

The Transformation of Cologne: From a Late Roman to an Early Medieval City

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Thomas R. Farmer

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*Soli Deo Gloria*

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## **Introduction: The Concept of Late Antiquity**

For years, historians were certain that the Roman Empire came to a clear and definitive end. This was seen as a significant turning point in history, marking the end of ancient history and the beginning of the Middle Ages. In turn, these two eras were arranged, along with the modern period, into the tripartite division of history which became the main framework for the chronology of the European past. While historians might have disagreed vehemently about the causes and exact timing of the Roman Empire's disappearance, they at least agreed that it did end.<sup>1</sup>

But the very idea that there is a clear dividing line between the ancient and medieval worlds has been seriously questioned in the past few decades. More recent historians have instead preferred to downplay differences and stress similarities between the two eras.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, rather than believing that two historical periods existed (ancient and medieval), with all of Roman history firmly within the former, historians instead believe that a third period existed, usually called "Late Antiquity," which includes both the latter part of Roman and the beginning of medieval history. The use of "Late Antiquity" is not mere semantics; by accepting the idea of Late Antiquity, we call into

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<sup>1</sup>For a thorough discussion of the historiography of the "fall of the Roman Empire," see Bryce Lyon, The Origins of the Middle Ages: Pirenne's Challenge to Gibbon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972) 13-56. The following is a very partial list of works which argue that the Roman Empire came to a clear end: Otto Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs des antiken Welt, 6 vols. (Berlin: Siemenroth & Troschel, 1901-20); Mikhail Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926); Ferdinand Lot, La Fin du monde antique et le debut du Moyen Âge (Paris: Renaissance du Livre, 1927); to a lesser extent also André Piganiol, L'Empire chrétien (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1947). For a thorough discussion of the historiography of the "fall of the Roman Empire," see Bryce Lyon, The Origins of the Middle Ages: Pirenne's Challenge to Gibbon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972).

<sup>2</sup>Again, the following is a very partial list which argue for substantial continuity : A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey, 2 vols. (Norman, OK.: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1964); Lynn White, Jr., The Transformation of the Roman World: Gibbon's Problem after Two Centuries (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1966); Walter Goffart, Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980).

question the tripartite division mentioned above.

Historians engaged in this issue have sometimes tended to focus on very high-level interpretations; that is, they have investigated large units, such as the Roman Empire or Carolingian Empire, instead of focusing on lower-level units, such as regions or provinces. In this study I will examine one city, Cologne, to see how these issues of change and continuity played out during the period from A.D. 250 to 900. Before we proceed to the city of Cologne, however, we will first need to review how historians have understood the concept of Late Antiquity and explore the ramifications of using this concept to understand the era between the third and tenth centuries.

### **An Early Interpretation of Late Antiquity**

The phrase "Late Antiquity" was first used not by a historian, but rather a German art historian: Alois Riegl, who in 1901 published a catalogue of Egyptian textiles.<sup>3</sup> The phrase "Spätantike" gained some currency among German-speaking scholars, but not anglophone ones. As a result, even those scholars who argued that the centuries following the Roman Empire deserved to be considered as a specific temporal unit did not use the label "Late Antiquity" to designate this period.

One such scholar was J.M. Wallace-Hadrill. The title of his 1952 work *The Barbarian West: 400-1000* indicates that the six centuries under review constituted a distinct period, though he did not provide a specific appellation for them. For Wallace-Hadrill, the key element that united these centuries into one period was the continuing influence of Rome, such as in political structures, administration, thought and culture, and so forth. Wallace-Hadrill considered the career of Clovis (r. 486-511) to be an excellent example of Rome's continuing impact. In 507, Clovis defeated the Visigoths at Vouillé, thus adding Aquitania to his territory and ending Visigothic power in Gaul

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<sup>3</sup> Edward James, "The Rise and Function of the Concept 'Late Antiquity'," Journal of Late Antiquity 1.1 (Spring 2008): 20-21.

(though they continued to rule in Spain). After the victory, Clovis returned to Tours, where the legate of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius I (r. 491-518) met him and presented him with a letter from the emperor granting him the title of consul. Wallace-Hadrill interpreted this act as being one of both recognition and co-optation: Anastasius acknowledged that Clovis was ruling Gaul, but on the emperor's behalf (he especially wanted Clovis to balance out the power of Theodoric the Great's [r. 493-526] Ostrogothic kingdom.) Wallace-Hadrill did not view this incident as marking a loss for the Empire, but instead as a change in administration that was mutually beneficial: Anastasius gained an ally against the Goths, and Clovis gained imperial legitimacy.<sup>4</sup>

A second example of Rome's continuing influence was, according to Wallace-Hadrill, Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800. As Wallace-Hadrill put it, Charlemagne was crowned "not Emperor of this or that, but Roman Emperor."<sup>5</sup> However, Wallace-Hadrill substantially qualified this position by maintaining that the title of Emperor only added luster to Charlemagne's already impressive roster of titles; he derived his real power from being king of the Franks and Lombards. Nonetheless, although his imperial title may not have given him any real power, Charlemagne still took it seriously, and this shows how influential Roman traditions remained.<sup>6</sup>

Wallace-Hadrill thus saw the centuries from 400 to 1000 as united by the influence that the Roman Empire continued to exert over Western Europe, long after it had ceased to exist politically in the West. From the fifth to the tenth centuries, Wallace-Hadrill argued, Europeans saw themselves as Romans, and for that reason, these centuries form a distinct historical period.<sup>7</sup> But Wallace-Hadrill did not specifically call

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<sup>4</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West: 400-1000, 3rd ed. (1952; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967) 72-73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 163; cf. the review of Barbarian West by R.D. Richardson, Speculum 28.2 (Apr. 1953): 423.

it "Late Antiquity."

### **The Work of Peter Brown**

The widespread use of the term "Late Antiquity" is due to the work of Peter Brown, one of the foremost scholars in this area, who has perhaps done more to shape our view of this era than any other person.<sup>8</sup> In 1971 Brown published *The World of Late Antiquity*, in which he painted a picture of a vital and dynamic world. Brown expanded upon Wallace-Hadrill's argument in his description of this period. Wallace-Hadrill had focused on continuity with the past, namely, the survival of Roman traditions. Brown agreed that this was an essential element of Late Antiquity, but not the only one. He added the idea that Late Antiquity was a creative period, which engendered new traditions which in turn lasted well into the Middle Ages. This is an important distinction, because Brown did more than just popularize a name for a period previously nameless in English: He also argued that this era was formative for European history.

Brown's argument is that what distinguished Late Antiquity (which he dated from A.D. 200 to 800 in 1971) from other eras and gave it a distinctive nature was the transformation that occurred in Mediterranean culture; specifically, the adoption of Christianity as the predominant religion. Brown's book begins in A.D. 200, shortly before the political upheavals of the middle to late third century. In 200, the Mediterranean world enjoyed peace and stability. The upper classes partook of a remarkably similar culture, though the vast majority of the Roman Empire's inhabitants were excluded from it.<sup>9</sup> This comfortable world was shaken (but not overwhelmed) by both foreign and domestic crises in the third century: Persian and Germanic incursions,

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<sup>8</sup>R.A. Markus, review of Peter Brown's *The Rise of Western Christendom*, *Catholic Historical Review* 83.4 (Oct. 1997): 745-746.

<sup>9</sup>Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity, A.D. 150-750* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1971) 14.

political instability, and the formation of independent empires in Gaul and the East.<sup>10</sup> But the Roman Empire survived these disruptions thanks to its military, which not only staved off the external incursions, but also effected major social changes. In the troubled times of the third century, the army served as a route to social improvement for ambitious and talented individuals who would have been locked out in more stable times.<sup>11</sup> Men from humble backgrounds could rise to prominence through military service, as Diocletian did (r. 284-305).

Moreover, the new military emperors needed educated officials to fill the expanding bureaucracy, so civilians could also climb the social ladder, provided they had received an appropriate classical education. This social mobility produced a curious paradox: The Roman Empire needed new men for its offices, and these men brought new ideas with them as they served the empire. Yet, these men were formed by a very conservative classical education. The Roman Empire at this time, in other words, was a society where innovations in thought and culture were accepted after having been filtered through the medium of a traditional education.<sup>12</sup> While this did a great deal to mitigate the impact of new ideas, they were still able to make their force felt. Perhaps the greatest change was in the field of religion: "The ease with which Christianity gained control of the upper classes of the Roman empire in the fourth century was due to the revolution that had placed the imperial court at the centre of a society of 'new' men, who found it comparatively easy to abandon conservative beliefs in favour of the new faith of their masters."<sup>13</sup>

The army and bureaucracy were the conduit for new ideas in the later Roman Empire, but what had enabled these new ideas to surface in the first place? Brown identified the third century as a time of a great spiritual revolution, for both pagans and

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<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 22-24.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 26-27.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 27-28.

Christians. According to Brown, religious thought began to focus more on the individual person and less on the external world; along with this came a sense of direct contact with the divine and an increased emphasis on conversion--baptism for the Christian, "rebirth" for the follower of Hermes Trismegistus.<sup>14</sup> There was also a new attitude towards evil: No longer viewed as unfortunate accidents, misfortunes were now attributed to malevolent entities, which had to be fought by initiates, pagan and Christian alike.<sup>15</sup> The sum total of these changes was that individuals felt that "they needed to defend their identity by drawing up sharp boundaries round it."<sup>16</sup>

But this crisis of identity was not limited to a few religious thinkers. The Roman Empire, by pacifying and politically unifying such a large area, had enabled individuals to travel far beyond their home towns. Travel and trade, in turn, enabled ideas to flow and cultures to mix, but this fluidity also caused people to feel isolated and uprooted. People who were in such a position--merchants who traveled a great deal, freedmen who had been successful, provincials climbing the social ladder--also needed to define their identity, and so the new religious mood appealed strongly to them.<sup>17</sup> The Christians in particular appealed to such people because they offered a sense of identity and purpose; they gave uprooted individuals a sense of belonging.<sup>18</sup> As these individuals gained power in the third century, due to the social upheavals and the need for new talent, they brought their religious ideas with them.

One more crucial element was needed, which Brown neatly calls "the conversion of Christianity." Early Christianity had been a religion of small groups, which viewed themselves as both isolated from and superior to the rest of society. This was precisely the appeal: People who converted to Christianity felt that they had joined an exclusive

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<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 51-53.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 53-54.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 60-62.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 67.

group. But during the third century, Christianity began to accommodate itself to (or compromise with, depending upon one's perspective) classical society; as a result, it became capable of absorbing larger numbers of converts and becoming a state religion.<sup>19</sup> Once Constantine granted toleration in 313, the Christians seized the opportunity and heartily supported the new regime. Brown argued that Constantine probably saw the Christian bishops as the true heirs of classical civilization; Constantine was eager to consolidate his new rule, and so he turned to them, as well as the civilian administrators and landed aristocracy, for legitimacy and support. The Christian bishops offered both, and Constantine's relation with them grew increasingly intimate.<sup>20</sup>

After the death of Theodosius I in 395, the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western halves began to become permanent. In the western half, the aristocracy increasingly turned away from supporting the central government, thus sapping it of strength.<sup>21</sup> The "barbarian invasions" did not destroy the empire; rather, the new Germanic groups formed local kingdoms, which the old Roman aristocracy gathered around.<sup>22</sup> In the eastern half, civilian bureaucrats remained in power, and aristocrats had no choice but to support the government.<sup>23</sup> As a result, the Eastern Roman Empire remained politically intact, even as it was rent by religious controversies.

By the early seventh century, Brown saw that a major change has finally been completed. Religious boundaries have hardened: Christianity was not the majority religion, but the only legal religion. For Brown, this was how ancient classical culture disappeared: "The culture of the Christian man in the street became, for the first time, identical with that of the élite of bishops and rulers."<sup>24</sup> Brown argued that this situation

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<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 86-88.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 174.

was not unlike that in the days of the second century, with Christianity assuming the role paganism had once played, assuring the state's prosperity and survival.<sup>25</sup> This was not truly disrupted by the Muslim conquest in the seventh century; when the Arabs arrived, their greatest concern was to keep the former imperial administration running as effectively as possible.<sup>26</sup> The real transformation came a century later, when the Arabs began to abandon the Mediterranean and its culture in favor of Mesopotamia. At the same time that the Arabs were turning away from the Mediterranean seaboard towards Mesopotamia and slowly converting the majority of the population to Islam, the Byzantine empire had shrunk considerably in size and the Western world was turning towards the north, especially to Charlemagne. In place of the unified Mediterranean world of the Roman Empire, which had enabled trade and travel, the Mediterranean was divided, and so a common culture could not easily be maintained. This division would push each of these three societies--Western, Byzantine, Islamic--onto separate paths of development.<sup>27</sup>

Brown's position may thus be outlined as follows: Late Antiquity is a distinct historical period. What sets it apart from other periods is the religious transformation that occurred between A.D. 200 and 800. During that time, a new religious mood--one more focused on the individual than the group--took root, and eventually one particular expression of this mood, Christianity, became the predominant religion. Late Antiquity was thus a dynamic time, a period of neither static continuity nor decline. Indeed, Brown adds an important dimension to the discussion of continuity by insisting that we must look *forwards* as well as backwards. Not only did many ancient traditions and institutions last into this period, but many new ones, with long futures ahead of them, were first created at this time. Late Antiquity thus embraces two types of continuity:

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<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 200.

One that both preserved past traditions, like the love of classical literature, and one that engendered new ones, such as the institutional Christian church. In a curious way, Late Antiquity parallels the end of the Roman Republic and the beginning of the Principate, as both periods are marked by continuity and innovation. One reviewer noted that Brown's work may be regarded as a counterpart to Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution*.<sup>28</sup>

Ever since he published *The World of Late Antiquity*, Brown has continued to study this period, particularly its intellectual and cultural aspects. In *The Cult of the Saints* (1981), he argued that the veneration of saints was not a vulgar manifestation of popular religion, but rather something shared by Christians of all social strata.<sup>29</sup> In *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (1982), a collection of his articles, Brown continued to focus on the role of saints in Late Antiquity.<sup>30</sup> He has also revised his views of Late Antiquity. For example, in *Authority and the Sacred* (1995), Brown reversed his earlier view that living holy men (such as stylites and hermits, for example) were the major patrons in society; instead, they were the clients of patrons.<sup>31</sup> And while the abovementioned books focus on particular aspects of Late Antiquity, Brown has recently written a more comprehensive treatment of the period, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, in which he extends the temporal boundaries of Late Antiquity (from 200 to 1000, as opposed to 200 to 800 in *The World of Late Antiquity*) and also argues that the spread of Christianity is what gives unity to this period.<sup>32</sup>

### **Criticism and Revision of Brown's Original Thesis**

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<sup>28</sup>Jacques Fontaine, *Revue des Études Latines* 49 (1971): 473.

<sup>29</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>30</sup> Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1982).

<sup>31</sup> Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995).

<sup>32</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publ'g, 2003) 1-34.

Brown's account of Late Antiquity has profoundly influenced historical thinking about this period ever since his book was published. After nearly three decades of exploring this area, scholars have produced an impressive body of work, some of which has necessitated a need for revision of Brown's earlier work. When *The World of Late Antiquity* was first published, it was well received by reviewers, though they did note the following weak points. The chief weakness was that Brown wrote primarily from the vantage of the elite classes, which were, of course, only a minority of the population.<sup>33</sup> Brown himself had stated in his preface that we have "often lack[ed] a sense of what it was like to live in that world," and he intended his book to fill that gap.<sup>34</sup> But by focusing so closely on the upper classes, Brown may not have produced a work which gives us a truly complete view of Late Antiquity.<sup>35</sup>

A more serious version of this criticism was made by Warren Treadgold in an article on Late Antiquity. Treadgold's basic argument is that Brown, and also those he has influenced, are not only too selective in their choice of sources, but also read into the texts their own assumptions and preoccupations.<sup>36</sup> Treadgold points out that not many sources have survived from Late Antiquity, so historians must use as many as possible in order to gain a coherent picture of the time; Brown, however, has chiefly drawn from hagiography and theology, and Treadgold contends that this is simply too narrow a source base.<sup>37</sup> For example, Brown had argued that in the Eastern Empire, holy men had become increasingly important in relieving people's anxieties and fears.<sup>38</sup> Treadgold

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<sup>33</sup>W.H.C. Frend, *Journal of Theological Studies* 23.1 (n.s.) (Apr. 1972): 232-33; John Percival, *Journal of Roman Studies* 62 (1972): 175.

<sup>34</sup>Brown, *World of Late Antiquity*, 7.

<sup>35</sup>Reviewers continue to make this criticism of Brown's more recent work; see the review of *The Rise of Western Christendom* by Dennis Nineham, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48.3 (July 1997): 514.

<sup>36</sup>Warren Treadgold, "Taking Sources on Their Own Terms and on Ours: Peter Brown's Late Antiquity," *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994): 153.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>38</sup>See, e.g., Brown, *World of Late Antiquity*, 101-02.

disputes this. First, he observes that the *Lives* of these saints portray them as miracle workers (for example, exorcists and healers), not as counselors or sages. After 450, dead saints became the objects of popular veneration, not living holy men; meanwhile, the saints' *Lives* that are written are those of older saints from before 450, not those of recent holy men. Treadgold takes this to mean that living holy men did not have the influence Brown alleges they did; while hermits and ascetics did command some prestige, they were overshadowed by the great saints of the past.<sup>39</sup> Treadgold also denies that the main public amusements of Late Antiquity, the circus and theater, were really public ceremonies, as Brown had argued: Basing himself on work by Alan Cameron, Treadgold suggests that people went to the games to see the games, not to acclaim the emperor.<sup>40</sup>

In short, Treadgold argues that Brown has selected certain features of Late Antiquity (which did exist, Treadgold concedes) which appeal to the modern general public, and then argued that these features were distinguishing characteristics of the period. Treadgold argues that this distorts and oversimplifies Late Antiquity. His remedy is to widen the source base and study as many sources as possible; that way, we can hope to discover those features of Late Antiquity that are truly unique to it. Quantitatively speaking, Treadgold thinks that this should not be difficult, since there are not that many sources for this period; qualitatively speaking, he is less sanguine, since "In the end, we always take the sources on our own terms."<sup>41</sup>

Treadgold's points are worth taking into consideration, but perhaps not as critical as they may seem. He and Brown disagree about which specific traits characterized Late Antiquity, not whether such a period existed at all. Treadgold accepts the idea of a distinct historical period called "Late Antiquity," as well as the idea that this period is marked by strong continuity with the ancient world.<sup>42</sup> The very fact that Treadgold is

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<sup>39</sup>Treadgold, "Peter Brown's Late Antiquity," 155-56.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 154, 158.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 154.

arguing over what the features of Late Antiquity were is a testament to Brown's influence in gaining acceptance for the idea of Late Antiquity.<sup>43</sup>

A similar criticism is that Brown's evidence may be anecdotal and impressionistic. While all the reviewers enjoyed Brown's literary style, several thought that his tendency to use isolated examples, even if striking and thought-provoking, did not advance his argument as much as he had intended. Robert Browning, for example, noted Brown's mention of the fourth-century Roman aristocrats who commissioned statues dressed in the traditional toga, even though they were now wearing Germanic trousers.<sup>44</sup> For Brown, this was a sign of barriers collapsing within the Empire itself, but Browning was not convinced.<sup>45</sup> Browning also noted another aspect of Brown's book, which is not so much a weakness as simply a direction of interest. Brown is chiefly concerned with thought and intellectual issues, not with social or economic ones. As Browning put it, "Things in themselves do not much interest him . . . It is what people think and feel about things and about one another that Brown finds the essential characteristics of society."<sup>46</sup> While for some historians this might weaken Brown's argument, for others it may strengthen it.

### **Expansion and Extension of Brown's Ideas**

As noted above, Brown has concentrated mainly on intellectual and religious history. Of course those are not the only aspects of human life and society, and other historians have chosen to study areas which Brown has not. But even in areas far from Brown's own research interests, scholars have found a far greater degree of continuity than their predecessors had allowed, paralleling Brown's own findings in intellectual and

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<sup>43</sup>One must also note that Brown himself no longer believes in the position Treadgold criticizes; see his abovementioned (n.28) *Authority and the Sacred*, 65, 69.

<sup>44</sup>Brown, *World of Late Antiquity*, 21.

<sup>45</sup>Robert Browning, *Classical Review* 23.2 (n.s.) (Dec. 1973): 246; cf. Averil Cameron, *English Historical Review* 88.346 (Jan. 1973): 116.

<sup>46</sup>Browning, 245.

religious history.

One of the most controversial of these topics has been the work of Walter Goffart on the integration of the Germanic peoples into the Western Roman Empire--in particular, their settlement on Roman territory. In 1980, Goffart proposed that the incoming Germanic peoples had not been granted land outright (as earlier scholars had believed), but instead only received the right to collect taxes on land--specifically, individual Goths, Burgundians, and Lombards received one-third of the tax revenue from specific estates.<sup>47</sup> The implications of this theory are far-reaching. Contrary to traditional narratives, the various Germanic tribes did *not* invade the Roman Empire, nor did they even expropriate land from the Romans. Furthermore, as the assignment of tax revenues required a functioning tax administration, the Romano-Germanic kingdoms actually preserved this bureaucracy instead of allowing it to decay. Goffart thus saw an extraordinary continuity in Roman political and administrative structures, parallel to the continuity Brown had found in the intellectual and religious spheres. As Goffart famously put it, "what we call the Fall of the Western Roman Empire was an imaginative experiment that got a little out of hand."<sup>48</sup>

Although Goffart's theory is quite elegant, only a few historians have agreed with him, most notably Jean Durliat, who modified Goffart's theory by arguing that decurions had collected taxes and divided up the revenue into thirds (one-third for the army, one-third for the imperial government, and one-third for the local cities), so that when the Germanic peoples arrived, they simply took over the former role of the decurions.<sup>49</sup> The majority of historians have regarded Goffart's theory as plausible and attractively simple,

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<sup>47</sup> Walter Goffart, Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>49</sup> See Herwig Wolfram, History of the Goths, trans. Thomas J. Dunlap (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1988) 222-25, 295-300, and Jean Durliat, Les finances publiques de Diocletien aux Carolingiens (284-889) (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990).

but perhaps too elegant and simple to explain the messy reality of the past.<sup>50</sup> Wolf Liebeschütz, for example, notes the existence of sources which seem to state that land was actually divided up and given to the incoming Germanic peoples; he also points out that the passages Goffart relies on are themselves ambiguous, and open to several interpretations.<sup>51</sup> Goffart himself has continued to vigorously advocate for his theory, further elaborating the points he originally laid out in 1980.<sup>52</sup> While we cannot go into the details of this highly controversial argument here, it does offer us as an example of research in an area Brown has not worked in.

A further area where other scholars have detected continuity is in the field of education and learning. Pierre Riché had already argued in 1962 that the ancient educational system had gradually evolved into the medieval system over two and half centuries.<sup>53</sup> He showed that the ancient schools of grammar and rhetoric lasted until the sixth century, providing the children of the elites instruction in Latin grammar and literature (although Riché regarded the curriculum as having ossified by this point).<sup>54</sup> These ancient schools did not survive the sixth century, but this did not mean the disappearance of all learning and culture. On the contrary, education found a new home in monasteries, though of course it was now imbued with Christian values.<sup>55</sup> Finally, in the late eighth century Charlemagne initiated a program of education aimed at improving

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<sup>50</sup>See, e.g., Brown, Rise of Western Christendom, 102-03; Chris Wickham, The Inheritance of Rome: Illuminating the Dark Ages, 400-1000 (New York: Viking, 2009) 102-03.

<sup>51</sup> Wolf Liebeschütz, "Cities, Taxes and the Accommodation of the Barbarians: The Theories of Durliat and Goffart," in Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of the Barbarians in Late Antiquity, ed. Walter Pohl (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 142-50.

<sup>52</sup> Walter Goffart, Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire (Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press, 2006) 119-86.

<sup>53</sup> Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. South Carolina Press, 1976). The French original was published in 1962.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 39-51.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 100-35.

clerical education. Ancient Roman models of literature and rhetoric remained the ideal for the scholars he patronized at his court.<sup>56</sup> Riché thus saw the ancient classical educational system as slowly dying out and being replaced over time by the medieval Christian one. This position may be concisely summarized by citing Lewis Mumford's famous remark on this matter: "One by one, the old classic lamps went out; one by one, the new tapers of the Church were lighted."<sup>57</sup>

While Riché did regard the content of education and learning as having become stultified, he saw this decline as taking place gradually, and furthermore thought that monastic education filled the vacuum which the decline of classical education had created. More recent scholars have preferred to avoid the judgment Riché passed on early medieval education and have stressed instead its creative and dynamic aspects, particularly with regard to the Carolingians (A.D. 750-950). Rosamond McKitterick has been an important researcher in this field, emphasizing in her work the importance of literacy to the Carolingians and showing that there was no decline in literacy between the Roman and Carolingian periods.<sup>58</sup> She also edited a collection of essays whose title, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, neatly expresses the contributors' conclusions about the Carolingian period--namely, that the Carolingians preserved much ancient culture while simultaneously creating new aspects of that culture.<sup>59</sup> For example, early medieval teachers continued to use the works of ancient grammarians to teach Latin, but updated these works to make them useful for their own students (for instance, by adding paradigms).<sup>60</sup> The genre of historiography also witnessed new developments

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<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 497-99.

<sup>57</sup>Quoted in Richard E. Sullivan, "Foreword" to Riché, *Education and Culture*, xv.

<sup>58</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989), and *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990).

<sup>59</sup>*Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994).

<sup>60</sup>Vivien Law, "The Study of Grammar," in *Carolingian Culture*, 90-91.

under the Carolingians, as they drew on classical models of history-writing while imbuing them with a specifically Christian view of history, and also created new genres of historiography (such as annals).<sup>61</sup> In other words, the sphere of education and culture saw a "dual continuity" similar to that which Brown had found for Late Antiquity in the sphere of religion and intellectual culture.

However, scholars have not discerned continuity in every area which Brown has not studied, and one of these areas concerns the fate of Roman cities. Examining the cities in northwestern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, Adriaan Verhulst concluded that most Roman cities in this region died out during the fifth and sixth centuries; indeed, the only cities which survived were those which were bishoprics or administrative centers, and even these suffered heavy declines in population and economic vitality.<sup>62</sup> An urban revival began in the seventh century, stimulated by Frankish aristocrats' consumption of luxury goods, which in turn had been engendered by income produced by their manors.<sup>63</sup> This revival gathered strength under the Carolingians and was not stopped by the Viking raids; these cities would provide the foundation for the Low Countries' urbanization and prosperity during the High Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup>

While Verhulst concentrated on only one region of the Roman Empire, Wolf Liebeschuetz argued for a similar urban decline for Roman cities throughout the Empire. He maintained that the reorganization of imperial administration under Diocletian and Constantine imposed heavier tax burdens on the urban decurions. Because more money was being sent to the central administration, less money remained within local cities, and so they were unable to maintain their infrastructure.<sup>65</sup> At the same time, conversion to

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<sup>61</sup> Matthew Innes & Rosamond McKitterick, "The Writing of History," in Carolingian Culture, 216.

<sup>62</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999) 21-23.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-43.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 150-53.

<sup>65</sup> J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, The Decline and Fall of the Roman City (Oxford: Oxford Univ.

Christianity eliminated many of the former expressions of civic unity (for example, the calendar of pagan festivals was replaced by the Christian liturgical cycle). Bishops eventually replaced decurions as urban authorities, and religious affiliation supplanted urban citizenship as individuals' primary identity.<sup>66</sup> Consequently, cities lost both revenue and the loyalty of their inhabitants, causing them to decline sharply. This process occurred in both the Western and Eastern Empires, though more rapidly in the former (and Liebeschuetz frequently noted that change in both halves was not uniform, but instead highly variegated).<sup>67</sup>

Like Goffart's theory on Germanic settlement, Liebeschuetz's position has been criticized. For instance, Liebeschuetz had noted that far fewer civic inscriptions were created in the later Roman Empire than in the Principate, and took this as a sign of urban decline: Because cities had become less important after the Diocletianic reforms, people felt less of a need to commemorate their cities through inscriptions.<sup>68</sup> But as Richard Alston pointed out, this is an argument from silence. The decline in inscriptions is first and foremost a lack of evidence, not evidence for a given phenomenon.<sup>69</sup> A deeper objection Alston had to Liebeschuetz's position was that it papered over the constant change and variety that existed in the Roman Empire. Alston did not deny that Roman cities in A.D. 450 differed from those in A.D. 200, but he also did not take this change to be necessarily a sign of decline. Drawing a parallel with modern European cities and the changes they underwent during the Industrial Revolution, with some cities declining and others prospering, Alston argued that the Roman cities had experienced a similar change during the period Liebeschuetz examined, so that "decline" was too simple to explain

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Press, 2001) 2-4.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 400-403.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 5, 400-01.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Alston, review of Liebeschuetz, Decline and Fall of the Roman City, Journal of Roman Studies 93 (2003): 407.

what happened during Late Antiquity.<sup>70</sup>

A further criticism of Liebeschuetz's work came from Raymond Van Dam. Liebeschuetz had argued that the rise of Christianity had caused cities to decline because it provided an alternative focus for loyalty, one which ultimately displaced civic loyalty. Van Dam did not dispute this, but saw it instead as a sign of the creativity of Late Antiquity. He gave the example of communities centered around a sacred site, such as the community around the church of St. Martin of Tours. In Van Dam's eyes, such communities were a response to, not the cause of, the failure of traditional urban institutions. Furthermore, he argued that the development of new understandings of citizenship should be seen as a positive trend: Augustine's emphasis on citizenship in the Heavenly City was a reaction to Aristotle's emphasis on citizenship in the earthly city. Van Dam took this development as a sign of Late Antiquity's intellectual vitality and creativity, not a sign of its failure to measure up to the standards of Classical Antiquity.<sup>71</sup>

### **Brown's Later Reflections and Revisions**

Brown himself has had occasion to reflect on his book, and his thoughts shed valuable light on this discussion. He has located three areas in *The World of Late Antiquity* that he feels need more attention than he originally gave them. The first is that the geographical focus needs to be widened.<sup>72</sup> He had essentially ignored almost all groups outside the borders of the Roman Empire, such as the Germanic tribes in the north and Armenia and Ethiopia in the east. Brown had been influenced here primarily by the work of Fernand Braudel, from whom he took the idea that the Mediterranean formed its own cohesive unit, so that the distinction between the Mediterranean and northern Europe

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 407.

<sup>71</sup> Raymond Van Dam, review of Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall*, *Church History* 71.4 (Dec. 2002): 874-75.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Brown *et al.*, "SO Debate: The World of Late Antiquity Revisited," *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997): 23.

was the real division in Late Antiquity, and not soldier versus civilian or town versus country, as proposed by Mikhail Rostovtzeff and W.H.C. Frend, respectively.<sup>73</sup>

Interestingly, reviewers noted the geographical limitations in 1971, but did not think that it was a serious flaw; if anything, the book's eastern perspective was an asset, since so many books were written from a western one.<sup>74</sup> But today this does appear to be a more serious issue; as Peter Heather points out, the Germanic world experienced major change at this time, resulting in "larger and more coherent political entities in non-Roman Europe." Eurasian steppe nomads were also neglected, Heather says; both groups had a major impact on the Empire, which needs to be taken into consideration. They also raise issues of ethnicity and ethnogenesis, which are questions of identity not unlike those concerning religious identity which Brown treated so well.<sup>75</sup> Brown acknowledges this; more recent research has demonstrated that the *limes* was not a watertight border, but rather a frontier zone, so that instead of a clear division between the Mediterranean and northern Europe, there were really three zones, with the border region constituting a "middle ground."<sup>76</sup>

A second gap Brown has identified is his handling of the Roman state. Following the work of A.H.M. Jones, Brown had regarded the Roman state as holding together, but not having any real impact in the lives of its subjects; it was too remote. But recent research has shown that the state was a real "presence" in Late Antiquity; it controlled knowledge, for instance, by legislating on magical practices, and spread literacy through its tax-collectors.<sup>77</sup> Heather concurs, pointing out that individuals, especially elites, did

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<sup>73</sup>Brown, "SO Debate," 16-17.

<sup>74</sup>Cameron, 116; Percival, 175.

<sup>75</sup>Peter Heather, "SO Debate," 49-50.

<sup>76</sup>Brown, "SO Debate," 23. Brown has borrowed the term "middle ground" from Richard White, who used it to describe interactions between Native Americans and Europeans in the Great Lakes region; Brown, Rise of Western Christendom, 493 n.21. See also C.R. Whittaker, The Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study (Baltimore, 1994).

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, 13, 24-25.

not act in a vacuum, and that the Roman state generated a "magnetic field" that allowed people to act in certain ways and prevented them from acting in others. To give only one example, the Christian church based much of its institutional framework on the Roman administrative system; the Roman state thus shaped the future development of Christianity in a fairly significant way.<sup>78</sup>

Finally, Brown notes that his model of social mobility was insufficient. Brown had been heavily influenced by the work of A.H.M. Jones and Keith Hopkins<sup>79</sup> in this respect; they had argued that social mobility in the later Roman Empire was relatively frequent, and, as we have seen, Brown argued that this was what enabled new ideas to spread throughout society (he was also influenced on this subject by Santo Mazzarino's ideas<sup>80</sup> of the "democratization of culture").<sup>81</sup> Today Brown regards elite culture less as a status symbol to be acquired than as a means of self-fashioning available to individuals living in a society subdivided into many different social strata.<sup>82</sup>

What all of these criticisms have in common is that they fundamentally accept the existence of Late Antiquity as a distinctive period worthy of scholarly attention. As we noted above in connection with Warren Treadgold's criticisms, this is a testament to how influential Brown's interpretation has become. But in scholarship as well as physics, for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction, and it should not surprise the reader that recently scholars have begun to question the idea of Late Antiquity more thoroughly.

One of the most recent and eloquent advocates of this approach is the archeologist

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<sup>78</sup>Heather, "SO Debate," 51.

<sup>79</sup>A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey, 2 vols. (Norman, OK: Univ. Okla. Press, 1964); Keith Hopkins, "Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius," Classical Quarterly 11.2 (n.s.) (Nov. 1961): 239-49; *id.*, "Elite Mobility in the Roman Empire," Past & Present 32 (Dec. 1965): 12-26.

<sup>80</sup>Santo Mazzarino, Aspetti sociali del quarto secolo: ricerche di storia tardo-romano (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1951).

<sup>81</sup>Brown, "SO Debate," 13-15.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 26-27.

Bryan Ward-Perkins. In his book *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, he argues forcefully that the Roman Empire did indeed collapse, as a result of the arrival of the Germanic peoples.<sup>83</sup> He does not depict these peoples as overwhelming the Empire in a grand invasion; instead, after they had been settled in the Empire as federates, they slowly acquired more territory, often by force of arms.<sup>84</sup> The result was that the Western Empire broke up into various independent Romano-Germanic kingdoms. This had a deleterious effect on the Roman economy in the long run. Because the Roman state played such a large role in the economy (for example, through collecting taxes and spending this revenue), the disintegration of a central state into separate kingdoms entailed the disintegration of the economy.<sup>85</sup> Consequently, the fifth and sixth centuries saw a real decline in economic sophistication and material culture. Ward-Perkins is careful to point out that the economic decline occurred over centuries, not at once, and was more pronounced in certain areas than others; nonetheless, it was quite real, and had a direct and negative impact on all those living during this time.<sup>86</sup>

Peter Brown had striven to depict Late Antiquity as a vibrant and vigorous time; Ward-Perkins, by contrast, portrays it as a grim and tumultuous period. To a large extent, this is the result of their choices of subject matter. Brown is far more interested in the Eastern Roman Empire, while Ward-Perkins focuses on the Western Empire. Brown is much more concerned with intellectual and cultural history, in particular the history of religion, whereas Ward-Perkins prefers to study material culture. After all, Ward-Perkins is an archeologist, trained to investigate material culture, while Brown is more comfortable with texts.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-62.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-37.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-27.

<sup>87</sup> James J. O'Donnell, review of Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*, and Bryan Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, *Bryn Mawr Classical*

I draw attention to these differences of approach between Brown and Ward-Perkins not to discredit them or reveal them as biased, but instead to point out the importance of complementary approaches to the study of Late Antiquity. I will argue below that scholars need to always be aware of the regional diversity of the Roman world when they study this period; along the same line, scholars also need to remain aware of the different perspectives provided by the different disciplines. Oftentimes this will require scholars to reconcile contrasting views of Late Antiquity, which I think is the case with Brown and Ward-Perkins. It is not so much that one is right and the other wrong, but rather that both take valid perspectives which must be considered together. In this book we will often have to bring together information from different sources (texts, archeology, numismatics, and epigraphy); sometimes these sources will corroborate each other, and sometimes they will contradict each other. Once we have examined this evidence in the case of Cologne, we can return in the conclusion to see what bearing this has on the wider study of Late Antiquity. But before we proceed to that stage, we must first look at how the concept of Late Antiquity has expanded in scope.

### **Late Antiquity and the Concept of the "Feudal Mutation"**

Reading over Brown's reflections and the comments of other historians, one gets the sense that the concept of Late Antiquity is dramatically expanding and taking in much more than Brown had originally conceived. In Brown's latest book on Late Antiquity, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, the period has both lengthened in time (from A.D. 200 to 1000) and greatly expanded in space (including the British Isles, Ethiopia, and even Central Asia).<sup>88</sup> Part of what had attracted Brown to Late Antiquity was that it embraced

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Review 2005.07.69.

<sup>88</sup> Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); see also *Interpreting Late Antiquity: Essays on the Postclassical World*, eds. G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, & Oleg Grabar, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001): vii-xiii.

a wide range of topics and places. Before 1971, Brown had used the phrase "later Roman Empire" instead of "Late Antiquity," and in fact he is not sure why he decided to use the latter phrase in his 1971 book; he thinks that Geoffrey Barraclough, the editor, may have suggested it to him, since Barraclough was familiar with its use in German historiography.<sup>89</sup> At any rate, Brown chose to use "Late Antiquity" because it permitted him to include wider geographic horizons in his book. He notes that one can speak of a "Buddhist Late Antiquity" in Central Asia, but not a "Buddhist Late Roman Empire."<sup>90</sup>

But by extending Late Antiquity up to the year 1000, one enters the field of yet another historiographical debate on continuity, that of the "feudal mutation." If the Merovingian and Carolingian periods properly belong to Late Antiquity, as Brown suggests, then when do the "Middle Ages" begin? The "feudal mutation" debate provides one answer to that question. Briefly stated, one school (sometimes called "mutationists") holds that as the centralized power of the Carolingian state disintegrated during the tenth century, power devolved to the nobility, first the princes, then the castellans. This shift of public power into private hands was accompanied by the rise in prestige of the knightly class, which now became the holders of *de facto* power, and also by the enserfment of the peasantry, as former allodial holders became dependent on lords and slavery died out. This combination--rule by castellans and an enserfed peasantry--made Europe "feudal," and this transformation occurred sometime in the eleventh century.<sup>91</sup>

Several issues arise here, but the one most relevant to this discussion is that of continuity. Implicit in the idea of the "feudal mutation" is that the Middle Ages only

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<sup>89</sup>As Albrecht Dihle observes in "SO Debate," 41, the paradigm of decline and fall has never been as powerful in German scholarly thought as in its British counterpart, primarily because there has been no German equivalent to Gibbon.

<sup>90</sup>Brown, "SO Debate," 17-18.

<sup>91</sup>Jean-Pierre Poly & Eric Bournazel, The Feudal Transformation: 900-1200, trans. Caroline Higgitt, (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991); Guy Bois, The Transformation of the Year One Thousand: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism, trans. Jean Birrell, (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1992).

begin once the mutation takes place. Consequently, the period before 1000 is actually a continuation of the ancient world, not the beginning of the Middle Ages. Robert Fossier expresses this nicely when he says that "One has sometimes regarded Charlemagne as an ancient emperor, and I am also convinced of this."<sup>92</sup> Late Antiquity thus becomes a good way to envision the preceding centuries: If the historical evidence suggests that there was no significant rupture between the Late Roman Empire and the Early Middle Ages, then it makes sense to locate the break elsewhere.

However, the same arguments made in favor of continuity for Late Antiquity can also be made for the "feudal mutation." This was precisely the core of the debate conducted in a group of articles on the subject published in *Past and Present*. In 1994, Thomas N. Bisson published an article entitled "The 'Feudal Revolution'," in which he proposed a modification to the "mutationist" model. Bisson argued that the tenth and eleventh centuries saw a change in the nature of violence. Formerly, under the Carolingians, violence (feuding, looting, arson, and so forth) was simply an accepted part of the social and political landscape, which coexisted with the Carolingian public order.<sup>93</sup> But in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, violence became more destructive. The castellans and their knights pursued violence as a means of acquiring their livelihoods. They no longer sought to legitimate their violent acts by appealing to a legal right, but instead simply plundered as they saw fit. Violence had become "a method of lordship:" It was how the knights maintained their power.<sup>94</sup> Bisson also notes that a new terminology arose at this time; for example, *miles* came to mean "horseman," and *dominus*, formerly used for "God, kings and bishops," was now applied to castellans.<sup>95</sup> Coupled with this was a change in the concept of fidelity, which now was regarded as a

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<sup>92</sup> Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe, Xe-XIIIe siècle: Aspects économiques et sociaux*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989) 69 (my translation).

<sup>93</sup> T.N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present* 142 (Feb. 1994): 9-14.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

contractual relationship between a vassal and his lord.<sup>96</sup> According to Bisson, this combination of factors "may be likened to a revolution . . . because it confirmed, rewarded and institutionalized the subversive inroads of lordship on public power, while sanctioning patrimonial claims to service, fidelity and dependence."<sup>97</sup> The appearance of this new type of lordship serves as the marker of change: It became "the basis of social order," and what marks off twelfth-century society from the preceding centuries is this new, violent lordship.<sup>98</sup>

Bisson's article elicited several responses, and I should like to focus on two of these, by Dominique Barthélemy (1996) and Chris Wickham (1997), which I believe offer particularly germane insights for the debate on Late Antiquity. Barthélemy argued that a better way to understand the changes that occurred around the year 1000 is to view them as ". . . a series of political mutations . . . and a gradual social evolution."<sup>99</sup> He pointed out that personal lordships existed in Carolingian times; they were certainly not new to the eleventh century. As for the change in violence, he noted that nineteenth-century historians had attributed the collapse in royal power to the territorial princes of the tenth century, not the knights and castellans of the eleventh.<sup>100</sup> According to Barthélemy, this shift in the transformation's date is only due to "poorly relativized sources:" Twentieth-century historians have read the acts of the Peace of God councils at face value, which thus makes the eleventh century seem more chaotic and violent than the tenth. Barthélemy did not doubt that there was disorder and violence, but was not convinced that it was new.<sup>101</sup> For Barthélemy, then, the changes that occurred in Western

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<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*, 26-27.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, 28-29.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, 40. Bisson has continued to defend and elaborate this thesis; see his *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009) 41-53.

<sup>99</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution', Comment I," *Past and Present* 152 (Aug. 1996): 197.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, 198-99.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 200.

Europe unfolded over a long period of time in several stages, and so he called them "the mutations of the year 1100."<sup>102</sup>

Like Barthélemy, Wickham also accepted that change did occur during this period, but not in the form of a sudden transformation. He began his article by noting areas where he felt major change did *not* occur (for instance, the enserfment of the peasantry), but went on to observe that this did not necessarily mean that there was continuity.<sup>103</sup> Wickham pointed out that the magnitude of historical change depends upon the amount of time under consideration. For example, the Europe of 950 may look similar to the Europe of 1050, but the Europe of 800 may look quite different from the Europe of 1100. Because of this, it is crucial for historians to choose their time frames carefully.<sup>104</sup> Wickham argued that the dates 800 and 1100 should be used instead of 950 and 1050, because the Carolingian system of public justice, functioning in 800, had disappeared by 1100, and also because a more exclusive sense of aristocratic identity had formed by that time.<sup>105</sup> Wickham thus agreed with Bisson that a major political change occurred in Western Europe, but over a timespan so long that it is inappropriate to use the word "revolution" to describe it.<sup>106</sup>

I have focused on these two historians because I think that their responses have the most to offer to the debate on Late Antiquity. Both give us valuable ways of understanding change and continuity. Wickham observed that it is erroneous to believe that historical change does not occur. But given that, it is critical that historians choose their criteria carefully, as this will likely affect their results. For his part, Barthélemy alerted us to the fact that change often happens in an evolutionary, not revolutionary

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<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, 203-04.

<sup>103</sup> Chris Wickham, "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution,' Comment IV," Past & Present 155 (May 1997): 196-200.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, 201-02.

<sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, 202-07.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, 207; see also his comments in Inheritance of Rome, 522.

manner, yet this does not make the resultant change any less dramatic. Indeed, a transformation that takes place over time may be more thoroughgoing than a rapid one. These ideas need to be kept in mind as we study Late Antiquity.

### **Regional Diversity and Late Antiquity**

If one recent trend in the scholarship on Late Antiquity has been to expand the amount of time considered to belong to this period, another trend has been to focus on regional diversity and shy away from looking at the Roman Empire as a whole. As Glen Bowersock has pointed out, the Roman Empire was a heterogeneous polity that consisted of numerous regions, each of which underwent different types of change at different rates; scholars must thus be aware that the changes they identify in one particular region may not be true for other regions, or the Empire as a whole. Bowersock sees the Roman Empire as a system whose component parts undeniably experienced change, but that such change reflects a "restructuring" of the larger system, not a decline.<sup>107</sup> Peter Brown himself has made this point in his most recent book. The world of Late Antiquity was not (as earlier scholars had imagined) firmly centered on Rome, but instead consisted of numerous societies which were connected to one another by multiple links, one of which was Christianity. These societies were not merely peripheral, but instead created their own microcosms of Christianity.<sup>108</sup> Brown has termed these microcosms "micro-Christendoms," and devoted a great deal of attention to how they creatively and selectively adapted Christianity into new forms.<sup>109</sup> One example of such creativity is in Christian art. Art historians had earlier seen models for Christian art as emanating solely from Rome, but more recent research has shown that Rome was by no means the only

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<sup>107</sup>G.W. Bowersock, "The Dissolution of the Roman Empire," in The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations, eds. Norman Yoffee & George L. Cowgill (Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press, 1988) 168, 173.

<sup>108</sup>Brown, The Rise of Western Christendom, 13-17.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, 355-79.

source of artistic motifs.<sup>110</sup>

Other scholars have agreed that historians should focus on diversity instead of uniformity. In 1989 Richard Sullivan argued that the cultural plurality of the Carolingian age (roughly 750-950) was so great that there was no single characteristic or set of characteristics which distinguished the era from the preceding and succeeding ages. As he memorably put it, "Beyond procreating, eating with fair regularity, working, and dying, the denizens of the Carolingian world seem to have shared little."<sup>111</sup> He argued that this diversity should become an object of study: "This pluralism needs to be admitted and its features examined for their own sake rather than being treated as exceptions to the normative aspects of Carolingian society."<sup>112</sup> Several years later, Julia Smith heeded Sullivan's call in her own book on the Early Middle Ages, *Europe after Rome*. Smith stated at the outset that "My premiss [sic] is diversity of experience, not analogy of historical outcome," and emphasized throughout the variegated nature of Europe's history during the centuries from 500 to 1000.<sup>113</sup> And we should note that Bryan Ward-Perkins was also aware of the Roman world's diversity in his book mentioned earlier, where he was careful to point out that the various regions of the former Roman Empire experienced different rates of change.<sup>114</sup>

It is in this spirit that I have sought to understand Cologne during the centuries from 250 to 900. Cologne's experience during this time was unique to it, but of course that does not tell us very much; every historical phenomenon is unique. But I have tried

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<sup>110</sup> Peter Brown, "The Private Art of Early Christians," New York Review of Books Mar. 20, 2008: 49-53 (review of Jeffrey Spier *et al.*, Picturing the Bible); *id.*, "The Voice of the Stones," New York Review of Books Apr. 17, 2008: 40-42 (review of G.W. Bowersock, Mosaics as History.)

<sup>111</sup> Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages," Speculum 64.2 (Apr. 1989): 297.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>113</sup> Julia M.H. Smith, Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500-1000 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005) 4.

<sup>114</sup> Ward-Perkins, Fall of Rome, 122-27.

to investigate Cologne in its own right, with an awareness and appreciation of its particular circumstances. This does not mean that I have approached it in isolation: I have tried to pay careful attention to its local context, its connections with other cities and regions, and its participation in wider historical processes. But I have always kept Cologne in the foreground, focusing on the city itself, with the hope of using the information gained thereby to inform our understanding of the big picture of the Early Middle Ages.

Founded in 38 B.C., Cologne became an important political and economic center in the Roman Empire--a status which it retained well into the Middle Ages, when it became the largest city in Germany. As we shall see, Cologne's history during the Early Middle Ages is hardly a tale of decline; it is rather one of remarkable persistence. Is this a case of the survival of an isolated outpost, or is it an example of a wider phenomenon? How does its experience affect our understanding of "Late Antiquity?" These are the questions which I will try and answer.

### **The Status of Cologne in the Debate over Late Antiquity**

The historiography of Cologne contains its share of research dealing with the questions posed above. Traditionally, scholars have divided into two opposing groups. One side argues that the city of Cologne underwent a drastic decline; its population shrank, buildings were no longer maintained, and manufacturing dropped off. The other side takes the opposite position, maintaining that Cologne experienced relatively little change; the population remained steady and building and manufacturing continued. The debate, of course, is not as black and white as this description makes it out to be, but most scholars would probably align themselves with one of the stances outlined above (though in a more moderate fashion). These two scholarly positions are a small-scale version of the traditional debate on the transition between the ancient and medieval worlds described above, namely, whether this transition should be seen as a sharp rupture or a

gradual evolution.

Research on Cologne's history has been going on for quite some time,<sup>115</sup> but the debate described above--continuity versus discontinuity--has occurred mainly in the latter half of the twentieth century. For that reason, perhaps the best way to start would be to look at two older, sharply contrasting articles on the city's history in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The first, "Die Kölner Kirchen und die Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," was published in 1950 by Eduard Hegel, who was clearly in the discontinuity camp.<sup>116</sup> Hegel focused on two incidents traditionally thought to have been extremely destructive for Cologne (namely, the siege of the Franks in 355 and that of the Norsemen in 881), and tried to see what exactly were the effects of these attacks on the city. Hegel noted that while the Frankish siege of 355 (the one most relevant for our purposes) most likely destroyed the city's military defenses, it certainly did not have a long-term negative effect upon the city itself. As evidence for this position, Hegel cited Ammianus Marcellinus (XV.8), who had said that, when the Emperor Julian the Apostate retook Cologne in 356, there were no cities or military fortresses in the region around Cologne. Historians had previously used this passage as proof that Cologne itself had been destroyed, but Hegel noted that this is a misreading--Ammianus was not claiming that Cologne was destroyed, but only that there were no military fortifications in the area.<sup>117</sup> As further support, Hegel pointed out that even if any churches had been destroyed, they were quickly rebuilt after Julian retook the city, which suggests that there was a "quick normalization of life after the Frankish attack." He gave as an example the church of St. Ursula, which was rebuilt

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<sup>115</sup>See, e.g., Uwe Süßenbach, Die Stadtmauer des römischen Köln (Cologne: Greven, 1981) 24-31.

<sup>116</sup>Eduard Hegel, "Die Kölner Kirchen und die Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," in Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung, ed. Walther Zimmerman (Ratingen, F.R.G.: A. Henn, 1950): 41-53.

<sup>117</sup>*Ibid.*, 42.

shortly after 355.<sup>118</sup> The year 355, then, while certainly dramatic, was merely a brief episode in Cologne's history.

The real downturn was caused by something less dramatic: The handover of power to the Franks. According to Hegel, this was more deleterious for Cologne because it ended the city's trading connections. Since Cologne was no longer under Roman control, it was also no longer connected to the Roman economy; furthermore, it was controlled by the Franks, "a people . . . who had not yet found their political organization."<sup>119</sup> The loss of commerce essentially starved the city, though Hegel did note that merchants and artisans still continued to live and work in the city, only nowhere near the levels they had in previous centuries. As evidence, Hegel cited the city's medieval street names. For example, the street name *Sandkaule* suggests an uninhabited area given over to quarrying, while *Pfuhl* suggests that the new Frankish residents no longer used the Roman sewage system, but instead let their waste collect in the city.<sup>120</sup> He did not, however, offer any quantitative evidence that would show that trade and industry had declined in the city.

Hegel thus presented a picture of great discontinuity, with the city declining for roughly a hundred years after 450. Otto Doppelfeld was on the other end of the spectrum from Hegel. In 1960, he published an article entitled "Das römische Köln als Grundlage für die mittelalterliche Stadt," in which he argued that the city of Cologne, far from deteriorating after the withdrawal of Roman political control, instead continued to function in much the same fashion as it previously had.<sup>121</sup> Doppelfeld began by noting

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<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*, 44. However, Hegel bases this on the Clematius Inscription (found inside St. Ursula), which he dates to the fourth century; while many scholars accept this dating, some have argued that this inscription actually dates from the ninth century. For the revised dating, see Nancy Gauthier, "Origine et premiers développements de la légende de sainte Ursule à Cologne," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* (Jan-Mar. 1973): 112-13.

<sup>119</sup>Hegel, "Kölner Kirchen," 45.

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>121</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, "Das römische Köln als Grundlage für die mittelalterliche Stadt," in

that the theory of discontinuity had gained such widespread acceptance because the archeological data seemed to support it; for example, most of the finds from Frankish contexts came from graves outside the city, thus suggesting that the incoming Frankish population had not actually resided within the city itself, which in turn implies that its population had decreased. Furthermore, there were few finds from within the city, which was also consonant with this theory.<sup>122</sup> But increasing amounts of archeological data made this theory untenable. The primary find was that of the graves of two Frankish nobles, a woman and a young boy, buried beneath the Cologne cathedral. Along with excavations at the praetorium and Capitoline temple, these findings showed that the interior of the city had continued to be used throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, a period when it had previously been thought to be only lightly populated.<sup>123</sup> The praetorium was especially important, as it was a major Roman building which had not only survived the Frankish transition in good physical condition, but had also retained its original purpose.<sup>124</sup> This was because Cologne had actually been very attractive to the Frankish population, Doppelfeld argued; as they had been in the area around the city since the third century, they had already been exposed to urban life and Roman administration. It was therefore not difficult for them to adapt to the city and maintain it. For Doppelfeld, Cologne was a case of slow evolution, where the rural Frankish population gradually acclimated to the city and eventually took it over while preserving it. However, he was careful to point out that Cologne could be an exception; other Roman cities did not fare as well under Frankish rule as Cologne did.<sup>125</sup>

Hegel and Doppelfeld mark out the ends of the spectrum of the debate over

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*Germania Romana: Römerstädte in Deutschland*, eds. Franz Bömer & Ludwig Voit, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960): 11-28.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, 27-28.

Cologne. Their differences are at least partly due to the quantity of evidence available at the time. Hegel wrote when there had been little publication of archeological research. Indeed, there had not been much archeological research in Cologne at all until after World War Two. The city had suffered severe bomb damage, which (though horrible for its residents) enabled archeologists to excavate areas that had previously been inaccessible. By 1950, when Hegel wrote, this work was still ongoing, and not much had been published; already by 1960, Doppelfeld (who was in charge of the excavations) had a larger body of evidence at his disposal, which necessitated a revision of the prevailing theory of discontinuity.

Indeed, the amount of data brought forth by the archeological excavations was so great, and the time involved in conducting them so long, that it took nearly forty years before scholars were able to view the results as a whole. For most of the 1960s and 1970s, publications on Cologne tended to be in the form of archeological reports, and it was not until the early 1980s that scholars felt able to analyze the evidence. The result has been a gradual shift in favor of continuity, as archeological evidence has made a model of sharp discontinuity (as found in Hegel) less likely.

A good example of such a shift may be found in Hugo Borger's book *Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln*, written in 1979.<sup>126</sup> In his discussion of the transition from Roman to Frankish rule, Borger took a more moderate position on Cologne's status in the fifth and sixth centuries. He did seem influenced by Hegel's arguments; for example, he stated that the city lost many of its connections to the trading routes of the day, so that "a certain process of isolation was begun." This economic loss was coupled with the shift of the "political center of gravity" from the Rhineland to other regions, most notably Paris and Soissons.<sup>127</sup> However, Borger also quoted Doppelfeld to show that the city itself

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<sup>126</sup> Hugo Borger, Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln: Kölner Kirchenbauten als Quelle zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven, 1979).

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

remained intact; not only was the city handed over to the Franks without being destroyed, but it also continued without any decrease in size until Carolingian times.<sup>128</sup>

Nevertheless, Borger did not see Cologne as thriving during this time. Many of its buildings were uninhabited, and he asserted (though without producing any evidence for support) that bushes and trees grew thickly within the city walls (which continued to exist, along with the street grid). Yet Borger also rejected the thesis proposed in 1918 by Hermann Keussen, that the entire western portion was abandoned until the eleventh or twelfth centuries.<sup>129</sup> In the final analysis, Borger's verdict was a mixed one: Cologne continued to exist, though in a somewhat diminished state. The Christian community, for instance, may have decreased in number and been peripheral to Christendom, but they nevertheless continued to build churches.<sup>130</sup> Ultimately, he concluded his discussion by calling for further study on the matter.<sup>131</sup>

Shortly afterwards, in 1980, Heiko Steuer published the book *Die Franken in Köln*.<sup>132</sup> Steuer is perhaps the best example of a recent scholar who argued in favor of sharp discontinuity: Indeed, he reiterated his position in a 1988 article, "Stadtarchäologie in Köln."<sup>133</sup> He saw the arrival of the Franks in the mid-fifth century as marking the decisive end of the Roman phase of Cologne's history.<sup>134</sup> The city's overall population declined precipitously, from 40,000 inhabitants around A.D. 200 to only a few hundred in the fifth century.<sup>135</sup> Likewise, buildings decayed and industrial production decreased. The only reminders of the city's Roman past were some of the monumental buildings (such as the praetorium and storehouses), which persisted only because it took time for

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<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*, 195, 198.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, 198-99.

<sup>132</sup> Heiko Steuer, *Die Franken in Köln* (Cologne: Greven, 1980).

<sup>133</sup> Heiko Steuer, "Stadtarchäologie in Köln," *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland und den Nachbarländern* 14 (1988): 55-76.

<sup>134</sup> Steuer, "Stadtarchäologie," 58.

<sup>135</sup> Steuer, *Die Franken*, 14.

such large structures to deteriorate. However, it was these buildings, along with churches, which would later serve as the nuclei for growth that Cologne experienced in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Hence the phrase "continuity of ruins:" The large Roman buildings were turned into churches, which the inhabitants gathered around, and over time these clusters joined to form medieval Cologne.<sup>136</sup> Steuer did grant some concessions to the proponents of continuity; for example, he accepted that there was craft production, though this was located on Frankish estates.<sup>137</sup> That said, he also said that Cologne at this time was "an empty urban shell" (*ein leeres Stadtgehäuse*), and whatever population or activity remained was certainly slight; it was not until the tenth century, at the earliest, that the city began to recover.<sup>138</sup>

Steuer wrote *Die Franken in Köln* for a general audience, so the book lacks the detailed argumentation and documentation found in more scholarly works. This makes it difficult to evaluate Steuer's positions, as they tend to be simply stated. In fact, one gains the impression that Steuer's view of Cologne's state in the fourth and fifth centuries was driven primarily by his assumptions about the Franks themselves. Frankish society is seen as presenting an "alternative form of life" to the Roman one. Alternative, but not complementary: The Frankish lifestyle was opposed to the Roman, and so they could not coexist. Steuer characterized this Frankish lifestyle as being marked by a lack of cities, a self-sufficient agrarian economy, a small population, and overall poverty.<sup>139</sup> Because the Franks were warriors who were often on raiding campaigns, they did not need cities. As for political administration, cities had become irrelevant because such matters were now handled not by bureaucrats but by the retainers of the mobile Merovingian kings. These Frankish warriors also did not need any long-distance trade, as they produced whatever they needed through their estates (supplemented by booty from raiding); as a result,

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<sup>136</sup> Steuer, "Stadtarchäologie," 59.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>139</sup> Steuer, Die Franken, 14.

coinage nearly vanished. As Steuer put it, "This new form of life and the agrarian economic style not only made cities superfluous; they could no longer exist at all."<sup>140</sup> As Cologne was taken over by the Franks, it is not surprising that Steuer saw a sharp discontinuity; while they might not have physically destroyed the city, their neglect was enough to cause it to fall to ruin.

Sven Schütte, by contrast, emphatically disagreed with Steuer. In "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," published in 1995, he noted that Roman buildings did not undergo substantial rebuilding activity until the ninth or tenth centuries, but this does not prove that they had been abandoned before that time; on the contrary, there was no rebuilding because the Roman structures remained in use.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, economic activity continued apace: Metalworking, pottery, and glassmaking all remained significant industries.<sup>142</sup> Ultimately, Schütte concluded that in Cologne's case, there was no real discontinuity until the Ottonians (the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries), when Cologne experienced dramatic new growth. The centuries from the late Roman Empire to the Carolingians were marked by continuity.<sup>143</sup>

Steuer and Schütte seemed to reprise the opposing views first articulated nearly half a century ago by Hegel and Doppelfeld. As one might expect, Schütte (like Doppelfeld) based most of his arguments on archeological data, which had grown even greater in quantity by 1995. But in addition to this growth in sheer quantity, Schütte also pointed out that there has been a shift in attitude amongst both historians and archeologists. Most of the older research in Cologne had been done by classical archeologists, who were more concerned with looking at the city's Roman past rather

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<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>141</sup> Sven Schütte, "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," in After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians, ed. Giorgio Ausenda (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1995) 164.

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, 168-69.

than its medieval one.<sup>144</sup> This focus on the ancient city meant a certain neglect of medieval Cologne, and since there was little attention being paid to that particular stage of Cologne's history, it was relatively easy for archeologists to believe that early medieval Cologne had fallen into ruins. But increased attention to the early medieval period has turned up more and more evidence that this was not the case for Cologne. As for historians, they too have been guilty of selective attention, in this case to written sources, and once again have focused on ancient sources at the expense of medieval ones, with the same result as noted above: Early medieval Cologne appeared to have been a deserted city.<sup>145</sup> In other words, the increased evidence for continuity is at least partially the result of an attitudinal shift amongst researchers.

Carlrichard Brühl, by contrast, articulated the more mixed position taken up by Borger in 1979. Brühl was more willing to accept continuity than Steuer; for example, he accepted that the Roman praetorium continued to be used by Frankish rulers all the way to the early eighth century.<sup>146</sup> But he still fundamentally saw Cologne as suffering a decline after the Romans left. To give just one instance, he argued, based on a gap in the episcopal list and on evidence from Gregory of Tours, that an organized Christian church had practically ceased to exist in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>147</sup>

The views discussed above represent only a small sampling of the extensive research on Cologne, but even in this selection the scholarly cleavage between proponents of discontinuity and continuity is evident. But that dichotomy is becoming less and less prominent as time goes on, both in the study of Cologne and the wider European world, as historians begin to favor the term "transformation." This is, I think, a more fruitful approach to studying the period from the third to the tenth centuries,

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<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>145</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 1 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 37.

<sup>147</sup>*Ibid.*, 18, 28.

because it takes account of the undeniable coexistence of change and persistence. As the historian Giusto Traina has observed, continuity and discontinuity are "two sides of the same coin," and scholars from both sides are able to find support for their positions in the sources.<sup>148</sup> And Chris Wickham has pointed out that evidence for "continuity" and "discontinuity" is often viewed in isolation, without consideration for the larger context:

People who invoke [continuity] often write as if the use of a Romano-British wall-building technique in an Anglo-Saxon house, the accessibility of manuscripts of Ovid in a Frankish monastery, the genealogical longevity of a local ruling family on the Christian-Muslim frontier in Spain, the squared street plan of a city in Carolingian Italy, the availability of Egyptian papyrus in the West, the existence of a Roman senatorial title in the Byzantium of 800, the match-up between provincial boundaries of the Roman and the Arab periods in Palestine, each, in themselves, simply represent "continuity." Well, on one level they certainly do; but the continuity they represent is in each case of a different order from the others.<sup>149</sup>

Wickham goes on to argue that historians must consider such features as parts of a larger whole. For example, do the examples listed above occur together, or separately? If such features were all found together in the same region, then one could speak of continuity fairly confidently, but that would not be so if only one or two of them were present.<sup>150</sup> The historical record is rarely so convenient that it presents a straightforward narrative, and Cologne is no exception. As we shall see below, while the evidence does not support the theory of a catastrophe in Cologne during the Early Middle Ages, there is evidence for both continuity and discontinuity, and the historian's task is to reconcile these contradictory sources into a single whole.

### **An Outline of This Book**

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<sup>148</sup> Giusto Traina, 428 AD: An Ordinary Year at the End of the Roman Empire, trans. Allan Cameron (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009) xvii.

<sup>149</sup> Chris Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005) 11; see also *id.*, Inheritance of Rome, 9.

<sup>150</sup> Wickham, Framing the Early Middle Ages, 11-12.

In this study, we will investigate the transformation that Cologne underwent during the period from A.D. 250 to 900. At this point I will lay out a blueprint for what follows, so that the reader has a guide for my argument. I have arranged this book chronologically, so that each chapter examines a given period of time (typically two centuries). Within each chapter I will examine three themes: (1) Political history (what events happened in Cologne, what role it played in the political affairs of the day, and so on); (2) economic history (what goods were produced at Cologne, which ones were imported, how Cologne was connected to other areas through trade); (3) religious history (what religious communities were present in Cologne, what role clergy played in Cologne's life, what religious buildings were being built). By studying these three themes repeatedly over time, I hope that readers will be able to see which elements changed and which stayed the same as time progressed.

Chapter 1 will introduce the reader to Cologne in the year 250. We will begin in the city's rural hinterland, examining how the rural settlements of Cologne's province were connected to the city. We will then move on to Cologne proper and describe the topography of the Roman city. By pointing out the various buildings which were part of Roman Cologne, we will be able to track their fortunes over the following centuries, as some of these buildings disappear, others survive, and still others are transformed. We will also briefly look at Cologne's economy during the Roman period. We will conclude the chapter by seeing what we can learn about the city's inhabitants. Knowledge of Cologne's residents is much more difficult to obtain than knowledge of its physical fabric, but not impossible, and we will see that inscriptions actually offer us valuable insights into the lives of ordinary citizens of Cologne.

In Chapter 2 we will look at Cologne from 250 to 350. During this time Cologne began to undergo to change in two important ways. First, the city began to slowly detach from the Roman Empire. Cologne was briefly part of the Gallic Empire (as we shall see later, this was a short-lived empire that included Gaul, Spain, and Britain), and while

Cologne eventually did return to the Roman Empire, the city will later be permanently detached from the Empire. In a sense, Cologne's experience in the third century will presage its experience under the Franks in the fifth century. The second process we will examine in Chapter 2 is the arrival of Christianity in Cologne. This will ultimately transform Cologne, not only physically (through the construction of churches and the disappearance of pagan temples) but also spiritually, though of course the latter impact is nearly impossible to trace now. We will begin Chapter 2 by looking again at the rural hinterland and seeing to what extent it changed during the late third century. We will next examine Cologne's role in the Gallic Empire, and then move on to the city when it returned to central control in 274. A large part of the chapter will be devoted to the construction of Christian churches, but we will also spend time studying the city's thriving Jewish community. Chapter 2 concludes with the Frankish attack on Cologne in 355, and we will examine to what extent this attack affected the city.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the transition from Roman to Frankish rule in the fifth century. This is perhaps the most interesting period of Cologne's early medieval history, but it is also the period with the least surviving information. We will start by looking at when the transition actually occurred (an question which is harder to answer than first appears), and then move on to examining the impact of the Franks' arrival on Cologne's economy, topography, and rural hinterland. A separate section will be devoted to looking at the Franks' impact on Christianity in Cologne. I will argue that the Franks did not ruin Cologne, but neither did they leave it unchanged. Their elite left their mark on the city, most notably in their lavish burials and also (I argue) through stimulating the economy.

Chapter 4 looks at Cologne under the Merovingians (550-750). In this chapter I will argue that the process of regionalization mentioned in Chapter 2 continued and quickened during these centuries. Cologne was no longer part of the Roman Empire, but

instead belonged to a smaller political unit, the Austrasian kingdom. Nevertheless, this did not mean isolation for the city, either politically or economically. We will see that the city continued to play a role in the political life of the Merovingian realm, and in addition that it maintained economic contacts with an increasingly wide range of places. In particular, Cologne's economy began to orient itself away from the Mediterranean and more towards to the North Sea and Baltic. This process was extremely slow and would not become pronounced until the ninth century, but we can already detect its beginnings in the eighth century. We will conclude by looking at both the Christian and Jewish communities of the city.

In Chapter 5 we will examine Cologne under the Carolingians (750-900). We will see that the turn towards the North Sea and Baltic mentioned in Chapter 4 became more noticeable during these centuries. We will start by looking at Cologne's political history under the Carolingians, in particular the question of how prominent the city was under them as compared to the Romans and Merovingians. We will then study the Viking attack of 881, which in many ways parallels the Frankish attack of 355. We will attempt to see to what degree the Viking attack affected Cologne, and then we will move to exploring its economy during the ninth century. Finally we will look at the Christian and Jewish communities, examining in particular the role the city's archbishops played in the Carolingian world.

Over the course of this book, I hope to show readers that Cologne is a good example of "dual continuity." Quite ancient features, such as glass manufacturing, persisted for centuries, while newer ones, like the arrival of Christianity, changed the city. Just as Peter Brown noted in *The World of Late Antiquity*, what marks this period is the

simultaneous presence of ancient traditions which persist and new ones which have a long history ahead of them. By studying the interaction of these new and old features in Cologne--that is, by studying its transformation--we can gain a better understanding of one part of the Roman Empire's transformation, one that can hopefully be used to cast light upon the Empire's transformation as a whole.

## Chapter One: Roman Cologne

If we want to track the extent to which Cologne did (or did not) change during Late Antiquity, then we must first have some understanding of what the city looked like before this period. Without this understanding, it would be impossible for us to appreciate the city's history; we would not be able, for instance, to appreciate the significance of the disappearance of some phenomena and the appearance of others. Edward Gibbon faced the same problem when he wrote *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; he initially chose the death of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 180) as the commencement of the Empire's decline (though as he approached the end of the work, he realized that this had been an unwise choice).<sup>151</sup> For our purposes, I will choose a later date than Gibbon did, A.D. 250--and I hope that at the end of this book, I shall not be as dissatisfied as he was.

Let me state at the outset that I do not choose this date because it represents a high point from which Cologne later declined. This was precisely what vexed Gibbon so greatly: In order for there to be a decline, there must first be an apex, but Gibbon later realized that identifying such a high point was impossible.<sup>152</sup> Indeed, the chief argument of this study is that we cannot speak of Cologne as undergoing a wholesale decline during this period.

Why then should we start at this date? Not because it represents a climax, but instead because it represents something of an endpoint for the city. The Roman Empire had provided its provinces (including Cologne) with two centuries of peace. This is not to say that there were no incidents of violence during this time; far from it. But during

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<sup>151</sup>Quoted in *The English Essays of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Patricia B. Craddock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 338.

<sup>152</sup>G.W. Bowersock, "The Dissolution of the Roman Empire," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, eds. Norman Yoffee & George L. Cowgill (Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press, 1988) 166.

the third century, the Roman Empire was rocked by several major challenges. It survived these challenges, but it did so by transforming itself in important ways. Cologne also shared in this process: It too adapted to changing circumstances and thereby transformed itself. But these later changes were not yet present in A.D. 250. For that reason we may safely describe Cologne in that year as a "Roman" city. By using the attribution "Roman," I do not mean to imply that Cologne abandoned its Roman heritage after 250 and became something completely different. Quite the contrary: We shall see that the city retained many such features for a considerable length of time. Nor do I mean to say that the city had no features deriving from the pre-Roman Iron Age. Although the city itself was founded by the Romans and had no prehistoric antecedents, its population consisted of a varied mix of peoples, many of whom were native to temperate Europe. What I mean by "Roman" is that it possessed all the features, tangible and intangible, which Romans of that time considered essential for a city to have. In a moment we shall examine these features in greater detail, but for now let us note that by 250 Cologne had them, and that after this date some of them disappeared and some stayed on, while newer features (such as Christianity, for instance) were added. The year 250 thus serves as a convenient snapshot of the city: We can see in one glance all of its Roman features, and in turn use this as a baseline against which we can measure change.

With that said, the first element we must examine is not the city itself, but instead its rural hinterland, or to be more precise, the small settlements in that hinterland.<sup>153</sup> Like a star whose gravity attracts planets and asteroids into orbiting around it, Cologne was the center of a constellation of smaller settlements. These small settlements are called *vici* (sg. *vicus*), and while they took several different forms, all shared one key feature: They were not politically autonomous, but instead were administered by Cologne. In other words, unlike Cologne, they did not have their own magistrates; rather, Cologne's

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<sup>153</sup> For a map of Roman Gaul, see Map 1 on p. 244 (taken from The New Pauly, cols. 671-72.)

magistrates administered their affairs.<sup>154</sup> These settlements formed a hierarchy, with Cologne (the capital of the province of Lower Germany) as their head.

Scholars know of thirty-five *vici* in Cologne's territory; some are known only by their ancient name, some have been detected archeologically but their names are unknown, and some have been identified with modern settlements.<sup>155</sup> Some of these *vici* must have been located quite close to Cologne. Suetonius records that when Vitellius, the governor of Lower Germany, staged a coup in Cologne in A.D. 69, his soldiers "carried him around the most populated *vici*" (*circumlatusque per celeberrimos vicos*).<sup>156</sup> These *vici* were likely settlements near Cologne which provided supplies for the troops; however, no traces of them have been found today.<sup>157</sup> But most of the *vici* were located throughout the province of Lower Germany, at some distance from the city itself.

Cologne's *vici* typically fall into one of four categories: (1) small market towns; (2) resource procurement sites; (3) cult centers; or (4) settlements serving military bases. These categories are not entirely exclusive--many market towns also had small temples, for example--but they do correspond to the primary function of most *vici*. They lacked several features associated with the typical Roman city--regular street plans, walls, and distinct town centers.<sup>158</sup> But while they may have been humble in comparison with Cologne, they performed essential functions for the city and province. To aid the reader in understanding the *vici*, I have compiled an appendix discussing all thirty-five of Cologne's known *vici*, and the reader may consult the entries there for more information on any given *vicus*; their locations are given on Map 2 on page 245.<sup>159</sup> At this juncture I

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<sup>154</sup> Werner Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit: Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 2004) 307.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-07.

<sup>156</sup> Suetonius, Lives of the Twelve Caesars, *Vitellius* 8.

<sup>157</sup> Michael Gechter, "Small Towns of the Ubii and Cugerni/Baetasii Civitates (Lower Germany)," in Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond, ed. A.E. Brown (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995) 196.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>159</sup> Taken from Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 300-01.

will select four *vici*, one from each of the categories mentioned above, and briefly discuss the roles they played in Cologne's province.

Billig (whose ancient name was *Belgica*) developed at a crossroads,<sup>160</sup> and like most such settlements it had a special layout. Buildings were arranged on either side of the road with their small sides facing the road; such a layout conserved space. Four of these buildings probably served as inns, and there was also a marketplace. Billig thus served as a waystation, where travelers were able to rest from their journeys and purchase supplies. In turn, the presence of travelers no doubt provided a ready source of buyers, enabling farmers from the countryside to sell their agricultural produce easily.<sup>161</sup>

Several of Cologne's *vici* were mining/industrial centers, and Iversheim (whose ancient name is unknown) is a good example of these. This was the site of several lime kilns, which produced the plaster needed for much urban construction (and also for aqueducts, which will be discussed later on.) Iron-smelting also seems to have taken place. Other *vici* were mining centers for copper, lead, and zinc, and pottery manufacturing also occurred at some *vici*. *Vici* like Iversheim thus supplied the province with much-needed metals and pottery.<sup>162</sup>

Cologne's province included several temple complexes, and *vici* often developed close to such sites. Kornelimünster (whose ancient name was *Varnenum*) was the site of two Gallo-Roman temples, and to the south of them lay a settlement. Archeologists have traditionally focused their attention on the temples and not the settlements, so we actually know very little about these *vici* (indeed, in many cases we do not even know the actual location of the *vicus*). This makes it difficult to know the relationship between a *vicus* and a temple complex. For instance, the temples at Kornelimünster may have attracted worshippers from the province of Lower Germany; such pilgrims would have offered a

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<sup>160</sup>See pp. 52-53 below for a discussion of the province's network of Roman roads.

<sup>161</sup>See below app. 1, pp. 271-72.

<sup>162</sup>See below app. 1, pp. 275-76.

ready market for sellers, and the *vicus* may have arisen to satisfy their needs. But without systematic excavation, this remains only a plausible speculation.<sup>163</sup>

Finally, as Lower Germany was also a border province, Roman troops were stationed there to protect the frontier, and civilian settlements often grew up alongside such military installations. Just as at crossroads (and perhaps also at temples), a group of buyers (in this case soldiers) stimulated the growth of a settlement, and Bonn (whose ancient name was *Bonna*) is an example of one. Bonn was the site of the camp for the First Legion, and the soldiers maintained their own workshops and granaries. Outside the camp was the civilian settlement, where taverns and shops were located. There were also artisans manufacturing pottery and tiles for the soldiers. These *vici* were important economically because they stimulated trade and production, but they were also importantly culturally, as they were the sites where Roman soldiers met and mingled with the indigenous population. It was through interactions at *vici* like these that a distinctive frontier society arose.<sup>164</sup>

Thus, in A.D. 250 the province of Lower Germany had numerous small rural settlements, engaging in trade and manufacturing. These *vici* were focal points for the rural population, the places where they came to sell their goods, buy supplies, worship their gods, and catch up on gossip and news. Cologne was in turn the focal point of these *vici*, the next level up in the hierarchy, offering a much larger market, a forum for adjudicating legal disputes, and connections to the wider Roman world. What was Cologne like in 250? I noted above that it had all the features Romans considered essential in a city: What were those features? Primarily these were monumental public buildings, which not only served to broadcast an image of Roman might and power, but also housed the more intangible features, such as the political, religious, and legal institutions needed to administer the Empire. As one can easily imagine, the buildings

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<sup>163</sup>See below app. 1, p. 278.

<sup>164</sup>See below app. 1, pp. 272-73.

have left a more visible trace, and they will accordingly loom large in our study of the city (as large, perhaps, as they loomed during their heyday). As we explore Cologne's urban topography, it may help us to imagine a traveler making his way to the city. Let us put ourselves in his shoes, and try and see how the city would have appeared in A.D. 250 (for a map of Roman Cologne, see Map 3 on page 246).<sup>165</sup>

First, for travel to be possible at all required an efficient transportation system, and to this end the Romans had built an excellent network of roads throughout their Empire.<sup>166</sup> Like all provinces of the Roman Empire, Lower Germany had a network of roads connecting Cologne and its *vici* to the wider Roman world.<sup>167</sup> A road from Trier (the official seat of Lower Germany's procurator) went through the *vici* of Jünkerath, Marmagen, and Zülpich before reaching Cologne; it also continued on to Neuß and had a secondary branch going to Bonn (these were the two legionary camps in the province). A second major road followed the course of the Rhine, which linked Cologne with Mainz (to the southeast), while to the west a third road led from Cologne, through the *vici* of Thorr and Jülich, and on ultimately to Boulogne-sur-mer. Finally, there was also a road leading from Cologne to Reims in the south; this one passed through Zülpich as well. In addition to these four major roads, secondary roads connected the various *vici* within the province to each other and Cologne.<sup>168</sup>

This system had been built during the first century A.D., for reasons not totally dissimilar to those for building the American interstate system in the 1950s: To enable troops to move easily and swiftly for military operations. This was particularly true under Claudius (r. 41-54), since the addition of Britain to the Empire meant the road

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<sup>165</sup> The map is taken from *The New Pauly*, cols. 543-44.

<sup>166</sup> For an introduction to the Roman road network in the Rhineland, see generally Joseph Hagen, *Römerstrassen der Rheinprovinz*, 2nd ed. (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1931) 39-74, 118-55.

<sup>167</sup> For a map of this network, see *Die Römer in Nordrhein-Westfalen*, ed. Heinz Günter Horn (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1987) 152 illus. 88.

<sup>168</sup> Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 410-12.

network in the Rhine area needed to connect with the ports on the English Channel.<sup>169</sup> But also like the U.S. interstate system, the Roman roads were used by civilians too, which enabled easier trading and communication amongst the province's inhabitants. As we saw above, new settlements arose along the roads and at their conjunctions, in order to provide for the needs of travelers and benefit from the improved transport; Billig, Jünkerath, and Mönchengladbach are examples of such *vici*. These roads had been originally built by the provincial administration; later upkeep and maintenance were in the hands of Cologne and its residents.<sup>170</sup>

While there was no completely uniform plan in the physical construction of the roads themselves, there was a general pattern. For example, the westward road (leading from Cologne to Jülich) consisted of a middle section of gravel, flanked by two sections of sand and bounded by two drainage ditches. The gravel section was for heavy vehicles and the sandy sections were for mounted travelers and pack animals. Altogether the width of the road ranged from eighteen to twenty-five meters. Because there are no local sources of stone at Cologne (an important point to keep in mind), none of the roads in Lower Germany appear to have been paved with flagstones, except for those within Cologne itself; a mix of sand and chalk usually covered the roads instead.<sup>171</sup>

As one made one's way along these roads and drew nearer to Cologne, the first part of the city to appear would have been the city of the dead--that is, the graveyards. Roman law required the dead to be buried outside of cities, and Cologne was no exception; large cemeteries sprang up outside its walls. Of the five major cemeteries known, four were located along the main roads leading to the city--one each in the north, the south, the west, and southwest (the fifth was located in the northwest and was probably near a secondary road). As a result, travelers entering Cologne by land could

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<sup>169</sup> Edith Mary Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1970) 42.

<sup>170</sup> Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 412-13.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 413-15.

not have helped but notice these cemeteries. Initially the burials had been at some distance from the city walls, but by the third century they had extended all the way to the walls themselves. They had also extended outwards from the main highways, up to 400 meters on each side, so that side roads were created to connect the cemeteries to the main roads.<sup>172</sup>

Until the mid-third century, the vast majority of burials were actually cremations; the ashes of the deceased were collected, placed in a container (usually ceramic or glass), and then buried in one of the cemeteries. While Romans would include small grave goods in the burial (jewelry, for example, or pottery), the dead were not usually richly outfitted. Instead, status was indicated through aboveground grave markers. Usually these were gravestones with inscriptions, providing the name and occupation of the deceased. Those who could afford it would have a relief carved on the gravestone as well, which usually depicted the funerary meal eaten by mourners at the graveside.<sup>173</sup> A monument or mausoleum would be even costlier. Very few of the latter have survived, because they were dismantled and reused in other buildings (because, as was noted above, there were no local sources of stone at Cologne).<sup>174</sup> But in the third century, they would have been very prominent, forming a city of the dead outside of Cologne's walls, parallel to the city of the living within them.

Also outside the city would have been certain manufacturing areas, particularly workshops for glass and pottery. Both of these operations require ovens, and the threat of fire meant they had to be conducted outside the residential area. Taking glass-making first, the remains of seven glass-making ovens have been found in Cologne, all located

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<sup>172</sup> Friederike Naumann-Steckner, "Death on the Rhine: Changing Burial Customs in Cologne, 3rd-7th Century," in *The Transformation of the Roman World, A.D. 400-900*, eds. Leslie Webster & Michelle Brown (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 145.

<sup>173</sup> See, e.g., Brigitte & Hartmut Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln* (Cologne: Greven & Bechtold, 1975) #219 at p. 56.

<sup>174</sup> Naumann-Steckner, "Death on the Rhine," 149.

outside of the Roman walls: Five at Eigelstein 14 on Neusser Straße (the Roman road leading from Cologne to Neuß), one in the area where the church of St. Gereon would later arise, and one in the Apernstraße, right outside the Roman wall. All seven were located on the city's north side; some scholars have speculated that this was because the prevailing north winds blew away the smoke created during production, but this pattern could simply reflect the vagaries of modern excavations and not the actual ancient past.<sup>175</sup> The ovens themselves have rarely been studied carefully; the most extensively investigated ones are those at Eigelstein 14. Unfortunately, most of the notes taken, and all the samples recovered, were destroyed during the Second World War. The archeologist Otto Doppelfeld conducted a second set of investigations at this site in 1964 and was able to provide a chronology for the ovens. He found a series of ovens which replaced one another in succession, beginning in the period before Claudius (that is, before Cologne became a *colonia* in A.D. 50) and extending to the Flavians (late first century).<sup>176</sup> As we shall see in the following chapters, glass-making would continue in Cologne throughout the period covered in this book.

Turning next to pottery, Cologne also had a flourishing pottery industry; over fifty sites have yielded evidence of pottery manufacturing, in the form of either kilns or rubbish.<sup>177</sup> Most of the potteries were located to the city's west, for two main reasons: (1) This was closer to the clay supply; (2) the prevailing winds would blow noxious smoke away from the city (as noted above for the glass furnaces).<sup>178</sup> The first two centuries A.D. have left behind numerous traces of Cologne's potteries, yet only one

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<sup>175</sup> Rolf C.A. Rottländer, "Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum römischen Glas in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 23 (1990): 564-65; see illus. 1 for a map of Cologne's glass ovens.

<sup>176</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, Römisches und fränkisches Glas in Köln (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1966) 11-14.

<sup>177</sup> Constanze Höpken, "Die Produktion römischer Gefäßkeramik in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 32 (1999): 759.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 760-61.

pottery has been found for the third century and only one for the fourth. Both are in different locations (south and southwest of the city, respectively), and the earlier operations seem to have been abandoned.<sup>179</sup> This does not mean that Cologne had only one pottery operating in the mid-third century; rather, it means that only one from that time has been found so far. Further excavations could turn up more, provided they have survived the centuries.<sup>180</sup>

Finally, after making one's way through the cemeteries and industrial areas, a traveler would see Cologne's walls--a truly impressive feature. Eight meters tall and 3,911 meters long, they enclosed an area of 96.8 hectares and included nineteen towers and nine gates.<sup>181</sup> Today only the foundations and one tower survive, but archeologists have been able to reconstruct a plausible model for the north gate, one of the three main ones. It had three entrance arches and would have been two stories high, with a portcullis for defense.<sup>182</sup> The wall was built sometime in the first century A.D., most likely at the time when Cologne became a *colonia*.<sup>183</sup> Remarkably, this wall remained substantially intact for over a thousand years; the Roman wall remained until 1200, when construction on a new wall was begun. Completed in the mid-thirteenth century, it enclosed a much larger area than the Roman wall (about 405 hectares) and thus protected many of the suburbs which had grown up outside the old Roman wall.<sup>184</sup> This is a striking instance of continuity: Cologne maintained its original defensive wall intact for a full millennium. The city's inhabitants presumably repaired the wall as needed, and indeed archeologists have found some evidence of that (which we will note below); moreover, the *Annals of*

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<sup>179</sup>*Ibid.*, 767-68.

<sup>180</sup>Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 451.

<sup>181</sup> Hansgerd Hellenkemper, "The Roman Defences of Cologne--Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium," in Roman Urban Defences in the West, eds. John Maloney & Brian Hobley (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1983) 23.

<sup>182</sup>*Ibid.*, 23 and figs. 14 & 15.

<sup>183</sup>*Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>184</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 36.

*Fulda* record that the walls were repaired after the Viking raid of 881.<sup>185</sup>

Entering through one of the gates, one would have found a densely built-up city. The most impressive buildings would have been located in the city's eastern half, along the river Rhine; among these was the praetorium. This was the seat of the imperial governor of the province of Lower Germany; Cologne was the capital city of this province, and as befits a capital, it had a magnificent praetorium. Excavations have revealed four distinct building stages and assigned approximate dates to them: The first was during the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37), the second during that of Claudius (41-54), the third around 180, and the fourth around 350.<sup>186</sup> The building phase most relevant here is the third, which had completely removed the structures from the first two phases, leveled the site, and then rebuilt and extended the praetorium. The complex was nearly 180 meters long, and contained a basilica hall (for the governor to hold court and receive embassies from Germanic peoples east of the Rhine).<sup>187</sup> Archeologists typically date this third phase to 180, based on an inscription found near the praetorium:

To the preserving gods: Q. Tarquinius Catullus, imperial legate, by whose care the praetorium, which had fallen into ruins, has been restored with a new appearance.<sup>188</sup>

It is not exactly clear what the inscription is referring to; some scholars connect it with the rebuilding of Phase III, but others are more cautious, holding that it could simply refer to one structure, not the entire complex.<sup>189</sup> But scholars are agreed that Phase III

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<sup>185</sup>Hellenkemper, "Roman Defences," 28; Annals of Fulda s.a. 883. For a discussion of the Viking attack see below ch. 5, pp. 198-200.

<sup>186</sup>Otto Doppelfeld, "Römische Großbauten unter dem Kölner Rathaus: Vorbericht über die Rathausgrabung des Jahres 1953," Germania 34 (1956): 83-99.

<sup>187</sup>Hansgerd Hellenkemper, "Architektur als Beitrag zur Geschichte der Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. Hildegard Temporini, vol. II.4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 796-801; Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 368.

<sup>188</sup>Brigitte & Hartmut Galsterer, Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln (Cologne: Greven & Bechtold, 1975) #11 at p. 14.

<sup>189</sup>Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 14 (entire rebuilding); Marianne Gechter & Sven Schütte,

did occur in the late second century, and remained intact until the fourth century.<sup>190</sup>

This inscription also was an important clue for the praetorium's location, which had remained unknown until Otto Doppelfeld's excavations in 1953 uncovered it beneath the modern town hall. Written sources mentioned the praetorium but not its location.<sup>191</sup> When the inscription was discovered in 1630, it was described by the antiquarian Aegidius Gelenius, who noted that it had been found near Cologne's town hall; reasonably enough, Gelenius argued that the original praetorium had been on the site on the present town hall.<sup>192</sup> Doppelfeld confirmed this theory over three hundred years later.<sup>193</sup>

The praetorium may likely have been our traveler's destination, since the one of the provincial governor's primary functions was to hear legal cases, both civil and criminal. Residents of the province would have brought their cases before him at Cologne (though it is likely, if unconfirmed, that the governor also traveled through the province, not unlike a circuit judge).<sup>194</sup> While the decision ultimately rested with the governor alone, he would not have lacked for assistance; indeed, the praetorium would have bustled with his staff, nearly 200 strong. Drawn mainly from the military (for the governor was also commander of the province's legions), there would have been the following: (1) Three *cornicularii*, who oversaw the staff itself; (2) three *commentarienses*, who maintained the archives; (3) six *exceptores*, or stenographers; (4) several *exacti* and *librarii*, who made copies of official documents; (5) twenty *speculatores*, for arresting suspects and implementing the governor's orders; (6) 120

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"Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathauses und seiner Umgebung," in Köln: Das gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung, eds. Walter Geis & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 2000) 102 (perhaps only one structure).

<sup>190</sup>Hellenkemper, "Architektur," 796.

<sup>191</sup>E.g., Suetonius Lives of the Caesars, *Vitellius* 7; Ammianus Marcellinus, Histories, XV.5.31.

<sup>192</sup>Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 14 & nn.111-12.

<sup>193</sup>Doppelfeld, "Römische Großbauten," 83-99.

<sup>194</sup>Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 245, 262-63.

*beneficarii*, soldiers serving as police; (7) *stratores*, who looked after the stables; (8) 100 *equites singulares*, horsemen who served as the governor's bodyguard. Furthermore, there would have been several hundred *pedites singulares*, footsoldiers who were stationed in the city under the governor's command, but not directly attached to his staff. All told, this staff would have numbered about 300 people.<sup>195</sup> In addition to ensuring the smooth functioning of the provincial government, they also provided administrative continuity, as governors tended to be rotated out of provinces fairly quickly; the governor of Lower Germany would probably have served two to four years and then been replaced, so the staff's collective knowledge would have been essential for the new governor in learning his specific duties.<sup>196</sup>

Located between the praetorium and the capitoline temple (which will be discussed below) was a temple dedicated to the god Mars. Historians knew of this temple from Suetonius, who records that when Vitellius usurped power in Cologne in A.D. 69, he was carried around by the soldiers "holding a sword which had been taken from the shrine of the god Mars" (*strictum Divi Iuli gladium tenens detractum delubro Martis*).<sup>197</sup> This temple was apparently remembered in Cologne's later topography; in the first half of the eleventh century, one of the city's gates near the market near the Rhine was called the *porta Martis* (as well as the *porta mercatorum*), and even today a street in the area still bears the name Oben Marspforten.<sup>198</sup> Archeological excavations have confirmed the existence of this temple in this area. Unlike the other buildings in the city's eastern side (such as the praetorium), which were oriented in an east-west direction, the temple of Mars was oriented north-south.<sup>199</sup> It was probably erected in the first century A.D.; later

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<sup>195</sup> Rudolf Haensch, "Die Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium--ein typischer Statthaltersitz?" *Kölner Jahrbuch* 32 (1999): 645.

<sup>196</sup> Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 249.

<sup>197</sup> Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, *Vitellius* 8.

<sup>198</sup> Hansgerd Hellenkemper, "Delubrum Martis und die mittelalterlichen Überlieferungswege," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 13 (1972/73): 102.

<sup>199</sup> Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 150.

construction on the site has prevented archeologists from learning what the temple looked like, but it was probably not as large as the capitoline temple.<sup>200</sup> As we shall see in a later chapter, this temple would later be put to a new use in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>201</sup>

As the praetorium was the center of the provincial administration, the forum was the center for the administration of the city itself, literally and figuratively; it was located directly in the city's center, and took the largest amount of space of any building complex in the city (altogether it was 250 meters long and 200 meters wide).<sup>202</sup> The two main thoroughfares of Cologne, the *cardo maximus* (the north-south axis) and the *decumanus* (the east-west axis), both led to the forum. Its most distinctive feature was a large, semicircular portico; some scholars have suggested that this portico signals the presence of a major sacred site, perhaps the famed "altar of the Ubians" which Tacitus mentions (*Ann.* 1.57).<sup>203</sup>

Connected with the forum is the capitol, the temple dedicated to the capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva). In Cologne, the capitol occupied a very unusual place: It was tucked away in the southeastern corner of the city, instead of being located in the forum in the city's center. Hansgerd Hellenkemper argues that this is because the city center was already occupied by the altar of the Ubians, so the capitol had to go elsewhere; by putting it in the eastern half, it helped to form the city's skyline, so to speak. Together with the praetorium (also in the eastern half, as noted above), this would have presented an imposing façade to the Germanic peoples living across the Rhine.<sup>204</sup> The temple sat on a platform, surrounded by columns, and was approximately fifteen meters tall.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>200</sup>*Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>201</sup>See below ch. 4, pp. 185-86, and ch. 5, pp. 201-02.

<sup>202</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 369.

<sup>203</sup>Hellenkemper, "Architektur," 795.

<sup>204</sup>*Ibid.*, 808.

<sup>205</sup>*Ibid.*, 805.

Like the city walls, the capitol provides an intriguing instance of continuity. The first written mention of the capitol comes not from an ancient source (as for the praetorium), but instead from a medieval one. The *Cologne Royal Chronicle*, written in a monastery in Cologne during the second half of the thirteenth century, was a world chronicle covering human history down to 1249. The *Chronicle* contains a grant of tithes made in 1189 by Philip, the archbishop of Cologne, to the church of St. Mary. This grant mentions that in 690, Pippin's wife Plectrude founded this church of the Virgin Mary "which is in the capitol" (*ecclesie b. Marie in Colonia, que est in capitolio*).<sup>206</sup> In other words, even in the late twelfth century, the memory that this area had formerly been the pagan capitol still existed, even if in an attenuated form.<sup>207</sup> This is not to say that Cologne's residents in 1189 knew exactly what "in the capitol" meant; as time went on, it is likely that most simply thought of it as the name of the church ("St. Mary in the Capitol," as it was called from the thirteenth century on). But the very fact that the name survived--and more importantly, that it was applied to the correct location--indicates that the memory of the city's Roman past had not totally disappeared. In addition, this also testifies to a certain continuity of use; that is, the site was still considered sacred, even though a new religion had now moved in. These are issues which I will only raise here, but will discuss in greater detail below.<sup>208</sup>

Historians are not sure where Cologne's town council, the *ordo decurionum*, would have met. Members of this council (called "decurions") were the city's elite; most would have been wealthy landowners. New members would have been co-opted by the council itself, often from families who already had members serving as decurions. There probably would have been 100 decurions total.<sup>209</sup> They were responsible for managing

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<sup>206</sup>Available in Theodor Josef Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, vol. 4 (1858; Aalen, F.R.G.: Scientia Verl., 1966) #639 at p. 787.

<sup>207</sup>Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 12-13.

<sup>208</sup>See below ch. 4, pp. 176-79.

<sup>209</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 315-21.

the city's affairs, while several pairs of magistrates would have overseen the day-to-day administration. The highest magistrates were the two *duumvirs*, who also acted as a court of first instance for civil cases involving small sums and petty crimes (however, the *duumvirs* did not actually try cases, but rather only determined the legal issue to be decided and appointed judges to decide the matter).<sup>210</sup> Beneath the *duumvirs* were the aediles, who supervised the public market and the upkeep of public buildings. Beneath the aediles were the quaestors, the lowest-ranking magistrates, who probably were in charge of the city's treasury and archive (this might also have occasioned our traveler's trip; perhaps he wished to deposit a will in the city's archive.)<sup>211</sup> Just as the governor required a large staff, so did these magistrates. We do not know the number of people, but there would have been scribes, messengers, a town crier (who also conducted public auctions), and assistants for religious sacrifices.<sup>212</sup>

Moving southwest from the forum, one would have seen yet another large public building, the baths. They are not mentioned by any written source ancient or medieval, and were discovered only in 1950. They were quite large, so much so that Doppelfeld, their discoverer, wrote that they could easily match the baths at Trier in size.<sup>213</sup> Remains of the *palaestra* (the area devoted to athletics) and the *frigidarium* (the cold bath) have been found.<sup>214</sup> However, unlike the capitol, the baths have not typically been seen as an example of the survival of Roman institutions into the medieval period. Even Doppelfeld himself discounted the baths in this regard; he noted that this huge complex had completely disappeared aboveground, leaving no visible trace. Furthermore, unlike the capitol, the baths were not remembered in any place-name. The disappearance of such a

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<sup>210</sup>*Ibid.*, 329-30.

<sup>211</sup>*Ibid.*, 333-34.

<sup>212</sup>*Ibid.*, 335-36.

<sup>213</sup>Otto Doppelfeld, "Das römische Köln als Grundlage für die mittelalterliche Stadt," in *Germania Romana: Römerstädte in Deutschland*, eds. Franz Bömer & Ludwig Voit, vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960) 12.

<sup>214</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 372-73.

substantial structure, both physically and in collective memory, suggests that, in this area at least, there was a sharp break between Roman and medieval Cologne. Consequently, Doppelfeld (in many ways the foremost advocate of continuity at Cologne, as we shall see later) concluded that the discovery of the baths "was not an encouraging result for the research of continuity, but instead offered a clear example of discontinuity."<sup>215</sup>

Turning towards the east, towards the Rhine, one would have encountered an area outside the walls, but nonetheless still used by the inhabitants. In the first century A.D. this area had actually been an island in the river, but during the early second century it had silted up and become connected to the rest of Cologne.<sup>216</sup> At some point in the second century, four large structures (3,500 square meters in total surface area) had been built on the former island. Their exact function is not known; some scholars believe that they were used for storing goods of some sort.<sup>217</sup> But as is the case so often, this is in dispute. Beneath them is an earlier first-century structure, consisting of a large basin surrounded by walls. Originally archeologists thought this was a *natatio* ("swimming pool"), but since the basin was divided into compartments, this interpretation has lost favor. Sven Schütte has more recently argued that these structures were not storehouses, but instead a "market basilica," a place where merchants could engage in specialized transactions, while normal trading went on in the open market.<sup>218</sup> While their specific function remains controversial, we shall see below that they would be put to a new use in the post-Roman period.

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<sup>215</sup>Doppelfeld, "Römische Köln," 12-13; quoted with approval in Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 12.

<sup>216</sup>Marcus Trier, "Köln am Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ausgrabungsergebnisse auf dem Heumarkt," in Kontinuitätsfragen: Mittlere Kaiserzeit--Spätantike, Spätantike--Frühmittelalter, eds. Susanne Biegert, Andrea Hagedorn, & Andreas Schaub (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 92.

<sup>217</sup>Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 386-87.

<sup>218</sup>Sven Schütte, "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," in After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians, ed. Giorgio Ausenda (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1995) 171.

All of the above buildings are those which archeologists have able to detect, but they were certainly not the only ones in third-century Cologne. Our traveler would have seen several other buildings, but unfortunately these have either totally disappeared or else still remain hidden. But scholars are able to infer the existence of certain structures, primarily through inscriptions. We have already seen one instance of this above concerning the praetorium, and I shall give two further examples of buildings whose existence is surmised on the basis of epigraphic evidence.

The first of these is the amphitheater, the site for the gladiatorial combats which the Romans were so fond of. No traces of it have ever been found, but an inscription on an altar dating from the second century offers a tantalizing clue:

Sacred to Diana. Q. Tarquitiu Restitutus, son of Quintus, from the tribe Camilia, from Pisauro [in Italy], centurion of the 1st Legion Minervia Pia Fidelis, captured fifty bears in six months. The vow has been fulfilled willingly.<sup>219</sup>

Diana was the goddess of the hunt, and it appears that Q. Tarquitiu fulfilled a vow he had sworn by capturing bears. These bears would then have been slain in hunts staged in the amphitheater.<sup>220</sup>

However, not all historians accept this inscription as proof for an amphitheater at Cologne. Werner Eck argues that, since Q. Tarquitiu was a military officer, he would not have been responsible for providing animals for Cologne's hunts; that was the task of the local magistrates. Tarquitiu's bears were instead intended for the city of Rome itself; the imperial governor was sending animals for the emperor's games, and as the governor was also commander of the legion stationed there, Tarquitiu would have been working for the governor, not the city.<sup>221</sup> But while he rejects this inscription as proof of an

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<sup>219</sup>The Galsterers, *Römischen Steininschriften*, #14 at p. 15.

<sup>220</sup>Eberhard Thomas, "Spiele im römischen Köln," in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, eds. Wolfgang Rosen & Lars Wirtler (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1999) 25.

<sup>221</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 376.

amphitheater's existence, he still accepts that Cologne did have an amphitheater. This is because a Roman city of Cologne's size and importance would have had to have an amphitheater; it would have been inconceivable for a provincial capital to lack such a building. As further evidence, he cites two inscriptions. The first, from Cologne, is a gravestone for a freedman named Aquilo which depicts two gladiators in combat.<sup>222</sup> Eck argues that Aquilo must have been a gladiator freed by his owners before his death. The second inscription is a gravestone from Benevento (in southern Italy) for Filematius, who was a gladiator who originally came from Cologne. For Eck, these gravestones, together with the general assumption that Cologne's importance necessitated an amphitheater, strongly suggest that such a structure did exist.<sup>223</sup> While not all scholars agree with Eck's argument, they do agree that Cologne did have an amphitheater.<sup>224</sup>

The second example of a building attested only by an inscription is the temple to Mercury. A highly fragmentary inscription reads as follows:

To Mercury Augustus . . . of the emperor Titus Caesar . . . the temple from the foundations . . . wall in circumference and with buildings.<sup>225</sup>

The reference to Titus provides a fairly precise date; as he reigned from only A.D. 79 to 81, this inscription most likely dates from that timespan. There clearly was a temple to Mercury Augustus, but it is not at all clear where that temple was located. In 1960, Otto Doppelfeld discovered a Roman temple beneath the present cathedral, and he had argued that this temple was to be identified with the Mercury Augustus one.<sup>226</sup> But that opinion has now been rejected; the temple Doppelfeld discovered in fact dates to the fourth century, and so cannot be the one mentioned in the first-century inscription.<sup>227</sup> The

<sup>222</sup>The Galsterers, *Römischen Steininschriften*, #354 at p. 83.

<sup>223</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 373-75, 377.

<sup>224</sup>Thomas, "Spiele," 25. See below ch. 3, p. 107 n.362, for further documentary evidence of the existence of an amphitheater in Cologne.

<sup>225</sup>The Galsterers, *Römischen Steininschriften*, #121 at p. 35.

<sup>226</sup>Hellenkemper, "Architektur," 808-09.

<sup>227</sup>Günther Binding, "Die Domgrabung Köln: Bericht über das Kolloquium zur

location of the Mercury Augustus temple thus remains a mystery.

Of course, large public buildings would have not been the only structures a traveler would have seen in Cologne. There would have been houses, shops, and shrines as well. But the vast majority of these have either completely vanished or else remain concealed beneath Cologne's modern buildings. In addition, most archeological work has focused on studying the major public monuments, so Cologne's private structures remain less well-known.

Throughout this tour of Cologne, our traveler would have relied on the city's street network. We have already noted Cologne's two main thoroughfares, the *cardo maximus* (the north-south axis) and the *decumanus* (the east-west axis), which both led to the forum. Both streets were about thirty-two meters wide, with sidewalks adding another twenty-two meters.<sup>228</sup> These sidewalks were roofed over, with a portico facing the main street and supporting the roof. Although this was a public space, the actual construction of the portico was the responsibility of the property owners who bordered the main streets; they were expected to pay for the construction of that portion of the portico which abutted their property (though this was done under public supervision).<sup>229</sup>

The other streets were smaller, usually from eleven to twenty-three meters wide (these also had porticoes and sidewalks). Initially the streets were covered with gravel mixed in mortar, but later they were paved with basalt stones; however, it is possible that only the middle of the streets were paved (since they were used by wagons), and the sidewalks (for pedestrians) remained covered with the gravel-mortar mixture.<sup>230</sup> Once the street system had been laid out, there was little change to its structure. Maintenance and repair, however, did occur; to take an example later than the period under discussion,

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Baugeschichte und Archäologie 14.-17.3.1984 in Köln," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 11 (1983): 201.

<sup>228</sup>Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit*, 358-59.

<sup>229</sup>*Ibid.*, 359.

<sup>230</sup>*Ibid.*, 359-60.

the finds of fourth-century coins near the harbor suggest that this area was repaved in the fourth century.<sup>231</sup>

Finally, in addition to all of these buildings, great and small, which our traveler would have seen in 250, there was one critical structure which would have been almost invisible to him; namely, the aqueduct. Cologne's inhabitants needed water for drinking and cooking, the public baths mentioned above needed water, and so did the industrial workshops (for their manufacturing processes). In the second century Cologne got an aqueduct, probably built during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-80), whose source of water was in the Eifel mountains. This was, in some ways, the most monumental of all Roman structures in Cologne. Scholars have estimated that it was 98.7 kilometers long (making it one of the longest Roman aqueducts ever built) and could have provided 20,000 cubic meters of water a day. Its construction required 150,000 cubic meters of stone, and over 500,000 cubic meters of earth were removed during the building process; by comparison, the city walls, as impressive as they were, only required 100,000 cubic meters of stone and 60,000 cubic meters of earth to be removed.<sup>232</sup> And yet this mighty work would have passed unnoticed by our traveler. That seems surprising to us, as most of the aqueducts we are familiar with today are grand and imposing structures (such as the Pont du Gard in France). But those magnificent ruins were in fact the exception in their own day; whenever possible, the Romans built aqueducts underground, in order to protect against freezing; they no more wanted their pipes to freeze and burst than the modern American homeowner does.<sup>233</sup> Consequently, the majority of Cologne's aqueduct was underground, though a 1,400-meter-long section did cross the valley of the river Swis aboveground, and the final eight kilometers of the aqueduct, leading to the city walls, was also aboveground (and two pillars of the latter structure survived until the late

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<sup>231</sup>*Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>232</sup>*Ibid.*, 362-63.

<sup>233</sup>*Ibid.*, 362.

eighteenth-century).<sup>234</sup>

We know very little about how the water was distributed once it was brought inside the city walls because most of the pipes were made of wood, which has rotted away. These pipes were connected to each other through short, flanged lead sections.<sup>235</sup> (One still occasionally encounters the theory that Rome fell because the use of lead water pipes contaminated the drinking supply and led to widespread mental deterioration; I will not comment on this theory, except to say that in Cologne at least, the use of wooden pipes excludes it). This network of pipes distributed it to the larger public buildings (such as the baths) as well as to basins in the houses of wealthy citizens. Two of these basins have been intriguing scholars of Cologne since the mid-nineteenth century. Originally discovered in 1866 beneath what is today the cathedral, it was first supposed that they were baptismal fonts, belonging to a fourth- or fifth-century baptistery. But this interpretation has lost favor today. Archeologists have pointed out that the basins were found close to a heap of rubbish and kitchen waste (including a large quantity of oyster shells); this suggests that these basins belonged to a private residence and supplied them with water.<sup>236</sup> While it would have been extremely exciting to have found an early Christian baptistery in Cologne, it seems that these basins were used for a more prosaic use.

Our examination has revealed the city's physical fabric, but an essential element is missing, namely, people. Exactly how many inhabitants did the city have? Reliable estimates of ancient populations are devilishly difficult to calculate, but scholars reckon that the city itself housed 20,000 to 40,000 people, with perhaps another 40,000 living in the *vici* and 75,000 living on individual farmsteads in the city's territory--150,000 people

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<sup>234</sup>*Ibid.*, 362; see 365 illus. 145 for a reconstruction of the Swis section.

<sup>235</sup> Hansgerd Hellenkemper, "Wasserbedarf, Wasserverteilung und Entsorgung der Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium," in Atlas der römischen Wasserleitungen nach Köln, ed. Klaus Grewe (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1986) 195-97.

<sup>236</sup>*Ibid.*, 201-04.

altogether.<sup>237</sup> Cologne (both the city and its hinterland) would have been quite populous by ancient standards.

Finding out about the lives of Cologne's ordinary residents is extremely difficult at the remove of so many centuries. Knowing what their lives were like would provide us with an invaluable perspective on life in Roman Cologne, but in most cases we simply lack the requisite evidence. However, there is one type of source material which does provide us a small glimpse into their world--inscriptions. Throughout the Roman Empire from the first to the third centuries A.D., Roman citizens from various social groups erected inscriptions in their cities and towns, and the citizens of Cologne did likewise. In the following chapter I will discuss how the relevance of inscriptions to the question of continuity, but for the moment we can use them to gain some sense of the texture of life in Cologne in A.D. 250.

Cologne's inscriptions can be roughly grouped into three categories: (1) Dedications to deities; (2) military inscriptions; (3) burial epitaphs (after 300, we shall see an additional category, that of epitaphs for Christians). For the period from the first to the third centuries A.D., a total of 352 inscriptions have been discovered: 171 dedications to deities, 76 military inscriptions, and 105 epitaphs.<sup>238</sup> It must be noted that this does not represent the sum total of all inscriptions in Cologne for the first three centuries A.D., but instead only represents those inscriptions which can be dated (and many of these can only be dated tentatively, at that). The number of surviving inscriptions (both dated and undated) is 710, while the complete number of inscriptions

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<sup>237</sup>Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 311-14.

<sup>238</sup>The Galsterers, Römischen Steininschriften; supplemented by the same authors in "Neue Inschriften aus Köln--Funde der Jahre 1974-1979," Epigraphische Studien 12 (1981): 225-64; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften aus Köln II: Funde der Jahre 1980-1982," Epigraphische Studien 13 (1983): 167-206; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften aus Köln III: Funde der Jahre 1983-1987," Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 20 (1987): 83-109; Winfried Schmitz, "Die spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Grabinschriften in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 28 (1995): 643-776.

that ever existed is, of course, unknown.

Incomplete as they are, these inscriptions still provide us with much information. For instance, we can glimpse the religious landscape of Cologne through the numerous dedications to deities. Unsurprisingly there are many dedications to indigenous gods and goddesses, such as the *Matronae*, a group of three mother goddesses, often depicted seated and holding fruit, frequently encountered in the Rhineland.<sup>239</sup> No less than fifty-eight inscriptions to these goddesses have been found in Cologne.<sup>240</sup> But there were also inscriptions to Roman gods, such as the Mercury Augustus inscription mentioned earlier;<sup>241</sup> altogether there are 114 inscriptions to Greco-Roman gods.<sup>242</sup> And finally there are also a small number (thirteen total) of dedications to eastern deities, such as the altar dedicated to the goddess Isis Myrionymos and dated to the second or third century: "To Isis Myrionymos . . . undertaken as a result of a vow, fulfilled willingly. Given in the place by the decree of the decurions."<sup>243</sup> The inscription's middle portion is missing, so we do not know who put it up, or for what reason. We also do not know its original location, though it is most interesting to observe that it was later built into a pillar of the church of St. Gereon.<sup>244</sup> Taken together, these religious dedications are a testament to the circulation of different cultures and cults in the Roman Empire. The roads that brought travelers, merchants, and soldiers to Cologne also brought new religions (including Christianity later on), which found adherents alongside native deities.

We also learn about the ethnic diversity of Cologne from inscriptions. For example, a funerary epitaph erected for a former soldier in the late first or early second

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<sup>239</sup> Peter S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999) 185.

<sup>240</sup>The Galsterers, *Römischen Steininschriften*, 128; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften," 264; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften II," 205; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften III," 109.

<sup>241</sup>See above p. 65.

<sup>242</sup>The Galsterers, *Römischen Steininschriften*, 128-29, *id.*, "Neue Inschriften," 264; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften II," 204; *id.*, "Neue Inschriften III," 109.

<sup>243</sup>*Ibid.*, *Römischen Steininschriften*, #44 at p. 21.

<sup>244</sup>See below ch. 2, pp. 94-95.

century states that "M. Valerius Celerinus, from Papiria, born in Ecija, citizen of Cologne, veteran of the 10th Legion Gemina Pia Fidelis, made this for himself and his wife Marcia Procula, while alive."<sup>245</sup> Ecija is in Spain, so Celerinus was a long way from his place of birth. Celerinus is the only citizen of Cologne we know of who was born somewhere else, though there must have been others whose names are now lost. Several military inscriptions frequently record the birthplace of those erecting the inscription, and they reveal people coming from Italy, Dalmatia, Spain, and North Africa.<sup>246</sup> Roman Cologne was thus a diverse city, with different ethnic and religious groups living and working side by side. We shall see in the next chapter that this diversity did not in any way disappear after 250.

Finally, because funerary epitaphs sometimes record the deceased's occupation, we can also catch a fleeting glimpse of Cologne's economy. We know of a butcher, a timber merchant, a perfumer, and a doctor.<sup>247</sup> As Cologne itself has no native supplies of stone, it must be imported, and accordingly we find an epitaph of a dealer in stone, who perhaps supplied some of the material used for erecting inscriptions.<sup>248</sup> The epitaphs tell us little more than the deceased's occupation, but we are at least aware of their presence.

When we put all of these features together, we see a picture of a vibrant city. Cologne in the mid-third century was populous and prosperous, a bastion of Mediterranean civilization on the Roman frontier. It was also an important point in the Roman military network and administrative hierarchy. And its rural hinterland was equally lively, with numerous settlements providing goods and services for the province's inhabitants. Such a scene conforms to our traditional image of the Roman Empire:

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<sup>245</sup>*Ibid.*, #219 at p. 56.

<sup>246</sup>*Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>247</sup>*Ibid.*, #324 at p. 77 (butcher), #326 at p. 78 (timber merchant), #328 at p. 78 (perfumer), and #322 at p. 77 (doctor).

<sup>248</sup>*Ibid.*, #325 at p. 78.

Peaceful, prosperous, stable, civilized. The question now becomes: What happened to this happy scene after 250? How much (if any) survived? Answering this question (or attempting to, at least) will be the focus of the next chapter.

## **Chapter Two: Late Roman Cologne (250-350)**

In the previous chapter I had argued that in the year 250 Cologne was on the eve of significant changes. It had obviously not been static in the previous three centuries, but these years had been relatively stable; by contrast, after 250 Cologne would enter a considerably more tumultuous time.

In this chapter I will argue that the period from 250 to 350 saw the beginning of two processes which would later become immensely important for Cologne: Regionalization and Christianization. By "regionalization" I mean the process whereby Cologne began to move, ever so slowly, out of the wider Roman orbit and into one aligned with the North Sea--a process which would take many years and never totally sever the links with the Mediterranean world, but nevertheless have a profound effect on the city. By "Christianization" I mean the conversion of the city's inhabitants to Christianity, and the changes this had on their culture and topography.

Regionalization initially began with the Gallic Empire, a polity which briefly seceded from the Roman Empire in the late third century and which included Cologne. The Gallic Empire would be reabsorbed into the Empire, but it adumbrates the more permanent political break-up of the fifth century, when most of the Western Empire would be apportioned into various Romano-Germanic kingdoms. Christianization also began in the late third century, and it would continue to gain ground throughout the fourth century, changing the city's topography dramatically as it did so. Regionalization was a response to the turbulent political environment of the day, while Christianization reflected the growing power of Christianity as it benefited from imperial patronage and protection. In this chapter we will examine the beginnings of these two processes in the century from 250 to 350, while in the next we will explore their development as Cologne moved from Roman to Frankish control. We will begin with regionalization and the challenges Cologne faced in the years immediately after 250.

There were two main (and interrelated) threats facing the city: Political instability and Germanic incursions. During the third century claimants to the throne continually usurped power from the reigning emperor, only to be overthrown themselves shortly thereafter. This instability enabled various parts of the Empire to break away from the central government and establish separate "empires." One of these was the so-called "Gallic Empire," which at one point consisted of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and which was ruled by its own emperors from 260 to 274; we shall examine Cologne's place in this empire in more detail below. In addition to this instability, Cologne also encountered for the first time the Franks, who would become the city's rulers in the fifth century. The Franks were also taking advantage of the political instability of the third century to move across the Rhine, though they did not form any permanent settlements at this time. The degree of destruction which these Frankish incursions caused is a matter of debate, and so let us turn first to them to see what impact they had on Cologne.

During the late third century, nine of Cologne's thirty-five *vici* were apparently abandoned or destroyed. Not all of these were settlements strictly speaking: At Ahrweiler a villa near the settlement was destroyed; at Remagen a military fort suffered this fate; at Iversheim it was a lime-producing operation which was destroyed. But at the remaining six (Bonn, Jünkerath, Krefeld-Gellep, Mönchengladbach-Mülfort, Neuß, and Zülpich) the settlements themselves appear to have been abandoned. Historians and archeologists have typically attributed these abandonments to a series of Frankish raids launched in the 270s.<sup>249</sup> But while this explanation seems plausible, it is not the end of the story.

First, it should be noted that correlation is not causation; that is, the fact that settlements burned down in the late third century and that historical documents record a Frankish incursion at that same time does not *necessarily* mean that Franks burned down

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<sup>249</sup>For a discussion and analysis of this issue, see Christian Witschel, "Re-evaluating the Roman West in the 3rd c. A.D." Journal of Roman Archaeology 17 (2004): 251-81.

these settlements. They very well may have, but closeness in time, by itself, is not sufficient to prove this. We know that the villa at Ahrweiler burned down, but in an age without sprinkler systems, this was not unheard of. To connect the destruction to the Frankish attack, one needs more evidence, and sometimes we do in fact have that. At Remagen, sometime between the years 270 and 280 someone buried a hoard of 7,500 coins within the fort.<sup>250</sup> The presence of coin hoards often implies a crisis which prompted individuals to hide their wealth; that they did not later recover it further suggests that the crisis may have had lasting effect.<sup>251</sup> So in the case of Remagen, we may infer with some confidence that Frankish raids were responsible for the fort's destruction. Of course, it is unlikely that only one *vicus* was destroyed in the 270s, but without further evidence, it is better to be careful and not push the existing evidence too far.

Second, almost all of the *vici* were rebuilt after the 270s; the lime-producing operation at Iversheim was even expanded in size. The *vici* at Jünkerath and Zülpich were fortified, and the military forts at Neuß and Remagen were also rebuilt.<sup>252</sup> And even when a *vicus* may not have been rebuilt, it does not necessarily mean that all activity ceased there immediately in the wake of the Frankish attack. For instance, at Bonn an inscription dating to A.D. 295 mentions the repair of a temple of Mars Militaris (an appropriate god for a *vicus* near a legionary camp).<sup>253</sup> Evidently it took some time for the inhabitants to abandon the *vicus* there.

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<sup>250</sup>D. Haupt, "Remagen--Rigomagus," in Der niedergermanische Limes: Materialien zu seiner Geschichte, eds. J.E. Bogaers & C.B. Rügers (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1974) 208-12; Die römische Reichsgrenze von der Mosel bis zur Nordseeküste, eds. Tilmann Bechert & Willem J.H. Willems (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1995) 29-30.

<sup>251</sup> Bernard S. Bachrach, "Fifth Century Metz: Late Roman Christian Urbs or Ghost Town?" Antiquité Tardive 10 (2002): 371.

<sup>252</sup>For the data on these *vici*, see their entries in app. 1.

<sup>253</sup> Anna-Barbara Follmann-Schulz, "Die römischen Tempelanlagen in der Provinz Germania inferior," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. Wolfgang Haase, vol. II.18.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 777-78.

What this means is that we should neither dismiss the Frankish raids out of hand nor exaggerate their effect. Damage to nine *vici* (nearly one-fourth of the total) was not a trivial matter; the Frankish raids undoubtedly caused terror and suffering in the short term. But they did not cripple the province either. Far from it: The provincial inhabitants rebuilt their settlements, suggesting both the resources to do so and the will to survive. But it must be noted that some of the *vici* were now fortified, which implies that the Romans knew that they were no longer quite as safe as they had previously thought.

We must also note that cultural creativity can exist in the midst of turmoil and stress, and wall paintings from Cologne testify to this. The wall paintings dating from before 250 are normally divided into three horizontal zones, with the central zone divided by vertical lines into sections. Black and red are the predominant colors, with the black sections usually containing scenes of landscapes. But after 250 a very different style emerges. The paintings are no longer divided into horizontal zones, and white is now the main background color. And instead of landscapes, the decoration is now vertical colored stripes, arranged in groups without any clear symmetry or order.<sup>254</sup> As Otto Doppelfeld points out, this is a radically new style of painting, which seems to have originated in the province, not Rome.<sup>255</sup> Despite the real destruction wrought by the Frankish incursions, Cologne's wall paintings reveal that art could not only survive but thrive--a testament to the city's vitality and resources.

Another response to the Franks was the Gallic Empire, and we may now turn to it. During the third century the central government was increasingly occupied with external threats, and so it became easier for generals stationed at the frontier to use their troops to gain power. The Gallic Empire is one example of this phenomenon. In 260, the military commander Postumus staged a coup at Cologne and usurped power from the emperor

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<sup>254</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, "Von Postumus zu Konstantin: Über die Kunst und die Stellung Kölns im dritten Jahrhundert," Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch 18 (1956): 17-18.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

Gallienus (r. 253-68). Postumus set up a separate empire with himself as emperor (and was eventually recognized by the army in Gaul, Spain, and Britain), and imitated the central government; his empire had a praetorian guard and senate, and he named his own consuls.<sup>256</sup> He ruled until 268, when he was killed by his own troops; the empire continued under two more emperors until 274, when it was reabsorbed back into the central Empire by Aurelian (r. 270-75). Although this outline of the events is well known, most of the Gallic Empire's history remains obscure, for several reasons. First, because it lasted so briefly, it simply did not generate many written sources; second, the central government had an interest in downplaying its importance, so as not to detract from its own authority. Third, the surviving written sources for the third century tend to be meager anyway, in the form of either brief summaries (such as Aurelius Victor and Eutropius) or fragments preserved in later authors (such as Eunapius and Dexippus, quoted by the sixth-century writer Zosimus).<sup>257</sup>

It is to Zosimus that we owe our knowledge of Postumus's seizure of power in 260. He was a Greek historian of the late fifth and early sixth century, of whom very little is known.<sup>258</sup> In his work the *Nea Historia* ("New History"), he states that he held the positions of *comes* ("count") and *advocatus fisci* ("treasury lawyer"); he indicates in

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<sup>256</sup>*Ibid.*, 10, 24.

<sup>257</sup>David Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2002) 42-58 (Aurelius Victor and Eutropius); D.F. Buck, "Dexippus, Eunapius, Olympiodorus: Continuity and Imitation," *Ancient History Bulletin* 1.2 (1987): 48-50 (Dexippus and Eunapius); Daniel C. Scavone, "Zosimus and his Historical Models," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 11.1 (Spr. 1970): 57-67 (Zosimus).

<sup>258</sup>Some of the major works on Zosimus are: Walter Emil Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 99-146; Alan Cameron, "The Date of Zosimus' New History," *Philologus* 113.1/2 (1969): 106-10; Daniel C. Scavone, "Zosimus and his Historical Models," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 11.1 (Spr. 1970): 57-67; Walter Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall," *American Historical Review* 76.2 (Apr. 1971): 412-41; R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 65.2 (Nov. 1972): 277-302; J.F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987), pp. 54-60.

his writing that he is a pagan.<sup>259</sup> Scholars today generally agree that he began writing after 498, and that he was finished, at the latest, by *ca.* 520.<sup>260</sup> The *New History* is divided into six books, with the first book covering the first three centuries of Roman history (from Augustus [32 B.C. - A.D. 14] to Diocletian [A.D. 284-304]) and the next four books covering from A.D. 305 to 409. The sixth book is incomplete; after a few pages, Zosimus abruptly breaks off in 410, just before Alaric sacks Rome.<sup>261</sup>

Zosimus records the story of Postumus's usurpation in Book I of the *New History*. The emperor Gallienus had named Postumus commander in Gaul, and left behind his son Saloninus (under the guardianship of an official named Silvanus) in Cologne. In 260 Postumus revolted and marched on Cologne, which he calls "the greatest city on the Rhine." He besieged Cologne, whose garrison then turned over Saloninus and Silvanus. Both were executed, and Postumus thereby became ruler in Gaul.<sup>262</sup>

The Frankish raids had already begun that same year, and Postumus spent most of his reign turning back their attacks. He proved to be a successful ruler, but unfortunately suffered the same fate of so many other imperial claimants during the third century. In 269, he was murdered by his own troops and replaced by Marius, who was killed twelve weeks later by Victorinus. He, in turn, was killed in 271. The minor Latin historians Aurelius Victor and Eutropius record Victorinus's death at Cologne.<sup>263</sup> According to the former, Victorinus was a notorious philanderer, and had seduced the wife of Attitianus, a quartermaster (*actuarius*), who then engineered a plot against Victorinus. After Victorinus's death, his mother Victoria managed to have her candidate Tetricus, the governor of Aquitaine, acclaimed as emperor.<sup>264</sup> Eutropius's account is less detailed; he

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<sup>259</sup>Kaegi, *Byzantium*, 99.

<sup>260</sup>Cameron, "Date," 108; Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian," 280.

<sup>261</sup>Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian," 283.

<sup>262</sup>Zosimus, *New History*, trans. R.T. Ridley (1982; Sydney: Austl. Ass'n Byz. Stud., 1984) 12.

<sup>263</sup>Aurelius Victor, 33.12; Eutropius, 9.9.

<sup>264</sup>Aurelius Victor, 33.12.

also states that Victorinus was a lecher and that a quartermaster was behind the coup that overthrew him, but he does not name the quartermaster or say that Victorinus seduced his wife.<sup>265</sup>

What can we deduce from these laconic accounts? One thing that seems certain is that Cologne was clearly playing a role of some importance in the Gallic Empire. All three sources state that the usurpations in question occurred at Cologne. Gallienus had left his son behind in Cologne; after crushing a rebellion at Autun, Victorinus had returned not to Trier, but to Cologne.<sup>266</sup> And Zosimus specifically describes Cologne as "the greatest city on the Rhine;" while this is admittedly a rhetorical flourish (and from an author writing nearly two centuries later), it does suggest that the city was important. Given Cologne's status as capital of the province of Lower Germany, this is hardly surprising. Indeed, the third-century coups bring to mind the first-century coup of Vitellius, mentioned in Chapter 1. In all these cases Cologne was a site of power, a strategic location where the intrigues of politics were played out.

But can we say anything more substantive than this? Surely the city was more than merely a location where imperial pretenders happened to meet untimely ends; there must have been an administrative capacity as well, but unfortunately the written sources are silent on this issue. However, another type of evidence, coins, may provide us with more insight into this question.

As mentioned above, the Gallic emperors attempted to legitimize their authority by imitating the central government at Rome, such as by appointing consuls. Minting their own coins was another means to legitimize their rule, and accordingly they established several mints in their territory. At some point (the exact date remains unknown) they also minted coins at Cologne, and in fact this was the first time that coins

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<sup>265</sup>Eutropius, 9.9.

<sup>266</sup>J.F. Drinkwater, The Gallic Empire: Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, A.D. 260-274 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987) 37-38.

were ever minted at the city.<sup>267</sup> Theoretically numismatics can provide us with valuable information about the Gallic Empire. For example, since the Romans usually located their mints close to armies (in order to provide pay for the troops), this information could tell us what areas were under military pressure.<sup>268</sup>

While coins hold a great deal of promise for historians, unfortunately they are not as clear as we would like. It appears that the Gallic emperors used mints in several different cities, Cologne being only one of them (identified by the mint-marks C|A, C.C.A.A., or COL CL AGRIP),<sup>269</sup> but the times when the various mints were issuing is often unclear, and it is sometimes difficult to determine which mint a coin came from. For example, in 1941 Georg Elmer had argued that Cologne was Postumus's only mint, a position which Eric Barthelemy accepted in 1999.<sup>270</sup> Pierre Bastien put forward a somewhat modified version of this theory, stating that all of Postumus's official bronze coins came from Cologne (though he does argue that a second mint, whose location is unknown, did issue "irregular" coins, also in bronze.)<sup>271</sup> Carl-Friedrich Zschucke concurred with Bastien: The Cologne mint had been founded by Gallienus before he left Gaul in 260, and when Postumus usurped power in Gaul, he (and his successors)

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<sup>267</sup>For a comprehensive, but older, catalogue of the Gallic coins see Percy H. Webb, The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 5, pt. 2 (London: Spink & Son, 1933); for a more recent, but less comprehensive, catalogue, see Carl-Friedrich Zschucke, Die römische Münzstätte Köln (Trier: Petermannchen-Verlag, 1993). For catalogues of coins in particular metals see Pierre Bastien, Le Monnayage de Bronze de Postume (Wetteren, Belg.: Éditions Cultura, 1967); Bernhard Schulte, Die Goldprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus (Aarau, F.R.G.: Sauerländer, 1983).

<sup>268</sup>Drinkwater, Gallic Empire, 132-34.

<sup>269</sup>Webb, Roman Imperial Coinage, gives 155 coins minted at Cologne by the various emperors.

<sup>270</sup>Georg Elmer, "Die Münzprägung der gallischen Kaiser in Köln, Trier, und Mailand," Bonner Jahrbücher 146 (1941): 1-106; Eric Barthelemy, "Köln als Hauptstadt des gallischen Sonderreiches: Eine Münze des Postumus, 265," in Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, eds. Wolfgang Rosen *et al.*, vol. 1, (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1999) 35-36.

<sup>271</sup>Bastien, Monnayage, 45-46, 110.

maintained this as the primary mint.<sup>272</sup>

But J.F. Drinkwater opposes this theory. First, he points out that numismatics is not as precise as some of its stauncher proponents have claimed; a great deal of numismatists' conclusions rests either on "intuition" (for example, distinguishing the features that mark off one category of coins) or on inferences from non-numismatic sources (for example, placing a mint at a particular location not because of numismatic evidence, but because the emperor had his headquarters there).<sup>273</sup> The former is inherently subjective; if a coin lacks a clear mint-mark (and many do), numismatists must rely on more vague features such as the coin's "style." Such general characteristics are inevitably open to interpretation and disagreement. As for the latter, it tends to circularity; a numismatist assigns a coin to one mint because the written sources suggest it was issued there, and then argues that the written sources are correct because the coin came from that mint. In addition to these basic methodological caveats, Drinkwater also observes that Postumus's coins do not bear an inscription identifying them as being struck at Cologne until about 268, eight years after he had seized power; how can one account for the delay if the mint is supposed to have been at Cologne all along?<sup>274</sup> He thus hypothesizes that Postumus may have originally minted at Trier, and only opened a second, subsidiary mint at Cologne in 268, which continued to be used (along with other mints) by Postumus's successors until 274, when the Gallic Empire was reconquered and the mint transferred to Lyons.<sup>275</sup> However, Drinkwater is very cautious in his conclusion, saying that "*The tentative and fragile character of the reconstruction proposed cannot be over-emphasised.*"<sup>276</sup>

To the non-specialist, this may seem hopelessly confusing. But the problem may

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<sup>272</sup>Zschucke, *Münzstätte Köln*, 34-36, 43.

<sup>273</sup>Drinkwater, *Gallic Empire*, 134-35.

<sup>274</sup>*Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>275</sup>*Ibid.*, 145-46.

<sup>276</sup>*Ibid.*, 147 (emphasis in original).

be that we are asking overly specific questions. The very existence of coins minted at Cologne enables us to draw some conclusions. We know that the Gallic emperors did mint coins at Cologne. While it is not clear whether its mint was the primary or secondary one, the very presence of a mint indicates that the city was fairly important to the Gallic emperors. As noted above, mints were often located near military encampments, so as to provide the funds needed to pay them. This corroborates the literary evidence of Zosimus, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, which suggests that troops were often stationed at or near the city. We can thus infer that Cologne was an important site in the Gallic emperors' military strategy, and this in turn suggests that the city probably had other important functions as well (for example, trade and administration.)

In any case, the Gallic Empire proved to be short-lived; in 274 it was reincorporated into the Roman Empire, and minting ceased at Cologne. The reassertion of central authority was part of a larger process occurring in the late third century, whereby the emperors managed to subdue both external and internal threats to their power. This process culminated in the reign of Diocletian (284-305), when order was restored in the Empire.

Cologne remained an important city for the tetrarchs. An inscribed milestone (which was later moved into the city) states: "To the most noble and unconquered Caesars Constantius and Maximian: One league from Cologne."<sup>277</sup> This refers to the tetrarchs Constantius Chlorus (r. 293-305) and Maximian (r. 286-305); it was erected during their reigns but no more precise date is known. Constantius was the father of Constantine (r. 305-37), who would later stay in Cologne (as we shall see below). Maximian also stayed in Cologne at least once, for he issued an edict there (concerning the return of dowries) in 294.<sup>278</sup> Cologne was thus maintaining its function as it had

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<sup>277</sup> Brigitte & Hartmut Galsterer, Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln (Cologne: Greven & Bechtold, 1975) #186 at p. 47.

<sup>278</sup> CODE JUST. 5.12.21 (Diocletian & Maximian 294).

under the Gallic Empire: It remained an important city which emperors needed to visit as they traveled around the Empire.

Of course, a major reason why emperors visited Cologne was for defensive purposes, and it is in this capacity that Constantine was perhaps most interested in Cologne. While the Franks and other Germanic tribes had been pushed back across the Rhine, this did not mean that they were no longer a threat. Constantine undertook the task of strengthening the defense systems along the Rhine, and Cologne's province (renamed "Second Germany" under Diocletian) was part and parcel of this process.<sup>279</sup> We saw above that the *vicus* of Jünkerath was fortified in the second quarter of the fourth century. It was a road post, located behind the frontier. The fortification Constantine built was a circular fort with round towers and a postern gate (that is, a narrow angled entry passage); these features are innovations in late Roman fortifications.<sup>280</sup> Another Constantinian fort (built in the first quarter of the fourth century) is Haus Bürgel, which was a more conventional square fortress originally on the Rhine's left bank (due to a change in the river's course in the fourteenth century, today it is on the right bank).<sup>281</sup>

However, the most important fortress which Constantine built at Cologne was Deutz, which was located directly across the river from the city, on the Rhine's right bank. An inscription records that Constantine had this fortress built, but the original is lost and survives only in a medieval transcription. In the High Middle Ages Constantine's fortress would house a Benedictine abbey, which was destroyed in 1128 by fire. Its abbot at the time was the theologian Rupert of Deutz, who wrote in his work *De Incendio* that the monks discovered the broken inscription in the rubble after the fire, and records it in his manuscript: "By the power of our lord Constantine, the pious, most fortunate,

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<sup>279</sup> H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969): 180.

<sup>280</sup> Harald von Petrikovits, "Fortifications in the North-West Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries A.D." *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 195, 201.

<sup>281</sup> See below app. 1, p. 280.

unconquered Augustus, the Franks have been suppressed and tamed. In the presence of the *princeps* and in devotion to his divine majesty, in their own lands the fortified settlement Deutz has been built by the Twenty-Second Legion."<sup>282</sup> Constantine also built a bridge from Cologne to Deutz; an anonymous panegyric delivered to Constantine in 310 states that the Franks feared Constantine so much that they did not dare to cross the Rhine, even though a bridge had been started.<sup>283</sup> The panegyricist goes on to say that the foundations of the bridge's piers have been built in the river;<sup>284</sup> this suggests that the bridge had been commenced shortly before 310 but not yet completed. The fourth-century coins found in Deutz begin from 312, so it is likely that the bridge was finished by 312, and the fort was built afterwards, being finished in 315.<sup>285</sup> Based on finds of spurs and horse trappings, it probably housed a unit of auxiliary cavalrymen (about 500 strong) intended to keep the Germanic tribes under surveillance, and to serve in military campaigns as needed.<sup>286</sup> In addition to its walls, Deutz was also surrounded by a ditch twelve meters wide and four deep, which was itself surrounded by a berm thirty meters wide. This was typical for later Roman ditches and berms, which were wider and deeper than earlier ones in order to prevent siege equipment from being used against them.<sup>287</sup>

While Cologne's inhabitants were without doubt grateful for Constantine's new defense works, he is most remembered today for his conversion to Christianity, and in this too he is connected to Cologne. The first written mention of a Christian community

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<sup>282</sup>See Marianne Gechter, "Zur Überlieferung der Bauinschrift des Kastells Divitia (Deutz)," Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 24 (1991): 377-80 for the inscription's provenance and history.

<sup>283</sup>Paneg. Lat. 6.11.4, available in XII Panegyrici Latini, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 194.

<sup>284</sup>Paneg. Lat. 6.13.3, in XII Panegyrici Latini, 195.

<sup>285</sup>M. Carroll-Spillecke, "The Late Roman Frontier Fort Divitia in Köln-Deutz and Its Garrisons," in Roman Frontier Studies 1995: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, eds. W. Groenman-van Waateringe *et al.* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997) 143.

<sup>286</sup>*Ibid.*, 144, 148.

<sup>287</sup>Von Petrikovits, "Fortifications," 197.

in Cologne dates to 313, when the ecclesiastical writer Optatus of Mileve describes a tribunal held to adjudicate on the episcopal election in Carthage. Let us briefly turn to this author and see what we can learn from him about the early history of Christianity in Cologne.

Optatus is one of our most important sources of information about the history of Donatism, but we know very little about him.<sup>288</sup> As one recent reference work puts it, "Nothing is known of him save his treatise against the Donatists, of which books 1-6 appeared about 367, and a revision, with book 7, about 385."<sup>289</sup> The first book of *De Schismate Donatistarum* recounts the history of Donatism while the remaining books are a polemic against it. Optatus also appended a dossier of documents to his treatise, which historians regard as a most valuable source of information. Originally it was doubted that these documents were genuine, but most scholars now accept ". . . that all the documents reproduced or cited by Optatus in his history are indeed authentic . . ."<sup>290</sup> It is in one of these documents that Optatus mentions Cologne.

Briefly, Donatism had developed in North Africa in response to the Diocletianic persecution (303-13). Some Christians had defied imperial orders to sacrifice to pagan deities, whereas others had complied with the orders and also handed over the Scriptures. This rift persisted even after the persecution had ended. Mensurius, the bishop of Carthage, had disapproved of the zealots' defiance and thereby earned their contempt; the rigorists continued to oppose his successor Caecilian, selected in 311/12. An African synod held in 312 deposed Caecilian and replaced him as bishop of Carthage first with

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<sup>288</sup>Some of the works dealing with Optatus are: O.R. Vassall-Phillips, The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, Against the Donatists (London: Longmans, Green, 1917); N.H. Baynes, "Optatus," Journal of Theological Studies 26 (1925) 37-44, 404-06; C.H. Turner, "Adversaria Critica: Notes on the Anti-Donatist Dossier and on Optatus, Books I, II," Journal of Theological Studies 27 (1926) 283-96. For a general history of Donatism see W.H.C. Frend, The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

<sup>289</sup>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 3rd ed., s.v. "Optatus," 1185.

<sup>290</sup>Baynes, "Optatus," 44; cf. Frend, The Donatist Church, 148 n. 4.

Majorinus, and when he died, with Donatus.<sup>291</sup>

Constantine, however, had recognized Caecilian as the legitimate bishop of Carthage; in response, the Donatists appealed to Constantine in 313, asking that he appoint Gallic bishops to hear their arguments against Caecilian. Though angered by this request, Constantine agreed and named a tribunal of nineteen bishops, presided over by Pope Miltiades (310-14) at Rome. Fifteen of these bishops came from Italy and three from Gaul: Maternus of Cologne, Reticus of Autun, and Marinus of Arles.<sup>292</sup> On October 2, 313, this tribunal ruled in favor of Caecilian.<sup>293</sup>

This is the first mention of a bishop of Cologne, and we can learn two important things from it. First, an organized Christian community existed in Cologne by 313 at the latest. Second, this community's leader, Maternus, must have been fairly close to Constantine for the latter to appoint him as a member of the tribunal settling this issue. Sebastian Scholz suggests that Constantine had first become acquainted with Maternus (and the two other Gallic bishops) during his travels through Gaul; however Constantine had gotten to know Maternus, he obviously thought that he was sufficiently competent (and loyal) to participate in deciding this matter.<sup>294</sup>

If Cologne's Christian community had a bishop by 313, how long had this community been in existence? Optatus says nothing about this, nor about how many Christians there were or when they first arrived. But if they had a bishop, then they had to have been there for some time in order to achieve the level of institutionalization and organization that would support a bishop. And since this bishop was apparently familiar enough to the emperor to be entrusted to sit in judgment on an ecclesiastical controversy,

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<sup>291</sup>Frend, The Donatist Church, 1-25.

<sup>292</sup>Optatus of Mileve, De Schismate Donatistarum, 1.23.

<sup>293</sup>Frend, Donatist Church, 146-49.

<sup>294</sup>Sebastian Scholz, "Institutionalisierung der Christengemeinde in Köln: Die Erwähnung eines Bischofs namens Maternus, 313," in Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, 43-44.

we can further presume that Cologne's community had some standing in the early church. Optatus's work by itself does not take us beyond these bare statements.

Some additional light can be thrown on these questions by looking at Cologne's episcopal list, which was first written down in the late tenth century.<sup>295</sup> "Maternus" is the first name on this list, which suggests that he was Cologne's first bishop (more precisely, the first recorded bishop). On this basis, Carlrichard Brühl concludes that a Christian community existed in Cologne "at the latest in the last quarter of the third century," and that the bishopric was established "at the earliest at the end of the third, probably even the early years of the fourth century."<sup>296</sup> However, this picture is complicated by the fact that Maternus is also listed as the third name on Trier's list and the first on Tongern's.<sup>297</sup> Louis Duchesne resolves this by proposing that Maternus was bishop of Trier, whose diocese at that time included Cologne and Tongern as well. Later on, Maternus separated the latter two cities from Trier's diocese and became Cologne's bishop.<sup>298</sup> By contrast, Brühl does not reject the possibility that Maternus was also Trier's third bishop, but neither does he endorse it whole-heartedly. He instead states that "Maternus of Tongern and Maternus of Cologne are identical," though he notes that Maternus was not actually Tongern's bishop; since Tongern was originally part of Cologne's diocese, Brühl argues, when Tongern later separated and drew up its own list, Maternus's name was put first in memory of Tongern's "former dependence on Cologne."<sup>299</sup>

From Optatus and the episcopal list we may therefore infer that, at a minimum, by the early fourth century Cologne had a Christian community of a sufficient size and importance to warrant its own bishop. Like their pagan neighbors, Cologne's Christians

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<sup>295</sup> Louis Duchesne, Fastes Épiscopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing & Co., 1915) 175.

<sup>296</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 16.

<sup>297</sup> Duchesne, Fastes Épiscopaux, 185-87 (Tongern), 32-34 (Trier).

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>299</sup> Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 16.

also raised funerary inscriptions for their dead. There are sixteen Christian funerary inscriptions dating from the fourth century; however, none of them can be dated with any precision, so they may have been erected at time within the century, not just before 350.<sup>300</sup> The majority of these epitaphs were set up by parents for young children and adolescents, such as this one: "Desiderius and Mustela placed this epitaph for their dearest daughter Poppia, who lived twenty years." While this inscription may not seem explicitly Christian, epigraphers have noted that names beginning with "Must-" are especially common amongst North African Christians (which also suggests that Cologne's population at this time was still drawn from all over the Roman Empire).<sup>301</sup> Epitaphs such as Poppia's tell us very little about Cologne's Christian community, but they do speak movingly of the grief suffered by those who survived them.

While the Christians of Cologne remain largely invisible to us, the buildings they worshipped in are better known (though only slightly so). Cologne's earliest Christian churches apparently arose in the late fourth century (after 350); I say "apparently," because it is extremely difficult to confidently state that a given structure was a church. It is more accurate to say that Cologne's oldest churches incorporate or cover even older buildings, whose nature and purpose cannot be clearly discerned. For that reason, the churches will be covered in greater detail in the next chapter, and at this stage I shall briefly describe what archeologists know about the structures which preceded them.

The three main late Roman churches in Cologne are St. Ursula, St. Severin, and St. Gereon; all are located in Roman cemeteries outside of the city walls, in accordance with Roman custom concerning the dead (as we saw in Chapter 1). All of these churches are traditionally associated with Christian martyrs, though modern scholars have had a difficult time separating fact from legend in this matter (a difficulty we will ourselves

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<sup>300</sup>See above ch. 1, p. 69 n.238.

<sup>301</sup>The Galsterers, Steininschriften, #491 at p. 103.

grapple with in the next chapter).<sup>302</sup> Let us begin with St. Ursula, which was located north of the city in the Roman cemetery which flanked the road that led to Neuß; burials began here in the first century A.D. and continued without interruption until the fourth.<sup>303</sup> At some point in the late fourth or early fifth century a building was built here: A simple rectangular hall with a semicircular apse at one end, 28.4 meters long and 9.6 meters wide.<sup>304</sup> It is in fact not certain that this building was exclusively for Christian use; its layout has no features peculiar to Christian architecture, and the cemetery surrounding it contained both pagan and Christian burials. One scholar has suggested that it may have been used equally by Christians and pagans for commemorating the dead (though he does not deny the possibility that only Christians may have used it for this purpose.)<sup>305</sup> What is certain is that the building became a church in the sixth century, a process which will trace in greater detail in the next chapter.

Moving now to the south of the city, we encounter the church of St. Severin, the third bishop of Cologne. Like St. Ursula, St. Severin is also located in a major Roman cemetery, which the road to Bonn runs through. This cemetery was in use from the second half of the first century all the way into the fourth century.<sup>306</sup> Over the course of the fourth century several funerary buildings were raised throughout this cemetery; they tended to be small in size and square in shape, with a few individuals interred inside them.<sup>307</sup> One of these buildings would later become the kernel for the church of St.

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<sup>302</sup>See below ch. 3, pp. 137-39.

<sup>303</sup>Hugo Borger, Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln: Kölner Kirchenbauten als Quelle zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven, 1979) 97.

<sup>304</sup>Gernot Nürnberger, "Die frühchristlichen Baureste der Kölner Ursulakirche," in Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 159-64.

<sup>305</sup>*Ibid.*, 163-64.

<sup>306</sup>Bernd Päffgen, "Die Ausgrabungen in St. Severin zu Köln und ihre Bedeutung für die christliche Archäologie im Rheinland," in Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 178-79.

<sup>307</sup>*Ibid.*, 179-81.

Severin. Like St. Ursula, it was square with an apse at its western end, but was built on a smaller scale (only 10.6 meters long and 8.9 wide). Two men were buried in it, whom Fritz Fremersdorf believed to have been martyrs. Basing himself on the seventh-century Martyrology of Jerome, which recorded under June 30th that Asclinius and Pamphilius were buried in Cologne, he argued that the skeletons of two young men found buried close together in the chapel's apse were Asclinius and Pamphilius. Few scholars have agreed with Fremersdorf: Not only are these two martyrs unknown to Cologne's own liturgical calendar, but close burial of individuals is hardly unexpected in Roman cemeteries. The two young men may very well have been Christians buried in the chapel, but are unlikely to have been martyrs.<sup>308</sup> Again, like St. Ursula, it is hard to determine with precision the religious affiliation of this building, but in the following century it would become a church.

If we now move to the northwest, we come to the church of St. Gereon, also located in a cemetery. This was the only one of Cologne's cemeteries not located along a major road; it began in the first century and continued in use until the fourth.<sup>309</sup> In the second half of the fourth century, an impressive building complex was erected here. One building was large (23.53 meters long and 18.62 wide) and oval-shaped, with four horseshoe-shaped niches on both the north and south sides and a single large niche on the east side. Each niche had three windows on each side, except for the apse, which had only one on each side.<sup>310</sup> The interior decoration included mosaics made out of colored marble and glass tiles, as well as colored marble slabs. It is difficult today to determine exactly what parts were decorated with what features, but it seems that the upper story was ornamented with blue and gold mosaics, while the lower story was covered with yellow, white, red, and green marble. When these colors were combined with the light

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<sup>308</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 112-14; Päffgen, "Ausgrabungen in St. Severin," 181-82.

<sup>309</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 124.

<sup>310</sup>*Ibid.*, 128.

admitted by the many windows, the interior must have been magnificent to behold.<sup>311</sup> To this building's west was a rectangular narthex, which had apses on both its northern and southern sides, and to the west the narthex was connected to an enclosed atrium, approximately forty meters long and thirty wide.<sup>312</sup> The evidence from coins found in the excavations suggests that the complex was probably built between 350 and 365.<sup>313</sup>

This complex was not originally dedicated to St. Gereon, but instead to the Martyrs of the Theban Legion, a group of Roman soldiers allegedly martyred by the Emperor Maximian. The first mention of this patronage comes from Gregory of Tours in the later sixth century, who tells us that "There is in the city of Cologne a basilica in which they say fifty men from the sacred Theban Legion were martyred for the name of Christ. And because it shines brightly with admirable construction and mosaics, as if gilded, the inhabitants prefer to call that basilica 'Golden Saints'."<sup>314</sup> At some point the church's patronage shifted from the Theban Legion to St. Gereon; the *Liber Historiae Francorum* (written in the early eighth century) records that after Theuderic II defeated and slew his brother Theudebert II in 612, the Frankish magnates swore oaths to him in the church of "St. Gereon the martyr."<sup>315</sup> However, archeologists have not found any evidence of actual Christian martyrs in St. Gereon.

As with the other buildings discussed above, it is not easy to determine this complex's original purpose. Because it was built on such a magnificent scale, many scholars believe it may have been an imperial foundation. Hugo Borger suggests that perhaps Gratian (r. 375-83) or Valentinian II (r. 383-92) built it, since these emperors

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<sup>311</sup> Ute Versteegen, "Spätantiker Grabbau oder Kirche? Neues zur Archäologie, Architektur und Geschichte von St. Gereon in Köln," in *Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland*, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 137-41.

<sup>312</sup> Borger, *Abbilder*, 132, 141.

<sup>313</sup> Versteegen, "Spätantiker Grabbau oder Kirche?", 142; see pp. 94-95 of this chapter.

<sup>314</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ch. 61.

<sup>315</sup> *LHF*, ch. 38; see below ch. 4, pp. 149-51.

rebuilt the Constantinian double church at Trier.<sup>316</sup> Carlrichard Brühl adds that it may have been intended as an imperial mausoleum.<sup>317</sup> But this interpretation is debatable. Ute Verstegen points out that late Roman mausolea typically did not have windows in the lower story, whereas St. Gereon did. Further, she notes an intriguing similarity which the niches in the oval building share with late antique dining rooms. Banquet halls in Late Antiquity used what archeologists call "sigma tables," where the diners reclined on a semicircular couch around a semicircular table. She therefore tentatively argues that St. Gereon was originally a memorial building modeled on ancient banquet halls. Part of Roman funerary custom was for mourners to eat a meal around the gravesite.<sup>318</sup> The builders of St. Gereon therefore incorporated niches into the building to recall this ritual. Verstegen does not argue that people actually ate in St. Gereon; rather, the complex was intended for people to commemorate their deceased loved ones, and accordingly its design was influenced by Roman funerary custom.<sup>319</sup> This is only a hypothesis, of course, and Verstegen allows that it is open to revision. But what seems clear is that of all of Cologne's early churches, it was second only to the cathedral in grandeur.

This brings us to the question of the cathedral, perhaps the most vexing question of all in the history of early Christian Cologne. The current cathedral, which was begun in 1248 and not completed until 1880, is located in the northeastern corner of the old Roman city, and most scholars believed that Cologne's earliest cathedral was probably located in or near the same spot. After the Second World War, archeologists were able to conduct systematic excavations in this area, which took place over the years from 1946 to 1997. These decades of research have enriched our knowledge of the earliest phases of

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<sup>316</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 141.

<sup>317</sup>Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 32.

<sup>318</sup>Friederike Naumann-Steckner, "Death on the Rhine: Changing Burial Customs in Cologne, 3rd-7th Century," in *The Transformation of the Roman World, A.D. 400-900*, eds. Leslie Webster & Michelle Brown (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 148.

<sup>319</sup>Verstegen, "Spätantike Grabbau oder Kirche?", 143-47.

the cathedral, while simultaneously opening up new questions. From these excavations, it appears that most of the early construction dates from the late fourth and early fifth century, so I will discuss that in the following chapter; at this stage I will discuss the area as it was used prior to that time.

During the Roman era (first to third centuries A.D.), the city's northeastern corner was continuously occupied by private dwellings, and this occupation continued into the fourth century.<sup>320</sup> We have already seen one such dwelling in the previous chapter, and observed how its water basins had been mistaken for a Christian baptistery.<sup>321</sup> One of these dwellings, which was found in the center of the modern cathedral, had a hypocaust system.<sup>322</sup> Hypocausts were a form of central heating, where a room's floor was supported by short brick columns beneath it, thus leaving a space between the floor and the foundation; fires were lit under the room, and the heat circulated in the air beneath the floor, thus warming the room. Such a system was normally beyond the means of ordinary Romans, and so a hypocaust is usually the sign of a well-to-do homeowner; little else is known of the building in Cologne which housed the hypocaust, but it probably dates to the second or third century and may have been used for multiple rooms.<sup>323</sup> In addition to the hypocaust building, several fragmented walls have been found beneath the modern cathedral, but they cannot be dated, nor can their original function be determined with any accuracy. Otto Doppelfeld had originally interpreted them as the remains of the temple dedicated to Mercury Augustus,<sup>324</sup> but that hypothesis has fallen out of favor;

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<sup>320</sup> Sebastian Ristow, "Kontinuität und Nutzungswandel: Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Funde und Befunde aus der Kölner Domgrabung," Kontinuitätsfragen: Mittlere Kaiserzeit--Spätantike, Spätantike--Frühmittelalter, eds. Susanne Biegert, Andrea Hagedorn, & Andreas Schaub (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 45-46.

<sup>321</sup> See above ch. 1, p. 68.

<sup>322</sup> Sebastian Ristow, Die frühen Kirchen unter dem Kölner Dom: Befunde und Funde vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Bauzeit des Alten Domes (Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 2002) 33.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>324</sup> See above ch. 1, p. 65.

more recently it was suggested that they were part of a granary (*horreum*), but that too is now rejected. The walls are in such fragmentary condition that it is currently impossible to determine what they were originally used for, and until further excavations are done, historians will remain in the dark as to what their original purpose was.<sup>325</sup>

The cathedral area remained occupied until the fifth century, at which point it appears that the area was cleared and work commenced on what would later become the cathedral. We will trace that process in greater detail in the following chapter, but for now we must face this question: Where was Cologne's cathedral church in the fourth century? As we have seen, the city had a bishop, so surely he must have had some place of worship. The churches of St. Ursula, St. Severin, and St. Gereon all seem to have been built in the late fourth century; was there a church used by the bishop before that time? Unfortunately we cannot answer this question, because we have too little evidence to go on; neither the written sources, nor archeology, nor inscriptions reveal any place which we could confidently call a cathedral. Lacking any concrete evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that the city's bishops had a church for their use, but we cannot locate such a building today.

We will continue to track the development of these churches and the Christian community in Cologne in the next chapter, but we must also be aware of the diversity of religions in the city. Pagans were obviously the majority in the city for quite some time after 313. An altar to the goddess Isis bears the following (fragmentary) inscription: "To Isis Myrionymos . . . undertaken as a result of vow fulfilled willingly." The altar itself dates to the second or third century, but in a depression in the altar's upper surface were found ashes and a coin of the Emperor Constans, minted at Trier in 346.<sup>326</sup> This suggests that pagan worship was still taking place openly in the mid-fourth century. What is even more interesting is where the altar was found: It was walled into the foundation of a

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<sup>325</sup>Ristow, *Die frühen Kirchen*, 34-36.

<sup>326</sup>The Galsterers, *Steininschriften*, #44 at p. 21; see above ch. 1, p. 70.

pillar in St. Gereon. This reuse of pagan stonework in Christian churches is rather common, and indeed the coin is what enables archeologists to presume that St. Gereon was built in the late fourth century.<sup>327</sup> It is interesting to note that this altar is dedicated to an eastern goddess, which tells us that the pagan community was itself very diverse: Local Rhenish deities were worshipped alongside Roman and Oriental gods. Christianity, too, came to Cologne from the Near East; all of these religions are circulating throughout the Roman Empire and competing for adherents.

In addition to the pagans and Christians, there was also a substantial Jewish community in Cologne. Our first recorded mention of them dates to 321, when Constantine issued the following edict:

"The Emperor Constantine to the decurions of Cologne. We have granted to all orders by a general law that Jews may be called to the curia. But so that something of their former custom may be left to them as a consolation, we allow by a perpetual privilege that two or three may not be called to serve. Given on December 11th in the second consulate of the Caesars Crispus II and Constantine II."<sup>328</sup>

This edict was addressed specifically to the decurions of Cologne, but it was intended to apply to the whole Empire. It proves that there was a Jewish community in Cologne, and a relatively important and established one at that; since decurions served at their own expense, they had to be fairly well-to-do, so a Jewish community that could provide decurions had to be prosperous itself.<sup>329</sup>

Archeological evidence corroborates this supposition. The Jewish community had an imposing synagogue in Cologne, which was built at least in the first half of the fourth century (and perhaps earlier). Located next to the praetorium, excavations have revealed the eastern side had a two-story portico; a small connecting hall led one to a

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<sup>327</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 134.

<sup>328</sup>CODE THEOD. 16.8.3.

<sup>329</sup>Ernst Baltrusch, "Die konstantinische *lex generalis* von 321 an die Stadt Köln und die Juden," in *Ein gefüllter Willkomm: Festschrift für Knut Schulz zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Franz J. Felten, Stephanie Irrgang, & Kurt Wesoly (Aachen: Shaker, 2002) 4.

semicircular forecourt, which also contained a well. From the forecourt one proceeded to a central hall, laid out on a basilical ground-plan.<sup>330</sup> Unfortunately the rest of the building remains unexcavated and therefore unknown (and what the building's aboveground structures and roof looked like can only be conjectured), but it was clearly a large and elaborate structure. It was also unique: The only other synagogue in the Roman world which possessed anything resembling this layout is the one in Khirbet el-Samara in Israel, which also had a semicircular forecourt.<sup>331</sup> Such an elaborate building as the synagogue in Cologne presupposes a wealthy and prosperous community; indeed, for some time the Jewish synagogue was very likely larger than any contemporary Christian church in Cologne.

As we shall see later on, the synagogue in Cologne would continue to remain in this location well into the Carolingian period. The coexistence of Christianity, paganism, and Judaism would last for quite some time in the city (though not always peacefully, as we shall see.)<sup>332</sup>

By the year 350, then, Cologne seems to have recovered well from the tumult of the late third century. The city had a new fortress across the river to defend from Germanic attack (and serve as a base for offensive action); it included a wealthy Jewish community and a burgeoning Christian one; its rural hinterland was still populated and productive. But it was still at risk. The Franks had retreated but not disappeared, and after 355 they would reappear. I will conclude this chapter by discussing the renewed Frankish threat and its consequences for Cologne.

We owe our knowledge of the Frankish attack on Cologne to the fourth-century

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<sup>330</sup> Marianne Gechter & Sven Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathauses und seiner Umgebung," in Köln: Das gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung, eds. Walter Geis & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 2000) 110-12.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-13.

<sup>332</sup> See below ch. 3, pp. 135-37.

historian Ammianus Marcellinus. Ammianus writes that in 355 the Frankish general Silvanus was stationed at Cologne; he was *magister peditum*, "commander of infantry," and had been sent to Cologne to campaign against the Alemanns beyond the Rhine. Unfortunately, Silvanus became entangled in the dangerous world of court intrigue; his enemies at court were conspiring against him, even though he had done nothing treasonous. Fearful that they would persuade the Emperor Constantius II (r. 337-61) to act against him, Silvanus felt he had no choice but to strike first, and so decided to stage a coup in Cologne in August of 355.<sup>333</sup> He does not seem to have really wanted to usurp the throne, however, because he began negotiating with Constantius II right away. Nevertheless, Constantius decided to eliminate Silvanus, and he sent to Cologne a force of soldiers under the command of Ursicinus with orders to negotiate with Silvanus and thereby lull him into a trap (Ammianus was a member of Ursicinus's staff, and accompanied him to Cologne). When Ursicinus arrived in Cologne, he deceived Silvanus into thinking that he would assist him in usurping the throne, and thus gained his trust.<sup>334</sup> After having bribed some of Silvanus's guards, Ursicinus laid the trap for Silvanus:

With the matter accordingly arranged by common soldiers as intermediaries . . . as the sunrise reddened the sky a group of armed men suddenly burst forth . . . penetrated into the palace (*regia*), dragged Silvanus from the chapel (*aedicula*) where he had breathlessly sought refuge as he was going to an assembly (*conventiculum*) of Christian worship, and butchered him with numerous sword thrusts.<sup>335</sup>

This passage raises a fascinating question. Silvanus was apparently a practicing Christian, which is not as unlikely as it might first appear; while he was of Frankish descent, his father (named Bonitus) had been a general under Constantine, and both of them bore Latin names, suggesting a degree of assimilation.<sup>336</sup> What is perhaps more

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<sup>333</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XV.5.15-16.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, XV.5.24-25.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, XV.5.31.

<sup>336</sup> *PLRE*, vol. 1, 163 (Bonitus), 840-41 (Silvanus).

interesting is that there was a place for Christian worship in the praetorium, the Roman governor's palace (as we saw in Chapter 1). Ammianus uses the term *regia* for the praetorium;<sup>337</sup> the term *aedicula* can be used to mean a cult shrine or place of worship.<sup>338</sup> This is a striking indication of how deeply Christianity had penetrated in Cologne by this time; the palace of the provincial governor had its own place for Christians to worship. Of course, this "chapel" need not have been sizable; it is entirely possible that it was a room which had been given over to the Christians. No-one has yet located this chapel, but Marianne Gechter and Sven Schütte speculate that the former church of St. Laurentius (which was demolished in 1803) may have developed out of the chapel; they note that St. Laurentius was not only located near the praetorium, but its nave was also aligned with the praetorium's southern atrium. While this is an interesting speculation, they admit that without any excavations it cannot be confirmed.<sup>339</sup>

Silvanus's murder may have prevented a coup, but it was not without consequences. After Ursicinus and his soldiers left the city, the Franks decided to attack it. Whether this was because they were taking revenge for the killing of a fellow Frank, or simply because with Silvanus dead the Roman defenses were vulnerable and they sensed an opportunity, the Franks besieged the city in November 355 and captured it. According to Ammianus, Cologne was "opened and destroyed after a fierce siege by the great forces of the barbarians" (*pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam.*)<sup>340</sup> The task of recovering the city fell to the Caesar Julian, later the Emperor Julian the Apostate (r. 360-63). Ammianus records that in 356 Julian retook the city, and after intimidating the Frankish kings with his power induced them to make a peace treaty with him. According to Ammianus, the countryside appears to have suffered greatly from the Franks: "In those regions neither a city nor military fortress is seen, except the

<sup>337</sup> *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, 1997 ed., s.v. "Regia," vol. 10, col. 828.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. "Aedicula," vol. 1, cols. 139-40.

<sup>339</sup> Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 107.

<sup>340</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XV.8.20.

one at Coblenz (*Confluentes*), which is called that because the river Moselle flows into the Rhine there, the town Remagen, and a single tower near Cologne itself."<sup>341</sup>

How destructive was the Frankish attack of 355? Ammianus's account suggests that it was downright devastating; he uses the word *deletam*, after all. But when he describes Julian's recapture of the city, he describes it as "most fortified" (*munitissimam*), which seems to contradict his earlier statement. There are in fact good reasons to take Ammianus's account with a grain of salt. Ammianus admired Julian tremendously; as R.C. Blockley writes, ". . . the portrait of Julian is almost complete in its virtues, and it seems clear that Ammianus is strongly influenced by a desire to idealize his hero as the perfect king."<sup>342</sup> It is therefore possible that Ammianus exaggerated the extent of the destruction Cologne suffered in order to magnify Julian's accomplishment, and so we should be wary of accepting his description at face value.

Furthermore, we should not read into Ammianus's account things which are not there. Eduard Hegel has pointed out that when Ammianus says that there were almost no cities or fortresses in the region, that says nothing about the city of Cologne--Ammianus is only claiming that there were no military fortifications in the area, not that those fortifications had been destroyed.<sup>343</sup> Hegel accepts that the city probably suffered damage in the attack, but argues that it quickly recovered and repaired the damage after Julian regained it the next year; as he puts it, there was a "quick normalization of life after the Frankish attack." He gives as proof the example of the church of St. Ursula, which he argues was rebuilt shortly after 355 (though, as we shall see in the next chapter, this is a contentious issue).<sup>344</sup> As we saw above, Cologne's major Christian churches all

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<sup>341</sup>*Ibid.*, XVI.3.1-2.

<sup>342</sup>R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus: A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought* (Brussels: Latomus, 1975) 82.

<sup>343</sup>Eduard Hegel, "Die Kölner Kirchen und die Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," in *Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung*, ed. Walther Zimmerman (Ratingen: A. Henn, 1950), 42.

<sup>344</sup>*Ibid.*, 44. Hegel bases his dating on the Clematius Inscription (found inside St. Ursula),

appear to date from after 350 (that is, after the Frankish attack), which implies that the city could not have been totally devastated; if it had been, how could the churches have been built? The Frankish attack of 355, then, may have resembled the attack of 270: Certainly destructive in the short term, but not so catastrophic as to permanently cripple the city.

One possible victim of the Frankish attack may have been Cologne's pottery industry. As we saw in Chapter 1, Cologne had a flourishing pottery industry during the Principate; over fifty sites have yielded evidence of pottery manufacturing, in the form of either kilns or rubbish.<sup>345</sup> All of the potteries were located outside the walls, and most were to the city's west, not only because this was closer to the clay supply but also because the prevailing winds would have blown the noxious smoke away from the city. As we saw in Chapter 1, while archeologists have found numerous traces of potteries dating from the first two centuries A.D., they have located only one pottery from the third and fourth century each. This does not mean that there were only two potteries at Cologne for two centuries; rather, it means that only two potteries have been found. But this does imply that production decreased during the period from 200 to 400. This may have been because Cologne's inhabitants began importing pottery instead: Archeologists have found greater quantities of imported pottery in the city, mainly coming from the province of Upper Germany.<sup>346</sup> This suggests that Cologne fulfilled its pottery needs by importing wares from the adjacent provinces, with smaller-scale local production supplementing imports. Cologne's pottery exports seem to have dropped off; for instance, during the third century, pottery from Soller seems to have replaced Cologne pottery in

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which he dates to the fourth century; while some scholars accept this, others have argued that this inscription actually is from the ninth century. For a fuller discussion, see below ch. 3, pp. 112-14.

<sup>345</sup>See above ch. 1, pp. 55-56.

<sup>346</sup>Constanze Höpken, "Die Produktion römischer Gefäßkeramik in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 32 (1999): 768.

Britain. However, during the fourth century there was a revival, and wares manufactured in Cologne appear in Belgium and the Netherlands.<sup>347</sup>

Further evidence of a contraction in Cologne's pottery production comes from what archeologists call "painted ware." This thin-walled pottery derives its name from the horizontal red stripes painted on it, and it was manufactured in small quantities in Cologne beginning in the first century A.D. The first half of the fourth century was the heyday for painted ware, but after this time it decreases sharply. To account for this decrease, the archeologist Bernd Liesen has tentatively proposed that the Frankish attack of 355 may have been responsible for this.<sup>348</sup> This is certainly plausible: Since the potteries were outside the walls, they would have been extremely vulnerable to any attack. After the city was returned to Roman control, any local potters who had survived may have decided that it was simply too risky to remain outside the protection of the walls, and so Cologne's local pottery production may have come to an end.

But as we saw concerning the *vici* and the Frankish attack of 270, Cologne was also capable of rebuilding after the 355 attack. Archeological excavations reveal that in the second half of the fourth century, Cologne's streets were systematically repaved. While not every street was repaved, several were, and at the same time the drainage gutters were also repaired. This work implies two things: (1) The city had probably been damaged during the Frankish attack and needed repair, including the street system; (2) the urban authorities still commanded the resources to implement such repairs systematically.<sup>349</sup> This is again proof that the attack of 355 may likely have damaged the city, but it was still capable of repairing this damage.

We thus conclude this chapter as we began it: With a Frankish attack. As we

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<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, 768-69.

<sup>348</sup> Bernd Liesen, "Spätantike bemalte Keramik aus Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 32 (1999): 798.

<sup>349</sup> Werner Eck, "Köln im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter," Geschichte in Köln 54 (2007): 15-16.

have seen in both cases, the attacks were definitely destructive in the short term, but not cataclysmic; the city and its hinterland seem to have recovered. But the Roman world was about to enter an even more tumultuous time. In the late fourth and early fifth centuries, the power balance between the Empire and its Germanic neighbors would shift dramatically, as Germanic tribes would begin to set up federate kingdoms on Roman soil. In turn these kingdoms would succeed the Empire: While politically the Western Empire might cease to be, the Romano-Germanic kingdoms would continue its legacy. These kingdoms would be a more lasting form of regionalization than the Gallic Empire was; no Roman emperor would ever again rule over Cologne. And at the same time that the process of regionalization was accelerating, so was the development of Christianity in Cologne. As we saw at the beginning of the chapter, these two phenomena, regionalization and Christianity, can first be seen in the century between 250 and 350. In the next chapter we will trace the further development of these features as the city comes under Frankish control.

### **Chapter Three: Cologne in the Period of Transition (350-550)**

In the last chapter we saw Cologne successfully weather the difficult years of the late third century. The city had certainly changed, but by no means declined. There were new fortifications, both at the city itself and in the province; Christianity was taking root, slowly transforming Cologne's religious landscape and topography. Cologne remained firmly within the Roman sphere, despite a brief period of separation during the Gallic Empire. An observer in 350 could have reasonably concluded that Cologne had successfully surmounted the challenges of the previous eighty years and that the future now promised continued stability and prosperity under Roman rule.

In fact, the next two centuries were a period of momentous and far-reaching change for the city. During this time Roman political control over Cologne ended permanently, as it passed into the hands of the Franks. As was the case with so much else in the Western Roman territories, the end of direct Roman control by no means meant that the Roman legacy disappeared; on the contrary, the new Frankish rulers strove to maintain and preserve much of Roman culture and civilization. We must therefore avoid viewing this period as one of decline and collapse. But on the other hand, we must also be careful when speaking of "continuity," for while the Franks admired the Roman Empire tremendously, they did not copy it slavishly, but instead selectively and creatively adapted and changed the Roman society which they took over. In this chapter, we will try and steer a middle course through the two extremes of "discontinuity" and "continuity." Rather than speaking in broad terms such as these, I will instead attempt to identify specific instances where the city did undergo change, and those where it did not. Hopefully this will give us a richer and fuller picture of the city during these eventful years.

The most important aspect of this era is the transition to Frankish power. During the mid-fifth century the Romans ceded political control over the city to the incoming Franks; unlike the Gallic Empire of the late third century, this was to be a permanent

change in the political landscape. The impact this had on Cologne was real and should not be underestimated. In the previous chapter I argued that regionalization was one of the two important processes which had their beginnings in period from 250 to 350. At that time regionalization was only incipient, but in the years from 350 to 550 it became significantly more pronounced. Cologne thereby began a decisive shift away from the Mediterranean world and towards the North (a shift which we will explore in later chapters). Of course, this process of regionalization no more entailed a repudiation of Roman culture and society than the Gallic Empire had; the Frankish kings were just as keen as their "Gallic" predecessors to emulate the Roman model. But underneath this surface, changes were being set in motion which would have a long-term impact on Cologne's economy and society.

Sadly (and frustratingly), the years from 350 to 550 are the least documented, most obscure centuries in the city's history. If, in the previous chapters, the historical record has seemed slight, here it becomes downright exiguous. As a result, I will be forced to rely on inferences, conjectures, and arguments from silence more often than is usual even for the Early Middle Ages. But while the task is difficult, it is not impossible, and with careful handling of the evidence, we can discern at least the outlines of Cologne's history during this period.

The first issue we must tackle is that of the transition from Roman to Frankish control: When did it take place, and under what circumstances? This is shrouded in mystery. The *Book of the History of the Franks* tells us that the Franks captured the city in 457/58 from the Roman commander Aegidius; they killed many of his supporters in the city, though he himself fled.<sup>350</sup> If true, this would mean that Roman authority was maintained on the frontier until the mid-fifth century. However, this is not a contemporary source; it dates from the early eighth century, and is thus describing events

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<sup>350</sup>Liber Historiae Francorum, ch. 8.

which occurred 300 years earlier. For this reason, many historians (though not all) are reluctant to accept its account of Cologne's takeover.<sup>351</sup>

A more contemporary witness is Salvian of Marseilles (*ca.* 400 - *ca.* 480).<sup>352</sup> Very little is known of his personal life. He was probably born in the last decade of the fourth century in the Rhineland; scholars have supposed that he was born in Trier because he praises that city as "most excellent" (*Governance* VI.13), but that is only speculation.<sup>353</sup> He married and had a daughter, but he and his wife later separated and decided to enter the religious life. Salvian moved from the Rhineland to Lérins and then Marseilles, where he was ordained a priest. His date of death is also unknown, though he is recorded as still being alive *ca.* 470.<sup>354</sup>

Salvian's chief surviving work is *The Governance of God*, a moralizing treatise written sometime between 439 and 451.<sup>355</sup> This book is not, strictly speaking, a work of history, but rather a "consolatory book" (*Trostbuch*), intended to explain to Christian Romans why their world seemed to be collapsing around them. Salvian saw the Roman

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<sup>351</sup>Cf. Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profanotopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 5 (holding that the LHF is unreliable on this point) with Peter Heather, The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006) 516 n.90 (using the LHF as evidence that Cologne only falls in 457).

<sup>352</sup>Some works on Salvian are: Lawrence F. Barmann, "Salvian of Marseilles Re-evaluated," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 33.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1963): 79-97; Wilhelm Blum, "Das Wesen Gottes und das Wesen des Menschen nach Salvian von Marseille," Münchener theologische Zeitschrift 21 (1970): 327-41; Jan Badewien, Geschichtstheologie und Sozialkritik im Werk Salvians von Marseille (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980); Glenn W. Olsen, "Reform after the Pattern of the Primitive Church in the Thought of Salvian of Marseilles," Catholic History Review 68.1 (Jan. 1982): 1-12; David Lambert, "The Barbarians in Salvian's *De Gubernatione Dei*," in Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity, eds. Stephen Mitchell & Geoffrey Greatrex (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2000): 103-16.

<sup>353</sup>For his date of birth, see Georges Lagarrigue, "Introduction," in Salvien de Marseille: Œuvres, vol. 1, trans. & ed. Georges Lagarrigue (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1971) 10; for place of birth, see Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, "Introduction," in The Writings of Salvian, the Presbyter, trans. Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan (New York: Cima Publ'g Co., 1947) 3-4.

<sup>354</sup>O'Sullivan, "Introduction," 4-5; Lagarrigue, "Introduction," 11-13.

<sup>355</sup>Barmann, "Salvian," 80-81.

Empire as disintegrating due to its inhabitants' immorality, but there was a silver lining in this cloud: The chaos of his times was only apparent, because it had been ordained by God to punish the Romans. Salvian's guiding principle in *The Governance of God* is that God does indeed actively direct the course of world history by punishing the wicked and rewarding the good.<sup>356</sup> His work is therefore "a moral exhortation to Christians, showing them that they cannot expect God to come to their aid . . . unless they themselves make an effort to live according to their Christian profession."<sup>357</sup>

We must keep these moralizing goals in mind whenever we use *The Governance of God* as a historical source. Salvian paints a consistently gloomy picture of his own day, but many scholars believe that this is exaggerated, noting (for example) that other fifth-century Gallic sources do not always corroborate Salvian's negative descriptions.<sup>358</sup> Salvian did not, of course, intend to write a history like that of, say, Ammianus Marcellinus; on the contrary, he was trying to *explain* history, to provide "a pattern for reform and a source of hope."<sup>359</sup> For this reason, Salvian's negative description of the fifth-century Western Roman empire should not be taken at face value, but rather with a grain of salt.

Salvian mentions Cologne once in *The Governance of God*. According to him, a major Roman vice was the gladiatorial games and theatrical spectacles which were part of ancient urban life. Salvian criticizes them for several reasons: They are cruel; they originated in pagan cults; they are financially wasteful.<sup>360</sup> He thus concludes that the immorality caused by the circus games is one of the reasons that God has decided to punish the Romans. He then considers a potential objection to his argument, namely, that not all Roman cities staged such games. Salvian acknowledges this, but responds that

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<sup>356</sup>Blum, "Das Wesen Gottes," 328-29.

<sup>357</sup>Barmann, "Salvian," 93.

<sup>358</sup>*Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>359</sup>Olsen, "Reform," 12.

<sup>360</sup>Badewien, *Geschichtstheologie*, 86-89.

this is not because the cities' residents have repented of their ways, but only because they have been so ravaged by the barbarians that are not able to stage them anymore; Mainz, for instance, has been "ruined and destroyed," Trier has been "destroyed four times," and Cologne is now "full of enemies" (*hostibus plena*).<sup>361</sup> This phrase has the ring of finality to it; it seems to suggest that the city is out of Roman hands.<sup>362</sup>

However, we saw in the last chapter that such descriptions have a strong rhetorical component to them, which affects their reliability as sources. Ammianus Marcellinus claimed that Cologne had been "destroyed" by the Frankish attack of 355, yet there are good reasons to doubt that the city suffered that severely.<sup>363</sup> In this particular case, Salvian does not allege that Cologne has been destroyed, but his rhetorical tone does give us pause. As it turns out, however, Salvian mentions Cologne in another, less polemical work, and this reinforces his depiction of Cologne.

The second reference to Cologne appears in a letter he wrote around 440 to the monastery of Lérins. Letter-writing was a literary pursuit cultivated by educated Gallic aristocrats in the fifth century, and Salvian was no exception. He was part of the circle of writers associated with the monastery of Lérins in southern France. In addition to the religious works which these authors produced, they also kept in contact with each other through their letters, forming a sort of extended family.<sup>364</sup> In his letter, Salvian asks the monks to receive one of his kinsmen, who was from Cologne. He had been captured there and then released, but his mother had remained behind. According to Salvian, she had been reduced to penury, and had become a servant to "the wives of the barbarians"

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<sup>361</sup> *Governance of God*, VI.39.

<sup>362</sup> Incidentally, this passage also shows that Cologne did have an amphitheater. As we saw in ch. 1 (pp. 64-65), inscriptions attest to such a building in Cologne, but archeologists have never found it.

<sup>363</sup> See above ch. 2, pp. 98-100.

<sup>364</sup> Ralph W. Mathisen, "Epistolography, Literary Circles and Family Ties in Late Roman Gaul," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 111 (1981): 104-05.

(*uxoribus barbarorum*) in order to earn a living.<sup>365</sup>

Taken together, these two references allow us a dim glimpse of Cologne in the mid-fifth century. On the one hand, there are good reasons to distrust them: Salvian's moralizing aims in *The Governance of God* predispose him to exaggerate how dire the situation was, while in his letter he has an incentive to stress the financial difficulties of the young man's mother in order to persuade the monks to take him in (and furthermore, he is only describing a single individual, who may or may not be representative of Cologne's population as a whole). On the other hand, there are also reasons to believe him: Unlike the *Book of the History of the Franks*, Salvian was a contemporary of the events he was describing, he probably had originated in the Rhineland, and he was also part of a letter-writing circle which enabled him to be informed about the wider world. If we look past the rhetorical and polemical aspects of his works, what Salvian seems to indicate is that there has been a change in power at Cologne. A new group--the "enemies"--has taken possession of the city, and some inhabitants have chosen to leave the city rather than live with them. He does not, however, state that the city has been significantly damaged (in contrast to his description of Trier and Mainz), which suggests that the transition was relatively peaceful (or at least not devastating). While he gives us an approximate date for this event (sometime before 450), he does not tell us anything more about the handover of power; for example, who was now in charge at Cologne, what was their relation to the Roman emperors, and so forth.

Salvian is admittedly not the most credible (or informative) source, but he is not the only one available on this subject. Unfortunately, the other sources are all arguments from silence, and so are not as probative as one might hope. But this is a case where the whole may be greater than the sum of its parts, because when they are combined together, they all point in the same direction; namely, that the Roman central government had

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<sup>365</sup>Epistolae 1:5-6.

yielded control over Cologne to the Franks some time shortly before 450. Let us now turn to these sources.

The first is the *Notitia Dignitatum*, or "Directory of Officeholders." This is a list of all the civilian and military officials in the Late Roman Empire, covering both its eastern and western halves. The dating and completeness of this document have provided scholars much fodder for discussion, but the general consensus is that the section dealing with the Eastern Empire was completed around 395, while the section concerning the Western Empire was finished around 408.<sup>366</sup> However, "finished" may not be the most appropriate term to use of the *Notitia*, as the western portion was likely revised to keep it up date for some years after 408.<sup>367</sup> This has important implications for our understanding of this document; as A.H.M. Jones pointed out, the *Notitia* was probably frequently revised by bureaucrats as changes were made in the military and civil structures of the Empire, which means that it contains material inserted over several years (and material was omitted, too). For that reason, as another scholar has written, "[t]here probably never was a time when the *Notitia* was completely up to date in all sections and contained no inconsistencies."<sup>368</sup>

This matters for us not because of what the *Notitia Dignitatum* says concerning Cologne, but rather for what it does not say: Cologne is never mentioned in it. It does refer to the province of "consular Second Germany," but says nothing about the city of Cologne being its capital.<sup>369</sup> Two ways of understanding this are possible. The first is that the city has been excluded because it no longer figures in the Roman civil-military system, as it has been transferred to Frankish control. The second is that this omission is

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<sup>366</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol. 2 (Norman, OK: Univ. Okla. Press, 1964) 1417, 1421.

<sup>367</sup> J.C. Mann, "What Was the *Notitia Dignitatum* For?" in *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*, eds. R. Goodburn & P. Bartholomew (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1976) 4-5.

<sup>368</sup> Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 1417.

<sup>369</sup> *Not. Dig. Occ.* XXI, 25.

accidental, a clerical error or casualty of the process of transmission across the years.<sup>370</sup> This issue is very difficult to resolve. While the latter is certainly not impossible, the former seems more likely, because the *Notitia*'s western section was revised, perhaps as late as 420. It could be that one of these revisions was the deletion of Cologne from the document to reflect the political change on the frontiers.

If the silence of the *Notitia Dignitatum* was all that we had to go by, we would be rightly reluctant to base ourselves on it. But we have the silence of two other types of evidence as well, neither of which are documentary. The first of these is numismatic evidence. The Romans did not mint coins at Cologne (with the brief exception of the Gallic emperors), but Roman coins from other mints of course circulated in Cologne and have been found there in the thousands.<sup>371</sup> When numismatists examine these coins, the latest ones are those dating from the reign of Emperor Honorius (r. 395-423).<sup>372</sup> To date, no Roman coins minted after his reign have been found in Cologne.

At first glance, this appears conclusive: If there are no more coins, perhaps that was because there were no longer any Romans left to mint them. But upon further reflection one can see that there are other, equally plausible explanations. For one thing, coins can remain in circulation for some time after minting, so older coins may have remained in use while the Romans continued to control Cologne (and in fact, we shall see

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<sup>370</sup> Eduard Hegel, "Die Kölner Kirchen und die Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," in *Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung*, ed. Walther Zimmermann (Ratingen: A. Henn, 1950) 44-45.

<sup>371</sup> The basic work is Elisabeth Nuber, *Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Deutschland* § 6 (North Rhine-Westphalia), vol. 1.1 (Cologne), (Berling: Gebr. Mann, 1984) [henceforth *FMRD*], supplemented by Angelo Geissen, Bernd Päffgen, & Gunther Quarg, "Die Fundmünzen der Jahre 1973-1980 aus Köln und Nachträge älterer Funde," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 20 (1987): 129-99; *id.*, "Die Fundmünzen der Jahre 1981-1985 aus Köln und Nachträge älterer Funde," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 25 (1992): 493-544; and Bernd Päffgen & Gunter Quarg, "Die Fundmünzen der Jahre 1986-1990 aus Köln und Nachträge älterer Funde," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 30 (1997): 225-60.

<sup>372</sup> Nuber, *FMRD*, *passim*.

in a later chapter that small-denomination Roman coins circulated in Cologne well into the seventh century.)<sup>373</sup> More importantly, minting generally decreased during the later imperial period; there were not that many new coins being produced to begin with, so the disappearance of coins at Cologne is part of a wider phenomenon, not one restricted to the city itself.<sup>374</sup> As with the silence of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the disappearance of Roman coins is suggestive, but not in and of itself dispositive; it does not alone prove that Cologne was no longer ruled directly by the Roman emperors.

The second type of non-textual source relevant to this issue is epigraphic evidence. As we saw in Chapter 1, hundreds of inscriptions from the Roman era have been found at Cologne, with many more surely lost. The number of inscriptions drops off over time; we will treat this phenomenon more fully below, but for the moment I wish to concentrate on one particular aspect of this disappearance, namely, the last inscriptions set up by public officials (as opposed to those erected by private citizens). The last securely datable inscription of this kind is the so-called Arbogast Inscription, which dates from sometime during the years 392 to 394. It has not survived in its entirety, but the portion which remains states that Arbogast, a Frank holding a senior command in the Roman army, had financed the repair of a damaged building some time during the reign of Emperor Eugenius (r. 392-94).<sup>375</sup> The extant portion does not specify which building was repaired, and as it was not found in its original location, epigraphers cannot determine which building it refers to. But it does give us one clear piece of information: As late as the early 390s, the Roman government was still able to fund public construction in Cologne. After the Arbogast Inscription, we have no further certain proof of this, which suggests that the Romans were no longer in direct control of Cologne.

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<sup>373</sup>See below ch. 4, p. 167.

<sup>374</sup>Kenneth W. Harl, Coinage in the Roman Economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996) 175-79.

<sup>375</sup>Brigitte & Hartmut Galsterer, Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln (Cologne: Greven & Bechtold, 1975) #188 at p. 47.

At this point we must digress to address (if not resolve) a collateral issue of some importance. The reader will have noticed that I have described the Arbogast Inscription as the last *securely* datable public inscription from Cologne. The reason for this qualification is that there is another claimant to this honor, the Clematius Inscription. This mysterious inscription is found in the church of St. Ursula (though probably not in its original location), and it reads as follows:

Frequently warned by divine flaming visions and the great power of the majesty of the menacing heavenly virgin-martyrs, the most distinguished Clematius, stirred up from the East, on behalf of his vow rebuilt this basilica from the foundations in its own place, at his own cost, for the vow which he owed. If anyone, however, places any body, the virgins excepted, over the great majesty of this basilica where the holy virgins poured forth their blood for the name of Christ, let him know that he will be punished in the eternal fires of Tartarus.<sup>376</sup>

The crucial issue here is the inscription's date. If it comes from late fourth or early fifth century, then it is proof of construction activity postdating the Arbogast Inscription. But if it is a late medieval creation (or perhaps even a forgery), then obviously it tells us nothing about Cologne in Late Antiquity.

The most recent scholar to deal with the Clematius Inscription, Nancy Gauthier, has steered a middle course between these two options, arguing that the inscription is genuine but dates from the Carolingian period.<sup>377</sup> She observes that the inscription's paleography does not match that of Late Antique inscriptions; instead, the shapes of the letters more closely resemble Carolingian script, as do the abbreviations and ligatures used in the inscription. Furthermore, the vocabulary is almost entirely free of Vulgar

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<sup>376</sup>Available in Edmond le Blant, Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIIIe siècle, vol. 2 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1856) #678b at pp. 569-70.

<sup>377</sup>Nancy Gauthier, "Origine et premiers développements de la légende de sainte Ursule à Cologne," Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Jan.-Mar. 1973): 108-21.

Latin.<sup>378</sup> Gauthier also draws attention to a now-lost inscription which was copied into a sixteenth-century text, which says that a man named Clematius and his wife Diodora built a church on the spot where an unnamed virgin was martyred.<sup>379</sup> She accordingly argues that the Clematius Inscription was created during the Carolingian period to replace the older inscription; feeling perhaps that the inscription was insufficiently worthy of St. Ursula, its creators put up one which was more in line with the standards of the Carolingian Renaissance.<sup>380</sup>

Gauthier has put forward a strong case against dating the Clematius Inscription to the late fourth or early fifth century. While not all historians are convinced,<sup>381</sup> most have accepted her argument. More recently, Winfried Schmitz has bolstered Gauthier's position by referring to the literary sources. He points out that Gregory of Tours mentions churches dedicated to martyrs in Cologne (such as St. Gereon, as we saw in Chapter 2),<sup>382</sup> but says nothing about St. Ursula. Furthermore, neither the Martyrology of Jerome (early seventh century) nor the Martyrology of the Venerable Bede (eighth century) mention her cult either. In fact, the earliest reference to the legend of St. Ursula and her Companions is in the Litany of Corvey, which dates to between 827 and 840.<sup>383</sup> This suggests that there was no cult of St. Ursula in Cologne in Late Antiquity, and if there was no cult, then there was no church to be restored by Clematius.

While this is an intriguing issue, we should not allow it to distract us too much from the matter at hand. If we regard (as seems to me appropriate) the Clematius Inscription as a Carolingian creation, then the Arbogast Inscription remains the last

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<sup>378</sup>*Ibid.*, 112-13.

<sup>379</sup>*Ibid.*, 113-14.

<sup>380</sup>*Ibid.*, 115, 118-19.

<sup>381</sup>E.g., Hugo Borger, Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln: Kölner Kirchenbauten als Quelle zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1979) 94-97.

<sup>382</sup>See above ch. 2, p. 91.

<sup>383</sup>Winfried Schmitz, "Die spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Grabinschriften in Köln (4.-7. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)," Kölner Jahrbuch 28 (1995): 708.

securely datable public inscription set up at Cologne. It is, of course, entirely possible that another, later inscription exists which has not yet been found, but until such an inscription appears, the early 390s are the last time when official building activity occurred at Cologne. We may add to this that imperial visits had already ceased before this date. We saw in the previous chapter that Constantine had stayed in Cologne, and his son Constans (r. 337-50) also visited the city in 345.<sup>384</sup> The last emperor known to have visited Cologne is Valentinian I (r. 364-75), who issued a decree there in 368 forbidding provincial officials from extorting gifts from inhabitants of their provinces.<sup>385</sup> From this point on, Roman emperors no longer seem to have ventured to Cologne.

Each of these pieces of evidence--the *Notitia Dignitatum*, numismatics, epigraphy--are arguments from silence, which are hardly the proofs a historian would prefer to rely on. But they are also all that we have, and it is no use complaining about the lack of sources. What is crucial is that all of these sources are pointing in the same direction: Each piece by itself may tell us little or nothing, but when all are combined, they reinforce each other. And when they are in turn combined with Salvian's statements, they provide us with an impression--a very faint and approximate impression, to be sure--of Cologne's transition from Roman to Frankish power. At some point between 400 and 450, Cologne ceased to be under Roman control, and henceforth belonged to the Franks.<sup>386</sup>

What exactly did that mean for Cologne and its residents? How did this transition affect their lives? This question is without doubt the most controversial one for this period, and has produced the starkest divide amongst specialists. On the one side are

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<sup>384</sup> Otto Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* (1919; Frankfurt am Main: Minerva Verlag, 1984) 193.

<sup>385</sup> CODE THEOD. 11.11.1.

<sup>386</sup> Some historians argue that the Franks had occupied Cologne in the early 420s, which would explain Aëtius's campaign against them in 428; see Franz Staab, "Les royaumes francs au V<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Clovis: Histoire et mémoire*, ed. Michel Rouche, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997) 546.

those who see the fifth century as a true "dark age" for Cologne; the coming of the Franks brought a sharp decline in the city's population, prosperity, and importance. On the other side are those who see the Franks as having had little impact on the city at all; the city continued on much as before, with the Franks simply assuming political control over the city. Of these two positions, the former is the older and has long held sway over historians, but has recently been seriously challenged by newer research. Let us first examine this older position in more detail, before comparing it to newer interpretations.

The most important modern proponent of fifth-century discontinuity in Cologne is Heiko Steuer, who published a monograph on Frankish Cologne in 1980, in which he argued that the Frankish arrival marked the start of a prolonged decline in the city's fortunes.<sup>387</sup> The city's overall population declined precipitously, from 40,000 inhabitants around A.D. 200 to only a few hundred in the fifth century.<sup>388</sup> The decay of urban buildings and a decrease in manufacturing activity went hand-in-hand with this demographic decline. Steuer reiterated these points in a 1988 article, depicting the city as "an empty urban shell" (*ein leeres Stadtgehäuse*), with its buildings collapsing from neglect and the few remaining inhabitants clustering around churches.<sup>389</sup> Cologne would not recover from this long dark age until the tenth century, at the earliest.

Steuer bases this argument on two main grounds. First, not very many archeological excavations had been completed by 1980, and as a result there was little evidence for dense population or manufacturing activity in the city.<sup>390</sup> This is a valid point. But Steuer's second reason for seeing fifth-century Cologne as desolate and decrepit is more questionable, and that is because it is based on assumptions which Steuer predicates of the Franks as a people.

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<sup>387</sup> Heiko Steuer, *Die Franken in Köln* (Cologne: Greven, 1980).

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>389</sup> Heiko Steuer, "Stadtarchäologie in Köln," *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland und den Nachbarländern* 14 (1988): 58.

<sup>390</sup> Steuer, *Franken*, 59-60.

Steuer asserts that Frankish society was fundamentally different from Roman society. The former was marked by a self-sufficient agrarian economy (supplemented by raiding) and a small population; consequently, "the Franks did not need cities."<sup>391</sup> The latter, by contrast, more closely resembled modern life, with well-developed cities, a sophisticated economy, and higher standards of living. These two societies were so dissimilar that they could not coexist. Once they had taken control in Cologne, the city could only decline, because it had no place in Frankish culture and served no purpose--as Steuer puts it, "this new form of life and the agrarian economic style not only made cities superfluous; they could no longer exist at all."<sup>392</sup>

To add further support to his case, Steuer reasons by analogy. He notes that the city of Rome declined steeply during the fifth century; as proof for this, he quotes several evocative passages from the work of the great nineteenth-century historian Ferdinand Gregorovius. Steuer's own argument is that if Rome, the great metropolis and capital of the Empire, had fallen into such dire straits, then *a fortiori* Cologne, a mere provincial capital on the distant frontier, must also have declined.<sup>393</sup>

Steuer does concede that Cologne was not totally without value for the Franks. In fact, the city was a valuable source of raw materials for them. Today we typically think of stone being the most valuable resource for early medieval city-dwellers, as they recycled *spolia* for churches and other structures. But this did not happen in Cologne. Instead, Steuer argues that metal was the commodity the Franks were after. They removed the clamps from the city's wall, and also looted the cemeteries for precious metals; these were melted down and refashioned into tools and jewelry, respectively.<sup>394</sup> As evidence for this activity, he refers first to eighth-century ecclesiastical blessings of church vessels found "in ancient places" (which he understands as objects retrieved from

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<sup>391</sup>*Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>392</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>393</sup>*Ibid.*, 60-62.

<sup>394</sup>*Ibid.*, 130-31.

old graves), and then quotes the famed artist Benvenuto Cellini, who in the sixteenth century described Italian peasants digging up ancient artifacts and selling them to dealers.<sup>395</sup> As Steuer concludes, "The Franks did not need cities and did not live in them, but they used them!"<sup>396</sup>

Steuer takes pains to state that the Frankish takeover of Cologne was accomplished peacefully--this was not a military conquest, but rather a cession of territory.<sup>397</sup> Cologne's decline, therefore, is not the result of destructive Frankish warriors rampaging through the city, but rather is simply atrophy, as the Franks failed to take care of the city. When not away on their raiding campaigns, the Franks resided on their self-sufficient rural estates. With no need for merchants to supply their wants, and no need for an urban bureaucracy (because Frankish kings used their retainers instead), Cologne had simply become irrelevant.

This is a long-standing assumption in Cologne historiography. The historian Eduard Hegel had made a very similar argument in 1950. As we saw in the preceding chapter, Hegel had argued that the Frankish attack of 355 was not devastating to Cologne in the long term.<sup>398</sup> But while the Franks may not have destroyed the city, they were responsible for its gradual decline. Once Cologne was no longer under Roman control, it was also no longer connected to the Roman economy; instead it was controlled by the Franks, "a people . . . who had not yet found their political organization."<sup>399</sup> The loss of commerce essentially starved the city (though Hegel does note that merchants and artisans still continued to live and work in the city, only nowhere near the levels they had in previous centuries.) As evidence of the city's decline, Hegel cites the city's medieval street names. For example, the street name *Sandkaule* suggests an uninhabited area given

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<sup>395</sup>*Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>396</sup>*Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>397</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>398</sup>See above ch. 2, p. 99.

<sup>399</sup>Hegel, "Kölner Kirchen," 45.

over to quarrying, while *Pfuhl* suggests that the new Frankish residents no longer used the Roman sewage system, but instead let their waste collect in the city.<sup>400</sup>

Readers may be justifiably skeptical about such assertions, seeing as they are based on a presumption, and one which has been shown to be unfounded, at that. Archeologists in recent decades have shown that the Germanic peoples living across the Rhine had been profoundly influenced through their centuries-long contact with the Roman Empire.<sup>401</sup> Steuer was not unaware of this; he himself points out that "Germanic" graves in Central Europe often contain Roman pottery and coins, and that the "onion-head" fibulae and notched belt fittings worn by Germanic warriors probably originated in Roman workshops.<sup>402</sup> But this does not dissuade him; he seems to believe that these artifacts were only ancillary to Frankish culture, and do not indicate any deeper penetration of Roman culture.

Since 1980, archeological excavations have produced a wealth of evidence for continued occupation in Cologne, thereby substantially weakening Steuer's position. Today most scholars regard his stance as extreme and see the fifth century as a considerably less gloomy era.<sup>403</sup> In a moment we will explore the archeological data in greater detail, but before that I would like to expand on one area where I think Steuer may very well be correct. Although his work is to a large extent obsolete and predicated upon unwarranted assumptions, I think he has a valuable insight into Cologne's political status in the fifth century.

Readers may have wondered how the Franks gained control over the city, if not by conquest. The precise process is not known, but Cologne was probably handed over

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<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>401</sup> Peter S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999) 224-58.

<sup>402</sup> Steuer, *Franken*, 17-20.

<sup>403</sup> Sven Schütte, "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," in *After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, ed. Giorgio Ausenda (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell, 1995) 163.

in some sort of agreement (now lost) between the Romans and Franks. A comparative approach may cast some light on this subject. In the 470s, a Frank named Arbogast is named as the "count" (*comes*) of Trier (he may have been related to the Arbogast who erected the inscription mentioned earlier).<sup>404</sup> At roughly the same time, Sigibert the Lame was king of the Ripuarian Franks. Some historians have sought to connect Sigibert to Cologne, claiming that Cologne was in fact his royal residence in the late fifth century.<sup>405</sup> They point to a passage found in Gregory of Tours's *Histories* in which Gregory relates how Clovis promised Sigibert's son his support if he would murder Sigibert. The son agreed, and after his father left Cologne and crossed the Rhine, assassins killed him while he was sleeping in his tent. But Clovis in turn slew the son and thus took Sigibert's kingdom for himself.<sup>406</sup>

It is not impossible that Cologne was in fact the capital of the Ripuarian kingdom; however, it must be noted that Gregory does not explicitly state this, but only says quite casually that Sigibert had "left the city Cologne" (*egressus de Colonia civitate*). This is our only written source connecting Sigibert to Cologne at all, but for the sake of argument, let us grant that the city was Sigibert's residence.<sup>407</sup> Steuer argues that Sigibert was Arbogast's counterpart in Cologne; that is, that Sigibert may have been the "count" of Cologne (and conversely, Arbogast may have been called "king" by his Germanic warriors.) Sigibert would thus have been administering Cologne in the name of the emperor--or at least, that was how the Romans would have put it. Both Sigibert and Arbogast may have been practically autonomous, while at the same time deriving

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<sup>404</sup> J.R. Martindale, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire [henceforth PLRE], vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980) 128-29.

<sup>405</sup> See, e.g., Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 6.

<sup>406</sup> Gregory of Tours, Histories 2.40.

<sup>407</sup> We shall see below that archeologists have discovered several lavish burials of elite Franks in Cologne's churches, so we know that the Frankish upper class was present in Cologne (which Salvian also indicates). Whether this elite presence also means that the city was a capital is plausible, but not absolutely provable.

legitimacy from holding a Roman office.<sup>408</sup>

This offers us an intriguing perspective on Cologne's post-Roman fate. If Steuer is right--and it must be kept in mind that his argument is a hypothesis--the Frankish assumption of power in the fifth century may have been fairly uneventful. The Romans, for the sake of expedience, may have regularized the troubled political situation in the Rhineland by recognizing Sigibert the Lambe as ruler of a territory centered on Cologne. Officially, Sigibert would only be a Roman official, not a truly independent ruler. Not all Romans would have seen it this way, of course: In Salvian's eyes, Sigibert's rule was equivalent to the city being "full of enemies."

If we accept this hypothesis, then we are forced to re-evaluate our traditional image of the fifth century. Cologne was not "conquered" by marauding Franks; instead there was a more or less peaceful cession of territory. Granted, the Romans did not agree to this out of the kindness of their hearts; it was instead a pragmatic acceptance of reality. The Franks did indeed pose a military threat to the Romans, as they had raided the area twice before (in 270 and 355), and in the early fifth century the western emperors were in no position to fight them off. The Romans, in all likelihood, saw this as a purely temporary arrangement, which would be reversed once the Empire regained its footing. After all, had not the Gallic Empire been reabsorbed into the Empire after only fourteen years? This time, of course, the situation was quite different, and the Frankish polity would outlast the Western Empire. For these reasons, we should not underestimate the turbulence and violence of these times, but neither should we exaggerate them. I have no doubt that for some Romans (especially the elites), the transition to Frankish rule was painful; it is safe to say that the widowed mother of Salvian's kinsman, for example, most likely bitterly resented working for Frankish women. But this does not mean that Cologne was collapsing into ruins. On the contrary: The Franks had every reason to

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<sup>408</sup> Steuer, Franken, 40-41.

preserve and maintain the city: It would have been pointless for them to let the city go to rack and ruin around them. And archeological excavations since 1980 have consistently confirmed this supposition. Let us now turn and examine the data which these excavations have provided, and see how the city and its hinterland fared during the period of transition.

We have repeatedly seen how Cologne (like all cities) depended on and interacted with the surrounding countryside. What was happening in Cologne's rural areas during the late fourth and early fifth centuries? If we look at the province of Second Germany (Cologne's province during the Dominate), the number of known late Roman settlements (including both *vici* and isolated farmsteads) decreases dramatically after A.D. 300. Given this fact, it is plausible to infer that this is due to a demographic decline occasioned by loss of Roman control. But as the archeologist Karl Heinz Lenz points out, the decrease of settlements is more apparent than real, for two reasons. First, out of the sixty-nine known settlements in the entire province, only twenty-eight have actually been excavated; the others are known only from field-walking.<sup>409</sup> Excavation provides a much more thorough and systematic view of a site than field-walking does, so we do not actually have a complete database of the late Roman settlements in the province. Second, even those sites which have been excavated still may not provide us with a full picture. This is because artifacts from the first through third centuries A.D. will be buried more deeply than artifacts from the fourth through fifth centuries. Since late Roman artifacts will be closer to the surface, they are more likely to be eroded over time and thus lost, whereas early Roman objects will be protected and have a greater chance of surviving for archeologists to find.<sup>410</sup> For these two reasons, archeologists are likely to recover a

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<sup>409</sup> Karl Heinz Lenz, "Late Roman Rural Settlement in the Southern Part of the Province Germania Secunda in Comparison with Other Regions of the Roman Rhineland," in Les campagnes de la Gaule à la fin de l'Antiquité, eds. Pierre Ouzoulias *et al.* (Antibes, Fr.: Éditions APDCA, 2001) 118-21.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*, 122-23.

greater number of early Roman artifacts than late Roman ones, which will naturally lead them to conclude that settlement decreased after the fourth century, which in turn could be explained by the arrival of the Franks. While there is nothing illogical about this reasoning, the empirical basis for it is not nearly as solid as one might think, and accordingly we should be reluctant to assert that there was a demographic decline in the province of Second Germany in the fourth and fifth centuries.

We should keep Lenz's warnings in mind as we narrow our focus from the province of Second Germany to the immediate hinterland of Cologne itself. In the previous chapter we saw that nine of the thirty-five *vici* suffered destruction in the late third century.<sup>411</sup> In the fourth century another seven *vici* appear to have been abandoned.<sup>412</sup> Only one of these (Pesch) was actually destroyed; the remaining six seem to have been abandoned. Two of these *vici* (Ahrweiler and Iversheim) had been rebuilt after being destroyed in the late third century; their abandonment now was permanent. In the course of the fifth century a further three *vici* (Aachen, Billig, and Nettersheim) were also abandoned. As we saw above, we should hesitate to assume that all of these *vici* and their inhabitants simply disappeared; no doubt some did, but the archeological record is not entirely dispositive on this issue. In that case, how should we understand the changing face of Cologne's rural hinterland?

I would submit that we should expand on a proposal made by Winfried Schmitz. He examined the late antique and early medieval inscriptions which have been found at Cologne. There are forty-six such inscriptions, dating from the fourth to the seventh centuries (all are funerary epitaphs). Schmitz noted some interesting aspects of these inscriptions. First, of the thirty-four inscriptions providing the deceased's name, nearly eighty-five percent of the names are either Latin or Greek.<sup>413</sup> Second, the paleography of

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<sup>411</sup>See above ch. 2, p. 74.

<sup>412</sup>For the references for all the *vici* mentioned here, see their entries in Appendix 1.

<sup>413</sup>Schmitz, "Grabinschriften," 750.

the inscriptions shows little change from previous Roman styles; third, twelve of the inscriptions are composed in verse.<sup>414</sup> This is true even of those inscriptions which date from as late as the fifth and sixth century.<sup>415</sup> Fourth, Cologne's inscriptions are remarkably lacking in grammatical errors or vulgarisms.<sup>416</sup> One inscription has twelve vulgarisms,<sup>417</sup> but it is an exception; most inscriptions either have no vulgarisms at all, or else only one.<sup>418</sup> These features, Schmitz argues, strongly suggest that Latin remained a living language in Cologne. The use of verse in the inscriptions is particularly striking, as it implies that an educational tradition remained in place for quite some time, providing instruction in poetry.<sup>419</sup> Spoken Latin was of course continually evolving, and also subject to influences from other language; Schmitz points out that the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is normally preserved in the Cologne inscriptions. In the Romance languages /h/ disappears, but in the Germanic languages it is maintained. The persistence of this phoneme in Cologne's inscriptions is thus probably due to the linguistic influence of the incoming Franks.<sup>420</sup>

How may we account for this linguistic persistence? Schmitz suggests two possibilities: The first is that Latin speakers had moved to the city for protection and cultivated their fields outside the city walls; the second is that Latin speakers remained outside the city, but had themselves buried there after death.<sup>421</sup> Of these two scenarios, the former would account for the disappearance of *vici*. Remember that Cologne preserved its Roman walls intact for nearly a thousand years. The city would have been a strong fortress and a ready refuge for country-dwellers. It is not impossible that rural

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<sup>414</sup>*Ibid.*, 751.

<sup>415</sup>See, e.g., the Galsterers, *Steininschriften*, #489 at p. 103.

<sup>416</sup>Schmitz, "Grabinschriften," 751-52.

<sup>417</sup>The Galsterers, *Steininschriften*, #494 at p. 104.

<sup>418</sup>Schmitz, "Grabinschriften," 752.

<sup>419</sup>*Ibid.*, 751.

<sup>420</sup>*Ibid.*, 752.

<sup>421</sup>*Ibid.*, 749, 753.

inhabitants may have decided that life in the countryside had become too hazardous, and so they migrated to Cologne and took up residence there. This would explain both the persistence of Latin and the disappearance of *vici*. Some would have fled the region entirely, as was the case for Salvian's kinsman, mentioned earlier, but most would probably have stayed (like his kinsman's mother). Heiko Steuer had argued that the Gallo-Romans must have fled to southern Gaul, because archeologists have found few traces of them. As for the funerary inscriptions, Steuer did not put too much stock in them, because names are not always reliable indicators of ethnicity.<sup>422</sup> That is a good point, but it is also true that material objects are equally unreliable ethnic markers, so it is entirely possible that the lack of archeological evidence for Gallo-Romans is not a clinching argument either. And as Sven Schütte points out, fleeing to the south was not really a realistic option for Cologne's Gallo-Roman inhabitants. Their families had lived in the area for centuries; as far as they were concerned, this was their home, not Rome. They had developed a strong local identity over hundreds of years, and would probably have been loath to leave their homes.<sup>423</sup> While they may have disliked their new Frankish rulers, leaving was an unattractive option, and the safety of Cologne's walls may have pulled them out of the countryside and into the city.

If this was what actually happened, then that has a major implication for our understanding of Cologne's state at this time. Steuer had argued that Cologne underwent a severe demographic decline, until it had only a few hundred residents in the fifth century; as a result, the city became a ghost town, with empty, decrepit buildings set amidst a tangled growth of brambles and weeds.<sup>424</sup> But if we accept the epigraphic evidence as trustworthy, then Cologne in the fifth century could have been becoming *more* populous, not less. Far from being depopulated and desolate, the city was at least

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<sup>422</sup>Steuer, Franken, 97-98.

<sup>423</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 166.

<sup>424</sup>Steuer, Franken, 60.

maintaining its population, and possibly even increasing. The epigraphic evidence is not quantitative, of course, and so does not permit us to hazard any guesses as to the numbers of inhabitants. But nonetheless it does suggest that we should regard Cologne as a stable city, not an abandoned one.

If we turn our attention from the countryside to the city itself, we see that archeology supports the view that Cologne was not in ruins. One of the main areas for recent excavations has been the Heumarkt ("Hay Market"), an area located right on the banks of the Rhine. As we saw in Chapter 1, in the first century A.D. this area had originally been an arm of the river, separating an island in the stream from the city itself. But in the second century this area silted up and the island was thereby connected to the shore.<sup>425</sup> This twenty-five-hectare area was already settled in Roman times, and in the fourth century it was enclosed with a stone wall.<sup>426</sup> The earliest written reference to this wall is from before 948, which is quite late, and so there had been doubt as to whether this area had been walled before the tenth century. Already in 1995 Sven Schütte had correctly guessed that it was, reasoning that such a large market area would have needed protection; recent excavations have confirmed his supposition.<sup>427</sup> In the fifth century Germanic settlers took up residence here. Archeologists have found the postholes of their sunken houses (*Grubenhäuser*) and small artifacts (such as fibulae and spurs).<sup>428</sup> But these people were not merely camping out in front of the city's walls; on the contrary, by the early sixth century at the latest, they were engaging in artisanal craftwork and producing a variety of goods, such as combs and metal and glass goods. Archeologists have also found a touchstone, used to indicate the quality of gold; this indicates that

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<sup>425</sup>See above ch. 1, p. 63.

<sup>426</sup>Marcus Trier, "Köln am Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ausgrabungsergebnisse auf dem Heumarkt," in Kontinuitätsfragen: Mittlere Kaiserzeit--Spätantike, Spätantike--Frühmittelalter, eds. Susanne Biegert, Andrea Hagedorn, & Andreas Schaub, BAR Int'l Ser. 1468 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 92.

<sup>427</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 172.

<sup>428</sup>Trier, "Köln am Übergang," 92-94.

luxury goods were also being made and traded.<sup>429</sup> Indeed, the amount of heavy metals found on site is so high that were it active today, environmental authorities would declare it polluted and order it cleaned up.<sup>430</sup>

One of the most important products manufactured at Cologne was glass, and it is worth our while to examine this product in some detail. We saw above in Chapter 1 that glass production was already established at Cologne in the first century A.D.<sup>431</sup> Excavations have revealed two Merovingian-era glass ovens in the Heumarkt, indicating the glass production continued after the Frankish assumption of power.<sup>432</sup> This is a powerful indicator of continuity with the city's Roman past. In his study of glass-making at Cologne from the first to the eighth century, the archeologist Otto Doppelfeld recognized four phases, the last of which extended from the fifth to the eighth century and which will concern us here. Doppelfeld's opinion on the state of post-Roman glass manufacturing at Cologne is very nuanced. On the one hand, he quite firmly argued against the view that glass production at the city ceased abruptly when the Franks arrived. Steuer had argued that any Roman craft production (including glass) had been moved to Frankish rural estates;<sup>433</sup> Doppelfeld saw this as economically implausible. On the other hand, despite his belief that glass-making continued under the Franks, he still sees it as having declined, primarily because certain technical aspects of glass production stopped. Other aspects continued, however; as Doppelfeld put it, "The fact that some branches of glass processing completely broke down should certainly not be negatively judged as a sign of decline, since other branches were cultivated so vibrantly."<sup>434</sup> Furthermore, this cessation of some branches of glass production has its roots in the Roman period; some

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<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.* 95.

<sup>430</sup> Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 165.

<sup>431</sup> See above ch. 1, pp. 54-55.

<sup>432</sup> Trier, "Köln am Übergang," 95.

<sup>433</sup> Steuer, "Stadtarchäologie in Köln," 59.

<sup>434</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, Römisches und fränkisches Glas in Köln (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1966) 70.

types of objects were already going out of production before the Franks arrived, so they only continued a process already underway. For this reason, Doppelfeld entitled the chapter discussing the fifth through eighth centuries "The Continual Decline" (*Der Kontinuierliche Abstieg*), because the disappearance of particular techniques began under the Romans and continued under the Franks.<sup>435</sup>

What were some of the various glass-making techniques and forms which the Franks either continued or rejected? An example of the former are the glass "pearls" which proved to be so popular among the Franks (as may be seen in the spinning weights found at Junkersdorf, dating to the sixth/seventh century); as for the latter, Doppelfeld notes that glass polishing entirely disappeared under the Franks.<sup>436</sup> Roman glass-making techniques did not only die or survive, of course; they could also be modified. Perhaps the most striking instance of Frankish modification of a Roman style is what German scholars call "trunk cups" (*Rüsselbecher*) and British scholars "claw beakers." These are somewhat bizarre-looking cups with large bulges which curve out and fold into the base. These curving protuberances somewhat resemble elephants' trunks (hence the name), though to my mind they seem more like octopi tentacles. Earlier scholars had seen trunk cups as "Germanic" objects, proof of Frankish artisanal skill. Instead, Doppelfeld showed that they were actually a Frankish imitation of earlier Roman styles: The Frankish trunk cup of *c.* 500 derives from a Roman cup (of *c.* 300) with a row of dolphins all along its exterior, so that the elephants' trunks turn out to be dolphins' bodies.<sup>437</sup>

Doppelfeld regards Frankish glass as a relatively poor imitation of Roman glass (he calls it a "step backwards").<sup>438</sup> This judgment depends to a degree on one's personal

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<sup>435</sup>*Ibid.*, 70; elsewhere in his book he refers to these centuries as "the period of gradual decline, in no way a sudden drop" (19).

<sup>436</sup>*Ibid.*, 70 (glass "pearls;" see illus. 169); 74-75 (glass polishing).

<sup>437</sup>*Ibid.*, 73-74; see plate II and illus. 100 for the Roman dolphin cup, plate IV and illus. 186 for the Frankish trunk cup.

<sup>438</sup>*Ibid.*, 75.

opinion and taste, and so is somewhat subjective. But the very fact that production continued is objective, and important. It shows that Cologne's economy was still functioning and productive. It also testifies to the Franks' capacity to adapt themselves to Roman practices and material culture. It is impossible to guess the ethnicity of the glassmakers themselves during the fifth and sixth centuries; they could either be native Gallo-Romans producing goods for the new Frankish rulers, or Frankish artisans who had learned Roman techniques (or both). But either case is evidence of continuity with the Roman past, and speaks against the notion that the incoming Franks allowed the city to go to rack and ruin. On the contrary: They may very well have stimulated production by patronizing artisans. As we shall see below, the Frankish elite had a taste for high-quality goods, which in many cases were produced locally.

Production is only one aspect of the economy; trade is equally important. How did Cologne's glass production in the fifth and sixth centuries figure in trade? Were glass objects made solely to meet the demands of local elite customers, or were they shipped over some distance? The picture that emerges from the sources is fuzzier than we would like, especially as it changes over time. But if we restrict ourselves for the moment to the fifth and sixth centuries, we can perceive at least a dim outline. During this time, Cologne's main trading connections were with England and the Low Countries, as literary, archeological, and numismatic evidence reveals. In fact, Helmut Roth, in his discussion of glass products, makes the somewhat confusing statement that the distribution of glass cups can only be understood in connection with the trade of wine and honey with England.<sup>439</sup> (Wine and honey, along with textiles, leather, and possibly cereals, are the trade goods mentioned in the Merovingian literary sources.)<sup>440</sup> Roth does not elaborate

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<sup>439</sup> Helmut Roth, "Zum Handel der Merowingerzeit auf Grund ausgewählter archäologischer Quellen," in Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa [henceforth Untersuchungen], eds. Klaus Düwel *et al.*, vol. III (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) 183.

<sup>440</sup> Peter Johanek, "Der 'Außenhandel' des Frankenreiches der Merowingerzeit nach

on his statement; presumably he does not mean that wine and honey were transported in glass cups, but rather consumed in them. In the latter case, the distribution of glass cups should thus be able to serve as a proxy for the distribution of wine and honey; that is, if a glass cup used to consume wine and honey is found, one may reasonably infer that these archeologically invisible commodities were once also present there.

That said, the evidence for trade in glass between Cologne and England in the fifth/sixth centuries is not entirely convincing. Take the case of the "trunk cups" mentioned above. These have also been found in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and English scholars have argued that these "claw beakers" were produced in Kent, not imported from the mainland. Vera Evison came to this conclusion for the following reasons: First, the trunk cup's form resembles that of the bag beaker, a glass form which is rarely found outside England; second, most English trunk cups are found in Kent, and those found on the European mainland seem stylistically similar to the Kentish ones. Consequently, she argued that Kent was the primary production site for English trunk cups, and even exported some to the Rhineland and Scandinavia.<sup>441</sup> Ulf Näsman corroborates Evison's findings, based on the excavations at Eketorp in Sweden. Of the forty-seven glass fragments found at the settlement, all dating from *ca.* 550 to 750, five come from claw beakers.<sup>442</sup> These fragments, along with those from bag beakers and squat jars, seem to have been made in England, more particularly Kent; Näsman feels that fragments from other vessels could also be English in origin, though he is not as certain for them as he is for the claw beakers.<sup>443</sup> This holds true, he argues, not just for Eketorp, but for all of Scandinavia during this period.<sup>444</sup> As we shall see later on, there certainly

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Norden und Osten im Spiegel der Schriftquellen," in Untersuchungen, 248.

<sup>441</sup> Vera I. Evison, "Anglo-Saxon Glass Claw Beakers," Archaeologia 107 (1982): 53-59.

<sup>442</sup> Ulf Näsman, "Vendel Period Glass from Eketorp II, Öland, Sweden: On Glass and Trade from the Late 6th to the Late 8th Centuries A.D." Acta Archaeologica 55 (1984): 62.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-85.

was a trade in glass and/or glass objects between Cologne and Scandinavia during the Carolingian period (which was part of Cologne's greater involvement in the Baltic region), but the trade in glass during the fifth and sixth centuries is harder to detect. But we can be certain that glass continued to be produced throughout this time at Cologne, and we may safely infer that there was some trade in it as well, even if that trade was only local.

I have dilated at such length on this topic because glass was a luxury product which Cologne was renowned for. The fact that this originally Roman industry persisted throughout the fifth and sixth centuries attests to the city's vitality during this period, because if Cologne's artisans were able to sustain such a high-end manufacture, we may safely surmise that other, less prestigious commodities were also being produced and traded; it is unlikely that a city reduced to an "empty urban shell" could afford to devote resources to making beautiful glass cups (we may note in our own present recession that consumers are no longer purchasing luxury goods in such quantities as they previously had).

Having examined Cologne's industries, we may now turn our attention to its urban infrastructure. Steuer had argued that its buildings collapsed for lack of maintenance. But that statement is an exaggeration. Of course several Roman buildings did over the years disappear, the victims of time and stone quarrying. The baths and amphitheater both vanished; the former evidently passed out of use after the fourth century<sup>445</sup> and was not discovered by archeologists until 1950, while the latter's whereabouts remain unknown to this day.<sup>446</sup> But repair and maintenance of major topographical features also took place. For example, in the first half of the fifth century, the *cardo maximus* (the city's main north-south artery) was covered over with a layer of gravel and tiles. This work may have been a mixed blessing, because it covered over the gutters which drained

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<sup>445</sup> Michael Dodt, "Römische Badeanlagen in Köln," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 34 (2001): 281-86.

<sup>446</sup> See above ch. 1, pp. 62-63 (baths), pp. 64-65 (amphitheater).

the streets and prevented them from functioning. While Cologne's urban cleanliness may have suffered as a result, mobility within the city was not hindered, so that people were able to make their way around Cologne without any difficulty. Furthermore, as Werner Eck points out, an operation on this scale suggests that a public authority was behind it, not individual property-owners. It is unclear exactly what comprised this public authority; that is, if it was under the direction of the Frankish "count" (if we accept Steuer's hypothesis, outlined above) or of an urban group consisting of Cologne's citizens. But in either case, the result was the same: As Eck puts it, "there was no general chaos."<sup>447</sup>

In addition to the street system, Roman buildings also survived, the prime example being the praetorium. As we saw in Chapter 1, the praetorium's last building phase dates to around 350.<sup>448</sup> After this time, there is no evidence of new building construction for the praetorium. But three pieces of evidence--respectively numismatic, textual, and archeological--allow us to infer that it remained in use. The first piece of evidence is a gold coin, a sixth-century Visigothic *tremissis*, found in the area of the praetorium.<sup>449</sup> Gregory of Tours supplies us with the second source, taken from his work *The Lives of the Fathers*. Gregory records that in c. 520, Clovis's son Theuderic I visited Cologne, bringing with him a deacon named Gallus in his entourage. Gallus saw a pagan Frankish temple in the city; inflamed with zeal, he decided to inflame the temple as well. Not surprisingly the pagans became enraged and chased him through the city. But Gallus "hid himself in the royal palace" (*aulae se regiae condidit*), and Theuderic was able to calm the mob's wrath and save Gallus from certain martyrdom (which, however, Gallus would have preferred; Gregory tells us that he related this story tearfully).<sup>450</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> Werner Eck, "Köln im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter," Geschichte in Köln 54 (2007): 16-17.

<sup>448</sup> See above ch. 1, p. 57.

<sup>449</sup> Nuber, FMRD, #76 at pp. 109, 111 n.76.

<sup>450</sup> Gregory of Tours, Vitae Patrum 6.2.

This passage provides us with information on multiple issues, and we will return to it below in our discussion of Christianity in Cologne in the fifth and sixth centuries. For the moment we will focus just on what it tells us about Cologne's public buildings. The words "royal palace" most likely refer to the praetorium, and so this account suggests not only that it was still in use in the early sixth century, but also that it was still in reasonably good condition: It seems unlikely that a king would have chosen to stay (or Gallus seek protection) in a dilapidated building. Note also the continuity of function: The praetorium was the Roman governor's residence, and the emperors stayed there when they visited the city. Unsurprisingly, Theuderic stayed there too during his visit. In other words, a Frankish king emulated a Roman emperor--hardly what one would expect if the Franks really were completely averse to urban life, as Steuer maintained.

Our second piece of evidence comes from paleoseismology. Geologists who have examined the praetorium have found large cracks in its foundations, which were severe enough to have toppled it. But there are no signs of any violence which would have caused them.<sup>451</sup> Archeologists initially thought they were the results of a shoddy construction job: The foundations had been poorly laid, and as they settled they cracked.<sup>452</sup> But had that been the case, one would expect the cracks to have manifested themselves relatively quickly, by the fifth century at the latest. As we have seen, Gregory records a royal visit to the praetorium in the early sixth century, so the cracks more likely developed later. Furthermore, there is no archeological evidence of any repair effort, which one would expect as settlement damage became visible. As excavations have shown that the praetorium was leveled in the early ninth century, some geologists suppose that a natural disaster destroyed it shortly before that time; the Carolingians would then have cleared away the building and built over it. Since there are no traces of

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<sup>451</sup> Klaus-G. Hinzen & Sven Schütte, "Evidence for Earthquake Damage on Roman Buildings in Cologne, Germany," Seismological Research Letters 74.2 (Mar./Apr. 2003): 128, 131-32.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

fire or violence, the likeliest candidates would be either an earthquake or flood.<sup>453</sup>

Unfortunately, while there are several mentions of earthquakes in the general region during the Carolingian period, none of them specifically connects an earthquake with Cologne, and geologists are still unable to determine at the moment what actually caused the cracks.<sup>454</sup> Nonetheless, it seems that these cracks developed much later, well past the fifth century, and when this is combined with Gregory's evidence, it suggests that the praetorium was still in good condition (and thus capable of use) for some centuries after the transition to Frankish control.

In fairness to Steuer, he actually exempted the praetorium from his general account of Cologne's dilapidation, describing it as one of the few buildings which the Franks actually used.<sup>455</sup> But the Franks did not merely preserve Roman buildings, treating Cologne as a giant open-air museum. New buildings also were arising in Cologne, namely, Christian churches. The construction of these churches was the start of significant changes in Cologne's topography, as the sacred spaces of Christianity replaced those of paganism. Of course, Christianity existed in Cologne well before the Franks arrived, but its fate during the fifth and sixth centuries is quite controversial. For that reason we must turn first to the issue of Cologne's religious environment during this time, and see what impact the Frankish presence had on it.

For those historians who understand fifth-century Cologne to have decayed and collapsed under the Franks, the Church was yet another of the Roman institutions which did not survive the transition. A powerful argument for this position focused on the transmission of Cologne's episcopal list. The earliest manuscript of this document dates from the late tenth century, and simply lists the names of Cologne's bishops.<sup>456</sup> The issue

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<sup>453</sup>*Ibid.*, 136-38.

<sup>454</sup>*Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>455</sup>Steuer, Franken, 59.

<sup>456</sup>Louis Duchesne, Fastes Épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing & Co., 1915) 176.

is this: The second name on the list is that of St. Severin, whom we know to be a historical figure; Gregory of Tours records that Severin learned of the death of St. Martin of Tours in a heavenly vision.<sup>457</sup> Martin died in 397, giving us a date for Severin. The third name on the list is Evergisil, a contemporary of Gregory (who also mentions him.)<sup>458</sup> The reader will note the problem: Between Severin in 397 and Evergisil in 590, there are no names of bishops in Cologne.

We do in fact know of another sixth-century bishop in Cologne, despite his name's absence from the list. In around 565, the poet Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-c. 610) dedicated a poem to a certain Carentinus, bishop of Cologne. Venantius lavishly praises the otherwise unknown Carentinus for (among other things) church-building. Apparently Carentinus had expanded one of Cologne's churches, for Venantius says that "Spacious churches consist of greater numbers [sc. of worshippers] / another row [sc. of columns], suspended on high, is given" (*templa capacia constant, alter in excelso pendulus ordo datur*).<sup>459</sup> We will deal with the content of this passage when we look at the churches later in this chapter, but for the moment it is the date which is most relevant. From this evidence we can be confident that Cologne did have a bishop in the 560s.

Even so, that still leaves a gap of 150 years where no names are preserved. How should we interpret this gap? The simplest answer is to say that where there is no smoke, there is no fire; that is, there are no names because there were no bishops. This is the position which Brühl takes: "One must therefore accept the fact that the bishopric of Cologne sank in the storms of the fifth century and was only renewed in the middle of the sixth."<sup>460</sup> Another possibility is that there were bishops, but the list is incomplete and lacks their names. Sven Schütte suggests that perhaps the episcopal archives were destroyed in the Viking attack of 881, so that this information was no longer available

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<sup>457</sup>Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus Martini*, 1.4.

<sup>458</sup>Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, ch. 62.

<sup>459</sup>Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* 3.14.23-24.

<sup>460</sup>Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 18.

when the list was compiled.<sup>461</sup> While this is certainly plausible, we shall see below that the effects of the 881 Viking attack are in dispute, and it is not clear that this attack was any more devastating than the Frankish attack of 355 discussed in Chapter 2.

Choosing between these two alternatives is not easy. On the one hand, many medieval documents are notoriously incomplete, and it would not be surprising if a tenth-century source were poorly informed about the bishops from 500 years earlier. Moreover, we already know that the list as we have it is incomplete, because Carentinus is not on it; it is not implausible to imagine that there were other bishops who were unlucky enough to not have connections with a well-educated Italian poet, and are thus lost to us.

But on the other hand, 150 years is a long time. The tenth-century compilers would have had to have lost the names of up to twelve bishops (while remembering the names of Maternus and Severin from the fourth century). And Brühl's approach has the virtue of simplicity; if we wish to adhere to Occam's Razor, the simplest explanation is that there were no bishops.

As we have seen above, arguments from silence are not historians' preferred terrain. Perhaps one way to resolve this issue is to juxtapose it with positive evidence, and see how the two sources complement each other. And such evidence is at hand, in the pages of Gregory of Tours. In our discussion above regarding the fate of the praetorium under the Franks, we read the passage where the deacon Gallus set a pagan temple on fire and had to seek refuge in the praetorium. This all-too-brief passage offers tantalizing clues on Cologne's religious complexion in the early sixth century.

For Brühl, it shows that the Christian community had essentially disappeared from Cologne (or at least become severely attenuated). Brühl points out that Gallus sought protection not from a bishop, but instead from King Theuderic, and he fled to the "royal palace," not to a church.<sup>462</sup> He also observes that the story has force only if

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<sup>461</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 166.

<sup>462</sup>Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 18 n.161.

Christians were a minority at that time; if Cologne had been full of Christians, Gallus would not have had to fear angry pagans. And furthermore, Brühl notes that it is Theuderic who has to pacify the mob; Gregory never mentions any local clergy at all.<sup>463</sup>

These are all important points, but it seems to me that Brühl's conclusions are nonetheless mistaken. As he himself acknowledges, Gregory's tale is shaped by hagiographical impulses.<sup>464</sup> Gregory *wants* his audience to believe Gallus is a saint, so he needs to underscore how dangerous this occurrence was for Gallus (and since he was not martyred, this may have put even more pressure on Gregory to show that Gallus truly was in jeopardy). But this should alert us to take the story with a grain of salt, because Gregory had every reason to ignore or de-emphasize the Christian presence in the city. And upon further reflection, Brühl's points are not as probative as they first appear. It stands to reason that Gallus would have fled to Theuderic and not the local clergy, because he had come to Cologne as part of Theuderic's entourage; he probably had no connections with the local Christian priests, who may very well have viewed him as an outsider. Under such circumstances, it would have made more sense to seek safety with Theuderic (who was the king, after all). And this passage really does not tell us anything about Christians in Cologne, because they are not what matters to Gregory. It does, however, tell us something about the pagans in Cologne; namely, that they indubitably existed, and in numbers large enough to support a temple and take action when threatened.

For these reasons, I must disagree with Brühl. To my mind, the conclusion to be drawn from this passage is not one of "repaganization," as Brühl describes it,<sup>465</sup> but rather one of religious pluralism. Gregory shows us that Cologne contained a pagan community alongside a Christian one (and also a Jewish one, as we shall see below). These

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<sup>463</sup>*Ibid.*, 27 n.257.

<sup>464</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>465</sup>*Ibid.*, 28.

communities may have coexisted uneasily, which would actually explain the absence of Christian help for Gallus; the local Christian clergy may have been unwilling to aid him because they did not want to exacerbate an already tense situation. On the other hand, pagans and Christians may have been not only coexisting but also intermixing, so that the line between "pagan" and "Christian" may have been much less sharply defined than we would expect.<sup>466</sup> But whether these communities lived together in peace or tension, what is clear from the Gallus episode is that they were there.

Archeology offers a more powerful statement about the status of Cologne's Christian community (though still not as dispositive as we would like). We saw in Chapter 2 that Cologne's oldest churches apparently originated in the late fourth century.<sup>467</sup> However, it was hard to determine if the original structures were Christian churches or buildings used by both pagans and Christians. But we can safely say that during the fifth and sixth centuries, these buildings became Christian churches. We will now look at the same churches we examined in the last chapter (St. Ursula, St. Severin, and the cathedral), and after discussing them we can return to the issue of Christianity in Cologne.

The oldest building on the site of St. Ursula was a simple rectangular hall with a semicircular apse at one end, built in the fourth century. At some point in the fifth and sixth century it was modified; the apse was reinforced with an inner wall placed directly inside the outer wall, and two rows of pillars were added in the interior, thus giving it three interior aisles. While its length remained the same (27.8 meters), its width was considerably expanded, from 9.6 to 15.7 meters.<sup>468</sup> There are no sure indications for this

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<sup>466</sup> Richard Fletcher, The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 132. Readers will note that Fletcher agrees with Brühl's interpretation of the story of Gallus; while I think he is mistaken in this, I fully concur with his larger point that "the antithesis pagan/Christian may be too neat and simple."

<sup>467</sup> See above ch. 2, pp. 88-92.

<sup>468</sup> Gernot Nürnberger, "Die frühchristlichen Baureste der Kölner Ursulakirche," in Neue

building's date; all that archeologists know is that it was built after the first phase (fourth century) and before the third (late sixth century).<sup>469</sup> In the third phase (second half of the sixth century), there was a major internal addition: An "ambo," a keyhole-shaped structure (3.7 meters long and 1.9 wide) at the church's eastern end. Used by the choir and for reading the lessons, the ambo is a common feature in many early Christian churches. Archeologists have dated this expansion by comparing this ambo with a similar one found in Cologne's cathedral (as well as those from churches in Trier and Boppard), which dates to the second half of the sixth century. Archeologists have therefore concluded that St. Ursula's ambo was added in the second half of the sixth.<sup>470</sup> With the construction of the ambo, we can securely say that this building is a Christian church.

St. Severin underwent a similar process of expansion. In the late fourth or early fifth century, two lateral annexes and a narthex were added to the original building, which had been square with an apse at one end.<sup>471</sup> In the second half of the sixth century an atrium was added, the floor was elevated, and a podium was installed in the building's interior, perhaps to hold a reliquary containing the bones of St. Severin.<sup>472</sup>

Between these two construction phases, in the mid-fifth century two young boys of the Frankish elite were buried in St. Severin. Lavish grave-goods were buried with them, including weapons (such as the Frankish throwing-axe) and jewelry. The grave also contained glass and ceramic vessels containing the remains of food, such as wine

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Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 164-66.

<sup>469</sup>*Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>470</sup>*Ibid.*, 167-71.

<sup>471</sup> Bernd Päffgen, "Die Ausgrabungen in St. Severin zu Köln und ihre Bedeutung für die christliche Archäologie im Rheinland," in Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 182-83.

<sup>472</sup>*Ibid.*, 183-84.

and meat.<sup>473</sup> Other elite graves (of male and female adults) from the sixth century have also been found in St. Severin.<sup>474</sup> These graves are eloquent testimony to the existence of a Frankish elite in and around Cologne. We saw above that Salvian had complained in a letter that his kinsman's widowed mother had been forced to become a servant to the "wives of the barbarians." One cannot help but wonder if one of the Frankish women buried in St. Severin had Gallo-Roman maids to dress her with her jewelry.

A similar elite grave was found under the Cologne cathedral, and so we shall turn our attention to it now. As we saw in the previous chapter, the area where Cologne's present cathedral is currently located was occupied during the fourth century by private residential buildings.<sup>475</sup> In the last third of the fourth century, the eastern part of the area underwent a significant renovation: It was cleared and the ground level raised by several feet, and several small buildings were built here. The Roman buildings in the western area remained in use, including one with a hypocaust (though this heating system had been filled in and was no longer in use).<sup>476</sup> To the north the Roman street which followed the course of the city wall remained in use throughout this period, though it had been diminished in size; the street which connected with it was later built over.<sup>477</sup>

In the area beneath the choir of the Gothic cathedral, a one-aisled building (forty

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<sup>473</sup> Bernd Päffgen, Die Ausgrabungen in St. Severin zu Köln, vol. 2 (Mainz-on-the-Rhine: Philipp von Zabern, 1992) 227-30.

<sup>474</sup> Friederike Naumann-Steckner, "Death on the Rhine: Changing Burial Customs in Cologne, 3rd-7th Century," in The Transformation of the Roman World, A.D. 400-900, eds. Leslie Webster & Michelle Brown (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 173-75.

<sup>475</sup> See above ch. 2, pp. 92-94.

<sup>476</sup> Sebastian Ristow, "Spätantike Kirche unter dem Kölner Dom? Ergebnisse der Grabungen und die Frage nach der ersten Kölner Bischofskirche," in Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2004) 102-04.

<sup>477</sup> Sebastian Ristow, "Kontinuität und Nutzungswandel: Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Funde und Befunde aus der Kölner Domgrabung," in Kontinuitätsfragen: Mittlere Kaiserszeit--Spätantike, Spätantike--Frühmittelalter, eds. Susanne Biegert, Andrea Hagedorn, & Andreas Schaub, BAR Int'l Ser. 1468 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 47.

meters long by ten wide) with an apse at its eastern end was built in the late fourth or early fifth century. Called "Building 1," its structural remains are rather incomplete, so that its ground plan remains unknown and archeologists are unsure even of its function.<sup>478</sup> At some point in the late fifth/early sixth century, this building was slightly expanded (this phase is labeled "Building 2".) But the major addition came in the middle third of the sixth century, when two members of the Frankish elite, a twenty-eight-year-old woman and a six-year-old boy, were interred in Building 2. Placed within a stone chamber, the woman was accompanied by numerous grave-goods, such as glass and metal vessels, golden earrings, and a necklace which included, as part of its ornamentation, a golden coin of the Byzantine Emperor Justin I (r. 518-27). Her grave also included high-quality fabrics; fine wool and silk were found, and an Oriental carpet covered her coffin.<sup>479</sup> The boy was buried with the full panoply of Frankish weaponry (again including a throwing-axe), as well as glass and metal vessels and a golden ring. He had plainer fabrics in his grave than the woman, but his helmet did have a piece of "Coptic" tapestry to line its neckguard.<sup>480</sup> The coin, along with dendrochronological evidence from the wooden coffins, allows us to date the burials to around 537 ± 10, which in turn allows us to date Building 2.<sup>481</sup>

These remarkable burials present us with a conundrum: What are they doing in Building 2? Merovingian elites tended to be buried outside city walls, but these graves are clearly *inside* the walls. One's explanation for this peculiarity depends on how one views the city's condition at this time. For those who see sixth-century Cologne as a vestige of its former self, the burials are further proof of the city's decrepitude. Brühl, for instance, argues that the city wall had deteriorated so much that the cathedral area had

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<sup>478</sup>Ristow, "Kontinuität und Nutzungswandel," 47-48.

<sup>479</sup>Lise Bender Jørgensen, "A Coptic Tapestry and Other Textile Remains from the Royal Frankish Graves of Cologne Cathedral," *Acta Archaeologica* 56-1985 (1987): 86.

<sup>480</sup>*Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>481</sup>Ristow, "Spätantike Kirche," 104-05.

"the character of a wasteland," and so burials here could be regarded as effectively (if not technically) outside the walls.<sup>482</sup> By contrast, those who see Cologne as a stable and fully functioning city argue that the burial place was chosen deliberately, so that Building 2 was memorial hall (perhaps like St. Gereon).<sup>483</sup> Of these two views, I incline to the latter. As was already mentioned above, the cathedral area was continually occupied from the fourth century through the sixth, which would be unlikely if the city wall had collapsed; furthermore, it seems more reasonable that the survivors of deceased prestigious people would wish them to be buried in a fitting location rather than a wasteland. Why Building 2 was selected for this specific burial will never be known to us, but as it was deemed worthy for this purpose, it seems safe to say that it was not "a wasteland."

Since the Merovingian elite were Christian after *c.* 500, it is also safe to say that Building 2 was intended for Christian use, even if archeologists cannot definitively say that it was a church. But in the second half of the sixth century, we may finally state this conclusively, because it is at this time that the building receives an ambo. This was shaped like the one in St. Ursula, but much larger: Approximately thirteen meters long, with a 4.5 meter wide platform. The church also now had three aisles, with two rows of columns.<sup>484</sup> This structure (called Building 3a) also had a separate baptistery located behind it. The baptistery was rectangular, with an octagonal font surmounted by a ciborium.<sup>485</sup> While it is safe to say that Building 3a was a church, it was not necessarily the cathedral; however, since it is located on the same spot where the medieval cathedral was later built, archeologists feel secure it assuming that it was the late sixth-century cathedral of Cologne.

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<sup>482</sup>Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 23.

<sup>483</sup>Ristow, "Kontinuität und Nutzungswandel," 48.

<sup>484</sup>Sebastian Ristow, *Die frühen Kirchen unter dem Kölner Dom: Befunde und Funde vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Bauzeit des Alten Domes* (Cologne: Kölner Dom, 2002) 60-63.

<sup>485</sup>Ristow, "Spätantike Kirche," 115-16.

When we combine the archeological evidence with the textual evidence discussed above, we finally begin to get a clearer picture of Christianity in Cologne in the fifth and sixth centuries. Recall that Venantius Fortunatus praised Bishop Carentinus in the 560s for his construction efforts. Recall further that St. Ursula, St. Severin, and the cathedral all underwent major construction work in the second half of the sixth century (indeed, that it is only at this time that we can prove that these structures were churches). It is extremely tempting to connect Carentinus with these building programs, but also risky. Venantius's description is both laconic and cryptic; he seems to indicate that Carentinus was engaging in a program of renovation or expansion (as opposed to new construction), which would fit the archeological record in the late sixth century. But he gives us no more information than that. I think it likely that Carentinus did undertake building programs in Cologne. Granted, Venantius is flattering Carentinus, which renders his words suspect; nevertheless, even flattery (like propaganda) needs some basis in reality, to give it force and effect. However, we cannot go further and conclusively connect Carentinus to specific churches or construction phases; the safest choice is to say that he supported church construction in the late sixth century, and leave it at that.

Nonetheless, this still enables us to draw an important conclusion: The Christian Church was not dead in sixth-century Cologne. The investment represented by expanding churches was substantial; the resources to do this had to be present. These churches speak not only to the wealth available in Cologne at this time, but also to its human ability and know-how; architects and craftsmen had to be provided to construct them (though we do not know their place of origin). The Church therefore could not have been prostrate at this time.

Of course, this is not to say that it was without any trouble at all. We saw above that scholarly opinion divides over how to interpret the 150-year gap in the episcopal list, with some arguing that there were no bishops and others arguing that their names had been lost. I do not think these two views are mutually exclusive. The gap should not be

dismissed; we should not fill in all the 150 years with anonymous bishops. But we should not exaggerate it, either. As we have seen in this chapter concerning Salvian's writings, the fifth and sixth centuries were tumultuous years for Cologne (and the Western Empire). I find it highly likely that the see of Cologne was vacant for some of this time, probably for extended periods, and this would no doubt have had a deleterious effect on Cologne's Christians. But I also find it likely that the seat was occupied some of the time, with these bishops' names lost over the years. We do not need to see Christianity in Cologne at this time as only one way or the other. The ship of the Church may have suffered in Cologne during these stormy years, but I think it highly unlikely that it sank.

And we should furthermore apply this same reasoning to ordinary Christians during this time. We saw above that some historians read the story of Gallus to say that the Christian community had disappeared along with its bishops, but I argued against such an interpretation. By contrast, Venantius tells us that "greater numbers" of worshippers filled the "spacious churches," and the archeological evidence supports this; it would not make sense to renovate churches if there were no Christians to use them (or to provide the resources for the renovation). I would argue that Cologne at this time had a diverse religious complexion; Jews and Gallo-Roman Christians lived alongside incoming Frankish pagans.<sup>486</sup> And we may expect that conversion was occurring during this time, as members of all three religions interacted with each other, sometimes peacefully, sometimes not. This religious plurality suggests to me a vibrant community, not a decadent one.

At this point, we can conclude this chapter by taking stock of what we have seen so far. By now it should be apparent that any estimation of Cologne from 350 to 550 can only be highly speculative, so I put forward this particular account cautiously and

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<sup>486</sup>We shall see proof of Jewish-Christian interaction in the next chapter.

tentatively, fully aware that it can be revised in the light of new research. Nevertheless, I submit that Cologne survived these two tumultuous centuries rather well. The city and its inhabitants adapted to difficult and painful circumstances as best they could, preserving their Roman heritage when possible and taking on new elements as needed. And the Frankish newcomers, for their part, probably boosted the city's vitality, instead of sapping it. To give but one example of this: Given the presence of glass vessels in the Frankish graves under St. Severin and the cathedral, the Frankish elite were likely valuable patrons of Cologne's glassmakers. Far from the Franks ruining Cologne through their supposedly "primitive" ways, they very well may have stimulated production and trade in the city, providing stability or even prosperity.

This is not to say that the years from 350 to 550 were uneventful; far from it. The mother of Salvian's kinsman doubtlessly found her new status a bitter pill to swallow, and there were probably others like her (and like her son, who chose to leave Cologne altogether). But the arrival of the Frankish elite probably affected the Roman elite much more than ordinary citizens, for whom life went on as before.

It is tempting to call Cologne an example of "continuity." And we can do that, provided we define very precisely what we mean by that word. If we understand "continuity" to mean "the absence of decline, decadence, and ruin," then we can say that early medieval Cologne exhibits continuity with its Roman past. As I have argued in this chapter, the older view of Cologne as having collapsed into ruins during this time is no longer tenable. But we must be very careful to remember that "continuity" does not mean the absence of change. Cologne changed very much in the fifth and sixth centuries: It came under the control of new rulers; new Christian churches were built, while older pagan structures were allowed to decay. And most importantly, Cologne's cultural and economic orientation was beginning to change. As it was no longer part of the Roman Empire, Cologne's ties to the ancient Mediterranean world were beginning to weaken, while ties to the north were beginning to be formed. This process would have far-

reaching consequences for Cologne's history, but it was only inchoate during these two centuries. Examining this process in greater detail will be the subject of the next chapter.

### Chapter Four: Merovingian Cologne (550-750)

By the year 550, Cologne was definitively out of the Roman political orbit. The city had been ruled by Frankish kings for at least the past 100 years, and maybe even for 130. These kings may have officially been considered only imperial administrators, but they had become independent quickly, and Cologne was thus incorporated into a new political structure, the Merovingian realm.<sup>487</sup>

The Merovingian kingdoms were clearly heirs of Rome. The Merovingians were Catholic; they used Latin as their official language; their administration and bureaucracy imitated Roman models. But while the Merovingian kingdoms were heavily influenced by the Roman Empire--indeed they strove to imitate it--they should not be seen as miniature Roman Empires.<sup>488</sup> They were in fact new polities, which operated under different political circumstances and at a different scale than the Late Roman Empire. This was the world Cologne found itself in during the late sixth and seventh centuries, and in this chapter we will explore how it adapted to this world.

The main feature of Cologne's history during the centuries from 550 to 750 was the slow rise of regionalization, both economic and political. Of course, the late Roman Empire had been regionalized to some extent too. As we saw in Chapter 1, Cologne was the capital of the province of Lower Germany. But all Roman provinces were part of one overarching administrative system. By contrast, Merovingian Gaul was divided up into several kingdoms for most of this period (Cologne belonged to the Austrasian kingdom), which were politically independent (and also fought each other, as we shall see shortly).

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<sup>487</sup>For general introductions to Merovingian history, see Ian Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751 (New York: Longman, 1994), and Patrick J. Geary, Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988).

<sup>488</sup>Chris Wickham, The Inheritance of Rome: Illuminating the Dark Ages, 400-1000 (New York: Viking, 2009) 78-79, 95; see also Peter Heather's comments in Peter Brown *et al.*, "SO Debate: The World of Late Antiquity Revisited," Symbolae Osloenses 72 (1997): 51.

The formation of the Gallic Empire in the late third century can be regarded as an early sign of regionalization, and the same holds true for the division of the Roman Empire into two halves during the fourth century; this process would further increase during the Merovingian period, especially as the bishops began to gain more power over the city. At the same time, Cologne's economy started to slowly reorient itself more and more towards the North Sea region. Neither of these processes will be at all complete until well into the Ottonian period; what we see in the late sixth and seventh centuries is merely the germination of these processes. But they will further the trend towards regionalization, a trend which will eventually culminate with Cologne becoming a more or less independent city-state.

That, of course, is far in the future. For the period from 550 to 750, the changes were small and incremental; it is only a long-term perspective which enables us to see the full trajectory. Indeed, in this chapter the reader may be hard pressed to see any change occurring, for in many areas Cologne continued to function as it had previously: Trade and manufacturing continued without interruption; churches continued to be built; monarchs visited the city and held assemblies here. But a careful eye can detect small but significant changes taking place: The bishops slowly became more powerful; coins minted at Cologne reached new locations. In this chapter I will attempt to keep track of both the continuity and discontinuity present in Merovingian Cologne, as we focus first on Cologne's political role and then its economic reorientation.

### **Cologne's Political Role**

As a Roman provincial capital, Cologne had clearly been an important node in the Roman administrative hierarchy. As we saw in the previous chapter, Cologne may have been the capital of the Ripuarian Frankish kingdom; if this were so, then the city would have maintained an independent administrative role for several more decades, until the kingdom was absorbed by Clovis in the late fifth century. But after that point, Cologne

would have ceased to be the capital of an independent kingdom and become instead only an administrative center within the larger Merovingian realm.

It is difficult to figure out exactly what Cologne's status was in the Merovingian realm, because the sources mention it so rarely. While the Merovingian kingdoms certainly had capitals, Cologne does not appear to have been one, and though the Merovingian monarchs frequently traveled throughout their kingdoms, they seem to have visited Cologne only rarely.<sup>489</sup> Their absence from the city could be more apparent than real; it is entirely possible that sources recording their presence in Cologne have been lost, or that the surviving sources do not mention visits because their authors did not think that anything of significance had happened. For this reason we may safely presume that the city probably figured more prominently in the Merovingian world than the written sources would lead us to believe.<sup>490</sup> But by the same token we must remember, when trying to understand Cologne's new status during the Merovingian period, that we are relying heavily on inference, on what *may* have happened, rather than what sources tell us actually happened. This is not an insurmountable obstacle, provided that we base ourselves firmly on the few existing sources and do not stray too far from what they tell us. Accordingly, we will begin by reviewing the occasions when the written sources do mention Cologne, and then proceed to tease out from them what may also have been occurring, but which failed to enter the sources.

The most common reason that the sources give for a king's presence in Cologne is that he was seeking protection. Since the city's Roman walls remained intact,<sup>491</sup> they could therefore offer protection not only to Cologne's inhabitants, but also to those

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<sup>489</sup> Eugen Ewig, "Résidence et capitale pendant le haut Moyen Age," in Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften (1952-1973), ed. Hartmut Atsma, vol. 1 (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1976) 362-408.

<sup>490</sup>We shall see later on in this chapter that the numismatic evidence also suggests that Cologne had greater prominence.

<sup>491</sup>See above ch. 1, p. 56.

seeking refuge. The clearest instance of this in the Merovingian period occurred in 612, when Theuderic II, king of Burgundy (r. 595-613), attacked his brother Theudebert II, king of Austrasia (r. 595-612). According to the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, after Theuderic defeated Theudebert in a battle at Toul, the latter retreated to Cologne. Theuderic pursued him and defeated him a second time at Zülpich; afterwards, Theuderic entered Cologne and seized Theudebert's treasure; the unfortunate Theudebert was captured and sent to Chalon.<sup>492</sup>

The *Liber Historiae Francorum* ("Book of the History of the Franks") also records this incident, but with important differences. In the *LHF*, Theuderic attacked Theudebert, but only one battle is mentioned, that at Zülpich. After being defeated, Theudebert fled to Cologne while Theuderic devastated the countryside. The Ripuarian Franks thus sought to submit to Theuderic to stop the destruction, and as a condition he demanded that they kill Theudebert. This they did, and they hung his head on the city's walls as a sign to Theuderic. He thus entered the city and took Theudebert's treasure, and then "the magnates of the Franks swore oaths to him in the church of St. Gereon the martyr."<sup>493</sup>

For our purposes, the differences between these two sources are not as important as what they have in common; namely, that both record Theudebert as seeking safety in Cologne. It does not seem that the city itself was the cause of the war between Theudebert and Theuderic, but instead only a convenient refuge for Theudebert.<sup>494</sup> Nevertheless, this reveals that Cologne was clearly not in ruins, for otherwise it would have made no sense for Theudebert to expect protection there. In the early seventh

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<sup>492</sup>Chronicle of Fredegar, ch. 38; Toul is about 150 miles from Cologne, while Zülpich is only about 25 miles away.

<sup>493</sup>LHF, ch. 38; this passage shows that there had been a change in the church's patronage (see above ch. 2, p. 91).

<sup>494</sup>Fredegar (4.38) suggests that Toul was Theuderic's original objective, while the LHF (ch. 38) claims that this was a family quarrel: Queen Brunhild incited Theudebert to declare war on Theuderic and seize his kingdom.

century, the city was thus still able to serve as a royal refuge, even if not a royal residence. Furthermore, the city's hinterland also appears to have been relatively well-off, for otherwise it would have made no sense for Theuderic to plunder it (or for the city's inhabitants to submit to him to stop it).<sup>495</sup> We can thus infer that Cologne was not only in good physical repair, but also economically prosperous in 612.

It is not entirely clear why St. Gereon was chosen as the location for the Frankish magnates' submission to Theuderic. Brühl has observed that the praetorium would seem to have been the more logical choice for this ceremony, and expressed doubts about the reliability of the *LHF* on this matter.<sup>496</sup> By contrast, Eduard Hegel saw St. Gereon as the Frankish "court and burial church" (*Hof- und Grabeskirche*), thus making it the natural choice for the ritual.<sup>497</sup> On this issue, there is the risk of making a circular argument, as follows: We can claim that St. Gereon was the Frankish court church, because it was chosen as the site of the magnates' submission to Theuderic. But why was it chosen for this? Because it was the Frankish court church. To avoid such circularity, I would instead focus on other, more mundane reasons for choosing St. Gereon. It may have been, for example, that as a large, centrally-planned church, St. Gereon was simply big enough to hold all those participating in the ritual, and therefore was to be preferred over other venues; its splendid decorations would also have made it appropriate for such an occasion.

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<sup>495</sup>For a similar example of citizens urging a king to stop looting the surrounding countryside, see Bernard S. Bachrach, The Anatomy of a Little War: A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundovald Affair (568-586) (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1994) xvii-xviii.

<sup>496</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profanographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 30 n.300.

<sup>497</sup> Eduard Hegel, "Die Kölner Kirchen und die Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," in Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung, ed. Walther Zimmermann (Ratingen: A. Henn, 1950) 47; see also Toni Diederich, "Stift--Kloster--Pfarrei: Zur Bedeutung der kirchlichen Gemeinschaften im heiligen Köln," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 25.

Without doubt St. Gereon was an important church in Cologne (and had been since the late fourth century), but I would hesitate to label it the "court church," without further corroboration.<sup>498</sup>

In addition to being a place of refuge (though not necessarily an ultimately secure one, in Theudebert's case), Cologne also fulfilled the less welcome task of being a place of imprisonment for unfortunate Merovingians. Gregory of Tours records that in 561, Gundovald was banished to Cologne by his brother Sigibert I, though Gundovald later escaped and made his way to Italy.<sup>499</sup> While a prison is not a refuge (at least from the perspective of those immured within), one can be converted into the other fairly easily, and so Gundovald's exile in the city offers further evidence that Cologne remained an important city in the Merovingian period.

One may gain the impression from these sources that Merovingian monarchs visited Cologne only when they were in trouble. Indubitably the city was an attractive fortress for desperate monarchs, but this impression is partly due to the fact that early medieval authors (not unlike modern journalists) were more likely to record incidents of high drama and conflict, rather than the mundane routine of daily life. In other words, a king's dramatic flight to Cologne would be deemed more worthy of recording than a mere royal visit. But we in fact know from non-narrative texts that Merovingian monarchs did visit the city in peacetime. King Childebert II (r. 575-96) held at least two assemblies in Cologne; at the second (March 1, 596) he issued an edict forbidding work on Sunday and outlining the punishments for criminals (this decree, which was combined with two others to form the *Decretio Childeberti*, refers to an earlier assembly held in Cologne, but does not provide a precise date).<sup>500</sup>

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<sup>498</sup>For more on St. Gereon, see above ch. 2, pp. 90-92.

<sup>499</sup>Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, 6.24; for an account of the "Gundovald Affair," see Bachrach, *Anatomy*, cited above in n.495.

<sup>500</sup>Childebert's decree is available in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges*, ed. G.H. Pertz, vol. 1 (Hanover: 1835) 9-10.

Just as the sources tell us more about dramatic royal visits to the city than about mundane ones, they also tell us more about the outcome of royal assemblies than the efforts needed to hold them. It is worth our while to pause and reflect on what holding a royal assembly in Cologne would have entailed. First there is the matter of logistics: A large number of Frankish magnates would have traveled to the city, accompanied by their entourages, and all of them would have needed lodgings appropriate to their station. Second, there is the issue of managing the meeting itself: The assembly's sessions would have had to have been held in a location capable of holding all attendees (St. Gereon comes to mind, or perhaps the praetorium, or the cathedral). Third, there is the matter of preserving and transmitting the decisions generated by the assembly: Its proceedings and final decisions would have needed to be recorded and archived; multiple copies (now lost) would have been disseminated throughout Childebert's kingdom.<sup>501</sup>

Unfortunately, we are poorly informed about the actual circumstances of royal councils (including the two held at Cologne). We are not even sure why Cologne was specifically chosen as the location, though we can surmise that since Childebert convoked these assemblies, he likely wanted a site convenient for him. Frankish monarchs often convened assemblies near royal palaces or villas;<sup>502</sup> in this case, Cologne's praetorium probably served as Childebert's residence during his stay, so this feature may have influenced Childebert's choice. As for the magnates attending the assembly, they most likely stayed with friends living in or near Cologne; staying in a local inn was an alternative, but probably not the first choice for the elite.<sup>503</sup>

While information on the assembly's logistics may not be available to us today, we can nevertheless make reasonable inferences about Cologne's status in the Austrasian

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<sup>501</sup>For a discussion of these issues as they relate to the similar case of ecclesiastical councils, see Gregory I. Halfond, The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils: 511-768, Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, 2007: 57-92.

<sup>502</sup>*Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>503</sup>*Ibid.*, 77.

kingdom in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. The fact that the city was able to accommodate two royal assemblies in Cologne during Childebert's reign implies that it was not merely a fortress, but also an important and prestigious center in the Austrasian realm. While it likely did not have the same rank as Reims and Metz, it still was a major city, fully capable of serving as a location for assemblies and a refuge for kings.<sup>504</sup>

While Merovingian kings visited Cologne, it does not appear to have been a capital or permanent residence for them; it did, however, serve as a residence for other prominent figures in the Merovingian realm. In the early eighth century Plectrude, the wife of Pippin II, Mayor of the Palace (r. 687-714), took up residence in Cologne after Pippin died in 714. Once again Cologne witnessed an internecine power struggle. Pippin II had originally intended for his legitimate son Grimoald to succeed him as Mayor of the Palace, but since Grimoald had been murdered previously, Pippin instead selected Grimoald's infant son Theudoald, passing over his adult but illegitimate son Charles Martel.<sup>505</sup> When Pippin died in 714, Plectrude became regent, with Cologne as her residence--and she also imprisoned Charles Martel, to protect her own position.<sup>506</sup> But regencies frequently present opportunities for disaffected groups to seize power, and this case was no different: The Neustrians rebelled against Plectrude. The *LHF* records that when King Dagobert III died in 715, the Neustrians set up Chilperic II as king, allied with the pagan Frisians, and marched on Cologne. Charles Martel had meanwhile escaped from captivity and attacked the Frisians, but was badly defeated. When the Neustrians reached Cologne they forced Plectrude to negotiate with them and took "much treasure" (*thesaurus multus*) from her. On their way home in 716, Charles ambushed them at Amblève, but he did not achieve a decisive victory until March 21, 717, when he defeated the Neustrians at Vinchy. Afterwards, he also marched on Cologne, negotiated with

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<sup>504</sup>Ewig, "Résidence et capitale," 385.

<sup>505</sup>Paul Fouracre, *The Age of Charles Martel* (Harlow, Eng.: Longman, 2000) 56, 58.

<sup>506</sup>LHF, ch. 51.

Plectrude, and took the remainder of the treasure in her possession.<sup>507</sup>

Once again, the *LHF* focuses on the dramatic and violent aspects of this story (as it did in its account of Theuderic and Theudebert), while ignoring the humdrum reality of political power. We cannot be sure for how long Plectrude resided in Cologne (or if Pippin II had lived there before his death); if she moved there only upon Pippin's death in 714, then she probably stayed there only for a few years, as she is no longer mentioned in the historical record after 717.<sup>508</sup> But while her time there was likely short-lived, during her stay Cologne would have been a major center of power in the Austrasian kingdom, somewhat akin to a royal capital: The center of administration and patronage, of tax collection and judicial affairs. The sources tell us nothing of these activities during Plectrude's time in Cologne, which in any event was probably only brief; but we can still infer that they occupied Plectrude's time in the interval between her husband's death and Charles's victory.<sup>509</sup>

The royal treasure clearly played a major role in this entire affair, though we are given very little specific information concerning it. For example, it is not quite clear whom this treasure belonged to. When the *LHF* describes Charles taking it from Plectrude, it is called his "father's treasures" (*thesauros patris*).<sup>510</sup> Since his father Pippin II was not king, this suggests that what Charles took was not the Merovingian royal treasure, but instead simply his father's personal treasure. On the other hand, Chilperic II is simply described as taking "much treasure" (*thesaurus multus*) from Plectrude.<sup>511</sup> It could be that the treasure Chilperic II took was the royal Merovingian treasure, while

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<sup>507</sup>*Ibid.*, chs. 52-53.

<sup>508</sup> Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991) 248.

<sup>509</sup>For a discussion of places of power at this time, see *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Mayke de Jong & Frans Theuvs, with Carine van Rhijn (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

<sup>510</sup>*LHF*, ch. 53.

<sup>511</sup>*Ibid.*, ch. 52.

Charles Martel received only his father's personal treasure.<sup>512</sup> But this is only a hypothesis; the sources never clearly state that the treasure in question was the royal treasure. It seems more likely that Plectrude was simply keeping her husband Pippin's treasure, which she used to essentially buy off Chilperic, and then was forced to surrender the remainder to Charles.<sup>513</sup>

Where would she have stayed while in Cologne? The widow of the Mayor of the Palace would have required a suitably grand building, and the most likely candidate for such a building would have been the praetorium. As we saw in the previous chapter, documentary and archeological evidence suggest that the praetorium was still in usable condition for centuries after the Franks moved into the city, and Gregory of Tours specifically states that King Theuderic I stayed in the praetorium when he visited Cologne in the early sixth century.<sup>514</sup> Historians therefore presume that Plectrude resided in the praetorium (though this cannot be definitely proven).<sup>515</sup> This would be a most impressive display of continuity. The residence of first-century Roman governors became the residence of an eighth-century Frankish regent. The inhabitants may have changed dramatically, but the function remained similar. As we shall see below, Plectrude also contributed new buildings to Cologne's topography, so she both added to and preserved the city's infrastructure--a testament both to her own resources and Cologne's continuing vitality.

However, in order to paint a more complete picture of Cologne's political importance in the Merovingian period we must expand our view beyond kings and aristocrats and include the city's bishops as well. We saw in the previous chapter that the episcopal list is a problematic document, in that there is a gap of 150 years where no

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<sup>512</sup> Josef Semmler, "Zur pippinidisch-karolingischen Sukzessionskrise 714-723," *Deutsches Archiv* 33 (1977): 1-36.

<sup>513</sup> Fouracre, *Age of Charles Martel*, 65; Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 7.

<sup>514</sup> See above ch. 3, pp. 131-32.

<sup>515</sup> Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 37.

bishops' names are known.<sup>516</sup> One might think that when the names resume in c. 590 that historians would be on firmer ground, but in fact the list is not quite as helpful as one would hope, because many of the names are just that--names, without much more information to tell us what these individuals did.<sup>517</sup> But references in other sources suggest that the bishops of Cologne could have been powerful figures in their own right. For example, Evergisil, the first bishop named after the 150-year gap, is also mentioned by Gregory of Tours as one of the bishops sent by Childebert II in 590 to restore order in the monastery of Poitiers (which is several hundred miles distant from Cologne).<sup>518</sup> Solatius, the bishop named directly after Evergisil, was present at the Council of Paris in 614 (which issued canons on conducting episcopal elections and regulating jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases).<sup>519</sup> Such activities suggest that these bishops, at least, were men of some importance in the Merovingian realm--just as we also suppose was the case for their ancient predecessor Maternus, whom Constantine named to the body entrusted with resolving the Donatist conflict.<sup>520</sup>

Without doubt, the most significant of Cologne's Merovingian bishops was Kunibert. Born c. 590 "of a renowned family from the Mosellan region," as his *Life* puts it, he was educated at the court of King Clothar II (r. 584-629) and began his ecclesiastical career as an archdeacon at Trier.<sup>521</sup> We are not totally certain when he

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<sup>516</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 133-35.

<sup>517</sup>L. Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule*, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing & Co., 1915) 179-80.

<sup>518</sup>Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, 10.15-16.

<sup>519</sup>Duchesne, *Fastes Épiscopaux*, 179. For the Council of Paris, see Charles de Clerq, *La Législation religieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1936) 57-62, and Odette Pontal, *Histoire des conciles mérovingiens* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989) 205-11.

<sup>520</sup>See above ch. 2, p. 86.

<sup>521</sup>For Kunibert's *Life* see *De sancto Kuniberto Coloniensi archiepiscopo*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8515 ff. 111v-113v, available in Maurice Coens, "Les Vies de S. Cunibert de Cologne et la tradition manuscrite," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1929): 363-67, and translated in app. 2. For general background on Kunibert's upbringing see Heribert Müller, "Bischof Kunibert von Köln: Staatsman im Übergang von der

became bishop; he may have been consecrated as bishop in 623 and may have died in 663 (curiously, we know that he died on November 12, but are not exactly sure in what year).<sup>522</sup> The *Life* of Kunibert was only composed in the second half of the ninth century, and so historians have grave doubts about its reliability as a source for Kunibert's life; for that reason, much of our knowledge about him has to be gleaned from other, contemporary sources--and even these are not entirely reliable, because many documents purporting to concern Kunibert are in fact later forgeries.<sup>523</sup> But if we treat the contemporary sources carefully, we can glimpse the extent of Kunibert's power.

The *Chronicle of Fredegar* tells us that in 626, King Dagobert I (r. 623-38) named Kunibert his adviser (along with Pippin I, the Mayor of the Palace) after Arnulf, bishop of Metz, had withdrawn from that position.<sup>524</sup> Kunibert would have already have been bishop of Cologne by 626, but this appointment would have further elevated him (and by extension, the city) in power and status. In that same year he took part in the synod of Clichy.<sup>525</sup> He appears again in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, when the Wends began ravaging the eastern Frankish areas in 633. To ensure stability in the kingdom while he confronted the Wends, Dagobert went to Metz and had his son Sigibert III crowned as king of Austrasia. While Dagobert fought the Wends, Bishop Kunibert and a certain Duke Adalgisel (otherwise unknown) were in charge of administering the kingdom in his absence.<sup>526</sup> Kunibert's influence continued after Dagobert died in 638. In the division of

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Merowinger- zur Karolingerzeit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 98 (1987): 168-78.

<sup>522</sup>*De sancto Kuniberto* 3.17-22 (election as bishop), 6.36-41 (death) (Coens, "Les Vies," 364, 366-67.) As Müller points out, if Kunibert became a bishop in 623, he was probably born c. 590, since 30 was the canonical minimum age for a bishop ("Bischof Kunibert von Köln," 172).

<sup>523</sup>For a discussion of the MS tradition of the *Life* of Kunibert, see Coens, "Les Vies," 338-67; see also Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 1 (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1954) 19, and Müller, "Bischof Kunibert von Köln," 167-68.

<sup>524</sup>*Chronicle of Fredegar*, ch. 58.

<sup>525</sup>Müller, "Bischof Kunibert von Köln," 181.

<sup>526</sup>*Chronicle of Fredegar*, ch. 75.

the Merovingian realm at Dagobert's death, Neustria went to Dagobert's five-year-old son Clovis II (r. 638-57) with his mother Queen Nanthild as regent, while the eight-year-old Sigibert III (r. 633-51) remained king in Austrasia. Pippin and Kunibert acted as regents for Sigibert and represented the Austrasian nobility in their dealings with the Neustrians. They met Queen Nanthild and Aega, the Neustrian Mayor of the Palace, at Compiègne, where they divided up Dagobert's treasure; Nanthild kept one-third and Pippin and Kunibert took the rest to Sigibert.<sup>527</sup>

Kunibert is also mentioned in charters of Sigibert III (not surprisingly). He is at the head of the witness lists on two charters, which testifies to his importance.<sup>528</sup> He is also the recipient of two charters from Sigibert. The first (dated September 3, 643) records a judgment in Kunibert's favor regarding a vineyard (which was probably located at Boppard, about fifty miles from Cologne); a certain Evergisil (otherwise unknown, but perhaps related to the Bishop Evergisil mentioned above) claimed to have rights to the vineyard, but failed to show up in court on the appointed date. The judgment thus went in Kunibert's favor.<sup>529</sup> The second charter (which probably dates to c. 644-47) concerned a villa which Sigibert had given to Kunibert and Abbo of Metz the previous year (that is, c. 643-46). A community of "Goths" (*Goti*) lived on the domain and had previously been under the jurisdiction of the royal fisc; despite the transfer to Kunibert and Abbo, royal agents were still attempting to exercise royal rights over the Goths. Sigibert ordered this to stop and reaffirmed Kunibert and Abbo's rights to the villa.<sup>530</sup>

The location of this particular villa is unknown; the charter is fragmentary, and the villa's name is only partially preserved (as "Trib . . .").<sup>531</sup> Maurice Coens tentatively

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<sup>527</sup>*Ibid.*, ch. 85.

<sup>528</sup> Maurice Coens, "Deux actes de Sigebert III en faveur de S. Cunibert," *Analecta Bollandiana* 56.4 (1938): 370.

<sup>529</sup>*Ibid.*, 374-75.

<sup>530</sup>*Ibid.*, 379-82.

<sup>531</sup>Oediger, *Regesten*, 23.

suggested that "Trib . . ." could be identified with Trébosc in southern France (dépt. Aveyron).<sup>532</sup> If so, this would explain the presence of "Goths" at the villa: They may have been the descendants of Visigoths who had settled there before the Frankish conquest of Aquitaine in 507. It may seem surprising that the bishops of Cologne and Metz could have held property as far south as Aveyron, but in fact is not impossible. After Clovis's death in 511, Aquitaine had been divided up amongst his successors, and over time the complex divisions of the Merovingian realm had resulted in the rulers of northern kingdoms acquiring territory in the south.<sup>533</sup> In the case of this particular villa, Coens observes that the charter mentions that it had originally been part of Queen Brunhild's property (and Brunhild was herself a Gothic princess). The villa had then passed into the hands of Sigibert's grandfather Clothar II (at whose court Kunibert had been educated) when Clothar became sole ruler of Francia in 613. In 587, the Treaty of Andelot had brought Brunhild Aquitanian territory, which may explain how a villa in southern France ended up as property of the Austrasian king.<sup>534</sup> If Coens's hypothesis is correct, then it would show how far Kunibert's reach extended. He was not merely the lord of territory in the immediate vicinity of Cologne, but also controlled properties quite remote from the city. Of course, we must keep in mind that Coens's proposal is a conjecture, and it is entirely possible that the villa "Trib . . ." was actually not in Aveyron at all, but instead closer to Cologne.

The record shows that Kunibert was clearly a powerful figure, and Cologne no doubt benefited from having him as bishop. But while we are informed about Kunibert's relations with the king (to a degree, at least), we unfortunately know very little about his interactions with his own city. The author of his *Life* is at pains to describe him as a generous and holy man, but unfortunately for us he does so only in rather generic and

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<sup>532</sup>Coens, "Deux actes," 381-82.

<sup>533</sup>Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 55-58.

<sup>534</sup>Coens, "Deux actes," 381-82.

abstract terms.<sup>535</sup> Like his earlier predecessor Carentinus, Kunibert built a church in Cologne, which we shall discuss in greater detail later in this chapter.<sup>536</sup> But aside from this physical contribution to the city, we are ill-informed about how he affected or changed Cologne, and consequently it is difficult to gain an impression of Cologne's state during his episcopate. But we can at least surmise that the city was in good condition, and fortunately evidence from archeological and numismatic sources (examined below) will help flesh out our picture of the city at this time.

However powerful bishops may have been, they were not the only presence in Merovingian Cologne. The Merovingian kingdoms were divided into *civitates*, which were cities with their surrounding territories; this was a continuation of late Roman administrative practice.<sup>537</sup> Each *civitas* was administered by an official, called a *comes* in the south and *grafio* in the north (both words are usually rendered as "count" in English.)<sup>538</sup> Such officials would have handled judicial matters (such as hearing lawsuits and enforcing judgments) and also were military officials.<sup>539</sup> As a northern Merovingian city, we can suppose that Cologne had a *grafio*; however, no source which has come down to us ever mentions a *grafio* for Cologne. While we at least know the names of Cologne's bishops, we do not even know the name of one person who was a *grafio* in Cologne.

We should not be tempted to thereby conclude that Cologne had no *grafio*; as we

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<sup>535</sup>See, e.g., 3.28-31 (Coens, "Les Vies," 364) for his generosity and 5.16-26 (*ibid.*, 366) for a list of his good deeds.

<sup>536</sup>His *Life* describes him as establishing "sacred places for the observance of the Christian religion" (*pro christianae religionis intuitu loca sacrosancta instituit*, 5.29-30), and mentions that he was buried in a church he himself had built (see below, this chapter). Only the latter church has been securely identified.

<sup>537</sup>Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 60.

<sup>538</sup>Alexander Callander Murray, "The Position of the *Grafio* in the Constitutional History of Merovingian Gaul," *Speculum* 61.4 (Oct. 1986): 787-805.

<sup>539</sup>Wood, *Merovingian Kingdoms*, 61 (judicial responsibilities); Bernard S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481-751* (Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press, 1972) 67 (military responsibilities).

saw in the previous chapter, arguments from silence are risky. It would seem strange that a city as important as Cologne had no administrative figure at all; our lack of knowledge about Cologne's *grafiones* is more likely due to a dearth of documentation which recorded them. Or, to be more exact, a dearth of *written* documentation: As Heiko Steuer points out, the lavish burials in the church of St. Severin could be relatives of *grafiones*.<sup>540</sup> These burials clearly indicate that elite Franks lived in or near Cologne, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of these Franks were serving as *grafiones* (or else were members of their families). However, we should also keep in mind that the Merovingian kingdoms may not have had a uniform administrative structure, but used instead a variety of local administrative practices.<sup>541</sup> This means that Cologne may not have had a *grafio* (which would explain why he never appears in the sources), but instead had another figure who fulfilled a *grafio*'s functions (which would explain the elite burials). Of course, we are so poorly informed about Cologne's secular administration that we cannot definitively choose between these two hypotheses, but we can be fairly sure that there was some arrangement that ensured that taxes were collected, justice done, and royal orders implemented.

What conclusions can we draw from this information? On the one hand, Cologne's administration in the period from 550 to 750 bears strong resemblances to the Roman period (and to other Merovingian cities). Sovereigns continued to visit the city in peacetime (as Childebert II did), just as Roman emperors had centuries before. And also like their Roman predecessors, the Merovingian kings appointed officials to reside in Cologne and represent their interests in the *civitas*. On the other hand, while the *grafio* fulfilled the role of the Roman governor, the former may actually have been *more* powerful than the latter. If we look carefully at governors in the Dominate (which would

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<sup>540</sup> Heiko Steuer, Die Franken in Köln (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1980) 101; for a description of the elite graves under St. Severin, see above ch. 3, pp. 138-39.

<sup>541</sup> Wood, Merovingian Kingdoms, 61.

have been the models for their Merovingian successors), we discover that they were actually less powerful than governors during the Principate, for several reasons. First, provincial governors (after Diocletian's reforms) no longer combined military and civil authority, but had only the latter. Second, the provinces were now more numerous and also smaller. Third, emperors deliberately appointed less-prestigious men as governors in order to provide a counterweight to senators.<sup>542</sup> Governors in the Later Roman Empire were thus relatively weak figures who enjoyed only judicial authority over a small province, with litigants able to appeal over them to higher officials.<sup>543</sup> The Merovingian *grafio*, who also exercised military authority, could therefore have been more powerful than his Late Roman counterpart.

But even if Cologne's *grafiones* had been more powerful than the Roman governors, they would have faced a check on their power unknown to the latter; namely, the bishops. We know that bishops and *comites* or *grafiones* could have extremely strained relations (witness Leudast and Gregory at Tours).<sup>544</sup> Even if they did not, bishops still formed a powerful group, and Cologne's bishops would have been formidable opponents to any *grafio*. It is possible that one reason we do not hear of *grafiones* at Cologne is because the bishops overshadowed them. In Kunibert's pontificate in particular, the *grafio* must have been relatively weak: It is hard to imagine a *grafio* contradicting the orders of the king's chief counselor.<sup>545</sup>

We can thus see that Merovingian Cologne reveals both political continuity and

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<sup>542</sup> J.E. Lendon, Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 223.

<sup>543</sup> Tony Honoré, "Roman Law AD 200-400: From Cosmopolis to Rechtstaat?" in Approaching Late Antiquity, eds. S. Swain & M. Edwards (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004) 122-23.

<sup>544</sup> Gregory of Tours, Histories V.47-49.

<sup>545</sup> For more on the political power of bishops at this time, see Ralph Whitney Mathisen, Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in an Age of Transition (Austin, TX: Univ. Tex. Press, 1993) 93-94, and Martin Heinzelmann, Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien: Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert (Munich: Artemis Verlag, 1976) 73-84.

discontinuity with the Roman past. The *grafiones* fulfilled the functions of the Roman governors, but at the same time a new power had arisen, the bishop, who was focused more intensely on Cologne itself than Roman governors had been (as governors typically only served a term of one to three years before returning to Rome, whereas bishops served until they died). We can illustrate this difference by comparing Kunibert to an earlier governor of Lower Germany, Julian (P. Salvius Julianus, *fl.* 117-80). Julian was born in Tunisia and became a renowned jurist, whose career was quite varied: In addition to serving as governor of Lower Germany, Nearer Spain, and Africa, he also became consul in 148, and served on the imperial councils of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius.<sup>546</sup> On the one hand, the similarities between Julian and Kunibert are obvious, as both were high-ranking figures, but we should not be blind to important differences. Julian's term in Cologne was only a small and temporary part of a long career; by contrast, Kunibert remained bishop of Cologne until he died. Kunibert spent forty years in Cologne, Julian only one or two. For Julian, Cologne was merely one brief period in his life; for Kunibert, it became a permanent base. Even though Kunibert's power was felt throughout the Austrasian kingdom, he remained focused on Cologne, and did not move from position to position in anything like the way Julian did.

Furthermore, we should not allow Kunibert's example to distort our view of Cologne's bishops. Of the twelve bishops from the Merovingian period whose names we know, none of them seem to have equaled Kunibert in prominence--indeed, for most of them we know hardly anything at all beyond their names. This does not mean that they were unimportant figures. But it does suggest that most of Cologne's bishops did not operate at Kunibert's level. Rather, it appears that they focused their attention on Cologne and its territory. Kunibert is an exception: While he shows us the heights which a bishop could rise to, we should be wary of assuming that all of his fellow bishops in

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<sup>546</sup> Barry Nicholas, An Introduction to Roman Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 29-30.

Cologne wielded the same power. It seems more likely that Cologne's bishops focused primarily on the city itself, and did not have the expanded horizons which Kunibert (let alone Julian) had.

As for the city itself, Cologne was still incorporated into a administrative framework, overseen by an official who answered to the king (though this framework had shrunk from the entire Roman Empire to just the Austrasian kingdom.) But while the bishops were appointed by the king, they were powerful figures in their own right, capable of independent action. One can thus argue that Merovingian Cologne had, in some respects, become more independent politically. This "independence" was relative of course, and I am not arguing that Cologne had "escaped" from the Merovingian realm. On the contrary, Merovingian kings held assemblies in Cologne and sought safety there, and a widow of the mayor of the palace briefly resided there. Cologne was still part of the Merovingian kingdom, but under the bishops it was beginning to form its own sphere. Under the Ottonians the bishops will become the true power in the city. The foundations for this period were laid under the Merovingians.

### **Cologne's Economy**

Having examined Cologne's political history during the Merovingian period, we can now turn to its economy, which also reveals similar patterns of coexisting continuity and discontinuity. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, Cologne's economic trends in the period from 550 to 750 in some ways form a pendant to the political trends of the same era. While the developing power of the bishops started a slow process of political localization, Cologne's economy began to (equally slowly) expand its horizons in new and wider directions. Just as the bishops' political power did not become truly great until the Ottonian period, this economic process was not complete until the tenth century either. It is this slow but sure reorientation which marks economic discontinuity for Cologne; the continuity is revealed in the continuing vitality of the city's artisanal and trading activities.

The trade and industry we saw in the previous chapter continued without interruption into the seventh and early eighth centuries.<sup>547</sup> Cologne's glass production continued well into the eighth century, with cups, flasks, bowls, and beakers being the main objects produced; the trunk cups were also still manufactured into the seventh century.<sup>548</sup> Recent excavations have found fifty-three glass fragments in one corner of the city's market (the Heumarkt, discussed further below); these fragments included shards of vessels, window glass, mosaic tiles, and beads.<sup>549</sup> Finds of molten slag suggest that glass production occurred at or near the same ovens used for working decorative metals; in turn, these ovens are located close to the sites of houses.<sup>550</sup>

But while we can be sure of the continuity of production, it is hard to estimate how important a role glass played in trade. Most of the glass objects found at Cologne have been recovered from local graves, which suggests that glass manufacturing was for the local market. This is not entirely surprising, as we saw in the previous chapter that evidence for a trade in Cologne glass with England and Scandinavia is very weak for the Merovingian period.<sup>551</sup> But this could simply be an accident of the evidence, and future excavations could turn up more glass in these areas. Yet even if archeologists were to find more glass objects from Cologne in England and Scandinavia, such artifacts may not be the most representative economic indicator. Since glass is a luxury object, it would not have comprised a large percentage of overall trade; that honor would have gone

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<sup>547</sup> Marcus Trier, "Köln am Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter im Spiegel der Ausgrabungsergebnisse auf dem Heumarkt," in Kontinuitätsfragen: Mittlere Kaiserzeit--Spätantike, Spätantike--Frühmittelalter, eds. Susanne Biegert, Andrea Hagedorn, & Andreas Schaub, BAR Int'l Ser. 1468 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006) 95-96.

<sup>548</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, Römisches und fränkisches Glas in Köln (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1966) 72-74.

<sup>549</sup> Franz Kempken, "Spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Funde vom Heumarkt in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 34 (2001): 741-44.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, 740, 743; Nico Aten, "Römische bis neuzeitliche Befunde der Ausgrabung auf dem Heumarkt in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 34 (2001): 662-66.

<sup>551</sup> See above ch. 3, pp. 129-30.

instead to bulk items like foodstuffs and textiles, as scholars have noted.<sup>552</sup> Of course, these items leave almost no trace in the archeological record, unlike glass, and consequently glass artifacts represent only the tip of the economic iceberg. Glass may serve as a proxy for the presence of other trade items; for instance, finding glass vessels suggests that there was also a concurrent wine trade.<sup>553</sup> But while the presence of glass objects certainly alerts us to the existence of exchange in general, it cannot tell us about the full extent of that exchange. Nevertheless, we can be fairly confident that Cologne participated in the trade in foodstuffs and textiles, just as it had in the fifth and early sixth centuries.<sup>554</sup>

One reason we can be confident about the continuing vitality of Cologne's trade is that numismatic evidence becomes available again during the Merovingian period. We saw that the Gallic emperors had minted their own coins at Cologne in the late third century.<sup>555</sup> However, this only lasted for at most fourteen years (and quite possibly only six), and the Gallic emperors minted these coins as much to demonstrate their political legitimacy as to support Cologne's economy. As a result, once the city returned to the control of the Roman central government, minting at Cologne stopped. But during the Merovingian era it was resumed, and coins continued to be minted into the Carolingian and Ottonian periods (as we shall see in the following chapter). In addition to the coins minted at Cologne (which are often found elsewhere), there are also coins minted at other locations which have been found in Cologne. Both categories are priceless sources of information for us, as they not only tell us about the extent and level of economic activity,

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<sup>552</sup>Peter Johanek, "Der 'Außenhandel' des Frankenreiches der Merowingerzeit nach Norden und Osten im Spiegel der Schriftquellen," in Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa [henceforth Untersuchungen], eds. Klaus Düwel *et al.*, vol. 3, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) 248.

<sup>553</sup>Helmut Roth, "Zum Handel der Merowingerzeit auf Grund ausgewählter archäologischer Quellen," in Untersuchungen, 183.

<sup>554</sup>Trier, "Köln am Übergang," 96.

<sup>555</sup>See above ch. 2, pp. 79-82.

but also about the networks Cologne was part of. We will examine both of these categories in turn, beginning with coins minted elsewhere and found at Cologne.

One would expect coins to be found in large quantities in a market place, and it will probably not surprise the reader to learn that perhaps the most well-studied area of Cologne (from a numismatic standpoint) is the Heumarkt ("Hay Market"), Cologne's main market, which we examined in the previous chapter.<sup>556</sup> Recent excavations in the Heumarkt found a total of sixty coins in the strata corresponding to the Merovingian period (fifth through seventh centuries.) Of these coins, only two (a pair of gold *tremisses*) were actually Merovingian issues; fifty-five were old Roman coins. These figures form respectively three percent and ninety-one percent of the Merovingian coin finds. The Roman coins could be further subdivided: One coin came from the Principate, four from the time of the Gallic Empire (260-74), and forty-nine from the fourth century.<sup>557</sup> This is an intriguing find. To begin with, the fact that small-denomination Roman coins were continuing to circulate in Cologne until well into the seventh century, a good three hundred years after they were issued, suggests that the city still possessed a thriving commercial life (and by implication, a thriving urban life).<sup>558</sup> Furthermore, the presence of small-denomination coinage in a market place is also striking. Because such currency is used in everyday purchases, this suggests that people were using money, not barter, for small-scale purchases. This in turn implies that the use of currency was not restricted to the elite but rather fairly widespread, which in turn is an indicator of an advanced economy. The numismatic evidence thus comports with the archeological evidence (mentioned above and in the previous chapter), with both showing that Cologne's economy at this time was healthy and vital.

While the small-denomination coinage tells us about Cologne's everyday and

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<sup>556</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 125-26.

<sup>557</sup>Bernd Päffgen & Gunter Quarg, "Die Fundmünzen der Merowingerzeit aus den Ausgrabungen auf dem Heumarkt in Köln," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 34 (2001): 749.

<sup>558</sup>*Ibid.*, 753.

local economy, the Merovingian gold coins found in the Heumarkt provide us with a valuable glimpse of Cologne's regional contacts. The coins were *tremisses*, that is, one-third of a *solidus*, the gold coin first issued in the fourth century. Tremisses were high-value denominations which were more likely to be used for major transactions, as opposed to small, everyday purchases.<sup>559</sup> Of the two tremisses found in the Heumarkt, one was minted at Andernach by the mintmaster (*monetarius*) Ilfia around 570/80, while the other was minted at Banassac by the mintmaster Elafius around 630/40.<sup>560</sup> As Andernach is in the Rhineland and Banassac in southern France, these coins reveal something of the long-distance trade networks Cologne participated in. Tremisses minted at Banassac have a particularly wide range: The northernmost known example comes from Sutton Hoo in England, and one has also been found at Neckar, to Cologne's east.<sup>561</sup> Two coins are a very small sample, and one should be hesitant to rely on them excessively. But they do at least suggest that Cologne had some trade links not only with the Rhineland, as one would reasonably expect, but also with the Mediterranean.<sup>562</sup> This numismatic evidence permits us to conclude that Cologne was in fact participating in both local and regional economic networks. While politically the city may have been becoming more independent under its bishops, economically it remained relatively well-connected with the wider world.

Before we can turn to the second category of Cologne coins (that is, those minted at Cologne but found in other locations), we must first address an unusual aspect of Merovingian coinage. We saw above that the gold tremisses mention a "mintmaster," who was the one who actually had the coin minted. Since Merovingian coins frequently

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<sup>559</sup> Bernd Päffgen, "Die Fundmünzen vom Heumarkt in Köln: Numismatisches zur Stadt- und Handelsgeschichte," *Millionen Jahre Geschichte: Fundort Nordrhein-Westfalen*, eds. H.G. Horn *et al.* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2000) 362.

<sup>560</sup> Päffgen & Quarg, "Fundmünzen der Merowingerzeit," 751.

<sup>561</sup> Päffgen, "Fundmünzen vom Heumarkt," 362.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, 753.

bear not the name of the reigning king (as might be expected), but instead the name of the "mintmaster" (*monetarius*), it appears that, unlike most currencies, they were issued by authorities other than the kings. While Merovingian kings certainly are attested on coins, various ecclesiastical institutions are also named, as well as the mintmasters, a large and usually obscure group. One scholar estimates that there were probably around 2,000 mintmasters at work in the Merovingian kingdoms over a period of 250 years, some of whom were royal officials and some of whom were apparently independent operators.<sup>563</sup> We know the names of three mintmasters who struck coins at Cologne during the seventh century: Gaucemar, Sunno, and Rauchomaur.<sup>564</sup>

Some have taken this profusion of mintmasters to mean that the right to mint coins had been radically decentralized in the Merovingian period. In contrast to the Roman system, where only the emperor could legitimately have coins minted, in the Merovingian kingdoms individuals as well as kings issued coins. This devolution of minting has been taken as one sign of the weakening of royal authority in this period.<sup>565</sup> However, Alan Stahl points out that this is not necessarily the case, at least for the region of Metz. He noted that, with the exception of St. Eloi (who later became the bishop of Noyon),<sup>566</sup> the mintmasters do not seem to have been powerful magnates or nobles, which suggests that they were not acting on their own behalf.<sup>567</sup> He also argues that much of the literary evidence that suggests decentralized minting has been interpreted incorrectly. For example, the chronicler Fredegar frequently mentions incidents where

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<sup>563</sup> Peter Berghaus, "Wirtschaft, Handel und Verkehr der Merowingerzeit im Licht numismatischer Quellen," in Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa [henceforth Untersuchungen], ed. Klaus Düwel *et al.*, pt. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) 196-97.

<sup>564</sup> Trier, "Köln am Übergang," 95; see also Die Münzen und Medaillen von Köln, ed. Walter Hävernich, vol. 1 (Cologne: Paul Neubner Verl., 1935) 17.

<sup>565</sup> Alan M. Stahl, The Merovingian Coinage of the Region of Metz (Louvain-La-Neuve, Belg.: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, 1982) 131.

<sup>566</sup> Farmer, Oxford Dictionary of Saints, 160-61.

<sup>567</sup> Stahl, Merovingian Coinage, 132.

royal officials disobeyed royal orders, which has led historians to believe that the kings were weak. But Stahl observes that it would have been pointless for Fredegar to record every time a royal official did obey the king; in fact, the only incidents he would have recorded were those which attracted attention, not those which were routine. We noted this problem earlier when we discussed Cologne as a place of refuge; chroniclers were more likely to record a king's dramatic flight to Cologne than a mundane visit there. In the same way that an inclination to record exciting or notorious events could lead chroniclers to inadvertently downplay royal visits to Cologne, it could also lead them to exaggerate the degree of resistance the kings faced in implementing their orders. Based on this reasoning, Stahl thus concludes that in the region of Metz, the Merovingian kings did control minting, and the mintmasters should be seen as royal officials.<sup>568</sup>

Can this reasoning be extended to Cologne? I would submit that we can. We noted above that there probably was a *grafio* in Cologne (or at least some official who fulfilled a *grafio*'s functions), even though no surviving sources mention him. By contrast, we do happen to have proof of mintmasters working in Cologne. In the same way that the kings had delegated judicial authority to the *grafiones*, they likely also delegated minting authority to the mintmasters. This is not to say, of course, that the kings tightly controlled the mintmasters at Cologne; they could have delegated fairly wide latitude to them in the matter of minting. But it is to say that the mintmasters were not independent "wildcat" operators (or that Cologne was an entirely independent city).

If we turn from the mintmasters to the coins themselves, we can discern an intriguing pattern from the locations where they were found. Coins from Cologne have been found in Merovingian hoards found in northern France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland. For example, several coins minted at Cologne were found in the hoard discovered at Escharen (near Nimwegen), while the hoard at Terp Dronrijp (in Friesland,

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<sup>568</sup>*Ibid.*, 133.

buried around 645) contained one coin from Cologne.<sup>569</sup> These hoards fit into a broader pattern; namely, that the majority of Cologne coins found in Merovingian hoards were found in areas near the Meuse and Rhine rivers (with the Metz area predominating).<sup>570</sup> These finds suggest that trading was occurring up and down these rivers, and also across the Channel into England (where Merovingian coins have been found at, for example, Crondall in Hampshire and Sutton Hoo in Suffolk)<sup>571</sup> This conclusion seems unremarkable, given the fact that rivers have always served as important trade routes and that England is fairly accessible to trade with the mainland. However, Stahl again points out a factor which adds a twist to this conclusion. Merchants rarely engage in unidirectional trade, because it is unprofitable to transport a cargo to a place, sell it, and then return in an empty ship with a purse of coins. Merchants normally sell their wares and then use that money to buy new items at that market, which they then transport back to their home port, where they sell these goods and begin the cycle again.<sup>572</sup> Consequently, most coins would tend to stay in the vicinity of their mints, rather than travel great distances (a point which has also been made concerning the ancient Roman economy).<sup>573</sup> This implies that the surviving numismatic evidence may actually hide the full extent of trade: Coins minted at Cologne may have only circulated within the city's immediate vicinity, even at the same time that the city was engaged in regional and long-distance trade. Thus, while the presence of Cologne coins on a site suggests a commercial connection, direct or indirect, with the city (though non-commercial explanations are also possible), their absence does not necessarily rule it out.

In sum, then, the numismatic evidence suggests that Cologne's economy

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<sup>569</sup>Berghaus, "Wirtschaft, Handel und Verkehr," 205-09.

<sup>570</sup>*Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>571</sup>*Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>572</sup>Stahl, Merovingian Coinage, 136.

<sup>573</sup>See, e.g., Richard Duncan-Jones, Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990) 42.

continued to thrive during the sixth and seventh centuries. Not only were everyday transactions within the city carried out using money, but mintmasters also struck coins in Cologne, some of which managed to make their way to the Low Countries and throughout the Rhineland, while high-denomination gold coins from as far away as southern France could also travel to Cologne. We saw above that many important trade items (such as grain and textiles) leave no trace in the archeological record, but coins do leave a trace, and so can alert us to the existence of trade which we would otherwise be ignorant of. In Cologne's particular case, the numismatic evidence suggests that the city was enmeshed in local and regional networks of exchange and production (mainly with the Rhineland and Low Countries, but also the Mediterranean). As we shall see in the next chapter, the centuries following 750 will see Cologne's trade networks expand even further, towards Scandinavia and the Baltic.

### **Cologne's Hinterland**

In just the same way as Cologne was part of a wider trade network, it was also the center of its own network of smaller centers. We have observed the changing fates of these *vici* in the previous chapters, but they become much harder to detect in the Merovingian period. As we saw in Chapter 3, the archeological record is generally much better preserved for the Roman period than for the medieval period, with the result that one can get the misleading impression that rural settlements disappeared in the post-Roman centuries.<sup>574</sup> Nevertheless, we are relatively well-informed about two of these settlements (Deutz and Krefeld-Gellep) during the Merovingian era, and we can briefly examine them in order to see what Cologne's rural hinterland may have been like during the Merovingian period.

Deutz, which Constantine had founded (as we saw in Chapter 2) as a military fort

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<sup>574</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 121-22.

to serve as a base for auxiliary cavalrymen, was right across the river from Cologne.<sup>575</sup> We have one written mention of Deutz during the Merovingian era: Gregory of Tours records that in 555, the Saxons invaded Francia and "looted all the way up to the city of Deutz [*Divitiam civitatem*] and perpetrated great evil."<sup>576</sup> It is interesting to note that Gregory referred to Deutz as a *civitas*, a word he normally reserved only for episcopal seats or former Roman administrative centers. Deutz was neither, so Gregory may have been using this term to indicate that it was a strongly fortified place.<sup>577</sup> For the sake of comparison, we may note that Gregory concluded his description of the extensive fortifications of Dijon (which the bishops of Langres used as a fortress) by saying, "Why it is not called a *civitas*, I do not know."<sup>578</sup> This suggests that the term *civitas* could have military associations in Gregory's terminology, which in turn suggests that Deutz was still strongly fortified in the mid-sixth century.

Archeology confirms this hypothesis. The Roman military unit which had been stationed in Deutz was withdrawn sometime in the early fifth century, and Frankish settlers moved into the fort. Numerous small finds inside Deutz attest to this, as does a sunken house which actually incorporated a wall of one of the Roman barracks in its own structure. During the first half of the sixth century the Franks continued to reside within Deutz, but they also began to reshape the interior by pulling down Roman buildings and replacing them with new ones. A further proof of Frankish settlement in Deutz is a Frankish grave (dating to the early seventh century) located northeast of Deutz.<sup>579</sup>

What the written and archeological evidence show is that Deutz continued to be occupied throughout the Merovingian period, with the Franks initially making use of the

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<sup>575</sup> See above ch. 2, pp. 83-84.

<sup>576</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Histories* IV.16.

<sup>577</sup> Marianne Gechter, "Das Kastell Deutz im Mittelalter," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989): 377-78.

<sup>578</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, III.19

<sup>579</sup> Maureen Carroll-Spillecke, "Das römische Militärlager *Divitia* in Köln-Deutz," *Kölner Jahrbuch* 26 (1993): 339-41.

fort's existing Roman structures and then changing them over time to suit their own needs. It is entirely possible that the Franks even took shelter in the fort during the Saxon incursion in 555; archeologists have found layers of dark earth in ditches in front of Deutz's eastern gate. Since the dark earth is outside of Deutz, it is possible that it was created when the Saxons attacked and burned the surrounding area.<sup>580</sup> If this is indeed the case, it would mean that Deutz was still playing an important role in defending Cologne. During the Carolingian period, the Franks began to make much more radical changes to Deutz's internal structure, and we will cover those developments in the next chapter.

Another rural settlement which has attracted much attention is Krefeld-Gellep. During the Roman period there had been a military fort and civilian settlement here, which apparently continued after the third century.<sup>581</sup> But while archeologists have not to date been able to locate the Frankish-period settlement itself, they have conducted extensive excavations in the cemetery, which remained in use until the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>582</sup> The cemetery had been used by the Roman population mainly from the early fourth century to around 600, with the graves furnished with ceramic and glass vessels. In the first half of the fifth century this practice disappeared and most graves after that time contain no objects, except for a minority containing weapons (for males) and jewelry (for females).<sup>583</sup> One of these graves stands out from the others, both in its lavish grave goods (a gilded helmet, horse gear decorated with gold) and its location,

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<sup>580</sup>*Ibid.*, 340.

<sup>581</sup>For Krefeld-Gellep's Roman phase see below app. 1, pp. 278-79.

<sup>582</sup>See the series of site reports prepared by Renate Pirling, Das römisch-fränkisch Gräberfeld von Krefeld-Gellep vols. 1-3 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1966-79), vols. 4-7 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989-2003), conveniently summarized by Pirling in "Romanen und Franken am Niederrhein--die Kontinuitätsfrage im Spiegel der Grabfunde von Krefeld-Gellep," Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles 1 (1977): 96-103, and "Krefeld-Gellep im Frühmittelalter," in Die Franken, Wegbereiter Europas: Vor 1500 Jahren, König Chlodwig und seine Erben, eds. Alfried Wiczorek *et al.*, vol. 1 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1996) 261-65.

<sup>583</sup>Pirling, "Romanen und Franken," 97-98.

which was about 200 meters away from the main cemetery.<sup>584</sup> Since this grave dates to the second or third decade of the sixth century, the archeologist Renate Pirling has interpreted it as that of an elite Frank, who perhaps had been one of Clovis's followers and administered the area of Krefeld-Gellep on Clovis's behalf.<sup>585</sup> His grave seems to have become a "founder's grave," with new graves being created around it, while burials continued at the main cemetery until the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>586</sup>

The burial evidence clearly shows that there was a civilian settlement at Krefeld-Gellep, which continued without interruption until the early eighth century. There is also a written document which provides further proof of this settlement's existence. In her will of 732, a woman named Adela--who is the sister of none other than Plectrude, whom we have already encountered--bequeathed to the monastery of Pfalzel in Trier (which she had founded) estates in a place called *Gildegavia*. Pirling has argued that the name "Gildegavia" could be identified with Krefeld-Gellep.<sup>587</sup> If so, this could partially explain why Plectrude chose to reside in Cologne after Pippin's death: She could rely on her family's resources in the area. But while this document and the archeological evidence make it certain that there was a settlement at Krefeld-Gellep, we know very little about what that settlement was actually like; we have no idea, for example, about its size or structure.

We know very little about any other rural settlements in Cologne's hinterland during this time, and therefore we will have to be satisfied with basing our inferences on Deutz and Krefeld-Gellep. What the available evidence shows is that these two settlements existed throughout the Merovingian period. We can surmise that there were other rural settlements as well, places where the rural population gathered to sell their produce, buy goods, and gossip with neighbors. Such settlements would also have

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<sup>584</sup>*Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>585</sup>*Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>586</sup>Pirling, "Krefeld-Gellep im Frühmittelalter," 261, 264.

<sup>587</sup>*Ibid.*, 265.

interacted with Cologne (supplying it with food, for example). While we have focused mainly on Cologne's trading contacts abroad, we must not forget that much of its trade must have occurred in its own vicinity, and that though this trade must have been fairly humble in nature, it was nevertheless necessary for provisioning the city. Deutz and Krefeld-Gellep provide us with a brief glimpse of this otherwise invisible world.

### **The Church in Cologne**

As we saw in the previous chapter, another indicator of Cologne's continuing vitality was the construction of churches, and this holds true for the Merovingian period as well. As in the preceding centuries, so also here it is often difficult to determine precisely when a given church was built; written references to churches are usually found only in documents written much later, and the archeological evidence is often patchy and difficult to interpret. As a result, the most that can be said is that a particular church may have been built during the years from 550 to 750, but no more. Nevertheless, even that information tells us that Cologne's inhabitants had sufficient resources at their disposal to raise such buildings. Let us now briefly examine the churches believed to have been erected during the Merovingian period.

The first church we will turn to is St. Mary in the Capitol. Unlike nearly all of the other churches examined in previous chapters (save for the cathedral), St. Mary in the Capitol was located inside Cologne's city walls. Moreover, it was located on the site of a former pagan temple; hence the appellation "in the Capitol," which refers to the Roman temple of the capitoline gods (as we saw in Chapter 1.)<sup>588</sup> However, no ancient source mentions this temple; instead, the earliest mention comes from 1189, when the *Cologne Royal Chronicle* records that Plectrude donated a proprietary church in this area dedicated to the Virgin Mary in 690.<sup>589</sup> According to a tradition current in the High

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<sup>588</sup>See above ch. 1, pp. 60-61.

<sup>589</sup>Available in Theodor Josef Lacomblet, Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des

Middle Ages, Plectrude had also founded a convent here as well.<sup>590</sup> Modern scholars have concluded that the former is true, but the latter is not (with the monastery actually being founded in Ottonian times).<sup>591</sup> Archeological excavations suggest (but do not conclusively prove) that the central portion of the Roman temple (the *cella*) was reused in the late seventh or early eighth century to create a new structure (31.8 meters long by 10.4 wide), which may have been the proprietary church which Plectrude founded.<sup>592</sup> An inscription dating to 1150/60 records that Plectrude was venerated at this church as a saint.<sup>593</sup> The archeological excavations also uncovered a limestone sarcophagus, buried outside of the church to the east, which may have been Plectrude's coffin. This sarcophagus can be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century based on its trapezoidal shape; however, it appears to have been moved to various places within St. Mary over the centuries, so archeologists cannot be sure that the location it was found in is in fact its original location.<sup>594</sup>

The church of St. Mary in the Capitol confronts us with an interesting question about the definition of "continuity." On the one hand, the name of a Roman temple (which was a major component of the city's pagan topography) is preserved as late as the twelfth century, which suggests that a memory of the place's original purpose survived. On the other hand, no documents from before the twelfth century which have survived mention the capitol. But since the capitoline temple clearly existed in Roman Cologne, and the name "Capitol" was preserved, one must ask: Who would have remembered the

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Niederrheins, vol. 4 (1858; Aalen, F.R.G.: Scientia Verl., 1966) #639 at p. 787.

<sup>590</sup> Ulrich Krings, "St. Maria im Kapitol: Die Bautätigkeit des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 345.

<sup>591</sup> Hugo Borger, Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln: Kölner Kirchenbauten als Quelle zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven, 1979) 242.

<sup>592</sup> Stefan Neu, "St. Maria im Kapitol: Die Ausgrabungen," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 331-40.

<sup>593</sup> Borger, Abbilder, 242.

<sup>594</sup> Neu, "St. Maria im Kapitol: Die Ausgrabungen," 341-42.

tradition?

Hugo Borger has argued that we should not read too much into the label "Capitol." As he points out, it is entirely possible that this designation is in fact a "romanizing tradition;" that is, the name was not actually current among Cologne's ordinary inhabitants, but instead could have been added by medieval writers.<sup>595</sup> This is not implausible, for as we saw in the preceding chapter, it seems likely that the Clematius Inscription was created during the Carolingian period.<sup>596</sup> But on the other hand, the church is clearly located on top of the capitoline temple, and it strains belief to argue that the label "in the Capitol" would be purely coincidental in such circumstances.

To resolve this question, I would suggest looking at an analogy with modern times. American cities contain any number of streets named after famous individuals, renowned buildings, or noteworthy events, and these street names are used everyday by residents. Yet common usage does not necessarily mean that the users know what the names refer to, and it is entirely possible that frequency of use has in fact effaced the memory of the original referent. In the same way, it is possible that Cologne's inhabitants remembered the name "Capitol" but forgot the associations of that word. As another historian has pointed out, the church of St. Mary was actually known by a variety of names during the High Middle Ages; alternatives included "Old St. Mary" and "St. Mary in Malzbuggil."<sup>597</sup> This means that there was no single tradition concerning the church, but instead several competing names, with "in the Capitol" eventually winning out. I think it is therefore not unlikely that the average citizen of Cologne, certainly by the twelfth century but perhaps already by the eighth, knew that the designation "in the Capitol" (along with others) referred to the church of St. Mary, but did not know what those words meant. Intellectuals at Cologne may have realized the significance of those

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<sup>595</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 238.

<sup>596</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 112-13.

<sup>597</sup>Krings, "St. Maria im Kapitol," 346.

words, but it is risky to impute that knowledge to the citizenry as a whole.

I have raised this issue because it shows us that "continuity" cannot be understood as a purely binary phenomenon. Too often historians have approached this debate as an either/or proposition: Either there was continuity, or there was not. But a more accurate way of viewing the matter is to acknowledge that continuity does not occur across the board, but rather at different rates, in different degrees, for different aspects. The church of St. Mary in the Capitol is an example of both continuity *and* discontinuity. It is an example of the former because the name was remembered, and also of the latter, because one religion's sacred structure was replaced by another's.

If we remain within Cologne's walls, we move next to St. Columba, located closer to the center of the Roman city. This church was unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War; excavations from 1974 to 1976 have provided us with some evidence about the site's history. From the first to the fourth centuries it was a heavily settled residential area. After the fourth century the area does not appear to have been inhabited. However, at some point a small building with an apse was built. It is very difficult to date this structure, but the building technique (tufa stones without mortar) "can be neither Roman nor Carolingian," which suggests (albeit weakly) that this building is Merovingian.<sup>598</sup>

Eduard Hegel had argued that Bishop Kunibert was responsible for building the church of St. Columba.<sup>599</sup> While this is not impossible, it is also hard to prove, as archeologists are not certain that the small building they uncovered is actually connected with the cult of St. Columba.<sup>600</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, archeologists have detected a church in this site during the Carolingian era;<sup>601</sup> for the Merovingian period,

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<sup>598</sup> S. Seiler, "St. Kolumba," in Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern, vol. 38 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1980) 51.

<sup>599</sup> Hegel, "Kölner Kirchen," 47.

<sup>600</sup> Seiler, "St. Kolumba," 51-52.

<sup>601</sup> See below ch. 5, pp. 226-27.

all one can say with certainty is that there was a building on the site, which may or may not have been devoted to St. Columba and which may or may not have been built by Bishop Kunibert. This is hardly a definitive statement, but as the reader may have come to (resignedly) expect by now, it is the most we can say in our present state of knowledge.

From St. Columba in the city's center we move next to the southwestern area, where St. Cecilia would later arise. This church is located in an area which lay on the western edge of the Roman public baths.<sup>602</sup> In the middle of the fourth century this area underwent a major renovation when a new building (13.84 meters wide) was erected here. But because renovations to St. Cecilia in the nineteenth century have destroyed much of the stratigraphy and artifacts, archeologists know very little about this building.<sup>603</sup> As appears to have been the case with St. Mary in the Capitol, elements of this fourth-century building were later incorporated into the church of St. Cecilia. When this occurred is difficult to date with precision. A well in the area was filled in sometime during the seventh century, and several graves have also been found, along with two gravestones from the eighth or ninth century.<sup>604</sup> This suggests that a cemetery arose in the area at some point during the seventh century, which is in itself a major example of change (or discontinuity, if one prefers). As we saw in Chapter 1, Roman cemeteries were always located outside of cities, and most of the Late Roman churches we examined in Chapter 2 arose in these suburban cemeteries.<sup>605</sup> But now we see a cemetery located within the old Roman city, which marks a significant change in attitudes towards the dead (as well as in urban topography). In all likelihood, a church or chapel (which was the predecessor of St. Cecilia) was built here and a cemetery later formed around it.<sup>606</sup>

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<sup>602</sup>See above ch. 1, p. 62.

<sup>603</sup> Elisabeth Maria Spiegel, "St. Cäcilien: Die Ausgrabungen. Ein Beitrag zur Baugeschichte," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 210-11.

<sup>604</sup>*Ibid.*, 214 (well), 221 (gravestones).

<sup>605</sup>See above ch. 1, pp. 53-54, and ch. 2, pp. 88-92.

<sup>606</sup>Spiegel, "St. Cäcilien," 222.

The original building was a simple hall with a rectangular choir attached to its eastern end; it would have been 33.7 meters long and 4.5 wide. Since the building is dated to the seventh or eighth century, it could have been either Merovingian or Carolingian.<sup>607</sup>

The one Late Antique church located within the city walls was the cathedral, of course, and it underwent some modifications during the Merovingian era. We saw in the preceding chapter that archeologists had detected a series of building phases underneath the present cathedral, ranging from Building 1 in the late fourth/early fifth century to Building 3a in the second half of the sixth century.<sup>608</sup> Archeologists have detected yet more construction phases in the seventh and eighth centuries, though these tend to be renovations of the cathedral's interior. At some point in the seventh century, the floor level was raised, so that the elite Frankish graves were covered over.<sup>609</sup> This building phase is labeled 3b, and it is also possible that an entry corridor was constructed at this time to connect the cathedral with the buildings to the west.<sup>610</sup> Building 3b was followed in the later seventh or early eighth century by Building 3c; the building was expanded to the west, though this expansion has not been completely excavated and archeologists are not well-informed about it.<sup>611</sup> Another modification which occurred during 3c was the construction of a *schola cantorum* ("school of singers") which replaced the keyhole-shaped ambo of Building 3a. The *schola cantorum* was a partially enclosed space which formed an area for the choir; it was furnished with two pulpits, one for reading the gospel lesson and other for reading the epistle.<sup>612</sup>

The cathedral also had a baptistery attached to it, which also underwent internal

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<sup>607</sup>*Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>608</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 139-141.

<sup>609</sup>Sebastian Ristow, Die frühen Kirchen unter dem Kölner Dom: Befunde und Funde vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Bauzeit des Alten Domes (Cologne: Kölner Dom Verlag, 2002) 67.

<sup>610</sup>*Ibid.*, 70-71.

<sup>611</sup>*Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>612</sup>*Ibid.*, 73-74.

modifications during the Merovingian period. In the sixth century the octagonal baptismal basin had been enclosed in a rectangular room within the baptistery; in the early seventh century (corresponding to the cathedral's phase 3b) two auxiliary rooms were added on the northern and southern sides of this interior room, perhaps to accommodate those being baptized and their kin. In the early eighth century (phase 3c) both of the auxiliary rooms were removed and the internal room was surrounded instead by a colonnade. This arrangement would last until the second half of the ninth century.<sup>613</sup>

So far all of the churches we have examined have been built within Cologne's walls; let us now turn our gaze to those churches which arose outside the walls. There are two such churches which scholars have claimed were built during the Merovingian period, St. George and St. Kunibert--though as we shall see, determining their dates of origin is very difficult.

The present church of St. George (located to the south, along the road leading to Bonn) is not a Merovingian church, but it is possible that an older church was located on that site. Anno II, archbishop of Cologne (1056-75) founded the church of St. George on the site which (according to tradition) was dedicated to St. Caesarius (d. 540) and hence called the "Oratory of St. Caesarius."<sup>614</sup> Excavations in the late 1920s revealed a Roman settlement beneath the present church, which started in the first century and continued till the fourth. One of the structures in this settlement was a square stone building (10 by 10.5 meters). Scholars differ as to what this building was for: Otto Doppelfeld argued that it was a Gallo-Roman temple, basing his conclusion on the structure's square shape and an inscription (which read IOM ET GENIO LOCI TR, "To Jupiter Optimus

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<sup>613</sup> Sebastian Ristow, "Spätantike Kirchen unter dem Kölner Dom? Ergebnisse der Grabungen und die Frage nach der ersten Kölner Bischofskirche," in Neue Forschungen zu den Anfängen des Christentums im Rheinland, ed. Sebastian Ristow (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004) 116-17.

<sup>614</sup> Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen, eds. Friedrich Oswald, Leo Schaefer, & Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, vol. 2 (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1968) 146.

Maximus and the deity of the place") which was later reused in the church's wall.<sup>615</sup> By contrast, Harald von Petrikovits believed that it housed a *beneficiarius* (that is, a member of the governor's staff who was entrusted with various special tasks, in this case overseeing the safety of the roads). Von Petrikovits pointed out that the structure was located in the middle of a row of houses, which would be unusual for a temple; furthermore, archeologists have found no remains of a porticus, which typically surrounded Gallo-Roman temples. But archeologists did find two daggers within the structure, which may suggest that soldiers were stationed there.<sup>616</sup> Whatever the structure's original purpose, at some point after the fourth century its foundations were reused for a Christian church (11.5 by 16.5 meters), which had three aisles and an apse at its eastern end.<sup>617</sup>

The question now becomes when the Roman building was converted into a church, and opinions here are also divided. Doppelfeld had tentatively argued that the church was built in the fifth century; Hugo Borger agreed with him, noting that its ground plan more closely resembled churches of the fourth and fifth centuries than later ones.<sup>618</sup> Albert Verbeek, by contrast, observed that the church's altar--a large block hewn out of tufa--was not common prior to the sixth century, and so he felt that the church was more likely built in the seventh century by Bishop Kunibert.<sup>619</sup> No-one has yet resolved this issue, nor that of what happened to the church in the interval between its founding and its replacement by Anno's church. Borger believed that the "Oratory of St. Caesarius" may

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<sup>615</sup> Otto Doppelfeld, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Georgskirche in Köln: Erster Bericht über die Grabungen der Jahre 1928-1931," in Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung, ed. Walther Zimmerman (Ratingen: A. Henn, 1950) 94.

<sup>616</sup> Harald von Petrikovits, Das römische Rheinland: Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960) 75-76; for other examples of *beneficiarius* stations in the province, see below app. 1, pp. 272, 273, 276, 281, 285, and 287.

<sup>617</sup> Albert Verbeek, "St. Georg," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 256-57.

<sup>618</sup> Borger, Abbilder, 80-83.

<sup>619</sup> Verbeek, "St. Georg," 257.

have fallen into disrepair between the fifth and eleventh centuries, so that Anno would have razed the older building entirely, leaving only the old Roman foundations for his church of St. George (this would also explain the unusual altar; possibly Anno had it moved there from another building).<sup>620</sup> Both Borger and Verbeek cautiously suggest that the Viking raid of 881 could have damaged the Oratory, so that Anno's church would thus have filled in a gap in Cologne's church network (but as we shall see in the next chapter, the extent of Viking destruction is likely to have been less extensive than previously thought).<sup>621</sup> In the absence of more excavations, it is impossible to answer these questions conclusively, and all that we can say is that there was a suburban church south of Cologne's walls, which may have arisen in the Merovingian era.

To Cologne's northeast is the church of St. Kunibert, the bishop whom we encountered earlier in this chapter. His church is first mentioned in 866, when Cologne's archbishop Gunther drew up a list of churches in Cologne and confirmed the revenues they received; among other churches one finds "the monastery of St. Kunibert."<sup>622</sup> According to the ninth-century *Life of St. Kunibert*, Bishop Kunibert had built a church in Cologne and dedicated it to St. Clement; he was then buried in this church.<sup>623</sup> Because the *Life* was written some centuries after Kunibert's death, scholars are reluctant to accept that Kunibert had also founded in his own lifetime the monastery mentioned in Gunther's inventory; they regard the monastery as a later development, with Kunibert founding the church during his episcopate (c. 627 - c. 648). At some point Kunibert displaced St. Clement as the church's patron saint.<sup>624</sup>

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<sup>620</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 83-84.

<sup>621</sup>Borger, *Abbilder*, 207-09; Verbeek, "St. Georg," 257. For the Viking raid see below ch. 5, pp. 198-200.

<sup>622</sup>Available in Oediger, *Regesten*, 71; for more on Gunther's list see below ch. 5, p. 224.

<sup>623</sup>*De sancto Kuniberto* 6.1-4 (Coens, "Les Vies," 367).

<sup>624</sup>Christoph Machat, "St. Kunibert: Das Bauwerk von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen*, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 306; see also Borger, *Abbilder*, 234, and Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 28-29.

Excavations undertaken between 1978 and 1980 managed to reveal relatively little new information about the church. St. Kunibert is in the same Roman cemetery as St. Ursula, but the excavations only revealed a few wall foundations and four Roman graves, all of which were furnished quite humbly.<sup>625</sup> Fragments of wall foundations and twenty graves were found in the medieval layers, but these unfortunately do not provide us enough information to know what the church's original ground plan looked like.<sup>626</sup> Bishop Kunibert is thus better-known than the church he founded.

Churches were not the only buildings going up in Merovingian Cologne. In Chapter 1 we saw that there was a temple to Mars in Cologne, located in the city's eastern half between the capitoline temple and the praetorium.<sup>627</sup> At some point in the Merovingian period this temple was completely demolished and a new building (which had a simple, hall-shaped form) was erected on the site.<sup>628</sup> Both the purpose and the date of this building remain unclear: Around 780 it was itself demolished, so its construction had to occur before then, but archeologists cannot say much more than that. Their best estimate is that it was built sometime in the first half of the eighth century, but perhaps even earlier.<sup>629</sup> But even though we know nothing more about its function, its very existence is informative, because it shows (along with the building of the churches mentioned above) that large-scale construction occurred in Merovingian Cologne just as in earlier periods. If we pause to reflect on what this fact entails, we can see how important this is for our understanding of the city. Building projects require resources,

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<sup>625</sup> Sven Seiler, "St. Kunibert: Die Ausgrabungen unter dem Westbau," in Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 304-05.

<sup>626</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-04.

<sup>627</sup> See above ch. 1, pp. 59-60.

<sup>628</sup> Marianne Gechter & Sven Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathauses und seiner Umgebung," in Köln: Das gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung, eds. Walter Geis & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 2000) 151.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

skills, and overall direction. Someone had to fund the construction of these churches, materials and workers had to be assembled to create them, and someone needed to oversee the construction efforts and ensure that all went according to plan. These crucial aspects of construction are normally invisible to us; all that we can see today is their fragmentary remains (which are themselves often hidden under later buildings). But it is important to be aware of these intangible aspects of construction, because a city which can command these resources is not a dilapidated and crumbling ghost town, but instead a healthy and living community. We should keep this in mind when we attempt to understand the state of Cologne in the Merovingian period.<sup>630</sup>

This discussion of churches should not cause the reader to forget that Cologne had other religious communities as well. We saw in an earlier chapter that Late Antique Cologne had a prosperous Jewish community.<sup>631</sup> Material evidence suggests that this community continued to exist and perhaps even thrive during the Merovingian era. In 1999, relics were removed from the reliquary of St. Severin. These relics had been wrapped in several layers of cloth, and the innermost cloth, much to the surprise of scholars, was embroidered with words in Hebrew letters.<sup>632</sup> This cloth was dated to approximately A.D. 700, but other than that, scholars are still very unsure as to exactly what it is. Sven Schütte has tentatively proposed that it is a *tallit*, or prayer shawl, primarily because it is made out of silk and has fringes on all four sides. However, as he himself points out, in many ways the cloth does not meet traditional prescriptions for a *tallit*; for example, the Cologne cloth has stripes of black instead of sky blue, as is normally required. Against this, Schütte argues that in the early eighth century the laws

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<sup>630</sup>*Ibid.*, 152-53.

<sup>631</sup>See above ch. 2, pp. 95-96.

<sup>632</sup>Sven Schütte, "Die Juden in Köln von der Antike bis zum Hochmittelalter: Beiträge zur Diskussion zum frühen Judentum nördlich der Alpen," in Synagogen, Mikwen, Siedlungen: Jüdisches Alltagsleben im Lichte neuer archäologischer Funde, eds. Egon Wamers & Fritz Backhaus (Frankfurt: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt, 2004) 112.

on *talliot* were not as strict as they later became, so an early *tallit* could have appeared in a variety of forms; however, he does not insist on this point, and only raises his argument as a "working hypothesis."<sup>633</sup>

Regardless of what the cloth is, it still raises the question: What on earth is a "Jewish" textile doing covering the relics of a Christian saint? That question may be the result of our modern preconceptions regarding the two religions. We are accustomed to think of Christianity as being perpetually hostile to Judaism, but in the early Middle Ages, relations between the two religions was noticeably more relaxed than in later periods.<sup>634</sup> Christian kings and bishops had surprisingly close connections with Jews: Charlemagne had a Jew named Isaac who served as his envoy to Harun al-Rashid; Christian scholars asked Jews for assistance in studying the Old Testament; Christian bishops employed Jews to manage their financial affairs.<sup>635</sup> As Schütte observes, when Anno II, the archbishop of Cologne, died in 1075, the Jewish community sang funeral laments for him.<sup>636</sup> It is thus not improbable that around 700, the Jewish community may have given the church of St. Severin a valuable silk textile as a mark of their relationship with it. Silk is certainly a costly material, worthy of a saint's relics, and if the Hebrew words sewn into the cloth do mean "dignity" or "grandeur" (as has been suggested, though not proven),<sup>637</sup> that would be equally appropriate. What seems shocking to us may have been conventional in eighth-century Cologne.

The textile also raises questions about Cologne's economic situation at this time. Silk only could have come from the East, so clearly trade is involved. However, Schütte doubts that the cloth itself was a trade item, and thinks it more likely that the silk was

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<sup>633</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>634</sup>See generally Bernhard Blumenkranz, Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096 (Paris: Mouton, 1960).

<sup>635</sup>Richard Fletcher, The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 296-300.

<sup>636</sup>Schütte, "Die Juden in Köln," 114.

<sup>637</sup>*Ibid.*, 112.

brought in by trade, made into the cloth, and then given to the bishop.<sup>638</sup> And of course it is possible that this may have been secondhand silk, which had been obtained earlier (perhaps even considerably earlier) and then reused. But in any case, the cloth is still proof of trade; the silk had to get to Cologne in some fashion at some point. This offers evidence not only of the prosperity Cologne's Jewish community enjoyed at this time, but also of the prosperity of the city as a whole. We saw in the preceding chapter that the elite sixth-century Frankish graves under the cathedral contained fragments of silk textiles.<sup>639</sup> The silk textile found in the reliquary of St. Severin is an example of the continuing presence of this valuable material in the Merovingian period.

### **Conclusion**

I began this chapter by arguing that political and economic regionalization was slowly increasing at Cologne during the years from 550 to 750. The pace of this change may seem glacial, but was real nonetheless. Kunibert's long episcopate and high position in the Austrasian kingdom set a precedent which would be emulated and extended by bishops in the Carolingian period. The trade networks of the Merovingian era focused mostly on the Low Countries and the Rhineland; these networks would provide a base which would expand under the Carolingians to Scandinavia and the Baltic. Under the Ottonians these trends would accelerate even further. This provides us with a new perspective on how to understand the debate over continuity and discontinuity in Cologne for this period. The city was in fact never static, but rather constantly changing, though those changes were incremental and therefore not necessarily visible in the short term. But the long-term trajectory was one of increasing autonomy for the city. In the Merovingian era, Cologne was certainly part of the Frankish realm. But as the centuries wore on, the city became more and more independent politically, and also oriented away

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<sup>638</sup>*Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>639</sup>See above ch. 3, p. 140.

from the traditional Merovingian heartland.

Before we conclude this chapter, we should look at an incident which occurred shortly before the Carolingian dynasty replaced the Merovingian one. St. Boniface (c. 675-754), the Anglo-Saxon missionary who had worked tirelessly to spread the Gospel amongst the peoples of Germany, frequently corresponded with the papacy on a wide range of issues. On October 31, 745, Pope Zacharias (r. 741-52) wrote a letter to Boniface dealing mainly with the latter's efforts to reform the Frankish church. In this letter, Zacharias says that he has learned that the Frankish magnates have chosen a city to be Boniface's metropolitan seat, "so that you may instruct other bishops in the way of righteousness and your successors may possess it by a perpetual right."<sup>640</sup> At the end of the letter, we are informed of this city's name: "Concerning that city which was recently called Agrippina but is now called Cologne [*Colonia*], we have confirmed it . . . as a metropolitan see and sent the charter [*stabilitatem*] of this metropolitan church to Your Holiness for posterity."<sup>641</sup>

This source is as brief as it is telling. We learn from it that Cologne was considered an appropriate headquarters for an archbishop working as a missionary. This suggests something of the importance the city must have held for Frankish leaders, for it seems odd that they would have suggested Cologne if it had been a deserted ghost town. It was also probably attractive to Boniface for its location: Since his main area of missionary work was in central Germany, Cologne would have made an excellent base of operations for proselytizing.

Alas, it was not to be. At the end of a letter dated May 1, 748, Zacharias tersely observed "Finally, another letter of Your Fraternity contained what you have already formerly written concerning the city Cologne [*Agrippina*], that the Franks have not

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<sup>640</sup> Available in *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1916) #60 at p. 121, ll. 31-32.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124 at ll. 23-27.

persevered in the word they promised, and now Your Fraternity is staying in the city of Mainz [*Magontia*]."<sup>642</sup> We do not know what caused this change of plans; all we know is that Boniface did not make Cologne his metropolitan seat. But this should not be seen as a diminution of Cologne's status, for it now was an archbishopric, a major elevation in status. Cologne would become a major metropolitan center in its own right, providing future archbishops a strong foundation for their power and prestige. This incident with Boniface suggests that the city was thriving and dynamic on the eve of the Carolingian period. Let us therefore move to the Carolingian period, and see how Cologne fared under the new dynasty.

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<sup>642</sup>*Ibid.*, #80 at p. 179, ll. 27-29.

## Chapter Five: Carolingian Cologne (750-900)

We have now reached the final chapter in my account of early medieval Cologne. We will end with the Carolingians for a reason: After them, Cologne would enter a qualitatively new period. The tenth and eleventh centuries represent a more dramatic break with Cologne's past than any of the preceding ones, and describing the city in those years would require another book.

For that reason, this will be the last chapter in which readers will have to endure my by now familiar (but not tiresome, I hope) emphasis on Cologne's stability and continuity. For during the Carolingian era (roughly 750 to 900) we see in Cologne the same process that we have traced in earlier chapters; that is, an incremental adaptation to its continually changing political, economic, and religious environment. As the world around Cologne changed, the city changed with it, keeping pace and surviving, as it always had.

Part of that survival was the strengthening of economic ties with Northern Europe. Such connections were not totally new, of course, but under the Carolingians they intensified and branched out to new areas, such as the Baltic. These trading links would have long-term implications for Cologne's history, and we will explore them in greater detail below. For the moment we should note that they illustrate, once again, the theme of simultaneous continuity and change: Cologne continued to be an important trading center, even as the orientation of that trade changed.

Cologne's religious history offers another example of this parallel of continuity and change. The bishops continued to found new churches and play an active role in political affairs, even at the highest levels of the Carolingian polity. The bishops thus followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, even as their new foundations altered the city's topography. We will examine this development in further detail too.

Perhaps the area with the greatest discontinuity with the past would be Cologne's

political status, though this issue is not as straightforward as it may seem. Cologne appears to have decreased in political importance under the Carolingians. This would mark a fairly significant change for Cologne, for the city had frequently played an important political role in the past: It had been the capital of the Roman province of Lower Germany, perhaps also the capital of the Ripuarian Frankish kingdom, and had witnessed important political events under the Merovingians. This ostensible shift in status is an important question which will require our attention.

This chapter will therefore examine three major themes where the issues of continuity and change can be seen operating in tandem. Throughout this chapter, we will see how Cologne continued to adapt to the world around it by drawing on long-standing practices, even as doing so introduced new elements into the city. This was what the city had done since the late Roman period. We will begin our look by examining Cologne's political status, and the changes which may or may not have occurred under the Carolingians.

The most striking political change is the apparent absence of Carolingian monarchs in Cologne. Unlike the Merovingians, few Carolingian rulers are documented in the city, and even those who can be shown to have been in Cologne were there only rarely. Pippin the Short (r. 751-68) is not attested in the city; neither is Louis the Pious (r. 814-40). Charlemagne (r. 768-814) was at Cologne on only three occasions, each time in connection with a campaign to Saxony: In 782 and 789 he stopped at Cologne on his way to Saxony, and in 804 he stopped there on his return from his last Saxon campaign.<sup>643</sup> The duration of Charlemagne's stay in Cologne on these three occasions is not known.

Charlemagne's grandsons appear in the city slightly more frequently. According

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<sup>643</sup> Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter den Karolingern, 751-918, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, rev ed., vol. 1 (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1889) 91, 113, 164.

to the terms of the Treaty of Verdun in 843, Cologne became part of the Middle Kingdom under Lothar I (r. 817-55). However, Lothar is only attested once in the city, when he issued a charter on July 1, 850, confirming toll exemptions for the monastery of Fulda.<sup>644</sup> His younger brothers Louis the German (r. 817-76) and Charles the Bald (r. 840-77) were in Cologne on three and two occasions, respectively. Louis the German celebrated Easter in Cologne in 842.<sup>645</sup> In 852 Louis was again in Cologne, where he held talks with some of the "leading men" (*principes*) of Lothar's kingdom.<sup>646</sup> This meeting occurred during part of a long journey across the entire kingdom of East Francia, which Louis used to consolidate his authority over his kingdom's various territories.<sup>647</sup> Louis does not seem to have stayed for long in Cologne and we know little about the details of the meeting itself, but it likely was related to the three brothers' constant struggles for power. Charles the Bald and Lothar had grown closer after 851, eventually forming an alliance against Louis.<sup>648</sup> It may have been that Louis was attempting to form alliances with prominent nobles in his brother Lothar's kingdom and thus weaken him.

By 865, by contrast, relations between Louis and Charles had improved somewhat (Lothar having died in 855). In October of 865 Louis and Charles met in Cologne, apparently for peace talks.<sup>649</sup> The sources tell us very little details about this meeting, other than that it seems to have been cordial. But relations between the brothers were never good for long, and when Louis the German died in 876 his brother Charles the Bald attempted to annex Louis's territory to his own kingdom. He went first to Aachen and

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<sup>644</sup> Available in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, ed. Theodor Schieffer, vol. 3 (Berlin: Weidmannische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966) 259-61.

<sup>645</sup> Böhmer, *Regesten des Kaiserreichs*, 524; *Annals of St. Bertin* s.a. 842.

<sup>646</sup> *Annals of Fulda* s.a. 852.

<sup>647</sup> Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817-876* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2006) 163-64.

<sup>648</sup> Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans. Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press, 1993) 171.

<sup>649</sup> *Annals of Fulda* s.a. 865; *Annals of St.-Bertin* s.a. 865.

then to Cologne, accompanied by his army.<sup>650</sup> While in Cologne Charles issued a charter, granting control over the monastery of Sant'Antimo (near Montalcino in Italy) to the bishop of Arezzo.<sup>651</sup> But Charles's plans went awry: Louis the German's son Louis defeated him in battle at Andernach, and Charles was unable to seize the eastern Frankish lands.<sup>652</sup>

We thus have nine documented visits by four different rulers, over a period of 108 years. After 876, no Frankish rulers visited the city until 950. At first glance, this appears to contrast sharply with the previous centuries, and suggests that Cologne had lost some importance in the political world. But it is important to qualify this observation. First, it is entirely possible that Carolingian monarchs did visit the city on more occasions, but the sources recording these visits have since been lost. Marcus Trier suggests that the Norman attack on the city in 881 could have destroyed documents which did record such visits (though we shall see later in this chapter that the impact of the Norman attack is itself controversial.)<sup>653</sup>

This qualification--that there really were more visits, but the evidence for them just has not survived--is the default response, as it were, in studying the Early Middle Ages. We must always accept the possibility that the absence of a given phenomenon may be due simply to the loss of documents, not to the fact that it did not occur; we saw this in connection with the episcopal list.<sup>654</sup> But we must also be careful not to rely too heavily on arguments from silence, and furthermore, we must also not blind ourselves to

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<sup>650</sup>Annals of Fulda s.a. 876.

<sup>651</sup> Available in Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France: Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, eds. A. Giry *et al.*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952) 423-26.

<sup>652</sup>Annals of Fulda s.a. 876.

<sup>653</sup> Marcus Trier, "Köln im frühen Mittelalter: Zur Stadt des 5. bis 10. Jahrhunderts aufgrund archäologischer Quellen," in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert: Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit, ed. Joachim Henning (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002) 301; see below for a discussion of the Norman raid.

<sup>654</sup> See above ch. 3, pp. 133-35.

the possibility of a true absence. In this particular case, we should note that Frankish annalists took great pains to record royal itineraries and visits, and charters also supply us with such information. We are thus relatively well-informed regarding the whereabouts of kings during the Carolingian era, so that the lack of evidence for kings visiting Cologne may very well not be due to the loss of sources.

That said, a second qualification must also be considered, which is that Carolingian visits must be considered comparatively. If we look back to the late Roman and Merovingian periods, we can be certain of only seven rulers who spent time in Cologne. Four were Roman emperors (Constantine, Maximian, Constans, Valentinian I), and three were Merovingian monarchs (Theuderic I, Childebert II, Theuderic II.) This number increases to nine if we include prominent figures who were not (or not yet) sovereigns, as Julian the Apostate stayed in Cologne before he became emperor, and Plectrude resided there after her husband's death. When considered absolutely, the number of Carolingian monarchs attested in Cologne compares favorably with that for late Roman and Merovingian ones. It is not the *number* of visiting monarchs which is dramatically different, but rather the length of time; in other words, what is most striking is the period from 876 to 950 when there are no known visits at all. Prior to 876 Roman, Merovingian, and Carolingian monarchs had visited the city with some regularity. It is only after this date that we see a real change in royal visits.

There is yet a third qualification to take into account, and that is the proximity of Aachen. We shall explore Aachen in more detail below, but for now we should observe that Aachen's prestige as a royal and imperial capital far outshone Cologne's status. From the viewpoint of Carolingian monarchs, there would have been little reason to visit Cologne when Aachen was only thirty-eight miles away. Cologne's invisibility in the royal itineraries may thus be due to its location in the penumbra of Aachen.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, we must be aware that royal visits may not be the best barometer for estimating Cologne's importance. The administration of

government continued before and after a monarch stayed in a city. While his presence would no doubt elevate the city's importance during his stay (or hers, in Plectrude's case), his absence did not mean that the machinery of government was in abeyance. Some historians have taken the scarcity of Carolingian visits to Cologne as evidence that the city had declined in importance.<sup>655</sup> I would instead regard this as evidence of the city's growing independence. Cologne in the ninth and tenth centuries was a frontier city, but not quite in the same way as it had been under the Romans. Cologne's central location between the East and West Frankish realms paradoxically meant that it was actually at the edge of both of them. Accordingly, visiting the city after 840 would have been a journey to the margins of their kingdoms, which may explain why Carolingian monarchs did not travel there as often as previously.<sup>656</sup> But the lack of royal visits may have enabled Cologne to develop independently, without close oversight from above. In other words, Cologne may have mattered less to ninth- and tenth-century monarchs politically, but that fact by itself does not mean that the city had become less important. The lack of royal visits does suggest that Cologne's status in the Carolingian realm had changed, but not necessarily for the worse.

We saw in the preceding chapter that royal visits to Cologne in peacetime would have been major undertakings, and that holds true for the ones we have discussed here.<sup>657</sup> For example, Louis the German's meeting in 852 with some of the leading men of Lothar's kingdom would have been not too dissimilar from the assembly which Childebert II held in Cologne in 596. In both cases, a number of Frankish magnates (along with their entourages) would have needed lodgings while they stayed in Cologne,

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<sup>655</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 7.

<sup>656</sup> Edith Ennen, "Kölner Wirtschaft im Früh- und Hochmittelalter," in Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft, eds. Hermann Kellenbenz & Klara van Eyll, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven, 1975) 91.

<sup>657</sup> See above ch. 4, p. 152.

and also an appropriate place to meet and conduct business. Louis's meeting was in all likelihood less formal than Childebert's--after all, since Cologne was in the middle kingdom, Louis was not in his own realm, and moreover this meeting was not a true assembly--and it was probably smaller in size, too. But nonetheless the logistics would have been similar, even if smaller in scale. We are just as poorly informed about the circumstances of these visits as we are about the Merovingian ones; for example, we do not know the duration of any of the Carolingian visits. But we can safely infer that they required a sophisticated and elaborate infrastructure to support them, just as their Roman and Merovingian predecessors had.

But there would have been one major change to the infrastructure of royal visits, and that was that the praetorium no longer existed. As we saw in the previous chapter, the praetorium had likely been used as the residence for Frankish kings when they visited Cologne.<sup>658</sup> But at some point after 780, the praetorium was completely demolished and cleared away. Archeological excavations show that this was clearly a deliberate act carried out in a short span of time; it was not the case that the praetorium slowly fell into ruins and was only gradually removed.<sup>659</sup> What caused the city's inhabitants to remove the praetorium is a matter of debate. As we saw in Chapter 3, archeologists have found major cracks in the praetorium's foundation walls, which were severe enough to have toppled the walls.<sup>660</sup> As there is no sign of violence, it appears that some natural disaster struck Cologne and seriously damaged the praetorium (and other buildings, as we shall see below). The building could have been deemed unusable after the disaster, and accordingly demolished. It is not clear what caused these cracks, but at the moment the

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<sup>658</sup>See above ch. 4, p. 155.

<sup>659</sup>Marianne Gechter & Sven Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen des mittelalterlichen Rathauses und seiner Umgebung," in Köln: Das gotische Rathaus und seine historische Umgebung, eds. Walter Geis & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 2000) 104.

<sup>660</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 132-33.

two likeliest candidates are either a major earthquake (above 6.0 on the Richter scale) or a flood.<sup>661</sup> Most researchers lean towards the former, though the latter cannot be ruled out. However, there is no written record of an earthquake powerful enough to have destroyed the praetorium. There are in fact ten mentions of earthquakes in the northern Rhineland during the period from 600 to 900, but none of them seem to have been intense enough to have caused the damage seen at Cologne.<sup>662</sup> However, researchers have noted that out of these ten earthquakes, Aachen is mentioned in connection with seven of them (and four of these occurred from 801 to 813, which Einhard tells us were believed to be portents of Charlemagne's impending death.)<sup>663</sup> For this reason, some researchers have proposed that the Aachen tremors could have been aftershocks of a much more destructive earthquake for which written sources no longer exist.<sup>664</sup> It may have been this earthquake which damaged the praetorium (and other buildings, as we shall see below).

Regardless of what damaged the praetorium, it is indisputable that it was demolished in the late eighth/early ninth century, meaning that while Charlemagne could possibly have stayed there during his few visits to Cologne, his grandsons certainly could not. But as we have seen, they had to lodge somewhere. Carlrichard Brühl suggested some years ago that Carolingian monarchs probably stayed with the bishop when they visited the city, and I think that this was probably the case.<sup>665</sup> We shall explore in greater detail below what effect this may have had on the state of Cologne's religious institutions.

Natural disasters, however, were not the only potential threats that Cologne faced during the Carolingian era. Humans could also menace the city, and in the ninth century

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<sup>661</sup> Klaus-G. Hinzen & Sven Schütte, "Evidence for Earthquake Damage on Roman Buildings in Cologne, Germany," *Seismological Research Letters* 74.2 (Mar./Apr. 2003): 138; Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 104, advocate for an earthquake.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.*, 138, 139 tbl. 2; Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne* 4.32.

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>665</sup> Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 38.

the most dangerous threats came from the Vikings. In the winter of 881/82 Cologne was attacked by Vikings. The *Annals of Fulda* state that the Norsemen burned Cologne and Bonn and the inhabitants fled to Mainz.<sup>666</sup> Meanwhile, the *Annals of St.-Bertin* mention in the entry for 882 that magnates had asked King Carloman of West Francia (r. 879-84) to help them mount a campaign against the Vikings, because they had previously burned Cologne and Trier and numerous monasteries in the area.<sup>667</sup> The *Annals of St. Vaast* also record under 882 that the Vikings had burned the palace at Aachen as well as the cities of Cologne and Trier.<sup>668</sup>

The descriptions in these annals are brief but vivid: The city was burned down and its inhabitants either fled or were slain. Modern historians have thus often viewed the 881/82 attack as devastating. Eduard Hegel, who argued that the Frankish attack of 355 was not as destructive as previously thought, saw the Norse attack as having been far worse than the Frankish one.<sup>669</sup> Hegel observed that the sources concentrate mainly on damage to ecclesiastical buildings (such as churches and monasteries). One casualty of the Viking attack may have been the episcopal library: Hegel noted that a catalogue from 833 lists 175 volumes, but only thirty to forty have survived to the present.<sup>670</sup> Sven Schütte has tentatively hypothesized that this archival loss could account for the gap in the episcopal list: The documents naming the city's bishops during the fifth and sixth centuries could have been casualties of the Vikings.<sup>671</sup>

But as with the fourth-century Frankish attack discussed in Chapter 2, estimates

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<sup>666</sup> *Annals of Fulda* s.a. 881. Mainz is 87 miles to the southeast of Cologne.

<sup>667</sup> *Annals of St. Bertin* s.a. 882.

<sup>668</sup> *Annals of St. Vaast* s.a. 882.

<sup>669</sup> Eduard Hegel, "Die Kölner Kirche und der Stadtzerstörungen der Jahre 355 und 881," in *Kölner Untersuchungen: Festgabe zur 1900-Jahrfeier der Stadtgründung*, ed. Walther Zimmermann (Ratingen: A. Henn, 1950) 46 (Vikings), 44 (Franks).

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>671</sup> Sven Schütte, "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," in *After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, ed. Giorgio Ausenda (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1995) 166; for the episcopal list see above ch. 3, pp. 133-35.

of the destruction wrought by the Vikings are probably exaggerated.<sup>672</sup> Hegel himself admitted that the *Annals of Fulda* state that already by 883, Cologne was rebuilt "except for its churches and monasteries" (*absque aecclesiis et monasteriis*) and that its walls were refortified.<sup>673</sup> The archeological evidence corroborates this, as excavations at the Heumarkt have found no trace of destruction layers between the eighth and tenth centuries, nor do most of the churches show any signs of damage which can be dated to this time.<sup>674</sup> This suggests that the Viking attack of 881/82 was probably destructive in the same way that the Frankish attack of 355 was: That is, a terrifying event which no doubt caused much suffering and loss, but not one which permanently crippled the city or was fatal in the long term. If the inhabitants were able to repair the walls and secular structures after only one year, the damage could not have been catastrophic. Furthermore, rebuilding efforts suggest that the city's population had sufficient resources to undertake them; while the Vikings probably looted Cologne, they did not totally destroy its wealth. The fact that churches and monasteries seem to have been repaired only after the walls and other buildings does suggest that the city's full recovery took some time (and that repairs were needed at all suggests that the Viking attack was destructive to some degree). Nevertheless, Cologne appears to have weathered the 881/82 raid as successfully as it had several other disasters in its past.

The fact that Cologne's residents were able to repair damage to their city fairly quickly implies that they had sufficient resources to do so (as well as an available labor supply), and we will now turn to examine Cologne's economy during the Carolingian centuries to see how these resources were generated.

We have already examined the fortunes of the Heumarkt ("Hay Market") in a previous chapter, where we saw that it formed a major market in the area in front of the

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<sup>672</sup>For a discussion of the Frankish attack, see above ch. 2, pp. 98-100.

<sup>673</sup>*Annals of Fulda* s.a. 883; Hegel, "Kölner Kirchen," 48.

<sup>674</sup>Trier, "Köln im frühen Mittelalter," 306-07.

city which had been enclosed in the fourth century.<sup>675</sup> Archeologists have found postholes of sunken houses and evidence of artisanal activity beginning in the fifth century, indicating that people lived and worked there. In the first half of the eighth century these sunken houses are replaced with half-timbered houses built with stone foundations. These new houses were up to 12.5 meters long and nine meters wide, and were subdivided into several rooms. The size and architecture of these houses suggests that their inhabitants enjoyed relatively high social status, such as merchants or people serving ecclesiastical or secular magnates.<sup>676</sup> As in the Merovingian period, artisanal activity also continued uninterrupted in the Heumarkt, especially glass production. Archeologists have found a glass-making oven, 2.8 by 2.6 meters in size, which was located in a roofed workroom and dated to the ninth/tenth century.<sup>677</sup> It appears that some of the glass produced at Cologne was exported. Archeologists have noticed that glass mosaic stones from Cologne and Ribe appear identical, and they now suppose that the fragmentary glass rods found in excavations in the Heumarkt are probably the remains of raw glass exported to Scandinavia, where it was then made into beads.<sup>678</sup>

The Heumarkt was not the only area of Cologne which had new houses erected on it. We saw in earlier chapters that a Roman temple to Mars (located near the praetorium) had been replaced in the Merovingian period with a large, hall-shaped building whose purpose remains unknown.<sup>679</sup> Around 780, this building was removed, apparently in stages (perhaps because of earthquake damage, as some have proposed), and in the first half of the ninth century several houses were built on the site using fresh tufa stone.<sup>680</sup> The building material is the most striking aspect of these houses, because Cologne itself

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<sup>675</sup>See above ch. 3, pp. 125-26.

<sup>676</sup>Trier, "Köln im frühen Mittelalter," 303-05.

<sup>677</sup>*Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>678</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 167, 170-71.

<sup>679</sup>See above ch. 1, pp. 59-60, for the temple; see above ch. 4, pp. 185-86, for the Merovingian structure.

<sup>680</sup>Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 153.

has no local resources of stone: All stone must either be imported or else reused. Roman gravestones and inscriptions were frequently reused for building material, with some stones having been reused up to five times (incidentally, this means that it is practically impossible to determine how many Roman inscriptions were originally put up in the city, as any given inscription may have been reused one or more times).<sup>681</sup> But since the tufa used for these Carolingian houses was almost entirely fresh, it had to be imported, which suggests that building these houses was a fairly costly undertaking. As it so turns out, we have proof of the importation of tufa stones in the form of a shipwreck discovered at Kalkar-Niedermörmter, which was dated (on the basis of dendrochronology) to the years from 797 to 807 and was carrying a load of tufa stones, which had probably been quarried from the Eifel mountains.<sup>682</sup>

As with the houses in the Heumarkt, the houses near the praetorium were also likely owned by prosperous individuals. Because these houses are close to both the synagogue and the praetorium, some archeologists have suggested their residents were probably either merchants or Jews (though it is impossible to determine if the residents were native citizens of Cologne or non-natives).<sup>683</sup> The vast majority of the houses have not been preserved well, so we know little about their layout or shape, but one of them, called the Haus Zur Lerche ("House at the Lark"), was been relatively well-preserved, and we can pause for a moment to investigate its structure.

The first phase of the Haus Zur Lerche dates to after 790 (a Dorestad penny found in the lowest strata of the site provides this date.) It was rectangular, with its short side facing the street, and probably had two stories; it may have been up to eight meters tall at the eaves. The room at the street side was 4.5 meters deep and ten meters wide, with slate flooring. It had a hearth, but no chimney. Light was provided by two and possibly

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<sup>681</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 175.

<sup>682</sup>Julia Obladen-Kauder, "Ein karolingischer Flußkahn aus Kalkar-Niedermörmter," *Archäologie im Rheinland* (1993): 98-99.

<sup>683</sup>Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 154.

three small openings (about twenty centimeters wide); it is impossible to say if they had glass windows or only wooden shutters. There was a room at the back side of the house similar in size to the front room, but it was changed so drastically during the second construction phase that archeologists were unable to determine what it originally looked like. In addition, there was a small annex (three by three meters) in the southeastern corner, which incorporated Roman columns into its structure; its function is unknown.<sup>684</sup>

The second phase of construction began in the late ninth century. A destruction layer of charred wood and broken ceramics covers most of this area, including the Haus Zur Lerche; as it is above the layers for the early and middle ninth century, it corresponds to the years from 880 to 900. This means that either a large accidental fire swept through the area, consuming most of the houses, or else this fire was set by the Vikings during their attack.<sup>685</sup> The Haus Zur Lerche was rebuilt, but not nearly as impressively as in its first phase. It does not appear to have had two full stories, and also was built out of lower-quality tufa and reused *spolia*. The annex in the southeastern corner was eliminated, and the front and back rooms were no longer connected to each other. Both rooms were also subdivided into two rooms, so that the house now had four rooms; the one in the southeast had a hearth. The Haus Zur Lerche thus seems to have decreased in size, quality, and appearance; however, the excavators also found an enameled tenth-century fibula in this phase, so its owner's fortunes may not have been too economically depressed.<sup>686</sup>

It is difficult to say how representative the Haus Zur Lerche (and the other houses in this area) were of Cologne's buildings. Archeologists have noted that these houses were the first non-ecclesiastical structures built of stone north of the Alps.<sup>687</sup> This

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<sup>684</sup>*Ibid.*, 156-58 (for the building), 155 (for the penny).

<sup>685</sup>*Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>686</sup>*Ibid.*, 159. For the fibula see Jochen Giesler, "'Agnus Dei': Eine mittelalterliche Scheibenfibel aus Köln," *Berichte aus der Arbeit des Museums* 4 (1995): 94-97.

<sup>687</sup>*Ibid.*, 158, 163.

certainly implies a fairly impressive level of prosperity and sophistication in Carolingian Cologne.<sup>688</sup> While we would be mistaken to assume that this applied to all of the city's inhabitants, it seems safe to say that Cologne's economy in this period was stable and prosperous.

If the dwellers of these impressive houses were indeed merchants, whom were they trading with? As in earlier times, the majority of Cologne's trade was no doubt local or regional. Einhard provides us with an instance of this in his work *The Translation and Miracles of SS. Marcellinus and Peter*. He writes that a woman from Cologne was cured of her paralysis at the church he had built at Seligenstadt (which is approximately 130 miles away from Cologne as the crow flies). According to Einhard, this woman traveled to Seligenstadt by boat, accompanying some merchants.<sup>689</sup> Einhard does not tell us what goods these merchants were trading in, nor does he tell us about any other parts of their itinerary. Nevertheless, this does show that Cologne was a participant in the regional trade of the Rhineland.

There was long-distance trade, as well. I have already noted above that there was a trade in glass with Scandinavia, and written evidence hints at this trade. In 826 the Danish ruler Harald Klak came to Ingelheim and was baptized a Christian, with Louis the Pious standing as his godfather. Louis had already helped Harald come to power in Denmark in 819, but Harald had been driven out. Louis hoped to return Harald to power in order to spread Christianity and gain an ally in Scandinavia.<sup>690</sup> He accordingly sent several clergy back with Harald, among them a monk named Anskar, who would go on to become a major figure in the conversion of Scandinavia. His *Life*, written in the later ninth century by Rimbert, his successor as bishop of Hamburg-Bremen, records that Harald, along with Anskar and the other members of his entourage, left Ingelheim and

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<sup>688</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 169.

<sup>689</sup>Einhard, *The Translation and Miracles of SS. Marcellinus and Peter*, 4.17.

<sup>690</sup>Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1997) 223-25.

went to Cologne. Hadebald, the city's archbishop (r. 819-841 [?]), gave them a "very good ship" (*navem optimam*) to assist them in their journey. They then left Cologne and headed first to Dorestad, and from there to Denmark.<sup>691</sup>

While the *Life* does not explicitly mention merchants in connection with Anskar's journey to Denmark, it does show that facilities for travel (and presumably trade, too) existed at Cologne. If the city's bishop was able to put a travelworthy ship at the disposal of Harald's party, then clearly shipping was a going concern at Cologne. It is not clear from the *Life* if this ship was used only for travel on the Rhine or if Harald's party used it for the entire trip. As a comparison, the Kalkar-Niedermörmter boat mentioned above was fourteen meters long, 2.5 meters wide, and 0.6 meters in height. This boat was evidently intended for river transport, not oceanic travel.<sup>692</sup> It is possible that Hadebald lent Harald's party a similar boat, which they used only while on the Rhine; after all, as Cologne is an inland port, it would make sense that boats adapted to riverine traffic would be more common in its port. But it is also possible that he lent them a ship capable of oceangoing travel. Since the *Life* of Anskar mentions only one vessel (namely, the one which Hadebald gave them) and specifically calls it a "ship" (*navis*), this latter possibility cannot be ruled out. And if the latter is the case, then that tells us that Cologne not only had capacities for riverine travel but also sea traffic.

This story also shows that Cologne was already integrated into trading networks that linked the Rhineland with the North Sea and Scandinavia. Of course, these same routes carried the Viking raiders to Cologne in 881, so this integration was not entirely positive. Despite the 881 raid, we shall see momentarily that the numismatic evidence points to a growing importance of the Scandinavian trade over the long term. But before we examine this Scandinavian connection, we need to look first at Carolingian minting in Cologne.

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<sup>691</sup>Rimbert, *Life of Anskar*, ch. 7.

<sup>692</sup>Obladen-Kauder, "Ein karolingischer Flußkahn," 98-99.

While the Carolingians, like the Merovingian kings, minted coins in Cologne, the city does not appear to have been a major mint for them. The major German catalogue of coins minted at Cologne gives a total of sixty-eight Carolingian coins, attributed to the following rulers: Charlemagne (one), Louis the Pious (nine), Lothar I (six), Louis the Child (twenty-five), and Charles the Simple (twenty-seven).<sup>693</sup> This does not necessarily reflect a downturn in minting at Cologne; only eight Merovingian coins are known to have been minted at Cologne itself.<sup>694</sup> We must keep in mind that these figures only reflect minting activity at the city, not economic activity; as I noted in an earlier chapter, excavations at the Heumarkt in Cologne revealed large numbers of old Roman coins, suggesting that Roman currency remained in circulation during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, thus rendering new coins unnecessary.<sup>695</sup> Nevertheless, the recent excavations of the Heumarkt found no Carolingian coins.<sup>696</sup> Overall, it appears that Cologne's mint does not seem to have produced coins on a large scale until after the year 936, when it was under episcopal control, not royal.<sup>697</sup> Brühl observes that during the eleventh century, the German kings began to visit Cologne more and more frequently as the city's archbishops increased their power;<sup>698</sup> at the same time, the archbishops appear to have been overseeing the minting of coins, so that during the last quarter of the eleventh century, only the archbishops' portraits appear on the coins.<sup>699</sup> Large-scale minting of coins at Cologne is thus an Ottonian and episcopal phenomenon, and one

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<sup>693</sup> Walter Hävernich, Die Münzen und Medaillen von Köln: Vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304, vol. 1 (Cologne: Paul Neubner, 1935) 18-22.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-17.

<sup>695</sup> See above ch. 4, p. 167.

<sup>696</sup> Bernd Päffgen & Gunter Quarg, "Die Fundmünzen der Merowingerzeit aus den Ausgrabungen auf dem Heumarkt in Köln," Kölner Jahrbuch 34 (2001): 753-57; see also Bernd Päffgen & Gunter Quarg, "Katalog der Münzen vom Heumarkt I," Kölner Jahrbuch 30 (1997): 389-92; *id.*, "Katalog der Münzen vom Heumarkt II," Kölner Jahrbuch 31 (1998): 590-96.

<sup>697</sup> Hävernich, Münzen und Medaillen, 1-2.

<sup>698</sup> Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 7-9.

<sup>699</sup> Hävernich, Münzen und Medaillen, 2-3.

outside of the scope of this chapter.

We will touch on this development later, but for the moment we should note that Carolingian minting in Cologne appears to have been small-scale. The small number of Carolingian coins thus makes it hard for us to make inferences, but provided we are cautious, we should be able to draw some conclusions about Cologne's long-distance trading connections.<sup>700</sup>

When we look at where hoards containing coins minted at Cologne have been found, they tend to fall into two broad groups: The Low Countries and the Baltic. Generally speaking, coins minted before *c.* 900 are found in the former area, and coins minted after *c.* 900 in the latter. For example, the coins of Lothar I (minted in the period from 840 to 855) have been found at Groningen and Wagenborgen (near Delfzijl), while ten of the coins of Louis the Child (900-11) were found at Dalen (in Drenthe); two more of Louis's coins were found across the border in Germany, one in Emden and one in Münster. These coins were apparently laid down in hoards shortly after being minted: The two Groningen coins were buried around 840, the Wagenborgen example around 860, the Dalen hoard was deposited around 960, and the Emden and Münster coins around 900.<sup>701</sup>

By contrast, the majority of the Cologne coins of Charles the Simple, minted during the latter part of his reign (911-25), have mainly been found in or near the Baltic Sea. They have been found at Terslev (near Sorø, on Sjælland in Denmark), Gorzów Wielkopolski (eastern Poland), Slupsk, Slupia (both in northeastern Poland), Plonsk (central Poland), Munkegaard (on Bornholm, in Denmark), and Poznan (central Poland). These coins seem to have circulated for a somewhat longer time before being laid down:

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<sup>700</sup>It should be noted that not only are there very few Carolingian coins from Cologne, but also that excavations have uncovered equally few foreign coins in Cologne during the Carolingian period. See the references cited in n.694.

<sup>701</sup>Karl F. Morrison, with Henry Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (New York: Am. Numismatic Soc'y, 1967) 350-51, 356-58, 381, 397.

Terslev was buried around 950, Gorzów Wielkopolski shortly after 983, Slupsk around 990, but Slupia around 1000, Munkegaard after 1002, Poznan after 1012, and Plonsk after 1065.<sup>702</sup> This distinction is not completely ironclad, as Charles the Simple's coins are sometimes found with Louis the Child's (for example, at Dalen, Terslev, Slupsk, and Slupia). Furthermore, Louis's coins have been found in Eastern Europe and the Baltic (at Jindrichuv Hradec [Czech Republic, c. 920] and Rudkøbing [on Fyn, Denmark, c. 900]).<sup>703</sup> Nevertheless, the tendency is for the earlier coins to cluster in the Low Countries and the later ones in the Baltic.

This is not a particularly full amount of information, and we should be cautious in relying upon it. Nevertheless, it does seem to suggest that Cologne's trade was turning in a new direction after 900 (or perhaps, was gaining a new area of operation). During the Merovingian era, coins minted at Cologne show up in the Low Countries (at Escharen, for example).<sup>704</sup> But during the Ottonian period, Cologne's trade routes were oriented more towards Eastern Europe.<sup>705</sup> As we saw in the *Life of Anskar*, Cologne already had connections with Scandinavia. The numismatic evidence suggests that these connections began to increase in importance during in the tenth century, which would in turn provide the foundation for the Ottonian period's shift to the Baltic and Eastern Europe.

While Cologne's connections with the Baltic are impressive, we must not forget that the majority of its trade was local and regional. And just as we saw in Chapter 4, Cologne was the center of its own local network of settlements. Evidence for these settlements in the Carolingian period is as poor as it is for the Merovingian era, but we

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<sup>702</sup>*Ibid.*, 399, 401.

<sup>703</sup>*Ibid.*, 398, 406.

<sup>704</sup> Peter Berghaus, "Wirtschaft, Handel und Verkehr der Merowingerzeit im Licht numismatischer Quellen," in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, eds. Klaus Düwel *et al.*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) 205-09.

<sup>705</sup>Sven Schütte, "Cologne as a Commercial Centre in the Early and High Middle Ages," in *Europe's Centre around A.D. 1000*, vol. 1, eds. Alfred Wiczorek & Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2000): 117-19.

can nonetheless glean some information about the state of Cologne's hinterland during the eighth and ninth centuries.

Deutz continued to function under the Carolingians much as it had under the Merovingians. The Revised Version of the *Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* records that in 778 the Saxons once again attacked the area, but were unable to cross the Rhine river; consequently, they devastated the land from "the city of Deutz" (*Diutia civitate*) up to the Mosel river.<sup>706</sup> This attack recalls the one in 555 described by Gregory of Tours, which we saw in the previous chapter; note that the word *civitas* is again used to describe Deutz.<sup>707</sup> The most intriguing aspect of this attack is the fact that the annalist says that the Saxons were unable to cross the Rhine (*sed cum amnem traicere non possent*). As we saw in Chapter 2, Constantine had a bridge built to connect Cologne with Deutz, so crossing the river should theoretically have been possible.<sup>708</sup> But since the Saxons were unable to cross, it is possible that the bridge had been torn down or otherwise rendered unusable by 778.<sup>709</sup> We shall consider this issue more fully below.

The second reference to Deutz in the Carolingian era is from the year 870, and is recorded both by Regino of Prüm and the *Annals of Fulda*. In the previous year Lothar II, king of Lotharingia (r. 855-69), had died, and his two uncles Charles the Bald and Louis the German moved to carve up their nephew's kingdom for themselves. Charles sought to improve his position by having his own candidate elected as archbishop of Cologne (as we shall see below, the seat was technically vacant). In order to block this maneuver, Louis sent Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, and his suffragan bishops to Cologne. They

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<sup>706</sup>Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks, s.a. 778; for a discussion of the problems surrounding the authorship of this source, see Roger Collins, "The 'Reviser' Revisited: Another Look at the Alternative Version of the *Annales Regni Francorum*," in After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History, ed. Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1998) 191-213.

<sup>707</sup>See above ch. 4, p. 173.

<sup>708</sup>See above ch. 2, p. 84.

<sup>709</sup>Marianne Gechter, "Das Kastell Deutz im Mittelalter," Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 22 (1989): 378.

met in Deutz together with the clergy and prominent citizens of Cologne (*honestiores ex clero et nobiliores ex populo*), and selected the cathedral priest Willibert to be bishop. They crossed the Rhine back into Cologne (there is also no mention of bridge here), where he was officially consecrated.<sup>710</sup>

This account suggests that Deutz was not only still a well-fortified location (Liutbert had wished to meet there because he feared an attack by Charles), but also that there had to have been a church there.<sup>711</sup> As we saw above, royal visits to Cologne required infrastructure, and Liutbert's visit (even if perhaps smaller in scale, and also somewhat surreptitious) would have been no different. Liutbert would have needed a church sufficiently large enough to accommodate both his entourage of suffragans from Mainz and the high-ranking priests and citizens from Cologne<sup>712</sup>. Unfortunately, archeologists have found very few clear traces of major Frankish buildings in Deutz. As we saw in the previous chapter, they have found traces of residential buildings and graves in Deutz, but not any structure that would have been able to accommodate an assembly of bishops.<sup>713</sup> But it seems most likely that such a building did exist, and further archeological work will hopefully uncover it one day. Yet even in the absence of archeological evidence, it seems safe to surmise that Carolingian Deutz was similar to Merovingian Deutz: It remained a fortified location which provided security for Cologne. The only change (albeit a major one) may have been that the bridge no longer existed.

Sven Schütte has cautiously proposed that it may have been the bishops who ordered the bridge demolished. Noting that Cologne's main trade artery was the north-south route based on the Rhine, he suggests that the city's bishops may have decided that

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<sup>710</sup>Regino of Prüm, *Chronicle* s.a. 869; *Annals of Fulda* s.a. 870.

<sup>711</sup>Gechter, "Das Kastell Deutz," 379.

<sup>712</sup>By 870, the archbishopric of Cologne had six sees under it (Liège, Utrecht, Bremen, Minden, Münster, and Osnabrück); the bishops of Utrecht, Minden, Münster, and Osnabrück participated in Willibert's consecration (Oediger, *Regesten*, 79).

<sup>713</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 173-74.

Cologne's eastern connections were simply not important enough to warrant maintaining the bridge.<sup>714</sup> This is an intriguing hypothesis. As we have seen in this chapter, Cologne's links with Scandinavia and the Baltic were slowly strengthening during the Carolingian era, and it was the Rhine which connected these places together. As the trade with Scandinavia and the Baltic became more important to the city, the archbishops may have begun to regard the bridge with Deutz as unnecessary, and perhaps even a dangerous entryway into the city. Demolishing it (or perhaps no longer keeping it in good repair) may have seemed appropriate. While this proposal is plausible, it is difficult to prove it one way or another, and Schütte himself has only tentatively suggested it. It is also worth noting that no source specifically says that the bridge had been demolished; they merely fail to mention it. But that could be because the chroniclers simply did not think the bridge important enough to warrant mention in their works. And since Deutz was the fortress that controlled access to the bridge,<sup>715</sup> it is possible that the reason the Saxons could not cross the Rhine in 778 is simply because they failed to take Deutz itself. Since we are dealing with an argument from silence here, it may be best to admit that the jury is still out on whether or not Cologne's bridge existed during the Carolingian period.

Whereas Deutz may have gone through the Carolingian period relatively unchanged, the same cannot be said for another settlement in Cologne's hinterland: Aachen. In the Roman period Aachen had been a resort town, on account of the hot springs there; two baths and a temple complex were built there, with a settlement nearby. But the baths were abandoned during the early fifth century, and the settlement was much reduced in size compared to its earlier phases.<sup>716</sup> Under the Carolingians, Aachen experienced a spectacular rise in status, as Charlemagne selected the site to be his capital in 794. Aachen thus went from being a mere *vicus* of Cologne to being a major center of

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<sup>714</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 165.

<sup>715</sup>For information on Deutz's role as a bridgehead, see above ch. 2, pp. 83-84.

<sup>716</sup>For a discussion of Roman Aachen, see below app. 1, pp. 269-71.

the Frankish realm.

The palace at Aachen was an entire complex, consisting of multiple buildings. To the north was the *aula palatinae*, or royal hall, based on Late Roman imperial halls (such as the fourth-century one at Trier). This hall was 47.42 meters long, 20.76 meters wide, and 20 meters high.<sup>717</sup> A covered gallery connected the royal hall with the palatine chapel to the south. This three-storied building had a sixteen-sided polygonal exterior with an octagonal central rotunda, with a large westwork (flanked by two towers) forming the entrance; in front of the entrance was a large colonnaded courtyard. Charlemagne's throne was located inside the chapel on the top gallery, opposite the choir. The entire chapel was richly decorated with colored marble, mosaics, and elaborate bronze railings.<sup>718</sup>

The chapel and the royal hall were the two main buildings in the complex, which included residential and administrative structures. There was also a bath complex, built over the hot springs, which Charlemagne loved. Einhard tells us that Charlemagne would invite his sons and entourage to join him in the baths, so that up to 100 men would be in the water at one time.<sup>719</sup>

Clearly Aachen was a center of an altogether different magnitude than the ordinary rural settlement, and so I hesitate to include it alongside a settlement like Deutz. But it does provide us with an opportunity to consider what we mean when we use the term "continuity." On the one hand, Aachen is an example of continuity: It is built on a former Roman site, with buildings that clearly imitate Roman models (and in some cases literally incorporate Roman materials, as the chapel uses columns which Charlemagne

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<sup>717</sup> H. Borger, "Die Pfalz Karls des Großen zu Aachen," in *Das neue Bild der alten Welt*, ed. Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Cologne: Römisch-Germanisches Museum, 1975) 274.

<sup>718</sup> Xavier Barral i Altet, *The Early Middle Ages: From Late Antiquity to A.D. 1000* (Cologne: Taschen, 1997) 131-37.

<sup>719</sup> Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne* 3.23.

imported from Rome itself). On the other hand, Aachen is an example of discontinuity, because Carolingian Aachen was on a much greater scale than the Roman settlement. Aachen thus shows us how complex the issue of continuity can be, and consequently how careful we should be when we use the words "continuity" and "discontinuity."

So far we have discussed Cologne's hinterland mainly from an political perspective, but we should not forget that there was also a spiritual dimension to the hinterland. Many of the urban churches which we have examined in the previous chapters received income from villages in the surrounding countryside, and these villages had churches attached to them. As one may expect, we are badly informed about when these rural churches were founded. In the vast majority of cases, we only learn about their existence from documents dating from the tenth century or later, typically when such churches are exchanged between owners or possession of them is confirmed. But one can usually presume that a rural church first mentioned in the tenth or eleventh century must have been in existence for at least some time prior to its first written mention. If we do so, we can map out the spheres of influence which Cologne's urban churches had in the countryside. Let us briefly look at the various rural holdings of Cologne's urban churches (see Map 4 on page 247 for the location and dedications of the places mentioned below.)<sup>720</sup>

The church of St. Severin was located south of Cologne, and unsurprisingly its properties are located here too. A church dedicated to St. Maternus (Cologne's first bishop) in Rodenkirchen is first mentioned in 989 and may have been founded by the church of St. Severin, while an eleventh-century document claims that Cologne's Archbishop Wichfrid gave St. Severin the church in Immendorf (dedicated to St.

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<sup>720</sup>The map is taken from Jakob Torsy, "Die kirchliche Erschliessung der Landbezirke im Raum um Köln," in Das erste Jahrtausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr, ed. Victor H. Elbern, vol. 2 (Dusseldorf: L. Schwann, 1964) 726. The following discussion draws mainly from this essay.

Servatius) in 948.<sup>721</sup>

Churches dependent on St. Gereon, by contrast, were mainly located to Cologne's west. Churches in Kriel, Müngersdorf, and Junkersdorf eventually came into St. Gereon's possession, but it is unclear how early this may have occurred. The church of St. Stephen in Kriel certainly existed around 900, when a stone church was built (which may have replaced a wooden one destroyed by the Vikings in 881.) The churches in Müngersdorf and Junkersdorf are dedicated to St. Pancras and St. Vitalis, respectively, but we do not know when these churches were founded or when they came under the control of St. Gereon.<sup>722</sup> St. Gereon also controlled revenues from a church dedicated to St. Stephen in Merheim, to Cologne's north.<sup>723</sup>

Like St. Gereon, St. Cecilia's sphere of influence was mainly to Cologne's northwest. In 962 Archbishop Bruno gave to St. Cecilia properties with their attached churches, located in Stommeln and Bergheim (dedicated to St. Martin of Tours and St. Remigius respectively), while in 927 Archbishop Wichfrid gave the church in nearby Büsdorf (dedicated to St. Lawrence) to the church of St. Ursula.<sup>724</sup> In 922 Archbishop Heriman I gave to St. Ursula a property and its attendant church (dedicated to St. Dennis) in Longerich, which is located north of Cologne.<sup>725</sup>

To the city's north the urban church of St. Kunibert possessed a church in Merkenich dedicated to St. Brice, though we know nothing about when it was founded. St. Mary in the Capitol possessed a church in Efferen dedicated to the Virgin Mary and chapels in Stotzheim and Fischenich dedicated to St. Brice and St. Martin of Tours respectively (all to the southwest), and controlled revenues from the church dedicated to

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<sup>721</sup>*Ibid.*, 725-27.

<sup>722</sup>*Ibid.*, 727-28.

<sup>723</sup>*Ibid.*, 730.

<sup>724</sup>*Ibid.*, 728-30.

<sup>725</sup>*Ibid.*, 730-31.

St. Cornelius in Geyen (to the northwest).<sup>726</sup>

The churches mentioned above were owned by the various major churches of Cologne, but in addition to them there were "proprietary churches" (*Eigenkirchen*), which had been founded by secular landowners on their own property for their own dependents—and thus paid their revenues to the landowner, not the local bishop. We know that such churches existed in Oberbachem, Niederbachem, Hürth, and Buschbell (all in the southwest, and dedicated to St. Gummarus, St. Maurice, St. Catherine, and St. Ulrich, respectively), though we do not know when they were founded.<sup>727</sup> And we should not forget that the Carolingian monarchs also had proprietary churches in the vicinity. We know of such royal churches in Frechen (mentioned in 877, dedicated to St. Omer), Gleuel (mentioned in 898, dedicated to St. Dennis), and Brauweiler (dedicated to St. Médard); of these, the first two are in the southwest and the third is in the northwest. Finally, the cathedral of Cologne possessed a church in Bocklemünd (north of the city) and a baptistery in Kendenich (southwest of Cologne); both were dedicated to John the Baptist.<sup>728</sup>

As I mentioned above, determining the dates when these various churches were originally built is extremely difficult to do. But we can gain an indirect clue to their foundation by looking at the saints the churches were dedicated to.<sup>729</sup> Of the twenty-four churches mentioned above, only six of them (one-fourth of the total) were dedicated to saints who lived in the sixth century or later: St. Remigius (d. 533) at Bergheim; St. Gummarus (d. 775) at Oberbachem; St. Catherine (a legendary saint whose cult began in the ninth century) at Hürth; St. Ulrich (c. 890-973) at Buschbell; St. Omer (d. c. 699) at

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<sup>726</sup>*Ibid.*, 728, 732.

<sup>727</sup>*Ibid.*, 728.

<sup>728</sup>*Ibid.*, 728.

<sup>729</sup>For information on the saints mentioned in the following paragraphs, see their entries in *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. David Hugh Farmer, new full ed., 12 vols. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995-2000), and *The Oxford Dictionary of the Saints*, ed. David Hugh Farmer, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997).

Frechen; and St. Médard (c. 470-c. 560) at Brauweiler. Another six churches were dedicated to four saints who lived between 300 and 500: St. Maternus (d. before 343) at Rodenkirchen; St. Martin of Tours (d. 397) at Stommeln and Fischenich; St. Brice (d. 444) at Merkenich and Stotzheim; and St. Servatius (d. 384) at Immendorf. The remaining twelve churches--fully half of the total--were dedicated to saints of the Early Church (such as St. Cornelius, d. 253).

It is striking that three-fourths of Cologne's rural churches are dedicated to saints who lived before 500. Typically, a church does not predate the saint it was dedicated to (unless it had a previous patron which was changed in favor of the later one). For that reason we can presume that those churches dedicated to later saints (such as St. Ulrich) had to have been built after those saints died, and consequently such churches are themselves of comparatively recent origin. If we follow this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, then we can infer that churches dedicated to older saints are themselves of comparatively early origin. This in turn makes it likely that such churches may have existed for quite some time before they are first mentioned in documents of the tenth or eleventh century. Of course this reasoning is not infallible, not only because churches could have changed saints after their original foundation, but also because saints may not have become popular until well after their lifetimes. To give but one example, St. Pancras died in the early fourth century, but his cult did not become widespread in German-speaking lands until around 900.<sup>730</sup> This suggests that his church in Junkersdorf is probably a tenth-century foundation. For these reasons we must be cautious when we infer that rural churches dedicated to older saints must also be older, because this is not always the case. But the antiquity of a church's patron is at least a clue which should not be ignored.

We should also note the geographical patterns of Cologne's rural churches.

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<sup>730</sup>Torsy, "Kirchliche Erschliessung," 727.

Churches dedicated to more recent saints tend to be in the southwest and tend to be proprietary churches (the main exception being Bergheim, a church owned by St. Cecilia and located to the northwest), while churches dedicated to older saints show no particular pattern; they are located in every direction and are owned by both urban churches and secular lords. It is not clear if this pattern holds any significance; we are dealing with only six churches, so it is risky to base any conclusions on such a small sample. But perhaps this pattern indicates that secular lords began building churches for their rural dependents in the late ninth and early tenth centuries in the area to Cologne's southwest.

These rural churches would later become the parish churches of the archdiocese of Cologne, but relationships in the Carolingian era were far looser. It would be misleading to envision these rural churches as forming an organized hierarchical structure; they were rather a collection of churches under the control of different owners, some of which were urban churches. But there was a connection nonetheless. There was an economic connection, because village churches sent revenue to the urban churches, and there was also a religious connection, as the urban churches would provide the priests who served in the villages. The hinterland thus depended on Cologne for both its economic and spiritual needs.

We can now move from the hinterland to the city itself, and turn our attention to the church in Cologne. The church functioned much as it had in Merovingian times, with new churches being built and the bishops further consolidating their power. We will look at these two phenomena in reverse order.

Like their Merovingian predecessors, most of Cologne's Carolingian bishops are relatively obscure individuals--that is, although they were usually from noble families, we today know relatively little about them. But there is one major exception: Hildebald (r. 784/87-818), who was as prestigious in the Carolingian realm as Kunibert had been in

the Merovingian realm.<sup>731</sup> Hildebald came from a noble family in northern Alsace and became bishop of Cologne some time between 784 and 787.<sup>732</sup> As we saw in the previous chapter, Cologne had been made an archbishopric for St. Boniface, with the expectation that it would become a base for missionary work in Germany, but that project had fallen through.<sup>733</sup> Under Hildebald the city would permanently become an archbishopric (c. 800).<sup>734</sup> This was obviously a major boost in the city's prestige, but in a strange twist, the city would be an archbishopric without a resident archbishop. This was because Hildebald had been named Charlemagne's arch-chaplain in 791, after the death of the previous arch-chaplain, Angilramnus of Metz. The arch-chaplaincy was an extremely high-ranking position in the Carolingian government. As head of the palace chapel, the arch-chaplain was Charlemagne's highest-ranking religious adviser. Not only was he responsible for the liturgy, but he also advised Charlemagne on promoting clergy to bishoprics. Furthermore, the chancellor, the official who oversaw the keeping of records and the drafting of royal correspondence and edicts, was under the arch-chaplain.<sup>735</sup> This was clearly an important post, and Charlemagne's selection of Hildebald suggests how much he must have trusted Hildebald. It was also a very time-consuming post, and so at the Synod of Frankfurt in 794, Hildebald was absolved from the requirement of residing in his see; he was free to leave Cologne and fulfill his administrative duties at Aachen.<sup>736</sup> Hildebald was thus a non-resident archbishop from 794 until his death in 818 (he continued to serve under Louis the Pious). Furthermore, while Hildebald was also made an archbishop in 794, Cologne at this point was not

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<sup>731</sup>For Kunibert, see above ch. 4, pp. 156-60.

<sup>732</sup>Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae Occidentalis, eds. Stefan Weinfurter & Odilo Engels, ser. 5, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982) 13.

<sup>733</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 189-90.

<sup>734</sup>Series Episcoporum, 13.

<sup>735</sup>For the court chapel, see Josef Fleckenstein, Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959).

<sup>736</sup>The decree concerning Hildebald (#55) is available in Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Concilia, vol II.1, ed. Albert Werminghoff (Hanover: Hahn, 1906) 171.

actually yet an archbishopric, as it did not receive this status until after *c.* 800; Hildebald was officially an archbishop "of the holy palace."

Hildebald's elevation to arch-chaplain (and also archbishop) must have been a great benefit to Cologne, as the city now had a powerful patron who was close to the center of power. There are several examples of Hildebald's high standing in the Frankish realm; one is that his name is the first on the list of the witnesses who subscribed Charlemagne's will in 811.<sup>737</sup> Another is that he accompanied Pope Leo III back to Rome in 799, after the pope had sought refuge with Charlemagne in Paderborn.<sup>738</sup> But perhaps the best example, and certainly the most intimate, is that it was Hildebald who administered the Eucharist to Charlemagne when he was dying in 814.<sup>739</sup>

But we must be careful to not identify Hildebald's fortunes too closely with those of his see. Hildebald's duties required him to be absent from the city for most of the time, while a subordinate bishop fulfilled his religious duties in Cologne.<sup>740</sup> This is not to say that Hildebald was out of touch with Cologne: The city is not very distant from Aachen, and he was able to supervise the church's affairs there through subordinates (however, their names are unknown to us).<sup>741</sup> We also have evidence of Hildebald's patronage in the city. For example, Hildebald laid the foundation for the cathedral's library by overseeing the copying of manuscripts (as we saw above, there were 175 volumes by 833, though many of these did not survive the 881 Viking raid).<sup>742</sup> He also donated two alter frontals for altars in the cathedral (which will be discussed in greater detail below). But aside from these two instances, we actually have very little direct evidence that Hildebald

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<sup>737</sup>Einhard, Life of Charlemagne, 5.33.

<sup>738</sup>Louis Duchesne, Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing & Co., 1915) 181.

<sup>739</sup>Thegan, Life of the Emperor Louis, 7.

<sup>740</sup>We unfortunately do not know the names of these bishops.

<sup>741</sup>I should also point out that in addition to the see of Cologne, Hildebald was abbot of the monasteries of St. Cassian in Bonn and Mondsee in Austria (Series Episcoporum, 13).

<sup>742</sup>For a list of the MSS which survive, see Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1954) 46-47.

was frequently active at Cologne. I would suggest that while Hildebald certainly was well-informed about his see and ensured that its needs were taken care of, his duties at Aachen were his top priority, and therefore he did not devote the majority of his time to Cologne. He seems to have been an absentee bishop for most of his episcopate, who left the routine maintenance of Cologne's ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of his subordinates.

Hildebald's non-residence offers an interesting parallel to the absence of Carolingian monarchs in Cologne. In both cases, powerful figures were rarely in the city, but this does not necessarily mean that Cologne had declined as a result. Indeed, Marcus Trier has noted that Hildebald's position as arch-chaplain makes it likely that the city enjoyed an upswing in importance, not a decline.<sup>743</sup> On the one hand, Cologne did not need to have Hildebald continually present in order to reap the benefits from his patronage, but on the other hand, his absence meant that he may not have had as great a role in shaping the city as his Ottonian successors.

Nevertheless, the elevation of Cologne to an archbishopric did raise the city's profile. This might not always have been for the better, as it meant that Cologne's archbishop could be exposed to the vicissitudes of high politics. Such was the case for Gunther (r. 850-863). Born of a noble Frankish family from Lorraine, he became arch-chaplain for King Lothar II in 855.<sup>744</sup> In this respect he resembled his predecessor Hildebald (though on a smaller scale, since he was only arch-chaplain for Lothar's kingdom of Lotharingia, not the entire Carolingian realm). But this unfortunately entangled him in Lothar's divorce.

Briefly, Lothar had married Theutberga, the daughter of Count Boso the Elder (d. c. 855), but had no children by her. He did have a son by his mistress Waldrada, however. To ensure a legitimate heir, Lothar wished to divorce Theutberga and marry Waldrada.

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<sup>743</sup>Trier, "Köln im frühen Mittelalter," 301.

<sup>744</sup>Series Episcoporum, 15.

He thus accused Theutberga of committing incest with her brother and forced her to confess to this at a council at Aachen in 860. But Pope Nicholas I (r. 858-67) refused to permit Lothar to divorce Theutberga. When Lothar held a council of bishops at Metz in 862, they ratified his decision to marry Waldrada, and sent the two leading archbishops of Lothar's kingdom, Gunther of Cologne and Theutgaud of Trier, to Rome to convey their decision to Nicholas. The pope's response (in 863) was to annul the council's decision and depose and excommunicate both archbishops. Lothar never did succeed in divorcing Theutberga: He died in 869 in Rome, where he had journeyed in an attempt to persuade Nicholas's successor Hadrian II (r. 867-72) to grant him a divorce.<sup>745</sup>

Gunther also never truly recovered from his deposition. The excommunication was lifted in 864 but he was not restored to his seat.<sup>746</sup> Even though Gunther remained at Cologne and continued to act as bishop (even officiating on Maundy Thursday in 864), he was not legally the archbishop; Lothar assigned the administration of the bishopric to others, first the abbot Hugh and then Gunther's brother Hilduin in 866.<sup>747</sup> The archbishopric of Cologne was thus technically vacant, and this gave Charles the Bald and Louis the German an opportunity to install their own candidate when Lothar died in 869, as we saw above. Willibert, a priest of the cathedral at Cologne (and Louis's candidate), was consecrated archbishop in 870, and Gunther died the following year.

Gunther's case shows that proximity to power did not necessarily guarantee success; it could also increase one's vulnerability to intrigues and scandals. But just as we should not identify Cologne too closely with Hildebald, we should not do the same for Gunther, either. While Gunther's uncertain status after 863 no doubt meant that the city's access to power was diminished, we have no evidence that the city declined as a result.

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<sup>745</sup>For an account of Lothar's divorce, see Karl Heidecker, The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World, trans. Tanis M. Guest (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2010).

<sup>746</sup>Series Episcoporum, 16.

<sup>747</sup>Duchesne, Fastes épiscopaux, 183.

Gunther's bad fortune, like Hildebald's good fortune, was primarily his own, and only indirectly affected the city.

As I noted above, we tend to know very little about the backgrounds of Cologne's Carolingian bishops, but it seems that several of them were related to each other. Hildebald may have been related to his successor Hadebald (the archbishop who gave a ship to Harald Klak), as they both share the root *-bald* in their names; but beyond this, there is no concrete evidence that they actually were related.<sup>748</sup> But Hadebald definitely was related to his immediate successor Liutbert, who was his nephew (his brother's son, to be precise).<sup>749</sup> Liutbert was actually only the archbishop-elect of Cologne, and only for the year 842. The reason for his unusually short episcopate seems to have been that, like Gunther, he became entangled in Carolingian politics. Liutbert had initially acknowledged Lothar I (r. 817-55) as his sovereign, but in 842 Lothar had been defeated at the battle of Fontenoy by his brothers Louis the German and Charles the Bald. It is possible that Liutbert may have switched his allegiance to Louis and Charles, and that when Lothar regained Austrasia later in 842, he may have punished Liutbert by deposing him from office.<sup>750</sup>

Liutbert was replaced later in 842 by Hilduin, who is referred to in the sources as "called archbishop" (*vocatus archiepiscopus*); he does not seem to have ever been consecrated.<sup>751</sup> Hilduin was the arch-chaplain of Lothar I, and from 844 to 855 was also his arch-chancellor.<sup>752</sup> It appears that Lothar was unable to have Hilduin consecrated because three bishops were needed to consecrate an archbishop, and only two of Cologne's suffragan archbishops (Liège and Utrecht) were under Lothar's control; the remaining four were under the control of Louis the German and thus refused to

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<sup>748</sup>Series Episcoporum, 13.

<sup>749</sup>Oediger, Regesten, 47, 49, 51.

<sup>750</sup>Parisot, Royaume de Lorraine, 744.

<sup>751</sup>Series Episcoporum, 14.

<sup>752</sup>*Ibid.*, 14-15.

consecrate him.<sup>753</sup> Hilduin resigned in 850 in favor of Gunther, who may have been Hilduin's nephew. Gunther's other familial relationships are better known: His brother Hilduin was a cleric at Cambrai, and his nephew Radbod (his sister's son) was later bishop of Utrecht (r. 899-917).<sup>754</sup> It is possible that Gunther was also a descendant of Radbod (d. 719), the Frisian ruler who had defeated Charles Martel in 715, but this cannot be confirmed.<sup>755</sup>

Cologne's archbishops were thus men from noble families, who often had relatives who were already churchmen. The exception to this seems to be Willibert, the priest who succeeded Gunther in 870. Willibert is explicitly described as being "a man of noble blood" (*vir sane nobilis*), but otherwise we know nothing about his family.<sup>756</sup> It is not at all clear why he was chosen to be bishop; we can surmise that the troubles occasioned by Lothar's divorce may have given Cologne's own clergy and residents an opportunity. They may have preferred an archbishop chosen from their own clergy (such as Willibert) rather than an outsider imposed on them. Indeed, it may have been the case (though this is necessarily speculative) that Cologne's inhabitants were unhappy with their absentee archbishops, who spent more time fulfilling their duties as arch-chaplains and arch-chancellors than residing at Cologne. In 870, with Lothar II dead and heirless, Gunther deposed, and two kings maneuvering to control the see of Cologne, the city's inhabitants may have been able to take advantage of the chaos and put forward a candidate of their own choice, which Louis accepted in order to foil Charles's attempt to seat his own candidate. Of course, even if this scenario is true, we still do not know why Willibert in particular was chosen. Presumably he was a man who had impressed his fellow clergy and laymen with his competence and ability; alternatively, he may have been a "compromise candidate" who was the least objectionable to all the parties

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<sup>753</sup>Parisot, Royaume de Lorraine, 745. For Cologne's suffragan bishoprics see n.712.

<sup>754</sup>Series Episcoporum, 15.

<sup>755</sup>Oediger, Regesten, 53; for Radbod and Charles Martel, see above ch. 4, pp. 153-54.

<sup>756</sup>Oediger, Regesten, 77.

involved (and perhaps these parties may have thought him easily manipulable for their own ends). In either case, Willibert seems to have come from a local noble family, which did not have contacts as extensive as those of his immediate predecessors.

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the construction of new churches was an indicator of the strength of the Christian community in Cologne, and we may now turn to this issue to see it in the Carolingian framework. As always, determining the date when churches were first built is extremely difficult, and we will have to sift through the meager sources to locate nuggets of information. The urban churches present us with the same problem as we saw above with the rural ones, namely, that the earliest written mentions of them come from later documents. While we can safely presume that the churches in question must have existed for some time before their first appearance in the written record, it is hazardous to say how long that time must have been. A good example of this is the church of St. Pantaleon.

In 866 King Lothar II confirmed a list of churches drawn up by Gunther (at that time officially deposed). In the document, Gunther confirms sources of revenue for the canons of the cathedral and the other churches named therein, thus putting these churches' existing revenues on a sound legal footing for the future.<sup>757</sup> The list names several churches already familiar to us: St. Gereon, St. Severin, St. Ursula, and St. Kunibert. But it also mentions a new church, St. Pantaleon (located southwest of the city).<sup>758</sup> So it certainly existed before 866. But the next written reference to St. Pantaleon complicates this picture. The *Life of Bruno*, written by Ruotger c. 969, records the deeds of Bruno, the great Ottonian archbishop of Cologne (r. 953-65). In this work, Ruotger describes the unusual manner in which Bruno received the pallium. One was technically required to go to Rome to receive it, but the pope had agreed to forego this

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<sup>757</sup> Helmut Fußbroich, "Zur Güterumschreibung Erzbischof Gunthars," *Kölner Domblatt* 47 (1982): 181.

<sup>758</sup> Gunther's charter is available in Oediger, *Regesten*, 71.

requirement and instead sent an envoy to Cologne, Abbot Hadamar of Fulda, bearing both the pallium and relics of St. Pantaleon. When Hadamar arrived in Cologne in 955, Bruno received the pallium in a ceremony held not in the cathedral, as one might expect, but instead in the church of St. Pantaleon. Ruotger describes the church as "in a suburb near an ancient place . . . at that time wild and almost ruined" (*in suburbio prope antiquum locum . . . inculta adhuc et ruine proxima*).<sup>759</sup>

So we have a church which existed before 866 and was important enough to merit mention in Gunther's list, but by 955, according to Ruotger, it had apparently fallen into ruins. What should we make of this change? Hugo Borger accepted Ruotger's claims as valid, arguing that the church had been destroyed during the Viking raid of 881.<sup>760</sup> This position is not without merit. After all, St. Pantaleon was outside of Cologne's walls, so it was vulnerable to attack. Furthermore, Bruno received in the pallium in 955, nearly seventy years after the raid; this would have been a sufficiently long interval for the structure and surrounding area to become desolate. As we saw above, the *Annals of Fulda* state that Cologne's churches were repaired only after the city's walls and fortifications, so it is entirely possible that St. Pantaleon was the victim of both Vikings and neglect. Already in an exposed location, it may have been that the city's bishops deemed that repairing this church was not the top priority during the period of recovery, and as time went on St. Pantaleon may have slipped through cracks, until Bruno finally decided to restore it.

That said, there are strong counter-arguments to consider. First, we must acknowledge that we are dealing with a topos here. It was common for hagiographers to describe their sainted subjects as coming into deserted or devastated areas and then restoring them to magnificence. Bruno proceeded to build a new church on the site after

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<sup>759</sup>Ruotger, *Life of Bruno*, ch. 27.

<sup>760</sup>Hugo Borger, *Die Abbilder des Himmels in Köln: Kölner Kirchenbauten als Quelle zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1979) 359-60.

receiving the pallium (thereby eliminating the old structure), so Ruotger had a motive to emphasize the place's poor condition; doing so would have heightened Bruno's building. Because it serves to glorify the Bruno's deeds, Ruotger's work should be taken with a grain of salt on this issue.

Second, we must also ask ourselves: Why would Bruno have chosen to hold such an important ceremony in a dilapidated building? Receiving the pallium was a high honor; surely it would have required a setting appropriate to the occasion. It makes sense that Bruno would have chosen St. Pantaleon over the cathedral because Hadamar was bringing back relics of that saint with him, but it does not make sense that Bruno would have gone ahead with the ceremony in a run-down church. It is certainly possible that Bruno may have made improvements in the church in preparation for the ceremony, but it is unlikely that these were programs of major repairs. What makes the most sense is that St. Pantaleon was already in good condition; if it had in fact suffered any damage in 881, that had already been repaired.

Unfortunately, we have no idea of what the original church looked like. Since Bruno rebuilt St. Pantaleon after receiving the pallium, his church has disturbed the archeological traces of the Carolingian building, and excavations have not uncovered any remains antedating Bruno's tenth-century structure. While we know that St. Pantaleon existed sometime before 866, we cannot say how large it was or what it looked like. The current church of St. Pantaleon ultimately derives from an Ottonian building, and thus lies outside the scope of this book.<sup>761</sup>

Unlike St. Pantaleon, the church of St. Columba was located within Cologne's walls. We have already encountered this church in the previous chapter, when we saw that archeologists had found a small building with an apse which probably arose during

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<sup>761</sup> Helmut Fußbroich, "St. Pantaleon," in *Köln: Die romanischen Kirchen*, eds. Hiltrud Kier & Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem, 1984) 447-55. For a full account of postwar excavations at the church, see Helmut Fußbroich, *Die Ausgrabungen in St. Pantaleon zu Köln*, (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983).

the Merovingian period.<sup>762</sup> The excavators were uncertain whether this building was actually a church, or if it was, if it was dedicated to St. Columba. In the ninth century, the building was modified to create a one-aisled church with an apse at its eastern end. This building was not very big and probably dates to before 850. It would later be expanded into a three-aisled church in the eleventh century.<sup>763</sup>

Finally, we may come to the cathedral, as always the most important church in Cologne--and consequently the most studied and debated. We have already examined the cathedral's history in the previous chapters, and the building continued to be used in the Carolingian period, though with substantial modifications. The debate centers around the dating of these modifications. To explore these issues, we will begin by looking at the archeological evidence first, and then seeing how this does or does not comport with the available written evidence.

We saw in the preceding chapter that in the late seventh/early eighth century, the cathedral had undergone an expansion (called Building 3c).<sup>764</sup> The cathedral had been expanded to the west and a *schola cantorum* ("school of singers") had been constructed inside the cathedral. At some point in the late eighth/early ninth century, the cathedral underwent yet another major expansion (called Building 3d). This took the form of a large semicircular apse at the cathedral's west end. This apse, elevated four meters off the ground, had an external radius of twelve meters and an internal one of eight meters.<sup>765</sup> This meant that Cologne's cathedral now had two semicircular apses, one at each end, though the new western one was considerably larger and more impressive than its eastern counterpart. Scholars have noted that this structure resembles the church depicted in the

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<sup>762</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 179-80.

<sup>763</sup>S. Seiler, "St. Kolumba," in Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern, vol. 38 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1980) 55.

<sup>764</sup>See above ch. 4, p. 181.

<sup>765</sup>Sebastian Ristow, Die frühen Kirchen unter dem Kölner Dom: Befunde und Funde vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Bauzeit des Alten Domes (Cologne: Kölner Dom Verlag, 2002) 79.

Plan of St. Gall (drawn up in the early ninth century), which also had two apses.<sup>766</sup> This suggests something about Cologne's participation in the wider Carolingian realm: The builders of the cathedral were evidently drawing their ideas from beyond Cologne's immediate hinterland. Just as the numismatic evidence cited above suggests that Cologne was part of a wider economic network, so the new western apse suggests that Cologne was also part of a wider intellectual network.

Archeologists cannot say with precision when Building 3d was built, nor can they say how long it remained in use. It seems that it lasted for about a century, until it was damaged or destroyed by fire in the late ninth/early tenth century. Once again the Norse attack of 881 has been put forward as an explanation for the fire damage which Building 3d suffered, but this cannot be proven.<sup>767</sup>

Let us now turn to the written sources to see if we can learn more about Building 3d. We saw above that Archbishop Hildebald donated two altar frontals to the cathedral; Alcuin records this event in two poems.<sup>768</sup> One frontal was for an altar dedicated to St. Peter (the cathedral's patron saint), while the other was for an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Médard. The poems must have been written before Christmas of 800, because Charlemagne is still referred to as "king," not "emperor."<sup>769</sup> It is intriguing that Hildebald donated frontals for *two* altars. Since Building 3d had two apses, it is possible that these two altars were located in the two apses. Based on this possibility, some scholars have claimed that Hildebald was responsible for Building 3d.<sup>770</sup> While this connection is plausible, it is not beyond doubt either. Alcuin's poems say nothing about

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<sup>766</sup>For the Plan of St. Gall, see Walter Horn & Ernest Born, The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery, 3 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, 1979).

<sup>767</sup>Ristow, Die frühen Kirchen, 80-81.

<sup>768</sup>Available in Oediger, Regesten, 38.

<sup>769</sup>Franz-Josef Schmale, "Die Schriftquellen zur Bischofskirche des 8. bis 10. Jahrhunderts in Köln," in Die Domgrabung Köln: Altertum, Frühmittelalter, Mittelalter, ed. Arnold Wolff (Cologne: Kölner Dom Verlag, 1996) 157.

<sup>770</sup>E.g., Barral i Altet, Early Middle Ages, 156.

the cathedral at all; it seems strange that Alcuin would have mentioned the donation of two altar frontals but not the construction of a second apse. It is entirely possible that the cathedral had more than one altar to begin with, and so Alcuin's poems need not refer to Building 3d at all.<sup>771</sup> If so, then we cannot use Alcuin's poems to date the construction of Building 3d. This also casts some light on Hildebald's relation to his see. If he was in fact responsible for Building 3d, that would have been a fairly important addition to the city; by contrast, if he only dedicated two altar frontals, his involvement with the city would seem less direct.

The next written reference to Cologne's cathedral occurs in both the *Annals of Fulda* and the *Annals of St.-Bertin*; the former contains a fuller account, while the latter's is quite brief. On September 15, 857, a severe thunderstorm struck Cologne. According to the *Annals of Fulda*, the city's residents sought refuge in the cathedral, while the *Annals of St.-Bertin* simply say that Archbishop Gunther (not yet deposed at this point) was in the cathedral. Suddenly a lightning bolt hit the cathedral and tore open the roof, killing three people (a priest, deacon, and layman) and injuring six others.<sup>772</sup>

Before examining the report on the lightning, we must look at the third written reference to Cologne's cathedral in the Carolingian period, and then discuss both sources jointly. On September 26, 870, a synod of the bishops of Saxony was held in Cologne, presided over by Archbishops Liutbert of Mainz, Bertulf of Trier, and Willibert of Cologne (who had only been consecrated in January of 870). During the course of the synod they consecrated the cathedral, which had previously not been consecrated (*minime consecratam*).<sup>773</sup>

Taken together, these two reports raise intriguing questions. Clearly there was a cathedral in use in 857. Why then was it considered necessary to consecrate it only

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<sup>771</sup>Schmale, "Schriftquellen," 158.

<sup>772</sup>Annals of Fulda s.a. 857; Annals of St.-Bertin s.a. 857.

<sup>773</sup>Annals of Fulda s.a. 870.

thirteen years later? Some have thought that the cathedral had been so badly damaged by the lightning strike in 857 that it needed to be rebuilt, and the 870 consecration refers to this newly-repaired building. But as Franz-Josef Schmale points out, the annals do not suggest that the cathedral was damaged to that degree. The *Annals of Fulda* simply say that a "lightning bolt . . . split and penetrated the basilica" (*fulmen . . . basilicam scidisse et penetrasse*).<sup>774</sup> This means that the cathedral was clearly damaged, but does not mean that the damage was so extensive that a major rebuilding was needed.<sup>775</sup> The damage could have been repaired relatively easily, and probably would not have been regarded as warranting a reconsecration of the building.

Another proposal is that the cathedral had been desecrated because of Gunther's excommunication and deposition. This argument seems more likely, once one considers the timing of the event. Willibert, Gunther's successor, had only been in office nine months by September of 870, and it stands to reason that he may have wanted to make a clean break with the memory of Gunther's episcopate. The written sources lend indirect support to this position. The *Annals of Fulda* mention that the night before the consecration, people heard the voices of evil spirits in the cathedral, complaining that they were about to be forced to leave the place they had occupied for so long.<sup>776</sup> The *Annals of St.-Bertin* do not mention the 870 consecration, but do describe the 857 lightning bolt. In that same passage, the *Annals* also describe a black thundercloud which covered the cathedral in Trier while Archbishop Theutgaud was celebrating mass; furthermore, a huge dog ran around the altar before disappearing into a hole in the ground.<sup>777</sup> Once we recall that Theutgaud was excommunicated along with Gunther, the significance of these passages becomes a little clearer. The storms were omens of Gunther and Theutgaud's future deposition, while the evil spirits overheard in the

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<sup>774</sup>*Id.*, s.a. 857.

<sup>775</sup>Schmale, "Schriftquellen," 160.

<sup>776</sup>*Annals of Fulda* s.a. 870.

<sup>777</sup>*Annals of St.-Bertin* s.a. 857.

Cologne cathedral had taken up residence after his excommunication. Gunther could have been seen as polluting the church, and so a reconsecration was required. Several scholars have accepted this argument, and it seems likely to me as well.<sup>778</sup>

Consequently, the written sources do not provide us with any firm dates to assign to Building 3d. The cathedral was consecrated in 870, but that clearly cannot have been because it was newly-built, as it was in use before 800 and again in 857. We know from the archeological evidence that a major expansion occurred in the early ninth century, but we do not know specifically when, as this campaign is not mentioned in any surviving source. But we can infer that Cologne was prosperous, because Building 3d would have required substantial resources to construct.

The Church in Cologne was thus a powerful institution. Its leaders were active participants in government; it was establishing churches and properties in the rural hinterland, which would eventually form a parish network; it was building new churches within the city itself. The city's archbishops must have been powerful figures, even those not arch-chaplains like Hildebald. As we saw above, it is possible that Carolingian monarchs stayed with the bishops when they visited the city; this would be a testament to the prestige of the city's bishops. It should not surprise us, then, that it was in the second half of the ninth century that the *Life of Kunibert* was written. As we saw in the previous chapter, this source described the great Merovingian bishop of Cologne.<sup>779</sup> Not only is the *Life* not contemporary with its subject, but it is also short and rather vague. The anonymous author is more concerned to portray Kunibert as a saint than to tell us specific details about what he actually did; for example, nearly nothing is said about Kunibert's political activities.<sup>780</sup> But while the *Life* may tell us little about Kunibert, the date of its composition is striking. It is quite likely that the city's Carolingian bishops regarded

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<sup>778</sup>Schmale, "Schriftquellen," 163; Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 19 & n.172.

<sup>779</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 156-57.

<sup>780</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 159-60.

Kunibert as a model for themselves. He had been an adviser to kings, builder of churches, and virtuous bishop. It is reasonable to suppose that his Carolingian successors had his *Life* written in order to bolster their own image through association with a saintly predecessor. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the author entitles his work *Concerning Saint Kunibert, Archbishop of Cologne*, despite the fact that Cologne would not permanently become an archbishopric until under Hildebald.<sup>781</sup> Kunibert was retrospectively accorded, so to speak, the honor of being an archbishop.

That said, we should not overestimate the power the archbishops had over Cologne. As Sven Schütte points out, our written sources are mainly ecclesiastical in origin, which means that the Church looms larger in our view of Cologne than any other part of Carolingian society. This very well may distort our understanding of the city. We do occasionally catch glimpses of other holders of power. Schütte notes that in the ninth century a *provisor mercatorum* is recorded in Cologne. This was probably the royal market official, appointed by and answering to the king, and not the archbishop.<sup>782</sup> We saw in the preceding chapter that Cologne most likely had a count in the Merovingian period, though we do not know the name of any such person.<sup>783</sup> The counts were secular officials charged with administering justice and overseeing military affairs; as such, they would have checked and competed with the bishops. Likewise, the *provisor mercatorum* is a similar (though certainly lower-ranked) official for the Carolingian period: A secular, royal official whose task was to supervise the city's market and ensure that the king received his share of revenue generated by trade. Like the city's Merovingian counts, we know very little about these figures, but we can be certain that they existed. However powerful the archbishops may have been, they were not the only power-holders in Carolingian Cologne.

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<sup>781</sup>De sancto Kuniberto Coloniensi archiepiscopo, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8515 ff. 111v-113v.

<sup>782</sup>Schütte, "Continuity Problems," 174.

<sup>783</sup>See above ch. 4, pp. 160-61.

Christianity was also not the only religion in Carolingian Cologne, and we will now turn to investigate Cologne's Jewish community. We saw in previous chapters that Jews had built an imposing synagogue and participated in the city's economic and political life.<sup>784</sup> In the Carolingian period this synagogue would undergo a thorough reconstruction. At some point between 780 and 830, the Late Antique synagogue was demolished and a new one built in its place, using the ancient walls and floors as its foundation. The new synagogue was rectangular and measured 15.6 by 10.7 meters. To its west was a semicircular forecourt, while to the southeast was the mikva (or ceremonial bath). The building's west façade was formed by four large sandstone pillars, which supported arches; between the two central pillars was the main entrance, while the outer pillars formed blind arches. The new synagogue clearly had two stories, though its height is difficult to determine; the height of the interior ceiling was probably about 5.3 meters.<sup>785</sup>

As is common with early medieval buildings in Cologne, archeologists do not know how the synagogue's interior was arranged, or what the exterior of the upper story looked like. They posit that it probably had three aisles and internal galleries (perhaps to provide separate accommodations for men and women.) There also had to have been windows to admit light, but it is not certain how many there were or how they were shaped. It is possible that there were circular windows in the upper galleries and larger windows in the arches of the façade.<sup>786</sup>

As mentioned above, the synagogue also had a mikva adjacent to it. Archeologists do not know exactly when it was built, but it must have existed before the late eighth century, because a synagogue requires a mikva for purification rituals. Archeologists cannot say what the building's aboveground appearance was like, but the

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<sup>784</sup>See above ch. 2, pp. 95-96, and ch. 4, pp. 186-88.

<sup>785</sup>Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 114-15.

<sup>786</sup>*Ibid.*, 115-16.

subterranean parts are better preserved. The building consisted of a shaft sunk seventeen meters into the ground, which filled with groundwater. A stairway led to an antechamber on the building's northern side, from which another stairway wound around the main shaft and down to the water.<sup>787</sup>

The mikva was severely damaged at some point in the late eighth/early ninth century, at the same time as the praetorium also suffered damage.<sup>788</sup> We saw above that geologists are unsure if this damage was caused by an earthquake or flood, but whatever the natural disaster was, it seems to have badly damaged the mikva. This could explain why a new synagogue was built after 780: The Late Antique one was probably rendered unusable by the natural disaster. The new synagogue lasted until the late ninth century, when it was suddenly destroyed. This destruction may have been caused by the Viking raid of 881; archeologists have noted that the synagogue's bima (an elevated platform used for reading the Torah lesson) was forcibly broken up, perhaps because raiders presumed that treasure was concealed underneath it.<sup>789</sup> Sometime between 900 and 910 the synagogue was built again, retaining much of the appearance and structure of the ninth-century building. This building remained in use until the First Crusade, when a pogrom in 1096 damaged the building and necessitated another rebuilding.<sup>790</sup>

The reference to a pogrom reminds us that Jewish-Christian relations began to deteriorate markedly in the eleventh century. Prior to that period, they had been relatively good. The synagogue's impressive size during the Carolingian period shows us that Cologne's Jewish community remained prosperous and vital. But one important point should be kept in mind. There is no evidence that there was a Jewish "quarter" during the Carolingian period, let alone a ghetto. While it is likely that the homes of Jews were concentrated around the synagogue, there is no indication that all Jews, and

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<sup>787</sup>*Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>788</sup>Hinzen & Schütte, "Evidence for Earthquake Damage," 132.

<sup>789</sup>Gechter & Schütte, "Ursprung und Voraussetzungen," 119.

<sup>790</sup>*Ibid.*, 120-22.

only Jews, lived in that area.<sup>791</sup> We saw above that several new houses (including the Haus Zur Lerche) were built in the area between the synagogue and praetorium in the first half of the ninth century. Their proximity to the synagogue suggests that some of the residents were Jews, but there is no reason to suppose that all of them were, nor is there any reason to suppose that Jews did not live elsewhere in the city. True segregation would not occur until the twelfth century. Until that time, Cologne's Jews were a part of the urban community, participating in the city's economic and social life.

We can conclude our survey of Carolingian Cologne by returning to the theme of continuity. In one sense this term is misleading, if it is understood to mean stasis or the lack of change. For Cologne underwent much change during these years. There was a great deal of building, both secular and religious, Christian and Jewish. Trade remained vibrant, but it was extending itself into new areas. Cologne's exact political status is hard to determine. It appears that monarchs visited the city less often, though need not necessarily indicate a decline. And while the city was struck by disasters, both natural and man-made, it rebounded from them.

We therefore have to acknowledge that Cologne was continually changing during the Carolingian period. But this change was adaptation, not a fundamental transformation. Cologne continued to operate within the framework laid down centuries earlier. The new buildings added to the city's topography, but did not transform it. Cologne may have gained a new area of trading in the Baltic, but it certainly did not lose its previous networks; most trade remained local, as it always had been. Monarchs continued to visit the city during the early Carolingian period, and though they did not do so later on, they still maintained a presence in the city through their officials, as the Merovingians and Romans had.

Rather than continuity, I would suggest that stability is a better way to describe

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<sup>791</sup>*Ibid.*, 138.

Carolingian Cologne. The city was prosperous and resilient enough to withstand disasters and adapt to new opportunities. This is the sign of a healthy city, and this good health provided the foundation for the Ottonian era. Change did occur, but not to the degree that it radically altered the city. And while Carolingian Cologne continued many of the patterns which we have seen in previous chapters, it did not do so by preserving them in amber. Cologne was a dynamic city, and like all such cities, it was constantly changing.

## Conclusion

Having now arrived at the end of our exploration of Cologne's history in the Early Middle Ages, it would be good to pause and review what we have learned in the previous chapters.

When we first looked at Cologne in Chapter 1, we saw a Roman city. Cologne had all the elements considered essential for an ancient city: A praetorium, temples, a forum, public baths, an amphitheater, a street network, and aqueducts. Cologne also had a thriving economy, with pottery, metals, and especially glass as prominent industries. Furthermore, Cologne was the capital of a Roman province, with numerous rural settlements dependent on it economically and politically. In all respects, Cologne was a typical city of the Roman Empire.

In Chapter 2 we saw Cologne successfully weather some serious challenges in the late third century. Cologne was briefly part of the Gallic Empire, but this does not seem to have affected the city in any negative way. The Frankish incursions of the late third century did stimulate the Roman government to build more fortifications in the province, including the cavalry base at Deutz, just across the river from Cologne. These years also saw the arrival of Christianity in Cologne, which would have profound results for the city. It is likely that churches began to be built in the later fourth century, some of them (for example, St. Gereon) on a grand scale. But Christianity was by no means the sole religion in Cologne: Pagan worship continued throughout the fourth century, and a prosperous Jewish community worshipped in a substantial synagogue. A Frankish attack in 355 caused damage in the short term, but does not appear to have crippled the city. But this attack was a harbinger of greater changes in Cologne's future.

We examined those changes in Chapter 3. At some point in the early fifth century Cologne passed from Roman to Frankish control. While this was accomplished peacefully and not through military conquest, the change of power marks the beginning of Cologne's transformation into a medieval city. Some of the city's Roman elite no

doubt left Cologne, but the majority of the population stayed, while the Frankish elite replaced the now-departed Roman one. The Franks maintained the city's infrastructure (for instance, its street network and the praetorium) and probably stimulated the economy through their consumption of luxury goods. The fifth and sixth centuries may very well have been turbulent for the Christian community; it is likely that the city did not have a continuous succession of bishops from 400 to 565, but that does not mean that the Church disappeared entirely. Rather, it is likely that the city had some bishops during that period whose names are now lost to us. At any rate, the Church no doubt survived these centuries, and I do not believe that there was any "repaganization" of Cologne.

In Chapter 4 we observed that Cologne in the seventh century was becoming increasingly connected to new networks of power and trade. Politically the city remained important in Merovingian administration and governance, especially under Bishop Kunibert (*c.* 623-63). Economically Cologne's traditional industries of metalworking and glass production continued, but its trade networks began to reorient towards the North Sea. During the Merovingian period these changes were slow and subtle, but they increased in pace under the Carolingians.

We investigated Carolingian Cologne in Chapter 5, where we saw the trends first mentioned in Chapter 4 develop more fully. Carolingian monarchs visited the city less often because Aachen had become their capital, but this did not mean that Cologne had become unimportant. To take only one example, Archbishop Hildebald was Charlemagne's arch-chaplain. Economically the city continued to be an important center for the production and distribution of goods, and its trade connections expanded to include Scandinavia. Trade was not the only connection with the Norse world: In 881 the Vikings attacked the city. Although they damaged Cologne in the short term, it seems that the city recovered from the attack in a few years (as it seems to have done after the Frankish attack of 355). Cologne also recovered from a natural disaster (perhaps an earthquake) which struck sometime in the late eighth century. Construction continued

in the ninth century: New churches were built and existing ones expanded, the synagogue was rebuilt, and private citizens (maybe merchants) also built new residences in the city. This construction activity, coupled with the rapid recovery from natural and man-made disasters, suggests that Cologne was rich in resources, which is confirmed by archeological excavations of the city's marketplace.

Though we have ended our investigation with the Carolingians, Cologne would continue to develop after them. From the tenth century on, Cologne would grow until it exceeded the importance it had held in the Roman and early medieval periods. Ottonian and Salian monarchs visited the city far more often than their Carolingian predecessors; for instance, Otto I visited Cologne four times, and Henry II visited it eight times.<sup>792</sup> The city also expanded in size. In 1200 the city's inhabitants finally replaced the old Roman wall with a new one, which enclosed a much larger area: The new wall had a circuit of 8,300 meters and enclosed 405 hectares.<sup>793</sup> As a result, many of the early Christian churches discussed in previous chapters (St. Ursula, St. Gereon, St. Severin) were now inside the city's wall.<sup>794</sup> Cologne also boasted the first town hall in Germany, built in 1135-40.<sup>795</sup> All of these developments attest to Cologne's increasing importance and population in Europe. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Cologne was the largest city in what is today Germany, and one of the largest cities north of the Alps; it was not until the thirteenth century that London and Paris finally surpassed it in size.<sup>796</sup>

As Sven Schütte has observed, Cologne's wealth in the eleventh and twelfth

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<sup>792</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1990) 7-10.

<sup>793</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>794</sup> Marcus Trier, "Köln im frühen Mittelalter: Zur Stadt des 5. bis 10. Jahrhunderts aufgrund archäologischer Quellen," in Europa im 10. Jahrhundert: Archäologie einer Aufbruchzeit, ed. Joachim Henning (Mainz-on-the-Rhine: Philipp von Zabern, 2002) 307 illus. 4.

<sup>795</sup> Brühl, Palatium und Civitas, 36.

<sup>796</sup> Sven Schütte, "Cologne as a Commercial Centre in the Early and High Middle Ages," in Europe's Centre around A.D. 1000, eds. Alfried Wiczorek & Hans-Martin Hinz, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000) 117.

centuries "must have come from somewhere."<sup>797</sup> It is highly unlikely that Cologne achieved such a prominent position in the High Middle Ages without an already existing foundation of prosperity. We have examined that foundation in detail over the course of this book. We have seen how Cologne maintained its urban infrastructure and continued to produce and trade goods. This economic vitality enabled Cologne to expand prodigiously in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The older view of Cologne, as held by Steuer, is no longer tenable, especially as newer archeological discoveries (which were unknown to him) have come to light.

In my introduction, I had noted that scholars are becoming more attuned to the need to consider regional diversity in their study of Late Antiquity, and this study has been written in that spirit. What can our new understanding of Cologne teach us about this period? I would argue that we can learn two lessons from Cologne's experience, one specific and one general.

The specific lesson concerns Cologne itself, and it is that the city underwent incremental change during Late Antiquity, not a dramatic disaster. The city was not an "empty shell" or "ghost town." It was instead a stable city which adapted successfully to its changing circumstances by drawing on its Roman past and adopting newer elements.

The general lesson relates to the larger issue of our perception of Late Antiquity. While I do not think that we can base our view of the entire period upon just Cologne, I do think that Cologne shows us how diverse Late Antiquity was. Cologne does not confirm or disprove any one view or theory of Late Antiquity, but does show us one example of the incredibly varied landscape of the period. It reminds us of the complexity of Late Antiquity, and cautions us against reducing that time to a single, overarching characterization. Rather than describing the period as a whole, Cologne is simply

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<sup>797</sup> Sven Schütte, "Continuity Problems and Authority Structures in Cologne," in After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians, ed. Giorgio Ausenda (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 1995) 169.

Cologne: One city which survived and even thrived during the centuries from 250 to 900.

While that is certainly a positive judgment, we must be aware that this view does involve a certain risk, which is that the centuries from 250 to 900 may be regarded as only a preparation for the High Middle Ages. Indeed, too often these centuries are seen as either a prelude or *dénouement*, as either the precursor to the Middle Ages or the epilogue to Antiquity. But this period needs to be studied in its own right, not merely as the prelude to later glory. Treating the period as only a prelude or *dénouement* (while entirely understandable for historians who do not specialize in it) risks diminishing its own unique achievements. Sadly, the lack of sources for this time makes it extremely difficult to study Late Antiquity in its own right; not impossible, but difficult.

There is a further risk to be considered, namely, that continuity can be overemphasized, with the result that stability becomes stasis. The reader may have gained the impression that Cologne underwent no change at all during the period from the third to the ninth century, but that is not my belief; on the contrary, I would argue that substantial change did occur at this time. The arrival of Christianity alone had a major impact on the city, though this is perforce easier to detect in its topography than in its inhabitants' spiritual lives. The disappearance of the frontier between the Roman and Germanic worlds should also not be discounted: Cologne in the eleventh century was no longer a "frontier" city in the way it had been in the second century. Furthermore, Cologne had only been a provincial city during the Roman Empire and was quite small in comparison to Rome, whereas by the eleventh century it was one of the largest cities in northern Europe. And of course Cologne's increasing trade contacts with Scandinavia and the Baltic, shown most clearly in its membership in the Hanseatic League, altered the city as well, by bringing it into contact with new cultures and influences. Cologne was by no means static during the Early Middle Ages.

We must be careful, then, when we use the word "continuity" to describe Cologne during this time. I have argued that Cologne did not undergo a catastrophe during Late

Antiquity, and that many of the city's features during the years from 250 to 900 have their antecedents in its Roman past. To that extent, we can safely apply the word "continuity" to Cologne during this time. However, "continuity" does not mean stasis. To an extent, Cologne may appear to have been static during Late Antiquity, but that is due to two factors. First is the paucity of documentation. We only have a keyhole view of Cologne during these centuries. The written texts are of course meager, and while archeological data has certainly changed our understanding of the city, we still do not have enough of it to answer as many questions as we would like. Instead of having a relatively complete panorama of the city over the years, we are limited to isolated glimpses, with no sure way of knowing how representative such snapshots are. The second factor is the length of our time scale. Seven hundred years is a long time--so long, in fact, that it can inadvertently obscure our view of shorter spans within that period. The numerous vicissitudes and fluctuations in fortune, which would be expected for any city in a seven-hundred year period, might be more evident if we looked at only one century in Cologne's history; but when we examine seven centuries, these ups and downs may be obscured, in much the same way as the monthly ups and downs of the stock market become less obvious when viewed over several decades. When these two factors are combined, they can subtly distort our understanding of Cologne. For example, the fifth century may have seemed quite tumultuous to those who actually lived through it; the transition to Frankish rule must have involved readjustments of relationships, and this process could have been awkward. But when the fifth century is set in the context of all the years from 250 to 900, it appears (to us, at least) as a relatively peaceful transition. We know that at least one woman suffered a loss of status and had to take up work as a servant for the wives of Frankish leaders, but we have no way of knowing how common her experience was.

This is not to argue that a large time scale is inherently inaccurate or distorting. As with maps, historians gain in perspective what they lose in detail when they view the past on the long term. I am not arguing for the superiority of one time scale over the

other; I am only reminding us that each scale has its own limitations, and we must be aware of how these limitations may affect our view of the past.

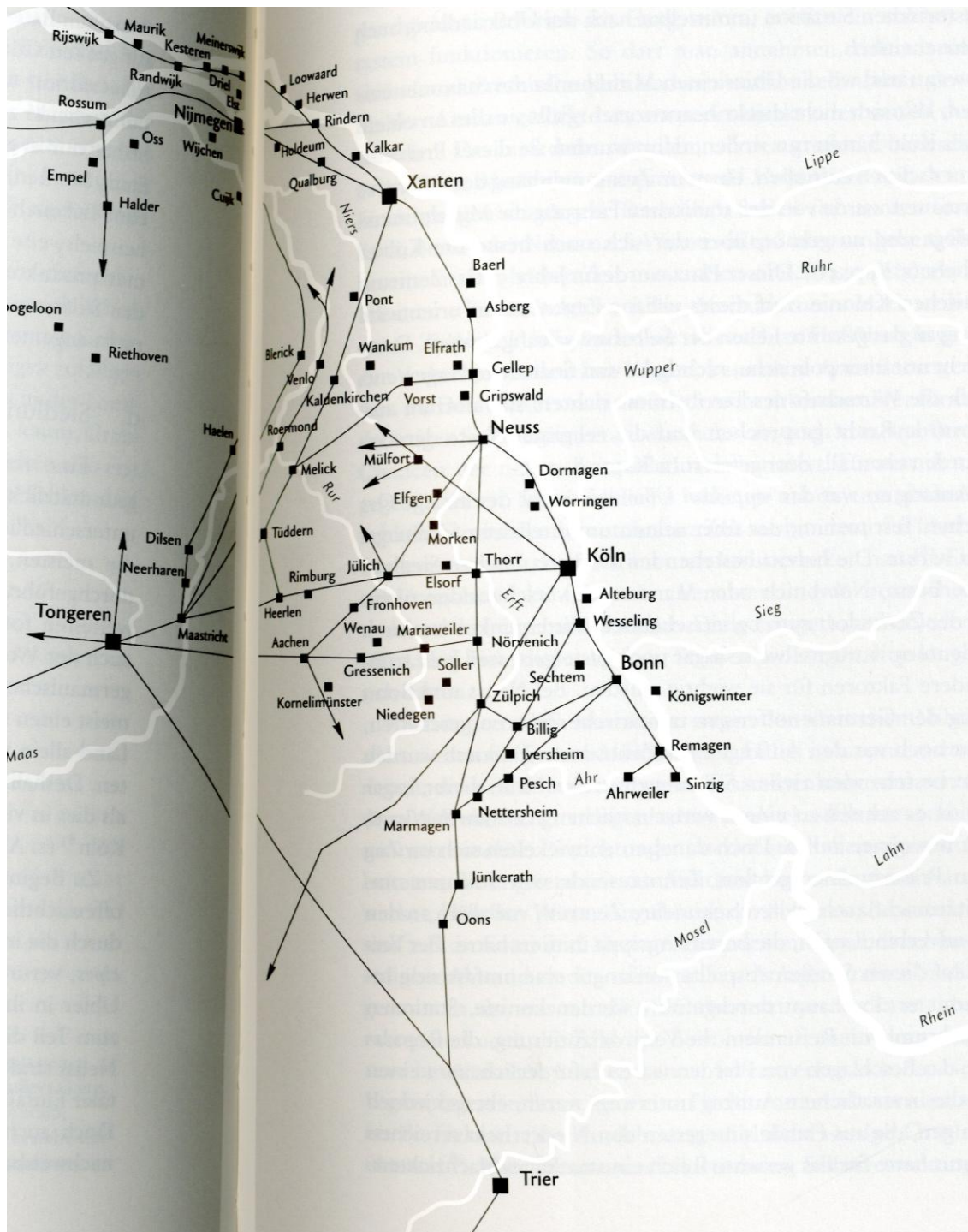
What I would argue is that we must acknowledge the coexistence of change *and* continuity. The praetorium served as Cologne's seat of power from the first to the eighth century, but sometimes its residents were Roman governors, and sometimes they were Frankish kings. The city had pagan temples during the Roman period, and Christian churches from the fourth century on; public funding was used to construct them in both cases, but these were two different religions. Trade and manufacturing continued throughout the entire time covered in this book, but the destinations of the city's products changed.

In other words, the city's experience during Late Antiquity was that of adjustment and adaptation to changing circumstances, which I take to be the sign of a healthy society. For this reason I think it is mistaken to subscribe to the idea that Late Antiquity was a catastrophe for Cologne. The view which I am proposing is undoubtedly less dramatic than the "catastrophist" theory, but that does not mean that we should think of Cologne as frozen in amber during this time. In the year 250, Cologne was very much a Roman city; in the year 900, it was a medieval city. That was not a minor or uneventful change, even if it occurred over seven hundred years. This book has described that transformation, and it is my hope that readers have gained some sense of what it was like to undergo it.

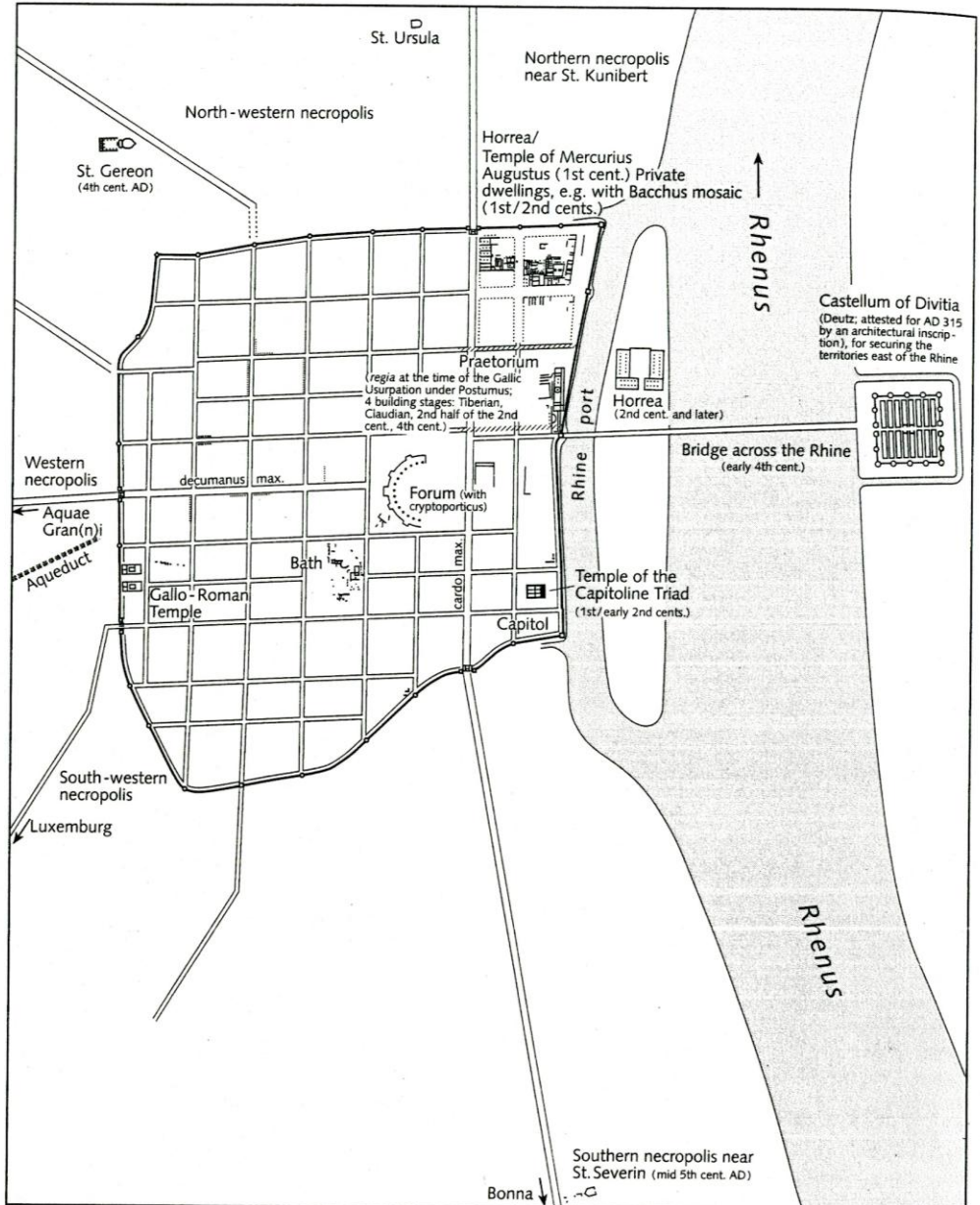
Map 1. The Province of Gaul






Map 2. The Vici of Cologne's Hinterland



Map 3. Roman Cologne

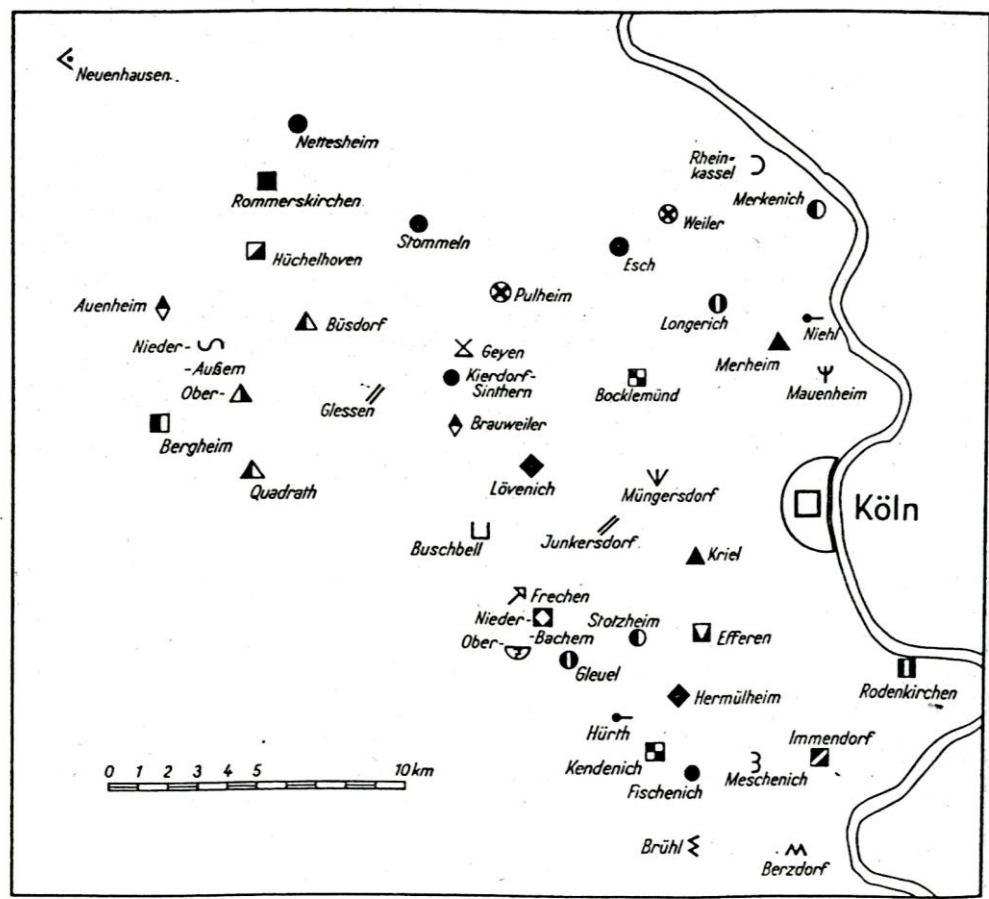


**Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium; the Roman town (1st – 5th cents. AD)**

-  City wall (from late Augustan period onwards, partly built or reconstructed under Gallienus in AD 254: 3,900m, 21 towers, 9 gates)
-  Street grid
-  Sewer (late Augustan / Tiberian)



PATROZINIENZEICHEN		
⊙ Adelgundis	☪ Gummarus (Wimmarus)	⊠ Margareta
⊃ Amandus	☪ Hadelinus	⊠ Maria (alt)
⊠ Andreas	☪ Hubertus	⊠ Maria (jung)
⊃ Apollinaris	⊠ Johannes Bapt. (alt)	● Martin v. Tours
⊠ Audomar	☪ Katharina	⊠ Maternus
3 Blasius	☪ Kornelius	⊠ Mauritius
● Briktius	⊠ Kosmas u. Damian	● Maximin
⊠ Cyriakus	● Lambertus	◆ Medardus
☪ Cyrus	▲ Laurentius	⊠ Michael
⊠ Dionysius	☪ Legerius v. Autun	☪ Odulphus
⊠ Georg	☪ Madelberta	⊠ Pankratius
		⊠ Petrus
		⊠ Quintinus
		☪ Quirinus
		⊠ Remaklus
		⊠ Remigius
		⊠ Salvator
		⊠ Servatius (alt)
		◆ Severin v. Köln
		▲ Stephanus
		⊠ Ulrich
		∨ Viktor
		▲ Vinzentius
		∨ Vitalis



3 Kirchen in der Umgebung von Köln

Map 4. Rural Churches in Cologne's Hinterland

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### Appendix 1: Catalogue of Cologne's *Vici*

The following is a list of what is known of the thirty-five *vici* of Cologne. I have included all those which are either: (a) mentioned in ancient written sources or inscriptions; or (b) known from archeological investigations. I have tried to give both the modern and ancient names (italicized) wherever possible (see Map 2 for their locations).

Aachen (*Aquae Granni*) = Aachen occupies a unique place amongst Cologne's *vici* because of its unusual function. Most *vici* were either small market towns, industrial centers, cult centers, or settlements serving military bases, but Aachen seems to have been something of a resort town. It had three hot springs, which quickly became widely valued for their curative properties, and two bath complexes had already been constructed in the first third of the first century A.D.; Aachen was the only such location in the province of Lower Germany.<sup>798</sup> In between these two complexes was a temple complex, comprised of two temples and a structure built over a sacred spring. Like the baths, the temples had also been built in the first century, while the spring's protective structure was built in the second century.<sup>799</sup> It is not entirely clear which deity these temples were dedicated to; dedications to Mercury and Fortune have been found, but the very name of the place furnishes us with a further clue. In the Early Middle Ages it was called *Aquisgrani*, which suggests that its ancient name was probably *Aquae Granni* ("Waters of Grannus.") Grannus was a Celtic god, who was often associated with Apollo--and indeed an altar dedicated to Apollo was found about three miles away from Aachen. This

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<sup>798</sup> Ursula Heimberg, "Siedlungsstrukturen in Niedergermanien," in Jülich: Stadt--Territorium--Geschichte, ed. G. von Büren & E. Fuchs (Kleve: Jülicher Geschichtsblätter, 2000) 213.

<sup>799</sup> Anna-Barbara Follman-Schulz, "Die römischen Tempelanlagen in der Provinz Germania inferior," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, ed. Wolfgang Haase, vol. II.18.1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 691-92.

suggests (but does not conclusively prove) that Aachen was also a religious center for the worship of Apollo Grannus.<sup>800</sup>

Beyond the baths and the temple, Aachen does not seem to have had any of the other buildings (wall, forum, theater, capitol, and so forth) associated with a Roman city; rather, it seems to have been a native settlement which, with the coming of the Romans, found a new role as a resort center.<sup>801</sup> Both Romans and natives probably used the baths; we know that at least some Roman soldiers enjoyed taking the waters there, as archeologists have found a few tiles bearing legionary stamps at the baths.<sup>802</sup> But Aachen was not an important military center at this time. That function may have arisen in the fourth century, when a military fortification may have been built on the site. Archeologists have presumed this, based on Aachen's strategic location at a crossroads, but no unequivocal traces of it have been found; some believe that the fortification was destroyed in the late eighth century and was used as a quarry for Charlemagne's palace.<sup>803</sup> Aachen itself appears to have been abandoned in the early fifth century; the latest coins found there date from the reign of Magnus Maximus (r. 383-88), the pottery finds (consisting of coarse Eifel ware) end around the beginning of the fifth century, and the baths were abandoned around that time too.<sup>804</sup> It was not totally abandoned, though; archeologists have found fragmentary remains of the foundations of a Christian church (as well as two Christian burials), built inside a portion of the former baths during the fifth century.<sup>805</sup> There thus was a small Christian community continuing to live at

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<sup>800</sup> *Ibid.*, 693 & n.37.

<sup>801</sup> Wilfried Maria Koch, "Aachen in römischer Zeit," Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins 98/99 (1992/93): 18.

<sup>802</sup> P.J. Tholen, "Aachen--Aqua Granni," in Der niedergermanische Limes: Materialien zu seiner Geschichte [henceforth NGL], eds. J.E. Bogaers & C.B. Rüger (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1974) 190-92.

<sup>803</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>804</sup> Raymond Brulet, La Gaule septentrionale au Bas-Empire: Occupation du sol et défense du territoire dans l'arrière-pays du Limes aux IVe et Ve siècles (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, 1990) 84.

<sup>805</sup> Heinz Cüppers, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Kur- und Badeortes

Aachen, despite the fact that it was much reduced in size from previous centuries. Aachen would later achieve a spectacular resurrection under the Carolingians, when it became Charlemagne's capital after 794 (a development beyond the present discussion's frame).

Ahrweiler = In 1959 archeologists found a small settlement devoted to iron mining. Surrounded by a wall and consisting of several half-timbered buildings, a furnace, and slag heaps, the settlement lasted from the first to the fourth century.<sup>806</sup> In 1960 a villa lying northeast of Ahrweiler was surveyed (but not excavated); remains of a wall could be detected, as well as remains of a building complex.<sup>807</sup> Another villa north of the *vicus* was actually excavated in 1980. This villa, built in the second century, was quite substantial; it had its own bath, was heated by a hypocaust, and was beautifully painted. Unfortunately it was burned down in the third century, but not totally destroyed; the central building was reoccupied in the early fourth century and an adjacent room was used as a workshop. It was abandoned for good in the second half of the fourth century; shortly afterwards a landslide covered the villa and preserved it for archeologists.<sup>808</sup> In addition to the villas and the mining settlement, remains of an aqueduct and a small bath complex have been found. The surviving portions of the aqueduct are about 1.5 kilometers long, but its source has never been clearly identified.<sup>809</sup>

Billig (*Belgica*) = This was a crossroads settlement, located at the junction of three roads;

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Aachen," in *Aquae Granni: Beiträge zur Archäologie von Aachen* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982) 14, 32-36.

<sup>806</sup> Michael Gechter, "Small Towns of the Ubii and Cugerni/Baetasii Civitates (Lower Germany)," in *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, ed. A.E. Brown (Oxford: Oxbow, 1995) 202.

<sup>807</sup> *Die Römer in Rheinland-Pfalz* [henceforth *RRP*], ed. Heinz Cüppers (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1990) 326-27.

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-25.

<sup>809</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

one led to Zülpich, one to Bonn, and one to Marmagen. The name *Belgica* is found in the *Antonine Itinerary* (373.3); excavations at the modern village of Billig (mainly done in the nineteenth century) have provided us with a picture of the *vicus*. Twenty buildings (about one-fifth of the total) were excavated. These were rectangular structures, arranged perpendicular to the Roman road; the houses often had small rooms at their street end, which may have been shops. Behind the houses were courtyards, which usually included wells. Four buildings, however, deviated from this plan; they were built parallel to the street (that is, with their long sides facing the street), and may have been inns.

Billig's function was most likely that of a way station for travelers, both public officials and private citizens. Travelers would have been able to find lodging for the night, or provisions for themselves and their animals. Billig was also a post for a *beneficiarius*, that is, a soldier attached to the governor's staff who had been entrusted with a special commission; *beneficarii* stationed in the *vici* usually oversaw the safety of the road system. Finally, archeologists have also found dedications to Jupiter, Diana, Mithras, and the Matronae. The latest coin finds at Billig end in the late fourth century, which suggests that settlement ended there in the early fifth century.<sup>810</sup>

Bonn (*Bonna*) = Bonn, the former capital of West Germany, was originally a military camp; a *vicus* grew up alongside it to supply the troops with provisions and other needs. Auxiliary units were stationed here around the birth of Christ; in the late Augustan period, a legionary camp was built, which later became the home of the First Legion (which had wintered at Cologne in 14). This camp was encircled by an outer stone wall and an inner earthen one; within the walls were granaries, arsenals, workshops, and barracks for the troops. The camp was destroyed during the Frankish attack of 355 and partially rebuilt

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<sup>810</sup> H. von Petrikovits, "Belgica (Euskirchen-Billig)," in Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern [henceforth *FVFD*], vol. 26 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1974) 142-49; Gechter, "Small Towns," 199.

by Julian the Apostate after 359.<sup>811</sup>

A *vicus* grew up near the camp in the first century; as at Billig, the houses were "strip houses," rectangular buildings with their small sides facing the road. Workshops for pottery and tiles were located to the south. The *vicus* seems to have been abandoned some time after the Frankish raids in 275,<sup>812</sup> though probably not immediately afterwards, as an inscription dating to 295 (see below) has been found in the area.

Finally, Bonn evidently also was the site of religious worship. In 1859 a mithraeum located in the settlement was uncovered, though not properly studied.<sup>813</sup> Two inscriptions attesting other deities have also been found; one, of unknown date but found in 1929, is a dedication to Mercury Gebrinius, while the other, dating to A.D. 295 and known since 1582, refers to the repair of a temple of Mars Militaris.<sup>814</sup> Lastly, there was also a temple dedicated to the Aufanian Matronae, built in the mid-second century.<sup>815</sup>

Dormagen (*Durnomagus*) = Dormagen is another example of a *vicus* which developed near a military camp; in this case, an auxiliary detachment of cavalry, the *ala Noricorum*. This camp, 3.3 hectares in size, was constructed around 100, initially in earth and timber; around 150 it was rebuilt in stone. This camp lasted until around 200, when it burned down; in the fourth century, a smaller fortification (about fifty by fifty meters) was rebuilt in the northeastern corner of the former cavalry camp and occupied by an unknown military unit, but that seems to have been abandoned early in the fifth century.<sup>816</sup>

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<sup>811</sup> Die römische Reichsgrenze von der Mosel bis zur Nordseeküste [henceforth RRG], eds. Tilmann Bechert & Willem J.H. Willems (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1995) 30-34; L. Bakker, "Bonn--Bonna," in NGL, 196-98.

<sup>812</sup> Gechter, "Small Towns," 196.

<sup>813</sup> Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 713.

<sup>814</sup> *Ibid.*, 777-78.

<sup>815</sup> Gechter, "Small Towns," 196.

<sup>816</sup> G. Müller, "Dormagen--Durnomagus," in NGL, 151; RRG, 37-38.

Prior to the cavalry camp, the First Legion (mentioned above) manufactured tiles at Dormagen from about A.D. 35 to 70; archeologists have found five kilns and one drying shed.<sup>817</sup> Despite the withdrawal of troops after the camp burned down, the *vicus* continued to exist into the fourth century, though the only known remains are half-timbered houses, a *beneficiarius* station, and a mithraeum.<sup>818</sup> The mithraeum was discovered in 1821; due to the somewhat haphazard excavation, not only are the exact measurements of the temple unclear, but even its location is unknown. The contemporary report describes it as having painted walls with two reliefs of Mithras (the only portions which survive today, in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn), lamps, several tufa spheres, and coins of the first and second centuries (the reliefs themselves have been dated to the second and third centuries).<sup>819</sup>

Elsdorf = Fieldwalking at this location has revealed traces of a *vicus* on either side of the Roman road from Jülich to Cologne; aerial photography has also disclosed a Gallo-Roman temple at the settlement's southwestern edge. Surface finds suggest that it was inhabited from the second to the fourth century; no excavations have been done.<sup>820</sup>

Fronhoven = A temple complex was excavated here in 1980, uncovering four buildings, two of which (A and B) were likely cult structures. The first, A, was 12.5 meters long and 9.5 meters wide and located in the southwestern section of the complex. To its east was B, a Gallo-Roman temple; its *cella* (interior structure) was six by 5.2 meters in size and its outer structure was 12.1 by 11.2 meters in size. Building C lay to the southeast of B; it was a rectangular structure thirty meters long and 5.8 meters wide. To the northwest was Building D, also rectangular, 10.5 meters long and about eight meters wide. In the

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<sup>817</sup>Müller, "Dormagen," 151; *RRG*, 38.

<sup>818</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 197.

<sup>819</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 719.

<sup>820</sup>*Ibid.*, 721; Heimberg, "Siedlungsstrukturen," 213.

middle of the area was a well, whose sides had been walled with former altars, dedicated to the *Matronae Alaferhviae* and *Matronae Amfratninae*. Archeologists suspect that these goddesses had been worshipped in the Gallo-Roman temple, with Building A serving as an assembly place. The latest altar stone dates to the mid-third century, while pottery found at the site dates from the second to the second half of the fourth century. It is not clear what relationship the well has to the rest of the complex.<sup>821</sup>

Gressenich (*Crassiniacum*) = This may have been an important mining settlement in the Roman period. Remains of lime kilns have been found in a nearby limestone quarry (which is from the Roman era, but not otherwise precisely dated), while in the wider area around Gressenich archeologists have found evidence of zinc mining (for example, twenty shafts were counted at nearby Stolberg). A small settlement in the vicinity was excavated in 1924, yielding bronze objects and second-century pottery. Scholars speculate that this settlement may have been an important center for brass production.<sup>822</sup>

Iversheim = This was the site of a major lime-producing operation in Roman times, probably operated by the military (the Thirtieth Legion), providing the military, cities, and individual villas with the lime needed for plaster. Excavations from 1966 to 1968 revealed three separate phases of construction. The first phase had mostly been obliterated by the later phases, but it was apparently in operation in the first century. The second phase, lasting from the second to the third centuries, consisted of four kilns surrounded by a wall, thirty meters long and six meters wide. This phase was destroyed in the late third century, probably during the Frankish incursion of 276; the third phase was built after this, which increased the facility to six ovens (though one was later filled

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<sup>821</sup> *Ibid.*, 726-28.

<sup>822</sup> W. Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen zur antiken Wirtschaft und Technik in der Nordeifel," in *FVFD*, vol. 25, 54-55, 63-64.

in) and added covered areas for the limeworkers to retreat to during inclement weather. Sometime after 300 the entire operation was abandoned, as a grave dating to the fourth century was also found in it. This was a major operation; scholars estimate that the four kilns of the second phase would have produced 125 tons of lime per month, while the six kilns of the third phase would have produced 237.5 tons per month.<sup>823</sup>

In addition to this, Iversheim was also apparently the site of Roman ironworking, though unlike the lime facility, this is known only through surface finds and not a full-scale excavation. To the east of the lime kilns, archeologists have detected eight areas where they have found Roman pottery in association with iron slag (discoloration in ancient drainage ditches suggests ironworking, too). Since iron ore has been found in the area along with traces of Roman settlement (though mines themselves have not been found), it seems quite likely that an excavation would reveal proof that the Romans were smelting iron here as well.<sup>824</sup>

Jülich (*Iuliacum*) = A *vicus* developed here sometime in the early first century; in the early second century, the inhabitants erected a Jupiter-giant column, and the fragmentary inscription on the base provides us with the ancient name of *Iuliacum*.<sup>825</sup> The settlement was about ten hectares and had stone buildings from about A.D. 70 onwards, but later occupations make it impossible to know the ground plans. There was a *beneficiarius* station here, a bakery, shoemakers, textile and copperworking workshops, as well as a pottery to the north (a potters' quarter later arose in the southeast.)<sup>826</sup> In the early fourth century Jülich was fortified with a stone polygonal structure about 1.4 hectares in size.<sup>827</sup>

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<sup>823</sup>W. Sölter, "Iversheim: Die römische Kalkbrennerei," in *FVFD*, vol. 26, 169-77.

<sup>824</sup>Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 56-58.

<sup>825</sup>Heimberg, "Siedlungsstrukturen," 189-90.

<sup>826</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 199.

<sup>827</sup>P.J. Tholen, "Jülich--Iuliacum," in *NGL*, 170.

Jünkerath (*Icorigium*) = This settlement arose in the first century at the bridge over the Kyll River, on the road leading from Cologne to Trier. As at Billig, rectangular houses were arranged on either side of the road, with their small sides facing the street. These houses were about ten meters wide and up to twenty-four meters long; the settlement contained shops, inns, and blacksmithies. In the third century it was destroyed--perhaps again in the Frankish incursion of 275--and rebuilt under Constantine. This time it was fortified, with a circular stone wall 135 meters in diameter that enclosed 1.52 hectares. Thirteen towers were located along the wall, each about ten meters in diameter.<sup>828</sup>

Königswinter = This location presents us with an enigma. On the one hand, it is fairly certain that the Romans quarried stone at the Drachenfels, a mountain which is close to Königswinter, from the first to the fourth century.<sup>829</sup> On the other hand, Königswinter is on the *right* bank of the Rhine; that is, the side which was not controlled by the Romans. As scholars have pointed out, the Rhine was not a hermetically-sealed border (indeed, imperial borders throughout history have never been impervious to those on the other side), and the Roman army frequently maintained bridgeheads on the right bank, so it would not be shocking to discover a military outpost here. However, archeologists have never found any settlement.<sup>830</sup>

But they may have found something else: A harbor. In 1976, a severe drought had lowered the Rhine's water level, and a strange semicircular formation surfaced at Königswinter, near a shoal in the river. Some archeologists interpreted this as the remains of a Roman harbor, which had been built for the ships transporting stone from

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<sup>828</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 199; RRP, 403-05.

<sup>829</sup>Frieder Berres, Die Steinbrüche und der Hafen der Römer am Drachenfels in Königswinter: Versuch der Einordnung eines lokalen Befundes in die Gesamtsituation von Schifffahrt und Häfen zur Römerzeit (Königswinter, F.R.G.: Heimatverein Siebengebirge, 1992) 12-14.

<sup>830</sup>*Ibid.*, 7-10.

the Drachenfels.<sup>831</sup> However, this is controversial, for several reasons. First, the size of the formation is huge, about 350 meters long; this is roughly the same size as the Roman harbor at nearby Bonn. But it seems odd that the Romans would have built a huge harbor on the right bank of the Rhine to load stone, when there was an equally large harbor on the left bank not far away. Second, the size of the harbor seems excessive for a facility which would load stone; by comparison, the harbor at Xanten was only 120 meters long. Third, the layout of the formation does not seem well-suited to actual use; the "harbor" is actually built against the stream's flow and in an unfavorable location. For these reasons, some archeologists believe that there was no man-made harbor at Königswinter, and that the stone was simply taken down to the bank and loaded to ships there. The supposed "harbor" is in fact the remains of stone blocks which accumulated in the river over the centuries of Roman use. However, the question must remain open, because no excavations can be done, as the structure is currently underwater.<sup>832</sup>

Kornelimünster (*Varnenum*) = This was the site of an impressive Gallo-Roman temple complex. Excavations in the early twentieth century revealed two temples, G and F, along with a series of other structures to the south. Temple G was not fully excavated, but its size is known: The *cella* was approximately 8.1 by 6.8 meters, while the outer structure was 14.6 by 13.55 meters. Temple F, located about nine meters east of Temple G, had a *cella* of 8.87 by 6.94 meters and an outer structure of 14.6 by 13.3 meters. These temples were built in the late first century; at the beginning of the second century Temple F was destroyed by fire and rebuilt, expanding in the process (the *cella* was now 9.2 by 8.7 meters, the outer structure nineteen by 17.20 meters. About seventeen meters south of these temples lay several buildings, built in several phases. Two bronze votive tablets found at the site were dedicated to the local Rhenish god Varnenus, while another

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<sup>831</sup>*Ibid.*, 27-30.

<sup>832</sup>*Ibid.*, 42-45.

tablet and an altar were dedicated to the goddess Sunuxsal.<sup>833</sup> Scholars have suggested that the buildings to the south formed a *vicus* which accommodated those serving in the temples.<sup>834</sup> While the temple complex today is in ruins, it must have been impressive in its day: The temples' outer structures were colonnades with composite capitals, the *cellae* were accessed by stairs, and the walls were colorfully painted.<sup>835</sup>

Krefeld-Gellep (*Gelduba*) = The first Roman occupation here was in 69, when two Roman legions camped here temporarily during the Batavian revolt; they won a major battle against the Batavians, though with high casualties.<sup>836</sup> Under Vespasian (r. 69-79) a permanent camp for auxiliary cavalry was built; this underwent six building phases, with the first three in wood and timber, and the last three (beginning the mid-second century) in stone.<sup>837</sup> In the late third century this was reduced in size (from 3.3 to 2.25 hectares) but continued to be used, probably into the sixth century (now under Frankish control.)<sup>838</sup>

As was common with other military forts (for instance, Bonn), a civilian *vicus* developed outside the fort. Krefeld-Gellep was impressive: It had public baths, warehouses, and a market place. Like the fort, it began under Vespasian and acquired stone buildings in the second century; unlike the fort, it was abandoned after 275 (though the civilians may have moved into the fort itself.)<sup>839</sup> In 1981 archeologists discovered a temple outside of the fort; it was thirteen meters long and 6.5 meters wide, and built in the first half of the second century. It was built out of wood, with four rows of posts

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<sup>833</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 693-99.

<sup>834</sup>Koch, "Aachen in römischer Zeit," 15-17.

<sup>835</sup> Frank Vermeulen, "The Role of Local Centres in the Romanization of Northern Belgica," in Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology, eds. Jeannot Metzler *et al.* (Luxembourg: Musée National d'Histoire et d'Art, 1995) 190.

<sup>836</sup>Tacitus, Histories 4.26.

<sup>837</sup>I. Paar, "Krefeld-Gellep--Gelduba," in NGL, 135-36.

<sup>838</sup>RRG, 46-47.

<sup>839</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 197.

supporting the roof. The building's central aisle was semicircular at the eastern end, which has led archeologists to believe that this was a mithraeum (though no inscriptions or other reliefs exist to confirm this).<sup>840</sup> This building also revealed grisly evidence of Krefeld-Gellep's bloody past: Fourteen human corpses had been thrown into it, probably during the Frankish incursion of 275.<sup>841</sup> After the Roman period, there would be a Frankish settlement and cemetery at Krefeld-Gellep, which is explored in Chapter 4.

Mariaweiler (*Marcodurum*) = Tacitus mentions *Marcodurum* as an Ubian settlement; modern scholars believe this refers to the Roman settlement at Mariaweiler.<sup>842</sup> The site has never been properly excavated, except for the discovery of a wall in 1879. Aerial photography has revealed the outlines of a Gallo-Roman temple, and surface finds of Celtic coins, spear points, and the stone door frame of a temple are all the proof we have of the settlement.<sup>843</sup>

Marmagen (*Marcomagus*) = This *vicus* is mentioned in both the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Map, but it has never been excavated and little is known of it.<sup>844</sup> It was the point where the road from Trier branched off to Bonn.<sup>845</sup>

Mönchengladbach-Mülfort = This is another example of a *vicus* which developed alongside a Roman road, with houses on either side of the street (as at Jünkerath and Elsdorf). It began in the Augustan period and by the second century covered eleven hectares. A wooden granary was built in the second century, then rebuilt in stone in the

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<sup>840</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 749.

<sup>841</sup>RRG, 46.

<sup>842</sup>Tacitus, Histories 4.28.

<sup>843</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 203; Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 720-21.

<sup>844</sup>Antonine Itinerary, 373.2; Peutinger Map, II.6.

<sup>845</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 199.

next century. During the third century the number of archeological finds drops off sharply, and it appears that the settlement was abandoned sometime in the late third century.<sup>846</sup>

Monheim/Haus Bürgel = Today Monheim is on the right bank of the Rhine, but prior to a shift in the river's course in the fourteenth century it was on the left side. A Roman fortification was probably built here in the fourth century under Constantine; it was later incorporated into a medieval castle. It was about sixty-four by sixty-four meters in size, with twelve towers originally (only four survive today; a small gate survives in the south wall as well.) Coins dating to the reigns of Constantine II (r. 337-40), Constantius II (r. 337-61), and Constans (r. 337-50) have been found on the site.<sup>847</sup>

Morken = In 1958 a group of schoolchildren accidentally discovered an ancient causeway, built perhaps in Late Antiquity or the Early Middle Ages. Although its original extent could not be determined, the surviving portion was about thirty meters long and five wide, and had served as a ford through a swampy valley. It had been built out of fragments of altars dedicated to the Matronae. Archeologists excavated it, and uncovered four complete altars and 500 fragments of altars; they estimated that the total number of altars may have been in the neighborhood of 250 to 300.<sup>848</sup> The majority of the altars were dedicated to the Matronae Austriahenae and date from the second half of the second century to the first half of the third.<sup>849</sup> Archeologists have not been able to determine where these altars came from, nor how long the causeway was in use; presumably some

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<sup>846</sup>*Ibid.*, 199; Michael Gechter, "Mönchengladbach in römischer Zeit," in Loca Desiderata: Mönchengladbacher Stadtgeschichte, ed. Wolfgang Löhr, vol. 1 (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1994): 257-59.

<sup>847</sup>H.G. Horn, "Monheim-Haus Bürgel," in NGL, 147-48.

<sup>848</sup>Hans-Georg Kolbe *et al.*, "Die neuen Matroneninschriften von Morken-Harff, Kreis Bergheim," Bonner Jahrbücher 160 (1960): 50-53.

<sup>849</sup>*Ibid.*, 120-22.

may have come from a temple in the area, though the large quantity of altars suggests that many were brought from outside the immediate area.<sup>850</sup>

Nettersheim/Zingsheim = Like Fronhoven and Kornelimünster, Nettersheim is a *vicus* which developed to service a nearby temple complex. A walled compound containing three buildings was excavated in 1909. The largest building, A, was a Gallo-Roman temple, whose *cella* was estimated to be six square meters in size. The walls were made out of limestone and covered with white plaster, while the roof was tiled and supported by wooden posts. To the south of Building A was Building B, a small structure (3.12 by 2.10 meters), and to the south of it was Building H, an even smaller structure (2.45 by 2.15 meters). Seven altars devoted to the Aufanian Matronae were found near Building A, dedicated by a *beneficiarius* who was stationed in the *vicus* (though its precise location has not been identified yet.) The complex's dates are not exactly known; the altars date from 196 to 227 and pottery finds are from the second and third centuries, but the coin finds span a much longer range, from 7 B.C. to A.D. 408; this suggests that the temple fell out of use in the early fifth century.<sup>851</sup>

One of the inscriptions tantalizingly reads *MATRONIS / AVFANIABUS / VICANI / . . . ECC*; the settlement's ancient name thus had ". . . ecc" in it, but otherwise it is unknown.<sup>852</sup> Only one building in the *vicus* has been excavated; the settlement lasted from the second to the fourth century.<sup>853</sup> As at Iversheim, surface finds of iron slag and Roman pottery strongly suggest that this *vicus* was probably an ironworking center.<sup>854</sup> Furthermore, numerous sandstone blocks have been observed at a place outside Nettersheim called *Steinrüttsch* ("stone fall"). While no excavations have been done here,

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<sup>850</sup>*Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>851</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 750-53.

<sup>852</sup>*CIL* 11983.

<sup>853</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 203.

<sup>854</sup>Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 59-60.

archeologists suppose that this could have been the site of an old Roman stone quarry.<sup>855</sup>

Zingsheim, which is quite close to Nettersheim, also had its own Gallo-Roman temple, excavated in 1963. The *cella* was 4.5 by 3.7 meters in size and made out of limestone (although some wood was also used, because many nails were found on the site). Based on numismatic and ceramic finds, the temple was in use from the second to the fourth century. Inscriptions to the *Matronae Fachinehae* found nearby suggest that the temple was dedicated to them.<sup>856</sup> Like Nettersheim, Zingsheim may have been a mining center, in this case for copper (copper ore has been found with sherds of terra sigillata).<sup>857</sup>

Neuss (*Novaesium*) = As noted above, Tacitus states that the First and Twentieth Legions wintered at Cologne in A.D. 14, but both were later transferred to other stations. The two major military centers in Lower Germany were Bonn (discussed above) and Neuss, where a military base had been established as early as 20 B.C. in preparation for Drusus's offensive into Germania in 12 B.C. Nine separate camps from 20 B.C. to A.D. 35 have been discovered; each of these probably lasted only five or so years, and all were built out of timber and earth. After A.D. 35, the base was rebuilt (partially) in stone, and this is called the "K Base" in honor of the excavator, C. Koenen. This legionary base burned down twice, once during the Batavian revolt in 69 and again in 95; after the latter occasion, it was not rebuilt, but instead an auxiliary camp replaced it. Apparently it was destroyed yet again in 275; according to Ammianus Marcellinus, it was destroyed once under the emperor Magnentius (r. 351-53) and rebuilt by Julian the Apostate in 359.<sup>858</sup> The last written mention of Neuss is in 388; the latest coin found in the camp was from

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<sup>855</sup>W. Haberey, "Die 'Steinrutsch' bei Nettersheim," in *FVFD*, vol. 26, 93.

<sup>856</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 754-56.

<sup>857</sup>Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 63.

<sup>858</sup>Ammianus Marcellinus, 18.2.

the reign of Constantine II (r. 337-40), and late Roman pottery is quite rare on the site.<sup>859</sup>

There were actually two *vici* at Neuss, one adjacent to the legionary base and one located further away on either side of the Roman road. The former was not nearly as big as its counterpart at Bonn. It had workshops for producing pottery, tiles, and smoking meat. After the legionary camp burned down a second time in 95, the *vicus* was also demolished and rebuilt to service the new auxiliary camp; both it and the camp seem to have been abandoned in the late third century.<sup>860</sup> The latter *vicus* was built during the Flavian period (69-96) and was twelve hectares in size; some of its buildings had hypocaust heating.<sup>861</sup>

As at so many other *vici*, there was also a temple area here, at the southwestern edge of the auxiliary *vicus*. The main structure here was about ten by fourteen meters. Outside this temple a room had been dug about 1.4 meters into the ground, with six steps leading down into it; the walls of this sunken room were lined with stones, some of them taken from older altars dedicated to Jupiter. Archeologists believe that this was a *fossa sanguinis*, that is, a sunken room used in the rites of the eastern goddess Cybele. The temple seems to have been built in the second century, while the *fossa sanguinis* was built in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>862</sup>

Nideggen = With Nideggen we return to yet another mining center. As the soil is not especially fertile here, mining seems to have been the main occupation, and may even have been carried out on an imperial estate. Ancient heaps of rubble dot the landscape, and one has been excavated, revealing iron slag and Roman pottery. A villa in the area has also been excavated, and it also contained pieces of low-quality iron ore (which had probably been rejected for smelting.) Lead may also have been smelted at another villa,

<sup>859</sup>G. Müller, "Neuss--Novaesium," in *NGL*, 139-40; *RRG*, 41-43.

<sup>860</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 197.

<sup>861</sup>*Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>862</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 757-58.

but without further excavations, it is impossible to know the full extent of the mining operations carried out here.<sup>863</sup>

Oos (*Ausava*) = This is a somewhat mysterious *vicus*. The modern site of Oos (south of Jünkerath) has been equated with the ancient *Ausava*, which marked the border between the provinces of Lower Germany and Gallia Belgica. Little else is known about it.<sup>864</sup>

Pesch = This is another cult settlement, built on top of a hill in the second half of the first century. A wooden fence enclosed three buildings; the entire complex had three building phases, with the greatest in the fourth century, when four buildings were built in stone. One of these was a Gallo-Roman temple with a *cella* 7.48 by 6.55 meters in size, and another had two rows of pillars, leading some archeologists to argue that this was a basilica (though this is disputed.)<sup>865</sup> Several altars in the area are dedicated to the *Matronae Vacallinae*, though fragments of reliefs of other deities were also found. In the late fourth century this complex was destroyed.<sup>866</sup>

In addition to the temple, mining operations were also carried out at Pesch, though these have not been excavated nearly as thoroughly as the temple complex. Several lime kilns have been observed in the vicinity, and surface finds of iron slag and Roman pottery strongly suggest that ironworking also took place.<sup>867</sup>

Pier = An undated inscription to the goddess *Magna Mater* has been found here, which

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<sup>863</sup>Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 60-62.

<sup>864</sup>Tilmann Bechert, *Römisches Germanien zwischen Rhein und Maas: Die Provinz Germania Inferior* (Munich: Hirmer, 1982) 27, 144.

<sup>865</sup>Walter Sage, "Nachgrabungen in der 'Basilika' des Heidentempels bei Pesch," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 164 (1964): 294.

<sup>866</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 202-03; Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 700-10.

<sup>867</sup>Sölter, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 52-54, 59.

suggests that a settlement was nearby (though it has never been found).<sup>868</sup>

*Portus Lirensis* = This settlement is known only from an inscription, an altar dedicated to the Matronae by M. Pompeius Potens, "*conductor XXXX Galliarum et Portus Lirensis*." It was evidently a toll station between Bonn and Cologne; nothing is otherwise known of it.<sup>869</sup>

Remagen (*Rigomagus*) = An auxiliary camp for cavalry was first constructed here under Claudius, measuring 1.2 hectares in size; after the Batavian revolt it was rebuilt in stone and slightly expanded (to 1.6 hectares). This camp was destroyed, most likely during the Frankish incursion of 275; sometime during the period between 270 and 280, someone buried a hoard of 7,500 "irregular" coins in the fort. These coins were probably minted as emergency money, then concealed during the incursion but never recovered. After 275 the fort was rebuilt to the same measurements, but little is known about this phase because modern buildings cover the late Roman ones. There was also a *beneficiarius* station from the mid-second to the mid-third century, and a Roman cemetery south of the fort in use from the first to the third century.<sup>870</sup> As at Dormagen and Krefeld-Gellep, a *vicus* developed outside the fort, with potteries which supplied the cavalrymen stationed there. In the late third century it was abandoned.<sup>871</sup>

Sechten = While a settlement has not been found in this area, six dedications to Mercury have been discovered there, four around the turn of the last century and two more in the late twentieth century. They appear to date from the first to the third centuries. The most unusual aspect of these dedications is all but one of them were put up by women, which

<sup>868</sup> CIL XIII 7865; Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 775 n.112.

<sup>869</sup> Heimberg, "Siedlungsstrukturen," 214.

<sup>870</sup> D. Haupt, "Remagen--Rigomagus," in NGL, 208-12; RRG, 29-30.

<sup>871</sup> Gechter, "Small Towns," 197.

is unusual for the god Mercury. It is not known where the inscriptions actually originated, nor how they ended up in Sechtem.<sup>872</sup>

*Segoriacum* = This settlement is known only from an undated dedicatory inscription put up by the *vicani Segorigiensis*; some scholars have tentatively identified it with Worrigen, but this has not been proven.<sup>873</sup>

Sinzig (*Sentiacum*) = Sinzig is another example of an industrial settlement, though unlike some of the others we have seen (for instance, Ahrweiler, Gressenich, and Iversheim), this was a pottery manufacturing center. In 1912/13, archeologists excavated four pottery kilns and one tile kiln, in operation during the first and second centuries. There obviously was a settlement here, but it has never been excavated. The potters were attempting to reproduce terra sigillata, but the clay in the area was not of sufficient quality, and so the kilns were abandoned in the second century.<sup>874</sup>

*Talliates* = An undated dedicatory inscription mentions the *aedes Talliatium*, which was probably near Ripsdorf; however, no settlement has been found here. Some scholars suggest that the temple may have served the rural population and not a *vicus*.<sup>875</sup>

Thorr (*Tiberiacum*) = Little is known about this settlement, which grew up at the intersection of the roads from Zülpich and Cologne. Scholars today connect modern Thorr with the ancient placename *Tiberiacum*, which is listed in the Peutinger Map. While the settlement itself is poorly known, in 1995 archeologists excavated a cemetery

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<sup>872</sup> Gerhard Bauchenss *et al.*, "Mercurius in Bornheim," Bonner Jahrbücher 188 (1988): 223-39.

<sup>873</sup> CIL XIII 8518; Gechter, "Small Towns," 200.

<sup>874</sup> Gechter, "Small Towns," 201-02; RRP, 554-55.

<sup>875</sup> CIL XIII 7777; Eck, Köln in römischer Zeit, 775 n.115.

outside of it, which revealed 188 cremation graves dating from the middle of the first to the middle of the second century. Most of the objects are still undergoing conservation, and very few of them have been published. One of the few which have is an urn in the shape of a "Silenus" (that is, a satyr-like creature associated with Bacchus), dating from the second half of the first century. The excavators point out that this is one of the few attestations of a Bacchus cult in the Rhineland.<sup>876</sup>

Wenau = A *vicus* must have existed at Wenau, but unfortunately its name is unknown and archeologists have not discovered it yet. Like *Segoriacum*, a surviving inscription only gives first letter of the name--*vicini V . . .*<sup>877</sup> Archeologists have found a lime kiln at Wenau; otherwise there has been no investigation here.<sup>878</sup>

Wesseling = No settlement has been found here, and it is not mentioned in any ancient source, but archeologists have found extensive cemeteries here, at the junction of the *limes* road and a secondary road leading to Billig. The cemeteries presuppose a settlement, which would probably have been five hectares in size and have existed during the second and third centuries.<sup>879</sup>

Zülpich (*Tolbiacum*) = Zülpich lay at an important crossroads; the roads from Trier and Rheims joined here and continued on to Cologne and Neuss. It began in the first century; Tacitus mentions it in 69.<sup>880</sup> In the second century there was a *beneficiarius* station, but the only buildings which have been excavated are the public baths, which were built in

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<sup>876</sup> Paul Wagner, "*Silenus ex sepulcro*: Eine Urne aus dem römischen Brandgräberfeld von Thorr," *Archäologie im Rheinland* (1995): 72-74.

<sup>877</sup> *CIL* XIII 7845.

<sup>878</sup> Sölter, "Archäologischen Untersuchungen," 54-55.

<sup>879</sup> Gechter, "Small Towns," 200; H.G. Horn, "Wesseling," in *NGL*, 183-84.

<sup>880</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 4.79.

the late second century and used until the fourth century. The settlement was probably six hectares in size; after it was destroyed in 275 it was rebuilt and fortified.<sup>881</sup> In 1888 a dedicatory inscription to the goddess Sunuxsal was found in the wall of the cloister church at nearby Hoven; the inscription dates to 239, and indicates that there was a temple to this goddess in the area.<sup>882</sup>

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<sup>881</sup>Gechter, "Small Towns," 197-98.

<sup>882</sup>Follmann-Schulz, "Tempelanlagen," 785.

**Appendix 2: The *Life* of Kunibert**

The translation beginning on the following page was made using the text published by Maurice Coens, which is available in “Les Vies de S. Cunibert de Cologne et la tradition manuscrite,” Analecta Bollandiana 47 (1929): 338-67. For bibliography on Kunibert, see Heribert Müller, "Bischof Kunibert von Köln: Staatsmann im Übergang von der Merowinger- zur Karolingerzeit," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 98 (1987): 167-205.

**De sancto Kuniberto Coloniensi  
archiepiscopo**

1. Cunibertus fuit adolescens clara  
oriundus stirpe, ex provincia Mosellense.  
Cuius genitor Crallo, genitrix autem eius  
Regina appellata est. Qui Kunibertus  
puer recto incedens tramite, in verbis  
prudens et operibus, semper in timore  
Dei ut singula perficeret erat sollicitus.  
Fuitque a supradicto patre suo ad  
Dagobertum christianissimum  
Francorum regem adductus, ut in ipsius  
curia posset iuxta saeculi honestatem  
erudiri ad perficiendum quaeque  
honestas; praecipue tamen ut ad militaria  
abilitaretur exercitia. Sed cum pius  
adolescens in curia regis iam moraretur,  
non secum blandiebatur, nec indutus erat  
mollibus, sed dura admodum servitute  
continue subiugabatur, ita ut eciam

**Concerning St. Kunibert, Archbishop  
of Cologne**

1. Cunibert was a young man born of a  
renowned family from the Mosellan area.  
His father was Crallo, while his mother  
was named Regina. Kunibert was a child  
who advanced in a correct way, prudent  
in word and deed, who had always  
striven that he might perform each act in  
the fear of God. And he was brought to  
Dagobert, the most Christian king of the  
Franks, by his abovementioned father, so  
that in Dagobert's court, close to the  
integrity of the age, he might be  
educated to achieve such integrity, as  
well as be rendered especially fit for  
military affairs. But although the pious  
youth stayed in the king's court, he did  
not indulge himself, nor was he clothed  
in soft things, but he remained in

calciamenta abstraheret, lectorum stramenta ministraret, immundicias evelleret et dura quaeque ac vilia exhiberet. Quae omnia bonae indolis adolescens voluntarie ac humiliter exequebatur.

2. Denique istiusmodi humilitatis, obedienciae ac ceterarum virtutum studia volens omnipotens Deus in exemplum aliis pandere, incepit partim remunerari, ostendens quia non est immemor bonae voluntatis viri. Contigit enim post brevi temporis spacium ut quadam nocte, expleto ministerio ad quod fuerat deputatus, in stratu proprio requiesceret Deo dilectus puer Kunibertus. Cumque omnes de curia sopore deprimerentur, et rex in suo stratu pervigil manens requiesceret, aspiciens vidit magnitudinem lucis desuper in illum locum ubi Kunibertus adolescens quiescebat, mira claritate resplendere. Ex qua visione rex inclitus non minime

continual subjection to quite hard servitude, so that he even removed his own shoes, made his own bed, carried out his own waste, and performed each of the hard and base tasks. All this the good young man performed voluntarily and humbly.

2. Finally, the almighty God, wishing to reveal the zeal of that humility, obedience, and other virtues as an example to others, began to partially reward him, displaying this because He is not forgetful to a man of good will. For after a brief time it came to pass that on a certain night, after he had fulfilled the task which had been assigned to him, Kunibert, a boy dear to God, was resting on his own bed. And while everyone in the court was asleep and the king was resting awake on his bed, he saw a great light shine with amazing clarity above the place where the youth Kunibert was resting. The renowned king was not a

stupefactus, quid haec non claritas  
 designare vellet secum coepit sollicitus  
 ac pavidus reputare. Attamen silendum  
 iudicavit usque in mane. Et mox diei  
 crastinae orta luce, coepit interrogare  
 diligentius quisnam ille esset  
 familiarium qui eadem nocte praeterita  
 in illo ipsius domus angulo quietis  
 habuisset locum. Et ut a circumstantibus  
 didicisset quod ibidem Kunibertus puer  
 quievisset, mox ad se accersitum pium  
 adolescentem blande benigneque  
 alloquitur, leniter pieque deosculans,  
 coepit eum adoptare in filium. Insuper  
 quasi innocentem Ioseph de ipsa dura  
 servitute qua hactenus pressus fuerat, in  
 qua et obediens diligentissimusque ac  
 pociens nimis extiterat, pius, prudens ac  
 christianissimus rex deinceps eripuit ac  
 penitus studuit relevare. Decenter  
 quoque ipsum fecit liberalibus litteris  
 erudiri. Dei igitur gracia singulariter  
 adiutus in omnibus, in brevi litteris est

little stunned by this vision, and restless  
 and fearful he began to think about what  
 this light meant to indicate. But  
 nevertheless he decided to remain silent  
 until the morning. And soon when the  
 next day's light appeared, he began to  
 very diligently interrogate which  
 member of his household had rested in a  
 corner of his house the past night. And  
 when he learned from bystanders that the  
 very same boy Kunibert had rested there,  
 soon the pious youth was brought to him  
 and he pleasantly and kindly spoke with  
 him, kissing him gently and piously, and  
 began to adopt him as a son. The pious,  
 prudent, and most Christian king took  
 him, just as the innocent Joseph had  
 been taken from the harsh servitude by  
 which he had hitherto been oppressed,  
 and in which he had stood out as  
 obedient and most diligent and  
 extremely patient, and strove to raise up  
 Kunibert. Fittingly, he also had him

liberalibus sufficienter eruditus et  
 morum probitate exigente tandem  
 archidiaconus Treverensis ecclesiae  
 effectus est.

3. Denique venerabili viro Remedio  
 archiepiscopo Coloniensi, intercedente  
 longe lateque caterva sacerdotum, per  
 Spiritum sanctum et synodale concilium  
 ac praecepto regis, successit licet invite  
 in episcopatu, urbis Agrippinae praesul  
 factus reverencia sacerdotali ac morum  
 probitate Deique timore plenus totus.

Ipsa vero a primaevae aetatis suae  
 Christi tirocino inchoato non per honoris  
 dignitatem recedens nec castra virtutum  
 aeterni regis deseruit, sed vixit inter  
 homines pius, inter bellat temptationum  
 plurimarum paciens atque pacatus.

Acceptit autem testimonium beati meriti  
 ac irreprehensibilis viri, ex studiosissima  
 Christi imitatione ac sacrosancti  
 ewangelii. Quoniam substantiam sic  
 amavit sui patrimonii ut ecclesiis et

educated in the liberal arts. Therefore,  
 singularly helped by God's grace in  
 everything, he was sufficiently educated  
 in the liberal arts and moral probity that  
 he was at last made archdeacon of the  
 church at Trier.

3. Finally he succeeded, although  
 reluctantly, the venerable man Remedius,  
 archbishop of Cologne, in the bishopric,  
 with a long and wide company of priests  
 interceding, through the Holy Spirit and  
 a synodal council and the king's order,  
 and full of the fear of God he was made  
 head of the city of Agrippina with  
 priestly reverence and probity of morals.  
 Having been from his youth a recruit of  
 Christ, he did not withdraw through the  
 dignity of office nor desert the camp of  
 the virtues of the eternal king, but lived  
 piously among men, and fought among  
 many temptations patiently and calmly.  
 And moreover, he accepted the proof of  
 a blessed and blameless man, from the

egenis universa distribuens, thesaurum sibi praepararet ac mansionem in caelo et misericordem patrem celestem ipse totus misericors imitaretur constitutus in terris. Quapropter et ipse specialem misericordiam in omnibus a patre misericordiarum consecutus est, ut sapientia pervigil, intellectu perspicuus, consilio providus, in adversis fortis, scientia clarus, compassione piissimus ac Dei timore medullitus Spiritus Sancti distributione largissima perfusus fuerit. Memor praeterea doctrinae pastoris principis in ewangelio discipulos erudentis, et ipse serpentis astuciam cum lege Christi custodivit et simplicis columbae animum rectum non amisit. Sed et placita bonitate mitissimus, catholicae regulam disciplinae factis potius edocens quam sermone, quemadmodum Dominus Ihesus prius coepit facere quam docere. In Christi denique paciencia annosus et longanimis,

most zealous imitation of Christ and the holy Gospel. Since he so loved the substance of his patrimony that he distributed everything to churches and the needy, he prepared for himself a treasure and house in Heaven and, being himself merciful on earth, imitated the mercy of the Heavenly Father. And therefore, by the Father of mercies, he himself pursued a special mercy in all things, so that he was vigilant in wisdom, clear in understanding, provident in advice, strong in adversity, renowned for learning, most pious in compassion, and inwardly imbued with the fear of God by the most generous distribution of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, he was mindful of the doctrine which the Shepherd taught His disciples in the Gospel, and with Christ's law he guarded against the serpent's cunning and did not lose the right soul of the innocent dove. Most

in Domini sui famulatu non se palpans  
 sed virilis, pectus sobrium quod est  
 sapiencie Dei gratum domicilium in  
 petra Christo collocavit. Superbi quoque  
 sanguinis nobilitatem sic humilitate  
 provexit ad gloriam ut in caelesti patria  
 potius quam in hoc exilio per omnem  
 conversacionem suam mereretur in  
 Christi sanguinis nobilitate ac Dei  
 filiacione gloriari. Itaque animi puritate  
 mundissimus, in ieiuniis et orationibus  
 semper fuit promptissimus. Scripturas  
 eciam ecclesiasticas ipse inter Domini  
 montes unus rigatus de superioribus  
 sicut hauriens semper potabatur avide,  
 ita continuis meritoriis operacionibus,  
 consiliis, auxiliis et exemplis optimis eas  
 studuit ad proximorum aedificationem  
 indesinenter explicare.

4. Unde factum est ut ab omnibus miro  
 modo dilectus haberetur, nedum a  
 commisso sibi grege ac subditis, verum  
 eciam ab externis ac longe positis

gentle with pleasing goodness, he taught  
 the rule of Catholic discipline by deeds  
 rather than words, in the way that the  
 Lord Jesus had previously begun to do  
 rather than teach. At last aged and long-  
 suffering with Christ's patience, he did  
 not indulge himself in his service to God  
 but was vigorous, and placed a sober  
 heart, which is the grateful home of  
 God's wisdom, upon the rock of Christ.  
 And by his humility he also so raised the  
 nobility of his proud blood to glory that,  
 in the heavenly home rather than in this  
 exile, he earned through all his conduct  
 the right to glory in the nobility of  
 Christ's blood and the sonship of God.  
 Accordingly he was most clean in purity  
 of soul, and always most prompt in  
 fasting and prayer. Among the Lord's  
 mountains he was as one watered from  
 above, always drinking avidly of the  
 Scriptures, and by continual worthy  
 works, counsels, assistance, and the best

diversis principibus ac populis, quos  
 suae laudabilis vitae sanctimonia  
 tanquam civitas supra montem posita ac  
 lucerna Christi super candelabrum  
 praeifulgida odore suavissimo simul ac  
 splendore mirifico refecit ac illustravit in  
 Domino, affectarentque conspiciere  
 singuli Kuniberti viri Dei vultum  
 angelicum pontificali praesidentem  
 cathedrae in sacratissima  
 Agrippinensium urbe. Habuit insuper  
 beatus pontifex hoc de bono more,  
 sancta devocione eam perurgente, ut  
 caelestes patronos miro affectu excoleret  
 et ecclesiarum sanctarum, potius tereret  
 limina pro consequenda in omnibus  
 agendis ampliori Dei gracia, in hoc  
 obediens voce Domini sui qua se  
 praecipit per prophetam in sanctis suis  
 collaudari. Quadam igitur die, cum iuxta  
 morem in basilica sanctarum undecim  
 milium virginum in solemnitate annua  
 earum missam celebraret et sacrosancta

examples he strove to unceasingly  
 explain them, for the edification of those  
 around him.

4. Whence it was done so that he might  
 be held in esteem in a miraculous  
 manner by all, not only the flock and  
 others committed to him, but even  
 diverse princes and peoples from far and  
 wide, whom the sanctity of his  
 praiseworthy life restored and  
 illuminated in the Lord by a most sweet  
 aroma and a miraculous brightness, just  
 like a city placed upon a hill and a lamp  
 of Christ upon a stand, and so that they  
 might aspire to observe the angelic face  
 of Kunibert, the man of God, presiding  
 over the pontifical seat in the most  
 sacred city of Agrippina. Additionally,  
 the blessed bishop, driven by sacred  
 devotion, had this good custom, that he  
 honored the heavenly saints with a  
 wonderful affection and preferred to  
 wear away thresholds of the sacred

Christi misteria, corpus videlicet ipsius et sanguinem immolaret, circumstante eum agmine cleri sui ac numerositate populi, apparuit columba nive condior infra ecclesia volitans ac circumquaque girando. Quae tandem requiem petens super caput beati antistitis insedit.

Deinde post paululum in medio ecclesiae super sepulchrum cuiusdam virginis, ut fertur beatæ Ursulae, quievit, quibusdam prius ignorantibus quod ipsius haec fuisset tumba monumenti, et subito de sepulchro cum lucida exalans nebula ab oculis omnium evanuit. Et omnis plebs, ut vidit, dedit laudem Deo, hoc ipso agnoscentes miraculo beatum eorum antistitem virginalis pudicitiae merito insignitum et dignus Spiritus sancti habitaculum gratumque reclinatorium totius Trinitatis, Dominum Deum magnifice in suo famulo collaudarunt. Sic tota eius vita morum fraglancia et certis signis mirificis

churches on behalf of pursuing in all deeds the greater grace of God, obeying in this his Lord's voice, by which He taught through the prophet that He was to be praised in His holy places.

Therefore, on a certain day, when (as was his wont) he was solemnly celebrating, with a group of his clerics and numerous people standing around him in the basilica of the 11,000 holy virgins, the mass and the sacred mysteries of Christ (namely, he was sacrificing Christ's body and blood), a dove whiter than snow appeared within the church, flying and circling around. At last, seeking rest, it sat upon the head of the blessed priest. Then, after a little while, it rested in the middle of the church upon the tomb of the virgin (St. Ursula, as it is said), although previously some had not known that this was the tomb of the monument itself, and suddenly it disappeared from everyone's

efferbuit, ut cuncti laudarent et  
excolerent patriam Coloniensium cui  
Dominus talem praefecit pastorem, vita,  
signis ac virtutibus venerandum.

Impletumque est rursus in viro Dei illud  
verbum ewangelii in quo Dominus  
discipulis loquens ait: “Sic luceat lumen  
vestrum coram hominibus ut videant  
opera vestra bona et glorificent patrem  
vestrum qui in caelis est.”

5. Et quia, teste Sapiente, beata terra  
cuius princeps nobilis est, laetabatur sub  
principe Dei ipsa Coloniensium terra,  
donorum caelestium iocunditate repleta.  
Exultabant sub eo iusti, et devoti  
cultores ecclesiae multiplicabantur sub  
ipsius alis ac canonica institucione  
paternalique directione. Iocundabantur  
monachi quia sub ipsius culmine eorum  
vita reformabatur in melius et privilegia  
utilius restaurabantur. Gaudebant exules  
ac captivi, quoniam confluentes de toto  
orbe terrarum tranquillum salutis portum

sight in a bright cloud. And all the  
people, when they saw it, gave thanks to  
God and magnificently praised the Lord  
God in His servant, recognizing that  
their blessed prelate of virginal chastity  
was marked out by this very miracle and  
was a worthy residence of the Holy  
Spirit, and a welcome resting-place of  
the whole Trinity. Thus his whole life  
overflowed with the fragrance of morals  
and sure miraculous signs, so that all  
praised and honored the fatherland of  
Cologne, to which God had appointed  
such a shepherer, who ought to be  
venerated for his life, signs, and virtues.  
And thus in that man of God had been  
fulfilled the word of the Gospel, in  
which the Lord, speaking to His  
disciples, said: “Let your light so shine  
before men that they may see your good  
works and glorify your Father, Who is in  
Heaven.” (Matt. 5:16)

per ipsum in sua civitate ac diocese invenerunt. Oppressos sublevabat, esurientes saturabat, pusillanimes consolabatur. Hiis sanctorum fructibus meritorum per divinam clemenciam societatem promeruit angelorum ac civium supernorum. Ipse eciam, vivente Sigiberto inclito rege, et proceribus ipsius ac universis gentibus quae ad sum regnum aspiciebant, subditis simulque amicis, puris condicionibus servivit ac eciam pro christiana religionis intuitu loca sacrosancta instituit et, cum sumptus proprii non sufficerent, ad hoc alios principes et divites hortabatur. Qui collectis stipendiis per manus artificum ecclesiarum munimenta cultu ditavit elegantissimo et per cartarum instrumenta sanctis, pauperibus vel hospitibus peregrinis flagranti desiderio alimoniam divisit.

6. Hiis quoque ac aliis innumeris pietatis, misericordiae ac boni pastoris virtutum

5. And because, as Wisdom testifies, blessed is the land whose prince is noble, the whole land of the people of Colgone, filled with the joy of heavenly gifts, was rejoicing under God's prince. The just exulted under him, and devoted worshippers of the Church were multiplied under his wings, as was canonical instruction and paternal direction. Monks were pleased, because under his eminence their life was transformed for the better and their privileges were restored more usefully. Exiles and captives rejoiced, since they, flocking together from the whole world, found a tranquil port of salvation through him in his city and diocese. He raised up the oppressed, satisfied the hungry, consoled the weak. By these fruits of holy deeds he earned the fellowship of angels and Heaven's citizens through divine clemency. Even he himself, while the renowned King

operibus ac saluberrimus subditorum  
 intentus salutis beneficiis, cathedram  
 pontificalem sanctae Coloniensis  
 ecclesiae digne optinuit ac gubernavit  
 quadraginta annis. Completisque  
 venerabilis caniciei placitis annis,  
 migravit ad Dominum idibus novembris.  
 Sed kalendis decembris in ecclesia beati  
 Clementis, quam ipse construxit, corpus  
 suum digna cum reverencia tumulatum  
 magnam habet veneracionem.  
 Glorificante namque ipsum Domino, cui  
 per omnia fideliter deservivit in hoc  
 saeculo, facta sunt et adhuc fiunt plura  
 miracula eis qui fideliter ad suam  
 ecclesiam veniunt et in suis oracionibus  
 devote confidunt. Nam si quis febre  
 correptus aut stridore dencium vexatus  
 ad eius sepulchrum fideliter accesserit,  
 omni dolore fugato, ad propria sospes ac  
 laetus regreditur, ipso adiuvante qui vivit  
 et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Sigibert was alive, and his great men and  
 all the people who belonged to his  
 kingdom, subjects as well as friends, was  
 subject to pure conditions and he  
 established sacred places for the  
 observance of the Christian religion, and  
 when his own funds did not suffice, he  
 encouraged other princes and wealthy  
 people to this end. By contributions he  
 enriched the bulwarks of the churches  
 with the most exquisite adornment  
 through the hands of craftsmen and  
 through written documents distributed  
 money for the saints, the poor, or pilgrim  
 guests with a burning desire.

6. By these and also other innumerable  
 works of piety, mercy, and virtues of the  
 Good Shepherd, and also intent upon the  
 most salutary benefits of his subjects’  
 salvation, he worthily supported and  
 governed the pontifical seat of the sacred  
 church of Cologne for 40 years. And  
 when the venerable man completed his

allotted years, he went to the Lord on November 13. But on December 1 his entombed body, buried with worthy reverence in the church of the blessed Clement, which he himself had built, had great veneration. And many miracles, which glorify the Lord Whom he faithfully served in this world through all things, have been and still are done for those who faithfully come to his church and devoutly have confidence in their prayers to him. For if anyone gripped with fever or vexed by gnashing of teeth should faithfully come to his tomb, he returns to his own safe and rejoicing, with every pain gone, helped by the very one who lives and reigns for ever and ever. Amen.