, Chartrou's assertion is based on the preservation of this comital *actum* in Saint-Laud's repositories.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyers, Rule of St. Benedict
Nouâtre, cant. Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine, arr. Chinon, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

14 April 1109 Angers

Notice. Comital Confirmation and Donation. Considering that fathers often neglect to impress upon their sons what has come to pass, Abbot Stephen of the Abbey of Noyers requested, on the day of the death of Fulk le Réchin, that Count Fulk V of Angers grant [*annuit*] to the abbey whatsoever Gervase Cabruns as well as his sons and predecessors had formerly at Azay-le-Chétif (Azay-sur-Indre) to the monks. Additionally, Fulk V granted the tithe of Parilly.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of Notre-Dame of Noyers, fol. 77v, after A, lost
- C. BM Poitiers, Coll. Dom Fonteneau, vols. 71-72 (0527-0528), p. 247, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 373, pp. 401-402

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 4, p. 254

Witnesses:

Testes huius rei fuerunt: Geoffrey of Briollay; and, Abbo (of Briollay), his brother; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael; Renaud Stimulus; Herveus Rotundellus.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. However, the notice indicates that the *actum* transpired on the same day as the death of Fulk le Réchin: *mortuo patre suo Fulcone, ipso die obitus ejus*. Hence, the present benefaction occurred on 14 April 1109.

**Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 16]

14 April 1109, and thereafter Angers, Cathedral-Chapter of Saint-Maurice and L'Evière

Charter-Notice. Comital Donation and Confirmation. For the soul of Fulk le Réchin, whose recent death had moved him, Count Fulk V relinquished a certain custom—a *sextarium* of the returns from foraging¹² at La Fromentière¹³—which the Abbey of Saint-

¹² *Forrei = foderagii*. See: Niermeyer, 574.

¹³ cme Bauné, cant. Seiches-sur-le-Loir, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

Aubin owed him through his patrimonial inheritance. Witnesses were recorded for this relinquishment. Subsequently, Fulk and his sister Ermengarde—identified here only as the countess of Rennes—confirmed this donation before the tomb of their father at L’Evière. Seeing and hearing are “again those persons” [*iterum istis*], though the recorded list of witnesses *et aliis multiis* only partially overlaps with the previous list. Fulk and the countess of Rennes provided their cross signatures.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 81r

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 426, pp. 33-34, after A

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 6, p. 254, brief summary after a

Witnesses:

Part 1, for the original donation: *Videntibus et audientibus istis*: Marbode, bishop of Rennes; Archembaud, abbot of Saint-Aubin; Harduinus, almoner of Saint-Aubin
Laicis: Abbo of Briollay; Ralph Toaret; Ralph of Grez; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael

Part 2, for the confirmation: *Videntibus et audientibus iterum istis*: Herveus Rotundellus; Ralph Toaret; Widdo Babions, *et aliis multiis*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. However, the context and phrasing of the notice indicate that the donation took place on the day of Fulk le Réchin's death while Fulk V yet remained in the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice. See [F 14]. The confirmation occurred at some point subsequently when Countess Ermengarde was present in Angers. This was the point of issuance for the present charter-notice.

**Abbey of Saint-Serge of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
 cme. and cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 17]

After 14 April 1109
 Angers, Chapter of Saint-Serge

Notice. Comital Concession. For the soul of his father as well as his ancestors, Fulk V, son of Count Fulk, conceded to Saint-Serge and his monks whatsoever they were holding from his father. Having received the blessing of that place from Lord-Prior Ansgarius and having “embraced all the brothers” [*osculatis omnibus fratribus*], Fulk placed the gift atop the altar.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost

- B. Additions to the First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Serge, n. 335, ff. 150v-151, after A (11th c.), lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1245bis, I, pp. 323-327, after B?
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, 5446, pp. 89-90, partial copy after B? (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280, after B and C

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 335, pp. 277-280

Witnesses:

Testes: Abbo of Briollay; Adam, *nutricius*; William of Loches, *miles* of “*Fulconellus*;¹⁴ Ralph of Grez; Lambert *de Sarreia*; Hunebaudus of Grez; Hugh of Tours; Rafredus, provost (of the monks); *Aimericus ostelarius*; *Engelbertus*; *Blanchardus*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. However, the gift likely transpired soon after Fulk V's accession on 14 April 1109. Even in the redacted form of this notice, which collates several acts into a single entry, the surviving details of the rhetorical construction of Fulk's benefaction, namely the embrace of the monks and the blessing of the prior, imply a restoration of relations between the count and the Angevin abbey, especially when one considers these details in relation to Fulk V's previous encounter with the abbey in [F 9].

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 18]

Friday, 8 October 1109
Angers, Cloister of Saint-Laud

Notice. Comital Justice / Confirmation. Soon after Fulk's accession, several burgesses who held land from the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas brought a complaint before the count. Their complaint was in regard to the annual due of rye which they owed to the abbey as a custom [*consuetudine sive costuma*] rendered for holding the land. According to the notice, the burgesses attempted to bribe Fulk and his familiars to allow them (the burgesses) to compensate the abbey with a sum of *denarii* rather than deliverance of rent in kind [*annona*]. Considering the cause of justice and possibly his own legal complications should he allow a custom to be curtailed in such a matter, Count Fulk is reported to have been greatly disinclined to acquiesce to the burgesses' request.

¹⁴ Ms C omits mention of William of Loches, describing Adam, instead, as *nutritus miles Fulconelli*.

Nevertheless, Abbot Lambert and several monks appeared before the count and his *militēs* to petition the matter. "Therefore, with the reasonable counsel of his own noblemen [*procerum*] and especially that of his familiars, Fulk conceded and confirmed to the abbot and the monks into perpetuity not only this custom" but also all those gifts rendered unto the abbey by Fulk's father and other comital and non-comital predecessors. Fulk also provided a blanket concession and confirmation of all gifts made by his barons, vassals, or otherwise. Count Fulk made these confirmations into the hands of Abbot Lambert with a helm of catskin [*cum capello catino*] and by imprinting his cross-signature onto the parchment. Abbot Lambert and the monks provide a monetary counter-gift of 10 *libri denariorum* and 12 *denarii* in charity.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, fol. 131r-v, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Baluze, XXXVIII, fol. 50v, extracts after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9612, fol. 215v, extracts after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Epitome*, pp. 51-52, partial copy after B
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-260, after a, C, and D

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 5, p. 254, brief summary after a
2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 178, pp. 257-60

Witnesses:

istis testibus: Archalois, dapifer; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Carbonellus of Saint-Michael; Peter of Champchévrier; Joscelin Roonard; Peter Roonard, his brother; Ralph of Grez, butler; Robert, marshall; Herveus Rotundellus; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; *Ivone de Gallia*; *Normanno Ferlo*; *Normanno de Gallia*; Lupellus Ferle; Geoffrey the Burgundian; and his son, Paganus; Aimery Chamaillard; Lambert of Super Pontem; and his son, Gorronus; Geoffrey of Restigné, chaplain, and others

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *viii idus octobris, feria vi, luma x, indictione ii, epacta xvii, concurrente quarto, anno ab incarnatione Domini MCIX, Paschario papa, Ludovico Philippi filio rege Francorum Rainaldo de Martiniaco Andegavorum praesule.*

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 19]

1107x1109

Angers, Church of Ronceray

Notice. Comital Confirmation. The notice recalls first a series of gifts that Fulk had made to Orieldis, *sacrista* of the Abbey of Ronceray, in 1103x1104.¹⁵ These gifts had been made on account of Orieldis' many kindnesses as well as out of love [*pro amore*] for her *nepos* (nephew or grandson), Adam, Fulk V's *nutritor*. The gifts comprised of various customs that the nuns owed the count concerning certain vineyards. Furthermore, Fulk had exempted the sentries guarding those vineyards from any dues of military service.

On the advice [*admonitione*] of Adam, Count Fulk V presently confirmed such matters in the chapter of Ronceray via Adam's knife [*cultellum*], conceding those earlier gifts in perpetuity. On behalf of the count, Adam placed the *cultellum* atop the altar; it was "as if [the count] himself had placed it with his own hand."¹⁶ Ronceray's abbey received the *cultellum* in signification of the matter.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 845, Roll 2, n. 32 (1176-1200)
- C. BM Angers, ms. 848A, Roll 5, n. 40 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 313, pp. 196-198, after B and C

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, p. 359, with errors
2. Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 29-31

Witnesses:

Unde sunt testes isti: William of Loches; Adam; Pipin, chamberlain of the count; Benedict of *Seio*.
Ex parte abbatisse: totum capitulum; Marquerius fitz Amalguinus; Girard, *coqus*; Garnerius *Gastel*; Rainerius, canon; Girard, canon; Aimery, *sacerdos*; Babinus, *presbiter*.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay suggests that the act transpired "de 1090 à 1110 environ." It is probable that the confirmation occurred in 1107x1109, after Fulk V had returned from his captivity in Poitou and jointly assumed the comital title with Fulk le Réchin but not long after Fulk V's accession as lone count of Anjou. First, the gifts in question probably were made in 1103x1104, as I discuss in the footnote above. In earlier 1105, Fulk V was sent away from Anjou, rendering his confirmation impossible until the time of his return in 1107. That Adam would solicit Fulk V in 1107x1109 to confirm gifts that Fulk V made in 1103x1104 makes a great deal of sense. Not only was Fulk V now in his majority—he was probably underage or had just come of age at the time of the original gifts—but also, more importantly, Fulk was now the eldest surviving son of the count, the comital heir-apparent, and the co-count. Such a confirmation would, of course, serve also to consolidate Fulk V's own power by demonstrating his authority to donate matters owed to the Angevin countship.

¹⁵ Fulk V's gifts were originally made *in pueritia sua*, i.e. approximately 1097-1104. The most likely interval, given circumstances discussed in Chapter Two and Appendices C/D, would be 1103x1104 when Fulk le Réchin had begun to involve Fulk V in matters of comital governance. For, here we see Fulk V relinquishing various customs which Ronceray owes the Angevin counts.

¹⁶ "Deinde Ademus posuit cultellum super altare, ex parte comitis, quasi ipse manu propria poneret..."

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
Cme, cant., and arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 20]

14 April 1109 x 11 July 1110, probably mid-1109

Angers, Cathedral Chapter of Saint-Maurice

Notice. Comital concession. For the salutatory benefit to his own soul as well as for the remission of his own sins and those of his parents, Count Fulk V conceded the *vinagium* and other customs which he had held within the vineyards, houses, and other properties that Archdeacon Garnerius had given in alms to the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice upon his own death.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, fol. 98r, after after A (12th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1503, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 163, pp. 255-256

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 7, p. 254

Witnesses:

videntibus et audientibus istis quorum nomina subscripta sunt: Count Hélias of Le Mans; Hugh of Juillé¹⁷; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Renaud of Martigné, bishop of Angers; Richard, deacon; Hubert, archdeacon; William, archdeacon; Stephen, *praecentor*; Bernerius; Joscelin; William Musca; William of Chemillé; William *Potardo*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The notice indicates that the concession was made “*non multo post mortem patris sui Fulconis.*” This establishes a *terminus ab quo* of 14 April 1109, the day of the death of Fulk le Réchin. The *terminus ad quem* is 11 July 1110, the day on which Count Hélias of Maine, here a witness, dies. The aforementioned phrase, however, strongly suggests that the *actum* transpired in 1109, i.e. “not long after the death of Fulk IV,” rather than in 1110.

Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 21]

¹⁷ Cme Daumeray, cant. Durtal, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

1110, 14 April x 2 August Saumur, Comital Castle

Notice. Donation. At the comital castle of Saumur, Count Fulk V, “the other son” [*filius alterius*] of Fulk le Réchin, granted to the Abbey of Marmoutier and its monks--for his own soul as well as that of his own father, mother, and other relatives--the comital woods which he held between the Loire and the Cher rivers southeast of Tours.¹⁸ Additionally, Fulk donated all the lands, waters, and islands enclosed between the woods of Geoffrey of Hommes,¹⁹ Berthenay,²⁰ and "the pillar," possibly the pillar of Cinq-Mars-la-Pile²¹ [*pilam*], which lay west of Tours.²² The Lord-Prior of Marmoutier received this benefaction from Fulk’s own hand via a *cultellum* which belonged to Oliver, one of the abbey’s monks. In exchange for the comital *beneficium*, which was made "by the counsel and advice [*consilio et ammonitione*]" of Queen Bertrade, Fulk received a horse.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original(s), lost
- B. British Library, Additional Charters 11208, redaction after A (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1307, fol. 130r-v, partial copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *Anjou*, p.j. n. 3, pp. 323-324, after C (incomplete)

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 8, pp. 254-255, different dating, with errors

Witnesses:

From the first part of the notice, relating to the count's donation:

Videntibus monachis: Andrea de Gommez; Rainaldus; Oliver

Ex parte comitis: Queen Bertrade; Peter of Champchévrier; and Joscelin (of Champchévrier), his brother; Joscelin Roonard; Renaud of Saumoussay

De famulis nostris: Landry of the Tower; Silvestro; Cainardo filio Alcherio

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for the comital donation: *Actum anno dominice incarnationis M C X comitatus eiusdem comitis anno II presidente nobis domno abbate Willelmo anno VI*. We may further narrow the 1110 dating of the first part of the notice. Lord-Abbot William of Marmoutier is described as being in his sixth year. Since his election occurred in 1104 after 2 August--the death of his predecessor--William's sixth year of abbacy would conclude on 2 August 1110, thereby providing us with a possible *terminus*

¹⁸ This would appear to be in the Amboise region or, at least, east of Tours.

¹⁹ *De Ulmis* = Hommes (cne. Hommes, c. Château-la-Vallière, arr. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire)

²⁰ Berthenay (cne. Berthenay, c. Ballan-Miré, arr. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire)

²¹ Cinq-Mars-la-Pile (cne. Cinq-Mars-la-Pile, c. Langeais, arr. Chinon, dép. Indre-et-Loire)

²² This may have been a fairly large swath of territory. Although Berthenay and Cinq-Mars-la-Pile are close to one another, the described "woods of Geoffrey of Hommes" could not have been altogether too distant from Hommes itself, which lay 15km northwest from Cinq-Mars-la-Pile and 18km west northwest from Berthenay. As a result, the parameters of the donated lands probably approximated a sharp isosceles triangle rising from the Loire River west of Tours.

ad quem of 2 August 1110. Similarly, Fulk would have begun his second year as count on 14 April 1110, thereby providing us with the *terminus ab quo* of 14 April 1110.²³

In any case, the present notice is comprised of three parts which are meant to be understood in conjunction. The first part records the comital donation which is described above. The second part of the notice significantly goes on to relate that, a little later [*Porro paulo post ipsum donum...*], almost certainly in the same year, two of the count's provosts--Benedict and Martin--collected twelve *solidi* in revenue from the *pasnagium* (transit tax) pertaining to traffic in the donated woods. A dispute subsequently arose concerning whether the abbey was to receive the *pasnagium* of that same year of the donation or whether the comital provosts still ought to receive it. The monks pleaded their case before the count, who presided over the provosts' resulting declaration of regret and restoration of the *pasnagium* to the abbey.

The final part of the notice, which is of particular importance, is missing in Chartrou's edition; this part of the notice is extant only in the unedited Ms B. It appears that the comital verdict only required the provosts to acknowledge that the custom of the *pasnagium* belonged to the abbey and to promise that they would return the twelve *solidi* which they had already collected. However, shortly after the comital verdict, the provosts seem to have come to a modified agreement with Abbot William of Marmoutier in his *camera*. There, "because it could hurt us (the abbey) in the future if they (the provosts) were to hold back the *pasnagium*, they henceforth provided the management (of the custom)" to Marmoutier as well as pledging, with a guarantor named Gautier *Facit-Malum*, to restore the twelve *solidi*. The language of this final part indicates that, although the due from the *pasnagium* belonged ultimately to the abbey, the provosts were still responsible for its collection. This is what Count Fulk seems to have affirmed in his verdict. However, the provosts evidently did not wish to do the work of the *pasnagium*'s collection, so they brokered a separate agreement with the abbey, an agreement wherein the responsibility for the custom's collection is transferred to the monks.

Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher

[F 22]

1110

Angers, *in camera comitis*

Notice. Comital confirmation and donation. So that their benefaction for the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme "would be strengthened by a greater authority," an aristocratic family northwest of Tours made their donation of land and its custom of *pasnagium* into the hands of Count Fulk V.²⁴ Subsequently, in his own *camera*, Fulk augmented the confirmation with a donation of his own: relinquishment of the custom of *pasnagium* collected upon pigs which the abbey would move through the comital woods of *Burcetus*.

Manuscript History:

A. Original, lost

²³ *Dictionnaire Indre-et-Loire*, IV, p. 185.

²⁴ *Hoc autem ut majori auctoritate roboraretur factum est in manu Fulconis comitis Andegavorum*

- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Vendôme, lost
- C. BM Vendôme, ms. 273, *Inventaire des chartes de l'abbaye de Vendôme*, fol. "IIIIxxv," after B? (16th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, 5419, p. 36, copy after A, with indication of lost seal (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 424, pp. 193-194, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 9, p. 255, after a

Witnesses:

Hoc viderunt: Herbert of Craon, monk of Vendôme...

Dating and Discussion:

The original aristocratic donation and comital confirmation is undated but cannot be before 14 April 1109, when Fulk V, who confirmed the benefaction as count of Anjou, acceded to that countship. His subsequent donation, which either followed shortly thereafter or was coincidental, is provided with a datum clause: *Actum apud Andegavam in camera comitis anno MCX*. According to Ms D, there was a seal, perhaps that of Fulk V.

The original donation was by Geoffrey of Sonzay and his wife Petronilla, with the consent of their sons Peter and Giro. They were granting to the church of Saint-Nicholas of Chartre, a church belonging to Vendôme, one *mansura* of land in the vale of *Pediculus* near *Bulcetus* (Burcetus?). Additionally, to the monks of Vendôme, they relinquished the *pasnagium* on abbatial swine passing through certain woods. Witnesses: *Normandus de Ascherono; Normandus de Marsono; Goffridus de Bosco Marrani; Haimericus filius Hugonis; Tomas de Marsono; Herbertus forestarius.*

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 23]

14 April 1109 x 1112
Angers, Chapter of Ronceray

Notice. Comital Donation. On the day on which a certain Alfred purchased his freedom from the bonds of servitude, Count Fulk V freely granted to Ronceray all customs which he held upon an arpent of land above the bank of the Loire River. These customs included any jurisdiction—such as the demand of military service [*exercitu*—which the count, his agents, or other lay individuals may attempt to enforce upon the millers or other servants tending to the abbey's mills on the aforementioned land. Of this gift, Fulk invests the abbes symbolically with her own goblet.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 844, Roll 1, n. 99 (1176-1200)

C. BM Angers, ms. 848B, Roll 6, n. 12 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 101, p. 77, after B and C (conflated)

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, p. 315, with incorrect dating
2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 44, p. 265, with incorrect dating

Witnesses:

In audientia quoque clericorum et servientium eiusdem ecclesie: Johannis decani, Gauterii Cornuti, Bernaldi atque Giraldi canonicorum, et Goffridi Burzesii, Henrici presbiteri, Barbotini. Goffridi de Quartis, Rainaldi Burgevini, Goffridi Burgevini, Girard the provost, Herveus of the Chariot [quadrige], Andfredus fitz Guito, Fulbert the Pellitarius, Bernerii of Saint-Florent, Guito (of Super Pontem), Lambert (of Super Pontem), Laurentii Barilli, Geoffrey of Restigné, et coram permaxima populi multitudine que illic convenerat.

Dating and Discussion:

Marchegay offers a tentative dating of 1115x1118, which Chartrou follows. The operative assumption appears to be that the *Normannici belli* which is referenced in a related act (collated with the present act in Marchegay's edition) is the campaign resulting in the 1118 Battle of Alençon. However, the presence of Herveus Rotundellus, who died in earlier 1116, in the related act requires that the *terminus ad quem* be well before the events of 1117-1118. Consequently, the *Normannici belli* of the related act is probably a reference to the Norman-Angevin hostilities of 1112-1113. This, in turn, sequences Fulk V's present *actum* as preceding the related act, which is reported to have followed the Norman war.

In the related act of 1112x1113, it is recorded that a man of the comital provost Herveus (Rotundellus) had incarcerated one of the millers belonging to Ronceray while the Angevin army was away, fighting the king of the England. The reasoning of the provost's man was that the miller had been derelict in having failed to join Angevin forces as they headed north. This man of Herveus, a certain Picard, extracted fifteen *solidi* from the miller, though said miller evidently remained imprisoned. Indeed, when Herveus returned in 1113, he freed the imprisoned miller and restored the confiscation to the abbess, confirming the exemption of the abbey's millers from military service.

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers

Cme, c., and arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 24]

1110x1112

Angers, Comital curia

Charter-Notice. Comital Concession. It is recorded that, at the instigation of certain worldly men, Count Fulk V had decreed that the cathedral canons of Saint-Maurice of Angers must, by law and custom, be judged in his own *curia* for any grievances which either he or his men brought against them. And, the resulting verdict would have been binding. Hearing of this, Bishop Renaud of Angers and several of the cathedral's

canons—some of whose names are recorded—solicited the aid of Bishop Marbode of Rennes and then proceeded to the comital *curia*. There, with the *ratio* and *attestatio* of Marbode, they demonstrated that the canons were obligated neither to address any grievances outside the space of their own chapter nor to heed the judgment of any parties other than the bishop, the dean, or the chapter assembly. The count of Anjou and his many nobles in presence at the *curia* are reported to have consented to the matter.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, fol. 63r, after A (12th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, vol. 22, fol. 114, after B (17th c.)
- D. BM Angers, ms. 706 (636), p. 68, after B

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 94, pp. 174-175

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 51, p. 267

Witnesses:

Hoc tam viderunt et audierunt quam consenserunt: Gautier of Montsoreau; Robert of Blou; Archalois, *et multi proceres*; Girard, also the provost; Paganus Fulberti, *et multi alii de plebe*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Urseau dates the act to 1110-1120 on account of the presence of William of Saumur, the dean of Saint-Maurice and archdeacon of Outre-Loire of the diocese of Angers, who held his office from 1110—or slightly later—until before 7 May 1120 (*Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 86, p. 162n1). The identification of Girard here as provost establishes the *terminus ad quem* as 1112, during which year at the latest there are attestations by Hugh Rigaud and then Herveus Rotundellus as provosts of Angers.

Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher

[F 25]

1112, before 29 July
 Angers, Monastery of L'Évière

Notice. Comital Concession. For the soul of his most beloved [*carissimi*] lord—Count Fulk le Réchin—and in exchange for 1500 *solidi* and a silver goblet from Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, Abbo of Briollay had granted to Vendôme whatsoever he was holding in and up until *Aimeria*,²⁵ including the old burgh and the new one with its attendant lands.

²⁵ This may have been an area near Daumery (cant. Durtal, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire), thus northward of Briollay itself and south of Sablé. See: *Dictionnaire Maine-et-Loire*, I, p. 6.

Subsequently, for the love of God and the soul of his own father, Count Fulk V conceded to Vendôme's daughter monastery in Angers—l'Evière—and its monks the aforementioned new burgh, along with the land on which it was developed, to be held free from any custom or exaction. With his own hand, Count Fulk V conceded this atop the altar of l'Evière, specifying that the *banagium*,²⁶ *minagium*,²⁷ and other customs would now pass indisputably into the authority of the monks of Vendôme. Moreover, the men of that new burgh would not be obliged to respond to the count's *bannum* (public authority), neither by the summons of his provost, his other men, nor even by himself. The exception to the exemption would be for the *exercitum* (military service) in the name of battles against adversaries. Fulk V received 260 *solidi* for the concession, which, the notice reiterates, he made for the soul of his father.

A series of additional concessions followed, as Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme secured the consent of Abbo's kin as well as regional potentates such as Countess Aremburge, Bishop Renaud of Angers, and Lisiard of Sablé, who was then at war [*guerram*] with Fulk.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Vendôme, ff. 217v-218, copy after A, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Baluze, 139, fol. 148, after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 10885, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 427, pp. 197-200

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 12, pp. 255-256

Witnesses:

Testes huius rei sunt: Count Fulk himself, who, on account of the concession, which, as permitted, he made for the soul of his own father, was nevertheless keeping 260 *solidi*; Hugh of *Vilerio*; Borel of Saumur; Archalois [*Arealotus*]; William Garini; Herveus Rotundellus;²⁸ Adam *nutricius*; Robert Papeboeuf; *Girotus*; Andulfus *miles*;²⁹ Peter of Montsabert; William of Loches; Laidellus the chamberlain of the countess; Berengerius of Molières; Abbo of Rochefort [*Rupeforti*]; Lord-Abbot Geoffrey; Stephen, his cross-bearer; the monk Savarichus.

De famulis nostris: *Gofredus cambellanus domni abbatis*; *Galterius coquus*; *Chamnardus marescallus*; *Guirrodus pistor*; *Frogerius*; *Guillelmus coquus*; *Arnaudus*.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause following the final section of the notice: *Actum est hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXII, indictione V, regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, anno regni sui III*. The claim of the act having transpired in the third year of the reign of Louis VI appears to be a scribal error. Having

²⁶ A general communal due. Refer to: Niermeyer, 107.

²⁷ A due for the measuring of grain. See: Niermeyer, 889.

²⁸ Later in the notice, he is specified to have been *praepositus* at that time.

²⁹ Later in the notice, he is specified to be the *miles* of Abbo (of Briollay).

acceded on 29 July 1108, any act of 1112 would have fallen during either his fourth or fifth regnal year. The inscription of 'iii' in the extant manuscripts is more likely to have been a misreading of the minimums forming 'iv' rather than of an original 'v.' Hence, we arrive at a *terminus ad quem* of 29 July 1112.

As indicated in the summary above, a series of additional concessions followed that of Fulk V in the present notice. First, Bishop Renaud of Angers conceded the matter. In the presence of Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, Countess Aremburge subsequently conceded in her own *camera*. Geoffrey of Briollay concedes the matter near Briollay, along with his two daughters, one of whom is the wife of Lisiard of Sablé. Agnes, wife of Abbo of Briollay, then concedes. Afterward, Abbot Geoffrey, Abbo of Briollay, and some of the latter's *fideles* meet Lisiard of Sablé in a certain field between Briollay and Daumeray in order to receive his concession: Lisiard allegedly did not dare come to Angers to concede on account of his ongoing conflict [*guerra*] with Count Fulk V. Finally, Geoffrey of Briollay's third daughter, Melisende, concedes at Champtoceaux.

Collegiate Chapter of Saint-Laud
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 26]

c. 1112, Wednesday of Mid-Lent
Angers, Cloister of Saint-Laud

Charter. Comital donation. For the remedy of the soul of his father and of all faithful deceased and on behalf of every descendant he then had or would come to have, Count Fulk V grants to the canons of the collegiate chapter of St-Laud that part of the servitude [*servitutis*] which he was holding at *Algero*. Any who bring a challenge against the gift or otherwise diminish it are threatened with the wrath of the Highest Judge and would be subject to Anathema.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, Cartulary of the Chapter of Saint-Laud of Angers, 1 MI 28, fol. 74v, copy after A (1201-1225)

Editions:

- a. Planchenault, *Cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Laud d'Angers*, n. 8, pp. 11-12

Analysis:

- 1. Planchenault, *Cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Laud d'Angers*, n. 8, pp. 11-12
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 10, p. 255

Witnesses:

Huic dono interfuerunt, de canonicis: Maenerius, nephew of Lord Josbert; Geoffrey of Restigné *de militibus comitis:* Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Maurice Roonard, with his two sons Joscelin (Roonard) and Peter (Roonard); Joscelin of Champchévrier; Geoffrey of Clairvaux, then *dapifer*; Simon Emsam; Borel of Saumur; Hugh Rigaud, then provost

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Factum est hoc in claustro Beati Laudi, die mercurii illius ebdomade que mediana Quadragesime appellatur.* Planchenault suggests a dating of 'vers 1110,' which Chartrou follows. Indeed, given the date of mid-Lent and that Fulk V is identified as count, the earliest possible year for the present charter is 1110. It is unlikely that this benefaction occurred after 1112, as Herveus Rotundellus replaced Hugh Rigaud as provost of Angers in 1112. That year is, in any case, the most likely date of production, given that Geoffrey of Clairvaux appeared as *dapifer*, having recently succeeded Archalois.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 27]

c. 1112

Charter. Comital Donation. Heeding the lesson of Psalms 126:6 to undertake godly works in order to benefit spiritually later, Fulk V grants and relinquishes to Robert of Arbrissel and the religious of Fontevraud some meadows in Guesnes, meadows which he held for the collection of rent (*ad censum*) from the monks of Charroux. Though not presented as such, Fulk V's benefaction here is a confirmation of an earlier donation issued by his father with the consent of himself and Geoffrey Martel II. See [F 5].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 3, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 3, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 3, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 94v-95r, after B and C (12th c.)
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 556, p. 94, extracts after non-extant ff of E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 323, copy after B (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416r, extracts after E (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 155, pp. 141-142, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 853, pp. 790-791, after C and F
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 10, p. 335, after E

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 155, pp. 141-142
2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 853, pp. 790-791
3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 27, p. 260
4. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 433, pp. 269-270

Witnesses:

sub istorum virorum testimonio: Geoffrey of Clairvaux; and Paganus, his brother; Hugh Rigaud; Drogo Fetardi; Aimery Flocelli

Dating and Discussion:

The presence of Hugh Rigaud offers the prospective dating interval. Hugh Rigaud was briefly provost of Angers around 1112; Girard remained provost until 1110x1112³⁰ and Herveus Rotundellus became provost after Hugh Rigaud before the end of 1112.³¹ Hugh Rigaud is otherwise absent from Fulk V's charters. This Hugh should not be confused with a certain Hugh of Sablé, who was elsewhere involved in comital administration. Hugh Rigaud was the kin, if not the son, of Aimery Rigaud, a *miles* from the Rigaudi family based about the comital castle of Loudun: Hugh Rigaud attested in a familial charter from around 1100.³²

Guillot's diplomatic analysis concerning this *actum* is somewhat erroneous. He identifies the present benefaction as an alternate version of an earlier comital donation which Count Fulk le Réchin had issued with the consent of Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk V. (For the earlier benefaction, see [F 5].) However, the formulae of the act as well as the witness list indicate that this alternate version, which Guillot catalogued as Version II, is actually a separate *actum* dating from the reign of Fulk V. Hugh Rigaud was one of Fulk V's provosts of Angers; Geoffrey of Clairvaux and his brother Paganus of Clairvaux were among Fulk V's closest associates, with the former serving as comital chief seneschal for a time; and, the scriptural rhetoric of the preamble is characteristic of Fulk V's *acta* and unknown for that of his father.³³ Moreover, the survival of this benefaction on the pancartes issued specifically to record Fulk V's own benefactions to the Abbey of Fontevraud demonstrates that the *actum* is that of Fulk V. Nevertheless, given the effective dispositive overlap with the donation of Fulk le Réchin (Guillot's Version I; [F 5] here), we should consider Fulk V's donation to be, more precisely for our own analytical purposes, a confirmation of his father's donation.

Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 28]

Saturday 4 January 1113
Angers, House of Geoffrey of Blaison

Charter-Notice. Donation. For the soul of his father, that of his predecessors, and of himself, Count Fulk V—son of Count Fulk and brother of Geoffrey Martel II—donated to God and Saint-Aubin, for the needs of the poor [*in opus pauperum*], that custom which he was holding in alms of Saint-Aubin, namely the due of the *banagium* from Fulk's own storeroom of the almshouse. Fulk donated also the custom of measuring [*ialeagii = galeagii*] which he was holding from the abbot for the storeroom.

For the needs of the poor, Fulk gave this gift through the hand of Harduinus, the almoner of Saint-Aubin. By reason of the donation, the almoner, with his own hand, invested Fulk

³⁰ [F 24].

³¹ [F 25].

³² AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3497, piece 7.

³³ Cf. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 412 and 647.

with a certain glove which had been reserved nearby for the testimony of such a matter.³⁴ Receiving the glove, Fulk humbly prostrated himself so that the benefaction would be everlasting in memory and unailing support.³⁵ Fulk provided his cross signature for the donation as well as possibly his seal, though the evidence on this count is unclear.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original or Contemporary Copy: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 80r
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 81bis, copy after A (12th c.)
- C. BM Angers, *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, Ms 829 (0745), fol. 23r, after A (12th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 84, p. 99, after A and B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 13, p. 256, brief summary after a

Witnesses:

Presentibus testibus idoneis quorum nomina infra habentur: Geoffrey of Blaison, chaplain of the count; Archalois; Arduin, chamberlain of the count; Arnulfus Restivus, his cellarer; William of Loches; Thescendis, his wife; Alfred, pelletarius
de monachis: Harduinus, almoner; *Guarnerius, secretarius* [C: *sacristarius*]

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *anno incarnationis dominice M C X III indictione VI II nonas ianuarii*. With regard to the possibility of the comital seal, it should be indicated that the verso of an accompanying archival piece—AD Maine-et-Loire, H 114, fol. 81r—features a drawing of a cross-seal with an internalized inscription of “*de remissione ialeagii et banagii*.” Since fol. 81r concerns the custom of *foderagium* (see [F 16]), this inscription must refer to the present benefaction (Ms A), whose record was apparently bundled with fol. 81r. The drawing of the cross-seal may reflect the actual existence of such a seal on the original document, provided that Ms A is a contemporary copy rather than the original. This scenario is, nevertheless, unlikely. For, a cross-seal here would prove to be the only known instance of the comital dynasty using such a seal. The counts of Anjou had already commissioned a seal matrix by

³⁴ *quem etiam ex eodem dono cum cirotheca quadam que reservatur apud nos in testimonium huius rei propria manu investivit*

³⁵ Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor*, 259 interprets the prostration as being on the part of the almoner rather than the count. The phrasing of the notice itself is ambiguous. Although the rest of the document consistently presents Fulk as the nominative actor, with the almoner appearing as the dative recipient, the immediately preceding sentence ends in a relative clause whose actor is the almoner. The successive, relevant sentence thus begins: *Quod ille suscipiens pedibus eius humiliter se prostravit...* To be sure, the prostrating actor here may have been the almoner, with the *quod suscipiens* referring to the reception of the comital donation of customs. However, there are several circumstances which recommend interpreting Fulk to be the prostrating party. First, the item to which *quod suscipiens* refers may be the glove, *cirotheca*, not the comital donation (the neuter gender of *quod*, relative to the feminine of *cirotheca*, is not necessarily germane, as *quod* was often used in a gender-neutral manner in contemporary charters in such contexts). This interpretation would accord with the immediately preceding mention of the almoner investing Fulk with the glove. This interpretation is further recommended by the back-and-forth ritual being enacted between the benefactor and beneficiary. Indeed, *suscipio* in the classical sense may connote a reciprocal gesture taken in response to a preceding action; the preceding action here was the almoner’s investment, which Fulk was *suscipiens* and responding with a prostration. For the classical usage of the word, see: *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), 1888.

1085, so a cross-seal—which represented an uncommon, brief-lived, and precursory practice vis-à-vis seal matrices—would have been a retrograde development in 1113.³⁶ The illustration of a cross-seal, therefore, must be attributed to later scribal license rather than an act of diplomatic preservation.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 29]

14 April 1109 x 30 November 1113

Version I

Charter. Comital Donation. To amass for himself treasures in heaven (Matthew 6:20), Count Fulk V donates to Robert of Arbrissel and the religious of Fontevraud the land of Breuil. He specifies that they have been granted the rents, the dues, and other returns of the land “to the extent that he held them.” Furthermore, Fulk grants unto Fontevraud unspecified customs of Véron, “whatsoever” the religious will be able to secure.

Version II

Charter. Comital Donation. Drawing upon the exhortation to charity and love in Corinthians 13:1, Fulk grants to Robert of Arbrissel, the women of Fontevraud, and the venerators of the monastery the land of Breuil near the bridge of Chinon as well as all meadows and rents therein in order to support the female religious of Fontevraud. There is prolonged elaboration concerning how all that is generated on the properties does, indeed, belong to the nuns, and how neither Fulk, his heirs, nor any who have been promised the land in any capacity may challenge Fontevraud's possession of and privileges over it in perpetuity.

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 45v, copy after A (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 702, p. 105, extracts after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 406r, extracts after B (17th c.)

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 1, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 1, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 1, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 92r-v and 93r, after B and C (12th c.)

³⁶ For the phenomenon of cross-seals, refer to: Michel Parisse, “Croix autographes de souscription dans l'Ouest de la France au XI^e siècle,” in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. Peter Rück (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996), pp. 143-155: 152-154.

- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 554, p. 93, copy after non-extant portions of E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 321, copy after B (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 415v, copy after non-extant portions of E ms (17th c.)
- I. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5697, fol. 166v, copy after non-extant portions of E (18th c.)

Editions, Version I:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 1, p. 321, after B
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 204, pp. 200-201

Editions, Version II:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 153, pp. 137-139 after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 850, pp. 785-787 after B, C, and F
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 17, pp. 341-343

Analysis, Version I:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 1, p. 253
- 2. L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 306
- 3. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, pp. 4-5
- 4. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 204, pp. 200-201

Analysis, Version II:

- 1. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 306
- 2. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, pp. 4-5
- 3. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, pp. 137-139
- 4. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, pp. 785-787
- 5. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 40, pp. 263-264

Witnesses, Version I:

Huius vero voluntariae meae donacionis sunt testes: Philip, brother (of Fulk V); Borel of Saumur; Hubert of *Loquaio*; Robert Pevrel; Gosbert of Morton; Paganus *de Petro Fonte*; Geoffrey Lesganz; Alfred, *miles* of the Queen; Richard, *nutritor* to Philip; and Hersende; Petronilla (of Chemillé); Peter of *Fonte Chebello*.

Witnesses, Version II:

Huius vero affirmatione et concessionis donatione autentici viri testes existunt, et scriptoris attestazione autentica eorum nomina in hac presenti pagina subnotantur: Philip, brother (of Fulk V); Borel of Saumur; Peter of Champchèvrier; Hubert of *Loquaio*; Robert Pevrel; Paganus of *Petro Fonte*; Geoffrey Lesganz; Alfred, *miles* of the Queen; Richard, *pedagogus* of Philip, brother of the count of the Angevins; Gosbert of Morton; Hersende, prioress; and Petronilla (of Chemillé).

Dating and Discussion, Version I:

Although the datum clause alleges that the original charter was enacted during the reign of Philip, king of the Franks [*data regnante Philippo*], paleographic analysis reveals that the inscription of Philip's name as *Philippo* may, in fact, have been an error. The scribe appears to have marked over the final 'o' in a manner that indicates an attempt to correct the 'o' to an 'i.' According to Bienvenu and Guillot, the attempted revision to a genitive construction signals the original intended phrasing to be "with Louis, (son) of Philip, reigning" [*regnante Ludovico Philippi*]. Furthermore, the witness list includes a Philip, who is identified as Count Fulk's brother; this individual would have to be Fulk V's half-brother via his mother's second marriage to King Philip I of France. These matters establish the *terminus ab quo* for the original *actum* as 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk's accession. Furthermore, it should be noted that Version II omits mention here of the donation of comital customs at Véron. And, the *datum* clause here references Bishop Renaud of Angers, instead of Archbishop Raoul of Tours as in Version II. As with the rest of Fulk's Fontevraudian *acta* that appear in multiple versions, there is

almost certainly one original charter from which stem these alternate manuscript traditions, i.e. A (version I) and A (version I) are one in the same.

Dating and Discussion, Version II:

Several manuscript copies, such as B and F, preserve a datum clause which identifies the act as having transpired in the reign of King Louis VI of France (r. 1108-1137) and during the countship of one "Fulk." It can be said with confidence that the Fulk referenced here is Fulk V rather than Fulk IV, on account of the presence of a witness identified as "my brother Philip;" this individual is Fulk V's half-brother via his mother's second marriage to king Philip I of France. The datum clause and the presence of the aforementioned witness, therefore, establishes the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk V's accession. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as either 1109 or 30 November 1112x1113, the possible dates of the death of Hersende, the prioress of the abbey of Fontevraud, who is reported as a witness for this charter. Version I, of which the present tradition is effectively a redaction, mentions also the donation of comital customs at Véron. The *datum* clause here references Archbishop Raoul of Tours, instead of Bishop Renaud of Angers as in Version I. As with the rest of Fulk's Fontevraudian *acta* that appear in multiple versions, there is almost certainly one original charter from which stem these alternate manuscript traditions, i.e. A (version I) and A (version I) are one in the same.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 30]

14 April 1109 x 30 November 1113

Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Notice. Comital Justice. It is recorded that Count Fulk V settled the dispute between the congregation of Fontevraud and two individuals: Ralph, son of Ivo, a canon of Saint-Martin; and Ralph's son-in-law Geoffrey, first-born son of William of Montsoreau and his own wife Hersende. The cause of discord was a holding which comprised of houses, vineyards, and other property in the village of Candes-Saint-Martin.³⁷ William of Montsoreau and his wife Hersende had purchased the holding from Ivo and had then bestowed it upon their non-eldest son, Stephen, who peacefully held it for many years. Upon William's death and Hersende's taking of the habit (before 1103x1104 when she became prioress of Fontevraud), Stephen donated to Fontevraud that freeholding. Allegedly, Stephen made his elder brother Geoffrey concede the donation, although Geoffrey and Ralph later contested the donation anyway.

By the time that Count Fulk V adjudicated the matter, it appears to have been long-standing. With a black-handled *cultellum*, Geoffrey and Ralph conceded the freeholding and relinquished their calumny into the hands of Fulk. For the sake of his own soul and

³⁷ At the confluence of the Vienne and the Loire rivers immediately NE of Fontevraud and E of Montsoreau: cme Candes-Saint-Martin, cant. Chinon, arr. Chinon, dép. Indre-et-Loire.

the remedy of his parents, Count Fulk V then donated and conceded with that same *cultellum* and into the hands of Robert of Arbrissel the aforementioned freeholding, to be held in perpetual law.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 117v, after A (12th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 481, p. 36, partial copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5692, partial copy after B (18th c.)
- E. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 5, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- F. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 5, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- G. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 5, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- H. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 95-97, after A (12th c.)
- I. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, pp. 323-324, after F (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 7bis, pp. 329-330, after C and D
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 778, pp. 727-728, after H and I

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 25, p. 259
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 778
- 3. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, ns. 157, 219, 470, 855, 329

Witnesses (after mss E, F, G, and H):

Huius autem rei testes sunt: Peter of Chemillé; Hubert of *Campania*; Maurice Roonard; Robert of Blou; Amaury of Montfort, uncle of that same count; Borel of Saumur; Aimery of Avoir; Renaud of Saumoussay; Alon Gisbaud [*Girbaudo*]; Stephen of Montsoreau; Peter, son of Orri; Thibaut of *Luciaco*; Renaud *Canuti*
et, de fratribus loci: Christiano Anglico; Christiana of Mirebeau; Adam of Saumur; Hersende, prioress.

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 30 November 1109 or 1112/1113, the possible dates of the death of Hersende, the prioress of the abbey of Fontevraud, who is reported as a witness in the notices for the present *actum*, i.e. mss E, F, G, H, and I.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 31]

14 April 1109 x 30 November 1113

Version I

Charter. Comital Donation. For the health of his soul and the remedy of his parents, Fulk V grants and relinquishes to Fontevraud two mills and a lock where the mills exist near

Chinon as well as the comital woods of Teillé. So that the donation would endure as true and established, Fulk V alleges to have wished it to be written and has instructed that the charter be strengthened by the force of "our" seal.

Version II

Charter. Comital Donation. For the sake of the remedy of his sins and for the forgiveness of his parents, Fulk V grants to Fontevraud two mills near Chinon as well as the canalized river channel / lock [*exclusam*] where the mills exist. He further notes to have relinquished this grant as well as confirmed it. In the witness list, there is mention of how Robert *Pevrel* had been ordered by Fulk to hand over the mills [*cui precepi eisdem tradere molendina*].

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 16, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 13, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- D. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 133, lost
- E. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 561, p. 94, extracts after C (17th c.)

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 4, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 4, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 4, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 95r-v, copy after B and C (12th c.)
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 557, p. 94, extracts after non-extant portions of E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 323, copy after B (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. Duchesne, XXII, fol. 411v and fol. 416r, copy after E (17th c.)

Editions, Version I:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 858, pp. 796-797, after C and E

Editions, Version II:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 156, pp. 142-143, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 854, pp. 791-792, after B, C, and F
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 11, pp. 335-336, after B

Analysis, Version I:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 858, pp. 796-797
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 31, p. 261

Analysis, Version II:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 156, pp. 142-143
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 854, pp. 791-792
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 32, p. 261

Witnesses, Version I:

sub testibus istis: Queen Bertrade, my mother; Philip, my brother; Gosbert of Morton; Robert *Pevrel*; Amaury of Montfort

Witnesses, Version II:

sub istis testantibus affirmo atque concedo: Queen Bertrade, my mother; Philip, my brother; Gosbert of Morton; Robert *Pevrel*, “whom I ordered to hand over the mills to them;” Amaury of Montfort *de sororibus*: Hersende, prioress; and Petronilla

Dating and Discussion:

A datum clause exists for Version I: *Acta karta regnante Ludovico Francorum rege Fulcone Andegavensium comite Radulfo Turonorum archiepiscopo*. The *terminus ad quem* may be established as 30 November 1113, the latest possible year of the death of Hersende, the prioress of the abbey of Fontevraud who served as witness in Version II of this *actum*. As with the rest of Fulk’s Fontevraudian *acta* that appear in multiple versions, there is almost certainly one original charter from which stem these alternate manuscript traditions, i.e. A (version I) and A (version I) are one in the same.

In this particular case, Version I may more accurately reflect both the structure and the language of the original charter, perhaps, in fact, being a faithful preservation of Ms. A. Version I’s preservation of the gift of Teillé, which is omitted in Version II, as well as the similarities of Version I vis-à-vis comital diplomatic elsewhere recommend such an interpretation. Version I appeared first as an addition to Ms B (Version I) following its c. 1118 of production, given its sequencing as the sixteenth entry on that pancarte. Instead, the original charter was initially preserved as a redaction on Ms B (Version II) at that pancarte’s initial point of production in c. 1116. There, the gift of Teillé was obscured, though the modified language with regard to Robert Pevrel’s involvement in the matter suggests his failure to have relinquished the mills about Chinon after the original benefaction in 1109x1113.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 32]

14 April 1109 x 30 November 1113

Notice. Aristocratic Sale (Fulk V witness). Peter of Montsabert sold to Adelaide, lady [*domisella*] of Queen Bertrade, land in Verrières in exchange for sixty *librae*. Peter indicated that he had been freely holding this land for some time as a gift from his lord Archalois in exchange for his own service. Peter further noted that the sale was recognized by all to have been made so as to allow Adelaide to look after the needs of the religious of Fontevraud. The abbey would keep and hold this land in perpetuity. In exchange for his own relinquishment of the land, Archalois received ten *librae* from Adelaide as a gift. Count Fulk V and Queen Bertrade number among the witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 100r-v (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 846, pp. 116-117, extracts after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 846, pp. 67-68, partial copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 161, pp. 150-151, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 161, pp. 150-151
2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 16, p. 256

Witnesses:

Presentibus: Fulk, count of Anjou; Queen Bertrade, his mother; Joscelin Roonard; Borel of Saumur; Hugh of Tours; William of Loches; Geoffrey Ursellus; Gautier, butler of the Queen

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Data regnante Ludocivo Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavorum comite, Rainauda Andegavensium pontifice*. Since the count in question is clearly Fulk V, the *terminus ab quo* can be established as 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk's accession. The presence of prioress Hersende indicates that the *terminus ad quem* is 30 November 1109x1113. The present *actum* is the first of three preserved notices concerning Peter's sale. The second notice relates that, following the original sale, Prioress Hersende and Archalois traveled to Briollay to secure consent of the sale from Geoffrey of Briollay, who maintained some rights of lordship to the land.³⁸ A third notice summarizes the previous two records and offers some clarifying details, such as the fact that Archalois held the aforementioned land in Verrières from Geoffrey of Briollay.³⁹

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, cant., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 33]

After 14 April 1109 x 1114
Chinon, House of Robert Pevrel

Notice. Comital Concession. The cellarer of the Abbey of Saint-Florent as well as the prior of the dependent monastery of Saint-Louant approached Count Fulk “*Iuvenis*” and “the countess” while they were at the home of Robert Pevrel in Chinon. Upon solicitation, Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge renounced to God and Saint-Florent half of the *vinagium* in the entire land of Saint-Florent beyond the Thouet river. The count ordered to the monks to “declare this throughout his own land.”⁴⁰ Additionally, Fulk ordered the crier to proclaim this in the forum at Saumur.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1930, *Livre noir de Saint-Florent*, fol. 139v (11th c., with additions)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3712, fol. 265, after B (19th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 20, p. 345, after B

³⁸ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 162, pp. 151-152.

³⁹ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 202, pp. 198-199.

⁴⁰ B: “...iussit comes monachos hoc dicere per terram suam...”

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 50, p. 266
2. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, p. 501

Witnesses:

Huic autem concessioni fuerunt: Sigibrand, constable; Robert Pevrel; Geoffrey fitz Garinus

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Perhaps based on surrounding material in the cartulary (Ms. B), Saché dates the concession to 1110x1120. The *terminus ab quo* is, in any case, after 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk's comital accession in Angers. The *terminus ad quem* may be established as 1114: Sigibrand, who holds the position of constable here and in other acts dating to the earliest part of Fulk's comital reign, became custodian of the tower at Tours by 1114. See [F 34].

**Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Tours, arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 34]

1114

Tours, House of Provost Martin

Notice. Comital Donation. While Count Fulk was in Tours, the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Julian brought a complaint to him. The complaint concerned disreputable activity transpiring along the road which ran between the Abbey of Saint-Julian and the Loire river, a road heading from the burgh of Châteauneuf toward its terminus in the city of Tours. Evidently, by the *publica curia* of the monks on the road, there was a detour, a street which all manner of persons, both men and women, frequented throughout the year. It was a street "suitable and agreeable for the tricks and jests of men" [*apta et delectabilis ad lusus et ad iocos hominum*]. The disturbances there were preventing those in the nearby hospital and inn from resting peacefully. Furthermore, because that site "was separate and remote, a whirlpool and pit of fornicators and thieves" [*secretus erat et abditus, diverticulum et fovea fornicatoribus fiebat et furibus*] was coming into being. It is noted that the monks had tolerated this street and its activities for some time, for, although the *curia* and the general area belonged to the monks themselves, the street belonged to the count. However, unable to tolerate any more "by the standard of good order" [*salva ordinis regula*], they "finally by necessity" [*tandem necessario*] came to address Count Fulk while he had been staying consistently for some time in the house of Martin, the provost.

Hearing of such matters and having been asked to remedy such wickedness, Fulk asked his *fideles* "whether what the monks were saying could be true [*comes querit a fidelibus suis an ita esset ut monachi dicebant*], and whether it would be lawful or injurious

[*utrumve sibi proliceret an noceret*] if he were to do that which they (the monks) were requesting." Much was said in favor of Fulk's intervention, and the *fideles* allegedly emphasized that this would be for the benefit of both the community as well as unnamed comital customs (possibly judicial) and the toll.

And so, with such counsel, Fulk donated the street to Saint-Julian. However, Fulk "warned the monks that they would fall short of his pleasure were they howsoever to demolish, obstruct, or condemn it" [*praecepitque monachis ut eam ad libitum suum clauderent et quoque modo vellent obstruerent et dampnarent*]. Presumably this warning concerned the preservation of any comital revenues (customs and tolls) that might be affected by the abbey shutting down the aforementioned street of delights. The donation was willed and conceded by: Sigibrand, guardian of the tower; Benedict *Scutarius*, provost of Tours; Renaud of the burgh (of Châteauneuf); and Boschet, vicar.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, copy? lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1349, fol. 153r (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 60, pp. 83-85, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 15, p. 256, brief summary after a

Witnesses:

Huic dono affuerunt: Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Arnulf of Montgomery; Aimeric of Avoir...

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Factum est hoc anno incarnationis dominicae MCXIII, Ludovico rege Francorum, Radulfo Aurelianensi Turonorum praesule, praefato Fulcone adhuc iuvene Andegavorum, Cenomannensium, Turonensium comite.*

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyers, Rule of St. Benedict

Nouâtre, cant. Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine, arr. Chinon, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 35]

c. 1114

Nouâtre, Abbey of Noyers

Notice. Comital Donation/Concession. Having been received in the chapter of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyers, Fulk V relinquished whatsoever the monks were holding in clientship [*feudo*] and in his housing plots [*casamentis*]. There also, Ganilo of Châtillon

requested that the count concede it to be done that he defend [*tutaretur*] the tithe of Poizay on behalf of the abbey henceforth.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of Notre-Dame of Noyers, fol. 184v, after A, lost
- C. BM Poitiers, Coll. Dom Fonteneau, vols. 71-72 (0527-0528), p. 395, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 439, p. 476

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 14, p. 256

Witnesses:

Testes: Robert of Blou; Arnulf of Montgomery; Balthar of Vihiers; Robert of Buzançais; Burellus of *Insula*; Sanson of Laméré; Géroire of Loudun; Joscelyn Roonard; Achardus of Boisé; Paganus of *Romenol*; Simon of *Bernezai*; Archalois; Renaud of *Villa Nova*; Paganus of Clairvaux; Geoffrey Peloquin; Peter Goscelin; *Rainaldus Barbatus*; Christoforus of Bosseria

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* is the year 1113, by which time Gaudin succeeded Stephen as abbot of Notre-Dame of Noyers.⁴¹ The *terminus ad quem* must precede 1122, by which year Arnulf of Montgomery died.⁴² Chevalier, the cartulary's modern editor, has suggested a date of 1121, though the basis for this dating is unclear. It is probable that the *actum* occurred around c. 1114, as it in 1113-1114 that the college of Saint-Martin completed its sale of the church and curia of Poizay.⁴³ Some of the privileges there were held by Ganilo of Châtillon, who, having consented to the sale, appears to be attempting in the present *actum* to maintain his former authority in the purchased holding by requesting to serve as Noyers' local magistrate, at least as concerns the collection of the tithe. Such an attempt would probably have shortly followed the conclusion of the sale by 1114.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 36]

14 April 1109 x 4 April 1115
 Loudun, Chapter of the Holy Cross of Loudun

Version I

Charter. Comital Justice. Géroire, son of Gautier of Loudun, had been contesting the *feodum* which his father had relinquished to Fontevraud, with the consent of Alon

⁴¹ *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 396, pp. 431-432.

⁴² Kathleen Thompson, "Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery," *Annales de Normandie* 45, 1 (1995), pp. 49-53.

⁴³ *Cartulaire de Noyers*, ns. 396, 397.

Foucher, whose own father had held the *feodum* from Gautier.⁴⁴ With the dispute having lingered some time, Count Fulk arrives at Loudun in order to adjudicate the matter. In the presence of the count, Géroire has the matter pleaded, leading to Fulk's expressed disapproval [*deprecacioni*], admonition [*ammonitione comitis*], and exhortation [*exortationi*]. Géroire thus relinquishes and dissolves his "rightful claim" [*rectitudinem*] to the present contestation. Furthermore, Géroire allows Fontevraud whatsoever they would be able to procure upward of 300 *solidi* from his own *feodum*. His three brothers are also noted to have confirmed this concord and relinquishment.

Version II

Charter. Comital Justice. Before Fulk V in the chapter of the Holy Cross in Loudun, Géroire and his three brothers relinquish the donation of their father, Gautier, to Fontevraud on account of not only love of God but also the admonition [*ammonicionem*] of the count. This donation is specified to be the *feodum* of a certain Aimery fitz Fulco, that which he was holding from Aimery fitz Hugerius near Chavenay. Given that this donation is initially identified as that of Gautier, it stands to reason that Aimery fitz Hugerius held the land from Gautier, who initiated the sequence of donations which was followed by the two aforementioned Aimerys concerning the land in question. Géroire furthermore pays an apparent penalty, perhaps by request of the count, of five hundred *solidi*. Fontevraud may extract this sum from his own *feoda*.

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 127v-128r, after A (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 898, p. 122, copy after B
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 898, p. 78, copy after B

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 46v-47r, after A (12th c.)

Editions Version I:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 55, pp. 46-48, after B

Editions, Version II:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 207, pp. 203-204, after B

Analysis, Version I:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 255, pp. 46-48
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 19, p. 257

Analysis, Version II:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 207, pp. 203-204

Witnesses, Version I:

Huius rei sunt testes; Count Fulk V; Aimery of Faye-la-Vineuse; Normand of Montrevault; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Sigibrand of Huillé; Hugh *Vaslin*; Fulcher of La Vallée; William *Tomas*

⁴⁴ See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 57, p. 49.

Witnesses, Version II:

Huius rei sunt testes: Aimery of Faye-la-Vineuse; Normand of Montrevault; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Sigibrand of Huillé; Hugh *Vaslin*; Fulcher of La Vallée; William *Tomas*

Dating and Discussion:

There is a datum clause for Version II: *Data regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavorum comite, Guillelmo Aquitanorum duce, Petro Pictavorum pontifice*. The *terminus ab quo* is 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk V's accession as count of Anjou. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 4 April 1115, the date of the death of Bishop Peter of Poitiers, who is mentioned in the datum clause of Version II. The two versions of this *actum* differ chiefly in the level of detail concerning the relationships of landholding pertaining to the matters under contest. Additionally, Géroire pays a significantly greater penalty in Version II as opposed to in Version I, i.e. 500 *solidi* versus 300 *solidi*.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 37]

14 April 1109 x 4 April 1115
Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Charter. Comital Donation. For the sake of prayers [*causa oracionum*], Fulk V has come before the Abbey of Fontevraud. There, for the remedy of his soul and that of his parents, Fulk gives to Fontevraud, *in manu* of Robert of Arbrissel, the mill and all the meadows that are near "Compignas" in the forest of *Monnaie*. He grants also the stream of Vienne on the southern arm of the Loire near Saumur. Fulk instructs that this stream is to be canalized and that a mill is to be constructed there.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 10, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 10, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 16, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 109v-110r, after A (12th c.)
- F. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 855, p. 118, extracts after E (17th c.)
- H. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 567, p. 95, extracts after F (17th c.)
- I. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, pp. 89-90, after A? (18th c.)
- J. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, p. 325, copy after B (18th c.)
- K. BNF, Coll. Duchesne, XXII, fol. 418r, extracts after E (17th c.)
- L. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5604, fol. 151v, extracts after E (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 170, pp. 164-165, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 864, pp. 803-804, after B, C, D, H, and I

- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 5, pp. 325-326, after B, C, and E

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 170, pp. 164-165
2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 864, pp. 803-804
3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 20, pp. 257-258

Witnesses:

Videntibus et presentibus istis: Bertrade, my mother; Peter, bishop of Poitiers; Rainerio, keeper of the furniture of the church [*capicerio*]⁴⁵; Peter of Châtellerault; Peter of Saint-Saturnin
et de milites: Gawain of Chemillé; Griscia of Montsoreau; Geoffrey of Doué-la-Fontaine, her son; Joscelin Roonard; Borel of Saumur; Paganus *Borrello*; Aimery of Avoir; Archalois

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavensium comite, hoc donum confirmante, Rainaudo Andegavorum presule.* The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 4 April 1115, the date on which bishop Peter of Poitiers, one of the witnesses for the present *actum*, died.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 38]

14 April 1109 x 4 April 1115
Saumur, House of Archdeacon William

Notice. Comital Participation in Justice. At the house of Archdeacon William and in the presence of Count Fulk V of Anjou as well as of Bishop Renaud of Angers, Bishop Peter II of Poitiers, and Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans, Abbot William of Saint-Florent contested certain tithes, rents, and customs held in Rest⁴⁶ by the Abbey of Fontevraud through the donation of Geoffrey Fouchard. After the challenge had been heard by all those assembled in the *magna curia*, the aforementioned privileges remained in the hands of the Abbey of Fontevraud.

There were several witnesses, namely the men of Fulk V (not indicated as such) and the men of Geoffrey Fouchard (indicated as such). Robert of Grez, brother of Ralph of Grez, is noted to have written the notice.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 69r-v (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 762, p. 113, extracts after B (17th c.)

⁴⁵ See entry for *capitarius* in Niermeyer, p. 179.

⁴⁶ Cme Montsoreau, cant. and arr. Saumur, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5578, fol. 149r, extracts after B (18th c.)

Editions:

a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 266, pp. 268-269, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 266, pp. 268-269, after B

Witnesses:

Huius rei sunt testes: Aimery of Avoir; Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Robert of Blou; Maurice Roonard; Borel of Saumur; Sigibrand, the constable; Gautier of Montsoreau

De hominibus of Geoffrey Fouchard: Hugh, the seneschal; Ivo of Trèves; Simon de Supe; William of Rest, and many others

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* for the original judicial proceedings is 14 April 1109, the date of Fulk V's accession. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 4 April 1115, the date of the death of Bishop Peter II of Poitiers, who is present for the aforementioned contestation. This notice was, however, produced only after the death of Abbot William of Saint-Florent (d. 30 May 1118), according to Bienvenu's analysis below.

The present notice references the previous donation by Geoffrey Fouchard in 1108x1115 of various customs at Rest, a donation made with the consent of his wife whose dowry was relevant to the privileges being ceded and in the presence of bishop Peter II of Poitiers. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 193, pp. 189-190, where William of Rest is indicated to be Geoffrey's provost. In any case, monks from Saint-Florent had already attempted to encroach upon these sorts of customs at Rest. At some point between 1101 and 1108, such an attempt was made by the monks (in relation to the Saint-Florentine priory of Rest) with regard to the collection of tithe. William of Rest issued a charter declaring his successful defense against the monks of Saint-Florent concerning the right to collect the tithe which had been donated previously to Fontevraud. This defense transpired in the court of his lord, Geoffrey Fouchard. See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 96, pp. 84-85.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 39]

24 April 1115

Angers, Abbatial Cloister of Ronceray

Notice. Confirmation. Twenty years after Count Fulk le Réchin relinquished to the Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray all customs which the counts of Anjou held at the hamlet [*viculum*] of Sainte-Foy, Fulk V confirmed the donation, by request of his kin Abbess Heluide of Notre-Dame of Soissons, who had been asked to do so by the nuns of Ronceray. Abbo of Briollay, castellan of the nearby fortification of Rochefort, was allegedly too distant to have been asked to consent to the confirmation, much like his predecessor Clarembaldus of Rochefort had done following the original donation. The

notice relates that Abbo found these proceedings to be unlawful and intended to challenge them. However, in a year's time, following the counsel of his wife, Abbo came to the church at Saint-Foy and relinquished all that he held in the hamlet.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, 848A, Roll 5, C. 59, redacted after A (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, pp. 348-349
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 91, p. 279, with errors

Witnesses:

Testes: Herveus Rotundellus, provost...

Dating and Discussion:

The first part of the notice relates a donation which occurred in 1095. The second part of the notice, described here, is stated to have occurred "twenty years later" on the eighth kalends of May. The third part concerns a comital confirmation in 1129 (see [F 123]). In his edition, Marchegay collates all three parts, which misled Chartrou in establishing her summary for the relevant act(s) (see below).

At issue in the present notice may have been encroachments on the part of the castellan of nearby Rupefort/Rochefort, Abbo of Briollay, who, unlike his predecessor with the original donation, did not consent to the confirmation. The notice relates that Abbo was too distant to have been asked to participate in the confirmation, though his resulting discontent at the allegedly unlawful action indicates instead that he perhaps wished to receive a generous counter-gift for his confirmation (See, for instance, [F 11], also at Ronceray). Nevertheless, the notice reports that, after a year, Abbo was finally moved by the counsel of his wife and granted Ronceray all that he maintained in the hamlet.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Cadouin, Cistercian Order

Cme Le Buisson-de-Cadouin, cant. Buisson-de-Cadouin, arr. Bergerac, dép. Dordogne

[F 40]

11 July 1115

Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Charter. Monastic Foundation (Fulk V witness). To Gerald of Sales, a venerable *magister*, as well as his followers and attendants, Robert of Arbrissel donates two properties in the forest of Cadouin and relinquishes whatsoever else has been granted there to him. He does this so that they might build a community there to pursue the monastic life. Robert enacts the benefaction in front of the general chapter of the religion of Fontevraud, with Petronilla, their most faithful mother, commending and conceding

the gift. Among others, *Consul* Fulk V of Anjou and some of his *fideles* serve as witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Cadouin, ff. 3 and 39 (13th c.), lost
- C. BNF, ms. lat. 9196, pp. 483-484 (18th c.?)
- D. BNF, Coll. Périgord, XXXVII, p. 33 (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Périgord, XXXVII, p. 207 (18th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Périgord, XXXVII, p. 222 (18th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Périgord, LXXVII, p. 98 (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. D'Achery, III, pp. 475-476 (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Cadouin*, n. 4, pp. 9-11

Analysis:

- 1. Venarde, *Robert of Arbrissel*, pp. 83-84

Witnesses:

Talia testantur qui taliter intitulantur: Fulk V, consul of Anjou; Paganus of Clairvaux; Archalois; Simon Emsam; Aimery, son of Viscount Herbert II of Thouars; Bartholomew Lopez; Bernard of *Saponarius*, cleric; Paganus, priest; Garinus of Troyes; Renaud of *Subnonea* (Saumoussay?); Aimery *caseus*; Paganus the teacher, son of the viscount Herbert above.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *...beati Benedicti die festiva, quinto idus Iulii, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo decimo quinto, anno presulatus domini pape Paschalis XVI, indictione octava, in tempore viduate Pictaviensis ecclesie, viam ingresso universe carnis Petro antistite, Ludovico Francigenarum rege, Guillemo Aquitanie duce.*

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dépt. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 41]

1 December 1109 x 28 October 1115

Notice. Comital Confirmation. Previously—with Geoffrey Martel II, Ermengarde, and Fulk V consenting—Fulco the Cellarer and his wife, Sarah, acquired from Count Fulk le Réchin a piece of land in the forest of Verrières. In the present notice, it is reported that, on this land, Fulco and Sarah constructed some vineyards which yielded an annual revenue of 11 *librae*. Upon considering that they remained without children, Fulco granted this holding to the Abbey of Fontevraud, and, through an agreement with the prioress, Petronilla, received 110 *librae* in exchange. Until their deaths, however, Fulco and Sarah retained a house, a press, and some vineyards on the land, and, should the land

not annually yield the promised 11 *librae* to Fontevraud, Fulco and Sarah promised to address the shortfall with revenue from those retained holdings. Upon their deaths, Fulco and Sarah obliged themselves to donate the house, the press, and those vineyards to Fontevraud. Still, Fulco and Sarah maintained the option of selling the land itself to a third party, although they would have to offer Fontevraud a discount of ten *solidi* relative to any other interested parties.

Count Fulk V conceded the present sale, given that the right of rental [*censiva*] was held ultimately from him in fief. Fulco and his wife pledged to restore this gift against any future assailants, excepting the count and the violence of the count [*excepto comite et violencia comitis*].⁴⁷

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 104v-105v (12th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 166, pp. 157-158, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 166, pp. 157-158

Witnesses:

Huius rei sunt testes de parte dominae Petronillae: Geoffrey of Blaison; Jean Pignon; Carius; Herveus Canterellus
De fratribus: *Gaufredus de Lineriis*; Renaud of Mayenne; Jean of Candé
De parte Fulcoii et uxoris eius: *Gaufredus, thesaurarius*; John, his brother; Géroire; David, chaplain;
Petrus, filius Andefredi

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta est karta regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Radulfo Turonensium archiepiscopo existente, Raginaudo Andegavensium pontifice.*

The *terminus ab quo* and *terminus ad quem* can be established by the dates of the priorship of Petronilla of Chemillé, namely between either 1 December 1109 or 1112/1113, i.e. the possible dates of the death of prioress Hersende, and 28 October 1115, the date of Petronilla's accession to the abbacy of Fontevraud.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
 Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 42]

1115, before 28 October

⁴⁷ See Niermeyer, 509-510.

Charter. Comital Concession. Jean Pignon along with his wife Ermengarde and his son Garsius hands over to have sold [*tradidimus me vendidisse*] to Fontevraud whatsoever land in Verrières (La Pignonnière) that Fulk le Réchin had sold, granted, or conceded to him as well as that land which he had otherwise subsequently acquired there.

Furthermore, if his grandson by his daughter and her husband, Arnulf of Nevers, fails to produce legitimate heirs with his wife, that part of Jean Pignon's lands of Verrières which he had previously given to his daughter as a dowry will similarly fall into the possession of Fontevraud. Count Fulk V has conceded and witnessed the donation, as those lands being held from him in fief.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 7, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 7, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 98r-99r, after A? (12th c.)
- E. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 965, p. 95, copy after E
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 324, extracts after B (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5597, fol. 150r, extracts (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 159, pp. 146-148, after D
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 861, pp. 799-800, after B, C, D, and F

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 159, pp. 146-148
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 861, pp. 799-800
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 17, pp. 256-257

Witnesses:

Huius rei testes sunt: Fulk, the count himself; Joscelin Roonard; Borel of Saumur; Archalois; Hugh of Tours; Peter of Montsabert; William of Loches; Geoffrey Ursellus; Geoffrey *Canterellus*⁴⁸; Bertrade, mother of the count; Lambert of Super Pontem; Alenodus; Glahuardus; Ralph *Belotinus*; *Aubertus de Merallo*; Herveus *Canterellus*; Mauricius; Johannes his brother

De fratribus: Giraudus of Bria; Renaud of Mayenne; *Guillumarus Brito*⁴⁹

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta carta anno ab incarnatione domini MCXV, regnante Ludovico rege Francorum, Fulcone comite Andegavorum, Raginaudo Andegavensium episcopo.* The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 28 October, as there exists another charter which records a contestation of the present donation, a charter in which Petronilla is identified as still being prioress.⁵⁰ Given this, the present actum must have transpired before Petronilla became abbess on 28 October.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

⁴⁸ B: Boterellus.

⁴⁹ Omitted in B and C.

⁵⁰ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 160, pp. 148-149.

[F 43]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116

Charter. Comital Donation. In consideration of the evangelical teaching to gather for oneself on earth treasures in heaven, Count Fulk V grants to Robert of Arbrissel and the Abbey of Fontevraud his canalized river channel [*exclusam*] near Ponts-de-Cé.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 12, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 11, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 10, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 570, p. 95, extracts after E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1398, copy after A? (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 6bis, p. 327, after B, C, and D
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 865, pp. 804-805, after B, C, D, and F

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 24, p. 259
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 865, pp. 804-805

Witnesses:

videntibus et audientibus istis: Peter of Champchévrier; Borel of Saumur; Bertrade, my [Fulk's] mother; Alfred, her *miles*, likewise was there, seeing

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel is reported to have died.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 44]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116

Version I

Charter. Comital Donation. For the health of his soul and that of his parents, Fulk V grants and relinquishes to the Abbey of Fontevraud, *in manu* of Robert of Arbrissel, the

meadows of Boranne as well as "the land where existed the half-holdings [*meiteriae*] of Count Geoffrey." Outro stresses the appropriateness of having witnesses for such matters.

Version II

Charter. Comital Donation. Referencing the exhortation to atone for one's sins and injustices through alms unto the meek of God, Count Fulk grants and relinquishes to Robert of Arbrissel and the Abbey of Fontevraud all half-rents [*medietarias*] about Boranne as well as all the meadows which Geoffrey Martel had held in inheritance. Fulk notes that he makes this grant not only for penance in pursuit of personal clemency but also so that God may allow a place of relief for his ancestors [*locum refrigerii antecessoribus meis habere*]. A certain "brother Hubert" composed the charter.

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 11, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 45r-v, after A (12th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 701, p. 105, extracts after B (17th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 325, copy after B (18th c.)

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 6, copy after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 6, copy after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 6, copy after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 97r-v, copy after A (12th c.)
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 559, p. 94, extracts after non-extant portions of E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 324, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions, Version I:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 203, pp. 199-200, after C
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 8, p. 330, after B

Editions, Version II:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 158, pp. 145-146, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 856, pp. 794-795, after C and F
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 8bis, pp. 331-332, after E

Analysis, Version I:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 203, pp. 199-200
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 26, p. 259

Analysis, Version II:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 158, pp. 145-6
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 856, pp. 794-5
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 26, p. 259

Witnesses, Version I:

Huius autem tam legitime donacionis testes sunt: Abbo of Briollay; Borel of Saumur; Archalois; Ralph of Grez

Witnesses, Version II:

sub testibus istis facta est: Abbo of Briollay; Borel of Saumur; Archalois; Ralph of Grez

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel is reported to have died.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 45]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116
 Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Version I

Charter. Comital Donation. Wishing to be cleansed of his sins and for his soul as well as the remedy of his parents, Fulk V, coming to the abbey of Fontevraud, grants and relinquishes *in manu* of Robert of Arbrissel twenty *arpenta* of meadows which he holds in the pastures of Véron and the woods of Bouretard, as well as all the land which he holds near it.

Version II

Charter. Comital Donation. Citing Matthew 24:42's exhortation to remain vigilant at the lord's imminent but unspecific arrival, Fulk V arrives, fervent of heart, at the Abbey of Fontevraud to make a donation to Robert of Arbrissel. Fulk notes that this is both for the benefit of the religious and in order for his own prayers to be received better by God. Fulk donates twenty *iulla* of meadows which he holds in the pasture-lands of Véron. Furthermore, Fulk confirms the gift of the woodland of Bouretard, which Fulk le Réchin had originally granted and then which Geoffrey Martel II, Fulk V's deceased elder brother, had conceded.

Manuscript History, Version I:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 15, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 15, after A (c. 1118, with additions)

Manuscript History, Version II:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 2, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 2, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 2, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 93-v and 94r-v, after B, C, and D? (12th c.)
- F. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 132, lost

- G. BNF Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 322, copy after B (18th c.)
- H. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 554, p. 93, copy after F (17th c.)
- I. BNF Coll. DuChesne, XXII, ff. 415v-416r, copy after F (17th c.)

Editions, Version I:

N/A

Editions, Version II:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 154, pp. 139-141, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 851, pp. 787-789, after B, C, and H
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 9, pp. 332-334, after B

Analysis, Version I:

N/A

Analysis, Version II:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 154, pp. 139-141
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 851, pp. 787-789
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 28, p. 260
- 4. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5698, fol. 166v

Witnesses, Version I:

Huius rei sunt testes: Geoffrey *Maumonii*; Borel of Saumur; Balthar of Vihiers; Hugh of Juillé; Salatius; Geoffrey
De religiosis: Fulcoius [*Fulcodius*], chaplain; Caradocus, a brother

Witnesses, Version II:

Datum est in istorum vivorum audientia: Bertrade, the queen; Hugh of Juillé; Balthar of Vihiers; *Salmaci*; Borel of Saumur; Geoffrey *Maumonii*
De religiosis: Fulcoius [*Fulcodius*], chief chaplain; Caradoccius

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel is reported to have died. The manuscript tradition of Version I appears to have been neglected by scholars hitherto. In any case, note that Queen Bertrade does not appear in the witness list of Version I. The relatively spare rhetorical construction of Version I, otherwise similar to Version II in terms of the matters under donation/confirmation, indicates that Version I may more accurately represent the original benefaction. This, in turn, suggests that Bertrade was not present for the original benefaction but, rather, was later added to the witness list, perhaps as a function of her growing centrality within Fulk V's *curia* by the time of Version II's initial redaction upon Ms. B (Version II), the Fontevraudian pancarte of c. 1116.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
 Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 46]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116

Charter. Comital Donation. For the remedy of his sins and the remission of his parents, Fulk V grants to Robert of Arbrissel and the religious of Fontevraud one *talliam* (a land custom equally a day's worth of mowing)⁵¹ in the meadows of la Longue Île.⁵² Countess Aremburge consents to the donation.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 14, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 13, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 11, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, fol. 132, lost
- F. BNF Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 326, copy after C (18th c.)
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 555, pp. 93-94, copy after E (17th c.)
- H. BNF Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416r, copy after E (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 852, pp. 789-790, after C and G
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 9bis, p. 334, after B and C

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 852, pp. 789-790
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 29, pp. 260-261

Witnesses:

Ut autem firmum et illibatum donum meum permaneret, adfuerunt isti testes: Bertrade, my mother; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Archalois; *Salmaci*; Ralph of Grez

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel is reported to have died.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 47]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116

Actum perditum. Comital Donation. At some point before 25 February 1116, Fulk V granted to Joscelin Roonard various customs about the house of a certain Adam, probably Fulk's *nutritor*, at the forum of Saumur.

⁵¹ See: Niermeyer, 1321.

⁵² Today: Île de Blaison (commune Blaison-Gohier).

This *actum* is preserved in a charter issued at Fontevraud between 28 October 1115 and 25 February 1116. There, Joscelin Roonard donated to Fontevraud the aforementioned customs which he indicates that he held by grant of Count Fulk V. Joscelin provided this benefaction for the health of his own soul and the souls of his kin. With this agreement, Fontevraud would render to Joscelin an annual rent of four *nummes*.

Manuscript History (for Joscelin's charter):

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, lost (12th c.)
- C. Table alphabétique de Lardier, p. 574, analysis (17th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 106, p. 22, extracts after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 414, pp. 407-408, after C and D

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 414, pp. 407-408

Witnesses for Joscelin's Donation:

Cum testimonio: Peter Roonard, my brother; Chalou of Thouarcé; Peter Locha; Paganus Michaelis; Philip of Blaison; John of Beaulieu; Peter *Gorridels*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for the charter: *Acta Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavensium comite, Rainaudo Andegavorum pontifice*. The possible dates for Joscelin's donation can be narrowed on account of the total coincidence of the witness list with the preceding entry in Ms D, suggesting that the two *acta* transpired on the same day. This latter *actum*, originating from the same folio of the lost original cartulary as the former *actum*, can be dated between 28 October 1115 and 25 February 1116, as both Robert of Arbrissel is noted to be alive and Petronilla of Chemillé is identified as the acting abbess. Fulk V's donation of the customs themselves must have preceded the latter date and was probably not before his accession as count in 14 April 1109. Though, Fulk's grant may have been as early as 1103. It is around that time that Fulk became an active beneficiary in Angevin landscapes. Fulk issued, as possibly his earliest *acta*, a benefaction concerning his *nutritor* Adam c. 1103, and Joscelin Roonard was known to be his close associate at the time (see Chapter Three).

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 48]

14 April 1109 x 25 February 1116

Tours

Charter. Comital Donation. For the health of his soul and the remedy of his parents, Fulk V grants and relinquishes the land of the Franks [*terram Francorum*], also known as Barbeneuve [*barba nova*], to Robert of Arbrissel and the religious of Fontevraud. He

makes the donation for the satisfaction of the religious' needs as well as for their general use. His wife, Countess Aremburge, concedes the donation.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 9, copy after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 9, copy after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 9, copy after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 108v and 109r (12th c.)
- F. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 854, p. 118, partial copy after E (17th c.)
- H. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 566, p. 95, copy after F
- I. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 325, copy after B (18th c.)
- J. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, fol. 151v, n. 5603 and fol. 160r, n. 5643, extracts after E (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 169, pp. 163-164, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 863, pp. 802-803, after B, C, D, and H
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 6, pp. 326-327, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 169, pp. 163-164
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 863, pp. 802-803
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 22, p. 258

Witnesses:

Videntibus et audientibus: Odo, the dean of Saint-Martin; Iaguelinus, his nephew; Arnulf of Montgomery; Renaud of Saumoussay; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Peter Locha

Dating and Discussion:

The act was issued during the reign of Fulk V as count of Anjou, establishing the *terminus ab quo* as 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel is reported to have died.

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 49]

1113 x February/March 1116

Charter-Notice. Comital Donation. For his own soul and that of his father as well as ancestors, Count Fulk V grants into the hands of Abbot Lambert the waters which Fulk held at La Roche-Béhuard. Fulk says he makes this gift as an example to others to provide for the upkeep and improvement of the monks' property, especially of their mills. Fulk claims to have made, relinquished, and confirmed the benefaction "out of love for

John, physician of the monks of Saint Nicholas, a man who is kindly and usefully as concerns his medical practice serving me.”⁵³ To preserve this gift, Fulk "confirms, corroborates, and establishes it with the sign of a holy cross made by [his own] hand."

Three days later, Abbot Lambert and Herveus Rotundellus, Fulk's provost, set out for La Roche-Béhuard, where, by order of the count, Herveus invested Abbot Lambert with the aforementioned waters on the Loire. For the investment [*saisamentum*] of the donation, they fixed at those waters both a pole of demarcation [*palum*] and an indication of the comital donation [*intersignum huius doni*].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1347, fol. 154r-v, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 397, n. 25, partial copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Epitome*, p. 56, partial after B
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 263, pp. 359-362, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 21, p. 258, summary after a, erroneous references
- 2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 263, pp. 359-362, some errors in summary

Witnesses:

Part 1:

videntibus istis testibus: Arduin of Cinq-Mars, *dapifer*; Herveus Rotundellus; Mainerius of Saint-Laud, canon; Archalois, *miles*; Geoffrey of Ramefort, *miles*; Beringerius, cupbearer [*pincerna*] of the count; William of Loches; Arnulf, chamberlain; Peter Potinus

Cum Abbata Sancti Nicholai Lamberto fuerunt de Monachis eius: Guarinus of Saint-Peter, monk; Robert, monk of Azay; John, monk, physician

Part 2:

Cum eis fuerunt: Marquerius fitz Amalguinus; Lambert of Super Pontem; Arnulf of Nevers; Poisius; Maino Bachelot; Paganus Luseus; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; David *Capellus* (chaplain?); *Gualterius filius Averariae*; Michael, chamberlain of Abbot Lambert; Renaud, forester; William Burduth; Magnus, marshal; *Tisurnus Girbaldus*; Baldwin; Joscelin Thibaut; *et alii plurimi*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause for either the initial disposition or the field investment. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as February or March 1116, as Beautemps-Beaupré indicates (*Provosts*, fol. 41) that Herveus Rotundellus, here the primary actor in the notice and a witness for the charter, was assassinated during the earlier part of Lent in 1116. Additionally, 1116 is the final year of Lambert's abbacy. The *terminus ab quo* is 1113, during which year Fulk V promoted Arnulf *Restivus* from being the *cellararius* of the comital chamberlain at that time Arduin of Cinq-Mars (see [F 28]) to being chamberlain himself, with Arduin of Cinq-Mars subsequently serving as *dapifer*.

⁵³ Ms. C: "...qui mihi affectuose et utiliter de medicina sua deservit."

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 50]

1116x1118, 8 April

Angers

Notice. Comital Justice. Abbess Petronilla of Fontevraud requested that Count Fulk V do justice in response to the contestation of a certain *consiva*—a *consiva* previously sold to Fontevraud by Fulco the Cellarer and his wife Sarah and conceded as such by Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge. The contestation was brought by a certain foreigner [*advena*] named Géroire who is alleged to have been present for the aforementioned sale and concession.

Count Fulk V instructed [*precepit*] Géroire "to come to him immediately and, with Fulk present in his own *curia*, establish the cause of this affair." Géroire, after presenting himself at Fulk's court, insisted that the count himself had conceded the aforementioned *consiva* to him, allowing him to collect it however possible. Fulk V recalled that he had first granted [*prius donaverat*] the *consiva* to Robert of Arbrissel and the nuns of Fontevraud. Having heard both accounts, Fulk's seneschal Stephen Baucan judged that the *consiva* was held and was to be held in perpetuity by the nuns of Fontevraud. Géroire publicly renounces his claim and concedes the *consiva* to Fontevraud.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 106r-v and 107r (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 852, pp. 70-71, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5601, fol. 151r-v, partial after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160, incorrect dating

Witnesses:

Sub istorum virorum testimonio: Fulk V, the aforementioned count; Aremburge, his wife the countess; Bertrade, mother of the count; Arnulf, of the count [*Arnulfi comitis*]; Stephen Baucan, who rendered judgment [*iudicium fecit*]; Joscelin Roonard; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Hugh of Tours; Achard of Echarbot; *Elinandi de Longo Campo*; Guito from the city (of Angers); Lambert of Super Pontem; Marquerius fitz Amalguinus; Renaud *Canuti*; Herveus Canterellus, and a great many others

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *VI idus aprilis...Acta est haec karta regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Raginaudo Andegavorum episcopo existente.* The judicial proceedings could only have occurred on the sixth Ides of April for the years 1116x1118. The year cannot be earlier: Petronilla, described here as abbess,

acceded to the abbacy on 28 April 1115. The year cannot be later than 1118: Bertrade of Montfort, who appears as a witness here, had taken the veil at Fontevraud by 15 April 1118 and then died in January 1119.

**Abbey of Saint-Serge d'Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cme. and cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 51]

Friday, 15 September 1116

Angers, *in aura consulari*

Charter. Comital Donation. Noting the failures of human memory, especially its propensity to circumvent the truth of a matter and enable future malfeasance, Fulk V donates and concedes the *fodrium* of Thorigné-d'Anjou to the monks of Saint-Serge. Fulk also makes concede [*concedere feci*] his wife Aremburge, who is noted to be the daughter of count Hélias of the Manceaux, and his young son, Geoffrey. It is indicated that, in doing so, as well as in attaching his cross signum and impression of his seal and in having the names of the witnesses recorded [*annotari praecepimus*], the document is strengthened and protected from calumny in both future and present.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2 (formerly sealed with round seal attached to the right of Fulk's cross signature toward the bottom center of the ms)
- B. Additions to the First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Serge, n. 409, fol. 178, copy after A (11th c.), lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 3, *Vidimus* of Bishop Michael of Angers (13th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5446, p. 135, copy after A, reproduced drawing of seal (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5446, pp. 295-296, copy after B (18th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1365, fol. 163v, copy after B? (18th c.)
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 778bis, I, ff. 298-9, after A (19th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 12, pp. 337-338, after A and D
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 409, pp. 315-317, after A and D

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 33, p. 262
2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, n. 409, pp. 315-317

Witnesses:

Testes etiam qui huic nostrae largitioni affuerunt annotari praecepimus, quorum haec sunt nomina: Fulco, the count who makes the donation; My wife, Aremburge, who both donates with me and concedes; My son, Geoffrey, who both gives and concedes; Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Arnulf of Montgomery; Paganus of Clairvaux; William des Moulins, provost of Angers; Paganus Fulberti; Guito of Super Pontem; Mainerius, canon of Saint-Laud; Guibert, canon of Saint-Laud and my chancellor who made the document; Marquerius fitz Amalguinus; Fulcher, servant of Saint-Serge; and Rainerius

De monachis affuerunt: Peter, abbot of that same monastery, to whom the donation had been made; and Anserius, the prior; *aliique multi*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Actum Andecavis in aula consulari, XVII kalendas octobris, luna quarta, feria sexta. Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Fulconis comitis filio Andecavorum comite, Rainaldo eiusdem gentis pontifice. Anno ab incarnatione Domini, millesimo centesimo septimo decimo. Indictione nona, epactis XV, concurrentibus VII, cyclo lunari XVI.* This is one of the few acts which explicitly self-identifies as having been written by Fulk's chancellor. The disposition's language is, therefore, especially likely to reflect Fulk's thinking on the matter. Adelard of Château-Gontier also inscribed a signature on the surviving parchment, albeit his is a seal-style signature. In any case, Adelard's signature must have occurred after the occasion of the production of the charter. Unlike all the other signatories, he does not appear in the witness list. Furthermore, the aberrant placement of the signature in the far corner of the parchment, where it barely fits, suggests its later addition. The broader circumstances of the *actum* further suggest his signature to have been a subsequent matter. See Chapter Four.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 52]

1116, after 25 February

Charter. Comital Donation. For the health of his soul and the remedy of his parents, Count Fulk V grants and relinquishes both the bridge of Cé (les Ponts-de-Cé) as well as his *vicaria* of theft and all bloodshed there to the religious of Fontevraud. Fulk V elaborates that the religious of Fontevraud are receiving the donation with all the revenues that his ancestors had drawn there and that Fulk hitherto held through hereditary law. It is indicated that the community of Fontevraud is free to develop the land as they see fit. Fulk further notes that this gift comes from the dower [*dote*] that he had provided to Countess Aremburge, who now consents to the present donation alongside their son, Geoffrey, who is “very young” [*puerulus*]. Finally, to mark the occasion, they all jointly invest Abbess Petronilla with a dagger featuring a black handle [*cultello nigri manubrii*].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 8, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 8, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 8, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 107v-108v (12th c.)
- F. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 565, p. 95, extracts after F (17th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 324, extracts after B (18th c.)
- I. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 853, pp. 71-72, copy after E (18th c.)
- J. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416r, extracts after E (17th c.)
- K. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416r, extracts after F (17th c.)

- L. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5602, fol. 151r-v, extracts (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 168, pp. 161-162, after E
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 862, pp. 801-802, after B, C, G, and K
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 27, pp. 353-354, after B and E

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 168, pp. 161-162
2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 862, pp. 801-802
3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 71, p. 272, with errors

Witnesses:

Ut autem firmum et illibatum donum meum permaneret affuerunt isti testes: Lisiard of Sablé; Hubert of Campania; Florus, brother of the count; Canutus (only in Ms. K); Simon Crispin; Robert Papaboeuf of Rillé; Archalois; Joscelin Roonard; William des Moulins; Barbotin of Ramefort; Geoffrey of Ramefort, his brother; Achard of Echarbot; Herveus Rabelli
De canonicis Sancti Laudi: Ralph of Saint-Hilaire; Geoffrey Caiaphas; Odo of Saint-Florent.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavensium comite, Raginaudo Andegavorum pontifice.* The act was issued after the accession of Petronilla of Chemillé as abbess of Fontevraud on 28 October 1115 and likely after the death of Robert of Arbrissel on 25 February, who does not appear in the present charter. These circumstances establish the *terminus ab quo* as 25 February 1116. The most reliable *terminus ad quem* is 20 September 1125, the date after which Ulger succeeds Renaud as bishop of Angers, Renaud being listed here in the datum clause as the then-bishop of the city. However, it is almost certain that the present act transpired in 1116, perhaps even before Geoffrey V's third birthday on 24 August. For, the last known attestation of comital chaplain Geoffrey Caiaphas is on 28 June 1116 (*Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 17), after which date he presumably dies or retires. Second, the description in the present charter of Geoffrey as "very young" [*puerulus*] is unique; numerous subsequent comital charters in which Geoffrey is present—the earliest of which is dated to 15 September 1116 [F 51], after his third birthday—feature no such diminutives.

Ms E, the cartulary version, adds two phrases which either seek to clarify or to embellish the dimensions of the donation. First, there is mention that the rights and resources which Fulk V is bestowing have been held by hereditary law both in water and even outside of the water [*in aquam vel extra aquam*], i.e. both fluvial and terrestrial. Second, the charter alleges that these things have been relinquished over [*insuper*] Fulk's woodland for the need of the bridge. The placement of the second phrase is highly irregular, succeeding all but the introduction to the presence of witnesses, the witness list itself, and the datum clause. This late situation, following even the described ritual of investing the abbess with a symbolic dagger, may indicate a scribal addendum rather than a couple of phrases missing in the other contemporary manuscript versions (B, C, and D).

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
 Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 53]

1116, after 25 February

Fontevraud

Notice. Comital Confirmation. On the day of Robert of Arbrissel's inhumation, there assembled a multitude of religious, including Archbishop Léger of Bourges, Archbishop Raoul of Tours, and Bishop Renaud of Angers. Count Fulk V is noted also to have been present with an uncountable following [*innumeris populis*]. On that day, wishing for the well-being of his soul, Geoffrey of Blaison asked Abbess Petronilla whether he might obtain [*impetraret*] from Count Fulk all those things that Geoffrey had previously given to Fontevraud and was considered by all to have held—namely, Geoffrey's houses, rents, vineyards, and even his daughters. This was to be done so that Fulk, listening to all these things in the full assembly of the religious, would again consent to them [*iterum in pleno capitulo, audientibus cunctis, concederet*]. It is then emphasized that Fulk, having listened gladly, immediately satisfied in the assembly Petronilla's request as well as the desire of Geoffrey of Blaison.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 145, p. 32, after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 393, p. 16, extracts after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 412v, after B (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1372, incomplete after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 455, pp. 445-446, after C, D, b, and c
- b. *Clypeus...*, I, p. 30; II, pp. 399-400, after B
- c. Cosnier, pp. 126-127, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, pp. 445-446
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 34, p. 262

Witnesses:

Huic concessioni interfuerunt: Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay; Gautier of Montsoreau; Robert of Blou; Gilbert of Loudun; *multique alii barones cum multitudine populorum.*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXVII, regnante Lodovico Francorum rege et Guillemo Aquitanorum duce.* The proceedings must have occurred sooner rather than later following Robert of Arbrissel's death on 25 February 1116. Note that Geoffrey of Blaison had been a comital chaplain under Fulk V.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

c. 1116
Angers, Comital *Curia*

Notice. Comital Justice. Upon hearing that two servants of Ronceray at St-Lambert-du-Lattay⁵⁴ had committed a theft of some wine and grain, Abbo, lord of Rochefort and custodian of Cour-de-Pierre, takes it upon himself to decree the resulting forfeiture as his own. Claiming that the church and their houses fell within his *vicaria*, Abbo seizes the servants at their homes as well as their assorted belongings from the church.

Subsequently, Abbess Thetburgis and the nuns of Ronceray lodge a complaint before Count Fulk V. Fulk and his *curia* judge that Abbo held neither the *vicaria* nor the judiciary power [*potestatem iudicariam*] in either of the places where he had exercised his authority. As a result, Abbo returns everything he had seized there, and, “by verdict of the curia” [*iudicio curie*], orders his *vicarii*—Bardulfus and Normannus Jarret—to return the wine and grain as well as to place their own bail [*vadimonium*] in the hand of the abbess.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, 845, Roll 2, n. 83 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 194, pp. 127-128, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, pp. 330-331

Witnesses:

Huic iudicio supradicto interfuerunt isti: Fulk V, count; Geoffrey, Abbot of Vendôme; Mainerius, canon of St-Laud; Guibert, canon; Rainerius, canon; Raoul, viscount of Beaumont; Silvester of St-Calais [*Karilefo*]; William of Seuilly [*Silleio*]; Hubert of *Campania*; Hugh of Matheflon; Fulco *Mala Musca*; and many others.

De parte S. Marie: Abbess Thetburgis; *Habelina*; *Eusebia*; *Fabiana*; *Hildeburgis*.

De hominibus earum: *Gauterius Rufus*; *Bovetus*; *Robertus de Iuigniaco*; *Bernardus Angerii*; Engelbaud, the villein.

Ex parte domni Abonis: Abbo himself; Berengarius of Molières; *Garinus Pes Anseris*; *Laurentius filius Enardi*; *Odo Grassus*; *Raginaldus villicus*; *Hubertus Curtus*; *Raginaudus Berotarius*, et alii.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay suggests that the act transpires “vers 1115.” The *terminus ab quo* must be the accession of Fulk V as count of Anjou on 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is after 6 April 1116: Hubert of *Campania*, who is castellan of Durtal and serves here as a witness, dies soon after 6 April 1116.⁵⁵ The nature of Abbo’s interaction with Fulk V, as well as the advanced discursive

⁵⁴ Cme Val-du-Layon, cant. Thouarcé, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 796.

construction of the role of Fulk's *curia*, indicates that this act is toward 1116, as Marchegay had suggested. See Chapter Three.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 55]

14 April 1109 x 15 April 1118

Charter. Comital Reception of Homage. Bartholomew of Langeais, son of the late Leon of Langeais, requests that Count Fulk V take Bartholomew as his man for the *feodum* of Chaufournois. Fulk V insists that, as part of such a pact that he would gladly make, Bartholomew must relinquish to Fontevraud all that the religious there could acquire from that *feodum* henceforth. The count takes on Bartholomew as his man, and, in the presence of the count and many others, Bartholomew concedes all things that the community of Fontevraud might be able to acquire from his *feodum* of Chaufournois.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225, Grand Cartulary of Angers, ff. 6v-7r (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 26, p. 5, partial after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, p. 443, extracts after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5606, fol. 152r, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 322, pp. 325-326, after B
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 14, p. 339, after B and E

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 322, pp. 325-326
2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 36, pp. 262-263

Witnesses:

Teste: Queen Bertrade; Philip, her son; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Peter *Locha*; Robert of Saint-Julian; Normand of Chinon; Arnaud of Chaufournois, provost of that man

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* can be established as the date of Fulk V's accession as count. The *terminus ad quem* is 15 April 1118, the earliest confirmed date upon which Queen Bertrade is known to have been a nun at Fontevraud (see below)—Bertrade's appearance in the present *actum* as the chief attestor among a witness list comprised of lay individuals suggests that she had not yet taken the veil.

The dates of Bertrade's retirement at the Abbey of Fontevraud as well as her death thereafter remain matters of some uncertainty. Modern scholars generally agree that the former probably transpired

around 1115, though the latter has been dated variously to 1117-1119.⁵⁶ We can, however, establish that Bertrade did not retire to Fontevraud until after April 1116 at the earliest and 15 April 1118 by the latest. Indeed, the geographical and chronological distribution of the charter evidence which I have assembled in this catalog reveals that Bertrade continued to travel as part of Fulk's entourage through at least 8 April 1116, the earliest possible date for when she attested a comital *actum* in Angers;⁵⁷ there are additional *acta* that might be dated into 1118 and indicate her continuing presence by Fulk's side as he traversed his realm.⁵⁸ In any case, Bertrade had taken the veil at Fontevraud by 15 April 1118. In a benefaction issued at the Abbey of Fontevraud on that day, Bertrade was listed among the *sorum Fontis Evraudi* who had served as witnesses.⁵⁹ At some point in that same year, Bertrade witnessed, as a nun, a donation that Count Fulk V issued on behalf of the Fontevraudian priory of Hautes-Bruyères, whose establishment had come about chiefly through her own agency and influence.⁶⁰

Additionally, we may posit the date of Bertrade's death to be 19 January 1119. According to the non-extant necrology of Hautes-Bruyères, where Bertrade was interred, she passed away on the fourteenth kalends of February, that is, 19 January. Although the surviving record of this necrology's entry does not preserve mention of the year of Bertrade's death, several other pieces of evidence demonstrate that the indicated calendar year must have been 1119.⁶¹ For instance, the religious of Fontevraud requested in later 1119 that King Louis VI, Bertrade's stepson, relinquish to them the various goods and rights that Bertrade had possessed in dower about Tours but that Louis had previously confiscated—their reasoning was that such things were due to them, given Bertrade's burial at one of their priories, namely Hautes-Bruyères.⁶² In other words, Bertrade's death must have preceded their inquiry in late 1119. We might also note that Bertrade's former chaplain, William Burellus, made a donation to Hautes-Bruyères in her memory before June 1119, indicating her passing before that month.⁶³ Therefore, given her confirmed vitality on 15 April 1118 (see above), the only possible fourteenth kalends of February on which Bertrade might have died would have been 19 January 1119.

**Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 56]

⁵⁶ See, for instance: Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 37; Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 51.

⁵⁷ Catalog n. [F 50] (1116x1118), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 167, pp. 158-160.

⁵⁸ In addition to the present *actum*, refer to: [F 56]; [F 57]; [F 58].

⁵⁹ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 227, pp. 224-226. The cartulary's editor, Bienvenu, dated this *actum* to a 15 April in 1118x1125, though Bertrade's death on 19 January 1119 would demand narrowing such an interval to 15 April 1118. Bertrade was listed in the present *actum*, as well as in [F 63], as "Berte," an abbreviation of her name that appeared on occasion. See, for instance, Bertrade's charter of 1115, which was likely drawn up by a scribe of Marmoutier: British Library, Add. Ch. 11209. Indeed, given that Fontevraud's extant records preserve no further attestations from a sister named "Berte," the identity of this "Berte" as none other than Queen Bertrade is a near-certainty.

⁶⁰ [F 63].

⁶¹ See: *Clypeus nascentis Fontebraldensis ordinis contra priscos et novos eius calumniatores...*, rev. ed., vol. II (Paris, 1688), pp. 137-138.

⁶² *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, ns. 75, 153; *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II*, I, n. 61, pp. 85-89.

⁶³ [F 65].

14 April 1109 x 15 April 1118

Tours, house of Gautier *Ballargia*

Notice. Comital Justice. At the house of Gautier Facit-Malum⁶⁴ in Tours, Count Fulk interrogates Gautier under oath with regard to the matter of the annual rent of 100 *solidi* which the monks of Marmoutier's priory at Le Louroux⁶⁵ were rendering to the comital provost at Loches. The question was whether the rent was owed on account of custom. Gautier, formerly a provost of that *castrum*, responded—with the honesty [*fidem*] that he owed both God and the count—that the monks had been delivering the sum not on account of custom but as a function of the violence being done unto them. *Andrea de Gommez* and Oliver, two monks from the Abbey of Marmoutier, were noted to be in attendance.

The surviving manuscript copies do not preserve most of the remaining text of the *actum*, save for brief mention of some manner of participation by Bertrade, “mother of the count himself,” and a partial witness list.⁶⁶ Given the nature of the documentary genre, it is likely that the act concluded with Fulk's admonition of the arbitrary exactions and a relinquishment of any claim of rent upon the monks of Le Louroux.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1405, fol. 195v, partial copy after A? (18th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1414, fol. 201r, partial copy after A? (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 13, p. 338, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 35, p. 262

Witnesses:

Sigibrand; Gautier Facit-Malum [*Ballargia*]; *et plures alii...*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* is sometime after the accession of Fulk V in Angers on 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is 15 April 1118, the earliest confirmed date upon which Queen Bertrade is known to have been a nun at the Abbey of Fontevraud—her involvement here at Tours as part of the comital entourage suggests that she had yet to take the veil.

⁶⁴ Gautier's brother, Paganus Burduth is elsewhere described as *Paganus Baillargia*. Some variant of *Baillargia*/Burduth would appear to be Gautier Facit-Malum's cognomen with which contemporary scribes had much difficulty. See: *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113.

⁶⁵ Cme Le Louroux, cant. Ligueil, arr. Loches, dép. Indre-et-Loire.

⁶⁶ Ms. B: “*Huic autem interrogationi affuerunt duo monachis nostri, Andreas de Gomet et Olivarius... sed et mater ipsius comitis... Sigibrandus et Gauterius Ballargia et plures alii...*”

Abbey of Saint-Sauveur of Villeloin, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Montrésor, arr. Loches, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 57]

14 April 1109 x 15 April 1118

Loches, Comital *castrum*

Notice. Comital Donation. While conducting his administrative affairs at the comital *castrum* of Loches, Count Fulk V of the Angevins acquiesced to the prayers of his mother, Bertrade of Montfort, and donated to the community of Saint-Sauveur of Villeloin some waters [*aqua*] of Chemillé-sur-Indrois,⁶⁷ with the waters' accompanying benefits. Fulk enacted this benefaction for his own health and that of his predecessors. The benefaction was done under the witness [*testimonio*] of "many" individuals, whose names were recorded.

During his own reign, Geoffrey V—Fulk's son—confirmed the grant, attaching his own seal. Both acts are preserved as a single notice in the abbey's cartulary.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 92, Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Sauveur of Villeloin, ff. 23-24, after A (14th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 678, p. 19, copy after B? (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1522, fol. 273r, partial copy after B? (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 16, pp. 340-341, after C and D
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin*, n. 28, p. 53, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 39, p. 263
- 2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Sauveur de Villeloin*, n. 28, p. 53
- 3. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 114, pp. 67-68
- 4. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, p. 18, with incorrect identification of Chemillé (see discussion in Dutton)

Witnesses:

Sub testimonio multorum quorum nomina denotantur: Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Maurice Roonard; Peter Rubiscallus; Sigibrand; Ganilo of Châtillon; Alberic of Montrésor; Hugh of Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine; John of Montbazou; Geoffrey of Restigné; Beringerius of Coron; Jordan of Brossay [*Bresis*]; Hubert *Perrexil*; Maurice Escarpellus; Urso of Montrésor; Aimery of Bazouges
Ex parte nostra: *Goffredus de Scubiliaco, maior; Bardinus Loripes; Bertinus, famulus abbatis*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* would be after Fulk V's accession in Angers on 14 April 1109. The *terminus ad quem* is probably 15 April 1118, the earliest confirmed date upon which

⁶⁷ Commune Chemillé-sur-Indrois, canton Montrésor. Tributary of the Indre River.

Queen Bertrade is known to have been a nun at the Abbey of Fontevraud—her involvement here in a comital benefaction at Loches suggests her immediate presence, which, in turn, indicates that she had yet to take the veil and retire at Fontevraud.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyseau, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Segré, arr. Segré, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 58]

11 December 1115 x 15 April 1118

Notice. Comital Donation. An addendum to a notice outlining the donations of a certain aristocrat, Geoffrey Ostorius, reports that Count Fulk V, “father of Count Geoffrey (V),” granted to the nuns of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyseau part of the salt from the market/trade [*mercato*] conducted about the comital castrum of Segré.⁶⁸ Fulk V’s mother, Bertrade, and his wife, Countess Aremburge, are witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original(s), lost
- B. Archives municipales de Noyseau, Cartulary of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyseau, redaction after A, lost (18th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1735, fol. 68r-v, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, p.j. n. 15, pp. 339-340, after C

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 37, p. 263

Witnesses:

Teste: Bertrade, his (Fulk’s) mother; Countess Aremburge, his (Fulk’s) wife

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause for Fulk V’s donation at the end of the collated notice. The first part of the notice establishes a *terminus ab quo* of 11 December 1115: on 11 December 1115, one Geoffrey Ostorius is reported to have given his daughter to the Abbey of Noyseau as well as certain things from his holdings for the usage of the nuns there. Later, Godfrey returned to the abbey to confirm the institution’s right to extract a particular custom which he had granted in the aforementioned donation. Fulk V’s donation must be either coincidental to this confirmation or pursuant to it. The *terminus ad quem* is probably 15 April 1118, the earliest confirmed date upon which Queen Bertrade is known to have been a nun at the Abbey of Fontevraud, whereas her involvement here suggests that she yet remained part of the itinerant comital entourage.

⁶⁸ The castrum of Segré perhaps belonged to the lords of Château-Gontier during the later eleventh century. However, in the early twelfth century, Geoffrey Martel II is noted to have placed a guardian at the comital château there. The present act indicates that Count Fulk V continued to maintain, at the very least, significant privileges at Segré. For the pre-Fulk V references, see: Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, I, pp. 294-295.

Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 59]

1109x1112, then 12 March 1116 x 8 April 1118

Angers

Notice. Comital Donation and Confirmation. While in the presence of Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge, a dispute arose between the monks of Saint-Nicholas and the "*ministros*" (2 and 3 below) of the count with regard to certain customs on the day of the Feast of Saint Nicholas. The opinion and testimony of meritorious men was taken. It was determined that the monks were to receive a half-day's customs of the day before and the day of the feast of Saint Nicholas, customs based on what was traded on either land or sea. Evidently, there was language specifically addressing the obligation of this customs return, i.e. that the monks would not lose these customs, even if the monks were unable to collect the return on the aforementioned days or up to a year after the festival. Furthermore, as Fulk le Réchin had previously done, Fulk V ordered that a bursary [*bursa*] be set up near the bridge in the burgh called Sainte-Marie, a bursary to be held by Saint-Nicholas as a gift.

Much time later, the comital curia appears to have confirmed Fulk's earlier judgment.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, fol. 192, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9695, fol. 226r, summary after B (18th c.)

Editions

N/A

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 75, p. 274, brief summary after 4, different dating
2. *Epitome*, p. 55, analysis after B
3. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 314, pp. 413-415, edition after 2

Witnesses:

Huius doni testes fuerunt in presentia Fulconis, filii Fulconis: Girard, provost; Marquerius fitz Amalguinus; Hubert *Bucafrida*; Hugh of Tours

Porro de contentionis determinatione et deffinitione nec non concessione Comitum, ex parte Comitum sunt testes: Arnulf of Montgomery; Robert of Blou; Archalois; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; *Giraldus filius Andefredi*; William des Moulins, "who was then provost and rendered judgment in this matter" [*qui tunc praefectus erat et iudicium huius rei retulit*]; *Haimeri derter* (Aimery of Tours?); Fleury, brother of the count; Gervase of Troyes; Bigat, the chamberlain; and many

others.

Ex parte vero Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai et monachorum: John, monk and physician; David Bodin, monk and steward [*cellelarius*]

Dating and Discussion:

There is no *datum* clause. Furthermore, it should be noted that the notice is no longer extant; only modern summaries survive. The initial judgment and benefaction before Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge occurred while Girard was provost, c. 1109x1112. The confirmation by the comital ministers is indicated to have occurred after this point and, given the participation of William des Moulins as provost, must have occurred between 12 March 1116—around when William became provost—and 8 April 1118—when John, here identified as a monk and physician, was elected abbot of Saint-Nicholas.

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 60]

Later 1116 x 8 April 1118, the Thursday after Pentecost

Notice. Comital participation in justice. Misled by perverse and wicked counsel, Giffardus as well as his brothers disputed the alms given to the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas by their father. On a day when much justice was to be enacted, Giffardus and his brothers challenged Abbot Lambert and the monks of Saint-Nicholas in the presence of Bishop Renaud of Angers, Abbot Peter of Saint-Serge, Count Fulk V, Countess Aremburge, and the son of the latter two, Geoffrey. Judgment was rendered in favor of the monks concerning land over which the monks are implied to have held some customs. There survives a list of barons who witnessed the judicial act.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, fol. 178r-v, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Baluze, XXXVIII, fol. 51, summary after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, ms français 22450, p. 180, summary after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9672, fol. 223r-v, summary after B (18th c.)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 43, pp. 264-265, brief summary after C, D, and E
2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, III, n. 281, pp. 376-378, summary after C, D, and E

Witnesses:

Nomine baronum qui huic ad fuerunt iudicio hac sunt: Arnulf of Montgomery; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; and Peter (of Champchèvrier), his brother; Stephen Baucan, *dapifer* of the count; Archalois; Fulbertus Pelletarius; Guito of Super Pontem; Lambert (of Super Pontem); Hugh of Champtocé-sur-Loire *ex parte beati Nicholai* Lord Abbot Lambert; Robert of Azé; Geoffrey of Restigné; Hugh of Tours; Geoffrey of Ramefort; and others

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *factum est hoc in hebdomada Pentecostes die Iovis*. It should be observed that the notice is no longer extant; only modern summaries survive. The *terminus ab quo* can be established as 1113, the year in which Geoffrey Plantagenet was born. However, it is most likely that the earliest possible date for this act is later 1116: there is no reliably dated documentary participation of Geoffrey V before he is three years of age, a precedent which later Angevin rulers would follow (see [F 51] for the 1116 participation). The *terminus ad quem* is before 8 April 1118, the date on which Abbot Jean succeeds Abbot Lambert, who had abdicated his post as early as 1117.

**Abbey of Saint-Sulpice-la-Fôret, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Liffré, arr. Rennes, dioc. Rennes, dép. Ile-et-Vilaine**

[F 61]

11 November 1117, then 13 January 1118

Le Mans, Comital *aula*; then La Flèche, Comital *aula* within the Castle

Charter. Comital Donation. Responding to the petition of the Abbess of Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt as if it were a command of God, Count Fulk “of Angers, Le Mans, and Tours” donates and concedes to the abbess and her religious all the land of La Fontaine-Saint-Martin.⁶⁹ He does this at Le Mans on 11 November 1117 for the redemption of his soul and the health of the soul of his parents. Countess Aremburge gives and concedes the land for the redemption of her soul and the health of the soul of her parents and her grandparents from whom she inherited the land. Fulk and Aremburge jointly give and concede to the religious the right of pasturage [*herbagium*] and the right of the collection of firewood [*chaufagium*: calefagium].

Subsequently at La Flèche, Fulk and Aremburge place the aforementioned gift into the hands of the *monachus magister monalium* from Saint-Sulpice. They invest this individual with a gold ring symbolizing the gift. So that the benefaction would endure into perpetuity, Fulk and his son Geoffrey order the comital chaplain, Fulcoius, to seal the charter. Pursuant to the sealing, Fulk and Geoffrey each inscribe crosses on the parchment. Witnesses are recorded.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 2 H 2, 1, copy after A (16th c.?)

⁶⁹ Cme La Fontaine-Saint-Martin, cant. Pontvallain, arr. La Flèche, dép. Cher.

- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5444, p. 613, copy after A? (18th c.)
- D. AN, G/8-197, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. AD de la Sarthe, H 1509, after C

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice-la-Forêt*, n. 54, pp. 127-128, after B
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 18, pp. 343-344, after C and E

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 45, p. 265, with incorrect source attributions
2. Raoul de Linière, "Le prieuré conventuel de la Fontaine-Saint-Martin," *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine* 58 (1905), pp. 5-24: 6-15
3. Michel Legermain, BNF, ms. lat. 13817, fol. 59v

Witnesses:

Huius donationis testes sunt: Fulcodius [*Fulconis*], *dapifer*; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Hugh fitz Bernard; Geoffrey of Ramefort; *et multi alii*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for the initial grant: Datum clause: *anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1117 tertio idus novembris, quarta feria, Paschasio papa in cathedra apostolice sedis sedente. Aldeberto Cenomanensem episcopatum tenente in Francia Ludovico regnante.* Datum clause for the reissuance/confirmation, at which time the charter was produced: *Actum fuit hoc apud Castrum Fixe ubi carta sigillata fuit et donum confirmatum in aula nostra idus Ianuarii in festivitate sancti Hilarii.* Fulk's seneschal for Maine, a certain Fulcodius who is a witness here, should not be confused with Fulcoius, one of the various comital chaplains.

Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 62]

1118

Charter-Notice. Comital donation. The notice relates how, following his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Count Fulk Nerra had established at his castrum of Langeais a chapel in which to house the relics which he had brought from the Holy Land. Fulk Nerra had endowed the chapel with a substantial array of various lands and privileges. In explicit imitation of this benefaction and for the remedy of his own soul as well as that of his ancestors, Count Fulk V in 1118 donated the chapel of Saint-Sauveur, along with its attendant lands and privileges, to the church of Toussaint, following the passing [*decessum*] of four secular clerics there. Geoffrey V consented and joined his father in donating [*D: parte sua donante et concedante*]. Countess Aremburge consented. There is an appended threat of excommunication for any encroachments, unless the offender forfeits any of the stolen acquisitions and renders 100 solidi to the church.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, ff. 65v-66 (14th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), vol. IV, ns. 1378-1379, ff. 177-178, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1826, copy after A (16th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 102, pp. 146-148, after C and D
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 21, pp. 346-348, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 53, p. 267, with erroneous dating
- 2. Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, p. 25, correcting Chartrou's dating

Witnesses:

Testes qui viderunt et audierunt subscripti sunt: Count Fulk; Geoffrey, his son; Countess Aremburge; John of Blaison; Thibaut, his son; Michael; Stephen Baucan, *praetor*;⁷⁰ William des Moulins; *Gaudinus de Grole*; Gervase of Troyes; Simon Emsam; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Adam, *nutricius*; Renaud of Saumoussay; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Joscelin; Robinus of Durtal; Matthew of Laval; Oger of Chemillé; Pipin of Tours; Hermitellus, doorkeeper [*janitor*] of the count; *et alii plures*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Anno Domini MCXVIII, indictione XI, sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae papa Gelasio secundo, Ludovico regnante super Francos.*

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 63]

1118

Charter. Comital Donation. To the priory of Fontevraud situated at Hautes-Bruyères,⁷¹ Fulk V grants and relinquishes the mill at the head of the bridge of Chinon before Saint-Jacob. He makes the present donation so that the religious of the priory would be able to purchase fur-lined coats as well as tunics. His wife, Aremburge, consents to the present grant and, furthermore, is noted to have confirmed and brought about [*perfecit*] the donation.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 12, after A (c. 1118, with additions)

⁷⁰ The title of *praetor* is misattributed in Ms C, through scribal error, to a Michael who is otherwise unknown in comital charters, notwithstanding a Michael of Doué who was provost of Montbazou in 1123 but no earlier than 1121 [F 90]; the next witness, Stephen Baucan, who was chief seneschal, was to have carried the title of *praetor* here.

⁷¹ Cme Saint-Rémy-l'Honoré, cant. Aubergenville, arr. Rambouillet, dép. Yvelines.

- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 17, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- D. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 65r, after A (12th c.)
- E. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 569, p. 96, extracts after E (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, p. 60, copy after D (18th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416r, copy after D (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 253, pp. 254-255, after D
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 866, pp. 805-806, after B, C, F, and H
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 19, pp. 344-345, after B and D

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 253, pp. 254-255
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 866, pp. 805-806
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 41, p. 264

Witnesses:

Huius doni testes existunt: Robert of Blou; Sigibrand *de Ucei*; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Géroire of Echarbot; Ogerius Batferrum from Chinon; William of Mairé; Theobald of Chaligné

In presentia: of the brother(s), Bernard; of the sisters, Bertrade and Aledis

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Calixto secundo papa, regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Gisleberto archiepiscopo existente. Anno ab incarnatione Domini M.C.VIII.X.* The priory of Hautes-Bruyères was the final resting place of Fulk's mother, Queen Bertrade, through whose personal and solicited patronage the priory was established in 1112.⁷² Note also the presence of Bertrade among the witnesses: she appears as a sister (nun) of the Abbey of Fontevraud.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 64]

1116x1119, 23 June

Baugé

Charter. Comital Confirmation. For the health of his soul as well as the remedy of his parents and in order to receive everlasting benefits from the penance of tending to the poor, Count Fulk V concedes whatsoever Adam of Rochefort, for his own soul, had granted and relinquished near Pignonnrière to the religious of Fontevraud. Fulk indicates that he offers this concession because the original donation came from the *feodum* that

⁷² For a discussion of the priory and Bertrade's funeral marker there, see: Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver*, 17-45.

Adam of Rochefort held from Fulk. The count confirms and makes this concession near Baugé with a certain dagger bestowed into the hands of Abbess Petronilla.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 27, lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, p. 8, extract after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 34, pp. 9-10, partial copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1291, fol. 119v, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 341, pp. 345-346, after E
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 32, pp. 358-359, after D and E

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 341, pp. 345-346
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 78, p. 274

Witnesses:

sub virorum istorum testimonio Gautier of Montsoreau; *Patri de Melna*; Paganus *de Ponte*; Joscelin Roonard; Gervase *de Regia*; Gervase of Troyes; William Garini; Lebertus Goram, his son; Paganus of Clairvaux; Renaud of Saumoussay; Guido, the presbyter; Renaud of Mayenne

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Hanc concessionem apud Balgeium in manu dominae P. Abbatissae cum quodam cutello IX C. Iulii*. Since Petronilla of Chemillé, here identified as abbess of Fontevraud, acquired that position on 28 October 1115, the *terminus ab quo* for the present act is 23 June 1116. The *terminus ad quem* can be no later than 23 June 1122, given that 1122 is the latest year in which Arnulf of Montgomery, a witness for Countess Aremburge's confirmation of Fulk V's present act, could have died.⁷³ Yet, the aforementioned confirmation enables us to further narrow the timeframe of the present act to 1116x1120. The disparate witness list indicates that Aremburge issued her confirmation at a later date. There is no reason that Arnulf of Montgomery and Geoffrey of Ramefort, close *fideles* of Count Fulk V, would not have witnessed the count's coincidental act, only to witness that of the countess. It is also relevant that Aremburge issued her confirmation as an independent *actum*. With the exception of an 1109x1115 plenary confirmation of all of Fulk's previous benefactions to Fontevraud,⁷⁴ Countess Aremburge issued independent confirmations exclusively in the period of Fulk V's absence on crusade, that is, 1120-1121. Therefore, the present act may be dated to 1116x1119, as Fulk had probably already left for Jerusalem by 23 June 1120. In any case, the present *actum* triggered a series of concessions from, initially Countess Aremburge, and subsequently various kin of Adam of Rochefort.⁷⁵

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 65]

⁷³ For the confirmation, see: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 342, pp. 346-347.

⁷⁴ See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 165, pp. 155-156.

⁷⁵ See: [G 1-4]; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 343-345.

1119, 19 January x June
Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Notice. Aristocratic Donation (Fulk V witness). Count Fulk V witnessed a donation by William Burellus, canon of Saint-Martin of Tours and chaplain of the late Queen Bertrade. William donated to the religious of Fontevraud a windmill of Rocheteau. The proceeds from the windmill were to provide for a feast on the anniversary of the death of Queen Bertrade. William made the benefaction not only for his own soul and that of his ancestors but also, chiefly [*maxime*], so that Bertrade's soul would fully enjoy the perpetual life and that her own benefactions would not be forgotten.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 410, after A? (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Clypeus nascentis Fontebraldensis ordini...*, II, p. 138, after A?

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 47, pp. 265-266

Witnesses:

Hi sunt testes: Fulk, count; Aremburge, countess; Geoffrey, their son; with Mathilda, his sister; Arnaud, chaplain; *Uvido*, physician [*medicus*]; Geoffrey of Ramefort; *et plures alii*.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. William's gift for the benefit of Bertrade's soul must, naturally, postdate Bertrade's death (19 January 1119), thereby establishing a *terminus ab quo* of 19 January 1119. The *terminus ad quem* is more difficult to establish. The status of William's position offers little assistance: William Burellus continues to be identified as a chaplain in two additional notices from 1123 (Bienvenu, ns. 652, 653 at Hautes-Bruyères as chaplain of the Queen) through at least 1127 ([**F 108**] in Baugé as Fulk V's chaplain). However, two possibilities present themselves as a function of the presence of Aremburge and Fulk V's daughter Mathilda, here identified as Geoffrey's sister. First, the gift was arranged before Mathilda married William Adelin in June 1119, following which she joined her husband's entourage and, then after his death, remained at King Henry I's court for some time. This possibility is the significantly more likely scenario, given the nature of the donation: benefactions for the dead tend to be more common with the recently rather than distantly deceased, especially when lesser beneficiaries are involved. The second possibility is that the benefaction occurred after Mathilda returned to Anjou—a date which is unknown but must have occurred before she took the veil at Fontevraud in 1128—and before Countess Aremburge, who is present here as a witness, died in 1126. Considering Fulk V's own return to Anjou from the Eastern Mediterranean in mid-late 1121, the second possible interval for the benefaction is 1121x1126, though, again, the former possibility is significantly more likely.

Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher

[F 66]

7x9 September 1119

Angers, *in camera comitis* and then church of L'Evière

Charter. Comital Donation. For their own souls and those of their parents, especially their fathers Count Fulk le Réchin and Count Hélias, Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge jointly return a prebend of the church of Saint-Julian, a prebend held by their predecessors, to the monastery of L'Evière in Angers for the improvement of the provisions and clothing of the monks there. It is emphasized that the count and countess make this gift freely out of their own will and with the counsel of neither the bishop of Le Mans nor his chapter. In exchange, the parent abbey of Vendôme is to ensure that the monks of L'Evière sing a Mass for the comital couple, their fathers, and all of their parents. This act is done in the comital *camera* in Angers.

Then, in the church of L'Evière as well as in the presence of Fulk V, Ralph of Grez, and Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, Fulk and Aremburge's son Geoffrey V concedes the donation. This is on the same day during which Pope Calixtus II absolved the deceased Count Fulk le Réchin and confirmed the young Geoffrey.

Manuscript History:

- A. AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, piece 1 (original, formerly bore two seals with leather cords)
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Vendôme, lost
- C. BM Vendôme, ms 273, *Inventaire des chartes de l'abbaye de Vendôme*, fol. 94, after B? (16th c.)
- D. BNF, ms. lat. 13820, fol. 337v, after A? (18th c.?)
- E. BNF, ms. lat. 12700, fol. 292, after A? (18th c.?)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 434, pp. 208-209, after A

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 46, p. 265, after a

Witnesses:

Viderunt: Arnulf of Montgomery; Archalois of Thouarcé; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; William des Moulins, provost of Angers

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: ...*anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXVIII, idictione XII, regnante Ludovico regre Francorum, anno regni sui XI.* The date can be narrowed to 7x9 September on account of the indicated presence of Pope Calixtus II in Angers, an occasion for which various prelates, such as Geoffrey of Vendôme, had made themselves available.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Beate Schilling, *Guido von Vienne--Papst Calixt II*, MGH 45 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), p. 694.

Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 67]

7x9 September 1119

Angers

Notice. Comital Participation in Justice. In the first part of this notice, it is reported that the monks of Saint-Nicholas brought a complaint in the presence of Pope Calixtus II, Lord Petrus Pierleonis [*Petrus Leonis*],⁷⁷ Bishop Renaud of Angers, Abbot John of Saint-Nicholas, Archdeacons Ulgerius and William, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, Count Fulk V, and Lord Adelard of Château-Gontier. The complaint was in regard to a donation made by the *confratres* of Genéteil unto Abbot Vital of Savigny and his monks of a house in Azé [*Azeio*] in the parish of Saint-Saturnin. The monks claimed that this house belonged to Saint-Nicholas. It is noted that the monks initially brought their claim before the episcopate. Now, in the presence of the aforementioned potentates and by the counsel of the Holy See, the donation was invalidated [*donum quod factum erat domno Vitali et monachis suis irritum remansit*].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, ff. 133-4 lost
- C. AD Mayenne, H 6 ter, n. 9, p. 305, after B (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9614, fol. 216r-v, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 181, pp. 265-269, after C
- b. *Cartulaire d'Azé et du Géneteil*, n. 11, pp. 64-67, after C

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 52, p. 267, brief summary after D, erroneous dating
2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 181, pp. 265-269
3. *Cartulaire d'Azé et du Géneteil*, pp. 64-67

Witnesses:

N/A for the first part of the notice

Dating and Discussion:

The first part of the notice involving Count Fulk V must have occurred in Angers on 7x9 September 1119, when Pope Calixtus II is known to have been present in Angers with the aforementioned prelates.⁷⁸ Chartrou erroneously dated Fulk's involvement here to 29 January 1122. This is the function of having misattributed the datum clause pertaining to the second part of the notice, which describes a

⁷⁷ Petrus Leonis was the father of Petrus Pierleonis, a potentate of the city of Rome, and the founder of the influential Pierleoni family. Petrus Pierleonis, who is almost certainly the *Petrus Leonis* identified here, was a cardinal and papal legate who often accompanied Calixtus on his continental excursions. See: Stroll, *Calixtus II*, pp. 146-151, 271-272.

⁷⁸ Schilling, *Guido von Vienne—Papst Calixt II*, 694.

later agreement on 29 January 1122 in Adelard's *aula*, to the earlier judicial verdict in the presence of Fulk in 7x9 September 1119. The misattribution is understandable, given that the datum clause for the second part clearly references multiple *acta*: *Acta sunt haec anno a Passione Domini millesimo centesimo vigesimo primo, die dominica quarto kalendas februarii*. This date is an impossibility for the judicial verdict: Pope Calixtus II was in Bitonto on 28 January 1122 and generally absent from western Europe around that time.⁷⁹

In any case, the second part of the notice concerned the subsequent arrangement between the *confratres* and Saint-Nicholas, an arrangement wherein it was agreed, among other privileges, that they would relinquish the house in exchange for the placement there of a dozen religious, four of whom would be lay brothers. This concord was reached first, resulting in an indicated donation, in the hall [*aula*] of Adelard of Château-Gontier on 29 January 1122, and later confirmed in the chapter of Saint-Nicholas.

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, cant., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 68]

1109x1120

Notice. Comital Concession. Count Fulk conceded the resolution of a dispute involving the *vicarius* of Maurice Roonard and the monks of Saint-Florent. In violation of Maurice's earlier donation of the *vicaria* of Chavais,⁸⁰ Maurice's *vicarius* had detained a certain woman there in his forum at Doué-la-Fontaine, extracting four *denarii* from her. The monks brought a calumny before Maurice, who summoned his *vicarius*, ordering that *vicarius* to restore the four *denarii* to the monks. The monks refused the *vicarius*' offer of the money but did accept a gift of the same amount from Maurice. This resolution appears to have transpired in the presence of Count Fulk V, who conceded the minor donation.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, *Livre blanc de Saint-Florent*, fol. 47r-v, after A (1150-1200)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 42, p. 264
- 2. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, p. 516

Witnesses:

⁷⁹ Schilling, *Guido von Vienne—Papst Calixt II*, 713.

⁸⁰ Commune Denezé-sous-Doué, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Ludovico rege francorum regnante*. The act must have transpired before Maurice Roonard's taking of the monastic habit toward the early 1120s.⁸¹

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 69]

1112x1120

Actum perditum. Comital Concession. In a charter produced in Angers in c. 1177, King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189)—Fulk V's grandson—confirms, *inter alia*, the relinquishment of transit customs about the *castellum* of Brissac-Quincé. This relinquishment had been made some time ago as a gift by a certain Archalois, *dominus* of Brissac-Quincé, with Count Fulk V conceding. The transit customs pertained to the passage of all things beyond the walls of the stronghold.

Manuscript History (for Henry II's charter):

- A. Original: AN, J 184 (Trésor des Chartes), n. 1, with seal
- B. Original: AD Maine-et-Loire, 201 H 1, n. 3, with seal
- C. AN, J 178, n. 49, copy after A (n.d.)
- D. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, ff. 25r-26v (12th c.)
- E. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 650, p. 102, extract after D (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 399, copy after A (18th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 416v, extract after D (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 880, pp. 822-827, after A, B, and D

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 880, pp. 822-827

Dating and Discussion:

The *terminus ab quo* is 1112, the year in which Count Fulk V besieged the castellan of Brissac-Quincé. It appears that Fulk captured the stronghold and subsequently conferred its lordship upon Archalois, his most faithful early associate. After numerous reliably dated documentary appearances throughout the 1110s, Archalois cannot be found in any continental record reliably dated to after May 1120, suggesting that he accompanied Fulk V to the Holy Land but did not return. Our *terminus ad quem* here, as a result, must be 1120.

Elsewhere in this charter King Henry II also confirms his grandfather's donation of the bridge of Cé (Les Ponts-de-Cé) and the vicarial rights of jurisdiction over it. See [F 52]. Nevertheless, Henry II

⁸¹ See: Cussonneau, "Les Roinard," 5-23.

retains the right to execute, via his bailiffs, justice of life and limb [*de vita et membris*] as well as certain customs which are listed and pertain to church holidays.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 70]

1116x1120

Charter. Comital Exhortation of Aristocratic Concession. Aimery of La Haye and his brother Alfred concede an earlier donation to Fontevraud of the mill of Ponçay. The earlier donation was made *sine omni calumpnia* by Gautier of Clisson and his wife Sarah. A certain Gautier, *miles* of Aimery of La Haye, also conceded the mill, as he was holding it from Aimery. Count Fulk V, who is present for the occasion, is said to have insisted upon the latter's concession [*quem Fulco Andegavensium comes multum inde rogaverat*].

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 128v (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 899, pp. 122-123, partial copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 899, pp. 78-79, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 56, p. 48, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 56, p. 48, after B, incorrect dating
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 30, p. 261, with errors

Witnesses:

Videntibus et audientibus: Fulk, count of Anjou; Chalon of *Furnellis*; Archalois; Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Paganus (of Clairvaux), his brother; Stephen Baucan

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. However, the present act must have transpired after the original donation.⁸² This original donation must be dated to 1108x1113.⁸³ In his edition, Bienvenu dated the present *actum* to 1108x1113, though he admits that this was mostly speculative based on the timing of the contestations of the original donation (see below). However, the *terminus ab quo* is almost certainly 1116, the year in which Stephen Baucan appeared in Fulk V's *acta* as chief comital seneschal. The *terminus ad quem* is June 1120, after which point Archalois, who is here a witness, disappeared from contemporary sources.

⁸² *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 49, with n. 75 as an alternate version.

⁸³ See: *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 42 and associated *acta*, which record a contestation of the donation. This contestation was brought before the *curia* of Gilbert of Loudun by Prioress Hersende, who died by 30 November 1113 at the latest; a *datum* clause is provided by one of the related *acta*, establishing a *terminus ab quo* of 29 July 1108 as these matters transpired during the reign of Louis VI.

In any case, the nature of Fulk's involvement here, namely the insistence upon the additional consentor, a certain *miles* of Aimery of La Haye, can probably be attributed to the circumstance that the original donation, which had been made upon the occasion of the benefactors' daughter taking the veil at Fontevraud, had been contested repeatedly.⁸⁴ Perhaps Fulk was here acting on Fontevraud's behalf to strengthen the gift against future calumnies.

Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 71]

1116x1120

Charter-Notice. Comital Donation. In consideration of Matthew 10:41-42 and for his own soul as well as that of his ancestors, Fulk, most noble count of the Angevins and father of Geoffrey, granted and conceded to the canons of Toussaint a certain treasury [*archa*] atop a bridge of the Loire river. He conceded additionally the *vicaria* of the bridge's treasury, *vicaria* inclusive of blood and theft that Fulk currently held. The act further notes that, on account of the steady nature of the business there, the canons would not be personally handling affairs about the bridge and its treasury, implying that the count's agents would continue at least to exercise jurisdiction on behalf of the canons, returning to them all due revenues. Fulk is noted to have confirmed the matter with his seal in order to ward off detractors.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Vidimus* by Robinus Courtin, after A (n.d., probably 13th c.), lost
- C. Cartulary of the Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, between fol. 66 and fol. 69, copy after B (14th c.), lost
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), vol. IV, n. 1425, ff. 177-178, copy after C (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 105, p. 150, after D
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 23, pp. 350-351, after D

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 58, p. 269, with erroneous dating
- 2. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 105, p. 150, with erroneous dating

Witnesses:

Testes qui viderunt et audierunt subscripti sunt: Archalois; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Adam [*Aenius*] nutriticus; Pipin of Tours; William des Moulins
ex parte canonicorum: Roaldus, prior; Robertus; Mauricius Savari; Ranulfus; Martinus

⁸⁴ *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, ns. 42, 49, 50, and 75.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause for the comital benefaction. Dom Housseau and subsequent scholars, including the Toussaint cartulary's editor Comte, assumed that the concluding datum clause, providing a date of 3 December 1123, referred to the comital donation. However, the text which surrounds the datum clause, following the donation's list of witnesses, clearly indicates that the datum clause is referring to the date of production for the *vidimus* of Robin Courtin, not the original donation: *Quod vidimus autem testamus et approbamus, datum hujus visionis et inspectiones die lunae post festum sancti Andreae apostoli, anno MCXXIII, Robinus Courtin*. The year of 1123, therefore, must be a mistranscription in ms C (non-extant) or ms D, which are copies of the *vidimus*. The most likely error of transcription was the C/D scribe forgetting an extra 'C' to indicate a year of 1223—in any case, the c. 1330 production of the cartulary (ms C), which preserved the *vidimus*, provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1330.

More relevant to our purposes here, the original comital benefaction appears to have been made in 1116x1120. For, William des Moulins held the provostship of Angers from 1116 until Fulk V's return from the Holy Land in later 1121, at which point William was quickly replaced by Lupellus Ferle.⁸⁵

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 72]

19 October 1116 x 1120

Angers, Comital *curia*

Notice. Comital Confirmation. In violation of Ronceray's ancient privilege of controlling the commerce of bread within its burgh, some vendors had attempted to sell some of their own bread without the decree and against the will of the nuns and their *vicarius*. Upon seeing the violation, *Barbotus Teberti*—the *villicus* of the burgh—ransacked the stalls of the illegal vendors, throwing their bread on the ground. The vendors subsequently lodged a complaint with William des Moulins, the comital provost, who summoned the *villicus* and told him henceforth to pursue justice against such an invasion as if it was a forfeiture [*vellet inde causari de invasione quasi de forifacto*].

The abbess and several nuns of Ronceray then went before the *curia* of Count Fulk V the Young [*Iuvenem*], requesting a confirmation of their exclusive commercial privilege. Fulk first consulted with Paganus *Fulberti*, the *villicus* Giraldus, and others who were familiar with the law and institutions of the burgh of Ronceray. Upon their confirmation

⁸⁵ For Lupellus Ferle, see: 1121 [F 84]. This may have been a temporary appointment: Matthew of Belle-Neue is provost of Angers by early 1122 at the latest. Refer to: 1121x1122 [F 87]. On the other hand, Fulk V may have finally opted to establish multiple joint provosts in Angers, as he had already done in Tours, for we see Lupellus Ferle attesting other comital charters in Angers through the 1120s. However, Lupellus was not explicitly indicated as provost at the same time as another provost, unlike Fulk's *acta* around Tours, discouraging the speculative hypothesis of multiple provosts at Angers. In any case, Matthew joined Fulk V on crusade in 1129.

of the abbey's privilege, Count Fulk V, Countess Aremburge, and the *curia* itself confirmed the matter.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 845, Roll 2, C. 85 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 60, pp. 53-54, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, p. 306

Witnesses:

Huic rei interfuerunt: Abbess (Thetburgis); and Countess *Ama*; *Thotosana*, nun; and, Theophania, sister of Orri of Beaupréau; Ulger, archdeacon; Alberic, cantor; Mainerius and Guibert, canons of Saint-Laud; Rainerius and Hilarius, canons of Sainte-Marie; Archalois; Aimery *Rabastet*; Simon *Emsam* [Ennisant]; Peter Roonard; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Garinus of Loudun; Guito (of Super Pontem?); Marquerius (son of Amalguinus?); *Meno*; *Hanelotus*; Adam, *nutricius*; Lambert (of Super Pontem?); *Robertus de Iuigniaco*; Engelbaud, the villein.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay suggests that the act transpires “vers 1110.” The *terminus ab quo* may, however, be established as 19 October 1116, the earliest possible date on which Ulger served as archdeacon (see *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, p. xlvi). The *terminus ad quem* must be June 1120: by that month, Fulk had departed for the Holy Land; 1120 was probably the year in which Thetburgis was succeeded by Mabilia as abbess of Ronceray; Archalois, a witness here, cannot reliably be attested in any documents after May 1120; and, William des Moulins, who acts here as provost of Angers, ended his service as such by the time of (or upon) Fulk V's return from the Holy Land by later 1121.

Abbey of Sainte-Trinité of Savigny, Rule of St. Benedict (Cistercian, c. 1147-)
Cant. Le Teilleul, arr. Avranches, dioc. Avranches, dép. Manche

[F 73]

c. 25 April 1120
Forum at Le Mans

Actum Perditum. Comital Donation. When they as well as other lay and ecclesiastical luminaries were present in Le Mans for the consecration of the renovated Cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans, Count Fulk V, Countess Aremburge, and their son Geoffrey granted in alms to Lord-Abbot Vital various lands and waters which the comital dynasty held in its possession. The benefaction was done in the presence of Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans and Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, who attach their cross *signa* alongside Fulk, Aremburge, and Geoffrey. The benefaction enabled the establishment of an hermitage, at La Boissière (cme Denezé-sous-le-Lude) under Savigny.

This benefaction survives in Fulk V's highly unusual 1126x1129 charter of confirmation. See [F 122]. The confirmation preserves the original benefaction's witness list as well as cross signatures. The *arenga* of the confirmation, with its emphasis upon the desirability of making arrangements for one's salvation in advance of death, may reflect the *arenga* of the original benefaction, as issues of death and salvation were otherwise on Fulk V's mind at that time, the eve of his departure on crusade.

Manuscript History (for the extant charter):

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Vidimus* of "William, bishop of Angers," lost (n.d.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 760, fol. 179r-v, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. BM Angers, Ms 687, *Notre-Dame Angevine*, fol. 267, partial copy after B?

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 28, pp. 355-356, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 73, p. 273, with errors

Witnesses:

Huius rei testes sunt: Fulcodius, *dapifer*; Fulco *Ribal*; Hugh of Cleers; Countess (Ermengarde) of Brittany, sister of Count Fulk; Rotrou of Montfort; Boterius (of Le Mans); Ingelbaud (Ms D only); and Boterius, his son.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Chartrou conflates this donation and its confirmation into a single act, which she dates to 1113x1126 on account of the presence of Geoffrey V, who was born in 1113, and Countess Aremburge, who died in 1126. The *terminus ab quo* must, however, be re-dated to at least 1116, for Geoffrey V did not otherwise appear in comital charters until that year. Nevertheless, the nature of the present donation strongly suggests that the act should be dated to around 25 April 1120. On that day, Fulk V as well as numerous lay and ecclesiastical luminaries had gathered in Le Mans for the consecration of the renovated Cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans. The proceedings represent the most plausible juncture at which Abbot Vital of Savigny, Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, and the nuclear comital family would all have been present in Le Mans. Indeed, it is known that Fulk and Aremburge made another donation in Le Mans in the days following the consecration.⁸⁶ More broadly, such a major comital benefaction to the Abbey of Sainte-Trinité of Savigny would have likely in the immediate wake of Pope Calixtus II's late 1119 declaration of the abbey as being under his personal protection. The declaration had inspired several grants of endowment; the present benefaction appears to be one of them. The great gathering of potentates in Le Mans for the consecration of its cathedral on 25 April 1120 would have presented the ideal occasion to enact such a benefaction for maximum public effect.

Note that Geoffrey V's original cross signature identifies him as son of Fulk and Aremburge, whereas the text of the remembrance identifies him as "count" for the original.

Cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans

⁸⁶ See [F 74].

Cme, cant., and arr. Le Mans, dioc. Le Mans, dép. Sarthe

[F 74]

25x30 April 1120
Le Mans

Charter-Notice. Comital Donation. On the occasion of the consecration of the cathedral of Saint-Julian of Le Mans on 25 April 1120, several ecclesiastical luminaries—Renaud, bishop of Angers; Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans; Marbode, bishop of Rennes; Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen; Gilbert, archbishop of Tours, as well as unnamed others—invited Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge to make a gift to the community of the saint. A few short days later, the count and countess returned to the cathedral with many of their barons in tow. There, upon the altar and in the presence of Bishop Hildebert and his canons, the count and countess jointly granted their benefaction: a relinquishment of all the revenues generated from customs and forfeitures/penalties pertaining to a three-day fair in the city of Le Mans. The fair was to be held beginning on the Saturday of the anniversary of the consecration of the cathedral. The relinquishment precluded the exercise of justice itself. The comital *curia* is noted to have retained its prerogative to censure malefactors, and comital ministers remained responsible for the shedding of any blood. Geoffrey V conceded the relinquishment.

Following this announcement and its laudation by the barons and all others attending, Fulk lifted young Geoffrey and set him atop the altar, “offering to Saint-Julian both that very boy, and, through him and in him, the aforementioned *beneficium*.”⁸⁷ With the audience listening, Fulk added: “To you, Saint-Julian, I commend my son and my land—may you be both their protector and their defender.”⁸⁸ Fulk is said then to have withdrawn in tears, leaving Geoffrey upon the altar. It is indicated that the count left for Jerusalem soon thereafter.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis*, redaction after A, lost (9th c., with additions)?
- C. BM du Mans, ms. 224, redaction after A (12th-13th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 45, ff. 68-144, copy after B and C (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. APC, pp. 416-417, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. Dutton, “Geoffrey V,” pp. 145-146
- 2. Blincoe, “Angevin Society,” p. 133, misidentifying the consecration as that of the church at the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours

⁸⁷ “...offerens ei et ipsum puerum et per eum et in ipso prefatum beneficium.”

⁸⁸ “Tibi, sancte Juliane, meum filium commendo et terram mean; tu, utriusque sis protector et defensor.”

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

The *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis* indicates that the donation occurred “a small number of days” after the 25 April 1120 consecration of the cathedral: *Deinde, paucis diebus evolutis*. Since Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge were present in Saumur by 1 May (see [F 75]) and since there is no indication that Fulk returned to Le Mans before leaving for Jerusalem in June 1120, it stands to reason that the present benefaction preceded the comital family’s departure from Le Mans.

Although the charter itself is no longer extant, the language in which the benefaction is preserved in the APC generates the unmistakable impression that the redactor(s) was working off the original, an original copy, or a faithful notice redaction of the comital charter. The presence of this document is betrayed by the sequence in which the dispositive action is stated then qualified, the formulaic language in which the benefaction is described, as well as the preserved structure of the *protocol-corporis-eschatocol*, replete with a *laudatio* of witnesses.⁸⁹

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, cant., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 75]

1 May 1120
Saumur

Charter-Notice. Comital Confirmation. The monks of Saint-Florent recall how Count Fulk le Réchin was accustomed to attend the feast of the *translatio* of Saint Florent, arriving in an *adventus*. Subsequently, he would be received in the monastic refectory, where he took great pleasure in the bread, spiced wine, and other dishes that the monks were obliged to provide. Over time, the monks had come to feel that the demand of hosting the count and his entourage had grown too costly. They petitioned Fulk le Réchin, insisting upon their inability to continue shouldering such a burden. Eventually, after having frequently protested the injustice of the matter, Fulk le Réchin agreed to pay the abbot and the monastic brothers an annual sum of 100 *solidi* in order to host the feast following the *adventus*.

Fulk V, “the legal heir of the *honor*” [*honoris heres legalis*], “succeeded him (Fulk le Réchin) by hereditary law” [*ei hereditario iure successit*] and maintained regular payment of the annual subsidy, implying Fulk V’s regular participation in the comital *adventus* upon the occasion of the *translatio* feast. On 1 May 1120, Fulk seems to have requested a confirmation of the matter of the subsidy to be drawn up in his and his wife’s

⁸⁹ Leonard E. Boyle, “Diplomatics,” in *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ed. James M. Powell, 2nd ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), pp. 82-113: 98

presence [...*feri voluit*]. Referencing the inability to know when one would come or go in life, Fulk confirms the subsidy in exchange for the inscription of his name as well as that of the countess (Aremburge) into the abbey's necrology.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1840, piece 14, with parchment damage

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 22, pp. 348-350, after A and unedited copy by Saché

Analysis:

1. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, p. 14, with erroneous summary

Witnesses:

Huius etenim testes...: The count himself (Fulk V); the countess (Aremburge);

De militibus autem: Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Archalois; Simon Emsam; and Peter (Emsam), his brother; Peter Roonard; Renaud of Saumoussay

De monachis vero: Silvester, monk; Geoffrey, monk; Thibaut, monk; *Ausgerius*, monk;

De clericis quidem: William, archdeacon of (the diocese of) Angers, and his nephews Geoffrey and Gisbertus; *et alii plures*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Factum est autem hoc apud ca...(strum Salmurum, die festivitatis)... apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi*. Saché dates the act to 1119x1122. Yet, Fulk's confirmation of the *adventus* reception and the establishment of himself and his wife into the abbey's necrology, alongside his ancestors, suggest his impending departure on crusade. The two requests correspond to the necessary preparations for the two possible outcomes of the enterprise: a heroic return, or death. Such uncertainty is reflected in the notice's mention of not knowing when one comes or goes (from the earthly life). Therefore, one should reasonably date the act to 1120, after Fulk had taken the cross but before he had departed for the Holy Land.

Abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Airvault, arr. Parthenay, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Deux-Sèvres

[F 76]

2 May 1120

Saumur, comital camera

Charter. Comital Confirmation. The charter first recalls how, earlier in 1120, Fulk—count, *dei gratia*—had sought to resolve the grave contention which had, for some time, lingered between the monks of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes⁹⁰ and Peter, *dominus* of the castle of Moncontour.⁹¹ It is alleged that Peter, from the moment of his inheritance of

⁹⁰ Abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Rule of St. Benedict (Cant. Airvault, arr. Parthenay, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Deux-Sèvres)

⁹¹ Cme and cant. Moncontour, arr. Châtellerault, dép. Vienne.

Moncontour, had been imposing upon the nearby abbey of Saint-Jouin and its men such punishing exactions that the venerable institution had almost been reduced to ruin, with the abbatial community even considering relocation. For some time, then, Saint-Jouin's abbot and his monks had beseeched Count Fulk to intervene in regard to this man of his. Fulk notes here that his resulting admonitions had produced minimal effect on Peter. Finally, fearing the demise of the abbey, Fulk decreed that Peter, the abbatial community, and the comital *curia* would meet at a certain local place in order to resolve the longstanding matter.

Upon convening for the trial, Fulk began by requesting that Peter publicly consent to abide by the judgment of the comital *curia* once it had heard the reasoning of both parties. Peter consented, following which the abbatial community produced comital charters certifying the abbey's liberty in the region.⁹² Bishop Renaud of Angers read these charters in front of the count and his accompanying noblemen who, along with the bishop, were collectively serving as judges in the matter. These names are preserved. Seeing the trial speeding toward its end, Peter informed Count Fulk that he no longer intended to accept the judgment of the comital *curia*, lest they decided in his favor. Indeed, Peter insisted that he was wielding what was a legitimate inheritance passed down from the time of his grandfather. There was a rebuttal, in which it was clarified that this original acquisition was never valid: Peter's grandfather, upon his wicked seizure of the privileges in question, had, in fact, been met with contemporary challenges from both the abbatial community as well as the counts of Anjou. The *curia* decided, therefore, that Peter's own words had established his lack of a legitimate claim to the relevant privileges. Although the *curia* subsequently had to withdraw from the meeting place without having managed to secure a professed quitclaim on the part of Lord Peter of Moncontour, a charter is indicated to have been produced.

As an explicit affirmation of this previous charter [*confirmationem istius carte*], the present charter is issued on 2 May 1120 at Saumur through the hands of Count Fulk V and of Countess Aremburge. Here, Fulk confirms the various privileges of the Abbey of Saint-Jouin. These privileges are enumerated: its lands are to be exempted from all lay customs; its various servants are to be immune from any semblance of servitude under the lords of Moncontour; and, neither the lords of Montcontour nor their men may acquire, in any way, lands belonging to the abbey, barring the plenary consent of the abbatial community. Fulk confirms that these privileges have, in fact, been held by the abbey for generations past, vastly preceding even the foundation of the castle of Moncontour, and were indeed previously confirmed by his father, Fulk le Réchin, as well as Count Geoffrey. There follows a *sanctio* clause as well as cross signa from Count Fulk, Countess Aremburge, and their son Geoffrey V. The charter concludes with a brief, separate confirmation by the boy Geoffrey, son of the count, including witnesses.

⁹² The 1068 charter of Fulk le Réchin, in which he references the previous benefactions of his predecessors, survives: *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin*, pp. 20-21; Guillot, II, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 292, p. 187.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5449, pp. 23-122, copy after A? (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30
- 2. Bélisaire Ledain, *Notice historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Jouin de Marnes* (Poitiers: Imprimerie Tolmer, 1884), pp. 39-41

Witnesses:

For the original attempted adjudication:

Missi in partem sunt iudices de abbatis et Petri racionibus iudicaturi: Renaud, namely the aforementioned bishop of Angers; Hugh of La Vallée; Arnulf of Montgomery; Robert of Blou; Aimery of Faye-la-Vineuse; Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Simon of Vihiers; Gilbert of Loudun; Renaud of Saumoussay, and certain others.

For the confirmation by Fulk and Aremburge at Saumur on 2 May 1120:

Audierunt hii: Robert of Blou; Sigibrand of Huillé; Archalois; Gervase of Troyes; and Paganus, his brother; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Brientius of Martigné; Joscelin Roonard; Odo, forester; Paganus Flocellus; Garinus of Loudun; and certain others.

For the confirmation by Geoffrey V:

Concessionem vero pueri Goffredi videlicet filii comitis audierunt ii: Bigat, his nutricius; Jarnigonus, his *minister*; Odo, forester; Gervase; Eppechellus; and many others.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Facta est carta ista anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXX, concurrente epacta XVIII, indictione XIII, Papa Calixto II, Ludovico rege Francorum, Wilelmo presule Pictavorum, Willelmo duce Aquitanorum; confirmationem istius carte factam Salmuri in camera comitis VI nonas maii, per manum comitis et comitisse*. Although Fulk here repeatedly identifies Peter of Moncontour as *hominem meum*, the lords of Moncontour appear, by the early twelfth century, to be largely autonomous castellans of the formerly comital stronghold.⁹³ They neither appeared in the comital mouvance otherwise nor, as we see here, felt constrained by the weight of comital judgment. Indeed, the only other reference to interaction between Fulk V and Peter of Moncontour is conveyed in a letter (dated to 1119) of Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme, who wrote that the count had recently assisted the abbey in recovering goods stolen by Peter and his men.⁹⁴ The repeated identification of Peter as *hominem meum* should, therefore, be understood as a symbolic gesture on the part of the count for his own as well as the abbey's procedural benefit.

Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict

Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

⁹³ For Moncontour's construction under Fulk Nerra, see: Bachrach, "The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building," 550; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 154.

⁹⁴ Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. Geneviève Giordanengo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), n. 154, p. 344.

[F 77]

1120

Angers

Charter. Comital Donation. The extended prologue speaks of how Fulk, count of Anjou *gratia Dei*, has habitually proven receptive to the petitions of the servants of God, supporting their needs from those things which God has given him so as to bless his present life and earn merits for the everlasting one. To instruct his *fideles* both present and future in such things, Fulk relates how the abbot of Saint-Maur⁹⁵ has approached him, inquiring as to what he and his wife, Aremburge daughter of Count Hélias of the Manceaux, would concede with regard to the fair which the abbey seeks to organize in the village on the occasion of the festival celebrating the consecration of the abbatial church.⁹⁶

For the need of the monastic community, Fulk and Aremburge jointly concede the prospective fair in its entirety. The abbey's rectors would henceforth hold, maintain, and possess that fair, with its attendant revenues, in immunity from every custom and every power of the *vicarii*. Fulk and Aremburge's son, Geoffrey V, concedes the grant, as does Archalois, who is noted to have possessed the *vicaria* of the village. Fulk decrees that whosoever challenges the defense of his authority on this matter will be struck with anathema, lest he make amends with a fitting satisfaction. So that the charter would be considered more genuine and robust and so that the parchment itself would be fortified, there are witnesses, some of which are named. The charter bears the cross *signa* of Count Fulk, Countess Aremburge, and the son of the count, Geoffrey V.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, *Cartulaire de Saint-Maur*, fol. 19r-v (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1401, fol. 193r-v, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 41, pp. 384-385, after B, with errors

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 48, p. 266
- 2. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, p. 345

Witnesses:

⁹⁵ Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict (Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire)

⁹⁶ According to Célestin Port, Pope Calixtus II consecrated the abbatial church on 19 September 1119. See: Port, *Dictionnaire*, IV, p. 188. This is in accordance with Schilling's itinerary, according to which Calixtus would have been based in Tours from 15-24 September. Refer to: Beate Schilling, *Guido von Vienne--Papst Calixt II*, MGH 45 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 694.

Haec autem karta ut verior credatur, et firmitior habeatur, necessarium fuit ut testibus qui hoc viderunt et audierunt, hec pagina muniretur, quorum haec sunt vocabula: Aimery of Passavant; Abbo of Briollay; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Robert of Blou; et de aliis quam plurimi

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Facta autem est haec concessio apud Andevavensem urbem anno MCXX indictione XIII.* The *terminus ad quem* within 1120 is June, the month during which Fulk V departs Anjou for the Holy Land.

(Eventually: Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, Rule of St. Augustine)
Cme Azay-sur-Cher, cant. Bléré, arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 78]

1120

Actum Perditum. Comital Foundation. In the year in which Fulk V traveled to Jerusalem for the first time, the count donated to two priests named Renaud and Geoffrey part of the comital forest of Brechenay, namely the area between Cormery and Azay-sur-Cher, for the establishment of a hermitage there. Fulk made this religious foundation [*elemosine*] with the consent of Countess Aremburge, conceding it to all the priests' successors. The benefaction was upon the request [*rogante*] and in the presence of his *secretario* John, who, having previously been a hermit in the area, personally vouched for the presence of the "spirit of the eremitical profession in those places."⁹⁷ The benefaction emphasizes that the gift was to enable construction and other development so as to facilitate the pursuit of the eremitical way of life [*ad victum suum*] in the forest.

This act is preserved in a comital charter produced in 1128 [F 110]. There, on account of the recent disturbances arising from the jealousy of his foresters and other officials, Fulk V augmented the original foundation by exempting the hermits and the hermitage from all lay interference. An addendum follows, in which Geoffrey V consented to the 1120 benefaction as well as the 1128 concession, promising that they would be held firm in his own impending reign.

Manuscript History (for the extant charter):

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Vidimus* by an official of the Court of Tours, copy after A, lost (1439)
- C. Cartulary of the Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, lost (16th c.)
- D. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, Fragment of the Cartulary of the Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, n. 12, pp. 26-28, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 658, *Inventaire des titres du prieuré du Graais*, fol. 240, after B (18th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1489, fol. 248r-v, copy after E (18th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1491, fol. 249r-v, copy after C (18th c.)

⁹⁷ "*Qui in locis predictis heremitice professionis animas habitasse perhibebat...*"

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, n. 8, pp. 5-6, after F and G

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 85, p. 277, with errors

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

The charter of 1128 indicates that the original “gift of this religious foundation was made in that year in which it came to pass that I went to Jerusalem” [*huius elemosine donum factum est eo anno quo michi Ierosolimam ire contigit...*], i.e. 1120.

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, cant., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 79]

c. 1120

Saumur, house of Joscelin Roonard

Charter. Comital Adjudication. While Count Fulk V, Countess Aremburge, and several of his barons were present about the house of Joscelin Roonard at the forum of Saumur,⁹⁸ Abbot Stephen of Saint-Florent and many of his monks approached the comital entourage, demanding that Fulk resolve, with the counsel and reasoning of his barons, the contention between the count's agents [*clientes*] and the monks. The agents, chief among whom the charter later identifies as Bouchard of *Marulio*, the comital provost of Saumur, and Beringierius, the comital cupbearer, claimed that they held the right to collect the *vinagium* from every land of Saint-Florent, save for the church's own vineyards. The monks countered by insisting that comital clients never held the *vinagium* on the vineyards from which the monks were owed a fourth part. The monks also produced a charter which falsely⁹⁹ alleged that the counts of Anjou had never held the *vinagium* upon Saint-Florent's own land, except briefly on some twenty measures [*modiis*] of land under Count Geoffrey I after 1055 as a benefice from Abbot Sigon and, even then, the grant was limited to Geoffrey's own lifetime.

After hearing this testimony, reading over the charter, and considering the counsel of his barons, Fulk decided that lands which had been cultivated for the production of wine, lands of which the monks held a fourth part, would continue to be exempt from the

⁹⁸ See [F 47].

⁹⁹ Fulk V himself held the *vinagium* on lands of Saint-Florent beyond the Thouet river. He donated half of the custom to the abbey in 1109x1114. See [F 33].

pasnagium; however, other lands which had been given for such cultivation would be subject to the *pasnagium*. Upon the charter, which Joscelin Roonard is said to have decided to have made, Fulk and Aremburge impressed their cross signatures. Fulk also instructed his barons to sign—the *signa* of Arduin of Cinq-Mars and Archalois are indicated, though surviving manuscripts do not bear the crosses.

On the following Sunday, the abbatial cellarer went to Angers before Geoffrey V, who in front of many and acquiescing to the exhortation of his *nutricius* Adam, strengthened the benefaction with his own signature.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, *Livre blanc de Saint-Florent*, ff. 39v-40r, after A (1150-1200)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1381, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 33, pp. 359-361, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 80, pp. 275-276
- 2. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, p. 513

Witnesses:

For the benefaction at Saumur:

...*qui hoc viderunt et audierunt*: Bouchard of Mareil, provost of Saumur; Beringerius, cupbearer

For Geoffrey's confirmation at Angers:

...*testibus*: Bigat; William Burellus.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The presence of Abbot Stephen, whose abbacy began in 1118, and Countess Aremburge, who died in 1126, establish *termini* of 1118 and 1126. The adjudication is, however, likely c. 1120 on account of the didactic overtones of Adam's exhortation unto Geoffrey V with regard to the latter's confirmation (signaling Geoffrey's young age), of the presence of Joscelin Roonard who otherwise disappeared entirely from Fulk V's acts after 1120, of the presence of Archalois who similarly otherwise disappeared from comital acts after 1120, and of the *dei gratia* clause which only appeared otherwise in comital diplomatic after Fulk V took the cross in later 1119. This act may, indeed, be around the same time as [F 75] on 1 May 1120 also at Saumur: there is a significant overlap in lay and ecclesiastical witnesses.

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, cant., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 80]

c. 1120
Beaufort-en-Vallée

Notice. Comital Adjudication. At the comital castle of Beaufort-en-Vallée, Fulk V, Aremburge, and Geoffrey resolved a dispute between the monks of Saint-Florent, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the comital provost of Beaufort and his agents. The dispute concerned whether the servants of the Abbey of Saint-Florent may pass through the comital forest unmolested and entitled to forage what they may need from disused woods; the comital family judged that they may. In exchange, however, the monks of Saint-Florent were obliged, on both Christmas and Easter, to provide the provost and his agents with a certain amount of bread, wine, and coinage with which to purchase meat. Additionally, for the forum of Saint-Florent, the monks had to provide a certain amount of manpower for the feast in May and twelve Saumurois *sextarii* of grain in August.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1930, *Livre noir de Saint-Florent*, fol. 99r, after A (11th c., with additions)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2140, piece 4, after B (16th c.)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2141, piece 1, after B (16th c.?)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 34, pp. 361-362, after B

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 81, p. 276
2. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, pp. 110, 492
3. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 128, p. 279, with errors

Witnesses:

Testes sunt isti: Stephen, abbot; Oger, prior; Silvester, cellarer; Paganus of Clairvaux; Archalois; Girard fitz Paganus; Lebertus, huntsman; Bernard, his *nepos*; William Burellus [*Bobel*]; Geoffrey *Guegnart*; *et multi alii*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The presence of Abbot Stephen of Saint-Florent establishes a *terminus ab quo* of at least 1118, the first year of his abbacy. The presence of Countess Aremburge provides a *terminus ad quem* of 1126, the year of her death. The presence of Girard fitz Paganus, who joined the comital entourage in c. 1120, as well as Archalois, who is otherwise absent from regional charters after May 1120, suggests dating the act to c. 1120.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 81]

c. 1120

Charter. Comital Donation. Attending to their filial duty to arrange blessings for the souls of their fathers, Fulk and Aremburge donate and concede to the religious of Fontevraud the bridge of Chinon, save a certain measure of land [*obolus*].¹⁰⁰ They make this benefaction into the hand of Abbess Petronilla. Their son, Geoffrey V, concedes the grant.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 14, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- C. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 133, lost
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 562, p. 94, extracts after C (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 859, pp. 797-798, after B and D
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 30, p. 357-358, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 859, pp. 797-798
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 76, p. 274

Witnesses:

Istis videntibus: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Geoffrey fitz Garinus

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo*, at the earliest, would be 28 October 1115, when Petronilla became Abbess of Fontevraud. However, given that Geoffrey V, who here conceded the benefaction, neither appeared nor participated in comital acts until mid-1116, a *terminus ab quo* of 1116 is almost certainly the case. The *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year in which Countess Aremburge died. Nevertheless, the benefaction probably occurred in 1120 in advance of Fulk V's departure on crusade. Previous years had witnessed a series of piecemeal donations of properties and privileges around Chinon to the Abbey of Fontevraud, and the present benefaction appears to be a plenary note of conclusion to this series. More significantly, providing for liturgical services to honor the souls of deceased fathers is typically an arrangement which would have been made shortly after the deaths in question, here 1109 for Count Fulk le Réchin and 1110 for Count Hélias of Maine. The *terminus ab quo* for this act must, however, be 1116 (as I explain above), which indicates that it more likely reflects Fulk V's own anxiety about the possibility of death. This is most plausible in the spring 1120 context, the eve of his impending journey to a Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem still politically uncertain in the wake of The Battle of Ager Sanguinis. Other comital charters around that time articulate similar rhetoric pertaining to the uncertain arrival of death and the attendant imperative of making preparations.¹⁰¹

Manuscript B, an 1129 pancarte redaction of the original, interpolates mention of how Fulk V later donated the aforementioned *obolus* upon the dying request of Aremburge (d. 1126) on 15 January 1127 in Baugé. For this later donation, see: [F 108].

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dépt. Maine-et-Loire**

¹⁰⁰ Niermeyer, p. 950.

¹⁰¹ [F 66]; [F 81]; [F 75]; [F 73].

[F 82]

c. 1120

Charter. Comital Donation. For the remedy of his own soul and that of his parents, Count Fulk V freely and wholly grants to Fontevraud the *pasnagium* pertaining to all comital forests.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 13, after A (c. 1116, with additions)
- C. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 14, after A (c. 1118, with additions)
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 12, after A (1129, with confirmation of 1154)
- E. AN, P 1334/5, fol. 131r, after A, with addition of 1129x1151 Geoffrey V confirmation (1342)
- F. *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, fol. 133, lost
- G. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 560, p. 94, extracts after F (17th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 131, copy after F (18th c.)
- I. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, I, p. 326, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 857, pp. 795-796, after B, C, D, E, and G
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 41, pp. 373-374, after B, D, and E

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 857, pp. 795-796
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 92, p. 279
- 3. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 50

Witnesses:

Videntibus et audientibus istis: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Ralph of Grez; Archalois; *Roberto Ragot* (Robert fitz Renaud?)¹⁰²

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Given that Robert of Arbrissel is not mentioned here, a convention in Fulk's benefactions to Fontevraud before Robert's death, Bienvenu establishes the *terminus ab quo* for the present donation as 25 February 1116, the date on which Robert of Arbrissel died. This *terminus* is further recommended by the presence of Gervase of Troyes, who did not appear in comital acts until 1116. If the witness *Roberto Ragot*, surviving only in Ms D, is the comital dapifer Robert fitz Renaud, then the *terminus ab quo* must be c. 1120, as Stephen Baucan remained grand seneschal until about that year. The *terminus ad quem* is, at the latest, 1129, the year in which Fulk V permanently left Anjou for Jerusalem. However, the enormity of the benefaction, as well as the presence of Archalois who cannot be dated confidently in contemporary records after 1120, suggests that Count Fulk V offered this relinquishment on the eve of his May/June 1120 departure for Jerusalem.

Geoffrey V confirmed this donation during his own reign. The possible dates of issuance can be established as 1129x1144/1150x1151 given his identification as count but not duke. This confirmation is appended to the present act in a *vidimus* from 1342 (Ms E).

¹⁰² *Roberto Ragot* (Ms D only). Angevin scribes often dropped the 'filius' genitive marker.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux-en-Vernantes, Cistercian Order
Cme Vernantes, cant. Longué-Jumelles, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 83]

13 September 1121

Actum Perditum. Comital Foundation. In an 1146 charter recording the conclusion of a dispute between Count Geoffrey V and Abbot Fulco of Le Louroux, it is recorded that, in founding the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux,¹⁰³ Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge had donated to the incipient community various privileges which included half-rents about La Cornuaille [*Curneiaco*]¹⁰⁴ and about the burgh of Saint-Nicholas in Le Mans.

Manuscript History (for Geoffrey V's charter):

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1733, after A (18th c.)
- C. BM Angers, ms. 687, *Notre-Dame Angevin* by Joseph Grandet, after A (1884)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, "Chartes Angevines des onzième et douzième siècles," *BEC* 36 (1875), n. 33, pp. 433-435, after B and C

Analysis:

- 1. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 57
- 2. Michel Pecha, "Origines d'une abbaye cistercienne: Notre-Dame de Pontron," in *Archives d'Anjou: Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie angevines*, VI (Angers: Association des amis des Archives d'Anjou, 2002), pp. 5-28.
- 3. Alexandra Gajewski, "Twelfth-Century Cistercian Architecture in Greater Anjou," in *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology* eds. John McNeill and Daniel Prigent (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2003), pp. 151-167: 152-153.

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause for the act of foundation. It is well established that the present abbey was founded in 1121.¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the evidence that recommends a specific dating of 13 September 1121, refer to the article below by Michel Pecha.

¹⁰³ The Abbey of Notre-Dame of Le Louroux-en-Vernantes under the Cistercian Order was: Cme Vernantes, cant. Longué-Jumelles, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

¹⁰⁴ The location of *Curneiaco* has proven somewhat of a mystery for modern scholars. The suggestion of La Cornuaille here (Cant. Louroux-Béconnais, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire) is speculative, though it symbolically aligns with the far-flung half-rent at Le Mans—foundational grants upon the outer geographical reaches of Fulk's authority?

¹⁰⁵ For instance: "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," pp. 131-132.

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
Cme, cant., and arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 84]

Later 1121

Angers

Notice. Comital Justice. In 1082, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey of Tours, Bishop of Angers, had agreed that the comital provost of Angers and the archdeacon of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers would share jurisdiction over the prosecution of lay usurers and adulterers in the city of Angers. While Fulk V and Renaud of Martigné, bishop of Angers, were absent on crusade in 1120-1121, comital provosts violated the longstanding agreement. After the return of the Angevin crusading contingent, Bishop Renaud gathered Bishop Marbode of Rennes as well as the dean and archdeacons of the cathedral and proceeded to the comital *curia*. There, Bishop Renaud put forth his case “to the count and to his curia,” reading aloud the charter produced on the occasion of the 1082 agreement and requesting that Fulk V uphold it now. *Consul*¹⁰⁶ Fulk V found the petition to be just and, thus, instructed Lupellus Ferle [*LuperCUS*], then provost of Angers, that henceforth the agreement was to be maintained faithfully and firmly, “as it could be read in the composition.”

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, fol. 93v, after A (12th c.), lost
- C. *Index titulorum*..., p. 131, after B (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Baluze, vol. 39, fol. 51r, after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 153, pp. 245-247

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 57, pp. 268-269

Witnesses:

Hoc viderunt et audierunt: Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Robert fitz Renaud, chief seneschal [*dapifer*]

Dating and Discussion:

No datum clause exists for the second part of the notice pertaining to Fulk V's involvement. Nevertheless, there is mention that the act transpired after Count Fulk V and Bishop Renaud returned from Jerusalem, providing a *terminus ab quo* of mid-late 1121. The *terminus ad quem* may be established as 11 September 1123, the date on which Bishop Marbode, who is present here, died. Yet,

¹⁰⁶ Ms. D only.

since the proceedings of the notice make clear that the contestation of shared jurisdiction occurred during the 1120-1121 absence of the Angevin crusading contingent and that Bishop Renaud made haste to rectify the matter upon his return to the city, it stands to reason that the judicial hearing at the comital court transpired before the end of 1121. Note also that Robert fitz Renaud was here again mistranscribed as Renaud fitz Robert in Ms. B. See the discussion in [F 13].

Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Tours, arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 85]

c. 1121

Montbazou, comital *curia*

Notice. Comital Justice. Under the influence of wicked men and spurred on by their own cupidity, Paganus Burduth—provost of Count Fulk concerning Montbazou--and Archembaud fitz Ulger—*dominus* of half of the castrum of Montbazou [*dominus medietatis castris*]--assumed a false charge in collecting the bees which they were accustomed to come upon in the woods of Saint-Julien-de-Chédon [*caeperunt calumniam mittere in apes quae invenire solebant in bosco Sancti Iuliani de Chettonne*]. A dispute concerning jurisdiction over the bees followed between the monks and these two men, for the notice records that the monks felt that they had been accused falsely, against justice, and that they eventually felt compelled [*compulsi necessitate*] to strive to resolve the matter by force [*per vim*] in approaching the count of Anjou.

The monks entreated and asked Fulk that he would order the case of Saint-Julian to be determined justly [*causam Sancti Iuliani legitime diffiniri praeciperet*]. Evidently, this took the form of Count Fulk immediately instructing Paganus that, force and injustice having been left behind [*relicta vi et iniustitia*] and (the parties) coming together at a time and place, the case of Saint-Julian would be concluded through a lawful trial.

According, the day having been devoted to this matter in the *curia* of the count near Montbazou, a trial was concluded in that a man of Saint-Julian, named Gaufridus Tensus, proved through the sacrament and through fire—having sworn on the sacrament and coming through the trial unharmed [*sacramentum iuravit et iudicium salvus portavit de quo ut salvus exivit*]—this, that those bees which the provost of the count and Archembaud fitz Ulger were declaring to be their own the monks themselves were holding peacefully [*quiete habuerunt*] from the time of Ulger and Paganus of Mirebeau (N.B. this claim is likely false, see 'dating and discussion' below). The right [*rectum*], therefore, remained with Saint-Julian.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost

- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, after A, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Baluze, LXXVII, p. 101, after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 69, pp. 92-93, after C

Analysis:

- 1. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1371 (18th c.)

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The surviving record does not clarify whether the count described herein was Fulk V rather than Fulk IV, though several pieces of evidence strongly suggest that the present trial occurred during the reign of Fulk V pursuant to his return from Jerusalem in late 1121. First, the only known record of the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours receiving privileges concerning the forest of Chédon is that of Countess Aremburge's donation in 1120x1121, a donation co-enacted with Archembaud fitz Ulger.¹⁰⁷ This donation, preserved only in a later notice, specifies that the donation was not of the entire forest but, rather, the part of the forest extending from the woods of the milites [*foresta militum*] until the abbey. The present contestation appears, thus, to be a result of uncertainty regarding the point of demarcation between the forest still under the jurisdiction of the count's men, such as Paganus Burduth and Archembaud fitz Ulger here, and the forest now under the holding of the abbey. Furthermore, the monks claim in the present notice that they had held the right to make use of the bees in Saint-Julian-de-Chédon since the time of Ulger and Paganus of Mirebeau. The Ulger referenced here was probably the individual known to be *homo legitimus* of Count-Duke Guy-Geoffrey of Poitiers in April 1067;¹⁰⁸ Paganus of Mirebeau was one of the *fideles* of count Fulk IV, having received the *honor* of Mirebeau and guardianship of the château at Chinon toward the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.¹⁰⁹ This is to say that, in invoking the holding of the privilege of the bees since the time of these aforementioned men, the monks are alleging a long-standing historical claim to the bees. As a result, it stands to reason that the present trial occurred some time after the lives of Ulger and Paganus of Mirebeau. This, alongside the supplementary evidence outlined above, strongly suggests that the present contestation transpired in the reign of Fulk V, specifically after the confusion introduced by Aremburge's donation in 1120x1121. Assuming this chronology, the veracity of the monks' claim to the custom of the bees is dubious. Fulk V's milites could not have been accustomed to collecting honey from these bees if the monks had actually held that privilege since the time of Paganus of Mirebeau and Ulger, likely many decades prior. This claim is intended to bolster the validity of their challenge which is justified in actuality upon an assumption of what was and was not included in Aremburge's donation in 1120x1121.

There is additional evidence to suggest dating the act to c. 1121. On 27 August 1123, Fulk V appears to be rather upset with the monks of Saint-Nicholas for having failed to maintain lines of demarcation as to their holdings.¹¹⁰ This may be a direct response to the ordeal described herein, an ordeal arising from uncertainties as to the limits of land jurisdiction. Furthermore, if there was some confusion as to who could collect honey from the bees in the contested border region, a conflict would likely have arisen soon after the original donation (i.e. the aforementioned donation of 1120x1121) rather than long after it. And, by 1123, Paganus Burduth is to be found as provost of Loches rather than of

¹⁰⁷ Catalog n. [G 1-3] (1120x1121), AD Indre-et-Loire, H 1056, n. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 112n495.

¹⁰⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 323ns197-199.

¹¹⁰ [F 88].

Montbazou;¹¹¹ his successor, Gautier *Facit-Malum*, briefly held the post before it passed in 1123 to Michael of Doué, who held the provostship into the reign of Geoffrey V.¹¹²

Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict

Cme. Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 86]

1109x1122

Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Abbey of Saint-Maur

Charter. Comital Justice. While visiting the Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Count Fulk V and his wife Aremburge receive a complaint from Abbot Rannulfus and his monks. The provosts of the comital castrum of Beaufort-en-Vallée had taken, as if mandated by custom, to attend the festival of Saint-Maurus with a great host of their own men, whereupon they would complain relentlessly as to the food and cause a general disturbance. Count Fulk and Countess Aremburge decree that, henceforth, a provost would not receive food at the feast for more than himself and four or five of his men. Additionally, the foresters of the village of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire would be received only at the feasts of the Nativity, Easter, and All-Saints. They are to be provided with one shoulder of pork—or two *nummos*—as well as a loaf of bread and a bottle of wine.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, Cartulary of Saint-Maur, fol. 17r (12th c.)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 36, p. 380, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, n. 49, p. 266
- 2. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, pp. 344-345

Witnesses:

Quod audierunt isti qui secutur: Arnulf of Montgomery; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Lebertus, the huntsman; Bernard, huntsman and *nepos* of that man; *Andreas Gibosus*; Geoffrey fitz Isdernus; *Bernardus Putoomo*

Ex parte monachorum: Abbot Rannulfus; John, monk; *Goffredus*; *Gosbertus*; *Rainaldus*

De laicis: Vaslotus, provost; Robert of *Mortuis Aquis*; Vitto, servant; Pagan, uncle of Abbot Rannulfus

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay suggests a dating of 'vers 1120,' perhaps on account of the presence of Paganus, uncle of Abbot Rannulfus and thus brother of Borel of Saumur, the latter of

¹¹¹ [F 90].

¹¹² Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 58.

whom is not present here and probably died before 1120. This would appear to be a questionable basis for even a suggestive dating. In any case, the *terminus ab quo* is the date of Fulk V's accession to the countship. The *terminus ad quem* is 1122, by which year Arnulf of Montgomery, who is a witness here, dies.¹¹³ Additionally, one should note that the recto of fol. 17 on which the present charter was preserved (Ms. B) commences *in media res*, that is, partway through the original charter: "...*filia causa visitacionis ad monasterium beati Mauri, unde isdem confessor feliciter migravit ad dominum.*" The verso of the preceding folio concludes with an altogether different benefaction. Nevertheless, we appear to have missed little, as the surviving material makes sufficiently clear the context in which the comital disposition—that is fully preserved—was enacted.

PRIVATE

[F 87]

1121x1122

Angers

Charter. Comital Justice / Quitclaim. In this charter, Fulk recalls how a great contention had recently arisen between himself and Andefredus fitz Guito concerning Andefredus' landholding at *Jerleta* and the plain of Mayenne. Andefredus had been insisting that the customs therein, inclusive of judicial rights like the prosecution of murder and banditry as well as the holding of trials by battle, belonged to him entirely, save for the customs of military service [*exercitus*], mounted patrol [*equitatio*], and tallage [*talliata*] which Fulk retained. Fulk had objected to these claims. And so, Andefredus has sent before the count seventy-three honest Angevins who can attest to the truth of the matter. Fulk chooses twelve of these men and has them swear to their testimony upon relics. Reluctantly accepting the truth of the claim that all these things had belonged to Andefredus' ancestors and ought to be maintained by him and his heirs, Count Fulk V has now relinquished his contention. Fulk indicates that he is making his sons Geoffrey and Hélias concede the matter as well. And, to ensure that the quitclaim would endure inviolably, Fulk V issues the present charter which has been sealed.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. français 27246, pièce originale 762, copy after A (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 42, pp. 374-375, after B, with mistranscriptions

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 93, pp. 279-280

¹¹³ Kathleen Thompson, "Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery," *Annales de Normandie* 45, 1 (1995), pp. 49-53.

Witnesses:

Hoc viderunt et audierunt: Renaud of Martigné, bishop of Angers; Matthew of Belle-Notue, provost [pretor] of Angers; Geoffrey of Ramefort; John of Blaison; Renaud le Roux of Plessis-Macé, chamberlain of the count; Hugh of Tours; Pepin, his son; Bouchard of Grez; Ralph of Grez; *Halenotus de Archa*; Arnulf of Montgomery; Herveus Rabelli [Rondel]; *alii plures*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Dutton has suggested an interval of 1114x1116 for the present accord. The *terminus ab quo* of 1114 is on the basis of the concession of Hélias, Fulk's second son who was born in May 1114 at the earliest. The *terminus ad quem* is furnished by the presence of one "Herveus Rondel" whom Dutton reasonably interprets as Herveus Rotundellus, the provost of Angers who died in February 1116.¹¹⁴ However, an interval of 1121x1122 is more plausible here. First, Herveus Rondel may just as easily be a copying error in ms B for Herveus Rabelli, an individual who appears elsewhere in Fulk V's acts pursuant to Herveus Rotundellus' death (e.g. [F 52]). Moreover, Geoffrey V, the heir to the principality, did not appear in comital acts until he was at least two, probably three, so the equal-to-Geoffrey dispositive participation of Hélias here at less than even two years of age (Hélias would have turned two in May 1116 at the earliest, two months after Herveus Rotundellus' death) is rather unlikely. Finally, the provost of Angers here is one Matthew—Herveus Rotundellus held the position until his death in March 1116, pursuant to which William des Moulins occupied the office until at least 1119 ([F 66]) but probably 1121x1122 (Ronceray, n. 205). Lupellus Ferle was provost in 1121 ([F 84]); Matthew became provost 1121x1122 ([F 87]); and Hugh of Sablé took over by 1123 ([F 88]). Given that Arnulf of Montgomery, a witness here, died by 1122 at the latest,¹¹⁵ the present act must have transpired in 1121x1122, following Fulk V's return from the Holy Land. It should be indicated, furthermore, that Chartrou's edition mistranscribes a critical 'volui' as 'nolui,' yielding a translation wherein Count Fulk V wished to end the dispute upon receiving testimony rather than wished to continue it but, as an expression of his acquiescence to the justice of his own court, had chosen to abide by the resulting judgment. See the broader discussion in Chapter Four concerning this charter.

Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 88]

27 August 1123

Angers, *in camera comitis*

Notice. Comital Justice. The notice recalls first how Count Fulk le Réchin, with his two sons Geoffrey Martel II and Fulk V consenting, had donated to Saint-Nicholas the entire forest of Échats (Pruniers) without boundary until the stream of Brionneau. The monks had the forest cleared and developed through the construction of a church, houses, vineyards, and mills as well as the provision of foresters and boundary palisades.

¹¹⁴ Dutton, "Personnel of Comital Administration in Anjou," 135n56.

¹¹⁵ Kathleen Thompson, "Note de recherche: Arnoul de Montgomery," *Annales de Normandie* 45, 1 (1995), pp. 49-53.

Recently, Fulk V had admonished the monks for their poor upkeep of the palisades, which had been uprooted and ruined. Driven to anger, Fulk seized the palisades as well as whatsoever had been built in/about them. Fearing God and Saint Nicholas, moved by mercy, and wishing not to be seen as violating the charity of his father, Fulk soon restored these things to the abbey. However, Fulk did so on certain conditions. First, to preserve the palisades and prevent their ruin through falling apart, not less than ten stakes were to be maintained at narrow points. Furthermore, it is implied that, should the monastery or anyone else who held such land—Saint-Aubin is named—fail to erect those stakes, the land may be seized for the completion of the stakes for boundary defense. Also, if the monks were to dismantle any of the palisades therein for the cultivation of fields or the creation of gardens, vineyards, and so forth, they would answer not to a provost, a *vicarius*, or any of their ministers but, rather, to the count himself alone [*sed soli comiti*]. And, upon such complaint, the abbot would pay the count one hundred *solidi* as a fine. Should anyone else commit such deeds, the monks of Saint-Nicholas would receive the *gruagium* foresting custom as well as the associated fine, presumably levied by the count or his ministers.

Of this liberty and restitution, Count Fulk made and confirmed the benefaction into the hands of Bishop Renaud of Angers and Abbot John, with the dagger of the monk Guito of Daon. Fulk's wife Aremburge as well as all their children were consenting.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, fol. 132r-v, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9613, ff. 215v-216r, extracts after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Epitome*, pp. 53-54, partial after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 55, p. 268, after a, erroneous summary
- 2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 180, pp. 261-264, after a

Witnesses:

Ex parte Sancti-Nicolai hi sunt testes: Lord-Bishop Renaud of Angers; Lord-Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme; Lord-Abbot Peter of Saint-Serge; Archdeacon Richard; Grafion (canon of Saint-Maurice); Otbertus, canon of Saint-Maurice
de monachis: Guito of Daon, prior; Maurice of Craon; Geoffrey of Chemillé; Thaurandus, the archivist [*armarius*]; Herbertus de Parrenaiio;
Ex parte comitis hii sunt testes: Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Hugh of Sablé, provost; Adam [*Aunus*], *nutricius*; Mainerius, canon of Saint-Laud

**Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
 cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 89]

Later 1121 x 11 September 1123

Angers, Cloister of Saint-Laud

Notice. Comital Confirmation. The first parts of the notice relate how Beringerius of Molières acquired from Amaury Crispin, who was married to Warmase the heiress of Champtoceaux, the properties of Hérison¹¹⁶ and, with the consent of his *dominus* Abbo of Rochefort, granted them to the monks of Saint-Aubin during the abbacy of Archambault. Following the death of Archambault, his successor Abbot Hamelin and many venerable persons, including Bishop Marbode of Rennes and Archdeacon Ulger whom Hamelin is noted specifically to have brought along with him, approached the most vigorous [*strenuissimum*] Count Fulk and his son Geoffrey in the cloister of Saint-Laud. There, Hamelin entreated the count and his son to concede to Saint-Aubin the land of Hérison with its woods that derived from a comital benefice. Upon hearing the request, Fulk joyfully told the abbot:

"What is right is being returned to right [*Rectum ad rectum revertitur*]. Truly, the land of Hérison with its woods ought to be recognized as distinct from the lordship of the counts of Angers. Wherefore, I and my son, Geoffrey, concede it, free and exempt from all customs, to Saint-Aubin in alms. And, just as if it were our own gift, we promise to Saint-Aubin that we will always defend it."

Among the witnesses for the act made in the cloister of Saint-Laud is Abbo of Rochefort, *dominus* of Beringerius of Molières who had some years prior resolved a calumny by a relative concerning this land and, earlier in the present notice, donated the land to Saint-Aubin.¹¹⁷ The original transfer was made some years ago as a sale to Orri of Champtoceaux by Count Geoffrey Martel I.¹¹⁸

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 829 (745), Cartulary of Saint-Aubin, fol. 34r-v, after A (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1369, ff. 167-169r, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, I, n. 114, pp. 139-142, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 38, p. 263, brief summary after a, erroneous dating as 20 September 1117

Witnesses:

¹¹⁶ Cme Bouchemaine, cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

¹¹⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 113.

¹¹⁸ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 113; Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 183.

videntibus et audientibus istis: Marbode, bishop of Rennes; Ulger, archdeacon, both of whom Abbot Hamelin had led with him

de militibus comitis: Hugh of Mathefelon; Abbo of Rochefort; Matthew, provost; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Lupellus Ferle; Pipin of Tours; Guito (of Super Pontem)

Dating and Discussion:

The earliest part of the notice provides a date of 20 September 1117.¹¹⁹ However, the comital concession involved the initiative of Abbot Hamelin who did not succeed Abbot Archambault until at least 6 November 1119, the date of the latter's death. Furthermore, a Matthew, provost of Angers, appears in the witness list for the comital benefaction: Matthew did become provost of Angers until 1121x1122.¹²⁰ The *terminus ab quo* is, therefore, 1121 in the late summer, when Fulk V had returned from the Holy Land. The *terminus ad quem* can be established as 11 September 1123, the date of the death of Bishop Marbode of Rennes.

**Abbey of Saint-Paul of Cormery, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Chambray-lès-Tours, arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 90]

1123
Tours

Notice. Comital Justice. For some time preceding the events of the notice, the monks of the Abbey of Cormery had found themselves in conflict—as concerned the abbey's holdings in a part of the forest of Brechenay near Montbazou—with provosts and foresters belonging to the count and his aristocrats. The abbots' previous attempts to resolve the issue had failed, and comital agents continued to encroach upon and develop the contested lands. In 1121x1123, Abbot Menard took up the issue again, lodging a complaint before Archembaud fitz Ulger, who held the *sacramentum* (holy place) of the woods in question directly from Consul Fulk V, and before Gautier *Facit-Malum*, comital provost of Montbazou. Abbot Menard and the monks claimed to have a certain man of theirs who could prove and delineate the extent of the lands which Cormery held freely since the time of Fulk Nerra, “the consul who built the abbey of the Holy Sepulcher of Beaulieu-lès-Loches” and granted them protection from such calumny. Archembaud, Gautier, and a monastic envoy accompanied this man as he walked the lengths of the lands in question. Upon the completion of the inquest, a charter appears to have been produced. Witnesses that are preserved in the extant notice include foresters of both Fulk

¹¹⁹ An exact dating of 20 September 1117 is provided for this initial series of *acta*. However, such a dating is suspect, given the presence of multiple simultaneous provosts of Angers within the singularly dated interval. This is the only occasion on which multiple such provosts are recorded, indicating that the multi-part notice has temporally conflated the individual *acta* of this initial series.

¹²⁰ For William des Moulin's final attestations, see: 1116x1120 [F 71]; 1120x1121, *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 205. Matthew presented as provost of Angers elsewhere in 1121x1122 [F 87]. A Lupellus Ferle was also provost of Angers around this time: 1121 [F 84].

V and Archembaud. The aforementioned man of Cormery designated a certain Odo Amaury to provide judicial proof on his behalf in the future, on account of his own advanced age.

The notice indicates that the dispute then laid dormant for a short while. However, in 1123, with Gautier *Facit-Malum* having been dismissed from the provostship of Montbazou, his successor Michael of Doué sought to revive the contestation. Thibaut, the prior of Cormery, enlisted the aid of Albert, a comital chamberlain, to petition Fulk V while the count was at the castrum of Chinon. Hearing how Cormery had previously established its case, Fulk ordered his provost, Michael, to take Odo Amaury into custody so that the matter may be resolved by that individual undergoing a trial by ordeal. Although Michael had Odo brought forth at Cormery's church of Sainte-Marie at Montbazou on the third day (to inspect the wounds), Michael himself was absent for Fulk's verdict. The count declared the abbey had been found to be in the right; Fulk discharged his forester Renaud of Baugé and censured several individuals associated with the estate of Montbazou. Subsequently, Michael expressed regret over his actions to Prior Thibaut and appears to have wished for the contested lands to be given to the abbey. The prior immediately brought Michael before the count, who was then at Tours. After questioning Michael, Fulk V conceded the contested lands, which he relinquished to the abbey in perpetuity, to be held in peace and immunity.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Tours, ms. 1349, Cartulary of the Abbey of Cormery, after A (16th c.), lost

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Cormery*, n. 55, pp. 109-113, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 56, p. 268, very brief summary with errors

Witnesses (for Fulk V confirmation):

Audientibus et videntibus istis: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Iagelinus fitz Sigibrand; Michael, himself, provost (of Montbazou); Bruno, chamberlain [*cubiculario*]

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Facta est haec carta anna ab incarnatione Domini MCXXIII, indictione prima, Calixto papa, Henrico imperatore, Ludovico rege, Fulcone comite Andecavense, Petrus Peloquinus scripsit.*

The datum clause provides a temporal reference for the comital benefaction; the contentions and judicial encounters leading to the benefaction remain undated. The initial inquest involving Archembaud fitz Ulger and Gautier *Facit-Malum* as comital provost of Montbazou must have occurred after Fulk's return from the Holy Land in 1121, for Paganus Burduth was provost of Montbazou during Fulk's absence in 1120-1121 whereas Paganus attests in the witness list for the inquest here as provost of Loches—formerly a provost of Loches himself, Gautier first appears to have relieved his brother Paganus Burduth after Paganus' reassignment from the provostship of Montbazou as a consequence of a dispute with the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours in 1121 [F 85] and, then, was himself indicated explicitly to have been succeeded by Michael of Doué over the course of the present notice, i.e. 1121-1123. The trial before Fulk V at Montbazou occurred shortly before his donation of the part of the forest under question.

Abbey of Saint-Aubin of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 91]

c. 1123

Charter? Comital Donation/Confirmation? On 20 April 1123, Renaud of Martigné, the bishop of Angers, dedicated Saint-Aubin's dependent priory of Saint-Macé at Trèves.¹²¹ As part of the priory's foundation, the *dominus* of Trèves, Geoffrey Fouchard, as well as Abbot Hamelin of Saint-Aubin, had granted to the priory's community various customs for its upkeep. At some point afterward, or perhaps on 20 April 1123 itself, Count Fulk V confirmed the aforementioned gifts of Geoffrey Fouchard and Abbot Hamelin. In 1129x1135, Count Geoffrey V issued a second confirmation.

Based on the lone surviving manuscript, which is a French summary of late provenance, it is unclear whether Fulk V provided any gifts of his own. Yet, if the present benefaction aligns with patterns of comital patronage evinced elsewhere in the 1120s, Fulk V had confirmed the gifts of Geoffrey Fouchard and Abbot Hamelin at the same time as he had made his own donation as part of a series of foundational benefactions for the newly established priory.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 863 (775), *Inventaire des titres de Saint-Macé*, fol. 1v, summary after A (17th c.?)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

- 1. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 11

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

The surviving French summary indicates that the dedication of the priory of Saint-Macé of Trèves had occurred on 20 April 1123. Based on patterns of comital patronage established elsewhere, it is likely that Count Fulk V confirmed the gifts of Geoffrey Fouchard, lord of Trèves, and Abbot Hamelin of Saint-Aubin on that same day at Trèves, having traveled there with Bishop Renaud, or not long thereafter. The subsequent appearance of Geoffrey Fouchard's son, Aimery of Loudun, in an 1124 comital actum as part of Geoffrey V's personal entourage reveals perhaps the restoration of relations

¹²¹ Trèves is located today in: Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

resulting from the present confirmation/donation, which must, then, be dated to c. 1123. See [F 97]. Nevertheless, the only certain interval for the comital confirmation remains 1123x1129. This is due to both the summary's brevity as well as its erroneous dating of Fulk's confirmation to "1136" and then of Geoffrey V's later confirmation to "1291." Dutton has recommended dating Geoffrey's confirmation to 1129x1135.

**Abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Le Mans, dioc. Le Mans, dép. Sarthe**

[F 92]

16 May 1124

Le Mans, Abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans

Notice. Aristocratic Quitclaim (Fulk V present). In exchange for 100 *solidi* of Manceaux *denarii*, Gautier of Clinchamp relinquished his calumny against the monks of Saint-Vincent as concerned a church in Contilly. Gautier offered this quitclaim in the abbey before Lord-Bishop Hildebert and Count Fulk V, who was attending the translation of the relics of Saint Domnole.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Vincent of Le Mans, lost (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5444, p. 233, copy after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent du Mans*, n. 579, pp. 332-333, after C
- b. Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, I, col. 683
- c. Noulens, *Maison de Clinchamp*, pp. 742-743

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 64, p. 270

Witnesses:

Videntibus testibus his: Fulcoius of Lonray;¹²² and William, his brother.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Bishop Hildebert and Count Fulk V are said to have presided over the quitclaim on "the day on which the body of Saint-Domnole was removed" [*in die qua levatum fuit corpus sancti Domnoli*]. Although such phrasing may constitute a roundabout description of a feast day on the anniversary of the saint's death, it is more likely that the scribe of the notice was conveying the sense of novelty which must have surrounded the *translatio* of Saint Domnole's remains, hitherto undisturbed since the saint's death in the late sixth century. The *translatio* from the abbey occurred on

¹²² Cant. Alençon, arr. Alençon, dép. Orne.

16 May 1124.¹²³ In any case, Gautier's quitclaim is subsequently augmented by a confirmation and pledge from his lord, Henry of Vendôme. The recorded witnesses include Fulcodius, Fulk's seneschal for Maine.

**Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
cme, cant., and arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 93]

1124, before 23 May

Abbey of Marmoutier, *camera* of the abbot

Charter. Comital Foundation. According to the extant summary of the charter of foundation, in the same year in which he seized the castrum of Montreuil-Bellay from Girard-Berlai, Count Fulk V, along with his wife Countess Aremburge and before any others, freely and peacefully donated and conceded—for their own prosperity as well as that of their sons Geoffrey V and Hélias in matters temporal as well as eternal—to the monks of Marmoutier a suitable and spacious location at the castle of Trôo—which Fulk was then building—for the construction of a church, offices, gardens, and whatever else the monks deemed necessary for the priory of Notre-Dame des Marchais at Trôo.¹²⁴ Fulk arranged for such a gift in realization that his prosperity both past and present was by virtue of God.

Fulk and Aremburge granted the priory tithes on grain, wine, furnaces, windmills, commercial activity during fairs, transit, and whatever else the monks came to hold in the castellany surrounding the castle; they were also exempted from future lay interferences. Additionally, Fulk and Aremburge granted them land for hosting twenty visitors, who would be delivered by the monks from every custom so long as the other men of that same castrum would be rendering no custom to the count; when the men of the count would begin paying him his own customs, at that time the men of the monks would similarly deliver to them. For, in that same castrum and in the entire castellany of that castrum, they would render absolutely no custom, except such to the monks. Fulk and Aremburge made this gift in the *camera* of Lord-Abbot William of Marmoutier when they came to visit with him at length there while he was suffering from a fourth fever. Seemingly upon the request of the count and countess, William conceded to provide the new priory of Notre-Dame des Marchais at Trôo with half the revenues from the priories of Saint-Laurent-en-Gastine and Le Sentier; Fulk and Aremburge promised to

¹²³ "Decembre," p. 21 in Adrien Baillet, *Les Vies des Saints*, vol. III (Paris: Chez la Veuve Roulland, 1724).

¹²⁴ Priory of Notre-Dame des Marchais at Trôo, Rule of St. Benedict; cant. Montoire-sur-le-Loir, arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher. See: Henri Stein, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1907), p. 540.

compensate the priories from their own coffers. The new priory was to follow Marmoutier in maintaining a congregation of twelve monks. Fulk and Aremburge took the priory under their own protection and, in exchange, requested naught but the prayers of the monks as well as remuneration from God.

Finally, Fulk ordered Hugh of Amboise and Peter, *dominus* of Montoire, both of whom were present there, to allow no harm to come to the monks or other associates of the priory.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, ms. lat. 12879, *Recueil de titres relatifs à l'abbaye de Marmoutier* (Dom Martène), fol. 63r, summary after A (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire Manceau de Marmoutier*, II, pp. 297-299, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, pp. xxxi-xxxii
- 2. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5441, *Table générale des prieurés de Marmoutier* (17th c.)
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 62, p. 270

Witnesses:

Hec viderunt et audierunt, ex parte comitis et comitissae: William Burellus, canon (chaplain?); Hugh of Amboise; Jacquelin of Maillé...

ex parte domni Willelmi abbatis: William, prior; Laurent, prior; Gautier of Compiègne; Hugh, *hospitalarius*; Peter of *Comburneo*; and also, Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme...

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Anno dominice incarnationis MCXXIII* (from b). The benefaction likely occurred in earlier May, given that Abbot William died on 23 May. William is described in Ms B as being in the grips of a fourth fever at the time of the comital benefaction—his death was probably not distant; yet, Fulk was in Le Mans on 16 May 1124 attending the *translatio* of the relics of Saint Domnole [F 92], and, given that the charter specifies that he and Aremburge spent some time conferring with William, it is possible that the present benefaction preceded Fulk's departure for Le Mans. With regard to Trô, see Chapter Four for a discussion concerning whether Fulk's construction here was of a new castle or merely the expansion of a previous fortification undertaken by Geoffrey Martel I.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Beaulieu-lès-Mans, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. and arr. Le Mans, dioc. Le Mans, dép. Sarthe**

[F 94]

9 October 1124

Le Mans

Charter. Comital Donation/Foundation. Through the hand and counsel of Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans, Count Fulk and Countess Aremburge donate the church of Saint-Fraimbault,¹²⁵ with its every possession and the land on which it resided, to the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Beaulieu, where Hildebert has arranged for the establishment of an order of Augustinian canons. With the joint favor of the count and countess as well as in the presence of Geoffrey V, Hildebert has the charter, which is composed by Fulk's chaplain, reinforced with the episcopal seal.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Beaulieu-lès-Mans, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 17124, p. 87, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. BM du Mans, ms. 276, *Inventaire des titres de l'abbaye de Beaulieu*, after B (15th c.)

Editions:

- a. Piolin, *Histoire de l'église du Mans*, III, n. 70, p. 699, partial after C, with errors

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 67, p. 271
- 2. *Inventaire des titres de l'abbaye de Beaulieu du Mans*, n. 424, p. 167

Witnesses:

Hoc vidit et concessit: Geoffrey, son of the count; and the aforementioned bishop (Hildebert); Paganus, dean; Hugo, archdeacon; Gervasius, archdeacon; Guido, cantor; Maslinus of Mayenne; Angerius of Laval; Fulcoius [*Fulcodius*], the chaplain of the count and who composed the charter; William of Saint-Fraimbault; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Gervase of Troyes; Fulcodius, seneschal; and his (Fulcodius') son; and that man again, Fulcoius (the chaplain)

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* is 9 October 1124, on which date the order of Augustinian canons is founded, an act here referenced in the retrospective.¹²⁶ The *terminus ad quem* is 1125, the year in which Bishop Hildebert of Le Mans becomes Archbishop of Tours. Nonetheless, the act almost certainly occurred on the same day as the abbey's foundation. The aforementioned charter of episcopal foundation, surviving only in a French summary, indicates a series of grants made to the new community in the presence of Count Fulk V (sic: Geoffrey). These included a grant by one of Hildebert's canons, a Philip fitz "Godefrey Gaudrie"—the referenced father here may be Geoffrey fitz Garinus, who is present here as a witness.

**Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Vendôme, dioc. Blois, dép. Loir-et-Cher**

[F 95]

25 November 1124

¹²⁵ Cme Saint-Fraimbault, c. Passais, arr. Alençon, dép. Orne.

¹²⁶ *Inventaire des titres de l'abbaye de Beaulieu du Mans*, n. 1, pp. 1-2.

Tours, Tower of the Count

Charter. Comital Donation. Fulk, count of the Angevins “*dei gratia*,” joins his wife Countess Aremburge and their elder-born son Geoffrey in sending greetings to Abbot Geoffrey and the communities of Vendôme. In consideration of receiving from God *sempiterna* in exchange for surrendering to Him *temporalia*, the comital family notes that they are granting to Abbot Geoffrey and his successors exclusive fishing rights on the river of Mayenne, extending from the wall of the city of Angers until the rock of Chanzé.¹²⁷ In addition, Fulk V relinquishes to the abbey the right to pursue justice upon those who fished in the waters without abbatial *licentia*. The fish collected in these waters and the proceeds therefrom are designated for the upkeep of the food, clothing, and other necessities of the monks at Vendôme’s daughter monastery of l’Evière in Angers.

In exchange, the abbots of Vendôme are to ensure that the congregations of both Vendôme and l’Evière venerate, in the fashion of abbatial anniversaries, the anniversaries of the comital family, namely: Count Fulk V, Countess Aremburge, and Geoffrey V, as well as Count Fulk le Réchin and Count Hélias. On these occasions, the entire congregation of Vendôme is to receive a special allowance of fish collected from the aforementioned waters. Finally, out of his own expense, Abbot Geoffrey is to arrange for the renovation of the tomb of Count Fulk le Réchin at l’Evière, improving its state to match or exceed that of the tomb of Count Hélias at the monastery of La Couture. In order to render these alms inviolable and indelible, “we have confirmed the matter with our seals.”¹²⁸

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme, ff. 225-226r, after A, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (dom Housseau), IV, n. 1434, ff. 225-226r, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. Pavillon, *La vie du bienheureux Robert d’Arbrissel*, n. 52, p. 562, after A? (17th c.)
- E. BNF, ms. lat. 13820, fol. 294v, after B? (18th c.?)
- F. BNF, ms. lat. 12700, fol. 225v and fol. 292 (18th c.?)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5419, fol. 171, copy after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, II, n. 449, pp. 235-237, after C
- b. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, p.j., n. 25, p. 352, after D

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 59, p. 265
2. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 63, p. 270

Witnesses:

¹²⁷ The waters of donation are impossible. The rock of Chanzé is located in the commune of Sainte-Gemmes-sur-Loire, south of Angers, between the Loire and Maine rivers; Mayenne is located to the north. See: *Dictionnaire Maine-et-Loire*, I, p. 647. If the scribe erred here, why did no one, whose lives revolved around these rivers, catch the mistake?

¹²⁸ Ms. C: “...sigillis nostris eam confirmavimus.”

Interfuerunt: Count Fulk himself; Countess Aremburge; Geoffrey, their elder son; Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme; Paganus Alerici; Savaricus, prior of Villae-Dei; Petronilla, Abbess of Fontevraud; and Algardis, Prioress (of Fontevraud); Raoul of Beaugency, and two of his men: Ganilo and Gervasius, *dapifer*; William of Passavant; Gervase of Troyes; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Peter of Montsabert; Adam, *nutricius*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Anno incarnationis dominicae MCXXIII, indictione II, VII calendas decembris*. In her catalog, Chartrou listed a fragment of this charter as a separate *actum* that had taken the form of a letter. The fragment, however, clearly belongs to the present charter, given the verbatim overlap in the opening salutation from the comital family.

Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme. Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 96]

15 December 1124

Abbey of Saint-Maur, monastic cloister

Charter. Comital Donation. Count Fulk V wishes it to be known that the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Maur have surrounded him while he has been spending time within their cloister in the company of his noblemen and his son Geoffrey. The monastic community is beseeching his intervention in response to the alleged depredations of his administrative agents and knightly clients. The offenses, which are implied to have included the violent extraction of various customs, pertained to the villages of Faveraye-Mâchelles,¹²⁹ Concourson-sur-Layon,¹³⁰ and “Soulangé” as well as their estates. These had long ago been granted to the abbey by a king of France, former Angevin counts, and a bishop of Poitiers, respectively.

Having received the counsel and testimony of honest men concerning these matters, Fulk V relinquishes to the monks, through the production the present charter and for the sake of his own soul and that of his ancestors, all jurisdiction which he held over these lands. There are three noted exceptions to Fulk’s relinquishment: the custom of the *exercitus* (military service); the custom of the *equitatus* (mounted patrol); and, the right to prosecute High Justice upon murderers and thieves seized within these lands. Additionally, Fulk V explicitly prohibits his agents, *milites*, or other servants from further harassing the monks or their own men within these estates, lest the gates of heaven remain closed to them. To preserve the benefaction for posterity against potential violators, Fulk V impresses his seal upon the charter and delivers it to the abbot and the monks as evidentiary defense.

¹²⁹ Cme Bellevigne-en-Layon, cant. Chemillé-Melay, arr. Angers.

¹³⁰ Cme Concourson-sur-Layon, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1775, piece 1, copy after A, non-extant seal (13th c.)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 67, pp. 411-412, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 60, p. 269
- 2. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, p. 346

Witnesses:

Ex parte comitis: Geoffrey, his son who conceded this act; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Gervase of Troyes; Peter of Montsabert; Geoffrey fitz Isdernus; Adelard of Grandfont; Girard of Fréteval; Herbert of Vihiers; Robert, chaplain; Albert, chamberlain; *et plures alii*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Actum in eodem monasterio anno ab incarnatione domini MCXXIV indictione II XVIII kalendas ianuarii die lune festiuitate sancti Maximini abbatis; papa Romane sedis Calixto, Francorum rege Luduico, domno Raginaldo Andegavensi episcopo.*

Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict

Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 97]

15 December 1124

Abbey of Saint-Maur

Charter. Comital Donation. To the monastic community of Saint-Maur and for the sake of the remedy of their souls as well as the acquittal [*absolucionem*] of their *fideles*, Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge donate and concede, without qualification, the *vicaria* of the land of *Lectus Ansaldi* which they are holding from the Abbey of Saint-Maur. Witnesses are recorded. The “son of the count,” Geoffrey V, then concedes the gift, an act for which there is recorded a separate list of witnesses. The comital family inscribe their cross signatures upon the parchment, and the charter is sealed.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, Cartulary of Saint-Maur, fol. 7r-v, with drawing of the comital seal (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1437, fol. 216r, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 22, p. 365, after B, with errors

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 61, p. 270
2. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, p. 346

Witnesses:

For the disposition of Count Fulk and Countess Aremburge:

Huius doni testes sunt: Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Gervase of Troyes; Peter of Montsabert; Geoffrey fitz Isdernus

For the disposition (concession) of Geoffrey, *filius comitis:*

Hii sunt testes: Aimery of Loudun, son of Fulchardus; John *Borelli*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Factum est hoc anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo vigesimo quarto, indicione secunda, octavo decimo kalendas januarii, die lune festivitate sancti Maximini abbatis.*

Papa Romane sedis Calixto, Francorum rege Ludovico, donno Raginaudo Andegavorum episcopo.

Although the present *actum* provides no location of production, Fulk is known to have issued another benefaction at the Abbey of Saint-Maur on the same day as the present *actum*. Therefore, we may safely conclude that this charter was similarly enacted at the abbey.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of La Roë, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. Saint-Aignan-sur-Roë, arr. Château-Gontier, dioc. Angers, dép. Mayenne**

[F 98]

c. 1124, May

Saint-Jean-du-Bois,¹³¹ Cloister of Saint-John of Longaulnay

Charter-Notice. Comital Confirmation. To the Abbey of Notre-Dame of La Roë and to the Augustinian canons there serving God, Fulk conceded the chapel of Saint-John of Longaulnay with all its dependencies. Seeing and praising was Fulk's wife, Aremburge; Lisiard of Sablé was seeing and conceding. Furthermore, it is noted that the canons would be making clearances of those woods because such things concerned Fulk's own law.

While this was being done, Lisiard was, in that same cloister, devouring cheese with milk. Fulk discouraged Lisiard from this [*quod sibi frangebatur supradictus comes*], as the monks would be able to procure for him barley bread instead.¹³² And so, Lisiard refused to make use of any other bread that month on account of his corpulence [*propter grossitudinem corporis*].

¹³¹ Cant. Malicorne-sur-Sarthe, arr. La Flèche, dép. Sarthe. Approximately 23km southwest of modern-day Le Mans, and 20km east of Sablé-sur-Sarthe

¹³² In her edition, Chartrou rendered the 'n' abbreviation as 'non' rather than 'nam,' nonsensically changing the translation of the sentence to one where the monks were unable to find the bread which Lisiard then agreed to use exclusively for the next month.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Mayenne, H 154, Cartulary of the Abbey of La Roë, n. 136, fol. 61r-v, after B (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/2, n. 7561, fol. 179r, partial copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 4, p. 324, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 11, p. 255, summary after C

Witnesses:

Videntibus et audientibus: Garinus fitz Renaud; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Guillermus, *forestarius*; Alelmus, *forestarius*; Hugo Raiginum;¹³³ Gaudino de Susa; Hugo Malecompaigie; with many others
ex parte canonicorum: Garinus of Beaugency; Fuco, the hermit

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: ...*mense maio*. Since Fulk is identified as count of Le Mans and Count Helias of Maine, Fulk V's father-in-law, died on 10 July 1110, the *terminus ab quo* is May 1111. According to Chartrou, this *actum* transpired either in that year or soon thereafter, given the description of Fulk as "count of Angers and, at that time, of Le Mans" [*comes andegavensis et tunc cenomannis*]. Chartrou's reasoning is, first, that the '*tunc*' signals Fulk V's recent accession to the office. However, contemporary scribes did not limit such formulas of intitulation to recently acquired offices. For instance, in c. 1116, Abbo of Briollay was described as *tunc* lord of Rochefort,¹³⁴ though he had held the *castrum* since 1106x1109.¹³⁵ One might more satisfactorily explain the present identification of Fulk V as '*tunc*' count of Maine as a stylistic rendition intended to differentiate previous counts of Maine from Fulk V, who was, until July 1110, only the count of Anjou and the Touraine and was generally styled as such. The usage of '*tunc*' here, thus, likely indicates only the Angevin count's separate and subsequent acquisition of the county of Maine, contra previous Manceaux counts. The latest possible *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year of Aremburge's passing.

There is evidence to suggest that the present benefaction should be dated to 1124. In that year, Fulk V was uncharacteristically involved in several Manceaux benefactions,¹³⁶ including a grant explicitly made to support the growth of Augustinian canons in the region¹³⁷ and another act placing him in

¹³³ It is unlikely that this individual is Hugh Rigaud, Fulk's provost of Angers around 1112. For one, *Raiginum* is a relatively significant deviation from *Rigaudi*. If this is Hugh Rigaud, it is additionally unusual that Hugh, both the provost of the count's capital city and a member of the important aristocratic family of the Loudunois, appears in the witness list only after minor low-born comital agents who themselves are preceded by mention of Geoffrey of Ramefort, a comital *fidelis*; moreover, Hugh is succeeded by individuals with obscure ties to the count. Finally, that the provost of Angers—who was responsible for the count's administrative affairs about that city—traveled with the comital entourage for a visit to Maine is, itself, unusual, though not unprecedented. For Rigaud's aristocratic background, see: Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 132-133n8; AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3760, piece 2, and AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3497, pieces 7-8, recounting the donations of one Aimery Rigaud of Loudun. For Herveus Rotundellus, Hugh Rigaud's successor as provost, accompanying the count of Anjou beyond Angers, refer to: *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 101.

¹³⁴ [F 54].

¹³⁵ [F 11].

¹³⁶ [F 92]; [F 93].

¹³⁷ [F 94].

Maine on 16 May 1124.¹³⁸ The present benefaction would appear to follow suite as part of Fulk's general reformist realignment of the 1120s (see Chapter Four). Fulk had also installed Lisiard's relative, Hugh of Sablé, as provost of Angers by 1123, heralding a recent renewal of relations with the seigneurial family of Sablé that may, in part, have been reflected in the present benefaction.¹³⁹

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 99]

1121x1125

Charter. Comital Confirmation. Count Fulk V wishes it to be known that, in his presence, Matthew of Plessis-Macé and Renaud le Roux, Matthew's brother, have relinquished to the monks of Saint-Nicholas whatsoever they were maintaining of immunities and other lordly powers [*dominationis*] in the woods of Lignières as well as of *Gosco*, also called *Fosche-Porrie*. Fulk indicates that their father, Fulco of Plessis-Macé, had previously granted these woods for the use of the many servants of the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas already there. So that neither future members of the seigneurial family of Plessis-Macé nor any monks or knights designated by them might subsequently challenge the relinquishment, Count Fulk V confirms the benefaction with the "impression and authority of [his] seal, so that the present composition may bear witness."¹⁴⁰

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1504, fol. 259v, copy after A, with indication of seal (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 45, pp. 376-377, after B

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 98, p. 281

Witnesses:

Huic autem dono eorum et confirmationi meae affuerunt hi, quorum nomina subscribuntur: Geoffrey and Hélias, my sons; Fulco of Candé; Philip of Vern; Lupellus Ferle; Paganus de Ferle; Herveus de Ferle; Hamelinus de Ferle; Holduinus, uncle [avunculus] of Matthew and Renaud; Joscelin of Tours; Guigonus Reissoleil; Halope, armiger; Petrus Moceol; Maurice, prior; Orricus, cellarius; Goffridus de

¹³⁸ [F 92].

¹³⁹ [F 88] (1123).

¹⁴⁰ Ms. B: "...sigilli mei impressione et autoritate supradictum donationem confirmare decrevi, pro ut praesens scriptum testatur."

Angrabalam; Robertus Clopin; Renaud of Montrevault; Radulphus Beifonas; et alii plures.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Chartrou suggests dating the act to 1126x1129 on the basis of, first, the absence of Countess Aremburge (d. 1126) and, second, the presence of her sons Geoffrey V and Hélias. Yet, there is no particular reason to assume that Geoffrey V and Hélias were incapable of jointly and independently participating in comital acts while their mother was still alive. Indeed, [F 87], which I have established as having occurred in 1121x1122, demonstrates this to be the case. The resultant opening-up of the *terminus ab quo* can, fortunately, be narrowed to 1121 on account of two factors. The first is the presence of a *Mauricius* as prior of the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas. The earliest date on which Maurice attested as prior in extant records is January 1122,¹⁴¹ having succeeded either Guito¹⁴² or Thibaut.¹⁴³ Neither Guito nor Thibaut held their priorships before 1118, strongly suggesting that Maurice did not succeed them until shortly before Maurice's first attestation as prior in January 1122. The second factor suggesting a *terminus ab quo* of 1121 is the subject of benefaction itself. Fulk V was conceding the relinquishment by Matthew of Plessis-Macé and Renaud le Roux, Matthew's brother, of all lordly rights which their family maintained in certain woods that had previously been donated by their father, Fulco, lord of Plessis-Macé. As chief heir, Matthew himself had already confirmed the donation of the woods of Lignières in 1116 while his father was still living (Mailfert, I, n. 9). The absence of Fulco here suggests that the present act constitutes an augmented benefaction following Matthew's own accession as *dominus* of Plessis-Macé—Fulco, having accompanied Fulk V to the Holy Land in 1120, did not return with the Angevin contingent in 1121. Given that Fulk V is the concessor here, the present act must postdate his return in 1121, hence a *terminus ab quo* of that year. The *terminus ad quem* for the present act is 1125, by which year Renaud le Roux succeeded his brother, Matthew, as sole *dominus* of the seigneurial castellany, with the latter possibly having died. See [F 101].

**Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, Rule of St. Augustine
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 100]

1121x1125

Angers, Chapter of Toussaint

¹⁴¹ [F 67].

¹⁴² The editor of the abbey's cartulary, Mailfert, indicates that Guito was prior in 1123. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, lxxx-lxxxii. This is on the basis of the cartulary entry for an act dated to that year. Refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 180; [F 88]. Mailfert attempted to resolve the chronological confusion with Maurice, who attested as prior in 1122 and again in 1125x1134, by suggesting that Maurice and Guito held the priorship simultaneously around 1123, at the least. A simpler explanation is that the aforementioned act of 1123 was incorrectly transcribed into the abbey's cartulary. Guito appears in the witness list adjacent to Maurice; the title of prior may have been intended for Maurice rather than Guito. Guito appeared elsewhere with the title of prior in 1118x1136 (*Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 184). Since priors of mother-abbeys often became abbots themselves pursuant to the abdication or passing of their abbot, it is almost certainly the case that the priorships of both Guito and Thibaut, thus, predated Maurice, who was prior by 1122 until his ascension to the abbacy in 1136.

¹⁴³ Refer to: *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, ns. 229 and 237, which may be redated to 1118x1122 based on the analysis in the preceding footnote.

Notice. Comital donation. For the remedy of his own soul, that of his ancestors, and that of his successors, Count Fulk V gives to the church of Toussaint the almshouse [*elemosina*] of Alan (Fergent) and of Fulk (le Réchin), with all the revenues pertaining to it. The act was done in the chapter of Toussaint, and Bishop Renaud of Angers later confirmed the donation in the presence of many unnamed witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Toussaint of Angers, fol. 33r-v, after A (14th c.), lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 10656, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 55, p. 121, after C
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 26, pp. 352-353, after C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 66, p. 271
- 2. *Cartulaire de Toussaint*, n. 55, p. 121

Witnesses:

Testes: Count Fulk; Geoffrey of Ramefort

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Chartrou and Comte both narrow the possible dating of the act to 1109x1125, given that Fulk V is described as count of Anjou and Renaud of Martigné is identified as bishop of Angers (Renaud became Archbishop of Reims in 1125). Given that the almshouse appears to have been a foundation in honor of the memory of Fulk le Réchin (d. 14 April 1109) and Alan Fergent (d. 13 October 1119)¹⁴⁴, construction must have begun only after the latter's death. It is unlikely that the almshouse would have been completed, allowing Fulk to relinquish it to Toussaint, before the count's departure to Jerusalem by June 1120. As a result, the *terminus ab quo* must postdate Fulk's return in mid-late 1121.

Collegiate Chapter of Saint-Laud
arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 101]

1125
Angers

Notice. Comital Justice. Having previously been granted different parts of the same woods called *Communalis*, the Chapter of Saint-Laud and the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas came into conflict in the course of managing these neighboring lands. To resolve the contention, the two ecclesiastical parties sought out Bishop Renaud and Count Fulk V,

¹⁴⁴ For the date of Alan's death, refer to: *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, 106n8.

who then summoned the original benefactor, Renaud le Roux, *dominus* of Le Plessis-Macé. Although the extant manuscript features several lapses at critical junctures, it appears that Fulk V and Renaud solicited testimony from Renaud and others to clarify the bounds of the previous donations, pursuant to which a concord was eventually forged and ratified between the involved parties. A chirograph was drawn up and approved in the respective chapters of the college of Saint-Laud and the Abbey of Saint-Nicholas. It is indicated that any violation of the established terms of the agreement would be met with excommunication.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original Chirograph, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, 1 MI 28, Cartulary of the Chapter of Saint-Laud of Angers, fol. 85v, with lapses (1201-1225)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 36, pp. 48-51

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 36, pp. 48-51
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 68, p. 271

Witnesses:

N/A for the comital-episcopal adjudication

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Factum est hoc et chirographo conf... MCXXV, in capitulo Sancti Laudi et in capitulo Sancti-Nicholai, indictione III, regnant Ludovico, Francorum rege, Andegavorum, Turonorum atque Cenomannorum comite Fulcone iuniore, Raginaudo de Martiniaco, Andegavorum presule.* If the indicated indiction of 'III' is accurate, then the chirograph must have been produced before September when the indiction became 'IV.'

Abbey of Saint-Vincent du Mans, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Le Mans, dioc. Le Mans, dép. Sarthe

[F 102]

1119x1126, 6 January

Baugé

Charter. Comital Donation. While at Baugé, Count Fulk and his wife, Countess Aremburge, along with their sons Geoffrey V and Hélias, “released and liberated the land of the almshouse of Saint-Vincent at Parence from every custom and management, and,

additionally, granted and conceded to that same almshouse whatever [they] held there.”¹⁴⁵

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM du Mans, ms. 95, Second Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Vincent of Le Mans, fol. 22r, after A (13th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5444, p. 390, copy after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Liber controversarium Sancti Vincentii Cenomannensis*, n. 89, after B
- b. Martène, *Amplissima Collectio*, I, col. 988
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 29, p. 357, after C and b

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 74, pp. 273-274

Witnesses:

Hoc viderunt et audierunt isti: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Gervase of Troyes; Robert fitz Renaud;¹⁴⁶ Bigat, chamberlain; Fulco of Mouliherne [*Molendino Herlon*]; Durand, chamberlain; Fulcoius, chaplain; Paganus of *Fontibus*, chaplain.

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Balgeii vero fuit hoc factum VIII idus ianuarii*. Although the datum clause offers no year of production, several factors narrow the plausible interval in which this benefaction may have been issued. First, the joint action by Hélias, who was born in May or June 1114 at the earliest, suggests that he was at least three years of age, given that his elder brother and comital heir, Geoffrey V, acted jointly in no comital benefaction until that age. This limits the interval to 1118 at the earliest. However, Stephen Baucan remained the grand seneschal of Anjou in another act from what is almost certainly later than 6 January 1118 (see [F 62]); here, Robert fitz Renaud is present, an individual who does not otherwise appear in comital charters until his assignment as Stephen's successor by 1120x1121. This establishes our *terminus ab quo* as 6 January 1119. The *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year in which Countess Aremburge, here a participant, passed away. Note that Fulk here identified himself as count of the Angevins, Manceaux, and the Tourangeaux.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dépt. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 103]

28 October 1115 x 1126

¹⁴⁵ “...absolvimus et liberamus terram elemosine Sancti Vincencii de Parencia ab omni consuetudine et villicatione insuper quicquid habebamus.”

¹⁴⁶ Chartrou read this witness, whose inscription in Ms C is unclear, as: *Robertus Ragerius*. In my estimation as well as that of Chédeville (editor for the *Libert controversarium*) Ms C relates to us *Robertus Raginaldi*, not *Ragerius* who is an otherwise unknown figure in comital *acta*.

Notice. Comital Concession. Fulk V and his wife Aremburge granted into the hand of Abbess Petronilla whatsoever Oger Batfer was holding near the bridge of Chinon. Oger Batfer, his wife Drusiana, his two sons Philip and Gervase, and his two daughters Elisabeth and Agatha, are noted to have conceded the gift.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 60, lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 202, p. 47, copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 202, pp. 18-19 partial copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 403v, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 502, pp. 490-491, after C, D, and E
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 31, p. 358, after D

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 502, pp. 490-491
2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 77, p. 274

Witnesses:

Testes: Effredus Joscelini; Paganus Josberti; Garnier of Candé-Saint-Martin; Guito Achardi; Gaudomarus; Aimery Bain; Arnaud Vinot; Gautier of Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine; and, his son William; Count Fulk...

Dating and Discussion:

The *terminus ab quo* can be established as 28 October 1115, the date on which Petronilla acceded as abbess of Fontevraud. The *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year in which Aremburge, here the co-benefactor, passed away.

**Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 104]

c. 1120 x 1126
Baugé, comital castle

Charter-Notice. Comital Adjudication. Having previously committed various injustices against the monks of Marmoutier's priory of Rillé, Robert Papeboeuf, the *dominus* of the castellany, was finally confronted by the monks upon his unjust seizure of two servants. With the contest not having been resolved between the two parties, both resorted to appealing to comital justice. Upon arriving at the castle of Baugé and presenting themselves before Count Fulk V and Countess Aremburge, Fulk, preoccupied with his own affairs, committed the countess to adjudicate in his place with her barons. Upon

hearing the testimony of the monks and in the face of Robert's inability to deny their claims, Countess Aremburge instructed her barons to enact justice.

Speaking on behalf of the other barons, Girard Paganus proclaimed that the comital *curia* had judged in favor of the monks. It is then iterated twice that, although the count and countess are the defenders of benefactions and such conducted within their domain, Robert subsequently ought to first petition the abbot of Marmoutier, only bringing the matter before the count and countess if the abbot failed to provide justice. Arduin of Cinq-Mars, who was married to Robert's daughter, as well as many of Robert's friends then brought about a peace between the monks and Robert, a peace which included the monks gifting a horse to Robert in exchange for his quitclaim concerning the servants and other pretentions.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AD Indre-et-Loire, H 303, piece 4, truncated
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1558, ff. 293r-v, copy after A (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Lamy, "Abbaye de Marmoutier," Appendix du prieuré de Rillé, n. 12
- b. ARTEM, 1476

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 72, pp. 272-273

Witnesses:

Hoc ita iudicatum et concessum, et confirmatum, audierunt et viderunt: from the part of Robert as well as of the monks; in the foremost, the countess; then her barons: Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Girard Paganus; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Renaud Fremaudi; Gervase [*Girusius*] of Montfort; Erneis, butler; *et multi alii monachi vero:* Robert, archdeacon; Briccius of Blois; Hugh, hospitalarius; Fulbert, prior of Bocé *et famuli eorum:* Gaudinus; John, brother of Nicholas; Girard, servant of Rillé; *et alii*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. It is challenging to narrow the possible interval of adjudication from 1109x1126, the *termini* of which are determined by the year of Fulk V's accession and the year of Aremburge's death, respectively. The affairs with which Count Fulk V was busied are not specified, and many of the witnesses as well as participants appear throughout the 1109x1126 interval. Nevertheless, the collective judicial action of the comital *curia* under the direction of the count/countess recommends dating the act at least to after 1116, by which year such courtly procedures had emerged in Fulk's *curia*, as I argue in Chapter Three.

In any case, the presence here of "Girard Paganus" suggests establishing a *terminus ab quo* of c. 1120. A Girard Paganus appears in the comital charters of both Fulk le Réchin and Fulk V. Under Fulk le Réchin, he attests as a witness at least twice, once in 1083x1093¹⁴⁷ and again in 1096.¹⁴⁸ This Girard Paganus is almost certainly the brother of Fulcher, lord of Fréteval, a seigneurial castellany outside of the Angevin comital demesne.¹⁴⁹ Since Fulcher died by 1072, when Nivelon II succeeded him as lord of Fréteval, it is unlikely that the Girard Paganus in the present charter is the same individual.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, II/2, n. 626 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 377, pp. 234-235).

¹⁴⁸ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou, III, n. 908 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 393, p. 243).

¹⁴⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, p. 465.

¹⁵⁰ For the genealogy of the lords of Fréteval, see: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 242.

Rather, this “Girard Paganus” is probably Girard fitz Paganus,¹⁵¹ son of Paganus of Frouville who married into the Fréteval-Mondoubleau kin-group via the aforementioned Fulcher’s daughter Pagana.¹⁵² Girard fitz Paganus had clearly come into a sufficiently significant lordship that he was delegated here the responsibility of speaking for the other *barones* of the comital curia. Yet, it was his brother, Paganus II, who inherited the paternal lordship of Frouville in c. 1120.¹⁵³ Girard’s own holdings may have derived partly or even predominantly from direct benefaction of Fulk V, who, as a matter of concerted policy, sought the clientship of crusaders and crusader-kin. Indeed, as a result of his father’s marriage, Girard fitz Paganus was the nephew of Lord Nivelon II of Fréteval—a prominent crusader—as well as the maternal cousin of Nivelon’s son and successor, Ursio. Girard’s appearance in the comital entourage, thus, is most plausibly traced to the period following his brother’s inheritance of the family estate c. 1120.

In editing this document for her catalog of acts pertaining to the Marmoutier priory of Rillé, Claire Lamy synopsized that Fulk was absent from the castle of Baugé for the proceedings. However, the charter-notice says only Fulk was preoccupied with other affairs. It goes on to clarify that, on account of such preoccupation, Fulk instructed his wife and his barons to tend to this particular matter. Such language indicates active delegation occurring at the moment of solicited adjudication concerning this specific matter rather than a freestanding order pertaining to any solicited adjudications of the comital court in the count’s absence.¹⁵⁴

Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme Gennes-Val-de-Loire, cant. Doué-la-Fontaine, arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 105]

1123x1126

Charter. Comital Confirmation. To bless the present life as well as to benefit in the everlasting one, Fulk V—count of Anjou *dei gratia*—and Countess Aremburge, upon the request of Abbot Drogo, are confirming all the gifts that have been made to the Abbey of Saint-Maur by *proconsul* John of Blaison, his son Thibaut, and Thibaut’s wife Mathilda. The gifts, to be subsequently held and managed peacefully by servants of the abbey, comprise of tithes upon all holdings at Blaison belonging to the aforementioned family. Fulk and Aremburge’s sons, Geoffrey V and Hélias, are noted to have conceded the gifts as well. The charter concludes with a threat of excommunication upon any who would

¹⁵¹ Dropping the “son of” construction in witness lists was rather common in Anjou at this time. For instance, Geoffrey fitz Garinus appears alternately as “Geoffrey, son of Garinus” as well as “Geoffrey Garinus” through comital charters.

¹⁵² Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 60-86, 242-243, 245.

¹⁵³ Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 80, 94n22.

¹⁵⁴ Ms A: *Quod ipsi audientes, [qui] iustitia amatores valde erant selo domus Dei commoti sunt et inter monachos et Rotbertum placitandi in sua prasentia certum locum certumque terminum posuerunt. Quid plura? Venit utraque pars ad castellum comitis Balgiacum et se ibi comiti et comitissa prasentaverunt. Sed quia comes quibusdam suis propriis negotiis tunc occupatus erat, causa illi tractandae non affuit, sed comitissae vicem suam et locum committens ut ipsa cum suis baronibus causam juste definiret imperavit.*

violate the count's benefaction as well as a list of witnesses recorded upon the parchment to secure its contents.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, *Cartulaire de Saint-Maur*, fol. 24r-v, after A (12th c.)
- C. Second Cartulary of Saint-Maur, (17th c.), lost

Editions:

- a. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, n. 53, p. 393, after B

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 69, p. 272
2. Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, I, pp. 346-347

Witnesses:

Haec autem carta ut verior credatur, et firmior habeatur, necessarium fuit ut testibus qui hoc viderunt et audierunt haec pagina continetur quorum haec sunt vocabula: John, father of Thibaut; Thibaut; and, his wife, Mathilda [*Maholdis*]; Girard of Saint-Rémi; Robert of Coutures; and, *Audebertus*; Renaud, *miles*; Hugh of Mauzé.

De parte monachorum: John, prior; Drogo, abbot; Renaud; Geoffrey of Blaison; and, all of the congregation; Benedict, *famulus*; John of Fossa; David, cook; William, provost; Vaslotus *Helinam*; Renaud fitz Garini.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Marchegay dates the act to around 1125, presumably on the basis of the abbacy of Drogo, who is first recorded as abbot in that year, with the final attestation of the previous abbot Rannulfus being dated to 1123. The *terminus ab quo* is, nevertheless, 1123, as Drogo may have succeeded Rannulfus in that same year but did not appear in any dated or datable acts until 1125. The *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year of the death of Countess Aremburge, who is a participant here.

Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 106]

1124x1126

On the road to Baugé from Angers, then Baugé

Charter-Notice. Comital Confirmation. Upon stating his intent to grant to Marmoutier the church of Saint-Maimbeuf in Angers, Amaury Crispin, the *dominus* of Champtoceaux, along with his wife from whose patrimony the church derived, traveled to the chapter of Marmoutier, enacting the benefaction therein, which he then augmented with churches in Beaufort and Bessé¹⁵⁵ as well. A short time later, Abbot Odo of

¹⁵⁵ Also known as Saint-Pierre-du-Lac, Bessé is: cme Beaufort-en-Vallée, cant. Beaufort-en-Vallée, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

Marmoutier and some of his monks, in the company of Amaury Crispin, tracked down Count Fulk in order to secure his confirmation, given that the aforementioned churches were held by Amaury from Fulk in fief. The envoy caught up with the comital entourage on the Angers-Baugé road. There, placing into the hand of the abbot the gift as symbolized by a dagger, Count Fulk V confirmed—“seeing and with his own consent”—the aristocratic benefaction, relinquishing his own claim and that of his heirs to the churches.¹⁵⁶ His elder son Geoffrey V conceded the confirmation. Witnesses are recorded.

When the comital entourage, now with the monastic envoy in tow, arrived at the comital castle of Baugé, Fulk V again confirmed the benefaction, this time conceding the gift alongside his wife Countess Aremburge.¹⁵⁷ Additional witnesses are recorded. Afterward, further confirmations were solicited from Amaury’s family as *laudatio parentum* at Marmoutier and then at Champtoceaux.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AD Maine-et-Loire, G 789, piece 1
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Marmoutier, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1407 (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5441, I, p. 395, after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. Lamy, “Abbaye de Marmoutier,” Appendix: Prieuré de Bessé, n. 1, after A

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 82, p. 276

Witnesses:

From the confirmation on the Angers-Baugé road:

Ex parte comitis et mea: William Burellus, chaplain of the count; Gervase of Troyes; Aimery of Thouars; William *de Oldon*; *Radulfus de Masengi*

Ex parte abbatis: monachi eius: Evanus sacrista, Hildebertus de nanneto, Galterius prior claustris, Hugo hospitalarius, Petrus prior Roche, Girardus cellerarius; famuli eorum: Paganus camerarius, Petrus Burdo; Johannes frater Johannis mariscalci; Petrus Tedulfi; Isembertus Borda; Rainaldus Coluber; Christianis; Sulpicius clericus; multi quoque alii affuerunt.

From the confirmation at the castrum of Baugé:

Testibus ex parte eorum (Fulk and Aremburge): William Burellus; Gervase of Troyes; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Renaud *Fremaudi*, and others

Ex parte Odonis abbatis: Abbot Odo himself; Thibault of Colombiers; William, the porter; Hugh, *hospitalario*; Geoffrey of *Braitello*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. The *terminus ab quo* is 1124, the year in which Odo becomes Abbot of Marmoutier. The *terminus ad quem* is 1126, the year in which Countess Aremburge passed away.

¹⁵⁶ Ms. A: “Ipsa igitur comite vidente et suo assensu confirmante posui donum in manum abbatis per cultellum...”

¹⁵⁷ Ms. A: “Hoc etiam donum comes iam nominatus simul et comitissa uxor eius nomine Aremburgis concesserunt apud feciam(?) castruum suum.”

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 107]

1126

Charter. Comital Donation. In consideration of the meek who shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, of earning merit for his own salvation, and to extinguish his own sin through alms, Fulk V—count of Anjou and Maine *dei gratia*—arranges for the support of thirty poor children or of clerical scholars lawfully born and originating from Anjou or Maine. They are to be affiliated henceforth with the schools of Ronceray. The abbesses of Ronceray are to maintain the support program, independent of comital management. In testimony of the benefaction, Fulk indicates that he has had the charter sealed.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. “Regestro Primo Collationum,” fol. 112, lost

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 445, pp. 279-280

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 79, p. 275

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

The non-extant manuscript indicated a year of MXLVI for the act. This is a mistake, as the Fulk herein is “count of Angers and le Mans,” i.e. Fulk V rather than Fulk III Nerra, who, in any case, died in 1040. Of the remaining options suggested by the charter’s editor Marchegay, i.e. MCXVI or MCXXVI, 1126 fits better due to the absence of Countess Aremburge. Traditionally, in their patronage for the Abbey of Ronceray, the counts of Anjou had acted jointly with their wives. Aremburge’s absence here, especially in consideration of her otherwise ubiquity in Fulk’s charters, strongly suggests that the present benefaction postdates her death in 1126.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 108]

15 January 1127

Baugé

Charter. Comital Donation. Committing his benefaction to letters on account of the fleeting memory of man, Count Fulk V donates to Fontevraud, into the hand of Abbess Petronilla, a measure of land [*obulum*] which he has hitherto been keeping at the bridge about the comital castle of Chinon. Fulk grants also the canalized rival channel/lock [*exclusam*] upon the stream of Vienne, something which Queen Bertrade, his mother, had ordered made there. Fulk relinquishes these things by dying request of his recently deceased wife Aremburge. In return, Fulk V expects the religious of Fontevraud to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Aremburge through their prayers in perpetuity. It is noted that Fulk and Aremburge's two sons, Geoffrey and Hélias, give their consent and approval [*voluntate et assensu*] to the present benefaction. Finally, Fulk asserts that, should anyone contest this or any other donation which he has made to Fontevraud, they will be barred from the church as well as all ecclesiastical services.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevrault*, fol. 109, lost
- C. *Grand Cartulaire de Fontevrault*, fol. 133, lost
- D. AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 15, after A (1129)
- E. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, p. 95, n. 563, copy after C (17th c.)
- F. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, p. 83, n. 435, partial copy after B (17th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 435, pp. 31-32, copy after B (17th c.)
- H. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1492, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 734, pp. 688-689, after G and H
- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 860, pp. 798-799, after D and E
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 35, p. 362-363, after G and H
- d. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 36, pp. 363-364, after D

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 734, pp. 688-689
- 2. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 860, pp. 798-799
- 3. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 83, pp. 276-277

Witnesses:

in presentia et audientia: Lord John, the healer abbot of the monastery of Saint-Nicholas
sub his testibus: William Burellus, himself chaplain of the count; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Adam, oft-mentioned as the *nutritor* of the count; Robert fitz Renaud

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Hoc donum factum est apud Baugeium castrum, XVIII kal. februarii... acta carta anno ab Incarnacione Domini MCXXVII, Lodovico Francorum rege, Hildeberto Turonorum archipontifice, Honorio romanum papatum agente.* Although the year from the incarnation began on 25 March, i.e. the eighteenth kalends of the 1127th year from the incarnation would technically be 15 January 1128, it was not unusual for the actual date to correspond to other ecclesiastical calendars, such as that beginning on Christmas. See, for instance, [F 28], where the indiction contradicts and supersedes the *annum incarnationis*. Moreover, in the case of the present charter, Aremburge's dying wishes are

referenced as the impetus for Fulk's benefaction, suggesting the temporal proximity of her death. Indeed, the indicated presence here of Abbot John of Saint-Nicholas and his unusual description as a "healer abbot" may suggest that he had arrived to minister to a mortally ill Aremburge, i.e. she had died most recently.¹⁵⁸ It is far more likely, thus, Fulk fulfilled his dying wife's wishes in early 1127 rather than early 1128, over a calendar year later.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay, Rule of St. Benedict
cme Saint-Benoît-la-Forêt, cant. Azay-le-Rideau, arr. Chinon, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 108]

c. 1127

Charter. Comital Foundation. Having founded the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay,¹⁵⁹ Count Fulk V granted to the religious there, from his forest of Teillé, four bovates of land—measures of land equal to that which four pairs of ox could work in a day—as well as various usage rights, namely the collection of firewood, transit custom, and foraging, all meant to facilitate the construction and upkeep of abbatial properties.

In later 1129, following Fulk's departure for Jerusalem, Count Geoffrey V and King Louis VI confirmed the terms of the present foundation.¹⁶⁰

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay, after A, lost
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, fol. 463, summary after B (18th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, fol. 473r, summary with extracts after B (18th c.)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 86, pp. 277-278

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

In his summary, Dom Housseau notes that the foundation occurred "environ l'an 1127."

¹⁵⁸ "*domni Johannis, medici abbatis monasterii Sancti Nicholai*"

¹⁵⁹ The Abbey of Notre-Dame of Turpenay, under a reformed rule of St. Benedict, was located at: cme Saint-Benoît-la-Forêt, cant. Azay-le-Rideau, arr. Chinon, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire.

¹⁶⁰ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, ff. 471r and 473r. For a discussion of the confirmation, see: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 109.

(Eventually: Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, Rule of St. Augustine)
Cme Azay-sur-Cher, cant. Bléré, arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 110]

March 1128, then 1128x1129

Charter. Comital Exemption. Due to the zealouslyness [*importunitas*] of the count's foresters, who had recently begun to disquiet the eremitical community that Fulk V and Aremburge had previously founded in the forest of Brechenay in 1120¹⁶¹ [F 78], Fulk is exempting the hermits and the hermitage there from all lay exactions and otherwise unwelcome impositions so that the community might peacefully devote itself toward the contemplation of the heavens. Fulk makes this benefaction with the present charter and with the witness of venerable persons. The original seal is no longer extant.

In a brief addendum to the original charter, it is indicated that, a short time afterward while Count Fulk was preparing to head to Jerusalem, Geoffrey V, by request of Fulk and other religious persons, consented to the 1120 benefaction of his mother and father as well as the recent benefaction of his father, promising that these things would be held firm in the future.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Vidimus* by an official of the Court of Tours, copy after A, lost (1439)
- C. Cartulary of the Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, lost (16th c.)
- D. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 978, Fragment of the Cartulary of the Priory of Saint-Jean-du-Grais, n. 12, pp. 26-28, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 658, *Inventaire des titres du prieuré du Graais*, fol. 240, after B (18th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1489, fol. 248r-v, copy after E (18th c.)
- G. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1491, fol. 249r-v, copy after C (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, n. 8, pp. 5-6, after F and G
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 38, pp. 367-369, after F and G

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 85, p. 277, with errors

Witnesses:

For Fulk V's concession:

Huic concessioni interfuit: Lord Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres; Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme; Hugh of Payns, at that time master of the Order of the Knights of the Temple in Jerusalem; Renaud *Fremaudi*; Petronilla, Abbess of Fontevraud

¹⁶¹ [F 78].

For Geoffrey V's confirmation:

Audientibus his quorum nomina subscripta sunt: William of Bures; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Renaud Fremaudi

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Actum anno incarnationis Dominice MCXXVII, Hildeberto Turonice sedi presidente*. In dating their documents, Angevin scribes generally considered the year from the Incarnation to begin on either 25 December (of the preceding calendar year) or 25 March (proceeding until 24 March of the following calendar year). The 1127th such year *ab Incarnationis* would, therefore, have run through either 24 December 1127 or 24 March 1128. Since it is held to be impossible that the Jerusalem envoy, whose members appear as witnesses here, had arrived in Anjou by 24 December 1127, we must conclude that the present benefaction occurred by 24 March 1128.¹⁶² The benefaction likely occurred within March itself, given Hugh of Payns' preoccupations elsewhere earlier that year and the fact that Hugh subsequently continued in Fulk's company through May.¹⁶³

Geoffrey V's subsequent confirmation by request of Fulk V is undated, though it is said to have occurred with "not a long span of time having passed."¹⁶⁴ Given that Fulk is described as being in the process of making arrangements for his departure to Jerusalem—the result of his acceptance of the Jerusalem envoy's proposal of marriage—the interval for Geoffrey's confirmation must be 1128x1129 but probably 1128 after the completion of the envoy's mission.

**Abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme, c., and arr. Saumur, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 111]

March 1128

Charter. Comital Confirmation. For some time before the 1121x1124 resolution of the dispute, the monks of Saint-Florent had found themselves in conflict with neighboring barons led by Arduin of Cinq-Mars as concerned the pasturelands between the comital castle of Saumur and their own abbey. The monks maintained that they held these lands in ecclesiastical liberty through the royal munificence and papal authority. Having failed to secure justice through either canonical or secular laws, the monks agreed to send an envoy to Rome in order to request the intervention of the Holy See. At the Apostolic

¹⁶² Compiling evidentiary references for the chronology of the Jerusalem envoy, Mayer asserts that Hugh of Payns' appearance in Anjou at any point in 1127 constitutes an impossibility. See: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), pp. 139-147: 146-147. Mayer argues that the envoy could have arrived through 22 April 1128, given the "Easter style" by which Angevin scribes typically adhered. Mayer's basis for assuming such diplomatic is unclear: contemporary Angevin *datum* clauses most frequently employed a dating style from the Incarnation (which I have discussed above). Therefore, the envoy could have arrived no later than 24 March, the last day of the 1127th year *ab Incarnationis*. Dutton has arrived at a similar conclusion. See: Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," 28n132.

¹⁶³ See: [F 112]; [F 114].

¹⁶⁴ Ms. D: "*Non multo denique temporis spatio evoluta.*"

Palace in Rome on 2 June 1121x1124, Pope Calixtus II issued a bull in which he commanded Renaud, bishop of Angers, and Fulk V, count of Anjou, to get Arduin of Cinq-Mars and his wife to return the pasturelands they and their confederates had seized.¹⁶⁵ Wishing to avoid the interdict which the bull threatened upon his lands, Count Fulk demanded that his *milites* and the monks be present in his *curia* at Saumur on 18 August so that the dispute may be resolved in a trial. Either recognizing the injustice of their actions or lacking confidence in the impending defense of their claim, the barons absented themselves from the comital court. One by one on separate days, they approached the monks in the abbatial chapter, requesting forgiveness for themselves and their predecessors concerning their aggressions against Saint-Florent. They quit their claims first into the hand of Abbot Stephen and then upon the altar of the sepulcher of Saint-Florent. Arduin of Cinq-Mars as well as Joscelin Roonard provided their quitclaim on 14 August. On the feast-day of Saint-Florent, 22 September, Peter of Champchévrier followed. On another unspecified day, John Borelli as well as his two brothers, Philip and Geoffrey, also relinquished their claims.

These events are recalled in the present benefaction, which can be dated to March 1128. On the occasion of the visit of the Jerusalem envoy, Count Fulk V has had these matters recounted before him, has had those same barons concede their claims anew in his presence, and has joined his son Geoffrey V in confirming the matter of the pasturelands in favor of Saint-Florent. It is indicated that other unspecified individuals who may still have held something of those lands also have relinquished their claims. Fulk, Geoffrey “son of the count”, and Hélias attach cross signatures to the parchment, and it is sealed, for which there are noted to be witnesses.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2117, piece 2, redaction after A, with interpolated addendum (1128x1130)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3714, *Livre d'argent de Saint-Florent*, ff. 33v-35r, copy after A, with interpolation of B addendum (1150-1200)
- D. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3715, *Livre rouge de Saint-Florent*, fol. 22r-v, copy after A, with interpolation of B addendum and omissions (13th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1456 (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 37, pp. 364-367, after C and D

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 84, p. 277, erroneous
2. Saché, *Inventaire de Saint-Florent*, pp. 103, 546, 565, with errors
3. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XVIII, p. 50

Witnesses:

¹⁶⁵ Ulysse Robert, *Études sur les actes du Pape Calixte II* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1874), Appendix, p. 139, citing BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1431: *IV nonas iunii, d. Laterani*

Sigilli testes sunt: Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Robert fitz Renaud, seneschal; Gervase of Troyes; Renaud of Saumoussay; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Robert *Burgundio*, miles of Saint-Stephen of Jerusalem; Peter of Montsabert; Bigat, chamberlain [*cubicularius*]; William of Loches; Geoffrey, cantor.¹⁶⁶

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Actum anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo vigesimo septimo, presidente in sede apostolica, Honorio papa secundo, in regno Francorum Ludovico Philippi filio, in principatu Andegavorum [me]¹⁶⁷ Fulcone iuniore, in episcopatu Uggerio [in abbatia beati florentii domno Stephano].¹⁶⁸* The datum clause is referencing the occasion of the plenary concession by the disputant barons and the subsequent confirmation by Count Fulk V and Geoffrey V. Given the presence of a probable member of the Jerusalem envoy—Robert *Burgundio*, miles of Saint-Stephen of Jerusalem—the benefaction must have occurred in March 1128, before the commencement of the 1128th year *ab incarnatione* upon the Annunciation (25 March) and subsequent to the aforementioned envoy’s arrival which is unlikely to have been earlier than March. Though eminently plausible, there is no evidence to confirm that the confirmation occurred in Saumur, contra the analysis of Chartrou.

It should be noted that the original, piecemeal relinquishments of the barons did not occur in the fall of 1127 at Saumur alongside Fulk V’s confirmation, as some analyses and summaries have assumed. Pope Calixtus II’s bull demanding such relinquishments under threat of interdict is dated to 2 June 1121x1124, and it is rather unlikely that neither Bishop Renaud nor Count Fulk dealt with the matter for the intervening three to six years (Fulk issued a judicial ultimate to his barons upon receiving the included threat of interdict).¹⁶⁹ It is particularly difficult to see how Renaud was allowed to assume the archbishopric of Reims in 1125 with such a papally-mandated resolution pending in Anjou. Indeed, as the extant manuscripts record, the initial dispute of the pasture-lands and its resolution following the papal bull of Calixtus II occurred long before the plenary concession and comital confirmation which are dated to “1127”: *Illud vero non pretermittendum iudicavimus quod huic operi [subjacimus]¹⁷⁰ quoniam [noverint successores nostri q]¹⁷¹ longe ante hanc¹⁷² quam de supradicta terra ad supra memoratum Calixtum papam secundum querelam [habuimus].¹⁷³* Evidence thus indicates that the aforementioned bull, the subsequent judicial ultimatum by Fulk, and the original baronial quitclaims all occurred between 2 June and after 22 September in 1121x1124.

A note concerning the extant manuscripts should also be provided here. Although Chartrou and Saché have considered Ms B to constitute a separate act from Mss C and D, the nearly identical contents of the acts suggest otherwise. The variations which exist are chiefly of perspective: Ms B features a handful of passages shifted to the vantage point of Abbot Stephen of Saint-Florent; Mss C and D feature a handful of passages shifted to the vantage point of Count Fulk V. That being said, these manuscripts remain complex in terms of diplomatics, and sustained analysis recommends considering Ms B to constitute a redaction of an original non-extant comital charter (Ms A) to which a new, later

¹⁶⁶ B: *canar*.

¹⁶⁷ C, D only.

¹⁶⁸ C, D only.

¹⁶⁹ Jaffé has dated the year of this bull to 1120x1124. See: *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, n. 7109, p. 816. The *terminus ab quo* for the bull can, however, be moved to 1121. If the dispute had, in fact, been longstanding by 2 June 1120, it is difficult to see why the monks of Saint-Florent agreed to confirm Fulk’s right to an *adventus* during the *translatio* of their saint in May 1120 without forcing an adjudication of the present matter. See [F 75]. The dispute reads, instead, as a contention arising during the absence of the count on crusade. Indeed, Fulk had left for the Holy Land by June 1120; he returned before September 1121, given his foundation of Louroux in that month.

¹⁷⁰ C, D: *subiungimus*.

¹⁷¹ C, D: *sicut a subscriptis testibus accepimus*.

¹⁷² D: missing.

¹⁷³ C, D: *prenominati monachi habuissent*.

act—the relinquishment of an *Ugo Rufus*—was interpolated before the original cross signatures of Fulk V, Geoffrey V, and Hélias and subsequent list of witnesses for the comital seal. Mss C and D preserve this interpolation of Ms B. Indeed, the structure of the benefaction strongly suggests that the relinquishment of *Ugo Rufus* is a later interpolation. Following a narrative of the previous aristocratic relinquishments, Fulk V and Geoffrey V are recorded as having confirmed the new plenary confirmation by those same barons, a datum clause appears, and a final justification for the production of the act establishes a conclusion. Pursuant to this final element, a witness list and signatures would follow—the record of *Ugo Rufus*' act, replete with its own witnesses and situated between the conclusion and the main act's witness list / signatures without any particular explanation, can only be considered an interpolation first appearing in Ms B (1128x1130).

Abbey of Saint-Martin of Marmoutier, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 112]

31 May 1128
Le Mans

Notice. Comital Participation in Justice. The monks of Marmoutier recall how Hugh of Amboise had been unjustly enforcing upon their various lands and men certain customs which were neither owed to him then nor had been obliged by his predecessor. In their notice, the monks emphasize Hugh's inability to demonstrate his claim to those customs through any evidence. Around 1 March 1128,¹⁷⁴ in the plenary court [*curiam plenariam*] of Count Fulk V, in the presence of the papal legate Girard of Angoulême and Archbishop Hildebert of Tours, the monks of Marmoutier called upon their champion, Lord Renaud of Château-Renault [*Castello*], to resolve this matter through a trial by battle since Hugh refused to do them justice; Hugh, evidently present, declined the monks' generous offer.

Hugh's quitclaim ultimately came to pass upon the Day of Ascension (31 May) in Le Mans in 1128. With innumerable clerics and noblemen alike having convened there by order of the count in order to witness his taking of the cross, the monks of Marmoutier capitalized upon the uniquely public opportunity to force the issue. Soliciting the aid of Hugh of Payns, master of the Temple, the monks ambushed Hugh shortly before Fulk took the cross, demanding that he recognize his wrongdoing and relinquish his unjust claims. Hugh of Amboise defended himself by alleging that the customs were held in fief from the count and, thus, he could not relinquish them. Upon hearing this, Count Fulk V became visibly irritated [*visus aliquantulum indignari*] and, raising his voice, loudly

¹⁷⁴ The referenced great assembly for which Girard of Angoulême, papal legate, and Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours, were in attendance is likely that on 1 March 1128 in Angers: the *translatio* of the relics of Saint-Aubin into a new reliquary. The event attracted a wide range of potentates, including Girard. See: "Annals of Saint-Aubin," 8; Henri Guillaume Maratu, *Girard: Évêque d'Angoulême, légat du Saint-Siège (vers 1060-1136)* (Angoulême: F. Goumar, 1866), pp. 244-245.

declared that these customs were in no way held in fief from him. Following the counsel of Hugh of Payns, Hugh of Amboise then relinquished his claim to the aforementioned customs into the hands of Archbishop Hildebert of Tours, Bishop Guido of Le Mans, Bishop Ulger of Angers, Bishop Hamelin of Rennes, and Abbot Odo of Marmoutier. By request of the count, Abbot Odo released Hugh from any penalty for his offenses.

Some days having passed and having taken the cross himself, Hugh of Amboise visited the Abbey of Marmoutier and sought forgiveness for his former actions. The terms of the quitclaim were reiterated.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1500, fol. 256r-v, after A? (18th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1501, ff. 257-258r, after A? (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 87, pp. 369-372, after B and C
- b. *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, n. 12, pp. 8-10, after B and C

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 87, p. 278

Witnesses:

Testes inde sunt: Fulk, count of Angers; and his son Geoffrey; Archbishop Hildebert, with the aforementioned bishops (Bishop Guido of Le Mans, Bishop Ulger of Angers, Bishop Hamelin of Rennes); Hugh of Payns, master of the Temple; William of Bures; Count Conan (of Brittany); and, his mother (Countess Ermengarde); John of Montbazou; *et plures alii*.

De monachis: Lord-Abbot odo; Nicholas; William of Pacé; Laurent, the porter; Hugh the *hospitalarius*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: "...*ad ascensionem Dominicam... Actum anno ab incarnatione MCXXVIII, indictione VII.*" See also the footnote above concerning the *curia plenaria* of 1 March 1128 and the *translatio* of the relics of Saint-Aubin.

**Abbey of Saint-Nicholas of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 113]

7 July 1128

Notice. Comital Consent for Client Donation and Comital Consent. With the consent [*consensu*] of Count Fulk V, Renaud le Roux, who was chamberlain at that time, donated a certain part of his own woods in Fessines to a Gorroneus, likely the sub-prior of Saint-Nicholas. It was the year when, it is noted, William of Bures came from Jerusalem for Fulk, and, through God's favor, the bounty had been so great that a *seatarium* or grain

[*frumenti*] would be sold for twenty denarii, rye for six denarii, and oats for seven denarii. There were witnesses, though only one remains extant in Manuscript C.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. First Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, fol. 145r-v, lost (12th c.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9622, fol. 217r, summary after B (18th c.)

Editions:

N/A

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 89, p. 78, after C, erroneous summary
- 2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, II, n. 199, p. 298, summary after C

Witnesses:

Testes sunt huius rei: John of Rochefort; *et alii*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *anno passionis Dominicae millesimo centesimo vigesimo nono mense Iulio*. The datum clause in Ms C is erroneous. The date of the original charter's production could not have been July 1129. By July 1129, Fulk V had already been in the Holy Land for well over a month, rendering it impossible for him to have provided his consent here. Furthermore, *nono* is an ordinal formulation, whereas the indication of year in datum clauses typically were in cardinal form, i.e. it should be *novem* here. The '*nono*' which survives in Ms C appears, thus, to have been a mistranscription of '*nonae*,' a simple mistake to make when dealing with medieval scribal abbreviations and stylistic idiosyncrasies. The *nonae* of July is the seventh day. The year must be 1128 when, as it is noted, William of Bures and the Jerusalem envoy arrived in Anjou, bearing a marriage proposal for Count Fulk V.

Abbey of La Trinité of Tiron, Rule of St. Benedict

Cme and cant. Thiron Gardais, arr. Nogent-le-Rotrou, dioc. Chartres, dép. Eure-et-Loir

[F 114]

18 November 1128

Loches (Beaulieu-lès-Loches)

Charter. Comital Confirmation. Granting to Abbot William of Tiron and the monks of the congregation at Tiron all the land which he held at Sainte-Sabrine, Haios of Montfaucon¹⁷⁵ sought the concession of his *nepos* Fulco of Montfaucon in the church of Mary Magdalene at the Angevin comital castle of Beaulieu-lès-Loches. Fulk V—*vero bone spei Andegavensium comes*—and his son Geoffrey subsequently conceded the benefaction. The charter bears the cross signatures of Fulk V and Haios. It is indicated

¹⁷⁵ Comital castle along the southwestern Angevin frontier with Brittany and the Poitou.

Montfaucon is located in the eponymous former commune, which exists today as: cme Sèvremoine, cant. Saint-Macaire-en-Mauges, arr. Cholet, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

that Fulco had previously granted his consent alongside his wife Beatrice at the *castellum* of La Chartre-sur-Loir.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 69r, after A (1160x1165)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Tiron*, I, n. 90, pp. 112-113, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 88, p. 278

Witnesses:

Testes: Gervase of Troyes; Geoffrey of Cleers; Fulco of Mouliherne;¹⁷⁶ Jacquelin of Maillé [sic: Geldoino]; Ridel of Rillé; Philip, brother of the count; Thomas of Loches, chaplain; Corannus, chamberlain; Guiscard of *Iallia*; Joscelin of Beaupréau; Lambert, steward [*despensario*]; Alberic of *Barbee*; Amaury, brother of Matthew of Trôo; Hugh of Juillé; Hugh of *Pontiac*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: ...*die XIII kalendarum decembrium... anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXXVIII.*

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 115]

1109x1129

Actum Perditum. Comital Donation. The notice recalls how Count Fulk V had donated two *arpents* of land in Avrillé,¹⁷⁷ where the church of Saint-Gilles was located. Following Fulk's departure for Jerusalem in 1129, the nuns solicited from his son, Count Geoffrey V, a confirmation of this donation, including their right to develop on the land.

Manuscript History (for Geoffrey V's notice):

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, 846, Roll 3, n. 8 (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 89, p. 68, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, p. 312

¹⁷⁶ Appears twice in the witness list.

¹⁷⁷ Cme Avrillé, c. Angers-Nord-Ouest, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

2. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, no. 14, pp. 7-8

Witnesses for Fulk V's donation:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause for Geoffrey V's confirmation: *Hoc factum est ab incarnatione domini MCXXIX annis.*

Abbey of La Trinité of Tiron, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme and cant. Thiron Gardais, arr. Nogent-le-Rotrou, dioc. Chartres, dép. Eure-et-Loir

[F 116]

1109x1129, perhaps 1129

Charter(?). Comital Exemption. In what reads as a letter, Count Fulk V addresses his provosts as well as his other servants in decreeing that the monks of the community of Tiron ought to pass through the comital demesne freely and unrestricted. Comital agents are to impose upon them neither the *pasnagium* nor any other custom.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 51r, after A (1160x1165)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Tiron*, I, n. 44, p. 63, after B

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 96, p. 280
2. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 98

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

In Tiron's cartulary (ms B), a verbatim exemption from Geoffrey V follows the present exemption by Fulk V. There is no datum clause for either benefaction. Dutton has dated Geoffrey's exemption to 1129x1144 or 1150x1151. With regard to Fulk's *actum*, the cartulary's editor has suggested a dating of 1120x1129, though the basis for such an interval remains unclear: the extant letter appears to provide no information which might narrow the possible timeframe of its production. Nevertheless, that Geoffrey V issued a verbatim exemption at some point during his own reign, an exemption which is preserved within the cartulary immediately pursuant to Fulk's own exemption, may suggest that these exemptions were coterminous, being issued upon the point of Fulk V's departure to the Holy Land and signifying, in some sense, the transfer of power between the father and the son. Nevertheless, this is only speculative.

Abbey of La Trinité of Tiron, Rule of St. Benedict
Cme and cant. Thiron Gardais, arr. Nogent-le-Rotrou, dioc. Chartres, dép. Eure-et-Loir

[F 117]

1109x1129

Actum Perditum. Charter. Comital Foundation. At some point during his comital reign, Fulk V “conceded a gift” [*donum... concessit*] to the abbot of Tiron and monks serving God at that abbey. Based on an act of Geoffrey V from 1136x1143, in which Fulk’s present benefaction survives, it appears that the aforementioned gift was of lands and privileges that the congregation of Tiron used to establish the dependent priory of Sainte-Marie Madeleine of Russé.¹⁷⁸ By the time of Geoffrey’s 1136x1143 confirmation, which included new concessions, a prior had appeared at Russé and was actively developing the surrounding area.

Manuscript History (for Geoffrey V confirmation):

- A. Original, lost
- B. AD Eure-et-Loir, H 1374, fol. 81v, after A (1160x1165)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Tiron*, I, n. 165, p. 189, after B

Analysis:

- 1. Dutton, “Geoffrey V of Anjou,” Appendix I, n. 99.

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. It is possible that Fulk’s benefaction occurred in 1120x1129, given that Fulk V is known to have established a series of reform monasteries during that interval.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Noyers, Rule of St. Benedict
Nouâtre, cant. Sainte-Maure-de-Touraine, arr. Chinon, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire

[F 118]

1113x1129

Charter. Comital Confirmation of Aristocratic Donation. Following the example of the holy fathers who built churches and then endowed them for the remission of their own

¹⁷⁸ Today: cme Orches, cant. Lencloître, arr. Châtellerauld, dép. Vienne. For the location as well as a discussion of Geoffrey V’s act of confirmation, see: Dutton, Appendix I, n. 99.

sins, Alaelmus Robillus honors the Abbey of Noyers with three measures [*operas*] of land from his own property. Count Fulk V concedes this matter.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of Notre-Dame of Noyers, fol. 94v, after A, lost
- C. BM Poitiers, Coll. Dom Fonteneau, vols. 71-72 (0527-0528), p. 421, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Noyers*, n. 451, p. 486

Witnesses:

Testes huius rei: Peter of Champchévrier; and his brother, Geoffrey of Clairvaux; Peter Roonard; Robert, provost; Gosbert of Morton; Gosbert of Loches; *Gano*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. In his edition, Chevalier dates the benefaction to c. 1126, though the basis for this remains unclear. The *terminus ab quo* is established by the 1113 accession of Gaudin to the abbacy of Noyers. The *terminus ante quem* is 1129, the year of Fulk V's lasting departure from Anjou for the Holy Land. The "Robert" who attests here as provost is not known to belong to Count Fulk, though he may, in fact, be a comital agent who is otherwise obscure.

Abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Airvault, arr. Parthenay, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Deux-Sèvres

[F 119]

1120x1129

Charter. Comital confirmation of previous foundation. First, Count Fulk V recalls how, when enlarging his castle at Vihiers and ordering the construction of a forum beyond its walls, he had chosen to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious consular predecessors by also augmenting local ecclesiastical holdings. Joined by some of his nobles [*procerum*], Fulk had granted license to the prior of Saint-Jouin-de-Vihiers to erect a church of Saint-Nicholas, adding to the two churches about Vihiers already belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes. Indeed, such worldly generosity concerned princes such as Fulk. Later, it was decided that, on account of the situation of Saint-Nicholas within the parish of the mother-church, Saint-Nicholas would join the abbey's other two churches about Vihiers—the church of Saint-John the Baptist and the church of Saint-Hilaire—in being forbidden from holding rites of marriage, baptism, or burial. This judgment perhaps was the impetus for the present comital confirmation.

Indeed, on the present occasion, Fulk recalls his original foundation and indicates that he should have, at that time, reified his benefaction in the form of a charter replete with witnesses—which he is now doing.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5449, pp. 23-122, copy after A? (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32, after B

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, p. 32

Witnesses (allegedly from the original foundation):

...illi qui inter fuerunt sunt nominandi, viderunt utique et audierunt hanc meam de supradicta Sancti Nicholai ecclesia donationem sive concessionem: Arduin of Cinq-Mars; Isembard Gaudis; Adelard of Grandfont; Isdrael, vicarius; et multi alii

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause for either the confirmation or the original foundation. Grandmaison offers a dating of 1125, presumably with regard to the year of the confirmation, though the basis remains unclear. The aggregate of surviving evidence suggests dating the original foundation as well as the present confirmation to, at the least, the period following Fulk's taking of the cross in late 1119, i.e. 1120x1129. First, the witness list for the original foundation includes Adelard of Grandfont, who only otherwise appears in comital charters in 1124.¹⁷⁹ Second, although Arduin of Cinq-Mars also appears as a witness—and his otherwise activity in Fulk's charters is mostly, though not always, localized to the period before 1121—he and the other witnesses are earlier identified as noblemen [*procerum*]; Arduin's earlier participation in the comital entourage was as a minor aristocratic functionary, suggesting that his appearance here must have been in the 1120s, when his social status had risen as a result of his loyalty to the count and marriage to the lord of Rillé's daughter.¹⁸⁰ Third, Fulk is otherwise known to have embarked upon campaigns of both ecclesiastical foundations as well as military construction almost exclusively during the 1120s, further placing the present foundation and its later confirmation in that decade.¹⁸¹ Fourth and finally, Fulk V's only other known interaction with Saint-Jouin occurred in spring 1120, when the monks solicited him to curb the harassment of one of his men, who predations violated previous comital grants of liberty.¹⁸²

**Abbey of Saint-Serge of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cme. and cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[F 120]

1123x1129

Angers, House of Geoffrey of Ramefort

¹⁷⁹ [F 96].

¹⁸⁰ [F 104]; [F 111]. It was not entirely unknown for Arduin to have been identified as one of the *procerum* before 1121. In a previous comital charter at Saint-Jouin, he is included as one of the aristocratic judges for a comital adjudication. See [F 76].

¹⁸¹ See Chapter Four for an extended discussion regarding these matters.

¹⁸² [F 76]

Notice. Comital Concession. At the house of Geoffrey of Ramefort, Count Fulk V and his son Geoffrey conceded a donation to Saint-Serge previously referenced in the present notice, namely the donation made, upon his taking of the habit, by Lord Odo, son of Hugh of la Claye,¹⁸³ of the land of la Fosse [*terram de Fossa*], which was situated beyond the Loire near Saint-Mélaine-sur-Aubance¹⁸⁴ and which Odo held through paternal inheritance. The comital concession was made in the presence of Abbot Peter of Saint-Serge, with many seeing and hearing, a few of whose names are recorded.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Musée Dobrée (Nantes), Ms. 003, Second Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Serge, ns. 214-219, ff. 98r-99v, after A (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, H 778bis, II, after B (19th c.)

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 43, p. 374, after C
- b. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, II, n. 218, p. 623, after B and C

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 94, p. 280, with errors
2. *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, II, n. 218, pp. 619-623

Witnesses:

praesente domno Petro abbate Sancti Sergii, videntibus et multis, quorum nomina subicimus: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Peter Roonard; Hugh (of Sablé), provost; *Warino Bechemian*; Geoffrey of Verrières; *et multis aliis*

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. However, the participation of Geoffrey V indicates that the present actum would likely not have transpired before his earliest, reliably dated participation in a comital actum in 1116, at the age of three. The presence of a 'Hugh, provost' for the post-1116 period can only be Hugh of Sablé, who is provost of Angers by 1123. Since further provosts of Angers are not reliably attested after 1123 until William des Moulin's reappointment as provost of Angers under Count Geoffrey V in later 1129, the *terminus ante quem* here must be 1129, the year of Fulk V's departure for the Holy Land.

The present comital concession is part of a series of at six acta recorded in a twelfth century notice. The notice appears to have been redacted after the quitclaim of a calumny brought forth by a newly knighted Hugh the Young, son of seigneur Hugh of Claye, against the 1082x1093 (*Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, II, p. 785, n. 33 for dating) donation made by his father to Saint-Serge, namely the tithe of the other tract of arable land [*alterius carruce*] before the gate of lord Hugh of Claye's *municipium*, the first tract having been made earlier by one of Hugh's men. The history of the donation as well as other familial donations and the various *laudatio parentum* which confirmed these donations are recorded in the first five parts of the notice; the quitclaim and calumny are recorded in the sixth and final part of the notice. According to the cartularies' editor, Chauvin, the possible dates for each part of the notice

¹⁸³ Chauvin identifies la Claye as bearing a chateau in 1082x1093 and being situated at: cne. Murs-Érigné, c. Les Ponts-de-Cé, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire. See Chauvin, II, p. 785. Chartrou, however, identifies la Claye as cmn. Le Bailleul, c. Malicorne, arr. La Flèche, dép. Sarthe, thereby rendering the La Clayes as a Manceaux family. See: Chartrou, p. 406.

¹⁸⁴ Cme. Saint-Mélaine-sur-Aubance, c. Ponts-de-Cé, arr. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire.

extend from approximately 31 March 1057 until 1148. The participation of Fulc V transpires in the fifth of the six acta.

Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers
Cme, cant., and arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[F 121]

1125x1129

Angers

Notice. Comital Concession / Justice. According to the canons of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice, Fulc V recognized on 2 March 1125x1129 in front of his court in Angers that he had unjustly received eight *solidi* in revenues from the custom of the *rotagium* (toll on wheeled vehicles) as it pertained to some fields which the chapter of Saint-Maurice held at “Longue-Isle.” Whether the action was the consequence of his own ignorance or the machinations of his ministers, Fulc relinquished the custom into the hands of the cathedral’s dean, offering a band of gold in compensation for the silver that he had received as the custom’s collected revenue.

Much time later, several of the cathedral’s canons, in the presence of Bishop Ulger of Angers, petitioned Fulc to bring justice to his provost of Beaufort, a Robin fitz Isembard of Amboise, who was aggressively venturing to collect on the aforementioned custom. It appears that Robin had attempted to justify his actions by insisting that the fields to which the custom pertained were located within his own estates. With Robin present, Fulc V decreed that Robin held no right to enforce the custom and should henceforth desist.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice of Angers, fol. 97v, after A, lost (12th c.)
- C. BM Angers, ms. 691 (624), fol. 513r, French summary after B (17th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 162, pp. 254-255

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 97, pp. 280-281

Witnesses:

N/A

Dating and Discussion:

The extant French summary indicates no datum clause. With regard to the date of the original relinquishment, Urseau indicates its concurrence with a previous benefaction which must be dated 2

March 1125x1129 (Urseau, *Cartulaire noir*, 254n1). As concerns the second part of the notice, the presence of Ulger as bishop of Angers establishes a *terminus ab quo* of 1125, the year of his accession to the bishopric. The *terminus ad quem* is, at the latest, 1129, the year in which Fulk V leaves Anjou for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Abbey of Sainte-Trinité of Savigny, Rule of St. Benedict (Cistercian, c. 1147-)
Cant. Le Teilleul, arr. Avranches, dioc. Avranches, dép. Manche

[F 122]

1126x1129

Denezé-sous-le-Lude,¹⁸⁵ Community of La Boissière

Charter. Comital Confirmation, Donation, and Foundation. “For the sake of the redemption of the soul of [his] wife, Countess Aremburge,” that of the souls of other deceased relatives and faithful, as well as for the salvation of his own, Count Fulk V confirmed a previous benefaction, enacted jointly by himself, his wife, and their eldest son Geoffrey V, of various lands and waters to Abbot Vidal of Savigny. For the original benefaction, see [F 73].

“In consular munificence” [*munificentia consulari*], the confirmation was done at the hermitage at La Boissière, a daughter community to the Abbey Saint-Trinité of Savigny now under the abbacy of Geoffrey. Fulk V augmented the original donation by relinquishing the *pasnagium* of all Savigny pork/pigs moving through comital forests and by providing Savigny with the materials necessary to construct a monastery at La Boissière. Furthermore, Fulk V granted the servants of God there immunity from any customs or otherwise burdens which others may impose upon them.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Vidimus* of “William, bishop of Angers” from the archives of the Abbey of La Boissière, lost (n.d.)
- C. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/2, n. 760, fol. 179r-v, copy after B (18th c.)
- D. BM Angers, ms. 687, *Notre-Dame Angevine*, fol. 267, partial copy after B?

Editions:

- a. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 28, pp. 355-356, after C and D

Analysis:

- 1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 73, p. 273, with errors

Witnesses:

N/A for the confirmation

¹⁸⁵ Cme. Denezé-sous-le-Lude, cant. Noyant, arr. Saumur. See Port, *Dictionnaire*, I, p. 415.

Dating and Discussion:

There is no datum clause. Chartrou conflates this confirmation and the original donation into a single act, which she dates to 1113x1126. As I discuss in [F 73], the original benefaction should be dated to 1120. The present confirmation, augmenting the original donation, must be dated to 1126x1129, since it appears that Countess Aremburge has died by this point. The charter specifies that Count Fulc V offers the confirmation “for the sake of the redemption of the soul of my wife, Countess Aremburge” alongside the souls of (other) deceased relatives and faithful, rather clearly indicating her similar passing. This would establish a *terminus ab quo* of 1126. The *terminus ad quem* is 1129, the year in which Fulc V leaves Anjou for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The confirmation may have occurred toward 1126, soon after Aremburge’s death in 1126, given that the augmented benefaction (which led to the construction of a monastery) is, in no small part, for the benefit of Aremburge’s soul. On the other hand, the identification of Geoffrey V as count would seem to recommend a dating toward 1129, with the title being affirmed in order to facilitate the impending transition of power.

The Abbey of Saint-Trinité of Savigny (Cant. Le Teilleul, arr. Avranches, dioc. Avranches, dép. Manche), as well as the Savigniac Order more generally, became associated with the Cistercians in the mid-twelfth century.¹⁸⁶

**Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray of Angers, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Angers, arr. Angers, dioc. Angers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 123]

1129

Notice. Confirmation of [F 39]. In reminiscing about diverse matters, Countess Ermengarde and Count Fulc V recalled how their father had demonstrated considerable interest in ensuring the Abbey of Notre-Dame du Ronceray unfettered privileges in the hamlet of Sainte-Foy. The notice reports that Ermengarde convinced Fulc V to have his own son, Geoffrey V, publicly concede Fulc’s own previous confirmation so as to commence the new reign with good deeds.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BM Angers, ms. 848A, Roll 5, C. 78, redacted after A (1176-1200)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, pp. 348-349
- 2. Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 91, p. 279, with errors

Witnesses:

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion of the evidence and its possible dating, refer to: Constance Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 146-148.

Geoffrey of Ramefort; and many others from the part of the count...

Dating and Discussion:

The year is indicated to be that in which Fulk traveled to Jerusalem. Although this may refer to the year 1120, when Fulk V first traveled to Jerusalem, the indication that Fulk V's 1115 confirmation was "a long while ago [*iam dudum*]" and that Aremburge is nowhere present in an act involving the comital children would suggest that the occasion is 1129 rather than 1120.

**Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire**

[F 124]

c. 2 February 1129

Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Charter/Pancarte (see discussion below). Comital Confirmation. While preparing to leave for Jerusalem, Count Fulk V, son of Count Fulk le Réchin, had sought the company of the religious at the Abbey of Fontevraud, where one of his daughters, Mathilda, had recently taken the veil. Availing themselves of the opportunity, Abbess Petronilla and the communities at Fontevraud asked the count to confirm the entirety of his previous benefactions to Fontevraud in the presence of all. Fulk has gladly obliged the request, donating and conceding all the things that he had previously donated and conceded to the religious of Fontevraud. Fulk's unveiled children—Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla—have joined him in this plenary confirmation, donating and conceding as well. In order to strengthen his donation and the concession of his children, Fulk V indicates that he has had Geoffrey, Hélias, and Sibylla re-invest Petronilla, in her capacity as first abbess of Fontevraud, with the rule of Saint-Benedict.

Following the witness list but preceding the datum clause, Fulk V describes two additional measures by which he sought to preserve his gift into posterity. First, he had the comital seal attached to the charter which was made through the hand of the cleric Robert of Grez. Second, he obliged Geoffrey V to take the religious of Fontevraud and their affairs under his own guardianship, to be protected and preserved before all others. Cross signatures are provided by the secular members of the nuclear comital family, namely Fulk V, Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original: AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 18, with cords indicating non-extant seal
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 134, lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 570, p. 95, extracts after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1398, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Clypeus*, II, pp. 218-219, partial after B (17th c.)

- b. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 867, pp. 806-808, after A, D, and a
- c. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 40, p. 362-363, after A, D, and a

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 867, pp. 806-808
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 90, pp. 278-279

Witnesses:

videntibus istis et audientibus: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Gervase of Troyes; Adam of Rochefort; Rolland of Montrevault; Aimery of Loudun; Robert *Ragot* (Robert fitz Renaud?)

de clericis: Renaud of Doué; Robert of Grez

De laicis: Geoffrey *de Lineriis*; Geoffrey *de Cleia*

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: *Acta carta apud Fontem Ebraudi per manum Roberti de Gre, regnante Ludovico, Ildeberto Turonorum archiepiscopo, Ulgerio Andegavorum episcopo, anno incarnatione Domini M C XX*. The indicated year of 1120 is incorrect. In that year, Hildebert was not yet archbishop of Tours, Ulger was not yet bishop of Angers, and Mathilda was still married to William Adelin. Given Fulk's indicated "wishing to go to Jerusalem" here, the present confirmation must have occurred around the time of Fulk's second and final journey to Jerusalem in 1129. Indeed, Bienvenu and Chartrou date the act to 1129. The date of production may, however, be further narrowed. On 2 February 1129, Count Conan III of Brittany, with the counsel of his mother, Countess Ermengarde—sister of Fulk V—made a donation at Fontevraud in honor of the recent veiling of his cousin, Mathilda, Fulk's daughter.¹⁸⁷ Fulk's presence may be glimpsed here—the charter was drawn up and sealed at the instigation of Ralph of Grez. Ralph was not only the brother of Robert of Grez, a scribe at Fontevraud, but also the butler of Count Fulk V.¹⁸⁸ Ralph was known to have been involved in the production of charters.¹⁸⁹ These circumstances suggest that the present confirmation may have occurred around the same time as Conan's aforementioned donation, while the Angevin and Breton comital families were both present at Fontevraud.

Although Bienvenu and Chartrou have assumed that Ms A must represent the pancarte redaction of an original non-extant charter, there are reasons to establish that Ms A *is* the original document. First, the present confirmation does not specify what previous benefactions were being conceded/donated anew. Although this lack of specificity was, in itself, not unusual, these kinds of non-specific plenary confirmations did present the ideal opportunity for the production of a pancarte. Pancartes were documents which collated previous charters typically associated with a particular patron(s) into a single parchment for the sake of evidentiary reference. Ms A is just such a pancarte. The seventeen preceding acts recorded on Ms A comprise the comital benefactions which the Angevin dynastic family was confirming herein as the eighteenth entry. Since pancartes were often composed as a documentary mechanism by which to safeguard benefactions from future challenges by the benefactors' kin, the pancarte itself sometimes expressed a collective quitclaim on the part of the living kin, a quitclaim reified through language as well as ritual. And thus we see here that the language of Fulk's confirmation supplements his own dispositive agency with that of Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla, his children, who are indicated explicitly to have conceded and donated all that Fulk had previously and now again conceded and donated to the abbey. Moreover, Ms A, as we might expect of

¹⁸⁷ Bienvenu, *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 99, pp. 87-88. For the dating, compare: *Ibid.*, II, n. 821, pp. 762-763.

¹⁸⁸ Bienvenu, *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 99, p. 88: "...*Radulfus de Greco cuius instinctu hoc fecimus...*" For Ralph of Grez as Fulk V's butler, see:

¹⁸⁹ See: [F 66] (1119), AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, n. 1, where he is specifically noted to have flanked Fulk V and Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme while Geoffrey V issued a confirmation of a comital benefaction.

the original document of confirmation, carries the cross signatures of Fulk V, Geoffrey V, Hélias, and Sibylla, signifying their approval and relinquishment of the aforementioned benefactions. The significant amount of blank space which remains on Ms A further suggests that the pancarte was meant to be augmented with future benefactions from the Angevin comital dynasty. Indeed, in 1154, Fulk V's grandson Henry Plantagenet affirmed the pancarte with a final nineteenth entry produced in a different hand than the rest of the pancarte. However, with Henry's impending ascension to the throne of England, the pancarte of a comital family would have to be superseded—below Henry's confirmation, as “duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou,” the remainder of the pancarte is crossed out.

APPENDIX B

Supplementary Acta

ACTA OF COUNTESS AREMBURGE

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[G 1-1]

1109x1115, 18 August

Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Charter. Confirmation. For the sake of those in the present as well as those in the future, Countess Aremburge issues the present charter to make it clear that she has affirmed and consented to all within. Namely, Aremburge refers to all that which Count Fulk V has given richly and of his own property in watching over Robert of Arbrissel—who is noted to have done such magnificent evangelical work—for the construction of a church at Fontevraud. And so, Aremburge herein at Fontevraud has, through the fortification of her own concession, strengthened all the goods [*bona*] that her husband Fulk previously donated and conceded to Robert and the women of Fontevraud. The testimony of the witnesses is framed, in turn, as strengthening the concession of Aremburge so that Fontevraud may preserve its estates unchallenged in the future.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2414, Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, ff. 103v and 104r-v, after A (12th c.)
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 850, p. 118, copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 850, pp. 69-70, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, ff. 417v-418r, after B (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5600, fol. 151r, after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 165, pp. 155-156, after B
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j., n. 7, pp. 328-329, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 165, pp. 155-156
2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 23, p. 258

Witnesses:

...presentium virorum testimonio munita est mea concessio: Geoffrey of Ramefort; Renaud Fremaudi; Gereius of Echarbot; Hugh of La Haye; Odo of Doué-la-Fontaine; Boterii filii Engilbaudi; Boterius of

Le Mans; Matthew of Montreuil-Bellay; Beatrix, tutor [*magistra*] of Countess Aremburge; Riveria, wife of Odo of Doué-la-Fontaine

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: ...*XVIII kalendarum septembris...* *regnante Ludovico Francorum rege, Fulcone Andegavorum comite, Radulfo Turonorum Archiepiscopo*. The *terminus ab quo* is probably the year of Fulk V's accession, since he is identified here as count. The *terminus ad quem* is 18 August 1115, since the date of 18 August is specified and Robert of Arbrissel, who appears still to be alive here, dies in February 1116.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[G 1-2]

26 December 1120

Fontevraud, Abbey of Fontevraud

Charter. Aristocratic Donations (Aremburge witness). With the affirmation of the bishop of Poitiers, Savari of Mauléon and Thibaut Chabot donate to the religious of Fontevraud various customs and tithes deriving from their own lordship.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. *Grand Cartulaire d'Angers*, ff. 8v-9r
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, n. 33, p. 6, partial copy after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, n. 33, pp. 7-8, copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. DuChesne, XXII, fol. 401v, partial copy after B (17th c.)
- F. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/1, n. 5530, fol. 145r, partial copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 330, pp. 335-336, after B

Analysis:

1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 330, pp. 335-336

Witnesses:

Horum donorum testes sunt: Geoffrey of Ramefort; William of Vern; Geoffrey fitz Garinus; Hamelin of Troyes; William des Moulins; Countess Aremburge of Angers

Dating and Discussion:

Datum clause: ... *anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXII, indictionis XIII, VII kalendarum ianuarii, Ludovico Francorum rege, Willelmo Aquitanorum duce, William Pictavorum pontifice*. The datum clause survives in Ms B, a cartulary redaction of the non-extant original charter and the manuscript from which the remainder of the surviving copies derive. The recorded date is, nevertheless, an impossibility: 26 December 1121 is not the thirteenth indiction, as the datum clause indicates, but

rather the fifteenth indiction.¹ Although it is possible that the cartulary scribe of Ms B mistranscribed *XIII* for *XV*, it is preferable to conclude that the scribal mistranscription was for *XIV*, corresponding to calendar dates of 1/24 September of 1120 through 31 August / 23 September of 1121. Ms B's year of *MCXXII* was thus a mistranscription of an original indication of *MCXXI*; the extraneous year after *MCXXI* was the consequence of the Ms B scribe's all-too-easy misreading of the first stroke of *indictions* as being part of the indication of the year.

Indeed, several pieces of evidence recommend positing an original datum clause of *anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXI indictiones XIV VII kalendarum ianuarii*, i.e. 26 December 1120. First, Ms B elsewhere mistakenly preserves an incarnation year of 1122 and an indiction of 13 for what must be 1121 and an indiction of 14: in a notice pertaining to an *actum* of 21 May "1122" of the "thirteenth" indiction, Gautier of Montsoreau is described as having been on the road to Jerusalem (*Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, n. 398). As I discuss in Chapter Four, however, Gautier of Montsoreau had accompanied his brother-in-law Berlai of Montreuil-Bellay as part of the Angevin host embarking for the Holy Land by June 1120, an expedition that returned to Anjou by September 1121. That is to say, the scribe for this notice, like the scribe for the present charter (perhaps the same scribe), erroneously preserved both the incarnation year as 1122 (instead of 1121) and the indiction as 13 (instead of 14). The witnesses for the present charter further recommend a dating of 26 December 1120. William des Moulins, who here appears alongside Countess Aremburge and a couple of Count Fulk's *fideles*, was no longer in the count's service by 26 December 1121. Having been provost of Angers for some years, William des Moulins was replaced in such a capacity by Lupellus Ferle ([F 84]) in later 1121. William subsequently disappeared entirely from the comital *mouvance* until his resurfacing in 1129 under Count Geoffrey V. The present *actum* should, therefore, be dated to no later than 26 December 1120. The presence here of Geoffrey fitz Garinus and Geoffrey of Ramefort, in conjunction with Count Fulk's own absence, suggests that the *actum* transpired during the interval of Fulk's absence on crusade, i.e. between June 1120 and September 1121. Were Fulk present in western Europe, these two individuals, who were among his closest *fideles*, would almost certainly have been at the count's side, particularly for this occasion at the Abbey of Fontevraud on the day after Christmas (which the comital entourage appears to have spent at the abbey). Consequently, we might reasonably conclude that Count Fulk was in Jerusalem at this time, having left his *familiares* to support his wife Countess Aremburge while she ruled Anjou as regent. Again, these pieces of assorted evidence cumulatively recommend dating the present charter to 26 December 1120.

**Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, Rule of St. Benedict
arr. Tours, dioc. Tours, dép. Indre-et-Loire**

[G 1-3]

1120x1121

Tours, Chapter of Saint-Julian

¹ Indictions typically ran a calendar year from 1/24 September. The fifteenth indiction would have begun on 1/24 September 1121 and ended on 31 August / 23 September 1122. Indictions were sometimes dated from 1 January, though this dating interval was rare in Angevin scribal practices of the early twelfth century. The year of the Incarnation typically commenced on 25 December of the preceding year, though scribal practices beyond contemporary Anjou sometimes dated the incarnation year from 25 March.

Actum Perditum. Donation. While Fulk was on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1120-21, Countess Aremburge, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and Archembaud fitz Ulger, granted to Saint-Julian the woods of Chédon, extending from the *foresta militum* up until the house of the monks. Whether to uproot, develop, or set up lodgings in the land remained the prerogative of the monks there.

They made this gift freely and peacefully and "as if of the count of Anjou or of his officials or ministers from those same woods; and, whether from the land or the men who were to be settling there, all were exempt in posterity and henceforth from every vicarage, severity, violence, exaction, and custom" [*et tam comitis Andegavensis quam officialium ac ministrorum ipsius a bosco eodem vel terra seu hominibus qui in ea hospitandi essent omni exclusa in posterum vicaria, districtione, violentia, exactione et omni prorsus consuetudine*].

Manuscript History (of Geoffrey V's *actum*):

- A. Original, lost
- B. Cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Julian of Tours, copy? lost
- C. AD Indre-et-Loire, H 1056, n. 4, *Vidimus* of 1254 by the doyen and chapter of Saint Martin of Tours, lost then rediscovered in 1940 (13th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), V, n. 1690, partial copy after B? (18th c.)
- E. BM Tours, ms. 1165 (Salmon), fol. 80, copy after "*vidimus de l'officialité de Tours, d'avril 1251*" (19th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien*, n. 82, pp. 104-105, after D
- b. Dutton, "Geoffrey V of Anjou," Appendix I, n. 102

Analysis:

1. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 140, p. 292, brief summary after a
2. Blincoe, "Angevin Society," n. 50, pp. 460-464, based on a, with conjectural analysis refuted by the greater surviving detail of Ms C

Witnesses:

N/A for embedded donation

Dating and Discussion:

Dating reference for the lost act: *Fecerunt siquidem donum istud in capitulo sancti Iuliani Turon eo ipso tempore et eisdem diebus quo prenomatus ac reverentus et honorifice recolendus Fulco comes ierusalem prima vice perrexerat*. The benefaction is explicitly indicated to have been issued while Fulk was away on his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem, hence between June 1120 until mid-late 1121. This donation is preserved in a charter for an 1142 resolution in Château-du-Loir by Count Geoffrey V of a dispute between the monks of Saint-Julian and Isoredus, his provost at Montbazou.

Abbey of Notre-Dame of Fontevraud, Rule of St. Benedict
Cant. Saumur-Sud, arr. Saumur, dioc. Poitiers, dép. Maine-et-Loire

[G 1-4]

1116x1122, perhaps 1120x1121

Charter. Confirmation. Countess Aremburge wishes to entrust to the memory of her successors that she has conceded the gift of Adam of Rochefort concerning all matters to the religious of Fontevraud, just as her lord Fulk had conceded them.

Manuscript History:

- A. Original, lost
- B. Grand Cartulary of Fontevraud, fol. 27, lost
- C. AD Maine-et-Loire, 101 H 225bis, p. 8, extract after B (17th c.)
- D. BNF, Coll. Gaignières, ms. lat. 5480, II, p. 11, partial copy after B (18th c.)
- E. BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1291, fol. 119v, copy after B (18th c.)

Editions:

- a. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 341, pp. 346-347, after C, D, and E
- b. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, p.j. n. 32, pp. 358-359, after D and E

Analysis:

- 1. *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 342, pp. 346-347
- 2. Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 78, p. 274

Witnesses:

Videntibus: Arnulf of Montgomery; Geoffrey of Ramefort; Aimery of Thouars; *Leberto Geraudo*, his own son; Paganus *de Changeio*, and others

Dating and Discussion:

Countess Aremburge references Fulk's own concession which occurred on a 23 June of 1116x1119. See: [F 64]. The *terminus ad quem* must be established as 1122, the year by which Arnulf of Montgomery, who is a witness here, died. In any case, the lack of overlap in the witness list with [F 64] suggests that Aremburge did not issue her own confirmation simultaneously with that of Fulk. It is possible that this was an *actum* upon the eve of Fulk's impending absence on crusade in mid-1120 or shortly after his departure, serving to affirm Aremburge's independent authority as countess.

FALSE ACTA (Misattributed)

[G 2-1]

Cartulaire du Ronceray, n. 202

Identifications as Fulk V *actum*:

- Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 18, p. 257
- Marchegay, *Archives d'Anjou*, III, p. 334

The notice allegedly indicates that Fulk le Jeune [*iunior*] had rendered a judgment against his provost Ralph Toaret in favor of the religious of Ronceray, recognizing a previous grant to the abbey by Fulk le

Réchin [*senior*]. However, the witness lists and general context of the act make clear that the elder Fulk is Fulk Nerra and the younger is Fulk le Réchin, who is rendering the judgment at a significantly later date. Referring to Fulk le Réchin as *Iunior* was conventional in many comital acts that involved gifts of Fulk Nerra. Naturally, this has created some confusion with regard to the *acta* of Fulk V, who is also described as *Iunior* relative to both Fulk le Réchin and Fulk Nerra. In any case, this is not an *actum* of Fulk V but, rather, one of his father, Fulk le Réchin.

[G 2-2]

Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin, II, n. 636

Identifications as Fulk V *actum*:

Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 70, p. 272

Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin, II, n. 636

The monks of Saint-Aubin made a complaint to a Count Fulk about his *vicarius* Gautier of Avoir, whom they claimed had injured them with regard to the woods of Jarzé, which Fulk had given to them. Hearing the complaint, Fulk, in the presence of his son Geoffrey and presumably for whose didactic benefit, summoned the *vicarius* and warned the *vicarius* that he was claiming no *vicaria* in those woods which he had given the monks. Our only extant copy of the present notice is truncated here, save for a short witness list.

In his edition, Broussillon suggests that the act should be dated toward 1125, though he provides no rationale for such an interval. The witness list indicates, however, that the present judicial verdict was likely issued not by Fulk V in the presence of his son Geoffrey V but, rather, by Fulk le Réchin in the presence of his son Geoffrey Martel II. Geoffrey V was born in 1113 and his documentary debut was not until 1116, whereas the latest possible year in which Girard remained provost of Angers was 1112.² Of course, it is possible that this Girard is not the well-attested and longstanding provost of Angers but an otherwise unknown provost based near Jarzé (cme Jarzé-Villages, cant. Seiches-sur-le-Loir, arr. Angers), in which case the “monks of Saint-Aubin” are those of the Saint-Aubin’s priory at Jarzé, appealing to Count Fulk V while he was in the area. Yet, the two remaining witnesses suggest that this was not the case. Normand of Montrevault attests Fulk V’s acts only once in 1109x1115;³ Geoffrey V did not appear in extant charters until 1116 at the age of two or three years.⁴ Similarly, Peter Rubiscallus was a *fidelis* of Fulk V’s father, Fulk le Réchin, and appeared in Fulk V’s post-accessional acts only once in 1109x1117;⁵ at latest, Geoffrey V would have been four years of age, and it is rather unlikely that Fulk V was providing a lesson in judicial prerogatives to a four-year-old Geoffrey V. The Fulk and Geoffrey referenced here are, it would seem, Fulk le Réchin and Geoffrey Martel II. The act would have transpired after 1090, in which year Geoffrey Martel II first appeared in his father’s charters. The *terminus ad quem* would be 1106, the year in which Geoffrey Martel II died. It is probable that the act occurred in the early to mid-1090s before Geoffrey left Anjou to join the entourage of his prospective father-in-law, Count Hélias of Maine. All three witnesses here were substantially active in comital *acta* of those years.

² [F 24].

³ [F 36].

⁴ [F 52]; [F 51].

⁵ [F 57].

[G 2-3]

Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, p. 31

Identifications as Fulc V *actum*:

Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, p. 31

The present *actum* cannot be attributed to Fulc V on several counts. First, the witness list, as such, comprises a list of signatories whose “S.” indications must have occupied the bottom of the original parchment of benefaction. This sort of signature diplomatic had passed out of use in Anjou by the twelfth century, though it was common in the earlier eleventh century.⁶ The attestation of one ‘Clarembaud of Rochefort’ further moves the present record into the reign of a different Angevin count: there is no Clarembaud of Rochefort who otherwise appears in Fulc V’s *acta*, and the Clarembaud of Rochefort who lived in the later eleventh century was dead by 1100.⁷ The in-text reference to a deceased Bishop Peter of Poitiers suggests that we should date this *actum* to Fulc Nerra’s reign which knew a contemporaneous such bishop. The known frequency of the aforementioned *signa* diplomatic within Fulc Nerra’s acts further recommends such a dating.

[G 2-4]

BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), IV, n. 1318

Identifications as Fulc V *actum*:

Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 65, pp. 270-271, with accompanying p.j. n. 24
Halphen, *Le comté d’Anjou*, p.j. n. 3, pp. 348-349

The affair of the forced entry of “Count Fulc” into Saint-Martin of Tours and the subsequent reconciliation with the ecclesiastical community has already been established definitively as a Fulc Nerra *actum*.⁸

[G 2-5]

BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XIII/1, n. 9549

Identifications as Fulc V *actum*:

Chartrou, *L’Anjou*, Catalog of acts, n. 95, p. 280, with accompanying p.j. n. 44

⁶ Dominique Barthélemy, “Une crise de l’écrit? Observations sur des actes de Saint-Aubin d’Angers (XIe siècle),” *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 155, 1 (1997), pp. 95-117: 104-105.

⁷ Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, II, C 412.

⁸ Guillot, *Le comte d’Anjou*, II, C 12, p. 27, with accompanying diplomatic discussion.

The adjudication of a certain “Count Fulk” with regard to the contention of an Odo of Blaison has already been established as an *actum* belonging to Fulk le Réchin.⁹

⁹ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 376, p. 234, with accompanying diplomatic discussion.

Appendix C

Dating Fulk V's Birth

Unfortunately, as with many aspects of Fulk V's life, the extant narratives provide conflicting reports concerning the year of his birth. This confusion has led modern scholars to claim birthdates ranging from 1089 to 1092.¹ According to an early thirteenth-century chronicle produced by an anonymous canon of the College of Saint Martin of Tours, Fulk le Réchin abandoned the wife with whom he had borne his heir, Geoffrey Martel II the Young, in order to marry Bertrade of Montfort in the year 1091.² In this case, Fulk V would have been born either later that year or early in 1092 before Bertrade eloped with King Philip I of France (r. 1060-1108) on the eve of Pentecost, 15 May 1092.³ Writing the eighth book of his *Historia Ecclesiastica* between 1133 and 1135, Orderic Vitalis, a monk at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Évroul in Normandy, alleges that the marriage transpired in 1089. Bertrade's hand was the compensation which Duke Robert 'Curthose' of Normandy had had to provide Fulk le Réchin for the latter's suppression of the planned Manceaux rebellion that year.⁴ Given that the uprising does

¹ Reviewing the evidence, Chartrou suggests that Fulk V was likely born in 1089, though it could have been as late as 1092. More recently, Kathryn Dutton has followed Chartrou's analysis in suggesting a birthdate of either 1090 or 1092. Nicholas Paul indicates that Fulk V would have been approximately fifteen years of age in 1106, suggesting a most likely birth year of 1091. See: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 1; Nicholas Paul, "Origo Consulium," 4; Kathryn Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit: The Upbringing of Angevin Comital Children," in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 24-40: 28.

² "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours: Imprimerie Ladavèze, 1854), pp. 64-161: 128.

³ With regard to the precise date of Bertrade and Philip's elopement, see Augustin Fliche's monograph, wherein the author reviews the available evidence: Augustin Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060-1108)* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1912), 41-43.

⁴ OV, IV: 182-185.

not appear to have advanced past the planning stages, which could have taken place during the winter of 1088-1089, the marital match and subsequent pregnancy could have occurred in the first few months of 1089.⁵ The earliest possible date for Fulk V's birth in Orderic Vitalis' narrative, therefore, would be late 1089 or early 1090, with the *terminus ad quem* remaining 15 May 1092.

Fortunately, some of the extant charter evidence allows us to evaluate the claims of these chronicles and narrow the timeframe for Fulk V's birth to late 1089 or earlier 1090.⁶ This, in turn, reveals the short-term motivations for and long-term consequences resulting from the match with Bertrade and subsequent birth of Fulk V. On 24 April

⁵ OV, IV: 184-187. The lords of Maine had sensed the instability of the position of Robert Curthose, who, as the duke of Normandy following the death of his father, William the Conqueror, had seized the county's capital, Le Mans, in summer 1088. Curthose appears to have done so upon the recommendation of his uncle, Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who feared that Robert's younger brother, William Rufus, now king of England, might move against the Norman duchy unless the elder brother consolidated his own position. According to Orderic Vitalis, Curthose found himself ill on the eve of the Manceaux rebellion and, as a consequence, was forced to ask Fulk le Réchin to address the uprising. As the counts of Anjou had pursued influence, with varying degrees of success, in Maine since the tenth century, Fulk le Réchin was amenable toward this charge. Yet, Fulk here seems to have recognized the precariousness of Robert's position and, so, demanded the additional concession of a marital match with Bertrade of Montfort, the sister of Lord Amaury of Montfort. The negotiations with Bertrade's uncle, Count William of Évreux, in whose household she was a ward, appear to have been concluded swiftly, as Fulk le Réchin is noted to have received Bertrade and subsequently maintained peace in Maine for a year before the Manceaux supposedly rose again in 1090. See: Robert Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), 40-41; Frank Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 267-270.

⁶ Datum clauses of original charters in the years following the accession of Fulk V often prove unhelpful with regard to signaling the relative age of the young count. For instance, in a 27 December 1111 charter of Lord William of Feneu, who is donating some formerly comital lands to the Abbey of Saint Nicholas of Angers, Fulk is identified as "*Fulcone infante*," which can be translated alternately as the "young count," the "child to the father (Fulk)," or the "inarticulate/foolish one." The latter translation is unlikely for at least two reasons. First, there is no record of a dispute between William of Feneu, or his brother Geoffrey, and Count Fulk V. Second, the monks of Saint Nicholas enjoyed a close relationship with the counts of Anjou, who had founded the abbey in 1020; it is difficult to see why the monks would have consented to such an insult in composing the charter. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 397, n. 14. Another example is the 2 December 1113 original chirograph of Renaud of Martigné, the bishop of Angers, whose own scribe was likely the author of the document recording the dispute resolution between the bishop and the monks of the abbey of Saint Florent. In the chirograph, Fulk V is identified as "*adolescēte comite Andegavorum*." The youngest possible age for the count in 1113 is twenty, though the term *adolescens*, in any case, could reference a more general state of youth. Refer to: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3041, n. 4.

1090, Count Fulk le Réchin relinquished to the Abbey of Saint Maur-sur-Loire⁷ an island at the confluence of the Vienne and the Loire rivers.⁸ In exchange for the relinquishment of this island, where his predecessors allegedly had built and then donated to the abbey a chapel, Fulk received a thousand *solidi*. He bestowed the island while at the abbey itself and in the presence of several noble men [*nobilibus viris assistente*], including Raoul of Grand-Montrevault and Adelard of Grandfont.⁹ Fulk's recently-wed wife, Bertrade of Montfort, and his son and heir, Geoffrey Martel II, jointly consented [*concesserunt*] to the benefaction. Along with the count, they placed the gift atop the altar, receiving monetary counter-gifts from the abbey in doing so.

Stripped of its individual context, the present charter appears to fit within conventional trajectories of historical comital practices. Indeed, although this is the first documentary appearance of both Bertrade of Montfort and Geoffrey Martel II, it was not unprecedented for the eleventh century counts of Anjou to enact gifts jointly with either their wives, their heirs, or both. For instance, toward the end of his reign, Count Geoffrey

⁷ The Abbey of Saint-Maur-sur-Loire (cant. Gennes, arr. Saumur, dép. Maine-et-Loire, dioc. Angers) is also known as Saint-Maur-de-Glanfeuil, though this appellation is usually invoked to identify the abbey in earlier periods. Despite its material attractiveness and fascinating particularities of production, the abbey's medieval cartulary, which was composed in the early 1130s, has been the subject of limited scholarly attention. See: Guy Jousseau, *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maur-sur-Loire (début 12e siècle): état, reconstitution, et fondements de son organisation* (DEA d'Histoire, Univ. Paris IV, 1990).

⁸ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, ff. 7v-8v (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 363, pp. 226-227).

⁹ Although the cartulary entry for the charter does not specify the location of the benefaction, it is likely that Fulk had convened the occasion at the abbey of Saint-Maur itself, given the high degree of overlap between the non-monastic witnesses here and in another charter which is explicitly situated at the abbey and has a potential dating of 24 April 1090. See: AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 17v (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 364, pp. 227-228). In addition to Geoffrey fitz Fouchard as well as some of the comital functionaries, both charters' witness lists include the presence of Adelard of Grandfont. Adelard, who is described in the first, dated charter (AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, ff. 7v-8v) as being from the party of the count, is not a frequent witness to comital acts and, in any case, is from the commune of Brézé, situated in the region of Montreuil-Bellay. That is to say, he is not local to the abbey of Saint-Maur and, given his aforementioned lack of routine attendance of comital *acta*, was likely attesting both charters on the same day. There is an additional reason to suspect that these charters occurred on the same day: Fulk IV's highly unusual invocation of the *gratia Dei* clause in both charters. I will discuss this matter below.

Greymantle (r. 960-987) appears to have secured the consent of his son, Fulk Nerra (r. 987-1040), before appointing a new abbot of Saint-Aubin and providing the abbey with certain judicial exemptions.¹⁰ At some point between 1028 and 1039, Count Fulk Nerra, Countess Hildegarde, and their son Geoffrey Martel I (r. 1040-1060) collectively ceded some properties and privileges to Ronceray Abbey in Angers.¹¹ It was common for Angevin comital wives to join their husbands as exclusive co-actors in benefaction when dowry lands or privileges were concerned.¹² For instance, on 18 December 1048x1051, Count Geoffrey Martel I and Countess Agnès delivered [*tradimus*] into the hands of the abbot of La Trinité of Vendome the portion of a Loire river toll which Agnès held.¹³ In an undated notice, Count Fulk Nerra and his wife Hildegarde jointly commissioned the reconstruction of the church of Saint-Martin of Angers and the installation there of thirty canons.¹⁴ The countesses of Anjou further appear to enjoy within Angevin comital charters a role not only as co-benefactors but also as advisers.¹⁵ Countess Hildegarde, for

¹⁰ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 22 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 6, p. 24). Here, I am relying upon Guillot's reconstruction of the damaged portion of the manuscript.

¹¹ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 4 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 70, pp. 62-63).

¹² Livingstone has recently shown how women exercised significant authority with regard to the fate of their dowries as well as their dowers, though the latter proved slightly more difficult to manage on account of their relative unfamiliarity with the lands of their husbands. See: Amy Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000-1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 130-140.

¹³ *Cartulaire de la Trinité de Vendôme*, n. 88 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 122, p. 95).

¹⁴ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), II/1, n. 407 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 61, p. 57).

¹⁵ Régine le Jan has observed that the discursive performance of the marital union was central in Carolingian political ideology. As control and preservation of landed patrimonies become increasingly central to aristocratic agendas in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it becomes even more important to understand the husband and wife as a single political unit rather than two independent actors. Refer to: Régine le Jan, "Le couple aristocratique au haut Moyen Âge," in *Médiévales*, 65: *Le couple dans le monde franc (Ve - XIIe siècle)*, eds. Sylvie Joye, Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz, and Geneviève Bühner-Thierry (Autumn, 2013), pp. 33-46: 34, 38-40. The Capetian queens, in comparison to the Angevin countesses, were not as discursively prominent. King Philip's first wife Berthe, for instance, only subscribes three royal acts. Refer to: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, n. 78, p. 199; *Ibid.*, n. 86, p. 226; *Ibid.*, n. 130, p. 331. Bertrade was more active in this regard, subscribing twice and providing her explicit consent to royal

instance, counseled her husband, Fulk Nerra, to make various gifts on several occasions.¹⁶

In contrast, the charters of Fulk le Réchin fail to demonstrate a clear dispositive or even advisory role for his wives, who, in any case, figured rather sparingly in his *acta*. His first wife, with whom was born the future Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, appears only once in a comital charter between 1067 and 1076.¹⁷ Her role is limited to that of a witness among many. Fulk's second wife Orengarde, daughter of Isembert of Châtelailon, appears alongside Fulk in a charter dated to 21 January 1076, the day of their wedding, as the count confirmed a baronial relinquishment to the monks of Saint Florent.¹⁸ However, Orengarde is not noted to have authorized the actum jointly with Fulk. The countess is mentioned in two additional comital charters before she allegedly takes the veil on 9 June 1080,¹⁹ but neither her physical nor her dispositive involvement

disposition on two other occasions: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier*, n. 157, p. 395, as signatory adjacent to the king; *Ibid.*, n. 158, p. 396, as signatory adjacent to the king; *Ibid.*, n. 141, p. 352 (1101), consenting; *Ibid.*, n. 168, p. 412 (1101x1108), consenting.

¹⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, no. 197 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 45, p. 46); *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, no. 229 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 72, pp. 63-4), in addition to others, especially with regard to donations to the abbey of Ronceray. As for why Geoffrey le Barbu (r. 1060-1067/8) does not appear here, it should be noted that he never appears to have been married.

¹⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Serge*, I, no. 200 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 310, pp. 196-197). There is some debate as to the number of Fulk's wives. Ermengarde's mother may, for instance, have actually been Fulk's second wife, with Fulk having repudiated the first. See: Amy Livingstone, "Extraordinairement ordinaire: Ermengarde de Bretagne, femmes de l'aristocratie et pouvoir en France au Moyen Âge, v. 1090-1135," *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* 121, 1 (2014), pp. 7-25: 9.

¹⁸ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 2107, no. 2 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 311, p. 197). Guillot's catalog entry for this occasion erroneously describes the confirmation as a joint action done on the authority of both count and countess. The language of the charter is, however, clear that it was Fulk alone who authorized [*auctoret*] the actum: "... comes Fulco coniuxque illius comitissa Aurengardis quatinus predictae cessionis auctoret." Joint confirmations invariably carry a plural, rather than singular, verbal conjugation; Orengarde's presence here does not seem to imply dispositive participation, merely physical accompaniment.

¹⁹ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 3r: "... uxoris mee Arengardis quae sub regulari disciplina ancillam deo se vovet..." (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 321, pp. 202-203). The charter's datum clause establishes Orengarde's taking of the veil at the time of the charter's issuance on 9 June 1080.

in these *acta* is substantial.²⁰ Fulk le Réchin's third wife, one Ermengarde of Bourbon, never makes an appearance within Angevin comital charters, despite her elevated status as the mother of Fulk's heir, Geoffrey Martel II.²¹

It was not the case that scribal conventions in Anjou with regard to wives acting in a dispositive capacity had changed. Indeed, many Angevin lords of the era of Fulk le Réchin's reign maintained the practice of joint donation with or concession from their wives.²² Additionally, wives in not only Anjou but also throughout western France routinely acted in an independent, lordly capacity as primary benefactors during this era.²³ Thus, monastic beneficiaries would have been accustomed to composing charters and notices with discursive acknowledgment of the significant role which women could and did play in acts of patronage, whether said acts were of their husband's design or their own. In other words, the obscuration of Fulk le Réchin's wives from his *acta* is unlikely to have been a coincidence of scribal idiosyncrasies. It was likely, instead, a conscious demand which Fulk appears to have made of the assorted monastic scribes who produced

²⁰ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), III, n. 789 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 313, pp. 198-199; *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 160); AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, fol. 3r-v (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 321, pp. 202-203).

²¹ GCA, 65.

²² With regard to how such dispositive participation reinforces the emergent practice of the *laudatio parentum*, see: Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The "Laudatio Parentum" in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). Though learned and immensely useful, White's complete omission of any discussion concerning the influence/role of the counts of Anjou in aristocratic patronage practices at the Angevin abbeys which are the subject of his study constitutes a serious oversight.

²³ The matter is discussed in a recent historiographical essay with particular consideration given to the lingering influence of Duby's contrary views: Kimberly A. LoPrete, "Women, Gender, and Lordship in France, c. 1050-1250," *History Compass* 5/6 (2007), pp. 1921-1941. For an illuminating volume concerning such political activity, see the various contributions in: *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

his various charters. It was a demand, furthermore, which was at odds with established Angevin comital practices.

In contrast to the previous wives of Fulk le Réchin, Bertrade proved to be an active presence within the discursive space of the aforementioned charter: she consented to the comital donation and, along with Fulk le Réchin and her stepson Geoffrey Martel II, placed the gift atop the altar, receiving a counter-gift from the abbey for doing so. The restoration of dispositive agency to the latest Angevin countess, Bertrade, warrants consideration. It is possible that her prominent situation in the charter is the result of Bertrade having personally convinced Fulk to grant her such agency. However, later as queen, Bertrade would consent only twice in royal charters in sixteen years, suggesting limits to her persuasiveness.²⁴ There is, in any case, reason to believe that Bertrade's level of involvement in our charter above represents something more than her personal initiative, a spontaneous return to previous comital practices, or a random alignment with ongoing aristocratic convention. One must examine the geo-political significance of Bertrade's familial connections at the time of her marriage to the count of Anjou.

Indeed, it is revealing to consider what Fulk le Réchin potentially had to gain not only from the marriage itself but also from elevating Bertrade to prominence within the public ceremonials that were comital benefactions. Investigating the matter requires that we delve into contemporary political landscapes. Bertrade's father was Simon I of

²⁴ Prou dates the charters to 1101 and 1101x1108, respectively. See: *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier roi de France (1059-1108)*, ed. M. Prou (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), n. 141, p. 352 (1101); *Ibid.*, n. 168, p. 412 (1101x1108). To be sure, Queen Bertrade and King Philip spent much of the first decade of their marriage under excommunication, likely discouraging the redaction of Bertrade's names in royal charters, much less any explicit agency she might have exercised in orchestrating the benefactions.

Montfort-l'Amaury, lord of a castellany well-situated in the borderlands between the Capetian royal demesne and the duchy of Normandy. Bertrade's mother was Agnes, Simon's third wife and the sister of the eastern Norman magnate Count William of Évreux.²⁵ These intertwining bonds of kinship grew complicated as tensions brewed in the years leading up to 1089. After Simon of Montfort died in 1087, his eldest son by his first wife as well as heir, Amaury III of Montfort, appears to have thrown in his lot with one Ascelin Goel, a client of Amaury's cousin and William of Évreux's nephew, Lord William of Breteuil.²⁶ Goel had transferred the tower of Ivry-la-Bataille, which he held of William of Breteuil, into the *mouvance* of duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, who had previously given it to William.²⁷ Orderic Vitalis alleges that William of Breteuil was forced to buy it back [*erogavit*] into his own lordship at the cost of fifty thousand *librae* at some point in 1089. In retaliation, William deprived Goel of the tower as well as the various other properties which Goel held of him.²⁸ Goel forged alliances with various barons, including Amaury of Montfort, and engaged lord William of Breteuil in conflict. At some point in 1089, Amaury died as part of this conflict, and Richard of Montfort—Amaury's half-brother, eldest son of Simon and Agnes, as well as elder sibling of Bertrade—sought the ruin of William of Breteuil in revenge.²⁹

Thus, in early 1089, either Amaury of Montfort still lived or Richard of Montfort had recently inherited the castellany. In either case, their uncle, Count William of Évreux,

²⁵ OV, VI: 166. With regard to the possible origins of the Montforts as foresters, see: Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 86n27.

²⁶ OV, IV: 184n2.

²⁷ OV, IV: 114.

²⁸ OV, IV: 198.

²⁹ OV, IV: 200.

held their sister, Bertrade, as a ward within his household while he watched two of his nephews—William of Breteuil and either Amaury or Richard of Montfort—weaken his southern borderlands by plunging the region into a state of chaos.³⁰ The resulting weakness came at a particularly inopportune time. Duke Robert Curthose, not the most capable ruler in the best of circumstances,³¹ was facing baronial challenges on multiple fronts, forcing him to form an alliance with King Philip I of France in order to deal with some of these challenges.³² Robert's younger brother, King William Rufus of England, was heightening his own efforts to cultivate territorial influence in Robert's duchy, especially with regard to Anglo-Norman magnates who held lands on both sides of the Channel.³³ For instance, as part of these efforts, William Rufus was encouraging count Robert of Meulan in 1089 to pressure Curthose into ceding to Robert the tower of Ivry, which Curthose had recently acquired from the aforementioned perfidy of Ascelin Goel but evidently had not yet returned to William of Breteuil at the time of the count of Meulan's petition.³⁴ The increasing presence of the kings of France and England within the duchy of Normandy would have deeply concerned the counts of Évreux, who, like many of the other Norman magnates, wished to preserve their relative autonomy.

In this political thicket in early 1089, the negotiations for Bertrade to wed Count Fulk le Réchin offered the promise of a resolution which would be greatly advantageous

³⁰ OV, IV: 198: "*Inde diutinum inter eos bellum fuit et rapinis incendiisque cum caedibus hominum vicina regio luxit.*"

³¹ Recently, William Aird has provided a more sympathetic treatment of Curthose. See: William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c. 1050-1134* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008).

³² OV, IV: 182; Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, 299-300.

³³ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 263-336 provides an overview of William Rufus' continental machinations from 1088 to 1095.

³⁴ OV, IV: 204. With regard to the dating of this event to 1089, refer to: Barlow, *William Rufus*, 271n35, 272n42.

to the various non-ducal and non-royal partisans. Recall that, as the price of suppressing the planned rebellion in Le Mans in earlier 1089, Fulk le Réchin had requested that Robert Curthose arrange a marital match with Bertrade of Montfort, at that time a ward in the household of Count William of Évreux. Facing both unrest in Le Mans and his brother's machinations in his duchy, Robert Curthose had little choice but to agree to the various demands which Count William of Évreux made of him in exchange for the relinquishment of his ward.³⁵ Chief among these was the restoration of various properties which belonged to Count William as well as to his nephew William of Breteuil "by hereditary right" [*hereditario iure*].³⁶ The inheritance by way of Robert of Gacé is mentioned in specific. This is almost certainly a reference to the tower of Ivry, which had passed to William the Conqueror after Robert of Gacé's death, had subsequently been bequeathed to Robert Curthose, had been given then by Robert Curthose to William of Breteuil, and finally had returned to the Anglo-Norman holdings with Goel's aforementioned actions.³⁷ Orderic Vitalis tells us that Robert Curthose consented to the relinquishment of these lands to which William of Breteuil had a hereditary claim, suggesting the error in Orderic's later claim³⁸ that William of Breteuil had been forced to redeem Ivry from Curthose for fifty thousand livres. Indeed, such a claim is, on its own

³⁵ W. Scott Jessee notes that the negotiations were bound to be lengthy in order "to overcome William of Évreux's opposition." However, given what William had to gain from the marital match, it seems unlikely that he would have been the source of much resistance. Furthermore, William's wife, Helwise, was kin of Robert the Burgundian, one of the Angevin *fideles* who appears to have been involved with the negotiations and, thus, was likely able to accelerate the proceedings. See: W. Scott Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2000), 139.

³⁶ OV, IV: 184-186.

³⁷ OV, II: 118-120.

³⁸ OV, IV: 198.

terms, dubious, given that it was unlikely for a non-magnate such as William of Breteuil to have raised the tremendous sum of fifty thousand livres. As a result, it seems that Ivry was restored to William of Breteuil as part of his uncle's agreement with Curthose to release Bertrade to Fulk le Réchin. Along with the other ducal concessions, this exchange, the direct function of the marital alliance with Fulk le Réchin, strengthened the position of Count William of Évreux by bringing peace to his southern borderlands, as the dispute between his nephews—William of Breteuil and Richard of Montfort, as Amaury would have died by this juncture—calmed for a time.³⁹

The aforementioned political dealings had generated a context in which the marriage of Fulk le Réchin and Bertrade of Montfort was highly desirable to both the Montforts, Count William of Evreux, Lord William of Breteuil, and the Angevins. From Fulk's perspective, the marital alliance had, by stabilizing the ability of the Norman magnates to resist in their own lands both the duke of Normandy and the king of England, provided a buffer against the Anglo-Normans with regard to Angevin encroachments in Maine. For, as W. Scott Jessee has recently indicated, Fulk le Réchin's regency of Le Mans following the suppression of the planned Manceaux rebellion of 1089 appears to have offered Angevin loyalists an opportunity to consolidate their power in the area and enable the eventual accession of one such loyalist, Hélias of La Flèche, as

³⁹ According to Orderic's narration of this episode--a narration which is broken up into a number of somewhat contradicting, distinct sections--William of Breteuil seized the properties of Ascelin Goel following the restoration of Ivry to him by Robert Curthose. However, it is far more likely that William had pursued vengeance against Goel before the negotiations for restoration had concluded. Consequently, the restoration of the lost territories would have temporarily vitiated support for Goel's dispute against his lord. Subsequent mention of hostilities appears to constitute a distinct episode in early 1091, at which point Richard of Montfort has succeeded his brother. See: OV, IV: 202.

count of Maine in 1092.⁴⁰ The marital alliance further aided Angevin machinations by bolstering the capacity of lords in the Île-de-France, namely the Montforts, to hinder Capetian operations beyond the royal demesne. Indeed, the Montforts may have been one of the lordly families whom Walter Map, writing much later, references as having curbed the ability of the kings of France to leave securely the royal demesne during this era.⁴¹ King Philip I of France was, in any case, not renowned for his persistence in the face of adversity. For instance, on an occasion when William Rufus coupled the threat of resistance to Philip's endeavors in Normandy with the promise of coin, King Philip had allegedly "unbound his belt and returned to feasting."⁴² Consequently, Fulk le Réchin's forging of this Anjou-Montfort kinship bond would have served political aims that would have been attractive to his partisans and greatly furthered long-standing Angevin machinations in Maine vis-à-vis the Anglo-Normans and the Capetians.

Indeed, the relevant conclusion is that the 24 April 1090 charter positions Bertrade of Montfort not merely as Fulk's latest wife but as the key to Angevin comital ambitions to reclaim the county of Maine. Her elevation into a central dispositive role is a function of the geo-political significance of the kinship bonds which her marriage to Fulk forged. Yet, despite the optimism which the occasion heralded, multiple dimensions of the charter suggest a tension to the proceedings. After Fulk le Réchin indicates the object of his relinquishment, Fulk specifies that "both [his] son, Geoffrey, and [his] wife,

⁴⁰ Jessee, *Robert the Burgundian*, 135-144. Jessee follows what was probably an eyewitness account to these events: APC, 385-393. The Manceaux rebellion of 1090 would not have been the first occasion in Le Mans which Fulk le Réchin orchestrated in order to force an advantageous renegotiation of power vis-à-vis the Anglo-Normans. See, for instance, the discontent of 1081, related in: OV, II: 308-310.

⁴¹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. M.R. James, rev. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 442.

⁴² WM, I: 548: "...nummi regis Angliae, quibus infractus cingulum solvit et convivium repetiit."

Bertrade, have conceded it joyfully" and that, with him, they "unanimously placed the gift atop the altar."⁴³ Such emphatic language of consensus is unusual relative to the spare articulations found in other comital *acta* as well as other donations redacted in the cartulary of the Abbey of Saint-Maur. Indeed, the charter takes great pains to articulate the harmony of the proceedings, especially of the participants. Although this is less atypical on its own, the charter goes on to emphasize how the parchment itself serves as *testimonio* to strengthen the donation in posterity. Several comital functionaries, such as constable Sigibrand, Robert the chaplain, and Albert the chamberlain, are noted to have been witnesses, though Fulk le Réchin's charters do not commonly feature multiple such functionaries.

Complementing the suspect harmony of the proceedings is the incorporation of two diplomatic elements which amplify the prestige of the occasion. The cartulary entry for the *actum* reproduces a seal which was evidently attached to the original charter.⁴⁴ This circular seal, bearing the martial visage of Fulk le Réchin atop horseback, is the first confirmed instance wherein the counts of Anjou employed a personal seal, although it appears that such an artifact, derived from royal diplomatic, may have existed as early as 1085.⁴⁵ Additionally, Fulk le Réchin is identified at the beginning of the charter as a

⁴³ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 8r: "*Quod Gaufridus filius meus atque Bertreda uxor mea gratanter concesserunt... huius donum super altare Sancti Mauri ipsi mecum unanimiter imposuerunt...*"

⁴⁴ In discussing the sealing practices of Count Geoffrey V (r. 1129-1151), Chartrou indicates that consistent use of the hanging seal may have been a result of Norman influence. Refer to: Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 248. Since the present donation was given in the context of challenging Anglo-Norman interests in Maine and Normandy, perhaps it is the case that Fulk le Réchin was appropriating Anglo-Norman conventions deliberately.

⁴⁵ In March 1085 and evidently quite ill, Fulk le Réchin sends his chaplain to the Abbey of Marmoutier in order to seal a recently performed comital charter bestowing property upon the abbey. Refer to: BNF, ms. lat. 12878, fol. 311r-v (Guillot, II, C 347b, pp. 216-217).

count of Anjou *dei gratia*, thereby asserting that Fulk held his temporal authority directly from the divine.⁴⁶ Previous comital charters had tended to limit their invocation of the *dei gratia* clause to instances wherein the counts of Anjou had recently acceded to the laurels of their office or wherein they had acquired a new *honor*, as the conceptual tenor of the formula had generally preserved it as a stylistic prerogative of kings and bishops.⁴⁷ Why then, on this occasion, had Fulk le Réchin invoked the *dei gratia* clause for the first time in over twenty years? In addition, why did he take the unprecedented action of attaching to the charter a seal, the cast of which presumably had only recently been struck?

The event which most fully accounts for these developments would be the birth of Fulk V in late 1089 or early 1090. The event had engendered the possibility that Geoffrey Martel II, the heir to the *honor* of Anjou and son by a former countess, would later face a challenge for the heirship of the principality from Fulk V, the son of the current countess. Such a challenge would threaten to plunge the realm into costly contention, given the substantial influence of the Montfort familial complex and the support which Fulk V and his future partisans might draw therefrom. Indeed, the prospect of a succession dispute was hardly inconceivable. Primogeniture was not yet convention, especially in the lands of the Loire: second-born sons occasionally inherited substantial portions of the family patrimony, if not the primary territorial holding.⁴⁸ Furthermore, even if an inheritance was not disputed before or upon succession, a serious challenge could be brought later.

⁴⁶ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 7v: "... *ego Fulco dei gratia Andegavensium comes...*"

⁴⁷ Guillot provides a relevant discussion with accompanying citations: Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 354-356.

⁴⁸ Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 112-115. For Adela of Blois' effective dispossession of her elder son for the young in terms of the heirship of the Blésois patrimony, see: Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord (c. 1067-1137)* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 212-219.

For contemporaries of western France in the early 1090s, this scenario was unfolding on center stage. By 1090, William Rufus, the younger brother of Robert Curthose, was harnessing the material and manpower resources of his own inheritance of England to threaten seriously the latter's rule of Normandy.⁴⁹ For the Angevins in particular, this would have been a familiar story. Geoffrey Martel II's own father, Fulk le Réchin, had been a second son who had used his inheritance of the Gâtinais to challenge and eventually overcome his elder brother, Count Geoffrey le Barbu, in a destructive civil war; Fulk le Réchin seized the countship of Anjou for himself in 1067/1068.⁵⁰ The disquietude may even have been shared by Geoffrey Martel II. Geoffrey Martel is known to have visited his uncle who was imprisoned at the castle of Chinon; the former count would likely have warned the young heir not to assume that seniority of birth would insure a secure inheritance.⁵¹

Although much of contemporary chroniclers' invective against Bertrade of Montfort is a function of later developments as well as misogynistic literary topoi, it is difficult to contend that Bertrade was not a skilled political actor who, as any capable aristocrat in her position, would have actively sought to install her own progeny as heir.⁵² After having eloped with King Philip I of France in 1092, she appears to have consistently pursued advantageous marital alliances for her children and even possibly

⁴⁹ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 123-144.

⁵⁰ The Angevin civil war of the 1060s inspired considerable interest among the chroniclers of the region: GCA, 61-63; "Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis," 5; "Chronicon Petri Filii Bechini," 55; "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," 125.

⁵¹ GCA, 65.

⁵² Installing kin in positions of power was, of course, a chief aristocratic preoccupation, with the exerted effort often correlating to the proximity of the kin's relation to the political actor.

the displacement of the Capetian heir, Louis VI.⁵³ Given what the marriage with Fulk le Réchin signified for the political machinations of the western French theater, there is reason to suspect that the Angevin aristocratic elite would have been anxious about Bertrade encouraging her husband to displace Geoffrey Martel II for Fulk V as the successor to the Angevin *honor*. The displacement would engender the prospect of civil war in years to come. Indeed, given that Geoffrey Martel could have been no older than nine years of age in spring 1090, his position was tenuous with regard to affirming his status as the rightful heir.⁵⁴ Yet to reach his majority, Geoffrey is even separated rhetorically from the other men in the 1090 comital charter.⁵⁵ Therefore, his involvement in the charter as an equal dispositive actor to Bertrade may have been an important concession by Fulk le Réchin, affirming Geoffrey Martel's status as the heir and quelling contemporary speculations regarding the question of succession.

In any case, the aggregate of circumstances here enable us to assert, with some confidence, a birth interval of late 1089 to early 1090 for Fulk V. The birth of Fulk V

⁵³ William of Malmesbury insists that Bertrade left Fulk le Réchin for King Philip in 1092 on account of "having been enticed by the temptation of a more noble title." See: William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, I: 438. With regard to securing marital alliances for her children by Philip, see: Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 50-52.

⁵⁴ The age of Geoffrey Martel II is difficult to establish with certainty, but there is reason to believe that he was eight or nine years of age in spring 1090. If Geoffrey Martel's mother was, indeed, Ermengarde of Bourbon, as the *Chronica de Gestis Consulum Andegavorum* asserts, Fulk le Réchin could not have married her until after his 9 June 1080 divorce from Orengarde. The earliest year of birth for Geoffrey Martel, presupposing no adultery on the part of Fulk, is 1081. Geoffrey Martel probably was at least eight years of age at the time of his documentary debut in the 1090 charter under consideration, given that the minimum canonically-approved age of legal consent was eight years. See: Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 144-146, with the relevant bibliographical references.

⁵⁵ AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1773, fol. 7v: "...cum nobilibus viris assistente etiam filio meo Gaufrido..." The distinction between the men (*vir*) and Geoffrey was also one in reference to marital status. According to Georges Duby, medieval chroniclers often conceived only of married or, at least, enfeoffed men as *vir*. See: Georges Duby, "Dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XIIe siècle: les 'jeunes' dans la société aristocratique," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (1964), pp. 835-846.

came at a time when the territorial ambitions of the counts of Anjou in Maine were more viable than at any point in the previous thirty years. However, that same birth generated uncertainty with regard to the heirship of Anjou. Such uncertainty would loom over internal Angevin politics for the next fifteen years, ultimately playing an important role in subverting comital ambitions in Maine and weakening comital authority in fundamental manner.

Appendix D

The Breton Connection: Locating Fulk V's Childhood and Education, 1092-1098

In this appendix, we will attempt to locate the whereabouts of Fulk V's childhood. It has generally been assumed that Fulk was raised at the Angevin capital of Angers. However, there is an aggregate of evidence which strongly suggests that Fulk may, instead, have grown up at the ducal court of Brittany. There, his elder half-sister, Ermengarde, served as his adoptive mother and Alan Fergent as his adoptive father. The impetus for the toddler's Breton relocation in c. 1092 was, as I will argue here, his mother's elopement with King Philip and her own relocation to the Capetian court. Establishing these matters is critical to understanding the contours of some of Fulk V's later rulership. The impact of the relationships in which he found himself at the Breton court as well as his presence there upon the advent of crusade in 1095 was significant, as we see at various points in this project.

On 14 May 1092, shortly before the feast of Pentecost, King Philip I of France visited Tours. He was there perhaps to enjoy services at the college of Saint-Martin, of which the Capetian monarchs were lay abbots.¹ Bertrade was present in Tours as well, likely at the

¹ There are numerous contemporary reports of the following incident, including: GCA, 66-67; OV, IV, 260-264. Since the Carolingian era, the kings of France held rights of patronage and suzerainty over Saint Martin of Tours as well as lands around and within the city of Châteauneuf. There is no extant evidence which indicates that the Capetian kings exercised their authority as lay abbots at Saint Martin between the mid-eleventh and the second quarter of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, they would have enjoyed a privileged reception at the church, likely making it a primary destination of their visit, alongside the renowned Abbey of Marmoutier. See: Kathryn Dutton, "Authority, Administration, and Antagonism on the Margins: Tours under Count Geoffrey V of Anjou (1129-1151) and the Capetian Kings," *French*

comital residence, and she appears to have met with the king. On the next night, Bertrade departed Tours and headed east to convene with royal *milites*. They subsequently escorted her to an expectant Philip at Orléans. There, despite the circumstance that Philip remained married to Bertha of Frisia, who was the mother of their son and the Capetian heir Louis VI (b. 1081), and that Bertrade was married to Fulk le Réchin, who was the father of their toddler Fulk V, Philip and Bertrade eloped in bigamy, eliciting widespread ecclesiastical and lay condemnation.²

There is no evidence to suggest that Bertrade took along her toddler to raise at the Capetian court. Fulk V appears only twice in documentary records between 1092 and 1103, and both instances took place in Angers in mid-1096.³ In fact, the only occasion on which a pre-comital Fulk V finds himself in the Capetian court is soon after 19 May 1106, when he receives news of his elder brother's death and the passing of the heirship to him.⁴ Furthermore, although Bertrade had arranged marital matches and territorial

Historical Studies 37, 2 (2014), pp. 215-242: 216-217; Jacques Boussard, *Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantegenêt et ses fils (1151-1204)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1977), 54-55.

² Comprehensive scholarly accounts of the affair are provided in: Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, 40-74; Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme, et le prêtre: Le mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris: Hachette, 1981), ch. 1, esp. 7-21. Precisely who seduced whom is contested in the sources. On the whole, Angevin partisans, including Count Fulk le Réchin himself blamed the lecherous wives of King Philip, whereas pro-Capetian and Norman sources assign agency to Bertrade. In either circumstance, both had much to gain from the marital arrangement. For accounts hostile to Philip, see: GCA, 66-67: "...*Philippus...eam fieri reginam constituit*;" "Chronicon Petri Filii Bechini," 55; "Chronicon Turonense Magnum," 128-129; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, I: 438, 730-732; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, n. 60; "Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis," 233. For accounts hostile to Bertrade, though not particularly favorable toward Philip in any case, refer to: OV, IV: 260-264; OV, V: 10; Suger, 10; Ivo of Chartres, *Yves de Chartres: Correspondence*, ed. and trans. Dom Jean Leclercq (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1949), 60-64. None of the sources present the elopement as an affair to which both parties equally consented.

³ Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131; Catalog n. [F 2] (1096), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

⁴ OV, VI: 76. In Chapter One, we see how Fulk le Réchin had likely exiled Fulk V to the Capetian court in 1105 as a concession to Geoffrey Martel II, whose inheritance Fulk le Réchin had seemingly attempted to displace in favor of Fulk V in 1103-1105. As to the location of the Capetian court in May 1106, Orléans is the most likely, given that Count William of Poitou was able to kidnap Fulk V from the

endowments for her children with Philip, her eldest child Fulk V remained unmarried through 1106.⁵ This may indicate not only his absence from the royal household but also estrangement from his mother, with whom there is no record of interaction otherwise until his aforementioned appearance at the Capetian court in May 1106. The subsequent, concrete records of interaction between Bertrade and Fulk V, only after Fulk becomes the Angevin heir, renders the preceding period of silence additionally suggestive.⁶

Absent the company of the mother, it is difficult to establish the whereabouts of Fulk V's early childhood with certainty. Neither medieval nor contemporary historians have demonstrated significant interest in doing so.⁷ However, such an aim is important, considering the long-term impact that childhood associations often have with regard to geographic and kin loyalties. The intimacy of Fulk V's life-long bond with his sister,

Capetian court and escort him safely to Poitevin lands. Had the court been in the Île-de-France, William would have had to cross many territories which remained inhospitable to the count.

⁵ Bertrade's elder son with Philip, also named Philip, is invested with Mantes and married to the heiress of Montlhéry in 1104. The first daughter, Constance, married initially Count Hugh of Champagne and, pursuant to the dissolution of that marriage in 1104x1105 on grounds of consanguinity, remarried Prince Bohemund of Antioch during his tour through France in 1105-1106. The second daughter, Cecile, was arranged to marry Bohemund's nephew, Tancred. The young son, Florus, was married to an heiress from Champagne at some point; the date of the marriage is unknown but was likely c.1116, as I discuss in Chapter Three. With regard to these marriages, Andrew Lewis catalogs the relevant evidence in: Lewis, *Royal Succession*, 51.

⁶ In 1107x1108, Bertrade joins Fulk V in Loudun, providing one Fulco Foterelli with prayers and advice to make a donation to the abbey of Fontevraud. Refer to: Catalog n. [F 7] (1107x1108), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 297, pp. 298-299. Additional evidence, which requires some diplomatic reconstruction, is discussed in Chapter Two.

⁷ The narrative of Fulk V's last biographer, Josèphe Chartrou, brings Fulk V into existence in 1108-1109, dodging the establishment of childhood details entirely. Kathryn Dutton, in investigating the education of Angevin comital children such as Fulk V, does not address the geographical whereabouts of Fulk V before his appearance in Angevin charters after 1103. In citing Lyon's study, which argues contra conventional historiography that sons in Germany often spent significant parts of their childhood at the courts of their fathers rather than being sent off to grow up in the households of kin or other lords, Dutton seems to imply that Fulk V was raised in Angers. See: Kathryn Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 27; Jonathan R. Lyon, "Fathers and sons: preparing noble youths to be lords in twelfth-century Germany," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 291-310: 293-4, 298-9, 304-306. With regard, more generally, to the medieval disinterest in outlining the childhoods of individuals not destined for canonization, see: Marjorie Chibnall, "The Empress Matilda and Her Sons," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 279-294: 279.

Countess Ermengarde of Brittany, may provide a clue as to who fostered the future count in his earliest years.⁸ Indeed, Ermengarde (b. circa 1067) and Fulk V appear to have enjoyed a close relationship for much of their lives. When Fulk V first enters the documentary record in two acta from mid-1096, he is flanked in the discursive space of the charters by his elder sister.⁹ Ermengarde seems to have ensured that Fulk acted in a similar dispositive capacity as his elder brother, Geoffrey Martel II, in consenting to the comital benefactions. This was despite the fact that Fulk in 1096 was well under the canonically minimum age of legal consent in charters, that is, eight years of age.¹⁰ Ermengarde accompanied Fulk V and acted jointly with him in a benefaction as well as an instance of manumission on the day of his comital accession on 14 April 1109.¹¹ Around 1119, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme solicited Ermengarde¹² for the restoration of her father's tomb at the priory of Evière, a dependency of the Abbey of La Trinité of Vendôme. This was the tomb for which provisions were originally made in the presence of Ermengarde shortly before Fulk le Réchin's death¹³ and at which Ermengarde and Fulk V confirmed a donation after Fulk V's accession.¹⁴ In response to Abbot Geoffrey's solicitation, Ermengarde seems to have appealed to her brother for patronage: a comital

⁸ For Ermengarde and her relationship with Fulk more generally, see: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 7-25.

⁹ Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131; Catalog n. [F 2] (1096), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

¹⁰ Livingstone, *Out of Love for My Kin*, 144-146. There were, of course, exceptions to the canonical prescription, especially in the Angevin tradition. For instance, Fulk V's own son, Geoffrey V, conceded a comital benefaction in 1116 when he would have been three years of age. See: Catalog n. [F 51] (1116), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 1214, piece 2.

¹¹ Catalog n. [F 14] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 9, pp. 12-13; Catalog n. [F 16] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 426, pp. 33-34.

¹² Geoffrey of Vendôme, *Oeuvres*, ed. and trans. Geneviève Giordanengo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), n. 110, pp. 212-214.

¹³ *Cartulaire de Vendôme*, n. 422, pp. 190-191 (Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, II, C 443).

¹⁴ Catalog n. [F 16] (1109), *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 426, pp. 33-34.

donation to the monastery soon followed the likely dating of the abbatial letter.¹⁵ The deep sibling connection similarly motivated Ermengarde to respond urgently to Fulk's requests. Upon the eve of Fulk V's departure from Anjou to the Holy Land in 1129, he is alleged to have asked for and swiftly received the company of his sister then in Brittany, presumably for spiritual and emotional support during a time of great import.¹⁶ In a charter from June 1135, Duke Conan of Brittany recalls how his mother, Ermengarde, traveled to the Holy Land by request of Fulk, who had become king of Latin Jerusalem after August 1131.¹⁷

The strength of their bond suggests an initial, extended period of interaction, periodically sustained over time. Unfortunately, the extant evidentiary base does not explicitly indicate a period during which Ermengarde would have spent a significant amount of time in Angers; had Fulk V grown up there, they would likely not have formed a deep, early connection. Ermengarde married Duke Alan IV of Brittany and thereby left Anjou for Brittany in 1090 or soon thereafter, following the death of Alan's first wife Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror.¹⁸ While Duke Alan was preparing to

¹⁵ Catalog n. [F 66] (1119), AD Loir-et-Cher, 21 H 127, piece 1.

¹⁶ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 269, pp. 170-172: "*Anno quo nobilis comes iturus erat Jerosolimam, contigit sororem suam Ermengardim, venerabilem scilicet comitissam, causa disponendi itineris fratris sui, a partibus Britannie advenisse...*"

¹⁷ *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 141, pp. 475-477: "*...Fulco, prius comes Andegavensis, tunc autem rex Iherusalem, ipsam matrem meam ad se transfretare fecisset...*"

¹⁸ "Chronicon Universum," in *Cartulaire de Quimperlé*, p. 105. The *terminus ad quem* for the marriage is 1095, though contemporary political exigencies meant that Alan Fergent would have been eager to seek a new marital alliance and, thus, it is unlikely that the marriage would have been delayed significantly. Constance had been the daughter of William the Conqueror, and, with her death in 1090 after only a couple of years of marriage, her brothers—now the king of England and the duke of Normandy, respectively—would have been highly motivated to encroach upon Breton territories. As we have seen, Fulk le Réchin was intent in 1089-1090 upon defending his own interests in Maine by reinforcing the ability of the Norman march lords to resist Anglo-Norman ducal and royal as well as Capetian ambitions; Fulk would have seen an unmarried Alan as an opportunity to extend Angevin influence into Anjou's western hinterlands while at the same time strengthening Brittany as a western bulwark against the Anglo-Normans. As such, it is likely that Fulk le Réchin had sent envoys to Alan in 1090, promoting the idea of a marital match with the duke's yet unmarried daughter. For Alan's part, a marital alliance with the Angevins,

leave for the Holy Land in summer 1096,¹⁹ Countess Ermengarde is known to have been present in Angers in late June and late August, but she would have returned to Brittany soon thereafter to assume the regency in advance of Alan's departure.²⁰ In mid-1105, Ermengarde appears to have returned to Anjou, allegedly consumed with anxiety concerning the canonical validity of her marriage with regard to the degrees of consanguinity which she and Alan shared.²¹ Fulk le Réchin had, by this point, likely sent away Fulk V to the Capetian court as part of the settlement resulting from the *dissensio* of Geoffrey Martel II between 1103 and early 1105. Fulk V does not return to Anjou until some point in 1107; Ermengarde returns to Brittany before 15 May 1108, when she participates as countess in an episcopal concession at Rennes.²² In any case, Fulk V would have been in his mid-teens by 1105x1108, rendering unlikely the formation at that time of a deep sibling attachment.

who had historically meddled in Breton affairs, would have been a desirable counterweight to the potential, impending aggression of the Normans, who had also historically meddled in Breton affairs. Amy Livingstone has argued that a reminder of Angevin support for Brittany was one of the motivations of Ermengarde's highly visible envoy to Angers in mid-1096 on the eve of Alan's departure to the Holy Land. This is supported additionally by the consistent references even in Breton charters of Ermengarde as 'countess' (of Anjou) rather than 'duchess' (of Brittany). Refer to: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 14. With regard to the clarification of the historiographical confusion which preserved, for many years, the idea that Ermengarde was previously married to the duke of Aquitaine, see: Ruth E. Harvey, "The Wives of the 'First Troubadour,' Duke William IX of Aquitaine," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 307-325. In her dissertation on Bishop Marbode of Rennes, Lurio suggests dating the marriage of Ermengarde and Alan to 1092x1093, though concedes that it might have been earlier. Melissa B. Lurio, "An Educated Bishop in an Age of Reform: Marbode, Bishop of Rennes, 1096-1123," 3 vols. (Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 2004), I: 172.

¹⁹ Duke Alan issued a charter on 27 July 1096 at Quimperlé. See: *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 101, pp. 390-391.

²⁰ Catalog n. [F 1] (1096), *Cartulaire noir de Saint-Maurice*, n. 65, pp. 127-131; Catalog n. [F 2] (1096), *Cartulaire de Saint-Nicolas*, n. 3, pp. 11-17.

²¹ Ermengarde may have been present in Brittany as late as June. In a notice dated to 4 June 1105, Ermengarde either seems to be present or corresponds with Alan to quit his claim against the donation of one of his clients to the canons of Saint-Médard of Doulon. See: *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, no. 107, pp. 402-403. For Ermengarde's mindset, refer to: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 12.

²² *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 110, pp. 410-411.

The only plausible interval during which Ermengarde and Fulk might have spent a significant amount of time together, especially an amount which would have yielded the sort of mutual affection which later evidence suggests, is Fulk V's early childhood. Indeed, extant evidence suggests that, following Bertrade's flight in May 1092, Fulk le Réchin put his infant son in the care of his daughter, Ermengarde. Ermengarde would have been the natural choice to act as surrogate. She would have been approximately the same age as Bertrade and perhaps had already had her first son, Conan, by spring 1092.²³ Prescriptive convention in the high middle ages was for young aristocratic children to spend their first seven years or so, encompassing the period known as *infantia*, under loose supervision by a maternal figure in a household with other aristocratic children.²⁴ The Breton ducal household under Ermengarde would have well satisfied such prescription.

Furthermore, relocating Fulk V from the Angevin comital household would have bolstered confidence in a peaceful, eventual transition of power to the Angevin comital successor, Geoffrey Martel II. As we saw in Appendix C, Fulk's birth in late 1089 or early 1090 probably generated some anxiety concerning the future role which the recently born infant might play in regard to the comital inheritance, given the support of Bertrade of Montfort and the alliances that her marriage with Fulk le Réchin had established. Indeed, some of the rumors seemingly circulating amid contemporary circles alleged that Bertrade had left Fulk le Réchin in order to achieve the more influential title of 'Queen'

²³ Amy Livingstone reviews the relevant evidence for the dating of Ermengarde's birth and, thus, relative age in: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 9-10.

²⁴ Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The education of English kings and aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), 5-7. Orme indicates that such practices may derive from the prescriptive recommendations of Aristotle in *Politics* Book VII, Ch. 17.

with which to aggrandize her familial interests; it is not unreasonable that she held similar ambitions while countess of Anjou.²⁵ Her exit from the Angevin court, then, must have provided contemporaries with some assurance regarding the question of succession, especially as Geoffrey's association in comital governance was confirmed at least once more before Bertrade's departure and possibly again before 27 March 1093.²⁶ However, Fulk le Réchin appears to have been determined to have Bertrade returned to him, a goal which would have reopened the question of succession. In a letter to Archbishop Raoul of Reims (r. 1108-1125), Bishop Ivo of Chartres recalls how Fulk le Réchin in 1094x1095 had convinced a papal legate that the union of Bertrade and Philip was violating prohibited degrees of consanguinity. The successful demonstration of such incest compounding adultery had persuaded Pope Urban II to excommunicate King Philip at the Council of Clermont in November 1095.²⁷

The annulment of Philip and Bertrade's marriage would not have necessitated the return of Bertrade to Fulk, of course. Any such agreement would have required the assent of Bertrade, who seemed to be growing accustomed to exercising her agency as queen to promote the interests of her kin. The Capetian heir, Louis VI, rapidly found himself in "a state of destitution" in 1093x1094 as Bertrade and Philip's union began to bear children.²⁸ Given the advanced age of the archbishop of Paris, Bertrade may have preemptively

²⁵ WM, I, 438, 730-732.

²⁶ BNF, Coll. Touraine-Anjou (Dom Housseau), XII/2, n. 6772 (Guillot, II, C 367, p. 229); AD Loir-et-Cher, 17 H 1, n. 5 (Guillot, II, *Le comte d'Anjou*, C 377, pp. 234-235).

²⁷ Ivo of Chartres, "Epistolae," n. 211, in *Patrologia Latina* 162, cols. 215-216. The papal excommunication was, in fact, a confirmation of the sentence of excommunication originally enacted at Autun on 15 October 1094 by numerous bishops and papal legate Hugh of Die. See: Duby, *Le mariage dans la France*, 8.

²⁸ Luchaire, *Louis VI*, n. 5, pp. 4-5: "...l'état de denuement où se trouvait alors Louis implique que le renvoi de sa mère, Berthe, conséquence du rapt de Bertrade d'Anjou, était déjà un fait accompli." See additional discussion in: *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, I: 3n1.

cultivated support with the canons of the Cathedral of Paris so that when the archbishop died in 1095, election of her half-brother, William of Montfort, to the archbishopric would be swift.²⁹ Her influence is further apparent in the reality that the election was successful despite William's age—which was below the canonical minimum for the episcopate—and over the reservations of the pope, who had objected on suspicion of simony but eventually had to relent to the *fait accompli*.³⁰

And so, it may be inferred that the Angevin aristocracy was not unreasonably worried about Bertrade demanding from Fulk le Réchin some manner of concession favorable to her kin, perhaps an informal recognition of Fulk V as the eventual heir to the county. Given such suspicions, it would have made sense for Fulk le Réchin to relocate Fulk V from Anjou, thereby separating the heir from the cadet and better securing the former's position as successor. Therefore, when Ermengarde arrived in Anjou in mid-1096, she may have been escorting not just her younger half-brother but also her foster child for his debut at the Angevin court following several years of absence.³¹

From the Angevin perspective, the political proceedings of that summer served various comital agendas, which, in turn, allow us to surmise that Fulk V may have returned permanently to Anjou from Brittany by 1098. Indeed, in the summer of 1096, numerous lords from around western France were mobilizing to depart for the Holy Land

²⁹ The election nevertheless proved contentious, requiring papal intervention. See: Alfons Becker, "Le voyage d'Urbain II en France," in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), pp. 127-140: 131.

³⁰ Fliche reconstructs the affair through the letters of Ivo of Chartres in: Fliche, *Philippe Ier*, 97-98, 436-437.

³¹ With regard to Ermengarde's goals for the 1096 visit to Angers, see: Livingstone, "Ermengarde de Bretagne," 13-14.

following Pope Urban II's recruitment tour of the region earlier that year.³² One such lord was Count Hélias of Maine, who allegedly took the cross at Le Mans when Pope Urban was there during mid-February. According to Orderic Vitalis, Hélias proved unable to depart on crusade on account of the refusal of King William Rufus of England, who had received Normandy as surety during his elder brother's journey to the Holy Land, to promise not to violate Hélias' domain, should the count of Maine leave his own lands to fight for Christ.³³ In addition to a general desire to re-establish Anglo-Norman influence south of Normandy, William Rufus opposed the election of the pro-Angevin Manceaux archdeacon Hildebert as bishop of Le Mans and had threatened to seize Le Mans if Hildebert was consecrated.³⁴ The choice of Hildebert as episcopal successor to the see of Maine appears to have been the outcome of a negotiated agreement between Count Hélias and Fulk le Réchin.³⁵ Seemingly in exchange for Angevin military support upon the inevitable aggressions of the English king, Fulk le Réchin received for his son Geoffrey Martel a marital match with Aremburge, the daughter of Hélias.

Predictably, upon hearing of the consecration of Hildebert as bishop in December 1097, William Rufus invaded Maine in February 1098.³⁶ One of the king's partisans captured Count Hélias in April 1098, at which point Fulk le Réchin made good on his promise of military aid by traveling to Le Mans, assuming custodianship of the city, and leaving Geoffrey Martel in charge of the garrison. Thereupon, Fulk le Réchin unwisely

³² The historiography here is vast. For a useful primer, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 31-57. The question of aristocratic mobilization in Angevin lands is discussed further in Chapter One.

³³ OV, V: 228-232.

³⁴ APC, 400. The previous bishop, Hoël, died on 29 July 1096. See: Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 80n3.

³⁵ Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou*, I, 122n558.

³⁶ APC, 400; OV, V, 236n1.

left to attend to other affairs, allowing William Rufus to march upon Le Mans and eventually claim it for himself.³⁷ Hélias was released from captivity, and Geoffrey aided the Manceaux count in campaigning against William Rufus in 1098-1099. With the succession of Henry I to the English throne and Hélias' recapture of Le Mans in 1100, Geoffrey aided Hélias further in opposing Henry's encroachments, though the new king of England and the count of Maine often found themselves allied in conflict against mutual enemies.³⁸ In the course of these campaigns, the Angevin comital heir and his father-in-law evidently grew close in friendship. Hélias would even aid Geoffrey when the young man chose to raise arms against his father and lead the realm into conflict in 1103.³⁹ In other words, Geoffrey was likely in Maine after summer 1098, obviating the perceived need to keep Fulk V out of Anjou.

Such timing was, in any case, fortuitous. In 1097, Fulk V would have reached the age of seven, when prescriptive convention would have it that young male aristocrats begin their martial training.⁴⁰ Although it was once assumed that lords consistently sent their sons to the households of other lords for education during *pueritia* (7-14 years of age) and *adolescentia* (14 years of age to 'adulthood'), recent research has demonstrated that aristocratic boys often received much of their education in the paternal orbit. Participating in martial campaigns and attending diplomatic proceedings, sons learned of the various practices of lordship directly from their fathers.⁴¹ Therefore, it would not have

³⁷ APC, 400-401; OV, V: 240-242; Latouche, *Histoire du comté du Maine*, 54-56.

³⁸ GCA, 66; APC, 403-404; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou*, 189-190.

³⁹ Bruno Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine (XIe- XIIe siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 43.

⁴⁰ Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 7.

⁴¹ Lyon, "Fathers and Sons," especially 293-294 for extensive historiographical references to the former school of thought; Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit." For the highly problematic category of *adolescentia*, see: James A. Schultz, "Medieval Adolescence: The Claims of History and the Silence of

been unusual for Ermengarde to have returned Fulk V to Anjou by 1098 for just such education under his father, Fulk le Réchin. Fulk V joined the Angevin comital household and appears to have been raised with certain other sons of Angevin lords in residence, such as Joscelin Roonard.⁴² Ermengarde would, furthermore, have been occupied with the ducal regency of Brittany following the departure of Alan on crusade; it was, in any case, an auspicious time for the young Fulk to return home.

Another legacy of Fulk's upbringing at the Breton court may be evident in the emergence of the figure of the *nutritor* in Anjou once Fulk V returned to the county. Tutors, known alternately as *nutricii*, *magistri*, and *pedagogi* were common in the Anglo-Norman tradition.⁴³ High aristocrats entrusted these individuals, often of the rank of *miles*, to protect their heirs as well as, more importantly, guide their education in matters of religion, etiquette, and athletics.⁴⁴ William the Conqueror is known to have had a *nutricius*, and his son Robert Curthose was tutored by a *pedagogus* and *magister* known as Ilger.⁴⁵ However, until the appearance in 1104 of Fulk V's *nutricius*, a minor landholding *miles* known as Adam, there is little evidence of an office dedicated to the education of the Angevin princes.⁴⁶ To be sure, the dynasty was well reputed to prize education in letters. There is the oft-cited tale of how Count Fulk II the Good (r. 942-960)

German Narrative," *Speculum* 66, 3 (Jul., 1991), pp. 519-539. Schultz challenges the idea that there ever existed either a conceptually or a lexically distinct childhood stage of 'adolescence' in the Middle Ages.

⁴² Joscelin appears in the entourage of Fulk V in 1104. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 111. The children of other aristocracy often formed the company of high aristocratic children, each with their own attendants and collectively constituting a substantial *familia* wherever they went. Refer to: Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 28, 48-49.

⁴³ See Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 28 for a discussion concerning the late Roman origins of the term as well as its semantic relation to the term *nutrix*, or wet-nurse.

⁴⁴ Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 18-21, 57-58.

⁴⁵ Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 27.

⁴⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 111; *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 55. Kathryn Dutton has collated the known evidence for Adam's activities in: Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 28-33.

once allegedly passed a note to King Louis IV, chastising him for having mocked the count for singing in the Basilica of Saint-Martin of Tours: "My lord, you should be aware that an un-lettered king is a crowned ass."⁴⁷ Fulk le Réchin nurtured a culture of learning at his court as well as at the Cathedral of Angers, which became a renowned center of literary activity in the late eleventh century, producing influential literati such as Marbode of Rennes.⁴⁸ Yet, in the eleventh century, the education of the Angevin counts had been informal, subject to the figures available at the comital court and at nearby ecclesiastical institutions.⁴⁹ Extant evidence suggests that the education of Geoffrey Martel II followed a similar trajectory. The charters in which Geoffrey appears do not demonstrate his association with any individuals of known educational responsibilities.⁵⁰ The question thus arises as to how, when, and why Fulk V was assigned a *nutritor* named Adam, who appears initially in 1104 and continues to be involved closely in comital affairs until 1127.⁵¹

The establishment of an Angevin comital tutor, an office which remained charged with the upbringing of Angevin comital princes through the reign of King Henry II of

⁴⁷ "Piété de Foulque le Bon," in CCA, 140: "*Noveritis, domine, quia rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus.*" Bachrach notes that the use of the term *illiteratus* here indicates the inability to read and write Latin in a classical style. He further provides a discussion of the twelfth-century contexts which conceived such legendary interactions. See: Bernard S. Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 987-1040: A Political Biography of the Angevin Count* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 19-20.

⁴⁸ For the origins of the cathedral school, refer to: Steven Fanning, *A Bishop and His World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1988), 69-72, with the relevant bibliographical citations.

⁴⁹ Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, 20-24.

⁵⁰ Geoffrey of Blaison appears as Geoffrey's chaplain in 1104x1105 and may have been responsible for Geoffrey's continuing education. However, there is no evidence that Geoffrey played this role prior to 1104x1105 or much subsequent to it, given that he appears subsequently as Geoffrey's chancellor in an 1105 notice. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 111; *Cartulaire de la Trinité de Vendôme*, n. 412.

⁵¹ The relevant references to Adam's nine appearances in comital charters from 1104 through 1127 are compiled in: Dutton, "*Ad Erudiendum Tradidit*," 29n34.

England (r. 1154-1189), may have been the function of Breton rather than Anglo-Norman influence. Indeed, *magistri*, who at this time do not seem to be differentiated from *nutricii* in terms of the roles which they played or who might qualify for such a position, were assigned to Breton princes and continued to accompany the princes into adulthood.⁵² For instance, in 1084x1088, a magister named William serves as witness to a charter of Duke Alan IV of Brittany, Ermengarde's husband and Fulk V's father figure during *infantia*. William is identified explicitly as the *magister* of Alan.⁵³ Alan's eldest child with Ermengarde and the Breton heir, Conan, who was born only a few years after Fulk V, similarly fell under the tutelage of a magister, who appears in a ducal charter in 1103x1114.⁵⁴ If Fulk V spent his *infantia* at the Breton court, it is likely that the sudden appearance of official comital tutors in the Angevin court is an inheritance of Breton ducal practice.

Fulk V's *nutritor* and the first known official Angevin comital tutor, Adam, may have originally been a Breton himself. Little is known of Adam's family background, save that he was the *nepos*, nephew or grandson, of a nun at the abbey of Ronceray and that he had a brother who was a client of an Angevin lord by 1116.⁵⁵ Adam appears to hold no lands until he marries into a minor castellan family with holdings south of Angers at some point in the early twelfth century.⁵⁶ Indeed, there is no trace of Adam in the evidentiary source-base until he appears as a lay witness in a comital charter of June

⁵² Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 35, 37-38.

⁵³ *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 93, p. 377.

⁵⁴ *Actes des ducs de Bretagne*, n. 121, pp. 433-436; *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, II, n. 791, pp. 737-738.

⁵⁵ *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, ns. 313, 62.

⁵⁶ Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 31. That Adam acquired these lands as part of his marital match is suggested by his wife's and father-in-law's resistance to his deathbed alienation of some land and revenues. See: *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, II, n. 884, pp. 357-358.

1104 and subsequently in Fulk V's entourage in 1104x1105.⁵⁷ The second *nutritor* to appear in Angevin documents is a Bigat in 1120.⁵⁸ He is similarly of unknown origins but served as one of Fulk V's chamberlains between 1116 and 1128.⁵⁹ Bigat appeared in 1120 with another tutor-figure, a *minister* named Jarnigon, who may provide us with a clue as to the origins of his ministerial predecessors.⁶⁰ Kathryn Dutton has indicated that Jarnigon's "name suggests Breton origin...perhaps with a connection to Le Louroux-Béconnais, near the Anjou-Nantes border."⁶¹ Given the confluence of circumstances—the established Breton practice of princely tutors, the absence of any formal tutors in the Angevin tradition before Fulk V's *nutritor* Adam, Fulk V's *infantia* in the Breton ducal court, and the absence of any evidence concerning Adam before Fulk V returns to Anjou—Adam may very well have been a Breton, accompanying Fulk V upon his return to Angers in order to ease the boy's transition. Adam might have been assigned the role of tutor during Fulk's *infantia* while Fulk was at the Breton court, where, again, such official, dedicated tutors were established practice.⁶²

A notice from the abbey of Ronceray supports such conjecture. The notice indicates that Fulk V made several gifts to Adam's aunt or grandmother, who was a nun of the abbey, out of love for Adam [*pro amore Ademi*] in 1103x1104, that is, during Fulk's *pueritia*.⁶³ If the language of the notice is accurate, these gifts would have

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire de Saint-Laud*, n. 55; *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin*, n. 111.

⁵⁸ Catalog n. [F 76] (1120), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30; Catalog n. [F 79] (c.1120), AD Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, ff. 39v-40r.

⁵⁹ [F 59]; [F 102]; [F 111].

⁶⁰ Catalog n. [F 76] (1120), *Cartulaire de Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes*, pp. 27-30.

⁶¹ Dutton, "Ad Erudiendum Tradidit," 31.

⁶² It was not unknown for aristocratic children to be assigned a tutor during *infantia* for light didactic exercises. Refer to: Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990), 105.

⁶³ For the dating, see: Catalog n. [F 19] (1103x1104), *Cartulaire du Ronceray*, n. 313.

constituted Fulk V's first known benefactions. For them to have been to his tutor's kin, out of love [*pro amore*] for that tutor—a formula which is typically reserved for benefactions made in the memory of one's parents and predecessors—implies a profound level of intimacy which would most likely have been forged during early childhood.⁶⁴ Adam's later marital match and his brother's establishment as a client of an Angevin lord may, thus, have been additional comital favors either on the order of Fulk le Réchin or of an older Fulk V in recognition of the Breton family's contributions to the upbringing of an Angevin prince.

With Adam by his side, Fulk V returned to Anjou by 1098. Although Fulk V did not attest any comital charters until 1103, it is clear that the boy spent the next several years in the household of his father, given the close relationship which appears to have developed between them during this time. Contemporary sources speculate that, by 1103, love of his younger son drove Fulk le Réchin to associate Fulk V in the governance of the county, provoking Geoffrey Martel to raise arms and assert his status as the rightful heir.⁶⁵ Indeed, the impact of Fulk's upbringing at the Breton ducal court was wide-ranging, as we see throughout this project.

⁶⁴ Dutton, "*Ad Erudiendum Tradidit*," 30-31.

⁶⁵ "*Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis*," 43.

Appendix E

Dating the Comital Pancartes of Fontevraud

The three pancartes that the Abbey of Fontevraud produced in the twelfth century to commemorate the benefactions of Count Fulk V of Anjou survive today at the Archives Nationales in Paris. There, in Carton L 1018, they are cataloged as pieces 1, 2, and 2bis (2bis hereafter as piece 3).¹ Piece 3 clearly dates from the moment of Fulk V's final *actum* at the Abbey of Fontevraud on c. 2 February 1129: the benefaction itself involved the production of the pancarte, which was then sealed and received the cross signatures of Fulk as well as three of his children, namely Hélias, Sibylla, and Geoffrey, count-apparent of Anjou.² Pieces 1 and 2 are considered to have been produced between 1113 and 1126, given the appearance of the cross signatures of Geoffrey V (b. 1113) and Countess Aremburge (d. 1126) alongside Fulk V.³ However, to my knowledge, no one has seriously attempted to narrow this timeframe for the dates of production and/or subsequent continuation of the two preceding pancartes, that is, pieces 1 and 2.⁴ I will

¹ In scholarly literature discussing these pancartes, piece 2bis has often been identified as piece 3. We will follow such convention here. The archival designation of piece 3 belongs to Henry's 1154 surviving confirmation of his grandfather's benefactions, a confirmation which, in any case, is indicated in an addendum to piece 2bis.

² [F 124]. The parchment also bears the cross signature of Fulk V's grandson, who issued a plenary confirmation of the benefactions of his grandfather in 1154.

³ Chartrou, *L'Anjou*, 251-252. Piece 1 still bears leather cords speaking to a non-extant seal; piece 2 has no such cords, but there does remain an appropriately positioned hole in the parchment (below the cross signatures of the comital family) where such cords may previously have been strung through.

⁴ Examining piece 2 (with its distinctive fifteen acts), Paul de Fleury suggested that piece 2 had been issued in 1120 on the basis of its similarity to another manuscript at Saint-Jouin. See: Paul de Fleury, "Inventaire de quelques chartes concernant l'histoire de l'abbaye de Fontevraud au commencement du XIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest* 11 (1865-1867), pp. 29-32: 30. Fleury provided an edition for the pancarte in: "Pancarte sous forme authentique, contenant diverses donations faites à l'abbaye de Fontevraud au commencement du XIIe siècle, publiée d'après l'original du palais des archives," ed. Paul de Fleury. *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest* 11 (1865-1867): 189-199.

briefly attempt to do so here in consideration of my redatings of Fulk V's *acta* (see Appendix A).

To start, one should observe that pieces 1 and 2 were both augmented on a single occasion by a hand which varied from that of the original scribe. For piece 1, the hand and ink change occurs after the twelfth recorded act; acts thirteen through fifteen were added at some point following the production of the original pancarte. For piece 2, the hand and ink change occurs after the twelfth recorded act as well; acts thirteen through sixteen are continuations. Although these hands bringing fresh ink to the original parchments are distinct from one another, entries #13-15 of piece 1 and entries #13-15 of piece 2 do correspond, albeit out of order (refer to the spreadsheet at the end of this appendix). The only distinct addition to piece 2 is that of the sixteenth and final entry, which is a variant of the fourth entry that appears on all three pancartes at their points of initial production.

Having established the juncture at which the first two pieces were subsequently augmented, we can observe that none of the entries which originally appeared on piece 1 can be dated to after Robert of Arbrissel's death on 25 February 1116: they all occurred during his lifetime, and many were personally made into his hand [*in manu*]. Robert's death would naturally have inspired Fontevraud's religious to reaffirm the various donations that assorted beneficiaries had bestowed to their abbey through their founder. Robert's inhumation, which was well attended by numerous lay and ecclesiastical potentates, would have been an opportune moment to establish such reassurances. Indeed, we know that such confirmations transpired on that occasion and that Fulk V was involved: on the day of Robert's inhumation, Geoffrey of Blaison confirmed all of his

own previous benefactions to Fontevraud, with Count Fulk V conceding.⁵ Since Geoffrey was, either at the time or formerly, a comital chaplain, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Fulk V probably was also confirming various benefactions of his own at that time. Provided these circumstances, I propose that piece 1 was issued after Robert of Arbrissel's death, likely on the day of his inhumation, as part of the general series of confirmations occurring around that time.

Of the original entries on piece 2, all must be dated between 1109 and 1116, save one: entry #12. This entry records a donation that Fulk made in 1118 to the Fontevraudian priory of Hautes-Bruyères in the presence of his mother Bertrade, who was then a nun at Fontevraud and would later be buried at Hautes-Bruyères.⁶ This entry provides us with a *terminus ab quo* of 1118 for the production of piece 2. As indicated above, Paul de Fleury suggested that this pancarte was issued in 1120. In contrast, I would recommend dating this pancarte to before 1120. In that year, Fulk V relinquished to the Abbey of Fontevraud the *pasnagium* (a transit tax) collected from all forests belonging to the counts of Anjou.⁷ This was a benefaction of enormous scope and significance. Its absence among the original entries of piece 2, in conjunction with its subsequent appearance as the first continuation to piece 1 (n. 13) and the second continuation to piece 2 (n. 14), strongly suggests that this benefaction was made pursuant to the original production of the second of Fulk's Fontevraudian pancartes. As a result, we ought to conclude that piece 2 was issued in 1118 or 1119, here classified as c. 1118.

⁵ Catalog n. [F 53] (1116), *Cartulaire de Fontevraud*, I, n. 455, pp. 445-446.

⁶ Catalog n. [F 63] (1118), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 12.

⁷ Catalog n. [F 82] (c. 1120), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 1, n. 13 & AN, Carton L 1018, piece 2, n. 14 & AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 12.

Had the pancarte been created in 1118, the direct inspiration would probably have been the retirement of Queen Bertrade to the Abbey of Fontevraud; a production of 1119 perhaps ought to be attributed to Bertrade's death on 19 January 1119. For, in addition to her regnal status and the honor which that conferred upon the abbatial community, Bertrade's personal patronage of Fontevraud, as well as her instrumental role in the uniquely extensive relationship of patronage that existed between the abbey and her son Count Fulk V, would have encouraged a second issuance of Fulk's Fontevraudian *acta* upon either her retirement at Fontevraud or her death there, much as Robert of Arbrissel's own death in 1116 spurred the production of the initial comital pancarte.

At this point, we may return to piece 1 and suggest that, provided the appearance of an *actum* of c. 1120 as its first continuation, those continuations upon the first pancarte had not begun until after around 1120. The same logic might be extended in regard to the continuations for piece 2. We may, in any case, propose a *terminus ad quem* of 1126 for these continuations. For, piece 3, which was issued in February 1129, features a comital *actum* dating to 15 January 1127 (n. 15).⁸ This is the only *actum* that can be securely dated to after 1120 on any of the three pancartes—that is, apart from the 1129 benefaction (n. 18) that resulted in the production of piece 3 itself. The absence from pieces 1 and 2 of this important *actum* of 1127, which Fulk issued by dying request of his recently deceased wife, suggests that the continuations to those pancartes had concluded before this comital benefaction of 1127.

To conclude, I have proposed that we date the original production of the first of Fulk's Fontevraudian pancartes—piece 1—to shortly after Robert of Arbrissel's death,

⁸ Catalog n. [F 108] (1127), AN, Carton L 1018, piece 3, n. 15.

i.e. circa 1116. The continuations to that first pancarte probably occurred in 1120x1126.

The second pancarte was issued in c. 1118, with its continuations also transpiring in

1120x1126. The third pancarte, as is evident from its final contemporary entry, was

issued at the time of Fulk V's imminent departure to the Holy Land, that is, in February

1129.

Piece 1, c. 1116 (continuations in 1120x1126)		Piece 2, c. 1118 (continuations in 1120x1126)		Piece 3, 1129, with confirmation in 1154	
n. 1	[F 29], Version II, 1109x1113	n. 1	[F 29], Version II, 1109x1113	n. 1	[F 29], Version II, 1109x1113
n. 2	[F 45], Version II, 1109x1116	n. 2	[F 45], Version II, 1109x1116	n. 2	[F 45], Version II, 1109x1116
n. 3	[F 27], c. 1112	n. 3	[F 27], c. 1112	n. 3	[F 27], c. 1112
n. 4	[F 31], Version II, 1109x1113	n. 4	[F 31], Version II, 1109x1113	n. 4	[F 31], Version II, 1109x1113
n. 5	[F 30], 1109x1113	n. 5	[F 30], 1109x1113	n. 5	[F 30], 1109x1113
n. 6	[F 44], Version II, 1109x1116	n. 6	[F 44], Version II, 1109x1116	n. 6	[F 44], Version II, 1109x1116
n. 7	[F 42], 1115	n. 7	[F 42], 1115	n. 7	[F 42], 1115
n. 8	[F 52], 1116	n. 8	[F 52], 1116	n. 8	[F 52], 1116
n. 9	[F 48], 1109x1116	n. 9	[F 48], 1109x1116	n. 9	[F 48], 1109x1116
n. 10	[F 37], 1109x1115	n. 10	[F 37], 1109x1115	n. 16	[F 37], 1109x1115
n. 11	[F 44], Version I, 1109x1116				
n. 12	[F 43], 1109x1116	n. 11	[F 43], 1109x1116	n. 10	[F 43], 1109x1116
n. 13*	[F 82], c. 1120	n. 14*	[F 82], c. 1120	n. 12	[F 82], c. 1120
n. 14*	[F 46], 1109x1116	n. 13*	[F 46], 1109x1116	n. 11	[F 46], 1109x1116
n. 15*	[F 45], Version I, 1109x1116	n. 15*	[F 45], Version I, 1109x1116		
		n. 12	[F 63], 1118	n. 17	[F 63], 1118
		n. 16*	[F 31], Version I, 1109x1113	n. 13	[F 31], Version I, 1109x1113
				n. 14	[F 81], c. 1120
				n. 15	[F 108], 1127
				n. 18	[F 124], 1129
				n. 19	1154 confirmation by Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine & Count of Anjou

* denotes change in hand and ink

Archives Nationales, Carton L 1018, pieces 1, 2, and 3 (2bis)

