

HOCHSTADEN

Public Succession in Ripuaria
of the High Middle Ages

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Donald C. Jackman

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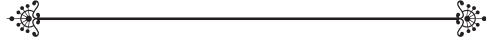
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Donald C. Jackman

— *Archive for Medieval Prosopography* —

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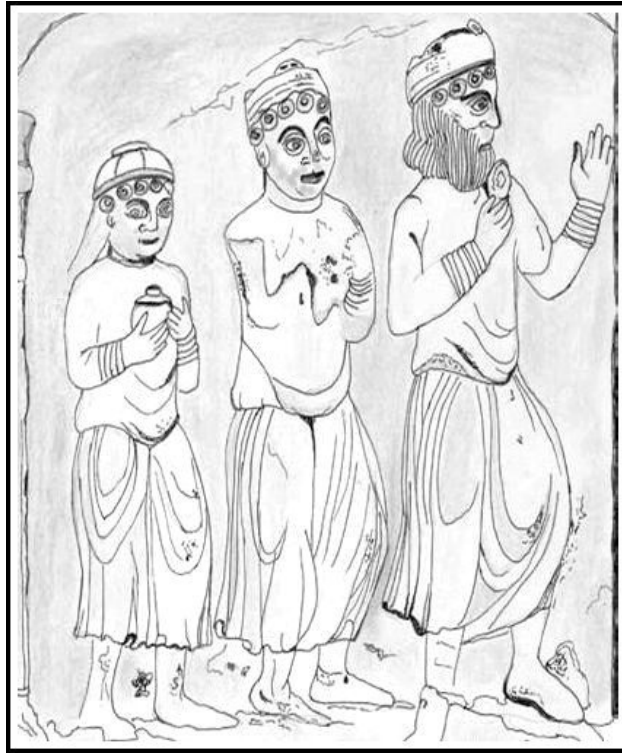
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The Three Magi of Knechtsteden (M. Marano)

I. THE FIRST COUNTS OF HOCHSTADEN IN PROFILE

Hochstaden castle was situated at a sharp bend in the river Erft on its meander north towards the Rhine confluence at Neuss. The original castle site was abandoned in the late thirteenth century, but the local population continued to refer to the artificial hill as “Husterknupp,” behind which appellation lies a vestige of the name Hochstaden. Archeological excavation offers an idea of the location’s development. The castle site came into being, like so many others, in consequence of the daring of Viking incursions during the later ninth century. In the eleventh century the castle consisted of a separately defensible summit above a large enclosure formed by ramparts of wood and packed earth surrounded by palisades. Transformation to stone construction took place in the second half of the twelfth century,¹ after the extinction of the first dynasty of counts to whom the present study is devoted.²

The location of Hochstaden does not assist in determining who originally built the castle, or even who held it during the tenth century. In the second decade of the eleventh century it is evident that a daughter of Count Gerhard II of Metz (*fl.* 999-1021) married Count Hermann (II) of Ruhrgau (*fl.* 999-1019). The counts of Hochstaden and several other regional dynasties appear to descend from that marriage.³ Gerhard II of Metz belonged to the Matfridinger lineage, which held counties in the general region of Hochstaden since at least the mid-ninth century,⁴ but withdrew to Upper Lorraine around this time. Hermann (II) of Ruhrgau belonged to the Ezzonen, a lineage that became preeminent in the general

¹ Herrnbradt, *Husterknupp*, 110-22.

² Studies of the first counts of Hochstaden have been sketchy and often defective. They include: Ledebur, *Dynastische Forschungen*, I, 2-4; Rahlenbeck, “Comtes de Hostade,” 238-42; Müller, “Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen,” 203-6; Möller, *Stamm-Tafeln*, I, 1; Kimpen, “Ezzonen und Hezeliniden,” 24-5; Horstkötter, *Hamborn*, 29-32; Kraus, *Entstehung*, 117.

³ Jackman, “Gerhard *Flamens* (I),” 13-35.

⁴ On the counties of Count Palatine Godfrey and his son see Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 173-5, 188-9. On the descent of the Matfridinger counts of Metz from him see Hlawitschka, *Anfänge*, 79-153.

region of Hochstaden around the middle of the tenth century.⁵ Either of those families could have preceded the Hochstaden line in possession of the castle.

The province in question was called Ripuaria and was understood as the German sphere of the lower Rhine. It is perhaps best known for producing a distinctive form of Frankish law preserved as a written code in the early middle ages. In Charlemagne's time, Ripuaria was perceived as a duchy that included the lands of Hattuarialia lying north of Cologne.⁶ This concept of a greater Ripuaria remains convenient for investigations touching the central and high middle ages. While the integrity of Ripuaria was not maintained in the treaty of Verdun (843), the province was restored in spirit when the Lotharingian kingdom was dismantled and its eastern components were incorporated into the early German kingdom. The term Ripuaria derives from Latin *ripa*, referring to the banks of the Rhine.

The dominance of the Ezzonen in Ripuaria was formalized in the last decades of the tenth century, when Hermann I revived the office of count palatine and his son Ezzo married Emperor Otto II's daughter Mathilde. The consolidated power of the Ezzonen continued well into the eleventh century, but ultimately began to fragment, a result of dynastic proliferation as well as transformation of aristocratic interconnections. While the successor dynasties clearly descended from the Ezzonen, the counts of Hochstaden are in one sense the 'odd man out'. The oft-quoted prologue to the annals of Rolduc does not mention Hochstaden among several Ripuarian dynasties descending from the *germani fratres* Gerhard and Rutger. Of that pair, it can be established with considerable precision that Gerhard († 1067), known by his epithet *Flamens*, was an agnatic Ezzoner, apparently a son—in all likelihood the eldest son—of Hermann (II) of Ruhrgau.⁷ He received the name Gerhard from his maternal grandfather Gerhard II of Metz and passed it down to a considerable number of Ripuarian dynasts.

⁵ Steinbach, "Ezzonen," 856-63; Lewald, "Ezzonen," 120-3. Count Hermann of Ruhrgau has been associated with the first advocate of Deutz by several historians including Gewin, *Herkunft*, 61-2, but that body of work has not survived the criticism of Baerten, "Note critique," 479-83, and Kluger, "*Propter claritatem*," 235-9.

⁶ Of the Hattuarialian *pagi* Ewig, "Civitas Ubiorum," 494-6, sees Ruhrgau as certainly a component of the duchy of Ripuaria, and Keldagau as a very probable component. We wish to add Düffel, the northernmost *pagus*, to this list; see n. 52 below.

⁷ Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 30. Jongbloed, "Flamenses," 57-130, appeared concomitantly and will be considered in Part Two of "*Gerhard Flamens*."

a. Princely Status and Its Evaporation

Count Gerhard I of Hochstaden (*fl.* 1072-96) can be identified as the eldest son of Gerhard *Flamens*. The sources and considerations leading to this inescapable conclusion have recently been presented in a study where vital primary source evidence has been rehabilitated.⁸ Gerhard *Flamens* never appears with the Hochstaden cognomen, but is provided with the cognomen of Wassenberg in the annals of Rolduc,⁹ which is a mid-twelfth century source and by no means authoritative in the matter of cognomens. It is unclear that Gerhard *Flamens* ever used a castle cognomen to identify himself. At the time of his death such cognomens had only just come into currency. They were not consistently applied until a much later time. By the same token, we may suppose that Gerhard *Flamens* had held the castle of Hochstaden, and that in addition to private estates Gerhard I of Hochstaden received directly from him the foundations of comital status in terms of *pagi* (geographical delimitations) with their seats of justice where the count would hold court, as well as *pertinentia*, the crown lands associated with comital office.

Some historians question whether the early Hochstadens were of comital status, but that is an unproductive line of inquiry.¹⁰ To the contrary, both Gerhard *Flamens* and Gerhard I of Hochstaden enjoyed a status above that of ordinary counts. Let us consider the evidence. The *Translatio sancti Servatii*, a narrative source from Maastricht, recounts how in 1076 a *princeps* named Gerhard received from the count of Namur (who was at that time functioning as interim duke of Lower Lorraine) a fief in the village of Echt on the right bank of the Meuse.¹¹ Beginning around this time there are several lower Rhenish Gerhards, but 1076 is too late for an identity with Gerhard *Flamens*, who died in 1067,¹² and it is too early for Count Gerhard I of Geldern, who marries and rises to the comital ranks in 1087.¹³

⁸ Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 2-8.

⁹ *Annales Rodenses* (MGH, SS XVI, 700).

¹⁰ Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 36-8.

¹¹ *Iocundi Translatio s. Servatii*, c. 78 (MGH, SS XII, 123).

¹² *Klostergemeinschaft*, I, 379.

¹³ The identity of Count Gerhard I of Jülich cannot immediately be ruled out, yet there is a general lack of support for such a conjecture. Early members of the Jülich dynasty are discussed by Kraus, *Jülich, Aachen und das Reich*, 18-19.

The *Translatio* goes on to explain how this *princeps* Gerhard seized the parish church at Echt, pretending to have rights there also, and could not be induced to return it to the collegiate church of Maastricht. Eventually an inquiry was held before the emperor at Aachen, and the nobles who were present rejected Gerhard's claim to the parish church.¹⁴ This did not prevent him from seizing it again at a later date. An imperial diploma from 1087 describes a renewed inquiry into Gerhard's invasion of the church of Echt. It recounts the details of the previous decision, renews the injunction, and prescribes further reparations. On this occasion the offender is referred to as Gerhard of Wassenberg.¹⁵

The Wassenberg cognomen is assigned to Gerhard *Flamens* in the annals of Rolduc, and in the early 1100s it was used several times by Gerhard I of Geldern,¹⁶ who built a cloister in the castle of Wassenberg, which he then allowed to pass in marriage portion to the counts of Limburg, from whom a seigneurial house of Wassenberg later descended.¹⁷ As stated, for chronological reasons the *princeps* Gerhard should not be either of those persons. Admittedly, the *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Trond mention the exploits of a Gerhard of Wassenberg in 1085, and he was undoubtedly Gerhard I of Geldern.¹⁸ Yet the use of the Wassenberg cognomen by both the Hochstaden and the Geldern at roughly the same time can be understood in the sense that the *Gesta*, written after the turn of the century, probably assigned the cognomen in hindsight.

There is no difficulty accepting Gerhard I of Hochstaden both as the *princeps* of the *Translatio sancti Servatii* and as the Gerhard of Wassenberg named in the imperial diploma of 1087. Wassenberg castle was close to Maastricht, and it probably served as the base from which Gerhard I conducted his oppression of the church of Echt. The diploma of 1087 probably applies the Wassenberg cognomen as appropriate to the given circumstances. It is also apparent, however, that despite continuity of the Hochstaden dynasty the castle and cognomen of Wassenberg were soon transferred to the related house of Geldern, perhaps even while Gerhard of Hochstaden was alive.

¹⁴ As n. 11 above.

¹⁵ MGH, D H IV 394.

¹⁶ Schiffer, *Grafen von Geldern*, 13-14.

¹⁷ Corsten, "Wassenberg," 9; Groten, "Stunde," 91.

¹⁸ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, I, 35 (III, 2), referring to Gerhard of Wassenberg and Goswin of Heinsberg as *duo comites* of the emperor, though Gerhard appears not to have been a count as yet.

Examples of separate families using the same castle cognomen at the same time are rare, but may still be discerned.¹⁹ Shared ownership of castles (so-called *Ganerbschaft*) occurred very frequently as a result of parts being included in marriage portions, and it is likely here that Gerhard I of Hochstaden and Gerhard I of Geldern owned Wassenberg castle in condominium, at least for a time. That the elder Gerhard should use the cognomen of Wassenberg alongside his more familiar Hochstaden cognomen is nothing remarkable. Circumstances then led him to relinquish properties held in condominium, leaving Gerhard of Geldern in sole possession of Wassenberg. Remarkably enough, the count of Geldern then founded a monastery within the castle walls, but cared so little for the entire location that he divested himself of it through the marriage gift of his daughter.

The Gerhard who received the fief of Echt in 1076 was a *princeps*, and this princely status is embodied in the office of *flaminius*, later documented for Gerhard I of Geldern, and in the epithet *Flamens*, which scholars have mistakenly attributed to Flemish extraction. The office is that of standard bearer of Cologne (*flamen* = ecclesiastical banner).²⁰ The *Translatio sancti Servatii* refers to the Gerhard of 1076 as *princeps*,²¹ which in this case corresponds to landgrave, a title applied to Gerhard I of Geldern in a diploma of 1098.²² Much earlier the office of standard bearer of Cologne was held by Liudolf, eldest son of Count Palatine Ezzo.²³ Sometime after Liudolf's death it evidently passed to his first cousin Gerhard *Flamens*. It is interesting to note that Liudolf and Gerhard *Flamens* shared the common denominator of dual Ezzoner and Matfridinger right, given that Liudolf was married to a woman of Matfridinger descent.²⁴

In the life of Gerhard I of Hochstaden the most significant detail was probably the creation of the counties of Geldern and Cleves, because these creations must have detracted considerably from his power. It is most probable that Gerhard I of Geldern became count in

¹⁹ The best known example is the use of the Ziegenhain cognomen by Frederick, a son of Landgrave Ludwig II of Thuringia († 1172); cf. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V, 711.

²⁰ Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 16-17.

²¹ As n. 11 above.

²² MGH, D H IV 459.

²³ *Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus*, c. 8: "Coloniensis archiepiscopi legionis signifer" (MGH, SS XIV, 130).

²⁴ His wife Mathilde was clearly a daughter of Otto of Hammerstein (see Jackman, *Konradiner*, 142 n. 237), whose mother Irmintrud was a granddaughter of the Matfridinger count palatine Godfrey.

1087, in which year he married Clementia of Poitiers, widow of Konrad I of Luxembourg and first cousin of Emperor Henry IV.²⁵ Dietrich I of Cleves, evidently a cognatic first cousin of the Hochstaden, would have received his county at this same time. We do not find documentation of the comital titles of Geldern and Cleves until the 1090s, but it is especially likely that the emperor ensured a suitable status to his new relative of Geldern, who had already distinguished himself in the imperial service both politically and militarily.²⁶

Conversely, in 1086 others from this province had performed abysmally in the imperial service. An imperial army was decisively defeated by pro-papal forces at Pleichfeld in eastern Franconia. The disorderly retreat of contingents from the dioceses of Cologne and Utrecht led to a rout, and an unusually opulent baggage train was captured by the enemy. The force of Cologne and Utrecht would have been led by the standard bearer of Cologne, in other words the *princeps* Gerhard. The penalty he paid for disastrous military performance seems to have been the forfeiture of a significant part of his comital jurisdiction in favor of cognatic relatives. In addition, the office of standard bearer of Cologne was taken from him and given to the count of Geldern. The emperor was assisted in this restructuring of the constitution by what can only be described as the timely death of Clementia's first husband.²⁷

b. Fortunes after 1086

Since he was not a defector to the papal side, Gerhard I of Hochstaden did not lose his position entirely. It is conceivable that he abdicated the office of standard bearer quite voluntarily, although the loss of influence in northern Ripuaria, and further north in Batavia, would initially have been sensed as a very bitter blow. Generally speaking his family did not suffer greatly. In 1089 his brother Hermann became archbishop of Cologne. One source describes Hermann as *dives*,²⁸ which is indicative of continuing wealth and status, though

²⁵ The correct identification of Clementia is discussed in Euler, "Eltern," 47-65.

²⁶ His activities in 1085 are recorded by the *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Trond, as n. 18 above.

²⁷ Konrad died in Palestine on 8 August 1086, and the rout at Pleichfeld occurred three days later; see Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 38-9.

²⁸ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* ad 1089, 39.

perhaps also of an unusually large sum of money paid in simony for the archiepiscopal office. Gerhard eventually made a vital contribution to the founding of the monastery of St. Maria Laach undertaken by Count Palatine Henry II, who was an imperial relative and fervent imperial supporter.

We do not know precisely when Gerhard I died. His son Gerhard II begins to document alongside him in the 1090s, but appears alone in the following decade. Gerhard II's career is not distinguished by events recorded in narrative sources. However, he experienced a return to prominence under Emperor Lothar of Supplinburg, who several times cites him among the *principes* of the realm.²⁹ That emperor was his relative via the Ezzonen.³⁰ To all intents and purposes the Hochstaden line became extinct at Gerhard II's death between 1136 and 1139.

Shortly after, Archbishop Arnold I of Cologne issued the foundation charter of Gerhard II's Premonstratensian monastery at Hamborn. The monastery and the estates with which he endowed it are remarkable in that they lay east of the Rhine and far to the north in relation to his castles of Hochstaden and Wickrath.³¹ The location appears to reflect his latent interest in the entire Ripuarian province. It was intended that advocacy for Hamborn should pass to whoever held Wickrath castle. That castle arrived to Otto of Are, husband of Gerhard II's daughter Adelheid, and was eventually handed to his younger son.³² Hochstaden castle likewise arrived to Otto of Are, but only after a decade of uncertainty.

c. The Hochstaden Family

Only a small handful of individuals are explicitly documented as members of the immediate Hochstaden family. They are as follows:

²⁹ MGH, D Loth III 14, 41, 58.

³⁰ Alberic of Troisfontaines, *Chronicon* ad 1037 (MGH, SS XXIII, 785): "Ottonem ducem Sueviae, de cuius linea descendit ille Lotharius dux Saxonum, qui fuit imperator." The reference is to Count Palatine Ezzo's son, who was probably childless.

³¹ Cf. Horstkötter, *Hamborn*, 38-41. The foundation charter provides a synopsis of an earlier document issued between June 1134 and December 1135; see Wolter, "Gründungszeit," 198-201.

³² Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 159.

- 1) Count Gerhard I;
- 2) his son, Count Gerhard II;
- 3) the elder Gerhard's brother, Archbishop Hermann III of Cologne;³³
- 4) Gerhard II's son Gerhard, who predeceased his father;³⁴
- 5) Gerhard II's daughter Adelheid, who brought a significant part of the Hochstaden inheritance to her husband Otto of Are.³⁵

In the generation of Gerhard II one or more churchmen might also affiliate. It can be established with considerable assurance that a brother of Gerhard *Flamens* was Count Siegfried (Sicco) of Bonngau,³⁶ but his name does not appear in later generations of the consanguinity. A Siegfried who is provost of St. Cassius Bonn (*fl.* 1103-15), where Gerhard I of Hochstaden seems to have been advocate,³⁷ is likely to affiliate here.³⁸ Similarly, Archbishop Hermann III's name is a preferred name for ecclesiastics among the Ezzonen and related families,³⁹ and Provost Hermann of St. Gereon Cologne (*fl.* 1104-26) belonged to a church where Gerhard *Flamens*' son Dietrich wished to be buried.⁴⁰ It must be stressed that various possibilities for affiliation exist, and for neither of these churchmen are there definitive grounds for affiliation with Hochstaden.

Gerhard *Flamens*' only explicitly affiliated son was Count Dietrich of Veluwe († 1082), who left the sons Gerhard and Goswin.⁴¹ We also know that Gerhard I of Geldern had a maternal uncle, Goswin I of Heinsberg, whose name and cognomen reappear among those

³³ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 250: "Gerhardo de Hostath fratre meo;" *ibid.*, 251: "laicis vero ipsius domini archipresulis fratre Gerardo eiusque filio Gerardo."

³⁴ *REK*, II, no. 195.

³⁵ *MGH*, D Ko III 186: "per manum Ottonis generi et heredis prenominati Gerardi [de Hostade]." Her name is provided in a document of 1183; *REK*, II, no. 1218. See also Gosses, "Knechtsteden," 46.

³⁶ Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 24-5.

³⁷ See below, p. 30.

³⁸ The name Siegfried was rare in Ripuaria, but it can enter the Hochstaden family not only from Siegfried of Bonngau, but also via Gerhard I's wife (cf. p. 14 below).

³⁹ Probably Archbishop Hermann I of Cologne was a close maternal relative of Count Erenfried; see Jackman, *Criticism*, 69, 147-8. Archbishop Hermann II was Count Palatine Ezzo's son, and Archbishop Hermann III was Gerhard I of Hochstaden's brother.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Chronique de Saint-Hubert*, 104-6. Groten, *Priorenkolleg*, 131, regards Provost Hermann of St. Gereon as the most energetic political opponent of Provost Siegfried's successor.

⁴¹ *Chronique de Saint-Hubert*, 106.

the Rolduc annals cite as descending from the *fratres* Gerhard and Rutger.⁴² This strongly implies that the sons of Gerhard *Flamens* included Goswin I of Heinsberg. That Gerhard *Flamens* married a woman of the Goswinid family of eastern Franconia is suggested by the presence of a Goswin in Queen Richiza of Poland's Brauweiler charters, alongside her advocates Count Palatine Henry I, Gerhard *Flamens*, and Count Sicco of Bonngau.⁴³

A daughter of Gerhard *Flamens* would be Gerhard of Geldern's mother, a conclusion supported by extensive inferential data.⁴⁴ It is also reasonable to infer a daughter who marries Count Ludwig I of Arnstein. The reconstruction of the Arnstein relationship also furnishes Provost Henry of St. Maria ad gradus Cologne (*fl.* 1080-91) as a further son of Gerhard *Flamens*.⁴⁵ Our attention will focus primarily on the immediate family of Gerhard I of Hochstaden. We shall provide the identity of his wife and affiliate a daughter and further son, details of crucial importance in determining the manner in which succession law was applied to the Hochstaden inheritance. The identity of Gerhard II's wife, conversely, is difficult to deduce and will not concern us.

d. Notes on Ripuaria Comital Geography

The Ripuarian province consisted of several *pagi* associated with comital titles. It appears that the number of titles never changed, except when one individual held more than one title. It is impossible to know exactly when and how this system of unitary comital titles solidified. It is nevertheless appropriate to project the titles onto the *pagi*. In other words, we can identify the *pagi* that maintained an administrative presence, and we can endeavor to follow the successions of counts associated with them. In theory the division into *pagi* covered the entire province.

The *pagi* most relevant to the counts of Hochstaden were left-Rhenish.⁴⁶ In the south lay Ahrgau and Bonngau, with the Rhine as their eastern border, and to their west lay

⁴² As n. 9 above.

⁴³ *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch*, pt. 1, no. 95; Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 20-1.

⁴⁴ Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 2-13.

⁴⁵ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 259-61.

⁴⁶ On the left-Rhenish Ripuarian *pagi* in general see Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 74-89, 164-93.

Zülpichgau and the so-called *Sunderscas* or *comitatus nemoris*.⁴⁷ These counties were bordered to the northwest by Jülichgau. A noteworthy feature was that Zülpichgau was neighbored to the south by Eifelgau, but a union of these two *pagi* under one count was strictly maintained. The successions in Zülpichgau and Jülichgau involved the counts of Are and Jülich respectively and will not concern us.

North of Bonngau and east of Jülichgau lay Kölngau. At a fairly early point in time, probably in the tenth century, Kölngau was placed under the suzerainty of the archbishop of Cologne. It appears that through a division into sub-*pagi*, this region furnished two or three comital titles, one of which belonged to the cathedral advocate.⁴⁸ North of Jülichgau and Kölngau lay a region called Hattuaria, which was an integral part of Ripuarria under Louis the Pious and is included in our conception of the general Ripuarrian province. The southernmost of the left-Rhenish *pagi* of Hattuarria was Mühlgau, north of which lay Keldagau. The northernmost Hattuarrian *pagus* was Düffel.

Ripuarrian lands east of the Rhine were much less extensive, and only three *pagi* can be discerned. In the south lay Avelgau, and opposite Cologne lay Deutzgau. Further north there was the *pagus* of Ruhrgau. In each case there are problems with the conception of comital geography, whether raised by historical criticism or defined by relevant historical information. While Ruhrgau may simply be accepted as the right-Rhenish region facing left-Rhenish Keldagau, the concept of Ruhrgau has been debated at some length.⁴⁹ Since the region was undoubtedly of great importance to the palatine office, we shall not raise doubts here regarding its integral status. Deutzgau presents a somewhat different problem in that neither the *pagus* nor the exercise of comital jurisdiction within it is documented in a respectable way.⁵⁰ The problem posed by Avelgau is simply that unlike other Ripuarrian *pagi* once held by the Konradiner, it remained integrated with the Hessian sphere until transferred to the Ezzonen in the late tenth century.⁵¹

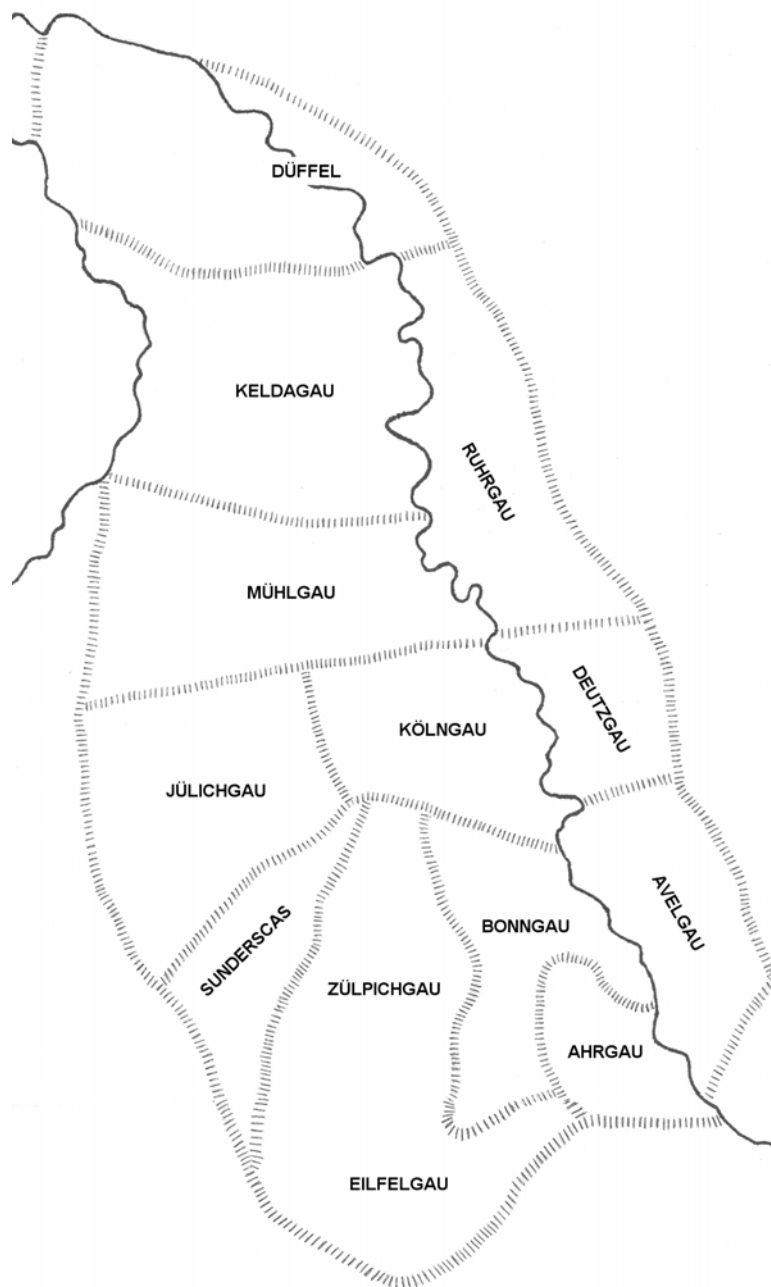
⁴⁷ The linguistic analysis by Kaspers, "Sunderscas," 373-6, includes reference to an Old High German gloss *suntarscaz* = 'peculium' (cf. Steinmeyer/Sievers, *Glossen*, I, 287, 322, 328, 460).

⁴⁸ See Jackman, "Archiepiscopal Counts."

⁴⁹ See Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 79-81.

⁵⁰ Lück, "In pago Tuizichgowe," 1-9.

⁵¹ Jackman, *Criticism*, 165 n. 20, suggesting 992 as the date of the transfer.



MAP – *Theoretical comital geography of Ripuaria* (extrapolated from Bauer, *Gaue*) – The *pagi* are clear geographical concepts, but do not necessarily have finite boundaries. They are best perceived as zones. Their absolute separation from each other may only have existed at one particular point in time. Their continuity was unaffected by reapportionment.

In most cases these *pagi* retained their names over many decades. The names were derived from towns, rivers, or other noteworthy features. Ahrgau and Ruhrgau derived their names from the rivers Ahr and Ruhr. Zülpichgau, Bonngau, Jülichgau, Kölngau, Deutzgau and Keldagau derived their names from towns existing since antiquity. In the far north, Düffel appears to derive its name from Latin *duplus* = ‘twofold’,⁵² reflecting the circumstance that it straddled the Rhine, whereas the *pagi* to its south—Keldagau and Ruhrgau—were divided from each other by the Rhine. The derivations of the names Avelgau and Mühlgau are unknown. Eifelgau derives from a preexisting geographical name, the etymology of which is obscure.

Although the *pagi* originally constituted an orderly means of apportioning regional jurisdiction, there was perhaps never any intention of upholding absolute boundaries in every instance. For one reason or another it would seem expedient to take a location that lay within the general confines of one *pagus* and place it in another. This might appear desirable on account of the configuration of estates owned or administered by a count. Reciprocity between *pagi* would have occurred early in developments. When installing counts, the monarch may sometimes have found opportunity to pursue political objectives when defining the configuration of locations.⁵³ We shall follow the principle that a count named for a location within the confines of a particular *pagus* was count of that *pagus*. In a few cases the principle may be applied incorrectly, but such errors do not necessarily have a negative impact on the reconstruction of successions.

Beginning around the middle of the eleventh century, counts and other dynasts used castle cognomens to identify themselves. As this practice advanced, documentation of the *pagus* becomes less prevalent. These were not mutually dependent trends; rather, castle cognomens were fashionable, and the *pagus* was meanwhile losing its significance through fragmentation and reapportionment. By the twelfth century essentially the count was

⁵² The references are to places *in pago Dublensi*, *in pago Dubla*, *in pago Tubalgouue*. Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 82-3, who rejects a posited etymology ‘duofluuius’ from twin arms of the Rhine, is clear on the association of this *pagus* with Hattuaria as opposed to the Batavian region to the west.

⁵³ A striking exemplification is Wellmich, a Hessian locality on the right bank of the Rhine in the *pagus* of Einrich, but in 1042 said to be in the county of a certain Berthold, who holds the left-Rhenish county of Maienfeld; see Jackman, *Criticism*, 166 n. 24. This situation is to some degree typical of circumstances further downriver in Bonn- and Ahrgau.

identified by the cognomen, while the *pagus* continued to furnish the comital title. The cognomen would usually remain the same even when the *pagus* administered by the count in question was changed for some reason. Or the cognomen might change even if the *pagus* remained the same. Direct correspondence between the location of a principal castle and the *pagus* administered by its possessor was sometimes fortuitous. Eventually fragments of jurisdiction coalesced through dynastic consolidation, and new courts sprang up to serve the growing population.⁵⁴ By the thirteenth century only vestiges of the system of *pagi* remained.

⁵⁴ A vital observation by Groten, "Stunde," 76, is that the seats of justice were where the comital power was most manifest, and for this reason they had a tendency to survive the constitutional transformation that took place in this era, albeit in often greatly altered form.

II. THE LAACH CONNECTION

Cognatic relationships of the counts of Hochstaden are documented in two cases, which we shall now investigate. The most significant would have been their tie with Count Palatine Henry of Laach († 1095), which, though fully apparent, is unclear with regard to its precise nature. We can approach this question by addressing their well-documented consanguinity with the family of Bishop John of Speyer.

a. The Zeisolf-Wolframs

In his foundation charter for the monastery of Sinsheim, Bishop John of Speyer (1090-1104) refers to Archbishop Hermann III of Cologne—that is, Gerhard I of Hochstaden’s brother—as his *consanguineus*.⁵⁵ Bishop John was the last of the senior line of the Zeisolf-Wolfram dynasty, which held counties in Wormsfeld, Craichgau and elsewhere in southern Franconia and is traceable back to the mid-tenth century.⁵⁶ The last count of this line was John’s elder brother Zeisolf IV, who died in 1072 leaving two daughters. The father of Zeisolf and John was Count Wolfram II. The sources do not provide the family with a castle cognomen, but we know that the middle Rhenish counts of Sponheim were intimately related. In all probability, Wolfram’s brother was Siegfried of Sponheim, and it is equally likely that the middle Rhenish line of the Sponheims descended from Siegfried, in addition to the explicitly documented Carinthian line.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*, I, no. 70: “videlicet in anniversario consanguineorum meorum, Herimanni Coloniensis archiepiscopi, nec non Wolframmi patris mei [...]” The necrologies of Speyer, which include Archbishop Hermann, also record a brother of Bishop John named Wolfram; see Grafen, “Spuren,” 409-10.

⁵⁶ For their origins see Witte, “Grafen von Spanheim,” 216-21; Baldes, *Untergrafen*, 41-4; Gugumus, “Speyerer Bischöfe,” 45-57; Jackman, “Meingaud-Walaho,” 13-14, 72-5.

⁵⁷ Jackman, “Position,” 279-82.

The name of Bishop John's mother was Adela. In the annals of Speyer she is described as *soror Heinrici senioris*. These annals, written long after the fact, identify *Heinricus senior* as Emperor Henry IV, but are self-contradictory on that point. In no sense could Henry IV be construed as *Heinricus senior* in contradistinction to Emperor Henry III, and he was by no means a minor (*dum puer erat*) when he gave John the bishopric of Speyer.⁵⁸ One can speculate, however, that the annalist possessed a notice that John's mother Adela was sister of a *Heinricus senior*.⁵⁹ He then proceeded to incorporate the information as best he could, leaving transparent indications that his inferences were not well founded.

A chronologically suitable *Heinricus senior* is the elder Count Palatine Henry († *post* 1060). He was, moreover, a cousin of the emperors.⁶⁰ The peculiar advantage of identifying Adela as his sister is that as such she is likely to have been adopted into the imperial family at the early death of her father, Count Hezilo of Zülpichgau, father of Count Palatine Henry I.⁶¹ In this event she can be construed as adoptive sister of Emperor Henry IV, thus as one who could reasonably be described as that emperor's *soror*.

Significant confirmation is available for this inference of Adela's palatine affiliation. The Zeisolf-Wolfram family held comital jurisdiction in Craichgau, a south Franconian *pagus* that subsequently came to the counts of Katzenelnbogen.⁶² In seeking to explain the

⁵⁸ *Annales Spirenses* (MGH, SS XVII, 82): "Heinricus senior contulit filio sororis sue episcopatum Spirensis dum puer erat." Generally on Bishop John see Heidrich, "Bischöfe und Bischofskirche," 204-14.

⁵⁹ Kimpen, "Ezzonen und Hezeliniden," 65, who conflates the Hochstaden connections of Bishop John and Count Palatine Henry II, identifies Adela as a sister of Henry of Laach, but does not explain how Henry became *Heinricus senior*. He suggested that the wife of Hezilo was a daughter of Empress Gisela in her marriage with Duke Ernst of Swabia, but later recognized that as erroneous. His second reconstruction (see note following) does not supply an intimate imperial relationship, although we shall maintain here that it is correct. On the problem of Adela's affiliation in general see Grafen, *Forschungen*, 261-72.

⁶⁰ Kimpen, "Ezzonische Verwandtschaft," 193, views his mother as a daughter of Duke Konrad I of Carinthia; see further n. 96 below.

⁶¹ Parallels among other orphaned relatives of the Salian emperors include two daughters of Duke Frederick II of Upper Lorraine. *Chronicon Sancti Michaelis monasterii in pago Virdunensis*, c. 32 (MGH, SS IV, 30-1): "cunctis morbo absumptis, duce Tiedrico, filio eius et filio filii, exceptis duabus puellulis Sophya et Beatrice, quae nutribantur in aula regis, nam coniunx imperatoris, amita earum, eas sibi adoptaverat in filias."

⁶² Wolfram in Craichgau (from 1046 to 1056): MGH, D H III 173, 219, 370; Zeisolf in neighboring Elsenzgau: MGH, D H IV 186 (from 1067?). Berthold (I) of Katzenelnbogen (1157, 1179): *Regesten der Grafen von Katzenelnbogen*, 75-6 (nos. 34, 43).

Craichgau succession in terms of inherited right, palatine descent can account for the name Henry, which swiftly appears among the Katzenelnbogens.⁶³ It is sometimes asserted that Craichgau rights passed via Hildegard of Henneberg, wife of Henry II of Katzenelnbogen, her mother being a sister of Count Berthold of Lindenfels, who had some estates in the region and is last sighted in 1136.⁶⁴ Proof that this Berthold held Craichgau jurisdiction is lacking, however, and only personal right of lineal descent is likely to have brought the Hessian so far south.⁶⁵

More importantly, the Katzenelnbogens' palatine background is understood from a report in the royal annals of Cologne regarding Count Hermann of Stahleck's palatine installment in 1142/3. This Hermann was a son of Liutgard of Gladbach from her second marriage with Count Goswin of Stahleck. The royal annals of Cologne describe Hermann as *frater*—in this instance half-brother—of Henry II of Katzenelnbogen,⁶⁶ Liutgard of Gladbach's son from an earlier marriage.⁶⁷ They describe Hermann of Stahleck in this manner, even though his relationship with King Konrad III, whose sister was Hermann's wife, was infinitely more pertinent to the motivations behind his palatine installment. The annals then proceed to mention hostilities that immediately broke out between Hermann and a rival palatine claimant, Otto of Rheineck. Despite his comparative obscurity, therefore, Henry II of Katzenelnbogen was highly relevant to these circumstances because he had a palatine claim of his own, which in the lineal sense was superior to that of his half-brother.

Identification of Adela as Count Palatine Henry I's sister will allow Bishop John to be related with Archbishop Hermann III as second cousin via the Ezzonen, for we understand that Gerhard *Flamens*, inferable father of Gerhard I of Hochstaden, was a son of Hezilo of

⁶³ Accordingly, Diether I of Katzenelnbogen must have married one of the daughters of Count Zeisolf, necessarily Jutta, since Adelheid married a count of Tübingen; see *Germania Pontificia* II/1, 210-11. Diether I's son was Henry I.

⁶⁴ Demandt, "Anfänge," 26-7. Henry II of Katzenelnbogen first appears with comital title in a document of 1138; *Regesten der Grafen von Katzenelnbogen*, 72 (no. 11). A previous count in Craich-, Elsenz- and Enzzgau was Bruno, documented in Bishop John's charter of 1100 (as n. 55 above).

⁶⁵ The Hessian roots of the Katzenelnbogens are well understood and now further solidified in Jackman, "Hessian Heirs," 40-1.

⁶⁶ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* ad 1142, at 82: "Rex quoque Herimannum fratrem Heinrici de Kazenelinboche palatinum constituit."

⁶⁷ Liutgard's Gladbach identity and Katzenelnbogen marriage are recorded in her deed to Siegburg; *Urkunden und Quellen*, I, no. 19 (from 1102).

Zülpichgau's inferable brother.⁶⁸ Archbishop Hermann III should not, and according to every appearance does not, affiliate with Hezilo himself. Affiliation with Hezilo would provide an especially close relationship with Bishop John. Yet Archbishop Hermann is described with the term 'consanguineus' rather than with 'nepos', the customary word for close consanguineal relatives.

b. The Counts Palatine

Count Gerhard I of Hochstaden bore a significant relationship with Count Palatine Henry II, who in historical literature is regularly provided with the cognomen of Laach. This Henry founded the renowned Benedictine monastery of St. Maria Laach and donated his principal castle for that purpose.⁶⁹ Half the estates of Laach were actually owned by Gerhard of Hochstaden and donated to this pious undertaking.⁷⁰ Clearly Henry and Gerhard were related. It would be precipitous to cite this evidence as confirmation of Bishop John of Speyer's affiliation with a sister of Count Palatine Henry I, however. The precise connection between the two Counts Palatine Henry must remain indeterminate for the time being. While a resolution of that issue is within reach, we should first give separate consideration to the evidence of the Laach foundation.

Two details suggest an especially intimate connection between Gerhard I of Hochstaden and Henry of Laach. First, Gerhard's willingness to part with his Laach estates to assist Henry's foundation in that location seems significant. Since he is already inferred as being Henry's relative via the Ezzonen, an especially intimate connection can only have been formed by his wife (since the illegality of marriages in degrees closer than 3:3 rules out the possibility of very close blood relationship). This then conforms to the term 'consanguineus' applied to Archbishop Hermann III's relationship with Bishop John of Speyer: the term

⁶⁸ That is, Count Hermann (II) of Ruhrgau (*fl.* 1019).

⁶⁹ Wegeler, *Kloster Laach*, I, 1-15; Resmini, *Benediktinerabtei*, 90-101.

⁷⁰ *UB Mittelrhein*, I, no. 506: "dimidium mansum et dimidiam partem lacus a Gerardo comite donatam" (bull of Pope Innocent II, 1139). *Kalendarium defunctorum*, in Wegeler, *Kloster Laach*, II, 122: "III nonas Iulii: Gerardus comes de Hostade qui dedit ecclesie nostre dimidietatem laci. dantur etiam ex parte sua V sol. andernac. in Wadenhem. vacat." Cf. Richter, "Schriftsteller," 79; Volk, "Stifter," 257 n. 5.

does not suggest close relationship. If they were not intimately related, why would Bishop John include Archbishop Hermann in a commemoration of his closest family? The marriage of the archbishop's brother to the bishop's sister provides an explanation. If Gerhard I of Hochstaden's sons were Bishop John's nephews, then Archbishop Hermann could be construed as a family member to all intents and purposes—for it should be emphasized that Bishop John's family was on the verge of extinction..

In these circumstances it is reasonable to conclude that Henry of Laach was a nephew of Count Palatine Henry I. That is of course the obvious solution, given that Henry of Laach succeeded Henry I's son Hermann II as count palatine,⁷¹ but was not Hermann II's brother. Moreover, we can identify Henry of Laach's father as Count Hermann (III) of Avelgau, documented in 1068.⁷² He had sons and was Count Palatine Henry I's direct successor as advocate of the Ezzonen-associated monastery of Kornelimünster.⁷³ His *pagus* had hitherto been the center of Count Palatine Henry I's power.⁷⁴ It is appropriate to regard Hermann (III) as Henry I's brother. Inferable connections between the counts of Hochstaden and the persons commemorated by Bishop John are shown in *Figure 1*.

c. Henry of Northeim

The inferred marriage between Gerhard I of Hochstaden and Bishop John of Speyer's sister brings many further relatives into consideration, especially from the Laach side of the equation, since those relationships were capable of carrying Ezzoner rights and therefore of modifying the position of the counts of Hochstaden in Ripuarian affairs. Our first task is to determine how the palatine office passed after Henry of Laach died in 1095. Henry adopted his Saxon stepson Siegfried of Ballenstedt, but his vast inheritance was distributed among

⁷¹ See e.g. Van Droogenbroek, "Paltsgraaf Herman II," 47-50, 56-7.

⁷² MGH, D H IV 204, following the suggestion by Gensicke, *Landesgeschichte*, 152. This documentation is unlikely to concern Count Palatine Hermann II, who is accorded the palatine title in the *in comitatu* formula of other documents (see n. 109 below); cf. Kimpen, "Ezzonen und Hezeliniden," 16.

⁷³ The two Hermanns appear alongside each other in MGH, D H IV 127. The advocate of Kornelimünster, who is not count palatine, witnesses together with his sons (*et filii eius*). On the succession of advocates see Kuhn, *Reichsabtei*, 56-8.

⁷⁴ Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 35 n. 107; Lewald, "Ezzonen," 155..

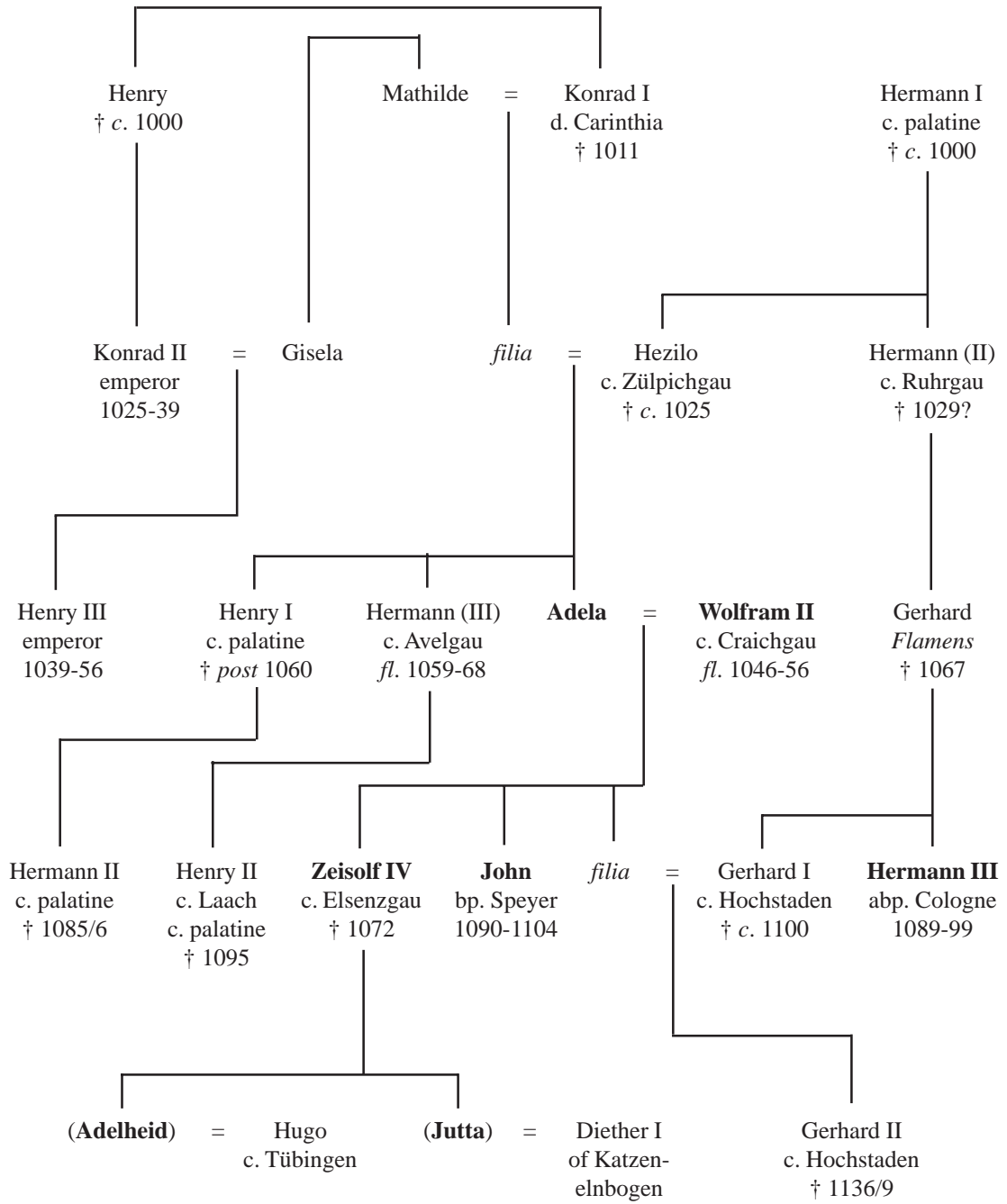


Fig. 1: Bishop John of Speyer's Commemoration

many more persons. Although Siegfried documents as count palatine from 9 November 1099 onwards,⁷⁵ in our opinion he was not Henry of Laach's immediate successor.

Documentation of Count Palatine Henry III

Following Kimpen, the immediate palatine successor must have been Henry III, a person otherwise well known as Count Henry "the Fat" of Northeim.⁷⁶ Doubts were cast on this finding by Wisplinghoff, however, who maintained that this count palatine named Henry is not recorded in historical documentation.⁷⁷ Of his three attestations in the sources, one is found in an irrelevant forgery.⁷⁸ A second presents certain irregularities opening it to suspicion regarding the date.⁷⁹ The third item definitely shows a Count Palatine Henry in the emperor's company between 6 January and 14 April 1099.⁸⁰ Yet the *terminus post quem* of 6 January is provided by Henry V's royal coronation, and since the document was prepared in 1103 and looks back on past events, it is conceivable that Henry V's royal title was applied anachronistically.⁸¹

Despite these observations, we are under no obligation to follow Wisplinghoff. A revision to the tenor of the third document is merely a possible course of action, not necessarily a recommended one. The alternative is simply to accept the document and credit the existence of Count Palatine Henry III. And with all due caution, the evidence should be accepted, unless such a person can be shown not to have existed. That is far from the case, for the Northeim identity of Count Palatine Henry III is manifest from the relationships of subsequent counts palatine and conforms closely to a variety of chronological considerations.

⁷⁵ Gerstner, *Pfalzgrafschaft*, 54.

⁷⁶ Kimpen, "Ezzonen und Hezeliniden," 25-6, 28-30; for biographical information see Lange, "Stellung," 79-88. The identification of Count Palatine Henry III had otherwise been made with Henry of Limburg, and this view was espoused by Gerstner, *Pfalzgrafschaft*, 53-6; but Henry of Limburg is not provided with a Ripuarian relevance, nor any form of Ezzoner descent or relationship by marriage.

⁷⁷ Wisplinghoff, "Reihenfolge," 290-3.

⁷⁸ *UB Mittelrhein*, I, no. 392, witness list drawn from a document of 1085.

⁷⁹ *Urkunden und Quellen*, I, no. 17.

⁸⁰ MGH, D H IV 476. The *terminus ante quem* is established as the date of the murder of Bishop Konrad of Utrecht, who appears at the gathering in question.

⁸¹ Wisplinghoff, "Reihenfolge," 293.

From Palatinate to Frisian Mark

The relevance of the Northeim line is immediately evident in Henry of Northeim's daughter Gertrud, who married first Henry of Laach's stepson and adopted son Siegfried, then Otto of Rheineck, son of Hermann of Salm.⁸² Both husbands of Gertrud eventually became count palatine. On the basis of Henry of Northeim's palatine documentation, however, it is reasonable to infer that Siegfried did not receive the palatine office until Gertrud reached marriageable age and her father abdicated the office to him. Presumably this took place in 1099.

Thus Henry of Northeim stands at the center of clustered palatine rights and may well have held the palatine office; for although he was the most powerful man in Saxony,⁸³ he did not otherwise hold higher office. There is an obvious explanation, furthermore, for his abdication of the palatinate around 1099. It was then that he received the mark of Frisia.⁸⁴ He traded one higher office for another. In Frisia he was undoubtedly installed by the right of his wife Gertrud. The Frisian office had been assigned to Bishop Konrad of Utrecht after her brother Ekbert II's forfeiture in 1089, but the bishop's assassination now left it vacant. It is hardly coincidental that the Frisian title passed to Henry of Northeim concomitant with the emergence of his daughter's husband as count palatine.

d. The Ezzoner Heiress Richenza

Above all, Henry of Northeim appears to possess a superlative claim to the palatinate. The basis of Northeim right clearly resided with his mother Richenza,⁸⁵ whose name occurs, in

⁸² Kimpen, "Ezzonen und Hezeliniden," 28-9. See *Annalista Saxo* ad 1082 (MGH, SS VI, 721); *Annales Stadenses* ad 1144 (MGH, SS XVI, 326); *Annales Egmundani* ad 1143 (MGH, SS XVI, 455).

⁸³ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon universale* ad 1103 (MGH, SS VI, 225).

⁸⁴ Lange, "Stellung," 87, suggests Christmas 1099 as the date of installment.

⁸⁵ *Annalista Saxo* ad 1082 (MGH, SS VI, 720-1): "Rodulfus comes natus de Westfalia ex loco qui dicitur Werla, frater Gisle inperatricis, genuit filium nomine Herimannum, qui duxit uxorem nomine Richenzam, genuitque ex illa predictam Odam [...]. Matrem autem predictae Ode post obitum comitis Herimanni duxerat uxorem Otto de Northeim quondam dux, genuitque ex ea preclarissimos viros Heinricum Crassum comitem [...]."

either the diminutive form or the full form Richwara, in several generations of the Ezzonen.⁸⁶ It is not immediately apparent which Ezzoner branch this Richenza belonged to, but her sons included Henry and Konrad, names that strongly suggest Salian background and junior Ezzoner affiliation.

In theory the names Henry and Konrad could have entered from the senior Ezzonen, via a sister of Duke Otto II of Swabia. Yet it is unlikely that Richenza belongs anywhere in the senior Ezzoner line, where Duke Konrad of Bavaria's fatal rebellion of 1053-5 put a damper on prospects for succession to higher offices. Nor are there likely positions for senior Ezzoner affiliation, for (a) despite scholars' inclination towards Richenza's affiliation with Duke Otto of Swabia († 1047), that person appears never to have married;⁸⁷ (b) Queen Richiza of Poland's son Casimir, though a westerner by upbringing and longtime resident in Germany, renounced all claim to his maternal inheritance;⁸⁸ (c) the Saxon dynasty of Goseck descended cognatically from a sister of Duke Otto and Queen Richiza,⁸⁹ but the palatinate would have passed to a member of that family if Richenza had affiliated in it. She must affiliate in the junior line of the Ezzonen, where the palatine office was lodged after 1045.

Chronological Concerns

Richenza's chronology suggests that she belonged in the generation of Count Palatine Henry I. Much is known of the descendants of her first marriage with the Westphalian count Hermann of Werl. Their daughter Oda († 1101) married Margrave Udo II of Nordmark, whose five children are mentioned by Annalista Saxo and Albert of Stade.⁹⁰ The key to chronology is Oda's daughter Adelheid, whose first husband Frederick of Putelendorf (Goseck) died in 1085. Thus Adelheid may have been born around 1070, but hardly much later. Her mother Oda cannot have been born much later than 1055. And Richenza's birth

⁸⁶ Richwara, inferable mother of Count Palatine Hermann I; Richwara, his inferable sister who married Margrave Leopold I of Austria (see Jackman, "Ezzo's Chess Match," 32-4); Queen Richiza of Poland.

⁸⁷ Lewald, "Ezzonen," 143.

⁸⁸ Lewald, "Ezzonen," 145-6.

⁸⁹ The descent of Goseck from a daughter of Count Palatine Ezzo is well documented; see Jackman, "Ezzo's Chess Match," 42-4.

⁹⁰ Annalista Saxo ad 1082 (MGH, SS VI, 720-1). *Annales Stadenses* ad 1144 (MGH, SS XVI, 326) mentions six. Cf. Leidinger, *Untersuchungen*, 118-19; Hucke, *Grafen von Stade*, 29-39.

cannot occur long after 1040—this assuming, in the most conservative manner possible, that each daughter is the eldest child and marries very soon after reaching childbearing age. Richenza's birthdate is placed at very latest around the time of Count Palatine Henry's marriage, which is established as taking place after 1038.⁹¹

A child born of Henry in 1040 would certainly have been his eldest. Richenza's affiliation in this manner would be conceivable, were it not for the testimony of the *Chronicon Gozecense* that Frederick of Putelendorf was already married four years at the time of his assassination on 5 February 1085.⁹² This knowledge was well within the ken of the Goseck historian, who wrote in the 1130s, and the report need not be questioned. Accordingly, the birthdate of Richenza must be placed, even by conservative estimate, before the marriage of Count Palatine Henry I. One can still arrive at the affiliation with Henry by reducing the estimated age of childbearing from fifteen years to thirteen, but one must reduce this estimate not for one woman, but for three. A small amount of room is theoretically available for Richenza's affiliation with Hezilo's first-born daughter, but the estimated birthdates point strongly towards her affiliation as Hezilo's daughter as opposed to granddaughter.

Arguments Favoring Junior Ezzoner Affiliation

For Richenza, conditionally affiliated in the Laach line on the basis of chronology and the palatine successions of her descendants, we can assemble various supportive arguments. The names of her children Henry, Konrad, Mathilde and Ida provide eloquent testimony of the Laach line's Salian and Konradiner background. Richenza was married twice, and remarkably the name Henry appears prominently in both lines of descendants. In her first marriage with the Westphalian count Hermann of Werl she left only the daughter Oda, who married Margrave Udo II of the Saxon Nordmark. Their eldest son was Henry. When Hermann died Richenza married Otto of Northeim, and their eldest son was also Henry.⁹³ In each case the name was present in the background of both parents, but a direct derivation from

⁹¹ Henry I married Mathilde of Verdun after the death of her first husband Count Sigibodo, who was still alive in 1038; see Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 24-5; further discussion of Mathilde's chronology in Lewald, "Ezzonen," 161-4.

⁹² *Chronicon Gozecense* I, 15, at 23-4.

⁹³ See n. 90 above.

Hezilo (= Henry), Richenza's inferable father, explains both instances. The recurrence of the name also speaks for Richenza's relationship with the Salian emperors.

Count Palatine Henry I's Salian descent is well known, though not with regard to the specifics.⁹⁴ The names of Richenza's children suggest that her mother was a daughter of the Salian duke Konrad I of Carinthia and his Konradiner wife Mathilde. This accounts for the names Konrad and Mathilde, but also the name Ida, which could pass from an aunt of the Konradiner Mathilde.⁹⁵ The objects of inheritance passing from the Konradiner along this path should include advocacy of Limburg on the Lahn, a collegiate church founded by Konrad Kurzbold in 910. Presumably the senior Eberhardine line of the Konradiner would have maintained this advocacy rigorously, meaning that it would have passed via Mathilde, who was the senior heiress. Subsequently the church at Limburg appears to have an intimate connection with Count Palatine Henry I.⁹⁶

Objects of inheritance passing down the palatine line include the Mosellan castle of Cochem. Queen Richiza of Poland gave Cochem to Count Palatine Henry I in 1056, intending that it should pass among his lineal heirs.⁹⁷ Only Gertrud of Norheim can have transmitted those rights to Cochem's subsequent proprietors. The castle is documented in the hands of her son Count Palatine William,⁹⁸ who also held other property in that region.⁹⁹ The mechanism of inheritance can be discerned without difficulty. Henry of Laach adopted his wife's son Siegfried of Ballenstedt, a grandson of the Konradiner Mathilde. But to secure rights to

⁹⁴ See n. 60 above.

⁹⁵ The name Ida also occurred in a daughter of Count Palatine Ezzo. The derivation leads from the mother of Duke Hermann I of Swabia († 949) down through both the Ezzonen and the Konradiner; see Jackman, "Hessian Heirs," 6, 12, 18, 22.

⁹⁶ An oratory at Limburg was founded by a Count Henry and consecrated in 1058; see Schenk zu Schweinsberg, "Bleireliquiar," 17-26. The count palatine's connection with Limburg is evident after the death of Henry of Laach, whose widow Adelheid donated to Limburg in the memory, not of the newly deceased, but of her previous husband, Henry I's son Hermann II; *Quellen zur Geschichte der Klöster und Stifte*, I, nos. 9, 11. This distinction is important, because Adelheid herself descended from the Konradiner Mathilde, hence her son Siegfried, who gives permission for the donation, was able to inherit without regard for his relationship as Henry of Laach's adoptive son.

⁹⁷ *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch*, pt. 1, no. 96.

⁹⁸ *UB Mittelrhein*, I, nos. 469, 490.

⁹⁹ *UB Mittelrhein*, I, no. 490, William's donations to the Mosellan collegiate church of Springiersbach, including the adjacent Contelwald forest.

the palatine portion of the inheritance Siegfried needed to marry an heiress. That heiress was Gertrud, whose palatine descent undoubtedly ran via her paternal grandmother Richenza. In all likelihood, therefore, Richenza was Henry of Laach's aunt.

Several other Northeim relatives are associated with rights deriving from the Laach family via the counts of Northeim. Attention should focus on Henry of Northeim's sister Mathilde, who married the Westphalian count Konrad of Arnsberg.¹⁰⁰ Their son Frederick († 1124) appears to hold of the archbishop of Cologne the advocacy for the monastery of Siegburg.¹⁰¹ The significance of Siegburg is that it was originally the principal castle of Count Palatine Henry I, who ceded it to Archbishop Anno of Cologne after a long feud.¹⁰² Siegburg was also the focal point of the *pagus* of Avelgau, where comital jurisdiction continued to be held in the Laach family.¹⁰³ The Siegburg advocacy subsequently passed to the counts of Berg, descending from a daughter of Frederick's younger brother Henry of Rietberg, along with fragments of the comital jurisdiction.¹⁰⁴

Also relevant are Frederick of Hückeswagen (*fl.* 1138) and Hermann of Hardenberg (*fl.* 1145-51), minor Ripuarian counts domiciled in Ruhrgau, not far from the Westphalian sphere of the counts of Arnsberg.¹⁰⁵ Their names very likely derive from Frederick of Arnsberg and his elder brother Hermann.¹⁰⁶ Probably they were brothers and, as such, nephews of the Arnsberg brothers.¹⁰⁷ In 1148 Hermann of Hardenberg is documented as count representing the jurisdiction of Count Palatine Hermann III of Stahleck in Ruhrgau.¹⁰⁸ That *pagus* is previously documented in the hands of Count Palatine Hermann II, son of Henry I.¹⁰⁹ In the

¹⁰⁰ Annalista Saxo ad 1082 (MGH, SS VI, 721); Annales Stadenses ad 1105 (MGH, SS XVI, 318). She is named in the now lost *liber obitualis* of Wedinghausen; see Seibertz, *Abhandlungen*, 76, 253.

¹⁰¹ *REK*, II, no. 132.

¹⁰² Jenal, *Erzbischof Anno II.*, 110-54.

¹⁰³ See n. 72 above.

¹⁰⁴ See nn. 320-1 below. The path via Henry of Rietberg remains the subject of debate, although significant evidence stands in support.

¹⁰⁵ Ziegler, *Grafen von Hückeswagen*, 14-23; Crecelius, "Herrn von Hardenberg," 194.

¹⁰⁶ The name Frederick itself was still a considerable rarity in the Ripuarian and Westphalian nobility. For Frederick of Arnsberg's family see Hömberg, "Comitate," 37-41.

¹⁰⁷ The heraldic shields of the Hückeswagen and Hardenberg dynasties were identical (two chevrons); see Crecelius, "Herrn von Hardenberg," 193.

¹⁰⁸ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 364.

¹⁰⁹ MGH, D H IV 172, 247.

early thirteenth century Count Arnold of Hückeswagen disputed a pious donation of Alberada of Molbach,¹¹⁰ who descended from Gerhard I of Hochstaden, as we shall later see. The property in question is therefore likely to derive from the Laach line of the counts palatine.

e. Luxembourg and Laach

To complete the picture of the palatine relationships relevant to this study we must dwell briefly on two extraordinary pieces of evidence. First, the chronicler Marianus Scottus describes Hermann of Salm as a *fratris filius* of *Heinricus de Laca*.¹¹¹ The appropriate interpretation of these data is that Hermann's father Giselbert of Luxembourg was Count Palatine Henry I's brother-in-law. This assumes that the younger Count Palatine Henry inherited Laach castle from the elder. For chronological reasons the phrase is difficult to construe otherwise: it cannot concern the Henry of Laach who died in 1095, since he is a precise contemporary of Hermann of Salm. His inheritance of the castle of Laach from Count Palatine Henry I is a perfectly logical implication.

Second, in 1045 Henry II of Luxembourg pawned seven estates in Creglingen to the bishop of Bamberg, mentioning his *fratres* as those entitled to redeem the estates,¹¹² and among them a Hermann, who by rights cannot be a Luxembourg, for he is not mentioned in sources that are likely to have included him,¹¹³ and his name cannot be inherited from that direction. Henry of Laach later possessed three Creglingen estates,¹¹⁴ and therefore must have redeemed them or inherited them from someone who did. As we saw, Count Hermann (III) of Avelgau is very likely to be Henry of Laach's father. The Luxembourg identity of his wife (*Figure 2*) explains, among other things, how the cathedral advocacy of Trier passed from the Luxembourgs to the Laachs.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Heisterbach*, no. 25, concerning estates in Oberkassel.

¹¹¹ Marianus Scottus, *Chronicon* ad 1081 (MGH, SS V, 562).

¹¹² *Wirtembergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, no. 226.

¹¹³ Esp. *Flandria generosa*, c. 6 (MGH, SS IX, 318).

¹¹⁴ *Wirtembergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, Comburger Schenkungsbuch, no. 4 (at 394).

¹¹⁵ On the cathedral advocates of Trier see Boshof, "Kirchenvogtei," 62-4, who fails to note, however, that the advocate Dietrich *adolescens* of 1066 is identifiable as Henry of Laach's elder brother.

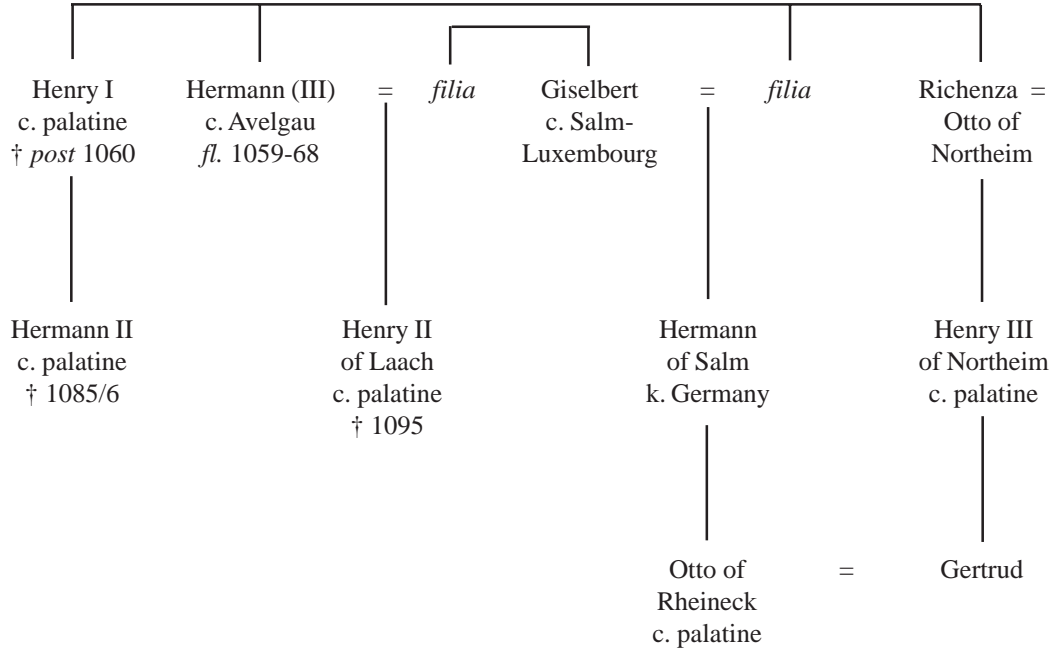


Fig. 2: *Laach—Luxembourg—Northeim*

With these relationships made probable we can better perceive how the Northeim family became a magnet for Ezzoner descendants seeking intermarriage. Other than Gertrud of Northeim's union with Otto of Rheineck, the most striking examples of intermarriage are in the last generation of the counts of Zutphen, a cognatic line descending from the senior Ezzonen. Henry of Zutphen strengthened his Ezzoner background by marrying a niece of Henry of Northeim—thus Richenza's granddaughter—and her sister married William of Luxembourg.¹¹⁶ Irmingard of Zutphen, Henry's sister, married William's son Konrad II, having previously married Gerhard II of Geldern.¹¹⁷ The Luxembourgs descended from the Ezzonen via the same path that we infer for Hermann of Salm. Judith, apparently a further

¹¹⁶ Annalista Saxo ad 1103 (MGH, SS VI, 737): "Cono, filius Ottonis ducis quondam Bawarie, frater Heinrici Crassi, [habuit] uxorem nomine Cunigundam, filiam Ottonis marchionis de Orlagemunde [...]. Genuit post hec ex Conone comite quatuor filias, ex quibus unam accepit Heinricus comes de Suitfene, alteram Willehelmus comes de Licelenburh."

¹¹⁷ *Oorkondenboek der grafschappen*, I, no. 278; Renn, *Luxemburger Grafenhaus*, 169.

Zutphen sister, married the Westphalian count Hermann II of Ravensberg, a nephew of Henry of Northeim.¹¹⁸

We accept three inferable sisters of Count Palatine Henry I—Richenza, Adela (wife of Wolfram of Craichgau), and the wife of Giselbert of Luxembourg. Chronology permits a very remote possibility that Richenza might affiliate with one of the other sisters, yet neither of them is at all likely to be Richenza's mother. Affiliation with Giselbert's wife would make Richenza's husband Otto of Northeim a brother-in-law of Hermann of Salm, and it is difficult to believe that so intimate a connection between two spearheads of the pro-papal rebellion against Emperor Henry IV would have escaped the notice of the sources altogether. The possibility of Richenza's affiliation with Wolfram of Craichgau should be dismissed because although Richenza had numerous known descendants, none bears a name arriving from the Zeisolf-Wolframs.

¹¹⁸ *Annalista Saxo* ad 1082: "duxerat uxorem Otto de Northein quondam dux, genuitque [...] tres filias, ex quibus unam nomine Ethilindam accepit Welfo dux Bawarie, et postquam eum repudiavit, duxit eam Herimannus comes de Calverla, genuitque illi Herimannum comitem" (MGH, SS VI, 721). *Annales Stadenses* ad 1105: "Tertia uxor fuit Hermannii de Calvela, que genuit Ottonem et Heinricum, comites de Ravensberch" (MGH, SS XVI, 318); here the generation of Hermann II and his Zutphen wife is omitted. The Ravensberg inheritance from Zutphen is widely accepted; see Kohl, "Memorialüberlieferung," 410-11.

III. SUCCESSION IN THE ADVOCACIES OF BONN

In this era Bonn possessed two eminent religious houses: the collegiate church of St. Cassius and the nunnery of Dietkirchen. Advocacy for both was held by Count Konrad of Bonn (*fl.* 1113-41) and subsequently by the counts of Sayn.¹¹⁹ For the most part the advocacies appear to be associated with comital jurisdiction in the *pagus* of Bonngau. This county is well documented in the hands of the Ezzonen from 945 forward.¹²⁰ Count Sicco (Siegfried, † 1065) of Bonngau and Ahrgau can be identified with confidence as a brother of Gerhard *Flamens*,¹²¹ thus as an agnatic Ezzoner. In Ahrgau he was succeeded by the middle Rhenish count Berthold of Stromburg, clearly a sister's son.¹²² For Bonngau, the conclusion is warranted that Gerhard I of Hochstaden held comital jurisdiction, although it is not absolutely certain that he was Sicco's immediate successor.

Archbishop Anno of Cologne's foundation charter of 1075 for the monastery of Siegburg provides the names of three advocates—Konrad, Ludwig, Gerlach—one of whom was advocate of Siegburg and another advocate of St. Cassius Bonn.¹²³ We know that Gerlach was the advocate of Siegburg; and Konrad, who is provided the comital title, is evidently acting as personal advocate for the archbishop, since he does not document again in Ripuaria.¹²⁴ Thus the advocate for St. Cassius is Ludwig, who is apparently the Hessian count of Arnstein.¹²⁵ Evidence of his consanguinity with Count Dietrich I of Cleves (Gerhard *Flamens*' nephew) and Provost Henry of St. Maria ad gradus Cologne (Gerhard *Flamens*' apparent son) is reinforced by Arnstein onomastic, leading to the inference that Count Ludwig

¹¹⁹ Corsten, "Graf Konrad," 8. Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 171-2, questions the succession of Sayn in 1152/3. In the final analysis, however, the criterion that a son cannot hold advocacy while the father is living does not weigh heavily.

¹²⁰ Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 185.

¹²¹ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 259-62; *id.*, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 20, 24-5.

¹²² Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 262.

¹²³ *Urkunden und Quellen*, I, no. 8.

¹²⁴ He is likely to be Count Konrad of Luxembourg.

¹²⁵ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 259.

II of Arnstein's mother was a daughter of Gerhard *Flamens*, thus a niece of Count Sicco of Bonngau.¹²⁶ The succession of the counts of Arnstein to the advocacy of St. Cassius implies that Sicco had also been advocate. Thus we may learn something about succession in both the advocacies and the *pagus* by considering the personnel in either.

a. Counts of Bonn

There is reason to suppose that the counts of Arnstein continued to hold the advocacy for the remainder of the eleventh century, but then surrendered it to another family, which eventually came to hold jurisdiction for the *pagus* as well. A document of 1102 shows that by this time the advocate of Bonn was Gebeno. Numerous aristocrats were present on this particular occasion, among whom the document names Gerhard of Jülich, Ludwig, and Adalbert of Nörvenich.¹²⁷ The comital status of Gerhard and Adalbert being well known, the identity of Count Ludwig II of Arnstein can hardly be doubted. The presence of this count from southern Hessen can no longer be explained by advocacy for St. Cassius. We are left simply to infer his relevance, direct or otherwise, to a transfer of the advocacy to Gebeno.

It appears that Ludwig II of Arnstein had succeeded Ludwig I, but now abdicated in favor of Gebeno. The document dates from around the time of the death of Gerhard I of Hochstaden, however, and it is therefore possible that Gerhard had been Ludwig I's successor. The important point is that whereas the Arnstein family no longer held the advocacies, neither did its successor hold the county. As principal representative of Sicco's line, Gerhard II of Hochstaden was arguably the most appropriate person to succeed in both capacities, and the reconstruction of interrelationships should be informed by that circumstance.

Zutphen Relationships

Thanks to a distinctive onomastic situation we can conjecture much about the agnatic background of the advocate Gebeno. In the witness list of the document of 1102 he appears with the full form Gebhard (*Geuehardus*), and his *nepos* Udo of Honnef was also present.

¹²⁶ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 259-60.

¹²⁷ *Urkunden und Quellen*, I, no. 19.

His successor as advocate was Konrad, very probably his son.¹²⁸ The names Gebhard, Udo and Konrad strongly suggest descent from the Hammerstein branch of the Konradiner via the senior Ezzonen. Count Palatine Ezzo's eldest son Liudolf married a Mathilde who is said by the Brauweiler *Fundatio* to be daughter of Count Otto "of Zutphen."¹²⁹ This is clearly Otto of Hammerstein († 1036), a Hessian with estates in the far north,¹³⁰ who had a son Udo, a brother Gebhard, and a grandfather and uncle Konrad.¹³¹ The name Konrad recurs in Liudolf's son.¹³² Liudolf's daughter Adelheid married Count Gottschalk of Zutphen († 1064), and their documented sons were Count Otto I and Gebhard.¹³³ The advocate Gebeno was evidently a close relative of the counts of Zutphen (see *Figure 3*).

Other relatives likely include Gottschalk (*fl.* 1079-96) who figures prominently as witness of archiepiscopal documents of Cologne in the last quarter of the eleventh century.¹³⁴ We can then consider the position of Norbert of Xanten, founder of the Premonstratensian order and archbishop of Magdeburg (1126-34), who was born around 1082. His father Heribert,¹³⁵ whose name can pass from the father of Otto of Hammerstein, should, like Gottschalk, affiliate in the generation of Otto I of Zutphen.

In 1138 a later Heribert was sharing the administration of Ketel woods, near Gennep, with Count Henry of Geldern.¹³⁶ The latter was the heir of Zutphen county, a nephew of Count Henry of Zutphen († 1118/34). The joint administration of Ketel woods is mentioned

¹²⁸ Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 161-5, emphasizes that affiliations in the Bonn succession are not documented. In all likelihood we have Count Konrad as son of Gebeno, and Count Gerhard as son of Konrad.

¹²⁹ *Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatorum actus*, c. 8 (MGH, SS XIV, 130).

¹³⁰ Bresslau, "Otto von Hammerstein," 405; *Ostfriesisches Urkundenbuch*, II, 774.

¹³¹ Jackman, *Konradiner*, 142 n. 237, with further justifications; additional considerations presented in *id.*, "Greco-Roman Fund," 16-17. Jongbloed, "Wanburtich," 12-13, follows.

¹³² Lewald, "Ezzonen," 139-40; Glocker, *Verwandten*, 317.

¹³³ *Oorkondenboek van het sticht Utrecht*, I, no. 223; Wisplinghoff, "Beiträge," 63. I follow the chronology of Zutphen counts recommended by Kohl, "Memorialüberlieferung," 411. Van Winter, "Otto de Rijke," has not been accessible.

¹³⁴ *REK*, I, 1060, 1176, 1217. In addition, a crusader Gottschalk is regarded by Van Winter, "Graafschap Zutphen," 72-4, as a close relative of Constantine, advocate of Zutphen. The latter's Greco-Roman name is a clear signal of descent from Empress Theophanu via the Ezzonen (see generally Jackman, "Greco-Roman Fund," 16-17).

¹³⁵ Bornheim, "Familienbeziehungen," 38. Norbert also had a brother Heribert.

¹³⁶ MGH, D Ko III 7.

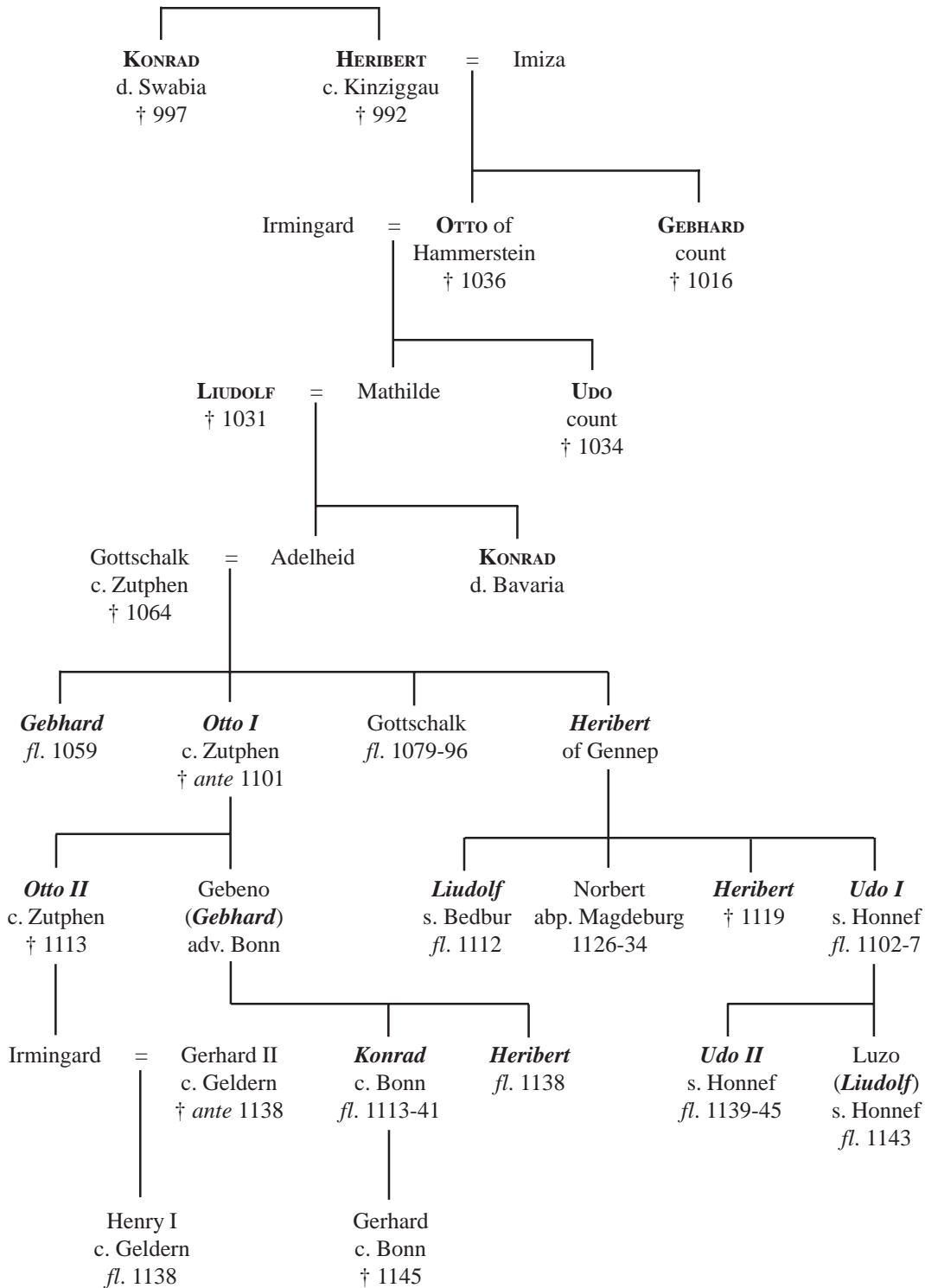


Fig. 3: Onomastic transmissions to the Zutphen consanguinity

in a diploma whereby King Konrad III permits the Premonstratensian nunnery of Bedbur (Bedburg-Hau) forestry rights there. Norbert of Xanten was supposedly born in this region.¹³⁷ Bedbur itself was the seat of a seignery whose first dynast emerges in 1112 bearing the name Liudolf.¹³⁸ Presumably he is an older brother of Norbert.

We saw that Udo of Honnef was Gebeno's *nepos* in 1102. A further Udo of Honnef witnessed the last testament of Gebeno's inferred grandson Count Gerhard of Bonn in 1145.¹³⁹ A Luzo, his name evidently a diminutive of Liudolf, appears with the Honnef cognomen in 1141.¹⁴⁰ Accordingly, Gebeno's *nepos* Udo of Honnef is almost certainly his first cousin in descent from the counts of Zutphen. Gebeno's descent from the senior line of the Ezzonen is perfectly clear. Thus he had a right to inherit the advocacies of Bonn from Count Palatine Ezzo, who, though not documented as advocate, held jurisdiction in the *pagus* of Bonngau, as had his predecessors for several decades. The environment in which Gebeno received the office of advocate is suggested by the circumstance that Count Otto II of Zutphen was married to a sister of Count Ludwig II of Arnstein,¹⁴¹ the person who appears to surrender the office in 1102. It would appear, therefore, that the advocate Gebeno was the count of Zutphen's brother, a relationship that facilitated the transfer of office.

Descent via Hochstaden

Meanwhile the advocate Gebeno must have enhanced the Ezzoner credentials of his family through intermarriage, a strategy that ultimately brought jurisdiction in the *pagus* of Bonngau to his son Konrad. In this reference we possess a notice of Count Konrad of Bonn's position in a feudal succession. A certain Hezilo, who donated arable to the Cistercian monastery of Kamp, was successively vassal of Gerhard II of Hochstaden, Konrad of Bonn, and Otto of Are-Hochstaden.¹⁴² This suggests the closest relationship between Konrad of Bonn and the Hochstadens. Chronologically, Konrad of Bonn's relationship as Gerhard II

¹³⁷ *Vita Norberti*, c. 1 (MGH, SS XII, 671).

¹³⁸ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 274. Another Liudolf was an ascetic at Rolduc who inspired Norbert to adopt the eremitical life; *Vita Norberti*, c. 3 (MGH, SS XII, 672-3).

¹³⁹ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 354.

¹⁴⁰ *REK*, II, no. 413.

¹⁴¹ Verdonk, "Graven," 106-8.

¹⁴² Mosler, *Geschichte des Besitzes der Abtei Kamp*, 49; cf. Corsten, "Graf Konrad von Bonn," 9-10.

of Hochstaden's nephew is most likely. In other words, the advocate Gebeno married Gerhard II's sister.¹⁴³ While descent from the senior Ezzonen provided a personal right, it was this relationship with Hochstaden that allowed advocacy of the Bonn churches to pass to Gebeno.

b. Molbach

Count Adalbert of Molbach is signaled as a Hochstaden relative in two highly significant ways: through the intensity of his interest in the Bonn advocacies after the death in 1145 of Konrad's inferred son Count Gerhard of Bonn, and through his succession to comital jurisdiction in the *pagus* of Sunderscas, which was previously under Gerhard *Flamens*. He can first be identified definitively in a document of 1149, where the witness list includes Counts Adalbert of Bonn and Adalbert of Nörvenich.¹⁴⁴ Adalbert II's long feud with Eberhard of Sayn over the Bonn advocacies was resolved in Eberhard's favor in 1153.¹⁴⁵ The witnesses of the document of 1149 are therefore very likely to be father and son, with the later count of Molbach on this occasion in temporary possession of the Bonn advocacies.

Originally the Nörvenich county represented a sub-*pagus* of the greater Köllngau.¹⁴⁶ Losses probably occurred through forfeitures associated with Adalbert I's disappearance from the sources after 1110, for reasons unclear. Documentation from 1138 shows Adalbert I holding jurisdiction in Sunderscas.¹⁴⁷ He has already reappeared in the sources in 1136, however, bearing a comital title before Count Gerhard II of Hochstaden's death.¹⁴⁸ This should mean that he also preserved the title of his original jurisdiction. The significance of his disappearance is uncertain and need not detain us.

¹⁴³ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 261.

¹⁴⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Rheno-Mosellanus*, I, no. 148. As first lay witness he is evidently functioning here as advocate of St. Cassius Bonn. A Count Adalbert of Bonn already appears in an imperial diploma of Christmas 1145; MGH, D Ko III 142. A list of attestations of the cognomens in the Nörvenich consanguinity is provided by Heesel, *Grafen von Nörvenich*, 90-9 (see also 146).

¹⁴⁵ See Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 169-74, who suggests some controversy about the factual transfer of power.

¹⁴⁶ Jackman, "Archiepiscopal Counts."

¹⁴⁷ MGH, D Ko III 2 (8 April 1138).

¹⁴⁸ *REK*, II, no. 318, where Gerhard of Hochstaden also witnesses.

Given his interest in two major objects of inheritance deriving from Hochstaden, there is a strong likelihood that Adalbert I of Nörvenich married a daughter of Gerhard I. The solution we wish to propose is that the posited daughter was first married to the advocate Gebeno, and after Gebeno's death around 1113 she entered a second marriage to Adalbert I of Nörvenich. This conforms to the chronology of the succeeding Molbach generations, and it explains the volatile claims to the Bonn advocacies around the mid-century.

c. Sayn

The counts of Hochstaden became extinct between 1136 and 1139. Remarkably enough, it is in the latter year that the counts of Sayn first emerge. Until that point in time the Sayn cognomen is not attested in the sources, and there is no evidence for unidentified counts who might have been their predecessors. The Ripuarian inheritance arriving to Sayn was especially significant,¹⁴⁹ hence chronology strongly suggests its arrival from the direction of Hochstaden. The counts of Sayn eventually competed successfully for the Bonn advocacies, which suggests that they were at least as closely related to the Hochstadens as was the count of Molbach. We therefore hope to find evidence that will enable us to define an intimate connection between Sayn and Hochstaden.

Henry of Dornick

To achieve a cogent explanation of the Sayn claim to the Bonn advocacies it is appropriate to project Count Eberhard I of Sayn as an actual agnatic member of the Hochstaden family.¹⁵⁰ He cannot be an especially close relative of the count of Molbach, for the manner of his descent should be arguable as superior to Molbach, just as the Molbach manner of

¹⁴⁹ Very few details of private inheritance can be ascertained with assurance; see Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 211. Conversely, the claims to advocacy in Bonn and jurisdiction in Avelgau are known to arrive at an early date.

¹⁵⁰ Corsten, "Graf Konrad von Bonn," 22, suggests that Eberhard married Count Gerhard of Bonn's sister, since we know of her existence from her brother's testament (*UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 354). See however below, p. 41.

descent should be superior to Sayn according to contrasting criteria. In other words, the feud over the Bonn advocacies was prolonged because each claimant was totally convinced of his claim. If we look for an individual who can readily identify both as brother of Gerhard II of Hochstaden and as father of Eberhard I of Sayn, our attention must ultimately rest on Henry of Dornick, the most prominent archiepiscopal ministerial of Cologne in his generation. He has the virtue of bearing the name Henry, which the source record for the early counts of Sayn will suggest as the likely name for Eberhard's father.

Some of Henry of Dornick's relationships can be posited from the name associations of witnesses who appear together in various archiepiscopal documents. In the witness list where he first appears in 1112, the individuals who follow immediately after the counts and advocates are Eberhard of Gandernol, Henry of Dornick, and Rethere of Hüls.¹⁵¹ Eberhard of Gandernol died in 1114,¹⁵² and his cognomen disappears altogether. Henry of Dornick, conversely, began to use the cognomen of Alpheim around 1122.¹⁵³ Among witnesses of a document of that year we find the following sequence: Henry of Alpheim, Dietrich of Ulft, Rethere of Hüls.¹⁵⁴ Later Dietrich of Ulft, who died childless, appears alongside either Henry of Alpheim or Rethere of Hüls.¹⁵⁵ Then, after a gap of four decades in the documentation for Hüls, a Leonius of Hüls and his son John begin to appear alongside Henry III of Alpheim,¹⁵⁶ suggesting close relationships between them and among their predecessors.

The names Eberhard, Rethere and Dietrich may easily derive from a Berg-Cleves marriage,¹⁵⁷ the existence of which is suggested by a document of 1093. Here Count Dietrich I of Cleves functioned as guardian for the young Count Adolf IV of Berg in the absence of Adolf's uncle Eberhard.¹⁵⁸ It is reasonable to suppose that Count Dietrich's sister was this

¹⁵¹ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 274.

¹⁵² *Chronica regia Coloniensis* ad 1114, at 54.

¹⁵³ Pötter, *Ministerialität*, 22, 34, fails to note the Dornick-Alpheim identity. It is otherwise widely accepted; see Grauwen, "Norbert doet afstand," 10 n. 25.

¹⁵⁴ *REK*, II, no. 195.

¹⁵⁵ *REK*, II, nos. 261 (with Rethere), 312 (with Henry).

¹⁵⁶ *REK*, II, nos. 951, 997, etc.

¹⁵⁷ The name Rethere is clearly a variant of the name Rutger belonging to Dietrich of Cleves' father and is very likely to occur in Dietrich's brother; see Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 21.

¹⁵⁸ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 247: "suscipiente traditionem comite de cleue, Thiderico, vice aduocati ecclesie nostre Adolphi, qui tunc temporis puer erat." The office exercised here by the count of Cleves is the advocacy for Werden's Ripuarian estates, which Milz, "Vögte," 205-13, distinguishes from the office exercised

Eberhard's wife.¹⁵⁹ The Cleves connection is confirmed by Henry of Dornick's foundation of a Premonstratensian monastery at Fürstenberg near Xanten. The original endowment of Fürstenberg included estates in both Hüls and Cleves.¹⁶⁰ The counts of Cleves, for their part, contributed Dornick estates to their Premonstratensian foundation at Bedbur.¹⁶¹ Thus Eberhard of Gandernol and Rethere of Hüls, mentioned alongside Henry of Dornick in 1112, are very likely to be Eberhard of Berg's sons.¹⁶² Their sister then appears to marry Henry of Dornick (see *Figure 4*).

As to Henry's Hochstaden affiliation, it can be deduced from a curious detail regarding Alpheim. Prior to Henry that location is mentioned only once, many years before. A witness list from 1084 shows a Gerhard employing the Alpheim cognomen; he thus was Henry's predecessor in possession of the castle of Alpheim. According to the order of witnesses this Gerhard was a prominent individual.¹⁶³ Undoubtedly a count, from the chronological standpoint he is likely to be Count Gerhard I of Hochstaden. One may object that locations such as Dornick, Alpheim and Fürstenberg were well north of the Hochstaden sphere of interest. But so too was Hamborn, where Gerhard II of Hochstaden would found his Premonstratensian church in the 1130s. The documentation of Gerhard of Alpheim is from a time when the

by Eberhard around this time, that of advocate for Werden's estates in Westphalia. The distinction is moot, since the Westphalian office had hitherto been held by persons who should be regarded as subadvocates. In *UB Niederrhein*, IV, no. 610, from 1092, Eberhard is advocate and Count Dietrich of Cleves is first witness, which is remarkable since the other witnesses appear not to be Ripuarian.

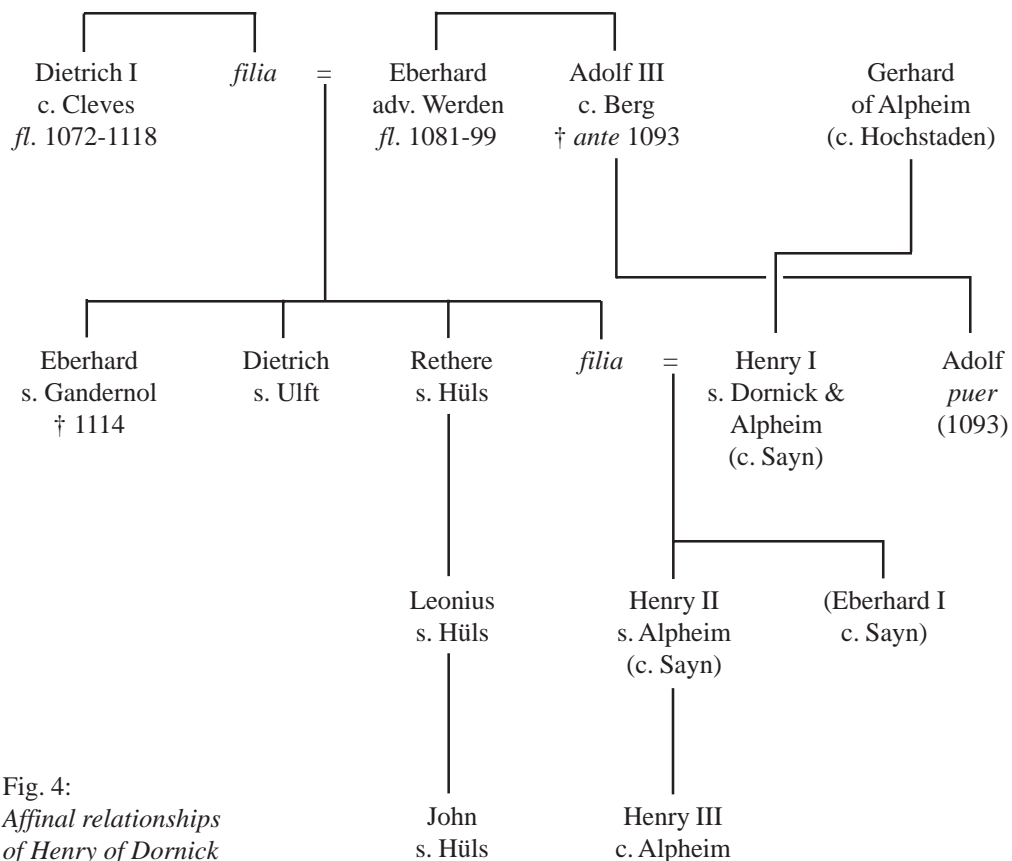
¹⁵⁹ Legal representation for minors was occasionally undertaken by cognatic relatives, as in the case of the monastery of Sponheim discussed at pp. 46-7 below. Our identification completes the respectable argument by Ilgen, "Grafen von Berg," 42, 48, that Eberhard is identifiable as an apparent member of the Berg family documented in the 1080s: *REK*, I, no. 1146: "Adolf et filius suus Everhard." The fastidious objections by Schmale, "Anfänge," 381, and Kraus, *Entstehung*, 25-6, uphold unreasonable requirements for proof. We conversely are interested in pursuing coherent discussion that may approach a threshold of reliability as it accumulates.

¹⁶⁰ *REK*, II, no. 419. Also worthy of attention is Fürstenberg's property at Remagen, a great distance from the rest of the endowment. The counts of Sayn are later documented with Remagen estates; see Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 448. On the Fürstenberg endowment see Groten, "Siegburger Zelle," 143-56.

¹⁶¹ *REK*, II, no. 1370.

¹⁶² Dietrich of Ulft, whose name can derive from Count Dietrich I of Cleves, might be a further brother. Following *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 328, he is likely to have died childless in or after 1138.

¹⁶³ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, I, 493 (no. 33). Gerhard is the first lay witness and appears before Adalger, who lacks cognomen, but is recognizable as the count of Hengebach.



Hochstaden count would still have been the most influential person in the northern *pagi*, before the creation of the counties of Geldern and Cleves.

A further detail tending to place Henry of Dornick in the Hochstaden generation preceding Eberhard I of Sayn concerns patronage of the church of Rommerskirchen northwest of Cologne. There is a Henry of Rommerskirchen documented in 1106. He was a seigneur,¹⁶⁴ whereas the bearer of the Dornick and Alpeim cognomens, who first emerges in 1112, was an archiepiscopal ministerial. Their careers do not overlap, hence the chronology is favorable. Henry presumably entered archiepiscopal service around 1110, using vestiges of his family's former wealth in the northern *pagi* to negotiate an enviable position among the archbishop's feudal tenants. Rommerskirchen then ceased to function as a fortified position.

¹⁶⁴ *REK*, II, no. 44.

The later counts of Sayn owned estates at Rommerskirchen,¹⁶⁵ and claims to the right of patronage for the church of Rommerskirchen were shared between the counts of Are-Hochstaden and the counts of Berg.¹⁶⁶ Of the latter family, we understand that while direct links to Hochstaden did not exist, descent is well documented from Richenza, whom we identify as a sister of Count Palatine Henry I.¹⁶⁷ These families had previously ceded their right of patronage to the Premonstratensian house at Knechtsteden, founded in 1130, where Gerhard II of Hochstaden was chosen as advocate, and where his direct descendants are also discovered exercising the advocacy.¹⁶⁸ Henry of Rommerskirchen is therefore likely to be both Gerhard I's son and ascendant of the counts of Sayn (see *Figure 5*).

Sayn Identities

The first counts of Sayn are Henry I and Eberhard I, who emerge concomitantly in 1139. Among the first several attestations, Henry appears more frequently than Eberhard. In all likelihood, therefore, Henry was Eberhard I of Sayn's father—thus Henry I of Dornick-Alpheim—and not Eberhard I's well-attested brother. Documentations from 1139 and 1146 should be attributable to the father;¹⁶⁹ but eventually the brother Henry documents independently as count of Sayn in 1158 and 1159.¹⁷⁰ Evidence from this later period clearly demonstrates that Eberhard was the elder of the brothers.¹⁷¹ A document of 1147 mentions Eberhard after Henry, but this need only be an incidental aberration: here neither bears a comital title.¹⁷² In 1166 Eberhard was still alive, but Henry was deceased.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ See Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 269, who suggests that the Rommerskirchen property arrived to a subsequent Sayn generation, which need not be the case.

¹⁶⁶ Gosses, "Knechtsteden," 35-7.

¹⁶⁷ See above, pp. 20-6.

¹⁶⁸ Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 282-3.

¹⁶⁹ Four of the six attestations from 1139 to 1146 are for Henry, including his presence at Aachen with King Konrad III; see list of attestations in Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 406.

¹⁷⁰ Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 407.

¹⁷¹ See for example the witness list of MGH, D F I 156 (given at Trier in 1157): "Eberhardus comes de Seine et frater eius Heinricus."

¹⁷² *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, II/1, no. 95; Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 407.

¹⁷³ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 421.

By rights, the comital status of the two Henrys should be reflected in the decline of their activities as archiepiscopal ministerials. For Henry I this is not a problem, since all appearances of a Henry of Alpeim as archiepiscopal ministerial in the years following the emergence of the counts of Sayn can simply be assigned to Henry II. After the latter's death, Henry III of Alpeim rapidly emerges as archiepiscopal ministerial and documents frequently thereafter.¹⁷⁴ He did not become a count. The question is therefore limited to Henry II and his status vis-à-vis the archbishop of Cologne and the comital office. The theoretical *terminus post quem* for his father's death is 1146, and the *terminus ante quem* for his acceptance of the comital office is 1152.¹⁷⁵ After 1152 he documents at least three times as archiepiscopal ministerial.¹⁷⁶ In the last years of his life, however, he ceases altogether to appear in the archbishop's entourage.

Accordingly, the Alpeim chronology is by no means antithetical to the identity of Henry II of Sayn with the second Henry of Alpeim. The problem of his dual persona—his comital title on the one hand and his ministerial status on the other—can be resolved to some extent by observing that his county need not have been Ripuarian and therefore not within the archbishop of Cologne's sphere of influence. His county probably pertained to the Pellenz, a region just south of Ripuarria, but within the archdiocese of Trier. The counts of Sayn later appear with rights of jurisdiction in that region.¹⁷⁷ Henry II of Sayn never enjoys the comital title in Ripuarrian documents, although the title is mentioned in the document referring to his decease.

There remains the question of the passage of Henry II's comital title after his death. It is not necessarily correct to assert that Henry III of Alpeim was a son of Henry II, yet that affiliation does seem highly likely. The comital title must have returned to be merged with that of Eberhard I. This would be a natural development if Eberhard had previously held both titles. In any event, comital jurisdiction in the Pellenz was fraught with potential logistical problems for a ministerial whose fiefs lay well to the north of Cologne. The position that Henry III of Alpeim found himself in was essentially that of the archbishop's highest provincial authority in Ripuarria, which clearly differed from the intermittent service shown

¹⁷⁴ *REK*, II, no. 820 (from 1165), etc.

¹⁷⁵ *Mittelrheinisches UB*, I, no. 571.

¹⁷⁶ *REK*, II, nos. 559 (from 1153), 572 (from 1154), 653 (from 1158).

¹⁷⁷ Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 252-5.

by Henry II.¹⁷⁸ These issues may be mentioned, although the problem need not inconvenience us in the identification of Count Henry I of Sayn with Henry of Dornick.

Palatine Background

Despite the Riparian prominence of the early counts, the castle of Sayn lay in Hessen, as did other points of support that appear to form a particular basis of power in the middle of the twelfth century. It is sometimes speculated that such estates arrived in the marriage of Eberhard I of Sayn to a woman belonging to the Isenburg dynasty, in part because Isenburg is very close to Sayn. The woman in question is identifiable,¹⁷⁹ but a major problem arises in that both Henry I and Eberhard I drew on the castle of Sayn for their cognomen: it cannot have been brought to them by Eberhard I's wife. The closest habitation to Sayn was actually Bendorf, a village on the left bank of the Rhine where the counts of Sayn possessed estates.¹⁸⁰ Bendorf is especially noteworthy, however, for its impressive associations with the Salian emperors and the counts palatine.¹⁸¹

Membership in the Hochstaden agnatic family furnishes the early counts of Sayn with the appropriate palatine-imperial connection. Since the Isenburg dynasty was flourishing in the period of Sayn's first emergence, it is difficult to see how the Isenburg affiliation of Eberhard I's wife provided a substantial basis of power, especially since the Isenburgs appear only intermittently in the ranks of the counts. Conversely, the Isenburgs also appear to descend from the counts palatine, as suggested by their office of cathedral advocate of Trier.¹⁸² It is therefore reasonable to project that Sayn and Isenburg were mutually related via the counts palatine, which supports Sayn's affiliation with Hochstaden.

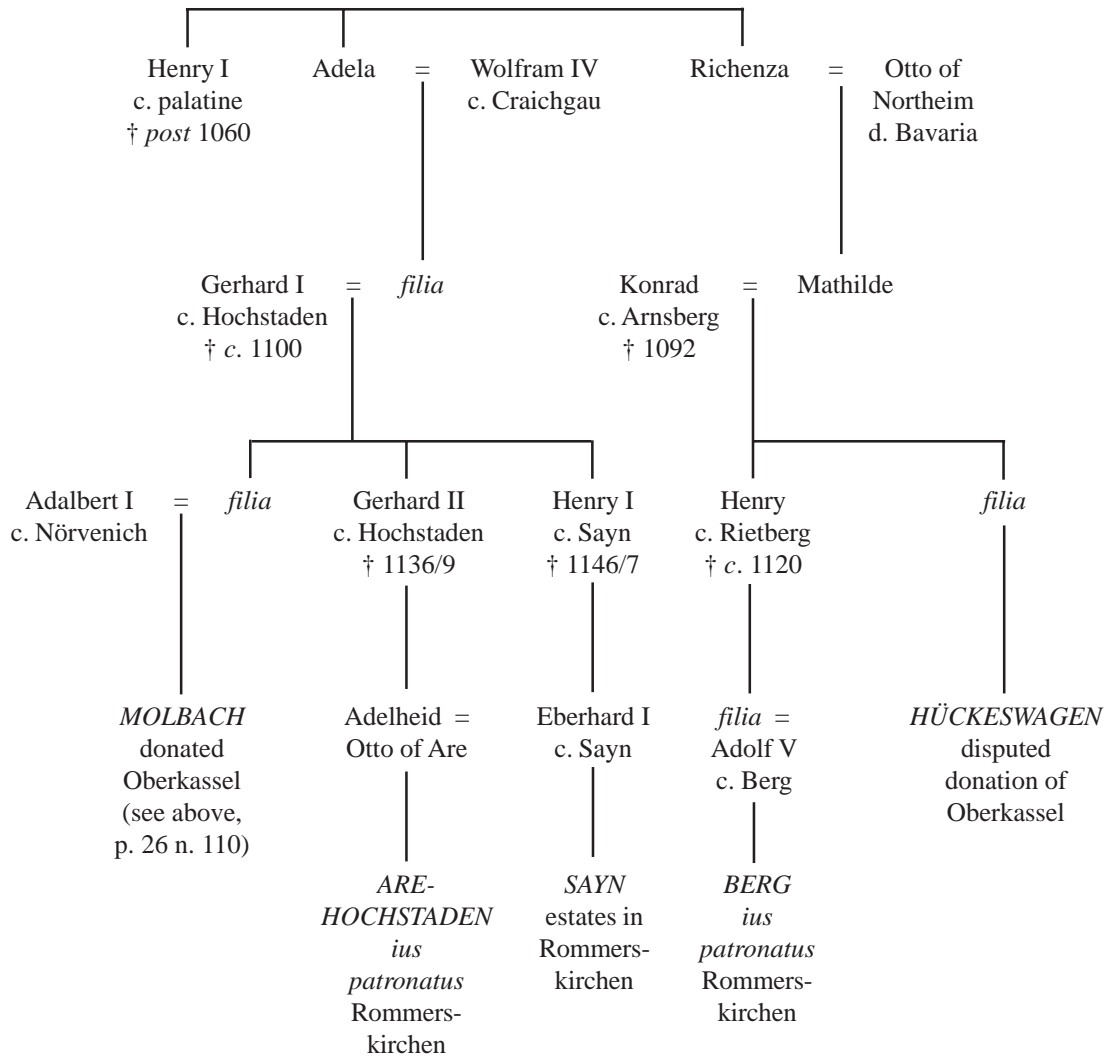
¹⁷⁸ See MGH, D F I 535, from August 1167, informing Gerhard (of Heppendorf), Henry of Alpeim and Henry of Volmarstein of the emperor's desire that the chancellor Philip should be elected archbishop in place of the deceased Rainald of Dassel. Gerhard was advocate of the Cologne commune, and Henry of Volmarstein was the principal ministerial in Westphalia.

¹⁷⁹ Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 11-13.

¹⁸⁰ Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 431.

¹⁸¹ Gensicke, *Landesgeschichte*, 151; Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 181-2.

¹⁸² *UB Mittelrhein*, I, no. 375; the Isenburg identity of the archbishop's personal advocate Reginbold is understood by Gensicke, *Landesgeschichte*, 172. One may assume that the personal advocacy was exercised by the cathedral advocate, which places Reginbold in the Luxembourg-Laach consanguinity outlined above, pp. 26-8.

Fig. 5: *Inheritance of rights in Rommerskirchen*

IV. THE FATE OF HOCHSTADEN CASTLE

The counts of Sayn emerge immediately at Gerhard II of Hochstaden's death already with two comital titles. Prior to this there is no evidence of their cognomen, nor is there any intimation in the sources—regardless whether chronicle report, inheritance of property, witness-list conjunction, or incisive onomastic indication—of where in the aristocracy they originated. Their extraordinarily sudden prominence has a parallel in the equally extraordinary obscurity of Gerhard II's son-in-law Otto of Are. In point of fact Otto did not immediately inherit either the comital title or the castles of his father-in-law. Over a decade passed before he was able to control his portion. His obscurity accounts in some measure for the prominence of the counts of Sayn. Yet it is also imperative that we understand what happened to the castles and comital title in the meantime.

a. Hermann of Stahleck on the Lower Rhine

In 1145 a Dietrich is mentioned as castellan of Hochstaden,¹⁸³ while in the following two years Otto continued to use the Are cognomen without comital title.¹⁸⁴ Otto's first documented use of the Hochstaden cognomen occurs in 1149,¹⁸⁵ and he appears with comital title in 1151.¹⁸⁶ Evidently the castle and comital title had passed elsewhere. The castle clearly passed to Count Palatine Hermann of Stahleck, who is actually found bearing the Hochstaden cognomen. The presence of a castellan in Hochstaden suggests that Hermann, whose centers of power lay well outside Ripuaria, ruled here through a representative. This accords with similar evidence that as count palatine Hermann relied on Count Hermann of Hardenberg to

¹⁸³ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 354: "Tiedericus burgicomes de hostade." As there were many Dietrichs, including ministerials and illegitimate offspring, one need not speculate regarding an identity.

¹⁸⁴ Kraus, *Entstehung*, 117.

¹⁸⁵ *REK*, II, no. 466.

¹⁸⁶ *MGH*, D Ko III 244.

exercise comital jurisdiction in Ruhrgau on his behalf.¹⁸⁷ As to the comital title of Hochstaden, we shall postpone that matter to a later section.

Hermann of Stahleck's identity as an agnatic Hochstaden can be reconstructed to considerable effect. He appears to be a grandson of Gerhard I of Hochstaden's brother Dietrich, whose sons Gerhard and Goswin are mentioned in 1082 in connection with Dietrich's funeral arrangements.¹⁸⁸ Of those sons, Gerhard disappears entirely, but Goswin is likely to be Hermann's well-documented father Count Goswin of Stahleck. As orphan, Goswin evidently lost his standing in Ripuaria, but inherited power in eastern Franconia via his paternal grandmother, the Goswinid wife of Gerhard *Flamens*.¹⁸⁹ The allodial property of Goswin and Hermann lay primarily in the diocese of Würzburg, even though politics constantly drew them westwards.

The Rhenish Hochstaden had a counterpart in Höchstädt on the Aisch near the focal point of this dynasty's landed wealth.¹⁹⁰ This Höchstädt is associated with Goswin of Stahleck in a late legendary source,¹⁹¹ and in historical literature Goswin is often treated as "count of Höchstädt."¹⁹² Yet the cognomen was first used by his son Hermann in 1137, essentially at Gerhard II of Hochstaden's death, and it appears only in the late 1130s and early 1140s.¹⁹³ The cognomen might therefore reflect Hermann's temporary inheritance of the Ripuarian castle. After Hermann's death in 1157 his widow donated a castle at Höchstädt on the Aisch to the diocese of Bamberg.¹⁹⁴ This may have been a very recent construction, however, since Hermann appears more frequently (though still very rarely) with the cognomen of Bildhausen, clearly associated with his east Franconian residence.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁷ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 364, and generally Droege, *Landrecht und Lehnrecht*, 99-100.

¹⁸⁸ *Chronique de Saint-Hubert*, 104-6.

¹⁸⁹ For her Goswinid affiliation see Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 20-1.

¹⁹⁰ Baumgärtner, *Hermann von Stahleck*, 1-5.

¹⁹¹ *Rerum boicarum scriptores*, I, 626; cf. Pfeiffer, "Gründung," 28-35.

¹⁹² Beginning with Spies, "Beweis," 395-419.

¹⁹³ *Codex diplomaticus Ebracensis*, 8-15 (5 May 1137): "Herimannus de Hohstete," and *ibid.*, 17 (1140): "Hermanus comes de Hohstete," quoted by Epple, "Goswin und Hermann," 3-4, and a document from 1142 published by Spies, "Beweis," 413-14: "Hermannum comitem de Hohstet."

¹⁹⁴ Guttenberg, *Territorienbildung*, 239.

¹⁹⁵ Four documents dated 1140 and preserving the Bildhausen cognomen are late twelfth and early thirteenth-century forgeries, but their witness lists have traits suggesting authenticity; see *Regesten der Zisterzienserabtei Bildhausen*, 24.

In Ripuarian documentation the name Hochstaden is rendered in various ways. The form *Hochstaden* is encountered, but the most common form would be *Hostade* or similar. In archiepiscopal documents of Cologne from the first half of the twelfth century only 28% of the attestations show the *-n* ending. Occasionally the first element is expanded to *Hohen-* or equivalent. A particularly instructive example is the charter for Gerhard II's foundation at Hamborn, where the form *Hoinstath* shows the expanded first element but an abbreviated second element.¹⁹⁶ The consonantal ending is rare in Ripuaria, yet its occurrence in this, arguably the most significant and relevant item, may confirm that the east Franconian forms *Hohstete* and *Hohstet* are linguistically equivalent to Ripuarian renditions.¹⁹⁷

The possibility exists that the Ripuarian castle of Hochstaden received its name from the east Franconian settlement,¹⁹⁸ and that Höchstadt was later fortified as a counterpart to the Ripuarian castle. The naming of one castle after another was not uncommon.¹⁹⁹ The Ezzoner inheritance of the counts of Stahleck in eastern Franconia would not have arrived solely from the Goswinids, moreover, for there is evidence that the Babenberger possessed allods at Höchstadt.²⁰⁰ In much the same manner as the Babenberger, the Ezzonen must have become proprietors there through marriage to a descendant of the Popponen—a connection that can be observed in other contexts.²⁰¹ Inheritance from the Goswinids would thus have strengthened already significant Ezzoner holdings in eastern Franconia. These various considerations make it likely that the Ripuarian castle of Hochstaden was indeed Ezzoner property in the tenth century.

The conglomeration of Ezzoner and Goswinid lands in eastern Franconia fell to the counts of Stahleck in large part because they had lost their position among the Ripuarian

¹⁹⁶ *REK*, II, no. 374.

¹⁹⁷ *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, 207, 211, indicates the equivalency of *stade* and *stete*.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Kimpen, "Ezzonische Verwandtschaft," 204: "Gerhard I. von Hochstaden, der das ostfränkische Höchstadt am Niederrhein erst in die Fassung Hochstaden umwandelte [...]."

¹⁹⁹ The castle of Lutzelbourg in Upper Lorraine was held by direct heirs of the ducal branch of the Ardenne family, and it must have been named after the castle of Luxembourg held by another Ardenne branch after 963. Medieval Latin rendered both as *Lucelenburh* or similar. Similarly, a branch of the Luxembourg family had castles named Salm in both Lower and Upper Lorraine.

²⁰⁰ *Traditiones et Antiquitates Fuldenses*, c. 4, no. 129, mentioning a Henry (*Ezzilo*), probably the margrave of Schweinfurt († 1017).

²⁰¹ Jackman, "Ezzo's Chess Match," 37-46.

heirs of the Ezzonen. An inscription at his east Franconian monastic foundation of Bildhausen describing Hermann of Stahleck as *palatinus genuinus*—"a palatine by birth"—confirms the inference. In all likelihood this terminology marks him as agnatic Ezzoner.²⁰²

Mönchaurach and Bildhausen were religious houses founded in eastern Franconia by the counts of Stahleck and are indicative of their particular affinity with that region. With respect to their larger political interests, however, the castle of Stahleck on the Rhine overlooking Bacharach was centrally positioned, and it consistently provided their cognomen. It is sometimes suggested that the counts of Stahleck were drawn towards the Rhine by estates passing from Goswin's wife Liutgard. That is certainly a misconstruction. Liutgard belonged to the Hengebach-Gladbach family of the lower Rhine. Though in all likelihood agnatic Ezzonen, that family did not carry a comital title. It was, moreover, well supplied with male members, meaning that Liutgard cannot have served as a significant heiress.²⁰³ Moreover, Liutgard had already been married and had sons by her previous husband, meaning that her minimal share of her family's inheritance had largely been absorbed before it could arrive to the Stahlecks.

On the contrary, marriage to Liutgard suggests Goswin's desire to strengthen his future prospects on the lower Rhine—further evidence, therefore, of his own Ripuarian background. In any event, it is exceedingly doubtful that Liutgard brought him rights to Stahleck or any other significant middle Rhenish property. Positions in this region most likely emanated from the counts of Sponheim. A document of 1124 shows unequivocally that Goswin held advocacy for the recently founded monastery of Sponheim.²⁰⁴ Evidently this office passed to him when Count Stephen II of Sponheim died in 1094/6, leaving his son Meginhard a minor.²⁰⁵ It may be inferred that Goswin's mother was a Sponheim (see *Figure 6*).

²⁰² *Kunstdenkmäler*, X, 57-8: "Iste palatinus Herman natu genuinus." Cf. Spies, "Beweis," 406; Baumgärtner, *Hermann von Stahleck*, 42 n. 153; Kimpen, "Ezzonen und Hezeliniden," 59.

²⁰³ For the data on the lords of Hengebach and their close relatives of Gladbach see Möller, *Stamm-Tafeln*, I, 14-15.

²⁰⁴ *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, I, no. 522. Discussion of this and related (including forged) material is found in May, "Beiträge," 26-44.

²⁰⁵ Stephen's date of death is ascertained by Heinzelmann, "Spanheimer-Späne," 12. The documentation of a Stephen, witness to an imperial diploma given at Speyer in 1111 (*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe von Speyer*, I, no. 80) and accepted as Stephen II by Mötsch, "Genealogie," 72, must concern someone else, perhaps an otherwise unknown Stephen III of Sponheim.

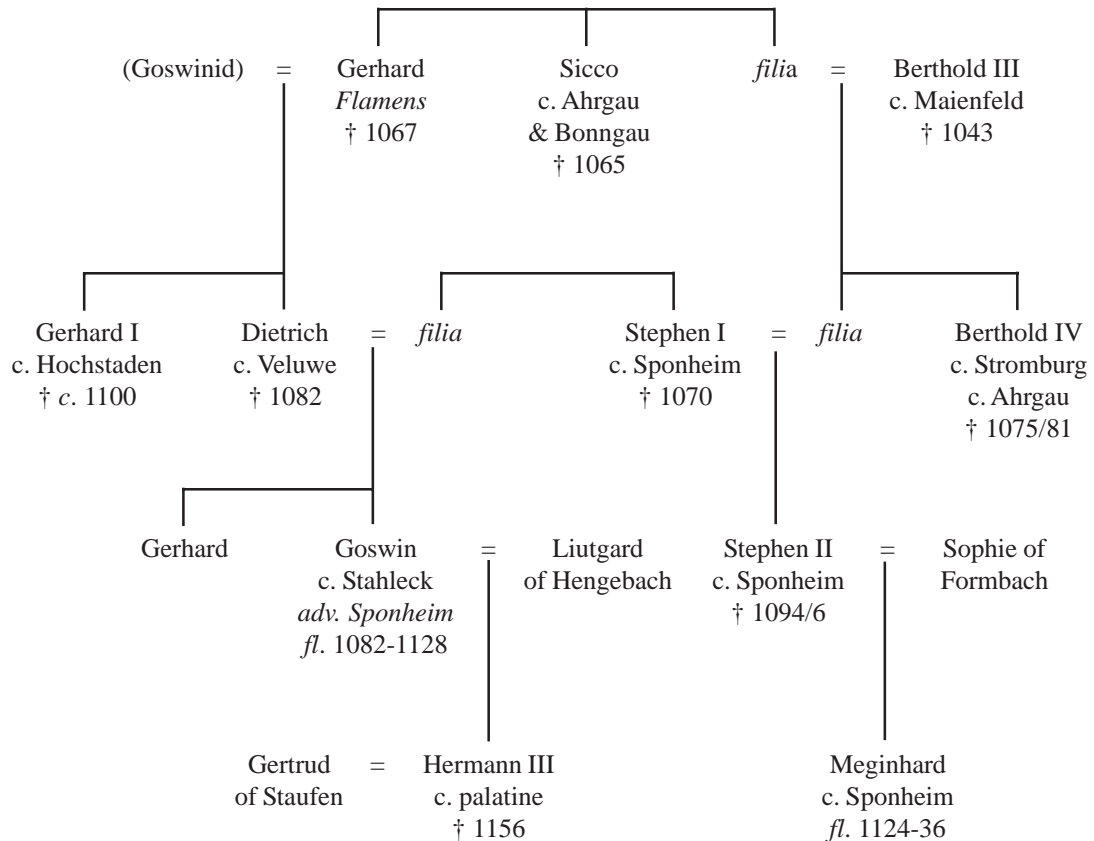


Fig. 6: *Stahleck and the advocacy of Sponheim*

b. The Palatine Succession from 1113 to 1149

In order to understand the variables affecting Hochstaden castle after the death of Gerhard II, we must come to grips with the succession of counts palatine, which in this period underwent some strange transformations. Prior to his death in 1095, Count Palatine Henry II of Laach adopted his wife's son, Siegfried of Ballenstedt, and arranged for him to succeed to the palatine office. We saw earlier that Siegfried probably did not succeed until after he was married to Henry of Laach's cousin Gertrud of Northeim. When Siegfried died in 1113 their son William was still a minor. Gertrud of Northeim then married Otto of Rheineck, who like her descended, as may be inferred, from the Laach line of the Ezzonen. These measures were sufficient to ensure William's continued relevance to the palatine succession, but not to facilitate immediate succession.

Instead, Emperor Henry V installed Godfrey of Calw, a south Franconian aristocrat with a descent perhaps from fairly remote Ezzoner ancestors.²⁰⁶ As close relative of the emperor by marriage, however, he filled the second criterion applicable to palatine succession.²⁰⁷ For the purpose of his installment, the structure of the palatine office was considerably altered. Elements of the old Salian duchy of Worms were increasingly incorporated, with the result that the focus of power shifted southwards. The trend is already observable in Count Palatine Henry I's installment in 1045.²⁰⁸ In that instance it can be attributed to the fact that Henry and his successors were related to the Salians and in a position to inherit Salian positions on the middle Rhine. The same holds true for Godfrey in view of the Salian descent of his wife.²⁰⁹ Similarly, Hermann of Stahleck would eventually receive the palatine office chiefly on the basis of his wife's affiliation as King Konrad III's sister (thus Emperor Henry V's niece).

A Salian background should also account for Otto of Rheineck's interest in Treis, which became a *cause célèbre* in the struggles for the palatine succession. The Mosellan castle of Treis passed to Otto at the death of Count Berthold II of Ham. Since it is apparent that Otto was not closely related to Berthold, the source of rights is very likely to have been the palatine family of Laach.²¹⁰ Otto undertook a plan of fortification at Treis, but in 1121 the emperor ejected him from the location altogether,²¹¹ which supports the inference that Treis was originally a Salian stronghold. The Salian associations of Treis are also demonstrated by a tenth-century document showing that Karden, which lay directly across the Mosel from Treis, was situated in the county of the Salian Otto,²¹² therefore in the Salian duchy of Worms to all intents and purposes.

²⁰⁶ Apparently the chief lineal credential of Godfrey was his descent from a daughter Count Palatine Hermann I. For the reconstruction see Jackman, "Meingaud-Walaho," 83.

²⁰⁷ Relationship with the monarch was a qualification for higher office in situations where a succession was not fully established; see Jackman, "Comparative Accuracy," 62.

²⁰⁸ See maps in Steinbach, "Ezzonen," 860, and Schaab, *Geschichte der Kurpfalz*, I, 19.

²⁰⁹ His wife was Liutgard of Zähringen, whose mother Agnes was the only daughter of Rudolf of Rheinfelden and the Salian princess Judith; see Wunder, "Beiträge," 11-15.

²¹⁰ The wives of Bertholds I and II of Ham are unknown, but investigation of this issue lies beyond our present scope.

²¹¹ Gerstner, *Geschichte*, 61.

²¹² MGH, D O II 60.

In all probability Otto was still acting at this stage in behalf of his stepson William. It is not unlikely that their party was able to wring concessions from the emperor in peace negotiations of September 1121. In connection with William's military activities in the Mosel region in early 1125, the emperor wrote to the archbishop of Trier referring to violations of the peace by *Wilhelmus palatinus*.²¹³ The use of a palatine title makes it likely that Henry V recognized William as second count palatine, although in what degree and quality one may hardly speculate. After Henry's death in 1125, Lothar of Supplinburg came to the throne. Gertrud of Northeim was the sister of Lothar's wife, and her party now had the upper hand in palatine affairs. Her son William was recognized unreservedly as second count palatine alongside Godfrey of Calw, and at Godfrey's death in 1131 Otto of Rheineck became second count palatine.²¹⁴

Konrad of Staufen was elected to the throne in 1138, and the situation abruptly changed. No longer was Otto of Rheineck allowed to bear the palatine title. But was Hermann of Stahleck simply inserted in his place? This possibility is generally overlooked in discussions of the palatine succession. A private document prepared for Hermann as *comes palatinus de Stahlecke* is dated 1138.²¹⁵ An archiepiscopal document of Trier from the same year refers to pious donations of a *dux Francorum* named Hermann, a title that might well reflect Hermann of Stahleck's elevated status.²¹⁶ The latter document is preserved only in early modern copy, so we cannot be sure that it is authentic. The former document might bear an incorrect date.

When William of Ballenstedt died in 1140, Konrad installed his own half-brother Henry Jasormirgott as count palatine.²¹⁷ And when the latter received the mark of Austria in 1142, Konrad installed Hermann, his own brother-in-law.²¹⁸ At this point there can be no doubt that the two palatine offices were merged once more. The marriage of Hermann of Stahleck with Gertrud of Staufen had probably taken place many years before, for by the time of Konrad's royal accession both partners were in their thirties.²¹⁹ Gertrud's affiliation as

²¹³ MGH, LL II, 77; Kimpfen, "Ezzonen und Hezelinidin," 55.

²¹⁴ For Gerstner, *Geschichte*, 69-70, his palatine status began with its documentation in 1136.

²¹⁵ *Wirtembergisches UB*, III, Nachtrag no. 6.

²¹⁶ *UB Mittelrhein*, II, no. 501

²¹⁷ His descent from previous counts palatine as yet remains unclear.

²¹⁸ Gerstner, *Geschichte*, 271-3.

²¹⁹ Gertrud's father, Duke Frederick I of Swabia, died in 1105.

imperial granddaughter is indicative of Hermann's illustrious background. The union was conceivably intended as a means of breaking the Rhenish power of Otto of Rheineck and his relatives, in the event that the Staufer succeeded to the throne.

c. Otto of Are in Relation to Kings and Counts Palatine

Regardless how the question is answered, the fate of Hochstaden castle was undoubtedly impacted by the closeness of Otto of Are's relationship with Otto of Rheineck. A witness list in a diploma of Konrad III refers to Otto of Are and his brother Udalrich extraordinarily as Otto of Rheineck's *consanguinei*.²²⁰ Their relationship evidently ran via Otto of Rheineck's mother Sophie of Formbach. It is clear that after the death of her first husband Sophie married Count Stephen II of Sponheim.²²¹ Their daughter can be reconstructed as the second wife of Count Dietrich I of Are, therefore as Otto of Are's mother.²²²

There are two possible scenarios. The first accepts that Hochstaden castle was withheld from Otto of Are, which presupposes that he was already married to Adelheid of Hochstaden, Gerhard II's daughter, when Konrad III ascended the throne in 1138. In the following years the lower Rhenish aristocracy closed ranks behind Otto of Rheineck. His rival Hermann of Stahleck made an appearance in Cologne around 1140 and for the benefit of the archbishop confirmed some middle Rhenish property interests of the monastery of Siegburg,²²³ but he was quite unable to insert himself into lower Rhenish affairs. By contrast, Otto of Rheineck moved with considerable ease in those regions.²²⁴ It would not necessarily be surprising, therefore, if Otto of Are was initially denied the succession in Hochstaden on some legal pretext. Yet this cannot be supported and remains unlikely. There is no information to suggest

²²⁰ MGH, DD Ko III 93.

²²¹ Jackman, "Position," 279.

²²² Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 53. The arguments here are not entirely satisfactory, since Archbishop Hugh of Cologne is imperfectly documented as a member of the Sponheim family; cf. Bernhardi, *Lothar von Supplinburg*, 710; Ehlen, *Knechtsteden*, 22, 151; Mötsch, "Genealogie," 75-6. Nevertheless, middle Rhenish property interests of the counts of Are-Nürnberg are very likely to stem from the Sponheim family; Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 102-4.

²²³ *UB Mittelrhein*, II, no. 42.

²²⁴ *REK*, II, nos. 318, 381, 383, 413, 418, etc.

that Otto and Adelheid married while Gerhard II was alive. Bader errs in claiming that Otto's son Dietrich witnessed a document in 1152:²²⁵ he is not discovered until ten years later.²²⁶

The second scenario accepts instead that the Hochstaden-Are marriage took place after Gerhard II's death. In 1122 there is mention of Gerhard II's son Gerhard, who was still a *puerulus*, therefore very young.²²⁷ This might mean that Adelheid had only just reached a marriageable age when her father died. The question now is not how the castle was withheld, for it might have passed without difficulty to Hermann of Stahleck. Rather, it is necessary to understand how Otto of Are was able to win the castle back. Here it must be observed that Hermann and Otto were also related fairly closely via the Sponheims, since our observations above provide Goswin of Stahleck's Sponheim mother as the paternal aunt of Otto's Sponheim mother.

Furthermore, Otto of Are was a royal *consanguineus*, as shown by a letter Konrad III addressed to the pope in 1151.²²⁸ The connections ran via Empress Gisela, Konrad's great-grandmother. On the one hand, Gisela's sister Beatrix can be inferred as an ascendant of the Sponheims.²²⁹ On the other hand, Gisela was Sophie of Formbach's ascendant via her first husband Bruno of Brunswick.²³⁰ The royal relationship was remote (see *Figure 7*), but nonetheless of considerable importance in understanding how Otto of Are passed from the Rheineck camp to the Stahleck camp. This change of orientation could be construed as service to the monarch fostered by blood relationship. The goal of receiving Hochstaden castle together with a comital title may have been transparent, but his claim to these rewards was honorable.

The circumstances for the shift in politics arose in the late 1140s when Otto of Rheineck's young son Otto became interested in objects of claim that had been withheld from his father, in particular on the Mosel. In 1149 Hermann of Stahleck managed to capture him, throwing

²²⁵ REK, II, no. 533. *Theodericus de Houesteden* appears low in a list of minor nobles, and contrary to Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 158, the cognomen does not correspond to Hochstaden.

²²⁶ Cf. Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 161.

²²⁷ REK, II, no. 195.

²²⁸ MGH, D Ko III 244.

²²⁹ Jackman, "Position," 279-82.

²³⁰ Jackman, "Greco-Roman Fund," 30; id., "Position," 277-9.

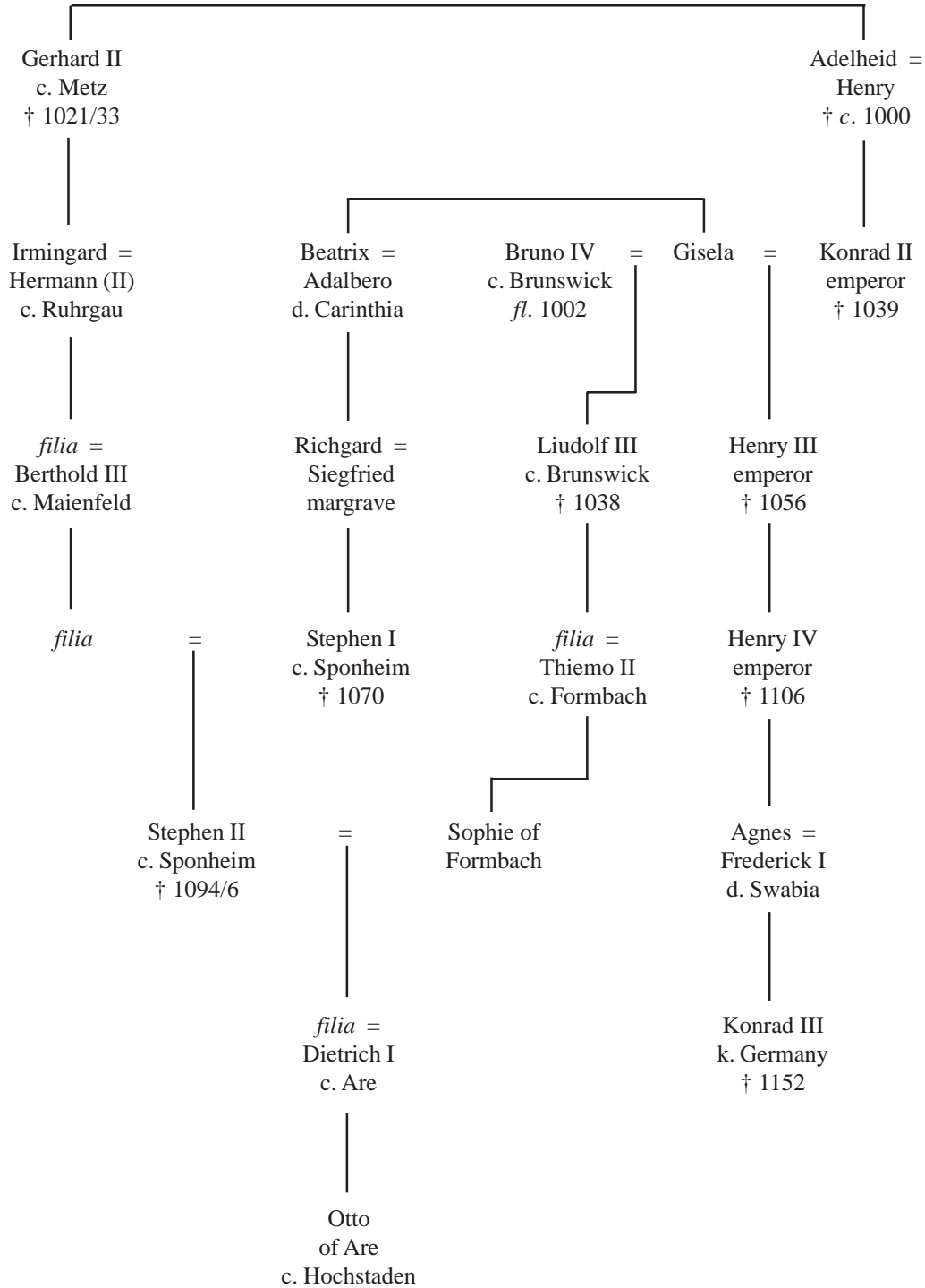


Fig. 7: *Otto of Are's consanguinity with King Konrad III*

him into a dungeon where he was murdered by strangulation.²³¹ These events were not, as is sometimes implied, the climax of a death game between Otto of Rheineck and Hermann of Stahleck, for Otto had ceded to the archbishop of Trier his rights to the castle of Treis.²³² The younger Otto of Rheineck evidently took it into his head to precipitate events, come what may. But it seems that Hermann had already prepared by procuring the defection of Otto of Are, an essential player who emerges in the sources as Adelheid of Hochstaden's husband in 1149, and was enjoying the comital title by 1151 at latest.

²³¹ Baumgärtner, *Hermann von Stahleck*, 20.

²³² *Gesta Alberonis auctore Balderico*, c. 25 (MGH, SS VIII, 255).

V. *PAGI* AND COMITAL TITLES

By the time of Gerhard I of Hochstaden the county had lost the regional integrity that was undoubtedly still prevalent under the Carolingians, but retained a clear regional basis, above all in the public *mallum* or traditional seat of regional justice. The concept of *pertinentia*, or royally granted lands and rights attached to the comital office, remained lively. Yet erosion of the comital constitution was an irresistible force. Immunities, especially for church lands, meant that separate individuals were required to exercise jurisdiction over life and limb on behalf of the church, especially where ecclesiastical estates were concerned. These advocates then developed dynastic objectives, and a mosaic of jurisdictional fragments began to form, made further complicated by an increasing tangle of feudal contracts.

Already in the early twelfth century there is evidence, not only of the fragmentation of counties according to dynastic interests, but also of a dynastic tendency towards privatizing church advocacies.²³³ With a continually expanding population, new courts were needed, and they naturally tended to serve the needs that arose from fragmentation and privatization. In these circumstances the *pagus* would ultimately lose all relevance. Yet the title originally associated with the *pagus* remained significant. In the early thirteenth century, with the extinction of some dynasties and the passage of their titles to others, most of the remaining counts appeared in a consolidated position of power.²³⁴ This tendency culminated in the formation of late medieval principalities.

Meanwhile, the counties increasingly became mediatized. Fewer and fewer counties were held directly of the monarch. In the tenth century three or four comital dynasties of Ripuaria already owed allegiance to the archbishops of Cologne,²³⁵ and before long the

²³³ Examples of fragmentation and privatization include passage of jurisdiction in individual locations to Baldwin III of Hainaut on his marriage with Yolande, Gerhard I of Geldern's daughter (*Gisleberti Chronicon Hanoniense*, 65), and Gerhard II of Hochstaden's directive that the advocacy for his monastic foundation at Hamborn should pass to whoever held Wickrath castle (*REK*, II, no. 374).

²³⁴ Groten, "Entwicklung," 6.

²³⁵ See Jackman, "Archiepiscopal Counts."

counts palatine of the Rhine would exercise suzerainty over many counts. By the end of the twelfth century the mediatization of counties was well advanced, but the individual steps are obscure in almost every instance. Observation of the progress of mediatization is not our objective. Rather, we are interested in observing or projecting precise details of succession in order to understand the elements of law applicable to public succession. Those elements did not necessarily change through mediatization.

a. Ripuaria under the Ezzonen

Ripuaria has special significance for its meticulous preservation of the unitary principle of comital succession. At the death of a count a single individual would be installed as the new count. The county would not be divided between sons in order to furnish each with the comital title. The unitary principle was followed elsewhere in Germany, though seldom with the same attention. In Hessen, the Frankish province to the southeast of Ripuaria, unitary succession prevailed in the vast majority of counties,²³⁶ but the counts of Ziegenhain, a minor dynasty in eastern Hessen, practised division of the county. Remarkably, by the thirteenth century the counts of Ziegenhain had renounced the principle of division and had reintegrated their county,²³⁷ while other Hessian dynasties such as Nassau and Solms allowed their counties to undergo mitosis in favor of sons.

Ripuaria never experienced mitosis of comital titles. Sometimes counties were fragmented and the fragments were reapportioned, but the comital title was always unitary. Initially the *pagus* was the unit of transfer, although *pagus* and *comitatus* were not identical concepts. The *pagus* was a region defined by elements of geography and demography. In most cases the *pagus* had its own public *mallum* at which a count (*comes*) presided annually, and in this sense it was a county (*comitatus*). The notion of *pagus* was not always subservient to constitutional geography, yet all regions were in theory served by a count. The unitary principle admitted the possibility that several *pagi*, each with a public *mallum*, could fall under a single count, and this is precisely what happened in Ripuaria in the second half of the tenth

²³⁶ Extensive details in Jackman, "Hessian Heirs," 30-61.

²³⁷ Witzel, *Hochvögte*, 22.

century, when Count Erenfried (*fl.* 943-66) and his successors Counts Palatine Hermann (*fl.* 963-96) and Ezzo († 1034) held broad sway.²³⁸ These counties could then separate from each other and pass to various individuals, but each remained a unitary whole impervious to mitosis.

For obvious reasons, the unitary principal is an asset when it comes to the reconstruction of successions. Above all, it provides an opportunity to observe the evolutionary process in particular comital jurisdictions from the broad regional power afforded by the Carolingian constitution to the dynastic-territorial power of fragmented jurisdiction prevalent in the later middle ages. In the present instance, unitary succession is the essence of the question of how the tenth-century power of the Ezzonen, based on several counties unified on a provincial level, became divided among the almost bewildering array of dynasties that we encounter in the twelfth century.

As principal heir of Gerhard *Flamens*, initially Gerhard I of Hochstaden would have held jurisdiction in several *pagi* of Ripuaria, as well as Batavian *pagi* further northwest. The north Ripuarian (Hattuarian) *pagi* of Düffel and Keldagau, together with Batavian *pagi*, undoubtedly formed the basis of the new counties of Geldern and Cleves. Immediately south of Keldagau, Mühlgau was also part of this configuration and was probably the basis of the county of Kessel. Essentially the cataclysmic military debacle of 1086 caused this entire northern region to be lost to the influence of the counts of Hochstaden.

For the present purpose the region of Batavia may be understood as those *pagi* in the vicinity of the Rhine, Meuse, Waal and Ijssel that appear to represent a distinct geographical entity, being bordered by Holland and Zeeland in the west, Brabant in the south, Frisia in the north, and Saxony in the east. Hamaland, the Saxon *pagus* immediately adjacent to this region, was so intimately connected in developments of the central middle ages that it may reasonably be understood as part of a “greater Batavia.” The designation Batavia is a neologism, of course, coined to some extent for the present purpose. It is important to note that Batavia’s border with Hattuaria was minimal, despite the well-documented jurisdictions of Gerhard *Flamens* in the *pagus* of Betuwe,²³⁹ of his son Dietrich in the *pagus* of Veluwe,²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Lewald, “Ezzonen,” 120-2.

²³⁹ MGH, D H III 386.

²⁴⁰ MGH, D H IV 284; see De Vries, “Graafschap van Dirk,” 226-36.

and of Gerhard (very probably) of Hochstaden in the *pagus* of Hamaland.²⁴¹ There is also evidence for the latter as count in the region of Vreden, which essentially belonged to Westphalia, but where the counts of Cleves would later maintain important holdings.²⁴²

We shall not concern ourselves further with Batavia here, but will limit consideration to Ripuarian *pagi*. Our general thesis is that the comital geography of Ripuaria was conceptually integrated as an approximation of the old duchy of Ripuaria. This region was governed fairly comprehensively by the Ezzonen, granted that the domination was never complete, especially where the archbishops of Cologne were concerned. Parts of Ripuaria that had been under Matfridinger control, thus the *pagi* of Jülichgau and Sunderscas, appeared as integral components by virtue of their arrival to the line of Gerhard *Flamens*, which shared comprehensively in Ezzoner counties.

b. The Northern *pagi*

In the period immediately preceding the military debacle of 1086, the north Ripuarian or Hattuarian *pagi* would have been distributed in some manner between Gerhard I of Hochstaden and his inferable brother Goswin I of Heinsberg. Evidence for Goswin's comital rank includes the record of the death of a Count Goswin under 1101 in the necrological annals of Prüm.²⁴³ This source is usually quite reliable in its use of titles.

The comital office may otherwise be inferred from Goswin I's position in the witness lists of archiepiscopal documents. A document from 1085 contains an impressive list of witnesses, all from the regional nobility rather than the *familia* of archiepiscopal ministerials. Cognomens and titles are not provided, but most of these persons are readily identifiable. A Berthold, probably the count of Ham, is conceivably a visitor to the region and is accorded a privileged place following Arnold, who is an archiepiscopal functionary (either the burgrave or the cathedral advocate). Then follow four persons of comital rank and finally four who were not counts at this time:²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ MGH, D H IV 351.

²⁴² MGH, D H IV 377, from 1085; see Bauermann, "Werden und Wesen," 237-46.

²⁴³ *Klostergemeinschaft*, I, 384.

²⁴⁴ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 238.

NAME	IDENTITY	RANK
Arnoldo	-	(burgrave)
Bertolfo	Ham	count
Gerhardo	Hochstaden	count
Gozuino	Heinsberg	count
Ethelgero	Hengebach	count
Gerhardo	Jülich	count
Adalberto	Saffenberg	-
Godescalko	-	-
Gerhardo	Geldern	-
Brunone	Kessel	-

Thus we discover Gerhard of Hochstaden and his inferable brother Goswin of Heinsberg, followed by Adalger of Hengebach and his inferable brother Gerhard of Jülich.²⁴⁵ This is the order one would expect to find them in according to seniority and primogeniture, and there is no reason to doubt that Goswin is a count like the others. Of the remaining witnesses, three later became counts, but in this document they have been carefully placed after the counts.

A second item is from 1096. We know from the mention of a Count Dietrich of Cleves in the years immediately preceding that the county of Cleves was already in being, and in this document we encounter that Dietrich using the Tomburg cognomen. Those who witness as *milites* are: *Gerhardus de Hostaden, Gozuinus, Thieodericus de Toneburc, Godescalcus*.²⁴⁶ It can be objected that Gerhard of Hochstaden was the archbishop's brother and so ought to have headed the list: the position of Goswin merely reflects his fraternal relationship with Gerhard and the archbishop, not comital status. At the same time one must admit, of course, that Gerhard does not belong as first lay witness in this and a number of other documents issued by his brother, unless he is a count.

²⁴⁵ Adalger is well documented as count and with the cognomens of Hengebach and Zülpich; see Groten, "Stunde," 90-1. He appears not to have had a direct heir; his title, based evidently on the *pagus* of Zülpichgau, passed elsewhere in the consanguinity, namely to the counts of Are. His fraternal relationship with Gerhard I of Jülich may be inferred from the name Gerlach in the Jülich line, which is a *Ger*-variant indicative of Matfridinger descent (cf. Jackman, *Criticism*, 170). The name Adalger, likewise, can derive its components from the Matfridinger names Adalbert and Gerhard. Adalger of Hengebach and Gerhard I of Jülich should be sons of Gerlach of Wickrath († 1076).

²⁴⁶ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 252.

These lists do not necessarily offer incisive documentation, as demonstrated by an item from 1085, where those who witness as *milites* are: *Heinrich comes de Lache, Arnold urbis prefectus, Dieterich, Gozuuin*.²⁴⁷ Dietrich is presumably the later count of Cleves, and he precedes Goswin here, though it is exceedingly doubtful that he was as yet a count. Probably he occupies this position because he is advocate of the church of St. Maria ad gradus,²⁴⁸ the recipient of the document, and so follows immediately after the Rhenish count palatine and the archiepiscopal functionary.

Taken together, therefore, Goswin I's appearances as witness promote a strong impression of comital status. As to the *pagus* from which the title derived, it is conceivable that the office lay outside Ripuaria, perhaps as an easterly fragment of Maasland, where much of the landed wealth of the Goswins was later concentrated.²⁴⁹ The genealogical position of Goswin I nevertheless suggests that his title was based on a Ripuarian *pagus*.

Düffel

Let us now consider the northern *pagi* individually. The northernmost was Düffel, and before the military debacle of 1086 it would have been held by either Gerhard or Goswin. The government of this family extended into Batavian counties north and west, and the Ripuarian *pagi* must have been apportioned with a view to the balance of power in Batavia as well; but following the death of Count Dietrich in 1082 there is no direct information regarding Batavian personnel and hence no possibility of insight into that aspect. We have identified Gerhard as bearer of the Alpheim cognomen in 1084,²⁵⁰ however, which in view of that castle's location suggests Düffel as Gerhard's *pagus*. We shall find some reason for believing that Keldagau was Goswin's *pagus*, which may be said to stand in conformity. In 1087 we assume that Düffel became, and would continue to be, the juristic basis of the county of Cleves.

Having summarized the situation so succinctly, we must now take notice of questions raised in a recent study with regard to the assumed alignment of Düffel with the sphere of

²⁴⁷ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 236.

²⁴⁸ Kraus, "Studien," 16-17.

²⁴⁹ MGH, D F I 12, referring to Goswin II's advocacy for Meersen, is perhaps suggestive of comital jurisdiction in Maasland.

²⁵⁰ As n. 163 above.

the Ezzonen. Most commentators have accepted the count of Düffel documented in 947 as Erenfried, count elsewhere in Ripuaria and probably father of Count Palatine Hermann I.²⁵¹ In the case of Düffel, however, the form in which his name is recorded, *Irinuridus*, is very close to the form *Yrimfrid*, in which a member of the neighboring comital dynasty of Betuwe is recorded in memorial sources.²⁵² This circumstance has led Jongbloed to conjecture the latter individual as count not only in Düffel, but also further south in Keldagau.²⁵³ His suggestion is not that the count of Betuwe was identical to the Ezzoner count, whose name formed the diminutive of Ezzo, but that the name of the count of Düffel equates with the diminutive Immo, for which the full form is otherwise known to be Irminfried.²⁵⁴

With regard to Keldagau the inference is clearly unacceptable. Keldagau had previously been held by members of the Konradiner family, and we know that the Ezzonen inherited massively from the Konradiner around 945.²⁵⁵ The situation is less clear where Düffel is concerned, but a juxtaposition of two considerations confirms the Ezzoner association. Whereas a Count Gottschalk who documents for Düffel in 1062 should be the count of Zutphen, whose right arrives via his Ezzoner wife,²⁵⁶ the counts of Cleves owed their position to a close genealogical association with Gerhard *Flamens*. Thus we have two threads of inherited right that trace to a single Ezzoner source, namely Count Palatine Hermann I. Hence the count of Düffel in 947 is likely to be Hermann's father.

Reasons for rejecting an identification with Irminfried or Immo, conversely, include the apparent fact that the individual in question was already dead, his death being recorded in the necrological annals of Fulda under 945.²⁵⁷ Another Count Immo emerges shortly thereafter, but is clearly based much further southwest.²⁵⁸ Attempts to link Cleves with the earlier Immo's father Ricfried and the Batavian count Balderich are inconsequential. If we

²⁵¹ MGH, D O I 93. Cf. Lewald, "Ezzonen," 121; Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 87.

²⁵² Jongbloed, "Immed," 19, 32.

²⁵³ Jongbloed, "Immed," 39.

²⁵⁴ Jongbloed, "Immed," 16 n. 15.

²⁵⁵ Jackman, *Criticism*, 66-9.

²⁵⁶ MGH, D H IV 86, concerning the ferry at Esserden on the right Rhenish bank, well within the region that must be inferred for the *pagus* of Düffel. On Gottschalk see above, pp. 31-2.

²⁵⁷ *Klostergemeinschaft*, I, 330: "Irmfrid com." He is evidently the *comes noster* of Otto I's diploma of 15 May 945 given at Duisburg; MGH, D O I 66.

²⁵⁸ He emerges in 946 in the company of Count Robert of Namur, in keeping with his sphere of influence throughout his career; pertinent information in Dierkens, "Membre de l'aristocratie," 27.

find those persons supplied with the Cleves cognomen in a necrology,²⁵⁹ this is obviously an anachronism. Certain correspondences, such as advocacy for Balderich's monastery of Zyfflich held later by the counts of Cleves,²⁶⁰ suggest the possibility of inheritance from Balderich, but imply nothing regarding the *pagus*. To summarize briefly, the case for an Immo as count of Düffel is much weaker than the orthographic finding initially suggests. The Ezzoner identification of the Düffel count appears incisive.

Keldagau

South of Düffel we infer that the comital geography originally accepted the Rhine as the dividing line between the left-Rhenish *pagus* of Keldagau and the right-Rhenish *pagus* of Ruhrgau, even if this border was not adhered to religiously in the progressive fragmentation of counties. The town and castle of Geldern were located in Keldagau, and the name of Geldern must have derived from the *pagus* name, which in turn derived from the Roman settlement of Gellep (*Gelduba*). Documented as count of Keldagau in 1073 is Unroch, who was probably one of the youngest brothers of Gerhard *Flamens*.²⁶¹ His presence serves as a reminder that there were several family members sharing Ripuarian jurisdictions at least until the death of Gerhard *Flamens'* son Dietrich in 1082.

Since the arrangements of 1087 placed the count of Geldern in a superior position with respect to all other Ripuarian counts, it seems inevitable that Keldagau should have been assigned to him then. Despite every expectation that a cursory glance at the historical record may allow, this arrangement apparently did not persevere. A person with unexpected relevance to the question is Count Reginar of Freusburg, whose cognomen derives from a Hessian castle, but who actually originated far to the northwest. He was clearly a member of the Cuyk dynasty domiciled on the Meuse, for we have evidence of Reginar using the Cuyk cognomen on one occasion, as well as parallel evidence of Henry of Cuyk using the

²⁵⁹ Jongbloed, "Immed," 36-7.

²⁶⁰ On which see Kraus, "Studien," 27-8. The childless Balderich decreed that none but the archbishop of Cologne should hold the advocacy of Zyfflich; *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 159.

²⁶¹ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 217. His predecessor would have been Gerhard *Flamens*; cf. MGH, D H IV 199, 200 (from 1067), although the locality, Styrum, is an outlier on the right Rhenish flank. The name Unroch must arrive from a count of around 1000 who was Gerhard *Flamens'* predecessor in western Batavia; MGH, D O III 312, 347; D H III 386.

Freusburg cognomen.²⁶² This places Reginar in close geographical proximity to the north Ripuarian *pagi*.

He emerges around 1170 with strong ties to Ripuarria and, by contrast, no apparent interest in Hessen other than his use of the Freusburg cognomen. He remains prominent for the next twenty-five years, and this coincides with a period in which the Heinsberg comital title appears to be dormant. By the end of the twelfth century the Heinsberg seignery had passed to a branch of Cleves, and the comital title recurs. An obvious explanation for a revival of the comital title of Heinsberg would be Reginar's death without adult heir. In fact we have evidence of three likely sons of Reginar before his death, but none after.²⁶³

Arnold of Cleves, husband of the Heinsberg heiress, is well documented with the comital title and dies around 1200.²⁶⁴ Arnold II of Heinsberg, who was undoubtedly a son, is provided the comital title in a late source that appears to have factual knowledge of his death on the Fifth Crusade in 1218.²⁶⁵ He may have left an heiress, since Dietrich of Heinsberg, evidently his surviving brother, does not bear the comital title, nor seems especially likely to be of comital status.²⁶⁶ As a close associate of the Westphalian count Frederick of Isenberg, Dietrich may have been implicated as an accessory to the murder of Archbishop Engelbert I of Cologne in 1225.²⁶⁷ Coincidentally or otherwise, in 1226 we discover another local

²⁶² *REK*, II, nos. 952 (Reginar of Cuyk, 1170), 1449 (Henry of Freusburg, 1198). Möller, "Vererbungen," 398, sees Henry of Freusburg as a husband of one of two daughters of Eberhard of Freusburg, and Reginar as husband of the other. A daughter of Eberhard of Freusburg was *nobilis matrona* in 1131 (*Mainzer UB*, I, no. 571), however, meaning that Reginar is much more likely to be Eberhard's grandson. Further deficiencies in Möller's thesis are noted by Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 225-8.

²⁶³ *REK*, II, no. 1260, from 1186, including the witnesses Adalger and Dietrich of Moers. The latter is found again in 1191, but neither emerges thereafter; see Rothhof, "Zu den früheren Generationen," 9-10. A Widukind of Freusburg only in 1190: *REK*, II, no. 1365.

²⁶⁴ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 562 (from 1198): "Arnoldus com. de Clivo." In 1202 Adelheid of Heinsberg refers to herself explicitly as *domina* and her deceased husband Arnold as *comes*; *UB Niederrhein*, IV, no. 644. Following Kraus, "Studien," 2-5, Arnold was not involved in the Cleves succession.

²⁶⁵ "Cronica comitum," 189: "Arnoldus comes Clivensis." Cf. *UB Niederrhein*, II, no. 40 (from 1212): "Arnoldus de Heymesberch." This Arnold can only affiliate as Dietrich of Heinsberg's brother, given the known details of Dietrich's relationships (*ibid.*, no. 70).

²⁶⁶ *UB Niederrhein*, II, no. 122 (from 1225), describes Dietrich as an imperial retainer.

²⁶⁷ Frederick of Isenberg makes special mention of Dietrich of Heinsberg in a speech provided by Caesar of Heisterbach, "Vita sancti Engelberti," 307.

magnate bearing the comital title. This Dietrich, first count of the Moers dynasty,²⁶⁸ is very likely to be Reginar of Freusburg's grandson.

In the course of the thirteenth century the county of Moers began to flourish with its geographical focus in northern Ripuaria.²⁶⁹ Assuming therefore that the comital title of Moers is simply the Heinsberg title under a different dynasty, we should attribute the Heinsberg title likewise to jurisdiction in one of the northern *pagi*. The circumstances of its passage to Reginar of Freusburg must surely have something to do with the vicissitudes of Goswin III of Heinsberg. Among Frederick Barbarossa's most prominent functionaries in Italy,²⁷⁰ Goswin III saw his power evaporate in 1168 following Barbarossa's flight from Italy in the face of the Lombard League.²⁷¹ For Goswin, the consequence of failure was forfeiture of the comital office.²⁷²

After Goswin I died in 1101, documentation for his dynasty ceases, which suggests that he left minor heirs. In 1105 we have evidence that his elder son Gerhard had reached a majority,²⁷³ but within a few years he married an important east Saxon heiress.²⁷⁴ As to his brother Goswin II, there is no suggestion of comital status until the reign of Lothar of Supplinburg. A member of the Ezzoner consanguinity himself, Lothar dealt favorably with his relatives, and the recurrence of the Heinsberg title in his reign may have resulted from a revision of the comital geography, whereby the count of Geldern, who was especially prominent in Batavia, was no longer recognized as having a title based on a Ripuarian *pagus*. That is a reasonable possibility, but where do we find the Heinsberg *pagus* before 1101?

²⁶⁸ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 138.

²⁶⁹ Altgelt, *Geschichte*, 6-11; Keussen, *Stadt und Herrlichkeit Crefeld*, 23-42; Rothhof, "Zu den früheren Generationen," 10-15.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Haverkamp, *Herrschaftsformen*, 166, 169.

²⁷¹ Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, V, 598-9.

²⁷² Corsten, "Erzbischof Philipps Familie," 14, estimates the date of Goswin II's death to be 8 April 1167 or 1168. Goswin III would thus have succeeded to the Ripuarian comital title before losing it to forfeiture. Continuing his Italian involvement, he was captured at the battle of Legnano in 1176 and released the following year in the Peace of Venice. His final appearance in Rhenish documents is in 1179; *ibid.*, 21.

²⁷³ MGH, *D H IV* 491: "Gerhardus filius Gozwini." The witnesses are primarily Ripuarian, and Gerhard appears as the last of the seigneurs, immediately before the ministerials of Boppard.

²⁷⁴ Irmingard of Plötzkau, who enabled Gerhard to unite two lineal claims to the Walbeck inheritance, although the details are obscure; see Corsten, "Erzbischof Philipps Familie," 23-8. Their son Siegfried died in 1137.

A way out of every difficulty is simply to accept that Heinsberg, like Hochstaden, lost its northern status in 1086 and became associated solely with a single *pagus* in southern Ripuaria. When Goswin I died, his *pagus* would simply have passed to Gerhard II of Hochstaden. Lothar of Supplinburg came to the throne in 1125, and he undertook various measures benefiting his Ezzoner relatives. He also moved against his opponents amongst this group, in particular Count Gerhard I of Geldern.

The chronology of the restoration of Heinsberg's comital status is not absolutely clear, but is suggested by the following circumstances. At Christmas 1128 an accusation of treason was brought against the count of Geldern, who was compelled to an act of submission, expurgation by oath helpers, and a large monetary penalty.²⁷⁵ On 27 December of that year Gerhard of Heinsberg witnessed a royal diploma as count.²⁷⁶ Older than Goswin II, he is likely to have returned from eastern Saxony to accept the Ripuarian comital title; but he must have died a short time after. Goswin II figures prominently as count of Valkenburg in a document of Archbishop Bruno II of Cologne in 1132, and a diploma of Lothar of Supplinburg includes Goswin among the *principes* in the same year.²⁷⁷

Thus Heinsberg carried a comital title under Lothar, but we must speculate as to the manner of its reintroduction. It remains conceivable that the jurisdiction of Geldern was recognized in 1125 as stemming solely from Batavia, leaving room for Heinsberg to reenter the ranks of Ripuarian counts. In this configuration the landgraviai office that the counts of Geldern had enjoyed under the Salians was no longer a feasibility. Indeed, later evidence for the vestiges of a lower Rhenish landgravate concerns not Geldern, but the heirs of Hochstaden.²⁷⁸ Apparently Lothar had various reasons for spurning the count of Geldern even at

²⁷⁵ *Chronica regia Coloniensis* ad 1129, at 66; Bernhardi, *Lothar von Supplinburg*, 196

²⁷⁶ MGH, D Loth III 14. Corsten, "Erzbischof Philipps Familie," 10-11, suggests that Gerhard's use of the Heinsberg cognomen signals the recent death of his father, and that Gerhard himself died very shortly thereafter. The cognomen was often shared between father and son in this period, however, and has no evidentiary value in this context. The brothers Goswin II and Gerhard of Heinsberg recorded in 1118 (*UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 288) are probably not named in order of seniority, simply because Gerhard was not domiciled in Ripuaria. This does not constitute evidence of a younger pair of brothers.

²⁷⁷ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 314; MGH, D Loth III 41.

²⁷⁸ Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 41 n. 129, and Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 276 n. 4, refer to an unpublished document of Füssenich attesting a landgravate held in 1188 by Are-Hochstaden. The landgravate held in 1195 by Sayn is found in *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 550. Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 276-8, speculates that Gerhard II of Hochstaden received a landgravate when Lothar of Supplinburg came to the throne.

the beginning of his reign.²⁷⁹ The alternative, where Gerhard of Geldern's demotion is viewed as a consequence of the treason alleged at Christmas in 1128, is decidedly preferable, but we should also keep in mind the revisions in southern Ripuaria that we know took place at the beginning of Lothar's reign.

If Lothar of Supplinburg had no difficulty providing a northern *pagus* to Goswin II, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Goswin I had once held that same *pagus*. At the death of Count Unroch (*fl.* 1059-73), therefore, Keldagau is likely to have passed to Goswin. This conforms to the inference of Gerhard I of Hochstaden's tenure in Düffel, deduced in part from his apparent documentation bearing the Alpheim cognomen.

Mühlgau

After 1087 the counts of Geldern and Cleves appear fairly rapidly, whereas the count of Kessel does not emerge until 1106 or 1107. Consequently one is also obliged to entertain the possibility that Goswin I of Heinsberg's comital title passed in 1101 to Bruno of Kessel. This hypothesis is undermined, however, by the situation of Kessel properties and interests in the immediate vicinity of Hochstaden, which speaks for Kessel's actual participation in the restructuring of 1087.²⁸⁰ Mühlgau, the relevant *pagus*, was a region thickly populated by Hochstaden castles. From east to west, Hochstaden, Wickrath and Wassenberg formed a fortified chain, to which Heinsberg added a westerly extension. In consigning Gerhard of Hochstaden to southern Ripuaria and exalting Gerhard of Geldern in his place, it made sense for Emperor Henry IV to dismantle the jurisdictional power of Hochstaden along this chain.

c. The Southern *pagi*

After 1086 the counts of Hochstaden were restricted almost entirely to southern Ripuaria. They held perhaps four different *pagi* at one time or another. We shall discuss the *pagi* in a north-to-south, west-to-east order, beginning with Sunderscas, a relatively small region on

²⁷⁹ Schiffer, *Grafen von Geldern*, 34-8; cf. Ziegler, "Studien zur staufischen Opposition," 108-10.

²⁸⁰ Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 40-1.

the Rur river midway between Aachen and Cologne. The Pellenz, which likely provided the early counts of Sayn with their second comital title and hence may also be said to touch Hochstaden relationships directly, lay immediately south of Ripuaria and should be left aside here.

Sunderscas

In 1056 a Gerhard—undoubtedly Gerhard *Flamens*—documents as count of the *pagus* termed “Rurgau” on this occasion.²⁸¹ The particular locality, Düren, lay under the Jülichgau count in 941, and at that time the region was called Sunderscas, or “separated district.”²⁸² This appellation suggests that the region had once been considered part of Jülichgau, but now retained a separate seat of justice presumably in Düren. In the document of 1056 the *comitatus* is curiously described as *qui dicitur Stegula*, an expression that should be compared with MHG *stēc*, with diminutive *stēgelin* = ‘narrow bridge or path’.²⁸³ This peculiar nomenclature might reflect a current descriptive term stemming from the highway passing through Düren, a more direct route from Aachen to Cologne than the trunk road that passed through Jülich.²⁸⁴

Sunderscas is also identifiable as the *comitatus nemoris*—forest county—which in 1177 passed from the counts of Molbach to the counts of Jülich by marriage.²⁸⁵ A path of inheritance via Hochstaden is the obvious inference. As we saw earlier, advocacy of the Bonn churches appears to pass for a while among Hochstaden in-laws, but after the deaths of Counts Konrad and Gerhard of Bonn it was claimed by Count Adalbert II of Molbach. It is most likely that Count Konrad’s mother was Gerhard I of Hochstaden’s daughter, and our contention is that her second husband was Adalbert of Molbach’s father.²⁸⁶ This allows Sunderscas to descend from the tenth-century Matfridinger count Godfrey via Gerhard II of Metz to Gerhard

²⁸¹ MGH, D H IV 19; cf. Schiffer, *Grafen von Geldern*, 18. The attestation of the name Rurgau is unique in this period, but it recurs in the thirteenth century; see Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 29.

²⁸² Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus*, 173-4.

²⁸³ Cf. Matthias Lexers *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, 209.

²⁸⁴ Veith, “Wegenetz,” 104, indicates that the Limburg-Düren road passed a German mile (approx. 7.5 km) south of Aachen, while the Maastricht-Jülich artery passed about two German miles north.

²⁸⁵ See generally Kaspers, *Comitatus nemoris*, 47-60.

²⁸⁶ See above, pp. 34-5, and below, p. 70.

Flamens, and from him via Hochstaden to Molbach.²⁸⁷ On this basis, moreover, there is all the more reason to accept the complete separation of Sunderscas from Jülichgau in the middle of the eleventh century. One may hardly doubt that it remained a separate entity, just as it continued to be when it arrived to the counts of Jülich in the late twelfth century.²⁸⁸

Further evidence of the separation of the *pagi* and the passage of Sunderscas via the dynasties of Hochstaden and Molbach may be offered as follows. In 1029 the village of Wiel is said to lie in Jülichgau in the jurisdiction of Counts Giselbert and Gerhard.²⁸⁹ The naming of two counts suggests only that arrangements were temporary, the old count having recently died:²⁹⁰ this may have been Hermann (II), inferable father of Gerhard *Flamens*.²⁹¹ The important circumstance here is that Wiel is localized in Jülichgau: the counties would have been united under one count at this time. In 1138, conversely, Wiel is documented as part of an undefined Ripuarian *pagus* in the county of Adalbert I of Nörvenich,²⁹² who was Adalbert of Molbach's father. Wiel thus pertained to Sunderscas, which had previously been Gerhard *Flamens*' county.

On the understanding that Jülichgau and Sunderscas were entirely separate in 1056, some confirmation is now available for the assertion that the counts of Hochstaden descended from Gerhard *Flamens* while the counts of Jülich descended from Gerlach of Wickrath. For if Gerhard *Flamens* did not hold Jülichgau, that county was probably held by one of his brothers. It is the Sunderscas county, for which Gerhard *Flamens* documents, that passes down the Hochstaden line. Similarly, since Wickrath castle passed down the Hochstaden line, Gerlach must be a brother of Gerhard *Flamens*. Wickrath may well have been shared property under Gerlach, with the entire ownership later acquired by Hochstaden.

Of the counties documented in the hands of Gerhard *Flamens*, only Sunderscas can be observed passing from Gerhard II of Hochstaden at his death. Conceivably it was also held

²⁸⁷ Kaspers, *Comitatus nemoris*, 65-9, follows Kremer, *Akademische Beiträge*, III, 9-11, in asserting Alberada of Molbach's descent from Alberada, daughter of Meingaud of Vilich. However, the *comitatus nemoris* is unlikely to have passed in this manner. For one thing, Meingaud of Vilich was not a count, as stressed by Corsten, "Meingaud und Gerberga," 14.

²⁸⁸ The separation is stressed by Kraus, *Jülich, Aachen und das Reich*, 56-60.

²⁸⁹ MGH, D Ko II 141.

²⁹⁰ See the parallel example of Alsatian Sundgau described in Jackman, *Criticism*, 83-4.

²⁹¹ The possibility that the deceased count of Jülichgau was Gerhard II of Metz must also be admitted.

²⁹² MGH, D Ko III 2.

by Gerhard I of Hochstaden, yet that is far from clear. The military debacle of 1086 is likely to have resulted in the reduction of Gerhard I's sphere to a single county, and Goswin I of Heinsberg must have received similar treatment. Probably he already held Sunderscas, and at his death in 1101 it passed to Gerhard II.

Bonngau

On the understanding that Gerhard I of Hochstaden and Goswin I of Heinsberg were each restricted to a single southern *pagus* in 1087, clearly in that year Gerhard was left with Bonngau. No doubt his son Gerhard II succeeded him there. Bonngau is documented under Count Palatine Ezzo in 1020.²⁹³ In 1045 Ezzo's son Otto exchanged the palatine office for the duchy of Swabia, and soon thereafter Bonngau is found under Sicco (Siegfried),²⁹⁴ an inferable brother of Gerhard *Flamens*, thus migrating across the tree of the Ezzonen. At Sicco's death in 1065 it is likely that Bonngau passed to Gerhard I of Hochstaden. He no doubt had reached an adult age by then, and family members of the preceding generation were already well supplied with counties.

The offices of advocate for the church of St. Cassius Bonn and the convent of Dietkirchen were probably united with comital jurisdiction in Bonngau in the years preceding, if indeed they had been perceived as separate institutions. While the documentation on this issue is too fragmentary for assurance, it is relatively clear that at this point in time the advocacies departed the Ezzonen. A Ludwig documents as advocate of St. Cassius around 1075, and he is identifiable as Count Ludwig I of Arnstein.²⁹⁵ The subtraction of the advocacies is a particular reason for inferring Gerhard of Hochstaden's succession to Bonngau in 1065. Had a family member of the preceding generation succeeded, we would expect the full scope of jurisdiction to be retained; but Gerhard was still very young and not necessarily suited to the full responsibility of that jurisdiction. The likelihood that Bonngau was Gerhard's first county meanwhile suggests a reason for his retaining it in 1087.

²⁹³ MGH, D H II 433.

²⁹⁴ *UB Niederrhein*, I, 182; MGH, D H III 270. For his Ahrgau county see n. 301 below. It is also likely that Sicco held jurisdiction in Zülpich- and Eifelgau, since he purchased feudal rights to the tithes of Zülpich; *REK*, I, no. 1000a. His successor there was Adalger of Hengebach; see n. 245 above.

²⁹⁵ See above, pp. 29-30.

We must now digress momentarily to consider a peculiarity of the Bonngau geography. The deaconry of Ahr appears to have been coterminous with Bonn- and Ahrgau combined. This in turn leads to the occasional assertion that one count functioned for both *pagi*.²⁹⁶ The sources name various localities in such a way that the two *pagi* are distinguishable from each other in many respects, and this furnishes a possible argument in rebuttal.²⁹⁷ One needs to ascertain why the *pagi* or sub-*pagi* are distinguished from each other before considering whether the county was coterminous with the deaconry. That task cannot be fulfilled here. It behooves us, conversely, to provide reasons why the comital succession in Bonngau must be viewed as separate from that in Ahrgau. Here we shall delineate distinctive features of the Bonngau succession, and a little further along we shall perform a similar service for Ahrgau.

The most significant evidence of a separate Bonngau succession is provided by peculiar aspects of the succession to the Bonn advocacies in the first half of the twelfth century. Gebeno, who was installed apparently through the withdrawal of the counts of Arnstein from this sphere, holds these advocacies until his death around 1112, and is succeeded by Konrad, evidently his son.²⁹⁸ In 1125, however, Konrad's status changes. At this point he becomes Count Konrad of Bonn and continues to document as such until 1141.²⁹⁹ A person who having held advocacy for the Bonn churches for many years becomes "count of Bonn" clearly owes his new status to the acquisition of jurisdiction in the *pagus* of Bonngau. Among other things this means that the comital title for the Bonngau *pagus* was hitherto in someone else's hands.

Doubtless the Ezzonen provide the source for the comital succession and most likely for that of the advocacies as well. Konrad of Bonn's situation from 1125 now assumes great interest in light of information that we possess regarding an intimate relationship between Konrad and the counts of Hochstaden, the senior surviving line of the Ezzonen. This relationship is confirmed and made precise by the dispute between the counts of Molbach and Sayn

²⁹⁶ Thus Harleß, "Grafen von Bonn," 3-5; Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 17, 48.

²⁹⁷ Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 8-18, conversely uses the existence of two intermediate regions called Zwißtgau and Odangau to argue the unity of the region.

²⁹⁸ See above, p. 31.

²⁹⁹ Corsten, "Graf Konrad von Bonn," 8. Gebeno is found with comital title only in the necrology of the cathedral chapter of Cologne; "Memorienbuch," 20.

over succession to the Bonn advocacies following the death of Count Gerhard of Bonn in 1145.³⁰⁰ Both families are understood to be Hochstaden relatives simply in view of their competition for the Bonn advocacies. More especially, the count of Molbach was Hochstaden-related in view of his succession to the *comitatus nemoris*; and the counts of Sayn emerge immediately upon the Hochstaden extinction, which argues for their closeness of relationship. We have drawn the necessary conclusions in the appropriate sections above, and many additional details support those findings.

Konrad of Bonn received the Bonngau jurisdiction in 1125, and the most likely source was undoubtedly Gerhard II of Hochstaden. Gerhard's young son Gerhard emerges only once in 1122 and perhaps died shortly thereafter, a circumstance that might have impelled Gerhard to divest Bonngau. That explanation is far from compelling, and there is a more obvious and momentous factor in Lothar of Supplinburg's accession to the throne in 1125. Since Bonngau was divested more than a decade before Gerhard's death, it is to be inferred that Gerhard participated in a trade, for which the approval of the new monarch was necessary and fitting. It is precisely at this moment, moreover, that the *pagus* of Avelgau must have arrived to Hochstaden.

Ahrgau

There are Ahrgau comital documentations for Counts Sicco and Berthold from the mid-eleventh century.³⁰¹ Then follows a period of obscurity. Eventually the Hochstaden branch of the counts of Are appears to be associated with jurisdiction in Ahrgau.³⁰² As to the Berthold who documents as count of Ahrgau, he is clearly Count Berthold IV of Stromburg, and his mother was undoubtedly a sister of Gerhard *Flamens*.³⁰³ Berthold of Stromburg is a figure of extraordinary interest despite his absence from narrative sources. His principal counties lay along the Mosel, both in the middle Rhenish region and in Upper Lorraine, to which had been added counties in Hessen by inheritance from the Konradiner.³⁰⁴ The

³⁰⁰ See above, pp. 34-6.

³⁰¹ MGH, D H IV 119 (Sicco in 1064), 173 (Berthold in 1065).

³⁰² Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 42.

³⁰³ Jackman, "Castle Cognomens," 260, 262.

³⁰⁴ See Jackman, *Criticism*, 164-71.

addition of Ahrgau to his sphere brought him to prominence in yet another province of the kingdom and was probably intended by the young King Henry IV to expand the influence of a trusted person while he tested the reins of government. In this manner Ahrgau was evidently the first of the counties to depart the family of Gerhard *Flamens*. Since it would not have been wise to detach a large and important region at this juncture, one can argue that the detachment of Ahrgau occurred separately from that of Bonngau.

Berthold of Stromburg was the last of his line. At his death around 1080 a significant part of his inheritance passed to his nephews of Sponheim.³⁰⁵ There is a good possibility that the Ahrgau jurisdiction was included in this inheritance, for Count Stephen II of Sponheim appears in a prominent position among the witnesses of a lower Rhenish document in 1090.³⁰⁶ We can also detect the presence of Count Berthold I of Ham, in all likelihood Stephen's brother, in a similar position in 1085.³⁰⁷ The reason why Berthold of Ham should be count on one occasion and Stephen of Sponheim on another is not immediately clear, but we can at least point to the military debacle at Pleichfeld in 1086 as the occasion for sweeping revision of Ripuarian constitutional relationships.

Accepting Stephen II of Sponheim as count of Ahrgau permits the interesting possibility that the Ahrgau jurisdiction subsequently passed to the counts of Stahleck. Stephen died around 1095. His son was clearly a minor at that time, and advocacy for his monastic foundation at Sponheim passed to Goswin of Stahleck. This must be explained by the Sponheim identity of Goswin's wife, as we saw earlier. The county might then have arrived to Goswin's son Hermann after the monastic retirement of Goswin, whose last documentation occurs in 1134.³⁰⁸

At first sight these identifications appear to inspire confidence, given that Otto of Are did not bear a comital title upon Gerhard II of Hochstaden's death or for some time thereafter, but began to use title and cognomen around the time that the end game was played out

³⁰⁵ The Sponheim connection is inferred by, among other things, a bilateral division of the parish church of Kirchberg between the county of Sponheim and Berthold of Stromburg's collegiate church of Ravengiersburg, on which see Wagner, *Ravengiersburg*, 32-40.

³⁰⁶ *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch*, pt. 1, no. 102. In Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 37 n. 20, it is suggested that Stephen was a guest and prominently placed for this reason, but the possibility that he actually functioned as a Ripuarian count must now take precedence.

³⁰⁷ As n. 244 above.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Epple, "Goswin und Hermann," 2-3.

between the Rheineck and Stahleck rivals to the palatinate. There can be little doubt that Hermann of Stahleck was able to win Otto of Are's cooperation (or at worst neutrality) by presenting him with the natural objects of the Hochstaden inheritance, namely the heiress, the castle of Hochstaden, and expectancy to a comital title. However, the emergence of Otto of Are as count actually occurs after the death of Otto of Rheineck, whose castle lay in Ahrgau. This natural point of succession is too obvious to disregard.

The preferable alternative, therefore, is to accept that during his heyday Otto of Rheineck was count of the Ahrgau *pagus*. His wife Gertrud of Northeim, with whom he combined rights in descent from the Laach family, served as his entrée into Ripuarian affairs and very probably brought him Rheineck castle.³⁰⁹ They married in 1113 or 1114, when the storm of rebellion was gathering against the emperor. Hence one is very reluctant to accept Otto's succession to a Ripuarian county at that time. Gerhard II, conversely, was an increasingly attractive proposition on account of his family's participation in the foundation of St. Maria Laach and his relationship with the imperially connected Bishop John of Speyer. Otto of Rheineck could not have received Ahrgau before 1125, and to provide the county to him Emperor Lothar needed to negotiate an exchange, whereby Gerhard II of Hochstaden acquired the Avelgau *pagus*, as we shall see.

A trace of Gerhard II's status as count of Ahrgau can perhaps be discerned in a little observed postscript to Hochstaden's contribution to the foundation of Laach. In addition to Laach estates mentioned in the foundation charter, the gift of an annual rent of five *solidi* at Wadenheim is recorded in the Laach necrology.³¹⁰ Wadenheim was a village in close proximity to Ahrweiler and was, as clarified by Aubin, a principal seat of justice for the county of Neuenahr.³¹¹ In associating the Wadenheim donation with Gerhard II's activities as count, we would have to accept that unlike much of the county of Are-Hochstaden, which was deeded to the archbishop of Cologne in 1246,³¹² Wadenheim passed to the neighboring counts of Neuenahr. Yet circumstances warrant such a conclusion.

³⁰⁹ Wegeler, *Burg Rheineck*, 3-4. The castle should not be construed as Gertrud's marriage gift from her husband, but rather as her inheritance.

³¹⁰ See n. 70 above.

³¹¹ Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 57-8.

³¹² *UB Niederrhein*, II, no. 297.

Of particular relevance is the advocacy for Laach exercised strenuously by Gerhard of Are-Nürburg in the early thirteenth century. He was eventually compelled to admit that he served at the pleasure of the monastic community in a less than hereditary capacity.³¹³ Either his mother or his wife must have brought him a hereditary interest in Laach, conceivably from the direction of the counts of Gleiberg.³¹⁴ Their son Otto then erected the castle of Neuenahr in the closest imaginable proximity to Wadenheim, far deeper in Ahrgau than the Are-Hochstaden seat at Are (Altenahr), and in the heart of territory that was about to fall to the archbishops of Cologne. There is some suggestion here of cause and effect.

If we accept Wadenheim as the original seat of justice in Ahrgau in accordance with its geographical position,³¹⁵ then its inheritance by the counts of Neuenahr, necessarily in conjunction with the Hochstaden donation of 1246, must be attributed to a Laach connection—witness their interest in the Laach advocacy. This would mean that Ahrgau passed among heirs of Count Palatine Henry of Laach. We may suppose that Stephen II of Sponheim's successors were the counts palatine until 1113. Accordingly, Gerhard II of Hochstaden held jurisdiction for this *pagus* from that moment until a trade was organized when Lothar of Supplinburg succeeded to the throne in 1125. At Otto of Rheineck's death in 1150, Otto of Are inherited the Ahrgau jurisdiction by right of his wife's descent from Gerhard II and the palatine family of Laach (and perhaps his own descent from Stephen's sister).

The palatine connection might otherwise have been formed if Stephen predeceased Henry of Laach, with the Hochstadens succeeding at Henry's death in 1095. In either case, the inference that Otto of Are succeeded to the comital title of Otto of Rheineck carries with it the inference of Ahrgau's separation from Bonngau throughout this period.

³¹³ Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 278-81. As part of his compensation for renouncing hereditary advocacy, the monastery transformed an estate at Wadenheim into a fief for him to hold of the archbishop of Cologne; *UB Mittelrhein*, II, no. 247.

³¹⁴ The name of his wife was Antigone, a unique occurrence in the aristocracy of this period, but typical of Greco-Roman names deriving from Greek or Palestinian saints and intended as a reflection of Byzantine descent; see Jackman, "Greco-Roman Fund," 14-56; id., "Comparative Accuracy," 65-6. Yet Greco-Roman onomastic was already present in Gerhard of Are-Nürburg's brother Matthew (cf. Bader, *Grafen von Are*, end table). Of the relatives of Count Palatine Henry of Laach, the counts of Salm-Gleiberg were notable for the presence of names such as Sophie (wife of the anti-king Hermann of Salm) and Salome (wife of Count William of Gleiberg). The counts of Gleiberg were among Otto of Rheineck's closest relatives.

³¹⁵ See Aubin, *Entstehung der Landeshoheit*, 13-14, for a list of places localized in Ahrgau: most are in the vicinity of Ahrweiler.

Avelgau

The regional jurisdiction of the counts of Sayn in Avelgau is documented in the late twelfth century.³¹⁶ With the counts of Sayn affiliated as a branch of the Hochstaden family, it is not difficult to perceive that a right to inherit the Avelgau jurisdiction must have arrived from the palatine line of Laach. A Count Hermann of Avelgau documenting in 1068 is undoubtedly Count Palatine Henry of Laach's father.³¹⁷ After Henry's death in 1095 it is likely that Avelgau passed with the palatine office, first to Henry of Northeim, then to his son-in-law Siegfried of Ballenstedt (Henry of Laach's stepson).

Siegfried was in open rebellion against Emperor Henry V when he died of battle wounds in 1113. It is not clear that he actually forfeited,³¹⁸ but his sons were minors, and the palatine office was awarded to Godfrey of Calw, a relative of the emperor, but one who lacked much connection to the palatine succession. Conceivably the emperor also passed Avelgau to Godfrey. In general his arrangements did nothing to assuage the regional aristocracy, and a massive rebellion broke out under the leadership of the archbishop of Cologne. The Westphalian count Frederick of Arnsberg, a grandson of Richenza, was especially prominent,³¹⁹ and in all probability the rebels nominated him count of Avelgau. A series of archiepiscopal documents from 1116 and 1117 shows Frederick's frequent presence in Ripuaria, where he functions either as advocate of Siegburg or as regional count, most probably in both capacities.³²⁰ By this time his niece was married to Count Adolf V of Berg,³²¹ to whom the advocacy of Siegburg soon passed.³²² The counts of Berg also inherited properties and rights in Avelgau,³²³ though not the title associated with that *pagus*.

³¹⁶ Gensicke, *Landesgeschichte*, 153; Flink, *Oberpleis*, 97 (inaccessible); Lück, "Avelgau," 279; summary in Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn*, 247-52.

³¹⁷ See above, pp. 18, 26.

³¹⁸ Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher*, VI, 277, asserts forfeiture, but bases this assumption chiefly on the failure of Siegfried's son to succeed to the palatinate.

³¹⁹ Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher*, VI, 298, 301, 311.

³²⁰ *REK*, II, nos. 124, 132, 133, 139.

³²¹ Kraus, *Entstehung*, 43, 65-6, recognizes the affiliation of Adolf's wife with Frederick's brother Henry of Rietberg, but misassigns other data pertaining to Berg marriages.

³²² Kraus, *Entstehung*, 67, unnecessarily questions the Berg identity of the advocate Adolf of 1121 and 1125; *REK*, II, nos. 184, 219. The advocacy of Siegburg was heritable in the Berg family from this point forward.

Independently of the other rebels, Frederick of Arnsberg made peace with the emperor in 1120 and died in February 1124.³²⁴ We cannot say with assurance that he held the Avelgau jurisdiction either before or after 1120; nor can we exclude the possibility that the emperor passed it to Gerhard II of Hochstaden when Frederick died. It seems most likely, however, that Lothar of Supplinburg—Frederick’s ally in the rebellion—established order from confusion when he came to the throne in August 1125. At this time a county was created for Gerhard’s inferable nephew Konrad based on the *pagus* of Bonngau. Thus Gerhard II of Hochstaden allowed one county to pass and received another county to take its place, a circumstance that tends to ascertain his place in both successions. When he died shortly after 1136 an orderly succession brought the Avelgau title to the counts of Sayn, who emerge in 1139.

d. Conclusion

The immediate family of Gerhard I is associated primarily with the four castles of Hochstaden, Wickrath, Wassenberg and Heinsberg. They stood roughly on an east-west axis separating Mühlgau and Keldagau to the north from Köllingau and Jülichgau to the south. The more westerly locations were given up, Heinsberg to the cadet line and Wassenberg to the nephew of Geldern. When he chose to found a collegiate church, Gerhard II of Hochstaden selected the location of Hamborn, much further to the north and on the Rhenish right bank in Ruhrgau. His interests, it appears, greatly exceeded the boundaries of the *pagi* with which he was associated through comital jurisdiction. The basic goal was to maintain control over partially integrated jurisdictions and far-flung fiefs and possessions, for it was never perfectly clear which Ripuarian offices would fall to whom, and which would depart.

Of special importance to the description of principles involved in the Hochstaden comital successions is the revision that followed Lothar of Supplinburg’s royal accession. At this point the holder of the Bonn advocacies was raised to the comital rank, but Gerhard II of Hochstaden also enjoyed an increment in status. Clearly the Avelgau county arrived to him

³²³ Kraus, *Entstehung*, 85-7.

³²⁴ Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher*, VII, 144-5, 268-9.

in place of Bonngau and, in all probability, Ahrgau. The last-mentioned *pagus* evidently supplied Ripuarian comital status to Otto of Rheineck, whose wife Gertrud's sister was Lothar's wife Richenza, and who from this point forward was an expectant to the palatine office. There are many considerations favoring the inference of an exchange of jurisdictions on that occasion, but the most vital is natural arithmetic. Admittedly Gerhard II of Hochstaden surrendered two jurisdictions, receiving only one in return; yet Bonngau and Ahrgau had a history of being joined as one political unit. In any event, the prospect of holding comital office on both sides of the Rhine would have been irresistible. It represented a novel and significant advance.

The Hochstaden successions bring some noteworthy details of constitutional law into focus. We have found it likely that Gerhard I of Hochstaden and his (inferable) brother Goswin I of Heinsberg were permitted to retain only one county each after the military debacle of 1086. There is an interesting parallel in the Hammerstein marriage controversy (1018-24). Even after his excommunication, Otto of Hammerstein continued to be recognized as count of the Engersgau *pagus* until forced to surrender and submit to exile.³²⁵ A stage evidently existed in the procedure of forfeiture where holders of multiple jurisdictions were concerned. Before imposing full forfeiture, the monarch could seek compliance by reducing the office holder to a single office. This graduated procedure can be equated with the threefold summons in the process against Henry the Lion in 1180.³²⁶

Another significant constitutional detail has to do with the so-called *Leihezwang*, by which the German monarch was legally obliged to fill a vacant office within a year and a day. The idea of *Leihezwang* is well documented in the later thirteenth century, but there is very little information to apply to questions of practice in earlier times. The study of the Ripuarian counties offers several instances where the monarch clearly was able to wait before resolving questions of succession. The most important is the situation leading to the creation of the counties of Geldern and Cleves. The military debacle at Pleichfeld occurred in August 1086. Emperor Henry IV was not presented with an opportunity to resolve the situation favorably, however, until news of Konrad of Luxembourg's concomitant death arrived. That news must have been at least two months in transit, upon which arrangements for the widow's remarriage were required. Seen in this manner, the *Leihezwang* protects a

³²⁵ See Jackman, "Hessian Heirs," 65.

³²⁶ On which see Heinemeyer, "Prozess," 30-6; cf. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 451.

royal right to hold an office vacant during a lengthy period of deliberation and is not intended to restrict his power as is usually suggested.³²⁷

Partial forfeiture and the *Leihezwang* are logical components of a legal system where the monarch has limited control of succession to public office. All appearances are that the basic system had existed unchanged at least since Charlemagne's time.³²⁸ The office of count was hereditary, and proximity and primogeniture were operative principles. However, various possibilities for manipulation of succession existed, the most obvious being forfeiture, minor heirs, multiple successions, and reconfiguration. The key is the hereditary principle: all public succession must appear to be governed by inheritance interpreted with justice and efficacy. Right order was served in this manner, whereas chaos awaited any deviation from the principle.

³²⁷ The discussion of Goetz, *Leihezwang*, 20-129, is organized along those lines.

³²⁸ See the description in Jackman, "Meingaud-Walaho," 90-5.

VI. THE LANDGRAVIAL OFFICE

An inquiry into the landgravial office must be undertaken as an afterthought given that the Hochstaden family was unable to retain it for any length of time. The existence of such an office is unequivocally documented by Gerhard of Geldern's use of the title *lantgrave* in an imperial diploma of 1098. In the *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Trond the titles of *comes patriae* and *flaminius* are applied to that same person. An objective consideration suggests that the office of *flaminius* entailed the bearing of a church banner.³²⁹ An individual known to have functioned as standard bearer for the archbishop of Cologne at a much earlier date is Liudolf († 1031), eldest son of Count Palatine Ezzo and the imperial princess Mathilde. We have the banner, its apparent association with a higher office, and the involvement of the Ezzonen in what is likely to be a hereditary succession. In these circumstances it is no longer reasonable to subscribe to the customary treatment of Gerhard *Flamens* as a person of Flemish background in light of his epithet. Linguistically the epithet has nothing to do with Flanders; and regardless of the question of regional background, it points with some urgency to the office of standard bearer. The particular question is whether Gerhard I of Hochstaden held that office previously and, if so, in what manner it passed to the count of Geldern.

The landgravate clearly existed in 1076, when a *princeps* named Gerhard was involved in a dispute over patronage rights for the church of Echt. The chronology of the count of Geldern does not conform to so early an attestation. Gerhard I of Geldern died after 1129, which would mean an active career of more than fifty-five years if the evidence of 1076 applies to him. We also know of his marriage to Konrad of Luxembourg's widow Clementia probably in 1087. He thereby became a close relative of Emperor Henry IV, whose mother was Clementia's aunt. The *princeps* of 1076, conversely, was sternly rebuked in 1087 for his continued oppression of the church of Echt. The possibility that he was (or was about to be) the emperor's close relative seems remote at best.

³²⁹ Jackman, "Gerhard *Flamens* (I)," 16-17.

We also have information pertaining to the manner in which the count of Geldern acquired the landgravidial office. The failed charge of the forces of Cologne and Utrecht precipitated a rout of the imperial army at Pleichfeld in August 1086, with the result that an extraordinarily opulent baggage train was lost to the pro-papal forces. The person who led that charge would have been the *flaminius*, the standard bearer of Cologne. Far from becoming the emperor's close relative, that person is most likely to have forfeited his office. We see therefore that Gerhard of Hochstaden was stripped of office, then persecuted for continuing his oppression of the church of Echt, whereas his nephew of Geldern, already known for staunch support of the imperial cause, received the forfeited office along with the hand of the emperor's cousin in marriage.³³⁰

We also have a clear indication of the circumstances in which the landgravidial office fell into abeyance. At Christmas 1128 Gerhard of Geldern was accused of treason and was ultimately forced to pay a large monetary penalty. One need not doubt that his higher office was forfeit. We suggested above that simply by removing a Ripuarian comital title from Gerhard the monarch could undermine the theoretical basis for higher office.³³¹ From that point forward only the most meager traces can be detected. In 1188 Count Dietrich I of Are-Hochstaden is accorded the landgravidial title,³³² and in 1195, shortly after his death, it is supplied to Count Henry III of Sayn. Dietrich descended cognatically from Gerhard II of Hochstaden, while Henry is inferred to descend agnatically from Gerhard's brother. Dietrich's successor Lothar I of Are-Hochstaden collaborated with Henry of Sayn in the document naming the latter as *comes patriae*.³³³ A forlorn remnant of the office passed in alternation between the two dynasties, it seems, not unlike the *ius patronatus* for Rommerskirchen passing in alternation between Are-Hochstaden and Berg.³³⁴

The sources suffice for a basic understanding of the landgravidial succession. As to the description of the office, the landgravate was as yet a great rarity in the medieval German

³³⁰ See above, pp. 6-7.

³³¹ See above, pp. 63-4.

³³² The document in question remains unpublished at least as of 1997, to judge from Ehlers-Kisseler, *Anfänge der Prämonstratenser*, 473 n. 597.

³³³ *UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 550.

³³⁴ Thus Ehlers-Kisseler, *Anfänge der Prämonstratenser*, 399-400. Conceivably a sharing of the battle standard between Geldern and Nassau (see n. 338 below) should be inferred similarly.

constitution. In a fundamental discussion of its introduction into the fabric of government, Mayer saw the reign of Lothar of Supplinburg essentially as the point of departure, the land-gravial office being employed to carry through relatively sweeping constitutional reforms.³³⁵ In the landgravate of the *flaminius* we have an instance of which Mayer was apparently unaware, dating well before Lothar's reign. It would be difficult indeed to construct an in-terpretation from this isolated case, and the task might not even be worth attempting. Yet it will eventually become necessary in view of a parallel contemporary instance of landgravial office likewise beyond Mayer's ken. A series of documents beginning in 1086, and continuing (albeit sparsely) into the second half of the twelfth century, applies the title of *comes patriae* to principal representatives of the house of Brabant.³³⁶ The first evidence of this title is for Count Henry III of Louvain in October 1086, three months after the death of Konrad of Luxembourg in Palestine. We need not suppose, however, that the landgravate in Brabant came into being as a consequence of the debacle at Pleichfeld.³³⁷

As was suggested, Gerhard of Geldern forfeited the landgravate in 1128, yet the function of archiepiscopal standard bearer probably continued in the Geldern line. Eventually it was undertaken by the counts of Nassau, who adopted the Geldern blazon.³³⁸ The function of standard bearer, in other words, was detachable. Similarly, there is no reason to imagine that the Ezzoner Liudolf, as standard bearer, held a landgravial office recognized by the emperor. He was, after all, merely the expectant heir of his father Count Palatine Ezzo, whom he predeceased in 1031. Between that date and the mid-1070s, the office of standard bearer became a landgravate. A handful of dates and circumstances can be considered as possible moments for the office's inception.

³³⁵ Mayer, "Landgrafschaften," 201.

³³⁶ See Van Droogenbroeck, "Paltsgraaf Herman II," 78-80. After Godfrey I of Louvain's elevation as duke of Lower Lorraine, references to the landgravial office correspond more to those moments in time when Godfrey maintained ducal status. The office should not be construed as providing a substitute status in the absence of ducal office.

³³⁷ Van Droogenbroeck, "Betekenis," 122, with good reason associates the Brabantine title with the death in 1085 of Count Palatine Hermann II.

³³⁸ On the count of Nassau as standard bearer see May, "Kölnische Lehen," 30-4. The counts of Nassau bore a lion (colors unknown) in the early thirteenth century, but by the mid-century had adopted the familiar lion in *or* on field of *azur* strewn with bricks in *or* (see Dek, *Genealogie*, 184). That was identical to the shield adopted by Geldern in the same period: it replaced a design of three five-petal flowers; cf. De Vries, *Wapens*, 106-7.

First there is the restructuring of the mid-century. Count Palatine Ezzo died in 1034 and was succeeded by his younger son Otto. In 1045 Emperor Henry III engineered an exchange whereby Otto surrendered the palatinate and received the duchy of Swabia in return.³³⁹ The palatinate was then given to Henry I, an imperial relative of a junior Ezzonen line. It is possible that the landgravate was created for Gerhard *Flamens* at that time, since the new count palatine received an important expansion of power deriving from the Salian duchy of Worms. Gerhard *Flamens* was also related to the emperor, via his inferable Matfridinger mother.³⁴⁰

A reason for doubting the relevance of this date and set of circumstances is the apparent fact that the counties of the Ezzonen were distributed very liberally to junior lines presumably at this time. That already represented a marked increment in status. A political reason supporting this date, however, is the defeat and imprisonment of Duke Godfrey the Bearded of Lower Lorraine in that year. The creation of the landgravate might have been thought a suitable measure for guarding against his return to the heights of power.³⁴¹

A further possible date is 1060. Previously Count Palatine Henry I had capitulated to Archbishop Anno of Cologne and entered the monastery of Gorze, but he left on a rumor of his wife's infidelity, murdered her at Cochem, was forcibly returned to the monastery, to die there in fairly short order. The murder of his wife meant that his young son was orphaned of both parents. Archbishop Anno undertook guardianship of the boy, to whom the palatine office was preserved.³⁴² This might have been a good time to institute a strong governmental presence in part of the palatinate. The palatine and landgravial offices need not have been mutually exclusive in geographical terms, for the palatinate originated in duties vis-à-vis royal estates, while the landgravate in this instance seems to concern primarily a military function. An argument against this date, however, is simply that the emperor was a child, and the regency is unlikely to have undertaken a restructuring of this type.

A final possibility is the moment when ducal power was transferred to Count Adalbert III of Namur after Duke Godfrey the Hunchback died and was nominally replaced by the

³³⁹ See Lewald, "Ezzonen," 142-3.

³⁴⁰ Gerhard *Flamens'* mother is inferred as a daughter of Count Gerhard II of Metz. The latter's sister was the mother of Emperor Konrad II; Glocker, *Verwandten*, 332.

³⁴¹ A reordering of Lower Lorraine took place in May 1046; see Boshof, "Lothringen," 86-9.

³⁴² See Jenal, *Erzbischof Anno II.*, 134-40; Lewald, "Ezzonen," 154-62.

emperor's infant son Konrad. One may question whether the date is too late to come under consideration, but the set of circumstances seems highly probable. The *Translatio sancti Servatii* indicates that Gerhard received his right to Echt from Count Adalbert, who in turn had received his rights on behalf of the infant duke.³⁴³ This describes a process where Adalbert has certain duties and prerogatives immediately incumbent, one of which is to place the church of Echt in some manner under Gerhard's care. If Gerhard's office was based primarily on leading the forces of Cologne and Utrecht with the archiepiscopal banner in hand, conceivably he and the duke of Lower Lorraine needed to reach agreement on how he should carry out his duties with regard to particular churches, and Echt, despite its location in the diocese of Liège, may have been included in the arrangements. An ecclesiastical applicability, it should be noted, is also an aspect of the Brabantine landgravate documented in 1086 and subsequently.³⁴⁴

The author of the *Translatio*, in any event, is particular in providing Gerhard as *princeps*. The office thus seems highly relevant to the ongoing question of Echt, a question that had not arisen previously. The author lets it be known that the offender in this case was the same person who fell afoul of the imperial court in the identical matter in 1087. The reason for revisiting the question at that time was not simply the continued oppression of the church. Rather, the situation had to be resolved in such a way that the new *comes patriae* would not fall into similar errors. The mother church of St. Servatius Maastricht was provided with an advocate to ensure its right to Echt,³⁴⁵ meaning that Gerhard of Geldern was theoretically excluded from any involvement with Echt.

Our understanding is that the landgravate began as a hereditary right to carry the banner of Cologne. It passed from Liudolf to Gerhard *Flamens*. We have rejected the latter's documentation of 1033,³⁴⁶ but evidence from 1047 is acceptable and would allow the banner

³⁴³ *Iocundi Translatio sancti Servatii*, c. 78 (MGH, SS XII, 123).

³⁴⁴ See the source presentation in Van Droogenbroeck, "Paltsgraaf Herman II," 79-80.

³⁴⁵ MGH, D H IV 394. The advocate Dietrich of Herlaer has often been equated with Count Dietrich of Are (e.g. Bader, *Grafen von Are*, 44-5; Schiffer, *Grafen von Geldern*, 22-3), but he is much more likely to be the documented brother of Count Arnold of Looz, as suggested by Verdonk, "Herkomst," 133-43. As such he would be, according to our understanding, a brother of Gerhard of Geldern—a relationship with obvious relevance to his selection as advocate.

³⁴⁶ MGH, D Ko II 89, where the witnesses are assigned cognomens, apparently an anachronism. Two witnesses appear to derive from a much later document; see Jackman, "Gerhard Flamens (I)," 16 n. 50.

to pass in the constitutional restructuring two years previously. During his lifetime, however, this office remained simple and of modest constitutional relevance. In 1076 the infant succession of the new duke of Lower Lorraine caused the office of archiepiscopal standard bearer to be reconceived as a higher office of the empire. The *flaminius* was now *comes patriae*, which is why the *Gesta* of the abbots of St. Trond later refer to Gerhard of Geldern by both titles.³⁴⁷ It is most probable that from 1076 the newly created landgravate was held by Gerhard I of Hochstaden, who had already borne the archiepiscopal battle standard from the time of his father's death in 1067. Barely a decade passed before he forfeited.

³⁴⁷ *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, I, 157 (IX, 17): "Gerardus, Flaminius qui dicebatur et erat patriae comes."

APPENDIX:

PROSOPOGRAPHICAL DATA

GERHARD I

Affiliation: inferable son of Gerhard *Flamens* (Jackman, “Castle Cognomens,” 260; id., “Gerhard *Flamens* [I],” 35-6) and a woman of the Goswinid dynasty of eastern Franconia.

Marriage: unnamed daughter of Count Wolfram of Craichgau and Azela (of Laach); see above, pp. 14-18. Children, all assumed to be of that wife, include Gerhard II (documented), Henry of Dornick-Alpheim (inferred above, pp. 35-41), and others inferable.

Cognomens: Among the earliest Ripuarian magnates to witness using a castle cognomen, he often appears with the cognomen of Hochstaden, very occasionally (by inference) Wassenberg, and in one instance (by inference) Alpheim.

Higher office: held the office of *flaminius* (standard bearer of the archdiocese of Cologne) by inheritance from father (see above, pp. 3-5), expanded to landgravid status presumably in 1076, but forfeited evidently in 1086.

Comital title: Contrary to recently disseminated opinion, he (or perhaps his son) is documented definitively as count (*Urkunden und Quellen*, I, no. 17, from 1096; Jackman, “Gerhard *Flamens* [I],” 36). In most of his attestations without title, the status of count is inferable.

Pagi: Bonngau (inferable) retained throughout, received probably as early as 1065 in succession to his uncle Sicco, but the Bonn advocacies were detached at that time in favor of Count Ludwig of Arnstein. His other *pagi* were Mühlgau and Düffel (both inferable) in succession to his father or other family member; Hamaland (documented) and probably other Batavian *pagi*; a Westphalian *pagus* around Vreden: all were forfeited in 1086.

Church patronage: co-benefactor with Count Palatine Henry II in the foundation (allegedly in 1093) of the Benedictine monastery of St. Maria Laach.

Career span: apparently active as witness in 1072 (*REK*, I, no. 1011); often appears in Ripuarian documents up to the end of the eleventh century. The military debacle suffered by imperial forces at Pleichfeld on 11 August 1086 was the result of a disorderly retreat of troops from Cologne and Utrecht attributable to his command. His brother Hermann nevertheless became archbishop of Cologne in 1089.

Date of death: last appearance alongside brother or son in 1094 (*UB Niederrhein*, I, nos. 248, 250-1). There is no definitive criterion for distinguishing his son from him in later documents, although one assumes that the comital title in 1096 concerns him.

GERHARD II

Affiliation: documented son of Gerhard I.

Marriage: identity of wife(s) as yet unestablished. There was a son Gerhard, prematurely deceased, and a daughter Adelheid who, a decade or more after her father's death, married Otto of Are and brought him the Hochstaden castle and cognomen.

Cognomens: Hochstaden, and on one occasion Wickrath (*UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 288, from 1118).

Comital title: intermittent use thereof. That this was conscious reticence on his part is readily understood from his witness appearances in Lothar of Supplinburg's diplomas. A frequent witness for Lothar though rarely with comital title as compared to other witnesses of comital rank, he occasionally is named among the *principes* of the realm. These diplomas, however, document his comital status with pristine clarity (MGH, D Loth III 14, 17, 58). Reticence presumably reflects humility arising from his father's forfeitures in 1086.

Pagi: Bonngau (inferable) inherited from the father; Sunderscas (inferable) probably inherited in 1101 from Goswin I of Heinsberg, whose sons were minors; Ahrgau (inferable) conceivably inherited from Count Palatine Siegfried in 1113, although a much earlier date (inheritance from Count Palatine Henry II in 1095) is also possible. In 1125 he evidently passed Bonngau and Ahrgau to others and received Avelgau in exchange.

Church patronage: founder of the Premonstratensian church at Hamborn. Conceivably the donation of a rent in Wadenheim to the monastery of St. Maria Laach should be attributed to him (see pp. 72-3 above).

Church advocacy: elected advocate of the Premonstratensian church at Knechtsteden upon its foundation in the early 1130s.

Career span: first documented in 1094 (*UB Niederrhein*, I, nos. 248, 251). Relatively frequent witness of Ripuarian documents until his death; frequent witness for Lothar of Supplinburg.

Date of death: The following information is relevant: last appearance as witness on an unknown date in the first half of 1136 (*REK*, II, no. 318); already deceased when Archbishop Arnold I of Cologne issued the foundation charter for Hamborn in 1139 (*UB Niederrhein*, I, no. 333); probably died before Adalbert I of Nörvenich documents as count in the *comitatus nemoris* on 8 April 1138; probably died before 5 May 1137 when Hermann of Stahleck first uses the Hochstaden (or Höchstadt) cognomen.

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ABBREVIATIONS:-

AHVN	= <i>Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein</i>
AMP	= Archive für Medieval Prosopography
JWLG	= <i>Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte</i>
MGH	= Monumenta Germaniae Historica
D D O I, Ko II, etc.	= <i>Diplomata</i> (Otto I, Konrad II, etc.) cited by number
SS	= <i>Scriptores</i> (in folio)
REK	= <i>Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter</i>
RVbll	= <i>Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter</i>
UB Mittelrhein	= <i>Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der mittelrheinischen Territorien</i>
UB Niederrhein	= <i>Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins</i>

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