

## Archiepiscopal Counts of Cologne: A Stage of Constitutional Transition?

Donald C. Jackman (Pennsylvania State University)

The dynasty of the Ezzonen amassed an overwhelming majority of Ripuarian counties in the tenth century. In few *pagi* are they not documented.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, such as the house of Zutphen which held an Ezzoner county in Hattuaria,<sup>2</sup> continuity to later dynasties is easily observed. At the same time, several comital dynasties sprang up in Ripuarria with no apparent or inferable connection to the Ezzonen. It is possible to suggest that their jurisdictions were originally associated with the archdiocese of Cologne and formed a miniature counterbalance to the Ezzoner power. The archbishops are known to have disposed of counties in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two individual instances have been cited in the literature,<sup>3</sup> but we possess information regarding neither the time of a transfer of comital rights to the archbishops nor the scope of archiepiscopal power.

The most significant detail pertains to the year 1122, when Adolf of Saffenberg had his county restructured in conjunction with a marriage to Archbishop Frederick's *neptis*.<sup>4</sup> It is also evident that he received the cathedral advocacy at this time.<sup>5</sup> During the previous eighty years or more the cathedral advocacy appears to have been held by the counts of Odenkirchen.<sup>6</sup> The most recent representative of this line was Hermann of Odenkirchen,<sup>7</sup> who seems also to have used the cognomen of Liedberg. He disappears from the sources in 1121.<sup>8</sup> The Liedberg identification is inessential to the reconstructions of succession, but if accurate it can lend a high degree of precision and insight. Hermann of Liedberg's wife emerges as widow sometime before 1132.<sup>9</sup> They had three daughters, none of whom is likely to have been married in 1122.<sup>10</sup> These chronological details supply circumstances in which comital title and cathedral advocacy were able to pass to Adolf of Saffenberg.

That Hermann of Odenkirchen's brother Arnold, who last documents in 1141,<sup>11</sup> should have inherited comital title or cathedral advocacy, is highly improbable. For about fifteen years after Hermann's death Arnold is absent from the sources, though hitherto a frequent witness of archiepiscopal documents. Evidently he became *persona non grata*, which suggests his resistance to the archbishop's transfer of the county to Adolf of Saffenberg, as well as the questionable basis on which this transfer was justified.

Hence one may conclude that in 1122 the Odenkirchen comital title escheated, together with the cathedral advocacy, to the archbishop, who used these honours to enrich his Saffenberg in-law, relying on a justification that the heiresses, Hermann's daughters, were too young to marry. However, when the annals of Rolduc state that hitherto Adolf of Saffenberg was not *comitatu insignitus*, this cannot be genuinely accurate. For his father Adalbert of Saffenberg had been a count and had passed his title to Adolf, who emerges as count long before marriage to the archbishop's *neptis*.<sup>12</sup> That other comital title, which Adalbert used as early as 1095, can only have derived from Ezzoner relationships,<sup>13</sup> the nature of which need not concern us directly.

Since in the archbishop's eyes Adolf hitherto was not *comitatu insignitus*, there can be little doubt that at the beginning of the twelfth century there were certain other counts who did indeed derive their status from archiepiscopal right: Adolf would henceforth belong to this group. There is also the further implication that Adolf was somehow an appropriate choice – one who could easily be brought into the archiepiscopal *mouvance* despite preexisting allegiances – in other words, one who should in some sense be an archiepiscopal count and so finally became one. As a Bavarian, Adolf's wife Margaretha had no apparent or conceivable right in Ripuaria,<sup>14</sup> but Adolf himself represented a junior line of a house that had long been locally prominent. It is therefore likely that the senior line of this family – the house of Nörvenich<sup>15</sup> – bore its comital title by archiepiscopal right.

Another family holding archiepiscopal jurisdiction in all likelihood was the house of Berg. This dynasty can be traced fairly efficiently back to the beginning of the eleventh century, especially by following the succession of the advocates of Deutz monastery opposite Cologne.<sup>16</sup> A Count Hermann, advocate of Deutz documented from 1003 to 1032, had a brother Adolf<sup>17</sup> In 1041 the advocate is Adolf,<sup>18</sup> and in 1045 it is another Hermann, who also appears as advocate of Werden in 1047 and 1052. In the next generation we find the advocacies of Deutz and Werden held by an Adolf,<sup>19</sup> who is no doubt identifiable as Adolf of Berg. A Hermann of Nörvenich also emerges in the second half of the century.<sup>20</sup> Clearly the houses of Berg and Nörvenich descended from these various individuals, given the names held closely in common and the handful of affiliations that are documented (see *Table 1*).

It can be suggested that the Berg ancestors were Westphalian, therefore of Saxon background. In a document of 1045 estates in the region of Bochum were donated to Deutz, and the gift was authorized by the advocate, Count Hermann son of Adolf, at Rechen near Bochum in his *placitum*, thus an official meeting of the count and local magnates.<sup>21</sup> The father Adolf is no doubt the second lay witness of a document given in Soest in 1014, where the first group of lay witnesses is distinguished as Saxons and a second group as Franks.<sup>22</sup> Adolf was likewise a brother of Hermann, advocate of Deutz (*fl.* 1003-36), and so should identify as the Deutz advocate Adolf of 1041. The name Hermann was able to pass from the counts of Werl, the major dynasty of Westphalia,<sup>23</sup> which is where we must seek onomastic precursors, rather than among the Ezzonen, where the name also occurs, but as an inheritance from the Konradiner and only remotely from the Saxon aristocracy.<sup>24</sup> The name Adolf had primarily Saxon associations.<sup>25</sup> The geographical basis of the Berg jurisdiction must be sought in Westphalia.

In addition to the several families already discussed, there was a dynasty of burgraves of Cologne which adopted the cognomen of Arberg in the twelfth century.<sup>26</sup> Burgrave Arnold<sup>27</sup> was an exact contemporary of Count Arnold of Odenkirchen. Given parallel occurrences of this name, we should consider whether their predecessors, Christian of Odenkirchen and Burgrave Franco, might have been closely related. According to our theory, therefore, in the second half of the eleventh century there were two extended families, Berg-Nörvenich and Odenkirchen-Arberg, holding four archiepiscopal counties between them.

The array of archiepiscopal counts begins to emerge with clarity in 1041. A witness list is headed by Counts Bilizo, Franco and Christian, and it continues with a Hermann and another Christian followed by members of the Berg-Nörvenich family.<sup>28</sup> Hermann could be an Ezzoner, but in the absence of either a comital title or a likely identity, that appears doubtful. The other witnesses all belong to what we seek to establish as the archiepiscopal *mouvance*.<sup>29</sup> By 1047 the second Christian, who evidently assumes the cognomen of Lommersum, also holds a comital title,<sup>30</sup> inherited presumably from Count Bilizo, last attested in the document of 1041. We can therefore hypothesize that Count Christian of Odenkirchen and Burgrave Franco of Cologne had as close relatives both Christian of Lommersum and Count Bilizo. Christian of Odenkirchen's father was very conceivably a Count Gerhard, cathedral advocate in 1008, who can be sighted in 1019 and perhaps as late as 1032.<sup>31</sup>

The name Gerhard suggests descent from the Matfridinger, a family that had been powerful in the diocese in the mid-tenth century. Opportunity for explaining Matfridinger connexions is provided by the documentation of Count Christian as count in Trechirgau on the lower Mosel in 990.<sup>32</sup> This is well south of the sphere of the counts of Cologne, but it is a region where comital rights were clearly able to pass via the Matfridinger.<sup>33</sup> From the early 1070s we have a witness list showing a Matfried in a position to be interpreted as a member of the Odenkirchen family.<sup>34</sup>

In the 1060s and 1070s the separate Berg and Nörvenich lines are well established. Both hold comital titles, but neither is likely to have inherited them from the Ezzonen. One of the Berg-Nörvenich titles would have arrived from Count Christian of Lommersum, whose line evidently became extinct. Hermann of Nörvenich seldom emerges, but it is evidently he who assumes the comital title of Christian of Lommersum, and this title passes to his son Adolf. A younger son was Adalbert of Saffenberg, who when he first emerges does not bear a comital title, but begins to use it in 1095, presumably by right of his wife, who would thus be Ezzonen-related.

The comital title of the Deutz advocate Hermann (II) apparently passes to Adolf (I) of Berg, whom we assume to be Hermann's son. From that point forth the succession of the counts of Berg is well enough documented. The comital title of the cathedral advocate Christian apparently passes down the house of Odenkirchen until 1122, when it is abruptly transferred to the house of Saffenberg. After Franco, the burgraves of Cologne are sighted with sufficient regularity that an unbroken stemma can be posited for them, but by the twelfth century their influence had waned, and they become ciphers in comparison with the counts of Berg, Nörvenich, and Saffenberg.

The assumption that the county held by Christian of Lommersum passed to the house of Nörvenich-Saffenberg is crucial to an interpretation of rights of succession emanating from the archiepiscopal power. Yet having accepted the lines of succession in general, one is by no means in a position to assert precise details, because there are still a number of known counts who do not participate in the reconstruction. The question is, what do we do with them?

Counts Arnold of 1056/65 and Cobbo of 1067/74 do not present problems, nor however do they find distinct places in the lineal progression.<sup>35</sup> Arnold could be the successor of Christian of Lommersum, but Cobbo could not, if Hermann of Nörvenich was possessor of that comital title while Cobbo lived. Cobbo might therefore be Burgrave Franco's son and immediate successor. Yet these conclusions are unsupported, and Arnold may actually be the Odenkirchen count.

Earlier in the century we have documentation for a Burgrave Udalrich (1032) and a Count Arnold (1015).<sup>36</sup> These should fall somehow into the Odenkirchen-Arberg set, alongside Counts Gerhard (1008, 1019) and Bilizo (*fl.* 1014-41). It would be possible to make of Arnold a predecessor to Burgrave Udalrich – perhaps an elder brother, or even father. This would provide continuity in the pattern four comital titles, at least back to the second decade of the eleventh century. Before that point in time, we find respectable information for only two counts of a preceding generation assignable to this grouping: Counts Bilizo (*fl.* 980-1008) and Christian (*fl.* 980-1008).<sup>37</sup>

We have developed an understanding of the successions by assuming the common lineage of the burgraves, Christian of Lommersum's family, and the house of Odenkirchen. Now we must free ourselves from the implications of such an assumption, for there is no evidence that the offices carried in these lines were created from a single office in an earlier generation, other than a certain paucity of data for earlier counts. Links between these lines are indicated solely by names held in common. If we take the first generation and assign the names in the most likely way to the houses that later existed, we would have Christian as progenitor of the Odenkirchen line, and Bilizo of the Lommersum line (see *Table 2*). And we do not need to proceed further. Names held in common could easily pass through alliances between what were in fact separate families. Or they could even arrive separately from other sources and achieve popularity through relationships that were not ultimately responsible for transmitting the names.

The foremost conclusion of this investigation is that the eleventh-century counts of the archiepiscopacy were three plus the burgrave, with the titles passing in absolute continuity, usually in a lineal manner. The significant question raised concerns the nature of the archbishop's power over succession, and we can consider this issue in relation to a remaining piece of evidence that is often discussed in this context. In the *Fundatio Brunwilarensis* it is indicated that Liudolf, eldest son of Count Palatine Ezzo, received a county together with the office of archiepiscopal standard bearer.<sup>38</sup> The customary inference is that Liudolf received his county from the archbishop,<sup>39</sup> yet there is no reason to believe this was the case. Later standard bearers of Cologne were the counts of Nassau,<sup>40</sup> who did not hold jurisdiction in Ripuaria and surely not of the archbishop. Liudolf predeceased his father, who in any event would not have been standard bearer of Cologne, given that he held the high imperial office of count palatine. The county of Liudolf might thus have arrived from a Count Hermann documented in 1019. This person is evidently identical to a Count Hermann who rode to Italy in 999 to bring the chancellor Heribert news of his election to the see of Cologne,<sup>41</sup> a task that might well have fallen to the standard bearer. There is no reason why Count Hermann should not be Ezzo's brother, since his county and name arrived from Ezzo's father and passed among later Ezzonen.<sup>42</sup>

And so we have reason to believe that some of the inheritances bearing directly on the archbishop's prestige in fact lay outside his power. The counties under archiepiscopal control were small, and in the eleventh century those counts were minor individuals compared to the Ezzonen. The archbishop might have sought to control the inheritances of these counties fairly strictly, which might have included a narrow juristic attitude towards inheritance of episcopal fiefs, as suggested by the circumstances of 1122, when the cathedral advocacy and its associated county were removed to a family that may or may not have been closely related to the predecessor, but certainly not so closely related as the deceased's brother.

One observation that can be made of the archiepiscopal power is that some part of the system was merely inchoate at the beginning of the eleventh century. The burgravate and the cathedral advocacy were not offices with much tradition. It is even possible that they were created simply in order to expand the system and enlarge the impression of power. Early church advocacies usually were not associated with the high aristocracy.<sup>43</sup> The advocate Gerhard first appears in 1008, directly after a Count Christian whom we suppose to be his father: this might reflect an original policy of creating the cathedral advocacy below the rank of count. Gerhard appears without title in documents back to 1003, usually at the end of lay witnesses headed by Count Christian.<sup>44</sup> The burgravate might have been even later developing: its existence before 1032 is unclear.

If the cathedral advocacy and the burgravate can be stricken as late developments, we are left with a Westphalian jurisdiction as the origin of the Berg comital title, and with two Ripuarian jurisdictions as the basis of the others. The latter offices probably emanated from the greater Kölngau and its sub-*pagi*. Of these sub-*pagi*, Gillgau is documented as late as 1080<sup>45</sup> and may well have retained a distinct constitutional relevance at that time. Kützgau is mentioned only once, in 898, in language nevertheless suggestive of its constitutional significance.<sup>46</sup> Ripuarian circumstances are therefore obscure apart from the existence of possible resources. No less obscure is a Westphalian basis of jurisdiction, yet its observation might lead to greater insight into the development of the archbishops' territorial politics, which in turn may ultimately bring more precision to bear on the questions examined here.

Of the origins of the archiepiscopal dynasties we can accept that the Matfridinger of the mid-tenth century played some role in transmitting inheritances. Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine († 964) held jurisdiction in Gillgau,<sup>47</sup> and the house of Odenkirchen is hypothesized to descend in some manner from his family. Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, brother of Emperor Otto I, had received custodianship over the entire Lotharingian duchy. It is not unlikely that he disposed of Kölngau and was able to institute Godfrey as count in a sub-*pagus*. If the Odenkirchen county can be explained in this manner, the county of the Bilizos and Christian of Lommersum cannot be said to share in such explanations.

The outer chronological boundary of this inquiry is represented by the circumstance clarified at its outset, namely the restructuring of the county of Adolf of Saffenberg. For we see at that point in time that the comital title of an archiepiscopal count need not have emanated solely from the archbishop, which spelled the demise of the old organization. Territorializing processes involved inheritance of judicial rights in specific locations; hence

the origins of jurisdiction, whether from the Ezzonen or the archiepiscopal power, tended to become blurred as time went on.<sup>48</sup> Concomitantly, once the Ezzoner configuration of counties began to fragment, the archbishops were in a position to establish firm relations with the entire *nobiles terrae*.<sup>49</sup> One can nevertheless represent the archiepiscopal counts of Cologne as an integral concept in understanding the progression from a constitution based on *pagi* and associated county courts to one based on the territoriality of noble Ripuarian dynasties.

---

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> U. Lewald, 'Die Ezzonen. Das Schicksal eines rheinischen Fürstengeschlechtes', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* [hereafter cited as *RV*], 43 (1979), 120-68. On inheritances leading to the rise of the Ezzonen in Ripuaria, see D. C. Jackman, *Criticism and Critique. Sidelights on the Konradiner* (Oxford 1997), pp. 67-9.

<sup>2</sup> MGH, D IV 86, citing Count Gottschalk, who is undoubtedly the husband of Count Palatine Ezzo's granddaughter; cf. E. Wisplinghoff, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Emmerichs, Eltens und der Herren von Zutphen im 11. Jahrhundert', *RV*, 50 (1986), pp. 59-79.

<sup>3</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'Grafschaften in Bischofshand', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 46 (1990), 375-480 (pp. 411-13).

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Roldenses ad 1122*: 'Adhuc non erat Adolphus comitatu insignitus, sed cum nepte dedit illum ei Fredricus' (MGH, SS 16, 703).

<sup>5</sup> His documentation cathedral as advocate is from 1147: *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, edd. F. W. Oediger & R. Knipping (Bonn, 1901-61) [hereafter *Regesten*], II, no. 455. The office passed to his son and then via an heiress to the house of Sayn.

<sup>6</sup> Christian (*fl.* 1041-57) is documented as cathedral advocate: *Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter* I, nos 810, 822, 863. The Odenkirchen cognomen is preserved for him in a witness list incorporated into a forgery; *ibid.*, no. 734. His successor Arnold documents as cathedral advocate shortly before 1075: no. 1188. Hermann of Odenkirchen emerges with brother Arnold in 1106-7; *Regesten*, II nos 40, 44 (with Odenkirchen cognomen). Probably he appears as early as 1095; *Regesten*, I, no. 1213. A Count Adalbert heading a witness list of 1079/89 might have been an elder brother; *ibid.*, no. 1188. J. Milz, 'Die Vögte des Kölner Domstiftes und der Abteien Deutz und Werden im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *RV*, 41 (1977), 196-217 (pp. 203-5), considers that Adolf (II) of Berg was advocate in the early eleventh century, yet admittedly his evidence applies only to local advocacy over specific ecclesiastical estates.

<sup>7</sup> H.-W. Kaiser, *Die Territorienbildung in den ehemals kurkölnischen Ämtern Kempen, Oedt und Linn. Zur Entstehung und Funktionsweise mittelalterlicher Verfassungsformen am Niederrhein* (Kempen, 1979), p. 188, assumes that Hermann died in or before 1143. Neither Kaiser nor G. Rothhof, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte im Raum Krefeld', *RV*, 41 (1977), 1-39 (pp. 30-5), is aware of Hermann's likely identity as count of Odenkirchen.

<sup>8</sup> *Regesten*, II, no. 191. The sole contemporary documentation of Hermann's Liedberg cognomen is from 1100/10: *ibid.*, no. 75. Here Hermann appears without title, but directly after Adalbert of Saffenberg, whose title also is not provided.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 264.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, nos 625, 1403.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, nos 40, 44, 123 (1106-16, with Hermann), 124, 142 (1116-18, independently), 313, 318-20, 399 (1135-41, as count of Deutz). On the identity of Arnold of Odenkirchen as later count of Deutz, see T. Kraus, *Die Entstehung der Landesherrschaft der Grafen von Berg bis zum Jahre 1225* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1981), pp. 55-6, n. 467.

<sup>12</sup> *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins* [hereafter cited as *UBN*], I, ed. T.J. Lacomblet (Düsseldorf, 1840), nos 274 (from 1112), 282-3 (from 1117), 287 (from 1118), 291 (from 1120).

<sup>13</sup> As suggested by the location of jurisdiction in Ruhr- or Keldagau, whereas the location of jurisdiction in Kölngau, also documented, should arrive through the archiepiscopal power; cf. Hoffmann, 'Grafschaften in Bischofshand', p. 413.

<sup>14</sup> Opinions on the exact reconstruction of her Bavarian descent are diverse: see G. Wunder, 'Die Nichten des Erzbischofs Friedrich von Köln', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 164 (1962), pp. 192-6, and literature there cited.

<sup>15</sup> Of two brothers, Adolf of Nörvenich was elder and Adalbert of Saffenberg was younger; see *Regesten*, I, no. 1145: 'Adulphus comes de Noruenich et frater eius Adelbertus de Saphenberch' (from 1081).

<sup>16</sup> An understanding of this succession is consolidated by examining succession in the advocacy of Werden, also held by the counts of Berg, as shown by Milz, 'Vögte', pp. 208-17.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*; *Rheinisches Urkundenbuch. Ältere Urkunden bis 1100* [hereafter *RUB*], pt. 1, ed. E. Wisplinghoff (Bonn, 1972), no. 128.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 134.

<sup>19</sup> Milz, 'Vögte', pp. 208-9.

<sup>20</sup> He can be observed already in 1041 as son of an Adolf; *RUB*, no. 134. He is probably the first of two Counts Hermann who follow the Deutz advocate Adolf in a document of 1063; no. 141. Conceivably he is found in documents of the early 1070s; *Regesten*, I, nos 1038-9, 1058. His Nörvenich cognomen is preserved in a witness list incorporated into a forgery; *Regesten*, I, no. 734. A Saffenberg cognomen, a comital title, and a line of descendants are provided in a document of 1134; *UBN*, I, no. 318.

<sup>21</sup> *RUB*, no. 136. See F.-J. Schmale, 'Die Anfänge der Grafen von Berg', in *Geschichte in der Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Karl Bosl zum 65. Geburtstag*, edd. F. Prinz, F.-J. Schmale & F. Seibt (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 370-92 (p. 374), who nevertheless declines to identify these individuals as Berg ancestors, an issue which in my opinion Milz has now laid to rest.

<sup>22</sup> *Regesten*, I, no. 630.

<sup>23</sup> P. Leidinger, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Grafen von Werl. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hochmittelalters* (Paderborn, 1965).

<sup>24</sup> See Jackman, *Criticism and Critique*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-6. Theories concerning an affiliation of the brothers Hermann and Adolf with the Ezzonen are discussed in detail and rejected by H. Kluger, 'Propter claritatem generis. Genealogisches zur Familie der Ezzonen', in *Köln. Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, edd. H. Vollrath & S. Weinfurter (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna, 1993), pp. 223-58 (pp. 234-8).

<sup>26</sup> W. Möller, *Stamm-Tafeln westdeutscher Adels-Geschlechter im Mittelalter. N.F.* (Darmstadt, 1950-1), pp. 69-70.

<sup>27</sup> *Regesten*, I, numerous documentations from the early 1070s to 1095.

<sup>28</sup> *RUB*, no. 134.

<sup>29</sup> Hence Hermann, sandwiched between two Christians, is likely to pertain to their families.

<sup>30</sup> *UBN*, I no. 182 (*Regesten*, I, no. 815): Kristiani comitis, Kristiani comitis. One is very likely to be the *Christianus de Lomundesheim* provided as advocate of St Ursula Cologne in this original document. This attestation ranks amongst the earliest evidence of cognomens in Germany. An effort was clearly made to distinguish between the two Counts Christian. We assume the Odenkirchen cognomen of the cathedral advocate, hence the Lommersum cognomen surely applies to the other count.

<sup>31</sup> *RUB*, nos 128, 130, 133. Documentation of a cathedral advocate Hermann (1022?) must probably be dismissed. This item for St. Martin Cologne was manufactured together with some Deutz forgeries and it probably altered a witness list derived from a Deutz document; see Milz, 'Vögte', pp. 202-3.

<sup>32</sup> D O III 64.

<sup>33</sup> For background on the Matfridinger, see E. Hlawitschka, *Die Anfänge des Hauses Habsburg-Lothringen. Genealogische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Lothringens und des Reiches im 9., 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Saarbrücken, 1969).

<sup>34</sup> *Regesten*, I, no. 1058: 'Herimanno comite, Adalgero de Zulpecho, Arnoldo comite, Mefritho, Christiano, Gerhardo comite, Arnoldo urbis prefecto, Poppone'. There is no doubt of the cathedral advocate Arnold's identity, given that Burgrave Arnold appears here also. The names Matfried and Christian – unknown individuals – are sandwiched into a list of counts: they should apply to Arnold's brothers or first cousins.

<sup>35</sup> Arnold: *Regesten*, I, no. 952a. Second lay witness is Count Christian: unfortunately we have no way of establishing which Christian this was, and hence no clear indication of whether we are dealing with Arnold of Odenkirchen. Burgrave Franco also witnesses, so Arnold is not his son. Cobbo documents once, with comital title: no. 1072.

<sup>36</sup> *Regesten*, I, nos 632, 742.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 530, from 980, where both names appear high enough in the witness list to be regarded as counts. *RUB*, no. 128, from 1008, with comital titles.

<sup>38</sup> *Brunwilarensis monasterii fundatio*, c. 8: MGH, SS 14, 129-30.

<sup>39</sup> Hoffmann, 'Grafschaften in Bischofshand', p. 412.

<sup>40</sup> K. H. May, 'Die kölnischen Lehen des Hauses Nassau und die niederrheinische Herkunft der Ruperte von Laurenburg-Nassau', *Nassauische Annalen*, 91 (1980), 10-64.

<sup>41</sup> *Vita Heriberti archiep. Coloniensis auctore Lantberto*, c. 4: MGH, SS 4, 743.

<sup>42</sup> MGH, D O II 153; D H II 415, D H IV no. 172. Other possibilities for this Hermann's identification are examined by Kluger, '*Propter claritatem generis*', pp. 236-7.

<sup>43</sup> E. Boshof, 'Untersuchungen zur Kirchenvogtei in Lothringen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kanonistische Abteilung, 65 (1979), pp. 55-119.

<sup>44</sup> Thus *RUB*, nos 123-4.

<sup>45</sup> *Regesten*, I, no. 1140.

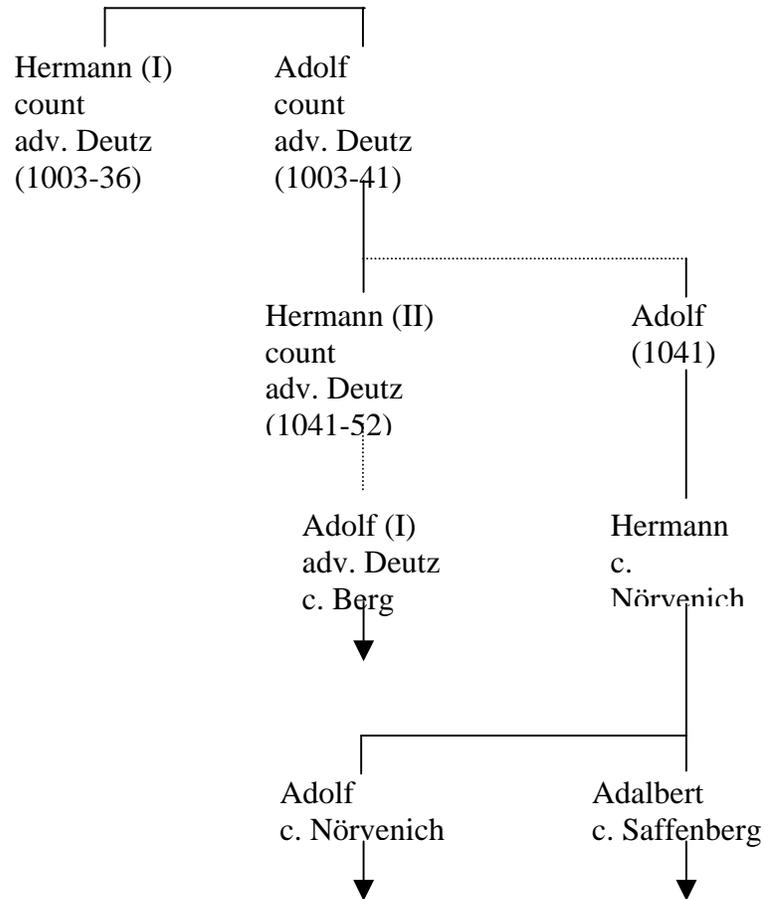
<sup>46</sup> U. Nonn, *Pagus und Comitatus in Niederlothringen. Untersuchungen zur politischen Raumgliederung im früheren Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1983), p. 186.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*; MGH, D Zwentibold 22: 'in pago Cuzihgewe et in Coloniensi'. Another sub-*pagus*, the *pagus* Nievenheim, is mentioned only in five Werden documents from 796 to 817.

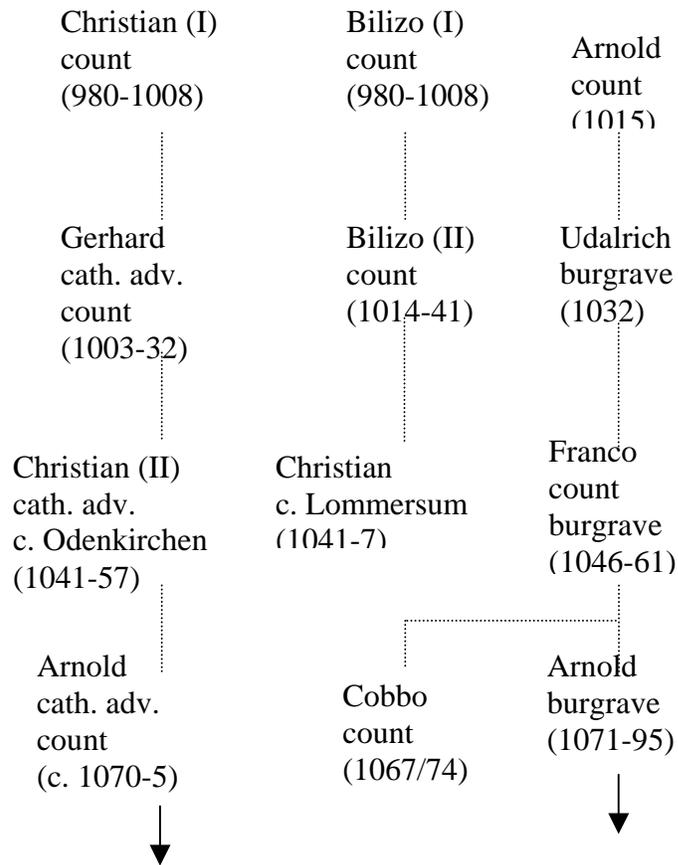
<sup>48</sup> Thus, for example, we are not so fortunate that Adolf's documented jurisdiction lay in the Gillgau sub-*pagus* and so provides continuity from Duke Godfrey via Odenkirchen. On the contrary, it lay in Kützgau; see Hoffmann, 'Grafschaften in Bischofshand', p. 412. By this time the jurisdictions were heavily fragmented, however, and possible paths would have existed for succession in specific places.

<sup>49</sup> These relations are examined by E. Ewig, 'Zum lothringischen Dukat der Kölner Erzbischöfe', in *Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde. Festschrift für Franz Steinbach zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (Bonn, 1960), pp. 210-46.

**TABLES**



**Table 1: Archiepiscopal Counts of Cologne**



**Table 2: Archiepiscopal Counts of Cologne**