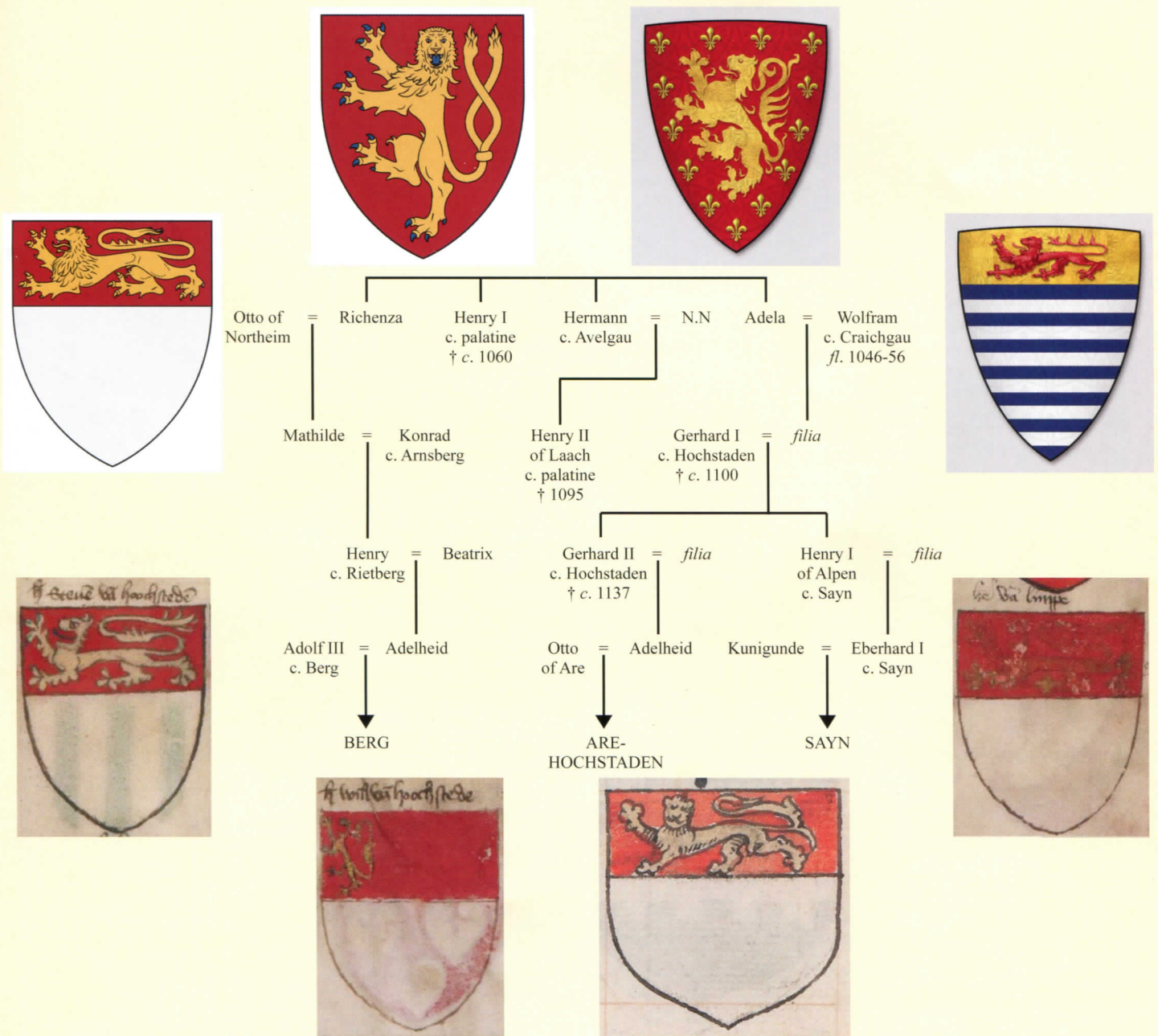


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## DIE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR FAMILIENFORSCHER



Hans van Broekhoven & Donald C. Jackman: *The Heraldic Background of Stephen of Hochstaden (fl. 1321 seq.)*

Lupold von Lehsten & Rolf Eilers: *Die Vorfahren des Freiherrn Karl Draiss von Sauerbronn*

Wilfried Schiller: *Die ungleichen Brüder Rosenhainer – der Berufsgenealoge Otto, der Bergassessor Franz und der Oberlehrer Ernst Rosenhainer*

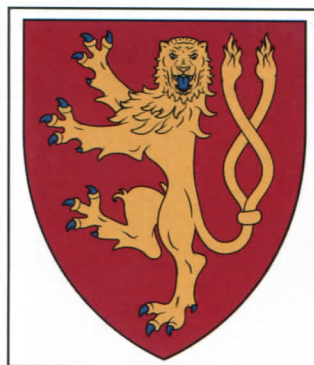
## The Heraldic Background of Stephen of Hochstaden (fl. 1321 seq.)

Stephen of Hochstaden emerges in the 1320s as a ministerial of the archbishop of Cologne. An archiepiscopal document of 1335 strongly implies that his cognomen derived from the castle of Hochstaden situated on a bend of the River Erft,<sup>1</sup> the same castle that in previous centuries had served as the seat of counts, whose inheritance fell to the archbishops of Cologne. Stephen was an important individual, as inferred from the status of his son or grandson, also Stephen, recorded in 1388 as archiepiscopal *Hofmeister*.<sup>2</sup> Their descent from earlier persons is undocumented, yet many general observations are possible with recourse to their heraldic shield—*argent*, with a chief of *gules* charged with a lion in *or*—recorded in the Gelre armorial (A) and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The lords of Linnep bore an identical shield,<sup>4</sup> and the first Stephen may be imagined as representing a branch of Linnep, although the heraldic relationship could have formed in a much more complex manner. Since there is no specific information suggesting Stephen's affiliation

in the Linnep dynasty,<sup>5</sup> one may approach the matter by positing that the chief of the Hochstaden and Linnep shields reproduces a lion shield belonging to ancestors of both. Among the old and powerful families of the Riparian province, the counts of Sayn stand out as bearers of a lion in *or* on a field of *gules*. The Sayn device is well known in the form of a lion-leopard (or “lion guardant”)—that is, a lion rampant, but with face turned towards the observer (B).<sup>6</sup> An early description of the Sayn shield in the so-called Herald's Roll (*circa* 1280), however, has the lion rampant per se (C).<sup>7</sup> One may conceive the lion-leopard device as a modernism, an amalgam of the lion rampant facing forward and the walking leopard facing the onlooker (“lion passant guardant”). The intention, conceivably, was to represent the extinction of the old house of Sayn and the passage of the county to its lineal successor, a branch of the comital house of Sponheim: the lion-leopard looks back, as it were, on a receding past.



A  
Hochstaden



B  
Sayn (Gelre)



C  
Sayn (Herald's Roll)



D  
Ligny (Herald's Roll)

1 Wilhelm Janssen (ed.), *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 5, Bonn 1973, no. 293, cf. no. 382.

2 Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen ([www.archive.nrw.de](http://www.archive.nrw.de)), Abteilung Rheinland, Geistliche Institute, Langwaden.

3 See n. 22 below.

4 Anton Fahne, *Geschichte der Kölnischen, Julischen und Bergischen Geschlechter*, 2 vols., Köln-Bonn 1846, vol. 1 p. 245. This author provides two Linnep dynasties; the other (vol. 2 p. 86) allegedly has a dog instead of a lion, but this is an error, since the medieval seals of Linnep clearly show a lion: Frank K. van Lennep (ed.), *Verzameling van oorkonden betreffende op het geslacht van Lennep, 1093–1926*, vol. 2, Deventer 1927, p. ix. The Linnep shield with lion eventually passed into the composite arms of the counts of Bentheim; see G. M. C. Masch, *Einleitung in die Genealogien der Fürstenhäuser Europas und Beschreibung ihrer Wappen*, Lübeck 1824, p. 20, and H. Grote, *Münzstudien*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1862, pp. 785–786. The Linnep shield is recorded in the Bellenville armorial: Léon Jequier (ed.), *L'Armorial Bellenville*, Paris n. d., pp. 137, 319 (fol. 50r); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms fr. 5320. However, it is an open question whether it represents a lion passant or a leopard.

The Sayn shield of the Herald's Roll may be accepted as older and, more especially, as belonging to the early comital house of Sayn at the moment of its extinction around

5 For documented contemporary members of this family see Lennep (ed.), *Verzameling* (as in n. 4), pp. 15–25.

6 Walford's Roll, no. 115 (*circa* 1275), in: *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, Oxford 1967, p. 190.

7 Herald's Roll, no. 69, in: Gerard Brault (ed.), *Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272–1307)*, vol. 1, Woodbridge, 1997, p. 91. Further instances of the lion per se are discovered in Sayn seals even in the fourteenth century, as indicated by Leopold von Ledebur, *Streifzüge durch die Felder des königlich Preussischen Wappens*, Berlin 1842, pp. 117–118, and H. von Goeckingk, *Geschichte des Nassauischen Wappens*, Görlitz 1880, p. 10. Contrary to Ledebur, however, a lion-leopard cannot be distinguished on the seal of Count Henry IV of Sayn († c. 1246); see photo in Rainer Kahsitz, *Die Gründer von Laach und Sayn. Fürstenbildnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Nürnberg 1992, p. 12, with references at p. 202 n. 15.

1246. It differs also in that the field of *gules* is strewn with fleurs-de-lis in *or*. In light of the status of the counts of Sayn as hereditary cathedral advocates of Cologne, it seems highly relevant that the counts of Geldern and Nassau, who bore the archiepiscopal battle standard for forces left and right of the Rhine respectively,<sup>8</sup> also applied a strew to their lion shields, in their case a strew of bricks.<sup>9</sup> It appears that the office of archiepiscopal standard bearer—that is, the *flaminus*, bearer of the *flamen* or church banner—was filled by Count Gerhard I of Hochstaden, who forfeited it in 1086 to Gerhard I of Geldern.<sup>10</sup> Against this background one might also speculate that the fleurs-de-lis of the Sayn shield provided by the Herald's Roll reflects eventual claims in descent from Hochstaden—for the first comital line of Sayn has recently been identified as a junior branch of the early Hochstaden counts.<sup>11</sup>

Gerhard II, last of the early counts of Hochstaden, died around 1137. His daughter Adelheid brought Hochstaden castle to her husband Otto of Are, who founded the second line of Hochstaden counts. This new line bore an eagle shield deriving from the Ripuarian counts of Are.<sup>12</sup> Remarkably, however, Adelheid and Otto appear not to marry until some years after Gerhard II's death, for the castle was held by a castellan in 1145.<sup>13</sup> The comital title, moreover, would have passed to the Ripuarian dynasty that suddenly emerges directly after Gerhard II's death, namely the counts of Sayn, first documented in 1139.<sup>14</sup>

There are many reasons for believing that Count Henry I of Sayn was Gerhard II's brother and successor in comital office, while Count Eberhard I of Sayn, who also emerged in 1139, was Henry's son.<sup>15</sup> The comital title later held by Otto of Are-Hochstaden must have arrived to that individual independently and from a completely different source. In this period, certainly, there was still no binding association between comital title—based theoretically on a *pagus*—and dynastic cognomen—derived from a castle domicile.

As to Hochstaden castle, the line of the counts of Are-Hochstaden became extinct in 1261, and already in 1246 the inheritance was assigned by testament to the archbishops of Cologne. In 1318 the castle suffered destruction and was only partially rebuilt,<sup>16</sup> but this rebuilding must surely have been overseen by the ministerial Stephen, who took the Hochstaden cognomen. The site was abandoned probably before 1400; Stephen's line is adequately documented up to that time. The archbishops had an abiding interest in upholding rights of succession among their ministerials, some of whom had fairly tenuous feudal bonds. Judging by his shield, Stephen of Hochstaden was a remarkable case in point. The Sayn lion shield in the chief might even have arisen from membership in the Sayn family, a possibility suggested by the shield of Walram of Ligny († 1288), a Luxembourg cadet, where the Luxembourg lion in *gules* is placed in a chief of *or* (D).<sup>17</sup>

Let us therefore seek further evidence of Stephen's descent from the counts of Sayn. An important clue is provided by the fief at Auenheim which a certain Wichard of Linnep held of Count Henry IV of Sayn.<sup>18</sup> Auenheim is within 10 kilometers of the location of Hochstaden castle, and it is even closer to Rommerskirchen, where the counts of Sayn shared church patronage with the counts of Berg.<sup>19</sup> Let us suppose that Wichard of Linnep was the son of a daughter of a count of Sayn and inherited his Auenheim

8 For Nassau see Karl Hermann May, *Die kölnischen Lehen des Hauses Nassau und die niederrheinische Herkunft der Ruperte von Laurenburg-Nassau*, in: *Nassauische Annalen* 91 (1980), pp. 30–33. May's suggestion of the right-Rhenish applicability of this office seems appropriate in light of the evidence pertaining to the counts of Geldern, whose sphere was decidedly left-Rhenish.

9 The Geldern shield documented e. g. *circa* 1260 in the Bigot Roll, no. 15 – Gerard J. Brault (ed.), *Eight Thirteenth-Century French and Anglo-Norman Rolls of Arms*, State College 1973, p. 16. For the Nassau shield see n. 32 below.

10 Donald C. Jackman, *Gerhard Flamens*, Part Two, in: *Archive for Medieval Prosopography* 14 (2013), pp. 4–8. This banner appears with clarity on an early thirteenth-century seal of Geldern: *Corpus Sigillorum Neerlandicorum. De Nederlandsche Zegels tot 1300*, Den Haag 1937–1940, no. 480. There is little doubt that the banner featured three cinquefoils; A. P. van Schilfgaarde, *Zegels en genealogische gegevens van de graven en hertogen van Gelre*, graven van Zutphen, Arnhem 1967, no. 12.

11 Donald C. Jackman, *Hochstaden, Public Succession in Ripuarium of the High Middle Ages*, in: *Archive for Medieval Prosopography* 7 (2009), pp. 35–42.

12 Bigot Roll (as in n. 9), nos. 16, 65; no. 7 records a double-headed eagle for the count of Neuenahr. The Neuenahr line eventually settled on a single-headed eagle; see Walther Möller, *Stamm-Tafeln westdeutscher Adels-Geschlechter im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, Darmstadt 1922, pp. 1–3.

13 *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, ed. Th. J. Lacomblet, vol. 1, Düsseldorf 1840, no. 354: *Tiedericus burgicomes de hostade*. See Jackman, *Hochstaden* (as in n. 11), pp. 43–44.

14 See the table of Sayn documentations in Joachim J. Halbekann, *Die älteren Grafen von Sayn. Personen-, Verfassungs- und Besitzgeschichte eines rheinischen Grafengeschlechts 1139–1246/47*, Wiesbaden 1997, p. 406.

15 Contrary to Halbekann, *ibid.*, pp. 13–15, Count Henry I of Sayn († c. 1146) is distinguishable from Henry II († c. 1165), who was of lesser status compared to Eberhard I; see e. g. *Die Urkunden der deutschen Kaiser*, vol. 10, pt. 1, ed. Heinrich Appelt, Hannover 1975, no. 156, p. 269 (from 1157): *Eberhardus comes de Seine et frater eius Henricus*. Amongst the evidence favoring Henry I of Sayn's Hochstaden affiliation is the passage of Alpen castle from an aristocratic Gerhard (presumably of Hochstaden), documented in 1084, to Henry I of Alpen-Dornick, who equates with Henry I of Sayn. See Jackman, *Hochstaden* (as in n. 11), pp. 35–41. The anomaly of Sayn's emergence in 1139 with two comital titles is addressed in Donald C. Jackman, *The Kleeberg Fragment of the Gleiberg County*, in: *Archive for Medieval Prosopography* 11 (2012), pp. 80–83.

16 Adolf Herrnbrod, *Der Husterknupp. Eine niederrheinische Burganlage des frühen Mittelalters*, Köln 1958, p. 7.

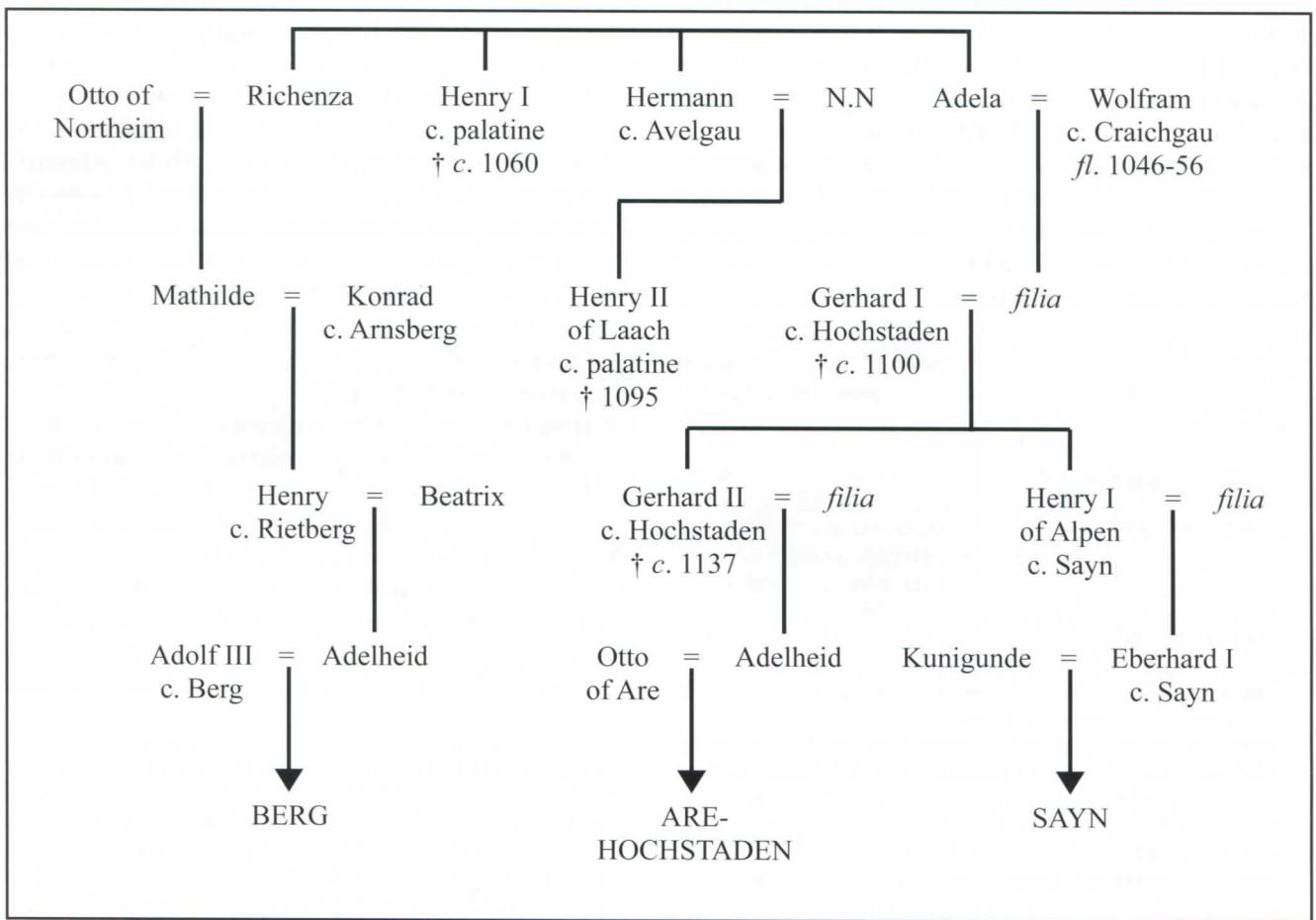
17 Herald's Roll (as in n. 7), no. 440.

18 Halbekann, *Grafen von Sayn* (as in n. 14), p. 431, citing a document of 1217 and supporting evidence. Wichard's position in the Linnep genealogy is unclear.

19 P. W. Gosses, *Knechtsteden und der deutsche Adel*, in: *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 24 (1948), pp. 35–37.

fief (and in theory the lion in the chief of his shield) in that manner. Inheritance rights in Rommerskirchen trace effectively from the eleventh-century Rhenish counts palatine—via Hochstaden to the counts of Sayn, and via Arnsberg to the counts of Berg. The reconstruction of the Hochstaden path involves, among other considerations, the close relationship that is strongly implied by Count Gerhard I of Hochstaden’s provision of half the estates of Laach for Count Palatine Henry II’s monastic foundation at Laach.<sup>20</sup> The descent of the counts of Berg depends on the oft-asserted and well-supported affiliation of Otto of Northeim’s wife Richenza as a member of the palatine family (see table).<sup>21</sup>

These connections provide the context for an extraordinary detail of Stephen of Hochstaden’s heraldry: in the late fourteenth-century armorial called *Gelre*, the shield of Hochstaden is located in the mouvance of the right-Rhenish counts of Berg.<sup>22</sup> Stephen’s relationship with the lords of Linnep, who clearly belonged to the sphere of Berg, would therefore seem very close. Accordingly, Stephen received Hochstaden castle in some part because he descended, probably via Linnep, from the counts of Sayn, a branch of the first comital dynasty of Hochstaden. This is of course a provisional conclusion, and one must hasten to qualify it by observing that Stephen’s possible left-Rhenish connections may have played some significant role, although we have little opportunity for insight into those connections.



20 Papal bull of 1139: *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die Preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien*, 3 vols., ed. H. Beyer, L. Eltester and A. Goerz, vol. 1, Koblenz 1860, no. 506: "dimidium mansum et dimidiam partem lacus a Gerardo comite donatam." See Jackman, *Hochstaden* (as in n. 11), pp. 17–19.

21 Dieter Riemer, *Sine ira et studio. Graf Friedrich der Streitbare von Arnsberg – Mitsifter von Rastede?*, in: *SüdWestfalen Archiv* 15, (2015), p. 3, refers to Richeza’s palatine affiliation as "landläufige Meinung," although he wishes to affiliate her elsewhere. For materials relating to the reconstruction see Jackman, *Kleeberg Fragment* (as in n. 15), pp. 29–32.

Indeed, Stephen’s wife Elisabeth is believed to affiliate with the *Starke von Opladen*,<sup>23</sup> another family from the right-Rhenish sphere of Berg.

In the meantime, a different local family had used and continued to use the Hochstaden cognomen. This lineage

22 *Gelre* B. R. Ms. 15652–56, Leuven 1992, p. 213, 351 (fol. 92v). In *Bellenville* (as in n. 4), p. 124, 145, 205, 311, 324 (fol. 45v, 53v), the shield occurs more naturally in the left-Rhenish mouvances of Jülich and Kleve.

23 See Kurt Niederau, *Quadische Ahnentafel*, in: *Mitteilungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde* 18 (1958), col. 347.

emerges with some clarity around 1250 with a certain Arnold, steward (*dapifer*) of Hochstaden for the archbishop of Cologne,<sup>24</sup> who at that time was Konrad of Hochstaden, last of the second line of counts. There is also an Arnold of Hochstaden, perhaps a younger individual, who served as archiepiscopal marshal for Westphalia in the 1260s.<sup>25</sup> In 1331 a third Arnold of Hochstaden was the eldest of four brothers who divided their properties between them. In the document of this division, Stephen of Hochstaden is said to owe them a rent of 38 measures of rye, yet Stephen is not among the individuals specified as the brothers' relatives.<sup>26</sup> He is generally believed to represent a different lineage, presumably with property at Rischmühlen about 25 kilometers west of Hochstaden castle.<sup>27</sup>

The line of the Arnolds of Hochstaden became domiciled principally at Noithausen, less than 10 kilometers north of Hochstaden castle. Their cognomen of Hochstaden, or more frequently Hochsteden, was subsequently associated, not with the obsolescent and only partially rebuilt comital castle, but with a locality adjacent to Neuss eventually known as Hoisten. A shield later documented for this family featured an eagle, which presumably arrived from the counts of Are-Hochstaden. While it seems that no medieval heraldic evidence survives, a seventeenth-century lord of Hochsteden quartered his arms (*argent*, three pales in *sinople*, chief of *gules*) with the Are-Hochstaden eagle in *argent on gules*.<sup>28</sup> One must probably accept that the Noithausen family was aware of its descent from Are-Hochstaden and cultivated that outlook over several generations.

First impressions suggest that having lost the comital castle through its destruction in 1318, the Noithausen lord was replaced by Stephen, that is, by one who descended, not from the Are-Hochstaden line, but from the previous comital dynasty via its branch of Sayn. The Noithausen family could not easily discard the familiar Hochstaden cognomen, whose continued use was justified apparently by building a new structure bearing that name. This development may correspond to actual occurrences, yet evidence of this other Hochstaden—*Honesteden*, later Hoisten—is found in the *Liber valoris ecclesiarum Coloniensis diocesis* dating from 1308.<sup>29</sup> Accordingly, the original departure of the Noithau-

sen family should predate the comital castle's destruction and has no necessary connection to the destruction and rebuilding. Thirteenth-century attestations suggest that the name arose from *Hovestaden* (Hofstätte),<sup>30</sup> which suggests a name-change of sorts.

To summarize Stephen of Hochstaden's heraldic background, the chief of his shield replicates the lion of the early counts of Sayn, which is recorded in the Herald's Roll with a strew of fleurs-de-lis. The strew places the shield in conjunction with the shared shield of the counts of Geldern and Nassau featuring strewn bricks. The archiepiscopal high offices held by these three families tend to confirm the assignment of the early shield specifically to the first dynasty of Sayn, since the Sponheim heirs of Sayn did not retain the cathedral advocacy of Cologne.<sup>31</sup> To take this logic one step further, the Nassau shield acquired its strew of bricks between 1220 and 1246:<sup>32</sup> the Sayn shield would likewise have had no fleurs-de-lis in previous decades. Accordingly, it existed in a form that passed directly into the chief of the Linnep shield, becoming a walking lion ("lion passant") simply in order to fill the chief.

Subsequently, Stephen of Hochstaden—son or grandson of the first of that name—bore the Linnep shield (E), although it must be added that one of the two Bellenville representations differentiates Hochstaden by replacing the lion with a lioncel positioned in the dexter side of the chief (F). In any event, Stephen's right-Rhenish connections point to an affiliation somewhere with Linnep: indeed, the Gelre armorial actually orders Hochstaden into Linnep's place in the mouvance of Berg. Stephen's inferred role in the rebuilding of Hochstaden castle after 1318 was, in essence, the realization of rights arriving to him from the early counts of Hochstaden down the cadet line of Sayn: hence his ready adoption of the Hochstaden cognomen, despite its use by a local dynasty.

A particular demonstration of these developments is conceivably offered by the Linnep shield in the early modern Le Blancq armorial (G), which draws extensively on the Bellenville armorial of the late fourteenth century.<sup>33</sup> It

24 Joseph Strange, *Beiträge zur Genealogie der adligen Geschlechter*, vol. 6, Köln 1868, pp. 65–66.

25 Wilhelm Pötter, *Die Ministerialität der Erzbischöfe von Köln vom Ende des 11. bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorf 1967, p. 89, with references to further individuals named *dapifer* of Hochstaden, not all of whom belonged to this family.

26 Edition in Strange, *Beiträge*, vol. 6 (as in n. 24), p. 92.

27 Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, vol. 1, Sigmaringen 1989, pp. 165–166.

28 Leopold von Ledebur, *Adelslexikon der preussischen Monarchie*, vol. 1, Berlin 1855, p. 362; Fahne, *Geschichte* (as in n. 4), vol. 1, p. 158; M. Gritzner and Ad. M. Hildebrandt, *Wappenalbum der gräflichen Familien Deutschlands und Oesterreich-Ungarns etc.*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1887, p. lxxviii.

29 *Liber valoris* edited by Anton Jos. Binterim, *Die alte und neue erzdioezese Köln in dekanate eingetheilt*, Mainz 1828, p. 205;

date in Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Die Erzdiözese Köln um 1300*, vol. 1, Bonn 1967. Cf. Heinrich Hubert Giersberg, *Geschichte der Pfarreien des Dekanates Grevenbroich*, Köln 1883, p. 209. This Hohen- form, where Hohen- clearly corresponds to Hoch-, resembles some early designations of Hochstaden castle; see Jackman, *Hochstaden* (as in n. 11), p. 45.

30 Hoisten. *Die Stadtteile. Stück für Stück Neuss*, ed. Christoph Pütz et al., Neuss 2005, p. 8.

31 The cathedral advocacy passed to the counts of Kleve by marriage in 1255; see Dieter Kastner, *Die Territorialpolitik der Grafen von Kleve*, Düsseldorf 1972, pp. 36–37.

32 Goekingk, *Geschichte des Nassauischen Wappens* (as in n. 7), p. 1.

33 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms fr. 5232, fol. 397r. For the close connection to Bellenville see Steen Clemmensen, *Editing Armorial II: Cooperation, Knowledge and Approach by Late Medieval Practitioners*, Copenhagen 2017, pp. 57–59.

shows clearly the leopard rather than the lion passant of the accustomed Linnep shield. On the basis of this connection, one must consider whether the Linnep shield in the Bellenville armorial (H) should be interpreted as featuring

a leopard rather than a lion passant. The leopard would have been inspired in a fairly direct manner by the lion-leopard of Sayn. ■



E  
Hochstaden  
(Bellenville 53v)



F  
Hochstaden  
(Bellenville 45v)



G  
Linnep  
(Le Blancq 397r)



H  
Linnep  
(Bellenville 50r)

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 C [http://www.aspilogia.com/HE-Heralds\\_Roll/index.html](http://www.aspilogia.com/HE-Heralds_Roll/index.html)  
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