

SEAL OF ARTHUR PLANTAGENET, VISCOUNT LISLE, K.G.,

VICE-ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

ENLARGED FROM A CAST IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The Genealogist.

THE ASCENDANTS OF GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET.

By G. W. WATSON.

Modern research has done little to dispel the obscurity which conceals the paternal ancestors of Fulk Rechin, Count of Anjou, the grandfather of Geoffrey Plantagenet. This is partly due, no doubt, to the remoteness of the epoch dealt with, but the darkness has in this case been rendered treacherous by the ancient chroniclers of Anjou, who were masters of the arts of suppression and misrepresentation. The industrious French writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were usually more interested in the descent of the great fiefs than in genealogy proper, and a somewhat inaccurate account in Anselme[1] may be taken to adequately represent their knowledge of the subject. M. Mabille has given us an excellent note[2], but he did not avail himself of all possible sources of information; I propose here to take advantage of his researches, and to add thereto what I have been able to discover elsewhere.

We are sufficiently acquainted with the career of Fulk Rechin. Though the chroniclers profess to explain matters otherwise, he was, as will be subsequently proved, a usurper, who had ousted his brother Geoffrey le Barbu from all his possessions. This Geoffrey was sole heir of his uncle Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, and son of Martel's sister Ermengarde, daughter of Fulk Nerra. The chroniclers of Anjou are singularly reticent concerning the husband of Ermengarde[3], nor do we obtain much help from other sources. There are, however, the following notices of him:

(i). Per idem tempus Goisfridus Martellus Andegavensium comes post multa in rebus seculi fortia gesta obiit, et quia liberis caruit, Goisfrido nepoti suo Alberici Wastinensium comitis filio honorem suum reliquit. (Ord. Vital., lib. iii, c. 6.)[4]

(ii). Defuncto Goisfrido Martello, fortissimo Andegavorum comes, successerunt ex sorore duo nepotes ejus, filii Alberici comitis Wastinensium. (Ord. Vital., lib. iv, c. 13.)

(iii). Goffredus quoque comes filius Fulconis [obiit] xviii kalendas decembris . . . Huic successerunt nepotes ejus, filii Alberici Contracti, comitis de Gastina, Goffredus et Fulco Rechin. (*Chron. Malliacense*,[5] ad ann. 1060 - Labbe, *Nov. Bibl. Manusc.*, tom. ii, p. 210; *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. xi, p. 220; Marchegay, *Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou*, p. 402.)

(iv). Fulco vero comes qui fratris honorem sibi rapuerat, formidans ne rex

(1) Anselme, *Histoire Genealogique*, tom. vi, p. 12.

(2) Mabille, *Introduction aux Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxvii, "*Origine de la seconde famille des Comtes héréditaires d'Anjou.*" Miss Norgate's note (*England under the Angevin Kings*, chap. iv, note A.) "*The Houses of Anjou and Gatinais*," is merely a reproduction of M. Mabille's remarks.

(3) C'est à peine si le faux Rechin nous révèle le nom de son père, tant il a hâte de raconter l'histoire de ses ancêtres maternels, pour lesquels il n'a pas assez d'éloges. (Mabille).

(4) The note by the latest French editor merely remarks that for Alberic, Count of Gâtinais, we should read Geoffrey, Count of Châteaulandon.

(5) Often called the Chronicle of St. Maixent, another abbey in Poitou.

Philippus pro perpetrata nequitia super eum irrucret et honore privaret, Vastinensem comitatum ei reliquit. Porro Gaufridus et Fulco nepotes fuere Gaufridi Tuditis; Vastinensis enim comes Albericus pater eorum fuit genet [sororius] ipsius. (*Hugo Floriac. monachus de modernis Francorum regibus—Recueil des Historiens*, tom. xii, p. 797).

(v). Gaufridus Martellus cum filios non haberet, nepotibus suis Gaufrido Barbato et Fulconi Rechin, filiis scilicet Adhelae [*sic*] sororis suae et Alberici comitis de Gastinois bona sua dereliquit. (*Hist. Comitum Andegav., auctore Thoma Pactio, Lochensi priore.*—Marchegay, *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou*, p. 333).

(vi). Ego Fulco comes Andegavensis, qui filius fui Goffridi de Castrolandono et Ermengardis filiae Fulconis comitis Andegavensis, et nepos Goffridi Martelli, qui fuit filius ejusdem avi mei Fulconis et frater matris meae. (*Hist. Andegav. fragm. a Fulcone comite scriptum.*—D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, edit. in fol., tom. iii, p. 232; Marchegay, *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou*, p. 375.)

(vii). Goffridus Martellus [filius] Fulconis cum filios non haberet comitatum suum scilicet Andegaviam et Turoniam . . . nepotibus suis Goffrido Barbato et Fulconi Rechin reliquit. Andegaviam et Santonas Fulconi, Turoniam cum Landonensi castro Barbato donavit. [Isti duo scilicet Barbatus et Rechin fuerint filii Goffridi Feroli illustris viri de Gastinensio et Landonensio orti ex sorore Martelli praedicti.] *Gesta Consulum Andegav., auctore monacho Majoris Monasterii—Spicilegium*,[6] tom. iii, p. 258).

(viii). Joscelinus [de Cortiniaco] desponsavit filiam comitis Gaufridi Focrolensis, ex qua genuit unam filiam quae duos filios habuit, Guidonem [*l.* Gaufridum] et Rainardum comitem de Johegneio. (*Contin. Aimoini*, lib. v, c. 46).

(ix). *A charter of Geoffrey le Barbu, dated* 1061, *by which he accords the right of fishing in the Mayenne to the monks of St. Serge at Angers, for the safety of the souls of Geoffrey his father and of Geoffrey Martel his uncle.* (*Cartul. SS. Sergii et Bacchi, as cited by Anselme*, tom. vi, p. 13.)

It is therefore agreed that the father of Geoffrey le Barbu and of Fulk Rechin was a Count of Gâtinais, or of Châteaulandon, the principal town thereof.[7] Some call him Alberic, some Geoffrey. The fragment ascribed to Fulk Rechin would, if genuine, be most valuable evidence for the latter name; but, as M. Mabille shews, it abounds in anachronisms and erroneous assertions, and must be the work of an impostor, who wrote after the death of Fulk. As to the continuator of Aimoin, there is no evidence, save the gloss to the *Gesta*, of uncertain date and authority, to prove the identity of Geoffrey *Focrolensis*[8] with Geoffrey de Châteaulandon.[9] But even setting aside all these as of dubious authority or as perhaps not relating to the subject, we are still confronted by the name Geoffrey in the charter of Geoffrey le Barbu;[10]

(6) The introduction to the *Spicilegium*, tom. iii, states that the sentence in brackets is a gloss on the original text, and it does not appear in Marchegay's edition. Besly, who quotes the passage (*Comtes de Poitou*, preuves, p. 310), adds after Feroli "[Comte de Joigny (Aimoin, lib. v, c.—)]" where the incomplete reference is no doubt to c. 46 (see no. viii, below), the "Comte de Joigny" being based on a confused recollection of the original, which he had clearly neglected to consult.

(7) I have elsewhere (*Gen. N.S.*, vol. x, p. 142) adverted to a common practice by which Counts were often styled from the principal town in the comté.

(8) *Ferrolae*, Férolles, Seine-et-Marne, arrondissement de Melun, canton de Brie-Comte-Robert, is probably the place referred to.

(9) This identity has been generally assumed, it being somewhat difficult to see who else he could have been. Geoffrey, Count of Joigny, seems to be the only other person possible. In that case the accepted pedigree of Joigny, which indeed is somewhat incorrect (see an article by H. F. Delaborde, "*Recherches critiques sur les premiers seigneurs de Joinville*, in tom. li of the *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*), would require still further modifications.

(10) I have not succeeded in finding the text of this charter. It is perhaps doubtful whether Geoffrey le Barbu really mentions his father *by name* in it. In charters that I know of he refrains from doing so, *e.g.* :—pro salute animæ meæ et parentum meorum atque avunculi mei Gausfridi ejusque patris Fulconis. (Marchegay, *Chartes Angevines*, in tom. xxxvi of the *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes.*)

while on the other hand three respectable authorities employ the name Alberic. That this latter was *a* correct appellation is proved by an important charter quoted later on. And there seems to be no alternative left but to adopt the suggestion of Ménage, that both names, Alberic and Geoffrey, were used by the personage in question.(11)

We have next to consider the father of Alberic-Geoffrey, as we must needs call him :—

"qui n'a pas laissé de traces dans l'histoire ou du moins sur lequel on ne possède aucun renseignement. S'appelait-il Aubri comme son père ou Geoffroi comme son grandpère? La seule réponse qui puisse être faite à cette question est le témoignage de Ménage, qui, dans son *Histoire de Sablé*, s'exprime ainsi : 'Geoffroi de Châteaulandon, père de Foulque Rechin, ce qui est connu de peu de personnes, était fils de Geoffroi comte (*sic*) de Gâtinais, et de Beatrix, fille d'Albéric II., comte de Mâcon.' Quoi qu'il ne faille pas toujours ajouter foi aux assertions de Ménage, quand elles ne sont pas contrôlées par les textes, celle-ci a pu être puisée dans un document, qui ne nous est pas parvenu."

Thus M. Mabille, who has overlooked Ménage's *preuve*, a copy of an ancient document, from the collection of M. Peiresc :—

1. Letaldus, comes Vesonciensis.	1. Umbertus, comes Matisconensis.
2. Albericus.	2. Adala, comitissa.
3. Beatrix.	3. Vindesmodis, soror matris vestrae, non germana.
4. Goffridus, comes de Castello Landonensi.	4. Ingelbertus Vitello de Uxione.
5. Gaufridus. Fulco.	5. Walterus, comes de Brena.
	6. Filia, quam Fulco comes noster uxorem duxerat.

The object of this table seems to have been to shew consanguinity between Fulk Rechin and his wife,(12) at least it is difficult to see what other purpose it could serve. As there seems to have been no motive for forging such a document, it may possibly be authentic. Some of it is certainly true. The following pedigree is compiled afresh from charter evidence,(13) the glosses supplied to Ménage by Du Bouchet being added in brackets.

(11) The mere use at that epoch of two christian names was not uncommon. The difficulty here is that no one writer is known to employ both the names.

(12) This wife of Fulk is not otherwise known, but only four are, and he very probably had more. A letter of Pope Gregory VII, of date abt. 1080, on the subject of Fulk's excommunication by the Bishop of Angers, mentions the great number—*numerositas*—of wives which he had had. (See "*Empeschemens du mariage de Philippe I*," p. 118, in Besly's *Traictez historiques*.) He was separated from his second known wife, Ermengarde de Bourbon, in 1075 ; from his third, Arengarde de Châtel-Aillon, in 1080 (Ménage, *Hist. de Sablé*, p. 85, quoting the *Liber Albus* of St. Florent) ; and not married to his fourth, Bertrade de Montfort, before 1090. There are thus ten years unaccounted for.

(13) I have consulted, among others, *Cartul. de Cluni*, edit. Bruel ; *Cartul. de St. Vincent de Mâcon*, edit. Ragut ; Juenin, *Hist. de l'Abbaye de Tournus*, preuves ; Guichenon, *Bibl. Sebusiana*. The Abbé Guillaume, *Hist. des Sires de Salins*, knows of no daughter of Humbert I. ; nor have I found any mention of Adela and Vindesmode ; Du Bouchet seems to have been more successful, for he adds dates. The mother of Engilbert II, Count of Brienne (wife of Engilbert I), was Manstrude. Her parentage seems to be quite unknown.

Alberic, Count of Burgundy and Mâcon. 942.

Letald, Count of Burgundy and Mâcon. 959.	Humbert I, Sire de Salins. 944.
Alberic, Count of Burgundy and Mâcon. 971.	[Adelle, the countess. 957.]
[Beatrix, wife of Geoffrey, surnamed Forole, Count of Gâtinais. 1000.]	[Vindesmode, sister of the mother of Engilbert. 1028.]
[Geoffrey, Count of Gâtinais. 1034, 1043.]	Engilbert II, Count of Brienne.
	Walter I, Count of Brienne.

The *preuve*, however, only supplies the name of Alberic-Geoffrey's mother, Du Bouchet being the sole authority for the father. But the following charter enables us to completely substantiate his statement :—

In nomine regis eterni. Ego Franco, annuente Dei clementia, Parisiorum humilis episcopus, notum fieri volumus tam presentium etati quam futurorum posteritati, quia domnus Rainaldus episcopus, noster predecessor, dedit quasdam villas, inconsulte et absque consilio regalis potestatis, de mensa episcopi, videlicet Buxas et Cabiosas, sitas in comitatu Vuastinensi, Gosfredo, comiti Landonensis castri ; quod et factum est pro nulla utilitate ecclesie, sed propter vuerram et discordiam que tunc temporis erat inter patrem suum nomine Burchardum et comitem Odonem, quod ita longo tempore permansit. Postea vero, auxiliante Domino nostro atque genitrice ejus Maria, necnon patrocinante juvamine domini nostri piissimi regis Roberti atque Constantie, ejus conjugis, nobilissime regine, et per nostram apud eos humilem deprecationem, talis facta est conventio inter nos et Albericum, illius supradicti Gosfredi filium et heredem, et insuper, faventibus fratribus ipsius Alberici, filiis Hugonis Pertice, scilicet Gosfredo et Letoldo, quia unam ex ipsis potestatibus nomine Cabiosas, cum ecclesia que est in illa villa, reddiderunt ; alteram vero ecclesiam, que est in villa que dicitur Buxas, similiter reddiderunt, ea videlicet ratione ut, quamdiu Adraldus clericus advixerit, eandem ecclesiam teneat nobisque censum de ea reddat, et post ejus ab hac vita discessum, ad jus Sancte Marie et nostrum redeat. Cetera autem ad easdem villas pertinentia, ipsi Alberico et duobus heredibus ejus per manus firmitatem concedimus; eo videlicet tenore ut omni anno, in festivitate sancte Marie, que est vi idus septembris, in censum x solidos denariorum ad mensam nostram persolvant. Quod si inde negligentes apparuerint, legaliter emendent et minime perdant. Ut autem hec manus firmitas vigorem per omnia teneat, auctoritate domini nostri regis et regine atque prolis eorum, manu propria eam firmavimus, fidelibusque nostris clericis ac laicis corroborandam tradidimus. Actum apud monasterium Kalas vii kal. junii, regnante serenissimo rege Roberto anno xxx, Henrico autem ejus filio ii. S. Rotberti regis. S. Henrici regis. S. Constantie regine. S. Rotberti ejus filii. S. Franconis episcopi. S. Gosfredi decani. S. Olrici archidiaconi. S. Lisierni archidiaconi. S. Alberti archidiaconi. S. Waleranni comitis. S. Drogonis comitis . . . Harduinus scripsit atque recognuit vice Lantberti cancellarii. (*Cartul. Ecclesiae B. Mariae Paris.*, edit. Guérard, tom. i, p. 326 ; G. Dubois, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.*, tom. i, p. 636.)

It appears therefore that during the war (c. 999) between Odo, Count of Blois, and Bouchard, Count of Vendôme, the latter's son, Reginald, Bishop of Paris,(14) gave *Buxae* and *Cabiosae* in the Gâtinais to Geoffrey, Count of Châteaulandon. In 1026 this Geoffrey will have been dead, and his only child Alberic not yet married, or at least childless. The widow of Geoffrey, by a second husband, Hugh du Perche,(15) had two

(14) Reginald's sister and hss., Elizabeth, was first wife to Fulk Nerra. She was burnt for adultery in 1000. (*Chron. S. Albini* ; *Chron. S. Florentii*).

(15) This Hugh may have belonged to the line of the Vicomtes de Châteaudun, but I can find no place for him there.

sons, Geoffrey and Letald.(16) There can be no doubt but that the Alberic here mentioned was the father of Fulk Rechin.

M. Mabille considers that Geoffrey, Count of Châteaulandon, was perhaps the Count Geoffrey mentioned in a diploma of Hugh Capet as having made a donation to the Church of Orléans in the time of Bishop Arnoult.(17) I find that there had been a previous confirmation of this gift in 979.(18) There was also a Count Geoffrey, who witnessed a Gâtinais charter in 941.(19)

According to M. Mabille's conjecture, the Vicomtes d'Orléans were the ancestors of the Counts of Gâtinais. For notices of these vicomtes he can refer us only to four charters, which I summarise here :—

(i). [886]. Ego Odo, misericordia Dei comes et pietate Dei abbas congregationis sancti Martini. Notum fieri volumus . . . ut reddimus domno Martino suisque canonicis quasdam villas sitas in Italia . . . S. Ademari comitis. S. Attonis . . . S. Alberici . . . S. Guarnegaudi . . . S. Fulconis. S. Gauzfredi. Data in mense Aprili, anno vi in Italia et in Francia iv et in Gallia ii regnante serenissimo et piissimo imperatore Karolo. Actum Turonis monasterio . . . (*Invasions normandes dans la Loire*, pieces justif., no. v. *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, tom. xxx, p. 431.)

(ii). [939]. Hugo, dux Francorum . . . S. Hugonis comitis et Francorum ducis . . . S. Fulconis Andegavorum comitis. S. Theotbaldi Turonorum vicecomitis . . . S. Bernardi Silvanecti comitis. S. Gaufredi Aurelianensium vicecomitis. Data mense maio in pago Aurelianensi, in villa que dicitur Fontanas . . . anno tertio regnante HLudovico rege. (*Cartul. S. Juliani Turon.*—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.*, tom. iii, append. p. 709 ; *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. ix, p. 722).

(iii). [957]. Notitia qualiter et quemadmodum venit domnus Tetbaldus comes Turonis castello scilicet sancti Martini . . . S. domni Tetbaldi comitis . . . S. Tetbaldi filii ipsius . . . S. Alberici Aurelianensium vicecomitis . . . Data est ergo hujus notitie auctoritas vii kal. aprilis Turonis. castello scilicet sancti Martini . . . anno adhuc tertio regni Hlotharii regis.—(*Arch. S. Martini*.—Mabille, *Introd. aux Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou*, pieces justif., no. x. p. cix).

(iv). [966]. Ego in Dei nomine Gautfridus gratia Dei et senioris mei domni Hugonis largitione Andecavorum comes . . . S. Hugonis Francorum ducis. S. Gaufridi comitis . . . S. Roberti comitis Trecassino. S. Alberigi Aurelianensis vicecomitis . . . (D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii, p. 377) (20)

M. Mabille suggests that the Alberic in 886 was vicomte d'Orléans, and father of Geoffrey, vicomte in 939, father of Alberic, vicomte in

(16) The name Letald, rare in the diocese of Paris, was one of the two (Alberic being the other) common in the family of the Counts of Mâcon ; its occurrence here confirms the statement that the wife of Count Geoffrey was of that house.

(17) The following is doubtless alluded to . . . Beneficium etiam quoddam Gauzfridi comitis, quod jamdudum ecclesie sancte Crucis et Arnulfo presuli, eodem Gauzfrido consentiente, per scriptum reddidi . . . nov., iv Hugone reg. [990]. (*Gall. Christ. no.*, tom. viii, inst., col. 489 ; *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. x, p. 558.)

(18) . . . Beneficium etiam quoddam Gauzfridi comitis quod idem Hugo Arnulfo ejusdem ecclesie [Aurelian.] presuli, consentiente eodem Gauzfrido reddidit . . . V idus junii 979. (*Recueil des Historiens*, tom. ix, p. 661).

(19) Ego Eliziernus . . . praedium meum, quod Seda dicitur, situm in Guastinensi pago, cum omnibus que ad ipsum pertinent, in honore domini nostri beatissimi Benedicti ad Floriacum coenobium . . . perpetualiter habendum trado . . . S. Elizierni. S. Ugonis comitis. S. Teudonis comitis . . . S. Bernardi comitis. S. Teutbaldi comitis. S. Fulconis comitis. S. Gauzfredi comitis . . . Datum mense novembri, anno sexto regni HLodovici. [941]. (*Charta pro Florincensi monasterio.*—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict*, tom. iii, append. p. 711).

(20) I add the following :—. . . Ex dono autem Clodomiri regis habent Fontanellas cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus . . . Hanc etiam communitatem habent ex dono Alberici vicecomitis Aurelianensis . . . Actum Aurelianis . . anno . . MXXII, regni Rotberti regis XXVII. (*Rotberti regis privilegium pro Miciacensi monasterio*—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.*, tom. iv, p. 706 ; *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. x, p. 605.)

957 and 966, and finally, that the latter was grandfather of Alberic-Geoffrey, father of Fulk Rechin;[21] although, to use the learned writer's own words, "nous ne pouvons nous appuyer que sur ce fait, que la vicomté d'Orléans a été possédée alternativement par un Aubri et par un Geoffroi, ce qui fait supposer qu'ils appartenaient à la même famille."

It will now be seen on what a slender basis the whole theory is built, and it seems to be impossible to prove or disprove it. It may be rendered still weaker by noticing that the name Alberic might easily have been derived by the second known Count of Gâtinais, through his mother Beatrix, from the Counts of Mâcon. On the other hand, I have discovered some evidence to connect the Vicomtes d'Orléans both with the Mâconnais and with Anjou.

In the cartulary of St. Vincent at Mâcon there are recited two charters, circa 940-960, of Letald, Count of Mâcon, which are witnessed by an *Albericus vicecomes*. This personage does not occur elsewhere in Burgundian charters (such as the vast collections of Cluni), and M. Ragut, in his introduction to the cartulary of St. Vincent (p. lv), reasonably concludes that he was a stranger to the district.[22] I believe that he was really the vicomte d'Orléans.

Next, it can be shewn that Alberic of Orléans had possessions in Anjou:

Gaufridus comes filius Fulconis comitis, post duellum quod fecit cum Hisgaldo clerico apud Mosteriolum super mare, adducens secum de pago Parisiacensi quemdam Albericum, consanguineum suum, ei concessit omnem terram de Vieriis et capellam sancte Marie Caritatis, et alia que longum est enarrare. Post aliquantum vero temporis, defuncto Gaufrido comite, filius ejus Fulco dedit supradicto Alberico Curtem Campiniaci inter Sartam et Medunam, quam antea annis plurimis Albericus Aurelianensis obtinuerat, accipiens pro illa scambium in Francia. Hanc Curtem dedit supradictus Albericus de Vieriis duobus militibus suis, Odoni videlicet Brisahastam et Hardeolo. Sed Odo hujus Curtis partem suam, id est medietatem, dedit cum filia sua Dodoni de Basiligis. Defuncto autem Dodone sine liberis, per foristactum uxoris suæ rediit Curtis in dominicum Alberici de Vieriis. Transacto vero aliquo tempore, cum ipse Albericus istam Curtis partem, per mandatum Fulconis comitis et deprecatum Gaufridi de Sablulio, cum Aremburga consanguinea comitis, Herveo de Sablulio cognomento Rasorio dedisset: per tale conveniens quod semper in dominico Hucberti filii Hucberti de Arnaitto, qui postea propter parastrem suum cognominatus est Rasorius, heredumque ipsius permaneret; in decessu tandem suo Deo et sancto Albino et ejus monachis ita liberam et quietam sicut habuerat donavit. Hoc vero totum fecit Fulco propter Curtem quam sibi retinebat de Bussiaco; nam illam antea dederat Hucberto de Arnaitto, quando accepit Aremburgem, consanguineam suam, de qua natus est ei Huchertus Rasorius. Post mortem vero Alberici de Vieriis Herveus Rasorius tenuit supradictam Curtem de monachis sancti Albini, sicuti tenuerat de Alberico. Mortuo vero Herveo tenuerunt Huchertus filiaster ipsius cognomento Rasorius, ad quem pertinebat, et fratres ejus filii supradicti Hervei, Radulfus scilicet et Bernerius, usque ad prelium Pontilevense; nam in illo occisi fuerunt et sepulti ad ecclesiam Nantulliaci. Radulfo a prelio redeunte et paucis diebus transactis defuncto. Mortuis autem, sicut putabatur, omnibus heredibus, dederunt monachi supradicte Aremburgi medietatem ecclesie Campiniaci cum appendiciis suis, per misericordiam solummodo, in vita sua. Nam monachi tunc omnem

(21) According to the pseudo-Fulk, Fulk Rechin was aged 16 in 1060, and the remark must be fairly correct. Alberic-Geoffrey was no doubt born early in the eleventh century, and his father Geoffrey would perhaps be grandson rather than son of the Alberic, Vicomte d'Orléans, who "flourished" 957-966.

(22) The vicomte of Mâcon at this time was named Walter. He witnesses both these charters.

medietatem Curtis Campiniaci et dominicum et vavassores in dominicatu habebant. Sed mortuo in bello Pontilevensi, sicut supra dictum est, Hucberto Rasorio, uxor ejus filia Isembardi de Lusdo, neptis Isembardi de Bello-videre, pregnans remansit; et peperit filium qui postea nominatus est Huchertus de Campania. (*Cartul. S. Albini Andegav.—Du Chesne, Maison de Montmorency, preuves*, p. 12; *Menage, Histoire de Sablé*, p. 5.)

Du Chesne conjectures that the Alberic de Vihiers mentioned in this recitation was a younger son of Bouchard de Montmorency. Du Cange[23] affirms that he was the father of Fulk Rechin, which is impossible, for he must have been dead many years before the Battle of Pontlevoy.[24] With respect to Alberic of Orléans, we learn that Fulk Nerra, or his father Geoffrey Grisegonelle,[25] perhaps with a view to consolidating his own dominions, gave him, in exchange for Champigny in Anjou, certain territories *in Francia*. If these territories were Châteaulandon, etc, in the Gâtinais, the assertion in the *Gesta*[26] that the Gâtinais was possessed by the earlier Counts of Anjou would be reinstated. An explanation would also be afforded of the manner in which this district was for a time alienated, the Counts of Anjou being in the interval suzerains thereof. For it appears from some documents in the cartulary of St Père at Chartres[27] that such suzerainty existed. By the first of these, of date 984,[28] one Teduin gave:—

. . . quoddam alodum vocitatum Vileta beato Petro Carnotensis cœnobii, . . . Est autem in pago Wastinensi supradicta largitio mea, non longe a Soisiaco castro . . . S. Hugonis archiepiscopi Biturigensis ecclesie. S. Odonis comitis. S. Gaufridi comitis Wastinensis . . .

By the second Landric, Abbot of St. Père, made known:—

quoniam adii presentiam Gaufridi Andegavorum comitis cognomine Martelli aput eum querimoniam faciens de ejus nepote Gaufrido, territorii scilicet Guastinensis comite, qui terram que Villula [Vileta] dicitur, quondam a Teduino milite sancto Petro datam, suo cuidam militi injuste dederat, et sancto Petro usurpando tulerat. Quod audiens prefatus comes id egre tulit et rem non recte actam corrigens, illico predictam terram sancto Petro reddidit et has litteras nomine proprio nominibus que primatum suorum corroborari jussit . . .

The third gives the witnesses to the restitution of Villette (*Villeta*), which Count Geoffrey restored to St. Peter. We thus have Geoffrey Martel acting as suzerain in the Gâtinais, of which his nephew Geoffrey was already count, no doubt in succession to his father. The statement in the *Gesta* that Geoffrey Martel left the Gâtinais to Geoffrey, or to Fulk, according to whichever version we may turn to, is therefore wholly erroneous.

[23] *Observations sur l'Histoire de Villehardouin*, p. 256. Anselme's remark (tom. vi, p. 12) on this point is confused and misleading.

[24] This battle was fought 6 July 1016. (*Chron. S. Florentii Salmur.*; *Chron. Malliac.*)

[25] It was most probably Geoffrey Grisegonelle; for there was a Geoffrey, Count of Gâtinais, in 984 (see the charter to St. Père below), who can hardly have been the Count of Anjou. It is true that we are told that both Grisegonelle and Nerra possessed Châteaulandon, "*Landonensem viceconsulatum.*" See the *Gesta com. Andegav.* and the *Gesta Ambaz. dom.*, in Marchegay, *Chron. des Comtes d'Anjou*, pp. 79, 92, 175 and 323; but we can believe as little as we please of these chronicles.

[26] Where it is stated that Ingelger (living in the ninth century) was not only Count of Anjou, but also Count of Gâtinais and Vicomte d'Orléans.

[27] *Cartul. S. Petri Carnot.*, edit. Guérard, pp. 89, 125, 444.

[28] Hugh, Archbishop of Bourges, died 1 Jan. 985 (*Gall. Christ. no.*, tom. xi, c. 36); Gisbert became Abbot of St. Père in 984. Hence this date.

Very little credit indeed can be attached to this portion of the *Gesta*, where the different compilers have, in addition to the task of "sinking" the parentage of Fulk Rechin, to minimise as much as possible his usurpations. Accordingly one writer says that Geoffrey Martel gave *Andegaviam et Santonas Barbato, Turoniam cum Landonensi castro Fulconi*. Others, still bolder, interchange *Barbato* and *Fulconi* in this sentence. Unfortunately for the veracity of either statement, it can be proved that Fulk's share by inheritance was in reality very small:—

Gosfredus Fulconis filius, Andegavensium comes . . . condonavit Gosfrido nepoti suo comitatum suum, Fulconi vero fratri hujus inter cetera Vierensium castrum, precipiens tamen ut omnia a fratre suo teneret. (*Lib. niger S. Florentii Salmur.*, no. xxxvii—Dom Housseau, carton ii, no. 631.)

Nosse debebitis si qui eritis posteri nostri Majoris scilicet hujus habitatores Monasterii sancti Martini, Gaufredum comitem, Fulconis Andecavensis quondam comitis ex filia, et Gaufredi filii ejus ex sorore, nepotem, cum post eundem Gaufredum Andecavensem ac Turonensem obtineret pariter comitatum, donasse sancto Martino et nobis, sub regimine nunc agentibus domni abbatis Alberti, anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXI, colibertum quendam nomine Johannem . . . (*Livre des Serfs de l'Abbaye de Marmoutier*, edit. A. Salmon, no. xvi, p. 18).

It was, therefore, by usurpation, and by usurpation alone, that Fulk the crafty, the quarrelsome, the treacherous, the *dulcissimus comes* of one chronicler, the *vir pietatis et misericordiae plenus* of another,[29] became possessed of Anjou and Touraine, Saintonge and Gâtinais.

To return to Alberic of Orléans. The authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* (tom. ii, p. 643) are inclined to identify him with a certain *Albericus dux*, who appears to have been brother-in law of the Saxon King Edred, and father of Bouchard, the first seigneur of Montmorency:

Lotharius D. G. Francorum rex. Notum fieri volumus fidelibus nostris quod Burchardus miles, filius Alberici ducis, adiit serenitatem nostram obsecrans ut quoddam monasterium quod ipse constituerat de consensu Hildegardis uxoris ejus et de consilio Theobaldi domini de Centumliis fratris ejus, super Sequanam fluvium prope Braiacum in honore Domini Salvatoris ad collocandum, servandum et colendum corpora sanctorum Paterni martyris et Pavatii confessoris, quod ultimum corpus ex Anglia attulit cum aliquibus religiosis quos avunculus ejus rex Aedredus ei dederat de coenobio de Persora ut stabilirentur et servirent Deo in dicto monasterio sub professione regule S. Benedicti; et nos in perpetuum stabile et firmum fore concederemus, et nostre majestatis vigore corroboraremus quecumque eidem loco largiebatur de bonis suis sine advocatione . . . (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Benedict.*, saec. v, p. 245, ex autographo; *Recueil des Historiens*, tom. ix, p. 622).

The same authors observe that historians mention a "Duke" of Orléans about this period; but the subject is very obscure.[30] Any-

[29] *Calend. S. Mauricii Andegav.*, ad ann. 1109; *Chron. Vindocin. seu de Aquaria*, ad ann. 1109. The epithets are perhaps ironical.

[30] The duchy of Orléans became united to the Crown on the accession of the third line of Kings who were represented at Orléans by their vicomtes. Nevertheless, Helvise, mother of Odolric, Bishop of Orléans (1022-1033), is styled in the obituary of the collegiate church of St. George at Pithiviers *quondam ducissa Aurelianensis*, but in her epitaph in that church only *potens dives et generosa virago* (La Saussaye, *Ann. Eccl. Aurel.*, p. 377), and in the life of St. Gregory, Archbishop of Nicopolis, written temp. Henry I of France, *nobilis matrona*. Odolric is described in charters of the Abbey of Coulombs (Du Chesne, *Maison de Broyes*, preuves, pp. 4, 7) as (maternal) nephew of Roger, Bishop of Beauvais, who is said to have been son (and Helvise therefore daughter) of Odo, Count of Blois, Chartres and Tours. However, as M. Lucien Merlet truly observes (*Hist. de l'Abbaye de Notre Dame de Coulombs*, p. 3), for this filiation for Roger there is no evidence at all. Du Chesne remarks that the

thing, however, tending to prove the identity of *Albericus dux* with Alberic, the vicomte d'Orléans, would be interesting; for the vicomtes d'Orléans (and perhaps through them the Plantagenets) and the Montmorencies would in that case have a common male ancestor.

The foregoing remarks comprise all I have been able to learn concerning the remote ancestors of the house of Plantagenet. The earliest charters rarely give much information, and it seems improbable that the pedigree will ever be taken, with any degree of certainty, further back than the close of the tenth century.

I add a pedigree of the first Counts of Anjou. Only two of Geoffrey Martel's four wives(31) were known to elder genealogists.

Since the above was written, I have seen two lengthy articles on the same subject by MM. Devaux and Stein.(32) These writers, who are at variance with each other and with M. Mabille, afford no fresh information for me to add. The former denies that there is any truth in M. Mabille's suggestion that the Vicomtes d'Orléans were the ancestors of the Counts of Châteaulandon. M. Stein, on the contrary, says that these latter "les pretendus comtes du Gâtinais, ont été seulement vicomtes d'Orléans;"(33) he pretends that the Geoffrey, Count of Gâtinais, in the St. Père charter was Grisegonelle himself, drawing an impossible distinction between Count of Gâtinais and Count of Châteaulandon.(34) But he accepts the statements in the *Gesta* that Grisegonelle and Fulk Nerra possessed Châteaulandon, and that Geoffrey Martel divided his inheritance between his nephews. If M. Stein had been fully acquainted with the discrepancies in the various editions of that work, he would perhaps not have ventured to rely on it.

title of Duchess of Orléans was given to Helvise not because her husband was Duke of the province, "mais cela veut dire abusivement qu'il en estoit comme le principal et plus grand seigneur." He was seigneur of Broyes in Brie and of Beaufort in Champagne, and ancestor of the great families of Broyes and Châteauvillain: his origin is unknown. I have found no other mention of Dukes of Orléans at the period in question.

(31) A charter of the Abbey of Ronceray, rot. iii, piece 33, enumerates these wives: deploring that the Count, instead of restoring the vineyards left to the Abbey by his mother Hildegarde,—suis eas concubinis potius quam uxoribus dedit: Agneti primo, deinde Grecie, postea Adele comitis filie Odonis, item denuo Grecie, postremo Adelaidi Theutonice.

(32) *Etude Chronologique sur les comtes de Gatinais*, by J. Devaux, 1885; *De la suzeraineté des comtes d'Anjou sur le Gatinais*, by H. Stein, 1890—*Annales de la Soc. Hist. et Archeol. du Gâtinais*, tom. iii and viii.

(33) This statement is of course overthrown by the Notre Dame charter of 1026. It seems rather strange to deny that the ancestors of Fulk Rechin were Counts of Gâtinais, which it is absolutely certain that they were, and to affirm that they were only Vicomtes d'Orléans, which it is merely conjectural that they may have been.

(34) Here, besides notorious usage, he has even the *Gesta* against him. "Erat quidem" says the monk of Marmoutier "Landonensis castri sive Gastinensis pagi consul nomine Gaufridus."

The Counts of Anjou, 909—1060.

